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ABBREVIATED TITLES
OF SOME OF THE MOST OFTEN QUOTED WORKS

Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm* = *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. J.-T. Reinaud and M. de Slane, Paris 1840

Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, tr. = *Géographie d'Aboulféda, traduite de l'arabe en français*; vol. I, II, 1 by Reinaud, Paris 1848; vol. II, 2 by St. Guyard, 1883

Aghānī[1] or [2] or [3] = Abu'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*; [1]Būlāḳ 1285; [2]Cairo 1323; [3]Cairo 1345-

Aghānī, Tables = *Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-aghānī*, rédigées par I. Guidi, Leiden 1900

Aghānī, Brünnow = *The XXIst vol. of the Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. R. E. Brünnow, Leiden 1883

ʿAlī Djawād = *Mamālik-i ʿOthmāniyyeniñ ta'rīkh wa djughrāfiyā lughāti*, Istanbul 1313-17/1895-9.

al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* = *Nuzhat al-Alibbā' fi Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabā'*, Cairo 1294

ʿAwfī, *Lubāb* = *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, London-Leiden 1903-1906

Babinger = F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, 1st ed., Leiden 1927

Baghdādī, *Farḳ* = *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo 1328/1910

Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* = *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866

Balādhurī, *Ansāb* = *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, iv, v. ed. M. Schlössinger and S. D. F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936-38

Barkan, *Kanunlar* = Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci Asırlarda Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları, I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943

Barthold, *Turkestan* = W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928 (GMS, N.S. V)

Barthold, *Turkestan*[2] = the same, 2nd edition, London 1958

Blachère, *Litt.* = R. Blachère, *Histoire de la Littérature arabe*, i, Paris 1952

Brockelmann, I, II = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage, Leiden 1943-49

Brockelmann, S I, II, III = *G. d. A. L.*, Erster (Zweiter, Dritter) Supplementband, Leiden 1937-42

Browne, i = E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia, from the earliest times until Firdawsi*, London 1902

Browne, ii = *A Literary History of Persia, from Firdawsi to Saʿdi*, London 1908

Browne, iii = *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920

Browne, iv = *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924

Caetani, *Annali* = L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, Milano 1905-26

Chauvin, *Bibliographie* = V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes et relatifs aux Arabes*, Lille 1892

Ḍabbī = *Bughyat al-Multamis fi Ta'rīkh Ridjāl Ahl al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera y J. Ribera, Madrid 1885 (BAH III)

Damīrī = *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (quoted according to titles of articles)

Dawlatshāh = *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā'*, ed. E. G. Browne, London-Leiden 1901

Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ* = al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 4 vols., Hyderabad 1315 H.

Djuwaynī = *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān-gushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Leiden 1906-37 (GMS XVI)

Djuwaynī-Boyle = *The History of the World-conqueror*, by ʿAṭā-Malik Djuwaynī, trans. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958

Dozy, *Notices* = R. Dozy, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leiden 1847-51

Dozy, *Recherches*[3] = *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen-âge*, third edition, Paris and Leiden 1881

Dozy, *Suppl.* = R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leiden 1881 (anastatic reprint Leiden-Paris 1929)

Fagnan, *Extraits* = E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Alger 1924

Farhang = Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1949-1953

Fihrist = Ibn al-Nadīm, *K. al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871-72

Firishta = Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, lith. Bombay 1832

Gesch. des Qor. = Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, new edition by F. Schwally, G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, 3 vols., Leipzig 1909-38

Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry* = E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900-09

Gibb-Bowen = H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, London 1950-1957

Goldziher, *Muh. St.* = I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols., Halle 1888-90

Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* = I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910

Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*[2] = 2nd ed., Heidelberg 1925

Goldziher, *Dogme* = *Le dogme et la loi de l'islam*, tr. F. Arin, Paris 1920

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā* = Istanbul 1145/1732

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa = *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, Istanbul 1941-43

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel = *K. al-Ẓ.*, Leipzig 1835-58

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha* = *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. G. le Strange, Leiden 1913-19 (GMS XXIII)

Hamdānī = *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91

Hammer-Purgstall *GOR* = J. von Hammer(-Purgstall), *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest 1828-35

Hammer-Purgstall *GOR*[2] = the same, 2nd ed. Pest 1840

Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire* = the same, trans. by J. J. Hellert, 18 vols., Bellizard [etc.], Paris [etc.], 1835-43

Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung* = J. von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, 2 vols., Vienna 1815

Houtsma, *Recueil* = M. Th. Houtsma, *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, Leiden 1886-1902

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam = *The Regions of the World*, translated by V. Minorsky, London 1937 (GMS, N.S. XI)
Ibn al-Abbār = *K. Takmilat al-Ṣila*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid 1887-89 (BHA V-VI)
Ibn al-Athīr = *K. al-Kāmil*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leiden 1851-76
Ibn al-Athīr, trad. Fagnan = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1901
Ibn Bashkuwāl = *K. al-Ṣila fi Akhbār Aʾimmat al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid 1883 (BHA II)
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa = *Voyages d'Ibn Batouta*. Arabic text, ed. and Fr. tr. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols., Paris 1853-58
Ibn al-Faḳīh = *Mukhtaṣar K. al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden 1886 (BGA V)
Ibn Ḥawḳal = *K. Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938-39 (BGA II, 2nd edition)
Ibn Hishām = *Sira*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1859-60
Ibn ʿIdhārī = *K. al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51; vol. iii, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, París 1930
Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* = *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbār man dhahab*, Cairo 1350-51 (quoted according to years of obituaries)
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Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ = the same, ed. Būlāḳ 1275
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Yāḳūt = *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73 (anastatic reprint 1924)

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR PERIODICALS ETC.

Abh. G. W. Gött. = *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
Abh. K. M. = *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Abh. Pr. Ak. W. = *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Afr. Fr. = *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française.*
AIEO Alger = *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de l'Université d'Alger.*
AIUON = *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.*
Anz. Wien = *Anzeiger der [kaiserlichen] Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
AO = *Acta Orientalia.*
ArO = *Archiv Orientální.*
ARW = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
ASI = *Archaeological Survey of India.*
ASI, NIS = *ditto*, New Imperial Series.
ASI, AR = *ditto*, Annual Reports.
AÜDTCFD = *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi.*
BAH = *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana.*
BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
Belleten = *Belleten* (of *Türk Tarih Kurumu*)
BFac. Ar. = *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University.*
BÉt. Or. = *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas.*
BGA = *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum.*
BIE = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*
BRAH = *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia de España.*
BSE = *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Éntsiklopediya* (Large Soviet Encyclopaedia) 1st ed.
BSE[2] = the same, 2nd ed.
BSL[P] = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.*
BSO[A]S = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies.*
BTLV = *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [van Nederlandsch-Indië].*
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
COC = *Cahiers de l'Orient contemporain.*
CT = *Cahiers de Tunisie.*
EI[1] = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition.
EIM = *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
ERE = *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics.*
GGA = *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.*
GMS = *Gibb Memorial Series.*
Gr. I. Ph. = *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie.*
IA = *Islâm Ansiklopedisi.*
IBLA = *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes*, Tunis.
IC = *Islamic Culture.*
IFD = *Ilahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi.*
IHQ = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IQ = *The Islamic Quarterly.*
Isl. = *Der Islam.*
JA = *Journal Asiatique.*
JAfr. S = *Journal of the African Society.*
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JAnthr. I = *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*
JBBRAS = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia.*
JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
J[R]Num. S. = *Journal of the [Royal] Numismatic Society.*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JPak. H. S. = *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*
JPHS = *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.*
JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review.*
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J[R]ASB = *Journal and Proceedings of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JRGeog. S. = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*
JSFO = *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne.*
JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies.*
KCA = *Körösi Csoma Archivum.*
KS = *Keleti Szemle* (Oriental Review).
KSIE = *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Étnografiy* (Short communications of the Institute of Ethnography).
LE = *Literaturnaya Éntsiklopediya* (Literary Encyclopaedia).
MDOG = *Mitteillungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
MDPV = *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*
MEA = *Middle Eastern Affairs.*
MEJ = *Middle East Journal.*
MFOB = *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth.*
MGMN = *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften.*
MGWJ = *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*
MIDEO = *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire.*
MIE = *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
MIFAO = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*
MMAF = *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire.*
MMIA = *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*, Damascus.
MO = *Le Monde oriental.*
MOG = *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte.*
MSE = *Malaya Sovetskaya Éntsiklopediya* (Small Soviet Encyclopaedia).
MSFO = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne.*
MSL[P] = *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris.*
MSOS Afr. = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Afrikanische Studien.*
MSOS As. = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Westasiatische Studien.*
MTM = *Millī Tetebbüʿler Medjmūʿasī.*
MW = *The Muslim World.*
NC = *Numismatic Chronicle.*
NGW Gött. = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
OC = *Oriens Christianus.*

OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
OM = *Oriente Moderno.*
PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement.*
Pet. Mitt. = *Petermanns Mitteilungen.*
QDAP = *Quarterly Statement of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.*
RAfr. = *Revue Africaine.*
RCEA = *Répertoire chronologique d'Épigraphie arabe.*
REJ = *Revue des Études Juives.*
Rend. Lin. = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche.*
REI = *Revue des Études Islamiques.*
RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.*
RIMA = *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes.*
RMM = *Revue du Monde Musulman.*
RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny.*
ROC = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.*
ROL = *Revue de l'Orient Latin.*
RSO = *Rivista degli studi orientali.*
RT = *Revue Tunisienne.*
SBAk. Heid. = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
SBAk. Wien = *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien.*
SBBayr. Ak. = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
SBPMS Erlg. = *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen.*
SBPr. Ak. W. = *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*
SE = *Sovetskaya Étnografiya* (Soviet Ethnography).
SO = *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* (Soviet Orientalism).
Stud. Isl. = *Studia Islamica.*
S.Ya. = *Sovetskoe Yazïkoznanie* (Soviet Linguistics).
TBG = *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*
TD = *Tarih Dergisi.*
TIE = *Trudï instituta Étnografiy* (Works of the Institute of Ethnography).
TM = *Türkiyat Mecmuası.*
TOEM = *Ta'rīkh-i ʿOthmānī (Türk Ta'rīkhi) Endjümeni medjmūʿasī.*
Verh. Ak. Amst. = *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam.*
Versl. Med. Ak. Amst. = *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam.*
VI = *Voprosï Istoriy* (Historical Problems).
WI = *Die Welt des Islams.*
WIn.s. = *ibid.*, new series.
Wiss. Veröff. DOG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZATW = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins.*
ZGErdk. Birl. = *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin.*
ZS = *Zeitschrift für Semitistik.*

LIST OF TRANSLITERATIONS

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC CHARACTERS:

Consonants						*Long Vowels*		*Diphthongs*	
ء	ʾ (except when initial)	ز	z	ق	ḳ	ا ى	ā	ـَوْ	aw
ب	b	س	s	ك	k	و	ū	ـَيْ	ay
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l	ي	ī		
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m			ـِيّ	iyy (final form ī)
ج	dj	ض	ḍ	ن	n	*Short Vowels*			
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h	ـَ	a	ـُوّ	uww (final form ū)
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w	ـُ	u		
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	ـِ	i		
ذ	dh	غ	gh						
ر	r	ف	f						

ة a; at (construct state)

ال (article), al- and ʾl- (even before the antero-palatals)

PERSIAN, TURKISH AND URDU ADDITIONS TO THE ARABIC ALPHABET:

پ	p	ژ	zh	ٹ	t́	ڑ	ŕ
چ	č	ڭ or گ	g (sometimes ñ in Turkish)	ڈ	d́		

Additional vowels:

a) Turkish: e, ı, o, ö, ü. Diacritical signs proper to Arabic are, in principle, not used in words of Turkish etymology.

b) Urdu: ē, ō.

For modern Turkish, the official orthography adopted by the Turkish Republic in 1928 is used. The following letters may be noted:

c = dj	ğ = gh	j = zh	k = k and ḳ	t = t and ṭ
ç = č	h = h, ḥ and kh	ş = sh	s = s, ṣ and th	z = z, ẓ, ḍ and dh

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF CYRILLIC CHARACTERS:

а	a	е	e	к	k	п	p	ф	f	щ	shč	ю	yu
б	b	ж	ž	л	l	р	r	х	kh	ы	ı	я	ya
в	v	з	z	м	m	с	s	ц	ts	ь	ʾ	ѣ	ě
г	g	и	i	н	n	т	t	ч	č	ъ	ʿ		
д	d	й	y	о	o	у	u	ш	sh	э	é		

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

P. 1ᵃ, ʿAbābda, l. 6 *read* limit.
P. 2ᵇ, *read* Abāḳā.
P. 3, Abarḳubādh. *Bibliography*, add: G. C. Miles, *Abarqubādh, A new Umayyad Mint*, in *American Numism. Soc. Museum Notes IV*, 1952, 115-120.
P. 7ᵇ, l. 4 from below, *for* s̲h̲āhī-sewen *read* s̲h̲āh-seven.
P. 8ᵇ, ʿAbbās I, add to the bibliography: Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindagānī-yi S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās-i Awwal*, Tehran 1953—; Miguel Asín Palacios, *Comentario de Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa de la embajada que de parte del Roy de España don Felippe III hizo al Rey Xa Abas de Persia*, Madrid 1928; N. D. Miklucho-Maclay, *K voprosu o nalagovoy politike v Irane pri S̲h̲ak̲h̲e Abbase I ...*, in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi (1949), 348-55; E. Kühnel, *Hān ʿĀlam und die Diplomat: Bez. zw. Ğahāngīr und Schah ʿAbbās*, in *ZDMG* xcvi (1942), 171-86.
P. 13ᵃ, l. 18, *for* ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I *read* ʿAbbās I.
P. 21ᵇ, l. 56, *read* A. H. 467 al-Muḳtadī.
P. 41ᵃ, l. 29, *for* 68/686-8 *read* 68/687-8.
P. 45ᵃ, l. 26, *for* by al-Zubayr *read* by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.
P. 47, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, *Bibliography*, add: M. Khadduri, *Fertile Crescent Unity*, in R. N. Frye, ed., *The Near East and the Great Powers*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1951, 137-177.
P. 57ᵇ, l. 66, *for* Abu Ḥamāra *read* Abū Ḥimāra.
P. 57, add: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [see ʿĀmirids].
add: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf [see Dulafids].
P. 58ᵃ, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, *Bibliography*, add: U. Rizzitano, *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, governatore umayyade d'Egitto*, in *Rend. Lin.*, series iii, vol. ii, fasc. 5-6, 1947, 341-347.
P. 58ᵇ, l. 59, *for* 30 March *read* 30 May.
P. 59ᵃ, l. 50, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī, *read S̲h̲āh*.
P. 60, *add* ʿAbd al-D̲j̲alīl Abu 'l-Maḥāsin [see al-dihistānī].
add ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār b. ʿAbd al-Karīm [see al-ḳazwīnī].
add ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār al-Ak̲h̲ras [see al-ak̲h̲ras].
ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Sayf al-Dīn, *Bibliography*, *add*: K̲h̲. A. Niẓāmī, *Ḥayāt S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddit̲h̲ Dihlawī*, Dihli 1953.
P. 61ᵃ, l. 46, *after* born Febr. 1852 *add* at Istanbul.
P. 61ᵇ, l. 30, *for* in 1937 *read* on 12 April 1937 at Istanbul.
P. 61ᵇ, l. 42, *for* Yādigar-i Ḥarp *read* Yādgār-i Ḥarb.
P. 63ᵇ, l. 7, *for* Waṣīf *read* Wāṣif.
P. 63ᵇ, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, l. 2, *for* 5th of 30 *read* 8th of 40.
P. 63ᵇ, l. 10 from below, *for* former *read* later.
P. 64ᵃ, l. 42, *for* āmed̲j̲i *read* āmedd̲j̲ī.
P. 64ᵇ, l. 42, *for* 1894 *read* 1889.
P. 65, *Bibliography*, last line, *for* 1343 *read* 1943.
P. 71, *add* ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAd̲j̲arrad [see ibn ʿad̲j̲arrad].
P. 72ᵇ, l. 30, *for* Pā'inda *read* Pāyanda.
P. 75ᵇ, l. 15, *after* son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] *add* born 30 May 1868.
P. 76, *add* ʿAbd al-Malik b. His̲h̲ām [see ibn his̲h̲ām].
P. 78, *add* ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr [see ibn zuhr].
P. 80, *add* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī [see al-ḳāḍī al-fāḍil].
ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad [see ibn nubāta].
P. 91, *add* ʿAbd al-Salām b. Aḥmad [see ibn g̲h̲ānim].
P. 91ᵇ, in *Bibliography*, *for* Kumus̲h̲ak̲h̲ānawī *read* Gümüs̲h̲-k̲h̲ānewī.
P. 97ᵃ, ʿAbdī Effendi, l. 4, *for* 1764 *read* 1774.
P. 102ᵇ, l. 24, art. Abraha, *for* 640-650 A.D. *read* 540-550 A.D..
P. 103ᵃ, l. 20, *after* idem, *le Muséon*, 1953, 339-42, *add* idem, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956.
P. 105ᵇ, l. 42, *for al-ḳaṭar al-Miṣrī read al-ḳuṭr al-Miṣrī.*
P. 108, Abu 'l-ʿAynā'. *Bibliography*: *add* D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 344-46; Ṣafadī, *Himyān*, 265; Ch. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 66.
P. 109ᵃ, l. 8, from below, *for* 1136/1273 *read* 1136/1724.
P. 109ᵃ, l. 4, from below, *for* 1133/1729 *read* 1004/1596.
P. 109ᵃ, l. 3, from below, *for* ʿUt̲h̲mān III *read* ʿUt̲h̲mān II.
P. 111ᵇ, l. 66, *for* Nahārᵃᵘ *read* Nahārᵃⁿ.
P. 117ᵃ, l. 27, *for* al-Kahtānī *read* al-Ḳaḥṭānī.
P. 117ᵇ, l. 15, *read Akbar nāma*, iii.
P. 118ᵇ, l. 30, after Nad̲j̲af 1353, *add* and Cairo 1368/1949.
l. 63, *for* Hamāh *read* Ḥamāh.
P. 119ᵃ, l. 40, *for* Taḳwīn *read* Taḳwīm.

P. 123, Abū Ḥanīfa. F. Rosenthal points out that the name of the grandfather (*Zwṭ'* or *Zwṭrh*) corresponds to the Aramaic word for "small"; Abū Ḥanīfa was therefore probably of local, Aramaean descent.
P. 125, Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muḥammad. [See rustumids].
P. 126a, l. 36, *for* al-Maḳdisī *read* al-Muḳaddasī.
P. 141b, l. 72, *for* ("the man with green spectacles") *read* ("the man with blue spectacles").
P. 142, Abū Naḍḍāra. *Bibliography*: *add* Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, *Abū Naḍḍāra*, Cairo 1953.
P. 143b, l. 9, Abū Nuwās, *for* (d. 198/873) *read* (d. 198/813).
P. 143b, l. 35, *for* al-Khaṭīb *read* al-Khaṣīb.
P. 144b, Abū Nuwās, *add to bibliography*: E. Wagner, *Der Überlieferung des Abū Nuwās-Dīwān*, Wiesbaden 1958.
P. 146a, l. 1, *for* bā *read* ba.
P. 147b, Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr, *add to bibliography*: Muḥammad b. Munawwar . . . Maykhānī, *Asrār fi 'l-tawḥīd fī Maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1332 s./1954.
P. 163, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī. *Bibliography*: *add* H. Ritter, *Die Aussprüche des Bayezīd Bisṭāmī*, in: *Westöstliche Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi . . . überreicht*, Wiesbaden 1954, 231-43.
P. 182a, l. 10, *for* zaman *read* zamān.
P. 183a, l. 9, *for* Brouquière *read* Brocquière.
P. 184a, Adana, *add to bibliography*: see also map of Adana in Nazim Tarhan and Aziz Arsan, *Tarihte Adana*, Adana ca. 1954, new ed. "Turistik Adana" ca. 1957.
P. 187b, l. 48 *read* 1748, fasc. III, 95 f.
P. 187b, ʿAdhāb al-Ḳabr, *add to the bibliography*: Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Risāla al-Ḳabriyya fi 'l-Radd ʿalā Munkiri ʿAdhāb al-Ḳabr*, in *Madjmūʿat Sitt Rasāʾil*, Cairo and Ḳadiyān, n.d.
P. 188, Adhān. *Bibliography*: *add* Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 127 ff. (French transl. in *RAfr.*, 1954, 96 ff.).
P. 190a, l. 5, *for* 1728 *read* 1729-30.
P. 194a, Ādharī, *add to Bibliography*: *Przeglad Orientalistyczny* 1956/1 (17), 86 ff.
P. 199b, Adiyaman, l. 2, *for* Hüsnümansur *read* Hısnımansûr.
P. 201b, l. 41, *for* 365/972 *read* 365/976.
P. 207b, al-ʿAdjdjadj, l. 5, *for* 97/115 *read* 97/716.
P. 209a, l. 68, *add* The seat of an administrative tribunal is therefore often called *dār al-ʿadl*.
P. 211b, l. 5, *for* 338/944 *read* 338/949.
P. 214a, l. 48, *add* On the *Mustaʿīnī* of Ibn Biklārish, see Renaud, in *Hesp.*, 1930, 135 ff.
P. 214b, l. 23, *add* On the *Taḳwīm al-Adwiya* of al-ʿAlāʾī, see Renaud, in *Hesp.*, 1933, 69 ff.
P. 215a, l. 15 *for* Baḥrāʾ *read* Bahrāʾ.
l. 65 *for* Shananshān *read* Shāhanshāh.
P. 224, Afghānistān, (ii) ethnography. *Bibliography*: *add* Iwamura Sh. and H. F. Schurman, *Notes on Mongolian Groups in Afghanistan, Silver Jubilee volume of Zinbun-kagaku-Kenkyusho*, Kyoto Univ. 1954, 480-515 (includes linguistic texts).
P. 225, Afghānistān, (iv) Religion. *Bibliography*: *add* W. Jackson and L. H. Gray, in *ERE*, s.v. Afghanistan, i, 158, 160; N. Slousch, *Les Juifs en Afghanistan*, RMM, 1908, 502 ff.; M. Akram, Bibliographie analytique de l'Afghanistan, i, Paris 1947.
P. 228a, l. 7, from below, *for* Ghazna *read* Kābul.
P. 228b, l. 9, from below, *for* 1003/1621 *read* 1003/1595.
P. 234a, Aflākī, at end, change full stop to comma and *add* by Tahsin Yazıcı, 2 vols., 1953-5.
P. 244a, l. 34, *for* Persians *read* Aḳḳoyunlus.
P. 244a, Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār, *add* after line 50: Ḳara Ḥiṣār formerly owed some of its importance to being a junction of the caravan routes between Izmir and the commercial centres in the interior (Ankara, Kayseri, Tolot, etc.) on the one hand, and between Constantinople, or rather Scutari (Usküdār), and Syria on the other: see F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i, Leipzig 1924, esp. 127; more recently it has become an important railway junction on the Izmir-Kasaba and Anatolian systems.
P. 249b, l. 49, *read* Djabriyya.
P. 250a, l. 21, *add* Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, 1956, 339 ff.
l. 30, *read* 148/765.
P. 257a, l. 29, *read* of the brother of ʿĀd.
P. 267b, Aḥmad I, l. 4, *for* 22 January *read* 22 December.
P. 268a, Aḥmad II, l. 4, *for* Rashīd *read* Rāshid.
P. 268b, *Bibliography*, l. 1, *for* Rashīd *read* Rāshid.
P. 268b, Aḥmad III, l. 4, *for* 21 August *read* 23 August.
P. 268b, l. 35, *for* Köprülü *read* Köprülü-zāde.
P. 277b, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *add to bibliography*: H. Laoust, *Les premières professions de foi hanbalites*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii/1957, 7-36.
P. 279a, l. 29, *for* as a magistrate in the Native Courts *read* as a ḳāḍi in the *Sharīʿa* Courts.
P. 287b, l. 32, *read* in 1891, and his memoirs appeared under the title.
P. 306b, l. 32 and 33 from below, *read* the early Middle Ages.
P. 311, heading, *for* Aḳ Kirmān *read* Aḳ Kirmān-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu.
P. 312, heading, *for* Aḳ Kirmān- *read* Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-.
P. 312a, *Bibliography*, *for* Inanç *read* Yınanç.
P. 312a, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, *add to bibliography*: J. Aubin, *Notes sur quelques documents Aq Qoyunlu*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i/1956, 123-47.
P. 313a, Aḳ Shehr, *add to Bibliography*: İbrâhim Hakki Konyali, *Akşehir*, Istanbul; Rifki Melûl Meriç, *Akşehir Türbe ve Kitâbeleri*, *TM*, v, Istanbul.

P. 317^b^, l. 8, after M. Roychoudhuri, *The Din-i-Ilahi*, Calcutta 1941, *add* 2nd edition, Calcutta 1952 (with different pagination and additional appendix "C" to Chapter V).
P. 321^a^, l. 50, *add* tr. and annotated by Camara Lamine, Conakry 1950.
P. 332^a^, l. 5, Ākhund-Zāda, *delete the words* in his early days
P. 332^b^, l. 11 f., *read* in *AIUON, N.S., i* (*Scritti in onore di Luigi Bonelli*).
P. 332^b^, l. 17 f., *read* The Hague, 1958.
Ākhund-Zāda, *Bibliography*: *add* M. F. Achundov (= Akhund-zāde), *Pis'ma Kemalud-dovli*, Baku 1959 (in Azeri); M. Rafili, *Mirza Fatali Akhundov*, Moscow 1959 (in Russian); K. Tarverdieva, *Abovjan i Achundov*, Yerevan 1958 (in Armenian). See also F. Gasymzade, *XIX ėsr Azėrbajdžan ėdėbijjaty tarichi*, Baku 1956 (in Azeri), 260-371; G. Gusejnov, *Iz istoriy obshčestvennoy i filosofskoy misli v Azerbaydžane XIX veka*², Baku 1958, 162-295.
P. 337^b^, l. 18, *add* [see durūz].
P. 355^a^, *add* ʿAlawī, Ba [see bā ʿalawī].
P. 358^b^, *add* Albania [see arnawut].
P. 367^a^, l. 55, *read* vanished, the future.
P. 368^a^, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Bibliography*, *add* ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿAbd al-Maḳṣūd, *al-Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, Cairo 1946-53.
P. 374^b^, l. 9-10, *read* spoken in the heart of the Oran region.
l. 11-12, *delete* except ..... region.
P. 375^b^, l. 40, *read* biliteral.
l. 42, *read* Djidjellians (elsewhere *āsh*, *āh*).
P. 376^b^, l. 16-17, *read* Only Old Ténès.
l. 20, *read* everywhere (except in Miliana and Blida).
l. 23, *read* Cherchell, Miliana, Médéa.
P. 377^b^, l. 21, *read* vowels in open syllables.
l. 60, *read* Oran and in the Chélif region.
P. 378^a^, l. 50, *read* of the Oued Souf.
P. 379^b^, l. 49, *add* G. Kampffmeyer, *Südalgerische Studien*, Berlin 1905.
P. 380^a^, l. 60, *read* Ghīlān.
P. 380^b^, l. 23, *read* 651/768, 1963.
P. 381^a^, l. 9, *read JA*, 1869, 6th ser., xiv.
P. 388^b^, l. 8, from below, *read* 869-83.
P. 392^b^, *add* ʿAlī al-Hādī [see al-ʿAskarī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan].
P. 400^b^, ʿAli Werdi Khān, *Bibliography*: *add* Kalikinkar Datta, *Alivardi and his times*, Calcutta 1939, (contains an exhaustive bibliography).
P. 404, Aljamía. Circumstances beyond the control of the Editorial Committee have made it necessary for the text and the bibliography to appear as independent contributions by two different authors.
P. 425^a^, l. 14, from below, *for* 1836-39 *read* 1836-99.
P. 426^b^, Alwār, *read* Alwar.
P. 430^b^, Amān, *Bibliography*: *add* E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, Paris 1954, 426 ff.; P. S. Leicht and G. Astuti, *La posizione giuridica delle colonie di mercanti occidentali nel Vicino Oriente e nell' Africa del Nord nel medio evo*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Intern. de Droit Comparé*, iii/3, Rome 1953, 133-146; M. Hamidullah, *Extraterritorial Capitulations in favour of Muslims in classical times*, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i, 1948, 47-60; A. Abel, *L'étranger dans l'Islam classique*, in *L'étranger* (Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, ix), 1957, 331-351.
P. 433^b^, l. 50, *add* For a confirmation of the term *mēnokad* in an inscription at Leptis Magna, see G. Levi Della Vida, in *Africa Italiana*, vi, 1935, 4-6; J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 93 § 211.
P. 437^a^, l. 16, Amīn, *for* econimic *read* economic.
P. 446^a^, *add* al-ʿĀmirī [see muḥammad b. yūsuf, al-ʿāmirī].
P. 497^a^, l. 8, *add* J. D. Latham, *Towards a Study of Andalusian Immigration and its place in Tunisian History*, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 19-20, 1957, 203-252.
P. 506^a^, Andjuman (India and Pakistan), *Bibliography*, *add* Sayyid Hāshimī *Ta'rīkh-i Pandjāb Sāla-e-Andjuman-i Taraḳḳi-i Urdū*, Karachi 1953.
P. 511^a^, ll. 8-9 from the bottom, *delete* in October.
l. 10 from the bottom, *for* June 1919 *read* September 1919.
P. 511^b^, *add* al-Ankubarda, also al-Ankaburda, name of Lombardy in Arabic geographical works. (ed.).
P. 539^a^, l. 43, Djazīrat al-ʿArab, *for* The boundary .... general way. *read* The boundary between Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt and the boundaries of their neutral zone were agreed upon between Britain and the then Sultan of Nadjd (later King of Saudia Arabia) in the convention of al-ʿUḳayr of 1922 but were not demarcated on the ground.
P. 548^a^, l. 49, *add* Recently discovered inscriptions indicate that the hypothesis set forth in this article with respect to the starting point of the "Sabaean era" is untenable, and that certain changes should be made in the chronology for Southern Arabia; see G. Ryckmans in *Muséon*, lxvi (1953); J. Ryckmans in *Muséon*, lxvi (1953); idem, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956.
P. 554^b^, l. 28, Djazīrat al-ʿArab, *for* In the latter part .... two years of rule. *read* In the latter part of his reign he devoted most of his attention to his East African possessions, but their independence under a younger line of his descendants was recognised in 1277/1861 by an arbitration award of Lord Canning, Viceroy of India. The only Ibāḍī Imam elected during the century, ʿAzzān

b. Kays, failed to win recognition by the British and was killed in battle in 1287/1871 after two years of rule.

P. 555ª, l. 15, DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, *for* but in.......... sides. *read* though the Sultan did not relinquish his claim to sovereign rights over the whole of ʿUmān. Thus in 1955, when the Imam, Ghālib b. ʿAlī, sought independent membership of the Arab League, the Sultan held this to be an infringement of the terms of the Treaty of al-Sīb and advanced into the interior of ʿUmān.

P. 556ᵇ, DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, *Bibliography*: *add* Eric Macro, *Bibliography of the Arabian Peninsula*, University of Miami Press, 1960; idem, *Bibliography on Yemen with notes on Mocha*, University of Miami Press, 1960.

P. 568ᵇ, l. 15, *read* A. C. Woolner.

P. 573ᵇ, l. 8, *read* 5th ed., Cairo 1950.

P. 573ᵇ, ʿARABIYYA, *add to Bibliography*: G. V. Cereteli, *Arabskie dialekti Sredney Aziy*, Vol. i, *Bukharskiy Arabskiy dialekt*, Tiflis 1956.

P. 575ᵇ, l. 25, *after* A. Worsley, *Sudanese Grammar*, London 1925, vi-80 pp. in 8 vo., *add* now superseded by J. Spencer Trimingham, *Sudan Colloquial Arabic*, Oxford 1946.
l. 26, *for Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary, read Sudan Arabic Texts.*

P. 608ᵇ, ARBŪNA, *Bibliography*: *add* J. Lacam, *Vestiges de l'occupation arabe en Narbonnaise*, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, viii, 93-115 (discovery, notably, of a *miḥrāb*).

P. 609ᵇ, ll. 1-3 from below: delete the passage in brackets and what follows.

P. 624ª, ARCHITECTURE, *Bibliography*: *add* R. W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque* London 1949; O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem*, in *Ars Orientalis*, 1959, 33-62.

P. 649ª, l. 45, *add* I. Kračkovskij, *Vtoraya zapiska Abû-Dulafa v geografičeskom slovare yakuta* (*Azerbaydžan, Armeniya, Iran*), Izbrannye Sočinenija, Moscow-Leningrad 1955, 280-292 (The second notice on Abū Dulaf in the Geog. Dict. of Yāķūt (Ādharbāydjān, Armenia, Iran), Selected works); N. D. Mikluxo-Maklaj, *Geografičeskoye sočinenye XIII v. na persidskom jazike* (*noviy istočnik po istoričeskoy geografiy Azerbaydžana i Armeniy*), Učenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovyedeniya, IX, 1954 (A geographical work of the 13th century in Persian: a new source for the historical geography of Ādharbāydjān and Armenia, Learned Memoirs of the Institute of Orientalism).

P. 662ᵇ, l. 36, ARSLĀNLĪ, *for* [see GHURŪSH] *read* [see SIKKA].

P. 667ᵇ, ARTUĶIDS, *add to bibliography*: Ali Sevim, *Artuk oğulların Beyliklerinın ilk devri*, Thesis Ankara 1958.

P. 668, l. 2, *for* Ibn Ķaysān *read* Ibn Kaysān.
l. 4, *for* al-Talkānī *read* al-Ṭalķānī.
l. 13, *for* Al-Dahhān *read* Ibn al-Dahhān.
l. 15, *for* al-Saķķāṭ *read* Ibn al-Saķķāṭ.
l. 29, *for* al-Kalāwisī *read* al-Ķalāwisī.

P. 669ᵇ, l. 19, *for* the symbol | o for the'quiescent', *read* the symbol | for the'quiescent'.

P. 680ª, *for* ĀRZŪ KHĀN, *read* ĀRZŪ, KHĀN.

P. 681ª, ʿAṢABIYYA, *add to bibliography*: H. Ritter, *Irrational Solidarity groups*, in *Oriens* i/1 (1948), 1-44.

P. 688ª, *for* ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHĪ, *read* ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHI.
l. 40, *delete*.

P. 688ᵇ, l. 13, *read* of the son of his maternal uncle.

P. 692ᵇ, l. 34, AṢḤĀB AL-UKHDŪD, *for* (of Hinnom) *read* (Vale of Hinnom).

P. 705ª, ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ, *Bibliography*, *add* G. Vajda, *Jeûne musulman et jeûne juif*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 12-13, 1938, 367-85.

P. 710ᵇ, ll. 13-15, ĀSIYA, *for* caused her ...... stone, *read* caused a big rock to be cast upon her; but as God took her soul to himself, the rock fell on a lifeless body.

P. 721ᵇ, l. 21 and 22 from below, *read* Itil (Atil [*q.v.*]).

P. 722ª, l. 8, *read* Russians.

P. 732ᵇ, ATABAK (ATABEG), *add* at the end of the art.: The *atabeg al-ʿasākir* under the Ayyūbids and the first Mamlūks had restricted functions; he was the commander of the army during the minority of the prince, but in contrast with the *atabeg* under the Saldjūķids he was not the tutor of the young prince; a relative or a special freedman was appointed as tutor.

P. 735ª, l. 59, ATBARA, *for* 8 June 1898, *read* 8 April 1898 (see Sir G. Arthur, *Life of Lord Kitchener*, London 1920, i, 226; Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908, ii, 102).

P. 736ª, l. 8, *read al-Ṣubḥ*.

P. 754ᵇ, l. 56. *read*: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa.

P. 755ª, *add* AUSPICIOUS AND INAUSPICIOUS [see SAʿD].
l. 34, *read* Khiṭaṭ.

P. 756ᵇ, l. 15, *for* i, 387, *read* i, 408.

P. 758ᵇ, l. 1, *insert* and at least specialised applications to *before* the history of science.
l. 41, *read* and the famous, widely read *De inventoribus rerum*.

P. 759ᵇ, l. 44, ʿAWĀMIR, *after* no claim to be a range of their own, *insert* Ibn Rakkāḍ's position as paramount *shaykh* of the nomadic elements of the central group has been disputed since 1947 by Sālim Ibn Ḥamm, also of Āl Badr.

P. 779ª, l. 34, *for* 1319/1903 *read* 1319/1901-2.

P. 779ᵇ, l. 34, *for* 1938 *read* 1896-7.

P. 783ᵇ, l. 11, *read* 748-760/1348-1360.

P. 796ᵇ, *add* AYYŪBID ART [see SUPPLEMENT].

P. 813ᵇ, l. 12, *read* 1202/1787.
l. 56, *read* Rāy.

P. 826ª, l. 25, *read* ʿAzīzī [see KARAČELEBI-ZĀDE].

P. 827b, l. 34, *read Tushadd.*
P. 828a, l. 11, *read* Khāṭir.
P. 849b, l. 43, *for* son-in-law *read* son.
P. 850a, Bād-i Hawā, l. 4, *after* income *delete* full stop *and add* (cf. the *Ṭayyārāt* mentioned by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *BSOAS*, x, 1940, 761, 774).
P. 855b, l. 7, from the bottom, *read* Čhadjdjū.
P. 856a, l. 42, *read Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*[a].
l. 44, *read Bāḳiyāt.*
l. 57, *read Ṭawāliʿ.*
P. 856b, l. 6, *read* Patiyālī (in Etah District).
l. 13, *read* Abban.
l. 17, *for* Djalāl al-Dīn, *read* Djalāl Khān.
P. 857a, l. 10, *read Ma'āthir-i.*
l. 23, *read Akbari.*
P. 860a, l. 18, *read* his uncle Ḥammād.
P. 908b, Baghdād, *add to Bibliography*: M. Canard, *Hamdânides*, i, 155-74; G. Makdisi, *The topography of eleventh century Baġdād = Materials and notes*, in *Arabica*, vi, 1959, 178-97 and 281-309.
P. 913b, l. 61, *read* Tārā Bā'ī.
P. 914a, l. 24, *read Ma'āthir-i.*
l. 26, *read* ʿĀlī.
l. 30, *read* Kāmrādj, *Aʿẓam al-Ḥarb.*
l. 42, *read Mir'āt-i.*
P. 923a, *for* Banīẓat al-Bādiya [see malik hifni nāsif], *read* bāḥithat al-bādiya [see malik ḥifnī nāṣif].
P. 927a, *read* Baḥr Adriyas.
P. 952a, l. 13, *for* Rāja, *read* Rādjā.
l. 14, *read diwān*; *and read* Nā'ib.
l. 23, *read* Barēlwī.
l. 32, *read* Guns.
P. 953b, l. 57, *read* Ghāʿ.
l. 59, *read* Ramaḍān.
P. 954b, l. 8, *delete the bracket.*
l. 13, *read Mir'āt.*
P. 957a, l. 34, *read* Muḥammad.
l. 70, *read* Shukōh.
P. 957b, l. 10, *Muḥammad* (*Aḥmad*) *Akhtar* should not be in italics.
l. 14, *read al-Ḥukūmat.*
l. 66, *for* ' Prophet, *read* Prophet.
P. 958a, l. 5, *read* Saʿūd.
l. 39, *read al-hudjra min.*
l. 40, *read al-Hidjra.*
l. 41, *read al-Madina al-Munawwara.*
P. 978a, ll. 31-32 to be placed after l. 24.
P. 983a, l. 17, *delete* A. Schaade and *read* (G. E. Von Grunebaum).
P. 990b, Balban, *read* [see dihlī sultanate].
P. 1016b, *add* between lines 23 and 24: In Spanish, *albanecar* means a certain triangular set of beams in the frame of a roof.
P. 1020a, l. 1, *read* Makhlūf.
P. 1023a, l. 6, from below, *read Aʿlām.*
P. 1037a, l. 13, *add Fatāwā-i Jahandari of Zia-u'din Barani*, introd. by Muḥammad Ḥabīb and Engl. transl. by Afsar Begum, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, iii/1 and 2, Aligarh 1957, 1-87.
P. 1037a, Baranī, *add to Bibliography*: P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, London 1960, 20-39.
P. 1053, heading, *read* Barkyārūk.
P. 1053a, l. 7, *for* Abu 'l-Ḥāsīm *read* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim.
P. 1069a, article Bārūd (India), for Baranī *read* Bernier.
P. 1165b, l. 70, Benares, *for* formed *read* forced.
P. 1179a, Berbers, section IV, 2nd para., *after* H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 221 ff.; , *add* idem, *Comment campent les Touaregs*, Paris 1947.
P. 1187a, Berbers, section VI, *add to Bibliography*: J. Besancenot, *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc*, Casablanca 1959; Délégation générale du gouvernement en Algérie, *Collections ethnographiques*, Album I, *Touareg Ahaggar*, Paris 1959.
P. 1192a, l. 44, Bhakkar, *for* Ḳubādja *read* Ḳabāča.
P. 1196b, l. 68, Bhopāl, *for* Jsānah-i *read* Fasānah-i.
P. 1202b, l. 10, *for* Bombay *read* Mysore.
l. 11, *for* 350 miles south *read* 250 miles south-east.
l. 45, *for* Sīvādjī *read* Shivādjī.
l. 71, *for* Marātʿhās *read* Marāthās.
P. 1203b, ll. 25, 32, 35, 42, *for* ʿĀlī *read* ʿAlī.
P. 1204a, l. 19, *for* Andā *read* Andá.
P. 1214a, Bihzād, *add to Bibliography* Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, *Ṣuwar min madrasat Bihzād fi 'l-madjmūʿāt al-fanniya bi 'l-Ḳāhira*, Baden-Baden, 1959 (also published in German as *Persische Miniaturen Werke der Behzad-Schule aus Sammlungen in Kairo*).

P. 1234[b], BIREDJIK, *add to Bibliography*: J.-B. Chabot, *Un épisode inédit de l'histoire des Croisades* (*Le siège de Birta, 1145*), in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus 1917*, Paris 1917, 77-84.
P. 1238[b], l. 58, AL-BIRZĀLĪ, *for* al-Munadjdjima *read* al-Munadjdjid.
P. 1241[b], BISHR B. ABĪ KHĀZIM, *add to Bibliography*: G. Von Grünebaum, *Bishr b. Abī Khāzim: Collection of Fragments*, in *JRAS* 1939, 533-67.
P. 1242[a], l. 59, BISHR B. GHIYĀTH AL-MARĪSĪ, *for Māḳālāt read Maḳālāt.*
P. 1248[a] l. 31, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for* Rabīb *read* Ḥabīb.
l. 32, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for Sabā'iḳ read Sabā'ik.*
l. 34, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for Mu'talif read Mu'talif.*
l. 40, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for* 1-000 *read* 1-100.
l. 44, BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS, *for al-Hayawān read al-Ḥayawān.*
P. 1257[b], *after title* BONNEVAL *insert title* BOOKKEEPING [see MUḤĀSABA].

AARON [see HĀRŪN]

ĀB [see TAʾRĪKH]

ʿABĀʾ [see KISĀʾ]

ʿABĀBDA (sg. ʿABBĀDĪ), an Arabic-speaking tribe of Bedja [*q.v.*] origin in Upper Egypt with branches in the northern Sudan. The northern limis of their territory in Egypt is the desert road leading from Ḳena to Ḳusayr, and their nomad sections roam the desert to the east of Luxor and Aswān. The original ʿAbābda stock is most truly represented by the nomads but there are also sedentary sections who have intermarried with the *fallaḥīn* and adopted much of their way of life. On the Red Sea coast there is a small clan of fisher-folk, the Ḳiraydjāb, who by some are not recognized as true ʿAbābda.

Like the rest of the Bedja the ʿAbābda claim Arab descent, and the genealogical table of ʿAbbād, their eponymous ancestor, begins with Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, a famous companion of the Prophet. Some of the tribesmen living in the Sudan believe that they are descended from Salmān, an Arab of the Banū Hilāl. Though doubtlessly fictitious in respect of the tribe as a whole this claim to Arab descent yet embodies a genuine memory of the process by which Djuhayna and Rabīʿa Arabs acquired an ascendancy in the Sudan through marriages with the daughters of Bedja chiefs, amongst whom descent was originally reckoned in the female line. This process which according to Ibn Khaldūn led to the passing of the Nubian kingdom into the hands of the Djuhayna must also have taken place in the case of the Bedja.

The Abābda have been affected by Arab influence more strongly than those Bedja who still retain their Hamitic tongue, so much so that in the Sudan they are not easily distinguished from the Sudan Arabs of the Djaʿliyyīn group. They may in fact be held to occupy an intermediate position between the Bedja proper and the fully arabicized elements who have become integrated in the Sudan Arabs. In their physical characteristics, nevertheless, the ʿAbābda together with the Tigrē-speaking Banī ʿĀmir bear a closer resemblance to the proto-Egyptian inhabitants of the Nile valley than the other Bedja. The Arabic spoken by the ʿAbābda is quite distinct from that of the *fallāḥīn*, and the word lists collected by H. A. Winckler contain an appreciable number of Bedja words.

In their material culture and their customs the ʿAbābda agree more closely with the Bedja proper than with the Arabs. Certain wide-spread customs which they share with the Sudan Arabs, such as the infibulation of girls and the ceremonial respect of in-law-relations, are of Hamitic origin. The ʿAbābda use the typically Bedja style of hairdressing (*dirwa*) which has given rise to the nickname Fuzzy-wuzzy, though this custom now tends to die out. Their tents of palm-matting are quite unlike the Arab "houses of hair". Their marriages, like those of the Bedja proper, are matrilocal but their women do not enjoy the freedom which is allowed to their sisters of the Bishāriyyīn. The ʿAbābda moreover share with the Bedja, but not the Arabs, certain taboos connected with milk: only men may do the milking, for which only gourds and wicker vessels may be used, and no man may drink of the milk he has drawn until someone else has drunk.

The influence of Islam, which nominally is the religion of all the ʿAbābda, has made a marked impression only on the more sophisticated elements; in the life of the majority religion, as distinct from traditional beliefs and superstitions, plays no important part. They venerate shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī as their patron saint, and his tomb in the Atbai desert is a place of pilgrimage at which sacrifices are offered. It is also common to dedicate the milk of a beast to al-Shādhilī, and the milk of such animals is always milked into separate wicker vessels. When slaying an animal a piece of the victim's right ear is reserved for al-Shādhilī or some other well-known saint and hung on the tent-pole. The celebration of the *ʿīd al-kabīr* at the tomb of al-Shādhilī is the most important religious event of the year. Sacrifices are also offered at the tomb of the eponymous ancestor ʿAbbād near Edfū, and there is a cult of a female saint (*faḳīra*) who lived some fifty years ago and was famous for gifts of divination. The ʿAbābda like the Bishāriyyīn believe that an animal sacrificed at the tomb of a *walī* turns into a gazelle or ibex, and that such animals are protected by the *walī*. They also observe certain taboos about birds and will not eat the flesh of the sandgrouse or the desert-partridge, and both ʿAbābda and Bishāriyyīn are particularly afraid of killing the bearded vulture (Gypactus barbatus).

The most important section of the Egyptian ʿAbābda, of whom there are some 14,000, are the ʿAshshābāb, who are divided into a number of clans. Their paramount shaykhs are descended from one Djabrān who flourished towards the end of the 18th century, and beyond whom there is no reliable historical tradition. The largest and best known sections in the Sudan are the Fuḳarā and the Milaykāb who, according to tradition, were brought to their present habitat by the Fundj kings of Sennār in order to protect the caravan routes between Egypt and the Sudan. A small contingent of ʿAbābda, characterized by Cailliaud as the worst

soldiers in the army, were employed as irregulars by Ismāʿīl Pas͟ha during the invasion of the Sudan. During the 19th century the ʿAbābda are often mentioned by travellers as guides and camel men between Korosko and Abū Ḥamad, and their chiefs of the K͟halīfa family held posts of distinction under the Egyptian government. Ḥusayn K͟halīfa was *mudīr* of Berber at the time of the Mahdist rebellion, and ʿAbābda irregulars shared in the fighting against the Darwishes. Apart from traditions about wars with neighbouring tribes there are no data for their early history.

Bibliography: H. A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922; C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, London 1930; G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London 1935; H. A. Winckler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, Stuttgart 1936 (full bibliography). (S. Hillelson)

ABAD originally means time in an absolute sense and is synonymous with *dahr* [*q.v.*; see also Zamān]. When under the influence of Greek philosophy the problem of the eternity of the world (see ḳidam) was discussed in Islam, *abad* (or *abadiyya*) became a technical term corresponding to the Greek term ἀφθαρτός, incorruptible, eternal *a parte post*, in opposition to *azal* (or *azaliyya*) corresponding to the Greek term ἀγενητός, ungenerated, eternal *a parte ante*. (Ibn Rus͟hd—cf. ed. Bouyges, index—uses *azaliyya* for "incorruptible"]. [For *azal* see ḳidam.] As to the problem concerned, viz. if the world is incorruptible, the philosophers of Islam subscribed to the Aristotelian maxim that *azal* and *abad* imply each other, that what has a beginning must have an end and what has no beginning cannot have an end. According to this theory time, movement and the world in general are eternal in both senses. Among the theologians who all believe in the temporal creation of the world, only Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl, one of the earlier Muʿtazilites, admitted the Aristotelian maxim mentioned. (He applied the theory "that what has a first term must have a last one" even to God's knowledge and power, saying that God having arrived at the final term of His power, would not be able any more to create even an atom, to move a leaf or to resuscitate a dead mosquito. See al-K͟hayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, 8 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, iv, 192-3). The theologians opposed the Aristotelian dictum by the argument that if the world were without a beginning, at the present moment an infinite past would have been traversed, which is impossible [cf. ḳidam]; in the future, however, there is no such impossibility, since in the future no infinite will ever be traversed. Besides, the series of integers needs a first term but no final one, and a man may have eternal remorse, although his remorse must have a beginning (al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-Taʾrīk͟h*, ed. Huart, i, 125, cf. ii, 133). They concluded therefore that there is no rational proof either for the incorruptibility of the world or its opposite. According to the Ḳurʾān, xxxix, 67, on the Day of Judgment "the whole earth shall be His handful and the heavens will be rolled up in His right hand". It became the orthodox view that the annihilation of the whole world (including the destruction of heaven and hell, which, however, will not happen, as is known by revelation) is possible, *d̲jāʾiz*, considered as something in God's power (al-Bag͟hdādī, *Farḳ*, 319). This world (*dunyā*) will be destroyed, but not heaven and hell.

Bibliography: The problem is treated in extenso by al-G͟hazzālī in ch. ii of his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, ed. Bouyges, 80 ff.; cf. Ibn Rus͟hd, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, 118 ff., tr. by S. van den Bergh, 69 ff. (with notes); cf. also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, 15, note 1. (S. van den Bergh)

ĀBĀDAH, a small town in Persia, on the eastern (winter) road from S͟hīrāz to Iṣfahān. By the present-day highway Ābādah lies at 280 km. from S͟hīrāz, at 204 km. from Iṣfahān, and by a road branching off eastwards (via Abarḳūh) at 100 km. from Yazd. In the present-day administration (1952) Ābādah is the northernmost district (*s͟hahristān*) of the province (*astān*) of Fārs. The population is chiefly engaged in agriculture and trade (opium, castor-oil, sesame-oil). Iḳlīd (possibly **kilīd* "key [to Fārs]") is another small town belonging to Ābādah. The whole district counts 223 villages with 82,000 inhabitants. In history it is chiefly mentioned in the 14th century. The town must be distinguished from several homonymous villages in Fārs (Ābāda-yi Tas͟hk in the Nīrīz district, etc.).

Bibliography: Le Strange, 297; Masʿūd-Geyhān, *D̲jugrāfiyā-yi mufaṣṣal*, 1311, ii, 223; *Farhang-i d̲jugrāfiyāʾī-yi Īrān*, vii, 1330/1951, p. 2. (V. Minorsky)

ĀBĀDĀN [see abbādān]

ABĀḌITES [see ibāḍiyya]

ABĀḲA [see ilk͟hāns]

ABĀN [see taʾrīk͟h]

ABĀN b. **ʿABD** al-**ḤAMĪD** al-Lāḥiḳī (i.e. son of Lāḥiḳ b. ʿUfayr), also known as al-Raḳās͟hī, because his family (originally from Fasā) were clients of the Banū Raḳās͟h, Arabic poet, died about 200/815-6. He was a court poet of the Barmakids and wrote panegyrics in their praise and the praise of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd. He also defended in some verses the ʿAbbāsids against the pretensions of the ʿAlids. In the usual manner of the epoch he engaged in vigorous exchanges of lampoons with his fellow poets (among them Abū Nuwās). His enemies accused him, without justification, it seems, of Manicheism (see G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 207 f.). His most important achievement was the versification in couplets (*muzdawid̲j*, *q.v.*) of the popular stories of Indian and Persian origin: *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*; samples in al-Ṣūlī], *Bilawhar wa-Yūdasf* [*q.v.*], *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *Mazdak* [*q.v.*] and the romanced stories of Ardas͟hīr and of Anus͟hirwān. He wrote also original poems in *muzdawid̲j*; such as a poem on cosmology and logic (*D͟hāt al-Ḥulal*) and one on fasting (sample in al-Ṣūlī). Many members of his family, his son Ḥamdān for instance, were also known as poets.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *al-Awrāḳ*, ed. Heyworth Dunne, Section on Poets, 1-73 (pp. 1-12 being a collection of passages about Abān by the editor); *al-Ag͟hānī*[1], xx, 73-8; D̲jahs͟hiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ*, 259; al-K͟haṭīb, *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, vii, 44; *Fihrist*, 119, 163; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 198; ii. 101; A. Krimsky, *Aban al-Lahiki* (in Russian), Moscow 1913; Brockelmann, S i, 238-9; K. A. Fariq, in *JRAS*, 1952, 46-59. (S. M. Stern)

ABĀN b. **ʿUT͟HMĀN** b. ʿAffān, governor, son of the third caliph. His mother was called Umm ʿAmr bint D̲jundab b. ʿAmr al-Dawsiyya. Abān accompanied ʿĀʾis͟ha at the battle of the Camel in D̲jumāda I 36/Nov. 656; on the battle terminating otherwise than was expected, he was one of the first to run away. On the whole, he does not seem to have been of any political importance. The caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān appointed him as governor of Madīna. He occupied this position for seven years; he was then dismissed and his place was taken by His͟hām b. Ismāʿīl. Abān owes his celebrity not so

much to his activity as an official in the service of the Umayyads as to his wonderful knowledge of Islamic traditions. The *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, sometimes ascribed to him, is, however, according to Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, i, 36) and al-Ṭūsī (*Fihris*, 7) of Abān b. ʿUthmān b. Yaḥyā (see J. Horovitz, in *OLZ*, 1914, 183).

Abān was struck with apoplexy and died a year later at Madīna in 105/723-4 according to report, at any rate during the reign of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 112 ff.; Nawawī, 125 ff. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ABANŪS (variants: ĀBINŪS, ĀBUNŪS, ABNŪS and ĀBNŪS), ebony. The word is derived from the Greek *ebenos*, which passed to the Aramean (*abnūsā*) and from there to Arabic, Persian, Turkish etc. Although ebony had been already known in the old days in the East, where it was imported from India and Ethiopia, it was very little used at the early times of Islam, on account of its rarity and the scanty demand for artistic goods. Absolute faith must not be given to the story according to which, when the Mosque of the Rock was being built at Jerusalem under the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, the venerable rock was enclosed with a palisade of ebony. It is certain that this wood had been already used under the caliphs together with ivory in the manufacture of chess-men [see SHATRANDJ] and dice, in mosaics of the sort very often used later with great skill on furniture, doors, latice work and wainscots [see KHASHAB].

As a medicine, ebony was known to the Muslims as early as the ninth century from the translations of Dioscorides and Galen. It was considered to be a useful astringent for phylactenous inflammation and chronic catarrh of the eyes; it was also taken internally in the form of a powder for the bowels and stomach, and was dusted over burns. According to Dioscorides, Abyssinian ebony was generally considered to be more efficacious than Indian. To the former were ascribed the properties which at the present time are only found in the wood of the *Diospyros* and the Maba kinds of the East Indies, of Indonesia, of Madagascar, and of Mauritius, i.e. an intense black colour and a fineness of grain that almost makes it impossible to distinguish the fibre. The African species of ebony which the Arabs prefer, are nowadays rightly held in little estimation. In particular the ebony tree of Abyssinia (*shadjar babanūs*), is according to A. E. Brehm (*Reisesk. aus Nordostafrika*), more of a brush than a tree. Its wood, though not of an excellent quality, can be used, but if left unused, dries and rots.

Bibliography: Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ, *al-Abniya* (Seligmann), 31; Ibn al-Bayṭār, Būlāḳ 1291, 8; transl. Leclerc, *Notices et Extraits*, xxiii/1, 16; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i. 247. (J. HELL)

ABARḲUBĀDH, one of the sub-districts (*ṭassūdj*) of ʿIrāḳ, according to the Sāsānid division adopted by the Arabs, belonging to the district (P. *astān*, A. *kūra*) Khusra Shādh Bahmān (the district of the Tigris) and comprising a tract of land along the western frontier of Khuzistān, between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. The name is derived from the Sāsānid king Kawādh (Ḳubādh) I. The first part of the name is probably *Abar* (P. *abar* or *abr* "cloud" is often seen at the beginning of place-names) and not *Abaz* or *Abādh* as the Arab geographers have it. Some Arab authors give Abarḳubādh as the name of the district in which Arradjān is situated, but that seems to spring from a mistake.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7; Ḳudāma, *al-Kharādj* (de Goeje), 235; Yāḳūt, i, 90; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 344; Ibn Saʿd, vii/i 3; Ṭabarī, i, 2386, ii, 1123; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber z. Zeit d. Sasaniden*, 146, n. 2; M. Streck, *Babylonien n.d. Arab. Geogr.*, i, 15, 19. (M. STRECK)

ABARḲŪH, a small town belonging to Yazd and lying on the road from Shīrāz to Yazd (at 39 farsakhs from the former and at 28 fars. from the latter) and also connected by a road with Ābādah [*q.v.*]. It lies in a plain, and according to Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 121, its name ("on a mountain") refers to its earlier site. In 443/1051 Ṭughrīlbeg gave Yazd and Abarḳūh to the Kākūyid Farāmarz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 384) as a compensation for the loss of Iṣfahān. His successors continued to rule these towns as *atābeks*. In the 8th/14th century Abarḳūh is frequently mentioned in the history of the Muẓaffarids. The oldest of the numerous ruins of Abarḳūh is the mausoleum built in 448/1056 by Fīrūzān, a descendant of the well-known condottiere of the 4th/10th century, Fīrūzān of Ashkawar (in Gīlān). The so-called mausoleum of Ṭāʾūs al-Ḥaramayn was built (or rebuilt) in 718/1318 by a descendant (in the fifth generation) of a Madjd al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Tādj al-Maʿālī Abū Bakr Muḥammad (a Muẓaffarid).

Bibliography: Le Strange, 284, 294, 297; P. Schwarz, *Iran*, i, 17; A. Godard, in *Āthār-i Īrān*, 1936, 47-72; Maḥmūd Kutbī, *History of the Muẓaffarids*, in *GMS*, xiv, see Index in xiv/2; Ḳāsim Ghanī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ*, i, 1321/1942, index. (V. MINORSKY)

ABARSHAHR, the more ancient name of Nīshāpur [*q.v.*], was the capital of one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān. Its name in Persian, according to the Muslim geographers, is said to mean "Cloud-city", but Marquart's etymology (*Ērānšahr*, 74), the "district of the 'Απαρνοι" (comparing Armenian Apar ašχart) is more reliable. It was sometimes given the honorific title of Īrān-Shahr "City of Īrān". Its mint-signature on Sassanian coins is *Apr*, *Aprš* or *Apršs*, forms which continue to appear on the dirhams of Arab-Sassanian type struck by the Muslim conquerers (from 54/673-4 to 69/688-9). Under the Umayyads its Arabic name appears on the Post-Reform dirhams from 91/709-10 to 97/715-6. The names of the Umayyad governors Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and his sons ʿUbayd Allāh and Salm as well as ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim all figure on the coins of Abarshahr. The later mint activities of the place continued under the name of Nīsābūr.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 383; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901 (*Abh. G. W. Gött, N.S.*, III/ii), 66, 68, 74; J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr*, Rome 1931 (*Analecta Orientalia*, iii), 52-3; J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, p. ci-cii, cvi, 36, 72, 74, 87-8; E. Herzfeld, in *Transactions of the Intern. Congress of Numismatists*, 1936, 423, 426. (J. WALKER)

ABASKŪN (or ĀBASKŪN), a harbour in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian. It is described as a dependency of Djurdjān/Gurgān (Yāḳūt, i, 55: 3 days' distance from Djurdjān; i, 91: 24 farsakhs). It might be located near the estuary of the Gurgān river (at Khodja-Nefes?). Al-Istakhrī, 214 (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 273) calls Abaskūn the greatest of the (Caspian) harbours. The Caspian itself was sometimes called *Baḥr Abaskūn*.

Abaskūn possibly corresponds to Ptolemy's Σωχανάα in Hyrcania (Gurgān). Several times Abas-

kūn was raided by Rūs pirates (some time between 250-70/864-84, and in 297/909, see Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. A. Eghbal, 266 [E. G. Browne's transl., 199], cf. also Masʿūdī, ii. 18; *circa* 300/912). In 617/1220 the Khwārizm-shāh ʿAlā al-Dīn, tracked by the Mongols, sought refuge on "one of the islands of Abaskūn", (see al-Djuwaynī, ii, 115), and died there. According to Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 242, he possessed in Ab-sukūn (*sic*) a castle surrounded by water. The islands of Abaskūn apparently correspond to the Ashur-ada group of islands and spits of land, divided from the Gurgān estuary by a strait.

Bibliography: B. Dorn, *Caspia, Über die Einfälle der alten Russen in Tabaristan*, 1875, see index; Barthold, *Istoriya orosheniya Turkestana*, 1914, 33. (V. Minorsky)

ĀBĀZA, Turkish name for the Abazes (see ABKHĀZ), given as a surname to many persons in Ottoman history who descended from those people.

1) Ābāza Pasha, taken prisoner at the defeat of the rebel Djanbulād, whose treasurer he was, was brought before Murād Pasha and had his life spared only through the intercession of Khalīl, agha of the Janissaries, who, having become *ḳapūdān-pasha*, gave him the command of a galley, and conferred upon him the government of Marʿash when he was promoted to the dignity of grand vizier. Later he became governor of Erzerūm and planned to destroy the Janissaries; those in his province lodged a complaint against him; he was deposed, but refused to obey the orders of the Porte (1032/1623); he levied taxes and raised troops on the pretext of avenging the death of the sultan ʿUthmān II, marched upon Anḳara and Sīwās, and took Brusa, but did not succeed in seizing the citadel. In 1033/1624, the grand vizier Ḥāfiẓ Pasha defeated him in a battle near Ḳaysāriyya, at the bridge across the Ḳara-ṣū, owing to the defection of Ṭayyār Pasha and the Turkomans. Ābāza took refuge at Erzerūm, of which he succeeded in having himself made governor on condition that he should admit a guard of Janissaries into the fortress. In 1036/1727, suspecting that the expedition against Akhiska was in reality directed against himself, he massacred a great number of the Janissaries belonging to the army. His old master Khalīl besieged Erzerūm in vain and was obliged to retreat because of the snow (1037/1627). In the following year, the Bosnian Khusrew Pasha, having been made grand vizier, again besieged him and forced him to capitulate after a fortnight's siege; the rebel was granted his pardon and the government of Bosnia. There he again persecuted his enemies, the Janissaries, was deposed and went to Belgrade, where on a hill to the south of the town he erected Ābāza Kʾöshki. Then he was sent to Widdin and commanded the troops who invaded Poland (1633). Being honored with the confidence of Murād IV, he accompanied him to Adrianople when preparations were made for a new campaign against Poland; but his success excited envy; reports against him cleverly disseminated, estranged the sultan, who had him executed (29 Ṣafar 1044/24 August 1634).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 569, 582; v, 26, 83, 173 ff., 189 ff.; Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Natāʾidj al-Wuḳuʿāt*, ii, 48, 82; Ewliya Efendi, *Travels*, i, 119 ff.

2) Ābāza Ḥasan had been given the command of the Turkomans of Asia Minor as a recompense for his capture of the rebel Ḥaydar-eghlu. Having been dismissed for no reason, he revolted in his turn, held the country between Gerende and Bolu, defeated the old bandit Ḳatirdji-oghlu who had been sent to fight against him, and submitted on condition that he should have the title of *voivode* of the Turkomans; later as the result of complaints lodged against him, he was imprisoned in the Seven Towers and was only released by the elevation of Behayī to the position of Shaykh al-Islām (1062/1652); his friend conferred on him the sandjaḳ of Okhri. When Ipshīr Pasha, who was also one of the Abaza nation, was made grand vizier by Muḥammad IV, he sent for him. At his execution he remained faithful to him, returned to Asia Minor with the remainder of his troops and regained the office of *voivode* of the Turkomans (1065/1655). He settled at Aleppo and committed such ravages in Syria that the Dīwān wanted to have him banished from the empire; the grand vizier, Sulaymān Pasha, however, confirmed him in his position of governor and entrusted the defenses of the Dardanelles to him. In 1066/1656 he was sent to Diyār Bakr as governor. Two years later he rebelled, put himself at the head of a considerable army under the pretext of demanding the dismissal of Muḥammad Köprülü, at that time grand vizier, and threatened Brusa. In the neighborhood of Ilghin he completely defeated Murtaḍā Pasha, who had been sent against him (15 Rabīʿ I 1069/11 Dec. 1658); but he fell into a trap which had been set for him, left ʿAynṭāb for Aleppo to make terms for his submission and was treacherously assassinated there.

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, v, 481, 560 ff., 563, 575, 634; vi, 35 ff., 51 ff.

3) Ābāza Muḥammad Pasha was the *beylerbey* of Marʿash when, during the campaign against the Russians (1183/1769), he was ordered to act in concert with the khān of the Crimea. He commanded the fortress of Bender and received the third *tūgh* in recompense for the part he had taken in raising the siege of Choczim. Having been entrusted with the defense of this place and seeing himself abandoned by the Ottoman troops, he fled and was commissioned to defend Moldavia, which he failed to accomplish. At the battle of Kaghul (1 Aug. 1770), he commanded the right wing; after the defeat of the Turks he feed to Ismāʿīl. Having been made governor of Silistria, he was dismissed after he had squandered the money given to him for the purpose of raising troops, and was exiled to Kustendil. At the time of the conquest of the Crimea and the flight of Selīm-Girāy he refused to land the few troops he was bringing up and returned to Sinope; he was decapitated (1185/1771).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 341, 348, 369, 387; Wāṣif Efendi, in *Précis historique de la guerre des Turcs contre les Russes*, by P. A. Caussin de Perceval, 23, 31, 37 ff., 59, 103, 111, 148, 167. (Cl. Huart)

ʿABBĀD b. MUḤAMMAD [see ʿABBĀDIDS]

ʿABBĀD b. SULAYMĀN al-Ṣaymarī (or al-Ḍaymarī), one of the Muʿtazila of Baṣra, died *c.* 250/864. He was a pupil of Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Fuwaṭī (*fl.c.* 210/825), like his father criticizing the main tendency of the school of Baṣra (that of Abu 'l-Hudhayl), and being in his turn criticized by Abu 'l-Hudhayl's successors, al-Djubbāʾī and Abū Hāshim. Our knowledge of his distinctive views comes mainly from al-Ashʿarī's *Maḳālāt*.

He emphasized the difference between God and man, admitting that God might be called a "thing" in the sense that He was "other" (*l.c.*, 519). In particular he insisted that God is eternal, and that what

He eternally is must be independent of transient mundane things. Thus God is not eternally "hearing" and "seeing", since that involves objects heard and seen (*ib.* 173, 493); He is not "before all things" (*ib.* 196, 519); no accident (such as an apparently supernatural event) can afford a proof of God, in view of its transient character (*ib.* 225). In this way he came to distinguish between God's "active attributes" (*ṣifāt al-fiʿl*) and His eternal attributes (*ib.* 179, 186, 495-500), being perhaps the first to work out this distinction which was later adopted by orthodox theologians.

He went to extremes in insisting that God does nothing that is evil in any respect, even denying that God made unbelief vile (*ḳabīḥ*; *ib.* 227-8, 537-9), and maintaining that His punishment of the wicked in Hell is not evil. His political views (*ib.* 454, 458-9, 467) seem to aim at a reconciliation of various contemporary political groups, but the point has not been adequately studied.

Bibliography: al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, see index; al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, 90-1, 203; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 147-8, 261-2; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Arnold, 44; al-Shahrastānī, 51; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, 115-9; Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, 81-4. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ʿABBĀD b. ZIYĀD b. Abī Sufyān, Abū Ḥarb, Umayyad general. Muʿāwiya appointed him governor of Sidjistān, where he stayed seven years; in the course of his expeditions to the East, he conquered Ḳandahār. In 61/680-1 he was dismissed by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya who appointed in his place his brother Salm b. Ziyād to be governor of Sidjistān and Khurāsān. In 64/684, he joined in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], at the head of a contingent formed by his own *gens*. Afterwards he wished to retire to Dūmat al-Djandal, but he was obliged to combat a lieutenant of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*]. The date of his death is unknown.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 365, 397, 434; id., *Ansāb*, v, 136, 267-8; Ṭabarī, ii, 191 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 177; *al-Aghānī* [1], xvii, 53 f. (K. V. Zetterstéen)

ʿABBĀDĀN (Ābādān) stands on the south-west side of the island of the same name, on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. It is believed to have been founded by a holy man named ʿAbbād in the 8th or 9th century A.D. (the people of Baṣra used to add the termination "ān" to a proper name in order to change it into a place name). In those days ʿAbbādān was on the sea coast, but with the gradual extension of the delta of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, it is now over 30 miles from the head of the Persian Gulf. In the early ʿAbbāsid period ʿAbbādān was a center of ascetics living in *ribāṭ* (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 135; Abu 'l-Atāhiya, *Dīwān*, 218).

ʿAbbādān is described in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 139 (cf. also 392) as "a flourishing and prosperous borough on the sea coast. All the ʿAbbādānī mats .... come from there, and therefrom comes the salt for Baṣra and Wāsiṭ." Three and a half centuries later, when Ibn Baṭṭūta visited ʿAbbādān, it was no more than a large village; it stood on a salty, uncultivated plain. In later times the inhabitants eliminated the salt from the soil bordering the river and planted the palm-groves which are now such a feature of both banks of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and of those of the Bahmashīr river on the north-east side of ʿAbbādān island. ʿAbbādān, however, remained a village until it was chosen, in 1909, as the site of the refinery of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. Since that time, it has increased enormously in size; in 1951 its population was nearly 200,000 and the refinery had become the largest in the world.

About 1935 Riḍā Shāh, in pursuance of his policy of Persianizing Arabic names, changed ʿAbbādān into Ābādān.

Bibliography: Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 89; Le Strange, 48 f.; L. Lockhart, *Khuzistan Past and Present*, in *Asiatic Review*, Oct. 1948; *Abadan Refinery*, in *Review of Middle East Oil Petroleum Times*, London, June 1948. (L. Lockhart)

al-ʿABBĀDĪ, Abū ʿĀṣim Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād, often called al-Ḳāḍī al-Harawī, a well-known Shāfiʿite jurisconsult. He was born in 375/985 in Harāt, studied there and in Nīsābūr, and undertook extensive journeys on which he met numerous scholars. He finally became *ḳāḍī* of Harāt and died there in 458/1066. He was notorious for his dark and difficult style of expression. Of his works, which al-Subkī enumerates, there have survived the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyyīn* (used by al-Asnawī) in several manuscripts, and the *Adab al-Ḳaḍāʾ* in the commentary which his disciple Abū Saʿd (or Saʿīd) b. Abī Aḥmad b. Abī Yūsuf al-Harawī (d. about 500) wrote under the title *al-Ishrāf ʿalā Ghawāmiḍ al-Ḥukūmāt* (Subkī, iv, 31). His son Abu l-Ḥasan is the author of a *K. al-Raḳm*.

Bibliography: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 42 (with extracts from his works and a discussion of his style); Ibn Khallikān, no. 558; F. Wüstenfeld, *Schâfiʿiten*, no. 408; Brockelmann, i, 484; S i, 669. (J. Schacht)

ʿABBĀDIDS (Banū ʿAbbād), dynasty of Arab race which reigned for most of the 5th/11th century over the S.-W. of al-Andalus, with its capital at Seville [cf. ishbīlya].

It was at the moment of the disintegration of the Caliphate of Cordova and of the political dismemberment of the country by the petty kings known as the *taifas* (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*) that the *ḳāḍī* of Seville, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād, succeeded in being proclaimed ruler in 414/1013. The son of a celebrated Spanish-Muslim jurist of Lakhmid origin, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād, he began, on first seizing power, by recognizing the suzerainty of the Ḥammūdid king Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, but soon threw off this wholly nominal mark of subordination. There is relatively little information on the details of his reign, which was mostly occupied in settling by force of arms his disputes with the Djahwarids [*q.v.*] of Cordova and the lesser baronies in southern Andalusia. He died in 433/1042.

His son, Abū ʿAmr ʿAbbād b. Muḥammad succeeded, in a reign of nearly thirty years (433-460/1042-69), in enlarging the territory of the principality of Seville to a considerable size by posing as the champion of the Andalusian Arabs against the Spanish Berbers, whose numbers, already large in the Iberian peninsula in the 10th century, had greatly increased since the period of the ʿĀmirid dictators.

On succeeding his father, the new king of Seville, then 26 years of age, took the princely title of *ḥādjib*, following the custom of the time, but a little later adopted the honorific *laḳab* of al-Muʿtaḍid biʾllāh, by which he is generally known. Gifted with real political qualities, it was not long before he showed his true character, that of an authoritarian ruler, as ambitious as he was cruel, and with few scruples in the choice of means to achieve his ends. Immediately after his accession he conti-

nued the struggle opened by his father against the minor Berber dynasty of Carmona [cf. ḲARMŪNA], Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Birzālī and the latter's son and successor Isḥāḳ. At the same time al-Muʿtaḍid was preoccupied in extending his kingdom to the west, between Seville and the Atlantic Ocean. With this end in view he attacked and defeated successively Ibn Ṭayfūr, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Mertola, and Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, lord of Niebla [cf. LABLA], who, notwithstanding his Arab descent, had unblushingly allied himself with Berber chiefs. In face of the success of the king of Seville, the other *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, distrustful of him, formed against him a kind of league, which was joined by the princes of Badajoz [cf. BAṬALYAWS], Algeciras [cf. AL-DJAZĪRA AL-KHAḌRĀʾ], Granada [cf. GHARNĀṬA] and Malaga [cf. MĀLAḲA]. War broke out soon afterwards between the ʿAbbādid of Seville and the Afṭasid [*q.v.*] al-Muẓaffar of Badajoz; it was prolonged over many years, in spite of the efforts at mediation of the Djahwarid prince of Cordova, which bore fruit only in 443/1051. In the interval, while continuing to harass the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Muʿtaḍid did not remain inactive; he defeated, one after the other, Muḥ. b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva [cf. WALBA] and of Saltes [cf. SHALṬĪSH] (whose son was the celebrated geographer), the Banū Muzayn, lords of Silves [cf. SHILB], and Muḥ. b. Saʿīd b. Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve [cf. SHANTAMARIYAT AL-GHARB] and annexed their principalities. In order to justify these annexations al-Muʿtaḍid employed a somewhat clumsy stratagem: he claimed to have found the caliph Hishām II, who had died in obscurity some years earlier, and to be devoting himself tirelessly to restoring to him his former empire, entirely submissive and pacified. In order to protect themselves against the assaults of the king of Seville, the majority of the minor Berber chiefs in the mountains in the south of Andalusia acquiesced in this theatrical pretence, and paid homage both to the ʿAbbādid and to the Commander of the Faithful; miraculously restored to light to serve the interests of al-Muʿtaḍid but at the same time carefully kept in seclusion by him. But their efforts were in vain. One day the ʿAbbādid invited all these minor Berber princes and their attendants together to his palace at Seville and suffocated them to death in a bath-house whose openings he has walled up; by this means he appropriated Arcos [cf. ARKUSH], seat of the principality of the Banu Khizrūn, Moron [cf. MAWRŪR], ruled by the Banū Dammar, and Ronda [cf. RUNDA], capital of the Banū Ifran (445/1053).

This action was enough to unloose the fury of the most powerful Berber prince in Spain, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs the Zīrid [*q.v.*] at Granada, who alone seemed capable of standing up to al-Muʿtaḍid. When the war began, however, the latter found fortune still smiling on him and soon afterwards seized Algeciras from the Ḥammūdid prince al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd. He then tried to capture Cordova, and for this purpose despatched an expedition under the command of his son Ismāʿīl; but Ismāʿīl sought to profit from the occasion to rebel and to create a kingdom of his own, with Algeciras as his capital. This venturesome project cost him his life. It also opened the political career of al-Muʿtaḍid's other son, Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid, who was to succeed him on his death. On his father's orders, Muḥammad set out with an army to give support to the Arabs of Malaga, who had revolted against the tyrannical rule of the Berber despot of Granada, Bādīs. But Bādīs routed the army of Seville, and the prince, in sad plight, threw himself into Ronda, whence he solicited and obtained his father's pardon. Al-Muʿtaḍid had long since discarded the fable of the pseudo-Hishām, which he no longer needed; he was by far the most redoubtable and most feared of the Spanish sovereigns; he had had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself, but far further removed from his Spanish-Arab social ideals than his Christian neighbours of the north. In other places, he might have been given the title of *Berberoktonos*.

When the powerful sovereign of Seville died in 461/1069, his son, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād, better known by his honorific laḳab of al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], took possession of his greatly enlarged kingdom, which now embraced most of the S.W. part of the Iberian peninsula.

Already in the second year of his reign, al-Muʿtamid was able, despite the ambitions of the king of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova, formerly ruled by the Djahwarid princes. The young prince ʿAbbād was appointed governor of the former capital of the Umayyads. But on the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer, named Ibn ʿUkkāsha, succeeded in seizing Cordova by surprise in 468/1075, and put the young ʿAbbādid prince and his general Muḥ. b. Martīn to death. Al-Maʾmūn took possession of the city, where he died six months later. Al-Muʿtamid, wounded both in his paternal affections and his royal pride, endeavoured for three years in vain to reconquer Cordova. He gained his object only in 471/1078; Ibn ʿUkkāsha was put to death, and all that part of the kingdom of Toledo lying between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana was conquered by the armies of Seville. Yet at the same time it needed all the skill of the vizier Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] to bring an expedition of Alfonso VI of Castille against Seville to a peaceful conclusion, in return for the payment of a double tribute.

This was, in fact, the moment when, thanks to the tenacious vigour of the Christian princes in seeking to profit from the sanguinary conflicts waged against one another by the Muslim *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, the *reconquista*—which had been arrested for a time and had even receded under the last Umayyads and the first ʿĀmirid dictators—resumed its advance towards the south of the peninsula. Notwithstanding their successes, blazoned by the Muslim chroniclers, it must not be forgotten that from the middle of the eleventh century many Spanish Muslim dynasties were reduced to trying to gain, by means of heavy tributes, the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours. Shortly before the resounding capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, in 478/1085, al-Muʿtamid began to find himself enmeshed in serious difficulties. On the imprudent advice of Ibn ʿAmmār, he attempted, after the annexation of Cordova, to annex further the principality of Murcia [cf. MURSIYA], then governed by a ruler of Arab origin, Muḥ. b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāhir. In 471/1078, Ibn ʿAmmār paid a visit to the count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked for his assistance in conquering Murcia in return for the sum of 10,000 dinars, as surety for the payment of which a son of al-Muʿtamid, al-Rashīd, would serve as hostage. After a series of agitated comings and goings, which ended in the payment to the count of Barcelona of a sum thrice as large, Ibn ʿAmmār resumed his project of conquering Murcia, and soon realised it, thanks to the assistance of the lord of the castle of Bildj (now Vilches), Ibn Rashīḳ. It was not long,

however, before Ibn ʿAmmār in Murcia made himself intolerable to his sovereign. Betrayed by Ibn Rashīḳ, he was forced to flee from Murcia, and sought refuge successively at Leon, Saragossa and Lerida. On returning to Saragossa he endeavoured to assist its prince, al-Muʾtamin b. Hūd [cf. HŪDIDS], in his expedition against Segura [cf. SHAKŪRA], but was captured and handed over to al-Muʿtamid, who, notwithstanding the ties of friendship which had for so long bound them together, killed him with his own hand.

In the meantime Alfonso VI began to disclose openly his designs on Toledo, which he had begun to invest since 473/1080. Two years later, having sent a deputation to collect the annual tribute which al-Muʿtamid was paying to him, he learned that its members had been molested and that the Jewish treasurer Ibn Shalīb, who had accompanied it, had been put to death because of his refusal to accept money of low standard. Thereupon he made an incursion into the kingdom of Seville, raided the flourishing townships of the Aljarafe [cf. AL-SHARAF], struck across the district of Sidona [cf. SHADŪNA] as far as Tarifa [cf. ṬARĪF, DJAZĪRAT], where he pronounced a celebrated phrase in which he boasted of having trodden the furthest bounds of Spain.

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI was a heavy blow to Islam in Spain. The king of Castille at once demanded of al-Muʿtamid the return of his possessions which had formerly been part of the kingdom, of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids, i.e. part of the present provinces of Ciudad Real and Cuenca. Throughout Muslim Spain his ever-increasing demands caused a particularly difficult situation. In spite of their unwillingness, the princes of Spain, with al-Muʿtamid at their head, were compelled to implore the aid of the Almoravid sulṭan, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN), who had recently seized the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance. It was decided to send him an embassy composed of the vizier Abū Bakr b. Zaydūn and of the ḳāḍīs of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada. The negotiations were successfully concluded, though not without difficulty; Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn finally crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and inflicted on the Christian troops, on 22 Radjab 479/23 October 1086, the bloody defeat of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], not far from Badajoz. It need here only be briefly recalled that Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, compelled to return to Africa, was unable to gain from his victory all the advantages for which the Spanish Muslim princes had hoped, while they, owing to the decisive influence exerted by the Spanish-Muslim *faḳīhs* on the Almoravid, rapidly lost all prestige in his eyes. After his withdrawal the Christian troops began again to harass the Muslim possessions, to such effect that al-Muʿtamid had this time to present himself in person before Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn in Morocco, to ask him to recross the Straits with his troops. Yūsuf agreed to his request and disembarked at Algeciras in the following spring (480/1088). He set out to besiege the fortress of Aledo (Ar. ALĪṬ), without success, but under the stimulus of popular sentiment and the counsels of the *faḳīhs* concluded that it would be of greater advantage to him to pursue the *djihād* in Spain on his own account. From that time, he set himself to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had solicited his intervention, and it was not long before he was carrying his arms into the kingdom of Seville in order to take possession of it. An army commanded by the general Sīr b. Abī Bakr by the end of 1090 seized Tarifa, then Cordova (where a son of al-Muʿtamid, Fatḥ al-Maʾmūn, was killed), Carmona, and finally Seville, which was taken in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Muʿtamid. The vanquished prince, made prisoner by the Almoravid, was at first sent with his wives and children to Tangier, then to Meknes, and after several months to Aghmāt, not far from Marrākush. He passed a miserable existence there for some years, and died there in 487/1095, aged fifty-five years. With him, in these lamentable circumstances, ended the dynasty of the ʿAbbādids, which may be regarded, notwithstanding the excesses and cruelty of its princes, as the most brilliant of the dynasties of the *taifas* and indubitably that under which the arts and letters shone most brightly in Muslim Spain of the eleventh century.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABBĀS I, styled the Great, king of Persia of the Ṣafawī dynasty, second son and successor of Muḥammad Khudābanda, was born on 1 Ramaḍān 978/27 January 1571, and died in Māzandarān on 24 Djumādā I 1038/19 January 1629, after a reign of 42 solar (43 lunar) years. In 980/1572-3 he remained at Harāt when his father moved to Shīrāz. In 984/1576-7 Ismāʿīl II put to death the *lala* (tutor) of ʿAbbās, and appointed ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān Shāmlū governor of Harāt with orders to execute ʿAbbās himself. ʿAlī Ḳulī procrastinated, and, when the death of Ismāʿīl II (985/1577-8) rendered the order null and avoid, was made himself *lala* to ʿAbbās by Muḥammad Khudābanda. Three years later ʿAlī Ḳulī read the *khuṭba* at Harāt in the name of ʿAbbās, but, when threatened by the royal army, he re-affirmed his allegiance to Muḥammad Khudābanda at Ghūrīyān. Shortly afterwards his protégé ʿAbbās fell into the hands of his rival Murshid Ḳulī Khān Ustādjlū, governor of Turbat, and in 995/1587 the latter marched on Ḳazwīn. Muḥammad Khudābanda was deposed, and ʿAbbās became Shāh at the age of 16, with Murshid Ḳulī as his *wakīl-i dīwān-i ʿālī*.

ʿAbbās, faced with the twofold task of enforcing his authority over the Ḳizilbāsh amīrs, and of checking the encroachment on Persian territory of the Ottomans in the West and the Uzbegs in the East, at once created from the ranks of Georgian prisoners converted from Christianity a cavalry corps of *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*, paid direct from the royal treasury. With their aid, and by a successful appeal to the loyalty of the *shāhī-sewen* [*q.v.*], he crushed a revolt of amīrs, and followed this by ridding himself of the now too-powerful Murshid Ḳulī. The importance of the *ghulāms* gradually increased.

The appointment of Allāhwardī Khān to be governor of Fārs elevated a *ghulām* to equality of status with the Ḳizilbāsh amīrs, and eventually *ghulāms* filled some 20% of the high administrative posts. ʿAbbās systematically pacified the provinces of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, Fārs, Kirmān and Luristān. The local rulers of Gīlān and Māzandarān were subjugated. In order to avoid fighting on two fronts, ʿAbbās signed in Constantinople in 998/1589-90 a peace treaty most unfavourable to Persia. The regions of Ādharbāydjān, Ḳarabāgh, Gandja, Ḳaradjadāgh, with Georgia and parts of Luristān and Kurdistān, were to remain in Ottoman hands, and a interdict was placed on the Shīʿite objurgation of the early Caliphs.

ʿAbbās entrusted to Allāhwardī Khān the reorganisation of the army on the lines suggested by Robert Sherley, an English adventurer then at the Persian Court. A new corps of 12,000 musketeers (*tufangčī*), for the most part mounted, was recruited locally from the peasantry; the strength of the *ghulāms* was raised to 10,000 by further recruitment from the Georgian converts; 3000 more were selected as *mulāzimān* or personal bodyguard to the Shāh; and a corps of artillery, comprising 12,000 men and 500 guns, was also recruited from the *ghulāms*, cannon being cast under the supervision of Sherley. ʿAbbās thus had a standing army of some 37,000 men.

After the death of the Shaybānids ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, dynastic rivalries distracted the Uzbegs, and ʿAbbās was able to inflict on them a severe defeat at Harāt (1007/1598-9), and to recover Mashhad and Harāt after ten years of Uzbeg occupation. In a attempt to stabilise the North-East frontier, ʿAbbās installed at Balkh, Marw and Astarābād Uzbeg chiefs subservient to himself. But Bāḳī Muḥammad, the new khān of Transoxania, re-occupied Balkh (1009/1600-1), and though ʿAbbās led a force of 50,000 men against him, he was outmanoeuvred and forced to retreat (1011/1602-3), losing large numbers of men through sickness, and abandoning most of his new artillery. At this point hostilities in the East were suspended, but in the West ʿAbbās invaded Ādharbāydjān in 1012/1603-4, and occupied Nakhčiwān and Eriwan. The Ottomans under Čighālazāda suffered a signal defeat at Sīs near Tabrīz (1014/1605-6), with the loss of 20,000 men. Gandja and Tiflīs were taken by the Ṣafawids. Internal disorders in Turkey contributed to the haphazard conduct of the war against Persia. Successive Turkish invasions of Ādharbāydjān were hampered by the Persian policy of devastating the regions of Čukhūr Saʿd and Nakhčiwān and evacuating the inhabitants. Peace was eventually concluded at Sarāb in 1027/1617-8, but was broken by ʿAbbās in 1033/1623-4, when he took Baghdād and Diyār Bakr from the Ottomans.

In other directions too ʿAbbās expanded Ṣafawid territory. Baḥrayn was annexed in 1010/1601-2, Shīrwān was reconquered in 1016/1607-8. With British aid, the island of Hurmuz was taken from the Portuguese in 1030/1620-1, but a long series of bitter wars in Georgia failed to result in permanent annexation, and ʿAbbās was finally forced to recognize the Georgian prince Taymuraz. Military necessity was often the pretext for the transference of large bodies of people to other regions. Some 20,000 Armenians from the Erzerum region were enrolled in the *ghulāms*: a further 3000 families were moved from Djulfa to Iṣfahān: the Ḳaramānlū tribe of Ḳarabāgh was moved to Fārs in 1023/1614-5: and the influx of Georgians from Kakhetia—130,000 prisoners were taken in the expedition of 1025/1616-7 alone—was a major factor in achieving that admixture of races and creeds by which ʿAbbās planned to offset the power of the Ḳizilbāsh.

Diplomatic contacts with European countries and with India were numerous during ʿAbbās's reign, but all his efforts to create a European alliance against the Ottomans failed. Though careful to keep on good terms with the Mughal Emperors Akbar and Djahāngīr, he always regarded Ḳandahār, seized by Akbar in 999/1590-1, as Persian territory, and in 1031/1621-2 he re-occupied the city. ʿAbbās maintained friendly relations with the princes of Muscovy and the Tatar khāns of the Crimea. Foreign monastic orders, like the Carmelites, the Augustinians and the Capuchin Friars, were accorded permission to operate without hindrance. In 1007/1598-9 Sir Anthony Sherley, brother of Robert, was dispatched to Europe accompanied by a Persian envoy, Ḥusayn ʿAlī Beg Bayāt, and visited Prague, Venice, Rome, Valladolid and Lisbon. Return embassies were sent by the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the English. The latter's envoy, Sir Dodmore Cotton, was the first accredited English ambassador to the Persian Court.

ʿAbbās improved communications by the construction of roads (notably the coast road through Māzandarān), bridges and caravanserais. He enriched Iṣfahān, which became his new capital in 1006/1597-8, with mosques, palaces and gardens: but he also built palaces at Ḳazwīn, and at Ashraf and Faraḥābād on the Caspian, where he spent an increasing amount of time in his later years. He explored the possibility of diverting some of the head-waters of the Kārūn into the basin of the Zāyanda-Rūd.

Although endowed with great qualities, ʿAbbās could be ruthless, and his family fell victims to his desire for security. His father, Muḥammad Khudābanda, and two brothers, Abū Ṭālib and Ṭahmāsp, were blinded and incarcerated at Alamūt; a son, Muḥammad Bāḳir Mīrzā, was executed on a charge of treason in 1022/1613, and another, Imām Ḳulī, was made heir-apparent in 1030/1620 during an illness of ʿAbbās, but was blinded on the latter's recovery. Throughout his reign, ʿAbbās attached great importance to maintaining the *pīr u-murshid* relationship with his subjects: hence he made frequent visits to the Shīʿite shrines at Ardabīl, Mashhad, where he repaired the damage caused by the Uzbegs, and, after their capture from the Ottomans, to those at Karbalāʾ and Nadjaf.

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(R. M. Savory)

ʿABBĀS II and **III** [see ṢAFAWIDS]

AL-**ʿABBĀS** B. **ʿABD** AL-**MUṬṬALIB**, with the *kunya* Abu 'l-Faḍl, half-brother of Muḥammad's father, his mother being Nutayla bint

Djanāb of al-Namir. The ʿAbbāsid dynasty took its name from him, being descended from his son ʿAbd Allāh. Consequently there was a tendency for historians under the ʿAbbāsids to glorify him, and in his case it is particularly difficult to distinguish fact from fiction. He was a merchant and financier, more prosperous than his half-brother Abū Ṭālib, who, in return for the extinction of a debt, surrendered to him the office of providing pilgrims to Mecca with water (*siḳāya*) and perhaps also with food (*rifāda*). Though he owned a garden in al-Ṭāʾif, he was not so wealthy as the leading men of the clans of ʿAbd Shams and Makhzūm. There is no clear evidence of any *rapprochement* between him and Muḥammad until 7/629 when he gave in marriage to Muḥammad Maymūna, the uterine sister of his wife, Umm al-Faḍl Lubāba. Stories purporting to show that prior to this he supported Muḥammad are suspect. Thus he is said to have acted as protector of Muḥammad at the Assembly of ʿAḳaba, and, while it is conceivable that he protected him during his last year or two in Mecca, there is no evidence that the clan of Hāshim revoked Abū Lahab's refusal to give protection. Al-ʿAbbās fought against the Muslims at Badr, was taken prisoner and then released, though whether with or without a ransom is disputed. He joined Muḥammad as he was marching on Mecca in 8/630, but his conversion was less influential than that of Abū Sufyān. Muḥammad welcomed him, and after the submission of Mecca confirmed in his family the inherited office of the *siḳāya*. He is said to have acted bravely at Ḥunayn, and by his stentorian shout to have turned the tide of battle. He settled at Medina. Though one of those who contributed to the finances of the expedition to Tabūk, he possibly did not campaign in Syria, as is sometimes said. He was not on good terms with ʿUmar, but made a gift of his house for ʿUmar's extension of the mosque in Medina. Muḥammad is said to have given him an annuity from the produce of Khaybar, and ʿUmar, in revising the pension roll, made him the equal of the men of Badr; but he was never given any administrative post. He died about 32/653 aged about 88.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿABBĀS B. **ABI 'L-FUTŪḤ** YAḤYĀ B. TAMĪM B. MUʿIZZ B. BĀDĪS AL-ṢINHĀDJĪ, AL-AFḌAL RUKN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL, Fāṭimid vizier, a descendant of the Zīrids [*q.v.*] of North Africa. He seems to have been born shortly before 509/1115, for in that year he was still a nursling. His father was then in prison and was banished in 509 to Alexandria, whither his wife Bullāra and the little ʿAbbās accompanied him. After Abu 'l-Futuḥ's death his widow married Ibn Sallār [see AL-ʿĀDIL IBN SALLĀR], commandant of Alexandria and al-Buḥayra, one of the most powerful generals of the Fāṭimid empire. When, in 544/1149-50, the caliph al-Ẓāfir appointed Ibn Maṣāl to the position of vizier, which had for some time been vacant, Ibn Sallār revolted, marched on Cairo at the head of his troops and forced the caliph to invest him with the vizierate. It was during these troubles that ʿAbbās appeared for the first time on the political scene. He took the side of his step-father and was entrusted by him with the pursuit of Ibn Maṣāl who had taken to flight. Ibn Maṣāl fell, and on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 544/24 March 1150, Ibn Sallār made his entry into Cairo. During the following years ʿAbbās lived at the court of Cairo and his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Naṣr, became a favourite of the caliph. In the beginning of 548/spring 1153, ʿAbbās was made commander of the garrison of ʿAsḳalān, the last place the Fāṭimids still possessed in Syria. Before reaching Syria, however, at Bilbays, he decided—rumour had it, at the instigation of Usāma b. Munḳidh (the various historians who mention Usāma's role evidently follow one common source, cf. Cahen, 19, note 2)—to assassinate his step-father and seize the vizierate. Naṣr, ʿAbbās's son, returned secretly to Cairo, obtained the consent of the caliph, who idolized him, and assassinated Ibn Sallār, 6 Muḥarram 548/3 April 1153. ʿAbbās returned as fast as he could and took possession of the vizierate, whilst ʿAsḳalān fell into the hands of the Franks, 27 Djumādā I 548/20 August 1153. ʿAbbās did not enjoy the position he had won for long. According to Usāma (who was an intimate companion of Naṣr and took part in the events which he relates) ʿAbbās and his son Naṣr were deeply suspicious of each other, ʿAbbās thinking that the caliph was urging Naṣr to assassinate him. Usāma claims to have acted as a conciliator between father and son, who resolved together to kill the caliph. Naṣr lured the caliph to his house and assassinated him on the last day of Muḥarram 549/16 April 1154. Thereupon ʿAbbās charged the nearest male relations of the caliph with the crime. They were put to death and the minor son of al-Ẓāfir was placed upon the throne under the name of al-Fāʾiz bi-Naṣr Allāh. These proceedings stirred up the court and the population; a message was sent to Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], governor of Usyūṭ. ʿAbbās, together with Naṣr, fled before him to Syria, but the Franks, warned by the enemies of ʿAbbās, surprised them near al-Muwayliḥ and ʿAbbās was killed, 23 Rabīʿ I 549/7 June 1154. Naṣr was captured and delivered into the hands of the Fāṭimid government and executed, Rabīʿ II 550/June-July 1155. (The text of the *sidjill* announcing his arrival in Cairo is preserved in MS Brit. Mus., *Suppl.* 1140, fol. 67v.).

Bibliography: Usāma b. Munḳidh, *al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Derenbourg, 5-6, 13-22, 69; Ibn Abī Ṭayy, see Cahen; Ibn Ẓāfir, see Wüstenfeld and Cahen; Ibn al-Muyassar, ed. Massé, 89-90, 92-5; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 93-4, 122, 125-8; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287-8, i, 97 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iv, 74 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iii, 29-30; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vol. iii; Ibn Khallikān, nos. 496, 522; Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 30; F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 314 ff.; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 174; H. Derenbourg, *Ousâma ibn Mounkidh*, i, 220 ff., 238-58. For the criticism of the sources of the historians see Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciens relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, *BIFAO*, 1937-8, 19, note 2. Poems concerning the affair of ʿAbbās are quoted in ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, Egyptian poets (Cairo 1951), i, 119, 190. (C. H. BECKER—S. M. STERN)

AL-**ʿABBĀS** B. AL-**AḤNAF**, ABU 'L-FAḌL, amatory poet of ʿIrāḳ, died, it seems, after 193/808. His family belonged to the Arab clan of Ḥanīfa, from the district of Baṣra, but had emigrated to Khurāsān. It seems, however, that the father of al-ʿAbbās returned to Baṣra, where he is said to have died in 150/767 (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 133). Al-

ʿAbbās was born about 133/750. He grew up in Baghdād (this must be the meaning of the passage of Ibn Ḳutayba, 525, and of the words of al-Ṣūlī quoted by al-Khaṭīb, 128, or of those of al-Akhfash repeated in *Aghānī* [3], viii, 353). We do not know anything about his adolescence or his studies. He must have started writing poetry very early, as Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783) speaks of his beginnings and calls him *fatā*, or *ghulām* (*Aghānī* [3], v, 210 and al-Khaṭīb, 130). The only details we know about his career show him as a favourite of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who employed him, however, not as a panegyrist, but rather as one to amuse him in his hours of leasure (see e.g. *Aghānī* [3], viii, 355 ft., and al-Khaṭīb, 131). It seems certain that the poet accompanied the caliph in his campaigns in Khūrāsān and Armenia, but, overcome by nostalgia, received his permission to return to Baghdād (*Aghānī* [3], viii, 372). Al-ʿAbbās was also connected with the high officials of the Barmakid family, especially with Yaḥyā b. Djaʿfar (*Aghānī*[3], v, 168, 241). One can assume that his verses were highly enjoyed by certain ladies of the caliph's harem, e.g. by Umm Djaʿfar, who made him presents (*Aghānī* [3] viii, 369). The favour shown to al-ʿAbbās by the men in power seems to have given him an influential position: a nephew of his, Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857), himself a poet, was "secretary" of the Chancery (see on him al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 237-45 and al-Khaṭīb, 129; it is to be noted that through him al-ʿAbbās was the great-uncle of the famous Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]). Almost nothing has come down to us about the literary contacts of al-ʿAbbās. He seems to have been on bad terms with Muslim b. al-Walīd (al-Khaṭīb, 128) and the Muʿtazilite Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (*Aghānī*, v, 354). Various dates are given for his death: 188/803 according to *Aghānī*, V, 254, repeated by al-Khaṭīb, 133; or 192/807, idem 133 and Yāḳūt, IV, 283; or after 193/808, according to one of his friends who is said to have met him in Baghdad after the death of al-Rashīd, which occurred in that year (al-Khaṭīb, 133 and Ibn Khallikān). Al-ʿAbbās would have been at that time about 60 years old. He is said to have died while on pilgrimage and to have been buried in Baṣra (al-Khaṭīb, 132-3 and al-Masʿūdī, vii, 247).

The work of al-ʿAbbās was collected after his death by Zunbur, and subsequently, in the form of extracts, by Abū Bakr al-Suli (*Fihrist*, 163, 151); al-Ṣūlī wrote also a biography of the poet (*ib.* 151), which was extensively used by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in the article in the *Aghānī*. We have no information about the versions that circulated in Khurāsān during the lifetime of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 300/912; cf. *Aghānī*, viii, 353). One cannot exclude the hypothesis that verses by unknown authors were wrongly included in these versions; cf. the detail quoted by al-Marzubānī, 292. At any rate Yāḳūt, iv, 284 points out that the manuscripts of his time were divergent. The work of al-ʿAbbās is preserved only in two manuscripts of the selection made by al-Ṣūlī; on a third one, now lost (?), was based the unsatisfactory edition, Istanbul 1298/1880 (reproduced in Cairo-Baghdad 1367/1947; cf. A. Khusraji, *Dīwān d'al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf*, thesis submitted to the Faculty of Letters, Paris, in 1953). The existing collection consists of pieces that are generally short and some of which are perhaps only fragments of longer poems.

Al-ʿAbbās, as all his Muslim biographers have noted, cultivated only one genre, the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], i.e. erotico-elegiac poetry (cf. e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, 525; *Fihrist*, 132; *Aghānī* [3], viii, 352). In their present state, the pieces that are available confirm this fact Al-ʿAbbās appears in them as a follower of the poets of al-Ḥidjaz, namely ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and especially Djamīl, al-Aḥwaṣ and al-ʿArdjī, in whose work the tendencies of the school began to take a fixed form. In his poems there reappears not only the psychological scheme of the submissive lover, but also the fictitious personages of the *raḳīb* and *wāshī*. The woman whom he extols is presented in a stylised manner, so that we are unable to say if the poet is merely combining *clichés* or starting from a real experience. Not all the poems, however, are expressions of ideal love; we find (*Dīwān*, Istanbul, 148-50), the description of an orgy with singing girls. On the whole, however, the poetry of al-ʿAbbās stands in contrast to that of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], which is permeated with the carnal cult of the beloved. The art of al-ʿAbbās is highly conventional and his inspiration is monotonous. On the other hand, his style avoids the use of gimcrack rhetoric and his language, simple and fluent without being vulgar, is akin to that of Abū Nuwās.

The vogue enjoyed by the poetry of al-ʿAbbās from the very first cannot be explained solely by some hellenistic influence or by respect for an old Arab tradition. The society in which the poet lived must also be taken into consideration. Chiming with the dilettantism of al-Rashīd and the taste of the women of the court, the poems of al-ʿAbbās were ready-made material for composers and singers, like Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (cf. *Aghānī* [3], vi, 182, viii, 361, 354-6). Nevertheless the favour shown to them by men of letters like al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, or al-Masʿūdī, by a music-lover like the caliph al-Wāthiḳ, by a *bel esprit* like Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, or finally by a rigorist like Salama b. ʿĀṣim (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 525 ff., and especially *Aghānī* [3], viii, 354 ff.), shows that these poetical productions could be enjoyed by a public of greatly varying tastes.

It is difficult to define the importance of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf in the history of Arabic poetry. If Muslim Spain really appreciated this oriental poet (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-Ḥamāma* (Bercher), 285; Péres, *La poesie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle*, 54, 411), one might see in him one of the poets who influenced the erotic-elegiac poetry so highly valued in that country. In this case, his role in the development of the genre would be of the greatest importance. Recently, oriental critics like F. Rifāʿī and Bahbītī have tried to discover what in the work of al-ʿAbbās retains a lasting value. In two penetrating studies, Hell and Torrey placed the poet in his milieu and noted his influence in Arabic literature.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 525-7; Masʿūdi, *Murūdj*, vii, 145-8; *al-Aghānī* [3], *passim*, viii, 352-72; Marzūbānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 290-3; *Fihrist*, 132, 151, 163; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 127-33; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iy, 233-4; Ibn Khallikān, no. 319 (after al-Khaṭīb and al-Masʿūdī); F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, 393-9; Bahbītī, *Taʾrīkh al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī*, Cairo 1950, 401-6; J. Hell, *Al-ʿAbbās i. al-Aḥnaf der Minnesänger am Hofe Harun al-Rašīds*, *Islamica*, 1926, 271-307; C. C. Torrey, *The history of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf and his fortunate verses*, *JAOS*, 1894, 43-70; Brockelmann, I, 74, S I, 114.

(R. Blachère)

AL-ʿABBĀS B. ʿAMR AL-GHANAWĪ, famous general and governor of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs at the end of the third century/c. 900. In 286/899 he fought against the Arab tribes in ʿIrāḳ. In 287/900 he was appointed by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid governor of Yamāma and Baḥrayn, with orders to fight against the Ḳarmaṭian chief of Baḥrayn, Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī. He left Baṣra with an army of regular soldiers, volunteers from Baṣra and beduin auxiliaries, was left in the lurch in the first battle by the beduins andt he volunteers and next day, after a bloody battle, he was taken prisoner together with about 700 men (end of Radjab 287/July 900). The prisoners were executed, but al-ʿAbbās was spared by the Ḳarmaṭian, who charged him with a message to the caliph, in which he set forth the dangers and the uselessness of a new campaign against him. One can find in M. J. de Goeje's *Memoire sur les Carmathes de Bahrain*, 37-41, an account of the battle and its consequences, after al-Ṭabarī, as well as the anecdote, told among others by al-Tanūkhī (*al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda*, Cairo 1903, i, 110-1), concerning the liberation of al-ʿAbbās, a matter of astonishment to contemporaries as well as his the historians. Al-ʿAbbās was one of the generals who in 289/901-2 abandoned the commander-in-chief, Badr, at the instigation of the new caliph al-Muktafī. According to Ibn al-Athīr he was governor of Ḳumm and Kāshān in 296/908-9. He accompanied the army of Muʾnis that defended Egypt, in 303-3/914-5, from a Fāṭimid attack (Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, iii, 186). At the end of his life, we find him as military and civil governor of Diyār Muḍar, residing in al-Raḳḳa, where he died in 305/917. He came, no doubt, from that district, and gave his name to a Ḳaṣr al-ʿAbbās, situated between Nisibis and Sindjār (Yāḳūt, iv, 114).

There does not seem to be sufficient reason to assume, as has been done in the first ed. of this Encyclopaedia, that there was at the same epoch another al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr, different from ours.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 2193, 2196-7, 2210; ʿArīb, ed. de Goeje, 69; Miskawayhi, ed. Amedroz, i, 56; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 344-5, 358; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 193-4; id., *al-Tanbih*, 393 f., trad. Carra de Vaux, 499-500; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ii, 122, 186; Ibn Khallikān, no. 745, transl. de Slane, i, 427, iii, 417, iv, 331; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 194-5; C. Lang, *Muʿtaḍid als Prinz und Regent*, *ZDMG*, 1887, 270-1. (M. CANARD)

ʿABBĀS B. FIRNĀS B. WARDŪS, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, Andalusi scholar and poet, belonging to the entourage of the Hispano-Umayyad amīrs al-Ḥakam I, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and MuḥammadI, in the 3rd/9th century. No biographical data about him are available, and we only know that he was an Umayyad *mawlā* of Berber origin, that he came from the *kūra* of Tākurunnā, i.e. the district of Ronda, and that he died in 274/887. His strong personality is now fully manifest, thanks to the newly found volume of Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muḳtabis* concerning the Andalusi amirate, where a long passage is devoted to him and a great number of his verses are quoted. ʿAbbās b. Firnās, who managed, thanks to his panagyrics, to keep his position at the court of Cordova during three successive reigns, is chiefly represented as a uan ef curious and inventive mind. He is said to have made a journey to ʿIrāḳ and to have brought back to Spain the *Sindhind*. He was the only one in Cordova to be able to explain the contents of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's treatise on metrics. To him is attributed the invention of the fabrication of crystal. He constructed, and offered to his masters, a clock (*manḳāna*) and an armillary sphere (*dhāt al-ḥalaḳ*). He was even a distant precursor of aviation, thinking out a sheath furnished with feathers and mobile wings; had the courage to put it on, to jump from the top of a precipice and to hover in the air for a few seconds before falling—escaping death by a miracle. He was occasionally accused of *zandaḳa*, but without success.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muḳtabis*, i (in press), fol. 130-2 and *passim*; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 1247; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 254; A. González Palencia, *Moros y Christianos en España medieval*, Madrid 1945, 30 f.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La civilization arabe en Espagne*, 76 f.; idem, *Esp. mus.*, i, 274. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-ʿABBĀS B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ABU 'L-FAḌL, vizier. At the death of al-Muhallabī in 352/963, al-ʿAbbās, head of the Dīwān of Expenses, was charged by the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla with the functions of a vizier, together with another secretary, Ibn Fasāndjas, but without succeeding to the title. After the death of Muʿizz al-Dawla in 356/967, he was appointed vizier by the son and successor of Muʿizz al-Dawla, Bakhtiyār. He succeeded in suppressing the rebellion of another son of Muʿizz al-Dawla. Owing to the enmity of the chamberlain Subuktakīn, the financial difficulties, and the intrigues of Ibn Fasāndjas who hoped to extract money from al-ʿAbbās, he was deposed in 359/969-70 and put into the hands of his rival. The latter, however, was not more successful in his office and al-ʿAbbās managed to recover his freedom in 360/971, to be re-appointed as vizier and to eliminate definitely Ibn Fasāndjas. His extortion of money, to pay the troops, made him again the butt of hatred, especially that of Bakhtiyār's omnipotent majordomo, Ibn Baḳiyya. In 362/973 he was arrested owing the machinations of Ibn Baḳiyya, and the latter was appointed vizier. Al-ʿAbbās was confined in the house of an ʿAlid in Kūfa and died soon afterwards, probably from poison.

Al-ʿAbbās possessed a palace in Baghdad, called Khākān, which was destroyed by order of Bakhtiyār. On this palace, the festivals held in it, and the other buildings of al-ʿAbbās, see al-Ḥusrī, *Dhayl Zahr al-Ādāb*, Cairo 1353, 275 f.

Bibliography: Miskawayh, ii, 121, 198 ff., 310 f.; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 215; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 405 f. (M. CANARD)

AL-ʿABBĀS B. AL-MAʾMŪN, pretender to the throne under al-Muʿtaṣim. His father, the caliph al-Maʾmūn, appointed him in 213/828-9 a governor of al-Djazīra and the neighbouring frontier district, and he then showed great bravery in fighting the Byzantines. On the death of al-Maʾmūn in 218/833, his brother, Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad al-Muʿtaṣim bi-'llāh, by choice of the deceased, ascended the throne of the ʿAbbāsids. The army which al-Maʾmūn had collected against the Greeks, however, proclaimed al-ʿAbbās caliph, although he himself was not in the least disposed to comply with the wishes of his troops and took the oath of fealty to his uncle. After that, he went back to his army and succeeded in appeasing its discontent. Then the caliph, in order to strengthen his position, took many measures of precaution; he had the fortress of Ṭuwāna (Tyana) razed, stopped the war against the Byzantines and disbanded the army. Later, having organized some Turkish regiments as his guard, he loaded them with honours to an extent wbich disaffected the Arab troops, who had shown themselves sufficiently ill-disposed ever since the death of al-Maʾmūn. ʿUdjayf

b. ʿAnbasa, an Arab general in the service of al-Muʿtaṣim utilized this discontent for the purpose of organizing a conspiracy, the object of which was to assassinate the caliph and to put al-ʿAbbās on the throne. The latter allowed himself to be persuaded; but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators paid for their attempt with their lives. Al-ʿAbbās died in prison at Manbidj in 223/838.

Bibliography: Yaʿkūbī; Ṭabarī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes; *al-Aghānī*, Tables; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (De Goeje-and de Jong), *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, Index; E. Marin, *Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī's The Reign of al-Mutaʿsim*, New Haven 1951, index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. **MIRDĀS** B. ABĪ ʿĀMIR B. HĀRITHA B. ʿABD ḲAYS, of Sulaym, Arabian poet of the *mukhaḍramīn*. A *sayyid* in his tribe by noble descent on both sides, he won renown as a warrior as well as a poet; although he did not come up to the fame of his stepmother, the celebrated al-Khansāʾ, his poetical achievements surpassed those of his brothers and his sister all of whom displayed literary gifts and two of whom lived to compose elegies on his death. Impelled, so the story goes, by two dream experiences or epiphanies in which his family idol, Ḍimār (not Ḍimād, cf. *TA*, iii, 353) announced its own downfall and the rise of the true prophet, al-ʿAbbās went to Medina to embrace Islam. Muḥammad, who was at the time preparing for the conquest of Mecca, arranged for al-ʿAbbās to meet him with his tribesmen at al-Ḳudayd. Al-ʿAbbās returned to the Banū Sulaym and burned his idol while his wife, Ḥabība, returned to her people in indignation over her husband's conversion. Al-ʿAbbās kept his word and joined in the *fatḥ Makka* (8/630) with some 900 fully armed warriors. He was among the *muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum*, those influential men whose loyalty Muḥammad endeavored to secure by lavish gifts, but demurred when on the distribution of the booty taken from the Hawāzin at the battle of Ḥunayn (630) his present turned out substantially smaller than that of other leaders. As a result of a *ḳaṣīda* of protest Muḥammad satisfied al-ʿAbbās by increasing his share. After the *fatḥ* he withdrew to the territory of the Sulaym. He lived into the reign of ʿUmar before whom he is reported to have appeared in a quarrel with another poet. Ibn Saʿd reports that he settled near Baṣra, often coming into town where the Baṣrians would take traditions from him. His son Djulhuma, too, appears as a transmitter of *ḥadīth* from the Prophet. His offspring settled in and near Baṣra.

Al-ʿAbbās's poetical fame would seem to be due as much to his colourful personality as to the actual merits of his verse. His *muhādjāt* with his fellow-tribesman Khufāf b. Nadba, his poem upon his burning Ḍimār and accepting Islam, his protest against the Prophet's inadequate donation, and finally a *ḳaṣīda* (*Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, XXXVIII; cf. introduction, 12) originating in connection with a successful raid into the Yaman are perhaps the best-known of his poems, which it seems were never collected into a *dīwān*. The available material gives evidence of a certain forcefulness but does not betray unusual talents. Some of his lines are interesting because of dialectical peculiarities, others because of the manner in which they reflect his experience of Islam.

Bibliography: *Aghānī* [1], xiii, 64-72; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 467-70; Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 15-17; *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, pp. 61-63 (ascription doubtful), 214-6, 512-3; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; *Khizāna*, index; Ṭabarī, index; C. Rabin, *Ancient West Arabian*, London 1951, index.

(G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. **MUḤAMMAD** B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH, brother of the caliphs Abu l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ and Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr. ʿAbbās helped to retake Malaṭya in 139/756, and three years later was appointed by al-Manṣūr as governor of al-Djazīra and the neighbouring frontier district. He was dismissed in 155/772, but his name continues to figure frequently in the history of the following years, however little important his political part may have been. He especially and often distinguished himself in the wars against the Byzantines. In 159/775-6 he was put at the head of the troops which the caliph al-Mahdī mustered for an expedition against Asia Minor, and it was with great success that he acquitted himself of the charge committed to him. He died in 186/802.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 121; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 184; Yaʿkūbī, ii, 461 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 372 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 266; ix, 64 f.; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (de Goeje and de Jong), 225, 227, 265, 275, 284; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin (Juynboll and Matthes), i, see index; *al-Aghānī*, Tables; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1945, 309-10. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ʿ**ABBĀS** B. **NĀṢIH** AL-THAḲAFĪ, Andalusi poet of the 3rd/9th century. He stayed for a long time in Egypt, Ḥidjāz and ʿIrāḳ, acquiring a broad culture. A confidant of the amīr al-Ḥakam I, who appointed him as ḳāḍī of his native Algeciras, he soon made a name for himself both as a philologist and a jurist. The *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān has preserved numerous specimens of his poetry. He died at the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, circa 238/852.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muḳtabis*, i (in press), fol. 129 f.; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tāʾrīkh*, no. 879; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, index.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀS** B. AL-**WALĪD**, Umayyad general, son of the caliph al-Walīd I. Al-ʿAbbās owes his celebrity principally to the energetic part he took in the continual struggles of the Umayyads with the Byzantines. Concerning the details, the Arabic and Byzantine sources do not always agree. In the early part of the reign of al-Walīd I, he and his uncle Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, took Ṭuwāna, the most important fortress of Cappadocia. The Muslims had begun to be discouraged and ʿAbbās had to display the greatest energy to succeed in stopping the fugitives and renewing the battle. The Greeks were forced to retire into the town, which was immediately invested and had to surrender after a long siege. Arab historians give Djumāda II 88/May 707 as the date of the fall of the fortress, but the Byzantines put it two years later. For the following period, the Arabic chronicles mention many military expeditions undertaken by the two Umayyad generals, sometimes jointly, sometimes by one of them independently of the other. The most remarkable events were the taking of Sebastopol in Cilicia by ʿAbbās, and of Amasia in Pontus by Maslama, in 93/712. In the following year, ʿAbbās seized Antioch in Pisidia. He continued to support Maslama faithfully in subsequent battles. When, after the death of ʿUmar II in 101/720, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, fomented a dangerous insurrection, ʿAbbās was sent against him, first alone, then he and Maslama together. Yazīd was killed in a battle against the caliph's troops in 102/720, and peace was soon restored. In the reign of Walīd II, he first was intelligent and loyal enough to oppose the plot of his brother Yazīd, whom he

warned, together with the other Marwānids, not to let loose by their revolts the *fitna*, which would prove fatal to the dynasty. But at the end he had to give in to violence and join the coup d'état of 126/744. Later he was thrown into prison by the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. He died in prison in Ḥarrān, in an epidemic, in 132/750.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1191 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 350 ff.; Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 170, 189, 369; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 510 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 415 f.; W. Brooks, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 182; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern*, *NGWGött*, 1901, 436 f.; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, 1934, 19-20, 22.

(K. V. Zettersteen—F. Gabrieli)

ʿABBĀS EFENDI [see BAHĀʾĪS]

ʿABBĀS ḤILMĪ I, viceroy of Egypt, born in 1813, son of Aḥmad Ṭūsun (1793-1816) and grandson of Muhammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. He succeeded to his uncle Ibrāhīm, who died 10 Nov. 1848. From his very accession he showed great hostility to foreigners. The reforms undertaken during the preceding period he chose to consider as dangerous and blameworthy innovations that were best abandoned. Most of the schools opened by Muhammad ʿAli were closed, as well as the factories, workshops and sanitary institutions; he even gave orders to destroy the works of the Delta dam. Many foreign, especially French, officials were dismissed. The result was, from the beginning of his reign, the decline of French influence; on the other hand, he drew nearer to Great Britain. Great Britain offered him its support in the conflict with the Ottoman government about the application in Egypt of the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. In exchange for this support, Great Britain obtained on 18 July 1851 the authorisation to construct the railway between Alexandria and Cairo. The opening of this line, which was planned to be extended to Suez, was meant to counteract the French project to cut the isthmus of Suez.

Distrustful, brutal, hard, and sometimes cruel, by nature, ʿAbbās quickly became unpopular. It must be noted, however, that at least in the first years of his reign, his aversion to the reforms inspired by the West, helped, by a considerable decrease of the expenses, to relieve the poorest classes of the population. They were granted some remission of taxes and had less to suffer from corvée and conscription. Moreover, certain western and Egyptian historians haye tried to explain the reactionary and xenophobe policy of ʿAbbās by an ardent patriotism, which, allegedly, induced him to limit by all means the foreign influence of the consequences of which he was afraid; Sammarco, however, has refuted this assertion.

ʿAbbās, impelled by his mistrustful character to live in isolation, retired to his palace in Benha. He was strangled there by two of his servants, on 13 July 1854, in circumstances which were never wholly cleared up. He was succeeded by his uncle Muh. Saʿīd [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Précis de l'histoire de l'Egypte par divers historiens et archèologues*, vol. iv: *Les règnes de ʿAbbas, de Saʿid et d'Ismaʿil* (1848-1879), by A. Sammarco, Cairo 1935, 1-17; G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vol. vi, Paris 1936; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London [1939], 285-312 and index. (M. Colombe)

ʿABBĀS ḤILMĪ II, khedive of Egypt, born in Alexandria, 14 July 1874, died in Geneva 20 Dec. 1944. He studied in the Theresianum in Vienna together with his brother Muḥ. ʿAlī (b. 9 Nov. 1875) and succeeded to his father, Muḥ. Tawfīḳ [*q.v.*], on 8 Jan. 1892. He soon came into conflict with the diplomatic agents and consuls general of England in Cairo, first Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer), and then Lord Kitchener [see MIṢR].

When in August 1914 the world war broke out, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī was in Istanbul, where he had arrived in the summer. Having been wounded on 25 July in an attempt on his life, he remained in the Ottoman capital for treatment. From there he addressed to the Egyptians and Sudanese, on Turkey entering the war on the side of the Central Powers, an appeal to fight against the occupiers of his country. On the same day the state of siege was declared in Cairo. A month later, on 18 Dec., the British Government decided to put Egypt under their protectorate; on 19 Dec., the khedive was deposed and replaced by prince Ḥusayn Kāmil, the eldest of the princes of the family of Muḥ. ʿAlī.

During the war, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī, kept in the background by the Young Turks, lived first in Istanbul and then in Vienna, whence he made several journeys to Switzerland. He spent in that country the last part of his life. In 1922, when Egypt became a sovereign and independent state (British declaration of 28 Febr. 1922), and the sultan Fuʾād [*q.v.*], successor of Ḥusayn Kāmil, who died in 1917, took the title of king (15 March 1922), the ex-khedive was declared to have lost all his rights to the throne (this measure was not applied to "his direct and legitimate masculine descendants"; royal rescript of 13.4.1922, Official Journal of Egypt of 15.4, no. 38, extraordinary). His property was liquidated and he was forbidden to enter Egypt. Nevertheless, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had for some time many partisans in Egypt and it was only in May 1931 that he renounced "all pretension to the throne".

The ex-khedive had two sons, Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim and Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. The first (b. 20 Febr. 1899) was appointed, on the abdication of king Fārūḳ (26 July 1952) as a member of the regency council, and became, on Oct. 1952, sole regent of the kingdom until the proclamation of the Republic in June 1953.

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ʿABBĀS MĪRZĀ, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, born in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1203/Sept. 1789, in the small town of Nawā, died on 10 D̲j̲umādā II 1249/25 Oct. 1833. Although not the eldest son, he was made heir to the throne because his mother also belonged to the Ḳād̲j̲ār family. Europeans who knew him were unanimous in their praise of his bravery, generosity and other excellent qualities. R. G. Watson (*History of Persia*, 128-9) describes him as "the noblest of the Kajar race". He was passionately devoted to the military art, and, with the aid of, successively, Russian, French, and British officers and men, introduced European tactics and discipline amongst his troops in Ad̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, of which province he was Governor-General for many years. Despite his military reforms, he failed in his campaigns against the Russians, but he was successful in the war against Turkey in 1821-3.

He died at Mas̲h̲had during his father's lifetime; on Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh's death in the following year (1834), ʿAbbās Mīrzā's son Muḥammad succeeded to the throne.

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ʿABBĀSA, daughter of the caliph al-Mahdī, sister of the caliphs Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-Hādī; it is to her that the locality Suwayḳat al-ʿAbbāsa owes its name. She had three husbands in succession, who all predeceased her; this inspired Abū Nuwās to write some satirical verses, in which he recommanded the caliph, should he want to have a traitor killed, to marry him to ʿAbbāsa. Her name is connected with the fall of the Barmakids through the amorous intrigue with D̲j̲aʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, with which she is credited. According to al-Ṭabarī, Hārūn could not deprive himself of the society of either his sister or D̲j̲aʿfar, so that, in order to have them both with him at the same time, he made them contract a purely formal marriage. They, however, were not contented with the form alone; and when Hārūn learned that they had children, and was convinced that the reports in circulation about them were true, he caused D̲j̲aʿfar to be executed.—Some earlier historians than al-Ṭabarī do not mention this fact; especially it must be noticed that the commentaries on the verses of Abū Nuwās give the names of ʿAbbāsa's husbands without mentioning that of D̲j̲aʿfar. Further, al-Ṭabarī, like the other chroniclers who repeat this story, only mentions it as *one* of the events which were reported to have caused D̲j̲aʿfar's execution. Later chroniclers amplify the love-story of D̲j̲aʿfar and ʿAbbāsa more and more, until Ibn K̲h̲aldūn calls its truth in question, even if on grounds which are not very conclusive for us. If one detail, found in the Persian Ṭabarī, must be believed, ʿAbbāsa was already forty years old when her relations with D̲j̲aʿfar began. It is quite certain that her second husband died eleven years before D̲j̲aʿfar, and these figures put all ideas of a youthful romance out of the question. We may then reasonably look upon this anecdote as the product of popular imagination, to give a poetic aura to the fall of this favorite minister. This is the more likely in that pagan Arab stories contain a remarkably similar episode of the marriage of the minister of a king with the latter's sister (see D̲J̲AD̲H̲ĪMA AL-ABRAS̲H̲); it was very easy to transfer to D̲j̲aʿfar the motif of this story. What the greater number of authorities report on the subject of ʿAbbāsa is reported by some about two other fictitious sisters of Hārūn, Maymūna and Fāk̲h̲ita! The older authorities say nothing about what happened to ʿAbbāsa after the death of D̲j̲aʿfar; it is only the later writers who have woven mysterious horrors about her end. The love of ʿAbbāsa and D̲j̲aʿfar has frequently appealed to the imagination of European as well as Arabian authors: in 1753 a French romance appeared, and again more recently, in 1904 (Aimé Giron and Albert Tozza, *Les nuits de Bagdad*).

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ʿABBĀSA, town in Egypt, the name of which derives from that of ʿAbbāsa, daughter of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. The princess had pitched her camp on its place and it was there that she said good-bye to Ḳaṭr al-Nadā, daughter of K̲h̲umārawayh, who was going to marry the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid. Around this casual encampment buildings were raised and Ḳaṣr ʿAbbāsa, the "palace of ʿAbbāsa", became the township of ʿAbbāsa. It was at that time the last town on the road to Syria, situated as it was at the entrance of the Wādī Ṭūmīlāt, that narrow strip of vegetation that reaches to the East as far as the Bitter Seas, and was called in the Middle Ages Wādī al-Sadīr and even Wādī ʿAbbāsa.

The town was, therefore, destined to play a military role and, in effect, it was a rallying point for troops during the last period of the Ṭūlūnids and again under the Mamlūks. A customs-house was established to collect duty on goods imported from Syria; it is mentioned in connection with certain adjustments of rates ordered by the sultan Barḳūḳ.

The Fāṭimids did not often leave their capital, but nevertheless, according to al-Maḳdisī, ʿAbbāsa had smarter houses than Fusṭāṭ, with protruding balconies. It was embellished especially by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil, who paid the town long visits. He had gardens laid out and pavilions built. The ruler came to hunt and to fish, and couriers on dromedaries brought him from Cairo the political and administrative news.

ʿAbbāsa kept until the end of the Mamlūk period its role as a meeting-place for hunts, and even Ḳāʾitbay used to visit it from time to time. The town had long since lost its strategic importance owing to the foundation of Ṣāliḥiyya about 35 miles to the North-East, and later that of Ẓāhiriyya, in the immediate neighbourhood of ʿAbbāsa.

The district was inhabited by beduin Arabs, who nomadized in the Wādī Ṭūmīlāt, and whose chief, according to some authorities, resided in ʿAbbāsa. Nevertheless, ʿAbbāsa is no longer mentioned in the Ottoman period and its name does not appear in al-D̲j̲abartī's chronicle. It was from Ṣāliḥiyya that the troops of Bonaparte watched the desert road. ʿAbbāsa is today an unimportant township, between Abū Ḥammād and Tall al-Kabīr.

Bibliography: In addition to the authors quoted in J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, *Matériaux*, *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 1245, see al-Maḳrīzī, ed. *MIFAO*, xlvi and xlix, index; Maḳdisī, 196; Kindī, 247; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, Cairo, iii, 109-11, 135, 138, 139, 148; viii, 141; x, 170-1, 232; Ibn Iyās, ed. Kahle and Mustafa, iii, 65, 123, 188; transl. Wiet, ii, 74, 143, 214; Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides* 147, 149, 179. (G. Wiet)

ʿABBĀSĀBĀD, name of numerous places in Persia. The best-known is a fortified borough lying by the Čas̲h̲me-yi-gaz on the K̲h̲urāsān road, between Sabzawār (circa 75 miles) and S̲h̲āhrūd

(circa 68 miles), where Shāh ᶜAbbās I [*q.v.*] settled a colony of some hundred families of Georgians. In 1934 there remained only one old woman who remembered Georgian. Another ᶜAbbāsābād was built by Prince ᶜAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] on the left bank of the Araxes (near Nakhčuwān). Together with its *tête-de-pont* on the right bank, it was ceded to Russia by the treaty of 1828. (V. MINORSKY)

ᶜABBĀSĪ [see SIKKA]

ᶜABBĀSIDS (BANU 'L-ᶜABBĀS), the dynasty of the Caliphs from 132/750 to 656/1258. The dynasty takes its name from its ancestor, al-ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, the uncle of the Prophet.

The story of the origins and nature of the movement that overthrew the Umayyad Caliphate and established the ᶜAbbāsid dynasty in its place was for long known only in the much-revised version put about when the dynasty had already attained power, and, with it, respectability. A more critical version was proposed by G. van Vloten (*De opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden 1890, and *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le califat des Omayyades*, Amsterdam 1894), and developed by J. Wellhausen (in the final chapter of his *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902; English transl., Calcutta 1927). His findings, with some modifications, have been confirmed by subsequent research, and more especially by the new information that has come to light in recent years on the early history of the Shīᶜa sects, notably in the *Firaḳ al-Shīᶜa* of al-Nawbakhtī (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931). They were to a remarkable degree anticipated by Ibn Khaldūn in his history.

The ᶜAbbāsid party that won power from the Umayyads was known as Hāshimiyya. According to the later chronicles, this name referred to Hāshīm, the common ancestor of al-ᶜAbbās, ᶜAlī and the Prophet, and it has been taken as asserting a claim to the succession based on kinship with the Prophet. In fact the name was of a quite different significance, and reveals very clearly the true origins of the ᶜAbbāsid party. During the Umayyad period the large number of Shīᶜite and pro-Shīᶜite sects and parties that flourished in different parts of the Empire, but especially in Southern ᶜIrāḳ, may be broadly divided into two main groups. One of them followed the pretenders of the line of Fāṭima, and was, generally speaking, moderate, differing from the dominant faith chiefly by its support, on legitimist grounds, for the political claims of the house of ᶜAlī. The other first appeared in the revolt of al-Mukhtār, who rose in 66/685 in the name of Muḥammad, a son of ᶜAlī by a Ḥanafī woman. For the next sixty or seventy years the claims of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and his successors were advanced by a series of sects of a more extreme character, deriving their main support from the resentful and imperfectly Islamised *mawālī* and embodying in their teachings many ideas brought by these converts from their previous religions. After the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700-1, his followers split into three main groups, one of which followed his son Abū Hāshim ᶜAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], and was known after him as Hāshimiyya. On the death of Abū Hāshim without issue in 98/716, his followers again split into several groups, one of which maintained that Abū Hāshim had bequeathed the Imamate to Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-ᶜAbbās, just before he died in the house of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī's father in Palestine. This group continued to be known as Hāshimiyya, and also as Rāwandiyya (cf. S. Moscati, *Il testamento di Abū Hašim*, *RSO* 1952, 28 ff.). It may be noted in passing that the doctrine that the Imamate can be bequeathed or transferred by the Imām to another person is by no means infrequent in early Shīᶜism (see B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāᶜīlism*, Cambridge 1940, 25 ff. and 44 ff.).

Whether or not the story of the bequest of Abū Hāshim is, as has been suggested, fictitious, the main fact remains clear: that Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī took over the claims of Abū Hāshim, and, with them, the sect and propaganda organisation of the Hāshimiyya, which he then proceeded to transform into the instrument of the ᶜAbbāsid party. He seems to have lost little time in using it. The accounts given by the historians of the first ᶜAbbāsid missions are incomplete and in part contradictory. Broadly, they indicate that intensive propaganda began from about 100/718. From headquarters in Kūfa, the Hāshimiyya sent emissaries to Khurāsān, one of whom, Khidāsh, won considerable success, but was executed in 118/736 after prematurely showing his hand. The moderate Shīᶜa, whose support Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī was still seeking, were alienated by the extreme doctrines taught by Khidāsh, and after his death Muḥammad deemed it advisable to disavow him and place his own organisation in Khurāsān under the control of the Shīᶜite chief missionary, Sulaymān b. Kathīr [*q.v.*]. A period of inactivity followed, during which Muḥammad died in 125/743. His son Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] succeeded to his claims and was accepted by the followers in Khurāsān, including Sulaymān b. Kathīr. With Ibrāhīm a new phase of activity began. In 128/745-6 Ibrāhīm sent his *mawlā* Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] as his personal representative to Khurāsān. The sources differ on the origin of Abū Muslim, but agree that he was a Persian, and a freedman of Ibrāhīm. The use of the *kunya* was at that time a privilege rarely enjoyed by non-Arabs, and its employment by Persian emissaries of the ᶜAbbāsids like Abū Muslim, his lieutenant Abū Djahm, and his rival Abū Salama al-Khallāl is not without significance. Considered in the light of the statements in some sources that Abū Muslim claimed or was granted membership of the ᶜAbbāsid house, it may well be an example of the practice, common among the extreme Shīᶜa, of granting to favoured supporters adoptive membership of the house of the Prophet, and thus, incidentally as it were, of the Arab nation. A modified form of this method of adoption later became part of the dynastic policy of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs (see ABNĀ').

Abū Muslim's mission to Khurāsān achieved a rapid and resounding success. While his main appeal was to the Persian *mawālī*, he also found important support among the Yemenite Arabs, and is said to have won over many of the Zoroastrian and Buddhist *dihḳāns*, some of whom were now converted to Islam for the first time. Opinions differ as to the nature of Abū Muslim's teachings. Two things are clear however—that he was a loyal agent of the Hāshimiyya, and that they were a part of the extremist wing of the Shīᶜa. It seems likely therefore that the doctrines he taught were of the kind current among the extreme Shīᶜa—probably including elements of Iranian origin, and thus the more acceptable to those whom he addressed. The hoisting of the black flags, later accepted as the emblem of the house of ᶜAbbās, had at this stage a messianic significance. Black flags were among the signs and portents listed in the eschatological prophecies current at the time, and had been used

as emblems of religious revolt by earlier rebels against the Umayyads. Their use by Abū Muslim was thus an appeal to messianic expectations. His activities aroused some opposition among the more moderate Arab Shīʿa, led by Sulaymān b. Kathīr, but a tactical withdrawal of Abū Muslim from Khurāsān was sufficient to demonstrate that no effective movement was possible without him and his policies, and led to his return as undisputed leader of the mission. By Ramaḍān 129/May-June 747 he was ready to show his hand. The time and the place were auspicious. The moderate Shīʿa and the Khawāridj, the two most important opposition movements against the Umayyads, had both shot their bolt — the former in the risings of 122/740 and 126/744, the latter in the rebellion of 127/745. These served the double purpose of weakening the Umayyad regime and, by their failure, eliminating possible rivals to the Hāshimī succession. ʿIrāḳ, the main centre of previous anti-Umayyad movements, was exhausted, and was moreover subject to special Umayyad surveillance. In concentrating their attention on Khurāsān, the ʿAbbāsids were breaking new grounds. Their choice was good. An active and warlike Persian population, imbued with the religious and military traditions of the frontier, was deeply resentful of the inequalities imposed by Umayyad rule. The Arab army and settlers, half Persianized by long residence, were sharply divided among themselves, and even during the triumphal progress of Abū Muslim diverted their own energies and those of the Umayyad governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*], to Arab inter-tribal strife. Soon Abū Muslim was able to take Marw, and then, ably seconded by his general Ḳaḥṭaba [*q.v.*], an Arab of the tribe of Ṭayy, seized all Khurāsān from the crumbling Umayyad power. From Khurāsān the ʿAbbāsid forces advanced to Rayy and then, after defeating a relieving Umayyad army from Kirmān, captured Nihāwand. The way was now open to ʿIrāḳ. In 132/749 the ʿAbbāsid army crossed the Euphrates some 30 or 40 miles north of Kūfa, and engaged and defeated another Umayyad army led by Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*]. Ḳaḥṭaba fell on the field of battle, but his son, al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba, took command, and following up the victory, took possession of the city of Kūfa. Ibrāhīm al-Imām had fallen into the hands of the Caliph Marwān in 130/748, and died shortly after. It was therefore his brother, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] who was hailed as Caliph by the Hāshimī troops in Kūfa in 132/749, with the title al-Saffāḥ. The accession of the first ʿAbbāsid Caliph was accompanied by the first breach with the revolutionaries, when the missionary Abū Salama [*q.v.*] was put to death in obscure circumstances, allegedly for attempting to bring about the replacement of the ʿAbbāsids by the ʿAlids. Abū Muslim undertook his removal, perhaps in return for ʿAbbāsid acquiescence in the death of Sulaymān b. Kathīr. Meanwhile another ʿAbbāsid army, led by Abū ʿAwn, advanced from Nihāwand towards Mesopotamia. In 131/749, in the neighbourhood of Shahrazūr, east of the Lesser Zāb river, he inflicted a crushing defeat on an Umayyad army led by ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the caliph Marwān. Marwān now himself took the field, and marched across the Tigris towards the Greater Zāb river, to engage the army of Abū ʿAwn. The latter had meanwhile handed over his command to ʿAbd Allāh, the uncle of al-Saffāḥ, who had arrived from Kūfa with considerable reinforcements. The battle of the Greater Zāb, in 132/750, sealed the fate of the Umayyad Caliphate. The defeated Marwān fled to Syria, where he tried in vain to organize further resistance. The victorious ʿAbbāsid troops advanced through Ḥarrān, the residence of Marwān, into Syria, occupied Damascus, and then pursued Marwān into Egypt, where he was killed and his head sent to al-Saffāḥ in Kūfa. The authority o the new ʿAbbāsid caliph was now established all over the Middle East.

Much has been written about the historical significance of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, which historians have rightly seen to be something more than a mere change of dynasty. Many nineteenth century orientalists, unduly influenced by the racial theories of Gobineau and others, saw in the struggle a conflict between the Aryanism of Iran and the Semitism of Arabia, ending in a victory for the Persians over the Arabs, the destruction of what Wellhausen called the "Arab Kingdom" of the Umayyads, and the establishment of a new Iranian Empire under a cloak of Persianized Islam. There is at first sight much to support this view: the undoubted role of the Persians in the revolution itself, the prominent place of Persian ministers and courtiers in the new regime, the strong Persian elements in ʿAbbāsid government and culture. It is not surprising to find some statements to the same effect in the Arabic sources (Cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 292; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, iii, 181 and 206; etc.). More recent writers have however made important modifications in the theories both of Persian victory and of Arab defeat. Shīʿism, for long regarded as an expression of the "Iranian national consciousness", was of Arab origin, and had its main centre among the mixed Arab, Aramaean and Persian population of southern ʿIrāḳ. It was taken to Persia by Arabs, and remained strongest in areas of Arab settlement like Ḳumm. The revolt of Abū Muslim was directed against Umayyad and Syrian rather than Arab rule as such, and won the support of many Arabs, especially among the Yemenites. There were many Arabs even among its leaders, including the redoubtable general Ḳaḥṭaba. Though racial antagonisms no doubt played their part in the movement, and though Persians were prominent among the victors, they nevertheless served an Arab dynasty, and, as the fate of Abū Muslim, Abū Salama and the Barmakids shows, received short shrift if they fell foul of their masters. Many high offices under the state were at first reserved to Arabs, Arabic was still the sole official language, Arabian land remained fiscally privileged, and the doctrine of Arab superiority remained strong enough, on the one hand, to induce Persians to provide themselves with fabricated Arab pedigrees, on the other to provoke the nationalist reaction of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*]. What the Arabs had lost was the exclusive right to the fruits of power. Persians as well as Arabs came to the ʿAbbāsid court, and the favour of the ruler, often expressed in the form of "adoption" into the Royal household, rather than pure Arab descent, came to be the passport to power and prestige. If a term must be set to the Arab Kingdom, it must be sought in the gradual cessation of the allowances and pensions formerly paid as of right to the Arab warriors and their families, and in the rise to power of the Turkish guards from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim.

The real significance of the ʿAbbāsid victory must be sought in the facts of the change that followed it, rather than in dubiously documented hypotheses on the movement that produced it. The first and most obvious change was the transfer of the centre of gravity from Syria to ʿIrāḳ, the traditional centre

of the great cosmopolitan Empires of the ancient Middle East, and of the civilisation to which Toynbee has given the name "Syriac". The first ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ set up his capital in the small town of Hāshimiyya, which he built on the east bank of the Euphrates near Kūfa. Later he transferred the capital to al-Anbār. It was his brother and successor, al-Manṣūr, in many ways the real founder of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, who established the permanent capital of the Empire in a new city on the west bank of the Tigris, near the ruins of Ctesiphon and at the intersection of several trade-routes. Its official name was Madīnat al-Salām, but it is usually known by the name of the small town that previously occupied the site—Baghdād.

From this city or its neighbourhood the ʿAbbāsid dynasty first ruled, and later reigned, as heads of the greater part of the Islamic world for five centuries. The period of their sovereignty, covering the great epoch of classical Islamic civilisation, may be conveniently considered in two parts. The first, from 132/750 to 334/945, saw the gradual decline of the authority of the caliphs and the rise of military leaders ruling through their troops. During the second, from ca. 334/945 to 656/1258, the caliphs, with one exception, retained a purely nominal suzerainty, while real power, even in Baghdād itself, was exercised by dynasties of secular sovereigns.

The main events of these two periods will be treated under the names of the various caliphs, dynasties, places, etc. Here only the broad outline of events will be given, and an attempt made to describe the main characteristics of each period.

1. 132/750—334/945

The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in the days following its establishment must have seemed very insecure to contemporary eyes. Rebels rose against it on every side and for a long time every new caliph had to face risings in and around even the metropolitan province of ʿIrāḳ. In Syria, Arab supporters of the deposed Umayyads gave trouble, and found encouragement in the growing legend of the Sufyānī, a messianic figure of the house of Umayya who competed with the ʿAlid pretenders for the support of the discontented. The ʿAlids themselves, temporarily disorganised by the frustration of their hopes, and kept under close surveillance, were for a time in eclipse, but soon reappeared as the most dangerous and determined opponents of ʿAbbāsid rule. Even the Khawāridj remained an active, if minor, opposition force. Nor were the ostensible supporters of the dynasty wholly reliable. In the prevailing atmosphere of mistrust, only members of the ʿAbbāsid family were appointed to the highest positions —but when Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ died and his brother Abū Djaʿfar succeeded as Caliph with the title al-Manṣūr, their uncle, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, commanding the troops and raiders on the Byzantine frontier, revolted and proclaimed himself caliph, and this serious threat was averted thanks in the main to Abū Muslim. There remained the problem of Abū Muslim himself and the Hāshimiyya. The ʿAbbāsids, like others before and after them who had come to power on the crest of a revolutionary movement, soon found themselves faced with a conflict between the tenets and objectives of the movement on the one hand and the needs of government and Empire on the other. The ʿAbbāsids chose continuity and orthodoxy, and had to face the angry disappointment of some of their followers. Abū Salama had already been destroyed. Abū Muslim himself was put to death as soon as al-Manṣūr felt strong enough to dispense with his uncomfortable presence. These steps, and the suppression of the more consistent wing of the Rāwandiyya [*q.v.*], alienated the extremist following of the ʿAbbāsids, some of whom found an outlet in a series of religio-political revolts in Īrān, while others later joined the ranks of the Ismāʿīlīs, the extremist wing of the Fāṭimid Shīʿa that grew up in the course of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. At the same time, however, the changes reassured the orthodox, thus helping al-Manṣūr to meet the dangers of rebellion and foreign war, and during his long and brilliant reign, to lay the foundations of ʿAbbāsid government. In this task, and especially in the elaboration of the centralised administrative structure, al-Manṣūr was ably seconded by a family that was to play a vital role during the first half century of ʿAbbāsid rule. The Barmakids [*q.v.*] are usually described as Persians, but they were of a very different kind from the Khurāsānian rebels who followed Abū Muslim. Their religion before conversion to Islam was neither Zoroastrianism nor any of its heresies, but Buddhism, and they belonged to the aristocratic, landowning priesthood of the Central Asian city of Balkh, an ancient capital whose imperial and commercial traditions provided a fund of experience to the ruling class of its citizens. It was after the foundation of Baghdād that Khālid al-Barmakī appeared as the righthand man of al-Manṣūr, and thereafter he and his descendants developed and directed the administration of the Empire, until the dramatic and still unexplained fall of the Barmakids from power under Hārūn al-Rashīd in 187/803. With the transfer of the centre of the Empire to the East, the destruction of the Arab aristocratic monopoly of high office, and the firm establishment in power of the Barmakids, Persian influences became stronger and stronger. Sasanid Persian models were followed in the court and the government, and Persians began to play an increasingly important part in both political and cultural life. This process of Persianisation continued during the reigns of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī; the prejudice against the employment of *mawālī* in high places gradually disappeared. To replace the weakening bond of Arab nationality the caliphs laid increased stress on Islamic orthodoxy and conformity, trying to weld their cosmopolitan Empire into a unity based on a common faith and a common way of life. Al-Manṣūr's renunciation of the heterodox origins of the ʿAbbāsid movement was followed under his successors by a deliberate policy of wooing the orthodox theologians and makers of opinion, and laying a greater stress on the religious element in the nature of the authority exercised by the caliphs. This policy, when contrasted with the dissolute lives led by many of the caliphs and their courtiers, often led to charges of hypocrisy, but was in the main successful in achieving its object. Mecca and Medina were rebuilt, the pilgrimage from ʿIrāḳ organised on a regular basis, and orthodoxy reinforced by an inquisitorial persecution of the various heretical movements and of Manichaeism, which at this time became prominent, under the name of Zandaḳa, as a revolutionary movement of the poorer classes (see ZINDĪḲ). For a time an attempt was made to impose the Muʿtazilī doctrine, which, if H. S. Nyberg's attractive hypothesis is correct (see EI[1] AL-MUʿTAZILA), was an official ʿAbbāsid attempt at a compromise with the Shīʿa. From the

time of al-Mutawakkil this attempt was abandoned, and thereafter the ʿAbbāsids adhered, formally at least, to the most rigid orthodoxy.

The reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd is generally regarded as the apogee of ʿAbbāsid power, but it is at this time that the first portents of decline are seen. In Persia, the series of religious revolts that had followed the martyrdom of Abū Muslim became ever more threatening, and challenged ʿAbbāsid authority in the Caspian provinces as well as in Khurāsān. In the west, ʿAbbāsid authority disappeared almost completely. Spain had rejected the ʿAbbāsids and become independent under an Umayyad prince as far back as 138/756. After the death of Yazīd b. Ḥātim, the last effective ʿAbbāsid governor of North Africa, in 170/787, independent dynasties arose, first in Morocco and then in Tunisia, and the authority of Baghdād was never again asserted west of Egypt. The Aghlabids of Tunisia, exercising hereditary and independent rule under the nominal suzerainty of the caliph, set the pattern for a whole series of subsequent local hereditary governorships, whose encroachments eventually reduced the effective sovereignty of the Caliphate to central and southern ʿIrāḳ. Another danger-sign showed the weakness of the defences of the Empire. By ʿAbbāsid times the frontiers of Islam were more or less stabilised. The only foreign wars of any importance were with the Byzantines, and even these seem to have been of more show than effect. The inconclusive campaigns of Hārūn were the last major offensives launched against Byzantium by the Caliphate. Thereafter Islam was on the defensive. Byzantine armies sought out weak points in Syria and Mesopotamia, while Khazar invaders entered Islamic territory in the Caucasus and Armenia. Perhaps the most serious factor of weakness was the obscure internal convulsion that culminated in the degradation of the Barmakids and the assumption by Hārūn of the reins of power in his own not too competent hands. This step seems to have shaken the alliance with the Persian aristocratic wing of the movement that had brought them to power, which the early ʿAbbāsids had maintained long after shedding the more extremist elements. After Hārūn's death, smouldering conflicts burst into civil war between his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. Al-Amīn's strength lay mainly in the capital and in ʿIrāḳ, al-Maʾmūn's in Persia, and the civil war has been interpreted as a national conflict between Arabs and Persians, ending in a victory for the latter. The same objections can be raised to this explanation as to the corresponding theory concerning the ʿAbbāsid revolution itself. The civil war was more probably a continuation of the social struggles of the immediately preceding period, complicated by a regional rather than national conflict between Persia and ʿIrāḳ. Al-Maʾmūn, relying on eastern support, for a while projected the transfer of the capital from Baghdād to Marw, but some time after his victory wisely decided to return to the Imperial city. Thereafter Persian aristocratic and regional aspirations found an outlet in local dynasties. In 205/820 Ṭāhir, the Persian general of al-Maʾmūn, made himself virtually independent in Khurāsān, and founded a dynasty. His example was followed by others, who, while for the most part still recognizing the suzerainty of the caliphs, deprived them of all effective authority in most of Persia.

While the power of the caliphs in the provinces was gradually being reduced to the granting of diplomas of investiture to the *de facto* rulers, their authority even in ʿIrāḳ itself was dwindling. A spendthrift court and a inflated bureaucracy produced chronic financial disorder, aggravated by the loss of provincial revenues and, subsequently, by the exhaustion or loss to invaders of gold and silver mines. The caliphs found a remedy in the farming out of state revenues, eventually with the local governors as tax-farmers. These farmer-governors soon became the real rulers of the Empire, the more so when tax-farms and governorships were held by army commanders, who alone had the force to impose obedience. From the time of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiḳ, the caliphs became the puppets of their own generals, who were often able to appoint and depose them at will. Al-Muʿtaṣim is usually credited with the introduction of the practice of using Turks from Central Asia as soldiers and officers, and from his time the dominant military caste became mainly Turkish. In 221/836 he built a new residence at Sāmarrā, some 60 miles north of Baghdād. Sāmarrā remained the Imperial residence until 279/892, when al-Muʿtamid returned to Baghdād. Its foundation illustrates the growing gulf between the caliph and his praetorians on the one hand and the people of Baghdād on the other. Its art and architecture illustrate the emergence of a new ruling caste with different tastes and traditions. Under al-Wāthiḳ the power of the Turks continued to grow. A serious attempt to reassert the supremacy of the Caliphate was made by his successor al-Mutawakkil, who tried to break the power of the Turkish guards and to rally support against them among the theologians and the civil population, whose orthodox fanaticism he sought to placate by renouncing and suppressing the Muʿtazilī doctrines of his predecessors and enforcing the regulations against the Christians and Jews. The attempt ended in failure. The murder of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861 was followed by a period of anarchy. During an interval of nine years four caliphs succeeded one another, but all were helpless in the hands of the Turkish guards, whose control of the court and the capital grew firmer, while the provinces relapsed into anarchy or, at best, autonomy. In Southern ʿIrāḳ a revolt broke out among the negro slaves, known as Zandj [*q.v.*], who worked on the salt marshes near Baṣra. This rapidly developed into a major threat to the Empire. The Zandj leader, who displayed brilliant generalship, defeated several imperial armies, and was able to establish effective control over much of Southern ʿIrāḳ and South West Persia. The lines of communication linking Baghdād with Baṣra, and therefore with the Persian Gulf and the trade route to the East, were cut, and by 264/877 Zandj parties were raiding within 17 miles of Baghdād itself. But meanwhile a period of greater stability had begun in the capital. The caliph al-Muʿtamid, who succeeded in 256/870, was not a very effective ruler, but his brother al-Muwaffaḳ soon became the real master of the capital, and during the twenty years of his rule did much to restore the failing strength of the house of ʿAbbās. His first task was to restore order and stability in Baghdād itself, then to tackle the problems presented by the Zandj and by the encroachments of provincial leaders, especially the Ṣaffārids in Persia and the Ṭulūnids in Egypt and Syria. By 269/882 he had expelled the Zandj from all their conquests, and in 270/883 finally crushed them. Though failing to destroy the Ṣaffārids and Ṭulūnids, he did succeed in checking their ambitions, and facilitated the task of his successors. On the

death of al-Muwaffaḳ in 278/891, he was succeeded as real ruler by his son al-Muʿtaḍid, who became caliph on the death of al-Muʿtamid in the following year. Al-Muʿtaḍid and his successor al-Muktafī were both able and energetic rulers. In Persia and Egypt the authority of the Caliphate was for a time reasserted, leaving the government free to deal with the menace of Shīʿism, now active again in a militant and extreme form. After the rise of the ʿAbbāsids and the consequent disappearance of the Ḥanafī line of pretenders, it was the Fāṭimid line of Imāms who commanded the support of most of the Shīʿa. After the death of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in 148/765, these split into two groups, one of which, known as Ismāʿīlī, inherited many of the functions, doctrines and followers of the vanished Ḥanafiyya. The transformation of the Caliphate in the 8th and 9th centuries from an agrarian, military state to a cosmopolitan Empire with an intensive commercial and industrial life, the growth of large cities and the concentration of capital and labour, subjected the loose social structure of the Empire to grave strain, and engendered widespread discontent. The rapid growth of the intellectual life of Islam, and the clash of cultures and ideas resulting from outside influence and internal development, again helped to prepare the way for the spread of heretical movements which, in a theocratic society, were the only possible expression of moral or material dissent from the existing order. The endemic disorders and upheavals of the late 9th and early 10th centuries brought these strains to breaking point, and the caliphs were called upon to deal with a series of challenges ranging in form from the revolutionary violence of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] in Baḥrayn, Syria-Mesopotamia and Southern Arabia, to the more subtle and ultimately more effective criticism of peaceful moralists and mystics in Baghdād itself. Al-Muʿtaḍid died after a defeat at the hand of the Ḳarmaṭians, but his successor al-Muktafī managed to crush the Ḳarmaṭian revolt in Syria and Mesopotamia, and, at the time of his death in 295/908, was leading a successful counter-attack against the Byzantines, who had sought to exploit the anarchy of the Muslim Empire. The Shīʿite danger was however far from ended. After a brief struggle for power, al-Muktafī was succeeded by his brother al-Muḳtadir, still a boy of 13. During his minority, and the long and ineffective reign that followed it, the destructive tendencies halted by the regent al-Muwaffaḳ and his two successors reappeared. The Ḳarmaṭians resumed their activities, and from their bases in Baḥrayn threatened the life-lines of the Caliphate, while in the west another wing of the Ismāʿīlī movement established a Fāṭimid anti-Caliphate in Tunisia. In North Syria the beduin Ḥamdānid dynasty established itself, while in Persia another Shīʿite family, the Būyids, began to build a new dynasty that soon threatened even ʿIrāḳ. In the capital, growing disorder and confusion culminated in the death of the caliph, while fighting his general Muʾnis. Under his successors al-Ḳāhir and al-Rāḍī, the decay of the authority of the Caliphate was completed. The event that is usually taken to symbolise this process was the grant to the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ibn Rāʾiḳ, of the title *amīr al-umarāʾ*—Commander of Commanders. This title, apparently intended to assert the primacy of the military commander of Baghdād over his colleagues elsewhere, served at the same time to give formal recognition to the existence of a supreme temporal authority, exercising effective political and military power, and leaving the caliph only as formal head of the state and the faith and representative of the religious unity of Islam. In 344/945 came the ultimate degradation, when the Būyid Amīr Muʿizz al-Dawla entered Baghdād, and the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and with it the effective control of the city of the caliphs, passed into the hands of a Shīʿite dynast.

Almost two centuries had passed between the enthronement of al-Saffāḥ and the arrival of Muʿizz al-Dawla. Though most of the period still awaits adequate investigation, certain broad lines of development can be discerned. In government, the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs continued along the lines of the late Umayyads, with far less break in continuity than was at one time believed. Certain changes, begun under the preceding dynasty, continued at an accelerated pace. From an Arab super-shaykh governing by the intermittent consent of the Arab aristocracy, the caliph became an autocrat, claiming a divine origin for his authority, resting it on his armed forces, and exercising it through a vast and growing bureaucratic organisation. Stronger in this respect than the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids were nevertheless weaker than the old oriental despots, in that they lacked the support of an established feudal caste and a priestly hierarchy, and were themselves theoretically subject to the Holy Law, of the authority of which their office was the supreme embodiment. With the transfer of the capital to the East and the entry of increasing numbers of Persians into the service of the caliphs, Persian influences grew in the court and the administration, which was organised in a series of *dīwāns* [*q.v.*] or ministries, under the supreme control of the *wazīr* [*q.v.*]. Provincial government was carried on jointly by the *amīr* [*q.v.*] (Governor) and *ʿāmil* [*q.v.*] (financial administrator), under the general surveillance of the capital, exercised through the agents of the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* (Director of Posts and Intelligence) (see BARĪD). In the army the Arab element gradually lost its importance, and the pensions formerly paid to Arabs were discontinued except for serving soldiers. The core of the early ʿAbbāsid army consisted of the Khurāsānīs, a term that is to be understood in a regional rather than national sense, and covering both Arabs and Persians from Khurāsān. In time these gave way to the Turkish slave troops, who from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards became the main element in the army and, in consequence, the main source of political authority for the various amīrs and commanders whose power replaced that of the caliphs.

The ʿAbbāsids came to power through a religious movement, and sought in religion the basis of unity and authority in the Empire they ruled. While broadly successful in this purpose, they had throughout to contend with a series of religious opposition movements, and with the mistrust or reserve of the more conscientious elements among the Sunnī religious leaders.

The political breakdown of the 9th and 10th centuries, resulting in the fragmentation of power in the Empire as a whole and the decline and eventual collapse of authority in the capital, had no immediate ill-effects on the economic and cultural life of the Caliphate. The ʿAbbāsid accession had been followed by a great economic revival, based on the exploitation of the resources of the Empire through industry and trade, and the development of a vast network of trade relations both within the Empire and with the world outside. These changes brought

important social consequences. The Arab warrior caste was deposed, and replaced by a ruling class of landowners and bureaucrats, professional soldiers and *literati*, merchants and men of learning. The Islamic town was transformed from a garrison city to a market and exchange, and in time to the centre of a flourishing and diversified urban culture. The literature, art, theology, philosophy and science of the period is examined elsewhere (in individual articles). Here it need only be remarked that this was the classic age of Islam, when a new, rich and original civilisation, born of the confluence of many races and traditions, came to maturity.

2. 334/945—656/1258

During the long period from the Būyid occupation of Bāg͟hdād to the conquest of the city by the Mongols, the Caliphate became a purely titular institution, representing the headship of Sunnī Islam, and acting as legitimating authority for the numerous secular rulers who exercised effective sovereignty, both in the provinces and in the capital. The caliphs themselves, except for a brief revival towards the end, were at the mercy of the secular rulers, who appointed and deposed them at will, and only one of them, al-Nāṣir, has left any mark on history. The appointment of Ibn Rāʾiḳ as *amīr al-umarāʾ* was the first of a long series, and marked the formal recognition of the office of secular sovereign. The main history of the period will be found in the articles on the various dynasties that held it.

In the second quarter of the 10th century a number of princes of the S͟hīʿite Persian house of Būya (or Buwayh), originating in the highlands of Daylam, extended their rule over most of western Persia, and forced the caliphs to grant them legal recognition. In 334/945 the Būyid prince Muʿizz al-Dawla entered Bag͟hdād, and wrung from the caliph al-Mustakfī the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ*. For over a century the caliphs were compelled to submit to the final humiliation of accepting these S͟hīʿite mayors of the palace as absolute masters. Despite their S͟hīʿism, the Būyids made no attempt to install an ʿAlid caliph—the twelfth Imām of the It͟hnā-ʿas͟harī S͟hīʿa had disappeared some 70 years earlier—but gave outward homage to the ʿAbbāsids, retaining them as an orthodox cover for their own power and an instrument of their policy in the Sunnī world. It was from the extremist S͟hīʿa that the real threat to the ʿAbbāsids came. In 356/969 the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids from Tunisia conquered Egypt, and were soon able to extend their power into Syria and Arabia. For the first time a powerful independent dynasty ruled in the Middle East that did not recognize even the titular authority of the ʿAbbāsids, but on the contrary founded a Caliphate of their own, challenging the ʿAbbāsids for the headship of the whole Islamic world. The political and military power of the Fāṭimids was supported by an elaborate religious organisation, commanding a multitude of agents, propagandists and sympathisers in the ʿAbbāsid dominions, and also by a skilful economic policy aimed at diverting the Eastern trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and thus at the same time strengthening Egypt and weakening ʿIrāḳ. (See B. Lewis, *The Fatimids and the Route to India*, *Istanbul Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, 1950, 355-60). It is indeed arguable that the diversion of S͟hīʿite energies due to the predominance of the Būyids in the East was one of the factors that saved the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate from extinction at this time (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Caliphate and the Arab States*, in *History of the Crusades*, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, vol. i.).

In time the Būyid Empire broke up into a number of smaller states, under Būyid and other rulers, while in Persia the power of a new dynasty, the Seld͟juḳs, was steadily growing. By the middle of the 11th century Būyid power was at an end, and a Turkish general called al-Basāsīrī was able to occupy Bag͟hdād and proclaim the *k͟huṭba* in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. This brief episode was the high water mark of Fāṭimid power. In 447/1055 the Seld͟juḳ Ṭug͟hrīl-beg entered Bag͟hdād, and had himself proclaimed as Sulṭān. This title is often attributed by the chroniclers to earlier rulers who exercised a sovereignty not greatly different from that of the Seld͟juḳs. The Seld͟juḳ sulṭāns of Bag͟hdād appear however to be the first to have used the title officially and inscribed it on their coins. In effect the Seld͟juḳ Great Sultanate, which lasted about a century, was the logical development of the office of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and the title has remained in use ever since for the holder of supreme secular power. The Seld͟juḳs brought several important changes. Unlike their predecessors they were Turks and Sunnīs, and with their advent the power of the Turks, that had been growing intermittently since the time of al-Muʿtaṣim, was finally established. By now the Turks in the Middle East were no longer all slave or freed soldiers, imported from Central Asia; whole clans of free, nomadic Turks began to migrate westwards, playing an increasingly important role and in time changing the ethnic configuration of the Middle East. The replacement of a S͟hīʿī by a Sunnī ruler increased the prestige though not the power of the caliphs, as did also the extension of the rule of the central government, and therefore of the nominal sovereignty of the caliphs, over many hitherto independent lands. The period of the Seld͟juḳs, and of the Seld͟juḳid and Atābeg dynasties that followed the break-up of the Great Sultanate, brought two major changes. One was the regularisation of the economic and social changes that had been taking place in the preceding period, and the elaboration of a new social and fiscal order of quasi-feudal character; the other was the campaign against the S͟hīʿite menace, both on the political and military level through the suppression of S͟hīʿite dynasties and movements, and on the intellectual level through the creation of a network of *madrasas* [*q.v.*] to serve as centres for the formulation and defence of Sunnī orthodoxy against the S͟hīʿite propagandists. Both changes encountered a vigorous reaction in the form of the Assassins (see NIZĀRĪS), an active and energetic revolutionary movement that rose from the ruins of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* and offered a bitter and sustained challenge to Seld͟juḳ rule and Sunnī orthodoxy. The Assassins ultimately failed, and thereafter S͟hīʿism was never again a major political factor until the rise of the Ṣafawids.

After the break-up of the Great Sultanate, ʿIrāḳ fell under the domination of a local dynasty of Seld͟juḳ princes, the last of whom was Ṭug͟hrīl II (573-590/1177-1194). The collapse of his power and the absence of any alternative enabled the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir to make a final attempt to restore the lost authority of the Caliphate. The moment was favourable—of the two major dynasties of the Middle East, the Ayyūbids in Egypt and Syria were preoccupied with the struggle against the Crusaders, the K͟hʷārizm-s͟hāh in the East with his wars against other Turkish dynasties and then against the Mongols. In this power vacuum, al-Nāṣir attempted

to create a kind of State of the Church for the Caliphate in Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ, and to buttress his authority by seeking popular support through the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] organisations and making adroit use of pro-ʿAlid sentiment. It was however only the diversion of their energies to meet the Mongol threat in the East that saved him from destruction by the Khwārizm-shāhs. Al-Nāṣir's successors were weak and incompetent, and when the Mongol general Hūlākū, having already conquered Persia, appeared before Baghdād in 656/1258, the last caliph al-Mustaʿṣim was unable to offer any serious resistance.

The Mongol conquest of Baghdād and the destruction of the Caliphate are usually described as a major catastrophe in the history of Islam. Certainly they mark the end of an epoch—not only in the outward forms of government and sovereignty, but in Islamic civilisation itself, which after the transformation wrought by the great wave of Tatar invasion flows in new channels, different from those of the preceding centuries. But the immediate moral effects of the destruction of the Caliphate have been overrated. The Caliphate had long ceased to exist as an effective institution, and the Mongols did little more than lay the ghost of something that was already dead. To the real organs of temporal power the Mongol invasions made little difference, the only change being that the Sultanate now began to acquire *de jure* recognition, and sultans began to arrogate to themselves titles and prerogatives formerly reserved to the caliphs.

The ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Egypt

The establishment by Baybars of an ʿAbbāsid shadow-Caliphate in Cairo in 659/1261 has been explained by R. Hartmann as follows: the disappearance of the Caliphate in Baghdad created a political vacuum, affecting not so much the theologians as the secular rulers, who still felt the need for a legitimating authority. Abū Numayy, the Sharīf of Mecca, gave formal recognition to the Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunisia Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who had assumed the title of caliph, with the regnal name of al-Mustanṣir, in 650/1253. This assumption, made before the fall of Baghdād, was not in the Sunnī juristic sense of the word caliph, but in that of North Africa, conditioned by Almohad claims and practices. It acquired a new value from Abū Numayy's recognition, confirmed by Mamlūk action in sending a report on the victory of ʿAyn Djālūt to Abū ʿAbd Allāh and addressing him as *amīr al-muʾminīn*—Commander of the Faithful. Baybars, stronger than his predecessor, preferred not to give this recognition to a powerful and possibly dangerous neighbour, and instead solved the problems of legitimacy and continuity by installing an ʿAbbāsid refugee as caliph in Cairo, with the same regnal name of al-Mustanṣir.

For the next two and a half centuries a line of ʿAbbāsids succeeded one another as nominal caliphs under the rule of the Mamlūk Sultans in Cairo. Except for a brief interval in 815/1412, when the caliph al-Mustaʿīn became a stop-gap ruler for six months in the course of a feud between rival claimants to the Sultanate, the caliphs in Cairo were completely helpless and powerless, being in effect little more than minor court pensioners with purely ceremonial duties to perform on the accession of a new sultan. Attempts by the Mamlūk sultans to use their ʿAbbāsid protegés as a means of gaining recognition in other Muslim countries met with some limited success, notably in India and in the Ottoman Empire where Bāyezīd I applied to the Cairo caliph in 1394 for a diploma granting him the title of sulṭān. But the Ottoman view of the Cairo Caliphate is perhaps best expressed by the 15th-century historian Yazīdjī-oghlu ʿAlī, who in describing the role of the patriarch at the Byzantine court calls him "the caliph of the Christians"—a comparison that is far nearer the truth than the more common one between the caliph and the Pope (cf. P. Wittek, in *BSOS*, 1952, 649 f.).

In 1517 the last caliph al-Mutawakkil was deposed by Selīm I, the Ottoman conquerer of Syria and Egypt, and the ʿAbbāsid shadow-Caliphate abolished. A story that al-Mutawakkil transferred his title to Selīm, and through him, to the Ottoman house, was first published by Mouradgea d'Ohsson in 1788 (*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, 269-70), and thereafter won wide acceptance. Barthold however showed this story to be completely without foundation, and it is now generally rejected by scholars [see KHALĪFA].

A.H.		A.D.
132	Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ	750
136	al-Manṣūr	754
158	al-Mahdī	775
169	al-Hādī	785
170	Hārūn al-Rashīd	786
193	al-Amīn	809
198	al-Maʾmūn	813
218	al-Muʿtaṣim	833
227	al-Wāthiḳ	842
232	al-Mutawakkil	847
247	al-Muntaṣir	861
248	al-Mustaʿīn	862
252	al-Muʿtazz	866
255	al-Muhtadī	869
256	al-Muʿtamid	870
279	al-Muʿtaḍid	892
289	al-Muktafī	902
295	al-Muḳtadir	908
320	al-Ḳāhir	932
322	al-Rāḍī	934
329	al-Muttakī	940
333	al-Mustakfī	944
334	al-Muṭīʿ	946
363	al-Ṭāʾiʿ	974
381	al-Ḳādir	991
422	al-Ḳāʾim	1031
467	al-Muḳtafī	1075
487	al-Mustaẓhir	1094
512	al-Mustarshid	1118
529	al-Rāshid	1135
530	al-Muḳtafī	1136
555	al-Mustandjid	1160
566	al-Mustaḍīʾ	1170
575	al-Nāṣir	1180
622	al-Ẓāhir	1225
623	al-Mustanṣir	1226
640-656	al-Mustaʿṣim	1242-1258

According to others, the second Caliph, al-Ḥākim I, was descended directly from al-Rāshid in the following manner: al-Ḥākim b. ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Rāshid.

ʿABBĀSID CALIPHS IN EGYPT

		A.D.
659	al-Mustanṣir billāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad	1261
660	al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad	1261
701	al-Mustakfī billāh Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān	1302
740	al-Wāthiḳ billāh Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm	1340
741	al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad	1341
753	al-Muʿtaḍid billāh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Abū Bakr	1352
763	al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad	1362
779	al-Muʿtaṣim (al-Mustaʿṣim) billāh Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyaʾ	1377
779	al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh (second time)	1377
785	al-Wāthiḳ billāh ʿUmar	1383
788	al-Muʿtaṣim billāh (second time)	1386
791	al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh (third time)	1389
808	al-Mustaʿīn billāh Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās	1406
816	al-Muʿtaḍid billāh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Dāwūd	1414
845	al-Mustakfī billāh Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān	1441
855	al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh Abū l-Baḳāʾ Ḥamza	1451
859	al-Mustandjid billāh Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf	1455
884	al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Abu 'l-ʿIzz ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	1479
903	al-Mustamsik billāh Abu 'l-Ṣabr Yaʿḳūb	1497
914	al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Muḥammad	1508-9
922-923	al-Mustamsik billāh (second time; as representative of his son al-Mutawakkil)	1516-17

The sources for the history of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate are too numerous for anything more than a general statement to be possible. A fuller discussion of the literature will be found in J. Sauvaget, *Introduction a l'histoire du monde musulman*, Paris 1943, 126 ff., and of the historians in D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, Calcutta 1930 (cf. TAʾRĪKH). The first group to be considered are the chroniclers. While a large proportion of these have been published, especially for the earlier period, surprisingly little use has been made of them, and most of the ʿAbbāsid period still awaits its monographers. Still less attention has been paid to the *adab* literature, perhaps the best expression of the outlook and attitude of the secular literate classes who administered the Empire, and a fruitful source of historical information. Travel and geography, poetry, theology and law all have an important contribution to make to historical knowledge, and except for the first two, have been little used. To the vast Muslim literature may be added the smaller but still valuable literatures of the Christians and Jews, in Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, and some other languages. Finally, there remains archeology. A useful summary and bibliography of archeological work will be found in the above-mentioned book of Sauvaget.

No general history of the ʿAbbāsids has been produced for many years, and the reader must still have recourse to early and out-of-date works like G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* 5 vols., Mannheim-Stuttgart 1846-62; idem, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker*, Stuttgart 1866 (abridged English translation by S. Khuda Bukhsh, Calcutta 1914); A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, 2 vols. Berlin 1885-7; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise Decline and Fall*, revised by T. H. Weir, Edinburgh 1915 and 1924. More recent but more summary treatments are given by P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1937 and later editions; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten*, Munich-Berlin 1939 (English and French translations); Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Platonov, *Le monde musulman et byzantin jusqu'aux Croisades*, Paris 1931; Ch. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de* 395 *a* 1081, Paris 1936. Many interesting and provocative ideas on the nature of the ʿAbbāsid state and society will be found in A. J. Toynbee, *A study of history*, London 1934 ff.

Only the accession and the first few reigns have been monographed in any detail. On the ʿAbbāsid revolution Van Vloten and Wellhausen are mentioned in the article. Th. Nöldeke's *Orientalische Skizzen* Berlin 1892 (English translation by J. S. Black, London 1892), includes studies on al-Manṣūr, the Zandj rising, and the Ṣaffārids. The most valuable work to date on the early ʿAbbāsid period will be found in the studies of F. Gabrieli (al-Amīn, al-Maʾmūn) and S. Moscati (Abū Muslim, al-Mahdī, al-Hādī), which, with other monographs, will be found listed under the appropriate articles. For two studies by S. Moscati on particular problems connected with the ʿAbbāsid victory see *Il "Tradimento" di Wāsiṭ*, *Muséon* 1951, 177-86, and *Le massacre des Umayyades*, *ArO* 1951, 88-115. Reference may also be made to Nabia Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1937, dealing with the mother and wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd and giving a description of some aspects of court life, and A. F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, Cairo 1927. The period from 892 to 946 has been studied in great detail by H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge 1928. This must now be supplemented by an important additional source—the *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa l-Muttaḳī* of al-Ṣūlī (ed. J. H. Dunne, Cairo 1935; annotated French translation by M. Canard, 2 vols. Algiers 1946-50). Two important works of a more general character deal with the middle period: A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922 (English translation by S. Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth, London 1938), and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Studies on the economic life of Mesopotamia in the 10th century*, (in Arabic), Baghdad 1948. Reference may also be made to general works in Arabic by Aḥmad Amīn, ʿA. ʿA. Dūrī, Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and others.

On the Cairo Caliphate see R. Hartmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte des ʿAbbasidischen Schein-Chaliphates von Cairo, Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1947, nr. 9, Berlin 1950, and Annemarie Schimmel, *Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, *WI*, 1943, 3-27. (B. LEWIS)

ʿABBĀSID ART [see SĀMARRĀ]

AL-ABBĀSIYYA, old town of Ifrīḳiya (Tunisia), three miles to the S.E. of al-Ḳayrawān. It was also known by the name of Ḳaṣr al-Aghāliba and al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm. It was built by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, the founder of the Aghlabid dynasty, in 184/800, the same year in which he was appointed amīr of Ifrīḳiya, after the revolt of some leaders of the Arab *djund*. He gave his foundation the name al-ʿAbbāsiyya in honour of the ʿAbbāsids, his masters. The town contained baths, inns, *sūḳs* and a Friday-mosque with a minaret of cylindrical form, built of bricks and adorned by small columns arranged in seven storeys. After the example of the great mosque of Ḳayrawān, a *maḳṣūra* of carved wood, adjoining the *miḥrāb*, was reserved to the amīr and high dignitaries. The town had several gates, the following being the most important: Bāb al-Raḥma (of Mercy), Bāb al-Ḥadīd (of Iron), Bab Ghalbūn (attributed to al-Aghlab b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Aghlab, relative and minister of Ziyādat Allāh I) and Bāb al-Rīḥ (of Wind)—all these in the east; and Bāb al-Saʿāda (of Happiness), to the west. In the middle of the town there was a large square called al-Maydān (Hippodrome), where the parades and reviews (*ʿarḍ*) of the troops took place. Not far away was the palace of al-Ruṣāfa, recalling by its name those of Damascus and Baghdad. It was in this palace that Ibrāhīm I received the ambassadors of Charlemagne who came to ask for the relics of St. Cyprian and delivered the gifts destined for the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. It was also there that the truce (*hudna*) of ten years and the exchange of prisoners was arranged with the envoys of Constantine, patrician of Sicily (189/805). Many other embassies also of the Franks, Byzantines and Andalusians, were received there by subsequent Aghlabid rulers. From its foundation, al-ʿAbbāsiyya had a mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) where gold *dīnārs* and silver *dirhams*, bearing the town's name, were coined. An official factory of textiles (*ṭirāz*) produced the robes of honour (*khilʿa*) and the standards. Under the successors of Ibrāhīm I, al-ʿAbbāsiyya was provided with monuments of public and private utility. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad built a large reservoir (*sahrīdj* or *faskiyya*) of which important remains have been preserved. The basin had an abundant supply of water, which was carried to Ḳayrawān in the summer, when the cisterns of the capital were exhausted.—The town of Raḳḳāda, founded in 264/877 by Ibrāhīm II, some miles further to the south, replaced al-ʿAbbāsiyya as residence. Al-ʿAbbāsiyya sank to the level of a township, inhabited by *mawālī* and tradesmen, but continued to exist in a modest way until the Hilālian invasion (middle of the 5th/11th century) when it disappeared for good. A cursory excavation, in 1923, of the hill (*tell*) where al-ʿAbbāsiyya was situated, brought to light many potsherds belonging to the Aghlabid period. This white pottery with large black, green and blue decoration was no doubt inspired by oriental models coming from ʿIrāḳ (Sāmarrā, Raḳḳa) and Egypt (Fusṭāṭ). It is worth mentioning that al-ʿAbbāsiyya was the birth-place of several scholars, notably of Abu ʾl-ʿArab [*q.v.*] Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm, first historian of al-Ḳayrawān (d. 333/945).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 234; Bakrī, *al-Masālik* (de Slane), 24; Idrīsī (de Goeje, *Descriptio al Magribi*), 65-7; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, Leiden 1948, I, 84; Desvergers, *Hist de l'Afr. et de la Sicilie* (transl. of Ibn Khaldūn), Paris 1841, 86-8; G. Marçais, *Manuel de l'Art Musulman*, Paris 1926, I, 40.

(H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

AL-ʿ**ABBĀSIYYA** [see ṬUBNA]

ʿ**ABD** is the ordinary word for "slave" in Arabic of all periods (the usual plural in this sense is *ʿabīd*, although the Ḳurʾān has *ʿibād*: xxiv, 32), more particularly for "male slave", "female slave" being *ama* (pl. *imāʾ*). Both words are of old Semitic stock; Biblical Hebrew uses them in the same meaning. Classical Arabic also expresses the idea of "slave", in the singular of both genders and in the collective, by the generic term *raḳīḳ*, which however is not found in the Ḳurʾān. On the other hand, the Ḳurʾān frequently uses the term *raḳaba*, literally "neck, nape of the neck", and, still more frequently, the periphrasis *mā malakat aymānukum* (*-hum*), "that which your (their) right hands possess". The *ʿabdan mamlūkan* of xvi, 75 is to be regarded in the light of this formula: it should properly be rendered "a slave, who is (himself) a piece of property". Hence, no doubt, the development in the classical language of *mamlūk* as a noun meaning "slave" (later also "ex-slave"). In the course of the history of Arabic, as of other languages, various vicissitudes have been undergone by euphemisms literally denoting "boy, girl" or "manservant, maidservant": *fatā* (fem. *fatāt*), which is Ḳurʾanic, *ghulām* for "male slave", *djāriya* for "female slave", both very common, *waṣīf* particularly for men (the fem. *waṣīfa* is also found), and *khādim* particularly for women (also, at an early date, for "eunuch"). Both these last have in some countries finally come to mean "negro, negress". Another term sometimes used for "slave" is *asīr*, properly "captive".

The abstract "slavery" is expressed by *riḳḳ* or by a derivative of *ʿabd*, such as *ʿubūdiyya*. The "master" is *sayyid*; he may also be referred to as "patron" (*mawlā*) or, in legal parlance, "owner" (*mālik*). The opposite of slave, "free man or woman". is *ḥurr* (fem. *ḥurra*).

Turkish has, as equivalents for "slave", *kul* or *köle*, as well as loan-words from Persian: *bende*, and from Arabic: *esir* (*asīr*), *gulam* (*ghulām*) for the masculine, *cariye* (*djāriya*) and *halayik* (*khalāʾiḳ*, properly "creatures") for the feminine. Besides *banda*, Persian has *ghulām* for the masculine and *keniz* for the feminine.

1. BEFORE ISLAM

Slavery was practised in pre-Islamic Arabia, as in the remainder of the ancient and early mediaeval world. But it must be admitted that the sparse and controversial data available to us for the pre-Islamic period are insufficient to provide reliable answers to most of the problems presented by the institution. It may be allowed that, immediately before the Hijra, the great majority of slaves in western Arabia, a plentiful commodity at Mecca, by whose sale merchants grew rich (ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān [*q.v.*]; cf. Lammens, *La Mecque....*, Beirut 1924, *passim*), were coloured people of Ethiopian origin (*Ḥabasha*). Some of them must have formed the nucleus of the *Aḥābish*, the Meccan militia (Lammens, *JA*, 1916 = *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut, 1928, pp. 237-293). Bilāl, the first muezzin of Islam, was one such slave. There were some white slaves of foreign race, far less numerous, who were no doubt brought by Arab caravaneers (slave-dealers as far back as the Bible story of Joseph), or were the product of beduin captures (legend of the Persian Salmān Pāk). Finally, there are no objective grounds for denying the existence of Arab slaves, although the ransoming of captives among nomad tribes was a matter of common prac-

tice. We have the example of the Kalbite Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who became the adopted son of Muḥammad: a valuable example, even if it has been touched up in the manner of Tradition (see the decision attributed to ʿUmar, *infra*, as plausible evidence pointing the same way). We have, however, nothing conclusive on the existence of enslavement for debt or the sale of children by their families: the late and rare accounts of such occurrences (*Aghānī*[2], iii, 97; xix, 4) show them to be abnormal.

It would moreover be unwise to stretch the scanty information we have on the condition of slaves in the Ḥidjāz before Islam, to fit every locality and every social division. Nomads and sedentaries, in particular, may have shown evidence of quite a different attitude, even in those days: we shall come to the modern period later. The abiding scorn of slave ancestry, even if only on the mother's side, the satire aimed at the man who marries a captive girl (G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, pp. 137-8, 213; Bichr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, p. 71) are perhaps characteristic of beduin mentality, rather than indicative of the general outlook of town-dwellers. The biography in literary form of the renowned warrior-poet ʿAntara, son of a beduin and an Ethiopian slave-girl, who has to perform dazzling feats of arms before his father will consent to legitimize him, is a *roman à thèse* (Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 299) against disinheriting the children of such unions, indeed against keeping them in slavery: proof that the question had some immediacy and demanded a liberal answer, at any rate in some quarters.

It is probable that the usual practice of the pre-Islamic Arabs was influenced by an ancient Semitic distinction between two classes of slave, never perhaps reduced to a strict legal principle (I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1949, pp. 57-8) and never ratified by Muslim law, but which has left traces here and there in the code of behaviour of Islamicized lands: in contrast with the purchased slave (*ʿabd^u^ mamlukat^un^*), the slave born in his master's house (*ʿabd^u^ ḳinn^in^*; a term later applied to the slave over whom one has full and complete rights of ownership) was, in the ordinary course of events, unlikely to be sold or otherwise disposed of by the master (*LA*, xvii, 227-8; Djurdjani, *Taʿrīfāt*, *ḳinn*). We are on firmer ground—because the practice is expressly condemned in the Ḳu'rān, xxiv, 33—in accepting it as fact that in pre-Islamic times female slaves were prostituted for the benefit of their masters, again in accordance with a Near Eastern custom of great antiquity (Mendelsohn, *op. cit.* p. 54).

2. The Ḳor'ān. The Religious Ethic

a.—Islam, like its two parent monotheisms, Judaism and Christianity, has never preached the abolition of slavery as a doctrine, but it has followed their example (though in a very different fashion) in endeavouring to moderate the institution and mitigate its legal and moral aspects (for the part played in this by Christianity, see M. Bloch, in *Annales*, 1947, and Imbert, in *Mélanges F. de Visscher*, Brussels, 1949, vol. i). Spiritually, the slave has the same value as the free man, and the same eternity is in store for his soul; in this earthly life, failing emancipation, there remains the fact of his inferior status, to which he must piously resign himself.

The Ḳur'ān regards this discrimination between human beings as in accordance with the divinely-established order of things (xvi, 71, 75; xxx, 28). But over and over again, from beginning to end of the Preaching, it makes the emancipation of slaves a meritorious act: a work of charity (ii, 177; xc, 13), to which the legal alms may be devoted (ix, 60), or a deed of expiation for certain felonies (unintentional homicide: iv, 92, where "a *believing* slave" is specified; perjury: v, 89; lviii, 3); consent must be readily given to contractual emancipation (xxiv, 33). The unemancipated slave is mentioned among those who should be treated "kindly" (*iḥsān^an^*, iv, 36). Furthermore, his dignity as a human being is shown in certain ordinances relating to the sexual side of social relationships. We have already mentioned the ban on the prostitution of female slaves (xxiv, 33); nobody may lawfully enjoy them except their master (xxiii, 6; xxxiii, 50; lxx, 30) or their husband, for legal marriage is open to slaves, male and female. Masters have the moral duty to marry off their "virtuous" slaves of both sexes (xxiv, 32); if need be it is even permissible for *Muslim* slaves to marry free Muslims (ii, 221; iv, 25). The slave-woman who, obtaining her master's consent, which is essential, marries a free man, is entitled to "a reasonable dowry" from her husband. She is obliged to remain faithful to him; but if she commits adultery her slave status re-emerges in the curious provision that she is liable to only one-half of the punishment reserved for the free married woman (iv, 25). Finally, the Ḳur'ān protects the slave's life, to some extent, by the law of retaliation, but the formula "the free for the free, the slave for the slave" (ii, 178) shows clearly how in penal matters the principle of inequality is maintained.

Bibliography: R. Roberts, *Das Familien, Sklaven.... Recht im Qorân*, Leipzig 1908, 41-47; *Social Laws of the Qorân*, London 1925, 53 ff.

b.—The more or less official Muslim ethic, expressed in the ḥadīths, follows the line of Ḳur'anic teaching; it even lays perceptible stress on the humanitarian tendencies of the latter in the question with which we are dealing. Al-Ghazālī, in the *Iḥyā'*, ed. 1346 A.H., ii, 195-7 (*ḥuḳūḳ al-mamlūk*) (transl. G.-H. Bousquet, AIEO 1952, 423-7) had only to string together a number of well-known hadiths to produce what amounts to a lecture on ethics for slave-owners, illustrated by examples.

Tradition delights in asserting that the slave's lot was among the latest preoccupations of the Prophet. It has quite a large store of sayings and anecdotes, attributed to the Prophet or to his Companions, enjoining real kindness towards this inferior social class. "Do not forget that they are your brothers"; at any rate when they are Muslims, as some texts specify.—"God has given you the right of ownership over them; He could have given them the right of ownership over you". —"God has more power over you than you have over them". Thus the master is recommended not to show contempt for his slave; not to say "my slave" but "my boy, my servant" (*v. supra*), to share his food with him, to provide him with clothing similar to his own, to set him no more than moderate work, not to punish him excessively if he does wrong, to forgive him "seventy times a day", and finally to sell him to another master if they cannot get on well together.

Manumission is commended as a happy solution in many cases and is suggested as a way for the master to make amends for excessive chastisement of his slave. It is recommended, in the same category

as alms-giving, at the time of an eclipse, and is included among the various possible ways of expiating a voluntary breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān (the Ḳurʾān prescribes no more than "the feeding of a poor man": ii, 184). A twofold reward in heaven is promised to the man who educates his slavegirl, frees her and marries her. A famous ḥadīth affirms: "The man who frees a Muslim (v. l. 'a believer') slave, God will free from hell, limb for limb".

It is the duty of the slave, for his part, to give loyal service. He is "the shepherd of his master's wealth" and will be asked for an account of it in the next world. His reward in paradise will be twofold if, in addition to performing the usual religious obligations, he has the especial merit of having given good advice to his master.

If the Ḳur'ān and Tradition show a certain favouritism towards such slaves as are Muslims, another direction is shown in ḥadīths forbidding the keeping of male Arabs in slavery; they invoke a decision to this effect said to have been given by the caliph ʿUmar, in favour of disposing of instances of slavery against the payment of a ransom, where these were the result of "pre-Islamic practices" (see especially Ibn Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, pp. 133-4).

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. SLAVES.

3. Fiḳh

Under the heading of *fiḳh* properly so-called, we shall have recourse to the main provisions agreed on by the great Sunnī schools. Thereafter we shall note very briefly some typical solutions adopted by Imāmī Shīʿism.

a.—Apart from the occasionally operative distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim slaves, Muslim law recognizes only one category of slaves, regardless of their ethnic origin or the source of their condition. The institution is kept going by only two lawful means: birth in slavery or capture in war, and even of these the latter is not applicable to Muslims, since though they may remain enslaved they cannot be reduced to slavery. Legally therefore, the only Muslim slaves are those born into both categories or who were already slaves at the time of their conversion to Islam. Their number tends to diminish both through emancipation, particularly recommended in such cases, and through the following provision: whereas the usual principle of Muslim law is that the child assumes at birth his mother's status, free or slave, an exception, of all the more importance in view of its wide application, is made in favour of the child born of a free man and a female slave belonging to him; such a child is regarded as free-born (otherwise he would be his father's slave). What this amounts to is that slavery could scarcely continue to exist in Islam without the constantly renewed contribution of peripheral or external elements, either directly captured in war or imported commercially, under the fiction of the Holy War, from foreign territory (*dār al-ḥarb*).

It is pleasing to see that in the eyes of Muslim jurists slavery is an exceptional condition: "The basic principle is liberty" (*al-aṣl huwa 'l-ḥurriyya*). Consequently, for the majority of them, the presumption is in favour of freedom; on the whole they have come down on the side of regarding as free the foundling (*laḳiṭ*) whose origin remains unknown. But it may fairly be stated that, despite the strictness professed by certain doctors of the law, the *fiḳh* has never evolved an adequately clear system of sanctions to suppress the kidnapping or sale of free persons, Muslim or non-Muslim. Still less do we see any positive denunciation of the practice of castrating young slaves, although it was condemned in principle.

b.—On the juridico-religious level, the slave has a kind of composite quality, partaking of the nature both of thing and of person. Considered as a thing, he is subject to the right of ownership—indeed it is in this that the strict definition of slavery lies—exercised by a man or woman, and he may be the object of all the legal operations proceeding from this position: sale, gift, hire, inheritance and so on. In this respect he is "a mere commodity" (*silʿa min al-silaʿ*). In the various classes of property distinguished by the *fiḳh*, he generally ranks with the animals and his lot is like theirs: the new-born slave, for instance, is the "fruit" (*ghalla*) of his mother, like the young of cattle, and belongs to her master; in the theoretical treatises on public law, the *muḥtasib* is given the duty of ensuring that masters treat their slaves and their animals properly. The slave may (as among the Romans and in Christian Europe) belong to two or more owners at the same time: he is then said to be "held in common" (*mushtarak*); such joint ownership gives rise to some extremely complex legal positions, which provide abundant material for the casuistry of the doctors. Again, it should be noted that the law lays down the amount of the reward which may be claimed by the one who restores a runaway slave (*ābiḳ*) to his master.

Yet the slave, even from the point of view of the right of ownership, of which he is the object, is not always treated exactly like other property. Mālikī law, for example, allows, in towns where it is the customary usage, an automatic guarantee of three days, at the expense of the seller of the slave, against any "faults" (*ʿuyūb*) in the latter (one year in the case of madness or leprosy). The fact that a master may legally have sexual relations with his female slaves gives rise to a system of regulating these relations, which has repercussions elsewhere on his exercise of the right of ownership: thus a distinction is sometimes drawn between costly female slaves, intended for cohabitation, and ordinary female slaves (e.g. *Mudawwana*, vi, 192 *seqq.*, concerning a clause of non-guarantee in sale), between female slaves within and outside the prohibited degrees of relationship to the interested party (e.g. in the matter of the loan of consumption, *ḳarḍ*, except among the Ḥanafīs, who forbid it with all living things). Further, the regard for kinship has an even more striking effect. It is forbidden to separate a slave mother and her young child, up to about the age of seven, by their becoming the property of different different masters (a ḥadīth runs: "Whoever separates a mother from her child, God will separate him from his dear ones on the Day of Resurrection"), under pain of nullity of the legal transaction; the Ḥanafīs, more reluctant to impose legal sanctions, brand as "objectionable" the separating of a slave, not yet arrived at puberty, from any close blood-relative within the prohibited degrees, whether the latter is of age or not. Emancipation follows automatically, except in the Ẓāhirī school, when a slave becomes the property of a very close relative: according to the Shāfiʿīs, only in the ascending and descending lines: the Mālikīs add brothers and sisters too, while the Ḥanafīs extend the rule to all relatives within the prohibited degrees. Religious affiliation is also taken into account, inasmuch as non-Muslims cannot

keep Muslim slaves; they must either free them or dispose of them to Muslim masters.

If the master fails to meet his moral obligation of providing for the physical maintenance (*nafaḳa*) of his slave, the law requires in the last resort that the latter be sold, a solution also enjoined, except by the Ḥanafīs, in the case of animals. The Mālikīs hold that emancipation is compulsory (cf. *Exodus*, xxi, 26-7) when the master carries his ill-treatment of his slave to the point of mutilation or disfigurement. Later, when we come to deal with personal rights, we shall meet with other instances of curtailment of the absolute right of ownership, as of other features of penal law.

c.—On the personal rights of the slave, that is, on his juridico-religious competence, it is interesting to see whether the classical jurists have ever attempted a general theory that would bring out the principles underlying the solutions scattered under the various headings of *fiḳh*. One such attempt is to be found in the works of the Ḥanafī al-Pazdawī (d. 482/1089), commented on and imitated in the later treatises on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*; the basic ideas, Ḥanafī of course, are as follows (*Uṣūl*, ed. Istanbul 1307 A.H., pp. 1401-1426): slave-status is incompatible with "patrimonial ownership" (*mālikiyyat al-māl*), whence it follows for example, that the slave cannot take a concubine, but is compatible with "non-patrimonial ownership" (*mālikiyyat g͟hayr al-māl*), whence it follows, for example, that the slave may marry. His status does not debar the slave from administering property and laying claim to the "possession" (*yad*) of it, but is incompatible with the full exercise of the higher legal faculties of the human being: his *d͟himma* (abstract financial responsibility) and his *ḥill* (freedom of action in sexual matters) are reduced, and all *wilāyāt* (public or private offices of authority) are forbidden to him. More recent works, of the type of the *As͟hbāh wa-Naẓā'ir* by the S͟hāfi'ite Suyūṭī and the Ḥanafite Ibn Nud͟jaym, merely give dry and rather disjointed lists of the manifold rules about what slaves may and may not do.

d.—The Muslim slave has a religious status (*ʿibādāt*) theoretically identical with that of his free coreligionists (the contrary opinion is exceptional; e.g. in one solitary Mālikī, cf. Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībād͟j*, 1329 268); but some derogations were more or less inevitable on certain points. Most authorities hold that his dependence on a master absolves him from the strict necessity of performing such pious acts as involve freedom of movement: the Friday prayer, pilgrimage, the Holy War. Another consequence of this dependence is that the master is responsible for the annual payment of his "alms at the breaking of the fast" (*zakāt al-fiṭr*). The Muslim slave-woman is not under as strict an obligation to "hide her nakedness" (*satr al-ʿawra*) at the ritual prayer as the free woman. The slave is not forbidden to act as leader (*imām*) of congregational prayer, although the Ḥanafīs disapprove of the practice, and some other authorities do not permit him to become a salaried *imām*, or at any rate they prefer a free man to hold the office, if one is available of the required competence. The question of his acting as imām at the midday prayer on Fridays and the two canonical festivals is more debatable, especially if this office is regarded as an emanation from the public authority; even within the various schools there is disagreement about whether or not it is allowable. On the whole, however, the affirmative answer seems to have prevailed, except among the Ḥanbalīs. The slave is no more qualified to hold a position of religious magistrature (judgeship, *ḥisba*) than an official position of secular authority; he is nevertheless acceptable as a subordinate officer in the revenue department.

e.—In matters of law in the strict sense (*muʿāmalāt*), the slave's incompetence to act (*ḥad͟jr*) is assumed in principle, but is not absolute. If he is a Muslim, the *fiḳh* confirms and expressly states his competence to contract a marriage, as clearly laid down in the Ḳur'ān (*v. supra*); but the master's consent is required both for male and female slaves (according to the Mālikīs, the male slave of full age may marry of his own accord, but the master then has the right either to ratify the marriage or to terminate it by repudiation) and it is the master who acts as "guardian for matrimonial purposes" (*walī*) of his female slaves. The master can even marry off by "compulsion", (*d͟jabr*) a male slave, not yet of age, or a female slave (the father of a family has a similar right over his children); the schools of Abu Ḥanīfa and Mālik concede him the same power over a male slave of full age. The Ḥanbalīs alone, on the other hand, hold that the slave may insist on his master's marrying him off. Notwithstanding reservations and restrictions based on the words of the Ḳur'ān, and in spite of the customary requirement of "compatability" (*kafā'a*) between the parties, the jurists admit and lay down rules for marriage between Muslims of whom one is a slave and the other free. We have convincing evidence that, in the course of the centuries, such unequal marriages occurred (to the advantage to the slave, male or female, concerned) more often than one might think. A slave wife, on being emancipated, has the right to opt for divorce if her husband is a slave and, according to the Ḥanafīs, even if he is free.

A Muslim cannot be the husband or wife of his or her slave (nor even, some would add, of the slave belonging to his or her son); there is an absolute incompatibility, for the same persons, between *connubium* and ownership. In contradistinction to the other rites, the Ḥanafīs permit a Muslim, even a free Muslim, to marry a Jewish or Christian slave-girl. The slave is entitled to a maximum of two wives, except in the Mālikī view, which grants him four, just like a free man. The Mālikīs are also alone in conceding that a slave-wife has the right to share in her husband's nights on equal terms with a free co-wife; the other jurists allow her only one night in three. The obligation, which is generally recognized as incumbent on a slave-husband, to maintain his wife, gives rise to various solutions if he is not legitimately possessed of adequate means.

Although the majority of authorities deny that the male slave of full age can contract a valid marriage of his own free will, yet all agree that he has the husband's usual right of repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) as he thinks fit. But in accordance with the general tendency to reduce by one-half, in the case of the slave, all figures prescribed for free men, he may only take back his wife after one single formula of repudiation, instead of the two which the Koran (ii, 229) lays down as a maximum. Consequently a twofold repudiation on his part has the same decisive result as a threefold repudiation by a free man; the Ḥanafīs alone, who in the matter of repudiation have more consideration for the woman than for the man, apply this reduction if it is the wife who is a slave, whether or not her husband is a free man. The Ḥanafīs also set themselves apart from the other schools in not permitting the married male slave to use the device of "cursing" (*liʿān*), instituted by the

Ḳurʾān (xxiv, 6-9) to the advantage of the husband who may accuse his wife of adultery with no legal proof.

The "legal period of withdrawal" (*ʿidda*) which must be observed by widows or repudiated woman (Ḳurʾān, ii, 228, 234; lxv, 4) is also halved when the woman in question is a slave: 1) two months and five days for a widow, instead of four months and ten days; 2) two menstrual or intermenstrual periods (depending on the school) instead of three (one could hardly say one-and-a-half) for the repudiated woman who is usually regular, except that the Ẓāhirīs keep the figure at three; 3) one month and a half for the repudiated woman who is not usually regular, except according to the Mālikīs, who oddly enough, as Averroes remarks (*Bidāya*, ed. 1935, ii, 93; tr. Laïmèche, 233-4), here hold to the figure of three.

f.—Far more important in practice, on account of its wide application and great bearing on social life, is the system of legal concubinage. In *fiḳh* as in the Ḳurʾān, extramarital cohabitation is permissible only between a man and his own female slave; he is forbidden to cohabit with a slave belonging to his wife, even with the latter's consent (contrary to the Biblical custom), but indulgence is shown if he has relations with a slave belonging to his son. Co-owners of a female slave may not cohabit with her, nor may a sole owner cohabit with a married female slave. When the concubine (*surriyya*) has a child by her master, she enjoys the title of ***umm walad*** [*q.v.*] and an improved status in that she cannot be sold and becomes free on her master's death (compare the Code of Hammurabi, para. 170; but for the fluctuations in old Islamic practice see J. Schacht, in E.I.[1] s.v., and *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950, 264-6); that child and any others she may subsequently have are born free. There is no limit to the number of concubines as there is to the number of wives, but almost all the authorities teach that there are the same bars to cohabitation as to marriage: natural or acquired kinship, two sisters together, the woman's professing a heathen religion.

With the especial aim of avoiding confusion over parentage, in the absence of any initial ceremony or *ʿidda*, the jurists have prescribed a temporary ban on sexual relations, in the case of a slave-woman, for "verification of non-pregnancy" or *istibrāʾ*, when for any reason she becomes the property of a new master or changes her status (emancipation, marriage). If she is pregnant, this ban lasts till her confinement, as with the *ʿidda*; if not, its duration is one menstrual period. If she is not yet regular in her periods or has ceased to be regular, the authorities differ: one month or three months is the usual rule. Mālikis and Ḥanbalis make the seller of the slave-woman share in the responsibility of the *istibrāʾ*; the former entrust her (*muwāḍaʿa*) to the supervision of a third person. There is considerable difference of opinion on points of detail in the numerous cases where the *istibrāʾ* would appear to be no longer obligatory, as serving no purpose; to avoid it, recourse is had to certain devices of procedure, particularly by the Ḥanafi devotees of "circumventions of the law" (*ḥiyal*) (well-known anecdote of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf, which has found its way into the Arabian Nights).

The children born of legal concubinage are legitimate and, in the matter of succession to their father's estate, are on the same footing as children born in wedlock. But it is harder to establish legally the paternity of a master, with all its legal and social consequences, than that of a husband; besides, the old ʿIrāḳī jurists were loth to declare it officially if there was no expression of willingness on the part of the master concerned. The Ḥanafīs too stand apart from the other schools in not fathering a child on the master unless the latter acknowledges it, and in permitting him to disown it if there is a legal presumption in favour of his paternity inasmuch as the concubine is already ***umm walad***. In the other schools, the master of an unmarried female slave is legally regarded as the father of her child, not only if he acknowledges it as his own but also if he makes an implicit admission of having had relations with her, as is obviously the case if she is already ***umm walad***. It is open to him to deny paternity only if cohabitation was manifestly impossible within the—very wide—officially recognized limits of the term of pregnancy, or if he takes an oath that he put his concubine in *istibrāʾ* at least six months before the date of the birth, and that he has not cohabited with her since. The ascription of paternity becomes complicated in such abnormal situations as when two co-owners of a slave cohabit with her during the same intermenstrual period, or when two entitled parties in succession have had relations with her without *istibrāʾ*; recourse is then had to the ruling of the "physiognomists" (*ḳāʾif* pl. *ḳāfa*), an ancient Arabian expedient difficult of application at certain times. Failing this, the child is left to choose for himself at puberty. Here again the Ḥanafīs stand alone in refusing to ratify this archaic institution; they prefer, if the decision proves to be rationally impossible, to set up a kind of two-fold paternity.

g.—Most authorities deny the slave-woman the right of custody (*ḥaḍāna*) over her children to which the free woman is entitled, nor do they permit the male slave to be a "guardian for matrimonial purposes" (*walī*). The Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī schools (who have not ratified the partial tolerance of Abū Ḥanīfa) refuse to allow the slave to act as executor of a will (*waṣī*). The testimony (*shahāda*) of a slave is not admissible in court, except among the Ḥanbalīs, and even they do not accept it in connection with the most serious punishable offences. His affirmation (*iḳrār*) is generally accepted in matters affecting his person (apart from restrictions imposed by certain authorities) but not in matters of property.

h.—All the schools agree that the master can do as he likes with property in the possession of his slave and is at liberty to take it away from him. In the eyes of third parties, the ordinary slave has no patrimony of his own: his business activities, which are severely restricted, are on behalf of his master, who alone is financially competent to act. Nevertheless the Mālikīs take up the remarkable position (for an interesting justification see ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Ishrāf*, i, 270) of recognizing the slave's "ownership" (***milk***) of his ***peculium***, whose source is mainly from gifts or bequests which it is permissible for him to accept on his own account, although the ownership here is precarious and may not be disposed of without consent. Two important consequences of this doctrine are that, according to the Mālikīs, the slave may lawfully have concubines without giving rise to any theoretical difficulties, and that on gaining his freedom he may keep his ***peculium***, unless his master has formally announced his wish to retain it.

Finally, apropos of patrimony, there is quite a common practice, known from remote Semitic anti-

quity and from the Classical world, which provides the slave with a real, though not unrestricted, legal competency: it consists in the master's putting his slave in charge of a business or of certain specified business dealings, entrusting him with a capital sum where necessary. The slave is then said to be "authorized" (*maʾdhūn* or *maʾdhūn lah*). The effects of this "authorization" (*idhn*), which may nevertheless be revoked, are conceived in more or less generous terms by different jurists. The recipient always in fact becomes relatively independent, so as to be able to deal quite freely with third parties. The authorities are well-nigh unanimous in not making the master responsible for the debts of his "authorized" slave; the Ḥanafīs, followed with some hesitation by the Ḥanbalīs, allow them to be recovered on the "physical person" (*raḳaba*) of the slave debtor, if the capital at his disposal is inadequate; in other words he may be sold to pay them. On the other hand, the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs recognize his "abstract responsibility" (*dhimma*); the "obligation to pay" (*dayn*) they leave standing to the account of those creditors whom the assets are insufficient to satisfy, while deferring the "exaction of payment" (*muṭālaba*, "Haftung") till such time as the slave is emancipated.

i.—It is in connection with punishments (*ʿuḳūbāt*) that the hybrid and indeterminate character of the legal nature of the slave, who is simultaneously a thing and a person of inferior status, breaks through the complicated web of solutions presented by the *fiḳh*. Here is a curious example, of an unusual kind but mentioned as clearly showing this ambivalence: the "legal compensation" (*diya*) for the foetus aborted by a free woman is a young slave of either sex, technically known as *ghurra*, whereas the compensation for victims duly born is reckoned in camels or money.

To what extent is the law of retaliation (*ḳiṣāṣ*) applied to slaves, on the basis of Ḳurʾān, ii, 178 (*v. supra*)? In a case of intentional homicide it works against the slave, whether the victim be bond or free (if he is free, it is no doubt not precisely the idea of retaliation which underlies the punishment); but the schools object to putting a free man to death for killing a slave, with the noteworthy exception of the Ḥanafīs (and also of that illustrious, albeit somewhat dissident, Ḥanbalī, Ibn Taymiyya; cf. Laoust, *Essai*, 418, 438), and even they exempt the man who kills his own slave or one belonging to his son. The Mālikīs are almost alone in conferring on the victim's next-of-kin the ownership of the guilty slave (again with a great many reservations), to do with him as he pleases: he may put him to death, keep him in slavery or set him free. This may be a survival of an archaic solution, elsewhere replaced by the simple choice, as in the case of free men, between retaliation and compensation according to the tariff. In cases of deliberate wounding the Shāfiʿīs apply retaliation between the same persons as in cases of homicide; Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs insist on equality of status, slave or free, between the guilty party and his victim; the Ḥanafīs forego retaliation altogether.

What of the monetary compensation, according as the slave is guilty of or is the victim of bloodshed? —1) Slave victim: The compensation goes to the master. The *diya* is the responsibility of the guilty person alone, except that the Shāfiʿīs are undecided whether or not to bring in the "group jointly responsible for the bloodwit" (*ʿāḳila*), which is the Ḥanafī rule in cases of homicide only. This *diya* is not fixed, as for the free man, but is calculated, in the event of death, on the market value (*ḳīma*) of the victim; the Ḥanafīs alone set an upper limit to it, namely the *diya* of a free man less a token reduction of ten dirhams. If there is only wounding, of a type specified in the tariff laid down by the Law for a free man, the majority of authorities hold that the market value of the injured slave should be reduced by the amount of the difference between the figure shown in the legal scale for an identical wound and the maximum compensation for a free man. The Mālikīs and some Ḥanbalīs teach, though with certain reservations, that the sum paid should exactly equal the depreciation in the market value of the slave.

2) Slave guilty: The majority of authorities give the master the choice between surrendering the culprit (*dafʿ*, *noxalis deditio*) and paying the appropriate *diya*. But the Shāfiʿīs, followed by several Ḥanbalīs, regard the *diya* as incumbent on the "physical person" (*raḳaba*) of the slave in question, whom his master will therefore sell, and hand over the price received in exchange for him, up to the amount of the *diya*, unless he prefers to pay the sum due without selling him.

The slave guilty of theft and the Muslim slave guilty of apostasy are punished in the same way as free men: by cutting off the hand in the former case, by death in the latter, when the necessary conditions for these punishments are fulfilled.

Fornication (*zinā*) committed by a slave of either sex does not legally involve the death penalty, in consequence of the Ḳurʾanic ordinance (*v. supra*) and because neither male nor female slaves are held capable of acquiring the particular legal condition of a *muḥṣan(a)* spouse, which the *fiḳh* restricts to free persons who have consummated marriage and which it regards as necessary before a death-sentence can be imposed for a sexual offence. As laid down in the Ḳurʾān, the punishment is half of that decreed (xxiv, 2) for the free person who is not *muḥṣan(a)*; viz. fifty lashes instead of one hundred, to which some authorities would add the further penalty of banishment. It should be noted that Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs refuse to regard as *muḥṣan* the spouse of anybody who is not *muḥṣan*: so, according to them, the husband or wife of a slave cannot be executed for adultery. As part of the general tendency to mitigate the punishment for sexual offences involving slaves, certain cases of unlawful cohabitation with a female slave (e.g. by a co-owner or the master's father) are not looked upon as *zinā*.

Finally, the slave who is guilty of a "false charge of fornication" (*ḳadhf*) against a free person is liable, here again, to half the penalty decreed by the Ḳurʾān (xxiv, 4) against the slanderer who is free; viz. forty lashes instead of eighty. But the slave who is the victim of such a slander has no right at all to any such satisfaction, since the Law, which to a certain extent protects the person of the slave, does not go so far as to regard him or her as a man or woman of honour.

The vast field of the "arbitrary punishments" (*taʿzīr*), left to the judge's discretion, almost completely defies investigation through the study of written sources. We are conscious of our inability to make a sufficiently close study of how, in matters of punishment, the slave's position really compares, throughout history, with that of the free man, in the eyes of the judicial authorities of Islam.

j.—The emancipation (*ʿitḳ*, *ʿataḳa*, *iʿtāḳ*) of the slave is a work of piety; it is a unilateral act on the part of the master, consisting in an explicit or implicit declaration; in the former case it is not necessary

to show intention. In principle, emancipation cannot be revoked, nor may the beneficiary refuse it. If, however, instead of being immediate, it is to take effect at some fixed future date or subject to certain conditions, all authorities but the Mālikīs permit the slave to be sold in the meantime. This destroys the effect of the emancipation (except, some say, if the slave is then re-acquired by his former owner). The children of a female slave, born or unborn, as a rule become free on her emancipation. The partial enfranchisement of a slave by his sole master is equivalent to his total enfranchisement (Abū Ḥanīfa formulates a reservation, but is not followed by his disciples). The question is more involved when the slave is held in joint ownership and one of the owners enfranchises him insofar as his own share is concerned; if this owner is well-to-do, the enfranchisement is total and he will compensate his fellow-owners for the value of their shares. If the emancipator is not wealthy enough for this, the slave remains "partial" (*mubaʿʿaḍ*), except according to the Ḥanafīs, who free him and allow the other owners to recover their share out of the income from his work (*siʿāya*). There is another point on which the Ḥanafīs reject the solution readily accepted by the other schools: they do not permit recourse to the drawing of lots (*ḳurʿa*) to determine which of several slaves is to be enfranchised when circumstances make it necessary to choose; their rejection of this procedure dictates certain of their rulings.

A grant of enfranchisement with effect from the master's death, a desirable practice for the Faithful and one for which they have often shown partiality, is known as *tadbīr*, from the expression *ʿan dubur^in minnī*, "after me" (this is the view of the Mālikīs, who insist on a formula containing a word from the root *dbr*). The Shāfiʿīs also apply the term to an enfranchisement to take effect from a date after the master's death, which for the other schools would count as no more than a revocable testamentary disposition. *Tadbīr* itself is in principle irrevocable, in the eyes of all the authorities, but here too the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs allow it to be made void by the sale of the *mudabbar* slave. The Ḥanafīs permit this only if the *tadbīr* is limited (*muḳayyad*) by a condition connected with the emancipator's death. It is permissible for a master to cohabit with his *mudabbara* slave; and her children, except in the dominant Shāfiʿī view, follow the condition of their mother. On the master's death, the *mudabbar*, being regarded as part of his estate, is subject to the rule of the disposable third and on this rule depends the manner of his effective liberation, which is different for each school. Except according to the Ḥanafis, he remains in slavery if the debts of the deceased cannot be settled without selling him.

Contractual enfranchisement is of great doctrinal and practical importance. It is recommended by the Ḳur'ān (xxiv, 33: the interpretation of the text as implying a strict obligation has not generally prevailed). It consists in the master's granting the slave his freedom in return for the payment of sums of money agreed between them. Some call this conditional enfranchisement, according to others it is ransom by the slave of his own person: a divergence which entails solutions differing in detail. The transaction is known in the Ḳur'ān as *kitāb*, the verbal noun of the third form. In the classical language, no doubt to distinguish this from *kitāb* = "letter, book", it has been replaced by its morphological equivalent *mukātaba* or by *kitāba*.

Although the payments are usually spaced out (*munadjdjama*) and the majority of jurists regard settlement by instalments as essential to the contract, the Ḥanafis accept one single and immediate payment; the Mālikīs are satisfied with one instalment, while Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs insist on a minimum of two. The sums to be paid are of course deducted from the *peculium* of the slave, who is *ipso facto* "authorized" to engage in business; the granting of *kitāba* to a female slave who has no honest source of income is frowned upon. The *mukātab* is set free only when his payments are completed (on some archaic divergences, see Schacht, *Origins*, 279-80). But the master is forbidden to sell him in the meantime, except by the Ḥanbalīs, who nevertheless hold the purchaser to the terms of the contract of enfranchisement. The Mālikīs give the master a limited right to dispose in advance of the total of the sums which the *mukātab* undertakes to pay (they are known as *kitāba*, like the contracts itself). Concubinage with a "contractually emancipated female slave" is unlawful. A grant of *mukātaba* may be superimposed on one of *tadbīr*, to the same person's advantage. When the *mukātab* reaches the end of his payments, a "rebate" (*ītā'*) is usually accorded to him, in compliance with the Ḳur'anic text: fixed or discretionary, obligatory or merely recommended, according to the different authorities.

k.—Once he has gained his liberty, the freedman (*ʿatīḳ, muʿtaḳ*) immediately enjoys the same full legal capacity as the freeborn. But both he and his male descendants in perpetuity remain attached to the emancipator (*muʿtiḳ*), and to his or her family, by a bond of "clientship" or *walā'*, a term equally denoting the converse side of the relationship: "patronage". "Patron" and "client" are both referred to as *mawlā* (pl. *mawālī*) in relation to each other; if necessary they are differentiated by means of epithets: "higher" (*al-aʿlā*) for the former and "lower" (*al-asfal*) for the latter. The Ḥanafīs alone maintain, besides this *walā'* which originates in slavery, a legal institution known as *walā' al-muwālāt* between free men, which is outside the scope of the present discussion.

A saying, applied with slight variations in the different schools, runs: "Patronage belongs to the emancipator" (*al-walā' li-man aʿtaḳ*); it cannot be made over to a third party by any negotiation or shift at the moment of emancipation. The *fiḳh*, moreover, which insists on assimilating patronage to natural kinship (ḥadīth: *al-walā' luḥma ka-luḥmat al-nasab*), has succeeded in making it inalienable and untransferable, whereas cases of sale were not unknown before and even under Islam (cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Fadjr al-Islām*, i, 110; Schacht, *Origins*, 173). Nevertheless, on the strength of the peculiar concept of "attraction of patronage" (*djarr al-walā'*), this right may be transferred in certain cases; for example, from the immediate emancipator to the one who emancipated him, or from the emancipator of the mother to the subsequent emancipator of the father, subject to certain conditions. Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs sanction, not without much wavering, and under very different final forms, an ancient type of enfranchisement without patronage, known as *ʿitḳ al-sā'iba* in reference to the pre-Islamic custom, condemned indeed in the Ḳur'ān (v, 103), which consisted in turning loose in complete freedom one particular she-camel of the herd, protected by taboos.

The patron and his "agnates" (*ʿaṣaba*), or those of the patroness, stand in the position of agnates, except according to the Ẓāhirīs, to the emancipated slave who has no natural agnates, particularly in

connection with tutelage for purposes of matrimony and with joint responsibility in penal matters. In return, the property of the emancipated slave or of his or her descendants in the male line who die leaving neither priority heirs nor agnates, reverts to the patron or patroness or to their agnatic heirs, in accordance with a system of devolution (by successive generations among the kin; maxim: *al-walāʾ li-l-kubr*) more archaic than in usual cases of succession (see R. Brunschvig, in *Revue Historique de Droit*, 1950). A woman is absolutely excluded from this "inheritance of patronage" (*mīrāth al-walāʾ*): she can be patron only of her own freedmen or the freedmen of the latter; her sons inherit the patronage, while they are not counted among her agnates for purposes of joint responsibility in penal matters, a particularly conservative institution. One ancient isolated opinion notwithstanding, the jurists have not granted the freedman the right to inherit the property of the patron who dies without heirs.

Bibliography: Apart from references in the text, all the collections of hadith and treatises on *fiḳh*, not forgetting the works on *ikhtilāf*. Studies in European languages: Weckwarth, *Der Sklave im Muham. Recht*, Berlin 1909, mentioned for the sake of completeness; Abd Elwahed, *Contributions à une théorie sociologique de l'esclavage*, Paris 1931, is more important, but biassed. For the three main Sunnī schools only, see first of all: D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i [2], 141-160; Juynboll, *Handleiding* [4], 232-40, Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge*, 38-42; and, for penal law, L. Bercher, *Les délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926, *passim*. On the Mālikī view of paternity in legal concubinage, Lapanne-Joinville, in *Revue Marocaine de Droit*, 1952.

l.—The strictly juridical statute of slavery among the Imāmī Shīʿites, for which one may refer to the classic work of al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* (tr. Querry, 2 vols., Paris 1871-2) is indicative of attitudes sometimes considerably removed from the great Sunnī principles. Among the solutions it offers we shall confine ourselves to the following, as being particularly revealing of some interesting legal or social viewpoints.

The child born in wedlock does not follow the status of his mother, bond or free, but failing any stipulation to the contrary, is born free if either of his parents is free. If both are slaves but not of the same master, he belongs jointly to the masters of both parents. The master of a female slave may grant a third party the "use" of her, for purposes of work or sexual relations. There is a great deal of controversy about the permissibility of manumitting a non-Muslim slave; on the other hand it is recommended that the Muslim slave should be freed after seven years' service (compare with *Exodus*, xxi, 2; *Deut.*, xv, 12). Manumission is of right, according to most authorities, when the slave is mutilated by the master, as the Mālikīs hold, or if he is smitten with blindness, leprosy or paralysis in the course of his slavery. The concubine who has borne a child is not automatically freed on her master's death unless her child is still alive; her value is then deducted from this child's share of the inheritance. Enfranchisement with effect from a master's death may be revoked, just like a legacy; it does not prevent sale of the slave, which is tantamount to a revocation. Contractual enfranchisement is of two kinds: "conditional", which leaves in total slavery the slave who defaults in his debts, as among the Sunnīs; "unconditional", which gives the slave his freedom in proportion to the amount he pays.

In penal law, there is no retaliation on the freeman for the murder of a slave. The *walī* of a freeman killed by a slave can, as in Mālikī law, claim the possession of the guilty slave. The *diya* of the slave may not exceed (whereas the Ḥanafīs say: amount to) that of a free person of the same sex.

Some of these provisions show an independent development of doctrine, while others clearly echo ancient solutions which the Sunnīs as a whole have not retained (see two examples in J. Schacht, *Origins*, 265, 279).

The Practice of Slavery

A) In the Middle Ages

Throughout the whole of Islamic history, down to the 19th century, slavery has always been an institution tenacious of life and deeply rooted in custom. The Turks, who were to come to the relief of the Arabs in the victorious struggle against Christianity, seem to have practised it but little in their primitive nomadic state (Üçok, in *Revue Historique de Droit français*, 1952, 423): after providing for so long their unwilling quota, through kidnapping or purchase, to the slave class of the Muslim world, they became themselves supporters of the institution in an ever-increasing degree, as they adopted Islam and the sedentary way of life.

The wars of conquest, which, after the fulgurous expansion of Islam in the first century of the hidjra, continued throughout the Middle Ages to further its spread in one direction or another despite setbacks elsewhere, provided the conquerors with an almost ceaseless stream of prisoners of both sexes, many of whom remained in slavery. Even in those places where the frontiers of the *dār al-Islām* were, for the time being, established, armed raids into enemy country, organized by the central power or individual groups, continued to put into practice the principle of the "Holy War", when no official truce or momentary alliance happened to be in force; and these raids brought back captives. Piracy in the Mediterranean, coupled with the privateering war from which it was often barely distinguishable, both augmented by grim razzias against the Christian seaboard, contributed to the supply of slaves to the adjacent Muslim lands, to an extent which varied at different periods but was always considerable.

Mediterranean Christendom, from Spain to Byzantium, paid this aggressive Islam in its own coin, by land and by sea. A curious chapter in the economic and social history of these Christian countries is afforded by the periodic influxes to their territory of "Moors" or "Saracens", reduced to slavery, then closely watched, employed as labourers, sometimes escaping or being ransomed but usually blending, little by little, into the local population, after their slow conversion to Christianity (see Ch. Verlinden's detailed study, in *L'Esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval*, in *Anuario Historia Derecho Español*, 1934; *idem*, on Catalonia, in *Annales du Midi*, 1950, and his useful bibliography, for various countries, in *Studi....G. Luzzatto*, Milan, 1949, while awaiting his book on *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale*; due to appear in 1954; interesting documentation on one particular society is to be found in A. González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, Madrid 1930, prel. vol., 242-6; on the quasi-ritual invitation of Muslim captives to the Emperor of Constantinople's banquet, in the 10th century, see M. Canard, in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. ii, part 2, Brussels 1950, 387-8).

It sometimes happened, admittedly on a restricted scale, that Muslims made slaves of other Muslims. This was the case, for example, when members of fanatical sects regarded the rest of mankind as beyond the pale of Islam and consequently did not scruple to attack them and, if they spared their lives, to keep them in captivity. There was an exceptional instance in 1077, when thousands of women of a revolted Berber tribe were publicly sold in Cairo. What happened more frequently, on the borders of Muslim states, was that official or private razzias against populations still largely pagan carried off indiscriminately human beings, particularly children, who might belong to Islam. With the spread of Islam in negro Africa and the intensification of Moroccan pressure in this direction, beginning in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the question of the legality of subsequent sales had to be put to some great jurists; they answered circumspectly, giving the dealers the benefit of the doubt as to the origin of individuals offered for sale (in 15th century, al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār*, vol. ix, 171-2, tr. *Archives Marocaines*, xiii, 426-8; towards 1600, Aḥmad Bābā of Timbuktu, quoted in P. Zeys, *Esclavage et guerre sainte*, Paris 1900).

The import of slaves by peaceful means tended, from an early date, to compete with the forcible method. Slaves were included in the well-known *baḳt* [*q.v.*] (Latin *pactum*?) or annual Nubian tribute, unquestionably a continuation of an ancient tradition, which was furnished to Egypt well-nigh regularly for many hundreds of years. But, in the ordinary course of events, it was trade that brought a plentiful flow of slaves from outside into the markets of the *dār al-Islām*. The slavers' caravans went into the heart of Africa or of Asia to acquire their human merchandise, bought or stolen; on the Dark Continent, the slaving propensities and internal struggles of the natives facilitated the business of the dealers. Not only Negroes and Ethiopians, Berbers and Turks were the objects of this international trade; there were in addition, chiefly in the early Middle Ages, various European elements, above all, the "Slavs", whose name has given rise to our term "slave" and has also been extended in Arabic (*Ṣaḳāliba*) to cover other ethnic groups of central or eastern Europe, their geographical neighbours. The traffic was carried on by sea as well as by land; the Red Sea has never ceased to provide a way from Africa to Arabia; the Mediterranean, with its appendage the Black Sea, offers a route, that has always been frequented, from Christian or pagan Europe to the Muslim world. Certain ports seem to have had a bigger share than others, at various times, in the reception of this merchandise: Almeria in Muslim Spain, Faramā and later Alexandria in Egypt. Darband (*Bāb al-Abwāb*), on the shores of the Caspian, was from quite an early date a very busy frontier-market for slaves, as were Bukhārā and Samarḳand in the interior.

From the middle of the 8th century, the Venetians, to the great indignation of the Papacy, began their career as purveyors of slaves—sometimes Christian—to the Islamic lands. In the 9th and 10th centuries, Jewish merchants played an important part in the traffic of "Slavs" across central and western Europe (including a celebrated eunuch-"factory" at Verdun) and their distribution throughout Islam (the famous passage from Ibn Khurradādhbih on the Radhāniyya is reproduced and translated by Hadj-Sadok, in *Bibliothèque arabe-française*, vi, Algiers 1949, 20-3). At a later date, the Mamlūks of Egypt, with the consent of the Byzantine emperor, imported new slaves, to serve or to replace them, from the Genoese or Venetian trading-posts of the Crimea or the Sea of Azov.

Even within the Muslim world, there were considerable movements of slaves, of every racial origin, in the Middle Ages; tribute sent to the caliphs by provincial governors and vassal amīrs, or commercial traffic. We do not know all the details of the organization of this traffic, but we are acquainted with certain aspects of it. Every big town had its public slavemarket, which in some countries was called the "place of display" (*maʿriḍ*). The one at Sāmarrā, in the 9th century, is described as being a vast quadrilateral, with internal alleys and onestorey houses, containing rooms and shops (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 260 = tr. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 52). The slave-merchant, who was known as "importer" (*djallāb*) or "cattle-dealer" (*nakhkhās*), inspired at the same time contempt for his occupation and envy for his wealth: he used in fact to draw huge profits, often through clever faking of his merchandise, if he did not actually hoodwink the unsophisticated customer in a quite outrageous fashion. Some remarkable details in this connection are to be found from the pen of the eastern Christian doctor Ibn Buṭlān, towards the middle of the 11th century (see Mez, *Renaissance*, 156-7) and in the writings of the conscientious Muslim al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga, towards 1100 (*Manuel de Ḥisba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 47-58).

I do not consider that it would serve any useful purpose here to quote selling-prices, particularly if the prices in question are exceptional. Such figures have no real meaning unless subjected to criticism and compared with the commercial value of other commodities — a study which has yet to be made and the materials for which, it seems, could be assembled with no great difficulty. But it is already clear and well-known that there were differences in the same market as between the various categories of slave, according to their place of origin, their sex, age, physical condition and abilities; these differences seem vast in the case of choice items, particularly females: young, handsome, talented. As a rule, whites were worth more than blacks; the ascending order of value among them, in 11th-century Spain, was: Berbers, Catalans, Galicians. At Alexandria, in the 15th century, Tartars and Circassians were prized above Greeks, Serbs and Albanians. An elementary and traditional kind of comparative psycho-physiology decides the typical qualities and defects assigned, in popular lore, to representatives of the various races and, in consequence, the functions for which they are considered best suited. Berber women, for instance, are esteemed for housework, sexual relations and childbearing; negresses are thought to be docile ("one would say they born for slavery"), robust and excellent wet-nurses; Greek women may be trusted to look after precious things; Armenian and Indian women do not take kindly to slavery and are difficult to manage.

Almost all female slaves are destined for domestic occupations, to which may be added, when they are physically attractive, the gratification of the master's pleasures. Herein indeed lies the commonest motive—lawful in Muslim eyes—for their purchase. Those of them who show an aptitude for study may be given a thorough musical or even literary education, by the slave-dealer or a rich master, and beguile by their attainments the leisure hours of high society (the slave-girl musician is called *ḳayna*).

Some again are found here and there given over to prostitution, despite the Ḳur'anic prohibition.

Male slaves have a wider range of duties, from the beginning of their captivity. A great number form the personal bodyguards or the enormous slave-militias, black or white, frequently in rivalry, which speedily reinforce or replace the Arab, Berber and Iranian fighting-men. This military function was the chief reason for the Egyptian and North African recruitment of slaves in the land of the negroes and for the introduction into ʿIrāḳ, by the caliphs of Bāghdād, of Turkish slaves, employed in the same way by the Sāmānids of Bu<u>kh</u>ārā (details on their formation and career in Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāset-nāma*, ed. tr. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, 95/139 f.). But certainly the most remarkable regime in this respect, remarkable both for the extent of the phenomenon and for the great ethnic variety of white warrior-slaves involved in it, must have been that of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*].

Other male slaves have domestic duties—sometimes of a questionable nature—in the homes of people of moderate means, as well as in those of the great. Among them were the eunuchs who, chiefly on the model of Byzantium, filled the palaces of the caliphs, the amīrs and all the nobles, at first as guardians of the *ḥarīm*. They are rarely referred to by their specific appellation of "castrate" (*<u>kh</u>aṣī*) or "eunuch" (*ṭawā<u>sh</u>ⁱⁿ*); they are more usually designated by a neutral term: "servant" (*<u>kh</u>ādim*), or, as a mark of high honour, "master" in the sense of "teacher" (*ustā<u>dh</u>*; see Canard, *Histoire d'ar-Rāḍī*, Algiers 1946, 210), which also indicates the function performed by some of them. In the early Middle Ages, the proportion of "Slavs" among the eunuchs imported and then re-exported by Muslim Spain was so high that *ṣiḳlabī* (var. *siḳlabī*) was often used there in the sense of "eunuch" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 663). In the 9th century, the illustrious writer al-<u>D</u>jāḥiẓ states that the majority of white eunuchs in ʿIrāḳ were "Slavs", and in the course of the remarkable essay which he devotes to the effects of castration on men, he asserts that in these "Slavs", as opposed to the blacks, the operation encourages the development of all the natural aptitudes (*al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938, i, 106 seqq., tr. Asín Palacios in *Isis*, 1930, 42-54). For the following century, interesting details are to be found in the work of the geographer Maḳdisī, on the categories of eunuchs and the processes of castration (re-ed. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 56-9; see also Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 110). Whereas the blacks were usually submitted to a complete and barbarous amputation, "level with the abdomen", as the later expression ran, the whites, who were operated on with a little more care, retained the ability to perform coitus (this distinction is also vouched for in modern times); some of them took concubines or even wives, as the Ḥanafī school allowed.

Outside the house, many slaves served as assistants in business, or carried on business themselves, in accordance with their legal position, with a considerable measure of independence. Others cultivated their masters' fields. Examples are found of monumental building-works carried out by slave-labour, especially by prisoners-of-war in government service. But it must be emphasized that mediaeval Islam seems scarcely to have known the system of large-scale rural exploitation based on an immense and anonymous slave labour-force. One big attempt along these lines, carried out by the ʿAbbāsids in order to revivify the lands of ʿIrāḳ, the centre of their empire, ended, during the second half of the 9th century, in the prolonged and terrible revolt of the *Zan<u>dj</u>* [*q.v.*] slaves, who had been imported from the eastern coast of Africa to bring the swamps of Lower Mesopotamia under cultivation.

The vast majority of slaves therefore escaped the system of collective forced labour, which condemns a man to one of the most distressful of all existences. This does not mean that they were one and all contented with their lot; the number of runaways, which seems very high at certain periods, would indicate the reverse. But setting aside the suffering caused by the slave traffic (all the more if castration was performed), and taking into account the general harshness of the times, the condition of the majority of slaves with their Muslim masters was tolerable and not too much at variance with the quite liberal regulations which the official morality and law had striven to establish. Despite the obvious points of inferiority, it was even known for them to attain happy and enviable positions, in material prosperity and influence, especially in rich and highly-placed families and, even more, in the immediate entourage of the sovereign. They had, in addition, the prospect of liberation, which it was not always overbold to hope for.

This liberation, in the case of prisoners-of-war or victims of razzias by land or sea, might result from negotiations between the powers concerned: an exchange of captives or restoration in return for a ransom. History is full of such negotiations, sometimes futile, sometimes crowned with success, between Christian and Muslim states. Many were the captives ransomed, in both directions, thanks to collections of an official nature, but also more and more by ordinary individuals. In the latter case, Jews often played a useful part as go-betweens; in Spain they were sometimes referred to as "alfaqueques" (Ar. *fakkāk*, "liberator"). Further, great Catholic religious Orders, organized for the most part since the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th, devoted themselves to succouring and ransoming their co-religionists who were captives in Muslim countries: in discharging this duty, Trinitarians and Mercedarians were to have a long and fruitful career, which their eulogists, ancient and modern, have regrettably deemed it necessary to embellish still further by means of exaggerated figures.

Also worthy of consideration, for their number and for their effects on Muslim society, were the compulsory manumissions, under the conditions imposed by the Law, of concubines who had borne children, as well as the voluntary manumissions of slaves of both sexes, especially Muslims, by their Muslim masters. Thus apostasy was rendered attractive for Christians; though not, as a rule, imposed on them, it was insistently suggested. We have already said that enfranchisement is an act of piety, widely practised; it is frequently the result of a vow or oath (conditional oath, expiation for a violated oath). The beneficiary ranks unreservedly as a free man or woman; the bond of clientship which continues to exist, and whose existence is felt, presents not so much a slight moral derogation as an inestimable advantage in the reality of a highly compact social structure. From ʿAbbāsid times onward, more than one freedman rose very high indeed in the military and political hierarchy, even to the most exalted ranks to which a free Muslim might attain. Their very names, which they continued to bear, betraying to the world their former servitude and even their irremediable condition as eunuchs (some of them commanded armies), were

no obstacle to such a rise. In the 4th/10th century, such men as Muʾnis in Baghdād and the negro Kāfūr in Egypt afford a remarkable illustration of the system. A number of Muslim dynasties, in Spain as well as in Egypt and the heart of Asia, have an avowedly servile origin. A Turkish "slave" dynasty reigned at Dihlī in the 13th century [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE]. The "mamlūk" sultans of Cairo actually made such an origin a condition of coming to power, through a recognized *cursus honorum* (see G. Wiet, in Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne*, vol. iv, 1937, 393-5; D. Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamelouk*, Jerusalem 1951, and MAMLŪKS). As for maternal ancestry, reigning sovereigns almost everywhere, including the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, were commonly sons of slave concubines, of widely varying provenance.

It is therefore easy to imagine the importance of slavery in that mingling of populations to which Muslim institutions have been so favourable. The number of new slaves introduced into the great cities in certain years could be reckoned in thousands; the slave element formed a considerable part of the urban population and had a marked tendency to blend with it, not only through enfranchisement but also through sexual intermixing, which was commonplace. Crossbreeding with blacks may have had ethnological consequences, which it is not within our competence to analyse. The slave-trade was of prime importance in economic life; the taxes imposed on it were a source of profit to the authorities. Although slave-labour was for the most part employed in household duties and was not generally applied to productive work, yet the military function of large numbers of male slaves was one of the salient features of this civilization, and had repercussions on the foreign and domestic policies of many mediaeval states (see M. Canard, on a treaty between Byzantium and Egypt in the 13th century, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 197 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text: Le Strange, 184, 429, 437, 459, 487; Mez, *Renaissance*, 152-62; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig 1885-6, ii, 555-63 and *passim*; Schnaube, *Handelsgeschichte der roman. Völker....*, Munich-Berlin 1906, 22-3, 102, 272 and *passim*; Ch. Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Espagne musulmane, Anuario de Historia del Derecho español*, 1935, 361-424; Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne Musulmane au Xe siècle*, Paris 1932, 29, 191-3; idem, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, vol. iii; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, 450-1, 454-8.

B) *In the Modern Period*

The practice of slavery among the Muslims seems to have undergone no radical changes during the modern period, down to the last century. The main sources and the mediaeval routes of the slave-trade were modified only to a limited extent by the disappearance of Islam from Spain and on the other hand its expansion or consolidation in the Balkans, India and Indonesia. Far more considerable must have been the effect of the position adopted by European Christendom; having almost entirely suppressed slavery on its own ground, it must have ceased to contribute to the commercial supply of white human merchandise long before it adopted the worldwide policy of abolitionism, whose effects are still perceptible in our own days. Christendom nevertheless busied itself with supplying its American colonies with African negroes, thrown into cruel bondage. Among these unfortunates, Muslims seem to have been particularly numerous in Brazil, where from 1807 to 1835 they fomented the great slave revolts, rigorously quelled, which shook Bahia (on their cultural influence and their disappearance, see R. Ricard and R. Bastide, in *Hesperis* for 1950 and 1952 respectively). In the Mediterranean, where the corsairs and "Barbary" pirates continued their ravages, perhaps to an even greater extent, after the establishment of Ottoman supremacy (see O. Eck, *Seerauberei im Mittelmeer*, Munich-Berlin 1940), the bordering Christian powers retaliated almost down to the end of the 18th century, as they had done previously, by numerous captures. In this work the Knights of Malta took an active part: during the first half of the century, they sold to the French navy the men it needed as rowers on the galleys. More than ten thousand Muslim slaves attempted a revolt on the island in 1749; Bonaparte liberated the two thousand Barbary slaves whom he found there in 1798 (see Godeschot and Emerit, in *R.Afr.*, 1952, 105-13).

On the lot of Christian captives or slaves in the hands of the Barbary corsairs, there is abundant European documentation; perhaps even too abundant, in view of its not being always of good quality. If Cervantes' captivity at Algiers is a matter of certainty and had a felicitous result on his work, that of St. Vincent de Paul at Tunis is scarcely plausible. The information provided in what might be termed the classic accounts of the subject, such as those of Friar Haedo or Father Dan (17th century, the heyday of the corsairs), must be carefully checked against other data, preferably derived, where possible, from consular archives (for all aspects of slavery at Algiers, see the solid study by H. D. de Gramont, in *Revue Historique*, 1884-5, to be supplemented by Venture de Paradis, ed. Fagnan, Algiers 1898, and Lespès, *Alger*, Paris 1930, ii, chaps. 3-5; for Tunisia, we have a judicious statement of the facts by J. Pignon in *R.T.*, 1930; see also, as a more recent publication, Garcia Navarro, *Redenciones de cautivos en África*, ed. Vazquez Pajaro, Madrid 1946). It is important to distinguish particularly between slaves held to ransom, who were rich and well-treated, and the slave workers, whose widely-varying destinies might hold in store for them a bitter life in the galleys, or wretched toil in the countryside, or an often much easier life in or just outside the city. Barbary at that time abounded in "matamores" (Ar. *maṭmūra*: "silo") and "bagnios" (Ital. *bagno*: "bath") in which the slaves were penned. The Atlantic itself was scoured by the Moroccan corsairs, from their base at Rabat-Salé (see Penz, *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVIIe siècle*, Rabat 1944). As in the Middle Ages, the liberationist religious Orders and the Jews took an active part in procuring releases by ransom. Renegades attained high positions in the fleet or in the army. But at the beginning of the 19th century, after a slow decline that was hastened by increased pressure on the part of the European powers, the number of Christian captives was considerably diminished. At the time of the French conquest in 1830, Algiers had no more than 122, as against several thousands two centuries earlier.

North Africa remained an outlet for the traffic in negroes, on the other hand, right down to the French occupation. In this traffic Morocco played a preponderant part, especially at that period in the second half of the 17th century, when the sultan Mūlāy Ismāʿīl raised a veritable army of negroes and half-breeds (*ʿabīd al-Bukhārī*, in consequence

of the oath they took on this collection of "authentic" traditions; see H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, ii, Casablanca 1950, 256-7). Black slaves of both sexes continued to be imported into Morocco until well into the 20th century, with some pretence at secrecy since the open traffic from Timbuktu and public sale (the fairs of Sīdī Aḥmad u-Mūsā on the southern borders; at Fez and Rabat the special market was called *birka*, as in Tunisia) had become impossible. It should be pointed out how much their presence colours the family and social life of the cities (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 200-3, with references; and, under the Protectorate, J. and J. Tharaud, *Fez ou les bourgeois de l'Islam*, Paris 1930, 17-43).

Towards 1810, a competent observer, Dr Louis Frank, made a special study of the importation of slaves at Tunis (*L'Univers Pittoresque, Tunis*, 115 seqq.) as he had done in Egypt ten years previously under Bonaparte (his *Mémoire sur le commerce des nègres au Kaire*, Paris 1802). The general organization of the traffic, the focus of which was public sales, recorded in writing, was much the same in both places, with the difference that whereas Cairo was supplied solely by big caravans (two annual, one from Sennār and one from Dārfūr—see also J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, *passim*—, and one biennial, from Bornu or Fezzān), Tunis used to receive some isolated consignments, apart from one big caravan every year from Fezzan or beyond (see also J. Despois, *Géographie humaine du Fezzan*, Paris 1946, 35-7, with references): an annual total of some three thousand for Cairo and one thousand for Tunis. In the latter city the male black slaves came under the authority of the agha or chief eunuch of the bey, while the negresses had "a forewoman to rule and protect them." In Egypt, the mortality of these negroes was high; in Tunis, according to Dr. Frank, their infants survived only if they were of mixed blood (on the blacks in present-day Tunisia, see Zawadowski, in *En terre d'Islam*, 1942). In the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī, towards 1835, the Egyptian army used to make up its strength by yearly razzias from bases in Dārfūr and Kordofān; it would enrol the sturdiest of the captives and hand the rest over to the inhabitants of those provinces and to the dealers, some of whom were themselves black converts to Islam (see T. F. Buxton, *De la traite des esclaves en Afrique*, French tr., Paris 1840, 70-5).

The moral and social condition of slaves in an urban environment, in the 19th century, seems to have been fairly uniform in such diverse cities as Tunis, Cairo and Mecca (a great centre for the traffic on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage). White slaves had become rare since the beginning of the century; they were expensive and in little demand except by exalted personages or rich Turks; white female slaves were preferably Caucasians, famed for their beauty. Arabia could muster a small number of Indonesians. The bulk of the slaves were black, but in the east a distinction was drawn between Ethiopians, who were paler and more highly prized, and negroes in the strict sense. Eunuchs were imported already castrated; in Mecca, the majority of them were in the service of the mosques. All the European writers lay stress on the good treatment these blacks customarily received at the hands of their town-dwelling masters, in contrast to the dreadful conditions of their capture and subsequent transportation under the lash of the Arab or Arabicized slavers. They readily adopted Islam and became deeply attached to it (some even thanked God for having led them to the true Faith through their captivity: Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*², i, 554-5), though their new faith did not prevent them from performing their traditional songs and dances, or even their African rites of exorcism (the *zār* [*q.v.*]; see Trimingham, *op. cit.*, 174-7; similar facts in Barbary). They formed, one may say, part of the family and, especially as concubines, the slave-girls came to be of one blood with it. Enfranchisements were usual, but it was not unknown for a concubine who had borne a child to seek from her master a denial of paternity, since there were more advantages for her in remaining a slave than in marrying and running the risk of repudiation (see especially Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1895, 147, 168, 194-7; Burckhardt, *Voyages en Arabie*, French tr., Paris 1835, i, 251-2; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii (The Hague 1889), 11-24, 132-6). It is therefore not surprising that, round about 1860, the Swiss Henry Dunant, founder of the Red Cross, who knew Tunisian society, laid great stress on the customary mildness of urban servitude among the Muslims, as compared with the methods of American slave-holders.

At the end of the 18th century, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, to whom we owe so much of our information on the structure of the Ottoman empire, declared: "There is perhaps no nation where the captives, the slaves, the very toilers in the galleys are better provided for or treated with more kindness than among the Mohammedans" (*Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, iv/1, 381).

Under the sultans of Constantinople, slavery perpetuated the mediaeval traditions of the Islamic peoples: it furnished domestics, concubines, officials and soldiers. For the use of private persons, for example, the slave-dealers (*esirciler*), who were under the supervision of a *kâhya*, had at their disposal a public building in the capital, not far from which lived the expert matrons who acted as go-betweens if the purchasers so desired. Every slave, after passing the frontier, had a document of civic status bearing his name, which remained as a title-deed in the hands of his successive owners. People of quality, who imitated the court on a reduced scale, had *ḥarīms* of close on a hundred slave-women. The sultan's *ḥarīm* numbered several hundred, classified in a strict hierarchy of five ranks, only the two highest of which (those of *kadın*, "lady" and, below them, of *gedikli*, "privileged"), were attached to the person of the sovereign. Some of the women of the highest rank were former slaves whom the sultan had freed and subsequently married informally. Although for many years none of the sultan's wives had been freeborn, these former slaves had no difficulty in wielding very great influence at court. Besides this female element, there lived at the seraglio numerous eunuchs, conventionally known as "aghas" (Turkish also uses in this sense the Arabic *khādim* > *hadım*). The black eunuchs, under the "agha of the girls" (*kızlar ağası*), vied with the white eunuchs, under the "agha of the gate" (*kapı ağası*) for precedence and power; in the upshot it was the former who carried the day. Finally we must note the importance in all public services, civil and military, of slaves of various origins, "slaves of the gate" (*kapıkulları*), who, often converted to Islam of their own accord and enfranchised, attained the most desirable posts. From the 15th century, when the number of white slaves brought in by war and purchase had dwindled, almost down to the middle of the 17th century, there functioned the system,

contrary to the Sacred Law, of *devşirme* [see DEWSHIRME], or forced enrolment of young Christians of the empire, mainly from the Balkans, as slaves of the government. These involuntary yet devoted servants of the Porte used to receive a training suited to their abilities; the most gifted would enter the palace or the higher administration; the rest were turned over to the navy or various military corps, including the Janissaries, whose brilliant reputation was due to them (see M. d'Ohssòn, *op. cit.*, vi and vii, and H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen's solid and well-documented *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, Oxford 1950, 42-4, 56-60, 73-82, 329-33).

Further east, in modern Persia, it is essentially in the domestic form that slavery has been practised. There one meets with the general characteristics already noted: usually good treatment, integration in the family, ease of enfranchisement, with some modifications belonging to Imāmī Shīʿite law (*v. supra*). Seventeenth-century European travellers were struck by the high number of eunuchs and the power they had, both at the Ṣafawid court and in the houses of the great; according to Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, Amsterdam 1711, ii, 283-5) there were some 3,000 of them in the service of the sovereign, while the nobles and even rich private citizens had staffs of eunuchs. They were given the considerate appellation of "tutor, master" (*khōdja*, equivalent to *ustādh* which we have met above). Their purchase price was extremely high; the majority were white and came mostly from the Malabar coast of India. In the first half of the 19th century, under the Ḳādjārs, white slaves became few and soon disappeared altogether, except for the pretty Caucasian girls who continued to enter the *ḥarīms*; but, contrary to the most widespread Muslim practice, their children could not succeed to the throne, which was reserved for sons whose mothers were of royal blood. The numbers of the black slaves had increased; they were either Ethiopians who had crossed Arabia, or Zandj of east Africa, who came by way of Zanzibar, Mascat and Bushire (on this traffic, in Arab hands, see R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, London 1939, 136-46, with references), to draw custom to the market of Shīrāz. The high mortality which overtook these coloured men in Persia prevented their forming an important element in the population (see Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 248-61, 661; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 148).

The Persians, in the course of their armed conflicts with the Sunnī inhabitants of Turkestan, were sometimes reduced to slavery, as being heretics. In the middle of the 19th century, it was still possible for so many thousands of them, prisoners of war, to be sold at once in the market at Bukhārā that prices slumped. Some of them in this same town, having won their masters' regard and being enfranchised, rose to every official position of honour. Others, however, less well endowed, went from there to swell the number of the slaves on whose shoulders fell the greater portion of the agricultural work in the khanate of Khīwa (see A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, 192-3, 331, 371).

Among the relatively rare examples of an essential agricultural task performed by a compact slave labour-force, we may cite that of the region of Zanzibar itself, where, in the 19th century, there was kept a body of blacks gathered from almost as far as the great lakes and destined in the mass for export. The harsh life of toil in the sugar- or clove-plantations, run by Arab or Indian planters, all along the coast, was quite devoid of the amenities of urban servitude. The lot of thousands of slaves employed in pearl-fishing in the Persian Gulf also seems to have been a very harsh one over a long period.

Much less burdensome, certainly, but wildly discriminatory, is the slavery which still obtains today in the desert: in the Sahara on the one hand, in Arabia on the other, for the benefit of the nomad tribes. Tuareg society, divided into three rigid castes, used to keep on the lowest level, beneath the nobles and their vassals, the slave-groups (*akli*, pl. *iklān*), enfranchised or not, almost all of them black, who were utilized by the dominant clans either as tillers of the soil or as servants to men and beasts. Among the beduin of the Arabian peninsula and its fringes (see especially A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 26, 60-1, 125-6; A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 276-8), black slaves may intermarry and acquire property, but however intimate they may be with the master and his family, however great the advantages custom permits them to enjoy, they are never regarded as equals, even after enfranchisement: they are *ʿabīd*, and *ʿabīd* they remain; and marriage with the sons or daughters of them is considered a come-down, by the lowliest of whites.

Bibliography: To the references in the text may be added R. Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, i, 117-27.

Abolition

Although Islam, in teaching and in actuality, has favoured the emancipation of slaves, it was only under an overwhelming foreign influence that it began, about a hundred years ago, an evolution in doctrine and in practice towards the total suppression of slavery, its abolition in law and custom. This evolution, which has continued, is in some regions still incomplete. Here we have one of the most typical examples of the transformation that the Muslim world has undergone, through European pressure or example, from the mid-19th century down to our own day.

The European powers concerned were themselves, to some extent, novices in this field: they had long favoured the traffic and maintained slavery in their colonies. One of them, Russia, had maintained serfdom on her own soil. The French "philosophers" of the 18th century, beginning with Montesquieu, had condemned the very principle of slavery: its short-lived suppression under the First Republic was unfortunately a check. But, from 1806 onward, Britain took the lead in the movement for the suppression of the slave-trade and then of slavery itself. She may be accused of having more than once let her maritime and colonial interests dictate her interventionary zeal or, on other occasions, the mildness of her actions. Yet, when all is said, she stands out as a great pioneer of abolition over the whole surface of the earth, including the lands of Islam.

The diplomatic history of the 19th century, since 1814-15, is dotted with treaties and other international agreements aimed at banning the traffic in negroes, by sea and across the continent of Africa, in increasingly precise terms. The suppression of slavery as such is mentioned only towards the end of the century, and then timidly. But measures in this direction had already been adopted in several portions of the Muslim world, particularly those under the authority of European states. Britain, having emancipated the slaves in her colonies by

the famous Bill of 28 Aug. 1833, made in 1843 the first general decision to abolish slavery in India (completed by a series of other Acts down to 1862). France completely abolished slavery in all her oversea territories, including Algeria, by a decree of the Second Republic on 27 April 1848; the Netherlands did the same for their Indonesian possessions by the laws of 1854-59, with effect from 1 Jan. 1860 (3 years before their colonies in the West Indies); and Russia for her Central Asian dependencies on 12 June (O.S.) 1873, before even having completed the conquest of Turkestan.

Parallel with this direct and radical action by the Powers, the Muslim states which, while remaining independent, were most subject to Western pressure and had most contacts with European civilization, were slowly and cautiously embarking on restrictive measures. As early as 1830, the Ottoman sultan had enfranchised *en bloc* those white slaves of Christian origin who remained true to their religion, while expressly keeping the Muslims in slavery (G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, ii, Oxford 1905, 171-2). To Tunisia belongs the honour of having been the first to promulgate a general edict of emancipation for black slaves (*ipso facto*, of Muslim slaves: there were practically no white slaves in the Regency). By a decree of 23 Jan. 1846, the same year in which he was to make his sensational journey to France, the bey Aḥmad ordered that letters of enfranchisement should be granted to every slave who so wished, and that every instance of slavery of which the religious magistrates might be apprised should be referred to him. The preamble to this decision, which was approved by the two highest dignitaries of the Ḥanafī and Mālikī rites in the country, is worth dwelling on: in it, slavery is declared to be lawful in principle but regrettable in its consequences. Of the three considerations particularized, two are of a religious nature, the third political (*maṣlaḥa siyāsiyya*): the initial enslaving of the people concerned comes under suspicion of illegality by reason of the present-day expansion of Islam in their countries; masters no longer comply with the rules of good treatment which regulate their rights and shelter them from wrong-doing. It is therefore befitting to avoid the risk of seeing unhappy slaves seeking the protection of foreign authorities (M. Bompard, *Législation de la Tunisie*, 398; Arabic text in Sanūsī, *Madjmūʿāt al-Ḳawānīn al-Tūnusiyya*, fasc. 1, p. 4).

Thirty years later, in the treaty concluded with England on 19 July 1875, the bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ undertook not only to see that the decree of 1846 was given full effect, but also to do everything in his power to suppress slavery and punish any infraction. Under the French protectorate, various Tunisian ministerial circulars (1887-91) and the bey's decree of 28 May 1890 completed the formal prohibition of slavery in the Regency and the organization of the freeing of black slaves on the judicial and administrative planes (M. Bompard, *op. cit.*, 472; P. Zeys, *Code annoté de la Tunisie*, i, 384-6).

At Istanbul, the first imperial firmāns against the slave-trade date from the period of the *Tanẓīmāt*, under ʿAbd al-Madjīd, and especially from the years of close understanding with France and Great Britain: Oct. 1854 for the whites, Feb. 1857 for the blacks (a religiously-inspired reservation exempted the Ḥidjāz from the reform). How little effect these documents had at first in preventing the import of blacks, is apparent from the multiplicity of decisions of the same sort, the circulars and instructions which continued to repeat one another, in terms ever more insistent and explicit, till round about 1900. The agreement entered upon with Great Britain in 1880 but not applied till 1889, followed by Turkey's adhesion to the general Act of the Brussels Conference of 1890, constituted an important double step towards the suppression of the traffic, already much reduced by abolitionist action in Africa and the Red Sea: till then "more or less clandestine", it was to assume thenceforth "the nature of smuggling and was treated as such" (G. Young, *op. cit.*, 172-206). Moreover, foreign consuls secured from the Ottoman authorities the enfranchisement of slaves who sought refuge with them. The Constitution of 1876, guaranteeing the personal liberty of all subjects of the empire remained a dead letter until it was put in force by the Young Turks in 1908. At this time there were only a very few slaves, all of them domestic, in the capital and those provinces under the effective control of the central power (cf. Dr. Millant, *L'esclavage en Turquie*, Paris 1912).

Egypt was nominally included in the Ottoman territories within the scope of the oldest firmān forbidding the traffic in negroes. Indeed it needed to be, for this traffic had expanded just at the moment when the Egyptians installed themselves in the heart of the Sudan. Pashas subordinate to the Porte organized some anti-slaving expeditions in the south; the results were but mediocre (cf. J. Cooper, *Un continent perdu*, Fr. tr. Paris 1876, 25-8). Under the khedive Ismāʿīl, a mission of this type entrusted to Sir Samuel Baker (1869-73) was equally disappointing (S. Baker, *Ismaïlia*, London 1874, Fr. tr. Paris 1875), whereas after 1874 the fight against slavery was intensified, hand in hand with the Egyptian expansion, under Colonel Charles George Gordon and his European colleagues (cf. P. Crabitès, *Gordon, the Sudan and Slavery*, London 1933; H. Dehérain, in Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vi, 481-552). At this period, the khedive, under the terms of his agreement with England of 4 Aug. 1877, was formally banning all trade in negroes and then opening enfranchisement offices in the various provinces. But it was only towards the end of the century, under the English *de facto* protectorate, that the most energetic measures were taken: since 1895, any infringement of the freedom of the individual has been classed as a crime in Egypt, while since 1898 the slave-trade, with the defeat of the Mahdist movement which had revived it in the Sudan, has been no more than an infrequent and clandestine phenomenon.

It was again the British who attacked, with notable persistence, one of the most productive sources of Muslim slavery: that of east Africa. The traffic there, by land and sea, had assumed terrifying proportions since Saʿīd, the Imām of Mascat, had succeeded in gaining a foothold on the coast of Africa, at the beginning of the 19th century. The stages through which English diplomatic activity passed are symptomatic: in 1822, after ten years of parleying, Saʿīd consented merely to forbid his subjects to export slaves *outside* the maritime lane joining Africa to Oman; in 1845, he prohibited the export of slaves from Africa to Arabia and beyond, while all the time insisting on the lawfulness of the import of slaves and of the slave-traffic within African territory. His son Barghash, sultan of Zanzibar, was to go further, in consequence of Sir Bartle Frere's famous mission to him: by the treaty of 5 June 1873 he prohibited the maritime traffic and the public slave-markets; then, in 1876, he declared the traffic by land illegal (see R. Coupland,

East Africa and its Invaders, Oxford 1938; *idem*, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, London 1939); if this did not stop it immediately, it was at any rate a considerable embarrassment for the trade. Next, under the British protectorate, a decree of the sultan in 1897 granted their freedom to any slaves who should ask for it, and forbade the courts to concede the claims of slave-owners. On 6 July 1909, a final decree abolished the status of slave in its entirety. The same thing had happened two years before in British East Africa (now Kenya), against an indemnity to be paid to the owners (the matter was settled in 1916).

It is safe to say that, towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the export of negroes was at a very low ebb. We may add that Persia, one of the receiving countries, had also publicly renounced this trade in her 1882 treaty with England, and her newly-created National Assembly adopted in Oct. 1907 a "fundamental law" in favour of individual freedom (E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 210); if slavery was not suppressed by these measures, it did suffer a severe blow. In Africa itself, the greater part of the vast zone wherein the Muslim slaver held sway, extending from the Atlantic to Wadai, east of Lake Chad, was conquered piecemeal and occupied by France; this has been followed by the almost complete disappearance of the slave-trade from this immense area and slavery has been abolished almost everywhere within it. Italy, the latest comer of the colonial powers, conducted an identical policy in the territories she administered in the east (Somaliland, Eritrea) and north (Tripolitania, Cyrenaica) of the continent. But the last independent state in Africa, Ethiopia, still governed by a Christian dynasty, remained (despite the negus's edicts against the traffic) a notable stronghold of the slavers, facing the Sudan and Arabia and exporting whenever possible; in the provinces, islamization and the intensification of the slave trade often went hand in hand (Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 203-4 and *passim*). During the 1914-18 war, the relinquishment of Fezzān by the Italians, who had just taken it from the Turks, and its occupation by the Sanūsīs, allowed the traffic to resume much of its activity: a slavemarket was held every week at Murzūk (Petragnani, in *L'Italia in Oriente*, Feb. 1921, tr. in *L'Afrique française*, April 1922).

At the end of the first world war, when the victors had visions of organizing the peace and of securing, in accordance with their Convention of St. Germain of 10 Sept. 1919, "the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms", long experience gave them advance information on the problems that were bound to be raised by a task of this nature; on the successes that might be hoped for and the resistance that might be expected in Muslim lands. The suppression of the traffic, which had become for the most part clandestine, was a troublesome affair, demanding the use of powerful forces and involving, by sea, the risk of provoking legal conflict between nations (France and Great Britain, 1905, in the Indian Ocean). Yet making an end of the trade does not mean putting a stop to slavery or to the transfer of slaves from one owner to another. As for official abolition, it is not always easy to secure under a protectorate; nor is it always equivalent in practice to positive and immediate suppression.

The fact is that, if slavery is such a firmly-rooted institution in certain Islamic countries, it is due far more to social conservatism than to a collective economic need. We established above that the part played by slave-labour in those lands is rarely essential for productive work. This explains why an abolitionist policy, so long as it is not applied too high-handedly, provokes no serious disturbance there, nor any violent reaction. The prevailing wish in the minds of slave-owners is to enjoy the comfort afforded by having a large domestic staff, kept under strict control; from which, moreover, lawful concubines may be recruited. They have on their side not only the tacit consent of the majority of their slaves but also an extensive public opinion and the religious tradition of Islam. The domestic slave is in his master's power through fear and respect, through self-interest, through affection. We must bear in mind that he is generally well-treated; we may reflect that he lives in a family atmosphere, without thought for the morrow. To the slave-woman, concubinage offers, besides various advantages for herself and her children, the chance of an ascent in the social scale, of which an untimely emancipation would rob her. Even when freed, the slave is often likely to remain close to his master. If he has procured his freedom against the latter's wishes, or if he has been snatched from the claws of the slaver, he is woefully without resources in a hostile environment, unless he benefits by the special measures which governments ought to take—and which they have occasionally taken—with a view to his social readjustment.

The fact, brought out in the Ḳurʾān, that slavery is in principle lawful, satisfies religious scruples. Total abolition might even seem a reprehensible innovation, contrary to the letter of the holy Book and the exemplary practice of the first Muslims. Nevertheless, contact with the realities of the modern world and its ideology began to bring about a discernible evolution in the thought of many educated Muslims before the end of the 19th century. They may be fond of emphasizing that Islam has, on the whole, bestowed an exceptionally favourable lot on the victims of slavery. Yet they are ready to see that this institution, which is linked to one particular economic and social stage, has had its day. The reformer Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān in India, goes so far as to maintain, in a special work, *Ibṭāl-i G͟hulāmī*, which appeared in 1893, translated into Arabic in 1895, that the Ḳurʾān (xlii, 4) forbade the making of new slaves (Baljon, *The Reforms ... of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān*, Leiden 1949, 28-29). Without going so far, his illustrious compatriot Ameer Ali (*The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1st ed. 1893; ed. 1935, 262) includes slavery among the preIslamic practices which Islam only tolerated through temporary necessity, while virtually abolishing them: man-made laws were later to complete the abrogation of it, which could not have been done formerly by a sudden and total emancipation (cf. the Egyptian Ahmed Chafik, on much the same lines: *L'esclavage au point de vue musulman*, Cairo 1891, 2nd ed. 1938). This thesis gradually found its way, to a varying extent, into the circle of the *ʿulamā* (for the school of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, see *Tafsīr al-Manār*, xi, 288 ff.), already open to the older arguments of the Tunisian muftīs, which were more restrained and more legalistic. But obviously it could not gain the support of the Wahhābīs of Arabia, those uncompromising restorers of the *sunna* of the Prophet; up to the present day they have vigorously maintained their downright antagonism towards abolition.

The League of Nations, from the very outset of its work, displayed an active interest in all problems

relating to slavery. This interest was notably expressed in the adoption of the international Geneva Convention of 25 Sept. 1926, in which the legal definition of slavery is formulated ("status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised", which squares with the concepts of Muslim law) and the signatories pledge themselves "to bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery". One by one, almost all the States concerned adhered to this Convention, but not Saudi Arabia or the Yaman. From then on, a consultative committee of experts worked indefatigably, gathering official returns (some of which, furnished mainly by the British and Italian governments, are highly instructive) and publishing copious reports. Legal measures multiplied, independently of this international organization as well as under its aegis. Abolition came as a matter of course in the new Turkish Republic, which repudiated every trace of Muslim law, as in the Levant territories severed from the old Ottoman empire and directly administered by France or Great Britain. In Egypt, the 1923 Constitution confirmed the guarantee of individual liberty. One after another, Afghānistān (1923, 1931), ʿIrāḳ (1924), Kalāt (1926), Persia [Īrān] and Transjordan (1929) suppressed the legal status of slave. Baḥrayn followed suit in 1937.

In Africa, an order of 1922, coupled with penal sanctions in 1930, abolished slavery in Tanganyika (the former German East Africa) under British mandate; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan took steps, as far-sighted as they were vigorous, to put an end by degrees to the vestiges of the traffic and to assist the freed slaves. In Northern Nigeria, under British administration, abolition, which began in 1907 and suffered a momentary check towards 1933 from a new offensive on the part of the trade, was accomplished by an order of 1936. In Morocco, a circular from the French Protectorate administration in 1922 suppressed public slave-dealing and granted their freedom to all who should ask for it. The pacification of the Sahara frontiers of Morocco by the French army, round about 1930, made it possible to put an end to what remained of the traffic in negroes. The Italians reoccupied Fezzān in 1929 and secured respect once more for abolition. Finally, Ethiopia showed evidence of good will: edicts of 1923, 1924 and 1931 forbade the capture of free persons or the disposal of slaves, while ordering many of them to be freed. A move was made to carry out these measures; enfranchisement offices were set up, from August 1932. The undertaking was immense and difficult. The Italians hurried things up by their armed intervention; they abolished slavery in Ethiopia by a decree of 12 April 1936.

The sole remaining resort of slavery was Arabia (outside the British colony of Aden). But it must be noted that, even in Arabia, European and particularly British persistence with the local authorities was not without effect. King Ibn Saʿūd, master of the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd, had abolished the customs-duty formerly levied on the import of slaves by the sharif Ḥusayn; in 1927 he officially confirmed to the British legation at Djidda a general right to manumit all slaves who claimed their freedom (there were some 150 of them between 1930 and 1935). Great Britain renounced this right the day following the promulgation in Saudi Arabia of the regulation on slavery of 2 Oct. 1936, which forbade the import of slaves by sea (the reason being that the religious law prohibits the capture or purchase of subjects of countries to which one is bound by treaty; but this same regulation declares servile status to be lawful and organizes it according to the strict letter of Muslim law; see Nallino, *Scritti*, i, 43, 124-5 and *Appendice*). In Feb. 1934, the Imām of the Yaman entered upon an undertaking with Great Britain to prohibit the entry of slaves coming from Africa. From the sultans and shaykhs of the southern coast (Eastern Aden Protectorate) and the Persian Gulf, Britain obtained similar decisions, reinforcing any made previously. A further step forward was taken in March 1935, when the sultan of Lahidj forbade all sale of slaves. In 1938, two sultans of the Ḥaḍramaut and the shaykh of Kuwayt declared all traffic in slaves to be illegal, and authorised slaves to claim their liberty (v. H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*, London 1942, 349-50; and U. N. Economic and Social Council, *Official Records*, Sept. 1951, 644).

Under cover of the second World War (1939-45) there seems to have been some retrogression, with a small-scale resumption of the trade, particularly in certain Ethiopian provinces. At the time of writing, it is usually acknowledged that there is practically no transport of slaves any longer from Africa to Arabia. Nevertheless the legal status of slave persists in the peninsula. It is evidently the example of the neighbouring independent states of Saudi Arabia and the Yaman that prevents Britain from increasing her pressure on the states under her control with a view to total abolition. Other considerations, no doubt, keep France from having slavery abolished by law in Morocco, where there are in any case only mild survivals in the cities or the southern oases (see, for the bend of the Dra, Dj. Jacques-Meunié, in *Hespéris* 1947, 410-2); resistence to a final solution does not come from the class of *ʿulamā* (for the present-day legal aspect, see *Gazette des Tribunaux du Maroc*, 1944, 5-7; and *Revue Marocaine de Droit*, 1952, 154-6; 183-5). In the Sahara, the French administration which as early as 1916 deprived the Tuareg of their agricultural slaves, took their house slaves away from them in 1946 (R. Capot-Rey, *Le Sahara français*, Paris 1953, 288-9). The United Kingdom of Libya (a former Italian possession), in its constitution of Oct. 1951, laid down as a principle the personal liberty of its subjects.

The United Nations Organization (U.N.O.), the moral heir of the League of Nations, has resumed the study of slavery and has condemned it, in no uncertain terms, in its "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", voted by the General Assembly on 10 Dec. 1948 (though not ratified by every State): "Art. 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Slavery and the slave trade are prohibited in all their forms". An *ad hoc* Committee on Slavery, under the Economic and Social Council, is proceeding with enquiries by means of questionnaires addressed to governments and recognized associations (Saudi Arabia and the Yaman, both members of U.N.O., have not replied) and is proposing concerted solutions. Its Report of 4 May 1951 (ref. E./1988) advocates making a start by abolishing the legal status of slave and demands that every State concerned should assist emancipated slaves to fashion a new life for themselves. As yet no resolution has been passed by the United Nations, who are divided on this point as on so many others and are far more preoccupied with the serious forms of servitude which continue to exist, or have come into existence in the world of today, than with the last vestiges of Muslim slavery, which are doubtless bound to disappear quietly in the reasonably near future.

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ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ʿABBĀS (frequently Ibn ʿAbbās, without the article), Abu l-ʿAbbās, called *al-Ḥibr* 'the doctor' or *al-Baḥr* 'the sea', because of his doctrine,is considered one of the greatest scholars, if not the greatest, of the first generation of Muslims. He was the father of Ḳurʾanic exegesis; at a time when it was necessary to bring the Ḳurʾān into accord with the new demands of a society which had undergone a profound transformation, he appears to have been extremely skilful in accomplishing this task.

He was born three years before the hid̲j̲ra, when the Hās̲h̲imite family was living shut up in 'the Ravine' (*al-S̲h̲iʿb*); and, as his mother had become a Muslim before the hid̲j̲ra, he also was regarded as a Muslim.

From his youth he showed a strong inclination towards accurate scholarly research, in so far as such a conception was possible at that time. We know indeed that the idea soon occurred to him to gather information concerning the Prophet by questioning his Companions. While still young, he became a master, around whom thronged people desirous to learn. Proud of his knowledge, which was not based only on memory, but also on a large collection of written notes, he gave public lectures, or rather classes, keeping to a sort of programme, according to the days of the week, on different subjects: interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, judicial questions, Muḥammad's expeditions, pre-islamic history, ancient poetry. It is because of his habit of quoting lines in support of his explanations of phrases or words of the Ḳurʾān that ancient Arabic poetry acquired, for Muslim scholars, its acknowledged importance. His competence having been recognized, he was asked for *fatwās* (especially famous is his authorization of *mutʿa* marriage, which he later had to vindicate). The Ḳurʾanic explanations of Ibn ʿAbbās were soon brought together in special collections, of which the *isnāds* go back to one of his immediate pupils (*Fihrist*, 33); his *fatwās* were also collected; today there exist numerous manuscripts and several editions of a *tafsīr* or *tafsīrs* which are attributed to him (whether rightly or wrongly cannot be said, as no study of this material has yet been made (Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 76; cf. also Brockelmann, i, 190, S i, 331).

The importance of the role played by Ibn ʿAbbās in the political and military events of his time should not be exaggerated, as his Muslim biographers have tended to do, influenced by the fact that he was the grandfather of the ʿAbbāsids. He followed the Muslim armies in several campaigns: into Egypt (between 18 and 21 H.), into Ifrīḳiya (27 H.), into D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān and Ṭabaristān (30 H.), and, much later (49 H.), he accompanied Yazīd on his expedition against Constantinople (with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb). At the battles of the Camel (36 H.) and of Ṣiffīn (37 H.), he commanded a wing of ʿAlī's troops. For want of resounding exploits and important offices to record, Ibn ʿAbbās is presented to us later, by his biographers, as a counsellor whom the caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān valued highly, and as a counsellor too—unfortunately litte heeded—of ʿAlī and his son al-Ḥusayn. The truth is that Ibn ʿAbbās did not enter political life until after ʿAlī came to power, and took an active part in it for only three or four years at the most. A single official mission had been, in fact, entrusted to him by ʿUt̲h̲mān, that of conducting the pilgrimage to Mecca the year the caliph was besieged in his house at Medīna. It was for this reason that Ibn ʿAbbās was not in the capital at the time of the assassination of ʿUt̲h̲mān. When he returned some days later, he paid homage to ʿAlī. From that time he was charged with important missions and, after the occupation of Baṣra (36 H.), appointed governor of that town. He was one of the signatories of the convention of Ṣiffīn (37 H.), which handed over to two arbitrators the task of settling the quarrel between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, and in a discussion with the Ḥarūrites (see ḤARŪRĀʾ) he pleaded in support of the legal validity of that arbitration. But the relations between Ibn ʿAbbās and the caliph suddenly became strained, with the result that Ibn ʿAbbās withdrew to Mecca, abandoning his seat of government, and that ʿAlī no longer regarded him as his representative at Baṣra. The sources assign different dates to this defection of Ibn ʿAbbās: 38, 39, 40, but there is good reason to believe that it took place in 38 H. (it is possible to follow the movements of Ibn ʿAbbās during that year, and in the succeeding years he no longer appears in the foreground). The traditions which assert that Ibn ʿAbbās was consistently faithful until the death of the caliph are not worthy of credence. What were the reasons for the defection? Some Arabic sources say that Ibn ʿAbbās took offence because ʿAlī reproached him for defalcations which he was alleged to have committed as governor; but the true motive of his relinquishment of office, which coincided with that of many other supporters of ʿAlī, has to be related to other much more important events of the period: the massacre of the K̲h̲arid̲j̲ites at al-Nahrawān, which Ibn ʿAbbās, 'according to certain men', had stigmatised, and the false position of ʿAlī, who maintained his claim to be caliph when, according to the verdict of the arbitrators, he was no longer recognized as such by the majority of Muslims.

Later, Ibn ʿAbbās took a step which one might be tempted to judge severely, were it not that the precise circumstances are completely unknown: he carried off the provincial funds of Baṣra, probably when he returned to the town some time after his defection. Was this seizure criminal? When one observes that this act did not diminish the esteem in which Ibn ʿAbbās was held by the Muslim community, one may suppose that there were some fairly valid motives to justify it. Similarly, the events in which Ibn ʿAbbās was involved immediately after the death of ʿAlī are far from clear. Al-Ḥasan appointed him general of his troops, but Ibn ʿAbbās established contact with Muʿāwiya: whether on his own initiative or at the invitation of al-Ḥasan is obscure; perhaps it was he who successfully brought about the agreement between the two claimants to the Caliphate; he maintained that, as a reward for his good offices, Muʿāwiya had recognized his right to appropriate the money which he had seized (part

of the treasury of Baṣra). All these machinations of Ibn ʿAbbās seemed to certain *rāwī*'s imcompatible with the dignity of such a personage; and so they transferred them, obviously wrongly, to his brother, ʿUbayd Allāh. During the long reign of Muʿāwiya, Ibn ʿAbbās lived in the Ḥidjāz; he went fairly frequently to the Damascus court, mainly, it seems, to defend the interests of the Hāshimites, which were also his own.

The troubled events of the years which followed the deaths of the first and second Umayyads brought Ibn ʿAbbās once again, perhaps against his will, on to the political scene. Although the information which we possess is fragmentary, it can be deduced from it that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, having raised the standard of revolt at Mecca, became violently incensed with Ibn ʿAbbās who, with the son of ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, refused to recognise him as caliph. Both were banished from Mecca; in 64, the year of the siege of the town, they returned, but they persisted in their opposition to Ibn al-Zubayr, with unfortunate results: they were imprisoned. Al-Mukhtār, informed of their dangerous situation, sent from Kūfa a large troop of horse, which delivered them by a surprise attack. It was thanks to Ibn ʿAbbās that on that occasion bloodshed was avoided in the holy city. Under the protection of this troop, the liberated men went to Minā, then to al-Ṭāʾif, where Ibn ʿAbbās died some time later (68/686-8).

The verdicts which Caetani and Lammens have given on Ibn ʿAbbās are in contrast to the respect which Muslims of all periods have shown him. But Caetani's arguments can easily be disproved by fair and careful criticism (it is specially important not to confuse accounts from Muslim biblical history with the *ḥadīths* concerning the Prophet), and grave doubts can be cast on the resemblance to the original of the portrait sketched by Lammens.

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ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR (Malay pronunciation Abdullah bin Abdulkadir), surnamed MUNSHIʾ, i.e. teacher of languages, was "the greatest innovator in Malay letters" (R. O. Winstedt, *A history of Malay literature*, *JMBRAS*, 1940, ch. xii). He was born in 1796 in Malacca, where his grandfather, the son of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who came originally from Yaman, had settled. At an early age, ʿAbd Allāh received lessons in Malay from his father, who is said to have been an expert Malay scholar, and endeavoured to make himself fully master of this language by reading Malay writings and by associating with educated Malays. As he learned foreign languages and continually came into contact with Europeans, as for instance, Farquhar, Raffles, and the missionaries Milne, Morrison and Thomson, his culture increased regularly.

Shortly after the founding of Singapore (1819), he established himself in that town and earned his living in many different ways. He acted as an interpreter, gave lessons in Malay, wrote letters, and assisted the American missionaries North, Keasberry and others in translating mission books and school books.

In 1838 was published at Singapore under the title *Bahwa ini Kĕsah Pŭ-layar-an Abdullah, ben Abdulkadir, Munshi, deri Singapura ka-Kalantan*, a description of a journey to the Malay States on the east coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, giving most important information concerning them. This book inaugurated a new and free Malay prose style; its author may be considered a pioneer of the literary movement which, continued by authors of the 20th century, ultimately led to the development of Malay into the national language of Indonesia.

ʿAbd Allāh's principal work is the *Hikayat Abdullah*, his Memoirs, in which *inter alia* he mentions politically important personages, such as Farquhar and Raffles (whose secretary he was), and emphasizes the advantages of a European administration over an Indian one, even though he at the same time sharply criticizes the administrative measures of the English and Dutch. The work was finished in 1843 and lithographed with a few additions in 1849. Some copies of this first edition have an English dedication to Governor Butterworth, in which the work is called a "humble attempt to revive Malay literature". In his Memoirs ʿAbd Allāh mentions several works written by him. Among these is a poem describing a fire in Singapore, in which the author lost all his possessions. It was entitled *Shaʿir Singapura dimakan api* and printed in Malay as well as in Latin characters (1843). The Mss. described in the catalogues under this title do not contain this

poem, but a similar one, entitled *Shaʿir Kampong Gĕlam tĕrbakar*, published after a fire in 1847.

The periodical *Čĕrmin Mata* contains some contributions by ʿAbd Allāh. He died in 1854 during a pilgrimage to Mecca, shortly after his arrival in that city. The notes of his voyage as far as Dj̲idda were published in *Čĕrmin Mata*.

Besides these original works ʿAbd Allāh translated the Tamil redaction of *Pančatantra* (a collection of Indian fables) into Malay under the title of *Hikayat Pandja Tandĕran*, and edited the Malay Chronicles (*Sĕdjarah Mĕlayu*).

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(C. A. van Ophuysen—P. Voorhoeve)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. Marwān, son of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [*q.v.*], was born about the year 60/680-1, perhaps somewhat earlier, as he is said to have been 27 years old in the year 85/704. He grew up in Damascus and accompanied his father in several campaigns. We first meet him as an independent general in the year 81/700-1, in one of the usual razzias against the Eastern Romans. Then in the year 82/701-2, he was sent with Muḥammad b. Marwān to help al-Ḥadjdjādj against al-Ashʿath and played a part in the negotiations of Dayr al-Djamādjim. Thereupon he again led expeditions against the Eastern Romans, and in the year 84/703-4 conquered al-Maṣṣīṣa, which he converted into a military camp. After the death of his uncle ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, he was appointed governor of Egypt in the year 85/704. On 11 Djumādā II he made his entry into Fusṭāṭ. He was to wipe out all traces of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and therefore changed all the officials. His administration left a bad record in the tradition, because he accepted bribes and embezzled public moneys. The only really important achievement of his rule was the introduction of the Arab language into the *dīwāns* of the capital. His administration gave offence in Damascus; in the year 88/706-7 he made there a passing visit, and in 90/708-9 he was definitely recalled. He departed to Syria with many presents, but they were taken from him in the province of al-Urdunn by order of the caliph. Thereupon he disappeared from the political arena. Only al-Yaʿḳūbī has the information that he was executed when the ʿAbbāsids come to power. He is said to have been crucified by al-Saffāḥ in the year 132/749-50 in al-Ḥīra.

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(C. H. Becker)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB of B. Hāshim of Ḳuraysh, father of the prophet Muḥammad. The earliest and most reliable sources give little information about him. His mother was Fāṭima bint ʿAmr of B. Makhzūm. Al-Kalbī places his birth in the 24th year of the reign of Anūshirwān (554), but he is usually said to have been twenty-five when he died (? 570). According to a well-known story, picturesque but probably with little factual basis, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib vowed that, if he had ten sons who reached maturity, he would sacrifice one; he attained this and selected ʿAbd Allāh by lot, but eventually sacrificed 100 camels instead. His marriage to Āmina bint Wahb has been much embellished in legend. It may have marked an alliance between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Āmina's clan, B. Zuhra, as he himself married a woman of this clan at the same time. During a trading expedition ʿAbd Allāh fell ill and died at Medīna among the clan of his father's mother, B. ʿAdī b. al-Nadjdjār, being buried in Dār al-Nābigha. His death took place either shortly before Muḥammad's birth or a few months after; the word "orphan" in Ḳ. xciii, 6, doubtless refers to Muḥammad's early loss of his parents.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 97-102; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 53-61; Ṭabarī, i, 967, 979-80, 1074-81; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 65-7, 118-20. (W. Montgomery-Watt)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ ISḤĀḲ al-Ḥaḍramī, grammarian and Ḳurʾān-reader from Baṣra, died in 117/735-6. His "exceptional" (*shādhdha*) reading continued the tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās and, in turn, influenced the readings of ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī and of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ. It seems now established that he was the earliest of the real Arab grammarians (cf. Ibrahim Mustafa, *Actes du XXI Congrès des Orient.*, 278-9). He is said to have extended the use of inductive reasoning (*ḳiyās*) and the detail is handed down that in case of doubt he opted for the accusative (*naṣb*). Nothing else is known about him beyond the facts that, being of

non-Arabic origin himself, he felt some hostility towards the Arabs, and that he was the object of a stinging riposte by al-Farazdak, whose mistakes he had pointed out.

Bibliography: The fundamental passage of al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Hell, 6-8 is partly reproduced by Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 25; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Krenkow in *RSO*, 1919, 117; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn*, ed. Krenkow, 25-28; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 22-5; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, no. 1747; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 247; G. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 29; cf. also *Fihrist*, 9, 30, 41, 42; *Aghānī* [1], xi, 106.

(Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. AḤMAD [see saʿdids].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. AḤMAD b. ḤANBAL [see aḥmad b. ḥanbal].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿALĪ, uncle of the caliphs Abu l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ and Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr. ʿAbd Allāh was one of the most active participants in the struggle of the ʿAbbāsids against the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. He was commander-in-chief in the decisive battle at the Greater Zāb, where Marwān lost his crown, and when the latter took to flight, ʿAbd Allāh pursued him, quickly captured Damascus and marched on to Palestine, whence he had the fugitive caliph pursued to Egypt. He was even more implacable than his brother Dāʾūd b. ʿAlī in waging war on the members of the Umayyad house, and shrank from no method to exterminate them root and branch. During his stay in Palestine, he had about eighty of them murdered at one time. Such cruelties naturally caused ill-will against the new ruler, and a dangerous rebellion in Syria broke out under the leadership of Abū Muḥammad, a descendant of Muʿāwiya I, and Abu ʾl-Ward b. al-Kawthar, the governor of Ḳinnasrīn. The rebels at first inflicted a defeat on the ʿAbbāsid troops, but were beaten by ʿAbd Allāh in 132/750 at Mardj al-Akhram. As governor of Syria, ʿAbd Allāh later threatened the safety of the new dynasty. After the death of al-Saffāḥ he made claims to the Caliphate, which he could base on his important services in the war against the Umayyads, and on the promise he claimed to have received from al-Saffāḥ. Moreover he had at his disposal a considerable army, which in reality he was to lead against the Byzantines. When he learned that the powerful governor of Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, had declared for the caliph al-Manṣūr and was marching against him, he is said to have killed 17,000 Khurāsānians in his army, because he feared they would never fight against Abū Muslim, and with his remaining troops proceeded against the latter. He was, however, in Djumādā II 137/Nov. 754 defeated at Nisibis and had to flee to his brother Sulaymān, the governor of Baṣra. After a couple of years, the latter was dismissed, and ʿAbd Allāh was arrested by order of the caliph al-Manṣūr. He remained some seven years in prison, then in the year 147/764 he was taken into a house that had been purposely undermined; it fell down on him and buried him under the ruins. At his death he is said to have been 52 years old.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Guirgass); Yaʿḳūbī; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*; Ṭabarī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes; *Aghānī*, Tables; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (de Goeje and de Jong), *passim*; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 341-5; L. Caetani, *Chronographica Islamica*, Rome 1912, under the relevant years; L. Caetani-G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, Rome 1915, 731; L. Caetani, *Chronologia generale del bacino mediterraneo*, Rome 1923, under the relevant years; S. Moscati, *Le massacre des Umayyades*, in *Archiv Orientální*, 1950, 88-115.

(K. V. Zetterstéen—S. Moscati)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿĀMIR, governor of Baṣra, was born in Mecca in 4/626. He belonged to the Ḳurayshite clan of ʿAbd Shams and was a maternal cousin of the caliph ʿUthmān. In 29/649-50 he was appointed by ʿUthmān to the governorship of Baṣra, in succession to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and immediately took the field in Fārs, completing the conquest of that province by the capture of Iṣṭakhr, Darābdjird and Djūr (Fīrūzābād). In 30-31/651 he advanced into Khurāsān, defeated the Ephthalites, and occupied the whole province up to Marw, Balkh and (in 32/635) Harāt. After making the Pilgrimage, during which he distinguished himself by lavish munificence to the Meccans and Anṣār, he returned to Baṣra, leaving the government of Khurāsān in the hands of deputies. In 35/656 he attempted in vain to support ʿUthmān, and subsequently assisted ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr in organizing the resistance to ʿAlī at Baṣra. After their defeat in the Battle of the Camel he took refuge with a man of the Banū Ḥurḳūṣ and made his way to Damascus, where he joined Muʿāwiya. In 41/661 he was one of Muʿāwiya's delegates to treat with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and at the end of the same year he was reappointed to the governorship of Baṣra. In 42-43/662-4 his lieutenants reconquered Khurāsān and Sidjistān, which had been lost to the Arabs during the civil war, and an expedition was sent into Sind. But his lenience towards the tribesmen appeared too dangerous to Muʿāwiya, who replaced him in 44/664 by a more energetic governor; thereafter Ibn ʿĀmir appears to have lived in retirement until his death at Mecca in 59/680, or in 57 or 58.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir was celebrated not only for his military abilities, but also for his generosity and other personal qualities and especially for his numerous public works. Among these were the construction of two canals at Baṣra and the canal of Ubulla, plantations in al-Nihādj and Ḳaryatayn, and improved water supplies for the pilgrims at ʿArafa.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Saʿd, v, 30-5; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 191-5, etc.; id., *Buldān*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 51, 315 ff.; id., *Ansāb*, v, index; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 150; *Aghānī*, index; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 79 ff., 90-1; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 191-2; Caetani, *Annali*, vii; *Chronographia*, 629-30; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 17 ff.; J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins (in the B.M.)*, London 1941, index. (H. A. R. Gibb)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. BULUGGĪN b. Bādīs b. Ḥabūs b. Zīrī, third and last ruler of the kingdom of Granada, of the Ṣinhādjī Berber family of the Banū Zīrī [see zīrids of spain]. Born in 447/1056, he was appointed at the death of his father Buluggīn Sayf al-Dawla, in 456/1064, as the presumptive heir of his grandfather Bādīs b. Ḥabūs. He succeeded him on the throne of Granada, while his brother Tamīm al-Muʿizz became independent ruler of Malaga. His reign consisted of a long series of troubles inside his kingdom, of armed conflicts with his Muslim neighbours, and of compromises with Alfonso VI, king of Castille. At the time of the Almoravid intervention in Spain he took part in the battles of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] and Aledo, but his negotiation with the Christian king soon cost him his throne. He was besieged in his capital in 483/1090 by Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, was dethroned and sent into

forced residence in Aghmāt, in Southern Morocco, where he ended his days.

It was during his exile in Morocco that ʿAbd Allāh composed his "Memoirs", the almost complete text of which was found by the author of the present article in successive fragments, at intervals of several years, in the library of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn in Fes. This autobiography, called *al-Tibyān ʿan al-hāditha al-kāʾina bi-dawlat Banī Zīrī fi Gharnāṭa*, is the most considerable and the least deformed document on the history of Spain in the second half of the 11th century. In spite of the long digressions in which the author tries to justify his political position in face of the dangers menacing his kingdom, these "Memoirs" give a very detailed chronicle of all the events that led in 478/1085 to the taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI, and, in the next year, to the arrival of the Almoravids in the Peninsula. At the same time it is a psychological document of the first order, that mirrors, much better than the chronicles of the Andalusi *ṭawāʾif*, the state of social and political decomposition in which Muslim Spain was found at the end of the 11th century, and the progress made by that time by the efforts of the *Reconquista*. The account of the events prior to the reign of the author is also new and important. The "Memoirs" of ʿAbd Allāh must be considered as the guiding thread that allows us to find our bearings through the maze of the history of Muslim Spain at the moment it was about to fall into the power of the North African dynasties.

Several fragments of the *Tibyān* were published, with an annotated translation by the author of this article, in *And.*, 1935, 233-344; 1936, 29-145; 1941, 231-93. The whole of the Arabic text, now recovered, will be published soon. A Spanish translation, by E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez (*Las "Memorias" de ʿAbd Allāh, último rey zīrī de Granada*) is due to be published in 1953.

Bibliography: The biographical articles about ʿAbd Allāh by Ibn ʿIdhārī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb have been reproduced in *And.*, 1936, 124-7; see also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām* (Lévi-Provençal), 268-70; Nubāhī, *al-Marḳaba al-ʿUlyā* (Lévi-Provençal), 93-4; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*[3], Madrid 1947, indices; idem, *Leyendo las "Memorias" del rey zirī ʿAbd Allāh*, *And.* 1944, 1-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. Mus.*, iv.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. DJAʿFAR B. Abī Ṭālib, nephew of the caliph ʿAlī. ʿAbd Allāh's father had gone over to Islam very early, and took part in the emigration of the first believers to Abyssinia, where, according to the common belief, ʿAbd Allāh was born. On his mother's side he was a brother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr; the mother's name was Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays al-Khathʿamiyya. After some years the father returned to Medīna taking his son with him. ʿAbd Allāh became known chiefly on account of his great generosity, and received the honorific surname of *Baḥr al-Djūd*, "the Ocean of Generosity". He appears to have played no very important part in politics, although his name crops up from time to time in history during ʿAlī's time and that following. When Muʿāwiya tried to throw suspicion on Ḳays b. Saʿd, the valiant governor of Egypt, to damage him in ʿAlī's eyes, ʿAbd Allāh advised the removal of Ḳays; ʿAlī allowed himself to be persuaded and took the fateful step of replacing him by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, who in a very short time brought the whole of Egypt into the greatest confusion. This took place in the year 36/656-7. When in the year 60/680, after Yazīd's accession, the Shīʿites of Kūfa summoned Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to proceed to that city to have himself proclaimed caliph, ʿAbd Allāh amongst others endeavoured to dissuade him from this dangerous enterprise, but without success. The date of ʿAbd Allāh's death is generally given as 80 or 85, but 87 and 90 are also recorded.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3243 ff.; ii, 3 ff.; iii, 2339 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 224 ff.; Nawawī, 337 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 67, 200, 331; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 181, 271 f., 313, 329, 434; v, 19, 148, 383 ff.; Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, in *MFOB*, index.

(K. V. Zetterstéen)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. DJAḤSH, of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of Banū Umayya of Ḳuraysh. His mother was Umayma bint ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's aunt. An early Muslim along with his brothers, ʿUbayd Allāh and Abū Aḥmad, he took part with the former in the migration to Abyssinia. ʿUbayd Allāh became a Christian and died there, but ʿAbd Allāh returned to Mecca and was the most prominent of a group of confederates, including his sister Zaynab [*q.v.*], who all migrated to Medina. He led the much-criticized raid to Nakhla where Muslims first shed Meccan blood, and fought at Badr. At his death at Uḥud he was between 40 and 50.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 62-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 131; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. DJUDʿĀN, Ḳurayshite notable of the clan of Taym b. Murra, at the end of the 6th c. A.D. He acquired such wealth from the caravan and slave trade that he possessed one of the largest fortunes in Mecca (Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin* (van Vloten), 165; Ibn Rusta, 215; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 153 ff.; Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, index). He surrounded himself with unusual luxury (being nick-named *ḥāsī 'l-dhahab*, because he used to drink from a golden cup), and was the owner of the two singing-girls called "Locusts of ʿĀd" (*Djarādatā ʿĀd*) whom he offered to Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt. In giving magnificent banquets, he showed a generosity that became proverbial (*Aghānī*[1], viii, 4; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 487, in connection with the expression: *djifān Ibn Djudʿān*). Thus he won the favour of the poets, but also drew on himself some invectives (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], i, 364; ii, 93). His prestige enabled him to play a certain role in politics (*Aghānī*, xix, 76), and he seems to have been the promoter of the Meccan confederacy known as *ḥilf al-fuḍūl* (Ibn Hishām, 85; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 16; Lammens, *op. cit.*, 54 ff.).

Already before the 3rd/9th c., his unusual wealth, and the wish of the Meccans to explain it otherwise than by the slave trade, gave rise to his identification with the hero of a Yamanite legend, discoverer of the tomb of Shaddād b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*] (Wahb b. Munabbih, *Tīdjān*, 65 ff.). Thus he is represented as a *ṣuʿlūk* banished by his clan, wandering in the desert and enriched by a treasure of precious stones and gold which he finds in an old tomb (al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, 183 sqq.; al-Damīrī, s.v. *Thuʿbān*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī i, 31). According to an isolated and no doubt apocryphal tradition, he is buried in a place in Yaman called Birk al-Ghumād (Yāḳūt, i, 589).

Bibliography: Add to the references quoted in the art.: Ṭabarī, i, 1187, 1330; Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 128, v, 103; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 539; *Aghānī*[1], viii, 2-6; Ibn Durayd,

al-Ishtiḳāḳ, 88; Yāḳūt, iv, 621; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 210-1, 291 (trans. Carra de Vaux, 282-4, 381); Shiblī, *Ākām al-Murdjān*, Cairo 1326, 141; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 300-51, passim; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets* (= *JA*, 1907), 66; O. Rescher, *Qaljûbî's Nawâdir*, Stuttgart 1920, no. 101. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ḤAMDĀN [see Ḥamdānids].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. HAMMĀM al-Salūlī, Arab poet of the 1st/7th century (he is said to have died after 96/715), who played a political role under the Umayyads. He was attached from 60/680 to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, condoled with him upon the death of his father and congratulated him at his accession. He persuaded Yazīd to proclaim his son Muʿāwiya as heir presumptive and later he was the first to greet al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik with the name of caliph (86/705). During the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), the only information we have about his activity shows him to have had relations with the Shīʿite agitator al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] and his entourage, as well as with the anticaliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. To the latter he addressed a poem criticising the conduct of Muṣʿab [*q.v.*], who was in effect temporarily deposed soon afterwards by al-Zubayr (67/686-7).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, index; Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, (Hell) 135-6; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; idem, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), ii, 66, 67; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 412-3; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940, iii, 254 (= iv, 173 = v, 136), 306; vii, 140-1; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 507; Ṭabarī, ii, 636-42 and passim; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 34, 309; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 126, 153-5; *Aghānī*¹, xiv, 120-1, 170; C. A. Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 154 (French transl. 236); H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, *MFOB*, v¹, 110, 120; idem, *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beyrouth, 1930, 141, 158, 166. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ḤAMZA [see al-Manṣūr bi'llāh].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ḤANẒALA b. Abī ʿĀmir al-Anṣārī, one of the leaders of the revolution that broke out in Medīna against the caliph Yazīd I. Posthumous son of a Companion killed at Uḥud and surnamed Ghasīl al-Malāʾika, ʿAbd Allāh is also known as Ibn al-Ghasīl. In 62/682 he took part in the deputation sent to Damascus by the governor of Medina, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad, to bring about a reconciliation between the malcontents of Medina and the Umayyads. Yazīd showed special consideration for the envoys, but they, nevertheless, spoke ill of the caliph and described him as unfit for the caliphate. Ibn al-Ghasīl made himself prominent by his attacks and when the Anṣār openly revolted soon afterwards, it was he whom they choose as their chief, while ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ [*q.v.*] took the leadership of the city's Ḳurayshites. After the Umayyads of Medina had been driven out, the caliph was compelled to punish the rebels by force of arms. About the end of 63/683 he sent troops under the command of Muslim b. ʿUḳba, who occupied favourable positions on the Ḥarra, to the east of Medina, and after waiting three days, engaged the Medinese in a bloody battle which ended with the complete defeat of the rebels (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/Aug. 683). ʿAbd Allāh showed remarkable bravery in the battle, but finally fell under the blows of the Syrians. His head was cut off and brought to Muslim, and the two soldiers who killed him received, it is said, high rewards from the caliph.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 154; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 46 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 412 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 45, 87 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 4637; *Aghānī*¹, i, 12; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 365 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 16 ff.; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, 231 ff. (= *MFOB*, v, 211 ff.).
(K. V. Zettersteen-Ch. Pellat)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. al-ḤASAN b. al-Ḥasan, chief of the ʿAlids. ʿAbd Allāh was treated with great favour by the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty, and when he visited the first ʿAbbāsid caliph Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ at Anbār, the latter received him with great distinction. Thence he returned to Medīna, where he soon fell under the suspicion of the successor of al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr. Yet ʿAbd Allāh owed his misfortune not so much to himself as to his two sons Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Al-Manṣūr began to suspect them in 136/754, when he led the pilgrimage to Mecca and they did not appear with the other Hāshimites to salute him, but his suspicions fell more especially on Muḥammad. After his accession al-Manṣūr tried to sound the Hāshimites as to Muḥammad's real opinions, but they spoke only good of him and endeavoured to excuse his absence. Only al-Ḥasan b. Zayd advised the caliph to beware of this dangerous ʿAlid. In order to remove all doubts, al-Manṣūr ordered ʿUḳba b. Salm to get into ʿAbd Allāh's confidence by means of presents and forged letters from Khurāsān, the recognised centre of ʿAlid propaganda. At first ʿAbd Allāh was very cautious but finally fell into the trap, and when ʿUḳba asked him for an answer for his supposed companions in Khurāsān, he did indeed refuse to give one in writing, but asked him to inform them by word of mouth that he greeted them and that his two sons would rise in revolt in the near future. When ʿUḳba had in this manner convinced himself of the rebellious intentions of the ʿAlids, he at once informed the caliph, and when the latter in the year 140/758 again made a pilgrimage, he invited ʿAbd Allāh to come to him, and asked him if he could really count on his fidelity. ʿAbd Allāh assured him of his honorable sentiments, but when ʿUḳba suddenly appeared, he understood that he had been betrayed and took refuge in entreaties. Al-Manṣūr, however, had him arrested. ʿAbd Allāh's relatives shared his fate, but the caliph was not able to seize his two sons. When he again came to Medīna in the year 144/762 after making another pilgrimage, he took the prisoners back with him to al-ʿIrāḳ, and soon afterwards ʿAbd Allāh died there in prison at the age of 75. According to current report, he was murdered by al-Manṣūr's orders.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1338 ff.; iii, 143 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, 172 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 40 ff. (K. V. Zettersteen)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. HILĀL al-Ḥimyarī al-Kūfī, a magician of Kūfa, contemporary of al-Ḥadjdjādj, with whom he was in relations after the building of the palace in Wāsiṭ (Yāḳūt, iv, 885; cf. also an adventure with a concubine of the caliph, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iii, 372-3). *Aghānī*¹, i, 167 quotes verses by ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa that bear witness to a connection between the poet and the magician. He abtained his powers from a magic ring given to him by Satan to thank him for having defended him from children who were insulting him. He was also thought to receive his inspiration from Iblīs, because he was descended from Iblīs in the maternal line; hence his nicknames of *ṣadīḳ Iblīs*, *ṣāḥib Iblīs*, *khatan Iblīs* or *sibṭ Iblīs* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*², i, 190; al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 109; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 57); he is clearly described as *makhdūm* by al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*², vi, 198 (cf.

WZKM, vii (1893), 235-6). The *Fihrist*, 310 (reproduced in al-S̲h̲iblī, *Ākām al-Murd̲j̲ān*, 101-2) mentions him among those that follow *al-ṭariḳa al-maḥmūda*; on the other hand he is considered as the master of al-Ḥallād̲j̲, accused of practising diabolic magic (L. Massignon, *Ḥallâd̲j̲*, 792). Al-D̲j̲awbarī declares that he had read his books of magic (ZDMG, xx, (1866), 487; the passage is missing in the Cairo ed. of *al-Muk̲h̲tār fi Kas̲h̲f al-Asrār*) and refers to Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Sirr al-Maktūm*. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-**ḤUSAYN**, Amīr of Transjordan (S̲h̲arḳ al-Urdunn), afterwards king of Hās̲h̲imite Jordan (al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hās̲h̲imiyya), second son of the s̲h̲arīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] king of Ḥid̲j̲āz. Born in Mecca, in 1882, he studied in Istanbul. After the revolution of 1908, he represented for some time the Ḥid̲j̲āz in the Ottoman parliament. Just before the first world war he joined the Arab Union, an association founded in Cairo by the Syrian Muḥammad Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā [*q.v.*]. In April 1914 he had interviews in Egypt with Lord Kitchener and Ronald Storrs and thus took part in the negotiations that led to the proclamation of "Arab Revolt" announced by his father in Mecca, 9 S̲h̲aʿbān 1334/10 June 1916. During the hostilities he played only a minor role. On 8 March 1920 an "ʿIrāḳī Congress", which met in Damascus, proclaimed him "constitutional king of ʿIrāḳ". But he never took possession of the throne, which was given by the English, in June 1921, to his brother Fayṣal, who had been expelled from Damascus by the French troops of General Gouraud (24-27 July 1920). In March 1921 ʿAbd Allāh met in Jerusalem W. Churchill, then colonial secretary. It was during that interview that it was orally agreed to create in Transjordan, separated from the rest of Palestine placed under British mandate, a "national Arab government" headed by ʿAbd Allāh (28 March). On 28 August 1923 this government was recognized by the High Commissioner for Palestine. Its relations with Great Britain were fixed by a treaty signed in Jerusalem 20 February 1928 (modified by the agreements of 2 June 1934 and 9 July 1941).

In 1946 Great Britain recognized Transjordan "as a completely independent state" (treaty of 22 March 1946, modified by the treaty of 15 March 1948). ʿAbd Allāh was crowned as king in ʿAmmān, 25 May 1946, and Transjordan, constituted a kingdom, took the name of "Hās̲h̲imite Kingdom of Jordan". After the war in Palestine (15 May 1948-3 April 1949), ʿAbd Allāh annexed the territories occupied by the Arab Legion to the west of the Jordan (April-May 1950). He was assassinated in Jerusalem on 20 July 1951.

In the last years of his life, he visited successively Turkey (Jan. 1947), Iran (July-August 1949) and Spain (Sept. 1949). His journeys were followed by the signature of treaties of friendship with these countries (Turkey, 11 Jan. 1947; Iran, 16 Nov. 1949; Spain, 7 Oct. 1950). On the other hand he tried to overcome the hostility of the Arab League to his projects of territorial expansion. He died, however, without accomplishing the great ideal of his reign: grouping round his throne the Arab lands of Syria (project of Greater Syria).

He was the author of memoirs, only the first part of which has been published.

Bibliography: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, *Mud̲h̲akkarāti*, 1945 (English transl., Philip P. Graves, *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan*, London 1950). Reference should be made especially to OM 1923-51 and *Cahiers de l'Or. Cont.*, 1944-51. See also T. E. Lawrence, *Seven pillars of wisdom*, London 1935; idem, *Revolt in the desert*, London 1927; C. S. Jarvis, *Arab command*⁴, 1943; R. Storrs, *Orientations*, London 1943; J. Bagot Glubb, *The story of the Arab Legion*, London 1948; Ettore Rossi, *Documenti sull'origine e gli sviluppi della questione arabe* (1875-1904), Rome 1944. On the project of Greater Syria, see *Transjordan White Book*, ʿAmmān 1947, and *Là voilà la Grande Syrie*, published by the review *al-Dunyā*, Damascus 1947. (M. COLOMBE)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. **IBĀḌ** [see IBĀḌIYYA].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. **IBRĀHĪM** [see AG̲H̲LABIDS].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. **ISKANDAR**, a S̲h̲aybānid [*q.v.*], the greatest prince of this dynasty, born in 940/1533-4 (the dragon year 1532-3 is given, probably more accurately, as the year of the cycle) at Āfarīnkent in Miyānkāl (an island between the two arms of the Zarafs̲h̲ān). The father (Iskandar K̲h̲ān), grandfather (D̲j̲ānī Beg) and great-grandfather (K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Muḥammad, son of Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr [*q.v.*]) of this ruler of genius are all described as very ordinary, almost stupid men. D̲j̲ānī Beg (d. 935/1528-9) had at the distribution of 918/1512-3 received Karmīna and Miyānkāl; Iskandar was at the time of his son's birth lord of Āfarīnkent; later, probably after the death of one of his brothers, he emigrated to Karmīna. There ʿAbd Allāh first proved his ability as a ruler in 958/1551; the country had been attacked by Nawrūz Aḥmed K̲h̲ān of Tas̲h̲kend and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf K̲h̲ān of Samarḳand; Iskandar had fled across the Āmū; ʿAbd Allāh assumed his father's duties and successfully repulsed the attack. In the following years ʿAbd Allāh tried to extend his possessions westward in the direction of Buk̲h̲ārā and south-eastward in the direction of Ḳars̲h̲ī and S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz, at first without permanent success; in 963/1555-6 he was even obliged to evacuate the lands inherited by his father and flee to Maymana. In the same year (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda/September-October 1556) there died his powerful enemy Nawrūz Aḥmed K̲h̲ān, k̲h̲ān of the Özbegs and lord of Tas̲h̲kend since 959/1552. ʿAbd Allāh immediately reasserted his supremacy in Karmīna and S̲h̲ahr-i Sabz, and in Rad̲j̲ab 964/May 1557 conquered Buk̲h̲ārā, from that time his capital. There he had his uncle Pīr Muḥammad declared as deposed and his weak-minded father proclaimed in S̲h̲aʿbān 968/April-May 1561 k̲h̲ān of all the Özbegs, in order to rule himself in the latter's name. Only in 991/1583, after the death of his father (1 D̲j̲umādā II/22 June), did he accept the vacant throne. After severe fighting against insubordinate supporters of the ruling house he subjugated Balk̲h̲ in 981/1573-4, Samarḳand in Rabīʿ II 986/June 1578, Tas̲h̲kend and the remaining country north of the Syr in 990/1582-3, and Farg̲h̲āna in 991/1583. In addition to these conquests, ʿAbd Allāh also made a raid in the first half of the year 990/spring 1582 into the steppes as far as Ulug̲h̲ Ṭag̲h̲. In the year 996/1587-8 a stubborn insurrection was suppressed in Tas̲h̲kend, and the enemy again pursued far into the steppes. In the south-east Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān was conquered, in the west K̲h̲urāsān, Gīlān and K̲h̲ʷārizm, the last-named first in 1002/1593-4 and then, after an insurrection, reconquered in 1004/1595-6. An expedition to East Turkistān resulted only in the laying waste of the provinces of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and Yārkand. ʿAbd Allāh's last years were darkened by a quarrel with his only son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who ruled in Balk̲h̲ from the end of 990/autumn 1582 in the name of his father. As ʿAbd Allāh had been the real ruler under

Iskandar, in the same way ʿAbd al-Muʾmin wanted to occupy the same position in relation to his now aging father. ʿAbd Allāh would, however, not hear of any diminution of his power, and only the mediation of the clergy prevented an open breach between father and son, and compelled ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to yield. On hearing of the strained relations between father and son, the nomads had penetrated into the region of Ta<u>sh</u>kend and had defeated between Ta<u>sh</u>kend and Samarḳand an army sent against them. At the beginning of a punitive expedition against this enemy ʿAbd Allāh was overtaken by death in Samarḳand (end of the "hen year", 1006/beginning of 1598).

ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was murdered only six months later by his subjects. The conquests in <u>Kh</u>urāsān and <u>Kh</u>ʷārizm were lost, and in the Özbegs' own country the power fell into the hands of another dynasty. Of greater permanence were the results of ʿAbd Allāh's activity in internal affairs; the administration, especially the coinage system, was remodelled by him, many public works (bridges, caravanseras, wells, etc.) were completed. Even at the present day popular folklore ascribes all such monuments either to Tīmūr or to ʿAbd Allāh.

Bibliography: The life of this ruler up to the year 996/1587-8 is described in detail by his eulogist Ḥāfiẓ Tānī<u>sh</u>: *<u>Sh</u>araf-nāma-yi <u>Sh</u>āhī* (Persian), usually called *ʿAbd Allāh-nāma*. Much information (especially about the last few years) is given by ʿAbd Allāh's Persian contemporary Iskandar Mun<u>sh</u>īʾ in *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i ʿĀlam Ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (biography of <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās I, Teheran 1897). Extracts from both works are in Welyaminow-Zernow, *Izslyedowaniya o kasimowski<u>kh</u> tsarya<u>kh</u> i tsarewiča<u>kh</u>*, ii (in the *Trudi wostoč. otd. imper. ar<u>kh</u>eol. ob<u>sh</u>č.*, x.; German transl. Leipzig 1867), and before that in his *Moneti bu<u>kh</u>arskiya i <u>kh</u>iwskiya*. See also my extracts from the little known *Baḥr al-Asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Walī in the *Zapiski wostoč. otd. imper. rusk. ar<u>kh</u>eol. ob<u>sh</u>č.*, xv. On the *Baḥr al-Asrār* comp. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 575. The information given by Vambéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, and by Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, ii. div. 2, who follows him, is to be accepted with great caution.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. ISMĀʿĪL, ʿAlawid [*q.v.*] sultan of Morocco, whose first reign started 4 <u>Sh</u>aʿbān 1141/5 March 1729, while his last ended with his death 27 Ṣafar 1171/10 Nov. 1757.

This sovereign was in fact deposed several times, five times according to the Arabic historians, and as often recalled to power. For the good order established in Morocco under Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] was at that time but a memory. When ʿAbd Allāh assumed power, two of his brothers, Aḥmad al-<u>Dh</u>ahabī and ʿAbd al-Malik, had been fighting for it for two years, and had roused, by their mutual bids and their weakness, violent antagonism between the black army of their father, the *ʿabīd al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī*, and the *gī<u>sh</u>* [*<u>dj</u>ay<u>sh</u>*, *q.v.*] tribe of Ūdāya and the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlas. When it is added that the sons of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl were numerous and that several of them aspired to power, and that, on the other hand, ʿAbd Allāh showed himself from the beginning to be capricious and cruel, then it is plain why Morocco was at this time the scene of constant disorders.

Raised to power by the *ʿabīd*, who had been won over by his mother, ʿAbd Allāh immediately stirred up against himself the city of Fez, whose resistance was overcome only after a siege of six months. He then tried to pacify his kingdom, but in consequence of a disastrous campaign in the Central Atlas, excited the enmity of the *ʿabīd* and had to flee, on 29 Sept. 1734, to the Wādī Nūn, to his mother's tribe. Replaced by his brother ʿAlī al-Aʿra<u>dj</u>, he was recalled in 1736, but was again expelled a few months later by the *ʿabīd*. He took refuge with the Berber Ait Idrāsan and was replaced successively by two of his brothers, Muḥ. b. al-ʿArabiyya and al-Mustaḍīʾ. Recalled in 1740, he fought against al-Mustaḍīʾ and his ally, the pa<u>sh</u>a of Tangier, Aḥmad al-Rīfī, when another son of Ismāʿīl, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, was elevated to the throne by the *ʿabīd*. ʿAbd Allāh found new supporters among the Berbers, with whose help he regained power in the same year. He then suceeeded in defeating al-Mustaḍī and al-Rīfī and made an effort to pacify Morocco. New revolts, however, followed each other without interruption and the sultan constantly changed his allies, relying sometimes on the *ʿabīd*, sometimes on the Ūdāya, sometimes on the Berbers. He was deposed yet again (1748) in favour of his son Muḥammed governor of Marrāku<u>sh</u>. His son, however, remained loyal and assured the reign of ʿAbd Allāh until his death, but in the midst of continual disorders. ʿAbd Allāh resided partly in Meknes, and partly in a country house near Fez, Dār Dbība<u>gh</u>.

Bibliography: Zayyānī, *Le Maroc de 631 à 1812* (Houdas), Paris 1886, 35-67; trad. Houdas, 64-127; Akensūs, *al-<u>Dj</u>ay<u>sh</u> al-ʿAramram*, lith, Fes 1336/1918, reproducing al-Zayyānī; Nāṣirī Salawī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, iv, Cairo 1312/1894, 59-91; trad. E. Fumey, *AM*, ix, 1916, 171-270; L. de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures et histoire de l'Empire de Maroc*, iii, Paris 1787, 430-65; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, ii, Casablanca 1950, 282-6.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. <u>KH</u>ĀZIM AL-SULAMĪ, governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān. On the first expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] into <u>Kh</u>urāsān in 31/651-2, Ibn <u>Kh</u>āzim commanded the advance-guard which occupied Sara<u>kh</u>s. According to some accounts, he put down a rebellion led by Ḳārin in 33/653-4 and was rewarded with the governorship of the province, but this is probably an anticipation of the events of 42/662. During Ibn ʿĀmir's second governorship of Baṣra (41/661), Ḳays b. al-Hay<u>th</u>am al-Sulamī was appointed to <u>Kh</u>urāsān, and ʿAbd Allāh b. <u>Kh</u>āzim and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura were despatched to recover Bal<u>kh</u> and Si<u>dj</u>istān. When Ḳays showed himself unable to deal with an Ephthalite revolt which broke out in the following year, Ibn ʿĀmir replaced him as governor by ʿAbd Allāh b. <u>Kh</u>āzim, who remained in <u>Kh</u>urāsān until recalled by Ziyād in 45/665.

Ibn <u>Kh</u>āzim returned to <u>Kh</u>urāsān with the army of Salm b. Ziyād (61-2/680-2), and when the latter withdrew after the death of Yazīd I Ibn <u>Kh</u>āzim persuaded him to nominate him as governor of the province (64/684). Having gained possession of Marw after defeating its Tamīmite governor, he then attacked, with the aid of Tamīm, the Bakrite governors of Marw al-Rū<u>dh</u> and Harāt, and overcame them after a long struggle. The victory was followed by repeated risings of the Tamīm against Ibn <u>Kh</u>āzim, now nominally governor on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr. In 72/692 he received, but indignantly rejected, an offer by ʿAbd al-Malik to confirm him as governor for seven years; the offer was then made to and accepted by his deputy in Marw, the Tamīmite Bukayr b. Wi<u>sh</u>āḥ, who overtook and killed him (probably

in 73/692-3) as he was attempting to join his son Mūsā in the stronghold which he had previously prepared at Tirmidh. The career of Ibn Khāzim was afterwards embellished with saga-like accretions, which make it difficult to establish many details with precision.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index (tr. Zotenberg, iv, 63-5, 113-4); Balādhurī, 356 ff., 409, 413 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 258, 322-4; id. *Buldān*, 279, 296-9; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 221-2, 308; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa-l-Farazdaḳ*, index; al-Ḳālī, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 32; Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, 258-62; Caetani, *Annali*, vii, 275 ff., 493 ff.; viii, 3-8; Barthold, *Turkestan* [2], 184; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 69, 135; J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (*in the B.M.*), London 1941, index; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 99-101; other reff. in Caetani, *Chronographia*, 853. (H. A. R. Gibb)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. MASʿŪD [see ibn masʿūd].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. MAYMŪN, client of the family of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa al-Makhzūmī (Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in Baṣra, cf. al-Ṭabarī, index), known in the Twelver Shīʿite literature as a transmitter of traditions from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (al-Kulīnī, Ibn Bābūya, al-Ṭūsī, passim, cf. Ivanow, *Alleged Founder*, 11-60; see also the Shīʿite books of *ridjāl*: al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, 160; al-Nadjāshī, *al-Ridjāl*, 148; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 197; he appears also in Sunnī books of *ridjāl*: al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, ii, 81, who quotes the earlier Sunnī authorities; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 149). Since Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ died in 148/765, ʿAbd Allāh belongs to the middle and the second half of the 2nd/8th century. His father Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ ("sharpener of arrows"—so al-Nadjāshī—rather than "oculist") is also mentioned in the Twelver sources as a companion of Djaʿfar's father, Muḥ. al-Bāḳir. Ismāʿīlī sources, too, speak of Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh as companions of al-Bāḳir and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (cf. Lewis, *Origins*, 65-7).

The anti-Ismāʿīlī writers, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century on, have a long and colourful tale to tell of ʿAbd Allāh as the founder of Ismāʿīlism. The source of all these accounts is that of Ibn Rizām (beg. of the 4th/10th century), quoted in the *Fihrist*, 186. According to this story, Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ, a Bardesanian (hence in later sources "son of Daysan"; the name of the "father" seems to owe its existence to the alleged adherence of Maymūn to Ibn Dayṣān, Bardesanes) was an extremist, follower of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], and founded the sect called Maymūniyya. His son ʿAbd Allāh claimed to be a prophet, supported his claims by conjuring tricks and, driven by the ambition of securing worldly power, founded a movement, instituting seven grades of beliefs that culminated in shameless atheism and libertinism. He pretended to work on behalf of Muḥ. b. Ismāʿīl, as expected Mahdī. ʿAbd Allāh came from Ḳūradj al-ʿAbbās near Ahwāz, but transferred his headquarters first to ʿAskar Mukram, then to Baṣra, and finally to Salamiya in Syria, where he remained in hiding until his death. His lifetime is put by Ibn Rizām, anachronistically, in the middle of the 3rd/9th century. His successors stayed in Salamiya, until ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] claimed to be a descendant of Muḥ. b. Ismāʿīl, and fled to Ifrīḳiya to found there the Fāṭimid dynasty. This story of Ibn Rizām proved a great success, was copied by all the subsequent anti-Ismāʿīlī writers (the chief of them being Akhū Muḥsin—preserved in excerpts by al-Nuwayrī and al-Maḳrīzī—and Ibn Shaddād, who gives Maymūn the *kunya* Abū Shākir, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 21, presumably in order to identify him with the *zindīḳ* Abū Shākir, for whom see al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, 40, 142; *Fihrist*, 337 and the Twelver legends quoted by Ivanow, *Alleged Founder*, 91 ff. and G. Vajda, *RSO*, 1937, 192, 196, 224), and became, with certain additions and variations (cf. Lewis, *Origins*, 54-63) the standard account of Sunnī authors about the rise of Ismāʿīlism. This is not the place to discuss in detail the vexed and apparently insoluble problem of the antecedents of the Fāṭimids (see fāṭimids and also ismāʿīliyya) yet it must be pointed out that the view that the Fāṭimids descended from Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ seems to have been entertained not only by Ibn Rizām, a great enemy of Ismāʿīlism, but also by certain sections of the Ismāʿīlī movement itself, and the Imām al-Muʿizz had to polemize against some of his followers who considered him as a descendant of Maymūn (see the letter of al-Muʿizz quoted by ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs and printed by Ivanow in the *J. of the Bombay Branch of the RAS*, 1940, 74-6, and, confirming and completing that piece of information, a passage in al-Nuʿmān's *al-Madjālis wa 'l-Musāyarāt*, MS of SOAS, London, 25434, fol. 76 ff., to be published by the author of this article). W. Ivanow (*The rise of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1942, see especially 127-56; *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946) denies the truth of any connection between Ismāʿīlism and Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh, or their descendants, considering the whole story as freely invented by their enemies—although it is difficult to see why they have picked out just Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh for the role and how early Ismāʿīlī circles could come to accept them, merely on the authority of scandal invented by their enemies, as the ancestors of the leaders to whom they paid allegiance. B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismailism*, Cambridge 1940 (see especially 49-73), admits, on the whole, the historicity of the role of Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh as leaders of the extremist movement out of which grew Ismāʿīlism. The evidence is as yet not sufficient for a definite solution of this problem, and it would seem possible that the basis for the story about Maymūn and ʿAbd Allāh is to be sought in the role that some descendants of ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn may have played in the Ismāʿīlī movement in its beginnings about 260/873, and that the story was spun out of this knowledge of the connection of some "Ḳaddāḥids" with Ismāʿīlism.

(S. M. Stern)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. MUʿĀWIYA, ʿAlid rebel. After the death of Abū Hāshim, a grandson of ʿAlī, claims were laid to the Imamate from several quarters. Some asserted that Abū Hāshim had formally transferred his right to the dignity of Imām to the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. Others said that he had spoken in favor of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-Kindī and wanted to proclaim him Imām. As he, however, did not come up to the expectations of his followers, they turned from him and declared ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, a great-grandson of ʿAlī's brother Djaʿfar, to be the rightful Imām. The latter asserted that both the godhead and the prophetic office were united in his person, because the spirit of God had been transferred from the one to the other and had finally come to him. In accordance with this his followers believed in metempsychosis and denied the resurrection. In Muḥarram 127/Oct. 744, ʿAbd Allāh revolted in Kūfa where he was joined by many followers, especially from amongst the Zaydites [*q.v.*]. The latter captured the citadel and expelled the

prefect. In a short time, however, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, put an end to his manœuvres. When it came to fighting, the ever unreliable Kufans deserted; only the Zaydites fought bravely and continued the battle till ʿAbd Allāh was granted an unimpeded retreat. From Kūfa he proceeded at first to Madāʾin and then to al-Djibāl. His power was in no way broken. From Kūfa and from other places numbers of people flocked to him and he soon succeeded in winning over several important strongholds in Persia. After residing for some time in Iṣfahān, he went to Iṣṭakhr. Owing to the temporary weakness of the government in Persia, as a result of the disorders in ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān, he had no difficulty in extending his rule over a great part of al-Djibāl, Ahwāz, Fārs and Karmān. The Khāridjites, who had fought against Marwān II on the Tigris, withdrew into ʿAbd Allāh's domain and other opponents of the caliph also joined him, including some ʿAbbāsids. In the end, however, he was unable to maintain his power. ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra, one of Marwān's generals, who had been entrusted with the pursuit of the Khāridjites, led an army into ʿAbd Allāh's domains and brought his rule to a sudden end. In the year 129/746-7, ʿAbd Allāh was defeated at Marw al-Shādhān and forced to flee to Khurāsān, where Abū Muslim, the celebrated general of the ʿAbbāsids, had him executed. After his death, some of his followers, called al-Djanāḥiyya [*q.v.*], maintained that he was still alive and would return; on the other hand, others, the so-called Ḥārithites, believed that his spirit was reincarnated in Isḥāḳ b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1879 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 246 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 41 ff., 67 ff., 109; Shahrastānī, 112-3 (transl. Haarbrücker, i, 170); *Aghānī*, Index; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*; Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 239 ff.; id., *Die rel.-pol. Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.* v/2, 98 f.; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 853.
(K. V. Zetterstéen*)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD, Sharīf of Mecca [see makka].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marwānī, seventh Umayyad Amīr of Cordova. He succeeded his brother al-Mundhir on the latter's death before Bobastro, centre of ʿUmar b. Hafṣūn's rebellion, on 15 Ṣafar 275/29 June 888. The circumstances of al-Mundhir's death arouse the suspicion that the new sovereign was not quite innocent of it. At his accession, ʿAbd Allāh, born in 229/844, was forty-four years old. His reign, which lasted for a quarter of a century, until his death on 1 Rabīʿ I 300/16 Oct. 912, was described in detail by the chronicler Ibn Ḥayyān, in that part of his *Muḳtabis* which has been preserved in an Oxford manuscript, long since known and utilized, and published in a somewhat faulty edition by M. M. Antuña, Paris 1937.

His biographers present a flattering portrait of the Amīr ʿAbd Allāh and omit to mention his cruelty and his lack of scruples. They extol his sobriety, his piety and his Islamic culture. It may be granted to him as an undoubted merit that he maintained, in a difficult period, the Hispano-Umayyad dynasty and contrived to counter a multitude of internal dangers, notably the Andalusian revolt fomented by the *muwallads* and the particularist tendences of the Arab gentry of Seville and Elvira. For further details see umayyads oe spain.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. mus.*, i, 329 (list of Arabic sources, note 1)-396; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp*[2], ii, 21-93.
(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. MUḤAMMAD al-TAʿĀʾISHĪ (his name is invariably pronounced as ʿAbdullāhi), the successor of Muḥammad Aḥmad [*q.v.*], the Sudanese Mahdī. He belonged to the Awlād Umm Ṣurra, a clan of the Djubarāt section of the Taʿāʾisha, a tribe of cattle-breeding Arabs (Baḳḳāra) in Dārfūr. His great-grandfather is said to have been a Tunisian *sharīf* who married a woman of the tribe. His father Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Karrār bore the nickname of Tōr Shayn (Ugly Bull). Religious pretensions were hereditary in the family, and both father and son were *fakis* of repute. Zubayr Raḥma, the famous merchant-adventurer and conquerer of Dārfūr, relates that ʿAbdullāhi narrowly escaped execution at his hands, when taken prisoner during the Dārfūr fighting in 1873, and that even then he was in search of the Expected Mahdī. Tōr Shayn died among the Djimʿa tribe in Kordofān and, according to the legend, he enjoined on his son to seek out Muḥammad Aḥmad the future Mahdī. ʿAbdullāhi adhered to him in the Djazīra before he had manifested himself, and was the first to believe in his mission. He was his closest adviser during the years of propaganda and fighting (1881-85), and his gifts of leadership largely contributed to the successes which culminated in the fall of Kharṭūm (26 Jan. 1885). In an epistle, dated 17 Rabīʿ I 1300/26 Jan. 1883, the Mahdī nominated him as his *khalīfa* with the title of al-Ṣiddīḳ, and as *amīr* of the Mahdist army. On the Mahdī's death at Omdurman (22 June 1885) ʿAbdullāhi assumed control of the new Mahdist state. A convinced believer in the Mahdī's mission and himself claiming supernatural gifts, he rigorously upheld the religious ordinances of the Mahdiyya, without neglecting the temporal aim of establishing his personal and absolute rule. With this end in view he deprived the Mahdī's blood-relations (the Ashrāf) of all influence and successfully crushed the opposition of powerful tribal chiefs and of rival religious pretenders. Not himself a military leader, ʿAbdullāhi was served by a number of capable *amīrs* who, in the first year of his reign, captured the last posts still held by the Egyptian garrisons. His governor of the eastern province, the redoutable ʿUthmān Digna [*q.v.*] fought numerous actions with varying success against the Anglo-Egyptian forces based on Suakin. Between 1887 and 1889 there was intermittent warfare with the Abyssinians (sack of Gondar by the Mahdists in 1887; battle of Ḳallabāt 9 March 1889 when an Abyssinian victory was turned into rout by the death in battle of King John). In the execution of his policy ʿAbdullāhi relied largely on the Baḳḳāra tribesmen of Kordofān and Dārfūr, whom he brought to the Central Sudan where they incurred much unpopularity as a privileged and predatory class. ʿAbdullāhi's most trusted associate was his brother Yaʿḳūb and he seems to have intended his eldest son ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn to be his successor.

The first serious reverse of his reign was the defeat at Toshkī (3 Aug. 1889) of the Mahdist army under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nadjūmī which attempted the invasion of Egypt with quite inadequate forces. The country over which ʿAbdullāhi still ruled with absolute power was now devastated by incessant warfare and by the terrible famine of 1889. The end came when the British government, then in virtual control of Egypt, decided on the re-conquest of the

Sudan. The occupation of Dongola (1896) by Anglo-Egyptian forces was followed by their advance to Omdurman and the decisive defeat of the Mahdist army (2 Sept. 1898). ʿAbdullāhi fled to Kordofān where he maintained himself with a considerable body of followers for another year. In the final battle of Umm Dubaykarāt (24 Nov. 1899) he met death with courage and dignity.

The Mahdī and his successor professed to re-live the life of the Prophet and of early Islam, and ʿAbdullāhi's epistles, in which he exhorted the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, and Queen Victoria to embrace the Mahdist faith, vividly display the anachronistic spirit of the Mahdiyya. Ruthless towards external enemies and suspected rivals, and governing without regard for the material welfare of his country, ʿAbdullāhi yet remained true to his fanatical faith and to the primitive code of a Baḳḳārī Arab. In contrast to European writers who stress the cruel and barbaric character of his reign, Sudanese tradition credits him with the virtues of simplicity in his private life, generosity as a host, and bravery as a fighter. From his numerous household of legal wives and concubines he had 21 sons and 11 daughters, not counting those who died in infancy.

Bibliography: F. R. Wingate, ***Mahdiism in the Egyptian Sudan***, London, 1891; J. Ohrwalder, ***Ten years captivity in the Mahdi's camp***, tr. F. R. Wingate, London 1892, many ed.; R. Slatin, ***Fire and sword in the Sudan*** tr. F. R. Wingate, London 1896, often reprinted; Naum Shoucair, (Naʿūm S͟huḳayr), *Taʾrīk͟h al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903 (many original documents); J. A. Reid, ***Some notes on the Khalifa Abdullahi, Sudan Notes and Records***, 1938, 207 ff. (based on oral tradition); A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdiyya*, London 1951. See also the bibliography under MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD and SŪDĀN (EASTERN). Archives of ʿAbdullāhi's reign consisting of more than 50,000 documents are preserved in Khartum. (S. HILLELSON)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. al-**MUḲAFFAʿ** [see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **MŪSĀ** b. NUṢAYR, eldest son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] the conqueror of the Mag͟hrib and Spain. When his father left for Spain, he was charged with the administration of Ifrīḳiya (93/711). When Mūsā, denounced to the caliph al-Walīd by Ṭāriḳ, left for the East, whence he never returned, he again left ʿAbd Allāh as his lieutenant. Involved in his family's disgrace by the caliph Sulaymān, who saw not without disquiet Ifrīḳiya governed by one son of Mūsā (ʿAbd Allāh), Spain by a second (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) and the Mag͟hrib by a third (ʿAbd al-Malik), he was deposed in 96/714-5 and replaced by Muḥ. b. Yazīd, who assumed his office in 97/715. It is uncertain what happened to him; he is said to have been accused of having instigated the murder of Yazīd b. Abū Muslim and to have been executed in 102/720 by Bis͟hr b. Ṣafwān, on the orders of the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿId͟hārī, i, index; Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 231; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī (Juynboll-Matthes), i, 261; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Ifrīḳiya* (Gateau), Alger 1947, index. (R. BASSET)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **MUṬĪʿ** b. al-ASWAD al-ʿADAWĪ, was, together with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala [*q.v.*], one of the chiefs of the revolt against the caliph Yazīd I in Medīna. When he saw that after the accession of Yazīd the Umayyad government was rousing increasing opposition, Ibn Muṭīʿ proposed to leave Medīna, but ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] advised him to remain, and he gave in to Ibn ʿUmar's arguments. When the inhabitants of Medīna revolted against the new caliph, he became the leader of the Ḳurays͟hite elements in the city and took part in the battle of the Ḥarra in D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟dja 63/August 683. Escaping from the general rout, he took refuge in Mecca with the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr, who appointed him in Ramaḍān 65/April 685 governor of Kūfa. Shortly afterwards he was attacked by the S͟hīʿite adventurer al-Muk͟htār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*]. Abandoned, besieged in his palace and probably betrayed by his own general Ibrāhīm b. al-As͟htar, he relinquished his post, withdrew to Baṣra, and then joined Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. There he joined Ibn al-Zubayr's forces and was killed together with him in 73/692.

Bibliography: Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, v, index; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 48, 106 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 232 ff.; Ibn al-At͟hīr, iv, 14 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, index: H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, 214 ff. (= *MFOB*, v, 212 ff.); Caetani-Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 922. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN—CH. PELLAT)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. **RAWĀḤA**, a K͟hazrad͟jite, belonging to the most esteemed clan of the Banu 'l-Ḥārit͟h. At the second ʿAḳaba assembly in March 622, ʿAbd Allāh was one of the 12 trustworthy men, whom the already converted Medinians, conformably to the Prophet's wish, had chosen. When Muḥammad had emigrated to Medīna, ʿAbd Allāh proved himself to be one of the most energetic and upright champions of his cause. Muḥammad appears to have thought a great deal of him, and often entrusted him with honorable missions. After the battle of Badr in the year 2/623, in which the Muslims were victorious, ʿAbd Allāh together with Zayd b. Ḥārit͟ha hastened to Medīna to bring the tidings of victory. During the so-called "second campaign of Badr", in D͟huʾl-Ḳaʿda 4/Apr. 626, ʿAbd Allāh remained behind in Medīna as lieutenant-governor. When in 5/627, at the commencement of the siege of Medīna, the fidelity of the Banū Ḳurayẓa, his allies, was suspected, the Prophet sent ʿAbd Allāh together with three other influential Medinians to find out the real sentiments of his allies. After K͟haybar had been conquered in the year 7/628 and its territory divided, Muḥammad appointed ʿAbd Allāh as appraiser of its yield. On sending out the Muʾta expedition in the year 8/629, ʿAbd Allāh was appointed by the Prophet as second in succession to the commander of the army, and when both his superiors had fallen, he sought and met his death as they had done fighting for the Faith.

Besides his military talents ʿAbd Allāh possessed other qualities which made him valuable to his master; he was one of the few pre-Islamic men who could write, and was for that reason, together with other faithful followers, chosen as secretary by the Prophet. Muḥammad appears to have esteemed him very highly, more especially on account of his poetical gifts. In the *Ag͟hānī* it is expressly stated that the Prophet considered his poems equal to those of his "court" poets Ḥassān b. T͟hābit and Kaʿb b. Mālik. It is characteristic of ʿAbd Allāh's "literary tendency" that he attacked the Ḳurays͟h more especially for their unbelief, whilst the two other poets always reproached them with their impious deeds. Only about 50 verses of his have been preserved and they are for the most part to be found in Ibn His͟hām.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 79 ff.; Ibn His͟hām, i, 457, 675; Ṭabarī, i, 1460, 1610 ff.; *al-*

Aghānī[3], xi, 80; xv, 29; G. Weil, *Gesch. Mohammed der Prophet*, 350; Rahatullah Khan, *Von Einfluss des Qurʾan auf der arab. Dichtung; eine Untersuchung . . . Abdallah b. Rawaha*, Leipzig 1938.

(A. Schaade)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. SABAʾ, reputed founder of the Shīʿa. Also called Ibn al-Sawdāʾ, Ibn Ḥarb, Ibn Wahb. "Sabaʾ" appears also as Sabāʾ; the name of the associated sect appears as Sabaʾiyya, Sabāʾiyya, or, corrupted, as Sabāyiyya, Sabābiyya.

In the Sunnī account he was a Yamanite Jew converted to Islam, who about the time of ʿAlī first introduced the ideas ascribed to the more extreme wing of the Shīʿa [*ghulāt*, *q.v.*]. Especially attributed to him is the exaltation of ʿAlī himself: that ʿAlī stood to Muḥammad as divinely appointed heir, as Joshua did to Moses (the *wiṣāya* doctrine); that ʿAlī was not dead, but would return to bring righteousness upon earth (the *radjʿa*); that ʿAlī was divine, exalted to the clouds, and the thunder was his voice. To Ibn Sabaʾ's conspiratorial cunning was ascribed by Sunnīs after al-Ṭabarī the first breach in a perfect harmony among the *Ṣaḥāba* (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 334). He is said to have roused the Egyptians against ʿUthmān on the ground of ʿAlī's special rights; and the bloodshed between ʿAlī and Ṭalḥa and Zubayr is then ascribed to these same murderers of ʿUthmān under the name of *Sabaʾiyya*.

For the Shīʿa he sometimes figured as type of the extremist, the *ghālī*, being so cursed by Djaʿfar (Kashshī, *Maʿrifat Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, 70). Ibn Sabaʾ became the subject of traditions used by both in attacking and in defending the extremer Shīʿa. ʿAlī is said to have had him or his followers burned for declaring him (ʿAlī) God. An Ismāʿīlī source cites the incident in Ibn Sabaʾ's favour, claiming that he suffered only in appearance (cf. al-Maḳdisī, *Badʾ al-Khalḳ*, ed. Huart, v, 181; and the *Haft Bāb-i Bābā Sayyid-nā*, ed. Ivanow, in *Two early Ismaili treatises*, Bombay, 1933, 15).

It is not clear what historical person or persons lay behind this figure. Al-Ṭabarī's source, Sayf b. ʿUmar, is the chief authority for his political activity against ʿUthmān. Al-Dhahabī notes a general condemnation of Sayf as a traditionist (quoted by Friedländer, *ZA*, 1909, 297), a condemnation supported on other grounds by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 6); and surer sources seem to exclude Ibn Sabaʾ from any major rôle there. Friedländer suggests that Ibn Sabaʾ's chief rôle was not to proclaim ʿAlī's divinity, but to deny ʿAlī's death, teaching that he died only in appearance (docetism), and would in the end come again from the clouds (messianism)—perhaps with the background of a Yamanite Judaism related to that of the Falashas of Ethiopia. Caetani would make Ibn Sabaʾ in origin a purely political supporter of ʿAlī, around whom later generations imagined a religious conspiracy like that of the ʿAbbāsids. Massignon considers the Sabaʾiyya of al-Mukhtār's time as one of the *ʿayniyya* sects (Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*, Paris 1934, 37, 40).

Already in the earliest sources available contradictory teachings are ascribed to Ibn Sabaʾ and the Sabaʾiyya (cf. Khushaysh al-Nasāʾī [d. 253], reported in al-Malaṭī, 118, 120). We may suppose that personally Ibn Sabaʾ, perhaps together with a separate Ibn al-Sawdāʾ, was a supporter of ʿAlī, who denied ʿAlī's death. He was probably not a Jew (Levi Della Vida, *RSO*, 1912, 495). He was either founder or hero of one or more sects called Sabaʾiyya, which exalted ʿAlī's religious position.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 2941 ff. and passim; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, ed. Ritter, 19 f.; Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Radd*, ed. Dedering, 14 f.; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, 15; Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 223 ff., trans. Halkin, s.v. Sabābiyya; Shahrastānī, 132 ff.; I. Friedländer, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabaʾ*, *ZA*, 1909, 296 ff., 1910, 1-46; L. Caetani, *Annali*, viii, 42 ff. and passim.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. SAʿD, Muslim statesman and general. Abū Yaḥyā ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ al-ʿĀmirī belonged to the clan of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy of Ḳuraysh and was as foster brother of the subsequent caliph ʿUthmān a chief partisan of the Umayyads. He was less a soldier than a financier. The judgements of historians on his character vary greatly. His name is connected in many ways with the beginnings of Islam. First he is mentioned as one of Muḥammad's scribes: he is supposed to have arbitrarily altered the revelation, or at least he boasted of doing so after his apostasy from Islam, and thereby incurred the hatred of the Prophet. For this reason the latter desired to have him executed after the capture of Mecca, but ʿUthmān obtained, though with difficulty, the Prophet's pardon. This story afterwards became very famous. ʿAbd Allāh later on showed himself grateful to ʿUthmān for his rescue by agitating for the latter's election as caliph. He was one of the Hidjra-Companions who took part in the conquest of Egypt under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*] and appears to have governed Upper Egypt independently under ʿUmar, after the latter's quarrel with ʿAmr. It is impossible exactly to fix the date when he was appointed governor of the whole of Egypt; according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, as early as the year 25/645-6, and therefore before the revolt of Alexandria under Manuel. As he was not able to suppresss this rising, ʿAmr was recalled, who, however, immediately after his victory had to restore the government to ʿAbd Allāh. ʿUthmān desired to confirm ʿAbd Allāh as financial prefect and to appoint ʿAmr as military governor, but the latter declined. ʿAbd Allāh now succeeded in considerably increasing the state revenues of Egypt, much to the satisfaction of the caliph. Although his principal aim was the administration of the finances, he also became renowned as a general. ʿAbd Allāh regulated the relations between the Muslims and the Nubians and supported Muʿāwiya's expedition against Cyprus. He himself undertook several expeditions against Roman Africa, the first probably in the year 25/645-6, the most important and most successful certainly in the year 27/647-8. He subjected the territory of Carthage to Islam. His most important military performance, however was the naval battle of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, comparable in significance to the battle of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*], in which the Roman fleet was completely destroyed. This battle took place in the year 34/655, although different dates are given in some sources. Soon afterwards the agitations against ʿUthmān began in many parts of the empire. ʿAbd Allāh appears as the principal champion of the regime represented by the caliph. He endeavoured to warn the caliph and even left Egypt in order to support him. His lieutenant al-Sāʾib b. Hishām was expelled by the Egyptian revolutionary party under Muḥammad b. Ḥudhayfa and ʿAbd Allāh himself was prevented from returning to Egypt. On the frontier ʿAbd Allāh learned of the murder of the caliph, and fled to Muʿāwiya. Shortly before the latter's march to Ṣiffīn, he died in Askalon or Ramla (in 36 or 37/656-8). His supposed participation

in the battle of Ṣiffīn and his late death in the year 57/676-7 belong to the numberless myths connected with the battle of Ṣiffīn.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 190; Kindī, *Wulāt* (Guest), 10-17; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 88-93 (Cairo, i, 65-92); Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 299; Ṭabarī, i, 1639 ff.; 2593, 2785, 2813 ff., 2817 ff., 2826, 2867 ff., 2980 ff., 3057; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 189 f., 443; iii, 67 ff., 90 ff., 118 ff., 220, 238, 295; id., *Usd*, iii, 173; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 60, 191; Balādhurī, 226; Ibn Hishām, 818 ff.; Nawawī, 345 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 268 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 20 ff.; A. Butler, *Arab conquest of Egypt*, 465 ff.; G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 27-32; Wellhausen, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, 1901, facs. 4, p. 6 f., 13. (C. H. Becker*)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. SALĀM, a Jew of Medīna, belonging to the Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ and originally called al-Ḥusayn (on the name Salām, see Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha, *Tuḥfa*, ed. Mann, 69). Muḥammad gave him the name of ʿAbd Allāh when he embraced Islam. This conversion is said to have taken place immediately after Muḥammad's arrival at Medīna, or, according to others, when Muḥammad was still in Mecca. Another account which makes him accept Islam in the year 8/629-30 is worthy of more credence—though Muslim critics think it badly accredited—for his name is sought in vain in the battles which Muḥammad had to wage in Medīna. The few unimportant mentions in the *Maghāzī* may well have been inserted in order to remove the glaring contradiction with the generally accepted tradition. He was with ʿUmar in Djābiya and Jerusalem, and under ʿUthmān took the latter's side against the rebels, whom he in vain endeavoured to dissuade from murdering the caliph. After ʿUthmān's death he did not do homage to ʿAlī and implored him not to march to ʿIrāḳ against ʿĀʾisha; legend brings him into relation with Muʿāwiya also. He died in 43/663-4. In Muslim tradition he has become the typical representative of that group of Jewish scribes which honored the truth, admitting that Muḥammad was the Prophet predicted in the Torah, and protecting him from the intrigues of their co-religionists. The questions which ʿAbd Allāh is made to ask Muḥammad and which only a prophet could answer, the contents of the ḥadīths which the works on tradition ascribe to him, and the story of Bulūḳyā which Thaʿlabī puts into his mouth, mostly have their origin in Jewish sources; if they do not really come from ʿAbd Allāh himself, they certainly come from Jewish renegade circles. While his contemporaries often reproached him with his Jewish origin, later on traditions were circulated, in which Muḥammad assures him of entry into Paradise, or in which the Prophet and celebrated Companions give him high praise. Certain verses of the Ḳurʾān are also said to refer to him. The "questions" which he put to Muḥammad were subsequently enlarged to whole books, and in the same manner several other works were foisted on him, which are partly based on what is related by him in Ḥadīth. As well as his sons Muḥammad and Yūsuf, Abū Hurayra and Anas b. Mālik also handed down his traditions. Ṭabarī took more especially Biblical narratives from him into his Chronicle.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 353, 395; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. Wellhausen, 164, 215; Ṭabarī, index; id., Persian recension, transl. Zotenberg, i, 348; Bukhārī, *Anbiyā* bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 108, 272; v, 450; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 176; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 780; Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1302, i, 392; Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿUyūn*, ii, 146; Nawawī, 347; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 141; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīda*, Cairo 1303, 118 ff.; *Kitāb Masāʾil Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh*, Cairo 1326 (?); Ibn Badrūn, 174 ff.; Wolff, *Muh. Eschatologie*, 69 (Arab. p. 39); Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorâns*, i, 160; M. Steinschneider, *Pol. und apolog. Lit.*, 110 ff.; Hirschfeld, in *JQR*, 1898, 109 ff.; J. Mann, *ibid.*, 1921, 127; J. Horovitz, in *ZDMG*, 1901, 524 ff.; J. Barth, in *Festschrift Berliner* (1903), p. 36; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 413; Wensinck, in *AO* 1923, 192-8; G. F. Pijper, *Boek der duizend vragen*, Leiden, 1924; *BEO*, 1931, 147 (ʿAbd Allāh as *walī* in Ḥamāh); Brockelmann, I, 209. (J. Horovitz)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ṬĀHIR, born 182/798, died 230/844, was a poet, general, statesman, confidant of caliphs and, as governor of Khurāsān, almost an independent sovereign. His father, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, had founded the powerful Ṭāhirid [*q.v.*] dynasty which ruled over a territory extending from al-Rayy to the Indian frontier, with its capital at Naysābūr.

In 206/821-2 the caliph al-Maʾmūn appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir governor of the region between al-Raḳḳa and Egypt and at the same time he was placed in command of the caliph's troops in the campaign against Naṣr b. Shabath, a former partisan of al-Amīn, who was endeavoring to gain control of Mesopotamia. After subduing Naṣr ʿAbd Allāh went in 211/826-7 to Egypt, where for ten years refugees from Spain had been further weakening an already weak state, and he swiftly captured the leaders and restored order.

While he was at Dīnawar, in al-Djibāl, busy raising troops to quell a revolt of Bābak the Khurramite, his brother, Ṭalḥa, died and in 214/829-30 he was appointed by al-Maʾmūn to succeed Ṭalḥa as governor of Khurāsān. He proved to be an exceedingly wise ruler, establishing a stable government in his domains, protecting the poor against abuses by the upper classes and bringing education to the masses; no boy, however poor, was denied the means to acquire knowledge. As a result of litigations in Naysābūr he ordered an investigation into the use of water for irrigation, and the *Book of Canals*, which was the outcome of this, established legal rules for water utilization which served as a guide for several centuries (cf. A. Schmidt, *Islamica*, 1930, 128).

During the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim, ʿAbd Allāh subdued the revolt of the ʿAlid pretender, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, in 219/834-5; and in 224/838-9 in Ṭabaristān, which was under his jurisdiction as governor of Khurāsān, he quelled the far more alarming revolt of its *iṣbahbad*, al-Māziyār [*q.v.*], incited to rebel by al-Afshīn.

Gardīzī relates that al-Muʿtaṣim so hated ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir for a personal criticism that ʿAbd Allāh had expressed about him that when he became caliph he attempted to poison ʿAbd Allāh by sending him a slave girl with a gift of poisoned cloth, but the attempt failed because the slave girl fell in love with ʿAbd Allāh and revealed the plot. However that may be, ʿAbd Allāh seems to have enjoyed the caliph's esteem. His most implacable enemy, al-Afshīn, during his own heresy trial, testified bitterly to the high regard the caliph had for him, and al-Muʿtaṣim himself referred to ʿAbd Allāh as one of the four great men (curiously enough, all of them Ṭāhirids) of his brother's reign and regretted that he had not been able to foster any men of the same noble calibre.

Like all Ṭāhirid rulers, ʿAbd Allāh was enormously wealthy; his magnificent palace in Baghdād enjoyed

the royal right of sanctuary and served as a residence for the governor of the city, which remained under Ṭāhirid domination for a long time (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 119).

He was a man of wide culture with a deep love and respect for learning; in the controversy regarding the relative merits of Arabic *vs.* Persian culture, which engaged the keenest minds of that day, ʿAbd Allāh strongly supported all things Arabic. In his own right he was an accomplished musician and a poet of note, as well as a sympathetic patron of the poet Abū Tammām, the compiler of the *Ḥamāsa*, who sang his praises in many poems.

At the age of 48 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir died as a result of quinsy after an illness of three days, on Mon. 11 Rabīʿ I, 230/Nov. 26, 844, according to most Arab historians (but Nov. 26 was Wed.) and, in true dynastic fashion, he was succeeded by his son, Ṭāhir. At the time of his death the taxes from the provinces under his control amounted to 48 million dirhams.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1044 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 256 ff., vii, 9 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, trans. de Slane, ii, 49; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll, i, 600 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii 555 ff.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 5-9; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, No. 5114; Weil, *Chalifen*, ii, 201 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan*², 208 ff.; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 2. Further bibliography in Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, ii, 973. (E. Marin)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. THAWR [see abū fudayk].

ʿABD ALLĀH b. UBAYY b. Salūl (Salul being Ubayy's mother), chief of Ba ʾl-Ḥublā (also known as Sālim), a section of the clan of ʿAwf of the Khazradj, and one of the leading men of Medīna. Prior to the hidjra he had led some of the Khazradj in the first day of the Fidjār at Medīna, but did not take part in the second day of the Fidjār nor the battle of Buʿāth since he had quarreled with another leader, ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa, over the latter's unjust killing of Jewish hostages, perhaps because he realized the need for justice within a community and feared ʿAmr's ambition. But for the coming of Muḥammad he might have been "king" of Medīna, as the sources suggest. When all but a small minority of the Medinans accepted Islam, Ibn Ubayy followed the majority, but he was never a whole-hearted Muslim. In 2/624 when Muḥammad attacked Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ, Ibn Ubayy pleaded for them since they had been in league with him in pre-Islamic times; he probably urged their importance as a fighting unit in view of the expected Meccan onslaught. In the consultations before Uhud (3/625) he supported the policy originally favoured by Muḥammad of remaining in the strongholds. When Muḥammad decided to go to meet the enemy, Ibn Ubayy disapproved, and eventually with 300 followers retired to the strongholds. This move may have stopped the Meccans from attacking Medīna itself after the battle, but it showed cowardice and lack of belief in God and the Prophet (cf. Ḳurʾān, iii, 166-8 [160-2]). Up to this point Ibn Ubayy had done little but criticize Muḥammad verbally, but for the next two years he also intrigued against him. He tried to persuade Banū al-Naḍīr not to evacuate their homes at Muḥammad's command, even promising military support. On the expedition to Muraysīʿ he used the occasion of a quarrel between Emigrants and Anṣār to try to undermine Muḥammad's position and make men think of expelling him; and immediately afterwards he was active in spreading scandal about ʿĀʾisha. Muḥammad called a meeting and asked to be allowed to punish him (without incurring a feud). There was high feeling between the Aws and the Khazradj, but it was clear that Ibn Ubayy had little backing. His reputation of being leader of the Hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn*) or Muslim opponents of Muḥammad is based on these incidents. After this year there is no record of his actively opposing Muḥammad or intriguing against him. He took part in the expedition of Ḥudaybiya, but stayed away from that to Tabūk, doubtless because of ill health, since he died shortly afterwards (9/631). He was probably not involved in the intrigues connected with the "mosque of dissension" (*masdjid al-ḍirār*), since Muḥammad himself conducted his funeral. Throughout his dealings with Ibn Ubayy Muḥammad showed great restraint.

Ibn Ubayy had a son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh and several daughters who became good Muslims.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 411-3, 546, 558, 591, 653, 726, 734, 927; Ṭabarī, index; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, Berlin 1882, index; idem. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1889, iv. 50-62; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 90, viii, 279; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 207, 253, etc.; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 418, 548, 602, etc.; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1908, i, 142; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 506 ff. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿUMAR b. ʿABD al-ʿAZĪZ, son of the caliph ʿUmar II. In the year 126/744 ʿAbd Allāh was appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ by Yazīd III, but in a short time aroused the discontent of the Syrian chiefs in that place, who felt that they were unfavorably treated by the new governor compared with the inhabitants of ʿIrāḳ. After the accession of Marwān II, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], a descendant of ʿAlī's brother Djaʿfar, rebelled in Kūfa in Muḥarram 127/Oct. 744, but was expelled by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, whereupon he transferred his propaganda to other parts. When Marwān transferred to al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī the governorship of ʿIrāḳ, ʿAbd Allāh energetically refused to leave his post. Al-Naḍr appeared at Kūfa, whilst ʿAbd Allāh remained in Ḥīra and hostilities broke out between them. Soon after, however, a common enemy appeared in the person of the Khāridjite chief al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays, and then the two adversaries had to come to terms and even to join forces. In Radjab 127/April-May 745 they were defeated by al-Ḍaḥḥāk and ʿAbd Allāh withdrew to Wāsiṭ, whilst the victor captured Kūfa. Then the old enmity between the two governors again broke out, but for a second time al-Ḍaḥḥāk put an end to their quarrels. After a siege lasting several months ʿAbd Allāh was obliged to make peace with al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Subsequently Marwān had ʿAbd Allāh arrested. According to the usual account, he died of plague in the prison of Ḥarrān in the year 132/749-50.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1854 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 228 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*; J. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 239 ff.; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 982. (K. V. Zettersteen)

ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿUMAR b. al-KHAṬṬĀB, one of the most prominent personalities of the first generation of Muslims, and of the authorities most frequently quoted for Traditions. He derived his reputation not only from being a son of the Caliph, but also because his high moral qualities compelled the admiration of his contemporaries. At a time when the Muslims were being carried by their passions into civil war, Ibn ʿUmar was able to maintain himself aloof from the conflict; furthermore, he followed the precepts of Islām with such scrupulous

obedience that he became a pattern for future generations, to such a degree that information was collected as to how he dressed, how he cut and dyed his beard, etc. The biographies of him are full of anecdotes and charming touches which serve to illustrative his native wit, his deep piety, his gentleness, modesty, propriety and continence, his determination to detach himself from all that he loved most. Some of these stories may have been invented, but his nobility of soul is incontestable. As a transmitter of Tradition, he has been regarded as the most scrupulous in neither adding to nor omitting anything from the *ḥadīths* narrated by him. The Caliphate was offered to him three times: immediately after the death of ʿUthmān (35/655); during the negotiations of the two arbiters appointed at Ṣiffīn to resolve the dispute between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya (37-8/657-8); and after the death of Yazīd I (64/683). On each occasion he refused, because he would have desired his election to be unanimous and wished to avoid bloodshed in securing it. Whether or not this was due to narrowmindedness (as Lammens has suggested), it is undeniable that Ibn ʿUmar was lacking in energy, and his own father recognized this defect in him.

The following are the events recorded on the life of Ibn ʿUmar. Born before the *hidjra*, at an unspecified date, he embraced Islām with his father and emigrated to Medīna some time before him. The Prophet sent him back on account of his age when he presented himself to fight at Badr and at Uḥud, but accepted him at the siege of Medina known as the Battle of the Moat, when he was about fifteen years old (this served as a precedent later in analogous cases). Afterwards he took part in the disastrous expedition to Muʾta (7), in the conquest of Mecca (8), in the wars against the false prophets Musaylima and Ṭulayḥa (12), in the Egyptian campaign (18-21), in the battle of Nihāwand (21), in the expedition of the year 30 to Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān, and in Yazīd's expedition against Constantinople (49). In political affairs, he appears for the first time as adviser to the Council appointed by the dying ʿUmar to choose from among its own members the future Caliph; he had, however, no right of voting and was not eligible. At the elections of the other Caliphs who came to power during his lifetime he conformed to the will of the majority of the Muslims, and if he refused to pay homage to ʿAlī it was because he was waiting for the community to reach agreement on his election. As agreement was not reached and civil war broke out, he remained neutral. If later he refused to recognize Yazīd as heir-presumptive—he obviously disapproved of the innovation introduced by Muʿāwiya into the settlement of the succession—he showed no hesitation in paying homage to him after the death of his father. Ibn ʿUmar held no important office in the administration of the empire, except a few missions. Perhaps he deliberately held aloof, devoting himself to religious practices. It is related that he would not accept the office of *ḳāḍi*, fearing that he might not be able to interpret the divine law correctly.

Ibn ʿUmar died of septicaemia in 73/693, well over eighty years of age, as the result of a wound in the foot inflicted by one of the soldiers of al-Ḥadjdjādj with the lower end of his lance, in the throng of pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt. When al-Ḥadjdjādj visited him during his illness and asked if he knew the man who had wounded him, so that he could be punished, Ibn ʿUmar reproached him for allowing his men to carry arms in the holy places and for having been, in this way, the cause of his injury. This reproach probably gave rise to the story found in certain of the later sources, that al-Ḥadjdjādj commissioned an assassin to wound Ibn ʿUmar with the poisoned tip of a lance.

Bibliography: Longer biographies: Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 105-38; iii/1, 214; iii/2, 42; iv/1, 49, 62, and index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1275, i, 349-50; Cairo 1367/1948, no. 297 (missing in other editions); Abu Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*ʾ, i, 292-314; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzi, ms. Paris Ar. 6131, foll. 227r-229v; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo 1285-7, ii, 227-31; Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-93, 840-7. Historical sources: Musʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh* (ed. Lévi-Provençal), 350-1; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 396, 398, 400, 402; v, 43, 284-6, and index; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 230, 295-6, and index; Caetani, *Annali*, 20 A.H., paras. 236, 238 (9-10), 264 no. 6; 23 A.H., para. 147 no. 6 and indexes; 38 A.H., pp. 21, 23, 27, 38, 39, 45, 57; J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj ibn Yousouf*, Paris 1904, 41, 53-4. Many other references given in Caetani, *Chronographia*, 73 A.H., para. 30.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. WAHB AL-RĀSIBĪ, Khāridjite leader, a *tābiʿī* of the Badjīla tribe, noted for his bravery and piety and surnamed *dhu 'l-thafināt*, "the man with the callosities", on account of the callosities on his forehead etc. resulting from his many prostrations. He fought under Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in ʿIrāḳ and under ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn, but broke with him over the decision to arbitrate and joined the dissidents at Ḥarūraʾ. Shortly before their final departure from Kūfa in Shawwāl 37/March 658, the Khāridjites elected ʿAbd Allāh as their commander (*amīr*, not *khalīfa*, as usually stated), and he was killed in the ensuing battle at Nahrawān, 9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3363-6, 3376-81; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 527, 558 ff.; Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass and Rosen, 215-24; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, in Levi della Vida, *RSO*, 1913, 427-507; Barrādī, *K. al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1302; R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, 18 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Religiös-pol. Oppositionsparteien*, 17 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, A. H. 38 passim (additional reff. in para. 267); L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il Conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya*, in *Ann. dell'Ist. Univ. Orient. di Napoli*, 1952, 58 ff.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿABD ALLĀH B. YĀSĪN [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ZUBAYR, anti-Caliph, son of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], of the ʿAbd al-ʿUzza clan of Ḳuraysh, and Asmāʾ [*q.v.*], daughter of Abū Bakr and sister of ʿĀʾisha. He was born at Medina twenty months after the hidjra (c. Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 2/May 624), and killed in battle against the Syrian troops under al-Ḥadjdjādj, 17 Djumādā I or II, 73/4 Oct. or 3 Nov., 692. Some sources (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 116; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 275; etc.) state that he was the first child born to the Muhādjirīn at Medina. The close kinship which linked him to the family of the Prophet on both sides was a factor which contributed to building up his reputation, both as against the Umayyads and also (it would seem) against the ʿAlids.

He is reported to have been present, though still a boy, with his father at the battle of the Yarmūk (Radjab 15/Aug. 636), and accompanied him when he joined the forces of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Egypt (19/640). He took part in the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ in 26-7/647 against the Byzantines in Ifrīḳiya and is said to have killed the exarch Gregory with his own hand. On returning

to Medina to announce the news of the victory, he is credited with an eloquent description of this exploit (*Aghānī*, vi, 59, on which most of the later narratives depend). He accompanied Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ in his campaigns in northern Persia (29-30/650), and was subsequently nominated by ʿUthmān to be one of the commission charged with the official recension of the Ḳurʾān (*Gesch. des Qorans*, ii, 47-55). After the assassination of ʿUthmān he accompanied his father and ʿĀʾisha to Baṣra and commanded the infantry in the battle of the Camel (10 Dj. II, 36/4 Dec. 656); after the battle he returned with ʿĀʾisha to Medina, and took no further part in the civil war, except to attend the Arbitration at Dūmat al-Djandal (or rather Adhruḥ), where he is said to have advised ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar to bribe ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1365, 623).

During the reign of Muʿāwiya I, ʿAbd Allāh, who had inherited a considerable fortune from his father, remained in the background, biding his time, but refused to take the oath to Yazīd as heir-presumptive. On Muʿāwiya's death (60/680), he, together with Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], again refused to swear allegiance to Yazīd, and to escape the threats of Marwān they fled to Mecca, where they remained unmolested. When, however, after the expedition of Ḥusayn and his death at Karbalāʾ, Ibn al-Zubayr began secretly to enrol adherents, a small force was sent from Medina under the command of his brother ʿAmr to arrest him. ʿAmr was defeated and taken prisoner, beaten and incarcerated in a cell until he died, and his body was exposed on a gibbet (61/681). ʿAbd Allāh now publicly declared Yazīd deposed, and his example was followed by the Anṣār at Medina, who elected ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala [*q.v.*], known as Ibn al-Ghasīl (Ibn Saʿd, v, 46-9) as their chief. Yazīd, realizing that he had temporized too long, despatched a Syrian army under Muslim b. ʿUḳba, which defeated the Medinians in the battle of the Ḥarra (27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/27 Aug., 683) and proceeded (notwithstanding Muslim's death) to besiege ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca (26 Muḥ. 64/24 Sept. 683). Sixty-four days later, on receiving the news of Yazīd's death, the Syrian forces desisted, and the commander, Ḥusayn b. Numayr, tried to persuade Ibn al-Zubayr to accompany them back to Syria, but he determined to stay in Mecca.

The ensuing confusion in Syria and the outbreak of civil war gave Ibn al-Zubayr his chance. He proclaimed himself *amīr al-muʾminīn*, and the opponents of the Umayyads in Syria, Egypt, southern Arabia and Kūfa recognized him as Caliph. But his authority remained almost wholly nominal. The victory of Marwān I [*q.v.*] at Mardj Rāhiṭ (end of 64/July 684) and the revolt of Mukhtār [*q.v.*] at Kūfa fifteen months later, placed his supporters in Syria, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ on the defensive; and although al-Muhallab's support of Musʿab b. al-Zubayr at Baṣra and subsequent victory over Mukhtār (67/687) restored a Zubayrid government in ʿIrāḳ, Musʿab was to all intents an independent ruler. At the same time, the Bakrite Khāridjites, who had separated from Ibn al-Zubayr after the death of Yazīd and had established themselves in eastern Nadjd under the command of Nadjda, occupied the province of Baḥrayn (i.e. al-Ḥasā), and in 68/687-8 seized al-Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, followed next year by the occupation of Ṭāʾif, thus completely isolating him in the Ḥidjāz. At the Pilgrimage of 68/688 no fewer than four different leaders presided over their separate groups of partisans: Ibn al-Zubayr, a Khāridjite, an Umayyad, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Finally, after the Umayyad reoccupation of ʿIrāḳ, 72/691, ʿAbd al-Malik despatched al-Ḥadjdjādj to deal with Mecca. The siege began on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 72/25 March, 692, and lasted for more than six months, during which the city and the Kaʿba were under bombardment. When at length his supporters gave way, and even his own sons surrendered to al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿAbd Allāh, urged on by his mother, returned to the field of battle and was slain. His body was placed on a gibbet on the spot where his brother ʿAmr had been exposed, and some time later was given back by orders of ʿAbd al-Malik to his mother, who buried it in the house of Ṣafiyya at Medina.

ʿAbd Allāh is the principal representative in history of the second generation of the noble Muslim families of Mecca, who resented the capture of the Caliphate by the Umayyad house and the gulf of power which this had created between the clan of ʿAbd Shams and the other Meccan clans. This resentment is still clearly visible as a groundtheme in the numerous anecdotes on his relations with Muʿāwiya (see *Bibl.* under Balādhurī), in spite of their later elaboration and of Muslim idealization of this challenger of Umayyad rule, which has transformed a brave, but fundamentally self-seeking and self-indulgent man, into a model of piety (see especially *Ḥilya al-Awliyāʾ*, i, 329-337). On the other hand, many sources portray him as avaricious, jealous, and ill-natured, and reproach him particularly for his harsh conduct towards his brother, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās.

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ʿABD ALLĀH DJEWDET [see DJEWDET].

ʿABD ALLĀH AL-GHĀLIB BIʾLLĀH ABU MUḤAMMAD, Saʿdid sultan, son of one of the founders of the dynasty, Maḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī. He was born Ramaḍān 933/June 1527 and, designated as heir presumptive, was recognized as sultan on his father's death, assassinated by his Turkish guardsmen 29 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 964/23 Oct. 1557. His reign lasted till his death, due to a crisis of asthma, 28 Ramaḍān 981/21 Jan. 1574.

His reign as a whole was peaceful. Yet the sultan showed himself uneasy in expectation of an eventual intervention of the Turks, who had killed his father, immediately afterwards invaded the North of Morocco, whence they had been repulsed, and who offered asylum to three of his brothers: al-Maʾmūn, ʿAbd al-Malik and Aḥmad. Thus he sought an alliance with the Spanish. These preoccupations formed the background to the cession of the Peñon de Velez (1564), the taking of Shafshawān (1567) and the embarrassed attitude of the sultan at the time of the revolt of the Moriscos (1568-71). He had relations with other European powers also. He negotiated

with Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and was prepared to cede to him al-Kaṣr al-Ṣaghīr in exchange for 500 soldiers, and entered into commercial relations with England. He tried to conquer the fortress of Mazagan, which was in the hands of the Portuguese, dispatching against it a numerous army under the command of his son Muḥammad, his heir. The siege lasted from 4 March to 30 April 1562 and ended with the failure of the Saʿdid troops, who suffered heavy losses.

In internal affairs he consolidated the work of his father, without meeting any serious opposition. He seemed to have feared especially the members of his family; he had his brother al-Maʾmūn assassinated in Tlemcen and put to death his nephew Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, whose popularity roused his ill-will (975/1567-8). He also seems to have suspected some of the religious leaders: he imprisoned, or put to death, several members of the Yūsufiyya order and had crucified in Marrākush the *faḳīh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. al-Andalusī, accused of heresy (15 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 980/19 April 1573). He constructed several important buildings in Marrākush, such as the Ibn Yūsuf madrasa. Diego de Torres also attributes to him the establishment of the *mallāḥ* of Marrākush in its present location. He also built a fortress to protect the harbour of Agadir.

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ʿABD ALLĀH PASHA MUḤSIN-ZĀDE ČELEBI, Ottoman statesman and general, son of Muḥsin Čelebi, descended from a family of merchants at Aleppo. He started his career in 1115/1703 in the financial administration with the post of supervisor (*emīn*) of the Mint (*ḍarb-khāne*), the *defterdār* of which was his brother, Meḥmed Efendī. He became son-in-law (*dāmād*) of the Grand-Vizier Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha (1707-10) and enjoyed the favour of the court. On the revolt of Ḳaytās Beg, he was sent to Egypt in 1126/1714, succeeded in subduing the rebel and sent his head to the Porte. Between 1715 and 1737 he filled several administrative and military posts: *defterdār* in Morea, governor (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Lepanto (Aynabakhtī), chief of the *ḳapudjī* with the rank of a Pasha, head of the imperial chancery (*nishandjī*), *agha* of the Janissaries, Beylerbey of Vidin, of Rumeli and of Bosnia. He was commander (*ser-ʿasker*) at Bender, in Bessarabia, when Russia invaded the Crimea (1736) and Austria threatened to intervene on the Danube. Negotiations at Niemirov (Poland) led to no results. Appointed by Sultan Maḥmūd I (1730-54) as Grand-Vizier (6 Rabīʿ II, 1150/August 3rd, 1737), ʿAbd Allāh Pasha directed the war operations, without achieving the results hoped for by the court. Recalled to Istanbul after four months, he had to hand over the seal of office to the new Grand-Vizier Yegen Pasha (Dec. 19th, 1737). He continued to fill posts as commander of fortresses and governor of provinces and died in Rabīʿ ii, 1162/spring 1749 in Trikala, Thessaly, at the age of 90 years. His son Meḥmed Pasha Muḥsin-Zāde signed the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardje (1174).

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ʿABD ALLĀH SARI [see SARI ʿABD ALLĀH EFENDI].

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ (ABDÜLAZIZ), the thirty-second Ottoman sultan. Born on 9 Feb. 1830, the third son of sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], he succeded his brother ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*], 20 June 1861. His reign was marked by revolts and insurrections in the Balkan provinces (Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria) and in Crete, which brought about the intervention of the great powers. From 1870 onwards, the influence of Russia, supplanting that of France and England, preponderated in Istanbul, and General Ignatief, the Russian ambassador, often imposed his views on the grand vizier Maḥmūd Nadīm Pasha. Russia also made efforts to stir up the discontent of the subjects of the Porte: Slavs, Albanians, and even Arabs and Egyptians.

In spite of internal crises, the policy of reforms, called *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], was not abandoned. The administration of the provinces was reorganized (law of *wilāyets* modeled on French law, 1867) and some attempts were made to reform the institution of the *waḳfs* (1867). On French advice, a council of justice (*shūrā-yi dewlet*), composed of Muslims and Christians, and a council of justice (*dīwān-i aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*) were set up (1868). Public education was reorganized after the French model and a *lycée* was opened in Galata-saray. It was open to all Ottoman subjects and instruction was given in French by French teachers (1868). A university (*dār ül-fünūn*) was established. At the same time, the army, and especially the navy, were reorganized. Foreigners acquired the right to possess immovable property (1867). Other attempts at economic reforms remained fruitless: in 1877, the deficit of the budget reached 112 millions. The government, judging itself unable to face its obligations, followed the advice of the Russian ambassador, reduced by half the payment of interest on the debt and had to declare itself bankrupt. The deplorable state of the national economy, the financial crisis, the revolts and insurrections in the Balkan provinces, made it particularly difficult to apply the reforms, with which the great powers were dissatisfied, while the Old Turks considered them incompatible with religion and the Young Turks insufficient. This resulted in general discontent against the sultan, who was deposed on 30 March 1876 and committed suicide a few days later.

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(E. Z. Karal)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ IBRĀHĪM AL-THAMĪNĪ AL-ISDJANĪ, celebrated Ibāḍī scholar, b. c. 1130/1717-8, probably at Wardjlān (Ouargla), d. Radjab 1223/August 1808, at Banū Isdjan (Beni Isguen) in the Mzab, where, at the age of about forty, he had begun his studies under the shaykh Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ, of Djarba. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is held by the Ibāḍīs to-day to be one of the greatest scholars who ever lived in the Mzab, where he has left the reputation of a man of fervent piety, remarkable sagacity, great imperturbability, perfect self-control, and astonishing assiduity.

He devoted himself to the composition of a dozen works on theology and jurisprudence. His most important work is *K. al-Nīl wa-Shifāʾ al-ʿAlīl*, autographed at Cairo 1305/1887-8. This treatise, conceived on the plan of the *Mukhtaṣar* of *Khalīl*, but less concise in style, is a complete exposition of Ibāḍī legislation, put together from the most authoritative works of Ibāḍī scholarship in ʿUmān, Djabal Nafūsa, Djarba and the Mzab, all of which can be identified without difficulty. It was on this work that E. Zeys drew for his studies on this subject. The other works of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz are the following: *Takmilat al-Nīl*, published at Tunis some 25 years ago; *al-Ward al-bassām fi Riyaḍ al-Aḥkām*, a précis of jurisprudence devoted chiefly to questions of judgment; *Maʿālim al-Dīn*, a reasoned exposition of the Ibāḍī creed, along with refutation of the arguments put forward by the defenders of the other sects (unpublished); *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ min K. Abī Masʾala waʾl-Alwāḥ*, on questions of inheritance; *ʿIḳd al-Djawāhir*, a summary of *Ḳanāṭir al-Khayrāt* of al-Djayṭālī, on worship and religion in general (unpublished); *Mukhtaṣar Ḥuḳūḳ al-Azwādj*, on the rights and duties of husband and wife (unpublished); *Tādj al-Manẓūm min Durar al-Minhādj al-Maʿlūm*, abridgement of a voluminous ʿUmanī work of jurisprudence (unpublished); *Taʿāẓum al-Mawdjayn* (or *Dhuʾl-Nūrayn*) *ʿalā Mardj al-Baḥrayn* (unpublished); *al-Asrār al-Nūrāniyya*, on prayer and the accompanying rites (autographed in Egypt 1306/1888-9); *al-Nūr*, on the principal dogmas of the Faith (autographed in Egypt 1306/1888-9); *Mukhtaṣar Ḥawāshī al-Tartīb*, résumé of several Ibāḍī works on *ḥadīth*.

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(A. de Motylinski-T. Lewicki)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad general. He was a faithful partisan of his cousin Yazīd III and one of his most eminent assistants. Already in al-Walīd II's reign he helped Yazīd, who headed the malcontents, to enlist troops against the caliph. When they had succeeded in getting together an army in Damascus, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz received the supreme command and marched against al-Walīd. Yazīd's brother ʿAbbās, who was about to go to the caliph's assistance, was attacked and forced to pay homage to Yazīd. Shortly afterwards ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz stormed the castle of Bakhrāʾ, whither al-Walīd had withdrawn, and put the caliph to death. This was in the year 126/744. Yazid was now proclaimed caliph; the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ (Emesa), however, stoutly refused to do homage to the usurper and marched against Damascus. Yazīd sent two army divisions against them, and while the rebels were engaged with one division, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz advanced with the other and decided the combat, whereupon the rising was suppressed. In the same year Yazīd died after settling the succession on his brother Ibrāhīm and after him on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The inhabitants of Ḥimṣ, however, again refused to do homage to the new ruler, who for that matter was hardly recognized outside the capital. On Ibrāhīm's orders ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz therefore began to lay siege to the town, but withdrew when Marwān b. Muḥ., then governor of Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, advanced against him. Ḥimṣ opened its gates to Marwān, the followers of the late caliph were defeated in Ṣafar 127/Nov. 744 at ʿAyn al-Djarr, and Marwān had himself proclaimed caliph in Damascus. As soon as he had entered the town, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj was murdered by clients of al-Walīd II.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1794 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 215 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 669 ff.; see also AL-WALĪD B. YAZĪD.

(K. V. Zettersteen)

ʿABD AL-AZĪZ B. AL-ḤASAN, sultan of Morocco from 1894 to 1908. He was born, according to Weisgerber, on 24 Feb. 1878, according to Doutté and Saint-René Taillandier 18 Rabīʿ I 1298/18 Feb. 1881, of the sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan and Lālla Ruḳayya, of Circassian origin. When his father died on a campaign, 9 June 1894, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was proclaimed sultan in Rabat, thanks to the *ḥādjib* Aḥmad b. Mūsā, called Bā Aḥmad, who had been in charge of his education, and received as reward the title of Grand-Vizier. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz left the management of affairs in the hands of Aḥmad until his death on 13 May 1900. During this period Morocco continued to live more or less in its traditional way.

After the death of his mentor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fell under the influence of a small group of Europeans, including Sir Harry McLean, instructor of the Sherifian infantry, who encouraged the natural taste of the ruler for modernism, so that very soon the Sherifian palaces housed photographic cameras, billiards, etc. All this shocked the conservative feelings of the Moroccans and cost money. Moreover, in Sept. 1901, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz contemplated an equitable reform of taxes, *tartīb*, in order to abolish the privileges and immunities of the existing system. In consequence, an agitator (*rūgī*), called Djilālī b. Idrīs al-Zarhūnī al-Yūsufī, nicknamed Bū Ḥmāra (Abū Ḥamāra), rose in the district of Taza, gave himself out as a brother of the sultan and quickly became master of the region to the east of Fez (1902), threatening the capital itself in 1903.

On the other hand, the European powers exerted a strong pressure upon the Sherifian government, to protect the Europeans established in Morocco,

repress frontier incidents (region of Figuig), and obtain a guarantee for the considerable sums lent to the sultan by various European groups. These pressures, marked by various incidents, such as the visit of the German Emperor William II to Tangier (31 March 1905), led to the conference of Algeciras. The Act of Algeciras (7 April 1906), interpreted as an admission of surrender to the demands of the European powers, made ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz even more unpopular in Morocco. Anarchy and discontent increased equally, and the sultan was unable to bring about any improvement. One of his brothers, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, was proclaimed sultan in Marrākus̲h̲ on 16 August 1907, immediately after the disembarkation of French troops in Casablanca.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz tried to resist by organizing an expedition to Marrākus̲h̲ in July 1908. His army broke up and was defeated by the troops of his brother on 19 August at Bū Ad̲j̲ība on the Wadi Tassāʾūt. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took refuge in Casablanca and there abdicated on 21 August 1908. After a short stay in France, he established himself in Tangier, where he lived, without mixing in politics, until his death, 10 June 1943.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. MARWĀN, son of the caliph Marwān I and father of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was appointed governor of Egypt by his father, and the appointment was confirmed by ʿAbd al-Malik, when he ascended the throne. During his twenty years' sojourn in Egypt, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz proved himself a capable governor, who really had the welfare of his province at heart. When in the year 69/689, ʿAbd al-Malik, after the assassination of his rebellious lieutenant ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, intended to have the latter's relatives executed as well, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz interceded for them and persuaded the incensed caliph to spare their lives. Towards the end of his life ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz suffered from the ill will of his brother ʿAbd al-Malik. Marwān had nominated him to succeed ʿAbd al-Malik, but the latter wished to secure the throne for his two sons, al-Walīd and Sulaymān, and therefore cherished the project of removing his brother from his governorship and excluding him from the succession to the throne, when in the year 85/754 news suddenly reached Damascus that ʿAbd al-ʿAziz was dead.

Bibliography: Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v, 183-5; Ibn Saʿd, v, 175; Ṭabarī, ii, 576 ff.; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iv, 156 ff.; Ya ʿḳūbī, ii, 306 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 349 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 383 ff.; H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 310-1; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 171.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRAHĪM AL-ṢINHĀD̲J̲Ī AL-FIS̲H̲TĀLĪ, Moroccan writer, b. 956/1549, d. at Marrākus̲h̲ 1031/1621-2, was head of the chancery (*wazīr al-ḳalam al-aʿlā*) and official historiographer (*mutawallī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-dawla*) of the Saʿdid sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-D̲h̲ahabī [*q.v.*]. Of his literary and historical works, which were considerable, there survive only lengthy quotations, especially by the chronicler al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] in his *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*. Al-Fis̲h̲tālī, who was a contemporary and friend of al-Maḳḳarī [*q.v.*], the author of *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, composed annals of the Saʿdid dynasty down to his own times, under the title of *Manāhil al-Ṣafāʾ fī ak̲h̲bār al-Mulūk al-S̲h̲urafāʾ*. He was the author also of many panegyrical poems, more particularly *mawlūdiyyāt* [*q.v.*]. The verses used for the epigraphic decoration of the palace of al-Badīʿ at Marrākus̲h̲ were of his composition.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥid̲j̲āl* (ed. Allouche), Rabat 1936, no. 1056; Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī* (ed. Houdas), 164/267 ff.; Maḳḳarī, Būlāḳ, iii, 8 ff.; K̲h̲afād̲j̲ī, *Rayḥānat al-Alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1294, 180; Ḳādirī, *Nas̲h̲r al-Mat̲h̲ānī*, Fez, i, 140-2; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 92-97; Brockelmann, S II, 680-1.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. MŪSĀ B. NUṢAYR, first governor of al-Andalus, after the departure to the East of his father Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the famous conqueror of the Iberian peninsula, in 95/714. Mūsā, on leaving, gave him instructions to pursue the Muslim advance and to pacify the regions which had come under Muslim control. According to certain traditions, it was under his government that part of what is now Portugal, including the towns of Evora, Santarem and Coimbra, and the sub-pyrenean regions from Pamplona to Narbonne were conquered. He himself took Malaga and Elvira, and then subdued the land of Murcia, concluding with a Gothic lord, Theodemir (who gave his name to the district, Tudmīr [*q.v.*]) a treaty, the more or less authentic text of which has survived.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz married the widow of the last Visigothic king Roderic, Egilón, who is said to have adopted Islam and taken the name of Umm ʿĀṣim. This princess gained so much influence over the governor that he soon became suspect to his compatriots and was accused of abusing his power. He was assassinated in Seville, where he had fixed his residence, by a certain Ziyād b. ʿUd̲h̲ra al-Balawī, at the beginning of Rad̲j̲ab 97/March 718, and was succeeded by his maternal cousin, Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lak̲h̲mī.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 30-34 and references cited ibid., i, 8, n. 1.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ ĀL SAʿŪD [see SAʿŪDIDS].

ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-WALĪD, son of the caliph al-Walīd I. In 91/709-10, he took part in the campaign against the Byzantines, under the orders of his uncle, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and during the following years, he also participated in the battles against the same enemies. In 96/714-5, al-Walīd, whose designated successor was Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, tried to exclude Sulaymān from the succession in favour of his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but his attempt failed. After the death of Sulayman at Dābiḳ, 99/717, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wanted to claim the crown, but learning that ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had been proclaimed as caliph, he betook himself to him and paid him homage. He died in 110/728-9.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1217 ff.; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iv 439 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 435 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 511 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 436; Caetani-Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 986. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ABD AL-ʿAZĪZ EFENDI KARA ČELEBIZĀDE [see ḲARA ČELEBIZĀDE].

SHĀH **ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ AL-DIHLAWĪ**, the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*], a noted Indian theologian and author of several religious works in Arabic and Persian, was born at Delhi in 1159/1746 (hence his chronogrammatic name Ghulām Ḥalīm) and died there in 1239/1824. He studied mainly with his father, after whose death in 1176/1762 he soon began to teach as the head of the Madrasa Raḥīmiyya, founded by his grandfather. As a teacher, preacher and writer, he exercised a considerable influence on the religious thought of his time. His chief works are as follows. In Arabic: (1) *Sirr al-Shahādatayn* (Dihli 1261), in which he sets forth the ingenious view that the Prophet vicariously acquired the merit and distinction of *shahāda* or martyrdom through the tragic death of his grandson, Ḥusayn son of ʿAlī. One of his pupils, Salāmat Allāh wrote a commentary on it in Persian (Lucknow 1882). (2) *ʿAzīz al-Iḳtibās fī Faḍāʾil Akhyār al-Nās*, a collection of traditions on the virtues of the first four Caliphs (Dihli 1322/1904, with Persian and Urdu translations). (3) *Mīzān al-ʿAḳāʾid*, a concise statement of the Muslim creed with the author's own commentary on it (Dihli 1321 A. H.). In Persian: (4) *Tuḥfa ithnā-ʿAshariyya* (edited by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Riḍawī, Lucknow 1295 A. H.), in which he refutes the Shīʿite doctrines and thus continues the controversial work of his father, *Izālat al-Khafāʾ ʿan Khilāfat al-Khulafāʾ*. It has also been translated into Urdu. (5) *ʿUdjāla Nāfiʿa* (Dihli 1312, 1348 A. H.), an introduction to the science of Ḥadīth. (6) *Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn* (Dihli 1898), a bibliography of Ḥadīth literature, giving descriptions of books together with brief biographies of their authors. (7) *Fatāwā* (in 2 parts, Dihli 1341 A. H.), a collection of opinions and formal decisions on questions of law and doctrine. There is also an Urdu translation of part I by M. Nawwāb ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Djalīl (Haydarabad Deccan 1313; also Cawnpore). (8) *Fatḥ al-ʿAzīz*, commonly known as *Tafsīr ʿAzīzī*, a commentary in Persian on Suras i and ii, and sections 29 and 30 of the Ḳurʾān. Sections 29 and 30 were both printed at Calcutta; the former bears the date 1248 A. H., while that of the other is not traceable. There are several other prints. Urdu translations of all the various parts have been published. (9) *Malfūẓāt Shād ʿAbd alʿAzīz*, the *obiter dicta* of the author, originally collected in Persian in 1233 A. H. and later translated into Urdu by ʿAẓmat Ilāhī in 1315/1897 and lithographed at Meerut.

Bibliography: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Itḥāf al-Nubalāʾ*, 296; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Tirhutī, *al-Yāniʿ al-Djanī fī Asānīd al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī*, lithographed on the margin of *Kashf al-Astār ʿan Ridjāl Maʿānī al-Āthār* (Deoband 1349 A. H.), 73-5; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira ʿUlamāʾ Hind* (Lucknow 1914), 122; Raḥīm Bakhsh, *Ḥayāt Walī* (in Urdu), Dihli 1319 A. H., 338-42; idem., *Ḥayāt ʿAzīzī*; Storey, *Persian Literature*, i, 24; Zubaid Ahmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Jullundur, 1946, Index; Bashīr al-Dīn, *Tadhkira ʿAzīziyya*, Meerut 1934. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

ʿABD AL-BAHĀʾ [see BAHĀʾĪS].

ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-AZDĪ, governor of Khurāsān. In 130/747-8 and 133/750-1 he was a supporter of the ʿAbbāsids in their conflict with the Umayyads, and was appointed to command the *shurṭa* during the caliphates of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. The latter sent him to Khurāsān as governor in 140/757-8. On arrival in the province, he began a violent persecution against the local aristocracy, whom he accused of partiality for the ʿAlids; but it seems that his measures affected also some of the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids (as is stated in the Persian version of al-Ṭabarī). This was apparently the reason why the caliph came to suspect him of rebellion. A cunning exchange of letters, which followed, only confirmed these suspicions, and eventually in 141/758-9 al-Manṣūr sent an army against him under the command of his son al-Mahdī. On the approach of the troops the population of Marw al-Rūdh rose and delivered up ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who was brought before al-Manṣūr, tortured, and put to death, probably at the beginning of 142/759-60.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, index; Ṭabarī, index; *Chronique de Tabari* (Persian), tr. H. Zotenberg, iv, 378-80; S. Moscati, *La rivolta di ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, in *Rend. Linc.*, 1947, 613-5. (S. MOSCATI)

ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ AL-ASADĀBĀDĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Muʿtazilite theologian, in law a follower of the Shāfiʿī school. Born about 325, he lived in Baghdad, until called to Rayy, in 367/978, by the *ṣāḥib* Ibn ʿAbbād, a staunch supporter of the Muʿtazila. He was subsequently appointed chief ḳāḍī of the province; hence he is usually referred to in later Muʿtazilī literature as *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*. (For some anecdotes on his relations with Ibn ʿAbbād see Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 312, 314). On the death of Ibn ʿAbbād, he was deposed and arrested by the ruler, Fakhr al-Dawla, because of a slighting remark made by him about his deceased benefactor (*Irshād*, i, 70-1, ii, 335). No details seem to be available about his later life, and we do not seem to know, for instance, whether he was re-instated in his office. He died in 415/1025.

His main dogmatic work is the enormous al-*Mughnī*, of which the greater part has been preserved (in Sanʿā, see: *Fihris Kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, 103-4; some volumes in Cairo, brought from Ṣanʿā, see: Kh. Y. Nāmī, al-*Baʿtha al-Misriyya li-Taṣwīr al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1952, 15). Another important handbook of his dogmatics, *al-Muḥīṭ bi'l-Taklīf*, was compiled by his pupil Ibn Mattawayh [*q.v.*]. Several volumes in Ṣanʿā, *Fihris*, 102 (vol. i, Berlin 5149; Taymūriyya, ʿAḳaʾid 357; fragments in Leningrad, see A. Borisov, *Les manuscrits muʿtazilites de la Bibliothèque publique de Leningrad*, *Bibliografiya Vostoka*, 1935, 63-95). His monograph on prophecy (*Tathbīt Dalāʾil Nubuwwat Sayyidinā Muḥammad*, Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha 1575, cf. H. Ritter, *Isl.*, 1929, 42) contains also important discussions of the views of other schools, especially those of the Shīʿa. Another important dogmatic treatise seems to be his *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsa* (Vat. 1028). For other writings that have come down to us, cf. Brockelmann. It is not only from his own works, however, that his system can be reconstructed. All the writings of the latter Muʿtazila—including the Zaydī writers on dogmatics; as a matter of fact, his own books, too, have been preserved mainly by the Zaydīs of Yaman—are full of reports on his opinions. He was the chief figure in the last phase of Muʿtazilism, but his teaching has not yet been studied.

Bibliography: Abū Saʿīd al-Bayhaḳī, *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil*, MS Leiden, Landberg 215, fol. 123v—125v, whence Ibn al-Murtaḍā, (*al-Muʿtazila*, Arnold), 66 ff.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī,

Taʾrīkh Baghdād, xi, 113 ff.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 114, 219-20; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 510-1, ix, 77-8, 235, x, 95; I. Goldziher, *Isl.*, 1912, 214; M. Horten, *Die plilosophischen Systeme*, 457-62; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, 191-3. — ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila* was the main source of Abū Saʿīd al-Bayhaḳī's important historical account of the Muʿtazila in the introduction of his *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil*. Al-Bayhaḳī's account was taken over, in a slightly abbreviated form, by Ibn al-Murtaḍā (ed. Th. W. Arnold). (S. M. STERN)

ʿABD AL-FATTĀḤ FŪMANĪ, Persian historian, lived probably in the 16th-17th centuries. Entering into government service in Fūman, the old capital of Gīlān (Ch. Schefer, *Christ. pers.*, ii, 93) he was appointed controller of accounts by the vizier of the place, Behzād-beg, about 1018 or 1019/1609-10. After serving under several other vizers, he was taken to ʿIrāḳ by ʿĀdil Shāh. He wrote in Persian *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*, a history of Gīlān from 923/1517 to 1038/1628. This book, published by B. Dorn (with a résumé in his introduction), completes the histories of Ẓahīr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *ʿAbdu'l-Fattâh Fûmeny's Geschichte von Gîlân* (vol. iii of B. Dorn, *Muhamm. Quellen zur Geschichte d. südl. Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*). (CL. HUART—H. MASSÉ)

ʿABD AL-GHANĪ B. ISMĀʿĪL AL-NĀBULUSĪ, a mystic, theologian, poet, traveller, and voluminous writer on a variety of subjects, born in Damascus 5 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1050/19 March 1641, and the leading figure in the religious and literary life of Syria in his time. His family, traditionally Shāfiʿī (though his father had changed to the Ḥanafī rite), had long been settled in Damascus and Muḥibbī describes his great-grandfather as "*shaykh mashāʾikh al-Shām*" (*Khulāṣa*, ii, 433). He early showed an interest in mysticism, joining the Ḳādirī and Naḳshbandī ṭarīḳas, and as a young man shut himself up in his house for seven years, studying the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ibn Sabʿīn and ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, and bringing on himself by his unconventionnal behaviour charges of antinomianism. An early work, a *badīʿiyya* in praise of the Prophet, was of such virtuosity that his authorship was doubted, until he vindicated himself by writing a commentary on it. In 1075/1664 he made his first journey to Istanbul, and in 1100/1688 he visited the Biḳāʿ and Lebanon, in 1101/1689 Jerusalem and Hebron, in 1105/1693 Egypt and Ḥidjāz, and in 1112/1700 Tripoli, and wrote accounts of all these travels except the first. His works number (including short treatises) from 200 to 250. His pupils were innumerable, the most important probably being Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī [*q.v.*]. He died in Damascus on 24 Shaʿbān 1143/5 March 1731.

His works fall into three main categories: ṣūfī, poetry, travels. His ṣūfī writings are mostly in the form of commentaries on the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, al-Djīlī, Ibn al-Fāriḍ and others. In these commentaries he does not merely paraphrase and epitomize, but develops the thought in the tradition of the great commentators by original, if sometimes far-fetched, interpretation, which, as it is not exclusively mystical, is an important source for his religious and theological thought in general. In several of his commentaries ʿAbd al-Ghanī represents a convergence of two trends of mystical thought, the Andalusian-Maghribī trend (Abū Madyan, Ibn Mashīsh, Shushtari, Sanūsī) and the Perso-Anatolian trend (Awḥad al-Dīn Nūrī, Maḥmūd Uskudārī, Muḥammad Birgalī). He wrote also on the orders to which he belonged, as well as on the Mawlawī order. In his original writings he seems to be dominated by the concept of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*; of these original works the most important is the first volume of his great dīwān.

The *Diwān al-dawāwīn*, which contains the main body of his poetical output, comprises, as well as the first volume on mysticism (published Cairo 1302 etc.), three other volumes, all unpublished, containing eulogies of the Prophet, general eulogies and correspondence, and love-poems respectively. This by no means represents the whole of his poetical output, many of his other works also being written in verse form, and his interest in poetry is reflected in his commentary on the poems of Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī. During his lifetime and after he had a great reputation as a poet (see Amīr Ḥaydar, *Le Liban* (ed. Rustum) i, 8 ff., 22 ff., and for his use of the *muwashshaḥ*, Hartmann, *Muwaššaḥ*, 6).

In his narratives of his travels (see above) it was not ʿAbd al-Ghanī's intention to present a description of topographical or architectural detail. They are rather records of his own mystical experiences; but at the same time they throw a considerable amount of light on the religious and cultural life of the age. They are important also because they served as models for later travellers, such as the Damascene Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and the Egyptian Asʿad al-Luḳaymī. In addition, he wrote works, some of them vast and encyclopaedic, on tafsīr, ḥadīth, kalām, fiḳh, interpretation of dreams (a mine of information on the spiritualism and superstitions of his age), agriculture, the lawfulness of tobacco, and many other subjects.

Bibliography: Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, ii, 30-8; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Āthār*, i, 154-7; Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, *al-Fatḥ al-tariyy fī ... al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī* (Ms. in the writer's possession); Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. ʿAfīfī (Cairo, 1946), i, 23; A. S. Khālidī, *Riḥla ilā diyār al-Shām* (Jaffa, 1946); ʿAbboud, *Ruwwād al-nahḍa al-ḥadītha* (Bairut, 1952), 34 ff.; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921) 143 ff.; L. Massignon, *La Passion de al-Hallaj*, passim. (W. A. S. KHALIDI)

ʿABD AL-ḤAKK ABŪ MUḤAMMAD [see MARĪNIUS].

ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ B. SAYF AL-DĪN AL-DIHLAWĪ al-Bukhārī, Abu l-Madjd, with the *takhalluṣ Ḥaḳḳī*, Indian author in Arabic and Persian, born Muḥarram 958/Jan. 1551, died 2 Rabīʿ II 1052/30 June 1642. He spent some time in Fatḥpūr, studying with Fayḍī and Mīrzā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, but fell out with them (cf. Badāʾūnī, iii, 113, 115 ff.; *al-Makātib wa l-Rasāʾil*, on marg. of *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, Delhi, 1332, 160; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ's book on the writers of Delhi, cf. below, p. 20; *Haft Iḳlīm*, s. v. Dihli). He left for the Ḥidjāz in 996 (*Adhkār-i Abrār*, Urdu transl. of Ghawthī's *Gulzār-i Abrār*, Agra 1326, 559), studying for several years with the famous scholars there (of whom he gave an account in his *Zād al-Muttaḳīn*). On his return, he taught for half a century in Delhi. He won the favour of Djahāngīr (who praises him in the *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, 282) and Shahdjahān. ʿUbayd Allāh Khʷeshgī, *Mukhtaṣar Maʿāridj al-Wilāya*, Panjab Univ. Libr. MS. fol. 258 v., quotes a *risāla* by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ against the "ecstatic phrases" (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) of Aḥmad Kābulī (*Mudjaddid-i alf-i thānī*, d. 1034), but ultimately

the controversy was settled peacefully (Ṣiddiḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Tiḳṣār Djuyūd al-Aḥrār*, Bhopal 1298, 185). The tomb of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ is in the Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī in Delhi. An inscription on the wall of the *ḳubba* gives a sketch of his life; it is quoted fully in Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād, *Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, Agra 1328, 201; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 6; W. Beale, *Miftāḥ al-Tawārīkh*, Cawnpur 1867, 246; Bashīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāḳiʿāt-i Ḥukūmat-i Dihlī*, Agra 1919, iii, 305. According to the *Wāḳiʿāt*, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ's descendants in Dehli were still celebrating every year his *ʿurs* at the tomb.

In his *Taʾlīf Ḳalb al-Alīf bi-Kitābati Fihrist al-Tawālīf*, appended to his treatise on the writers and poets of Delhi (cf. the Urdu periodical *Tārīkh*, Haydarabad-Deccan, vol. i, part 3-4), ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ gives a list of his forty-nine works in Arabic and Persian. The following are the most important of his works: a *Dīwān* (cf. *Ṣubḥ-i Gulshan*, Bhopal 1295, 141); *Lamaḥāt al-Tanḳīḥ*, Arabic commentary on al-Tibrīzī's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*; *Ashiʿʿat al-Lamaʿāt*, a fuller, Persian, commentary on the *Mishkāt*, Lucknow 1277; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, lives of saints, mostly Indian; *Zubdat al-Āthār*, biography of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī; *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*, Persian translation, with commentary, of al-Djīlānī's *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*; *Dhikr al-Mulūk*, a sketch of Indian history from the Ghūrids to Akbar; *Djadhb al-Ḳulūb*, a history of Medina, based mainly on al-Samhūdī; *Madāridj al-Nubuwwa*, a biography of the Prophet (Urdu transl.: *Manāhidj al-Nubuwwa*, Lucknow 1277). His main contribution is his share of the popularization of the study of Ḥadīth in India.

Bibliography: Autobiography in *Akhbār al-Akhyār* and another in the treatise on the writers of Delhi; *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (Engl. Transl.), Calcutta 1936, 692; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Bādshāh-nāma*, i, 341; M. Ṣāliḥ, *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, iii, 384; *Ithāf al-Nubalāʾ*, Cawnpur 1289, 303; *Tiḳṣār*, 112; *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd*, Cawnpur 1904, 65; *Cat. Peshawar Libr.*, 48, 173, 203 ff., 277; Brockelmann, ii, 549, S. i, 778, 277, 603; Storey, 194 ff., 181, 214, 427, 441; Zubaid Ahmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, index. (MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

ʿABD AL-ḤAKḲ ḤĀMID (ABDÜLHAK HÂMIT), Turkish poet, born 2 Febr. 1852. He belonged to an old family of scholars which came from Izmīr, but resided for some time in Egypt before returning to Istanbul in the second half of the 18th century. His grandfather, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Molla, was chief court physician, and a great favourite during that later period of Maḥmūd II's reign which began in 1826 and brought renewal to the Empire. He had a great part in the opening of the new School of Medicine, wrote occasional poetry and left a diary (*Tārīkh-i Liwāʾ*) describing the Sultan's sojourn in 1828 (during the Russian war) in the barracks of Rami, supervising the training of the new army. (His two brothers were also authors). Ḥāmid's father, Khayrullāh Efendi, was one of the best historians of his day. He also wrote a journal of his visit to Paris (unpublished to this day) and was the author of the first Turkish play, *Ḥikāye-yi Ibrāhīm Pāshā*.

Ḥāmid grew up in this cultured environment; the childhood reminiscences of his mother, a Circassian slave girl, added to this intellectual background a fairy tale touch and Ḥāmid's work was to remain to the end marked by this dual influence. He began his studies in one of the newly founded state schools and continued them in Paris, where he went together with his father when he was eleven years old. Back in Istanbul, and later in Teheran, where his father was ambassador, he took private lessons, especially in Arabic and Persian. Among his tutors it was Taḥsīn Efendi who made the deepest impression on him. It was his influence that made Ḥāmid's early works (among them a narrative in verse, *Gharām*) interesting records of the first clash between Western science and philosophy and Muslim faith.

After his father's death Ḥāmid went back to Istanbul and entered the Civil Service; in 1876 he was appointed second secretary to the embassy in Paris. He had married in 1871, in Edirne, Fāṭma Khānīm, of the well-known Pirizade family. In Paris he met the ex-Prime Minister Midḥat Pāshā. Letters and works written in that period testify to the intellectual crisis he was then going through. On his return he was appointed consul in Poti (Russia), then in Golos (Greece), finally in Bombay. On his way back in 1885 his wife died; her death affected deeply Ḥāmid and his poetry. In 1885 he was appointed first secretary in London, then minister in The Hague, returning as secretary, then counsellor, to the London embassy. In 1908 Ḥāmid, then ambassador in Brussels, became a member of the Senate, and acted, during the first world war, as a deputy president. When the Senate was dissolved, he went to Vienna, returning towards the end of the war of independence. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1928. He died in 1937 and was given a national funeral.

His works before going to Europe (1873-6): *Mādjerā-yi ʿAshḳ*, *Ṣabr ü Thebāt*, *Ičli Ḳïz*, *Dukhter-i Hindu*, *Nazīfe*. Between his journey to Europe and his wife's death (1876-85): *Nesteren*, *Ṭāriḳ yahut Endülüs Fātiḥi*, *Ṣaḥrā*, *Tezer*, *Eshber*. 1885-1908: *Maḳber*, *Ölü*, *Ḥadjle*, *Bunlar o dur*, *Diwānelīklerim yahut Belde*, *Bir Sefīlenin Ḥasb-i Ḥāli*. 1908-23: *Zeyneb*—written 1887, *Baladan bir ses*, *Ilkhān*, *Liberté*, *Wālidem*, *Turkhān*, *Ilhām-i Waṭan*, *Mektuplar I, II*, *Abdullāh-i Ṣaghīr*, *Finten*—1887, *Ṭayīflar Gečidi*, *Yādigar-i Ḥarp*, *Ibn-i Mūsā*—1881, *Yabandji dostlar*, *Arziler*, *Ḳaḥbe* (*Bir Sefīlenin Ḥasb-i Ḥāli*), *Khāḳān*. *Hep weya Hic*—first collection of poems, the play *Djünūn ü ʿAshḳ* and some letters, as well as the last play, *Ḳānūnīnin Widjdān Azabi*, remained unpublished; the memoirs that have appeared in various newspapers have not come out in book form.

Ḥāmid's first drama, *Mādjerāʾyi ʿAshḳ*, is a youthful attempt which contains already the romantic elements to be developed later on by him. *Ṣabr ü Thebāt* and *Icli Ḳïz* are of local inspiration, full of comedy and rich in elements of folklore. Influenced also by his relative Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pashā [*q.v.*], it was from the school of Shināsī [*q.v.*] that his personality received its first strong stamp. Ḥāmid belongs to the second generation of innovators, the first being that of Shināsī. Too young to join the Young Turks around Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], he was strongly influenced by the literature of that movement. But although Ḥamīd followed Nāmiḳ Kemāl in his search of the ideal man, his real function may be seen in his achievement of a new Turkish poetry. In a short poem inserted in his play *Dukhter-i Hindu*, Ḥāmid changed the long established rhyme scheme, abandoned the conventional poetic themes and images and enlarged the horizon of his poetry by bringing it into direct contact with life. In the collections of poems *Belde* and *Ṣaḥrā*, partly written in Paris, this revolution is even deeper. In his third collection of poems *Bunlar o dur* he already appears as master of a new and better

literary form and while sometimes still hesitating, finally strikes a happy harmony between thought and language. His works reflect his joy in rediscovering nature, to which he no doubt owes the pantheistic strain of his poetry.

Nowhere, however, can Ḥāmid's personality be so clearly perceived as in the poems written on his wife's death: *Maḳber, Olü, Hadjle.* Obsession with death, already present in *G͟harām,* is here still more persistent and the problems of human destiny are treated with genuine anguish. The influence of a society which had lost the purity of its peaceful faith in Islam and looked with apprehension at the changing world, and the literary influence of Ziyā pas͟ha's two poems *Terkib-i Bend* and *Terdjiʿ-i Bend* which Ḥāmid had read in his youth with great admiration, contributed to strengthen this feeling of anguish. *Maḳber* is doubtlessly Ḥāmid's masterpiece. Fāṭma's image seems never to have been absent from his mind and it is significant that his second wife Nelly, whom he married in England, resembled greatly his dead wife. Ḥāmid's poems written in this second period show affinities of thought, if not of vision, with those of V. Hugo, especially with such pieces as *Dieu* and *La Fin de Satan.* In the poetry written after his appointment to London, there is less philosophical searching, but the inspiration is of a clearer perfection. For example, his poem "On passing through Hyde Park" is one of the best ever written in Turkish on the subject of nature and freedom. However, ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid's prohibition of the publishing of his poems in the Istanbul newspapers put an end to this third period of his literary career.

In his preface to *Duk͟hter-i Hindu* Ḥāmid exposed his preference for the romantic and exotic drama; from then onwards, in all his plays, even in plays such as *Es͟hber, Nesteren* or *Tezer* that seem by their very subject to be nearer to the French classical theatre, he remained faithful to this conception. A despair born of political reasons and of the realization that his plays would never see the stage, make these pieces overloaded with speculation, while the dramatic situation is either absent or lost under the wealth of incident. Though a play like *Finten* pretends to be a picture of English life, though the dialogues of *Rūḥlar* and *Ṭaylflar Gečidi* are dealing with the problem of man's destiny, most of the plays are historical. They deal with ancient India, Greece (*Es͟hber*), Mesopotamia (*Sardānāpāl*), Turkish history in Central Asia, history of Andalusia. *Es͟hber,* supposed to be influenced by Racine's *Alexandre* and by Corneille, is an apology of pacifism and patriotism, while *Ṭāriḳ* is the expression of Nāmiḳ Kemāl's ideology. A peculiar feature of these plays is Ḥāmid's endeavour to assign to woman her place in life. In *Zeyneb,* in *Ibn-i Mūsā,* sequel of *Ṭāriḳ* and in *Finten,* Ḥāmid appears as a follower of Shakespeare.

Ḥāmid has deeply influenced Turkish poetry. The generations both of *T͟herwet-i Fünūn* and *Fedjr-i Āti* were under the impact of Ḥāmid, and followed the creative and revolutionary lead which he had given in language and form. He not only employed new metres unknown in Turkish poetry up to his day, but also quantitative verse. He even tried a sort of blank verse. In his drama he came nearer to spoken language. As, however, his works written after 1885 were not published at the time, he had little share in the developments that took place afterwards. His real influence, starting in 1885, can be said to have stopped already in 1905.

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(A. Hamdi Tanpinar)

ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD I (Abdülhamid), Ottoman Sultan, born 5 Radjab 1137/20 March 1725, succeeded his brother Muṣṭafā 8 D͟hu l-Ḳaʿda 1187/ 21 January 1774.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd succeeded to the throne during a war with Russia, in which financial difficulties, rebellions in various provinces, and the weariness aroused by ill success made the cessation of hostilities an absolute necessity for Turkey. At the same time Russia also had been placed by the Pugačev revolt in a position to welcome peace. The new Sultan, however, was unwilling to end the war without some kind of victory, and the Porte accordingly refused to accept the Russian proposals for peace talks; hostilities were reopened, and the Turkish army was defeated at Kozludja. The rout spread to the headquarters at S͟humla of the Grand Vizier Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pās͟hā, who was forced to sue for peace from the Russian commander Rumjancev.

The treaty by which the war was terminated, and which was dictated by the Russians, was signed on 12 Djumādā I, 1188/21 July 1774 at Kučuk Kaynardje [*q.v.*] and is known by the name of that town. By its terms the Crimea was to become an independent state; and Russia obtained the fortresses on the coast of the Sea of Azof (Azāḳ), the lands of Lesser and Greater Kabartay, the area between the rivers Dniepr and Bug, freedom of navigation in the Black Sea, and the right to pass merchant ships through the Straits. Its most dangerous feature for Turkey was the wording of some of the clauses in such a way as to lead Russia to claim the right to protect Turkish subjects belonging to the Orthodox church; in return, however, Russia recognized a somewhat vaguely stated claim by the Sultan, as *k͟halīfa,* to religious authority over all Muslims. After this treaty Austria too took advantage of the weakness of Turkey and annexed Bukovina, hitherto part of the principality of Moldavia (1775).

In 1774 war broke out also between Turkey and Persia, following a Persian invasion of Kurdistān. Ottoman forces were despatched to Bag͟hdād in 1175, with the object of putting an end to the rule of the Mamlūks, but the Porte was forced to recognize their administration, and in the following year Baṣra fell to the Persians. In 1779 it was evacuated in consequence of internal disturbances in Persia, and reoccupied by the mamlūk Sulaymān Ag͟hā, who was then granted the three pas͟halīks of al-ʿIrāḳ (1180).

The peace of Kučuk Kaynardje proved to be no more than an armistice between Turkey and Russia. Catherine II continued to aim at the annexation of the Crimea, whereas the Porte was trying to bring the principality back to its former status. For this reason the Crimea became an area of conflict and of Russian intervention under various forms; and

in addition, the clauses concerning the Straits and the Orthodox Christians in Turkey were subjects of contention between the two countries. Although it seemed at one time that war was imminent over the Crimean question, the terms relating to the Crimea in the treaty of Kučuk Kaynardje were interpreted and reaffirmed by a Convention, in which France acted as mediator, signed at Istanbul in the pavilion of Aynali-Kawak on 10 March 1779.

Nevertheless, Catherine II, after forming an alliance against Turkey with Joseph II (who had succeeded Maria Theresa on the throne of Austria), stirred up a revolt in the Crimea against the Khān Shāhīn Girāy, and on this pretext sent an army to the Crimea and annexed it to Russia. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, though deeply mortified by this action, could not, being aware of the weakness of his empire, envisage going to war. When, however, the Czarina began to form far-reaching schemes for the setting up of a Greek state with her grandson Constantine Pavlovič at its head, the Porte could no longer tolerate the menacing demonstrations against Turkey provoked by her and her ally Joseph II.

In spite of the Sultan's love of peace, war was declared against Russia and Austria by the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Yūsuf Pasha (1787), when a request for the return of the Crimea was rejected, and Sweden subsequently joined in on the side of Turkey. An attack by the Turkish fleet in the direction of Kilburun was unsuccessful, and the Russians laid siege to the fortress of Očakov. The Turkish army, however, attached more importance to the Austrian campaign and after twice defeating, at Vidin and Slatin, the Austrian armies which had taken the offensive along the Danube, invaded the Banat. On the other hand, the Turkish fleet failed in its attempt to relieve Očakov, and after a long resistance the fortress fell and its population was put to the sword. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, whose health was already undermined by the worries of the war, died of a stroke on reading the news, 11 Radjab 1203/7 April 1789.

Although ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, who succeeded to the throne at an advanced age after spending most of his life in the seclusion of the palace, cannot be considered an energetic and successful sovereign, he is noted for his zeal, humanity, and benevolence. He gave wide powers, for that time, to his Grand Viziers and left them free in their conduct of affairs, and he endeavoured to strengthen the central government against rebel forces within the empire; e.g. he sent a punitive expedition under Djezāʾirli Ḥasan Pasha against Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, who had acquired great influence in Syria, and against the rebellious Mamlūk beys in Egypt. It may be observed that whereas during his reign the Porte followed a special policy towards Caucasia by trying to civilize the Circassian tribes and to attach them to Turkey and, in order to further this object, developed Sogudjuk and Anapa, the Russians, in opposition to this policy, supported the Georgians.

The most important of the Grand Viziers of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I was Khalīl Ḥamīd Pasha, who was a supporter of reforms and, in order to put them into effect, tried to dethrone the old Sultan and to put the young prince Selīm (afterwards Selīm III) in his place. During the tenure of office of this enlightened Grand Vizier, who paid for his attempt with his life, the corps of Cannonneers, Bombardiers and Miners were reorganized.

The opening of the Imperial Naval Engineering School (*Muhandiskhāne-yi baḥri-yi humāyun*), for the education of trained officers, and the reopening of Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳa's [*q.v.*] printing house, which had been allowed to fall into disuse, are among the achievements of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I. He also founded the Beylerbeyi and Mirgūn mosques on the Bosporus, as well as a number of benefactions such as libraries, schools, soup-kitchens, and fountains.

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(M. CAVID BAYSUN)

ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD II (GHĀZĪ) (ABDÜLHAMID), 36th Ottoman sultan, fifth child of thirty of ʿAbd al-Madjīd (Abdülmecid) [*q.v.*], born Wednesday, 21 September 1842. He is traditionally represented as a reserved child, easily offended, and, in spite of his keen intelligence, not given to study. It is said that, after a stormy youth, he led a thrifty family life, which earned him the undeserved nickname 'Pinti Ḥamīd', Ḥamīd the Skinflint, taken from a comedy by Kaṣṣab. He early showed a great liking for the company of devout persons (Pertewniyāl, a distortion of Pertew-nihāl, *wālde sulṭān* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) and for mystics, soothsayers, and wonder-workers (the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sūr of Ṣaydā, prototype of the astrologer Abu-ʾl-Hudā, who later exerted so great an influence on ʿA.).

On 1 September 1876 he succeeded his brother Murād V, who had been deposed, with the support of the Young Turks, whose leader, the celebrated Midḥat (Mithat) Pasha [*q.v.*], was a former grand vizier of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The Porte was then engaged in victorious war with Milan, prince of Serbia, and Nicholas I of Montenegro. To put a stop to the intervention of the powers, ʿA., in agreement with Midḥat, initiated an international conference at Istanbul, and on the very day of its opening (23 December 1876) a *khaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* promulgated the first Constitution or *ḳānūn-i* (*kanunu*) *esāsī*, a 'fundamental Law' instituting a two-Chamber parliamentary system. This Parliament, summoned to meet on 17 March 1877, and presided over by the famous Aḥmed Wefiḳ Pasha [*q.v.*], was prorogued *sine die* on 13 February 1878 (actually for a period of thirty years).

In the course of his reign Turkey had to wage two wars, one with Russia (1877-8), the other with Greece (18 April-5 June 1897); finally the inextricable Macedonian imbroglio, in which the most varied races were bitterly engaged, led to interventions by the Concert of Europe which precipitated the Young Turk revolution. On 5 July 1908 the vice-major (*ḳol-aghasi*) Niyāzi Bey took to the mountains at Resna and seized Monastir. On the 23rd, the major (*bin-bashi*) Enwer Bey, former military attaché in Berlin, rose in revolt at Salonika. The sultan gave way, and the Constituent Assembly, which had never disappeared from the official Year-book (*sāl-nāme*), was simply revived on 24 July (which was later kept as a national holiday). After

the coup de force carried out by the reactionaries and by troops roused to fanaticism, on 13 April 1909, the 3rd army corps of Macedonia, commanded by Marshal Maḥmūd Shewket, which had for that occasion become an "investing" or "marching" army (*ḥareket ordusu*), brought back the fugitive Young Turks and the Constitution to Istanbul (24 April).

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was deposed by a decision (*karār-nāme*) of the two Chambers, meeting as a National Assembly on 28 April 1909, based on a *fatwa* of the same day, a document in which appeared in particular the strange imputation that he had "forbidden and burnt the books of the religious Law". The brother of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Muḥammad (Meḥmet) Reshād, succeeded him as Muḥammad V.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was exiled to Salonika. When the Balkan war broke out, in 1912, he was moved to the palace of Beylerbeyi (on the Bosphorus). He died there of pneumonia, on Sunday, 10 February 1918, at the age of 75, and was buried in the *turbe* of his grandfather, Maḥmūd II.

The two salient points of Abd al-Ḥamīd's political system were absolutism and Panislamism.

1) Absolutism (*istibdād*).—Although their power was unlimited, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's predecessors interfered relatively little in the affairs of government. They usually left it to their plenipotentiary representative, the grand vizier (*Ṣadr aʿẓam*), who was regarded as their *wekīl-i muṭlaḳ* (a term which has sometimes been translated as 'vicar absolute'). The government was "the (Sublime) Porte" of the grand vizier. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd wished to create an instrument of domination carrying even closer personal control, and he gave great importance to "the Palace" or "the Court". In Turkish, this was termed the *Mābey(i)n*, an Arabic term which means literally "that (which is) between (the private apartments and the Porte)". It was a separate building (within the precincts of Yīldīz), and contained the offices of the chamberlains (*mābeyndji*) and of the rapporteurs or referendaries (*āmedji* or *āmedī*). Hence the power of the first secretary of the *Mābeyn* (of the sultan, in actual fact)—Taḥsīn Pasha, for instance—or of a second secretary such as ʿIzzet ʿAbed, a Syrian who was the object of public execration. The palace of Yīldīz, usually shortened to Yīldīz [*q.v.*], with its ḥarem and its administrative departments, became a sort of town with several thousand residents—a town half shrouded in secrecy, which long haunted and terrified people's imaginations, often without cause.

This system, carried on at a time when there existed a strong revolutionary ferment, was not calculated to discourage conspiracies, and it was only by miraculous good fortune that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd escaped an Armenian bomb in 1905. This only intensified the fear and suspicion which dominated all his life. He encouraged informing and espionage, which developed into an incredibly complicated network. The name *khafiyye*, which means literally "secret (police)" finally came to include the whole range of informers and spies, from the highest social levels to the lowest. Written denunciations were known as *djurnal*, from an expression borrowed formerly from Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, and which meant originally "daily administrative report".

The severity of the censorship reached a degree of ineptitude that seems incredible, but is proved by authentic documents. The censor struck out words like *waṭan*, "fatherland", because it was a conception that implied rivalry to dynasty and religion, and other words, such as liberty, explosion, bomb, regicide, murder, plot, etc.

2) Panislamism.—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had a deep sense of the importance of his role (which was, however, debatable) of *khalīfa*, by virtue of which he was protector of the religion of Islam (art. 3 of the Constitution of 1876). He greatly esteemed Djamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], who had held out to him the bright prospect of bringing the Shīʿites themselves back into the bosom of Sunnism. This sterile and even dangerous policy was largely based on the illusion that he could count on the loyalty of the Arabs, his spoilt children.

Strangely enough, the Turcologist Arminius Vambéry, a Hungarian Jew who was on terms of friendship with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, encouraged him in these tendencies. They had one useful result at least, in that they prompted ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to build the Ḥidjāz railway to the holy places of Islam. This undertaking, which had also strategic value because of the frequent troubles in the Yaman, and of which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was justly proud, was paid for by collections made exclusively among Muslims, and by the revenue from the "Ḥidjāz-stamp". The railway was begun on 1 September 1900, on the 25th anniversary of the Sultan's accession. It was also the indirect cause of the Anglo-Turkish dispute over Taba and the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, in which England appeared for the first time (1906) as the official defender of Egyptian interests. The line reached Medīna in 1908.

Another manifestation of Panislamism was less successful. This was the sending to Japan of the screw training ship Ertogrul, a wooden vessel that went down within sight of the Japanese coast (25 September 1890).

The European press and caricaturists accused ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd of blind fanaticism, and branded him with the name of 'Red Sultan' because of the role attributed to him in the suppression of revolts or of bloody conflicts in Macedonia and Crete, and especially Armenia (risings in 1894 and 1895, raid on the Ottoman Bank in 1896). The least that can be said, indeed, is that he did little or nothing to prevent horrible massacres (just as he did nothing to prevent extortion). On the other hand, the atrocities had begun before his time, and did not stop after his disappearance. The Turkish population, fanaticized for these occasions, was not the only one to take part. There were also other Muslims: the Circassian immigrants from the Caucasus, and the Kurds.

It would be unjust to judge ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who has so often been accused of obscurantism, without giving him credit for all the institutions established during his reign.

Physically, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had regular features, an aquiline nose and lightcoloured eyes, but as he grew older his appearance became that of a bent and hunted old man. He had a loud, deep voice, and knew how to be agreeable. In his dress he was quiet, very simple, and distinguished. He was a man of contrasts. Very approachable, unlike most of the Ottoman sultans, he was given to sudden fits of anger, which were, however, quickly suppressed. Authoritarian to the point of despotism, very intelligent, and possessed of an excellent memory, he had an exceptional capacity for work, and liked to deal with all affairs himself—a paralysing trait in the head of a State.

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of Turkey, are devoted entirely or in part to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. (No sultan has elicited in Europe so many studies, for the most part tendentious).

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ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD B. YAḤYĀ B. SAʿD, the founder of Arabic epistolary style, *mawlā* of the Ḳurashī clan of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. He was probably a native of al-Anbār, and is said to have been a travelling pedagogue before he was employed in the Umayyad secretariat under Hishām's chief secretary, the *mawlā* Sālim; he was then attached to Marwān b. Muḥammad, whom he continued to serve as chief secretary after Marwān's accession to the Caliphate. He refused to desert his master in misfortune and is generally said to have shared his fate at Būṣīr on 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 132/5 August 750. According to another account he took refuge in the house of his disciple Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, but was traced and seized. His descendants continued to live in Egypt under the name of Banu 'l-Muhādjir and furnished secretaries to Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

The surviving compositions of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, comprising six formal *rasāʾil* and a few chancery pieces and private letters, exhibit a remarkable divergence of styles. His most elaborate *risāla*, a long epistle addressed to Marwān's son and heir ʿAbd Allāh, with advice on personal conduct, ceremonial, and the conduct of war, is composed in a language and style based on the idioms, rhythms, and vivid metaphors of Arabic poetry and rhetoric, but elaborated by the addition of often lengthy sequences of qualifying clauses. Since the same style appears in most of his other official *rasāʾil*, it can only be conjectured (in the absence of earlier secretarial documents) that this feature—unusual in both earlier and later Arabic style—is to be traced to Greek influences in the Umayyad secretariat.

His most famous *risāla*, on the other hand, that addressed to the Secretaries (*kuttāb*), setting forth the dignity of their office and their responsabilities, is fluent, simple and straightforward. A comparison of its contents with the writings of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and later quotations from Persian works shows clearly that it is inspired by the tradition of the Sāsānid secretariat, and largely reproduces with an Islamic gloss the maxims of the Iranian *dibhērs* (see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², Copenhagen, 1944, 132 ff.). Also of Persian inspiration, and quite distinct from the traditional Arabic presentation of the subject, is his *risāla* describing the incidents of a hunt, evidently written for the entertainment of the court. A large proportion of the maxims addressed to the prince in the first *risāla* mentioned above are also derived from Sāsānid court ceremonial and usages, although the military instructions are more probably influenced by Greek tactics, either through literary channels or from actual experience in the Byzantine wars.

It would appear, therefore, that both views expressed by later Arabic critics in regard to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd are justified, in spite of their apparent incompatibility. On the one hand is the statement (e.g. al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, ii, 89) that "ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd extracted from the Persian tongue the modes of secretarial composition which he illustrated, and transposed them into the Arabic tongue". On the other hand there is the description of him (e.g. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, ii, 169 (1321) = iv, 165 (1944/1363) as having been "the first to open up the buds of rhetoric, to smooth out its ways, and to loosen poetry from its bonds". He was also a master of pithy epigram, several examples of which are recorded in the *adab* works.

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD LĀHAWRĪ, Indo-Persian historian, died 1065/1654-5, author of the *Pādshāh-nāma*, an official history of the Indian sultan Shāh Djahān. The work is composed of three parts, each containing the history of one decade. Only the first two parts, comprising the years 1037-1057, were written by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; the last part was arranged by his pupil Muḥammad Wārith. Parts I and II were published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1866-72.

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ʿABD AL-ḤAYY, ABU 'L-ḤASANĀT MUḤAMMAD, the son of Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, an Indian theologian of the Ḥanafī school, associated with the famous seminary of Farangī Maḥall, Lucknow, was born at Bānda in Bundelkhand in 1264/1848. He studied with his father and another scholar till the age of seventeen, when he began to assist his father as a teacher. He twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he met the Muftī Aḥmad b. Zaynī Dahlān [*q.v.*], from whom he obtained *idjāza* for a large number of works. He wrote glosses and annotations on a large number of text-books current in the Indian madrasas, besides numerous works chiefly on religious and legal topics, mentioned by himself in his *al-Nāfiʿ al-Kabīr* and in his introduction to his edition of al-Shaybānī's recension of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (Delhi 1297, 27-9). As a work of general interest and utility, special mention is due to his *al-Fawāʾid al-Bahiyya fī Tarādjim al-Ḥanafiyya* (Delhi 1293; Cairo 1324), which is an abridgement, with additional biographical notices, of Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān al-Kaffawī's *Katāʾib Aʿlām al-Akhyār*. He was a distinguished and influential teacher, whose lectures were attended by a large number of students, who achieved prominence as teachers and scholars in their own turn. One of his pupils, Mawlawī Ḥafīẓ Allāh wrote his biography under the title of *Kanz al-Barakāt*. He died at Lucknow in 1304/1886.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. GHAYBĪ AL-ḤĀFIẒ AL-MARĀGHĪ, the greatest of the Persian writers on music. Born at Marāgha, about the middle of the 8th/14th century, he had become one of the minstrels of al-Ḥusayn, the Djalāʾirid Sultan of ʿIrāḳ, about 781/1379. Under the next Sultan, Aḥmad, he was appointed the chief court minstrel, a post which he held until Tīmūr captured Baghdād in 795/1393, when he was transported to Samarḳand, the capital of the conqueror. In 801/1399 we find him at Tabrīz in the service of Tīmūr's wayward son Mīrānshāh, for whose erratic conduct his "boon companions" were blamed. Tīmūr acted swiftly with the sword, but ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, being forewarned, escaped to Sultan Aḥmad at Baghdād, although he once more fell into Tīmūr's hands when the latter re-entered Baghdād in 803/1401. Taken back to Samarḳand, he became one of the four brilliant men who shed lustre on the court of Shāhrukh. In 824/1421, having written a music treatise for the Turkish Sultan Murād II, he set out for the Ottoman court to present it in person in 826/1423. Later he returned to Samarḳand, dying at Harāt in 838/March 1435.

Of the fame of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in his day, and since, there can be little doubt. Muʿīn al-Dīn-i Isfizārī, the author of the *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, eulogizes him for his threefold talents as musician, poet, and painter, but it was more especially for his skill in music that he was called "the glory of the past age". In addition to being a deft performer on the lute (*ʿūdī*) and a prolific composer (*taṣnīfī*), he excelled as a music theorist. His most important treatise on music is the *Djāmiʿ al-Alḥān* ("Encyclopaedia of Music"), autographs of which are preserved at the Bodleian Library and the Nūru ʿOthmāniyya Library, Istanbul. The first of these, written in 808/1405 for his son Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was revised by the author in 816/1413. The second, dated 818/1415, carries a dedication to Sultan Shāhrukh. Several abridgments of this work by the author also exist, notably a shorter one, an autograph, without title, dated 821/1421, which is at the Bodleian. It was written, evidently, for Bāysunghur. A longer version in the same library, called the *Maḳāṣid al-Alḥān* ("Purports of Music"), written about 834-7/1421-3, was dedicated to the Turkish Sultan Murād II,

according to the Leiden copy. A third treatise on music, the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* ("Treasury of Music") which contained the author's notated compositions, has not survived. His last work, the *S͟harḥ al-Adwār* ("Commentary on the [*Kitāb al-*] *Adwār*" [of Ṣafī al-Dīn]), is to be found in the Nūru ʿOt͟hmāniyya Library. At Leiden there is a short *Kitāb al-Adwār* in Turkish bearing his name. These works are of great importance in the history of Persian, Arabian, and Turkish music. Although only a few of his musical compositions have survived in the *D͟jāmiʿ*, many have been handed down *viva voce* in a form known in Turkish as the *kʿār*.

A son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who is thought to have settled at the Ottoman court after 1435, was the author of a music treatise, the *Naḳāwāt al-Adwār* ("The Select of the Modes"), dedicated to the Turkish Sultan Muḥammad II (d. 886/1481), whilst a grandson, Maḥmūd, who lived under Bāyazīd II (d. 918/1512), compiled a *Maḳāṣid al-Adwār* ("Purports of the Modes"). both mss. being at the Nūru ʿOt͟hmāniyya Library.

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ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤYI AL-DĪN AL-ḤASANĪ, the Amīr Abd el-Kader, descended from a family which originated in the Rīf and had settled among the Hās͟him, was born in 1223/1808 at the guetna of the Wadi al-Ḥammām, some twenty kilometres west of Mascara. Studies at Arzew, then at Oran, marriage, and a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1244/1828-9 were the most outstanding events in a youth that was devoted to the reading of sacred books and to physical exercises, under the direction of his father, who, by his piety and charity, had acquired a great influence.

The indecision shown by the French after the capture of Algiers (5 July 1830) in the organization of their conquest favoured Muḥyī al-Dīn in Orania, and he took the initiative in the strunggle against the Christians, but soon yielded first place to his son, who was proclaimed sultan of the Arabs on 5 Rad͟jab 1248/22 November 1832 by the Hās͟him, the Banū ʿĀmir, and the G͟harāba. In spite of the opposition of certain elements of the population and the failure of his supporters before Oran and Mostaganem (1833), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's action prevented the pacification of the country. This state of affairs prompted General Desmichels to treat with his adversary (4 and 26 February 1834). Thus officially recognized the new Amīr of the Faithful extended his authority to the gates of Algiers (April 1835), but his claims provoked the renewal of hostilities. First Clauzel and then Bugeaud avenged the defeat on the Macta (28 June) by burning Mascara (6 December), occupying Tlemcen (13 January 1836), and winning a great victory on the Wadi Sikkak (6 July); but these successes were fruitless. Three times abandoned by his troops, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir immediately regrouped them. The position of the French remained precarious, with their towns invested, their columns ceaselessly harassed, and their allies receiving heavy punishment. The desire to be secured against attacks in the west while an expedition against Constantine was being carried out led Louis-Philippe's government to negotiate. By the signature of the treaty of the Tafna (30 May 1837) Bugeaud repeated, in a worse form, the mistake made by Desmichels. Though the French kept Oran, Arzew, Mostaganem, Blida, and Kolea, the Amīr obtained the whole province of Oran, part of that of Algiers, as well as the whole *baylīk* of Titteri.

From June 1837 to November 1839 ʿAbd al-Ḳādir used the cessation of hostilities to organize the territories that had been handed over to him. After establishing his capital at Tagdempt, he travelled about his new state, imposing chiefs, by force if necessary, on all the tribes between Morocco in the west and Kabylia in the east, and gaining recognition for his domination as far as the Sahara.

In the course of these journeys ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, taking advantage of the faulty wording of the Treaty of the Tafna, had gone beyond the boundaries that had been assigned to him; Marshal Valée therefore submitted to him a draft of an additional treaty which accurately indicated, and reduced, the territories over which France recognized his rights, but he refused to ratify it. The 'Iron Gates' expedition, in the course of which the Duke of Orleans linked Constantine to Algiers, provided the Amīr with a pretext for restarting the war. On 20 November 1839 his forces invaded the Mitīd͟ja, sacking farms and massacring settlers. Algiers was threatened. The occupation of Miliana, then of Medea (May-June 1840) by the French did not ease their difficulties, for the supplying of their garrisons made necessary the movement of convoys which were exposed to continual attack.

The nomination of Bugeaud as governor-general (29 December 1840) changed the course of events; he realized that Algeria would never be pacified until the power of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was crushed and until the tactics of 'active columns' took the place of 'limited occupation'. Between 1841 and 1843 he seized the towns of Tagdempt, Mascara, Boghar, Taza, Saida, Tlemcen, Sebdou and Nedroma, and sent out expeditions with instructions to capture his enemy and destroy his supporters. The capture of the *smala* (16 May 1843), the travelling capital of the Amīr, was a serious blow to him. The tribes submitted to France. Hunted and weakened, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir took refuge at the end of the year on the borders of Morocco, to obtain shelter, to recruit soldiers, and to compromise French relations with that empire.

His hopes were not deceived. The occupation of Lalla Mag͟hnia by la Moricière stirred up a conflict, but the bombarding of Tangier and Mogador (6 and 15 August 1844) and the victory of the Isly (14 August) compelled the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to refuse his guest any support and to declare him an outlaw. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir appeared again in Algeria in 1846 to take the lead in the insurrections which were breaking out on all sides. His first successes (Sidi-Brahim, 23 September) seemed to promise final triumph for his cause. No less than eighteen columns were needed to stem the revolt and to throw the Amīr back into Morocco

(July 1846), where he was now the object of the hostility of the Sultan, who feared in him a dangerous rival. Attacked by the tribes, and pursued by the Sharifian troops, ʿAbd al-Ķādir crossed the Algerian frontier again. Finding all lines of escape towards the south closed to him, he gave himself up to the Duc d'Aumale on 23 December 1847.

In spite of the promise to him that he would be transported to Acre or to Alexandria, ʿAbd al-Ķādir was, with his suite, interned successively at Toulon, at Pau, and then at Amboise. Released by the Prince-President Louis-Napoleon on 16 October 1852, the former leader of Algeria in revolt now received a pension from the France of which he had become the loyal subject, and went to live in retirement first at Brusa (1853) and then at Damascus (1855). It was in this town that he proved in a very special way the sincerity of his loyalty, by delivering the French consul and saving several thousand persons when the Druses tried to massacre the Christian population (July 1860). He died there in the night of 25 to 26 May 1883, having passed his time during his exile in meditation, the practice of his faith, and charity.

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ʿABD AL-ĶĀDIR BADĀ'ŪNĪ [see BADĀ'ŪNĪ].

ʿABD AL-ĶĀDIR B. ʿUMAR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, a well-known philologist, born in Baghdad in 1030/1621 and died in Cairo in 1093/1682. His early education began in Baghdād, which from 941/1534 had been the scene of a fierce struggle between the Ṣafawids and the ʿUthmānlis. When in 1048/1638 it was retaken by the Turks, under the personal direction of Murād IV, ʿAbd al-Ķādir left for Damascus. He had by that time acquired a thorough acquaintance with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He studied Arabic in Damascus with Muḥ. b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, the *naķīb* of Syria, and with Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Farā'iḍī. In 1050/1640 he went to Cairo and studied, in al-Azhar, the religious and foreign sciences, particulary with al-Khafādjī and Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī. Due to his extensive reading, even al-Khafādjī used to consult him about difficult questions. On the death of al-Khafādjī in 1069/1659, ʿAbd al-Ķādir acquired the greater part of his shaykh's library, and developed it further. It is said to have contained a thousand *dīwāns* of the pure Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿĀriba*), enriched by various scholars with their scholia. His library was unique for those times, cf. *Khizāna*, i, 2. In Dhu 'l-Ķaʿda 1077 he visited Istanbul, but returned to Cairo after less than four months, in 1078. In the same year, he made the acquaintance of Ibrāhīm Pāsha Katkhudā, governor of Egypt, who treated him with great respect and made him his associate and boon-companion. Some years later, when Katkhudā was deposed from the governorship and returned home through Syria (reaching Damascus in 1085), ʿAbd al-Ķādir accompanied him and sojourned in Adrianople. He made the acquaintance of the learned grand-vizier of Turkey, Aḥmad Pāsha al-Fāḍil Köprülü-zāde, and dedicated to him his masterly gloss on Ibn Hishām's *Sharḥ Bānat Suʿād*. Al-Muḥibbī, son of an old friend of ʿAbd al-Ķādir, who saw him in Adrianople, records that he enjoyed, in this period, the highest regard and respect of the important personages of Turkey. But after a while he was attacked by a disease, and as a cure could not be affected by the physicians, he left for Cairo in disgust, though he came back later. This time he caught a disease of the eye and almost lost his sight. He returned to Cairo and died there shortly after.

He knew by heart the *Maķāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, many Arabic *dīwāns* and numerous Persian and Turkish verses. He had a fine critical sense and a profound knowledge of Arabic philology, Arabic poetry, the history of the Arabs and Persians, Arabic proverbs and anecdotes.

He wrote a number of useful books. Among these are: 1) The *Khizānat al-Adab wa Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-ʿArab* (Cairo, 1299/1882, 1347/1928-9 [publication stopped in 1353 after *shāhid* 331]), a commentary on the 957 *shawāhid* quoted by al-Raḍī al-Astarabādī (d. 686/1287) in his *Sharḥ* on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Kāfiya*. It was begun in Cairo in 1073/1663 and finished there in 1079/1668 (after a brief interruption due to his visit to Istanbul) and dedicated to Muḥammad IV (1058-99/1648-87). It seems originally to have been divided into eight volumes (see al-Muḥibbī). 2) A commentary on the *shawāhid* cited in al-Raḍī's *Sharḥ* of Ibn Ḥādjib's *Shāfiya*. To this he appended a *Sharḥ* of the *shawāhid* of the *Sharḥ* of al-Djārabardī on the *Shāfiya*. 3) Gloss on Ibn Hishām's *Sharḥ Bānat Suʿād* (MS in Rāmpur I. 583). 4) *Sharḥ al-Maķṣūrat al-Duraydiyya*. 5) *Lughat-i Shāh-nāma*, edited by C. Salemann, St. Petersburg 1895. 6) *Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhidiyya bi 'l-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*. For these and other works and for their existing MSS. see Brockelmann, S ii, 397, and the preface to the *Khizāna*, ed. of 1347.

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ʿABD AL-ĶĀDIR DIHLAWĪ, Indian theologian, the third son of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*], born at Dilhi (Dehlī) in 1167/1753-4. He is chiefly remembered for his Urdu translation of the Ķurʾān, accompanied by explanatory notes. Its title *Mūḍiḥ-i Ķur'ān* ("Interpretation of the Ķur'an")

is the chronogram for 1205/1790-1, the date of the completion of the work. It was published at Houghly in 1245/1829; other editions, Lucknow 1263/1847 and Bombay 1270/1853-4. Since then, it has been repeatedly lithographed interlineally along with the Arabic text. It is generally regarded as more faithful than the one prepared by his brother Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn. He died in 1228/1813.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR AL-DJĪLĀNĪ (or AL-DJĪLĪ), MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤ. B. ABĪ ṢĀLIḤ DJENGĪ DŌST, Ḥanbalite theologian, preacher and Ṣūfī, who gave his name to the order of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]; b. 470/1077-8, d. 561/1166. The authors of the monographs about him considered him to be the greatest saint of Islam and their accounts of his life and activity were written out of edifying and missionary, rather than historical interest. Their writings have, therefore, little to contribute to a historical account of his life and only a small proportion of their data can be considered reliable. Apart from Abu 'l-Maḥāsin (*al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, ed. Juynboll, i, 698), who names as the birth-place of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīl, a village between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ, all authorities are unanimous in stating that he was a Persian from Nayf (Nīf) in Djīlān, south of the Caspian Sea. The Persian name of his father not only supports this statement, but at the same time contradicts the common assertion that he was descended in the paternal line directly from al-Ḥasan, the grandson of the Prophet. Baghdād, where he came to study at the age of eighteen, remained the scene of his activities up to his death.

Apart from numerous other teachers, he studied philology under al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109), Ḥanbalite law under Abu 'l-Wafāʾ b. al-ʿAḳīl, who had come over from the Muʿtazila to the Ḥanbalite ***madhhab*** (d. 513/1121), and under the ḳāḍī Abū Saʿd al-Mubārak al-Mukharrimī, ***ḥadīth*** under Abū Muḥ. Djaʿfar al-Sarrādj, author of the ***Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUshshāḳ*** (d. 500/1106). It was Abu 'l-Khayr Ḥammād al-Dabbās (d. 523/1131) who introduced him to ṣūfism. This "syrup (*dibs*)-monger", who apparently never wrote any book, seems to have been in his time a highly appreciated master of ṣūfism, whose ascetic piety and the strict discipline which he exercised over his novices are celebrated also by Ibn al-Athīr (x, 472). The ***khirḳa***, the ṣūfī robe, was bestowed upon him, as the sign of the end of his noviciate, by al-Mukharrimī. He was fifty years old when he first appeared (521/1127) in public as a preacher. His fame as preacher and teacher seems to have spread quickly. Six years after his first appearance, the school of his old teacher al-Mukharrimī was given into his charge and was enlarged with financial aid from the rich and free labour from the poor. Here he was active as ***muftī***, teacher of Ḳurʾān-exegesis, ***ḥadīth*** and ***fiḳh***, and especially as a far-famed preacher. His reputation attracted numerous pupils from all parts of the Islamic world, and his persuasive discourses are said to have converted to Islam many Jews and Christians. The financial support which he received from his admirers enabled him, by making him independent, to exercise criticism that was heeded even at the court of the caliph, and to help the poor. His school was continued, with the help of pious endowments, by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, one of his numerous sons, and by his descendants [see ḲĀDIRIYYA].

ʿAbd al-Ḳādir lived at a time when ṣūfism was triumphant and expanding. In the century preceding him a conflict, that had existed long before, assumed an acute form and became the concern of every individual. The consciousness of the individual as well as the whole of society was torn by the breach between secularism, religiously indifferent or religious only in a conventional way, on the one hand, and an intellectualist religion, at odds over theological doctrine, on the other. Innumerable are the complaints in literary works that express despair in face of the vanity of the "world", but also the emptiness of the legalistic religion, "dead knowledge handed down by dead people" (Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī). In such a situation ṣūfism, as the embodiment of emotional religion, became in the generations preceding ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, a wide-spread movement. The historical process pushed one problem into the foreground: how to reconcile the ascetic and mystic elements with religious law. Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's teacher, met ṣūfism, as befitted the zealous Ḥanbalite convert, with a definite no. The same attitude was later taken again and again by strict Ḥanbalites. This was not, however, the only possible way for them. Al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] (d. 481/1088), who conducted disputations in the strictest accordance with the school of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (which he extolled with the motto ***madhhab Aḥmad aḥmad madhhab***), wrote ṣūfī books appealing to the emotions, and Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*], who made violent attacks on the orgiastic piety of the ṣūfī meetings, himself held, according to the testimony of Ibn Djubayr, meetings that are paradigmatic for ṣūfī cult practice.

This is the period in which ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was active. He appears as a teacher of theology in his ***al-Ghunya li-Ṭālibī Ṭarīḳ al-Ḥaḳḳ*** (Cairo 1304). Starting with an exposition of the ethical and social duties of a Sunnī Muslim, it sets forth in the form of a Ḥanbalite handbook the knowledge necessary for the believer, including a short exposé of the seventy-three sects, and ends with an account of the particular way of ṣūfism. Extreme Ḥanbalites have criticised the special duties taken upon themselves by the ṣūfis. According to Ibn Taymiyya, the particular litanies for certain days, taken over in the ***Ghunya*** from Makkī's ***Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb***, are reprehensible if they assume the character of a legal duty. Conflicts with the religious law, however, such as Ibn al-Djawzī, in his ***Talbīs Iblīs***, finds among contemporary ṣūfīs, do not occur in the writings of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. The unquestioning submission to the message of Muḥammad, as it is set forth in the Ḳurʾān and the ***sunna***, excludes on the part of the ṣūfī any claim to inspired revelation. The fulfilment of works of supererogation assumes the prior fulfilment of the demands of divine law. Ecstatic practices, though not forbidden, are allowed only with certain restrictions. Ascetism is limited by the duties towards family and society. The perfect ṣūfī lives in his divine Lord, has a knowledge of the mystery of God, and yet this saint, even if he reaches the highest rank, that of a ***badal*** or a ***ghawth***, cannot reach the grade of the prophets, not to speak of surpassing it, as some ṣūfīs were teaching. In the personality of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir the ṣūfī is not at variance with the Ḥanbalite.

This appears also in his sermons contained in the

collections *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī* (62 sermons; Cairo 1302) and *Futūḥ al-Ghayb* (78 sermons; on the margin of al-Shaṭṭanawfī) ʿAbd al-Ḳādir often directs the attention of his audience to the perfect saint. Yet both the contents and the style show that the sermons were not addressed to exclusive ṣūfī circles. The plain manner, avoiding ṣūfī terminology, and the often very simple moral admonishment suggest that they were delivered before a large audience. Before men, who experience the power of fate as a permanent threat, he sets the ideal figure of man: the saint, who has overcome his accidental self and reached his essential being, conquering the fear of fate and death, because he participates in Him who orders fate and death. Ṣūfism as taught by the Ḥanbalite ʿAbd al-Ḳādir consists in fighting, in a *djihād* greater than the holy war fought with weapons, against self-will; in thus conquering the hidden *shirk*, i.e. the idolatry of self and, in general, of creaturely things; in recognizing in all good and evil the will of God and living, in submission to His will, according to His law.

Al-Shaṭṭanawfī's work on ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, from which several other writers derived their information, was written just over a hundred years after ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's death. His account, rejected as untrustworthy already by al-Dhahabī (*JRAS*, 1907, 267 ff.), presents him as the supreme saint. He is not described according to the ideal of the saint conceived by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir himself. He is not a man who serves as a symbol for cosmic resignation, whose example can be followed by resigning this and the next world, by accepting in both of them the lot given by God. The figure of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir as a saint, as it is drawn by al-Shaṭṭanawfī, is the outcome of a piety which relinquished the hope of being able to put the ideal into practice.

According to the legend, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir himself, by the sentence which remained closely associated with his name: "My foot is on the neck of every saint of God", laid claim to the highest rank and obtained the consent of all the saints of the epoch. A poem ascribed to him, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Ghawthiyya*, speaks, in a style that is very different from that of his authentic writings, of his mystery that has the power to extinguish fire, raise the dead, crush mountains, dry up seas, and of the exaltedness of his position. In the ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of legend, the inconceivable, incomprehensible majesty of God has become manifest. From his earliest childhood, when he marked the beginning of the fast by refusing the breast of his mother, his life is a chain of miracles. His appearance, his knowledge and his power are all miraculous. He punishes distant sinners and assists the oppressed in a miraculous manner, walks upon water and moves through air. Nothing is impossible for him. Angels and *djinns*, "people of the hidden world", and even Muḥammad himself, appear at his meeting and express their appreciation. When Ibn al-Djawzī recommends his hearers to confine themselves to the study of the religious sources and the literature dealing with them, but to read also edifying books, he does so because he realizes the danger of legalistic intellectualism. The sober Ḥanbalite, who "fought with passion against passion", had, however, in mind the biographies of the pious and exemplary people of the past. The literature about ʿAbd al-Ḳādir does not describe a man who can be an example to other men. The subject of their description is the concrete presence of the Divine with its inconceivable and miraculous quality. In a situation in which it seemed that the claims of religion could not be complied with, the saint was experienced as the presentiality of that which was unattainable to human effort. The saint does not make demands, but bestows grace for men who worship the inconceivable. In this capacity, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir became one of the best known mediators in Islam. His tomb, over which sultan Sulaymān had a beautiful *turba* built in 941/1535, has remained to the present day one of the most frequented sanctuaries of Islam in Baghdād.

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ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. ʿALĪ B. YŪSUF AL-**FĀSĪ**, the most famous representative of the Moroccan family of the Fāsiyyūn, b. in al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr 1077/1599, d. 1091/1680. He was the head of the *zāwiya* of the Shādhiliyya in al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr. He wrote a *fahrasa* and some books on *ḥadīth*, but he is best known as one of the main representatives of Moroccan ṣūfism at the beginning of the 17th century. His descendants form today a very numerous and important branch of the religious and scholarly aristocracy of Fez (the inhabitants of the town being called, in order to avoid a confusion with the family of the Fāsiyyūn, *ahl Fās*).

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ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR AL-ḲURASHĪ, MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. NAṢR ALLĀH B. SĀLIM B. ABĪ ʾL-WAFĀʾ, Egyptian professor of Ḥanafite jurisprudence and biographer, born Shaʿbān 696/May-June 1297, died 7 Rabīʿ I 775/27 August 1373.

He is best known for his collection of alphabetically arranged brief biographies of Ḥanafites, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍiyya fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya* (Ḥaydarābād 1332/1913-4), a valuable reference work, generally considered to be the first to deal with its particular subject. Written in a country in which the Ḥanafite school was weakly represented, and in a period just preceding its renaissance, the work has little firsthand information but preserves much material, especially from Persian local histories.

In addition, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir wrote a biography of Abū Ḥanīfa (*al-Bustān fī Manāḳib Imāminā al-Nuʿmān*, used in *Djaw*. i, p. 26 ff.) and a collection of biographies of persons who died between 696/1297 and 760/1359. His other publications (most complete lists in Ibn Ḳutlūbughā ed. Flügel, p. 28, and Ibn Ṭūlūn) belong to the ordinary run of juridical textbooks, commentaries, and indexes.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 96 f., S II, 89. Additional biographies in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inbāʾ*, *anno* 775; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ghuraf* (ms. Shelud ʿAlī 1924, fols. 141b-142a); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 238. References to his life and activities in *Djaw*., for instance: i, 21, 93 f., 292, 304, 323, 346, 353, 367; ii, 121, 127, 187, 204, 229 f., 428, 431 f., 440, 444, 445 f. (F. ROSENTHAL)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM BUKHĀRĪ, a Persian historian, wrote in 1233/1818 a short summary of the geographical relations of Central Asiatic countries (Afghānistān, Bukhārā, Khīwā, Khoḳand, Tibet and Kashmīr), and of historical events in those countries from 1160 (accession of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī) down to his own times. ʿAbd al-Karīm had already left his native country in 1222/1807-8 and accompanied an embassy to Constantinople; he remained there till his death, which took place after 1246/1830, and wrote his book for the master of ceremonies ʿĀrif Bey. The only manuscript was obtained by Ch. Schefer from ʿĀrif Bey's estate and published in the *PELOV* (the text was printed in Būlāḳ, 1290/1873-4, the French translation in Paris in 1876). The *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale* is a most important authority for the recent history of Central Asia, especially for Bukhārā, Khīwa and Khōḳand.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM, ḲUṬB AL-DĪN B. IBRĀHĪM AL-**DJĪLĪ**, a Muslim mystic, descendant of the famous ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, was born in 767/1365 and died about 832/1428. Little is known of his life, as the biographical works do not mention him. According to some of his own statements in *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, he lived from 796/1393 until 805/1402-3 in Zabīd in Yaman together with his shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Djabartī. In 790/1387 he was in India. He wrote about thirty books and treatises, of which *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Maʿrifat al-Awākhir wa 'l-Awāʾil* is the best known (several editions printed in Cairo). An analysis of its contents has been given by R. A. Nicholson: *The Perfect Man* (*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, Ch. ii). Al-Djīlī is an adherent of the well-known pantheistic mystic Ibn ʿArabī, to whose *Futūḥāt* he wrote a commentary and whose doctrines he developed and modified. According to his ontological doctrine exposed in his *al-Insān al-Kāmil* and his *Marātib al-Wudjūd*, nothing really exists but the Divine Essence with its creative (*ḥaḳḳī*) and creaturely (*khalḳī*) modes of being. Absolute Being develops in a scale (*marātib*) of individualisations or "descents" (*tanazzulāt*). The most important of these are the following: *ʿamā*, the simple hidden pure Essence before its manifestation (*tadjallī*); *aḥadiyya*, the first descent from the darkness of *ʿAmā* to the light of the manifestation, the first manifestation of Pure Essence (*dhāt*) exclusive of Divine attributes, qualities or relations; *wāḥidiyya*, the manifestation of the Essence with the attributes and qualities and their effects under the aspect of unity. It is plurality in unity. On this scale there is no distinction between the attributes, they are identical with each other and with the One. Opposites coincide—Mercy and Vengeance are the same. *Ilāhiyya* is higher than the above-mentioned manifestations. It comprehends both Being and Non-being in all degrees, the "places of manifestation and the manifested" (*al-maẓāhir wa 'l-ẓāhir*), i.e. the Creator and the Creature (*al-ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-khalḳ*). At the same time it is the principle of order for the whole series of individualisations and maintains each of them in its proper place. All opposites exhibit their relativity in the greatest possible perfection, they do not coincide any longer. *Raḥmāniyya* manifests the creative attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-khalḳiyya*) exclusively, whereas *ilāhiyya* comprehends both the creative and the creaturely. The first Mercy (*raḥma*) of God was His bringing the Universe into existence from Himself. God is the substance (*hayūlā*) of the Universe. The Universe is like ice, and God is the water of which the ice is made. *Rubūbiyya* comprehends those attributes that require an object and are shared by man, as knowing, hearing, seeing. The differentiation of the phenomena of the Universe is caused by their mutual relations to the respective divine attribute through which God manifests Himself. In his *al-Insān al-Kāmil* al-Djīlī deals with most of the cosmic, metaphysical, religious and psychological notions current in his time. He establishes their place in his system and explains their relations to the respective divine attribute. In doing so he has succeeded in giving many new, unexpected and highly interesting interpretations of well-known theologoumena. Thus he builds a phantasmal cosmology which differs widely from orthodox views: e.g. Adam ate the forbidden fruit because his soul manifested a certain aspect of Lordship (*rubūbiyya*), for it is not in the nature of Lordship to submit to a prohibition; for the people in Hell God creates a natural pleasure of which their bodies become enamoured; Hell at last will be extinguished and replaced by a tree named Djirdjīr; Iblīs will return to the presence and grace of God; all infidels worship God according to the necessity of their essential natures and all will be saved, etc. Al-Djīlī's doctrine of the Perfect Man (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*), the Logos, is almost the same as that of Ibn ʿArabī (cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919, 104). He is Muḥammad the Prophet who may, however, assume the form of any holy man. So al-Djīlī met him in 796 in Zabīd in the form of his shaykh. He is a copy of God, who becomes visible in him, and at the same time, he is a copy of the Universe, which is brought into existence from him. His whole being is sensible of a pervasive delight and contemplates the emanation of all that exists from himself, etc. Al-Djīlī had many auditions and visions. He talked with angels and cosmic beings. When in 800 he stayed in Zabīd, he met all the prophets and saints; he wandered through Heaven and Hell, in which he met Plato. In the *Marātib al-Wudjūd* forty degrees of Being are enumerated, the first being *al-dhāt al-ilāhiyya* or *al-ghayb al-muṭlaḳ*, the last *al-insān*. The other books and treatises of al-Djīlī have not yet been studied by European scholars. They are listed in Brockelmann, II, 264-5, S II, 283-4.

(H. RITTER)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM KASHMĪRĪ B. ʿĀḲIBAT MAḤMŪD B. BULĀḲĪ B. MUḤ. RIḌĀ, Indo-Persian historian. From autobiographical references in his *Bayān-i Wāḳiʿ* we learn that he was living in Dihlī at the time of its sack by Nādir Shāh (1151/1739), and entered the service of Nādir as a *mutaṣaddī*. He accompanied Nādir on his march from Dihlī to Ḳazwīn, reaching Ḳazwīn in 1154/1741. From there he travelled to Mecca and returned to India by sea in 1156/1743. He died in 1198/1784.

He is the author of a history of his own times from Nādir Shāh's invasion of India to 1198/1784 (the India Office copy, Ethé 566, comes down to 1199/1785), including an account of his own travels, entitled *Bayān-i Wāḳiʿ*. He gives much information obtained from Nādir's courtiers, including ʿAlawī Khān, the *ḥakīm bāshī*, or based on personal observation, and is not afraid to criticise Nādir. The text has not been printed so far; a condensed translation was published by F. Gladwin, *The Memoirs of Khoja Abdulkurreem*, Calcutta 1788, 1812, London 1793; abridged version of this by L. Langles, *Voyages de l'Inde à la Mecque*, Paris 1797. To the MSS enumerated by Storey can be added: The *Panjab Public Library Cat.* (*Persian*), Lahore 1942, p. 51,

copied 1230/1815; Panjab Univ. Library Shayrānī MS (1185/1771); MS in the possession of the writer (1214/1800, from a copy made in 1193/1779).

Bibliography: Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 124-39; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS* (Brit. Mus.), 382; Storey, ii/2, 326-7; L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 301.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

ʿABD AL-KARĪM MUNSHĪ, or more fully MUNSHĪ MAWLAWĪ MUḤ. ʿABD AL-KARĪM ʿALAWĪ, Indo-Persian historian of the middle of the 19th century. He may have lived in Lucknow (*Taʾrīkh-i Pandjāb*, 2, *Muḥāraba* 21) or Cawnpūr (*Muḥāraba*, 3). He was fond of studying history, and during his retirement rendered from Arabic into Persian al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, and *Taʾrīkh Miṣr*, and prepared an abridged version of Ibn Khallikān in Persian. He also translated astronomical and geographical works from English into Persian and Urdu, as well as story-books, the whole of the Arabian Nights, a history of Bengal etc. In Beale, *Oriental Biogr. Dic.*, Calcutta 1881, 4, it is said that the Munshī had "died about thirty years ago", which places the date of his death not much later than the end of 1851 (he is spoken of as alive in the *Muḥāraba* (preface) in 1848 and Sept. 1851). Of his Persian works, the following three, on contemporary history, have been lithographed. He is praised for his careful and objective writing of history and his simple, vivid and clear narrative.

(i) *Muḥāraba-yi Kābul wa-Ḳandahār*, lith. Lucknow 1264/1848 and Cawnpūr 1267/1851, describes the Afghān War down to General Pollock's expedition (Sept.-Oct. 1842). The author had prepared a rough draft of the history of the Kābul and Ḳandahār expedition at the time, but in 1263/1847 he made suitable additions and emendations in his work after studying the *Akbar-nāma*, a Mathnawī poem in the style of the *Shāh-nāma* and quoted passages from it on occasions. This fairly long poem (comprising 8632 *bayts* in all) which is called *Ẓafar Nāma* in its Daftar 1, Section 5 (*madḥ-i Shāh-i djamdjāh*), was finished in 2 daftars, in 1260/1844 by Munshī Ḳāsim Djān ("*Mirza Ḳāsim Beg mutawaṭṭin balda-yi Shāh Djihānābād*" in one of the three Panjāb University Mss., which was transcribed in Agra, in 1847). The poet had himself taken part in the expedition (for details see the *Muḥāraba*, 4, based on the *Khātima* of the *Akbar-Nāma*, Daftar 1).

Ḳāsim's *Akbar-Nāma* (for MSS. other than those noted above and for the Agra ed. of 1272 see Storey, ii/2, 402) is not to be confounded, as has been done by Ivanow (*Descript. Cat. of the Pers. Mss. in the Curzon collection*, 12, no. 22) with Ḥamīd Kashmīrī's *Akbar-Nāma* (Kābul, 1320 shamsī), a similar work in theme and metre and date (it also was finished in 1260).

The Curzon collection of the A.S.B. (see Ivanow's Cat. mentioned above) has a ms. of the *Muḥāraba*.

(ii) *Taʾrīkh Pandjāb Tuḥfat*[an] *li-l-Aḥbāb* (or *Tuḥfa-yi Aḥbāb*) lith. Maṭbaʿ Muḥammadī (prob. Lucknow), 1265/1849, deals with the Anglo-Sikh Wars. It is divided into two *ḥamla's*, the first relating to the first Sikh War (1845-6) and the second to the second Sikh War (1848-9), written in order to show that the English had won the wars (Preface).

It is based on the statement of English officers and the accounts published in contemporary Urdū newspapers, duly checked. The work contains some curious documents such as a statement of the revenues of the Pandjāb in the Sikh period, texts of Anglo-Sikh treaties and texts or summaries of British public announcements in the Pandjāb at the time, inscriptions on the Sikh guns etc.

(iii) *Taʾrīkh-i Aḥmad* (or *Taʾrīkh Aḥmadshāhī*), lith. Lucknow 1266/1850 (for the mss. of the work see Storey ii/2, 403). Having completed the history of Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Durrānī (see ii above) who left Ludhiānā and with the help of the British Government regained the throne of his ancestors in 1255/1841, the author decided to write a complete history of the Durrānīs. Till 1212/1797 (about the middle of the reign of Zamān Shāh) he based it on the *Ḥusaynshāhī* or the *Taʾrīkh Ḥusaynī* (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus.*, iii, 904b) by Imām al-Dīn who had lived for a long time in Afghānistān. A very brief history of the subsequent period up to the fall of the dynasty he based on the information received from well-informed, trustworthy and truthful visitors of his from Kābul, Ḳandahār and vicinity (*Aḥmadshāhī*, 3, 51). After stating the genealogy of the Abdālīs he gives the history of Aḥmad Shāh and his successors. In the last quarter of the work is given an account of the chief amīrs of Zamān Shāh, a geographical note on the Pandjāb and the stages of the route Kābul-Ḳandahār-Harāt-Čisht (with a list of the tombs of the Čishtī saints), and a chapter on Turkistān and its ruler Narbūta Bey. The last event mentioned is the death of Shudjāʿ al-Mulk and the recall of the British troops from Afghānistān, to which is appended a list of the 17 sons of Pāʾinda Khān.

This work and the *Muḥāraba* are among the sources of the *Sirādj al-Tawārīkh* (Kābul 1337), a history of Afghānistān compiled under the orders of the Amīr Ḥabīb Allāh Khān.

An Urdū version of the *Taʾrīkh Aḥmad* by Mīr Wārith ʿAlī Sayfī and entitled *Waḳiʿāt-i Durrānī* was lith. in Cawnpūr. 1292/1875.

E. Edwards, *Cat. of the Persian Printed Books in the British Mus.*, London 1922, 21, ascribes to him: *A dictionary of Anglo-Persian homogeneous words* etc., Bombay 1889.

Bibliography: Storey, ii/2, 402-4, ii/3, 673; O. Mann, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Aḥmed Šâh Durrâni*, in *ZDMG*, 1898, 106 ff.; Fr. transl. of the chapter on Turkistān in Ch. Schefer, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary*, Paris 1876, 280 ff.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

ʿABD AL-ḲAYS (rarely ʿAbd Ḳays), i.e. "Servant of (the god) Ḳays", old Arabian tribe in East Arabia. The *nisba* is ʿAbdī and ʿAbḳasī.

ʿAbd al-Ḳays belongs to a group of tribes once settled in the modern province of al-ʿĀriḍ, whence it advanced to the North-West as far as present-day Sudayr and to the South-East as far as al-Khardj. This group was later, in the genealogy of the Northern Arabs, given the name of Rabīʿa [*q.v.*]. Already in the 5th century parts of this group detached themselves and started to nomadize partly within, partly beyond the arch of the Ṭuwayḳ. To the latter belonged ʿAbd al-Ḳays, which in the 6th century penetrated into the two great oasis districts of Eastern Arabia, namely al-Baḥrayn inland, and al-Ḳaṭīf on the coast. The oasis of al-Baḥrayn (known since the 10th century as al-Aḥsāʾ, and only since the 19th as al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*]) is plentifully watered by wells and natural and artificial streams, the greatest of which is called (ʿAyn) Muḥallim. The district reached in the north as far as ʿAynayn (= al-ʿUyūn), badly sanded already in the 12th century, and in the south as far as the village of al-Kathīb, which survived till the Middle Ages. The capital was

Hadjar, with its citadel al-Mushaḳḳar. Another fortified place was Djuwāthā. The oasis district on the coast reached from Ṣafwā (a name that does not occur before the Middle Ages) in the north to Ẓahrān in the south, its capital being Zāra near Ḳaṭīf.

ʿAbd al-Ḳays was divided into two groups, Shann and Lukayz. Lukayz comprised the tribes of Nukra, al-Dīl, ʿIdjl and Muḥārib b. ʿAmr. The last three were distinguished by the denomination al-ʿUmūr from their "brothers" the Anmār. These latter consisted of the tribes of ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith (with the sub-tribes of Banū Murra and Banū Mālik) and Djadhīma b. ʿAwf (in which the branches ʿAbd Shams, Ḥiyay and ʿAmr confederated, under the name Barādjim, against the stronger Ḥāritha).

The Muḥārib lived in the villages of the oasis of al-Baḥrayn. Hadjar itself was inhabited by a mixed population, not bound by tribal ties. The same was probably the case in Zāra and other towns of the coastal oasis, where there existed also a considerable population of non-Arabic origin (Persians, Indians, Jews, Mandaeans), and it can be assumed that this was the case in Hadjar as well, though to a smaller extent. Ḳaṭīf was inhabited by the Djadhīma b. ʿAwf and Ẓahrān by the Nukra. In regard to land-ownership, we know only that in Ṣulāṣil, in the East Arabian Djawf (around Dārā = al-Dār = ʿAyn Dār) a certain ʿĀmir was the owner, *rabb*, of the oasis. In the summer, the northern ʿAbd al-Ḳays: Shann, ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith and al-ʿUmūr used to nomadize together inland around Wādī Farūḳ, while the Nukra grazed between Ẓahrān and the district of Baynūna, S.-E. from Ḳaṭar (where also the last village of the tribe, Luʿbā, is to be looked for).

Emigration from the over-populated oases started at an early date, directed partly towards the other coastal lands of Arabia, ʿUmān (fractions of Nukra and Dīl, ʿAwaḳa, "brothers" of the ʿUmūr and Anmār, etc.), and partly towards the Persian coast.

When ʿAbd al-Ḳays penetrated into Eastern Arabia, they are said to have found there remnants of Iyād, who were at that time migrating towards ʿIrāḳ. Later, they had as their northern neighbours those of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba (of Bakr-Rabīʿa) who had left their dwellings in ʿĀriḍ and were grazing along the line Thādj—Kāẓima—Faldj = al-Bāṭin. The enemies of ʿAbd al-Ḳays were the Saʿd, a group of Tamīm, who roamed on both sides of the Dahnāʾ as far as Wādī Farūḳ and Wādī al-Sahbā.

The oases of the coast were from the time of Shāpūr II (310-79) under direct Persian rule. The country inland belonged at the beginning of the 6th century to the kingdom of Kinda, while after its fall about 530 a lateral line of that dynasty reigned in Hadjar. After its extinction, al-Baḥrayn was conquered, no doubt with the consent of the Persians, by the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra. Under al-Nuʿmān III (579-601) the resistance of the Shann and Lukayz was broken by plundering expeditions. After the fall of the Lakhmids the land was ruled by a Persian *ispahbadh* residing in Mushaḳḳar and assisted by an Arabian person of trust. The cordial reception given by the governors and later also by the ʿAbd al-Ḳays to Muḥammad's envoys and letters can be probably explained by the fact that the two governors had lost the support of the home country owing to the strife over the succession to the throne that broke out in Persia in 628. During the *ridda* part of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, under al-Djārūd (of the Ḥāritha—Djadhīma) remained faithful to Medina, while others, led by the chief of Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, proclaimed a Lakhmid as their ruler. The Muslims were besieged in Djuwāthā, but held out. After the arrival of reinforcements, made available by the victory over Musaylima, they took the initiative and attacked (12/633). It was not before the autumn of 634 that the Persian garrison of Zāra was forced to surrender.

With the Muslim conquest starts a new movement of emigration. Labūʿ (an older tribe than Shann and Lukayz) took part in a expedition across the Gulf against Fārs and settled mainly in Tawwadj. The emigration was directed mainly towards Baṣra; in Kūfa, the ʿAbd al-Ḳays were not so strongly represented. With the troops of Kūfa they reached Mosul, with those of Baṣra Khurāsān, where their strength in 715 was four thousand men. The ʿAbd al-Ḳays took no prominent part in the politics of the newly conquered provinces. They more often, with a few exceptions, adapted themselves to local conditions, were ʿAlid in ʿAlid Kūfa, and participated in Baṣra and Khurāsān in the feuds between the tribes. In Baṣra, Harim b. Ḥayyān, one of the earliest pietists of Islam and a forerunner of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, belonged to this tribe.

In their native country the ʿAbd al-Ḳays tried to withstand, but without success, the Khāridjite movement of Nadjda, centered in the Yamāma (67/686-7). At the same time, the tribal distribution there begins to change. Of the tribes of ʿAbd al-Ḳays only Djadhīma b. ʿAwf and Muḥārib remained in their old sites—Muḥārib occupying also the harbour of ʿUḳayr, and ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith remaining in Ẓahrān and on one of the smaller islands of Baḥrayn (Sitra ?). The rest of their territory was occupied by the Saʿd—Tamīm, who penetrated into Baḥrayn itself and built there the village of al-Aḥsāʾ. Azd from ʿUmān established themselves on the coast, probably at the same time as in Baṣra, i.e. about 60/680. Some of them settled, together with ʿAbd al-Ḳays, in the oasis of Tuʾām = Tawam/Tuwaym in Sudayr.

In the IXth century an oasis principality was set up in East Arabia. An Azdite ruled in Zāra, one Ibn Mismār of the Djadhīma b. ʿAwf in Ḳaṭīf, the Banū Ḥafṣ, also belonging to ʿAbd al-Ḳays, in Ṣafwā. Baḥrayn was divided into the principalities of Hadjar and Djuwāthā under al-ʿAyyāsh al-Muḥāribī and al-ʿUryān (of the Banū Mālik), respectively. In the years 249-54/863-8 an ʿAlid, or pseudo-ʿAlid, rebelled in Baḥrayn. He tried his luck first in Hadjar, then in al-Aḥsāʾ among the Saʿd. Finally he withdrew into the desert and collected an army consisting of Tamīm and of tribes which had newly immigrated from the west. It cost al-ʿUryān much trouble, with help of the other chiefs of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, to expel the rebel, who soon afterwards started the great rising of the Zandj [*q.v.*] slaves in Baṣra.

The immigrants just mentioned and beduins who infiltrated afterwards, as well as good families from Ḳaṭīf, became in the next generation the supporters of the Ḳarmaṭian missionary Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī. The revolution broke out in 268/899. Ḳaṭīf fell first, Zāra was burned, and finally Hadjar too was taken, notwithstanding the Caliph's intervention. Al-Aḥsāʾ became the capital of the East-Arabian state of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*]. This was overthrown in 469/1076-7 by the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*] i.e. the Āl Ibrāhīm, belonging to the Banū Murra of al-ʿUyūn. The new dynasty soon showed signs of decline, interrupted only by a short period of recovery at the end of the 12th century. About 1245 this last dynasty of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays collapsed.

The attempt of the ʿUyūnid ʿAlī b. Muḳarrab to revive the ancient glory of the tribe by his poems miscarried, partly because the old Arabian world had long since become petrified, partly because also the oases of East Arabia were permeated by new immigrants.

Before the ʿAbd al-Ḳays accepted Islam, the tribe seems to have been overwhelmingly Christian. Only a few names bear witness to its original pagan religion: ʿAmr al-Afkal from S̲h̲ann, ʿAbd S̲h̲ams, ʿAbd ʿAmr (?). The office of the *afkal* (from Babylonian *apkallu*, "priest") was taken over, as in other tribes, from the early Arabian town civilisation. Tradition, ignorant of this fact, made of ʿAmr al-Afkal a representative of *hybris*.

The genealogy of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays is, compared with that of other tribes, remarkably incomplete, to judge by Ibn al-Kalbī's *Muk̲h̲taṣar* (Table A of Wüstenfeld contains many, Ibn Ḥazm's *D̲j̲amhara* some errors, the latter not only in the printed text, but also in the good MSS of Rampore and Bankipore). Firstly, many units, known from other sources, are missing; secondly, the position of the "Companions", or the members of the embassy of the tribe to the Prophet, varies up to five generations, and an officer of the caliph al-Manṣūr is put higher than some of them.

Similar uncertainty exists concerning the poets of the tribe, viz. al-Mut̲h̲aḳḳib and al-Mumazzaḳ of Nukra, Yazīd and Suwayd b. al-K̲h̲ad̲h̲d̲h̲āk of S̲h̲ann. Yazīd (according to others al-Mumazzaḳ) described, as an onlooker, his own burial; this is something new. Al-Ṣalatān, the poet from Baṣra, a contemporary of D̲j̲arīr, belongs to S̲h̲ann; Ziyād al-Aʿd̲j̲am, who lived in Persia, was a *mawlā* of the ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārit̲h̲.

Al-Mut̲h̲aḳḳib uses several Persian loan-words, not current otherwise, and some difficult expressions, but they are not peculiarly dialectal. At any rate, the dialect of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays must not be identified with that of al-Baḥrayn (here used, as generally in later times, as the name of the province), considered by the Arab philologists as an inferior one. Striking are the three forms for the personal and tribal name Dīl, Dūl, Duʾil, "weasel", among the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, Bakr and Kināna.

Bibliography: The geographers, e.g. Yāḳūt, iii, 411; Hamdānī, 136 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 392 f.; F. Wüstenfeld, *Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arab. Stämme*, 74-6; idem, *Bahrein und Jemama*, 1-13. The historians. e.g. Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 54; v, 406 ff.; vii/1, 60 ff., 95; Ṭabarī, ii, 1291; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 53, 57, 67; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionsparteien*, 29 ff., 58; idem, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 44 f., 130, 248 ff., 258, 266; J. M. de Goeje, *La fin de l'empire des Carmathes du Bahrain*, *JA*, 1895, 1-30; von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii (ed. by W. Caskel), 15-9, 130 ff.; Ibn Durayd, *Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, 196-202 (Wüstenfeld) (using, among others, Madāʾinī's *As̲h̲rāf ʿAbd al-Ḳays*). For the poets, *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, no. 50; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, nos. 28, 76-81, Appendix no. 4; *WZKM*, 1904, 1 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 233 ff., 257 ff.; *Ag̲h̲ānī*[2], v, 314, xiv, 98 ff.; ʿAlī b. Muḳarrab, *Dīwān*, Bombay 1310. (W. CASKEL)

ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF AL-BAG̲H̲DĀDĪ, MUWAFFAḲ AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF, also called IBN AL-LABBĀD, a versatile scholar and scientist, born at Bag̲h̲dād in 557/1162-3, died there in 629/1231-2. In Bag̲h̲dād he studied grammar, law, tradition etc. (giving in his autobiography a vivid picture of contemporary methods of study) and was persuaded by a Mag̲h̲ribī wandering scholar to devote himself to philosophy, mainly according to the system of Ibn Sīnā, and to natural science and alchemy. In 585/1189-90 he went to Mosul (where he studied the works of al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl, but found them inept), next year to Damascus, then to the camp of Saladin outside ʿAkkā (587/1191), where he met Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. S̲h̲addād and ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, and acquired the patronage of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, and then to Cairo. Here he made the acquaintance of Mūsā b. Maymūn and a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-S̲h̲āriʿī, who introduced him to the works of al-Fārābī, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, which turned him away from Ibn Sīnā and alchemy. In 588/1192 he met Saladin in Jerusalem, then went to Damascus, whence he returned to Cairo. After some years he went to Jerusalem and then, in 604/1207-8, again to Damascus. Some time later he went via Aleppo to Erzind̲j̲ān, to the court of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Dāʾūd. When the Sald̲j̲ūḳid Kayḳubād̲h̲ conquered Erzind̲j̲ān, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, after a journey to Erzerum, returned from Erzind̲j̲ān to Aleppo via Kamāk̲h̲, Diwrigi and Malaṭiya (626/1228-9), and soon afterwards returned to his native Bag̲h̲dād where he died.

His numerous writings covered almost the whole domain of the knowledge of those days. Of those extant, *al-Ifāda wa'l-Iʿtibār*, a short description of Egypt, was widely known in Europe and was translated into Latin, German, and French; cf. S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd al-Latif*, Paris 1810; the others are on philology, tradition, medicine, mathematics and philosophy. (For his work on metaphysics cf. P. Kraus, in *BIE*, 1941, 277.) His account of the Mongol invasion was taken over by al-D̲h̲ahabī (cf. J. de Somogyi, *Isl.*, 1937, 106 ff.) His notes are quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa for information on personalities in Bag̲h̲dād (cf. index).

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 201-13 (based on his autobiography); Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 9 ff.; D̲h̲ahabī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Islām*, MS Oxford, i, 654, fol. 16-7; L. Leclerc, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii, 182; Brockelmann, i, 632, S i, 880. (S. M. STERN)

ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF ḲASTAMUNILĪ [see LAṬĪFĪ].

ʿABD AL-MAD̲J̲ĪD I (ABDÜLMECID), Ottoman sultan, son of Maḥmūd II and his second *ḳadin* Bezm-i ʿĀlem (a remarkable woman), born on Friday, 14 (not 11) S̲h̲aʿbān 1238/25 April 1823. He succeeded his father, whose reforms he was to continue, on 19 (not 25) Rabīʿ II 1255/1 July 1839, a few days after the defeat of Nīzīb (24 June) inflicted on the Turks by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. The concert of the powers, which included, for the first time, Turkey, but not France, saved, however, the Ottoman Empire (Convention of London, 15 July 1840).

The most important events of his reign were the proclamation of the *k̲h̲aṭṭ-i sherīf*, or *k̲h̲aṭṭ-i hümāyūn*, of Gülk̲h̲āne (26 S̲h̲aʿbān 1255/3 Nov. 1839) and the Crimean war, which began in 1853 and was ended by arbitration in the Treaty of Paris (30 March 1856). For the proclamation see TANẒĪMĀT, GÜLK̲H̲ĀNE, K̲H̲AṬṬ-I HÜMĀYŪN, ʿUT̲H̲MĀNLIS, for the Crimean war ʿUT̲H̲MĀNLIS and, in general, the handbooks on history. It is worth mentioning here that the famous defence of Silistria, on the Bulgarian Danube (19 May-23 June 1854) was the subject of a famous poem by Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*].

There was also a whole series of troubles, insurrections and massacres: in Kurdistan (1847), in the Danubian principalities (1848), in Bosnia (1850-51),

in Montenegro (1852-3), in the Lebanon (1849), in Djidda, in the Lebanon and in Syria (1860), not to speak of Bulgaria and Albania.

Apart from his legislative work, ʿAbd al-Madjīd was the author of important reforms, in regard to the administration (in the *eyālets* or *wilāyets*, "provinces"), the army (law of 6 Sept. 1843; see REDĪF), education (*iʿdādī*, "military preparatory" schools, 1845; *rüshdiyye*, "higher primary" schools for boys and girls, 1847; *dār ül-maʿārif*, 1849; *mekteb-i ʿothmānī*, "Ecole ottomane" in Paris 1855), and the coinage (money of good alloy, carefully coined, especially the pieces called *medjīdiyye*, of 20 piastres; issued from 1844). To him is due the building of hospitals and other edifices, such as the palace of Dolma Baghče 1853), the restoration of the Aya Sofiya mosque by Fossati (20 July 1849), the first depositary for the state archives, *Khazine-yi Ewrāḳ* (1845), the first theatre (French Theatre or "Crystal Palace", by Giustiniani), the first *sāl-nāme*, or "imperial year-book" (1847).

It was from his reign onwards that the imperial princes (*shāh-zāde*) bore the simple title of *efendi*. ʿAbd al-Madjīd was the first sultan to speak a Western language (French). He was a subtle and polished person, lightly built, but of weak health undermined by the abuses of drink and harem. He was a spendthrift. Capricious, but courageous, he gained universal respect by his refusal to hand over to the Austrians, in 1849, Kossuth and the other Hungarian political refugees. "The annals of Turkey have as yet no record of a sovereign more humane, of such gentle manners, animated by such civilizing tendencies; his mild and attractive features revealed a generous soul" (Mgr. Louis Petit—(pseudonym: Kutchuk Efendi), Catholic bishop of Athens, *Les Contemporains*, no. 333, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1899).

He died young, on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1277/25 June 1861, in the middle of the financial crisis of the country. He was buried in a modest *türbe* near the mosque of Sulṭān Selīm.

For three out of the ten Grand-Viziers of his reign, see RASHĪD PASHA, ʿALĪ PASHA, KHUSRAW PASHA.

The foreign diplomat who played during the reigh of this sultan the most important role in Istanbul was Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe).

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(J. DENY)

ʿABD AL-MADJĪD II (ABDÜLMECIT), last Ottoman caliph, son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]. He was elected caliph by the Great National Assembly, 18 Nov. 1922, and succeeded, in this quality only, his cousin Muḥammad VI, who, after the abolition of the sultanate (1 Nov. 1922) took refuge on board a British warship and left Istanbul. During some months, all the opponents of the regime established in Anḳara by Muṣṭafā Kemāl rallied round the caliph, who had, in reality, no power at all. Muṣṭafā Kemāl put an end to these intrigues by proclaiming the republic, 29 Oct. 1923. A little more than four months afterwards, 3 March 1924, the Great National Assembly resolved upon the abolition of the caliphate. The next day ʿAbd al-Madjīd left Istanbul. He died in Paris, 23 August 1944.

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ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B. **ABĪ ʿĀMIR** AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ ABŪ MARWĀN AL-MUẒAFFAR, son and successor of the famous "major domo" (*ḥādjib*) al-Mansūr [*q.v.*] under the reign of the Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus Hishām II al-Muʾayyad biʾllāh. He was the real sovereign of Muslim Spain after the death of his father in Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim) in 392/1002.

ʿAbd al-Malik, second son of al-Manṣūr, was born in 364/975; his mother, an *umm walad* called al-Dhalfāʾ, survived him several years. Even before succeeding his father he gained experience as general in several campaigns, both in the North of Spain, against the Christians, and in Morocco. He was appointed by his father as a kind of viceroy of Morocco in 388/998, and took up his residence in Fez, but was recalled to Cordova the next year. On the career of ʿAbd al-Malik as sovereign we are informed in sufficient detail by the newly discovered Hispano-Arabic chronicles. One gets the impression that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿĀmir, without having the genius of his father, was not lacking in certain statesmanlike qualities. At any rate, the seven years during which he held power are represented as the last favourable period of the history of al-Andalus before the fall of the Umayyad calipahate of the West.

The "majordomo", remaining faithful to the line followed by al-Manṣūr, continued his policy of harassing the Christian enemy beyond the frontier zones (*thughūr*). For this purpose he undertook year after year an expedition to one or the other of the marches of al-Andalus. In 393/1003 he directed his army towards the Hispanic March (*bilād al-Ifrandj*), ravaged the surroundings of Barcelona and laid waste thirty-five fortresses of the enemy. In 394/1004, he attacked the territory of the count of Castille, Sancho García, who asked for an armistice and in the following year helped ʿAbd al-Malik in his campaign against Galicia and Asturias. In the summer of 396/1006, ʿAbd al-Malik started an

offensive against the Frankish county of Ribagorza. His most famous expedition, however, was that of the following year, aimed against the fortress of Clunia, which was taken and destroyed. This victory gained for the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* the honorific title of al-Muẓaffar. In 398/1007 he had again to take up arms against Sancho García and Castille, and yet again in the following year. While he was preparing to set out against Castille, he succumbed to a disease of the chest, near Cordova, on the Guadimellato (Wādī Armilāṭ), 16 Ṣafar 399/20 Oct. 1008.

During the seven years of his rule, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar preserved for the State of Cordova its strong administrative structure, by favouring the Slavonic dignitaries (*ṣaḳāliba*) against the Arab aristocracy. Nevertheless, several attemps were made on his person. There are reasons to assume that his brother, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, who succeeded him, was not without his share in the unexpected and premature death of the second ʿĀmirid.

[See also ʿĀMIRIDS and UMAYYADS OF SPAIN].

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ḲAṬAN AL-FIHRĪ, governor of al-Andalus. He succeeded in this office ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.*], when the latter was killed during his expedition into Gaul, 114/732. He had to surrender his office, in 116/734, to ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Salūlī, but resumed it in 123/740. Belonging to the Medinese party, he evinced a rather unfavourable attitude towards the caliph of Damascus. Almost at once, however, he was confronted with grave difficulties caused by the Berbers who revolted in the Iberian peninsula and soon afterwards menaced Cordova. In face of this danger, and in view of the insufficiency of his own military resources, ʿAbd al-Malik had to appeal, whether he liked it or not, for the services of a group of Arabs belonging to various *djunds* [*q.v.*] of Syria, who were besieged in the North-African fortress of Ceuta, and gave them permission to cross the Straits under the command of their chief Baldj [*q.v.*]. Thanks to this reinforcement and to three successive defeats which they inflicted upon the rebellious Berbers, he suceeded in allaying the danger that menaced him. The Syrian troops, however, confident in their strength, had no difficulty in removing ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan and put in his place as *wālī* of al-Andalus their own general Baldj, at the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 123/Sept. 741. One of the first actions of the new governor was to order the execution of his predecessor, who was then a very old man.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 41, 43-7. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN, fifth Caliph of the Umayyad line, reigned 65-86/685-705. According to general report he was born in the year 26/646-7, the son of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], his mother being ʿĀʾisha bint Muʿāwiya b. al-Mughīra. As a boy of ten he was an eye-witness of the storming of ʿUthmān's house, and at the age of sixteen Muʿāwiya appointed him to command the Madinian troops against the Byzantines. He remained at Medina until the outbreak of the rebellion against Yazīd I (62-3/682-3). When the Umayyads were expelled by the rebels, he left the town with his father, but on meeting the Syrian army under Muslim b. ʿUḳba he returned with him, after giving Muslim information concerning the town and its defences. This was followed by the battle of the Ḥarra and the total defeat of the Madinians (27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/27 Aug. 683). After the assassination of his father (Ramaḍān 65/April-May 685), ʿAbd al-Malik was recognized as Caliph by the partisans of the Umayyads, but he was faced with serious difficulties. Although the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ had reaffirmed Umayyad control of Syria, and Egypt had been recovered and was strongly held by his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], Zufar b. Ḥārith held out in the north at Ḳirḳīsiyya, with the support of the Ḳays, until 71/690-1, and the Byzantines were giving much trouble on the frontiers, even reoccupying Antioch in 68/688, as well as giving aid to the Mardaites within Syria itself. In Mecca, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] had been proclaimed Caliph, and was at least nominally recognized in most provinces of the empire. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Malik showed himself equal to the task, and within a few years succeeded in restoring the unity of the Arabs under Syrian leadership.

At first, however, ʿIrāḳ and the East had to be abandoned. The governor, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, driven out by the tribesmen after the death of Yazīd, was unable, in spite of his success in defeating an attack by Kūfan forces in Mesopotamia (Ramaḍān 65/May 685), to reoccupy Kūfa and Baṣra. Kūfa was shortly afterwards seized by the Shīʿite leader Mukhtār [*q.v.*], whose partisans, after an indecisive engagement with the Syrians (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 66/July 686), totally defeated ʿUbayd Allāh on the Khāzir river in the following month under the command of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar. For the next five years ʿIrāḳ remained under the rule of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, whose general al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, with the troops of Baṣra, defeated Mukhtār's forces at Ḥarūrā in Ramaḍān 67/April 687 and reoccupied Kūfa. In order to free his hands for dealing with Irāk, ʿAbd al-Malik in 69/689 made a ten years' truce with the Greek Emperor, by which, in return for an annual tribute, the latter removed the Mardaites from Syria into Greek territory. Immediately afterwards ʿAbd al-Malik set out from Damascus against Musʿab, but was obliged to return in order to deal with a revolt in the capital led by his kinsman ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*]. ʿAmr fortified himself in the residence, but on the Caliph's arrival he capitulated on promise of life and liberty. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Malik was unable to trust him, and soon afterwards had him seized and executed him, according to the general statement, with his own hand. In the following year (70/690) the campaign against Muṣʿab was renewed, but both armies faced one another in Mesopotamia without result. In the third year, ʿAbd al-Malik opened his campaign by besieging Zufar in Ḳirḳīsiyya for some months. After its capture he reoccupied Upper Mesopotamia, and reinforced by the Ḳays marched into ʿIrāḳ. At Dayr al-Djathālīḳ, near Maskin, Musʿab and Ibn al-Ashtar were defeated and slain (Djumādā I or II, 72/Oct.-Nov., 691). Al-Muhallab with the troops of Baṣra was engaged in the struggle with the Khāridjites, and most of the ʿIrāḳīs were weary of the conflict, which had brought them little but hardships and loss. Immediately after the Caliph's entry into Kūfa, where he received the homage of the province, a force of 2000 Syrians was despatched under al-Ḥadjdjādj to deal with Ibn al-Zubayr at Mecca. After a halt at Ṭāʾif, al-Ḥadjdjādj laid siege

to Mecca on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 72/25 March 692; it was a little more than six months before Ibn al-Zubayr was killed on the field and the city surrendered (17 Dj. I or II, 73/4 Oct. or 3 Nov., 692). Al-Ḥadjdjādj was rewarded with the governorship of the Ḥidjāz.

The recovery of ᶜIrāḳ involved ᶜAbd al-Malik in the necessity of organizing immediate measures against the Khāridjites. After an initial failure, the combined forces of Kūfa and Baṣra defeated the Nadjdiyya of Yamāma at Mushaḥḥar in 73/692-3, but the more dangerous and fanatical Azāriḳa in Persia set a tougher problem. Even under the command of al-Muhallab, the war-weary *muḳātila* showed little stomach for this task until in 75/694 ᶜAbd al-Malik transferred al-Ḥadjdjādj to the government of Kūfa. With his ruthless and energetic backing al-Muhallab was able to hunt down the Azāriḳa in a three-years' campaign. In the meantime a fresh Khāridjite rising broke out among the Rabīᶜa tribesmen in Mesopotamia, who, under the leadership of Shabīb, swept down on the territories of Kūfa and seized Madā'in (76-7/695-6). When the *muḳātila* of Kūfa, recalled from Persia, proved unable to prevent Shabīb from investing their city, al-Ḥadjdjādj obtained the services of 4000 Syrian troops, who, after driving off the attackers and killing Shabīb (end of 77/beg. of 697) went on to break up the Arab section of the Azāriḳa in Ṭabaristān. Following on an outbreak of disorder in Khurāsān in the same year (78/697), ᶜAbd al-Malik added this province also to the government of al-Ḥadjdjādj, who appointed al-Muhallab to govern it as his deputy. Al-Muhallab reopened shortly afterwards the campaigns towards Central Asia, but few positive gains are recorded before his death in 82/701-2, when he was succeeded by his son Yazīd. At the same time ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath, who had been appointed to Sidjistān, was engaged in Afghānistān with the troops of Kūfa and Baṣra. Enraged by the criticisms directed against them by the plebeian viceroy, Ibn al-Ashᶜath and the *ashrāf* revolted (81/700-1) and marched back into ᶜIrāḳ. The small body of Syrian troops and their supporters were unable to withstand the united forces of the province, and for a time the situation was critical; but with the aid of reinforcements from Syria the rebels were defeated at Dayr al-Djamādjim (Dj. II, 82/July 701) and again routed at Maskin on the Dudjayl (Shaᶜbān 82/Oct. 701), and the remnants were pursued into Sidjistān and Khurāsān, where they were dispersed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (83/702). In the same year al-Ḥadjdjādj built a new garrison city for the Syrian troops at Wāsiṭ. This episode proved to be a turning-point in the history of the Umayyad Caliphate and the Arab empire. Henceforward a permanent Syrian army of occupation garrisoned ᶜIrāḳ, and the *muḳātila* of Kūfa and Baṣra were never again called out on a war footing. For twelve years more the heavy hand of al-Ḥadjdjādj maintained order and security, and laid the foundations of future economic prosperity in ᶜIrāḳ, but at the cost of much bitter resentment amongst the tribesmen, especially in Kūfa.

The war with the Byzantines was renewed in 73/692, in consequence of the Emperor's refusal to accept the new Muslim gold currency struck by ᶜAbd al-Malik. Despite some initial successes in their raids into Anatolia and Armenia, the Syrian troops, commanded by the Caliph's brother Muḥammad, gained little territory, but prepared the way for the expeditions of the next reign. In North Africa, however, the *muḳātila* of Egypt, under Ḥassān b. al-Nuᶜmān, after regaining the southern part of Ifrīḳiya, advanced on Carthage with naval support (78/679). A reinforcing Greek fleet was defeated, Carthage occupied, and a secure base established at Ḳayrawān for further conquests.

In the midst of these preoccupations with internal conflicts and external wars, ᶜAbd al-Malik found time to develop the administrative efficiency of his empire. The answer to the disintegrating tendencies of tribalism was centralization, and various reforms were put in hand to this end. The most important was the substitution of Arabic for Greek and Persian in the financial bureaux; this was a first step towards the reorganization and unification of the diverse tax-systems in the provinces, and also a step towards a more definitely Muslim administration. This appears even more clearly in the decision to issue an Islamic gold coinage, replacing the Byzantine *denarius* with its image of the Emperor by a Muslim *dīnār* with Ḳur'ānic texts. Despite the hostility which later tradition displayed towards the Umayyads and al-Ḥadjdjādj in particular, it cannot be doubted that already the influence of Islam was strongly felt in this, the first generation of Muslim rulers who had been brought up from childhood in the Muslim faith. Another, and even more far-reaching reform was the re-edition of the ᶜUthmānic text of the Ḳur'ān with vowel-punctuation, a measure generally attributed to al-Ḥadjdjādj, but which enraged the pietists of Kūfa who held to the "reading" of Ibn Masᶜūd. ᶜAbd al-Malik was also the builder of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] at Jerusalem.

The last years of his reign were on the whole years of prosperity and peaceful consolidation, but for his anxiety over the succession. Marwān had appointed as successor to ᶜAbd al-Malik his brother ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, but ᶜAbd al-Malik wished to exclude him in favour of his own sons al-Walīd and Sulaymān. A split was avoided just in time, by the death of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz in Egypt in Dj. I, 86/May 705, only five months before the death of ᶜAbd al-Malik (Shawwāl 86/Oct. 705). He was succeeded by his eldest son al-Walīd [*q.v.*].

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

ᶜABD AL-MALIK B. NŪḤ [see SĀMĀNIDS].

ᶜABD AL-MALIK B. ṢĀLIḤ B. ALĪ, cousin of the caliphs Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās al-Saffāḥ and Abū Djaᶜfar al-Manṣūr. In the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd ᶜAbd al-Malik led several campaigns against the Byzantines, in 174/790-1, in 181/797-8, and according to some authorities also in 175/791-2, although other sources assert that in this year the forces were commanded not by ᶜAbd al-Malik but by his son ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān. He was also for some time governor of Medina and held the same office in Egypt. At length, however, he could not escape the Caliph's suspicion; in 187/803 he was, for no adequate reason, thrown into prison and remained there until al-Rashīd's death in 183/809. The new Caliph, al-Amīn, restored him to liberty and appointed him in 196/811-2 governor of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. ᶜAbd al-Malik set out at once for al-Raḳḳa, but fell ill and died in that town shortly afterwards (the year

of his death, 196/811-2, is confirmed by al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 348; but the same author, Murūdj, iv, 437, gives 197, while Ibn Khallikān indicates 193 (trans. de Slane, i. 316) and even 199 (ibid., iii, 665, 667). Some years later the caliph al-Maʾmūn ordered his tomb to be destroyed, it is said, because ʿAbd al-Malik had sworn, during the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, never to pay homage to the latter.

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ʿABD AL-MUʾMIN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿALWĪ B. YAʿLĀ AL-KŪMĪ ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, successor of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] in the leadership of the reformist movement of *tawḥīd*, known as the Almohad movement (see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN), and founder of the Muʾminid dynasty, which in the West, in the 6th/12th century, took the place of the kingdoms of Ifrīḳiya and of the Almoravid dynasty of Morocco and of Spain, with its capital at Marrākush [*q.v.*].

The history of the origins of the Almohad movement and of the reign of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin has been illuminated and in large measure reinterpreted since the present author had the good fortune to find, in a miscellaneous collection in the Escurial library, some extracts from an anonymous *Kitāb al-Ansāb* devoted to the principal protagonists of the religious and political system set up by Ibn Tūmart, and especially the extremely lively and certainly authentic 'Memoirs' of a companion of the Mahdī and of his successor, Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Ṣinhādjī, called al-Baydhaḳ (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928). This extremely important find was followed by the discovery of a volume of the *Naẓm al-Djumān* by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān on the beginnings of the movement (published in part by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Six fragments inédits d'une chronique du début des Almohades*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 335-93), and also of a collection of official letters from ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and his immediate successors (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, Rabat 1941; *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, analysis and historical commentary, Paris 1941). It has thus become possible, without having to rely only on later Arabic historians, to attempt a detailed critical account of this period which covered a large part of the 6th/12th century and coincided with an unprecedented revolution in the history of the Islamic West—an account which, however, still remains to be written.

The circumstances of the meeting of Ibn Tūmart and of his disciple ʿAbd al-Muʾmin might have been regarded as legendary were they not confirmed by al-Baydhaḳ, who was a witness. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, a humble student, of the Arabicized Berber tribe of the Kūmya, of the ethnic group of the Zanāta, settled in the north of what is now the province of Oran, not far from Nedroma, made no attempt to claim, as did his master, an Arab and even Prophetic ancestry until very much later. Still a young man—the year of his birth has not been ascertained—he had, with his uncle Yaʿlū, left his native village of Tāgrā to visit the East, or possibly Ifrīḳiya only, in order to complete his studies there. But this peregrination for the purpose of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* was to take him no further than Bougie (Bidjāya). It was in a suburb of that town, Mallāla, that Ibn Tūmart, the '*faḳīh* of the Sūs', as he was then called, who was on his way back to Morocco, encountered the man who was to be his successor. He persuaded him to join the small group of disciples who accompanied him, and taught him his "unitarian" doctrine, during the few months that he remained at Bougie. This meeting probably took place in the course of the year 511/1117.

From this time onwards and until the death of the Mahdī in 524/1130, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin plays an extremely active part at the side of his master, who attached him by adoption to his own tribe, the Hargha, and gave him a place in his "Council of Ten". He took part in all the expeditions, had a say in the deliberations of the Almohad general staff, and found a far-seeing protector in the person of the most active member of the movement, Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Hintātī [*q.v.*]. It was the latter who, at the death of Ibn Tūmart, imposed on the Berber hillsmen of Tīnmallal acceptance of the choice made by the Mahdī of his own successor. Three whole years were, however, to elapse before ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was proclaimed. He then received from all his new subjects the *bayʿa* of allegiance, but had at the same time to face an uncertain political situation. Events were to reveal his outstanding qualities as a statesman, as a general, and as chief of a coalition which was still, in spite of appearances, heterogeneous. His first task was, leaving aside all other business, to break down the Almoravid structure, whose foundations were already undermined. Fortune favoured him to a degree beyond his highest hopes.

The career of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin as a sovereign began on the day of his proclamation, in 527/1133, and continued until his death in 558/1163. Here we shall merely summarise its principal stages.

The first stage was to secure for the Almohads the whole of Morocco. The conquest proved long and difficult. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin first of all attacked the Sūs and the Dra (Wādī Darʿa [*q.v.*]), then the line of Almoravid fortresses which in the North encircled the Grand Atlas, preventing access to the plains and to the capital, Marrākush. Then he swung towards the northeast, took the fortified towns of Damnāt and Dāy, and step by step secured possession of the middle Atlas and of the oases of the Tāfīlālt during the years 534-35/1140-41. Then the Almohad columns debouched into northern Morocco, and, from their base in the mountain massif of the Djebala, occupied the fortresses in the region of Tāzā. Thence, they went on to win over to the movement the sub-Mediterranean tribes of the Wādī Lāw, and of Bādis, Nakūr, Melilla, and the North-Oranian region; to his own village of Tāgrā, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin returned as a conqueror.

From this moment, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, at the head of considerable forces, felt himself strong enough to abandon the guerrilla operations in hilly country which had hitherto been his tactics, and to confront the Almoravids in the plain. The carrying out of this intention was made all the easier for him by the death of the Almoravid amīr, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, which took place in 537/1134, leaving a tottering throne to his son Tāshufīn, and open rivalry between the Lamtūna and Massūfa chiefs in regard to the succession to the amirate. Another untoward circumstance for the Almoravids was the tragic death of one of their most devoted and skilful generals, the Catalan Reverter (al-Ruburtayr), leader of their Christian militia, who was killed in an engagement with the Almohads, in 539/1145, in eastern Morocco.

Finally, the adhesion of the Zanâta to the *tawḥīd* further inclined the balance in favour of the rebel movement. The armies of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and of Tās̲h̲ufīn b. ʿAlī met before Tlemcen, and the Almoravid was forced to fall back on Oran, but he died as a result of a fall from his horse in the same year, 539. Now the road to Fez was open: first Oujda (Wad̲j̲da) and then Guercif (Ad̲j̲arsīf) were taken, and the capital of north Morocco fell after a siege of nine months in 540/1146, followed by Miknāsa (Meknès) and Salé.

This series of victories was quickly followed up by the capture of Marrākus̲h̲. The Almoravid capital made some attempt to resist the attackers, but was soon forced to capitulate, in spite of the heroic defence made by the garrison of the *ḳaṣaba* (S̲h̲awwāl 541/April 1147), and there was great slaughter of the Almoravids, among the dead being the young prince Isḥāḳ b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. Henceforward the Muʾminid dynasty had the capital of its choice. The Almoravid palace was selected as his personal residence by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who gave orders for the erection in its vicinity of the monumental Mosque of the Booksellers (*D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Kutubiyyīn*), whose imposing minaret still towers above Marrākus̲h̲ today.

The final destruction of Almoravid power made it possible for ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to organise his new empire, using as a basis the political system of the Almohad community, but broadened and adapted to his purpose. He carried out a new scrutiny of his supporters, thousands of whom, judged to be of doubtful loyalty or lacking in religious fervour, were put to the sword. Then it seemed to him that the time had come to extend his conquests beyond the boundaries of the Almoravid possessions in the Mag̲h̲rib, and he prepared to annex Ifrīḳiya.

Ifrīḳiya was in any case an easy prey at that moment. The Ṣinhād̲j̲ian dynasties of Bid̲j̲āya and Kayrawān were thoroughly undermined, and the wave of beduin incursions was swamping the whole country, while the Normans, led by Roger II, king of Sicily, were gaining a foothold in the principal ports of Ifrīḳiya. An Almohad expedition against Ifrīḳiya could therefore be regarded as all the more justified, in that it could claim to be a *d̲j̲ihād* against the infidel. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin concentrated his troops at Salé, in 546/1151, then, in the course of an irresistible thrust towards the east, took possession one after another of Algiers, Bougie and of Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād, and utterly routed near Setif the nomadic Arabs, formerly in the service of the Ḥammādids of Bougie; after which he did not scorn to accept their services, and for the time being refrained from advancing any further towards Tunisia.

Ifrīḳiya properly so called was not conquered until eight years later. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, leaving as his lieutenant in the Mag̲h̲rib Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Hintātī, arrived before Tunis, after a journey of six months, in D̲j̲umādā II 554/June 1159. Having taken the town, he went on towards al-Mahdiyya and attacked this fortified town, which was in the hands of Roger II of Sicily, with powerful forces; the town fell in Muḥarram 555/January 1160. In the course of this campaign he also secured possession of Sūsa, Ḳayrawān, Sfax, Gafsa, Gabes, and Tripoli. Then the ruler returned to Marrākus̲h̲, whence he left for Spain in 556/1161.

The establishment of the Almohads in the Iberian peninsula had begun in 539/1145, immediately after the capture of Tlemcen. In the next year the Almoravid admiral Ibn Maymūn, who had gone over to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, contributed his part by taking Cádiz. In 541/1157 an Almohad army took successively the fortified towns of Jerez, Niebla, Silves, Beja, Badajoz, Mertola, and finally Seville. In 549/1154 Granada was surrendered to the new masters of the country by its Almoravid governor. In 552/1157 Almeria was recaptured from the Christians, who had seized it, and whose designs on al-Andalus became ever more obvious. It was in these circumstances that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin decided to cross the Straits himself, and established his head-quarters at Gibraltar (D̲j̲abal Ṭāriḳ, afterwards D̲j̲abal al-Fatḥ), whose reconstruction he had ordered in the previous year. He remained there for two months of winter, and sent out his columns towards Jaén, where the mercenaries of Ibn Mardanīs̲h̲ [*q.v.*] had engaged in raiding.

ʿAbd al-Muʾmin returned to Morocco at the beginning of 558/1162. He proceeded to concentrate his troops in the huge enceinte built opposite Salé, the *Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ*, now Rabat, with a view to another expedition to the Iberian peninsula. But he had to take to his bed, and, after a long and painful illness, died in the month of D̲j̲umādā II 558/May 1163. (All the historians agree as to the month and the year, but not as to the actual day). His remains were taken from Salé to Tīnmallal and buried near the tomb of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart.

In all probability, it was at the time of the capture of Marrākus̲h̲ that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had allowed his entourage to confer on him the exalted title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, whereas the Almoravids had used only the title *amīr al-muslimīn*, recognising the spiritual suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of the East. Also, breaking with the Almoravid tradition, which itself had been inspired by the Hispano-Umayyad organisation, he set up an administrative system which took into account the political needs of his great empire, as well as his desire not to give offence to his entourage of Berbers, "Almohads from the very beginning". Many regulations that formed part of this system are still in existence in the organisation of the *mak̲h̲zen* [*q.v.*] of modern Morocco. But he had also to turn to Andalusian experts for his chancellery, mostly to men who had formerly been secretaries at the Almoravid court. He cleverly secured his succession in the direct line, and in 549/1154 had his eldest son Muḥammad nominated as heir presumptive. In 551/1156 he appointed his other sons to governorships of the principal towns of his empire, posting with each one, as mentors, men of the highest rank in the Almohad hierarchy.

Various estimates have been given of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was in no way marked out for the brilliant career that he made for himself. If, at the beginning and during the years that followed the death of Ibn Tūmart, he seems to have been somewhat timid and to have allowed himself to be led by his principal collaborator Abū Hafs ʿUmar Īntī, it appears that he later manifested in increasing measure not only strategic but also political qualities, handling tactfully his susceptible entourage of Almohad Berbers, winning the good will of the Arabs of Ifrīḳiya after subjugating them, and carrying out with great intelligence and energy, and also cruelty, his role as head of a State and guardian of the doctrine of the Mahdī, to whom he owed his own fortune and that of his dynasty.

See also the arts. ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR AL-HINTĀTĪ, MUʾMINIDS and AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN.

Bibliography: In addition to the basic texts cited at the beginning of this article, the career of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is traced, though with many errors in chronology, by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrā-

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ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB B. HĀS͟HIM, paternal grandfather of Muḥammad. Passing through Medina on trading journeys to Syria, Hās͟him b. ʿAbd Manāf married Salmā bint ʿAmr of the clan of ʿAdī b. al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār of the K͟hazrad̲j̲, by whom he had two children, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (or S͟hayba) and Ruḳayya. The mother and her son remained in her house in Medina, this apparently being the practice of her family in accordance with a matrilineal kinship system. Some time after Hās͟him's death his brother al-Muṭṭalib tried to strengthen his deteriorating position in Mecca by bringing his gifted nephew from Medina to help him. The common explanation that the youth was called ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib because he was mistaken for the slave of al-Muṭṭalib is not acceptable; the name has probably a religious significance. Arabic sources give the impression that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the leading man in Mecca (*sayyid Ḳuraysh*), whereas some Western scholars have tried to show that he was insignificant. It seems more probable that he was a leader of a political group within Ḳuraysh which had developed out of the alliance of the Muṭayyabūn (B. ʿAbd Manāf, B. Asad, B. Zuhra, B. Taym, B. al-Ḥārit͟h b. Fihr) by the secession of B. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf and B. ʿAbd S͟hams b. ʿAbd Manāf. It is significant that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have had disputes with Nawfal and with the grandson of ʿAbd S͟hams. Moreover it is doubtless as leader of this group that he negotiated with the leader of an Abyssinian army invading Mecca, perhaps hoping thereby to obtain some advantage over Meccan rivals. He also appears to have been in alliance with tribes from the neighbourhood of Mecca, K͟huzāʿa, Kināna and T͟haḳīf, and to have owned a well at al-Ṭāʾif. The basis of his prosperity was trade, especially with Syria and the Yemen, coupled with the *siḳāya* and *rifāda* (the privilege of supplying pilgrims to Mecca with water and food), which he had inherited from Hās͟him. He is credited with having dug several wells, notably that of Zamzam at the Kaʿba. Fāṭima bint ʿAmr (of B. Mak͟hzūm) was mother of most of his children, including ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] (Muḥammad's father) and Abū Ṭālib; he had other wives from B. Zuhra of Ḳuraysh, al-Namir, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and K͟huzāʿa, mothers respectively of Ḥamza, al-ʿAbbās, al-Ḥārit͟h and Abū Lahab. On the death of Muḥammad's mother he took the boy of six to his own house. While the stories about ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib have been subject to tendentious shaping, there may be more fact underlying them than sceptical Western scholars have allowed.

Bibliography: Ibn His͟hām, 33-5, 71, 91-6, 107-14; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 46-58, 74-5; Ṭabarī, i, 937-45, 980-1, 1073-83, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, i, 259-90; *ZDMG*, vii, 30-5; Caetani, *Annali*, 111-20; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 113-6; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, index. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

MIRZĀ **ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM K͟HĀN**, K͟HĀN-I K͟HĀNĀN, general, statesman and scholar, was born in Lahore, 14 Ṣafar 964/16 Dec. 1556, the son of Akbar's first *wakīl*, Bayram K͟hān [*q.v.*]. He belonged to the Bahārlu, a branch of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkmens, and his mother was a daughter of D̲j̲amāl K͟hān Mewātī, whose elder daughter the emperor Humāyūn had married. When he was four his father was murdered and he was thereafter brought up by Akbar himself, who gave him an excellent education and training, and from whom he received the title of Mirzā K͟hān. In 1572 he accompanied Akbar to Gud̲j̲rāt and then had assigned to him, under the tutelage of Sayyid Aḥmad of Bāraha, the district of Patan, within which his father had been murdered.

In D̲j̲umādā I 981/Aug. 1573 he accompanied Akbar on his historic forced march to Gud̲j̲rāt and he shared the command of the centre in the battle of Sarnāl which destroyed the power of the rebel Mirzās. In 1576 he was appointed governor of Gud̲j̲rāt, Wazīr K͟hān Harawī being entrusted with the actual administration of the province. He was deputed in the same year to the Mewār expedition and assisted in the conquest of Gogunda and Kumbhalmēr in 1578. As a mark of great confidence the emperor appointed him, in 1581, *mīr ʿarḍ*, an office which was previously held by seven officers jointly. He was also given the *d̲j̲āgīr* of Ranthambore and ordered to pacify the area. In 1582 he was appointed *atālīḳ* to Akbar's son Salīm, then a boy of thirteen. In 1583 he was deputed to suppress the revolt of Muẓaffar S͟hāh Gud̲j̲rātī, which he broke by defeating Muẓaffar against heavy odds in Muḥarram 992/Jan. 1584, at the two battles of Sarkhēd̲j̲ and Nādōt. In recognition of his victories he was given the title of K͟hān-i K͟hānān and raised to what was till then the highest *manṣab*, of 5,000. He remained in command of Gud̲j̲rāt, pursued Muẓaffar into Kāthiawār, and subjugated Nawānagar. In 1585, during his temporary absence at the court, Muẓaffar again raised the banner of revolt. He quickly returned to Gud̲j̲rāt and pacified the province. In the following year, when the system of joint governors was instituted, Ḳulid̲j̲ K͟hān was associated with him in the government of the province. In 1587 he was permitted to return to the court while retaining nominally the governorship. In 1589, Gud̲j̲rāt was taken from him and given to Mirzā ʿAzīz Kūka, the brother of his wife, Māh Bānū.

In the same year he was appointed to the highest office at the court, that of *wakīl*, and given D̲j̲awnpūr as *d̲j̲āgīr*. In that year he presented to the emperor his Persian translation of *Bābur-nāma*, entitled *Wāḳiʿāt-i Bāburī*. In 1590-1 his *d̲j̲āgīr* was transferred against his wishes from D̲j̲awnpūr to Multān and Bhakkar and he was appointed to command the army sent to conquer Ḳandahār and to annex Thatta, then held by Mirzā D̲j̲ānī Beg Tark͟hān. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm decided, according to Abu 'l-Faḍl, to proceed against Thatta in preference to Ḳandahār in the hope of getting more booty. Consequently the command of the Ḳandahār expedition was entrusted to Akbar's son Daniyāl. In 1000/1591-2 the conquest of Thatta was completed. Mirzā D̲j̲ānī Beg married one of his daughters to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm's son, S͟hāh Nawāz K͟hān (Irid̲j̲), and came to the court along with ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.

In 1593 he was appointed to assist the prince

Daniyāl who was given the command of an expedition to the Deccan, but on his advice the expedition was cancelled. Two years later, when the conquest of the Deccan was entrusted to another of Akbar's sons, Murād, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was given Bhilsa as *djāgīr* and ordered to assist the prince. From this time his services were directed to the Deccan, except for short breaches, for nearly thirty years. In consequence of his delay, he was received discourteously by Murād and did not take an active part in the campaign except when he defeated a largely outnumbering force under Suhayl Khān of Bidjāpūr in an important battle fought in 1597. His relations with the prince remained strained and in 1598 he was recalled from the Deccan.

On the death of Murād, Daniyāl was appointed to the Deccan in 1599; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was ordered to join him and besiege Aḥmadnagar, which was being heroically defended by Čānd Bībī. After the fall of Aḥmadnagar Daniyāl was appointed to its government and was married to Djāni Bēgum, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm's daughter. In 1601 ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was ordered to repair to Aḥmadnagar and pacify the territory and in the following year the command of Berār, Pathrī and Telingāna was made over to him.

When Salīm ascended the throne with the title of Djahāngīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was in the Deccan. He was confirmed in his post and the emperor especially sent Muḳarrab Khān to reassure him. When Malik ʿAnbar, the commander of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar, made a bold bid to recover the territory lost to the Mughals, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm promised the emperor quick victory provided he received adequate assistance. A strong army under the command of Djahāngīr's son Parwīz was despatched to assist him, but largely as a result of lack of cooperation among the generals, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was compelled to conclude a dishonourable treaty with Malik ʿAnbar in 1610. He was recalled to the court in disgrace and accused of mismanagement and treachery. He was soon forgiven and in the following year received Kālpī and Ḳannawdj as *djāgīr* with the responsability of suppressing revolts in those districts.

Since, however, Mughal fortunes in the Deccan did not improve, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was again appointed to the Deccan in 1021/1612, but could do little more than retrieve the situation, until in 1616 Parwīz was replaced by the prince Khurram (later Shāh Djahān) who was sent with a large force. Malik ʿAnbar was defeated and concluded in 1617 a treaty restoring the Mughal conquests, but again attacked Mughal territory in 1620 and was again defeated by Shāh Djahān. In 1622 Shāh Djahān was recalled from the Deccan along with ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and asked to command the army against the Persians who had conquered Ḳandahār. Shāh Djahān refused to obey the summons and revolted. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm joined him but was arrested for communicating with Mahābat Khān, the commander of the Imperial forces, and subsequently released on the latter's insistence to negotiate terms of peace. When he reached the Imperial army, his communication with the rebel forces was cut off and although he agreed to join the Imperial side, he was placed under surveillance.

In 1625 Djahāngīr called him to the court, restored his title and honours and gave him one lac of rupees as a gift. After the emperor was released from the captivity of Mahābat Khān, who had rebelled, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm asked for the command of the expedition against the rebel general, and towards the close of 1626 was ordered to make preparations for the expedition and was assigned most of the *djāgīrs* formerly held by Mahābat Khān. Before the preparations were completed, he fell ill at Lahore, and died on arrival at Delhi in 1036/1627, at the age of 71. His tomb still stands near that of the *shaykh* Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā. He survived his four sons, Mirzā Iridj entitled Shāh Nawāz Khān, who rose to be a commander of 5,000 and died in 1619; Mirzā Dārāb entitled Dārāb Khān, also a distinguished commander who was made governor of Bengal by Shāh Djahān during his rebellion, fell into the hands of Mahābat Khān and was executed in 1625-6; Mirzā Raḥmān-dād (d. 1619); and Mirzā Amr Allāh who died young.

Mirzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm was a distinguished scholar and poet, and was proficient in Arabic, Persian, Turkī and Hindī. Under the pseudonym Raḥīm he composed poetry in all four languages. He is especially famous for his Hindi poetry which is saturated with the emotions of *bhakti*. He was a great patron of arts and letters, and the *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī* contains a long list of poets who enjoyed his patronage. His munificence and generosity were proverbial and anecdotes of his liberality are numerous. Though frequently accused of treachery and corruption, he possessed a better grasp of the problems of the Deccan than any other Mughal general.

In his religious views he was professedly a Sunnī. Though religious leaders like *shaykh* Aḥmad Sarhindī and *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī counted him among the orthodox, his religious outlook remained mystical and liberal. The belief that he was suspected of practising *taḳiyya* and of secretly following Shīʿite tenets is not supported by contemporary evidence.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, iii; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ii, esp. 375-91; *Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge; Muʿtamad Khān, *Iḳbāl-nāma-yi Djahāngīrī*, esp. 287-8; ʿAbd al-Baḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾathir-i Raḥīmī*; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*; Abū Turāb Walī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gudjrāt*, Calcutta 1909; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, *Taʾrīkh-i Sindh*, Bombay 1938, 250-7; *Inshā-yi Abu 'l-Faḍl*, 1262, i, nos. 9, 10, ii (first half); *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Lucknow 1913, i, nos. 23, 67, 69, 191, 214, ii, nos. 8, 62, 66, 67; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Madjmūʿa-yi Kitāb al-Makātīb*, Delhi 1332, nos. 12, 14, 18, 19, 22; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, i, 693-713; *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, transl. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, i, notes 354-61; Dēva Praṣāda Munṣif, *Khān Khān-nāma* (in Hindī); Māyā Ṣankara Yādjnīka, *Rahim Ratnāvalī* (in Hindī).

(NURUL HASAN)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, the name of the **Marwānid prince** who restored the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, and of four of his successors.

1. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN I, called *al-Dākhil*, 'the Immigrant', was the son of Muʿāwiya b. Hishām [*q.v.*]. When his relatives were being hunted down by the ʿAbbāsids, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, still a youth—he was born in 113/731—contrived to escape secretly to Palestine, whence, accompanied by his freedman Badr, he made his way first to Egypt, and then to Ifrīḳiya. At Ḳayrawān, the hostile attitude of the governor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, drove him to seek refuge in the Maghrib. He stayed for some time in the region of Tāhart; subsequently he sought hospitality first from the Berber tribe of the Miknāsa, and then from the Nafza tribe, on the Moroccan shore of the Mediterranean, taking ad-

vantage of his family connections—his mother having been a captive woman from that very tribe. But the Berbers did not look with favour on the political schemes of the young Syrian émigré, who with the help of his *mawlā*, decided to try his luck in Spain.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya managed most cleverly, and with keen political sense, to turn to account the bitter rivalries which at that time grouped the Arab Ḳaysite party and Yamanite party in the Iberian peninsula in opposed camps. We succeeded similarly in enlisting the support of the numerous Umayyad clients who had come to Spain with Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*], and who formed there a local cadre of Syrian *djunds* dominating a large part of the south of Andalusia. The ground having been well prepared by Badr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered the peninsula: he disembarked at Almuñecar (al-Munakkab) on 1 Rabīʿ I 138/14 August 755, and at once put forward his claim to the sovereign power. The governor of al-Andalus, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, soon had to take up arms against him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whose forces were continually increasing, made his entry into Seville in Shawwāl 138/March 756, defeated Yūsuf al-Fihrī in the outskirts of Cordova on the 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja following (15 May), and entered the capital, where he was proclaimed amīr of al-Andalus.

The founder of the Umayyad amirate of Cordova was to reign for more than thirty-three years. He spent the greater part of them in consolidating his position in the capital itself. The news of his success spread in the East, and soon a stream of dependents or supporters of the Umayyads was flowing into Spain to help with the restoration in the West of the dynasty that in the East had fallen from power. It was not long before the amīr of Cordova was forced to confront a multitude of political problems. He had first of all to subdue finally the former *wālī* Yūsuf al-Fihrī, who had collected round him a certain number of malcontents and tried to retake Cordova; but he was defeated in 141/758 and in the next year was killed near Toledo. Meanwhile, just as in the time of the former governors, embers of revolt were smouldering in almost every part of the new kingdom; unrest was stirred up not only by the neo-Muslim Spaniards and by the Berbers of the mountainous regions, but also by the mutual hostility of the Arab clans. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I thus had to stamp out rebellion at many different point: for example, in 146/763, the rising of the Arab chief al-ʿAlāʾ b. Mughīth al-Djudhāmī, and, in 152/769, that of the Berber Shaḳyā in the Santaver district (Shantabāriyya), now the province of Cuenca. Later, a certain number of the Arab chiefs on the eastern side of the Peninsula formed a coalition, and asked for help from Charlemagne. The latter himself crossed the Pyrenees at the head of a Frankish army and laid siege to Saragossa in 162/778; but a sudden recall to the Rhineland compelled him to raise the siege. On the way back his army was attacked in the narrow valley of Roncesvalley by bands of Basques (Bashkunish) and was decimated (episode of Roland, Duke of Brittany). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in his turn laid siege to Saragossa, and gained possession of it for a time. But he was forced to give up the idea of recapturing other towns that had fallen into the hands of the Christians. Thus it was that Gerona (Djarunda) came under Frankish control in 169/785.

Three years later, on 25 Rabīʿ II 172/30 September 788, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I died at Cordova before reaching his sixtieth year. The State of Cordova was doubtless still very insecure; but at least he had provided it with an administrative and military organisation similar, on a lesser scale, to that of the former caliphate of Damascus, and which was to last as long as the Marwānids of al-Andalus remained faithful to the 'Syrian tradition'. In any case, the success of the 'Immigrant' made a deep impression in the East, and the ʿAbbāsid caliph Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr gave him the name *ṣaḳr Ḳuraysh*, 'Hawk of Ḳuraysh', as a tribute to his courage and his spirit of enterprise.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, I, 91-138. The essential Arabic source for the career of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I is the anonymous compilation entitled *Akhbār Madjmūʿa* [*q.v.*], 46-120. For the other sources and the bibl., see *Hist. Esp. mus.*, I, 91, n. 1.

2. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN II b. al-Ḥakam b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, great-grandson of the above, succeeded his father al-Ḥakam I on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 206/21 May 822. He was born at Toledo in 176/792 and was chosen as heir presumptive by his father. The recent discovery of that part of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān which deals with the reigns of al-Ḥakam I and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II has made it possible for the present writer to offer a rather different picture of the latter sovereign and of the kingdom of al-Andalus during his period from that which Dozy based on the documentation available in his time. It now appears that the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, which covered a third of a century, was much more prosperous and brilliant than was thought hitherto; in the history of Andalusian civilisation it represented a decisive turning-point, when for the first time there penetrated to Cordova manners and a way of life directly borrowed from Baghdād and from the ʿAbbāsid civilisation which firmly set their stamp on the aristocracy (*khāṣṣa*) of Muslim Spain, and led to a continuous ebbing of the Syro-Umayyad tradition in the Marwānid kingdom.

At the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II some disturbances, which came about as a reaction against the iron rule with which al-Ḥakam I had governed al-Andalus, were easily put down; gradually the Levante territories (Sharḳ al-Andalus) were brought completely under the crown, and a new town, Murcia was founded in 216/831 to replace the former chief town, Ello. A revolt on a considerable scale broke out at Toledo; it was finally put down, and the town taken by storm in 222/837. At the same time the ruler of Cordova took up afresh the struggle against the Christians along the frontiers of al-Andalus, and nearly every year personally led or sent summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) against the Asturio-Leonese kingdom. He also had to deal with the revolt of the Berber Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār in the region of Merida and with the minor aggressive outbursts of the *muwallad* Banū Ḳasī family [*q.v.*] of Aragon, while at the same time waging war, at regular intervals, against the Basque kingdom of Pamplona and the Hispanic Marches (now Catalonia), which then formed part of the empire of the Franks (Ifrandj; *q.v.*).

Two important political events also took place during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. The first, following upon a recrudescence of nationalist propaganda, was the tenacious revolt of the Mozarab Christians [*q.v.*] of Toledo and Cordova, fomented by certain fanatics. Arabic historiography makes no mention of this revolt, and information about it

can only be obtained from a few contemporary Latin sources. Not without reluctance, the government of Cordova had to deal severely with a large number of Mozarabs, priests and lay persons, men and women, who were guilty of having reviled the religion of the Prophet. At this time there was a disturbing outbreak of voluntary martyrdom, which was brought to an end by a Council held at Cordova and presided over by the Metropolitan of Seville (*maṭrān*) in 238/862. Seven years later the priest Eulogus, who had been the leading spirit of this movement and was trying to reanimate it, was arrested and beheaded, by the orders of amīr Muḥammad I.

Far more serious was the raid of the Norsemen, in 230/844, on Muslim Spain. The flotillas of Norsemen (Urdumāniyyūn), usually called Madjūs [*q.v.*] by the Chroniclers, first made their appearance at Lisbon, then came up the Guadalquivir from its mouth and sacked Seville and all the surrounding country. The counter-stroke was not delayed, and after a bloody battle Seville was recaptured from the pirates at the end of Ṣafar 230/14 November 844. To meet this unexpected menace and to forestall any new attack the navy was reinforced.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II instituted friendly relations with three little independent kingdoms of western Barbary: the Rustumid kingdom of Tāhart, the Ṣāliḥid kingdom of Nakūr, and the Midrārid kingdom of Sidjilmāssa, but made no advances to the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya, who were partisans of the ʿAbbāsids and had just conquered Sicily. From his reign too dates the opening of diplomatic relations between Cordova and Byzantium. An embassy from the emperor Theophilus arrived in Spain in 225/840 to demand the restitution of Crete, which had been occupied by the Andalusian adventurer Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī [*q.v.*]. The reply was in the negative, but a Cordovan deputation, of which the poet al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*] was a member, went to Constantinople at this time.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was to become particularly renowned as an organiser and builder, and as a patron of letters and the arts. He reorganised the administration of his kingdom on the lines of the ʿAbbāsid system, ordered the construction at Cordova of several works of public utility, and on two occasions undertook the extension of the great mosque in his capital, in 218/833 and 234/848. His court soon became most brilliant, from the time when the musician and singer Ziryāb [*q.v.*], who came to Cordova in 207/822, won acceptance at Cordova for the refined usages of the Baghdad civilisation. Several poets won fame in the entourage of the amīr of Cordova: for example, al-ʿAbbas ibn Firnās [*q.v.*], al-Ghazāl, mentioned above, and Ibrāhīm ibn Sulaymān al-Shāmī. During his reign the Mālikite school of Cordova developed greatly, and several *faḳihs* acquired a reputation in juridical science, in particular the Berber Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] al-Laythī, whose dictates ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II followed in his choice of ḳāḍīs. The end of the amīr's life was darkened by palace intrigues, instigated by his *fatā* Naṣr and by his concubine Ṭarūb. He died at Cordova on 3 Rabīʿ II 238/22 September 852, after a reign that, taken as a whole, can be called glorious, and which should henceforward be assigned the position which it deserves in the history of Umayyad Spain.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, I, 193-278 (sources and bibliography ibid., 193, n. 1).

3. **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh, the greatest of the Hispano-Umayyad rulers and** first caliph of al-Andalus.

The successor of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh was only twenty-three at the time of his accession; in spite of his youth he had been chosen by his grandfather as heir presumptive because of his high qualities. The choice was fully justified. Indeed, no reign in the annals of Hispanic Islam was more brilliant or more glorious. Its great length—a whole half century, from 300/912 to 350/961—ensured for the policies of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III the benefits of an unusual degree of continuity, and made it possible for him to subdue one after another all the centres of disaffection in al-Andalus.

The reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III can be divided into two principal periods: first a period of internal pacification, the result of which was the achievement of political unity in the kingdom of Cordova, a unity which had been gravely threatened in the reign of amīr ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]; then a longer period, mainly distinguished by activity in external policy: an offensive against Christian Spain, and a struggle with the Fāṭimid empire for influence in North Africa.

As soon as he came to the throne, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III mustered all his resources to put an end to the revolt in southern Andalusia, and to neutralise once and for all the aggressive power of the principal instigator of this revolt, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*]. Until 305/917 he unceasingly harassed the Andalusian rebels and attacked the Arab aristocrats of Seville, Carmona, and Elvira, who were forced to submit. After the death of Ibn Ḥafṣūn, his sons quickly gave up the struggle. Their head-quarters at Bobastro [*q.v.*] were taken by storm in 315/928. Five years later the last centre of resistance, Toledo, fell in its turn.

At the same time the ruler of Cordova took care not to allow himself to be outflanked by sporadic outbursts of aggression by his Christian neighbours. He stopped the advance of the king of Asturio-Leon, Ordoño III, in 308/920, and seized a series of strongholds along the strategic line of the Duero, Osma, San Esteban de Gormaz, and Clunia, particularly after his victory at Juncaria (Valdejunquera). Four years later the victorious operations known as the Pamplona campaign put him in a position to sack the Basque capital, the seat of Sancho Garces I, and to secure his land frontiers for several years. But he was to find a powerful opponent in the new king of Leon, Ramiro II, who, shortly after his accession, took the offensive against Islam and, after a series of encounters in which he was beaten, succeeded in inflicting on the ruler of Cordova, in 327/939, the very serious defeat at the "moat" of Simancas (sometimes wrongly called the battle of Alhandega).

Ten years had already passed since ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, after the taking of Bobastro, and as a retort to the designs of the Fāṭimids on his realm, had adopted the exalted title ***amīr al-muʾminīn***, and the honorific appellation al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. He was now to pursue in North Africa a policy of attraction and to combat, particularly in Morocco, the influence of the new masters of Ifrīḳiya. In order to secure from bases of operations on African soil, he occupied certain presidios, Ceuta in particular, which was taken in 319/931. On this battle of influences, which was to continue until the end of the tenth century, see the art. UMAYYADS OF SPAIN.

After the Simancas disaster, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III quickly succeeded in restoring the situation, especially as his enemy Ramiro II died in 339/951 and his sons Ordoño III and Sancho quarreled over the succession. Al-Nāṣir took full advantage of the civil wars which at that time steeped the kingsdoms of Leon and Pamplona in blood (for fuller details see the art. UMAYYADS).

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III died at Cordova on 22 Ramaḍān 350/15 October 961, at the height of his fame and power. During the latter part of his reign he had lived in the style of a veritable potentate, and had transferred his residence to his royal establishment of Madīnat al-Zahrā' [*q.v.*], at the gates of Cordova, which he made into a town by itself. Of the kingdom of al-Andalus, which under his predecessors had ever been an object of contention shaken by civil war, the rivalries of the Arab clans, and the clash of ethnic groups in opposition to each other, he had contrived to make a pacified, prosperous, and immensely rich State. From that time Cordova was a Muslim metropolis, a rival to Ḳayrawān and to the great cities of the East. It far surpassed the other capitals of Western Europe, and enjoyed in the Mediterranean world a reputation and a prestige comparable to that of Constantinople.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, II, 1-164 (Arab. sources and bibl., *ibid.*, 1, note 1).

4. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN IV b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, who took at the beginning of his short reign the honorific title of al-Murtaḍā. This personage, who, at the time of the *fitna* of Cordova, had retired to Valencia, was proclaimed at the end of 408/1018, after the assassination of ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd [*q.v.*] by a number of supporters collected together by the lord of Almeria, the Sclavonian *fatā* Khayrān. Al-Murtaḍā, before trying to retake Cordova and to instal himself there, laid siege to Granada, where the Ṣinhādja of Zāwī b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] were in command, and suffered a serious defeat. Betrayed, and abandoned by his own men, he took refuge at Guadix (Wādī Āsh), where he was before long assassinated.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, II, 328-30.

5. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN V b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, one of the last Umayyad caliphs of al-Andalus, was proclaimed on the 16 Ramaḍān 414/2 December 1023 at Cordova, and took the honorific title of al-Mustaẓhir bi'llāh. He had barely attained his majority, and showed remarkable literary gifts. He surrounded himself with counsellors chosen from among the aristocracy of the capital, men such as the great writer ʿAlī b. Ḥazm, but was able to remain in power for only forty-seven days. The Cordovan mob deposed him in the course of a riot, and replaced him by Muḥammad III al-Mustakfī, on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of the same year/17 January 1024. The first act of his successor was to put ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mustaẓhir to death.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.* II, 334-5. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. **ABĪ ʿĀMIR**, nicknamed Sanchuelo (Shandjwilo), the "little Saucho" (as he was by his mother a grandson of Sancho Garcés II Abarca, Basque king of Pamplona), son of the famous" majordomo" al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] b. Abī ʿĀmir. He suceeded his elder brother ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] al-Muẓaffar on his death, 16 Ṣafar 399/20 Oct. 1008, with the consent of the titular caliph, the Umayyad Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh.

Indifferently gifted, vain, debauched, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, from the moment that he assumed power in Cordova, made one mistake after the other and alienated public opinion. He started by obtaining from Hishām II his designation as presumtive heir of the crown. The text of the document of investiture, dated Rabīʿ I 399/Nov. 1008, has been preserved. The designation was very badly received by the people of Cordova, who were already exasperated by the pro-Berber feelings of the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib*. While ʿAbd al-Raḥmān misguidedly decided to go, in the middle of winter, on an expedition against the kingdom of Leon, an opposition party was formed in Cordova. They elevated to the throne the Umayyad Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, whose first care was to order the sack of the residence of the ʿĀmirids, al-Madīna al-Zāhira [*q.v.*]. The reaction of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to this news was half-hearted. He turned back in the direction of Cordova, but during his return journey he was abandoned by his troops and arrested, not far from the capital, by emissaries of the Umayyad pretender, who put him to death, 3 Radjab 399/3 March 1009.

[See also ʿĀMIRIDS and UMAYYADS of SPAIN].

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 291-304. E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. **ʿALĪ** [see IBN AL-DAYBAʿ].

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. **ʿAWF**, originally called ʿAbd ʿAmr or ʿAbd al-Kaʿba, the most prominent early Muslim convert from B. Zuhra of Ḳuraysh. He took part in the Hidjra to Abyssinia and in that to Medina, and fought at Badr and the other main battles. He commanded a force of 700 men sent by Muḥammad in Shaʿbān 6/December 627 to Dūmat al-Djandal; the Christian chief, al-Aṣbagh (or al-Aṣyaʿ) al-Kalbī, became a Muslim and made a treaty, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān married his daughter Tumāḍir (but cf. Caetani, *Annali*, i, 700). By his shrewdness and skill as a merchant he made an enormous fortune. Politically he was a friend of Abū Bakr and later of ʿĀ'isha. On ʿUmar's death, as one of the Shūrā or council of six who had to choose the new caliph, he played a leading part in the appointment of ʿUthmān. He died about 31/652 aged 75. According to Tradition he was one of the ten whom Muḥammad had assured of Paradise.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 87-97; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iii, 313-7; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 997-1001; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i, 428-30.

(M. TH. HOUTSMA—W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. **HISHĀM**, ʿAlawid [*q.v.*] sultan of Morocco, born in 1204/1789-90. Proclaimed in Fez, 15 Rabīʿ I 1238/30 Nov. 1822, he succeeded his uncle Mawlāy Sulaymān [*q.v.*] who had appointed him as his heir. Recognized without great difficulties, the new sovereign had nevertheless to repress during his reign several revolts of the tribes. Among these were the revolts of Zemmūr, in 1240/1824-5, in 1259/1843, in 1269/1852 and in 1274-5/1857-8, the revolt of Banū Zarwāl in 1241/1825, that of Shidyāma in 1243/1827-8, that of ʿAmir and Zaʿā'ir in 1265/1849 and that of Banū Mūsā in 1269/1853. The two most serious revolts were, however, that of Shrārda in 1244/1828 and that of the *geysh* of Wadāya in 1247-8/1831-2. The sultan besieged Fāz al-Djadīd, where the rebels had fortified themselves, and after taking the city, dismissed them and scattered them near Marrākush, at Rabat and at al-ʿArā'ish (Larache).

The relations of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān with the European nations were marked by a series of failures that made him abandon his earlier plans of aggression and expansion. The blockade of Tangier by the English in 1828 and the bombardment of al-ʿArāʾish (Larache), Arzila and Tiṭṭāwīn undertaken by the Austrians in 1829 as reprisals for the seizure of merchant ships, made an end to an attempted reconstruction of a corsair navy, while the military successes of France in Algeria forced the sultan to renounce all intervention in the territory of the late regency. He tried in 1830-2 to extend his influence to the East of his empire by appointing *khalīfas* in Tlemcen, Miliana and Medea, but had to recall, or disavow, them, because of their troubles and the protest of the French government. From 1832 to 1834 he lent ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, leader of the holy war, his moral and material support and allowed himself to be involved in a conflict with France when his ally took refuge in Morocco in order to continue the struggle. The reverses which he suffered: battle of Isly (14 August 1844), bombardment of Tangier and Mogador (6 and 15 August), obliged ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to outlaw the Amīr (treaty of Tangier, 26 Oct. 1844). In 1847 he decided to expel him from the country, thus compelling him to give himself up to the French. Several incidents, due to the fanaticism of his subjects, such as the murder of the Spanish consular agent Darmon (1843), that of the Frenchman Paul Rey (1855) and pillage of the brig "Courraud Rose" (1851), embarrassed his relations with the foreign powers, but generally he gave in before threats or force (bombardment of Salé, 1851).

During his reign, Portugal (1823), England (1824, 1827), Sardinia (1825), Spain (1825), France (1825, 1844), Austria (1830), the kingdom of Naples (1834), the United States of America (1836), Sweden and Danemark (1844), renewed, or completed, their commercial treaties with Morocco.

A pious ruler and a good administrator, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had many monuments built or restored: in Fez (Mosque of Mawlāy Idrīs), Meknes, Salé (minaret of the Great Mosque, fortifications), Tangier (harbour), Safi, Mazagan, Marrākush (mosque of Bū Ḥassān, Kannariyya, al-Wusṭā, and the plantation of the Agdāl), etc. He died in Meknes, 29 Muḥarram 1276/28 August 1859.

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(PH. DE COSSÉ BRISSAC)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, the only surviving son of the famous Arab general. At the age of eighteen he commanded a squadron at the battle of the Yarmūk. Muʿāwiya subsequently appointed him governor of Ḥimṣ and he commanded several of the later Syrian expeditions into Anatolia. During the civil war, after successfully opposing an ʿIrāḳī expedition into the Djazīra, he joined Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffīn and was made standard-bearer. According to the received tradition, Muʿāwiya, fearing that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān might be a rival of Yazīd for the succession to the Caliphate, had him poisoned in 46/666 by his Christian physician Ibn Uthāl, who was himself killed shortly afterwards by one of his victim's relatives. H. Lammens (see *Bibl.*) has disputed the reliability of this tradition (transmitted from ʿIrāḳī sources) and ascribed its origin to incidents connected with an outbreak of anti-Christian violence at Ḥimṣ.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, in G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califfo Muʿāwiya I*, Rome 1938, nos. 269, 281; Ṭabarī, i, 2093, 2913; ii, 82-3; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 265; Dīnawarī 164, 183, 197; Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1365, index; *Aghānī*, xv, 13; *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Ibn ʿAsākir*, v, Damascus 1333, 80; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne de Moʿâwia Ier*, Paris 1908, 3-15, 218 f.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MARWĀN B. YŪNUS, called IBN AL-DJILLĪḲĪ ("son of the Galician"), famous chief of insurgents in the West of al-Andalus in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. He belonged to a family of neo-Muslims (*muwalladūn*), originating from the North of Portugal and established in Merida. Although his father had been governor of this town on behalf of the sovereigns of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān revolted against the Umayyad Amīr Muḥammad I in 254/868. The Amīr besieged him and forced him, after the capitulation of the city, to reside in Cordova. He remained in the capital until 261/875, when he returned to the region of Merida and threw off his allegiance to the Umayyads. He fortified himself in the castle of Alange (Ḥiṣn al-Ḥanash), but was again forced to surrender by the Amir Muḥammad I, who assigned to him as residence Badajoz. It was not long before Ibn al-Djillīḳī again raised the standard of revolt, supported by the *muwallad* lord of Porto (Burtuḳāl), Saʿdūn al-Surunbāḳī, and by Alfonso III, king of Asturias and Leon. The insurgents laid an ambush for the loyalist general Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in the region of the Serra de Estrella, captured him and delivered him into the hand of the Christian king, who released him only against a high ransom. Fearing, justly, a violent reaction from the government in Cordova, Ibn al-Djillīḳī took refuge with Alfonso III. After staying for eight years in Christian territory, he returned in 271/884 to Badajoz and reached a tacit agreement with Cordova. This allowed him to rule over a veritable principality extending over the valley of the Guadiana and the south of what is now Portugal. Under the reigns of the Amirs al-Mundhir and ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān practically had a free hand and ruled over his territory as an independent prince, until his death in 276/889. He was succeeded by his son Marwān who only survived him by two months, and after him by a grandson ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who died in 311/923 and was followed by a son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. This great-grandson of Ibn al-Djillīḳī was finally compelled to submit to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 318/930.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, chronicle of the reign of the Emir Muḥ. I; F. Codera, *Los Benimeruán en Mérida y Badajoz*, *Estudios crit. de hist. ár. esp.*, ix, 48 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal. *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 255 ff., 386; ii, 24-5.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ASH̲ʿATH [see IBN AL-ASH̲ʿATH].

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. RUSTUM [see RUSTUMIDS].

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. SAMURA B. ḤABĪB B. ʿABD SH̲AMS B. ʿABD MANĀF B. ḲUṢAYY, Arab general. The name ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was given him by Muḥammad on his conversion in place of his former name ʿAbd al-Kaʿba. His first command was in Sid̲j̲istān in succession to al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād in the latter years of the caliphate of ʿUth̲mān, when he conquered Zarand̲j̲ and Zamīn-i Dāwar and made a treaty with the ruler of Kirmān. He withdrew after the death of ʿUth̲mān; according to Chinese sources, Pēroz, the son of Yazdigird III, then attempted to establish himself in Sid̲j̲istān (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, 275, 279). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura was, along with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, one of the envoys of Muʿāwiya to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. Ibn ʿĀmir, reappointed governor of Baṣra and the East, despatched ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲āzim in 42/662 to restore Arab rule in eastern K̲h̲urāsān and Sid̲j̲istān. In 43/663 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reoccupied Sid̲j̲istān and captured Kābul after a siege of several months. He then led an expedition to al-Rukh̲kh̲ad̲j̲ (Arachosia) and Zābulistān (region of G̲h̲azna), and again attacked and captured Kābul, which had rebelled, probably in 45/665. Muʿāwiya subsequently made him directly subordinate to the Caliph, but shortly after the appointment of Ziyād as governor of Baṣra he was replaced. He brought back with him a body of captives from Kābul, who built a mosque for him in his *ḳaṣr* at Baṣra in the architectural style of Kābul. He died in 50/670 in Baṣra, where his descendants formed a powerful and influential clan during the next century.

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ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR AL-FĀSĪ, Moroccan scholar, b. at Fez 1040/1631, d. in the same town 1096/1685. He was the pupil of his father, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and of numerous other masters. He became a famous polygraph, celebrated by all his biographers for the breadth and the variety of his knowledge. He is said to have compiled more than 170 works on Malikite *fiḳh*, medicine, astronomy and history. But it is especially as a lawyer that he is an authority, and his main works are his great collection on the "customs" of Fez, *al-ʿAmal al-Fāsī*, and a commentary on *al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* by the famous *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, entitled *Miftāḥ al-S̲h̲ifāʾ*. He is also the author of a long didactic poem in *rad̲j̲az*, *al-Uḳnūm fī Mabādiʾ al-ʿUlūm*.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa* 266-9 (with references); Brockelmann, ii, 612, S ii, 694. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ḤABĪB B. ABĪ ʿUBAYDA (or ʿABDA) AL-FIHRĪ, great-grandson of the famous *tābiʿ* ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, independent governor of Ifrīḳiya at the end of the Umayyad caliphate. His father, Ḥabīb, had sent expeditions against the Sūs, Morocco and Sicily, in which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, still a youth, took an active part. He was one of the survivors of the bloody defeat inflicted by the Berbers upon the regular Arab troops in 123/741, in which his father and the governor, Kulth̲ūm b. ʿIyāḍ, lost their lives. He crossed over to Spain, but fearing for his life, returned in 127/745 to Ifrīḳiya, where he revolted against the actual governor, Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī, who two years later saw no other choice but to yield the power to him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, on becoming master of al-Ḳayrawān, had to suppress several rebellions and undertook several large expeditions, notably against Sicily and Sardinia, in 135/752. His seizure of power was the less contested as it coincided with the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Syria. It seems that at the beginning he acknowledged the ʿAbbāsid allegiance, but shortly afterwards repudiated it, on the receipt of an insulting message from the caliph al-Manṣūr. No doubt at al-Manṣūr's instigation, two of the brothers of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān decided upon his ruin; he was assassinated by one of them, Ilyās b. Ḥabīb, who took possession of al-Ḳayrawān 137/755). Ḥabīb, son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, with the help of another uncle of his, ʿImrān b. Ḥabīb, governor of Tūnis, soon afterwards attacked the usurper and, in turn, made himself master of Ifrīḳiya.

Another ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī, a contemporary of the preceding, who was called, to distinguish him from the former, by the surname of al-Ṣiḳlabī, was a propagandist of the ʿAbbāsids in Spain. Pursued by the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, he was assassinated near Valencia in 162/778-9.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 56, 60 ff., 67 f., transl. Fagnan, 62 ff., 73 ff.; Ḥumaydī, *D̲j̲azwat al-Muḳtabis* (Ṭand̲j̲ī), Cairo 1953, no. 594; Ḍabbī, no. 1006; Ibn al-Ath̲īr, v, 235 ff., transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghrib et de l'Espagne*), 74-81; Nuwayrī, *History of Africa* (Gaspar Remiro), Granada 1919, 38-40; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 218 f.; G. Marçais, *Berbérie musulmane*, 45; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 47, 97, 121-2. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-G̲H̲ĀFIḲĪ, governor of al-Andalus. He succeeded Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashd̲j̲aʿī in this office at the end of 111 or at the beginning of 112/730, and retained it until his death in 114/732. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had already governed Spain provisionally for about two months in 102/721, was a *tābiʿ* reputed for his piety. He is chiefly famous for the incursion into Gaul that cost him his life. His expedition, which was carefully prepared, had for its object the basilica of St. Martin at Tours. He collected a numerous army, and from Pamplona marched through the pass of Roncesvalles on Bordeaux, which he devastated, Duke Eudes of Aquitania being powerless to oppose his advance. He then advanced towards the Loire, but was checked in his progress by the Duke of the Franks, Charles Martel, who engaged him about 20 km. to the north-east of Poitiers and inflicted on him a severe defeat. The battle is known as the "battle of Poitiers" in Frankish historiography, while the Arabs call it *balāṭ al-s̲h̲uhadāʾ*, "causeway of the martyrs of the faith". The Muslim survivors retreated in disorder towards Narbonne, leaving behind on the battlefield many dead, including ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The date of this memorable encounter can be fixed at the end of Oct. 732/Ramaḍān 114.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 40, 59-62. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿUMAR AL-ṢŪFĪ, ABU ʾL-ḤUSAYN, eminent astronomer, born at Rayy

14 Muḥarram 291/8 Dec. 903, died 13 Muḥarram 376/25 May 986. In 337/948-9 he was in Iṣfahān, in attendance on the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd, in 349/960-1 at the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, no doubt in the same town. He was the court astronomer of this ruler, who boasted of three of his teachers: in grammar al-Fārisī, in the knowledge of astronomical tables Ibn al-Aʿlam, and in the knowledge of the constellations ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; cf. also Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 10). His best known work is a description of the fixed stars (*Ṣuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita*, quoted also by different titles), which he wrote about 355/965 and dedicated to ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The book described the constellations both according to the system of the astronomers (after Ptolemy) and the Arabic tradition of the *anwāʾ*]cf. NAWʾ]. The work was illustrated by drawings, which the author, according to his own declaration, preserved by al-Bīrūnī (see H. Suter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik bei den Griechen und Arabern*, Erlangen 1922, 86), traced from a celestial globe. He also saw, however, as he says in his introduction, an illustrated work on the constellations by ʿUṭārid b. Muḥammad. The earliest extant MS, in the Bodleian Library, was copied and illustrated by the author's son, in 400/1009-10. There are many other manuscripts, illustrated in the styles of the various epochs. (See J. Upton, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 1933, 189-99; K. Holter, *Die Islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, *Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, 1937, 2-5, cf. *Ars Islamica*, 1940, 10). The text and translation of the introduction was published by Caussin de Perceval, *Notices et Extraits*, xii, 236 ff.; a full translation by H. C. F. C. Schjellerup, *Description des étoiles fixes par Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi*, St. Petersburg 1874. The Arabic text was published, mainly after the Paris MS (being the copy of Ulugh Beg), in Hyderabad 1953, under the editorship of M. Nizamuddin. His other extant works are a handbook of astronomy and astrology and a treatise on the use of the astrolabe. A silver globe made by al-Ṣūfī for ʿAḍud al-Dawla was preserved in the library of the Fāṭimid palace in Cairo (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 440). —For an *Urdjūza* on the fixed stars, attributed to a son of his, cf. Brockelmann, S i, 863; it was published at the end of the Hyderabad edition of the *Ṣuwar*.

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(S. M. STERN)

ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN (c. 1844-1901), Amīr of Afghānistān, was the son of Afḍal Khān, the eldest surviving son of Dōst Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Barakzay dynasty in Afghānistān. In 1853 he proceeded to Afghān Turkistān where his father was serving as governor of Balkh. Despite his youth he took part in a series of operations which extended Dōst Muḥammad's power over Kataghān, Badakhshān, and Derwāz. Before his death in 1863 Dōst Muḥammad had nominated a younger son, Shīr ʿAlī, as his successor to the exclusion of his two elder brothers, Afḍal Khān and Aʿẓam Khān. Shīr ʿAlī's succession was therefore the signal for five years of fratricidal warfare in which at the early age of nineteen ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became involved. After temporary successes his father, Afḍal Khān, was defeated and imprisoned, whereupon ʿAbd al-Raḥmān fled to Bukhārā. In 1866, taking advantage of Shīr ʿAlī's absence at Ḳandahār, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, with the help of Rafīḳ Khān, a general who had deserted Shīr ʿAlī, seized Kābul. The defeat of Shēr ʿAlī's forces at Saydābād led to the fall of Ghaznī. Afḍal Khān was now proclaimed Amīr and coins were struck in his name. Shēr ʿAlī was once more defeated at Kilāt-i Ghilzay in 1867 and driven from Ḳandahār. In the same year Afḍal Khān died and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had hoped to be accepted as Amīr, found it expedient to support the claims of his uncle Aʿẓam Khān. Their combined forces were defeated by Shīr ʿAlī and his son Yaʿḳūb Khān at Zana-Khān, near Ghaznī, as a result of which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became a homeless wanderer, first in Wazīristān and later in Persia. From Mashhad he crossed the Ḳara-Kum desert to Khīwa and Samarḳand. At Tashkent he was received by General Kaufmann, the Russian governor-general. His request for assistance against Shīr ʿAlī was refused but he was granted an allowance and permitted to reside at Samarḳand, where he remained for eleven years until the defeat of Shīr ʿAlī by the British in the Second Afghān War of 1878-80. The flight and death of Shīr ʿAlī, the failure of his successor Yaʿḳūb Khān to control his unruly tribesmen, and the assassination of Cavagnari the British Resident necessitated the removal of Yaʿḳūb Khān to India. This left the Afghān throne vacant.

Because of Russian expansion towards the Oxus it was decided to build up a strong, friendly, and united Afghānistān to serve as a buffer state to the British dominions in India. In July 1880, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, the most powerful candidate in the field, was informed that the British were prepared to recognize him as Amīr of Kābul, provided he acknowledged their right to control his foreign affairs. He was also assured that the British would aid him in repelling unprovoked aggression on his dominions. These terms were accepted by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān at the conference of Zimma, 31 July-1 August 1880 (Foreign Office 65, 1104: Papers printed for the use of the Cabinet). Three years later this promise was renewed by the Marquis of Ripon who bestowed on the Amīr an annual subsidy of twelve lakhs of rupees to be devoted to the payment of his troops and the protection of his north-western frontiers. The British were now pledged to defend a buffer state of unknown limits. Hence the most important event in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the delimitation and demarcation where possible of the boundaries of Afghānistān By 1886, although the Pandjdih incident [*q.v.*] of the previous year had brought Britain and Russia to the verge of war, an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission had demarcated the northern frontier of Afghānistān from Dhu'l-Fiḳār to the meridian of Dukci, within forty miles of the Oxus. The process of demarcation was completed in 1888. The final boundary dispute with Russia was settled by the Pamir Agreement of 1895 which defined the Afghān boundary between Lake Victoria and the Tagdumbash.

Although pro-British in so far as Russian expansion was concerned, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's desire to annex the territories of the Paṭhān tribes of the Indian frontier was not calculated to improve Anglo-Afghān relations. The tension was somewhat eased by the Durand Agreement of 1893 which delimited a boundary on the Indo-Afghān frontier across which neither the Amīr nor the Government of India was to interfere in any way. Afghān intrigues

on the Indian side of this frontier still continued and were partly responsible for the Indian frontier conflagration of 1897. In fact, Afg͟hān intrigues were the chief cause of unrest on the Indian frontier from 1890 onwards.

The greatest service rendered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to his country was the suppression of internal rebellion. The powerful G͟hilzay tribesmen were crushed in 1886; the rebellion of Isḥāḳ, son of Aʿẓam K͟hān, was suppressed in 1888; and finally, after severe fighting, the turbulent Hazāras of central Afg͟hānistān were forced to acknowledge his authority. In 1896 the territories of the non-Muslim tribes of Kāfiristān to the west of Čitrāl were annexed and the Kāfirs converted to Islam. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān K͟hān died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son Ḥabīb Allāh K͟hān.

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ʿABD AL-RASHĪD B. ʿABD AL-G͟HAFŪR AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-MADANĪ AL-**TATTAWĪ**, Persian lexicographer, born in Tatta, but a Sayyid by descent; died after 1069/1658. His principal work is a Persian dictionary, usually called *Farhang-i Ras͟hīdī*, or *Ras͟hīdī Fārsī*, the first critical dictionary, which was compiled in 1064/1683-4 and published in 1875 in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Splieth revised the preface (*Muḳaddama*): *Grammaticae persicae praecepta ac regulae* (Halle 1846). ʿAbd al-Ras͟hīd dedicated an Arabic-Persian dictionary, *Muntak͟hab al-Lug͟hāt*, or *Ras͟hīdī ʿArabī* (1046/1636-7), to S͟hāhd͟jahān (editions: Calcutta 1808, 1816, 1836; Lucknow 1835, 1869; Bombay 1279/1862).

Bibliography: Blochmann, in *JRAS Bengal*, xxxvii, 20 sqq.; Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, 501, 510; Pertsch, *Verz. d. pers. Handschr. Berlin*, nos. 198-200. (M. TH. HOUTSMA)

ʿABD AL-RAʾŪF B. ʿALĪ AL-D͟JĀWĪ AL-FANṢŪRĪ AL-**SINKILĪ**, religious teacher, b.c. 1620 at Singkel, north of Fanṣūr (west coast of Sumatra), d. after 1693, and buried at the mouth of the Acheh river. He studied for nineteen years in Arabia, was initiated into the S͟haṭṭāriyya *ṭarīḳa* by Aḥmad al-Ḳus͟hās͟hī and his successor Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and returned about 1661 to Acheh, whence this *ṭarīḳa* was propagated by his pupils throughout Indonesia, especially in Java. Directions for "recitation" (*d͟hikr*), as practised by this order, form the most important subject of his writings, the majority of which are in Malay, but a few in Arabic — some with a Malay rendering after each phrase. The subject is dealt with most fully in his *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtād͟jīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn* which has as introduction a summary of dogma on the same lines as al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*. He took as a theoretical basis for his mysticism the doctrine of the seven grades and of man as the image of God, which he set out in such works as *Kifāyat al-Muḥtād͟jīn*, *Daḳāʾiḳ al-Ḥurūf* and *Bayān Tad͟jallī*. In this he remained within the bounds of orthodoxy; he rejected the extreme mysticism which flourished in Acheh at the beginning of the 17th century, but at the same time did not associate himself with the violent polemics of al-Rānīrī [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf moreover translated the Ḳurʾān into Malay with a concise commentary taken from various Arabic exegetical works (*al-Tard͟jumān al-Mustafīd*) and wrote a Malay handbook of S͟hāfiʿite *fiḳh* which deals only with the *muʿāmalāt* and is plainly intended as a supplement to al-Rānīrī's *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm* which contains only the *ʿibādāt*. His translations from the Arabic are so literal that they are unintelligible without a knowledge of that language, and moreover not without mistakes. It is not altogether certain whether he was the translator of *al-Mawāʿiẓ al-Badīʿa*, which is a translation into Malay of a popular Arabic collection of 32 *ḥadīth ḳudsī* and eighteen other admonitions. There are some other works ascribed to him, such as the mystical eschatological Malay poem *Shair maʿrifat*, which are certainly not by his hand. After his death, as Teungku di-Kuala, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf enjoyed such veneration that he was even accorded the honour of having been the bearer of Islam to Acheh.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 14 ff.; D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraoef van Singkel*, 1909; P. Voorhoeve, in *TBG*, 1952, 87 ff. (edition of *Bayān Tad͟jallī* and another Malay treatise with a list of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's writings); cf. also *BTLV*, 1951, 368.—Works of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf: *Mirʾāt al-Ṭullāb* (on *fiḳh*), the preface edited by S. Keyser in *BTLV*, 1863, 211 ff.; extracts ed. by A. Meursinge, in *Handboek*, 1844; *Tard͟jumān al-Mustafīd*, Istanbul 1302 (2 vols.); *al-Mawāʿiẓ al-Badīʿa* in *D͟jamʿ D͟jawāmiʿ al-Muṣannafāt*, Būlāḳ, n.d.; 4th or 5th imp., Mecca 1310. (P. VOORHOEVE)

ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ KAMĀL AL-DĪN B. ABU 'L-G͟HANĀʾIM AL-**ḲĀS͟HĀNĪ** (or KĀS͟HĀNĪ or ḲĀS͟HĪ or KĀSĀNĪ), celebrated Ṣūfī author, died according to Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa (ed. Flügel, iv, 427), in 730/1329. Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, however, confusing him with the historian of the same name, the author of the *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*, says in another place (ii, 175) that he died in 887/1482 and, besides, gives his name as Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-G͟hanāʾim ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. D͟jamāl al-Dīn al-Kās͟hī al-Samarḳand͟ī. Little is known of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's life; according to D͟jāmī (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, quoted by St. Guyard), he was a pupil of Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and a contemporary of Rukn al-Dīn ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, with whom he carried on a somewhat acrimonious controversy, and who died in 736/1336. The immediate cause of this correspondence was a conversation which ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had with a certain amīr Iḳbāl Sīstānī, a pupil of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla's, on the road to Sulṭānīya on the vexed question of the orthodoxy of Ibn ʿArabī. D͟jāmī then gives a long letter which ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ wrote to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla on this question, in which he says that he has just read ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla's book, the *ʿUrwa*. As this work was written in 721/1321, the date 730/1329 given as that of his death must be assumed as the correct one. We have then to place ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ in the D͟jibāl province (Kās͟hān) under the Īlk͟hāns of Persia, and especially in the reign of Abū Saʿīd (716—36/1316—35).

He was the author of a large number of works, several of which have been published. So far back as 1828, Tholuck used his *Laṭāʾif al-Iʿlām* in *Die speculative Trinitätslehre des späteren Orients* (13—22, 28 *et seq.*.) and translated some passages, but without knowledge of the author. In 1845 Sprenger published at Calcutta the first half of his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīya*, or *Dictionary of the technical terms of the Sufies*. An

analysis of the second part had been given by Hammer-Purgstall, in the *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (lxxxii, 68 ff.). This book also was used by Tholuck, and cited under the author's name (*loc. cit.* 7, 11, 18, 26, 73). It is of special interest because in the preface he states that it was written after he had finished his commentary on the *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* of al-Harawī in order to explain the Ṣūfī technical terms which occur but are inadequately explained in that work, and also in his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿArabī (Cairo 1309) and in his *Taʾwīlāt al-Ḳurʾān*. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ii, 175) the *Taʾwīlāt* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ extend to Sūra xxxviii only, yet Berlin MS. no. 872 covers the entire Ḳurʾān, but apparently in abstract. *Risāla fi'l-ḳaḍāʾ wa'l-ḳadar*, treatise on predestination and free will, first translated into French, (*JA*, 1873; revised edition 1875), then the text published by St. Guyard (1879); it will be dealt with in detail below. The treatise seems to have excited attention, for Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, 429) gives three answers to it by Ibn Kamāl Pasha, Tāshküprü-zāde and Bālī Khalīfa Ṣūfīyahwī. A commentary on the *Taʾiya* poem of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (Cairo 1310). His works as yet unpublished are: *Risālat al-Sarmadiyya*, on the idea of an eternal Being; *Risālat al-Kumayliyya*, on the traditional answer by ʿAlī to the question of Kumayl b. Ziyād *fi'l-ḥaḳīḳa* (comp. the Berlin MS. no. 3462; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa iv, 38; *JA* 14, 83); a commentary on the *Mawāḳiʿ al-Nudjūm* of Ibn Arabī and *Tadhkirat al-Ṣāḥibiya*. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (v, 587) adds *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāya*. For MSS. reference will suffice to Brockelmann, ii, 203, 204; S ii, 280-1; the Gotha cat. no. 76, 2, and Palmer's *Trinity College Cat.* 116.

It will already be tolerably clear what ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's interests and positions were. He was a Ṣūfī of the school of Ibn ʿArabī, the great theosophist of the Western Arabic type, though with touches of independence, and he gave much labor to defence and exposition of his master. In the three great divisions of Muslim theologians, the upholders of tradition (*naḳl*), of reason (*ʿaḳl*), and of the unveiling of the mystic (*kashf*), he took his place with the third. It may be significant that his name never indicates to what legal school he adhered. Like many mystics, he may have regarded such matters as beneath notice, or he may, like Ibn ʿArabī, have been a belated Ẓāhirite in law, as he was evidently a Bāṭinite in theology. The last is plain through the title itself of his exposition of the Ḳurʾān, *taʾwīl*, not *tafsīr*, and is shown in detail in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt* and his treatise on *ḳadar*. In the last we have the normal combination of the Aristotelian universe, the Neo-Platonic metaphysics and theology and the Ḳurʾānic mythology of Muḥammad. These all appear, too, in Ibn ʿArabī, but perhaps ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ is more anxious to keep the last element prominent, and to proclaim thus his essential orthodoxy. Certainly, he strives to avoid the absolute merging of the individual, and the consequent fatalism of Ibn ʿArabī and to lay a possible basis for individual responsibility, for freedom and rewards and punishments hereafter. His method in this is as follows. In order to bring out clearly the forces leading to any event and the close interweaving of all causes and effects to make up the great organism of the universe, he begins with a description of the universe on the Ṣūfī scheme. It is the Neo-Platonic chain. Above is God, the One, the Alone; from him proceeds, by a dynamic emanation, the Universal Reason (*al-ʿaḳl al-awwal*), called also the Primary or Universal Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-awwal*) and the Highest Knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-aʿlā*). This is a spiritual substance and the first of the properties which the divine essence implies. From it two other substances are produced, one spiritual (*rūḥāniyya*) which is the substance of the world of the Universal Reason, considered as apart from God and inhabited by particular intelligences, somewhat as fractions of the Universal Reason, which are the angels of revealed religion; the other is psychical, being the Universal Soul (*nafs*). Finally come the material elements with their natural forces and laws. In the Universal Reason are the types of all things, as universals, and this Reason, with its types, is known directly by God. God's omnipotence (*ḳāhiriyya*) is manifested through these angels or Intelligences, and their world is therefore called the World of Power (*ʿālam al-ḳudra*). But they also, in their perfection, repair the imperfections of other beings. Their world again, therefore, is called the World of Repairing (*ʿālam al-djabarūt*). Some, however, take the other sense of the root *djabar* and render it, the World of Constraint, because they constrain other beings towards perfection. This world is also called the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*; Ḳurʾān, xiii, 39, xliii, 4), from it comes all knowledge of divine mysteries, it is above all fetters of time and change. The world of the Universal Soul, on the other hand, called the World of Ruling (*ʿālam al-malakūt*), is a step nearer the particular, material world. The types which exist in the Universal Reason become in it general conceptions, and these are further specialized, determined, limited, brought near to what we know, by being engraved on the individual reasonable souls, which are the souls of the heavenly bodies, corresponding to the angelic Intelligences, the fractions of the Universal Reason. This world, from its likeness to the human imagination, is called the Imagination of the World (*khayāl al-ʿālam*) and the Nearer Heaven (*al-samāʾ al-dunyā*). From it issue all beings in order to appear in the World of Sense (*ʿālam al-shahāda*), it moves and directs everything, measuring out matter and assigning causes. The heavenly bodies, then, have reasonable souls just like our own, these are the imaginative faculties of the particular reasonable souls, into which the Universal Soul divides. On their changes all change in this world below depends (comp. al-Ghazālī's scheme, in *JAOS*, 1899, 116 ff.).

Further, this constitution of the universe corresponds to man's body, macrocosm to microcosm. Just as the brain is the seat of man's ruling spirit, so the Universal Spirit or Reason is seated in the throne (*ʿarsh*) above the sphere of the fixed stars. The fourth heaven, the sphere of the sun, which vivifies all, is the seat of the Universal Soul, in man this is the heart, wherein is his particular, reasonable soul. So the fourth sphere is like the breast, and the sun like the physical heart. The individual soul of the sun corresponds to the animal spirit in the heart, which is the source of human life.

Next, as to the place of predestination in this scheme, for that there are three words, *ḳaḍāʾ*, *ḳadar* and *ʿināya*. *Ḳaḍāʾ* means the existence of the universal types of all things in the world of the Universal Reason. *Ḳadar* is the arrival in the world of the Universal Soul of the types of existing things, after being individualized in order to be adapted to matter, these are joined to their

causes, produced by them, and appear at their fixed times. *ʿInāya* is, broadly, Providence and covers both of the above, just as they contain everything that is actual. It is the divine knowledge, embracing everything as it is, universally and absolutely. It is not in any place, for God's knowledge, in His essence, is nothing else than the presence of His essence before His essence, which is essentially one and goes with all the qualities which inhere in Him. Further, while the essence (*ḥaḳīḳa*) of *ḳaḍāʾ* is part of the *ʿināya* of God, its entelechy (*kamāl*) is in the world of the Universal Reason. The Universal Soul is sometimes called the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), for on it are preserved unalterable all the general conceptions which are on their way to the individual heavenly souls.

It is the world, then, of *ḳadar*, of the Soul, which sets everything in motion. This is by the yearning of the reasonable souls of the heavenly bodies towards their spiritual source, the Universal Reason. They try to assimilate themselves to this, to universalize themselves. Step by step, they mount up, and with each advance they receive a new outpouring from that source, drawing them on further. With each movement, there flows from them an influence upon matter according as it is adapted to receive it, and thus there is a series of changes in the material world, corresponding to those in the world of the Soul. These changes may be either absolute of creation and destruction, or, between those extremes, simply of condition. The duration of existence constitues the Ḳurʾānic *adjal*, and all these are fixed by *ḳadar*.

Finally, this exegesis of Ḳurʾān, lii, 1—6 will show how ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ applied Scripture. "By the Mount and by a Book Inscribed in a Parchment Outspread, and by the Frequented House, and by the Raised Roof, and by the Flowing Sea!" The Frequented House is the Spirit of the fourth sphere, that of the sun. Therefore Jesus, the Spirit of God, has been placed there, whose miracle is the raising of the dead. The Mount is the *ʿarsh*, the seat of the Universal Reason. The Book Inscribed is *ḳaḍāʾ*, which is in that Reason: and the Parchment Outspread is the Reason itself. The Raised Roof is the nearest heaven, where are the individual celestial souls; it is mentioned immediately after the Frequented House, because from this heaven the forms descend on the earth, and from the Frequented House comes the breath of the Spirit, by the combination of which the creation of animated beings is achieved. The Flowing Sea is the sea of primary matter which spreads everywhere and is filled with forms.

How, then, is such a scheme related to predestination and free will? It is highly complicated, consisting of a remote first cause and an infinity of intermingling and crossing, nearer, secondary causes. It is possible to look at these last only, and so to assign absolute creative and deciding power to our own wills. Or to look only at the first cause and become fatalists. We must preserve the balance and hold by both. The complete cause of anything into which human will can enter must have as an element in it, among so many others, free will. It sets all the others in movement. Under this conception, though never clearly stated, is evidently implied that man has in him an element of the divine deciding power. If there is freedom in the divine nature, there must be also in its emanations. For Ibn ʿArabī the oneness of the divine nature over against the creation had overcome everything. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ lays stress on the multitudinous interweaving causes of the world, its constantly developing processes, to show that in life, purpose and will there must be multiplicity. The divine is spread down through the sub-lunar things, it does not simply rule from above. Again, amongst the many causes working in the world and upon men are the restraints and influences of religion, the promises and threatenings of the prophets. These we should permit to have their effects upon us as parts of the whole scheme, the process of training under which we are. But, again, why should training be necessary? Why are there good and bad? Here, again, is an implication, once pretty clearly expressed. Matter is of very differing nature, grosser and finer, It can receive only a corresponding soul, therefore souls also vary. Character and disposition is a combination of both, and it is for the soul to overcome its material body and itself rise. This evidently is the fundamental thought, but ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ does not give much space to it. Rather, he uses the old theological catch. This must be the best possible creation, otherwise God would have created a better. Further, if all things were equal, there could be neither order nor organization. This would also be hard on those less perfect things thus ruled out of existence. All things should have a chance; it is for them to use it. God knows their differences and will allow for them. The most and the greatest sins are from ignorance, and God will so treat them. In the life to come the same thing is to go on. Some will attain felicity, others, because they might have done better, must undergo purification by punishment, but that will not be eternal. Here, perhaps, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ is most unsatisfactory. He passes over into the normal Muslim conception although it is not at all clear that his system can permit individuality apart from matter. Freed souls, we should expect, would either return into the unity, or else be sent forth again to another material life. Like so many in Muslim theology and philosophy, this tractate was adapted to an audience, and was not perfectly ingenuous. Yet behind its caution of statement the real system is tolerably plain. It is nearer orthodoxy than that of Ibn ʿArabī, but not as near as this eschatology would suggest.

Bibliography: St. Guyard, in *Journ. As.*, 7th ser., i, 125 ff., which is the main source; Brockelmann, ii, 203—2 (treating him as two different persons), S ii, 280-1.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ KAMĀL AL-DĪN B. DJALĀL AL-DĪN ISḤĀḲ AL-**SAMARḲANDĪ**, Persian historian, author of the well-known *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn wa-Madjmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, born in Harāt Shaʿbān 816/Nov. 1413, died there Djumādā II 887/July-August 1482. His father was *imām* and *ḳāḍī* of the camp (*ḥaḍrat*) of Shāhrukh and read out books and expounded various problems (*masāʾil*) to him (*Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 704, 870, cf. 706). He received the usual type of education, and one of his teachers was his elder brother ʿAbd al-Ḳahhār. He also attended when his father read the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*s to Shams al-Dīn Muḥ. al-Djazarī (d. 833/1429) (ibid., ii, 631-1294) and received an *idjāza*. After the death of his father, he used to attend the court of Shāhrukh with his elder brothers, but when in 841/1437-8 he dedicated his *Sharḥ* on *al-Risāla alʿAḍudiyya* to the king and presented it to him, he was taken into

service and allowed to attend the court regularly. Two years later, he was examined by the *ʿulamāʾ* at the court, and granted a salary and provisions (*marsūm wa-ʿalūfa*) (*ibid.*, ii, 704, 731 f.).

In Ramaḍān 845/Jan. 1441 ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ was sent to India as ambassador and returned in Ramaḍān 848/Dec. 1444. (For his mission and the result obtained see *Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 783; T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 113). He was similarly sent to Gīlān in 850/1446. He was ordered to make ready for a mission to Egypt in the same year, but due to the death of Shāhrukh this was cancelled. In the period following the death of that king he served his successors Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh and Mīrzā Abu'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, with some as *ṣadr*, with others as *nāʾib* and *khāṣṣ*; see *ibid.*, ii, 1440. Under the last-named prince, who included him among his confidants, he enjoyed many favours (*ibid.*, ii, 1119). In 856/1452 he was in Yazd with Mīrzā Bābur, when the Mīrza interviewed Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, and in 856/1452 he was with the same prince when he besieged Samarḳand, in which city ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had many friends and old acquaintances (*Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 1041, 1078). In 866/1462 he was sent to Asfuzār for fixing taxes (*bunīča bastan*). Soon after, under Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, on 3 Djumādā I 867/24 Jan. 1463 the vizier Khʷādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾūs Simnānī appointed him *shaykh* (governor) of the *khānḳāh* of Shāhrukh (*Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 1270), which post he held till his death.

The *Maṭlaʿ* describes, with a brief mention of the birth (704/1304-5) and accession (716/1316-7) of the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd, the events of the years 717-875/1317-1471, in chronological order. Up to the year 830/1426-7 use is principally made of the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*], which is at times quoted literally. The famous account of the embassy to China in 823-5/1420-2, is also taken from the *Zubda*. For the period from 830 to 875/1426-71 ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's work is one of the most important original sources of information. Cf. the *taḳrīẓ* of ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ al-Niẓāmī (for him see *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii, 3, 328) in *Maṭlaʿ*, ii, 1440, which refers to his indebtedness to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū for the earlier period and his impartial narrative relating to the period in which he himself lived. An edition of vol. ii was published piecemeal in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore Nov. 1933 onwards, and later a separate edition was published in two parts (Lahore 1360/1941 and 1368/1949). Mss. of the work are to be found in nearly all the larger European collections but they are now rare in the East. The Panjab University Library has an autograph copy of vol. ii, acquired recently. It was completed by the author on 17 Rabīʿ I, 875/13 Sept. 1470, the correction of the copy being completed by him on the 18th Shaʿbān 885/23rd Oct. 1480. E. Quatremère gives extracts from the work in the *Notices et extraits*, xiv, part 1; as also H. M. Elliot in his *History of India*, iv, 89-126, and others (for whom see Storey).

From the *Maṭlaʿ* (ii, 190) we learn that ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ also wrote a work on the history of Harāt and its districts (*bulūkāt*). In some places in the *Maṭlaʿ* (e.g. ii, 951, 1208) he also quotes his own poems.

Bibliography: Storey, ii, 293-8; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 56; Khʷāndamīr, Bombay 1857, iii/3, 335. (W. BARTHOLD-MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. MASHĪSH AL-ḤASANĪ. Practically nothing is known of this personage, who has become one of the "poles" (*ḳuṭb*, [*q.v.*]) of popular mysticism in Morocco. The only fairly certain fact is that he died in 625/1227-8 by assassination in his hermitage on the Djabal al-ʿAlam, in the territory of the Banū ʿArūs, to the south-east of Tetuan. He is said to have fallen victim to a man of the region, Muḥammad b. Abī Tawādjīn al-Kutāmī, belonging to Ḳaṣr Kutāma, who had rebelled against the decaying Almohad power and was attempting to pass himself off as a prophet, and who assassinated the saint because the latter's prestige was an obstacle to his ambitions. ʿAbd al-Salām was buried at the top of the mountain, at the foot of an oak, and seems to have been for a long time the object of a purely local cult; Ibn Khaldūn does not mention him, nor for that matter the revolt of his murderer.

Besides this account of his death, which seems to be reasonably probable although reported by much later authors, little more is known of the saint than his genealogy, which, through several ancestors with typically Berber names, attaches him to the house of the Prophet. He is said to have been born in the neighbourhood of the Djabal al-ʿAlam, into the tribe of the Banū ʿArūs, and to have gone "in pursuit of learning" to the East at the age of sixteen; then, on his return, to have followed at Bidjāya (Bougie) the instruction of the famous Andalusian mystic Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], and to have come back finally to stay in his native country, where he lived an edifying life as an ascetic in his mountain hermitage.

His teaching is scarcely better known, in spite of the elaborations which it acquired in Moroccan mysticism. "Perform the obligations of the Law and avoid sin", he is said to have advised a disciple who had asked him for a rule of life, "keep your heart aloof from every temporal attachment, accept what God sends you, and put above all else the love of God" (Ibn ʿAyād, *K. al-Mafākhir*, 106). It is related also that he had as a disciple Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*], who came to him for his initiation into mysticism.

Only from the 15th century, it seems, at the time when the marabout movement connected with al-Shādhilī became active in Morocco, did the fame of ʿAbd al-Salām extend beyond the limits of his tribe into the whole northern part of Morocco. He was then regarded as the "pole" of the West, as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī was regarded as the "pole" of the East. A pilgrimage was organized around his tomb in the three days following the *mawlid nabawī*. A colourful description of it, applying to the last years of the 19th century, will be found in *Le Maroc inconnu* of A. Mouliéras.

Bibliography: Aḥmad al-Kumushākhānawī al-Naḳshabandī, *Djamiʿ Uṣūl al-Awliyāʾ*, tr. in Graulle, *Dawḥat al-Nādhir*, *AM*, XIX, 296-8; Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1299, ii, 6; Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312, i, 210 (tr. Ismaël Hamet, *AM*, xxxii, 254-5; Ibn ʿAyād, *al-Mafākhir al-ʿAliyya fī l-Maʾāthir al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1323, 106; A. Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris 1899, ii, 159-79; M. Xicluna, *Quelques légendes relatives à Moulay ʿAbd as-Salâm ben Mechich*, *AM*, iii, 119-33; A. Fischer, *Der grosse marokkanische Heilige ʿAbdesselam ben Mešiš*, *ZDMG*, 1917, 209-22; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Conférences*, *AM*, xxvii, 52-4 et 64-5; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 600; Asín Palacios, *Šaḏilíes y alumbrados*, (I), *And.*, 1945, 9-11; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 226; Brockelmann, S I, 787.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-PALIMBĀNĪ, i.e. of Palembang in Sumatra, was a pupil of Muḥammad al-Sammān (d. 1190/1776), the founder of the Sammāniyya order (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 535 and Nachtr.). He is known chiefly as translator of al-Ghazālī's *Lubāb Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn* into Malay, under the title of *Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā ʿIbādat Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*. It was begun in 1193 and finished at Ṭā'if in 1203. The translation is very free, shortened in some places, enlarged elsewhere by numerous additions, the sources of which are enumerated in book iii, bāb 10. Here we find also an interesting list of ṣūfī literature recommended by the author to three stages of pupils in Ṣūfism. Most of the works in this list are in Arabic, but some in Malay. It seems that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad lived mostly in Arabia. One of his earlier writings, *Zuhrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, is a Malay treatise on *manṭiḳ* and *uṣūl al-dīn*, based on notes which he took during a lecture given at Mecca by Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī (Brockelmann, II, 371) in 1178. His *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaḳīn* is a Malay adaptation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, finished at Mecca, 5 Muḥ. 1192. In Arabic he compiled a collection of *awrād* entitled *ʿUrwat al-Wuthḳā wa-Silsilat ūlī'l-Ittiḳā*, a *rātib*, and a treatise entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. This last work contains fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels. It inspired the author of the Achehnese poem *Hikayat prang sabi*, of which various redactions were circulated in Acheh during the war against the Dutch in the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Bibliography: Ph. S. van Ronkel, *VBG* 57, 383, 400, 429; id., *Suppl. Cat. Arab. Mss. Batavia*, 139, 216; R. O. Winstedt, *A history of Malay literature* (*JMBRAS* 17, III), 103; H. T. Damsté, *Hikajat prang sabi*, in *BTLV* 84, 545 ff.; for the Sammāniyya: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 216 ff. Two of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's works have been frequently printed: *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, Mecca 1306 (lith.), 1309 etc.; *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, Mecca 1287 (lith.), Bombay 1311, etc. On two works of dubious authorship see *TBG* 85, 110. The tract *Anīs al-Muttaḳīn* by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Faḳīh Ḥusayn b. Faḳīh Muḥammad is not the work of an Indonesian author, though on the title-page of the lithographed edition the epithet al-Palimbānī is added to the author's name; its attribution to a Zaydī author (Brockelmann, S II, 966) is equally false. (P. VOORHOEVE)

ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS (BANŪ ʿABD AL-WĀD, or ZAYYĀNIDS, BANŪ ZAYYĀN), a Berber dynasty which, from the first half of the 7th/13th century to the middle of the 10th/16th century had its capital at Tlemcen (Tilimsān, [*q.v.*]) and extended its power, against frequent opposition, over the central Maghrib (from the frontiers of the present Morocco to the meridian of Bougie).

According to the concepts recorded by Ibn Khaldūn, the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād were Zanāta "of the second race". Like the Banū Marīn, B. Tūdjīn, B. Rāshid and B. Mzāb, they belonged to the great Zanāta family of the Banū Wāsīn. Living as nomads, like their neighbours and relatives, the B. Marīn and B. Tūdjīn, they once occupied a more extensive territory, reaching to the vicinity of the Awrās. In consequence of the Hilālī invasion (5th/11th century) these Zanāta nomads, driven eastwards, were forced to abandon their territory to the Arab nomads and to emigrate to the high plateaux of what is now the province of Oran. The conquest of the country by the Almohads, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, made the fortune of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. They proved themselves loyal and useful allies of the caliphs of Marrākush, especially at the time when the terrible ravages of the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya brought destruction upon Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib (581-600/1185-1203). The assistance which they gave to the Almohad forces earned its reward. Tlemcen, successfully defended, profited by the ruin of the neighbouring centres and by the emigrations that were depopulating them. In 633/1235 the chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, Yaghmurāsan (or better: Yaghamrāsan) b. Zayyān, inherited from his brother the command over all the branches of the family. This dignity, ratified by the consent of the tribes, was confirmed by a diploma of investiture issued by the Almohad caliph al-Rashīd.

Yaghmurāsan, the shaykh of an imposing nomad group, who used to lead his tribesmen and their flocks periodically from the desert to the plains of the province of Oran and who could speak only the Berber dialect of the Zanāta, became the sedentary sovereign of a powerful state. He had moreover the qualities of a founder of empire: energy, the ability needed to hold his associates together around him, political insight, a taste for grandeur and the generous gesture. During a reign that lasted not less than 48 years (633-81/1236-83), he already encountered the dangers that never ceased to menace the kingdom of Tlemcen. These arose on the one hand from the legacy of the clan's former life and the rivalries that set Berber against Berber, and on the other hand from the consequences of the new situation in which the ʿAbd al-Wādids found themselves. True to his duty as a vassal, he supported the last Almohad caliphs against the Marīnids, who had become the masters of Fez. The fall of the Almohads in 646/1248 left him face to face with the Marīnids. Between the Marīnids and the ʿAbd al-Wādids there was a long tradition of conflict; it was singularly widened by the establishment of the two kindred kingdons, neighbours and all the more ardently rivals.

These are the main themes which dictated the course of the external history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids. Yaghmurāsan foresaw their development and on his death-bed, so the story goes, he traced for his son ʿUthmān the conduct he should adopt with regard to the other powers: a strictly defensive attitude as against Marīnid Maghrib; attempts at expansion at the expense of the Ḥafṣid kingdom of Tunis, as occasion should offer. In addition to this political testament, his successors could derive lessons from the activities of Yaghmurāsan himself: his firmness in the face of the Zanāta, his relatives in the central Maghrib, namely Maghrāwa and Banū Tūdjīn; in Spain, the triple alliance which he concluded with the sultan of Granada and the Christian king of Castille, in order to thwart the action of the Marīnids, their common enemy, both in North Africa and in the Peninsula.

The struggle of Fez against Tlemcen, the attack on the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom—the first objective of their expansion in North Africa—by their western neighbours, the Marīnids, is the principal motif of this history and could serve to mark its stages. The first noteworthy episode was, under ʿUthmān, the son of Yaghmurāsan, the long siege of Tlemcen by the Marīnid sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, who isolated it during eight years (698-706/1298-1306) by a rigorous blockade and began to build the

encampment-town of al-Manṣūra (see ABŪ ZAYYĀN I). This time, Tlemcen did not fall. After expanding eastwards under Abū Ḥammū I [q.v.], the ʿAbd al-Wādids were again attacked by the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan (see ABŪ TĀSHUFĪN I), and on 30 Ramaḍān 737/2 May 1337 Tlemcen was taken by storm. After ten years of Moroccan domination, Tlemcen was delivered from the foreign yoke in 749/1348 by the two brothers Abū Saʿīd and Abū Thābit, but in 753/1352 was again conquered by the Marīnid Abū ʿInān, and was not regained by the ʿAbd al-Wādids until 760/1359.

These two Moroccan interregnums caused a break in the history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids which was to show itself in all fields of action. Under Abū Ḥammū II (760-91/1359-89 [q.v.]), the kingdom regained a relative freedom of movement, but attempts at expansion in the direction of the Ḥafṣid kingdom were frustrated (the expedition of 767/1366 against Bougie ended in disaster) and Marīnid invasion remained as a periodical threat. The struggle with the Marīnids had also taken on a new character, for various reasons: firstly, because of the role played by the Maʿḳil Arabs of Tāfīlalt and the valley of the Mulūya (Wādī Malwiyya), who supported Tlemcen against Fez; secondly, through the policy of the Marīnids, whose aim was less to annex Tlemcen than to support an ʿAbd al-Wādid pretender and so to reduce the kingdom to a vassal state; thirdly, owing to the incapacity of the sulṭans of Tlemcen to defend their capital, and its temporary abandonment by the sovereign to seek refuge with his nomad allies.

This is, in its main lines, the history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids during the second half of the 8th/14th century. For the further hundred and fifty years

A LIST OF THE ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS

Abū Yaḥyā Yaghamrāsan b. Zayyān (633-81/1236-83)
Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān I b. Yaghamrāsan (681-703/1282-1303)
Abū Zayyān I Muḥ. b. ʿUthmān (703-7/1303-8)
Abū Ḥammū I Mūsā b. ʿUthmān 707-18/1308-18)
Abū Tāshufīn I ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā (718-37/1318-1337)

First Marīnid interregnum

Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān II b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā b. Yaghamrāsan—reigning togetherwith his brother Abū Thābit (749-53/1348-52)

Second Marīnid interregnum

Abū Ḥammū II Mūsā b. Abī Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā b. Yaghamrāsan (760-91/1359-89)
Abū Tāshufīn II ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā (791-6/1388-93)
Abū Thābit II Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (796/1393)
Abu'l-Hadjdjādj Yūsuf b. Mūsā (796-7/1393-4)
Abū Zayyān II Muḥ. b. Mūsā (797-802/1394-9)
Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh I b. Mūsā (802-4/1399-1401)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. I b. Mūsā (804-13/1401-11)
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥ. (813-4/1411)
Saʿīd b. Mūsā (814/1411)
Abū Mālik ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Mūsā (814-27/1411-23)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. II b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (827-31/1423-7, 833-4/1429-30)
Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Mūsā (834-66/1430-61)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. III al-Mutawakkil b. Muḥ. b. Yūsuf (866-73/1461-68)
Abū Tāshufīn III b. Muḥ. al-Mutawakkil (873/1468)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. IV al-Thābitī b. Muḥ. al-Mutawakkil (873-910/1468-1504)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. V al-Thābitī b. Muḥ. IV (910-23/1504-17)
Abū Ḥammū III Mūsā b. Muḥ. III (923-34/1517-27)
Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh II b. Muḥ. III (934-47/1527-40)
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. VI b. ʿAbd Allāh (947/1540)
Abū Zayyān III Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (947-50/1540-3, 951-7/1544-50)
al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh (957/1550)

during which the dynasty continued to exist they never again became masters of their own fate. It is true that they had nothing more to fear from Morocco, where the weak Waṭṭāsids had succeeded to the Marīnids; but the hegemony passed to Tunis. The last two great Ḥafṣids, Abū Fāris (827/1424) and ʿUthmān (871/1466), harking back to the tradition of the first rulers of the dynasty, led victorious expeditions against Tlemcen and imposed in their turn vassal sovereigns of their own choice on the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom.

The incurable weakness of this kingdom, its internal quarrels and the cupidity of the foreigners made of the last phase of its history—i.e. the first half of the 10th/16th century—an epoch of submission and decadence. Tlemcen passed successively under the suzerainty of the Spaniards (who had become masters of Oran in 915/1509), then under that of the Turks of Algiers in 923/1517, again from the Spaniards to the Turks, finally under the suzerainty of the Saʿdid sovereigns of Marrākush, from whom it was seized by the Turks in 957/1550.

There can be no doubt that, compared with the kingdom of their Marīnid kinsmen, that of the ʿAbd al-Wādids appears less rich in men, fertile land and cities, and in every respect less well furnished. Thus it was unable to undertake great military enterprises in North Africa or in Spain. Its geographical position exposed it to the attacks of its covetous neighbours to the east and to the west. The place taken by the Arabs, notably by the great Hilālī tribes of the Banū ʿĀmir and Suwayd, who had invaded the plains of the district of Oran, imposed upon it a ruinous collaboration with these nomads. The Arabs, providing troops that could easily be mobilized, and acting as collectors of taxes and repaid in this service, took part in the dynastic crises and always profited by them. The liberation from the Moroccan yoke was due to them. The greater part of the ʿAbd al-Wādid territory passed into their hands, in the form of *iḳṭāʿs*, beneficiary estates.

In spite of these precarious conditions of existence, and in spite of their slighter resources, which did

not allow the rulers of Tlemcen to live a life as sumptuous, or to erect buildings as important, as those of the kings of Fez, the ʿAbd al-Wādids seem to have cut a figure as sovereigns earlier than the Marīnids. From the very reign of Yaghmurāsan, the administrative personnel appears to be more complete and their duties to be better defined than among their western neighbours. At first, the sovereign recruited his viziers among the members of his own family. Under the fourth ruler, Abū Ḥammū I, who according to Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, ii, 142; transl. iii, 384) transformed the kingdom from its patriarchal ways and imposed on it the etiquette of a real court, the vizierate was entrusted to Andalusians; and the same system continued under the fifth sultan. The Marīnid interregnum gave rise to a new system: the vizier, sometimes a relative of the prince, becomes, as at Fez, a commander of the army and a viceroy, who is tempted to abuse the authority granted to him. In regard to the *ḥādjib* (great chamberlain), it is noteworthy that while in Fez this dignitary is often a familiar of the prince, of humble origin and an inglorious past, in Tlemcen he is chosen for his knowledge of law and his financial capacity. After the Marīnid interregnum, the title of *ḥādjib* vanished almost completely. No less markedly than in the military and economic fields, the Moroccan occupation of the middle of the 8th/14th century represents a collapse in the development of the ʿAbd al-Wādid state.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar* vii, 72-149 = *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii, 109-224, transl. de Slane, iii, 340-495; Yaḥyā b. Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-Ruwwād fī Dhikr al-Mulūk min Banī ʿAbd al-Wād*, ed. and transl. A. Bel (*Hist. des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād*), Algiers 1903-1913; Ṭanasī, *Naẓm al-Durr wa'l-ʿIḳyān fī Bayān Sharaf Banī Zayyān*, partial transl. by J. J. L. Bargès (*Hist. des Beni Zeian, rois de Tlemcen*), Paris 1852; Ibn Maryam, *El-Bostan, Biographies des Saints et Savants de Tlemcen*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1908; transl. I. Provenzali, Algiers 1910; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Ch. Schefer, iii, Paris 1898; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl, ed. and transl. R. Brunschvig (*Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XVème siècle*), Paris 1936; J. J. L. Bargès, *Complément a l'Hist. des Beni Zeian*, Paris 1887; idem, *Tlemcen, ancienne capitale du royaume de ce nom*, Paris 1859; Brosselard, *Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, *RAfr.*, 1859-62; idem, *Mémoire épigraphique et historique sur les tombeaux des Emirs Beni Zeiyan*, *JA*, 1876; W. Marçais, *Musée de Tlemcen* (*Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*), Paris 1906; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, Paris 1913; idem, *Le Makhzen des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād*, *Bull. de la société de géographie et d'archéologie d'Oran*, 1940; W. and G. Marçais, *Les monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1903; G. Marçais, *Tlemcen* (*Les villes d'art célèbres*), Paris 1950; Zambaur, 77-8.—Owing to the close connection between the history of the ʿAbd al-Wādids and that of the neighbouring dynasties, the chroniclers of these dynasties (cf. the bibliographies under MARĪNIDS and ḤAFSIDS) have frequent references to the ʿAbd al-Wādids.—Cf. also TILIMSĀN. (G. MARÇAIS)

ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB B. ʿABD AL-RAHMĀN B. RUSTUM [see RUSTUMIDS].

ʿABD AL-WĀḤID B. ʿALĪ AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-**MARRĀKUSHĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, Maghribi chronicler from the beginning of the 13th century, b. Marrākush 7 Rabīʿ II 581/8 July 1185. We have no information about his life except for a few autobiographical data that allow us to some degree to piece together his career. He left, at an early age, his native town for Fez, where he made his studies, but returned several times to the Almohad capital before going to Spain. He stayed in Seville in 605/1208-9 and stopped for two years in Cordova. After a short visit to Marrākush he established himself at Seville, whose Almohad governor took him into his service. At the end of 613/1217, he undertook a journey to the East, going to Ifrīḳiya and then to Egypt. It seems that he remained in the East till the end of his life; according to his own testimony, he was in 617/1220 in Upper Egypt, three years later in Mecca. It was in 621/1224 that he compiled, probably in Baghdād, his *al-Muʿdjib fi Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, published by R. Dozy (Leiden 1847, 2nd ed. 1881) under the title *The History of the Almohads* (French transl. by E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893).

The *Muʿdjib* gives an often interesting précis of the history of the Muslim West up to the epoch of the Muʾminid dynasty. The author treats this dynasty at greater length, more often relying on his personal memories than on the official Almohad historiography. For the earlier period, he seems to have had at his disposition certain works of the Andalusian chronicler and traditionist al-Ḥumaydī. The value of the book of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid is enhanced by its rich material concerning literary history, especially of the century of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* in Spain.

Bibliography: Pons Boigues, *Ensayo biobibliográfico*, 413; Brockelmann, I, 392, S I, 555.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿABD AL-WĀḤID AL-RASHĪD [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

ʿABD AL-WĀSIʿ DJABALĪ B. ʿABD AL-DJĀMIʿ, Persian poet, one of the panegyrists of the Seldjuḳ sultan Sandjar. He came from the province of Ghardjistān, lived for some time in Harāt, then went to Ghazna to enter the service of the sultan Bahrām Shāh, son of Masʿūd, of the Ghaznawid dynasty. Four years afterwards he took the occasion of sultan Sandjar's coming to Ghazna—to assist Bahrām Shāh, his maternal cousin—to address to him a panegyric. During the last fourteen years of his life he lived at Sandjar's court and is said to have died in 555/1160. He excelled in Arabic and Persian poetry according to ʿAwfī, who quotes, in this connection, two *mulammaʿs*. His *dīwān* (MSS Bodleian, and Brit. Mus. Or. 3320) is mainly composed of *ḳaṣīdas*, often very difficult. The edition, Lahore 1862, is in need of revision.

Bibliography: Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ* (Browne), 73-6; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb* (Browne), ii, 104-10; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, i, 185-92; J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. schönen Redekünste Persiens*, 101; H. Ethé, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.*, ii, 261. (CL. HUART-H. MASSÉ)

ABDĀL (A.; plur. of *badal*, "substitute"), one of the degrees in the ṣūfī hierarchical order of saints, who, unknown by the masses (*ridjāl al-ghayb* [cf. GHAYB]), participate by means of their powerful influence in the preservation of the order of the universe. The different accounts in the ṣūfī literature show no agreement as to the details of this hierarchy. There is also great difference of opinion as to the number of the *abdāl*: 40, e.g. Ibn Ḥanbāl, *Musnad*, i, 112, cf. v, 322; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* (Zhukowsky), 269, (transl. Nicholson, 214), 300 (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, ii, 79); 7 (Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii, 9). According to the most generally accepted opinion, the *abdāl* take the

fifth place in the hierarchy of the saints which descends from the great *Ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*]. They are preceded after the *Ḳuṭb* by: 2) both assistants of the latter (*al-imāmān*); 3) the five "stakes" or "pillars" (*al-awtād* [*q.v.*] or *al-ʿumud*; 4) the seven "incomparables" (*al-afrād*). After the *abdāl* in the fifth degree come: 6) the seventy "pre-eminents" (*al-nudjabāʾ*); 7) the 300 "chiefs" (*al-nuḳabāʾ*); 8) the "troops" (*al-ʿaṣāʾib*), 500 in number; 9) the "wise", or the "isolated" (*al-ḥukamāʾ* or *al-mufradūn*), of an unlimited number; 10) *al-radjabiyyūn*. Each of these ten classes is located in a particular region and assigned a particular sphere of action. The vacancies which occur in each of the classes are filled by the promotion to that class of a member of the class immediately below it. The *abdāl* (also called *al-ruḳabāʾ*, "the guardians") have their residence in Syria. To their merit and intercession are due the necessary rains, victory over the enemy, and the averting of general calamities.—A single individual of the *Abdāl* is called *badal*; *badīl*, however, which grammatically corresponds to another plural (*budalāʾ*), is the usual form in the singular. In Persian and in Turkish the plural *abdāl* is often used as a singular.

Bibliography: G. Flügel, in *ZDMG*, xx, 38-9 (where the older sources are indicated); Vollers, *ibid.*, xliii, 114 ff. (after Munāwī); Ḥasan al-ʿAdawī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Shādhaliyya*, ii, 99 ff. (where is to be found the most frequently accepted division of the classes); A. von Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrsch. Ideen*, 172 ff.; Bargès, *Vie du célèbre marabout Cidi Abou-Médien*, Paris 1884, Introduction; Blochet, *Etudes sur l'ésotérisme musulman*, in *JA*, 1902, i, 529 ff. II, 49 ff.; *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*, s.v.; L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Halladj*, 754; idem, *Essai*, 112 ff. (I. GOLDZIHER*)

In various orders of derwīshes in the Ottoman Empire the name *abdāl*, as well as *budalāʾ* (plur. of *badīl*) was used for the derwīshes, e.g. among the Khalwatiyya (cf. for instance Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, *Menāḳib-i Sherīf we-Ṭariḳat-nāme-yi Pīrān we-Meshāyikh-i Ṭariḳat-i ʿAliyye-yi Khalwetiyye*, Istanbul 1290/1873, 34, where it is expressly stated that Shaykh Sünbül Sinān used to address his derwīshes as *abdāl*). When the esteem enjoyed by the derwīsh orders declined, the word *abdāl*, and *budalāʾ*, used as singulars assumed in Turkish a pejorative meaning: "fool". The derivation of *budalāʾ* from a Turkish word *but*, "plump body" (K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, 28) is mistaken. *Budalāʾ* occurs, in the same acceptation, also in Bulgarian, Serbian and Rumanian. (H. J. KISSLING)

ABDĀLĪ, the former name of the Afghān tribe now known as the Durrānī; they belong to the Sarbanī branch of the Afghāns. According to their own tradition, they derived their name from Abdāl (or Awdāl) b. Tarīn b. Sharkhabūn b. Ḳays; Abdāl was so called because he was in the service of an *abdāl* or saint named Khʷādja Abū Aḥmad of the Čishtiyya order. The Abdālīs for long inhabited the province of Ḳandahār, but early in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, pressure from the Ghalzay tribe caused them to move to the province of Harāt. Shāh ʿAbbās made Sadō, of the Popalzay clan, head of the tribe, with the title *Mīr-i Afāghina*. Though loyal to Shāh ʿAbbās, they emulated the Ghalzays a century later and made themselves virtually independent. Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] later subdued the Abdālīs, but treated them with leniency and enrolled many in his army. Amongst these Abdālīs was Aḥmad Khān, the second son of Muḥammad Zamān Khān Sadōzay. The Abdālīs served Nādir well, and he rewarded them by restoring them to their former territory of Ḳandahār. On Nādir's assassination in 1747, Aḥmad Khān had himself crowned in Ḳandahār. Either as the result of a dream or because of the influence of a *faḳīr* named Ṣabar Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh took the title of Durr-i Durrānī ("The Pearl of Pearls"), and the tribe has since that time been known as the Durrānī. The two principal clans were the Popalzay and the Bārakzay; the present royal family of Afghānistān belongs to the latter. (For the history of the Durrānī tribe see DURRĀNĪ and AFGHĀNISTĀN).

Bibliography: M. Elphinstone, *Caubul*, London 1842, ii, 95; ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Taʾrīkh-i Aḥmad*, Kānpūr 1292/1875, 3-4; Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān, *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī* (English trans. entitled *Afghanistan*, 57); Muḥammad Mahdī Kawkabī Astarābādī, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, Bombay, 4-6; B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, ii, 42; L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 3, 4, 16, 29, 31-4, 52-4, 113-4, 120, 201; K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan* 8, 62. (L. LOCKHART)

ʿABDALĪ, plural ʿABĀDIL, ʿABĀDILA and, in the *Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb*, ʿABDILIYYŪN with *i*, is now most commonly used as a collective name for the inhabitants of Laḥdj in S. Arabia. Aḥmad Faḍl believes this usage to date from the time when Shaykh Faḍl b. ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ b. Sallām b. ʿAlī al-Sallāmī al-ʿAbdalī, made Laḥdj independent of the Zaydī Imām (1145/1732-3) and founded the dynasty by which it has since been ruled (see LAḤDJ). According to the *Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb* (7th/13th cent.) the original clan of the ʿAbādil are descended from Khawlān b. ʿAmr b. Alḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa; al-Khazradjī mentions them in southern Yaman (*Pearl Strings*, v, 217) and Landberg concluded from local enquiries that they still lived in their former territories. In the time of Faḍl b. ʿAlī at least, they belonged to the Yāfiʿī confederacy; the Āl Sallām, his own branch, were represented at Khanfar, in Yāfiʿī territory, and at Mukhā. Aḥmad Faḍl states that the majority of the inhabitants of the state were then Aṣābiḥ, descended through Aṣbaḥ b. ʿAmr from Ḥimyar al-Aṣghar; they had been there in al-Hamdānī's time; the rest belonged to various Ḳaḥṭān tribes, ʿAdjālim, Djaḥāfil, Yāfiʿ, ʿAḳārib, Ḥawāshib and ʿĀmira. The capital of the state, al-Ḥawṭa, now has a very mixed population including representatives of many tribes of S. W. Arabia as well as people of African descent. (There is also a branch of the Banū Marwān called ʿAbādil, living on the Saʿūdī side of the southern border of ʿAsīr; see Philby, *Arabian Highlands*),

Bibliography: Al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf, *Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb*, Damascus 1369; F. M. Hunter and C. W. H. Sealy, *An account of the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aden*; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*; Aḥmad Faḍl b. ʿAlī Muḥsin al-ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-Zamān*, Cairo 1351, giving copious quotations. (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

ʿABDĀN, according to the account of Ibn Rizām (see *Fihrist*, 187) and Akhū Muḥsin (quoted in al-Nuwayrī's chapter on the Ḳarmaṭians and in an abbreviated form in al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ* (Bunz), 103 ff.), also going back, no doubt, to Ibn Rizām, was brother-in-law and lieutenant of Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ [*q.v.*], leader of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] of southern ʿIrāḳ. When the Ismāʿīlī headquarters in Salamiya changed their policy, ʿAbdān fell away

from their allegiance, but was killed, in 286/899, at the instigation of Zikrawayh, the leader of the loyalists. The account of the evidently well informed Akhū Muḥsin—Ibn Rizām is confirmed by Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 295. The party of ʿAbdān survived in southern ʿIrāḳ for some years. It seems that Fāṭimid orthodoxy rehabilitated ʿAbdān's memory. He is mentioned by the author of the *Dastur al-Munadjdjimīn* (M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*, 204) as "one of the most famous helpers of the second hidden Imām". He was made into an author; his nephew, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, is said to have concocted books in the name of ʿAbdān (Akhū Muḥsin, in al-Nuwayrī, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 130). At any rate, the *Fihrist*, 189, knows numerous books attributed to ʿAbdān. B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿīlism*, 68, states that several works by ʿAbdān are claimed to be in the possession of Syrian Ismāʿīlī circles; cf. also W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 31. [See also ḲARMAṬIANS].

(S. M. STERN)

AL-ʿ**ABDARĪ** (i.e. descendant of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy, of the tribe of Ḳuraysh), MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD B. SAʿŪD ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, author of a book of travels bearing the title of *al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*. He was staying with the Ḥāḥā, near Mogador, when he started on his journey on 25 Dhu l-Ḳaʿda 688/11 Dec. 1289. The dates of his birth and death are not known: all biographical data are lacking, although he was always held in esteem as the learned author of the *Riḥla*. Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (*Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, lith. Fez, 199; *Durrat al-Ḥidjāl*, i, 124) and al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, 789, 866) know of him only from his work. That he had ṣūfī affinities is shown by his interest in the cult of saints; he himself tells that he received the ṣūfī *khirḳa* from the shaykh Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Andalusī in Tunis (MS. Algiers, fol. 154b). In politics he seems to have been a partisan of the Marīnids as against the ʿAbd al-Wādids. It was due, probably, to this circumstance that he was unable, on his return, to publish his book in Tlemcen.

On his journey he received instruction from the following: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī (al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iv, 278), the famous traditionist Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 143), Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Munayyir (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, 205; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 191), ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Ṭāʾī al-Ḳurṭubī in Tunis, Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Asadī in Ḳayrawān, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Karāfī and others. His son Muḥammad (see IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ) and Abuʾl-Ḳāsim b. Riḍwān are mentioned as his pupils. He writes approvingly of some, such as al-Dabbāgh (author of *Maʿālim al-Īmān*), while others are treated with devastating criticism (e.g. Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Sayyid of Tripolis).

The importance of his book does not lie in its geographical details. Though he thinks it proper to criticize—with scant justification—some statements of al-Bakrī, he is not a geographer and his summary descriptions of various sights—where he usually follows other geographers—are of no great value. His rhetorical descriptions have no more than literary interest, putting him in the line of similar *Riḥlas* (e.g. that of al-Balawī, who travelled 737-41/1336-40). Al-ʿAbdarī's main concern is with the state of Muslim scholarship and instruction. His notes are important contributions to the history of the scholars of the Maghrib. He shared the customary passion for *idjāzas*, and gives details of the authorities from whom he obtained, both for himself and his son, such certificates of study. Thus his *Riḥla* turns into a specimen of the rich literature about teachers and books (*barnāmadj*, *fahrasa*), from which we gain an insight into the range of works usually studied, classical, post-classical, and contemporary. In Ḳurʾān-reading and grammar the late works of the Andalusians are preferred, in poetry most interest is shown in the famous post-classical product of North Africa. Among the longer poetical pieces quoted are *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Shaḳrāṭisiyya*, by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳurashī (d. 466/1073), in praise of the Prophet, and a *takhmīs* of the *Munfaridja*. He quotes also some of his own poems; for instance one to his son, containing moral advice, another addressed to the Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, praying him to deliver the lands of Islam from the Christian yoke.

The influence of the *Riḥla* (a MS of which was copied as late as 1883) can be traced in the geographical and historical literature of the Maghrib from the 14th to the 18th cent. For instance, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the Pharos of Alexandria (i, 29-30) is derived from it; other travellers, e.g. al-Balawī, and also biographers like Aḥmad Bābā and Ibn al-Ḳāḍī used it extensively. Finally, its moral purpose, to lay bare the material and spiritual shortcomings of contemporary Ifrīḳiya and Middle Maghrib, makes the *Riḥla* a document of considerable interest.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 634, S I, 883 (add MSS Algiers 1017; Fez, Ḳarawiyyīn 1297); Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, marg. of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 68; *TA*, iii, 379; B. Vincent, in *JA*, 1845, 404-8; M. Cherbonneau, in *JA*, 1854, 144-76; R. Dozy, *Cat. Lugd. Bat.*, iii, 137; M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i, xxxvi; Motylinski, in *Bull. Soc. de Géogr. d'Alger*, 1900, 71-7; W. Wright, in Introd. of Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 1907, 16-7; E. Rossi, *La Cron. di Ibn Galbūn*, 12; W. Hoenerbach, *Das Nordafrikanische Itinerar des ʿAbdarī*, Leipzig 1940.

(MUḤ. BEN CHENEB-W. HOENERBACH)

AL-ʿ**ABDARI ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH** MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ AL-FĀSĪ [see IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ].

ĀBDAST [see WUḌŪʾ].

ʿ**ABDĪ**, Ottoman historian. Among the Ottoman historians who bore the *makhlaṣ* ʿAbdī (cf. Babinger, 432 f.), the secretary (*kātib*) of Yūsuf Agha, chief of the eunuchs, is worthy of mention. He was an eye-witness of the magnificent festivities organized in Adrianople in June and July 1675 on the occasion of the circumcision of the crown-prince Muṣṭafā, son of Muḥammad (Meḥmed) IV, and of the marriage of the princess Khadīdje with the second vizier Muṣṭafā Pasha (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 307 ff. and 313 ff.), and in which his master took a prominent part. A different account is given in a more concise anonymous description of the same circumcision festival, mostly bearing the title *Medjmaʿ-i Sūr-i Humāyūn* (MS Vienna, 1072, of which a part has been lost since Hammer-Purgstall's time but of which the greater part is still preserved; Hammer's translation, vi, 704, replaces the lost section; Hamburg, cod. or. 269 contains only the list of the presents). Also diverging from ʿAbdī's account is that of an anonymous author in Paris, suppl. turc, 880, bound together with the translation of the *jeune de langues* Étienne Roboly. Of ʿAbdī's book there are MSS in Paris, suppl. turc 501 (incomplete) and 1045 (the best MS), in the private collection of R. Tschudi, Basle, and in Istanbul, Millet Kütübkhānesi, 277 (414).

Bibliography: Babinger, 217 f.; J. H. Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, 1925, 364. (Fr. Babinger)

ʿABDĪ EFENDI, Ottoman historian. The only information about his life is that he worked under the sultans Maḥmūd I and Muṣṭafā III, i.e. about 1730-64. His history, called either simply *ʿAbdī Taʾrīkhi*, or *Taʾrīkh-i Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān*, deals mainly with the antecedents of Patrona Khalīl's rebellion and with the revolution itself (1730-1) and is one of the main contemporary sources for this event. MSS are to be found in Istanbul, Esʿad Efendī, 2153 and Millet Kütübkhānesi 409.

Bibliography: F. R. Unat, 1730 *Patrona ihtilali hakkında bir eser Abdi tarihi*, Ankara 1943; *Osmanlı Müellefleri*, iii, 106; *Inönü Ansiklopedisi*, i, 31; Ahmed Refik, *Lâle dewri*, Istanbul 1331, 116, 125, 140; *Rāmiz Tedhkiresi*, MS Millet Kütübkhānesi 762, 185; *Sefinet ül-Rüʾasāʾ*, 83 ff., 90 ff.—For the MSS cf. *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları*, I: *Türkçe Tarih Yazmaları*, 2nd fasc., Istanbul 1944, 103 f. (Fr. Babinger)

ʿABDĪ PASHA, Ottoman historian. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pasha came from Anadolu Hisarī on the Bosporus, was educated in the Serāy, and finally attained the post of imperial privy secretary (*sirr kʿātibi*). In Muḥarram 1080/June 1669 he was promoted to the office of *nishāndji* with the rank of a vizier, and later was appointed *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the capital. In April 1679 he became governor of Bosnia, next year again *nishāndji*, in March a so-called vizier of the cupola, in August 1684 governor of Baṣra (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 379). Deposed in 1686, he was in the next year appointed governor of Egypt. In 1688 he was governor of Rumelia, next year governor of Crete, where he died in Radjab 1103/March 1692. ʿAbdī Pasha is usually described, though whether correctly is open to some doubt, as the first officially appointed historiographer (*weḳāʾiʿ-nüwīs*); cf. Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlī devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 64-8. At any rate he was the author of a history of the Ottoman empire, which starts with the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad (Meḥmed) IV, 1058/1648 and ends with 3 Ramaḍān 1093/5 Oct. 1682. The book, usually called *Taʾrīkh-i Weḳāʾiʿ* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 14523), but also *Waḳʿa-nāmeyi ʿAbdī Pasha*, was dedicated to the sultan Meḥmed IV. For the MSS cf. Babinger; additional MSS in Istanbul, *Baghdād Köshkü*, 217, Khāled Ef., 615 (cf. *Isl.*, 1942, 207), and *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmaları Katalogları*, xi: *Türkçe Tarih Yazmaları*, 2nd fasc., Ankara 1944, 111 f. A partial French translation, by Étienne Roboly, is preserved in Paris, suppl. turc, 867 (Blochet, *Cat.*, ii, 78).

Bibliography: Babinger, 227 f. (with further references); *Inönü Ansiklopedisi*, i, 30; Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 558 f. (Fr. Babinger)

ABDJAD (or Abadjad or Abū Djad), the first of the eight mnemotechnical terms into which the twenty-eight consonants of the Arabic alphabet were divided. In the East, the whole series of these *voces memoriales* is ordered and, in general, vocalized as follows: *ʾabdjad hawwaz ḥuṭṭiy kalaman saʿfaṣ ḳarashat thakhadh ḍaẓagh*. In the West (North Africa and the Iberian peninsula) groups no. 5, 6 and 8 were differently arranged; the complete list was as follows: *ʾabadjid hawazⁱⁿ ḥuṭiyⁱⁿ kalamnⁱⁿ ṣaʿfaḍⁱⁿ ḳurisat thakhudh ẓaghshⁱⁿ*. The first six groups of the Oriental series preserve faithfully the order of the "Phoenician" alphabet. The last two, supplementary, groups consisted of the consonants peculiar to Arabic, called, for this reason, *rawādif*, "mounted on the hind-quarters".

From a practical point of view, this arrangement of the alphabet has only one point of interest, namely that the Arabs (like the Greeks) gave each letter a numerical value, according to its position. The twenty-eight characters are thus divided into three successive series of nine each: units (1 to 9), tens (10 to 90), hundreds (100 to 900), and "thousand". Naturally, the numerical value corresponding to each of the letters that belong to groups no. 5, 6 and 8 differs in the Oriental and the Occidental systems.

The use of the Arabic characters as numerals has always been limited and exceptional; the ciphers proper (cf. ḤISĀB) have taken their place. Nevertheless, they are used in the following cases: (i) on astrolabes; (ii) in chronograms, usually versified (epigraphic or otherwise), formed according to the system called *al-djummal* (see ḤISĀB and TAʾRĪKH). (iii) in various divinatory procedures and in composing certain talismans (type of *bdwḥ* = 2.4 6.8. see BUDŪḤ). Even in our own days the *ṭālibs* of North Africa use the numerical value of the letters for certain magical operations, according to the system called *ayḳash* (1.10.100.1000); a specialist in this technique is called in the vernacular *yaḳḳāsh*; (iv) in the pagination, according to the modern convention, of prefaces and tables of contents, where we would use the Roman letters.

This "abecedarian" order of the Arabic letters does not actually correspond to anything, whether from the point of view of phonetics or of graphical representation. To be sure, it is very old. For the first twenty-two letters, it appears already in a tablet discovered at Raʾs Shamra which gives the list of the cuneiform signs that constitute the alphabet of the people of Ugarit in the 14th century B.C. (Ch. Virolleaud, *L'abécédaire de Ras Shamra*, *GLECS*, 1950, 57). Its Canaanite origin, at least, is therefore certain; but moreover, the order was kept in the Hebrew and Aramean alphabet, and was, no doubt, taken over by the Arabs together with the latter. Yet the Arabs, having no knowledge of the other Semitic languages and moreover full of prejudices arising from their strong self-consciousness and their national pride, sought other explanations for the mnemotechnic words *abdjad* etc., handed down by tradition and incomprehensible to them. All that they had to say on this head, however interesting, is but a fable. According to one version, six kings of Madyan arranged the Arabic letters after their own names; according to another tradition, the first six groups are the names of six demons; a third tradition explains them as the names of the days of the week. Sylvestre de Sacy has noted the fact that in these traditions only the first six words are used, and that, e.g., Friday is not called *thakhadh*, but *ʿurūba*; yet it is not admissible to base on such vague traditions the conclusion that the Arabic alphabet had originally only twenty-two letters (J. A. Sylvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*², ii, par. 9). In fact, even among the Arabs there were some more enlightened grammarians, such as al-Mubarrad and al-Sīrāfī, who, not satisfied with the legendary explanations of *abdjad*, straightforwardly declared that these mnemotechnic words were of foreign origin.

There is, however, one noteworthy detail among

these fabulous indications. One of the six kings of Madyan had the supremacy over the others (*ra'īsuhum*); this was Kalaman, whose name is perhaps somehow connected with the Latin *elementum*.

For the other arrangement of the alphabet which exists alongside this "abecedarian" order and which is the one currently employed, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀ'.

It may be added that in North Africa the adjective *būdjādī* is still alive, with the acceptation of "beginner, tiro, green", literally, "one still at the abecedarian stage" (cf. the Persian-Turkish *abdjad-khwān*, English *abecedarian*, German *Abcschüler*).

Bibliography: Lane, *Lex.* s.v. *abdjad*; *TA*, s.v. *bdjd*; *Fihrist*, 4-5; Cantor, *Vorl. über Gesch. d. Math.*³, i, 709; Th. Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Buchstabennnamen*, in *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, 1904, 124; H. Bauer, *Wie ist die Reihenfolge der Buchstaben im Alphabet zustande gekommen*, *ZDMG*, 1913, 501; G. S. Colin, *De l'origine grecque des "chiffres de Fès" et de nos "chiffres arabes"*, *JA*, 1933, 193; J. Février, *Histoire de l'écriture*, 1948, 222; D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, 1948; M. G. de Slane, *Les Prolegomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, i, 241-53; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 144; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 172-95.

(G. WEIL-[G. S. COLIN])

ABÉCHÉ [see ABESHR].

ABEL [see HĀBĪL].

ABENCERAGES [see AL-SARRĀDJ, BANŪ].

ABENRAGEL [see IBN ABI 'L-RIDJĀL].

ABESHR (ABECHE), capital of the Sultanate of Wadā'i, Territory of the Tchad, French Equatorial Africa, 14° north. lat. and 21° east. long., to the south of Wara, the old capital. Founded in 1850, chief town of a region and a district of 125,000 inhabitants (119 Europeans). Important center of transit between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Tchad; many *djallāba* merchants from Omdurman have installed themselves in the town. Center of trade in cattle, meat (freezing installations planned) and karakul sheep, bred in the neighbouring sheepwalk of Abugudam. A Franco-Arabic *medersa* was opened in 1951, the master of which belongs to the Tidjānī order, like all the Wadā'is. The town, built in a vast dry plain, dominated by isolated mountains, comprises five big villages and a European township.

Bibliography: Lt. J. Ferrandi, *Abéché, capitale des Ouadaï* (*Publ. Comité de l'Afr. franç.*), 1913; see also WADĀ'I. (J. DRESCH)

ABHĀ, capital of the Saudi Arabian province of 'Asīr [*q.v.*] situated in Wādī Abhā (c. 18° 13' n. lat. and 42° 30' E. long.) at an elevation of c. 2200 meters. Perhaps 10,000 people, almost all Shāfi'īs, live in its several villages now growing together but retaining distinctive names. One of the largest is Manāẓir, sometimes given as the ancient name of the place; al-Hamdānī (i, 118) fails to mention Manāẓir but names Abhā as a location of the tribe called 'Asīr. Banī Mughayd, dominant in modern Abhā, belong to 'Asīr.

Other communities are al-Ḳarā, perhaps the largest; Muḳābil, joined to the main group by a stone bridge across Wādī Abhā; Na'mān and al-Rubū'; al-Naṣab, where the principal mosque is located; al-Khasha'; and al-Miftāḥa. The focal point of town life is a large open square, where a Tuesday market is held, with the adjacent stone fortress of of Shadā, the center of provincial administration. Most of the houses have mud walls with multiple eaves of flat stone as protection against water erosion. Annual rainfall of c. 30 centimeters, augmented by irrigation from numerous wells, supports grains, fruits, and vegetables grown in terraced plots. Turkish forts crown the prominences ringing the town; two have been repaired and are used by the Sa'ūdī army: Dhira, 125 meters above the town to the SSE, and Shamsān to the north. Motor routes connect Abhā with Mecca, about 840 kilometers to the north via Bīsha, and Ẓahrān and Nadjrān to the south and south-east; there is only animal transport for the steep descent to the Red Sea ports of al-Ḳunfudha and Djīzān.

Little is known of Abhā's history until Wahhābī doctrine swept across the mountains about 1215/1800. The subsequent Turco-Egyptian campaigns brought an army including several Europeans to Manāẓir, which was occupied for about one month in 1250/1834 (Tamisier mentions a nearby village of "Apha"). Āl 'Āyiḍ, the shaykhly clan of Banī Mughayd, thereafter ruled from Abhā, later receiving the blessing of the resurgent Wahhābīs under Fayṣal b. Turkī. In 1287/1871 when the Turks were engaged in reoccupying the Yaman, Muḥammad b. 'Āyiḍ attacked them in the lowlands but they soon overwhelmed him, occupied Abhā, and put him to death. The town became the center of a ḳaḍā in the Yaman wilāyet and remained Turkish until after the 1918 armistice, except for several months in 1328-9/1910-1 when the Idrīsīs [*q.v.*] of Ṣabyā wrested it from Sulaymān Shafīḳ, the Turkish governor. A relief expedition led by Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca arrived in Djumādā II 1329/June 1911 to find Abhā once more in Sulaymān's hands.

After the Turkish withdrawal, Āl 'Āyiḍ again became sole rulers, but were promptly challenged, first by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, then by the Sa'ūdīs, whose two campaigns (one in 1339/1921 and another in 1340-1/1922 led by Fayṣal b. 'Abd al-'Azīz) broke their power. Abhā has since been the seat of a Sa'ūdī governor, increased in importance by the Sa'ūdī acquisition of Idrīsī territory in 1345/1926. The force commanded by Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in the Yaman War of 1355/1934 was based on Abhā. Two years later Philby found the place still suffering from the ravages of its former insecurity, but under peaceful rule prosperity is returning.

For bibliography see 'ASĪR. (H. C. MUELLER)

ABHAR (in *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*: Awhar), a small town owing its importance to the fact that it lies half-way between Ḳazwīn (86 km) and Zandjān (88 km.) and that from it a road branched off southwards to Dīnawar. It was conquered in 24/645 by Barā' b. 'Āzib, governor of Rayy. Between 386/996 and 409/1029 it formed the fief of a Musāfirid [*q.v.*] prince. The stronghold of Sar-djahān (in *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*: Sar-čāhān), lying some 25 km. N.W. of Abhar near a pass leading into Tārom [*q.v.*] played an important rôle under the Saldjūkids.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 221; Schwarz, *Iran*, 726-8; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 1952, 165. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-**ABHARĪ**, ATHĪR AL-DĪN MUFAḌḌAL B. 'UMAR, philosophical writer, about whose life nothing is known; d. in 663/1264 (according to Barhebraeus in 1262). He was the author of two works on scholastic philosophy, which were much in use and often commented: (i) *Hidāyat al-Ḥikma* in three parts, a. Logic (*al-manṭiḳ*), b. Physics (*al-ṭabī'iyyāt*), c. theology (*al-ilāhiyyāt*). The best known commentary is that by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybudī, written in 880/1475). (ii) *al-Isāghūdji*, an adaptation of the *Isagoge* of

Porphyry (cf. FŪRFĪRIYŪS). Of the commentaries, that by Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fanārī (d. 834/1470) has been printed in Istanbul; for other commentaries and glosses, see Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 608, S I, 839 ff.; C. F. Seybold, *Isl.*, 112 ff.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

ABĪB [see TAʾRĪKH].

ʿABĪD [see ʿABD and MAKHZAN].

ʿABĪD B. AL-**ABRAṢ**, pre-Islamic Arab poet, of the tribe of Asad. Very little is known of his life, which must have lain in the first half of the 6th century A.D. The probably legendary story that his death was caused by al-Mundhir III, king of Ḥīra, would fix as a *terminus ante quem* the date of the king's death, 554. The literary tournament with Imruʾ al-Ḳays, attested by the historico-literary tradition and by verses in the *dīwān* of ʿAbīd, shows that the two poets were contemporaries; their joust would have to be placed between 530 and 550. About 530—so Lyall assumes—the Banū Asad revolted against the supremacy of the kings of Kinda and killed king Ḥudjr, father of Imruʾ al-Ḳays; hence the enmity and the rivalry between the two poets.

The *dīwān* of ʿAbīd (edited and translated together with that of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl by Ch. Lyall, Leiden 1913, GMS xxi) contains thirty more or less complete *ḳaṣīdas* and seventeen fragments. The very distinct archaism in the structure and the language of the *dīwān* is a strong argument for its authenticity. The dominant tone is one of melancholic and sententious austerity, as well as of a proud dignity which finds in individual and tribal *fakhr* the expression that becomes it best.

The sentiment of love appears in a very restrained and already strongly stylized form, so that the *nasīb* is more often devoted to the collective regret for a dispersed group than for an individual woman (e.g. *ḳaṣīda* i, ix, xv, etc.). It is perhaps this melancholic contemplation of life's flight and of its fleetingness, so often expressed with original accents in the poetry of ʿAbīd, that gave rise to the legend that places him amongst the *muʿammarūn* [*q.v.*]. He seems to have died, according to Grunebaum's view (*Orientalia*, 1939, 343, 345), rather young, perhaps even before his fiftieth year. The sententious mind of ʿAbīd is expressed not only in his nostalgia for the past, but also in his praise of himself and of his tribe (iv, vii, xxii, xxiv etc.) and in his virulent polemics against Imruʾ al-Ḳays and other, unknown, poets. The allusions to his poetical talent are especially noteworthy (x and xxiii): they show that he had a clear conscience of his inspiration and his artistic technique. The old Arab critics admired his descriptions of storms and desert tempests, but the modern reader appreciates most among all the poems of his *dīwān* his descriptions of animals, such as the famous scene of an eagle chasing a fox (i) and that of the fish in the sea (xxiii). In these poems and in other celebrated tableaux, ʿAbid appears as one of the most powerful poets of the *djāhiliyya*.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 143-5; *Aghānī*, xix, 84-7; A. Fischer, *Ein angeblicher Vers des ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ*, *MIFAO*, 1935, 361-75; F. Gabrieli, *La poesia di ʿAbīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, *Rend. Acad. Italia, sc. mor.*, 1940, 240-51; Brockelmann, I, 17, S I, 54. (F. GABRIELI)

ʿABĪD B. **SHARYA** [see ʿUBAYD B. SHARYA].

ĀBIḲ [see ʿABD].

ĀBISH [see SALGHŪRIDS].

ABĪWARD, or BĀWARD, a town and district on the northern slopes of the mountains of Khurāsān in an area now belonging to the autonomous Turkoman republic which forms part of the U.S.S.R. The whole oasis region including Nasā [*q.v.*], Abīward etc. (known by the Turkish name of *Ātāk* "foothills") played a great part in ancient times as the first line of defence of Khurāsān against the nomads.

In the Arsacid period this region was in the ancestral country of the dynasty. Isidore of Charax, par. 13 (at the beginning of the Christian era) mentions between Παρθυηνή (with the town of Nasā) and Μαργιανή (= Marw) the district of Ἀπαυαρκτική with the town of Ἀπαυαρκτική, cf. Pliny, vi, 46: *Apaortene*, and Justin, xli, 5: *mons* (*Z*)*apaortenon* with the inaccessible town of Dara (= Kalāt?) built by Arsak.

Under the Sāsānians the country remained broken up into little principalities. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 39, has preserved the names of the kings: of Sarakhs: *Zādōya*; of Nasā: *Abrāz* (?), and of Abīward: *B. hm. na* (B. hmiya بهمنه) which is perhaps connected with the name of Mahana, Mayhana (in the district of Khāwarān to the east of Abīward).

Under Maʾmūn, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir built the *rabāṭ* of Kūfan, 6 farsakhs west of Abīward.

Perhaps even before the great migration of the Ghuzz [*q.v.*] the district had been occupied by the Khaladj Turks; cf. the *Djahān-numā* of Muḥ. b. Nadjīb Bakrān (written in 1200). Other Turkoman tribes later succeeded the Khaladj.

In the 12th-14th centuries Abīward passed into the hands of the Djūn Ghurbānī princes, of Mongol origin [cf. ṬŪS]. In the time of ʿAbbās I Ātāk was outside the zone of Persian influence. Under Nādir who belonged to this region, Ātāk became the starting point for his remarkable career. At that time the river of Teżen (the Harī-rūd) was regarded as the eastern boundary of the cultivated lands of Abīward (*muntahā-yi maʿmūra-yi sarḥaddāt-i Abīwardāt*; cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Nādirī*, under 1142 A. H. [The same source mentions among the dependencies of Abīward (?): Yangi-ḳalʿa, Ḳalʿa-yi Baghwādā, Zāghčand (?) etc.]). After the disappearance of Nādir from the scene, the semi-independent khāns of Kalāt [*q.v.*] exercised a certain influence in the district down to 1885, when, after the delimitation of the Russo-Persian frontier, Ātāk with its Turkomans was incorporated in Russian territory. The resulting return of security to northern Khurāsān enabled the Persians to develop agriculture on the upper courses of the rivers running into Ātāk. The irrigation of the latter region has suffered considerably as the result.

Antiquities. The ruins of the old town (Kuhna-Abīward) are situated about 5 miles W. of the station of Kahka (Ḳahḳaha) on the Transcaspian railway and cover an area of 14,000 square yards. The central *tell* is 60 feet high and 700 feet round. About 2 miles N. E. of Kuhna-Abīward is the little hill of Namāzgāh and to the north of it the site of some ancient town surmounted by a *pēsh-ṭāḳ* ("gateway") 45 feet high. Another important site is that of Kuhna-Ḳahḳaha, a fortress rebuilt by Tīmūr in 784/1382 (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 343). The whole region is very rich in tells (*ḳurghān*): 14 miles S. of Ḳahḳaha are the ruins of Khīwa-ābād which was settled by Nādir with prisoners liberated after the taking of Khīwa; 11 miles S.E. of the station of Artīk are the ruins of a town called Čoghondur (after the *mazār* of a holy man which dates from the 13th century). Several

of these sites must go back to the Arsacid period (Isidore of Charax mentions for example a town of 'Ραγαῦ etc.) and some are even prehistoric; cf. R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, Washington 1905, excavations at Anau.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Persien*, i, in *SBAk Wien*, vol. cii; idem, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Apauarktike* and *Dara*; E. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, i, 182, and note 48; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 147; J. Marquart, ibid., xlix, 628, xlviii, 403, 407; A. W. Komarow, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1889, vii, 158-63; Barthold, *Istoriko-geogr. očerk Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 60-2, 70; idem, *Turkestan*, index; idem, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 41-3; Le Strange, 394; A. A. Semenow and others, *Drevnosti Abiverdskago rayona* ("The antiquities of the region of Abiward"), in *Acta Universitatis Asiae Mediae*, ser. ii, Orientalia, fasc. 3, Tashkent 1931 (expedition of 1928).

(V. Minorsky)

al-**ABĪWARDĪ**, Abu' l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Arab poet and genealogist, a descendant of ʿAnbasa b. Abī Sufyān (of the Umayyad lineage of the younger Muʿāwiya). He was born in Abīward (Khurāsān), or more exactly in the village of Kawfan (not Kūḳan) near Abīward (he is therefore sometimes called al-Kawfanī), and died from poison in Iṣfahān in 507/1113 (not 557/1161-2). His philological and historico-genealogical works, notably a history of Abīward and a book on the different and identical names of the Arab tribes, are lost; but al-Kaysarānī extensively used the latter work. Of his *dīwān*, the three most important sections: *al-Nadjdiyyāt*, *al-ʿIrāḳiyyāt* (mostly on the caliphs al-Muḳtadī, al-Mustaẓhir and their viziers) and *al-Wadjdiyyāt* are preserved in several MSS. A *dīwān*, arranged according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes, was published in the Lebanon in 1317, but many poems by al-Ghazzī have been erroneously included; a choice of less important poems: *Muḳaṭṭaʿāt al-Abīwardī al-Umawī*, was published in Cairo, 1277/1860-1.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 111; idem, *Irshād*, vi, 342-58; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 62; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 16; Ibn Khallikān, no. 646; Abu'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar* vii, 380; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 176-7; Ḳifṭī, *Akhbār al-Muḥammadīn min al-Shuʿarā'*, MS Paris, 10v-12r; Brockelmann, I, 253, S I, 447; a critical study of the poet and his work by Ali Al Tahir, *La Poésie arabe sous les Seldjoukides* (Sorbonne thesis, 1953).

(C. Brockelmann-[Ch. Pellat])

ABḲAYḲ (properly buḳayḳ), a town and oil field in al-Ḥasā Province, Saudi Arabia. The name is taken from that of the shallow water sources (*nabaʿ*) of Buḳayḳ in the sands some 15 miles north of the present town. The names Buḳayḳ and al-Baḳḳa (similar water sources not far to the north) appear to be associated with meanings of the Arabic root *baḳḳa* relating to water rather than bugs. The Bedouins know the location of the town as Aba 'l-Ḳiʿdān, "the place of the young male camels".

Surrounded by the heavy dunes of al-Bayḍā', Abḳayḳ (49° 40′ E. long., 25° 55′ N. lat.) is about halfway between al-Ẓahrān and al-Hufhūf on the main road connecting inner Arabia with the Persian Gulf ports of al-Dammām and Ra's Tannūra, and is also on the Saudi Government Railroad (al-Dammām-al-Riyāḍ). Prior to the discovery of oil in the Abḳayḳ field by California Arabian Standard Oil Company (now Arabian American Oil Company) in 1359/1940, no settlement existed there. In 1372/1952 the population was approximately 15,000, including 1,310 Americans.

The American geologist Max Steineke was primarily responsible for finding oil in this wilderness of dunes. The oil field is about 32 miles long, averages 5 miles in width, and for a time was the most productive field in the world. In 1370/1951 daily production reached about 600,000 barrels (90,000 tons) from only 61 wells. (W. E. Mulligan)

ABKHĀZ. 1. For all practical purposes the term *Abkhāz* or *Afkhāz*, in early Muslim sources covers Georgia and Georgians (properly *Djurzān*, *q.v.*). The reason (cf. below under 2.) is that a dynasty issued from Abkhāzia ruled in Georgia at the time of the early ʿAbbāsids. A distinction between the Abkhāzian dynasty and the Georgian rulers on the upper Kur is made by al-Masʿūdī, ii, 65, 74. The people properly called *Abkhāz* is possibly referred to only in the tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, 139: نوغر, read * اوغز *Awghaz*, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 164-76, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 456. Characteristically, Ibn Rusta places this people at the end of the Khazar dominions.

2. Abkhāz, a smaller people of Western Caucasia on the Black Sea, which called itself *Aps-waà*. It occupies the area between the main range and the sea, between the river Psow (north of Gagri) and the mouth of the Ingur in the south. Since the 17th century (and possibly much earlier) a portion of the tribe has crossed the main ridge and settled on the southern tributaries of the Kuban.

The Abkhāz are mentioned in ancient times as *Abasgoi* (by Arrian) or *Abasgi* (by Pliny), cf. Contarini (A.D. 1475): *Avocasia*, in older Russian: *Obezi*, in Turkish: *Abaza*. According to Procopius (5th cent. A.D.) they were under the sovereignty of the Lazes [*q.v.*], and in those days slaves (eunuchs) were brought to Constantinople from Abkhāzia. Subjugated by Justinian, Abkhāzia was converted to Christianity. According to the Georgian Annals (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 237-43), the Arab general *Murwan-Ḳru* ("Murwan the Deaf") having occupied the passes of Darial and Dàrband, invaded Abkhāzia (whither the Georgian kings, Mir and Arčil, had fled), and ruined Tskhum (Sukhum). Dysentery and floods, combined with the attacks of the Georgians and the Abkhāzians, caused great losses to his army and made him retreat. The chronology of the Annals is very uncertain. The name Murwan-Ḳru seems to refer to the Umayyad Muḥammad b. Marwān, or to his son Marwān b. Muḥammad, i.e. to the early part of the 8th century, cf. al-Balādhurī, 205, 207-9. Towards A.D. 800 the Abkhāz won their independence with the help of the Khazars; the prince (*erist'avi*) Leon II, of the local dynasty issued from Ančabad, married to a Khazar princess, assumed the title of king, and transferred his capital to Kutaysi. Under the governor of Tiflīs, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl (c. 830-53), the Abkhāz are said to have paid tribute to the Arabs. The most prosperous period of the Abkhāz kingdom was between 850 and 950; their kings ruled over Abkhāzia, Mingrelia (Egrisi), Imeretia and Kartlia, and also interfered in Armenian affairs. Since that period Georgian has remained the language of the educated classes in Abkhāzia. In 978 the Georgian Bagratid Bagrat III, son of the Abkhāzian princess Gurandukht, occupied the Abkhāzian throne and by 1010 united all the Georgian lands. As his first successes were based on the hereditary rights of

his mother, and as even in his later title the rank of "king of Abkhāzia" occupied the first place, the Muslims continued to call the Georgian kingdom *Abkhāzian* (down to the 13th century, and occasionally even later).

About the year 1325 the house of Sharvashidze (in Russian: *Shervashidze*, alleged to be descended from the dynasty of the Shīrwān-shāhs, [*q.v.*]) was enfeoffed with Abkhāzia; towards the middle of the 15th century (under king Bagrat VI) the Sharvashidze were confirmed as *erist'avi* of the country. According to a letter from the emperor of Trebizond in the year 1459, the princes of Abkhāz disposed of an army of 30,000 men.

After the settlement of the Ottomans on the east coast of the Black Sea, the Abkhāz came under the influence of Turkey and Islam, although Christianity was but slowly supplanted. According to the Dominican John of Lucca, even in his time (1637) the Abkhāz passed as Christians, although the Christian usages were no longer observed. Since the separation from Georgia the country had been under its own Catholicos (mentioned as early as the 13th century) in Pitzund. Up to the present day the ruins of eight large and about 100 small churches, including chapels, are said to exist in Abkhāzia. The house of Sharvashidze did not embrace Islam until the second half of the 18th century, when Prince Leon recognized Turkish sovereignty. On this account, he was given the fort of Sukhum, which had already been besieged by the Abkhāz about 1725-8. The country was divided politically into three parts: 1) Abkhāzia proper, on the coast from Gagri to the Galidzga under the said Sharvashidze; 2) the highlands of Tzebelda (without any centralized government); 3) the country of Samurzakan on the coast extending from the Galidzga to the Ingur (ruled by a branch of the house of Sharvashidze, subsequently united with Mingrelia).

After the incorporation of Georgia by Russia in 1801, the Abkhāz had also to enter into relation with this new powerful neighbour. The first attempt was made in 1803 by Prince Kelesh-beg, but was abandoned soon afterwards. After the assassination of this prince in 1808, his son Sefer-beg came into closer touch with Russia and claimed her help against his brother, the parricide Arslan-beg. In 1810 Sukhum was taken by the Russians. Sefer-beg, who had become converted to Christianity and assumed the name of George, was installed as prince, but from that time on Sukhum was occupied by a Russian garrison. The two sons of Sefer-beg, Demetrius (1821) and Michael (1822, after poisoning his elder brother) had to be put in power by the Russian armed force. Their rule was limited to the neighbourhood of Sukhum, whose garrison could communicate with headquarters only by sea. By the incorporation of the whole coast-line from Anapa to Poti (Treaty of Adrianople in 1829) Russia's position was naturally strengthened, but even in 1835 only the north-western part of the country, the district of Bzbīb, is said to have been in the possession of Prince Michael. The other parts had remained under the rule of his Muslim uncles. Later on, with the help of Russia, Michael succeeded in establishing his power almost as an absolute ruler, but he too, in spite of his Christian faith, had surrounded himself with Turks.

After the final subjugation of Western Caucasia by the Russians (1864) the dominion of the House of Sharvashidze, like that of the other native princes, came to an end; in November 1864 Prince Michael had to renounce his rights and leave the country. Abkhāzia was incorporated into the Russian empire as a special province (*otdyel*) of Sukhum and divided into three districts (*okrug*)—Pitzund, Očemčiri and Tzebelda. In 1866 an attempt made by the new governor to collect information concerning the economic conditions of the Abkhāz, for the purpose of taxation, led to a revolt, and, subsequently, to a considerable emigration of the Abkhāz to Turkey. In the thirties of the 19th century the population of Abkhāzia was estimated at about 90,000, and the number of all Abkhāz (i.e. including those living in the north outside Abkhāzia) at 128,000 souls. After 1866, the population of Abkhāzia was reduced to c. 65,000. The almost depopulated district of Tzebelda ceased to be a district and was placed under a special "Settlement Curator" (*popečitel naseleniya*). Later the whole of Abkhāzia under the name of district (*okrug*) of Sukhum-Kale (Sukhum-Ḳalʿa) formed a part of the government of Kutais. The population again decreased through emigration, especially after the Abkhāz took part in the rebellion of the mountain tribes caused by the landing of Turkish troops (1877); in 1881 the number of Abkhāz was estimated at only 20,000. No statistics on the Abkhāzians in Turkey are available.

Soviet Abkhāzia. The Soviet power was proclaimed for a short time in 1918, and finally in 1921. In April 1930 Abkhāzia, as an autonomous republic (A.S.S.R.), became part of the Georgian republic (S.S.R.) and its special constitution was confirmed in 1937. The Abkhāzian A.S.S.R. has a population of 303,000, but in this number the Abkhāzians are but a minority. In 1939 the total number of the Abkhāzians in the Soviet Union (i.e. apparently including the northern colonies in Čerkesia) was 59,000. The capital (Sukhum) has 44,000 inhabitants. The territory of the republic has acquired great importance for subtropical cultures. Its water power has been considerably exploited (in 1935, 45 electrical stations).

Since the time when an Abkhāz alphabet was invented by the eminent specialist in Caucasian languages General Baron P. K. Uslar (in 1864), and when a book on Biblical history was compiled by a priest and two officers of Abkhāz nationality, Abkhāzian letters have had a considerable development. In 1910 the founder of the new literature, Dimitri Gulia (born in 1874), published a book of popular poems. He has been followed by writers in prose (G. D. Gulia, Papaskiri), poets (Kogonia 1903-29), L. Kvitsinia) etc. Abkhāzian folklore has been collected and schoolbooks written (Čʿočʿua etc.).

The Abkhāz "polysynthetic" language belongs to the same type as the Čerkes language. It has two basic vowels as against 65 consonants in the northern (Bzīb) dialect, and 57 in the southern (Abžu). The latter has been adopted as the literary language. It is now written in the Georgian alphabet suitably completed.

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the recent works by Serdiučenko and Tobil′ on northern Abkhāzian dialects (1947-9).

(W. Barthold-[V. Minorsky])

ʿABLA, sweetheart of ʿAntara [*q.v.*].

al-**ABLAK,** castle of Samawʾal [*q.v.*].

ABLUTION [see ghusl, tayammum, wuḍūʾ].

al-**ABNĀʾ**, "the sons", a denomination applied to the following:

(I) The descendants of Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, with the exception of his two sons Kaʿb and ʿAmr. This tribe inhabited the sandy desert of al-Dahnāʾ. (Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen der arab. Stämme*).

(II) The descendants born in Yaman of the Persian immigrants. For the circumstances of the Persian intervention in Yaman under Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79) and the reign of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, as told by the Arabic authors, cf. sayf b. dhī yazan. After the withdrawal of the foreign troops Sayf was murdered and the country again subjugated by the Ethiopians, so that the Persian general Wahriz had to return. The power of the Ethiopians was this time definitely broken and Yaman turned into a vassal state of Persia. At the time of the Prophet the Persian governor Bādhām (Bādhān) was, together with his people, converted to Islam and acknowledged the suzerainty of Muhammad. Later, however, troubles broke out in Yaman which led to complete anarchy; it was only under the reign of Abū Bakr that order was restored. (Cf. also al-yaman).

Bibliography: Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 220 ff.; M. J. de Goeje, in the Glossary to Ṭabarī, s.v.

(K. V. Zettersteén*)

(III) *Abnāʾ al-dawla*, a term applied in the early centuries of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate to the members of the ʿAbbāsid house, and by extension to the Khurāsānī and other *mawālī* who entered its service and became adoptive members of it. They survived as a privileged and influential group until the 3rd/9th century, after which they were eclipsed by the growing power of the Turkish and other troops.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Faḍāʾil al-Atrāk*, passim; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arab. Reich*, 347 f. (Engl. tr., 556 f.); A. Mez, *Renaissance d. Islams*, 151 (Engl. tr., 155 f.).

(IV) *Abnāʾ al-Atrāk*, a term sometimes used in the Mamlūk sultanate to designate the Egyptian or Syrian-born descendants of the Mamlūks, as an alternative to the more common *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*].

(V) *Abnā-yi sipāhīyān*, a term sometimes employed in formal Ottoman usage in place of the more common *sipāhī oghlanlarī*—the first of the six regiments (*bölük*) of cavalry of the Ottoman standing army. They were classed as "Slaves of the Gate" (*kapī ḳulu*).

Bibliography: H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, 69 ff., 326 ff.; Ismail Hakkī Uzunçarşīlī, *Osmanlī Devleti teşkilātīndan Kapī Kulu Ocaklarī*, 1944, ii, 138 ff.

(B. Lewis)

ABRAHA, a Christian king of South Arabia in the middle of the sixth century A. D. In Islamic literature his fame is due to the tradition that he led a Yamani expedition against Mecca (referred to in the Ḳurʾān, cv) in the year of Muḥammad's birth, c. 570 A.D. The details of Abraha's life given by Muslim historians are largely stories of folk-lore origin which have been attached arbitrarily to the name of a famous personage. For authentic information we must turn to Procopius and the Himyaritic inscriptions. According to Procopius, Hellestheaios king of Abyssinia (ʾlʾṣḥh of the inscription Istanbul 7608 bis) invaded South Arabia a few years before 531 A.D., killed its king, appointed a puppet-ruler named Esimiphaios (smyfʿ of the inscriptions), and retired to Abyssinia; subsequently, Abyssinian deserters who had remained in South Arabia revolted against Esimiphaios and set on the throne Abraha, originally the slave of a Byzantine merchant of Adulis; two expeditions sent by Hellestheaios against the rebels were unsuccessful, and Abraha retained the throne; Justinian's attempts to incite Abraha to attack Persia were in vain, for he merely marched a little way northward and then retired; so long as Hellestheaios was alive, Abraha refused to pay tribute to Abyssinia, but agreed to do so to Hellestheaios' successor. Our main epigraphic source is Abraha's long inscription on the Maʾrib dam (*Corpus inscr. sem.*, iv, 541). This records the quelling of an insurrection supported by a son of the dethroned Esimiphaios in the year 657 of the Sabaean era (between 640-650 A.D.); repairs effected to the dam later in the same year; the reception of embassies from Abyssinia, Byzantium, Persia, Ḥīra and Ḥārith b. Djabalat the phylarch of Arabia; and the completion of repairs to the dam in the following year. A further text (Ryckmans 506, see *le Muséon*, 1953, 275-84) discovered at Murayghān, east of the upper Wadi Tathlīth, records a defeat inflicted by Abraha on the North Arabian tribe Maʿadd in 662 of the Sabaean era. The Maʾrib text begins, "By the power and favour and mercy of God and His Messiah and the Holy Spirit (*rḥ qds*)". It is perhaps significant of a sectarian distinction that Esimiphaios, who was no doubt a Monophysite like his Abyssinian patron, uses a different formula, "In the name of God and His Son Christ victorious and the Holy Spirit (*mnfs qds*)"; possibly Abraha had Nestorian leanings. The titulature adopted by Abraha is identical with that of his immediate predecessors, "King of Sabaʾ and Dhū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat and their Arabs in the plateau and lowland", but in the Maʾrib text he calls himself in addition *ʿzly mlkn ʾgʿzyn*. The word *ʿzly* is not found elsewhere, and no satisfactory explanation of the phrase has yet been given. Conti-Rossini's rendering "the valiant king, of the (tribe) ʾAgʿazi" is syntactically improbable; and Glaser's "viceroy of the Abyssinian king" is incompatible with the passage later in the inscription where Abraha receives an Abyssinian embassy on the same footing as those of Byzantium and Persia. J. Ryckmans' proposed reading *ʿlly mlkn* "the king's highness" is worth consideration. From here onwards reliable sources are silent, and we have only the probably legendary story in the Islamic sources, which attributes the motive of the Meccan expedition to Abraha's jealousy of the Meccan sanctuary and a futile attempt to substitute his church at Ṣanʿa as the place of pilgrimage for all Arabia. If Abraha really made such an expedition (the Ḳurʾān does not name its leader), a more likely explanation of his aims is that the rapprochement with Abyssinia under Hellestheaios' successor caused Abraha to adopt a more aggressive policy towards Persia, and the expedition was the first move of a projected attack on the Persian dominions. However, it proved a failure, and only provoked the Persians to their invasion under Wahrīz a few years later, which finally destroyed the ancient South Arabian kingdom. The *Martyrium Arethae* asserts

that Abraha was placed on the throne by the Abyssinian king Elesbaas (usually identified with Procopius' Hellestheaios) immediately after the death of Dhū Nuwās. Other ecclesiastical sources, such as the *Leges Homeritarum* attributed to Gregentius bishop of Ẓafār, give similar accounts. This version of events, which conflicts fundamentally with both Procopius and the inscriptions, must be regarded as unhistorical and due either to a confusion of names or to a falsification for polemical reasons.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 930-45; Ibn Hishām, i, 28-41; *Aghānī*, xvi, 72; Labīd, xlii, 19; Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm (Kowalski), xiv, 15; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i, 138-145; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit d. Sassaniden*, 200-5; Procopius, *De bello persico*, i, 20; E. Glaser, *Mitt. d. vorderas. Gesch.*, 1897, 360-488; J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam*, 239-45, 320-5; idem, *le Muséon*, 1953, 339-42; C. Conti-Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, 186-95; A. F. L. Beeston, *Notes on the Mureighan inscription*, *BSOAS*, xvi, pt. 2.—Cf. also, for a feature of the legend, ABŪ RIGHĀL. (A. F. L. BEESTON)

ABRAHAM [see IBRĀHĪM AL-KHALĪL].

ʿABS [see GHAṬAFĀN].

AL-ABSHĪHĪ [see AL-IBSHĪHĪ].

ABŪ [see KUNYA].

ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AL-SAFFĀḤ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ʿABBĀS, the first ʿAbbāsid caliph. The surname al-Saffāḥ means "the bloodthirsty" or "the generous". With the other members of the ʿAbbāsid family, he took refuge in Kūfa in Ṣafar 132/Sept.-Oct. 749, shortly after the occupation of the town by al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba and was proclaimed as caliph in the great mosque on 12 Rabīʿ II/28 November, on which occasion he pronounced a famous speech.

The first task of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās was the total defeat of the Umayyads. The ʿAbbāsid troops, under the command of his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, achieved a complete victory on the Upper Zāb (Djumādā II 132/Jan. 750) and flung themselves into the pursuit of Marwān II through Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. When Marwān was killed in Egypt (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 132/August 750), the main campaign could be considered as ended. The isolated resistance of Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] in Wāsiṭ was soon overcome by treachery, while the revolts that broke out in Mesopotamia and Syria were bloodily repressed. The conquerors abandoned themselves to violent acts of revenge, of which the first in importance was the episode on Nahr Abī Fuṭrus [*q.v.*]. Here ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, having killed about eighty Umayyad chiefs, laid tables over their bodies, which he afterwards threw to the dogs to eat. Similar scenes occurred in al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and in the Ḥidjāz. Furthermore, the tombs of the Umayyad caliphs were violated. Similarly, the discontent of the ʿAlids, who, after having supported the cause of the revolt, saw themselves deprived of its fruits, was suppressed in blood: in 133/750-1, the governor of Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, put down a rising on behalf of the ʿAlids in Bukhārā.

In this way, soon after the accession of the ʿAbbasids to the caliphate, the principal sources of opposition, namely the Umayyad and the ʿAlid exenemies, were eliminated. The ʿAbbāsids, however, wanted to go even further, to the elimination of their own political and military chiefs who had gained too great an authority, or who were, rightly or wrongly, suspected of insubordination. With the complicity of Abū Muslim, Abū Salama [*q.v.*] and Sulaymān b. Kathīr [*q.v.*] were suppressed. Afterwards it was the turn of Abū Muslim; the first attempt against him, in connection with the rebellion of Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ in Transoxania (135/752-3) was unsuccessful; the second, immediately after the the death of Abu'l-ʿAbbās, was carried out successfully by his successor, al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Abu'l-ʿAbbās died in al-Anbār, to which town he had transferred his residence, in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 136/June 754. It is difficult to pass a judgment on his personality, as we do not exactly know what was his personal share in the events of his short caliphate. What is certain is that during his reign the ʿAbbāsid movement not only passed from the revolutionary to the legal phase, but also consolidated itself, and the first signs appeared of that political and economic power which were confirmed by the caliphate of al-Manṣūr.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Guirgass), Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, indexes; *Aghānī*, *Tables*; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 118-21; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 338-52. For the surname al-Saffāḥ: H. F. Amedroz, *On the Meaning of the Laqab* "al-Saffāḥ", *JRAS*, 1907, 660-3. On Ibn Hurayra: S. Moscati, *Il "tradimento" di Wāsiṭ*, *Muséon*, 1951, 177-86. On the massacre of the Umayyads: idem, *Le massacre des Umayyades*, *ArO*, 1950, 88-115. On Abū Muslim: idem, *Studi su Abū Muslim, I-II*, *Rend. Lin*, 1949, 323-35, 474-95; 1950, 89-105, and ABŪ MUSLIM. (S. MOSCATI)

ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH YAʿḲŪB B. DĀʾŪD, vizier. Belonging to a philo-ʿAlid family, he participated, together with his brother ʿAlī, in the revolt of Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh against the caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762-3. Imprisoned for this, he was pardoned by the next caliph al-Mahdī in 159/775-6 and succeeded in gaining his favour, it is said, by revealing the plan of escape of another partisan of the ʿAlids. Having become a confidant and counsellor of the caliph, he was appointed vizier in 163/779-80 in place of Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, and used his power in favour of his ʿAlid friends. This policy was the main reason for the suspicion, following upon some court rumours, entertained against him by al-Mahdī. The story goes that the caliph put him on trial by handing over to his charge an ʿAlid with the order to kill him secretly; but he let him escape. When this was discovered, he was deposed and thrown into prison, from which he was released only by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Completely blind by now, his only wish was to be sent to Mecca, where he died, probably in 186/802. His policy was perhaps the expression of an attempt at reconciling the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids; if so, he himself was at the same time the symbol and the victim of the precarious nature of such an attempt.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, Index; Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā wa 'l-Kuttāb*, Cairo 1938, 114-122; Ibn Khallikān, no. 840; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (Dérenbourg), 250-5, 257; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1946, 164-7. (S. MOSCATI)

ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪʿĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD B. MUḤ. B. ZAKARIYYĀʾ, sometimes also called AL-MUḤTASIB (he had allegedly been a *muḥtasib*, market overseer, in ʿIrāḳ), the founder of Fāṭimid rule in North Africa. A native of Ṣanʿāʾ, he joined the Ismāʿīlī movement in ʿIrāḳ and was sent to Yaman, where he spent his apprenticeship with Manṣūr al-Yaman (Ibn Ḥawshab), head of the

Ismāʿīlī mission in that country. On the pilgrimage of 279/892 he met in Mecca some Kutāma pilgrims and accompanied them back to their native country, which they reached on 14 Rabīʿ I 280/3 June 893. He first established himself in Īkdjān near Saṭīf. In face of the opposition directed against him by a confederacy of Kutāma clans, Abū ʿAbd Allāh transferred his headquarters to Tāzrūt, where he steadily strengthened his position, captivated Mīla and was able to withstand the attacks of two expeditions sent against him by the Aghlabid government (289/902 and 290/903). On the occasion of a temporary setback, his headquarters were moved back to Īkdjān, which remained his base for subsequent operations. In 289/902 the *imām* al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*] fled from Syria, attempted to join Abū ʿAbd Allāh, but had to take refuge in Sidjilmāssa, where he was imprisoned. Abū ʿAbd Allāh's brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad, who had accompanied the *imām*, fell into the hands of the Aghlabids. Abū ʿAbd Allāh then took Saṭīf, Ṭubna (293/906) and Billizma (same year), was victorious in the battle of Dār Mallūl, conquered Tīdjis, Bāghāya, defeated the Aghlabid army near Dār Madyan, and seized Ḳasṭiliya and Ḳafsa (296/909). When he took al-Urbus (Laribus), the key of Ifrīḳiya (23 Djumāda II, 296/19 March 909), the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh fled from Raḳḳāda. Abū ʿAbd Allāh entered the Aghlabid capital on 1 Radjab 296/25 March 909. Leaving his brother Abu'l-ʿAbbās as his lieutenant, Abū ʿAbd Allāh led an expedition against Sidjilmāssa and liberated the *imām*, who triumphantly entered Raḳḳāda on 20 Rabīʿ II 297/6 Jan. 910, and conferred high honours on Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abu'l-ʿAbbās. The ruler and his powerful servants, however, soon fell foul fo each other and both brothers were murdered on 1 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 298/31 July 911.

Bibliography: The main authority, and almost the unique source for the later historians, is al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwa* (MSS preserved among the Bohras). Written in 346/957-8, this book mainly consists of a very detailed account of Abū ʿAbd Allāh's activities. It is quoted in al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, transl. E. Fagnan, *Centenario Michele Amari*, i, 35 ff.; an extensive précis in ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, first half of vol. v. Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, in his lost history of Ifrīḳiya, followed the account of al-Nuʿmān (see the quotation in al-Nuwayrī, beg. of section on the Fāṭimids; cf. J. A. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, p. ccccìii). On Ibn al-Raḳīḳ was based the relevant chapter in Ibn Shaddād's history of al-Ḳayrawān, known from the excerpts in Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 23 ff., al-Nuwayrī, al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, transl. Fagnan, 47-53, 67-78. In this way, al-Nuʿmān's narrative entered into the main stream of Islamic general history. (Cf. also Ibn Ḥamādū (Vonderheyden), 7; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, ii, 509 f.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 349-50, ii, 10 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 171).—The account of ʿArīb (printed in the editions of Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*: Dozy, i, 129 ff., Lévi-Provençal and Colin, i, 134 ff.) is independant of al-Nuʿmān; Ibn ʿIdhārī (ed. Dozy, i, 118 ff., ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, i, 124 ff.) copies Abū Marwān al-Warrāḳ, 6th/11th century (who ultimately depends upon al-Nuʿmān), and ʿArīb.—Of modern accounts—all of them antiquated by the recovery of the *Iftitāḥ*—that by F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881, 8 ff., can be recommended. For the phases of Abū ʿAbd Allāh's career where it touches that of the *imām*, cf. W. Ivanow, *Rise of the Fatimids*, index, and AL-MAHDĪ ʿUBAYD ĀLLAH.

(S. M. STERN)

ABŪ 'L-ʿALĀ' AL-MAʿARRĪ [see AL-MAʿARRĪ].

ABŪ (BŪ) **ʿALI ḲALANDAR** (Shaykh) SHARAF AL-DĪN PĀNĪPATĪ, one of the most venerated of Indian saints, is believed to have died in 724/1324. There is little authentic information about his life and none of the surviving contemporary works even mention him by name. The earliest reference to him is in ʿAfīf's *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* (written in 800/1396), wherein Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's visit to him is recorded. According to the accounts of his life written in the 11th/17th century, he was a native of Pānipat, to which place his father, Sālār Fakhr al-Dīn, had come from ʿIrāḳ. Trained as a theologian, he ultimately renounced scholasticism, threw away his books in the river, and became a *Ḳalandar*. In the ecstasy of divine love, he gave up observing the commandments of God and the Prophetic Traditions, though he subjected himself to great self-mortification. He is supposed to have been a spiritual descendant of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*]; however, it is doubtful if he belonged to any organized ṣūfī order. Numerous legends regarding his life, miracles and death have grown, and it is difficult even to say whether the tomb at Pānīpat or at Karnāl is his, though the former is more famous. The works attributed to him include letters on divine love addressed to Ikhtiyār al-Dīn (Sulayman Coll., Aligarh Univ.); *Ḥikam-nāma* (As. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow: 1196), which is definitely apocryphal; and two *mathnawīs*: *Kalām-i Ḳalandar* (Meerut) and *Mathnawī Bū ʿAlī Shāh Ḳalandar* (Lucknow 1891).

Bibliography: *Akhbār al-Akhyār*; *Gulzār-i Abrār* (As. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow 259, ff. 32-3); *Ṣubḥ-i Ṣādiḳ* (A. S. Coll., Aligarh Univ., iii f. 411a); *Siyar al-Aḳṭāb*; *Mir'āt al-Asrār* (B. M. Or. 216, f. 386a); *Maʿāridj al-Wilāya* (Nizami's MS., Aligarh Univ., 230-5); *Sharaf al-Madjālis* (Sulayman Coll., Aligarh Univ.); *Punjab Dist. Gazetteer*, Karnal 1918, 76, 210-1, 223-4; *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, 125; 1873, 97. (NURUL HASAN)

ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḲĀLĪ [see AL-ḲĀLĪ].

ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. ILYĀS [see ILYĀSIDS].

ABU 'L-ʿĀLIYA RUFAYʿ B. MIHRĀN **AL-RIYĀḤĪ**, a liberated slave of the Banū Riyāḥ, belonging to the first generation of *tābiʿūn* residing in Baṣra; d. 90/708-9 or 96/714. A commentary on the Ḳur'ān is attributed to him (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), ii, 352), but he is mainly known as a traditionist and a transmitter of the Ḳur'ān. Having collected in al-Baṣra and in Medina *ḥadīth* transmitted particularly by ʿUmar and Ubayy b. Kaʿb, he was considered thrustworthy (*thiḳa*) and contributed to the training of Ḳatāda, Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal and other traditionists of renown. His name figures frequently in the "chains" of transmission of *hadith* admitted into the great collections. In the same way, data put under his name are admitted by al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *passim*, e.g. i, 228; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl* (Fleischer), i, 12[24]. He transmitted his system of "reading" (*ḳirā'a*) to al-Aʿmash and to the readers of Baṣra Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā' [*q.v.*] and Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥabḥāb al-Azdī (d. 130/747). He played no political role and took no part in the conflict between ʿAlī and his partisans and the Umayyads.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vii, 81-5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 200; Ṭabarī, i, 108-25; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, Cairo 1351-6, ii,

217-24; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1332, v, 323-6; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ* (Wüstenfeld), 738-9; ʿUthmānī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahāʾ*, MS Paris 2093, 43v; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, ii, 186-7, Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, no. 1272; A. Sprenger, *Leben des Mohammed*, iii, CVII, CXVI. (R. BLACHÈRE)

ABŪ ʿAMR ZABBĀN B. AL-ʿ**ALĀʾ**, a celebrated 'reader' of the Ḳurʾān, regarded as the founder of the grammatical school of Baṣra, died c. 154/770.

This scholar seems to have claimed a genealogy connecting him with the Arab tribe of Māzin of the confederation of Tamīm; see Ibn Khallikān and the other biographers, including Ibn al-Djazarī, who, however, in one isolated statement, links him with Ḥanīfa. His name, Zabbān, has never been fully confirmed, and is only given in preference to a score of others. He is believed to have been born c. 70/689 at the latest, either at Mecca, according to the generally accepted view, including that of Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 292 (citing a disciple of Abū ʿAmr, the 'reader' ʿAbd al-Wārith, d. 180/796), or at Kāzarūn, in southern Persia, according to an isolated piece of evidence in the works of Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 289. If the former is correct, he must have passed his childhood in Ḥidjāz before going to ʿIrāḳ; if the latter, the opposite would be the case. The only established fact is that Abū ʿAmr accompanied his father when the latter, harassed by al-Ḥadjdjadj's police, fled from ʿIrāḳ to seek refuge in southern Arabia; see Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 289 (there appear to be lacunae in the text), and Ibn Khallikān, i, 386 *ad fin*. (Ibn al-Anbārī, 32, merely says that Abū ʿAmr had to flee from al-Ḥadjdjādj, without giving any details). According to his own recollections, Abū ʿAmr was then a little more than twenty (which gives some force to the statements which put his year of birth at 70/689); see Ibn Khallikān, i, 387. It seems permissible to assume, from the passage of Ibn al-Djazarī, I, 289[8], that this journey gave him the opportunity of pursuing further his 'readings' of the Ḳurʾān at Mecca and Medina, studies which he would appear to have continued on his return to ʿIrāḳ. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this assertion with the statement of Ibn Khallikān, i, 387, that Abū ʿAmr and his father returned immediately to ʿIrāḳ upon the death of al-Ḥadjdjādj, in 95/714. However that may be, when Abū ʿAmr had settled in ʿIrāḳ, it appears that he rarely left Baṣra again. If it is indeed he who is praised in a line of al-Farazdaḳ (d. 114/732-3) (see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 367), he was already before that date a celebrity of some standing in his city of adoption: cf. the flattering comment on him attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and handed on by Ibn al-Djazarī, 291. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that reveals anything about his relations with the Umayyad authorities. On the other hand, when the ʾAbbāsids came to power, his celebrity seems to have won him recognition even in governmental circles, since he is said to have had dealings with the uncle of the caliph al-Saffāḥ, Sulaymān (Ibn Khallikān, i, 387), and with the uncle of the caliph al-Mahdī, Yazīd (see *Fihrist*, 50[15]), as well as with the governor of Syria, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. It was on his return from a visit to the last-named that he died and was buried at Kūfa, c. 154/770 (or 155/771 or 157/773); see Ibn al-Djazarī, 293 (Ibn Khallikān gives also 159/775).

Abū ʿAmr seems to have left no written works, and when Ibn al-Nadīm, 41, states that he saw manuscripts of this master, at al-Ḥaditha, in the 4th/10th century, and when this same author adds, 88, that a *K. al-Nawādir* was handed down in the version left by him, he must have been referring to writings taken down from his oral teaching by his disciples.

Abū ʿAmr belongs to the generation of scholars for whom the study of Arabic was dependent on that of the Ḳurʾān. It is thus an arbitrary distinction if one tries to separate in him the 'reader' of the Koran from the grammarian and the 'transmitter' of poetry.

During his stay in Ḥidjāz, Abū ʿAmr initiated himself into the system of 'reading' in process of formation at Mecca and Medina, following the teaching of Abu 'l-ʿĀliya [*q.v.*] and Ibn Kathīr in particular. In ʿIrāḳ he studied the system of Ibn Abī Isḥāḳ al-Ḥaḍramī and of others (at Baṣra), and that of ʿĀṣim (at Kūfa). A list of his masters is given by Ibn al-Djazarī, 289; cf. also al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 398, and *Fihrist*, 39. He built up a system of his own in which the Mecca and Medina influences predominate; a complete table of the origins of this system has been drawn up by C. Pellat, *Milieu basrien*, 77 f. The 'reading' of Abū ʿAmr, at Baṣra, displaced all others previously existing in the town, and especially that of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: see Pellat, *op. cit.*, 76; it is said to have been recommended by the 'reader' of Kūfa, Shuʿba (d. 193/808): see Ibn al-Djazarī, 292; it was taught by disciples who later became famous, such as Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, al-Aṣmaʿī, and a large number of others: see the list ibid., 289. In the 4th/10th century, when the reforms of Ibn al-Mudjahid were introduced, this system took its place among the canonical 'Seven readings'. At the time of Ibn al-Djazarī (d. 833/1429) it was the accepted system in Yaman, in Ḥidjāz, and in Syria, a province where it had finally ousted that of Ibn ʿĀmir in the 5th/11th century: see Ibn al-Djazarī, 292. This system of 'reading' was the subject of a treatise by Ibn al-Mudjāhid, see *Fihrist*, 31[18]. Nevertheless, writings of the same order had been composed before that period: see the list, ibid., 28. Another summary is also known, entitled *al-Ḳaṭar al-Miṣrī fī ḳirāʾat Abī ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Baṣrī*, by ʿUmar b. al-Ḳāsim al-Nashshār (d. 900/1495), which is preserved in Berlin: see Ahlwardt, no. 639. We have, too, an opuscule based on the oral tradition, on the orthography of the Koran: see O. Rescher, in WZKM, 1912, 94 (this opuscule is in a miscellaneous collection, in Aya Sofia, no. 4814). The influence of Abū ʿAmr was of the first importance for the development of grammatical and lexicographical studies at Baṣra. It is less easy to follow, however, than the influence of his system of 'reading'. Among his disciples, the following names are worthy of note: Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, al-Aṣmaʿī (see al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 323, 329; *Fihrist*, 42; Ibn al-Anbārī, 30), Abū ʿUbayda (see Ibn Khallikān, 387), Khalaf al-Aḥmar (see al-Suyūṭī, ii, 278, 403), and the future founder of the School of Kūfa, al-Ruʾāsī (see id., ii, 400). It is possible that already then, under his stimulus, the method of seeking information from the Beduins, in matters concerning grammar and lexicography, was developed at Baṣra. (see the anecdote recorded by id., ii, 278 and 304).

By his disciples, and especially by Abū ʿUbayda and by such a scholar as al-Djāḥiẓ, Abū ʿAmr was regarded as 'the most learned man in things pertaining to the Arabs, and combining with the accuracy of his auricular transmission the veracity of his statements' (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 255, 256; cf. Abū 'l-Ṭayyib, who expresses a similar view in *Muzhir*, ii, 399). And yet this point raises a very delicate problem. This scholar seems, indeed, like a number

of his contemporaries, to have been an enthusiastic collector of archaic poetry and of accounts of the 'Days of the Arabs'; cf. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, Paris, 1952, i, 101 f. According to an account taken from Abū ʿUbayda by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 256 (repeated in a somewhat changed form by Ibn al-Djazarī, 290, Ibn Khallikān, i, 386, and al-Kutubī, i, 164), 'the books which Abū ʿAmr had written by taking the words down from such Arabs as were worthy to serve as informers filled a room in his dwelling. Later on, having devoted himself to 'reading' (of the Ḳuʾrān), he burnt these books'. This piece of evidence, which we have no means of checking, does not say that Abū ʿAmr destroyed the collections of poetry made by himself, as has been too often asserted. Actually, the main point to keep in mind is that after this destruction—if it took place—Abū ʿAmr continued nevertheless to communicate orally the documentation which he had accumulated in his memory. There are many anecdotes which show his knowledge of ancient poetry; see for example, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 256, ii, 121; al-Sīrāfī, 30; Ibn al-Anbārī, 31, 34. It is known that on one occasion he did not hesitate to forge a line; see al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 415. This fact, which he himself admitted, in no way detracted from his acknowledged authority as a 'transmitter' (*rāwī*). His place among Arab lexicographers seems to have been very important, since he is said to have been, in this sphere, the master of al-Khalīl [*q.v.*]; see ibid., ii, 398, and also the numerous references to Abū ʿAmr's lexicographical authority, ibid., ii, 73, 111, 291, 360. The authors of *adab* and the anthologists often quote, too, his judgements on the poets; see for example, ibid., ii, 479, 484, 486.

It is no exaggeration to say that the figure of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ dominates the intellectual activity of the centre of Baṣra at the period when the generation of scholars was growing up—men such as al-Khalīl, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda—who were to become the masters of the philological and grammatical school of that town.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), Cairo 1351, i, 255-6 and *passim*; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn* (Krenkow), and again in Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ*, 29-38; *Fihrist*, 35, 39, 88, and *passim*, used by Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, 32 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, 478; and again in al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾat al-Djanān*, i, 325 f.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 164; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghayat al-Nihāya* (Bergsträsser), Cairo 1933, i, 288-92 and *passim*; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, 367, and *Muzhir* (Badjāwī), Cairo 1942, ii, 398 f. and *passim*; C. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien dans la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 76-8; Brockelmann, I, 99, S I, 158.

(R. Blachère)

ABU ʾL-ʿARAB Muḥammad b. Tamīm b. Tammām al-Tamīmī, Malikite *faḳīh*, traditionist, historian and poet from Ḳayrawān. Offspring of a great Arab family (his great-grandfather was governor of Tūnis, seized Ḳayrawān in 183/799 and ended his life in prison in Baghdād), Abu'l-ʿArab, born in Ḳayrawān between 250/864 and 260/873, devoted himself to study under various masters, trained, in his turn, several pupils (notably Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī), took part in the revolt of Abū Yazīd against the Fatimids, was put in prison and died in 333/945. Of the works on *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth* and history attributed to him, only the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿUlamāʾ Ifriḳiya*, a collection of anecdotical biographies of the scholars of Ḳayrawān and Tūnis, seems to have been preserved (ed. and transl. by M. Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrîqîya*, Algiers 1915-20).

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii, 105; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 233; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim* iii, 42; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* (BAH, ix), 297, 301; H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhab al-Madrasī*², Cairo 1944, 37-8.

(Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ ʿARĪSH, a town in ʿAsīr, about 20 miles from Djīzān. Philby describes it as kite-shaped, nearly a mile across, consisting mainly of brushwood huts (*ʿarāʾish*) and adjoining extensive ruins. The population (about 12,000) grows millet and sesame. The merchants are mostly of Ḥaḍramī origin.

First settled by a shaykh (7th/13th century), it prospered under the Zaydī Imāms who captured it in 1036/1627. In the next century the local *ashrāf* became independent. They temporarily submitted to the Wahhābīs (1217/1802-3) and later to the Egyptians. When the latter abandoned Ḥudayda (1256/1840) Sharīf Ḥusayn occupied the Tihāma, was made Pasha and threatened ʿAdan. Britain protested and the Turks drove him back to ʿAsīr. The power of the *ashrāf*, weakened by civil war and the attacks of Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾiḍ, disappeared when the Turks reoccupied ʿAsīr; Philby could find no trace of them. Abū ʿArīsh has since belonged in turn to the Turks, the Idrīsī and Ibn Saʿūd.

Bibliography: Descriptions: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 267; Tamisier, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 383-91; H. St. J. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, History: Tamisier, *op. cit.*, i, 365-74; Philby, *op. cit.*; A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*,; H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, 51-4; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 240, ii, 6-8; ʿUthmān b. Bishr al-Nadjdī al-Ḥanbalī, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd*, Mecca 1349, i, 144-5, 211.

(C. F. Beckingham)

ABŪ ʿARŪBA, al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Maʿshar Muḥammad b. Mawdūd al-Sulamī al-Ḥarrānī, *ḥadīth* scholar of Ḥarrān (b. ca. 222/837, d. 318/930-1).

Practically nothing is known about his life, except the names of his authorities and his students, some of them very famous personalities. He is said to have been judge or *muftī* of Ḥarrān. One source (Ibn ʿAsākir *apud* al-Dhahabī) states that he was a partisan of the Umayyads.

According to the *Fihrist*, 230, Abū ʿArūba wrote only one work, a collection of traditions which were transmitted by his authorities. This work seems to be identical with the *Ṭabaḳāt* which are mentioned as a work of Abū ʿArūba by al-Dhahabī. An excerpt from the *Ṭabaḳāt*, which deals with the men around Muḥammad and their traditions, is preserved in Damascus (cf. Yūsuf al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya*, Damascus 1947, 169). Abū ʿArūba is also quoted as the author of a history of Ḥarrān (or collection of biographies of scholars of the Djazīra) and a *Kitāb al-Awāʾil*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 663; *Fihrist*, 322; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 161a and passim; Yāḳūt, ii, 232, and *passim*; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* (ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2925, iv, fols. 178b-179a); Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ* (ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2910, ix, 545-7); idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, *anno* 318; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 279; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 310, 389, 393.

(F. Rosenthal)

ABU ʾL-ASWAD al-DUʾALĪ (or, according to West-Arabic pronunciation al-Dīlī, nomen relativum from al-Duʾil b. Bakr, a clan of the Banū Kināna),

a partisan of ʿAlī. His name (Ẓālim b. ʿAmr) and genealogy are uncertain; his mother belonged to the clan ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy of Ḳuraysh. He was probably born some years before the Hidjra. In the caliphate of ʿUmar he went to Baṣra. He lived first among his own tribe, then among the Banū Hudhayl, and for some time also among the Banū Ḳushayr, the kinsmen of his favourite wife; but his Shīʿite propensities as well as his obstinacy and avarice made him disagreeable to his neighbours. It is doubtful whether he held any office under ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. In ʿAlī's caliphate he rose to prominence. He is said to have taken part in the unsuccessful negotiations with ʿĀʾisha and in the ensuing "Battle of the Camel", and also fought at Ṣiffīn for ʿAlī. He was employed at Baṣra either as ḳāḍī or as secretary to the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, and is even said to have held a military command in the wars against the Khawāridj. When ʿAlī's star was setting, and according to al-Madāʾinī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās planned to leave Baṣra, taking with him the treasury, Abu 'l-Aswad tried to stop him and reported the matter to ʿAlī, who appointed him governor. This post he held, if at all, only for a short time. When ʿAlī was murdered, he made in a poem (no. 59 in Rescher's numbering) the Umayyads responsible for it. But his sentiments were of no consequence, as there was no large Shīʿa element in Baṣra (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 121). He did not realize that he had lost all influence. He had reason to complain about Muʿāwiya's representative ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, with whom he had formerly been on good terms (Poems nos. 23, 46), and also tried in vain to gain the favour of the viceroy Ziyād b. Abīh. Relations between them had been strained already in the caliphate of ʿAlī, when Ziyād was in charge of the revenue-office (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 119). He lamented the death of al-Ḥusayn in 61/680 (no. 61) and cried for vengeance (no. 62). The last event mentioned in his poems is his complaint to the "Prince of the Faithful" Ibn al-Zubayr about his representative at Baṣra in c. 67/686 (Ibn Saʿd, v, 19). He died, according to al-Madāʾinī, at Baṣra during the great plague in 69/688.

A collection of his poems, made by al-Sukkarī, is extant, but has been published only in part. They are poor in language and style and artistically and historically insignificant; most of them deal with petty incidents of everyday life; some of the poems are apparently forged. This applies also to the widely circulated allegation—invented most probably by some philologist of the Baṣra school—that is was Abu'l-Aswad who laid down for the first time the rules of Arabic grammar and invented the vocalisation of the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 37, S I, 72; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 131-3; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 232-40; O. Rescher, in *WZKM*, 1913, 375-97; Ibn Saʿd, vii, 1, 70; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 457; *Maʿārif*, 222; *Aghānī*[1], xi, 105-124; al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār*, 13-22; J. W. Fück, *Arabiya*, 6.

(J. W. Fück)

ABŪ ʿAṬĀʾ AL-SINDĪ, Aflaḥ (or Marzūḳ) b. Yasār, Arabic poet. He owes his surname of al-Sindī to the fact that his father came from Sind; he himself was born in Kūfa and lived there as a client of the Banū Asad. He fought for the declining Umayyad dynasty with pen and sword, praising them and casting scorn on their adversaries. It is true, however, that when the ʿAbbāsids obtained power, he tried to insinuate himself into the favour of the new rulers by singing their praises. But the iron character of al-Saffāḥ was but little sensible to such fawning, and under the reign of his successor, al-Manṣūr, the poet was even obliged to keep himself hidden. Only after al-Manṣūr's death in 158/774 did he again make his appearance. He died, no doubt, shortly afterwards, but the exact date is not known. Abū ʿAṭāʾ was considered a good poet—his elegy on Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] being especially famous—although he pronounced Arabic badly and even stammered, so that he was obliged to have his poetry recited by others.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 482-4; Abū Tammān, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 372 ff.; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 81-7; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 380; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-Laʾālī* (Maimani), 802; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1283, i, 937; collection of fragments by Baloch Nabi Bakhsh Khan, *IC*, 1949, 137 f.

(A. Schaade*)

ABU 'L-ʿATĀHIYA, poetic nickname ("father of craziness") of Abū Isḥāḳ Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḳāsim b. Suwayd b. Kaysān, Arabic poet, born in Kūfa (or ʿAyn al-Tamr) 130/748 and died 210/825 or 211/826. His family had been *mawālī* of the ʿAnaza tribe for two or three generations, and were engaged in menial occupations; his father was a cupper, and the poet himself as a youth sold earthenware in the streets. His outlook on life was embittered by a sense of social inferiority; in his later verse he gave vent to his hatred of the governing class and the wealthy; and he was notorious for covetousness and meanness to the end of his life. But like Bashshār b. Burd, he had a natural gift for poetry, and hoped to find in this the door to a larger life. On account of his poverty he had not the time to attend lectures on philology and the poetry of the ancients, and to this we must attribute the freshness and unconventionality of his style. As a young man he associated with the profligate circle of poets grouped around Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, and gained a reputation with his *ghazals* and wine-songs; later critics have condemned these productions as poor and effeminate (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 497), and only fragments of them have survived. Like most of the spontaneous poets, he showed a preference for simple language and short metres, and first rose to fame by a panegyric on al-Mahdī which, in spite of these unconventional characteristics, gained the caliph's favour. He made himself notorious in Baghdād by his ghazals in praise of ʿUtba, a slave-girl of al-Mahdī's cousin Rayṭa, who hoped to gain the caliph's notice but had no intention of throwing herself away on a penniless nobody. He held the caliph responsible for his failure to win ʿUtba, and some indiscrete verses gained him a flogging and banishment to Kūfa. When al-Mahdī died, he took his revenge in some verses which could be read ambiguously.

Back in Baghdād his fulsome praise of al-Hādī annoyed the latter's successor Hārūn al-Rashīd, who sent him to prison along with his friend Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. Restored to favour, he charmed Hārūn with his love-lyrics, but suddenly renounced the *ghazal* and devoted himself to ascetic poetry (c. 178). Hārūn at first took umbrage at his conversion and imprisoned him, but was reconciled later at the instances of al-Faḍl b. Rabīʿ, and in part also no doubt because of his popularity with the masses. It may be suspected that al-Faḍl's patronage was connected with his intrigue, in association with the queen Zubayda, against the Barmakids, and that Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya's new "ascetic" productions conveniently served their purposes. However that may be, Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya maintained henceforward a vast

output of sermons in verse, long and short, painting the horrors of all-levelling Death, and directed especially against the rich and the powerful, not excluding the caliph himself. So profitable was it that when Abū Nuwās also began to produce *zuhdiyyāt* Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya warned him not to trespass on the field to which he had established a prescriptive right (*Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1924, 70). Some later critics questioned, not without cause, the sincerity of his conversion, notably the real ascetic Abu'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, who referred to him as "that astute fellow" (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, xv, MS Brit. Mus. 575, fol. 136).

A more frequent accusation brought against Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya is that of heresy, which was a favourite weapon at the time; and it was suggested by Goldziher that one reason for his imprisonments may be sought in the occasionally unorthodox tone of some of his poems. Having no theological education he seems to have been influenced by the modified legacy of Manichaean beliefs still current in ʿIrāḳ, which accounted for the disorders of this world by the existence of two primary substances, good and evil, though Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya held that both were the creation of Allāh. In certain of his verses also, such as "If you would see the noblest of mankind look for a king in the guise of a pauper", there may be suggestions of a concealed attachment to Mūsā al-Kāẓim and the cause of the Shīʿite imāms, still strong in Kūfa.

His astonishing success as a poet was due to the simplicity, spontaneity, and artlessness of his language, which contrasted with the laboured artificiality of some of his contemporaries, and expressed the feelings of the people in verse that they could understand. He was fortunate also, by his friendship with Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, to have many of his poems set to music by the foremost musician of the day. He and his younger contemporary Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] were the first to use *muzdawidj* (couplet) rhyming verse, and he was the first, according to al-Maʿarrī (*al-Fuṣūl wa'l-Ghayāt*, i, 131), to invent the metre *muḍāriʿ*. He also used a metre consisting of eight long syllables. Owing to his enormous output his entire *dīwān* was never collected. The *zuhdiyyāt* were put together by the Spanish scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 91; al-*Aghānī*[2], iii, 126-83 ([3], iv, 1-112); see also Guidi's *Tables* for other references; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 250-60; Goldziher, *Trans. IX Congress of Orientalists*, 113 ff.; G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 215 ff., 225 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 76; S I, 119. Partial editions of the *dīwān* were published in Bairut 1887, 1909; see also *Madjmūʿa*, ed. F. E. Bustani, Bairut 1927; *Zuhdiyyāt*, trans. O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1928. (A. GUILLAUME)

ABU 'L-AʿWAR ʿAMR B. SUFYĀN AL-**SULAMĪ** general in the service of Muʿāwiya. He belonged to the powerful tribe of Sulaym (hence "al-Sulamī"); his mother was a Christian and his father had fought at Uḥud in the ranks of the Ḳuraysh. The son, who does not seem to have belonged to the closest circle of the Prophet, went, probably with the army commanded by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, to Syria. In the battle of the Yarmūk he was in charge of a detachment, and from that time he followed faithfully the fortunes of the Umayyads. He thus exposed himself to the execration of ʿAlī, especially after he had taken part in the battle of Ṣiffīn. He assisted ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī in conquering Egypt for Muʿāwiya and was in command of various military expeditions by sea. In addition, he showed also diplomatic and administrative abilities. At Ṣiffīn, he took part in the negotiations with ʿAlī and prepared the preliminary draft for the conference of Adhruḥ. He was also commissioned to count the *fallāḥs* of Palestine for a new distribution of taxes. Muʿāwiya had in mind to appoint him in Egypt to the post of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, who had been guilty of showing a too independent attitude; but this plan came to nothing, and he was appointed to the governorship of the province of al-Urdunn. On the ground of his services the Arabic annalists counted him among the main lieutenants of Muʿāwiya, those who constituted his *shīʿa* or *biṭāna*. He disappeared from the political scene before the end of Muʿāwiya's reign.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 106; Ibn Rusta, 213; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 351; Michael the Syrian (Chabot), ii, 442, 445, 450; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 149; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 138; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 14; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne de Moʿâwia*, 42 ff. (H. LAMMENS*)

ABŪ ʿAWN ʿABD AL-MALIK B. YAZĪD AL-KHURASĀNĪ, general in the service of the ʿAbbāsids. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Khurāsān, 25 Ramaḍān 129/9 June 747, Abū ʿAwn several times took part in the war against the Umayyads. At first he accompanied the ʿAbbāsid general Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb; then he was sent by the latter to Shahrazūr, where on 20 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 131/10 August 749, in conjunction with Mālik b. Ṭarīf, he defeated ʿUthmān b. Sufyān. While Abū ʿAwn remained in the vicinity of Mosul, the Umayyad caliph Marwān II marched against him. Under the supreme command of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, Abū ʿAwn took part in the battle by the Greater Zāb (11 Djumādā II 132/25 January 750), in the pursuit of Marwān, and in the capture of Damascus. When ʿAbd Allāh remained behind in Palestine, he sent Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī together with Abū ʿAwn and a few others to continue the pursuit to Egypt, and it was there that the caliph, after a fresh defeat, was tracked down and killed in the same year. Abū ʿAwn remained in Egypt till further orders as governor. In 159/775-6 he was appointed governor of Khurāsān by al-Mahdī, but deposed in the following year.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Indexes; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 341-3; L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, Roma 1912, under the relevant years. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

ABU 'L-ʿAYNĀʾ MUḤAMMED B. AL-ḲĀSIM B. KHALLĀD B. YĀSIR B. SULAIMĀN AL-HĀSHIMĪ, an Arabian littérateur and poet. He was born about the year 190/805 in al-Ahwāz (his family came from al-Yamāma) and grew up in Baṣra, where he received instruction from the most famous philologists, Abū ʿUbaida, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and others. He was renowned amongst his contemporaries not only for his linguistic attainments, but also for his quickness at repartee. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir collected anecdotes concerning him in a special work entitled *Akhbār Abi 'l-ʿAynāʾ*, many of which are to be found in the *al-Aghānī*. The book itself as well as the collection of his poems have not been preserved. He became blind at the age of 40, later on he emigrated to Bagdad, but returned to Baṣra again and died there in the year 282 or 283/896.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 125; Ibn Khallikān, no. 615. (C. BROCKELMANN)

ABŪ AYYŪB KHĀLID B. ZAYD B. KULAYB AL-NADJDJĀRĪ AL-**ANṢĀRĪ**, generally known by his *kunya*, companion of the Prophet. It was in the

house of Abū Ayyūb that the Prophet stayed on his emigration to Medina, before his own mosque and house were built. He took part in all the Prophet's expeditions, was present at all the battles of early Islam and served under the command of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī during the conquest of Egypt. Later on he was appointed by ʿAlī to the governorship of Medina, but was obliged to rejoin ʿAlī in ʿIrāḳ when Busr b. Abī Arṭāt approched the town with an army of 3000 men put at his disposal by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī. In ʿIrāḳ Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī took part in the battles fought there by ʿAlī. During the reign of Muʿāwiya, he took part in the invasion of Cyprus and the expedition against Constantinople led by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya. During the siege of the Byzantine capital Abū Ayyūb died of dysentery, in the year 52/672 (the years 50, 51 and 55 are also given as the date of his death). At his own request, he was buried under the walls of Constantinople.

150 *ḥadīths* are attributed to Abū Ayyūb, but only a small number of them (thirteen altogether) have been admitted as authentic by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Tadjrīd Asmāʾ al-Ṣaḥāba*, Ḥaydarābād 1315, i, 161, ii, 161; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 5, 154; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 49-50; Ṭabarī, iii, 23-4; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr* (Torrey), index; Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, ii, 294; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, i, 156, ii, 638; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, iii, 90; idem, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, ii, 89; Khazradjī, *Khulāṣa*, Cairo 1322, 86; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī, *Djamʿ*, Ḥaydarābād 1323, 118; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii, 88, v, 143; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, Leiden 1855, i, 22, 34, 151, 158-60; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ* Göttingen 1842-7, 652; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1322, i, 112; Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿUlamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, ed. and transl. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920; 21/66 and note 2; M. Canard, in *JA*, 192, 67 ff.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

The tomb of Abū Ayyūb is mentioned for the first time by Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 140 (ed. Cairo 1934, 119); according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2324, Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 381, Ibn al-Djawzī and al-Ḳazwīnī, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimage to it in time of drought to pray there for rain (*istisḳāʾ*). The—probably legendary—discovery of the tomb by Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*] during the siege of the city by Muḥammad II can be compared to the finding of the Holy Lance by the Crusaders during the siege of Antioch. The Turkish legend is fully reproduced in Leunclavius, *Historiae musulmanae*, Frankfurt 1591, 38 ff. and in the careful monograph by Hādjdjī ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Āthār al-Madjīdiyya fi 'l-Manāḳib al-Khālidiyya*. See also A. M. Schneider, in *Oriens*, 1951, 113 ff.; P. Wittek, *Aywansary*, in *Annales de l'hist. de phil. et d'hist. orientales et slaves*, Bruxelles 1951, 505 ff. (esp. 513 ff.).

(J. H. MORDTMANN*)

A mosque was built on the spot by Muḥammad II in 863/1458; it was enlarged by Etmekdji-zāde Aḥmad Pasha in 1000/1591; two new minarets, each with two galleries, were added in 1136/1273. It was in this mosque that the sultan Maḥmūd II deposited the relics of the Prophet discovered in the treasury of the Sarāy (the imprint of the foot). The grand-vizier Sinān Pasha (d. 1133/1729), Māh Fīrūz Khadīdja (mother of the sultan ʿUthmān III), the grand-vizier Semiz ʿAlī Pasha, Gurdjī Muḥammad Pasha, Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha (the conqueror of Cyprus) and a number of other important persons are buried in the *turba* or in the immediate vicinity of its court-yard. The mosque is situated outside the Byzantine walls, and an important suburb (Eyyüb [see ISTANBUL]) grew up round it. The mosque was the object of special veneration and it was forbidden for non-Muslims to enter it. According to a rather late custom (cf. *Isl.*, 1931, 184 ff. and MAWLAWIYYA) it was in this mosque that the sultan, on his accession, was girded with the sword of his ancestors by the Čelebi Efendi, the head of the Mawlawī order who came especially from Ḳonya to carry out the ceremony.

Bibliography: Ḥāfiz Ḥusayn b. Hādjdjī Ismāʿīl, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 243, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, xviii, 57; Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 206; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 604 ff.

(CL. HUART*)

ABŪ BAKR, the first caliph.

i. Name, family, and early life.—Abū Bakr was probably born shortly after 570 as he is said to have been three years younger than Muḥammad. His father was Abū Ḳuḥāfa (ʿUthmān) b. ʿĀmir of the clan of Taym of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, and he is therefore sometimes known as Ibn Abī Ḳuḥāfa. His mother was Umm al-Khayr (Salmā) bint Ṣakhr of the same clan. The names ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAtīḳ ('freed slave') are attributed to him as well as Abū Bakr, but the relation of these names to one another and their original significance is not clear. Muḥammad seems to have made a play on the name ʿAtīḳ and to have said that he was 'freed from Hell'. He was later known as al-Ṣiddīḳ, the truthful, the upright, or the one who counts true; the last meaning is supported by the tradition that he alone immediately believed Muḥammad's story of his night-journey (*isrāʾ*, *q.v.*).

In the course of his life he had four wives. (1) Ḳutayla bint ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā of the Meccan clan of ʿĀmir, who bore him ʿAbd Allāh and Asmāʾ (who married al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām); (2) Umm Rūmān bint ʿĀmir of the tribe of Kināna, who bore him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (originally ʿAbd al-Kaʿba or ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā) and ʿĀʾisha; (3) Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays of the tribe of Khathʿam, who bore him Muḥammad; (4) Ḥabība bint Khāridja, of the Medinan clan of al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazradj, who bore him Umm Kulthūm posthumously. The last two marriages were made late in his life and were doubtless political; Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays was the widow of Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib (who was killed in 8/629). The first two marriages were probably concurrent, since ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the eldest son, but only Umm Rūmān accompanied Abū Bakr to Medina.

Little is known about Abū Bakr's life before his conversion. He was a merchant (*tādjir*) worth 40,000 dirhams, indicating (according to H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la Veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924, 226-8) that his business was comparatively unimportant. He is not mentioned as having travelled to Syria or elsewhere, but he was an expert in the genealogies of the Arab tribes.

ii. From his conversion to the death of Muḥammad.—Abū Bakr was possibly a friend of Muḥammad before the latter's call to be a prophet and his own conversion. According to some traditions he was the first male Muslim after Muḥammad (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 121; al-Ṭabarī, i. 1165-7); but this may simply be a reflection of his later preeminence, since the same claim is made for ʿAlī and Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

Similarly the statement that Abū Bakr was responsible for the conversion of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ and Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbayd Allāh is suspicious because these five and ʿAlī constitued the *shūrā* or council to elect a successor to ʿUmar. What is certain is that for some time before the Hidjra, Abū Bakr was the foremost member of the Muslim community after Muḥammad.

He remained in Mecca when many Muslims emigrated to Abyssinia. This is an obscure affair. It has been suggested that the emigrants objected to the policy of the group among the Muslims led by Abū Bakr. The traditional view, however, was that the emigrants went to avoid persecution; and it may be that Abū Bakr's clan of Taym, like others belonging to the group known as Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, did not persecute its members. It seems, however, that it also lacked the will or the power to defend them, for it allowed Abū Bakr and his fellow clansman Ṭalḥa to be bound together by a man of the Meccan clan of Asad; and at a later date Abū Bakr left Mecca and only returned on receiving the protection (*djiwār*) of Ibn al-Dughunna, the chief of a nomadic group in alliance with Ḳuraysh. The slaves bought and set free by Abū Bakr, notably ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra and Bilāl, suffered bodily violence. The purchase of slaves who professed Islam, though showing Abū Bakr's devotion to the cause, does not completely account for the reduction of his wealth to 5,000 dirhams at the Hidjra, and economic pressure by the leading merchants of Mecca is to be suspected.

Muḥammad chose him to accompany himself on his migration to Medina, an event to which reference is made in Ḳurʾān ix, 40. His family, that is, presumably Umm Rūmān, ʿĀʾisha, Asmāʾ and perhaps ʿAbd Allāh, followed soon afterwards. Abū Ḳuḥāfa, however, remained in Mecca, and Abū Bakr's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān actually fought against the Muslims at Badr and Uḥud, but was converted to Islam before the conquest of Mecca. In Medina Abū Bakr found a house in the district of al-Sunḥ. His special position in the community was marked by Muḥammad's marriage to his daughter ʿĀʾisha. He was a participant in all the expeditions led by Muḥammad in person, and was constantly at his side, ready to help with advice and information. In critical moments he was steady as a rock and did not lose heart. There seems to have been a remarkable degree of harmony between leader and follower. When others (including ʿUmar who was inseparable from Abū Bakr) questioned Muḥammad's decisions to make peace at al-Ḥudaybiya and to abandon the siege of al-Ṭāʾif, Abū Bakr gave immediate and wholehearted support. He was the first to know the true objective of the expedition which conquered Mecca in 8/630. In other words, he was Muḥammad's chief adviser. He did not have any separate military command, except of a small party detached from a larger expedition in 6/627 and of a minor expedition against the tribe of Hawāzin in 7/628. In 8/629 he served with ʿUmar under the command of Abū ʿUbaydah, probably in order to smooth over political difficulties. By his being appointed to conduct the pilgrimage of A. H. 9 and to lead public prayers in Medina during Muḥammad's last illness, and by other signs of respect, he was marked as successor.

iii. His caliphate, 11/632-13/634.—The day of Muḥammad's death (13 Rabīʿ I, 11/8 June, 632) was a critical one for the young Islamic state. The Anṣār set about appointing a leader from their own number, but were persuaded by ʿUmar and others to accept Abū Bakr. He took the title of Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh, 'deputy or successor of the messenger of God', and after a short time moved to a house in the centre of Medina.

His caliphate of a little over two years was largely occupied in dealing with the *ridda* or 'apostasy'. This phenomenon, as the name given by Arabic historians indicates, was regarded by them as primarily a religious movement; but recent European scholars, especially J. Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin, 1899, 7-37) and L. Caetani (*Annali*, ii, 549-831) have argued that it was essentially political. More probably it was both. Medina had become the centre of a social and political system, of which religion was an integral part; consequently it was inevitable that any reaction against this system should have a religious aspect. There were six main centres of this reaction. In four of these, the leader had a religious character and is often called a 'false prophet': al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī in the Yemen, Musaylima among the tribe of Ḥanīfa in the Yamāma, Ṭulayḥa in the tribes of Asad and Ghaṭafān, and the prophetess Sadjāḥ in the tribe of Tamīm. The form of the *ridda* in each centre varied according to local circumstances; it involved the refusal to send taxes to Medina and to obey the agents sent out by Medina. In the Yemen the *ridda* began before Muḥammad's death, and when Abū Bakr came to power al-Aswad had been replaced by Ḳays b. (Hubayra b. ʿAbd Yaghūth) al-Makshūḥ. In other places there had presumably existed for some time a movement against the rule of Medina, but it became open revolt only after Muḥammad's death. During the absence of the main Muslim army in Syria under Usāma b. Zayd, some neighbouring tribes tried to surprise Medina, but were eventually defeated at Dhū 'l-Ḳaṣṣa. After the return of the Syrian expedition, a large army commanded by Khālid b. al-Walīd was sent against the rebels. First Ṭulayḥa was defeated in a battle at Buzākha, and the area restored to its allegiance to Islam. Soon afterwards, Tamīm abandoned Sadjāḥ and submitted to Abū Bakr. The most important battle of the *ridda* was the battle of the Yamāma at ʿAḳrabāʾ (about Rabīʿ I, 12/May 633), known as 'the garden of death' on account of the great slaughter on both sides. Here Musaylima, the most serious opponent of the Muslims, was defeated and killed, and central Arabia brought under their control. Subordinate commanders were entrusted with subsidiary operations in al-Baḥrayn and ʿUmān (with Mahra), while Khālid pacified the Yamāma before moving towards ʿIrāḳ. The *ridda* in the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt was defeated by another commander, al-Muhadjir b. Abī Umayya. In dealing with captured leaders Abū Bakr showed great clemency, and many became active supporters of the cause of Islam. The traditional view was that the *ridda* had been quelled before the end of 11 A.H. (March 633); but Caetani has shown that the events require a much longer time, and that it may have continued into 13/634.

The size of Muḥammad's expeditions along the road to Syria shows that he had realized the urgency of expansion if peace was to be maintained among the Arab tribes. Abū Bakr was aware of this strategic principle. In the first days of his caliphate, despite the threats of rebellion in Arabia, he persisted with Muḥammad's plan of sending a large army under Usāma towards Syria. Again, once the danger from Musaylima in central Arabia was removed, no time

was lost in despatching Khālid towards ʿIrāḳ. Thus was set on foot under Abū Bakr's direction the great 'conquest of the lands'. The traditional account of the conquests and their chronology has been radically revised by European scholars' critique of the sources (Wellhausen, op. cit., 37-113; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*[2], Leiden, 1900; N. A. Miednikoff, *Palestina*, St. Petersburg, 1897-1907 [in Russian]; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, iii). By the time of Abū Bakr's death the position would seem to be as follows. Khālid, joining a force of B. Bakr b. Wāʾil under al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, had advanced plundering into ʿIrāḳ and threatened al-Ḥīra, which paid 60,000 dirhams to be left alone. While al-Muthannā remained on this sector, Khālid carried out a celebrated march to Damascus and linked up with three Muslim columns which, under Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, had been operating with success in Palestine, but were now retiring before a superior Byzantine army. The united Muslim forces defeated the enemy at al-Adjnādayn (probably a corruption of al-Djannābatayn) between Jerusalem and Gaza at the end of Djumādā I (July 634). Thus the expansion into the Persian empire was initiated by Abū Bakr, but he still laid most emphasis on Syria. At what stage the decision was made, not merely to raid these lands, but to conquer them, is not clear.

Abū Bakr died on 22 Djumādā II, 13/23 August 634, and was buried beside Muḥammad. The great simplicity of his life, with its rejection of all wealth, pomp and pretension, became in later times a legend, though there is doubtless a kernel of truth. The assertion that he began the 'collection of the Ḳurʾān' is now usually held to be mistaken in view of the general ascription of this to ʿUmar.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ABŪ BAKR B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** [see IBN ABĪ 'L-DUNYĀ].

ABŪ BAKR B. **AḤMAD** [see IBN ḲĀḌĪ SHUHBA].

ABŪ BAKR B. **ʿALĪ** [see IBN ḤIDJDJA].

ABŪ BAKR B. **SAʿD** B. **ZENGĪ** [see SALGHŪRIDS].

ABŪ BAKR AL-**BAYṬĀR** [see IBN AL-MUNDHIR].

ABŪ BAKR AL-**KHALLĀL** [see AL-KHALLĀL].

ABŪ BAKR AL-**KHʷĀRIZMĪ** [see AL-KHʷĀRIZMĪ].

ABŪ BAKRA (the man of the pulley), the usual designation of a Companion of the Prophet called Nufayʿ b. Masrūḥ, an Abyssinian, formerly slave of the Thaḳafites of al-Ṭāʾif. During the siege of that town by Muḥammad (8/630) he joined the Muslims by letting himself down by a pulley and was emancipated by the Prophet. He stayed afterwards in Yaman and participated in the foundation of Baṣra where he settled and died in 51 or 52/671-2. Having been whipped by ʿUmar because he had testified against al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] on a charge of adultery, Abū Bakra played no part in politics and held aloof (*iʿtazala*) during the Battle of the Camel. He confined himself to cultivating the estates given him by ʿUmar and transmitting *ḥadīth*, in which he is regarded as trustworthy by the authorities.

His biographers give him as his mother Sumayya, so that he is considered as the brother, on the mother's side, of Ziyād b. Abīhi, with whom, however, he quarreled when Ziyād joined the party of Muʿāwiya. Abū Bakra left numerous descendants, among them seven sons: ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muslim, Rawwād, Yazīd and ʿUtba, who had a part in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. Enriched by the exploitation of the public baths and favoured by Ziyād, they gained a place among the bourgoisie, and even the aristocracy, of Baṣra, and forged themselves an Arab genealogy, claiming that Abū Bakra was the son of al-Ḥārith b. Kalada, the "physician of the Arabs". Al-Mahdī, on ascending the throne, did not recognize this genealogy and forced the descendants of Abū Bakra to return to the status of *mawālī* of the Prophet (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳa, *al-Fakhrī* (Derenbourg), 245; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ* (Huart), vi, 94-5; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 137 ff.). A descendant of the family was the ḳāḍī Abū Bakra Bakkār b. Ḳutayba (182-270/798-884; see Ibn Khallikān, no. 115).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353, 125-6; Ibn Saʿd, vii/1, 8-9, 138-9; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 343 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 2529 ff., iii, 477 ff.; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 188; *Aghānī*[1], ii, 48; vii, 141; xi, 100; xiv, 69; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 378-9, 677-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 38, 151; ii, 215; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 8794; Yāḳūt, i, 638-644, *passim*.

(M. TH. HOUTSMA-[CH. PELLAT])

ABU 'L-BARAKĀT HIBAT ALLĀH B. MALKĀ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ AL-BALADĪ, philosopher and physician, called Awḥad al-Zamān, 'unique of his time', was born at Balad, near Moṣul, about 470/1077 at the latest. Jewish by birth, he had for his master Abu'l-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh, and became a famous physician, serving in this quality the caliphs of Baghdād—where he resided—and the Seldjuḳ sultans. The anecdotes related by the biographers reveal his often difficult relations with his various patrons and their courts. At an advanced age he was converted to Islam. This decision was taken by him, according to the different rumours reported by his biographers, out of wounded pride or out of fear (because of the death of the wife of sultan Maḥmūd who had been attended by him; or because, taken prisoner during a battle in which the army of the caliph al-Mustarshid was defeated by sultan Masʿūd, his life was threatened). Having become blind at the end of his life, he died in Baghdād, it seems after 560/1164-5. Rival of the Christian physician Ibn al-Tilmīdh, he had as his disciple and friend Isḥāḳ, the son of Abraham b. Ezra, who composed on him a panegyric in Hebrew.

The main work of Abu'l-Barakāt is the *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar*, dealing with logic, *naturalia* (including psychology) and metaphysics (published in three volumes by Şerefettin Yaltkaya, Hyderabad 1358/1939). A detailed commentary on Ecclesiastes, composed in Arabic, is of considerable philosophical interest; it is almost entirely unpublished. Among the smaller treatises ascribed to Abu'l-Barakāt is to be noted the *Risāla fī Sabab Ẓuhūr al-Kawākib Laylᵃⁿ wa-Khafāʾihā Nahārᵃⁿ* (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 280), transl. by E. Wiedemann (in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, 1909, 49-54). Under a slightly different title: *Ruʾya 'l-Kawākib bi'l-Layl lā bi'l-Nahār*, it passes for a work of Ibn Sīnā (cf. G. C. Anawati, *Essai de Bibliographie avicennienne*, no. 162).

In *al-Muʿtabar*, modelled in great part on the *Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, Abu'l-Barakāt sometimes takes over theses from that book, quoting them literally, but at the same time attacks others that are among the most essential. In his opposition to Ibn Sīnā he is often at one, in the field of physics, with the tradition that bore in Islamic lands the name of Platonic, and which was that followed by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. His psychology is, in some respects, related more than that of the *Shifāʾ*, or more manifestly so to that of the Neoplatonists.

Abuʾl-Barakāt's method of philosophizing does not, however, lend itself easily to recourse to the authority of tradition. This is shown by the very title of the *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar*, which in the usage of Abu 'l-Barakāt means something like: "The book about what has been established by personal reflection". As a matter of fact, this method is distinguished in the first instance by the appeal to self-evident truths, the certainties *a priori*, which nullify the theses *a posteriori* of the ruling philosophy of the period. Abu 'l-Barakāt refuses to make a difference between the certainties of reason, admitted as valid by the Peripatetics, and those depending on the estimative faculty (*wahm*), dismissed by them.

It is mainly this method that leads Abu 'l-Barakāt to assert, against the partisans of the Aristotelian theory of space, the existence of a tridimensional space. With John Philoponus he refutes the proposition denying the possibility of movement in the void. Having demonstrated the fallacy of the peripatetic arguments to the contrary, he proves the infinity of space by the impossibility for man to conceive a limited space.

Similarly, it is the appeal to the *a priori* knowledge of the human mind that allows Abu 'l-Barakāt to clarify the problem of time—the true solution of which, according to him, depends upon metaphysics rather than upon physics. In effect, he shows that the apperception of time, of being, and of self, is anterior in the soul to any other apperception the soul might have, and that the nature of being and that of time are closely linked. According to his definition, time is the measure of being (not, as the peripatetics held, that of movement). He does not admit the diversity of the various levels of time, the gradations of *zamān, dahr, sarmad* assumed by Ibn Sīnā and other philosophers. In his opinion, time characterizes the being of the Creator as well as that of created things.

He identifies prime matter with the body considered merely from the point of view of corporality, apart from any other characteristic; corporality being an extension susceptible of being measured. Among the four elements, earth alone is, in his view, constituted of corpuscles, indivisible because of their solidity.

Dealing with the movement of projectiles, Abu 'l-Barakāt accepts, though with modifications, the theory of Ibn Sīnā—ultimately, as it seems, inspired by John Philoponus—according to which the cause of this movement is a 'violent inclination', that is to say a force (called later by certain Latin schoolmen *impetus*) imparted by the projecting body to the projectile. He explains the acceleration in the fall of heavy objects by the fact that the principle of natural inclination (*mayl ṭabīʿī*, a current philosophical term), contained in them, furnishes them with successive inclinations. The text of the *Muʿtabar* treating of this doctrine is the first one, as far as is known at present, where one finds implied this fundamental law of modern dynamics: a constant force gives rise to an accelerated movement.

It is especially the psychological doctrine of Abu 'l-Barakāt that shows in the most palpable way the role given in his philosophy to recourse to what is self-evident. As a matter of fact, this doctrine has as its starting point the consciousness that man has of himself, i.e. of his soul. This consciousness bears the stamp of certainty and is anterior to any other knowledge; it would be there even without the perception of the sensible things. Ibn Sīnā had already availed himself of this *a priori* datum, which he had great difficulty in integrating with his psychology—which bears the stamp of Peripaticism—while Abu 'l-Barakāt is led by it towards other psychological verities, equally guaranteed and authenticated by their self-evident character. For instance, the valid consciousness that man has of being one—the same when he sees and hears, thinks, remembers or desires, or accomplishes any other psychical act—is sufficient in the view of Abu 'l-Barakāt to refute the various theories postulating a multiplicity of the faculties of the soul. Another example: the certainty that one has of perceiving, in the act of seeing, the very object that one sees, and at the place where it really is—and not an image, that according to certain hypotheses is situated inside the brain—this certainty proves by itself the truth of the impressions that it guarantees. We have, then, a psychology that consists, partly, of a system of self-evident truths, and is dominated up to a certain point by the notion of consciousness or apperception (*shuʿūr*, a term used in a similar sense by Ibn Sīnā). It denies the distinction established by the Aristotelian doctrine between intellect and soul. In fact, according to Abu 'l-Barakāt, it is the soul that accomplishes the so-called acts of intellection—a concept which he criticises. Similarly, he denies the existence of the active intellect postulated by the peripatetics.

Platonic or Plotinian influences—which are, to be sure, in harmony with the personal intuitions of Abu 'l-Barakāt—appear perhaps in the definition of the soul as an incorporeal substance acting in and by the body. Immateriality is taken by Abu 'l-Barakāt in a very strict sense, which was not current at all; so for instance in the theory of memory. The human souls are caused, in the view of Abu 'l-Barakāt, by the stellar ones, and return, after death, to their causes.

The knowledge of God, cause of causes, comes at the end of the knowledge of existing things and that of being perceived by an *a priori* knowledge, which divides being into necessary and contingent. On the other hand, the wisdom manifested in the order of nature proves the existence of a Creator. Last not least there are ways of direct communication between God and men. Abu 'l-Barakāt, following in this point the Avicennian tradition, does not admit the proof for the existence of God based on movement.

He holds that the essential attributes of God, such as knowledge, power and wisdom, belong to His essence in the same way as having three angles equal to two right angles belongs to the essence of a triangle.

In his view God may have manifold knowledge, also about particulars. In order to refute arguments to the contrary, he refers to his psychological doctrine, where he proves that the forms of the things perceived, stored up in the human soul, are immaterial, like the entity that has perceived them.

In this way divine knowledge appears as being up to a point analogous to human knowledge.

Rejecting the theory of emanation held by the philosophers, Abu 'l-Barakāt thinks that things have been created by a succession of divine volitions, either pre-eternal or coming into being in time. The first of these volitions, an attribute of the divine essence, created the first thing in existence, viz. according to religious terminology, the highest of the angels.

The personalism of the conception of God in Abu 'l-Barakāt sometimes relates it to the doctrines of the *kalām*. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily justify the conclusion that the *kalām* has influenced his thought.

So far as the problem of the eternity of the world is concerned, Abu 'l-Barakāt, having confronted the theses of those who affirm it and those that deny it, does not explicitly state his own conclusions, but hints that one who has understood his exposé of the question will not fail to find the correct answer. It seems, in summing up the discussion, that the true solution is, in the view of Abu'l-Barakāt, that which asserts the eternity of the world.

Abu 'l-Barakāt whose authority was invoked by a Jewish scholar of ʿIrāḳ, Samuel b. ʿEli, in his polemic against Maimonides, had as his partisans amongst the Muslims ʿAlā' al-Dawla Farāmurz b. ʿAlī, prince of Yazd, who defended him and his doctrines in a work bearing the title *Muhdjat al-Tawḥīd* and in a dispute he had with ʿUmar al-Khayyām (see al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, 110-1). The influence of Abu 'l-Barakāt over a personage of the first order, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, seems to have been decisive. It is manifest especially in *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriḳiyya*, a capital work of Fakhr al-Dīn, and was of great historical importance. In fact, the observation of the Shīʿite Muḥ. b. Sulaymān al-Tanakabunī, a Persian author of the 19th cent., who says, in substance, that the tradition of Ibn Sīnā had almost succumbed under the attacks of Abu 'l-Barakāt and Fakhr al-Dīn, before being re-established by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*Ḳiṣas al-ʿUlamā'*, lith. 1304, 278), refers to a crisis in Muslim philosophical speculation, a crisis originated by Abu 'l-Barakāt, the memory of which remained alive among the Iranian students of Ibn Sīnā.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (Lippert), 343-6; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (Müller), i, 278-80; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* (Shafīʿ), 150-3; S. Poznanski, in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, 1913, 33-6 (edition of some pages of the Commentary on Ecclesiastes); Şerefettin, incomplete Turkish translation of the *Ilāhiyyāt* of *al-Muʿtabar*, with introduction, Istanbul 1932; study of Sulaymān al-Nadwī on Abu 'l-Barakāt, at the end of vol. iii of the ed. of *al-Muʿtabar*, 230-52; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 82-3; idem, *Etudes sur Awḥad al-Zamân Abu'l-Barakāt al-Baghdâdî*, in *REJ*, ciii, 1938, 4-64; civ, 1938, 1-33; idem, *Nouvelles Etudes sur Abu'l-Barakāt al-Baghdâdî*, will appear in *REJ*, 1953. (S. PINES)

ABŪ BAYHAS AL-HAYṢAM B. DJĀBIR, Khāridjite, of the Banū Saʿd b. Ḍubayʿa. In order to escape from the persecution of al-Ḥadjdjādj, he fled to Medina, but was arrested by the governor, ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān, and cruelly executed (94/713). He gave his name to the Bayhasiyya, one of the Khāridjite sects, who occupied an intermediate position between the strict Azraḳīs and the milder Ṣufrīs and Ibāḍīs. The Bayhasīs, though admitting that Muslims of different opinion from their own were unbelievers, considered it permissible to live amongst them, to intermarry with them and to inherit from them. Their tenets again diverged, so that they branched off into various subdivisions.

Bibliography: Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 604, 615; Balādhurī (Ahlwardt, *Anonyme Arab. Chronik*), 83; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 230; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 113 ff., 95; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 87 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 190; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 93 f. (M. TH. HOUTSMA*)

ABŪ BILĀL [see MIRDĀS B. UDAYYA].

ABŪ BURDA [see AL-ASHʿARĪ].

ABŪ DAHBAL AL-**DJUMAḤĪ**, WAHB B. ZAMʿA, Ḳurayshite poet of Mecca, who started to compose poetry before 40/660 and died after 96/715. He is included among the erotic poets of the Ḥidjāz by his poems devoted to three women: ʿAmra, of a noble Meccan family, a Syrian woman who led him into a breach with his family, and especially ʿAtīka, daughter of Muʿāwiya, whom he first saw during a pilgrimage. His verses, soon becoming famous, attracted the attention of the princess, whom he followed to Damascus, but the caliph, though recognizing the chaste character of Abū Dahbal's relations with his daughter, took umbrage and sent the poet away.

Abū Dahbal is not, however, an exclusively erotic poet, as an important part of his work is devoted to panegyrics on Ibn al-Azraḳ, governor of al-Djanad in Yaman, appointed by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and ʿUmāra b. ʿAmr, governor of Ḥaḍramawt. The incident with Muʿāwiya seems to have turned him away from the Umayyads and made him a partisan of the anti-caliph; the *Aghānī* even quotes some verses alluding to the murder of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 80 and the references given there; to the fundamental article in the *Aghānī*[1], vi, 154-70 should be added al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 70, 189; idem, *Muʿdjam* 117, 342; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 55; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 144-5; and especially the sources quoted by F. Krenkow, *JRAS*, 1910, 1017-75, who has collected the verses of the poet. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ ḌAMḌAM, the hero of a collection of anecdotes, cited already in the 10th century. All kinds of foolish remarks are attributed to him, and more particularly comical decisions on questions of law, similar to those later attributed to Ḳarāḳūsh. This Abū Ḍamḍam is probably identical with the devotee who, before or during the lifetime of Muḥammad, offered up his good name in place of the poortax to the servants of God; for this express sacrifice of the respect of his fellowmen may easily be interpreted as a permission or invitation to expose the devotee as the typical figure of foolishness. To one bearer of the same name there is ascribed an extraordinary knowledge of the ancient poetry, but there is no means of deciding whether this is the same personage.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-Kātib* (Grünert), 3-4; idem, *Shiʿr*, 3 f.; *Fihrist*, 313; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*. Cairo 1302, iii, 445; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 232; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 204; M. Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, v; J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen*, 31, note. (J. HOROVITZ)

ABU 'L-DARDĀ' AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHAZRADJĪ. His name and genealogy are given as ʿUwaymir b. Zayd b. Ḳays b. ʿĀ'isha b. Umayya b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazradj b. al-Ḥārith of the Balḥārith family of the Khazradj. Some sources give his name

as ʿĀmir instead of ʿUwaymir, and for his father's name instead of Zayd we find variously ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh, Mālik or Thaʿlaba, while some give him the *nisba* al-Rahānī. He was a younger contemporary of Muḥammad who is generally listed among the Companions (*Ṣaḥāba*) though some sources raise doubts as to the legitimacy of this. He did not become a Muslim till after the battle of Badr and it is noted that he was the last of his family to become a convert to Islam. Some list him among those present at Uḥud. When Muḥammad established "brotherhoods" between the Emigrants and the people of Medina he was the "brother" chosen for Salmān al-Fārisī. A certain number of traditions are reported on his authority and are given in the *Dhakhā'ir al-Mawāriḥ*, iii, 158-62. The Ṣūfīs claimed him as one of the *ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*], quoting a number of sayings of an ascetic or pietistic character from him, which is probably the reason why in the biographical dictionnaries he is called a *zāhid* and one to whom *ʿilm* was given. These sources also say that he became known as the sage (*ḥakīm*) of the early Muslim community. He is reported as having said that before Islam he was a merchant, but after his conversion found that business life interfered with strict attention to cult duties (*ʿibāda*) so he gave up business. His great reputation, however, was as an authority on the Ḳur'ān. He is listed as one of the few who collected (*djamaʿa*) revelations during the Prophet's lifetime, and a small number of variant readings from him is recorded in the *ḳirā'āt* books. During his stay in Damascus, where he was sent to serve as a ḳāḍī, he made it a practice to gather to the mosque groups to whom he taught the Ḳur'ān, thus becoming the true father of the Damascus School later headed by Ibn ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. He died at Damascus in 32/652, or thereabouts, his tomb and that of his wife Umm al-Dardā' being shown there near one of the gates.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 75, 286, 397; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 137; Ibn Hishām, 345; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 268; Nawawī, *Tahdhib*, 713; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 158; v, 185; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, No. 2480; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, ii, No. 2908; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 110, 111; idem, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 375; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 175-7; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 39; *Fihrist*, 27; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 23, 24; al-Khazradjī, *Khulāṣa*, 254; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Dhakhā'ir*, iii, 158-62; Caetani, *Annali*, Index s.v. (A. JEFFERY)

ABŪ DĀ'ŪD AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ, SULAYMĀN B. AL-ASHʿATH, a traditionist; born in 202/817. He travelled widely in pursuit of his studies and gained a high reputation for his knowledge and piety. Eventually he settled at Baṣra, which is no doubt why some wrongly held that the *nisba* Sidjistānī comes from a village near Baṣra called Sidjistān (or Sidjistāna), and not from the province of that name. He died in Shawwāl 275/Febr. 889.

Abū Dā'ūd's principal work is his *Kitāb al-Sunan*, which is one of the six canonical books of Tradition accepted by Sunnīs. He is said to have submitted it to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who gave it his approval. Ibn Dāsa says Abū Dā'ūd declared that he collected this work of 4800 traditions from a mass of 500,000, and that it contains sound traditions, those which seem to be so, and those which are nearly so. He also said, "I have made clear the traditions in this book of mine which contain great weakness, and those about which I have said nothing are good (*ṣāliḥ*), some being sounder than others". This refers to the notes which he often adds to his traditions to express his opinion on the value to be attributed to them. Muslim has an introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* in which he discusses some general questions of criticism; but Abū Dā'ūd is the first to give such detailed notes, paving the way for the more systematic criticism of individual traditions given by his pupil al-Tirmidhī in his collection. Abū Dā'ūd quotes men not found in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, his principle being that transmitters are counted trustworthy provided there is no formal proof to discount them. His work which has the generic title of *Sunan*, dealing mainly with matters ordained, or allowed, or forbidden by law, received high praise. For example, Abū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī said that anyone who knew nothing but the Ḳur'ān and this book would have sufficient knowledge; and Muḥammad b. Makhlad said that the traditionists accepted it without question just as they accepted the Ḳur'ān. But one is surprised to find that, although many men in the fourth century praised it highly, no mention of it is made in the *Fihrist*. Indeed, Abū Dā'ūd is merely mentioned there as the father of his son. People of later times have expressed some criticisms. Al-Mundhirī, for example, who produced a summary of it, called *al-Mudjtabā*, criticized some of the traditions not supplied with notes, and Ibn al-Djawziyya added further criticisms. But while faults have been found with the work, it still holds an honoured place. The *Sunan* was transmitted through several lines, some versions being said to contain material not found in others. Al-Lu'lu'ī's version is the one which has gained most favour. A number of editions of the *Sunan* have been printed in the East (see Brockelmann). A small collection of *mursal* traditions by Abū Dā'ūd, entitled *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, was published in Cairo in 1310/1892.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 168 f., S I, 266 f.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 271; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, Aleppo, 1350/1931, 38-41; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 169-73; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'* (Wüstenfeld), 708-12; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 7263; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 250 f., 255 f.; W. Marçais, in *JA*, 1900, 330, 502 f.; J. Robson, in *MW*, 1951, 167 f.; idem, in *BSOS*, 1952, 579 ff. (J. ROBSON)

ABŪ DHARR AL-GHIFĀRĪ, a Companion of Muḥammad. His name is commonly given as Djundub b. Djunāda, but other names are also mentioned. He is said to have worshipped one God before his conversion. When news of Muḥammad reached him he sent his brother to Mecca to make enquiries, and being dissatisfied with his report, he went himself. One story says he met Muḥammad with Abū Bakr at the Kaʿba, another that ʿAlī took him secretly to Muḥammad. He immediately believed, and is surprisingly claimed to have been the fifth (even the fourth) believer. He was sent home, where he stayed till he went to Medina after the battle of the Ditch (5/627). Later he lived in Syria till he was recalled by ʿUthmān because of a complaint against him by Muʿāwiya. He retired, or was sent, to al-Rabadha, where he died in 32/652-3, or 31. He was noted for humility and asceticism, in which respect he is said to have resembled Jesus. He was very religious and eager for knowledge, and is said to have matched Ibn Masʿūd in religious learning. He is credited with 281 traditions, of which al-Bukhārī and Muslim rendered 31 between them.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 130; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 138; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 268-74; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād

1336, 82 f., 645 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 186-8; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'* (Wüstenfeld), 714 f.; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 17 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, iv, 63 ff.; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 90 f.; Wensinck, *Handbook*, 7 (add Ibn Sa'd, II/ii, 112); A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i, 434 ff.

(J. Robson)

ABŪ DHU'AYB AL-HUDHALĪ, Khuwaylid b. Khālid, Arabian poet, a younger contemporary of the Prophet. The legend presents him journeying to visit Muḥammad but reaching Medina the very morning after his death. There is some justification for the assumption that Abū Dhu'ayb migrated to Egypt under 'Umar. From there he joined Ibn Abī Sarḥ's campaign into Ifrīḳiya (26/647). He died on his way to Medina where he accompanied 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who had been charged by Ibn Abī Sarḥ with informing the caliph 'Uthmān of the successes won by his armies (probably in 28/649). The only other known incident of his biography is contained in the report—probably factually correct but possibly spun out of the opening lines of Poem i—that in Egypt he lost within one year five sons to the plague.

Recognized by the Arab critics as the foremost poet of his tribe, a judgement to which the modern reader will readily subscribe, Abū Dhu'ayb excels the bards of the *djāhiliyya* by the stringent composition of his *ḳaṣīda*'s. In the care he devoted to the structure of his odes he continued a trend already traceable in the work of Sā'ida b. Dju'ayya, an older Hudhalī poet, whose *rāwī* Abū Dhu'ayb was. Both poets share the description of wild honey and its gatherer along with a certain delight in the intimate and accurate description of the bees as well as the procedure of the collector—a motif which is not really popular with other Hudhalī poets. A peculiar treatment of the massing of a cloud formation and the subsequent downpour is also characteristic of Sā'ida and his *rāwī*. In Abū Dhu'ayb's love poetry an adumbration of what came to develop into the style of the Medinese school is clearly noticeable. Another feature that seems to anticipate future developments is the manner in which Abū Dhu'ayb tends to elaborate the *nasīb* into a complete ode (cf. nos. II and XI, where the other themes are, as it were, enveloped by the *nasīb*). Like his master Sā'ida, Abū Dhu'ayb is fond of, and excels in descriptions of weapons and of hunting-scenes, but is weak in depicting horses (as already noted by al-Aṣma'ī). Almost half of his preserved verse belongs to elegies in which the gentle melancholy of his obsession with the instability of fate provides an appropriate emotional background. His masterpiece, the elegy on the death of his sons (poem I), shows a unity of mood and thought—the theme of the inevitability of doom is stated and connected with the occasion of the *marthiya*, then illustrated in three gripping scenes, to be concisely restated in the last line—which is unsurpassed in ancient poetry.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 36-7, S I, 71; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 413-6; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 185-8; *Aghānī*, vi, 58-69; J. Hell, *Der Diwan des Abu Du'aib, Hanover* 1926; E. Braünlich, *Abu Du'aib-Studien*, in *Isl.*, 1929, 1-23; the same, *Versuch einer literargeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise altarabischer Poesien*, *ibid.*, 1937, 201-69.

(G. E. von Grunebaum)

ABŪ DJAHL, properly Abu 'l-Ḥakam 'Amr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra of the Banū Makhzūm of Ḳuraysh, also named Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyya after his mother, Asmā' bint Mukharriba. He was born about 570 or a little after; he and Muḥammad were youths together at a feast in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān, while his mother became a Muslim and lived until after 13/635. A few years before the Hidjra Abū Djahl seems to have succeeded al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra as leader of Makhzūm and also of the group of clans associated with Makhzūm. He was less inclined to compromise with Muḥammad than was al-Walīd, as his position in Meccan affairs was more endangered by Muḥammad than that of the older man. He was perhaps largely responsible for the boycott of Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, and the ending of the boycott was a defeat for his policy. He won an important success, however, when he and 'Uḳba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ, soon after Abū Ṭālib died and was succeeded by Abū Lahab as chief of Hāshim, persuaded the latter to cease giving protection to Muḥammad. Just before the Hidjra he seems to have tried to have Muḥammad killed, and to make revenge impossible there was to be a man from each clan involved. Owing to his hostility to Muḥammad during the latter years of the Meccan period many acts of persecution of Muslims are attributed to him, though probably not all really happened (cf. Ḳ. xvii, 62, xliv, 43, xcvi, 6 and commentators). He and his brother al-Ḥārith b. Hishām persuaded their uterine brother 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a to return from Medina and kept him (perhaps forcibly) in Mecca. Abū Djahl's influence was based on his commercial and financial strength. The expedition of Ḥamza to Sīf al-Baḥr in 1/623 came near a large caravan directed by Abū Djahl. In 2/624 when Mecca was informed that Abū Sufyān's caravan from Syria was threatened by the Muslims, Abū Djahl led the force of about 1000 men which went to save it, and perished in the battle of Badr [*q.v.*]. Abū Djahl sought battle with the Muslims even after the caravan was known to be safe, perhaps in the hope of gaining military glory, since Abū Sufyān, when available, had the privilege of commanding. After Abū Djahl's death the leading men in the group of clans associated with Makhzūm were Ṣafwān b. Umayya (Djumaḥ), Suhayl b. 'Amr ('Āmir) and eventually Abū Djahl's son 'Ikrima.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, Wāḳidī, Ṭabarī—see indexes; Ibn Sa'd, iii/1, 194, iii/2, 55, viii, 193, 220; Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 27; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 294-5, 309, 478, 491, etc.; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, by index; Azraḳī, Wüstenfeld, 455, 469. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ABŪ DU'ĀD AL-IYĀDĪ, Djuwayra, Djuwayriyya or Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (or again Ḥanẓala b. al-Sharḳī, which was more probably, however, the name of Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳayni, see *Shi'r*, 229), pre-Islamic poet of al-Ḥīra, contemporary of al-Mundhir b. Mā' al-Samā' (about 506-554 A.D.), who put him in the charge of his horses. The expression *djār^{un} ka-djār' Abī Du'ād*, which appears in a line of Ḳays b. Zuhayr and has become proverbial, gave rise to several traditions showing Abū Du'ād as the "protégé" of a noble and generous *djār*, who is either al-Mundhir, al-Ḥarith b. Ḥammām or Ka'b b. Māma.

As a poet, Abū Du'ād is famous for his description of horses, and in this genre some critics consider him superior to Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī and al-Nābigha al-Dja'dī. Nevertheless, the lexicographers have not collected his poems systematically, as the ydid not collect those of 'Adi b. Zayd, because his language was not "nadjdī" and he did not follow the poetical tradition. Moreover, al-Aṣma'ī accuses Khalaf al-

Aḥmar of having attributed to Abū Du'ād forty *ḳaṣīdas* composed by himself (al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 252).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 58; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, ii, 110-3, putting together the traditions; the fundamental article is that of the *Aghānī*[1], xv, 95-9; see also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 120-3; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 49, 170 (in reference to *djār ka-djār A.D.* and *anā al-nadhīr al-'uryān*); Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 73-4, 88; idem, *Mu'djam*, 115; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 104; Ya'ḳūbī, i, 259-306; W. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen*, i, 8-9; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 80-1,; Nallino, *Scritti* vi, 36, who classes him among the Christian poets, although Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, does not mention him. A number of verses are to be found in Ahlwardt, *op. cit.* i, 27-8, 68-70; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 87 (Cheikho); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], index; as well as in the works of philologists and lexicographers. Collection of fragments by G. E. von Grünebaum, *Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī*: *Collection of fragments*, *WZKM*, 1948, 1952. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ DULAF, MIS'AR B. MUHALHIL AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-YANBU'Ī, an Arab poet, traveller and mineralogist. The earliest date in his biography is his appearance in Bukhārā towards the end of the reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad (d. in 331/943). His travels in Persia hint at the years 331-341/943-952. Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, whom Abū Dulaf mentions as his patron in Sīstān (read: *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad), ruled 331-52/942-63. The author of the *Fihrist* (completed in 377/987) refers to him as *djawwāla* "globe-trotter" and as his personal acquaintance. Al-Tha'ālibī in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus, iii, 176-94, associates him with the circle of al-Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād (326-85/938-95), probably during the later period of al-Ṣāḥib's life. As transmitters of the verses of Abū Dulaf, al-Tha'ālibī mentions chiefly the natives of Hamadhān, and among them Badī' al-Zamān (d. 398/1007). The long *ḳaṣīda* on the slang of the rogues (*Banū Sāsān*), which enchanted the Ṣāḥib, was written in imitation of the poem of 'Uḳayl al-'Ukbarī who belonged to the same literary circle of Rayy (*Yatīma*, ii, 285-8). Abū Dulaf himself supplied the commentary on the difficult expressions.

The two patrons, to whom Abū Dulaf dedicated his two geographical *risālas*, and who introduced into them their own remarks, are still unknown. The first *risāla* describes Abū Dulaf's journey in the company of the envoys of the Turkish king Ḳālīn b. Shakhīr, who were returning from Bukhārā to Sandābil. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 88-90, identified Sandābil with Kan-čou, the capital of the Western Uyghur king. On the way there, Abū Dulaf quotes in utter disorder the names of the Turkish tribes which he pretends to have visited. From Sandābil he suddenly goes over to Kila (Kra in Malaya), and then, in a desultory way, refers to various places in India, to emerge finally in Sīstān. Grigoriev, Marquart and von Mžik recognized the spurious character of the journey (except for the direct road Bukhārā-Sandābil, and Sīstān). Later (1945) Marquart thought that the *genuine* Abū Dulaf might be discovered in the quotations found in *al-Fihrist*. The analysis of the Mashhad text shows that both the *risālas* are equally genuine, as far as the authorship goes, and therefore the fake must be attributed to Abū Dulaf himself. The quotations in *Fihrist*, though differing from the first *risāla*, have no better claim to veracity. On the contrary, the second *risāla*, describing Abū Dulaf's journey in more easily controllable regions (western and northern Persia, Armenia) gives a clear itinerary and contains a number of interesting details which can be verified.

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, *Des Abu Dolef Misar Bericht über die türkischen Horden*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Erdkunde*, 1842 (text according to Ḳazwīnī); C. Schlözer, *Abu Dulaf Misaris ... de itinere suo asiatico commentarius*, Berlin 1845 (text according to Yāḳūt); V. Grigoriev, *Ob arab. puteshestvennike ... Abu Dulaf*, in *Žurnal Min. Narod. prosv.*, 1872, 1-45; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 1903, 74-95; id., *Das Reich Zabul*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, 1915, 271-2; A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abu Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, Bonn 1939, (translates the text of the Mashhad MS. discovered by A. Z. Validi-Togan; H. von Mžik, in his review of this work, *OLZ*, 1942, 240-2, has pointed out the leniency of Rohr-Sauer's conclusions); V. Minorsky, *La deuxième risala d'Abu Dulaf*, in *Oriens*, 1952, 23-7; id., *Abu Dulaf's travels in Iran* (being printed in Cairo, 1954)—gives the Mashhad text of the second *risāla* with a detailed commentary. (V. MINORSKY)

ABŪ DULĀMA ZAND B. AL-DJAWN, a black slave, client of the Banū Asad in Kūfa. He is already mentioned in the history of the last Umapyad caliph, but appears as a "poet" only under the 'Abbāsids and plays the part of a court jester in the palace of al-Saffāḥ and especially in those of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. His poem on the death of Abū Muslim (137/754-5) is said to have been the first of his works to make him a name. Examples of his poetry show him to have been a clever, witty versificator, who readily seizes upon low expressions and displays all sorts of filth with cynical joy; but he does not despise the most insipidly fulsome praise when this form of mendicancy promises some reward. He laughs at the praise of the crowd and his spiteful tongue is feared by all. It is true he did not spare himself and still less his near relatives; he would even occasionally revenge himself for the coarse jokes which the magnates played on him when one of his patrons was pleased to ridicule another through him. He also enjoyed the jester's liberty of being above the Islamic laws and could make them the butt of his insolent mockery. He has given proverbial fame to his mule, which possessed all possible defects and to which he dedicated a witty *ḳaṣīda*.

Abū Dulāma embodied a popular type of crude and unrestrained comicality; hence the historicity of some of the anecdotes that are told both of him and of Abū Nuwās is somewhat doubtful.

Statements as to the date of his death vary: according to some he died in 160/776-7, according to others in 170/786-7; the first of these dates being the more likely.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 487 ff.; *Aghānī*[1], ix, 120-40; xv, 85; Ibn Khallikān, no. 243; Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*[2], 518 (Maḳāma 40); Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ii, 236 ff.; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, Schwally, 645; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, viii, 488-93; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, iv, 37-48; Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt*, i, 341-5; R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xvi, 87; Brockelmann, I, 72; S I, 111; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 303-7; A. F. Rifā'ī, *'Aṣr al-Ma'mūn*, ii, 300-16; Mohammed Ben Cheneb, *Abū Dolāma, Poète bouffon de la cour des premiers caliphes abbassides* (containing an edition and partial translation of the collected poems and fragments), Alger 1922. (J. HOROVITZ)

ABU 'L-DUNYĀ ABU 'L-HASAN ʿALI B. ʿUTHMĀN B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB (or ʿUthmān b. al-Kh.), one of those to whom preternatural longevity has been ascribed (*muʿammarun, q.v.*); he is also called al-Muʿammar al-Maghribī or al-Ashadjdj al-Muʿammar. He is said to have been born about 600 A.D. and to have died in 316/928,327/938-9 or even 476/1083-4. Of the tribe of Hamdān, he drank in his youth from the source of life in the presence of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*], then joined ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, with whom he fought at Ṣiffīn and from whom he received the name of Abu 'l-Dunyā, after his horse had made a scar on his face (al-Ashadjdj = the scarred one). After the death of the caliph, he went to Tangier. He returned at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, to fulfil the pilgrimage and to relate traditions which he claimed to have heard from the mouth of ʿAlī. The information about him goes back to the 4th century (see Ibn Bābawayh, *Ikmāl*, 297-303, cf. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, lxviii, n. 4; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, ii, 647; Ibn Hadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 134-40, 191-2) and one may think that this is no more than the tale of a vulgar impostor. Nevertheless al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ* (Pellat), para 146, mentions an Ashadjdj b. ʿAmr (read al-Muʿammar?) alongside al-Sufyānī [*q.v.*] and al-Aṣfar al-Kahtānī, and, according to the prophecies of Daniel "one with a scar", sometimes identified with ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353, 158; G. van Vloten, *Recherches*, 55-6, 79 and references), will fill the world with justice. It is therefore possible that a group of Sunnīs put, as early as the 3rd century, their hope in an Ashadjdj, especially as the Shīʾite Ibn Bābawayh uses the word *mukhālifūnā*, "our adversaries", to describe those who deny the existence of the *ḳāʾim*, but believe in the longevity of Abu 'l-Dunya.

(CH. PELLAT)

ABU 'L-FAḌL [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD].

ABU 'L-FAḌL (Faẓl) **ʿALLĀMĪ** (Shaykh), author, liberal thinker, and informal secretary of the emperor Akbar, was the younger brother of the poet Fayḍī [*q.v.*], and the second son of Shaykh Mubārak Nāgawrī (d. 1593), one of the most distinguished scholars of his age in India, and the author of a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Manbaʿ-i Nafāʾis al-ʿUyūn*. He was born on 6 Muḥarram 958/14 Jan. 1551 at Agra, where his father had settled, in 1543, as a teacher. Abu'l-Faḍl was a pupil of his father, and owed his profound scholarship and liberality of outlook largely to the training given him by the latter. By his fifteenth year he had studied religious sciences, Greek thought and mysticism; but formal education did not satisfy the yearnings of his soul, nor did the orthodox faith bring him spiritual solace. While teaching in his father's school, he spent his time in extensive reading, deep meditation and frequent discussions of religious questions.

Abu 'l-Faḍl was presented at the court by his brother, Fayḍī, in 1574. He soon gained high favour with Akbar by his scholarly criticism of the narrow-mindedness of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the religious discussions which were started in the *ʿIbādat Khāna* in 1575. He helped in freeing the Emperor from the domination of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and was instrumental in bringing about their ultimate political downfall by the promulgation, in 1579, of the decree (*maḥḍar*), drafted by him in collaboration with his father, which invested Akbar with the authority of deciding points of difference between the theologians.

A firm believer in God, whom he regarded as transcendental and the Creator, Abu 'l-Faḍl considered that there could be no relationship between man and God except that of servitude (*ʿabdullahī*) on the part of the former. Servitude required sincerity, suppression of the ego (*nafs*) and devotion to Him, resignation to His will, and faith in His Mercifulness. Though he regarded formal worship as mere hypocrisy, he believed that there were many ways of serving the Lord, but only divine blessing could reveal the Truth. "In the main", he wrote, "every sect may be placed in one of two categories—either, it is in possession of the Truth, in which case one should seek direction from it; or, it is in the wrong, in which it is an object of pity and deserving of sympathy, not of reproach" (*Akbar Nāma*, ii, 660). His faith in being at "peace with all" (*ṣulḥ-i-kull*) involved not only toleration of all religions but also love for all human beings.

In political affairs, Abu 'l-Faḍl sought to emphasise the divine character of Akbar's kingship. Royalty, he claimed, was light emanating from God (*farr-i-īzadī*), communicated to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one. Though the existence of kings was necessary at all times, it was only after many ages that there appeared, by divine blessing, a monarch who could not only rule effectively, but could also guide the world spiritually. Since Akbar could ensure the material as well as the spiritual well-being of his subjects, he could be truly regarded as the "Perfect Man" (*insān-i-kāmil*). It was the duty of all to give Akbar complete loyalty and to seek his spiritual guidance by becoming his disciples. The chosen among the disciples would be those who attained the "four degrees of devotion" (*chahār martaba-i-ikhlāṣ*), i.e. preparedness to place at Akbar's disposal their property, life, honour and faith.

Though Abu'l-Faḍl's religio-political views earned for him the enmity of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the policy of religious toleration which he helped Akbar in evolving, the non-denominational yet spiritual character of obedience to the Emperor which he advocated, his justification, on ethical grounds, of every imperial action, and his persistent efforts to inculcate, especially among the nobles, a sense of mystical loyalty to Akbar, contributed greatly to the political consolidation of the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Abu'l-Faḍl's immense influence over Akbar and the numerous duties which he performed at Court (especially in drafting letters to nobles and foreign potentates), his progress in the official hierarchy was slow. It was only in 1585 that he was promoted to the *manṣab* of 1000, which was doubled in 1592. Six years later it was raised to 2500. Except when he was associated, for a short time in 1586, with Shāh Ḳulī Khān Maḥram in the joint-government of Delhi, Abu'l-Faḍl never held any office until 1599, when he was posted to the Deccan, at the instance of hostile elements at the Court. He distinguished himself there as an able administrator and military commander. In recognition of his services, he was promoted, in 1600, to the rank of 4000, and two years later, to that of 5000. The same year he was hastily summoned to the Court when Akbar's son Salīm (afterwards the Emperor Djahāngīr) rebelled. On his way back, he was waylaid and assassinated by Rādja Bīr Singh Dēva, the disaffected Bundēla chieftain of Orchha, on 4 Rabīʿ I 1011/22 Aug. 1602. His head was severed and sent to Salīm, at whose instance the crime had been committed, while the body was buried at Antarī (near Gwalior). The news came as

a great shock to Akbar, who mourned the loss deeply and never forgave Salīm for instigating the murder. Abu'l-Faḍl was survived by his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Afḍal Khān (d. 1613), who rose to be governor of Bihār.

Abu'l-Faḍl's principal title to fame as an author rests upon his monumental work, *Akbar Nāma*, a history of Akbar (down to the 46th regnal year) and of his ancestors, compiled in three daftars (first two daftars published in *Bibl. Ind.* 3 vols.). The third daftar, *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī* (*Bibl. Ind.*, 3 vols.), dealing with Imperial regulations and containing detailed information on Indian geography, administration and social and religious life, was the first work of its kind in India. Abu'l-Faḍl's compositions, characterised by an individual literary style, served as a model for many generations, though none was able to imitate him successfully. His numerous works include a Persian translation of the Bible; *ʿIyār-i-Dānish* (a recension of *Anwār-i-Suhaylī*); prefaces to *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (unfortunately lost), to the Persian translation of *Mahābhārata*, and to many other works; and a *Munādjāt* (ed. by Rizvi, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, I/iii). His letters, prefaces and other compositions were compiled by his nephew under the title *Inshā-i-Abu 'l-Faḍl* (3 vols.). Another collection of his private letters is entitled *Ruḳʿāt-i-Abu 'l-Faḍl*.

Bibliography: Autobiographical accounts: *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī*, iii (at end); *Inshā-i-Abu 'l-Faḍl*, iii. Biographies: *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ* (*Bibl. Ind.*), ii, 608-22; Elliot and Dowson, vi, 1 ff.; Blochman, Introduction to his translation of *Āʾīn-i-Akbarī*; Storey, ii/3, 541-51 (detailed references on 551).

(NURUL HASAN)

other singers, such as Maʿbad and Ibn Suraydj, and

ABU 'L-FAḌL ʿIYĀḌ [see ʿIYĀḌ].

ABU 'L-FARADJ [see BABBAGHĀʾ; IBN AL-DJAWZĪ; IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ; IBN AL-NADĪM].

ABU 'L-FARADJ AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ (or AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ), ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤ. B. AḤMAD AL-ḲURASHĪ, Arab historian, litterateur and poet. He was born in 284/897 in Iṣfahān (whence his *nisba*) in Persia, but was of pure Arab race, a descendant of Ḳuraysh, or, to be more exact, of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads. In spite of this, he was a Shīʿite. He studied in Baghdād, where he passed the greater part of his life, protected by the Būyids, especially by the vizier al-Muhallabī. He found also a warm welcome in Aleppo at the court of the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf al-Dawla. He died in Baghdād on 14 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 356/20 Nov. 967. His main book, on which he worked according to his own testimony for fifty years, is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* ("Book of Songs"). In it the author collected the songs that had been chosen, by order of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, by the famous musicians Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ismāʿīl b. Djāmiʿ and Fulayḥ b. al-ʿAwrāʾ, and later revised by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; he added songs by other singers such as Maʿbad and Ibn Suraydj and by caliphs and their descendants; for each song he indicated its melody. This is, however, but the least part of his work, as Abu'l-Faradj added rich information about the poets who were the authors of the songs, giving an account of their life and quoting many of their verses, as well as about the composers of the melodies. Furthermore, he gives many details about the ancient Arab tribes, their *ayyām*, their social life, the court life of the Umayyads, society at the time of the ʿAbbasid caliphs, especially of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the milieu of musicians and singers. In one word, in the *Aghānī* we pass in review the whole of Arabic civilization from the *djāhiliyya* down to the end of the 3rd/9th century. The author even does us another service: following the method of the Arab writers, he quotes long passages from earlier writers, whose works have not come down to us. His book is thus a source also for the development of Arabic style.

The first edition of the *Aghānī* was published in Būlāḳ 1285/1868-9 in twenty volumes, to which should be added a twenty-first volume published by R. Brünnow (*The twenty-first volume of the Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Leiden 1888). For a lacuna see J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, 1896, 145-51. *Tables* by I. Guidi (Leiden 1895-1900). A second edition, being a reproduction of the Būlāḳ ed., together with the twenty-first volume and the *Tables* of Guidi, Cairo, 1323/1905-6. Cf. also Muḥ. Maḥmud al-Shinḳīṭī, *Taṣḥīḥ*, Cairo 1334/1916). A third and much superior edition was started in Cairo in 1927.

Another work of Abu'l-Faradj that has come down to us is *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn wa-Akhbaruhum*, a historical work composed in 313/923. It contains biographies of the descendants of Abū Ṭālib (from Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib to the seventy who died under the reign of al-Muḳtadir, 295-320/908-32) who in some way lost their lives for political reasons, including those who died in prison or in hiding. This book was published in lithography, Teheran 1307 and in print, Nadjaf 1353. The Bombay edition (1311) on the margin of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Nadjafī, *Muntakhab fi 'l-Marāthī wa 'l-Khuṭab*, contains the first half only.

Among those books that are lost should be mentioned books on genealogy and a *Kitāb Ayyām al-ʿArab*, where 1700 "days" were mentioned. Abu'l-Faradj also edited the *dīwāns* of Abu Tammām, al-Buḥturī and Abū Nuwās.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 351; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 149-68; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 398-400; Brockelmann, i, 146, S i, 225-6. A good biography, quoting his poetry and containing information about the *Aghānī*, in *Aghānī*³, preface, i, 15-37 (the information about the *Muhadhdhab* is to be corrected). For MSS of the *Aghānī* see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1949, 276 ff.; for miniatures illustrating it, D. S. Rice, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1953, 128 ff.

(M. NALLINO)

ABU 'L-FATḤ [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD; IBN AL-FURĀT; AL-MUẒAFFAR].

ABU 'L-FIDĀ, ISMĀʿĪL B. (AL-AFḌAL) ʿALĪ B. (AL-MUẒAFFAR) MAḤMŪD B. (AL-MANṢŪR) MUḤAMMAD B. TAḲĪ AL-DĪN ʿUMAR B. SHĀHANSHĀH B. AYYŪB, AL-MALIK AL-MUʾAYYAD ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN, Syrian prince, historian, and geographer, of the family of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*], born in Damascus, Djum. i, 672/Nov. 1273. At the age of 12, in the company of his father and his cousin al-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd II, prince of Ḥamāh, he was present at the siege and capture of Marḳab (Margat) (684/1285). He took part also in the later campaigns against the Crusaders. On the suppression of the Ayyūbid principality of Hamāh in 698/1299, he remained in the service of its Mamlūk governors, at the same time ingratiating himself with the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn. After several vain attempts to obtain the government of Ḥamāh, he was finally appointed on 18 Djum. i, 710/14 Oct. 1310, at the instance of the "king of the Arabs", Muhannā, shaykh of Āl Faḍl. In 712/1312 his government was converted to a life principality, but two years later he, with the other governors,

was made directly subordinate to the governor of Damascus, Tankiz, with whom his relations were for a time strained. In the following years he strengthened his position by lavish patronage and generosity, especially on the occasion of his visits to Egypt. In 719/1319-20 he accompanied sultan Muḥammad on pilgrimage to Mecca, and on their return to Cairo he was publicly invested with the insignia of the sultanate and the title of al-Malik al-Muʾayyad (17 Muḥ. 720/28 Febr. 1320), and given precedence over all governors in Syria. He continued to enjoy the great reputation which he had acquired as patron and man of letters, as well as the friendship of the sultan, until his death at Ḥamāh on 23 Muḥ. 732/27 Oct. 1331. With the support of Tankiz, his son al-Afḍal Muḥammad was nominated as his successor, and was also granted the insignia of the sultanate. (For his grave, cf. *ZDMG*, lxii, 657-60; lxiii, 329-33, 853 ff.; *Bull. d'Etudes Orient.*, 1931, 149).

The Arabic biographical notices furnish several specimens of his poetical productions, which included a versification of the juristic work *al-Ḥāwī* of al-Māwardī [*q.v.*]. Of various other writings on religious and literary subjects almost all have perished. His reputation rests on two works, both largely compilations, but rearranged and supplemented by himself. The *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar*, a universal history covering the pre-Islamic period and Islamic history down to 729/1329, is in its earlier part based mainly on Ibn al-Athīr. Its contemporary popularity is shown by the continuations to it written by Ibn al-Wardī [*q.v.*], Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashḳī, and Ibn al-Shiḥna al-Ḥalabī [*q.v.*]. It was a major source of eighteenth-century orientalism, through the editions of J. Gagnier, *De vita . . . Mohammedis* (Oxford 1723) and J. J. Reiske-J. G. Chr. Adler, *Annales Moslemici* (Leipzig 1754 and Copenhagen 1789-94). The complete text was first published in Istanbul (2 vols., 1286/1869-70).

The *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, a descriptive geography supplemented by physical and mathematical data in tabular form (derived mainly from the Arabic translation of Ptolemy, the tenth-century *K. al-aṭwāl*, al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī [*qq.v.*], their divergences being noted) and completed in 721/1321, largely replaced all earlier geographical works. It is extensively quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*], and several later abridgements were made, including one in Turkish by Muḥ. b. ʿAlī Sipāhīzāde (d. 997/1589). Individual sections were edited and translated by European scholars from the seventeenth century (John Greaves, London 1650; J. B. Koehler, Leipzig 1766; etc.). The entire work was edited by J. T. Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane (Paris 1840) and translated by Reinaud (Paris 1848) and Stanislas Guyard (Paris 1883), the first volume of the translation consisting of a classic survey entitled *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux*. The judgments of scholars on Abu 'l-Fidā's geography have differed widely, from "a rather poor compilation of earlier sources" (J. H. Kramers, in *Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931, 91; cf. C. E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid el Granadino*, Madrid 1953, 182) to G. Sarton (see *Bibl.*), for whom Abu'l-Fidā is "the greatest geographer of his age". See also the art. DJUGHRĀFIYA.

Bibliography: Autobiography (extracted from the History), trans. de Slane, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Orientaux* i, 166-186 (see also *Appendice* 744-51); Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Suppl., Leiden MS. 765; Kutubī, *Fawāt* (Cairo 1951), i, 70; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Hyderabad 1348, i, 371-3; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, vi, 84-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ix, 16, 23, 24, 39, 58-62, 74, 93, 100, 292-4 (largely reproduced in Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, Cairo 1941, 87, 89, 90, 137, 142, 166, 196, 202, 238); idem, *Les Biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī* (G. Wiet, Cairo 1932) no. 432; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, 1881, 161-6; Brockelmann, II, 44-46; S II 44; M. Hartmann, *Das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar 1896, 10; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris, i, 139-46; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, iii, Baltimore 1947, 200, 308, 793-9; A. Ateş in *Oriens*, 1952, 44.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ABŪ FIRĀS AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ, poetic cognomen of AL-ḤĀRITH B. ABI 'L-ʿALĀʾ SAʿĪD B. ḤAMDĀN AL-TAGHLIBĪ, Arab poet, born in 320/932, probably in ʿIrāḳ. Saʿīd, himself a poet, was killed by his nephew Nāṣir al-Dawla Ḥasan on attempting to occupy Mawṣil in 323/935, The mother of Abū Firās, a Greek *umm walad*, moved with her son to Aleppo after its occupation by the poet's cousin Sayf al-Dawla in 333/944, and there he was trained under the eye of Sayf al-Dawla, who also married his sister. In 336/947-8 he was appointed to the governorship of Manbidj (and later also of Ḥarrān), where, in spite of his youth, he distinguished himself in the conflicts with the Nizārī tribes of Diyār Muḍar and the Syrian desert. He also frequently accompanied Sayf al-Dawla in his Byzantine expeditions, and was captured in 348/951 but succeeded in escaping from imprisonment at Kharshana by leaping on horseback into the Euphrates. In 351/962 he was again captured at Manbidj during the Greek operations preliminary to the siege of Aleppo, and taken to Constantinople where he remained, in spite of his entreaties to Sayf al-Dawla, until the general exchange of prisoners in 355/966. He was then appointed governor of Ḥimṣ and in the year after Sayf al-Dawla's death attempted to revolt against his son and successor (and his own nephew) Abu'l-Maʿālī, but was defeated, captured and killed by the latter's general Karghawayh, 2 Djumādā i, 357/4 April 968.

The reputation of Abū Firās owes much to his personal qualities. Handsome in person, of noble family, brave, generous, and extolled by his contemporaries as "excelling in every virtue" (though also egoistic and rashly ambitious), he lived up to the Arab ideal of chivalry which he expressed in his poetry. This is probably the thought which underlies the often-quoted phrase of Ibn ʿAbbād: "Poetry began with a king (sc. Imruʾ al-Ḳays) and ended with a king (sc. Abū Firās)". His earlier output is composed of *ḳaṣīdas* of the classical type, devoted to praise of his family's nobility and warlike deeds (notably a *rāʾiyya* of 225 lines recounting the history of the Ḥamdānid house) or to self-praise, and shorter lyrical pieces on amatory or friendship themes of the ʿIrāḳī type. The former are remarkable for their sincerity, directness, and natural vigour, in contrast to the metaphorical elaboration of his chief rival at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, al-Mutanabbī; the latter are elegant trifles, formal and unoriginal. Noteworthy also are his outspokenly Shīʿite odes, satirizing the ʿAbbāsids. But it is more especially on the poems of his captivity, the *Rūmiyyāt*, that his fame rests. In these he gives expression in affecting and eloquent terms to the captive's yearning for home and friends, mingled with not a little self-praise, reproach to Sayf al-Dawla for the delay in ransoming him, and bitter complaints at being neglected.

His *dīwān* was edited with a commentary (largely from the poet himself) shortly after his death by his tutor and friend, the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980). The manuscripts present, however, so many variations in text and arrangement that other recensions must also have been circulated, including probably that of al-Babbaghā (d. 398/1008: see Tanūkhī, *Bibl.*). All the earlier defective editions (Bayrūt 1873, 1900, 1910) are superseded by the critical edition of S. Dahhān (3 vols., Bayrūt 1944), with full bibliography.

Bibliography: Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, i, London 1921, 110-2; Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 22-62 (Cairo i, 27-71); also ed. and translated with an introd. by R. Dvořak, *Abū Firās, ein arab. Dichter und Held*, Leiden 1895; Ibn Khallikān, no. 146; Brockelmann i, 88; S i, 142-4, M. Canard, *Sayf al-Daula* (recueil de textes), Alger-Paris 1934, index; idem, *Hist. de la Dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, i, Alger 1951, 379, 395 f., 596 ff., 669 f., 763, 772, 796, 810, 824; H. Ritter, in *Oriens* 1948, 377-85.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ FUDAYK 'Abd Allāh b. Thawr, a Khāridjite agitator, of the Banu Ḳays b. Tha'laba. Originally associated with Nāfi' b. al-Azraḳ [*q.v.*], he left him to join Nadjda b. 'Āmir [*q.v.*], whom he did not hesitate to murder, because of certain differences of opinion that arose between them. After this murder he gained control over Baḥrayn (72/691) and succeeded in withstanding the attack of an army from Baṣra sent against him by 'Abd al-Malik. Shortly afterwards (73/693) a second expedition, consisting of 10.000 men from Basra and commanded by 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ma'mar succeeded in defeating and killing him.

Bibliography: 'Adjdādj, no. 11; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 662; Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, v, 346, xi (= *Anonyme arab. Chronik*, ed. Ahlwardt), 143 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 829, 852 ff.; Ash'arī, *Maḳālat*, 101; Shahrastānī, (on margin of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*), i, 162-167; R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, 47 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, 32. See also khawāridj.

(M. Th. Houtsma*)

ABU FUṬRUS [see nahr abī fuṭrus].

ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ ḤASAN [see makka].

ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ al-RĀZĪ, Persian commentator of the Ḳur'ān. He lived between 480/1087 and 525/1131, fixed by conjecture. Among his disciples are the famous Shi'te theologians Ibn Shahrāsūb and Ibn Bābūya [*q.v.*], who describes him as a scholar, preacher, commentator of the Ḳur'ān and a pious man. According to al-Shushtarī (*Madjālis al-Mu'minīn*) he was a contemporary of al-Zamakhsharī, whom he quoted as his master—which would explain the Mu'tazilism of his commentary. Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī has proved that his commentary could not date from before 510/1116. He claimed that he was a descendant of the Companion Nāfi' b. Budayl. His *Rawḍ al-Djinān wa-Rawḥ al-Djanān* (Teheran 1905, in two volumes; 1937, in three volumes) is one of the earliest—if not the earliest—of the Shī'ite commantaries composed in Persian. In his introduction he declared that he gave preference to this language because those who knew Arabic were in the minority. The commentary, preceded by an introduction concerning the exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, deals with grammar, rhetoric, juridical and religious commands and the traditions about the origin of the verses. The influence of al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* can be perceived; the Shī'ite tendency is less pronounced than in the later Persian commentaries.—In addition to the commentary he is said to be the author of a commentary on the *Shihāb al-Akhbār* of Muḥ. b. Salāma al-Ḳuḍā'ī (Brockelmann, i, 343).

Bibliography: Storey, section i, no. 6; H. Massé, in *Mélanges W. Marcais*, Paris 1950, 243 ff.

(H. Massé)

ABŪ GHĀNIM Bishr b. Ghānim al-**KHURĀSĀNĪ**, eminent Ibāḍī lawyer of the end of the 2nd/8th and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, a native of Khurāsān. On his way to the Rustamid *imām* 'Abd al-Wahhāb (168-208/784-823) at Tāhart, to offer him his book *al-Mudawwana*, he stayed with the Ibāḍī *shaykh*, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amrūs b. Fatḥ, of Djabal Nafūsa, who rendered a service to Ibāḍī literature by conserving in the Maghrib a copy of the work.

The *Mudawwana* of Abū Ghānim is the oldest Ibāḍī treatise on general jurisprudence, according to the teaching of Abū 'Ubayda Muslim al-Tamīmī (d. under al-Manṣūr, 136-58/754-75; cf. ibāḍiyya) as transmitted by his disciples. The manuscript of the *Mudawwana*, copied by 'Amrūs b. Fatḥ, was composed of twelve parts; the titles are given in the catalogue of Ibāḍī books compiled by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Barrādī (8th/14th century). The book has become very rare; according to information received from S. Smogorzewski, a unique manuscript was in the possession of an Ibāḍī *shaykh* in Guerrara (Mzāb). Al-Barrādī's catalogue also quotes another law book by Abū Ghānim.

Bibliography: Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 228; Sālimī, *al-Lam'a*, in a collection of six Ibāḍī works published in Algiers 1326, 184, 197-8; A. de Motylinski, *in Bull. Corr. afr.*, 1885, 18, nos. 12 and 14.

(T. Lewicki)

ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ BAHĀDUR KHĀN, ruler of Khīwa and Čaghatāy historian, born probably on 16 Rabī' i, 1012/24 Aug., 1603, son of 'Arab Muḥammad Khān, of the Özbeg dynasty of the Shaybānids [*q.v.*], and of a princess of the same family. He spent his youth in Urganč (at that time largely depopulated owing to the change of course of the Oxus), at the court of his father, who was khān of this place.. In 1029/1619 he was appointed to be his father's lieutenant in Kāth, but when his father was killed soon afterwards in a rebellion of two of his other sons, had to take refuge at Samarḳand with Imām-ḳuli Khān. After long fighting he, together with his brother Isfandiyār, succeeded in ousting the rebellious brothers, with the aid of some Turkmen tribes. In 1033/1623 he became lieutenant of his brother in Urganč, but quarrelled with him, in connection with Turkmen tribal feuds, in 1036/1626 and had to flee to Tāshkent, where he lived for two years at the Kazakh court. After another attempt to seize the throne in Khīwa, he spent ten years (from 1039/1629) as an exile at the court of the Ṣafawids, mostly at Iṣfahān. Here he widened his knowledge of the past of his people, acquired at the Kazakh court, by the study of Persian sources. By the evidence of his translation, he knew Persian and Arabic well. After his flight from Persia he perfected his knowledge at the Kalmük court, by collecting Mongol traditions.

It was only after the death of Isfandiyār (1052/1642) that Abu 'l-Ghāzī became (in 1054/1644-5) khān of Khīwa. As khān, he maintained diplomatic relations with all his neighbours, including Russia, interrupted by repeated wars. Expeditions against the Turkmens in 1054/1644, 1056/1646, 1058/1648, 1062/1651 and 1064/1653, led finally to the submission of some of these tribes in Ḳara-Kum and

Manghishlaḳ. He was engaged also against the Kalmuks in 1059/1649, 1064/1653 and 1067/1656, and against Bukhārā in 1066/1655 and 1073/1662. Occasionally he allowed Russian caravans passing through his territory to be plundered, but had, in the interests of his own trade if for no other reasons, to pay compensation. For the rest, he endeavoured to further the welfare of his country and to promote scholarship. The military gifts which he ascribes to himself were, according to less partial sources, rather modest. He died in 1074/1663, shortly after he had abdicated in favour of his son.

Of his works we possess: 1) *Shedjere-i Terākime*, composed in 1070/1659, mainly derived from Rashīdal-Dīn and the Oghuznāma, but with additions of independent value. The Čaghatāy text was published in facsimile by the Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1937; there is a Russian translation by A. Tumanski, ʿAshkābād 1892. 2) *Shadjarat al-Atrāk* (*Shedjere-i Türk*), which he left unfinished at his death; the part from 1054/1644 was finished by his son Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Anūsha Muḥammad Bahādur in 1076/1665. This work contains the history of the Shaybānids from the middle of the 15th century, and is the main source for the dynasty up to 1074/1663, though written mostly "from memory", without direct use of sources, and widely defective for the earlier periods as well as in its chronology. The introduction, containing traditions about Činghiz Khān and his immediate successors, is almost wholly legendary. Nevertheless, as the work became known in Europe at an early date, it remained for some time the main authority for the history of the Mongols. Two Swedes captured in the battle of Poltava (1709), Tabbert von Strahlenberg and Schenström, became acquainted with it in Siberia and, with the help of a Russian interpretation by an imām, prepared a German translation, on which is based the French edition of v. Bentinck, *Histoire généalogique des Tartars*, Leiden 1726. This was soon followed by a Russian and in 1780 by an English edition. The German original of 1716-7 was published by Messerschmid, Göttingen 1780, as *Geschlechtsbuch der mungalisch-mogulischen Chanen*. Finally Ch. M. v. Frähn published a Latin translation, Kazan 1825. A critical use of the text was only made possible by the publication of the Caghatāy text, with a French translation, by J. J. P. Baron Desmaisons, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatars*, 1871-4, but this work in turn requires revision in the light of more recent studies.

Bibliography: Desmaisons, ii, 312 ff.; A. Strindberg, *Notice sur le MS. de la première traduction de la chronique d'Abulghasi-Behader*, Stockholm 1889; I. N. Berezin, *Biblioteka vostočnykh istorikov*, iii (the Russian trans. by G. Sablukov), 1852; Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan, *IA*, iv, 79-83. (B. Spuler)

ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. **DJAMĪʿ**, Ibāḍī scholar, probably a native of the Djabal Nafūsa, mentioned in al-Shammākhī's K. *al-Siyar* (Cairo 1301, 561-2), in a short note that gives no chronological information, but from which it may be deduced that he lived at the end of the 8th/14th or the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

He translated into Arabic the old *ʿAḳīda* of the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib, originally composed in Berber. This translation was in use, at the time of al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1521-2), in the island of Djarba and in the other Ibāḍī communities of the Maghrib, excepting the Djabal Nafūsa. It is still the catechism of the Ibāḍīs of the Mzāb and of Djarba. The *ʿAḳīda* of Abū Ḥafṣ was the subject of numerous commentaries: by al-Shammākhī (circulating in MSS); by Abū Sulaymān Dāʾūd b. Ibrāhīm al-Thalātī of Djarba (d. 967/1559-60) (see Exiga dit Kayser, *Description et histoire de l'île de Djerba*, Tunis 1884, 9-10 text, 9-10 transl.); and finally those by ʿUmar b. Ramaḍān al-Thalātī (12th/18th century), autographed or printed after the *ʿAḳīda*, in the editions of Algeria (e.g. Constantine 1323) or Cairo.

The *ʿAḳīda* of Abū Ḥafs was published and translated, with notes taken from the Ibāḍī commentaries, by A. de Motylinski, *L' ʿAqida des Abadhites*, *Recueil Mém. et Textes XIVᵉ Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 505-45.

(A. de Motylinski—T. Lewicki)

ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. SHUʿAYB AL-**BALLŪṬĪ**, native of Pedroche (Bitrawdj) in the Faḥṣ al-Ballūt, a district to the north of Cordova, founder of a minor dynasty which ruled over the island of Crete (Iḳrītish [*q.v.*]) between 212/827 and 350/961, when his descendant ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shuʿayb was dethroned and the island recaptured by the general and future Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas.

After the celebrated revolt of the Suburb which broke out in Cordova in 202/818 and was harshly suppressed by the amīr Ḥakam I (cf. UMAYYADS OF SPAIN), a group of Andalusians, several thousand in number, who had been expelled from the capital, decided to emigrate and try their luck in the Mediterranean. They succeeded in gaining a foothold in Egypt and occupied Alexandria for a few years. Besieged by the governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, they had to capitulate in 212/827 and then decided to attempt a landing in Crete. Under the leadership of their chief, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ballūṭī, they captured the island, which thus passed under Muslim domination. There is little information about the chronology of the dynasty founded by al-Ballūṭī and the history of the island during that period. All that is known, thanks to Byzantine historians, who call Abū Ḥafṣ *Apocapso* or *Apochapsa*, is that all attempts by the Byzantines to recapture Crete were in vain. It was also in vain that in 225/840 the emperor Theophilus addressed himself to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] to ask for the restitution of the island. During its Muslim occupation, Crete maintained economic and cultural relations with al-Andalus, and its capital, al-Khandaḳ (modern Candia), was quite a brilliant intellectual centre.

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ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. YAḤYĀ AL-**HINTĀTĪ** (an Arabic relative adjective formed from the name of a Berber tribe of the Anti-Atlas in Morocco, the Hintāta), or, according to the more current Berber form, Īntī, the chief companion of the Almohade Mahdī, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], and the most active supporter of the dynasty of the Muʾminids (see ʿABD AL-MUʾMIN). It was his own grandson, the amīr Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid who, in 634/1236-37, renounced his allegiance to the Muʾminids in Ifrīḳiya and founded, with himself and his descendants as rulers, the dynasty of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], which was to be called after this their ancestor.

Abū Ḥafṣ Intī—on whom the "Memoirs" of al-Baydhaḳ [*q.v.*] are the most detailed source, whose information is most likely to be authentic—bore, in common with all his fellow-tribesmen before the activity of the Almohade Mahdī, a Berber name, which appears to have been Faskāt ū-Mzāl. Ibn Tūmart himself, after he had persuaded him to support his cause, gave him the name of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, in memory of the famous companion and lieutenant of the Prophet. Their first meeting, after the Mahdī's return to his native mountains, can be placed in the year 514/1120-21; Abū Ḥafṣ, at this time, was apparently about 30 years old. From that time on, he was to make a remarkable career for himself, showing an extremely developed political sense, a more and more marked ascendant over the first Almohade caliph, his own "creature", and enjoying the respect of all those who benefited under the new régime, from the highest to the lowest; in short, he was the "éminence grise" of the Almohade system which owed to him, more than any other the fact that it did not fall to pieces at the outset. Until his death at a ripe age, in 571/1175-76, this intrepid Berber, victorious general, valued counsellor and venerated *shaykh*, appeared continually in the forefront of the historical scene of the Maghrib, al-Andalus and Ifrīḳiya. For details of his long political and military activities, see the articles AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN and MUʾMINIDS.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, index; *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, Paris 1942, index; Ibn al Kaṭṭān, in *Mélanges R. Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 335-393, and an unpublished manuscript on the history of the Almohades (*Naẓm al djumān*); ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī *al-Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy and transl. Fagnan, index; the chronicles of the post-Almohade period (Occident: *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, Ibn ʿIdhārī's *Bayan*, Ibn Khaldūn's *ʿIbar*, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, *Taʾrīkh al-dawlatayn*, etc.; Orient: Ibn al-Athīr, Nuwayrī), etc.—The best general account of Abū Ḥafṣ Intī, up to now, is that given by R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie occidentale sous les Ḥafṣides*, I, Paris 1940, 13-16. His career will be treated in detail in a forthcoming work (in Spanish) by A. Huici Miranda on the Almohades and the dynasty of the Muʾminids in North Africa and in Spain.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-GHARNĀṬĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (variant AL-RAḤĪM) B. SULAYMĀN AL-MĀZINĪ AL-ḲAYSĪ, Andalusian traveller and collector of *ʿadjāʾib* [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the perfect type of the Occidental *raḥḥāla*, drawn by the desire of *ṭalab al-ʿilm* and the spirit of adventure to the farthest limits of the lands of Islam. There is little biographical information about him and the main dates of his adventurous life are given by himself in his works. He was born in Granada in 473/1080, no doubt studied in his native city, and perhaps stayed some time in Uclés (Uḳlīsh); when he was about thirty years old he left his native country, never to return. First he spent some years in Ifrīḳiya, then embarked in 511/1117-8 for Alexandria, stayed first in that town and later in Cairo, until 515/1123. After a stop at Damascus, he went to Baghdād, where he spent four years. In 524/1130 he was in Abhar in Persia and subsequently near the mouth of the Volga. He went, much later, to Hungary, staying there for three years, until 548/1153. He then travelled through the lands of the Ṣaḳāliba (Eastern Europe), and reached Khwārizm; from there he went, via Bukhārā, Marw, Nīshāpūr, Rayy, Iṣfahān and al-Baṣra, to Arabia, to perform the pilgrimage. In 550/1155 he settled in Baghdād, but left six years later for Moṣul. He then went to Syria, and after staying in Aleppo, established himself at Damascus, where he died in 565/1169-70.

It was in Baghdād, and then in Mosul, that Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī composed the two works that made him famous. In Baghdād he wrote for the well-known vizier Yaḥyā b. Hubayra his *al-Muʿrib an baʿḍ ʿAdjāʾib al-Maghrib*; in Moṣul, on the demand of his protector and Maecenas, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ardabīlī (cf. Brockelmann, S i, 783-4), his *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* (or *al-Aḥbāb*) *wa-Nukhbat al-Aʿdjāb*, which was abundantly cited by Muslim authors in the West as well as in the East. These two books, which are extant in numerous MSS, are full, not only of interesting information and exact records, but also of legendary or marvellous accounts. They have formed the object of elaborate monographs, with edition of the text and annotated translation; the *Tuḥfa* was published by G. Ferrand in *JA*, 1925, 1-148, 195-303; the *Muʿrib* by C. E. Dubler, with a Spanish translation and a hypercritical study (*Abû Ḥāmid el Grenadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, Madrid 1953). A translation of the description of Rome contained in the *Tuḥfa* was published, from a Palermo MS, in the same city, by C. Crispo Moncada in 1900.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 617-8; Ḥadjdji Khalifa, ii, 222, iv, 189-90; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 229-31; Brockelmann, S I, 877-8. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ ḤAMMU I MUSA B. ABĪ SAʿĪD ʿUTHMĀN B. YAGHMURĀSAN, fourth king of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Proclaimed on 21 Shawwāl 707/15 April 1308, he had first to repair the damage caused by the siege of Tlemcen by the Marīnids; he then prepared the defence of his capital against external attacks and fortified it in the expectation of a new siege. In the exterior, he restored his authority over the Banū Tūdjīn and the Maghrāwa and pushed as far as Bidjāya (Bougie) and Constantine, while in the west he hindered the Marīnids from advancing beyond Wadjda (Oujda). Preoccupied by the upkeep of a strong army, he could give little thought to the material and intellectual situation of his subjects. He showed extreme harshness even towards his son Abū Tāshufīn, who had him murdered on 22 Djumādā I 718/22 July 1318 and was proclaimed as his successor.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS. (A. BEL)

ABŪ ḤAMMŪ II MŪSĀ B. ABĪ YAʿḲŪB YŪSUF B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. YAḤYĀ B. YAGHMURĀSAN, king of the ʿAbd al-Wādīd dynasty. Born is Spain in 723/1323-4, he was brought up at the court of Tlemcen. After the victory of the Marinid army over his uncles Abū Saʿīd and Abū Thābit, in Djumādā I 753/June 1352, he had to take refuge with the Ḥafṣid court of Tūnis. When the relations between the Ḥafṣids and Marīnīds deteriorated, he was put at the head of an army and reconquered Tlemcen, where he was proclaimed as king on Rabīʿ I 760/9 February 1359. In 772/1370 the capital again fell under the rule of the Marīnids, who, however, evacuated it in 774/1372. Abū Ḥammū, returning to his dominions, had to face several revolts and especially the hostility of his son Abū Tāshufīn II [*q.v.*], who attacked Tlemcen at the head of a Marīnid army in 791; Abū Ḥammū was killed in the battle, on 1 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 791/21 Nov. 1389.

Abū Ḥāmmū had a highly cultivated mind and sought the society of scholars and poets; he himself composed a treatise on political ethics. His secretary, intimate friend and historian, was Yaḥyā b. Khaldūn, who was assassinated in Ramaḍān 780/Dec. 1379, at the instigation of Abū Tāshufīn.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDĪDS.

(A. BEL)

ABU ḤAMZA [see AL-MUKHTĀR B. ʿAWF].

ABŪ ḤANĪFA AL-NUʿMĀN B. THĀBIT, theologian and religious lawyer, the eponym of the school of the Ḥanafīs [*q.v.*]. He died in 150/767 at the age of 70, and was therefore born about the year 80/699. His grandfather Zūṭā is said to have been brought as a slave from Kābul to Kūfa, and set free by a member of the Arabian tribe of Taym-Allāh b. Thaʿlaba; he and his descendants became thus clients (*mawlā*) of this tribe, and Abū Ḥanīfa is occasionally called al-Taymī. Very little is known of his life, except that he lived in Kūfa as a manufacturer and merchant of a kind of silk material (*khazz*). It is certain that he attended the lecture meetings of Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 120) who taught religious law in Kūfa, and, perhaps on the occasion of a *ḥadjdj*, those of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114 or 115) in Mecca. The long lists, given by his later biographers, of authorities from whom he is supposed to have „heard" traditions, are to be treated with caution. After the death of Ḥammād, Abū Ḥanīfa became the foremost authority on questions of religious law in Kūfa and the main representative of the Kūfian school of law. He collected a great number of private disciples to whom he taught his doctrine, but he was never a *ḳāḍī*. He died in prison in Baghdad, where he lies buried; a dome was built over his tomb in 459/1066. The quarter around the mausoleum is still called al-Aʿẓamiyya, al-Imām al-Aʿẓam being Abū Ḥanīfa's customary epithet.

The biographical legend will have it that the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr called him to the newly founded capital, wanted to appoint him as a *ḳāḍī* there, and imprisoned him because of his steady refusal. A variant makes already the Umayyad governor Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, under Marwān II, offer him the post of *ḳāḍī* in Kūfa and flog him in order to make him accept it, but again without success. These and similar stories are meant to explain the end of Abū Ḥanīfa in prison, and the fact, surprising to later generations, that the master should not have been a *ḳāḍī*. The truth is probably that he compromised himself by unguarded remarks at the time of the rising of the ʿAlids al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrāhīm, in 145, was transported to Baghdād and imprisoned there (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiii, 329).

Abū Ḥanīfa did not himself compose any works on religious law, but discussed his opinions with and dictated them to his disciples. Some of the works of these last are therefore the main sources for Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine, particularly the *Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfa waʾbn Abī Laylā* and the *al-Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī* by Abū Yūsuf, and the *al-Ḥudjadj* and the version of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* by al-Shaybānī. (The formal *isnād* al-Shaybānī—Abū Yūsuf—Abū Ḥanīfa, that occurs in many works of al-Shaybānī, designating as it does merely the general relationship of pupil and master, is of no value in this connection). For the doctrine that Abū Ḥanīfa himself had received from Ḥammād, the main sources are the *al-Āthār* of Abū Yūsuf and the *al-Āthār* of al-Shaybānī. The comparison of Abu Ḥanīfa's successors with his predecessors enables us to assess his achievement in developing Muhammadan legal thought and doctrine. Abū Ḥanīfa's legal thought is in general much superior to that of his contemporary Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148), the *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa in his time. With respect to him and to contemporary legal reasoning in Kūfa in general, Abū Ḥanīfa seems to have played the role of a theoretical systematizer who achieved a considerable progress in technical legal thought. Not being a *ḳāḍī*, he was less restricted than Ibn Abī Laylā by considerations of practice; at the same time, he was less firmly guided by the administration of justice. Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine is as a rule systematically consistent. There is so much new, explicit legal thought embodied in it, that an appreciable part of it was found defective and was rejected by his disciples. His legal thought is not only more broadly based and more thoroughly applied than that of his older contemporaries, but technically more highly developed, more circumspect, and more refined. A high degree of reasoning, often somewhat ruthless and unbalanced, with little regard for the practice, is typical of Abū Ḥanīfa's legal thought as a whole. Abū Ḥanīfa used his personal judgment (*raʾy*) and conclusions by analogy (*ḳiyās*) to the extent customary in the schools of religious law in his time; and as little as the representatives of the other schools, the Medinese for example, was he inclined to abandon the traditional doctrine for the sake of "isolated" traditions from the Prophet, traditions related by single individuals in any one generation, such as began to become current in Islamic religious science during the lifetime of Abū Ḥanīfa, in the first half of the second century A. H. When this last kind of tradition, two generations later, thanks mainly to the work of al-Shāfiʿī, had gained official recognition, Abū Ḥanīfa for adventitious reasons was made the scapegoat for the resistance to the "traditions of the Prophet" and, parallel to this, for the exercise of personal judgment in the ancient schools of law, and many sayings shocking to the later taste were attributed to him. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) made himself the mouthpiece of this hostile tendency. The legal devices (*ḥiyal*) which Abū Ḥanīfa had developed in the normal course of his technical legal reasoning, were criticized too, but they became later one of his special titles to fame (cf. Schacht, in *Isl.*, 1926, 221 ff.).

As a theologian, too, Abū Ḥanīfa has exercised a considerable influence. He is the eponym of a popular tradition of dogmatic theology that lays particular stress on the ideas of the community of the Muslims, of its unifying principle, the *sunna*, of the majority of the faithful who follow the middle of the road and avoid extremes, and that relies on scriptural rather than on rational proofs. This tradition is represented by the *al-ʿĀlim waʾl-Mutaʿallim* (wrongly attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa) and by the *Fiḳh al-Absaṭ*, which both originated in the circle of Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples, and later by the works of Ḥanafī theologians, including the creed of al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) and the catechism of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī (d. 383/993) which has always been very popular in Malaya and Indonesia, in territory which in matters of religious law is solidly Shāfiʿī. This dogmatic tradition arose out of the popular background of the theological movement of the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*], to which Abū Ḥanīfa himself belonged. The only authentic document by Abū Ḥanīfa which we possess is, in fact, his letter to ʿUthmān al-Battī, in which he defends his murdjiʾite

views in an urbane way. (It was printed, together with the *al-ʿĀlim wa'l-Mutaʿallim* and the *Fiḳh al-Absaṭ*, in Cairo 1368/1949). Another title that was ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa is the *Fiḳh al-Akbar*. Wensinck has shown that the so-called *Fiḳh al-Akbar I* alone is relevant. This exists only embedded in a commentary wrongly attributed to al-Māturīdī (printed as no. 1 in *Madjmūʿat Shurūḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar*, Hyderabad 1321). The text itself consists of ten articles of faith outlining the orthodox position as opposed to the Khāridjīs, the Ḳadarīs, the Shīʿites, and the Djahmīs [see these articles]. Propositions directed against the Murdjiʾa as well as against the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] are lacking. This means that the author was a Murdjiʾite who lived before the rise of the Muʿtazila. All but one of the theses of the *Fiḳh al-Akbar I* occur also in the *Fiḳh al-Absaṭ*, which consists of statements of Abū Ḥanīfa on questions of theology in answer to questions put to him by his disciple Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (d. 183/799). The contents of the *Fiḳh al-Akbar I* are therefore authentic opinions of Abū Ḥanīfa, though nothing goes to show that he actually composed the short text. But the so-called *Fiḳh al-Akbar II* and the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* are not by Abū Ḥanīfa. The authenticity of a number of other short texts attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa has not yet been investigated and is at least doubtful; the *Waṣiyya* addressed to his disciple Yūsuf b. Khālid al-Sumtī al-Baṣrī represents Iranian courtiers' ethics and cannot be imagined as a work of a specialist in Islamic religious law.

The later enemies of Abū Ḥanīfa, in order to discredit him, taxed him not only with extravagant opinions derived from the principles of the Murdjiʾa, but with all kinds of heretical doctrines that he could not possibly have held. For example, they ascribed to him the doctrine that hell was not eternal—a doctrine of the Djahmīs, against whom Abū Ḥanīfa ranged himself explicitly in the *Fiḳh al-Akbar*, or the opinion that it was lawful to revolt against a government—a doctrine which goes straight against Abū Ḥanīfa's own tenets as expressed in the *al-ʿĀlim wa'l-Mutaʿallim*; he even was called a Murdjiʾite who believed in the sword, a *contradictio in adjecto*. (This is perhaps deduced from his attitude at the time of the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya).

Among his descendants, his son Ḥammād and his grandson Ismāʿīl, *ḳāḍī* in Baṣra and in Raḳḳa (d. 212/827), distinguished themselves in religious law. Among his more important pupils were: Zufar b. al-Hudhayl (d. 158/775); Dāwūd al-Ṭāʾī (d. 165/781-2); Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*]; Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (see above); Al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]; Asad b. ʿAmr (d. 190/806); Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Luʾluʾī (d. 204/819-20). Among the traditionists, ʿAbd Allāh b. al- Mubārak (d. 181/797) esteemed him highly.

Under the growing pressure of traditions his followers, starting with Yūsuf, the son of Abū Yūsuf, collected the traditions from the Prophet that Abū Ḥanīfa had used in his legal reasoning. With the growth of spurious information, typical of a certain aspect of Muhammadan law, the number of these traditions grew, too, until Abu 'l-Muʾayyad Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī (d. 655/1257) collected fifteen different versions into one work (*Djāmiʿ Masānīd Abī Ḥanīfa*, Hyderabad 1332). We are still able to distinguish and to compare the several versions, but none of them is an authentic work of Abū Ḥanīfa.

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ABŪ ḤANĪFA AL-DĪNAWARĪ [see AL-DĪNAWARĪ].

ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ, tenth ruler of the dynasty of the Marīnids of Fez, was 34 years old when, in 731/1331, he succeeded his father, Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān. Of a strong constitution, he seems also to have possessed the energy and the wide outlook of a great prince. Numerous public buildings show his piety and his magnificence. His reign saw not only the zenith of the dynasty and its greatest territorial expansion, but also the beginning of its decline. In Spain, he took Gibraltar from the Christians (1333), but after a success at sea, he suffered a disastrous defeat at the Rio Salado, near Tarifa, which put an end to the holy war for the Marīnids (1340). In Barbary, the took up again the expansionist policy of the great Almohades; he besieged Tlemcen, rebuilt the town-camp of al-Manṣūra and, after three years, at last took the capital of the ʿAbd al-Wādids. In conquered Tlemcen, he received the congratulations of the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt and of the king of the Sudan. In support of his ally, the Ḥafṣid of Tunis, he marched on Ifrīḳiya; but, after a period of success, he was crushingly defeated near al-Ḳayrawān (Kairouan) by a coalition of the nomad Arabs (1348). He left Tunis by sea, his fleet sank; he managed to disembark at Algiers and tried to recover his kingdom, which his son Abū ʿInān had seized. He died in 752/1352. Abū ʿInān had him buried at Chella (Shālla [*q.v.*]).

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(G. MARÇAIS)

ABŪ HĀSHIM ʿABD ALLĀH, Shīʿite leader, son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whom he succeeded as head of the smaller branch of the *shīʿa* [see KAYSĀNIYYA]. The only information we have about him concerns his death and his testament in favour of the ʿAbbāsids. Old historical and heresiographical sources relate that Abū Hāshim went, with a group of Shīʿites, to the court of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who, afraid of his intelligence and authority, had him poisoned during his return journey. Feeling his approaching death, Abū Hāshim made a detour to Ḥumayma, not far from the residence of the ʿAbbāsids, where he died after bequeathing his rights to the Imamate to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. This tradition has been generally taken as an invention of the philo-ʿAbbāsid party. Nevertheless, stripped of incongruences and superstructures, it may well contain a kernel of truth, especially as, in effect, immediately after the death of Abū

Hā**sh**im the ʿAbbāsids came out of the shadows and the ʿIrāḳī *shīʿa* went into action in obedience to their orders. [Cf. also ʿABBĀSIDS].

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ABŪ HĀSHIM, sharīf of Mecca [see MAKKA].

ABŪ HĀSHIM, Muʿtazilī theologian [see AL-DJUBBĀʾĪ].

ABŪ ḤĀTIM YAʿḲŪB B. LABĪD (or LABĪB or ḤABĪB) AL-**MALZŪZĪ** AL-NADJīSĪ, Ibāḍī imām in the Maghrib. The orthodox Arab historians represent him as a mere leader of Berber rebels. His role, however, was more defined, as he was given by the Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania the title of *imām al-difāʿ* ("*imām* of defence"). According to the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjlānī, this revolt took place in Radjab 145/Sept.-Oct. 762, only one year after the death of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. According to al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 134, Abū Ḥātim's government began in (1)54 A. H. It is, however, possible that this is a mistake for 145.

Little is known about the first years of Abū Ḥātim's imamate; he captured Tripoli, massacring many of his enemies, and made the city his capital. According to Abū Zakariyyāʾ he was in contact with the future founder of the imamate of Tāhart, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum, who was at this time entrenched in the mountain of Sūf Adjadj. In 154/771 Abū Ḥātim took part in a general rising of the Berbers against the ʿAbbāsid governor of Ifrīḳiya, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, called Hazārmard. With his troops he took part in the siege of Ṭubna, in the Zāb. Another detachment of Abū Ḥātim's army had been for eight months investing al-Ḳayrawān, which was taken in the beginning of 155/771-2. Soon after the capture of al-Ḳayrawān, an ʿAbbāsid army from Egypt appeared on the eastern frontier of Tripolitania. Abū Ḥātim left Tripoli and defeated this army in a battle, which is said by the Ibāḍī chroniclers, probably erroneously, to have taken place near Maghmadās (Macomades Syrtis in antiquity, Marsā Zafran of the modern maps). Shortly after, however, another ʿAbbāsid army commanded by Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Azdī advanced from Cairo towards Tripoli. Abū Ḥātim collected the Ibāḍi Berber tribes of Tripolitania: Nafūsa, Hawwāra, Ḍarīsa, etc. and went out to meet the enemy. The battle took place on 27 Rabīʿ I 155/7 March 772, to the west of a place called Djanbī (Abū Zakariyyāʾ) or Djandūba (al-Shammākhī), to the east of Djabal Nafūsa. The Ibāḍī army was cut to pieces, and Abū Ḥātim with 30,000 of his men are said to have been left on the battlefield.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *al-Sīra wa-Akhbār al-Aʾimma* (MS of the coll. of S. Smogorzewski), fol. 141r-16r; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 41-9; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 138-8; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ*, 232-3; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 221-3, 379-85; Idrīsī, *Descriptio al-Magribi* (de Goeje), 83-4; H. Fournel, *Les Berbères*, 370-80; R. Basset, in *JA*, 1899 ii, 115-20.

(A. DE MOTYLINSKI—T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ ḤĀTIM AL-**RĀZĪ,** AḤMAD B. ḤAMDĀN, early Ismāʿīlī author and missionary (*dāʿī*) of Rayy. Born in the district of Bashāwūy near Rayy and well versed in Ḥadīth and Arabic poetry, he was chosen by Ghiyāth, *dāʿī* of Rayy, as his lieutenant, Ghiyāth was succeeded by Abū Djaʿfar, whom. however, Abū Ḥātim contrived to oust, thus becoming himself the leader of the *daʿwa* in Rayy. It is reported that he succeeded in converting Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, governor of Rayy (304-11/916-24). After the occupation of Rayy by the Sāmānid troops (311/923-4) Abū Ḥātim went to Daylam to make common cause with the ʿAlids there. His activities seem to have been at first supported by Mardāwidj [*q.v.*]. When Mardāwidj later turned against the Ismāʿīlīs, Abū Ḥātim fled to Mufliḥ (who became governor of Ādharbāydjān in 319/931). There he seems to have died, according to Ibn Ḥadjar, in 322/933-4, the date being, if not quite certain, approximately correct.

Of his works the most famous is the *al-Zīna*, a dictionary of theological terms, which is dominated by his philological interests, while Ismāʿīlī tenets are only discreetly alluded to. (For a short description of the book cf. A. H. al-Hamdani, *Actes XXIe Congrès des Orientalistes*, 291-4). In a lost book, *al-Iṣlāḥ*, he attacked the philosophical system of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], as expounded in al-Nasafī's *al-Maḥṣūl*. When this controversy has been better explored and Abū Ḥātim's *Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa* fully published, it is hoped that more light will be shed on his own opinions. (P. Kraus has published an important section of *Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa*, recording the disputation between Abū Ḥātim and the philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī).

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-Nāma*, Schefer, 186 (ed. Khalkhali, 157); Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* (Bunz), 130; *Fihrist*, 188, 189; Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 267; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 164; W. Ivanow, *A guide to Ismaili lit.*, 32; Idem, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*, 115 ff.; P. Kraus, in *Orientalia*, 1936, 38 ff.; idem, *Rasāʾil Falsafiyya li Abī Bakr al-Rāzī*, i, 291 ff. (S. M. STERN)

ABŪ ḤĀTIM AL-**SIDJISTĀNĪ,** SAHL B. MUḤ. AL-DJUSHAMĪ, Arabic philologist of Baṣra, d. Radjab 255/869. His *nisba* is related to Sidjistān, a village in the district of Baṣra (Yāḳūt, iii, 44). He was a disciple of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā, al-Aṣmaʿī, etc. Among his disciples are mentioned Ibn Durayd and al-Mubarrad. As a grammarian he was of no great reputation, his specific field being the works of the ancient poets, their vocabulary and prosody. Of his works the bibliographers mention thirty-seven titles (enumerated by A. Haffner, *Drei arabische Quellenwerke über die Aḍdād*, Beirut 1913, 160-2). The following works have come down to us: (1) *al-Aḍdād*, ed. by Haffner, *op. cit.* 163-209; (2) *al-Nakhl*, ed. by B. Lagumina in *Atti ... Lincei*, Scienze morali, Ser. 4, 8, 5-41; (3) *al-Tadhkīr wa l-Taʾnīth*, MS Taymūr, cf. *MMIA*, 1923, 340; (4) *al-Muʿammarūn*, ed. by I. Goldziher, *Abh. z. arab. Philologie*, ii, Leiden 1899.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 58-9; Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-Lugha*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen in *MO*, 1920, 22; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. F. Krenkow in *RSO*, 1919-20, 127, no. 35; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 251-4; Yāḳūt, *al-Irshād*, iv, 258; Ibn Khallikān, no. 266; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1337-8, ii, 156; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1326, ii, 257; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 265; Brockelmann, I, 107, S I, 157. (B. LEWIN)

ABU 'L-HAWL (HŌL), "father of terror", the Arabic name for the sphinx of Djīza (Gizeh). Some authors simply call it *al-ṣanam*, "the idol", but the name Abu 'l-Hawl is already attested for the Fāṭimid

period. At that time the Coptic name *Belhīt* (*Belhīb*), or as al-Ḳuḍāʿī (quoted by al-Maḳrīzī) has it: *Belhūba* (*Belhawba*), was also still known. The Arabic Abu 'l-Hawl is most probably a popular etymology based on the Coptic designation; the initial *B* probably represents the Coptic article, which has been transformed in Arabic, as often happened, into Abū. In the old tradition the name Abu 'l-Hawl was applied only to the head of the lionbodied sphinx, as the body was covered by sand in the Middle Ages and was disengaged only in 1817. Modern Arabic authors use the word for "sphinx" in general, not only for the sphinx in the vicinity of the pyramids.

The Arabs, who had no knowledge of ancient Egyptian civilization, regarded with superstitious awe the head which reached high above the sand of the desert in majestic dimensions. It was considered to be a talisman preventing the encroachment of the sand on the valley of the Nile; the same magical effect was ascribed by others to the pyramids. Another, female, colossal statue—to judge by the descriptions probably a statue of Isis with the child Horus—which lay on the other shore of the Nile in Fusṭāṭ, was considered to be the beloved of Abu 'l-Hawl. She had her back to the river, as Abu 'l-Hawl had his to the desert, and was thought to be a talisman against the flooding of Fusṭāṭ by high water. This statue was destroyed in 711/1311 by treasure-hunters and its stones were used in the building of a mosque. According to another tradition Abu 'l-Hawl was the effigy of the legendary Us͟hmūm, to whom the Ṣābians used to sacrifice white cocks and incense.

The Arabic accounts have but little to contribute to the history of the monument. According to al-Maḳdisī the face was apparently no longer intact in 375/985, although later accounts praise its beauty and the harmony of its features, whose reddish colour is frequently mentioned. About 780/1378 a fanatical *s͟hayk͟h* caused further damage to the statue.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, i, 122 f.; ed. Wiet, ii, 155 ff. (with notes); Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 21 f.; Maḳdisī, 210; Yāḳūt, iv, 966; S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte*, 180; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-D͟jadīda*, xvi, 44 ff.; E. Reitmeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, 98-102; K. Baedeker, *Ägypten*[8], 124 f. (C. H. BECKER)

ABU 'L-HAYD͟JĀ AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

ABU ḤAYYĀN ATHĪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF AL-**G͟HARNĀṬĪ**, the most distinguished Arab grammarian of the first half of the 14th century, was born in Granada, S͟hawwāl 654/Nov. 1256, and died in Cairo, Ṣafar 745/July 1344, where, after 10 years of productive study and travel throughout the entire Arab world, he had served as a professor of the Ḳurʾānic disciplines in the Ṭūlūnī mosque. This creative scholar is purported to have written 65 works, many of them multi-volumed, on Arabic and other languages (notably Turkish, Ethiopic, and Persian), Ḳurʾānic studies, traditions, jurisprudence, history, biography, and poetry.

Of the 15 extant works the most important are: *Manhad͟j al-Sālik*, a commentary of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (ed. Sidney Glazer, New Haven 1947; includes, besides text, a complete bio-bibliography of Abū Ḥayyān and a historical sketch of native Arabic grammar); *al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk*, the most ancient grammar of Turkish available (ed. A. Caferoglu, Istanbul 1931; cf. also *JA*, 1892, 326-35); *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, an extensive commentary on the Ḳurʾān (cf. *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 243 and Brockelmann, S ii, 136).

Abū Ḥayyān's greatness as a grammarian was due not only to his mastery of the linguistic data and control of his predecessors' efforts (he knew Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* by heart, for he accorded it an authority in grammar equal to that of *ḥadīth* in religion), but to his remarkably modern approach to descriptive and comparative grammar (cf. S. Glazer, in *JAOS*, 1942), as shown both by his willingness to illuminate an Arabic grammatical concept through quotations from other languages and by following such operational principles as "One must base rules of Arabic on frequency of occurrence" and "Analogous formations that contradict genuine data found in good speech are not to be permitted". This unusual spirit of objectivity and respect for facts have made of the *Manhad͟j al-Sālik* a work of great distinction. Besides elucidating and correcting Ibn Mālik's brilliant if occasionally erroneous compression of the totality of Arabic grammar into 1000 verses of poetry, the *Manhad͟j* presents a miniature bibliography of grammatical science and a panorama of thought on some of its most difficult problems on which the opinions of hundreds of grammarians, Ḳurʾān readers, and lexicographers are cited. It was consigned to obscurity by the more elementary works on the same subject written by his pupils Ibn ʿAḳīl and Ibn His͟hām.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 823-62; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 282, 352-6; Ibn Ḥad͟jar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, Hyderabad 1350/1931, iv, 303-8; Suyūṭī, *Bug͟hyat al-Wuʿāt*, 121-2; Zarkas͟hī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Dawlatayn*, Tunis 1289/1872, 63; Brockelmann, II, 109, S II, 136; I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, 188 ff.

(S. GLAZER)

ABŪ ḤAYYĀN AL-TAWḤĪDĪ, ʿALĪ B. MUḤ. B. AL-ʿABBĀS (probably called al-Tawḥīdī after the sort of dates called *tawḥīd*), man of letters and philosopher of the 4th/10th century. The place of his birth is given either as Nīs͟hāpūr, S͟hīrāz, Wāsiṭ or Bag͟hdād; its date must be placed between 310-20/922-32. He studied in Bag͟hdād, grammar under al-Sīrāfī and al-Rummānī, S͟hāfiʿite law under Abū Ḥāmid al-Marw al-Rūd͟hī and Abū Bakr al-S͟hās͟hī; and also frequented ṣūfī masters. He supported himself by acting as a professional scribe. It is said, in a somewhat doubtful passage (see al-Subkī, al-Ṣafadī, al-D͟hahabī, Ibn Ḥad͟jar) that he was, owing to heretical opinions, persecuted by the vizier al-Muhallabī (d. 352/963). He was in Mecca in 353/964 (*al-Imtāʿ*, ii, 79; *Baṣāʾir*, MS Cambridge, fol. 167v) and in Rayy in 358/971 (Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, ii, 292; at the court of Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd?, d. 360/970). From his *al-Muḳābasāt*, 156, we know that in 361/971 he attended lectures of the philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī in Bag͟hdad. He tried his luck with the vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd in Rayy (d. 366/976), to whom he addressed an elaborate epistle; to judge from his hostile sentiments towards the vizier, he did not achieve much. From 367/977 he was employed by Ibn ʿAbbād as an amanuensis. In this case, too, he was anything but a success, owing, no doubt, mainly to his own difficult character and sense of superiority (he for example refused to "waste his time" in copying the bulky collection of his master's epistles), and was finally given his dismissal. He felt himself badly treated and avenged himself by a pamphlet containing brilliant caricatures of both Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. al-ʿAmīd and Ibn ʿAbbād (*D͟hamm*—or *Mat͟hālib* or *Ak͟hlāḳ—al-Wazīrayn*; considerable extracts in Yāḳūt, i, 281, ii, 44 ff., 282 ff., 317 ff.; v, 359 ff., 392 ff., 406 f.).

It was in the period between 350-65/961-75 that he composed his anthology of *adab*, entitled *Baṣāʾir al-Ḳudamāʾ*, also called *al-Baṣāʾir wa'l-Dhakhāʾir*, etc.) in ten volumes (vols. i-v in Fātiḥ (Istanbul), 3295-9; i-ii in Cambridge 134, in Djār Allāh (Istanbul) and in Manchester 767; unidentified volumes in the ʿUmūmiyya (Istanbul, Rāmpūr i, 330, Ambrosiana (?)). It was probably in Rayy that he addressed to Miskawayh the questions which the latter answered in his *al-Hawāmil wa'l-Shawāmil*. After his return to Baghdād, at the end of 370/980, he was recommended by Zayd b. Rifāʿa and Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzdjānī, the mathematician, to Ibn Saʿdān (also called, after his function as an inspector of the army, al-ʿĀriḍ—cf. al-Rūdhrawarī, *Dhayl Tadjārib al-Umam*, 9; hence the confusion in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and in modern authors). For him he started his book on Friendship, which was finished, however, only thirty years later. He frequented regularly at this epoch (lectures attended in 371/981, *al-Muḳābasāt*, 246, 286) the man who exercised the greatest influence on him, namely Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī [*q.v.*], who was his main oracle, especially on philosophical matters, but also on every other conceivable subject. Ibn Saʿdān was appointed by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla as his vizier in 373/983. Abū Ḥayyān remained an assiduous courtier of the vizier, attending his evening receptions where he had to answer the vizier's questions on the most varied topics of philology, literature, philosophy, court- and literary gossip. (He very often reproduces the views of Abū Sulaymān—who lived in retirement and did not attend the court—on the matter in question). At the request of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ the mathematician, he compiled for his perusal a record of thirty-seven of these sessions, under the title of *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-Muʾānasa* (ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1939-44). In 375/985-6 Ibn Saʿdān fell and was executed, and Abū Ḥayyān apparently remained without a patron. (He wrote for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Mudlidjī, vizier in Shīrāz for Ṣamṣām al-Dawla in 382-3/992-3, *al-Muḥaḍarāt wa'l-Munāẓarāt*; quotations in Yāḳūt, i, 15, iii, 87, v, 382, 405, vi, 466). Of the later period of his life we know very little; he evidently lived in poverty. It was in these later years that he compiled his *al-Muḳābasāt* (Bombay 1306, Cairo 1929—both very faulty editions), a collection of 106 conversations on various philosophical subjects. The chief speaker is again Abū Sulaymān, but there appear all the other members of the Baghdād philosophical circle. *Al-Muḳābasāt* and *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-Muʾānasa* are mines of information about contemporary intellectual life and they should prove invaluable for a reconstruction of the doctrines of the Baghdād philosophers.—Towards the end of his life Abū Ḥayyān burned his books, alleging as reason the neglect in which he had to live for twenty years. In the preface to his treatise on Friendship (*al-Ṣadāḳa wa 'l-Ṣadīḳ*, printed together with a short treatise on the use of science, Istanbul 1301), which he finished in 400/1009, he makes similar complaints. A guide book to the cemetery of Shīrāz (*Shadd al-Izār ʿan Ḥaṭṭ al-Awzār*, 17) claims that the tomb of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (whom it calls, however, Aḥmad b. ʿAbbās) was to be seen in Shīrāz and gives as the date of his death 414/1023.

Abū Ḥayyān was a master of Arabic style. He was a great admirer of al-Djāḥiẓ, in whose praise he wrote a special treatise, *Taḳrīẓ al-Djāḥiẓ* (quoted by Yāḳūt, i, 124, iii, 86, vi, 58, 69; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, iii, 282 f.), and his wish to imitate the style of the great prose-writer is evident His talent is most apparent in the passages, frequent in his books, where he characterizes people. As for his beliefs, he does not seem to have had any original system. He was obviously impressed by Abū Sulaymān's Neo-platonic system, which the latter shared with most of the other contemporary Baghdād philosophers. Like the other members of the circle, Abū Ḥayyān also showed an interest in Ṣūfism, but not enough to make him a regular Ṣūfī. His *al-Ishārāt al-Ilāhiyya* (ed. ʿA. Badawī, Cairo 1951) "consists of prayers and homilies and only occasional references to Ṣūfī technicalities". "Abū Ḥayyān was coupled with Ibn al-Rāwandī and al-Maʿarrī as one of the *zindīḳs* of Islam (*JRAS*, 1905, 80) but his extant works scarcely justify this assertion" (D. S. Margoliouth, in *EI*[1], s.v.).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 380 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 707; Subkī, iv, 2; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, in *JRAS*, 1905, 80 ff.; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, iii, 353; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, iv, 369; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 348; Brockelmann, i, 283, S i, 435; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ḳazwīnī, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Abū Sulaymān Manṭiḳī Sidjistānī*, Chalon-sur-Saone, 1933, 32 ff. (also in *Bist Maḳāla*, Tehran 1935); ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Muhyi 'l-Dīn, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (in Arabic), Cairo 1949; I. Keilani, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī* (in French), Beyrouth 1950.—Abū Ḥayyān's little treatise on writing, ed. F. Rosenthal, *Ars Islamica*, 1948, 1 ff.; three epistles (*Risālat al-Imāma*—quoted by Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Musāmarāt*, ii, 77, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, ii, 592 ff., etc., and containing a message purporting to be addressed by Abū Bakr to ʿAlī, but which, it has been suspected, was invented by Abū Ḥayyān himself; *R. al-Ḥayāt*, from a philosophical point of view; and the above mentioned treatise on writing) have been edited by I. Keilani, *Thalāth Rasāʾil*, Damascus 1952. An extract from *al-Zulfa*, al-Rūdhrawarī, 75. (S. M. Stern)

ABU 'L-HUDHAYL AL-ʿALLĀF, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-HUDHAYL B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. MAKḤŪL, with the *nisba* of AL-ʿABDĪ (being a *mawlā* of ʿAbd al-Ḳays), the first speculative theologian of the Muʿtazila. He was born in Baṣra, where he lived in the quarter of the *ʿallāfūn*, or foragers (whence his surname); the date of his birth is uncertain: 135/752-3 or 134/751-2 or even 131/748-9. In 203/818-9 he settled in Baghdād and died, at a great age, in 226/840-1, or according to another tradition, in the reign of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), or, on the authority of others, in 235/849-50, under al-Mutawakkil. He was indirectly a disciple of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, through the intermediary of one of Wāṣil's companions, ʿUthmān al-Ṭawīl. Like Wāṣil, he was lettered; his profound knowledge of poetry was especially celebrated. Some *ḥadīths* also are quoted under his name.

The theology which he inherited from the school of Wāṣil was still rudimentary. Essentially polemical, it opposed—in a rather unsystematic fashion, it seems—the anthropomorphism of popular Islam and of the traditionists, the doctrine of determinism favoured for political reasons by the Umayyads, and the divinization of ʿAlī preached by the extreme Shīʿites. While continuing this polemic, Abu 'l-Hudhayl was the first to engage in the speculative struggles of the epoch, a task for which he was exceptionally well equipped by his philosophical mind, his sagacity and his eloquence. He became the apologist of Islam against other religions and against the great currents of thought of the preceding epoch:

the dualists, represented by the Zoroastrians, the Manichaeans and other Gnostics; the philosophers of Greek inspiration, the *dahriyya*, mainly represented by the champions of the natural sciences; finally against the increasingly numerous Muslims who were influenced by these foreign ideas: crypto-Manichaean poets like Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, the theologians of the "modern" type who had adopted certain gnostic and philosophical doctrines, etc. It seems that it was only at a mature age that he made himself acquainted with philosophy. On the occasion of his pilgrimage (the date of which is unknown) he met in Mecca the S͟hīʿite theologian His͟hām b. al-Ḥakam and disputed with him concerning his anthropomorphist doctrines, which show a gnostic influence; and it was only then that he began to study the books of the *dahriyya*. Later historians observe certain similarities between his doctrine of the divine attributes and the philosophy of Pseudo-Empedocles, forged by the Neo-Platonists and natural scientists of late antiquity; in effect his philosophical sources must have been of such a kind, which are represented in general by medieval Aristotelianism. These philosophers attracted, as well as repelled, him; while combatting them, he adopted their methods and their manner of looking at problems. Naive as a thinker, and having no scholastic tradition, he approached speculative problems with a daring which did not even recoil from the absurd. Hence all the prematurity and the lack of balance which characterize his theology, but also the freshness of his attempts. He was the first to set many of the fundamental problems at which the whole of the later Muʿtazila was to labour.

The unity, the spirituality and the transcendence of God are carried in the theology of Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl to the highest degree of abstraction. God is one; he does not resemble his creatures in any respect; he is not a body (against His͟hām b. al-Ḥakam); has no figure (*hayʾa*), form (*ṣūra*) or limit. God is knowing with a knowledge, is powerful with a power, alive with a life, eternal with an eternality, seeing with a faculty of sight, etc. (against the S͟hīʿites who asserted that God *is* knowledge, etc.), but this knowledge, power, etc. are identical with himself (against popular theology which regarded the divine attributes as entities added to essence): provisional formulas of compromise which did not satisfy later generations. God is omnipresent in the sense that he directs everything and his direction is exercised in every place. God is invisible in the other world; the believers will see him with their hearts. The knowledge of God is unlimited, as to what concerns his knowledge of himself; as for his knowledge of the world, it is circumscribed by the limits of his creation, which forms a limited totality (if it were not limited, it would not be totality). The same applies to the divine power. Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl strove to reconcile the Ḳurʾānic doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* with the Aristotelian cosmology, according to which the world, set in motion by God, is eternal, movement being co-eternal with the prime mover himself. While accepting movement as the principle of the universal process, he declared it to be created in the Ḳurʾānic sense; in consequence, movement also will reach its end and will cease. This end is placed by him in the other world, after the last day: movement having ceased, paradise and hell will come to a standstill and their inhabitants will be fixed in a state of immobility, the blessed enjoying for eternity the highest pleasures and the damned enduring the most cruel torments. This bizarre doctrine, which, according to tradition, he himself revoked, is unanimously rejected by all the Muslim theologians, Muʿtazilites or not; nor have its grave consequences for the doctrine of God's omniscience and omnipotence escaped them. In regard to theodicy, Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl taught that God has the power to do evil and injustice, but he does not do it, because of his goodness and wisdom. God admits the evil actions of man, but he is not their author. Man has the power to commit them, he is responsible for them, and responsible even for the involuntary consequences resulting from his actions (theory of *tawallud*, first developed by Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl). The responsible being is man in his entirety, his *rūḥ* together with his visible body. It was Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl who introduced into Muʿtazilite speculation the concept of the accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) of bodies, and that of the atom, which he called *d͟jawhar*. These concepts, which originally had a purely physical relevance, were made by him to serve as the basis for theology proper, cosmology, anthropology and ethics. This is his most original innovation, as well as the most heavy with consequences; it was this which gave to Muʿtazili theology its mechanical character. Life, soul, spirit, the five senses, are accidents and therefore not enduring; even spirit (*rūḥ*) will not endure. Human actions can be divided into two phases, both of them movements: the first is the approach ("I shall do"), the second the accomplished action ("I have done"). Man having free will, the first movement can be suspended in the second phase, so that the action remains unaccomplished; it is only the accomplished action which counts. Divine activity is interpreted in the light of the doctrine of accidents: the whole process of the world consists in an incessant creation of accidents, which descend into the bodies. Some accidents, however, are not be found in a place or in a body; e.g. time and divine will (*irāda*). The latter is identical with the eternal creating word *kun*; it is distinct from its object (*al-murād*) and also from the divine order (*amr*), which man can either obey or disobey (while the effect of the creating word *kun* is absolute: *kun fa-yakūnu*, Ḳurʾān ii, 111, etc.). Those who are not acquainted with the Ḳurʾānic revelation, but have nevertheless accomplished laudable acts prescribed by the Ḳurʾān, have obeyed God without having the intention to do so (theory of *ṭāʿa la yurādu'llāhu bihā*, otherwise attributed to the K͟hārid͟jites). The Ḳurʾān is an accident created by God; being written, recited or committed to memory, it is at the same time in various places.—In the question of the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl took up a position which was in conformity with the political situation of his time: he did not reject any of the combatants round ʿAlī, yet preferred ʿAlī to ʿUt͟hmān. He enjoyed the favour of al-Maʾmun, who often invited him to the court for theological disputes.—All the writings of Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl are lost.

During his long life, Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl had an enormous influence on the development of theology and he collected round him a large number of disciples of different generations. The best known amongst them is al-Naẓẓām, though he quarrelled with his master because of his destructive theories concerning the atom; Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl condemned him and composed several treatises against him. Among his disciples are named Yaḥyā b. Bis͟hr al-Arrad͟jānī, al-S͟haḥḥām, and others. His school continued to exist for a long time; even al-D͟jubbāʾī still avowed his indebtedness to Abu 'l-Hud͟hayl's

theology, in spite of the numerous points on which he differed from him.—Unfortunately, the theology of Abu 'l-Hudhayl was exposed to the malevolence of a renegade from Muʿtazilism, the famous Ibn al-Rāwandī, who, in his *Faḍīḥat al-Muʿtazila* grossly misrepresented it, by submitting it to an often too cheap criticism; this caricature has been faithfully reproduced by al-Baghdādī in his *Farḳ* and often recurs in the résumés of the Muʿtazila. It is only with the help of *al-Intiṣār*, by al-Khayyāṭ, the severe critic of Ibn al-Rāwandi, that we are able to unmask the latter's procedure and gain an exact idea of the true motives of Abu 'l-Hudhayl's speculation. Al-Ashʿarī, in his *Maḳālāt*, reproduced his theses with admirable impartiality, after the school tradition of the Muʿtazila. Al-Shahrastānī based his exposé on the later Muʿtazilite tradition, especially, it seems, on al-Kaʿbī.

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ABŪ HURAYRA al-Dawsī al-Yamānī, Companion of Muḥammad. His name ʿAbd Shams was changed to ʿAbd Allāh or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān when he became a Muslim, but numerous other names have also been mentioned. He was called Abū Hurayra because, when he herded his people's goats, he kept a kitten to play with. When he came to Medina the Prophet was on the expedition to Khaybar (7/629). Accepting Islam, he associated closely with Muḥammad on whose charity he depended, and was one of the poor men called *ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*]. He was devoted to his mother whom he persuaded to become a Muslim. ʿUmar appointed him governor of Baḥrayn, but deposed him and confiscated a large sum of money in his possession. When ʿUmar later invited him to resume the post, he refused. Marwān is said to have appointed Abū Hurayra his deputy when he was absent from Medina, but another version says Muʿāwiya gave him this appointment. Abū Hurayra had a reputation both for his piety and his fondness for jesting. He is said to have died in 57, 58, or 59; but if it is true that he prayed at ʿĀ'isha's funeral in 58, the date must be 58/678, or 59. He was 78 years old.

Although he became a Muslim less than four years before Muḥammad's death, Abū Hurayra is noted as a prolific narrator of traditions from the Prophet, the number of which is estimated at 3500. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* contains 213 pages of his traditions (ii, 228-541). 800 or more men are credited with transmitting traditions from him. There is a story, given in slightly different forms, in which he explains why he transmitted more traditions than others. He says that while others were occupied with their business, he stayed with Muḥammad and so heard more than they. When he complained that he forgot what he heard, Muḥammad told him to spread out his cloak while he was speaking and draw it round himself when he had finished. Abū Hurayra did so, and thereafter forgot nothing he heard the Prophet say. He had to defend himself against suspicions regarding his traditions; but whether this is genuine, or has merely been invented for the purpose of overcoming the suspicions of people at a later period, it is impossible to prove. The traditions attributed to him contain much material which cannot be genuine; but Sprenger is scarcely justified in calling him a pious humbug of the first water, as the traditions traced to him are not necessarily his. He may be little more than a convenient authority to whom inventions of a later period have been attributed. Abū Hurayra presumably did tell many stories about Muḥammad, but the authentic ones may be only a small amount of the huge number of traditions traced to him. Many of his traditions appear in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 141 f.; *ʿUyūn*, i, 53; Dawlābī, *al-Kunā wa 'l-Asmā'*, Hydarabad 1322-3, i, 61; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Hydarabad 1336, 697 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 315-7; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 760 f.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 31-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, iv, 200-8; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 262-7; Wensinck, *Handbook*, 7 f.; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, iii, p. lxxxiii-lxxxxv; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, 352 f.; *ZDMG*, 1895, 487 f. The *ṣaḥīfa* attributed to Hammām b. Munabbih, containing traditions from his teacher Abū Hurayra, was published by M. Ḥamīdullāh, *MMIA*, 1953, 96 ff. (J. Robson)

ABŪ ḤUSAYN (Banū Abī Ḥusayn) Sicilian dynasty [see kalbids].

ABŪ ʿINĀN FĀRIS, eleventh sovereign of the Marīnid [*q.v.*] dynasty of Fez, born in 729/1329, had himself proclaimed at Tlemcen in 749/1349, when his father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, after being defeated at Ḳayrawān, was returning as a fugitive to Morocco. Ibn al-Aḥmar describes him as very tall, with a fair skin (his mother was a Christian slave), and says that he had a long beard. A fearless horseman, he was also widely versed in literature and the law. Like his father, he was a prince with a passion for building, and completed several of the foundations that his father had begun, in particular medersas at Fez, Meknes, and Algiers. The Bū ʿInāniyya at Fez is the most monumental of these Maghribī colleges.

Having gained the throne by usurpation, Abū ʿInān went on to assume the caliphian title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, which his father had not borne. He made it his aim to rebuild his father's empire in Barbary and fairly quickly succeeded in doing so, but only for a few years. He seized Tlemcen from the ʿAbd al-Wādids (1352); and, the same year, took possession of Bougie. In 757/1357 he occupied Constantine and had himself proclaimed at Tunis; but, abandoned by his Arab auxiliaries, the Dawāwīda of the Constantine region, he was compelled to return to Fez. Not long afterwards he fell ill (759/1358) and was strangled by his vizier al-Fūdūdī, who had the son of his victim proclaimed, and thus inaugurated the series of palace revolutions and the long decadence of the Marīnids.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii, 423-42, transl. iv, 287-319; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn*, ed. and transl. Bouali and G. Marçais, 23-5, 79-84; H. Terrasse,

Hist. du Maroc. ii, 62-6; M. van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'Occident*, in *JA*, 1907, i, 245-335; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, (1927), ii, 494 sqq., 517 sqq. (G. MARÇAIS)

ABŪ ʿĪSĀ AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, Jewish pretender to the title of the Messiah under the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, or according to others under Marwān II. The most noteworthy of his doctrines was his acknowledgment of the validity—for the non-Jews—of Islam and Christianity. He was killed in a battle against the Muslims; the sect, called ʿĪsawiyya, survived into the 10th century A. D.

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, 15; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 114-5; Shahrastānī, 168; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 478-9 (= S. de Sacy, *Chrest. arabe*², i, 116); H. Grätz, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*⁴, v, 173 and note 17 (by A. Harkavy); *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. Abu Issa. (S. M. STERN)

ABŪ ʿĪSĀ MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN **AL-WARRĀḲ,** a Muʿtazilite at first, became one of the arch-heretics in Islām; his friend and pupil, Ibn al-Rāwandī [*q.v.*], went through the same metamorphosis. The date of Abū ʿĪsā's death is given by al-Masʿūdī (vii, 236) as 247/861; if it is true, however, that Ibn al-Rāwandī died about the end of the 3rd/9th century (see Kraus, 379), this date would seem to be too early. The issue would be decided if one could be sure that the paragraph in al-Shahrastānī, 198, where the date 271 occurs, still continues the quotation from Abū ʿĪsā.

Abū ʿĪsā was accused of Manichean sympathies. Al-Murtaḍā's defence, *al-Shāfī*, 13, to the effect that his books *al-Mashriḳī* and *al-Nawḥ ʿalā al-Bahā'im* were spuriously attributed to him by the Manicheans, deserves, of course, no credit. On the other hand it is not very likely that he was a formal adherent of Manicheism; most probably he was an "independent thinker" (L. Massignon). Interesting quotations, showing his method in criticising current religious beliefs, and taken from his *al-Gharīb al-Mashriḳī*—such is the full title also in *Fihrist*, 177, and al-Ṭūsī, 99; a "stranger from the East" was evidently introduced as the exponent of heterodox views—are to be found in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-Mu'ānasa*, iii, 192.

His main work was a book on religions and sects, *al-Maḳālāt*, which served as an important source for writers such as al-Ashʿarī (*Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 33, 34—Shīʿa; cf. also index, 37), al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, v, 473 ff.—Zaydiyya), al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 49, 51), al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, 277, 284—Jewish sects, Samaritans), Abu 'l-Maʿālī (*Bayān al-Adyān* (Eghbal), 10—religion of the pagan Arabs; as the editor points out, 54 ff., similar passages are to be found in Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, i, 39, iv, 437; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd quotes Abū ʿĪsā in other passages also), al-Shahrastānī, (141, 143—Shīʿa; 192—Mazdak; 188—Mānī). Abū ʿĪsā's Muʿtazilī adversaries insinuated that he was too eager to reproduce in his book the arguments of the Manicheans.

Abū ʿĪsā wrote books favourable to the Shīʿa (*al-Imāma*; *al-Saḳīfa*, quoted by al-Mufīd, cf. Eghbal, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, 86)—hence the partiality of Shīʿite authors for him.

His critical examination of the three branches of Christianity (Orthodox, Jacobite, Nestorian) survives in the refutation by Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (cf. A. Perier, *Yahya ben ʿAdi*, 67, 150 ff.; L. Massignon, *Textes inédits concernant l'hist. de la mystique*, 182-5; A. Abel, *Abû ʿÎsâ al-Warrâq*, Brussel 1949).

Bibliography: Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), 97, 149, 150, 152, 155, and note, 205; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 57, vii, 236; *Fihrist*, 338; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 58, 72, 99; Nadjdjāshī, *Ridjāl*, 47, 263; Th. M. Houtsma, in *WZKM*, 1891, 231; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, 1929, 35 f.; A. Eghbal, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, Teheran 1933, 84 ff.; P. Kraus, in *RSO*, 1934, 374; G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 196-7; J. Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 1953, 41-2. (S. M. STERN)

ABŪ ISḤĀḲ AL-ILBĪRĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. MASʿŪD B. SAʿĪD AL-TUDJĪBĪ, Andalusian jurist and poet, native, as shown by his *nisba*, of Ilbīra (Elvira), which in the century of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* lost its position to the neighbouring Granada. Little is known of his life. Born in the last years of the 4th/10th century, he was, during the reign of the Zīrid king of Granada, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs, secretary of the *ḳāḍi* ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Tawba and at the same time was occupied in teaching. In his poems he protusted against the increasing influence of the Jews in the kingdom of Granada and especially against the functions, too important in his eyes, entrested to the famous vizier Samuel ha-Nagid Ibn Nagrēlla, and to his son Joseph, who succeeded him in this office in 448/1056-7. It was no doubt at the latter's instigation that Bādīs assigned to the *faḳih* a forced residence in the *rābiṭa* of al-ʿUḳāb, in the Sierra de Elvira. Abū Isḥāḳ, however, did not give way, and the celebrated political poem, to which he owes most of his reputation, was, if not the determining cause, at least one of the factors which brought about the well-known pogrom in Granada, on 9 Ṣafar 459/30 Dec. 1066, during which Joseph b. Nagrēlla and 3000 of his correligionists were murdered. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ilbīrī died shortly afterwards, at the end of the same year of 459/1067.

In addition to his fulminating poem, to which attention was long ago drawn by Dozy, Abū Isḥāḳ left a collection of poems, which are in the majority of ascetic inspiration and which he apparently composed at an advanced age. This *dīwān*, of which a MS has been preserved in the Escorial (no. 404), has been published by the author of this article, with an introduction. It is very characteristic of the limited poetical faculties of an Andalusian *faḳīh* of medium culture, who rises to eloquence only when expressing his intolerant fanaticism.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, no. 520; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* (Algiers), no. 352; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, article reproduced by R. Dozy, *Rech.*³, i, 282-94 and App. xxvi (*Poème d'Abou Ishak d'Elvira contre les Juifs de Grenade*); idem, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², iii, 70-3; E. García Gómez, *Un alfaquí español: Abû Isḥâq de Elvira*, Madrid-Granada, 1944; Brockelmann, S I, 479-80. (E. GARCÍA GÓMEZ)

ABŪ ISḤĀḲ [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ and AL-SHĪRĀZĪ].

ABŪ KABĪR AL-HUDHALĪ, an early Arab poet, after Abū Dhu'ayb the second greatest poet of the tribe of Hudhayl. He belonged to the Banū Saʿd, or, according to some, to the Banu Djurayb. His real name was ʿĀmir (or ʿUwaymir) b. al-Ḥulays (also without the article), according to other statements, ʿĀmir b. Djamra, but he was always known by his *kunya*. According to some commentators (cf. e.g. al-Tibrīzī on the *Ḥamāsa*), Abū Kabīr married the mother of the famous Ta'abbaṭa Sharr^an and as the stepson was displeased at this union Abū Kabīr is said to have been advised by the mother of Ta'abbaṭa Sharr^an to kill him at the first opportunity, but failed on account of the latter's bravery. This

story can hardly be true but is rather an attempt to explain the well known lines of Abū Kabīr in the *Ḥamāsa* in which he describes a companion in arms, an ideal hero in terms of the Arab conception. Moreover, in some versions the roles are interchanged (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 422): Taʾabbaṭa Sharran married Abū Kabīr's mother and so on. The story that represents Taʾabbaṭa Sharran as the constant companion of our poet deserves equally little credence because his tribe was continually at feud with the Fahmīs. He flourished in the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, so that biographers like ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Athīr (*Usd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1280, vi, 272) and Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (*al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, vii, 162) number him among the *ṣaḥāba*.

From the content of his poems he is, however, decidedly to be classed as a *djāhilī*. His *dīwān*, edited and translated for the first time by F. Bajraktarević, consists of only four long *ḳaṣīdas* and 19 short fragments mostly wrongly attributed to him, but is in many ways very interesting and valuable; all the *ḳaṣīdas* are composed in the same metre (*kāmil*) and begin in the same way, as was pointed out particularly by Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Shiʿr*, 420). What is specially striking also in his poems is the complete absence of any description of the camel. Arab critics frequently rank Abū Kabīr very highly as a poet. Al-Maʿarrī, it is true, accuses him of narrowness of range but singles out some of his verses as particularly fine, while ʿAwf b. Muḥallim (in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 97) goes so far as to call him the greatest poet of Hudhayl.

Bibliography: *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, Cairo 1948, ii, 88-115; *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), i, 36 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 420-5; Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, Cairo 1321, 100-1 (Engl. transl. by Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1900, 708-9); Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1322, 81-3; ʿAbd al-Ḳādīr al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Būlāḳ 1277, iii, 466-73, iv, 165-7, 420-1; ʿAynī, *al-Maḳasid al-Naḥwiyya* (on margin of *Khizānat al-Adab*), iii, 54-7, 361-4, 558-60; Iskandar Āghā Abkāriūs, *Rawḍat al-Adab fi Ṭabaḳāt Shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab*, Beyruth 1858, 192-6; Muḥammad Bāḳir, *Djāmiʿ al-Shawāhid*, Ḳumm 1308, 67-8, 167, 278-9; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī, *Takmīl al-Marām bi-Sharḥ Shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, Fez 1310, 18[8], 24[1-8]; F. Bajraktarević, *La Lāmiyya d'Abū Kabīr al-Hudalī, publiée avec le commentaire d'as-Sukkarī, traduite et annotée*, *JA*, 1923, 59-115; idem, *Le Dīwān d'Abū Kabīr al-Hudalī, publié avec le commentaire d'as-Sukkarī, traduit et annoté*, *JA*, 1927, 5-94; Brockelmann, S, i, 43. (FEHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

ABŪ ḲALAMMAS [see ḲALAMMAS].

ABŪ ḲALAMŪN means originally a certain textile of a peculiar sheen, then a precious stone, a bird, and a mollusc. The origin of the word is not certain; the unanimous statement of the Arab philologists that Abū Ḳalamūn is a Byzantine product would indicate the derivation of the word from Greek. In the *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra* (*MMIA*, 1932, 337; *Arabica*, 1954, 158, 162), Abū Ḳalamūn is listed as a precious Byzantine textile. According to H. L. Fleischer (*De Glossis Habichtianis*, Leipzig 1836, 106), followed by Dozy (*Suppl.*, i, 6, 85), it is derived from ὑποκάλαμον, supposed to mean "striped cloth". S. de Sacy proposed to derive the word from χαμαιλέων, "chameleon", proverbial for its changing colours (*Chrest. arabe*, iii, trad. 268). But neither the dictionaries nor Djāḥiẓ nor Damīrī know of Abū Ḳalamūn as a name for the chameleon (though, according to the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, the word has this meaning in Persian). The proverb: "more changeable than Abū Ḳalamūn", or: "than Abū Barāḳish" (e.g. Freytag, *Proverbia*, i, 409; Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt*, Beyrouth 1924, 86; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ*, 69, cf. *And.*, 1950, 353), could refer to the chameleon or to a bird of changing colours which is also called Abū Barāḳish (cf. Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 406). Further, according to Muḳaddasī, 240-1 (ed. and transl. Pellat, 53 and no. 143), Abū Ḳalamūn denotes a mollusc (pinna), the byssus or "beard" of which is used in the manufacture of a sheeny cloth, which is also known as *ṣūf al-baḥr* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 110) refers to the use of χαμαιλέων as a term for the philosophers' stone in ancient alchemy (cf. Lippmann, *Entstehung* ... *Alchemie*, i, 298). This usage explains why Djābir gave one of his books, in which he treats of the various colours of the seven metals (*adjsād*), the title *Kitāb Abī Ḳalamūn* (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, i, 24; cf. Ruska, in *Isl.*, 1925, 102 n.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: Iṣṭakhrī, 42; G. Jacob, *Studien in arab. Geog.*, ii, 61; and the references given by P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 109, no. 4. (A. J. W. HUISMAN)

ABŪ KALB [see SIKKA].

ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR AL-MARZUBĀN B. SULṬĀN AL-DAWLA, a prince of the Buwayhid [*q.v.*] dynasty, born in al-Baṣra in Shawwāl 399/May-June 1009. When in 412/1021 Musharrif al-Dawla's Daylamite troops murdered his wazīr at al-Ahwāz and declared for his brother Sulṭān al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the latter, whom Musharrif had supplanted as ruler of al-ʿIrāḳ in the previous year, took heart and sent them his son Abū Kālīdjār, though then only a boy of twelve, to take over the city in his name. In the following year Musharrif and Sulṭān made peace, Musharrif retaining al-ʿIrāḳ and Sulṭān regaining Fārs and Khūzistān; but in Shawwāl 415/December 1023-January 1024 Sulṭān died, on which the control of those provinces was for the next two years disputed between Abū Kālīdjār (who was even then no more than sixteen) and another of his uncles Abu 'l-Fawāris, the ruler of Kirmān. Abū Kālīdjār emerged victorious from this struggle, but then failed in an attempt to dislodge Abu 'l-Fawāris also from Kirmān; so that when they made peace in 418/1027 he was obliged to pay Abu 'l-Fawāris a yearly tribute of 20,000 dīnārs.

Meanwhile these preoccupations had prevented Abū Kālīdjār from accepting the invitation of the Baghdād garrison to replace yet a third uncle, Djalāl al-Dawla [*q.v.*], as Amīr al-Umarāʾ, on the latter's failure to appear in the capital after the death, in Rabīʿ II 416/June 1025, of Musharrif al-Dawla. Abū Kālīdjār was nevertheless acknowledged in the *khuṭba* at Baghdād for some eighteen months (from Shawwāl 416/Dec. 1025 to Djumādā I 418/June-July 1027); in 417/1026 he was likewise acknowledged in the *khuṭba* at al-Kūfa; and in the following year he was able to send his wazīr, Ibn Bābshādh, to assert his authority over the Euphrates marshes, though the only result of this move was a rebellion of their inhabitants against the wazīr's extortions. In 419/1028 Abū Kālīdjār added both al-Baṣra and Kirmān to the area under his control, the former by a timely intervention in a conflict between the Daylamites and Turks of Djalāl's garrison, and the latter by the death of Abu

l-Fawāris. In 420/1027 however, on his seizing Wāsiṭ, Djalāl retaliated by sacking al-Ahwāz; and when in Rabīʿ I 421/April 1030 they met in a three-day battle, Abū Kālīdjār was severely defeated. Djalāl then retook Wāsiṭ and the marshes, and for a time his troops also reoccupied al-Baṣra; but this was soon recovered by those of Abū Kālīdjār; and in Shawwāl/October of the same year he in turn defeated Djalāl at al-Madhār.

During the next five years Djalāl was repeatedly forced to leave Baghdād owing to the insubordination of his Turkish mercenaries; and on two such occasions—in 423/1032 and 428/1037—his name was replaced in the *khuṭba* of the capital at their instance by that of Abū Kālīdjār. On the second of these occasions Abū Kālīdjār despatched a force to help the chief Turkish commander, which took and held Wāsiṭ for a few months. During most of 424/1033, on the other hand, al-Baṣra was occupied by Djalāl's forces and his name pronounced instead of Abū Kālīdjār's in the *khuṭba* there. But these mutual aggressions proving of no advantage to either, in 428/1037, after Djalāl's recovery of Wāsiṭ, uncle und nephew concluded a formal peace, swearing to molest each other no more.

In 431/1039 Abū Kālīdjār joined in suppressing his tributary governor of al-Baṣra with Ibn Mukram of ʿUmān, whom the governor had annoyed; and later in the same year and again in 433/1041-2 was obliged to send troops to ʿUmān itself to suppress disorders consequent on Ibn Mukram's death. In the latter year Abū Kālīdjār's intervention in a quarrel between the sons of the Kākawayhid (Kākōyid) ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was fruitless; but in 434/1042-3 his forces repulsed the first Saldjūḳid attack on Kirmān. Then in Shaʿbān 435/March 1044 Djalāl died; and though the Baghdād garrison first offered its allegiance to his son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], Abū Kālīdjār prevailed on them with the offer of an ample accession gratuity to withdraw it in his favour. In Ṣafar 436/September 1044, accordingly, he was acknowledged in the *khuṭba* not only in Baghdād itself but also in the Ḥulwān district, the Euphrates territory and Diyār Bakr, and thus became sole Buwayhid sovereign, receiving from the caliph the *laḳab* Muḥyī al-Dīn.

During his ensuing four years' reign Abū Kālīdjār was chiefly concerned to preserve his power against Saldjūḳid encroachment. This had already caused him to begin walling his capital, Shīrāz, for the first time, and in 437/1045-6 only the outbreak of disease among his horses prevented him from challenging a Saldjūḳid advance into the south-western Djibāl. Two years later, however, he decided instead to ally himself with the Saldjūḳids; and, Ṭughrul [*q.v.*] proving amenable, an alliance was sealed by Ṭughrul's marriage with Abū Kālīdjār's daughter and the marriage of Abū Kālīdjār's second son to Ṭughrul's niece. This alliance preserved his dominions in the west from further Saldjūḳid attacks; but in 440/1048, a Saldjūḳid force again invaded Kirmān, where, instead of being opposed, it was joined by Abū Kālīdjār's governor. He therefore set out to vindicate his authority in person, but suddenly died before reaching his destination (Djumādā I 440/ Octobr 1048).

Abū Kālīdjār left at least nine sons, the eldest of whom, entitled al-Malik al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*], succeeded him as Amīr al-Umarāʾ, the last of the dynasty to rule in Baghdād and al-ʿIrāḳ, and the second of whom, Fūlād-Sutūn, succeeded him as ruler of Fārs until murdered by a rebel in 454/1062.

In 429, while in Shīrāz, Abū Kālīdjār, in common with many of his Daylamite troops, was converted to Ismāʿīlism by the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Some four years later, in order to maintain good relations with the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳāʾim he was obliged to banish the *dāʿī* from his dominions; but it would appear from the account of these events in the latter's *Sīra* (ed. Ḳāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, 77) that he remained personally devoted to the Fāṭimid cause. A reference to Abū Kālīdjār's dealings with al-Muʾayyad is made also by Ibn al-Balkhī in his *Fārs-nāma*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vii, 17, 21, 30, 37, 56, 69, 72-3, 119, 128, 136, 139; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (MS Paris 1506) fols.: 2v, 47v, 78v; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* 92; Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 472 f.; Mīr Khʷānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* (extract published by Wilken as *Mirchonds Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh*, Berlin 1835, 45-57); Khʷānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (extract published by Ranking as *A History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*, 1910, 118-20); H. Bowen, *The Last Buwayhids*, *JRAS*, 1929, 226 f.

(Harold Bowen)

ABŪ KĀMIL SHUDJĀʿ b. Aslam b. Muḥ. b. Shudjāʿ al-Ḥāsib al-Miṣrī, next to Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khʷārizmī [*q.v.*] the oldest Islamic algebraist of whose writings we still possess some remains; they entitle us to place him among the greatest mathematicians of the Islamic Middle Ages (for the development of Islamic algebra see al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala). Through Leonard of Pisa and his followers he exercised considerable influence on the development of algebra in Europe and no less great was the impact of his geometrical writings (algebraic treatment of geometrical problems) on Western geometry. No details of his life are known; all we can say is that he lived after al-Khʷārizmī (d. about 850 A.D.) and before ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿImrānī (d. 344/955-6) who wrote a commentary on his Algebra.

The *Fihrist*, 281, lists a number of books on astrological and mathematical subjects as well as on other topics such as the flight of birds etc. Two of these titles: *Kitāb fi 'l-Djamʿ wa 'l-Tafrīḳ*, "On augmenting and diminishing" (the *Fihrist* attributes a work bearing the same title to al-Khʷārizmī) and *K. al-Khaṭaʾayn*, "On the two errors", have been the objects of elaborate discussions ever since F. Woepcke (*JA*, 1863, 514) tried to identify *al-Djamʿ wa 'l-Tafrīḳ* with the Latin *augmentum et diminutio* occurring in the *Liber augmenti et diminutionis*, ed. Libri, in *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, Paris 1838, 253-97, 2nd ed., 1865, 304-69; cf. H. Suter, in *Bibl. Math.*, 1902, 350-4, and J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arab. Algebra und Rechenkunst*, in *SBAK. Heid.*, 1917/2, 14-23.

None of the works mentioned in the *Fihrist* has survived in Arabic. A work preserved in Arabic is *al-Ṭarāʾif* (MS Leiden, 1001, fol. 50v-58v), transl. and commented by H. Suter, *Das Buch der Seltenheiten der Rechenkunst von Abū Kāmil al-Miṣrī*, *Bibl. Math.*, 1910-1, 100-20. It deals with the integral solutions of indeterminate equations ("Diophantine analysis" according to modern usage; it may be well to state that this term is historically incorrect: Diophantus, 3rd cent. A.D., whom we have to regard, at least as far as the Greek world is concerned, as the founder of indeterminate analysis, is interested only in rational, not exclusively integral, solutions of his problems). Of *al-Ṭarāʾif* there exists a Hebrew version (Munich 225, 4) by Mordekhai Finzi of Mantua

(c. 1460) who translated also Abū Kāmil's treatises on algebra (Munich 225, 3). As assumed by G. Sacerdote, *Il trattato del pentagono e del decagono di Abu Kâmil*, in *Festschrift Steinschneider*, Leipzig 1896, 169-94, and proved by Suter, *Die Abhandlung des Abū Kāmil Shoğāʿ b. Aslam "über das Fünfeck und Zehneck"*, *Bibl. Math.* 1909-10, 15-42, these translations were made not from Arabic or Latin, but from Spanish. According to Suter, it is probable that the Paris MS 7377 A, no. 6, is a Latin version of *al-Ṭarāʾif*. (The same MS contains Latin versions of Abū Kāmil's algebra and of his treatises on the pentagon and decagon).—Indeterminate equations with integral solutions appear in India fully developed about 1150 in Bhāskara's Vījaganita (cf. Colebrooke, *Algebra with arithmetic and mensuration*, London 1817, 233-5), but the problem is referred to already by Āryabhaṭa (b. 476), who even anticipates for its solution the method of continued fractions, to which Bhāskara applies the term *kuṭṭaka* "dispersion" (cf. M. Cantor, *Gesch. d. Math.*[3], i, 588 ff.) Abū Kāmil's procedure is less systematic and therefore inferior to the Indian. He finds his solutions mainly by way of trial, yet shows considerable skill in overcoming the difficulties involved. It is hard to decide whether or not he knew the *kuṭṭaka* method. However that may be, it is certain that the anonymous author of a commentary on *al-Ṭarāʾif*, of which the Leiden MS contains a fragment (fol. 101-2), was familiar with it, because he clearly refers to the proof of a method of finding integral solutions that can hardly have been different from the *kuṭṭaka* method.

The connection between Abū Kāmil and the Indians is shown by a curious detail: they resort to the same, or at least similar, varieties of birds as examples in their problems. In Europe, we meet with indeterminate equations in Leonard of Pisa's *Liber abaci* (1202; *Scritti*, ed. Boncompagni, Roma 1857-62, i)—again with reference to birds. The first appearance in Europe of this problem seems to be marked by a MS composed about 1000 A.D. in the monastery of Reichenau. Later European algebraists, in particular the German "Cossists" (Adam Riese, etc.) usually substitute men, women, or virgins for the birds, and therefore the term "regula virginum" (or "r. potatorum", "r. coeci" or "r. coeti") was adopted by them to denote this kind of problem (cf. *Bibl. Math.*, 1905, 112).

Abū Kāmil's "Algebra" is known only in Latin (MS Paris 7377 A, fol. 71v-93v) and Hebrew (Paris 1029, 7 and Munich 225, 5) translations. The two MSS of the Arabic original noted by Brockelmann have not yet been examined. It is above all upon this work that his fame rested. It was commented by al-Istakhrī and al-ʿImrānī, but both commentaries are lost. L. C. Karpinski's elaborate study: *The Algebra of Abu Kamil Shojaʿ ben Aslam*, *Bibl. Math.*, 1911-2, 40-55, is based on the Latin Paris MS. For the historical background of the work, see also O. Neugebauer, *Zur geometrischen Algebra*, *Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. d. Math.*, B (*Studien*), 1936, 245-59, and S. Gandz, *The Mishnat ha-Middot and the Geometry of Muh. b. Mūsā al-Khowārizmī*, ibid., A (*Quellen*), 1932, in particular 37, 68, 83. In the definition of *djazr* (*radix*, root), *māl* (*census*, capital) and *ʿadad mufrad* (*numerus*, absolute number) Abū Kāmil closely follows al-Khʷārizmi, but in many respects he goes far beyond his predecessor. Thus he effects the addition and subtraction of square roots involving irrationalities only, by means of the relations corresponding to our modern formula $\sqrt{a} + \sqrt{b} = \sqrt{a + b + \sqrt{2ab}}$. E.g., to subtract the square root of 8 from the sq.r. of 18, he gives the rule: "Subtract 24 from 26, and 2 remains. The root of this is the root of 8 subtracted from the root of 18". The same example is found in al-Karadjī's ([*q.v.*]; d.c. 1029) treatise on algebra *al-Fakhrī* (see F. Woepcke, *Extrait du Fakhri*, Paris 1853, 57-9), while Leonard of Pisa (*Scritti*, i, 363-5), in demonstrating the same method, uses the numbers 18 and 32. The analogous treatment of cube roots, as dealt with by al-Karadjī, is not yet found in Abū Kāmil.

The treatise "On the pentagon and decagon", Latin version, MS Paris A, German transl. by Suter, cf. above; Hebrew version, Munich 225, 3, Italian transl. by Sacerdote, cf. above. All problems occurring in this treatise are solved in a clear and simple mode by applying algebraic methods to geometry. Throughout his treatise, Abū Kāmil chooses special values—in most cases the value 10—for the given quantity, instead of denoting it by a letter or even equalling it to 1. In this respect, he has not freed himself from the method of al-Khʷārizmī; but in his way of handling the problem he is far superior to his predecessor, and his work definitely marks an important progress. Sacerdote has shown that Leonard of Pisa knew this treatise and made extensive use of it in his *Practica geometriae* (*Scritti*, ii).

Bibliography: Suter, 43; Brockelmann, S I, 390; M. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, 584-8. (W. Hartner)

ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, the name of a canting parasite, whom Muḥammed b. Aḥmed Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī depicts in his *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī* as a Baghdād type. The book was probably written in the first half of the fifth century and purports to relate faithfully a day in the life of its hero. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim by means of his pious eloquence gets a hearing in a society of people at a banquet, rails at the guests and the host and shows his linguistic skill in a detailed comparison of the advantages of Baghdād and Iṣfahān. As the numerous courses of the repast are served, they are accompanied by his glib remarks. When the wine goes to his head he becomes importunate and vulgar, till finally, being forced to drink still more deeply, he falls asleep; when the intoxication is over he again plays the devout believer. Into this framework the author, led on by his philological inclinations, has interwoven so much of his extensive knowledge of the *adab* literature and of the terminology of the different trades and also of pornographic poetry—he quotes many verses of Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj—that the realism of the description as well as the unity of the tale suffer considerably.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902; J. M. de Goeje, in *GGA*, 1902, 723 ff.; C. Brockelmann, in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1902, 1568 ff. (J. Horovitz)

ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM [see AL-ZAHRĀWĪ].

ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM BĀBUR [see TĪMŪRIDS].

ABU 'L-KHAṢĪB, a canal to the south of Baṣra (called after a client of the caliph al-Manṣūr), the most important among the canals that in the Middle Ages flowed from the west into the main channel of the Tigris, the Didjla al-ʿAwrāʾ of Arabic authors, i.e. the modern Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. Its bed still exists. It was on its bank that the Zandj rebels built in the 3rd/9th century the great fortress of al-Mukhtāra.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 47 f.; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geogr.*, Leiden 1900, i, 42. (M. Streck)

ABU 'L-KHATTĀB MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ZAYNAB MIḲLAṢ AL-ADJDAʿ **AL-ASADĪ**, Muslim heresiarch. According to al-Kashshī, his father was Miḳlaṣ b. Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb, and he himself used the *kunyas* Abū Ismāʿīl and Abu 'l-Ẓubyān. He was a Kūfan and a *mawlā* of the tribe of Asad. In the Nuṣayrī writings he is also called al-Kāhilī. He was one of the chief *dāʿīs* of the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, but fell into error and taught false doctrines, as a result of which he was repudiated and denounced by the Imām. Seventy of his followers, assembled in the mosque of Kūfa, were attacked by order of the governor ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and after a bitter struggle, were killed. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb himself was arrested and brought before ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had him executed and crucified at Dār al-Rizḳ, on the Euphrates, together with a number of his followers. Their heads were sent to the Caliph al-Manṣūr and impaled by the gate of Baghdād for three days. The date of these events is not precisely known, but a conversation recorded by al-Kashshī as having taken place in 138/755 appears to refer to the recent extermination of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and his followers (*fa'nḳaṭaʿat āthāruhum wa-faniyat ādjāluhum*: al-Kashshī 191; cf. Lewis, 33; Ivanow, however (p. 117) interprets this tradition as referring to the repudiation of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb by Djaʿfar, and places his death in about 145/762). According to the Nuṣayrīs, who still revere Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, 'he manifested the *daʿwa*' at Dār al-Riẓḳ on 10 or 11 Muḥarram, and both this and the day of his 'appointment' by Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) are sacred anniversaries. He seems to have played a role of some importance in the early development of extremist Shīʿite doctrine, and is named by the Central Asian Ismāʿīlī book *Umm al-Kitāb* (*Isl.*, 1936, pts. 1 and 2; cf. W. Ivanow, *REI*, 1932, 428-9), as well as by a number of Sunnī and Ithnā-ʿasharī sources, as a founder of the Ismāʿīlī faith. He is however condemned in later Ismāʿīlī writings of the Fāṭimid period, in much the same terms as in the books of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya. For a discussion of his doctrines see KHAṬṬĀBIYYA.

Bibliography: The best accounts of the life and death of Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb are to be found in Ithnā-ʿasharī works, especially Kashshī, *Maʿrifat al-Ridjāl*, Bombay, 1317, 187 ff.; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ*, 37 and 58 ff. An Ismāʿīlī account will be found in the Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* (A. A. Fyzee) vol. i, Cairo, 1951, 62 ff. There are also some interesting references in the Nuṣayrī work *Madjmūʿ al-Aʿyād*, ed. R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, 1946, 6, 8, 10, 148, 159, 202. For general discussions see Henry Corbin, *Étude préliminaire pour le 'Livre réunissant les deux sagesses' de Nâsir-e Khosraw*. Tehran 1953, 14 ff.; W. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 113 ff.; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, 32 ff.; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, in Djuwaynī, iii, 344 ff. (B. LEWIS)

ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB AL-KALWADHĀNĪ [see AL-KALWADHĀNĪ].

ABU 'L-KHATTĀB ʿABD AL-AʿLĀ B. AL-SAMḤ **AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ** AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-YAMANĪ, the first *imām* elected by the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. He was one of the five missionaries (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*, "carriers of science") sent to the Maghrib by Abū ʿUbayda al-Tamīmī of Baṣra, the spiritual head of the sect, in order to preach there the Ibāḍī creed [cf. IBĀḌIYYA]. These missionaries received from Abū ʿUbayda the order to establish an imamate amongst the Ibāḍiyya of Tripolitania, with Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as *imām*. The activities of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* were crowned with success. In 140/757-8 the Ibāḍī notables of Tripolitania, in a council held in Ṣayyād, near Tripoli, elected Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as *imām*. The Ibāḍi Berber tribes, Hawwāra, Nafūsa etc., commanded by the new *imām*, conquered with the slogan *lā ḥukm illā li'llāh wa-lā ṭāʿa illā ṭāʿat Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb*, the whole of Tripolitania, including Tripoli, which became the residence of their chief. In Ṣafar 141/Juni-July 758 the army of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb took al-Ḳayrawân, capital of Ifrīḳiya, at that time in the possession of the Ṣufrīs of the Berber tribe of Warfadjdjūma. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the future founder of the Ibāḍī imamate of Tāhart, was appointed governor of the town. The outcome of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's conquests was the creation of an Ibāḍī state comprising the whole of Ifrīḳiya, viz. Tripolitania, Tunisia and the eastern part of Algeria. It even seems that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb had a certain influence over the Ṣufrīs of Sidjilmāssa.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 141/April 759, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt, sent to Ifrīḳiya an army commanded by al-ʿAwwām b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Badjalī, to reconquer the province. The army was defeated by the Ibāḍīs in the region of Surt, near the eastern boundaries of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's possessions. Another ʿAbbāsid army, led by Abu 'l-Aḥwaṣ ʿUmar b. al-Aḥwaṣ al-ʿIdjlī, was defeated at Maghmadāṣ (Macomades Syrtis, modern Marsa Zafran). In the meantime, Ibn al-Ashʿath received orders to march himself against the Berbers and to assume the government of Ifrīḳiya. On receiving this news, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb set out with a considerable army. Deceived, however, by a stratagem of Ibn al-Ashʿath, who pretended to return to the east, he allowed his troops to disband. When Ibn al-Ashʿath shortly afterwards reached the neighbourhood of Tripoli, the *imām* hastily assembled the nearest tribes to check his advance. The battle took place at Tāwurghā (on the coast, a few days' journey to the east of Tripoli) in Ṣafar 144/May-June 761. It was very bloody: Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb with twelve or fourteen thousand of his followers were killed. In Djumādā I/August, Ibn al-Ashʿath reoccupied al-Ḳayrawān.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *al-Sīra wa-Akhbār al-Aʾimma* (MS coll. S. Smogorzewski), fol. 1ᵛ, 6ʳ-13ᵛ; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 18-38; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 124-32; Bakrī (de Slane, *Descript. de l'Afr. sept.*[2]), 7, 28, 149, transl. de Slane, 22, 63, 285-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 220, 373-5; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 351, 355-60.

(A. DE MOTYLINSKI-T. LEWICKI)

ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀR AL-ḤUṢĀM B. ḌIRĀR AL-KALBĪ, governor of al-Andalus, who arrived in that country from Ifrīḳiya in 125/743, to replace the *wālī* Thaʿlaba b. Salāma al-ʿĀmilī. He carried out a liberal policy, and skilfully removed from Cordova the representatives of the Syrian *djunds*, who had come to Spain under the leadership of Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*]. On the advice of Count Ardabast (Arṭūbās), son of the Visigothic prince Witiza, he settled these *djundīs* on fiefs, requiring from them in return that they should respond to mobilization appeals that might be made to them. It was in this way that the Syrian system of the *djunds* came to be introduced into al-Andalus. The representatives of the *djund* of Damascus were installed in the Elvira district, those of the *djund* of the Jordan in the district of Rayyo (Archidona and Malaga), those of the *djund* of Palestine in the district of

Sidona, those of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ (Emesa) in the districts of Seville and Niebla, those of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn in the district of Jaén, and those of the *djund* of Egypt in the Algarve and in the region of Murcia (Tudmīr). A little later Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār entered into conflict with a powerful chief of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn, al-Ṣumayl [*q.v.*] b. Ḥātim al-Kilābī, who mustered troops and defeated the governor in Radjab 127/April 745 on the Guadalete. In vain did Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār afterwards attempt to regain his office; it was seized by the Djudhāmite chief Thawāba b. Salāma, who himself died the next year.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 48-50. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABU 'L-KHAYR, ruler of the Özbegs [see UZBEKS] and founder of the power of this nation, descendant of Shaybān, Djuči's youngest son [see SHAYBĀNIDS], born in the year of the dragon (1412; as the year of the hidjra 816/1413-4 is erroneously given). At first he is said to have been in the service of another descendant of Shaybān, Djamaduḳ Khān. The latter met his death in a revolt; Abu 'l-Khayr was taken prisoner, but was released and shortly after proclaimed khān in the territory of Tura (Siberia) at the age of 17 (year of the ape-1428; as year of the hidjra 833/1429-30 is given). After a victory won over another khān of the family of Djuči the greater part of Ḳipčaḳ submitted to him. In 834/1430-1 he conquered Khwārizm with its capital Urgandj, which was plundered, but soon afterwards he gave it back. According to his biographers, Abu 'l-Khayr later vanquished two more princes, Maḥmūd Khān and Aḥmad Khān, conquered the city of Urdū-Bāzār, and seized (though for a short time only) the "throne of Ṣāyin Khān", i.e. that of Batu. Shortly before the death of Sultan Shāhrukh (850/1447) Abu 'l-Khayr established himself firmly through the subjugation of the fortresses of Sighnaḳ (at present the ruins of Sunaḳ-Ḳurghan), Arḳuḳ, Suzaḳ, Aḳ-Ḳurghan and Uzkand ou the Sir Daryā—the most significant event in his reign for the further history of the Özbegs. Sighnaḳ seems to have been his capital from that time. South of this region no durable conquests were made under Abu 'l-Khayr; even the neighbouring town of Yasī (now Turkistān) remained in the power of the Tīmūrids. Marauding expeditions were frequently undertaken, even as far afield as Bukhārā and Samarḳand. Abu 'l-Khayr appeared with greater forces in 855/1451-2 as an ally of the prince Abū Saʿīd against the then ruler of Samarḳand ʿAbd Allāh; with his aid ʿAbd Allāh was defeated and killed and Abū Saʿīd was installed as ruler in Samarḳand; Rābiʿa Sulṭān Bēgum, daughter of Ulugh Beg, was given in marriage to Abu 'l-Khayr. A second attempt to interfere in the disputes of the Tīmūrids fell out less happily; Muḥammad Djūḳī, favored by Abu 'l-Khayr against Abū Saʿīd, was forced in 865/1460-1 after some successes to raise the siege of Samarḳand at the approach of his enemy, to quit the country ravaged by Abu 'l-Khayr's auxiliary troops (under Burke Sulṭān) and in 868/1463—having, it seems, received no assistance from Abu 'l-Khayr—to surrender to his adversary. Shortly before, probably about 861/1456-7 (Abu 'l-Khayr 's grandson, Maḥmūd, born in 858/1454, is said to have been then three years old), Abu 'l-Khayr's power received a severe blow from the Ḳalmaḳ (Kalmucks); beaten in the open field, he had to flee to Sighnaḳ and let the enemy ravage the whole country up to the Sīr. About 870/1465-6 there appears to have taken place among the Özbegs that split, through which the proper inhabitants of the steppes, since called Ḳazaḳ, separated from the other portion of the nation. The year of the rat (1468; erroneously identified with 874/1469-70) is given as the year of Abu 'l-Khayr's death; the power founded by him was after a short interruption restored and extended by his grandson Muḥammad Shaybānī.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Khayr's biography was written towards 950/1543-4 by Masʿūd b. ʿUthmān al-Kuhistānī (*Taʾrīkh-i Abu 'l-Khayr Khānī*; the statements in Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, ii, 687, are correct only so far as concerns the MS. of the British Museum, but not the work itself; cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, i, 102; the Leningrad MSS, including that of the University Library or. 852, used here, have also the beginning of the biography). Masʿūd was also able to utilize the oral narratives of Abu 'l-Khayr's son Süyünič Khān (d. 931/1525), who seems to have drawn his information from written sources, as for example the *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī. Information about Abu 'l-Khayr is also to be found in the historical works on his grandson Shaybānī and his successors, especially in the *Tawārīkh-i Nuṣrat Nāma* (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turkish MSS.*, 276 ff.) and the writings dependent on it. (W. BARTHOLD)

ABU 'L-KHAYR AL-ISHBĪLĪ, surnamed AL-SHADJDJĀR, "the arboriculturist", author of a book on agriculture, was a native of Seville (Ishbīliya). Neither the date of his birth or that of his death are known, and one can only say that as he is quoted by Ibn al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], who lived in the second half of the 6th/12th century, he must have belonged to an earlier period. He was probably the contemporary of the botanist-physicians and "gardeners" of the 5th/11th century, such as Ibn Wāfid al-Lakhmī, Ibn Baṣṣāl, Ibn Ḥadjdjādj al-Ishbīlī and al-Ṭighnarī. His *K. al-Filāḥa* is preserved in MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in the Zaytūna mosque in Tūnis and some private libraries in North Africa.

The following are the main contents of Abu 'l-Khayr's book. (i) General considerations on planting (*gharāsa*): favourable months; influence of the moon; the time needed for plants to grow and to yield fruit; age of trees; damage (weather, animals, fire, water); special treatment of olive-trees, vines, fig-trees, palm-trees. (ii) Plantations proper: trees, bushes, grain, seeds; layering, pruning, grafting; fruit and vegetable conserves; growing of vegetables; aromatic plants, flowers; flax and cotton; banana and sugar-cane. (iii) Animals: of the back-yard, especially pigeons; bees and wild animals; harmful animals (reptiles, rodents and insects). (iv) Finally two pages on the *tadjārib al-ʿām*, i.e. meteorological or astrological prognostications.

Abu 'l-Khayr appeals to his personal experience and observations in the gardens, parks, fields, vineyards and forests of the Aljarafe (al-Sharaf, district of Seville). His literary documentation consists in quoting, no doubt at second hand, the *K. al-Nabāt* of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (which had been expounded in 60 vols. by Ibn Ukht Ghanim—cf. Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 270), Aristotle, Anatolius, "Ḳasṭūs" (Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus), Philemo—through adaptations of the *Geoponica* and through the *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* of Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*]. [For this agronomical literature see FILĀḤA.] On the whole, the book is an empirical work of technical science, but, like the agronomical literature in general, is not without its popular and superstitious

side, and formulas for amulets and descriptions of talismans are given.

Bibliography: The *K. al-Filāḥa* published in Fez 1357-8 is falsely attributed to Abu 'l-Khayr. An edition with annotated French translation is in preparation by the author of this article. Some paragraphs were published by A. Cherbonneau and H. Pérès, *K. al-Filāḥa ou Livre de la Culture*, in *Bibl. Arabe-Française*, v, Algiers 1946. See also ʿA. Abu 'l-Naṣr, in *MMIA*, 1953, 557; J.-J. Clément-Mullet, intr. to *Livre de l'Agriculture d'Ibn al-Awam*, Paris 1864, i, 78; C. E. Dubler, in *And.*, 1941, 137; E. García Gómez, in *And.*, 1945, 132-4, 137-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 241; J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, in *And.*, 1943, 287; 1948, 351-2; idem, in *Tamuda*, Tetuan 1953, 48; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1937, 197; idem, *Bull. des Études Arabes*, Algiers 1946, 130-2; Introduction to *K. al-Filāḥa ou Livre de la Culture*, d'Abu'l-Khayr ach-Chadjdjar al-Ichbili, Algiers 1946, 7-11.

(H. Pérès)

ABŪ KHIRĀSH Khuwaylid b. Murra al-Hudhalī, *mukhaḍram* Arab poet, who was converted to Islam and died under the caliphate of ʿUmar, from the bite of a snake while he was drawing water for Yamanite pilgrims (who were then required by the caliph to pay his *diya*). Abu Khirāsh is counted among the pre-Islamic warriors who could run faster then horses, sharing this distinction with his nine brothers Abū Djundab, ʿUrwa, al-Abaḥḥ, al-Aswad, Abu 'l-Aswad, ʿAmr, Zuhayr, Djannād and Sufyān, who also were poets of rank.

Bibliography: The *dīwān* of Abū Khirāsh was published by J. Hell, *Neue Hudailiten-Diwane*, ii, Leipzig 1933. Biographical notes and verses in Djāḥiz, *Hayawān*[2], iv, 267, 351; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 417-8; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 365, 370; *Aghānī*[1], xxi, 54-70; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 2345; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1347, i, 400, ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, i, 131, ii, 72; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi = *Letteratura*, 46 (French transl. 77).

(Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ ḲUBAYS, a sacred hill on the eastern edge of Mecca. Rising abruptly from the valley floor, it overlooks the Great Mosque a few hundred meters away. The Kaʿba corner containing the Black Stone points towards the hill, at the foot of which is al-Ṣafā, the southern end of al-Masʿā. Buildings now hem the hill in on nearly every side. Muslim tradition holds that this was the first mountain created by God. Adam and other ancients are sometimes said to be buried there. The hill's older name was al-Amīn, given because the Black Stone was kept safe there during Noah's Flood. Various stories explain the origin of the name Abū Ḳubays (Yāḳūt, s.v.); al-Azraḳī, 477-8, inclines towards the version identifying Abū Ḳubays as a man of Iyād, the first to build on the hill. Djabal Abū Ḳubays and al-Aḥmar on the western side of the valley were together called al-Akhshabān (the Two Rough Ones); a *ḥadīth* says that Mecca will last as long as these two. According to popular tradition, the Prophet was standing on Abū Ḳubays when the moon was rent in twain (Ḳur., liv, 1). The Kaʿba was destroyed in 64/683-4 by shots from a *mandjanīḳ* fixed on Abū Ḳubays, and in medieval times a castle crowned the hill; no fortifications now remain there. The first *zāwiya* of the Sanūsī order was built on Abū Ḳubays c. 1252-3/1837, and in Snouck Hurgronje's time a large Naḳshbandī establishment also stood on the slopes (*Mekka*, ii, 285).

For bibliography, see makka. (G. Rentz)

ABŪ ḲURRA Theodore, Melkite Bishop of Ḥarrān, said to be the first Christian writer of importance to produce works in the Arabic language. He was born at Edessa c. 740 and must have died c. 820. He refers to himself in his writings as a disciple of John of Damascus (d. 749), but though he studied as a youth in the monastery of St. Saba in Palestine, he can hardly have been a student under the Damascene. Like that of John, however, his name is associated with the early stages of Christian apologetics against Islam, and with that Christian learning which played so large a part in moulding the development of Islamic theology. He wrote in his native Syriac, in Greek and in Arabic. His writings are for the most part polemical in nature, which may be explained by the fact that in his days the city of Ḥarrān was a centre of vigorous intellectual life in which pagans and Manichees, Jews, Muslims and Christians of orthodox and of non-orthodox persuasion all shared. In his extant treatises he defends his orthodox faith against the teachings of all these opposing traditions. His Greek tractates have been edited in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xcvii, and the Arabic by Constantine Bacha, *Oeuvres arabes de Théodore Aboucara, évêque de Haran*, Beyrouth, n.d., though there is some doubt as to the authenticity of certain tractates included in each of these collections (see Peeters, in *Acta Bollandiana*, 1930, 94, and H. Beck, in *Orientalia christiana analecta*, 1937, 40-3).

Bibliography: Michael Syrus, *Chronique*, iii, 29-34; C. Bacha, in *Mach.*, 1903, 633-6; G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christl. arab. Lit.*, ii, 7-26; id., *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra*, Paderborn 1910. His part in the Muslim controversy is discussed in A. Palmieri, *Die Polemik des Islam*, 18 f.; G. Güterbock, *Der Islam im Licht der byzantinischen Polemik*, 1912, 15 ff.; I. Kratschkovsky, in *Khristianskij Vostok*, 1916, 301-9; A. Guillaume, in the Centenary Suppl. to *JRAS*, 1924, 233-44; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 434 ff.; W. Eichner, in *Isl.*, 1936, 136 ff. (A. Jeffery)

ABŪ LAHAB, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Lubnā bint Hādjir (of Khuzāʿa), and half-brother of Muḥammad's father. His name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzza and his *kunya* Abū ʿUtba; Abū Lahab (literally "father of the flame") was a nickname given by his father on account of his beauty. At one time, doubtless before Muḥammad's preaching had roused opposition, he was friendly with his nephew, for his sons ʿUtba and ʿUtayba were married (or perhaps only betrothed) to Muḥammad's daughters Ruḳayya and Umm Kulthūm respectively. During the boycott of Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib by the other clans Abū Lahab dissociated himself from Hāshim, probably because through his wife, a daughter of Ḥarb b. Umayya, he was connected with ʿAbd Shams. On the death of Abū Ṭālib, shortly after the end of the boycott, Abū Lahab became head of the clan and at first promised to protect Muḥammad, presumably for the sake of the honour of the clan. He withdrew his protection, however, when Abū Djahl and ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ managed to convince him that Muḥammad had spoken disrespectfully of deceased ancestors like ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and said they were destined for Hell. This loss of protection probably led to Muḥammad's attempt to settle in al-Ṭāʾif; when it proved vain, Muḥammad,

before entering Mecca again, had to obtain the *djiwār* of the head of another clan. This hostile conduct was doubtless the occasion of Sūra cxi which, with a play on the name, consigns Abū Lahab and his wife to the flames of Hell. He died shortly after the battle of Badr to which he is said to have sent in his place a man who owed him money. There is a long story about his reaction to the news of this defeat. His sons ʿUtba and Muʿattib became Muslims in 8/630, and ʿUtba's grandson, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, was known as a poet (*Aghānī*, xv, 2-11).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 69, 231-3, 244, 430, 461; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 57, iv/1, 41-2; Wāḳidī, ed. Wellhausen, 42, 351; Ṭabarī, index; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 308-9, 496; A. Fischer, in *Ber. ü. d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ak. Wiss.*, Bd. 89, Heft 2.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ABU 'L-LAYTH AL-SAMARḲANDĪ, Naṣr b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, known as *Imām al-Hudā*, a Ḥanafī theologian and jurisconsult of the 4th/10th century. The date of his death is variously given as between 373/983-4 and 393/1002-3. He must not be confused with his slightly older contemporary *al-Ḥāfiẓ* al-Samarḳandī, whose name was also Abu 'l-Layth Naṣr. The oldest known biographical source, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (d. 775/1373), attributes to this latter person some of the main works that generally go under the name of the *Imām al-Hudā*, but this seems to be a mistake.

Abu 'l-Layth was a very successful author in several fields of the Islamic sciences, and his books have become popular from Morocco to Indonesia. His main works are: (1) a *Tafsīr*, printed Cairo 1310/1892-3; this was translated into old Ottoman Turkish by Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450-1), and Ibn ʿArabshāh's work was expanded by Abu 'l-Faḍl Mūsā al-Iznīqī, a contemporary, under the title *Anfas al-Djawāhir*; manuscripts of these Turkish editions are among the oldest dated Ottoman Turkish manuscripts; (2) *Khizānat al-Fiḳh*, a handbook of Ḥanafī law; (3) *Mukhtalif al-Riwāya*, on the divergent doctrines of the ancient Ḥanafī authorities, in three editions; (4) *al-Muḳaddima fi 'l-Ṣalāt*, on the duty of ritual prayer, with many commentaries; (5) *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* and (6) *Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn*, both on ethics and piety, often printed; (7) an *ʿAḳīda*, in the form of question and answer (ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, *BTLV* 1881, 215 ff., 267 ff.), with a commentary by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Nawāwī (d. after 1305/1888), under the title *Ḳaṭr al-Ghayth* (Brockelmann, S II, 814; C. H. Becker, *Isl.* 1911, 23), often printed, also Malay and Javanese interlinear translations. This *ʿAḳīda* is authentic (against Juynboll, l. c., and F. Kern, *ZA* 1912, 170) and represents a popular, Ḥanafī current of theological thought (Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i).

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍīʾa*, Hyderabad 1332, ii, 196, 264 f.; G. Flügel, *Die Krone der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Leipzig 1862, 58 f., 152 f.; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Bahiyya*, Cairo 1324, 220; Brockelmann I, 210 f.; S I, 347 f. (nos. 6 and 7 refer to the same work).

(J. Schacht)

ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Persian writer. His sixth ancestor was Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar, traditionist and son of the Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. His family lived for a long time in Balkh. He was a contemporary of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, whom he may have known and about whom he gives us the earliest information available. From two passages of his only work Ch. Schefer assumed that he was at the court of the Ghaznawid sultan Masʿūd III when he composed his *Bayān al-Adyān*, dated 485/1092, the earliest known work on religions in the Persian language. The first two chapters are devoted to religions before Islam and to some heresies; the third and fourth to the exposition of the Sunnite and Shīʿite doctrines and to the Islamic sects (especially Ismāʿilism); the fifth chapter, dealing with the extremists (which may, therefore, have been of importance) is lost. He mentions his main sources. His work has not the bulk of the *Tabṣirat al-ʿAwāmm* of Sharīf Murtaḍā (second half of 12th century), but it commends itself by its clear precision and by the sober vigour of its style. It is among the best of the rare prose works in Persian from the Ghaznawid period. Editions by Ch. Schefer (*Chrestomathie persane*, i, 131-71) and Abbas Iqbal, Teheran 1312/1934 (detailed genealogy of Abu 'l-Maʿālī in the introduction); transl. H. Massé, *RHR*, 1926, 17-75. (H. Massé)

ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ ʿABD AL-MALIK [see al-Djuwaynī].

ABŪ MADYAN, Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī, famous Andalusian mystic, born about 520/1126 at Cantillana, a little town about 20 miles NNE of Seville. Sprung from a very modest family, he learnt the trade of weaver, but, impelled by an irresistible taste for knowledge, he learnt the Ḳurʾān and, as soon as he was able, went to N. Africa to complete his education. At Fez he was the disciple of renowned masters, who owed, however, their fame less to their theological learning than to their piety and their ascetic lives—men such as Abū Yaʿazzā al-Hazmīrī, ʿAlī b. Ḥirzihim, and al-Daḳḳāḳ. This last invested him with the *khirḳa*, the robe which bore witness to his vocation of ṣūfī; but his real initiator into the theories of mysticism seems to have been Abū Yaʿazzā. With the permission of this master, he left for the Orient. There he succeeded in absorbing the tradition of al-Ghazālī and of the great mystics. At Mecca he may have encountered the famous ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī (d. 561/1166). He returned to the Maghrib, and settled at Bidjāya (Bougie), where he became known for his teaching and his exemplary life. His fame reached the ears of the Muʾminid ruler Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, who summoned him to the court at Marrākush, no doubt apprehensive about such religious prestige outside the Almohad sect. When within sight of Tilimsān (Tlemcen) Abū Madyan was taken ill and died (594/1197). Following his expressed wish he was buried at al-ʿUbbād, a village on the outskirts of Tlemcen, which was apparently already frequented by ascetics, but which, as his burial-place, was to become especially venerable.

The place which he occupies amongst the most important figures in western Islam is not due, strictly speaking, to his writings; at least, his only surviving writings are "a few mystical poems, a *waṣiyya* (testament), and an *ʿaḳīda* (creed)" (A. Bel). It is because of the memory of him handed down by his disciples, and the maxims attributed to him, that he bas been considered worthy to be regarded as a *ḳuṭb* (pole), a *ghawth* (supreme succour), and a *walī* (friend of God). The maxims proclaim the excellence of the ascetic life, of renunciation of this world's goods, of humility, and of absolute confidence in God. He used to say: "Action accompanied by pride profits no man; idleness accompanied by humility harms no man. He who renounces

calculation and choice lives a better life". He often repeated this line: "Say: Allah! and abandon all that is material or has to do with the material, if thou desirest to attain the true goal". Actually there is nothing original in his conception of ṣūfism, but the success of his doctrine and its long-continued influence can be explained by its conciliation of various tendencies and by the type of society which received it. "His great merit and his great success lie in his having realised, in a way that his hearers could understand, a happy synthesis of the influences which he had undergone. With him the moderate ṣūfism that Ghazālī had already, a century earlier, incorporated in Muslim orthodoxy, principally for the use of a privileged élite, is now adapted to the mentality of the North African believer, whether man of the people or literate ... Abū Madyan ... gave once and for all the keynote for North African mysticism" (R. Brunschvig).

The books of hagiography attribute miracles to him, and Tlemcen, where he died, adopted him as patron. His tomb, which became the centre of a fine architectural complex (mosque of al-ʿUbbād 737/1339, *madrasa* 747/1347, little palace, *ḥammām*) mainly built by the Marīnid sultan of Fez Abu 'l-Ḥasan, ruler of Tlemcen, is still a place of pilgrimage for the country people of the province of Oran and eastern Morocco.

Bibliography: Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān* (Ben Cheneb), Algiers 1326/1908; transl. Provenzali, Algiers 1910, 115 ff.; Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-Dirāya* (Ben Cheneb), Algiers 1910; Ibn Khaldūn (Yaḥyā), *Hist. des B. ʿAbd al-Wād*, transl. A. Bel, Algiers 1904, i, 80-3; Aḥmad Baba, *Nayl al-Ibtihādj*, Fez 1917, 107-112; J. J. J. Bargès, *Vie du célèbre marabout Cidi Abou Medien*, Paris 1884; Brosselard, *Les inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *RAfr.*, 1859; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, i, Paris 1938; id., *Sidi Bou Medyan et son maître Ed-Daqqâq*, in *Mélanges R. Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 31-68; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, ii, Paris 1947, 317-9; M. Asín Palacios, *El místico murciano Abenarabi*, Madrid 1925, 32.

(G. Marçais)

ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. **TAGHRĪBIRDĪ**, Arabic historian, born at Cairo, probably in 812/1409-10 (exact date doubtful). His father was a mamlūk from Asia Minor (Rūm) bought and promoted by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ; under Sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj he became commander in chief of the Egyptian armies (*amīr kabīr*, *atābak*) in 810/1407, and in 813 viceroy (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) of Damascus, where he died early in 815/1412. The boy Yūsuf was brought up by his sister, wife of the chief ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. al-ʿAdīm al-Ḥanafī and then of the chief ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulḳīnī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 824). He studied under many noted scholars the usual learned disciplines, and also music, Turkish and Persian. At the same time he had entrance to the Mamlūk court, became proficient in military exercises, and was granted a fief (*iḳṭāʿ*). He made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 826/1423, in 849/1445 (as a *bāshā* in the *ḥadjdj* escort), and again in 863/1459. In 836/1432 he took an active part in the Syrian campaign of Sultan Barsbāy, with whom he was on intimate terms (as he was with later sultans), and turned to the writing of history after he had heard al-ʿAynī's works read to that sultan.

His first important work was *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa 'l-Mustawfī baʿd al-Wāfī*, biographies of the sultans and important amīrs and scholars from 650/1248 to 855/1451, but with some additions as late as 862/1458; an annotated résumé was published by G. Wiet in *MIE*, 1932, 1-480.

Next came *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, a history of Egypt from 20/641 to his own times, and continuing also the biographical series of the *Manhal*. It was written, he says, for himself and his friends, especially Sultan Djaḳmaḳ's son Muḥammad, and at first went only to the end of Djaḳmaḳ's reign, Muḥarram 857/Jan. 1453. Later he continued it to 872/1467 (see below). Editions: *Abû 'l-Mahasin ibn Tagri Bardii Annales*, from 20/641 to 365/976, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, 2 vols., Leiden 1855-61; *Abu 'l-Maḥâsin ibn Taghrî Birdî's Annals*, from 366/977 to 566/1171 and from 746/1345 to 872/14 7, ed. W. Popper (*Univ. of California Publ. in Semitic Philology*, ii, iii part I, v, vi, xii) Berkeley 1909-29; *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, from 20/641 to 799/1397, Cairo 1348/1929 ff. (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, al-Ḳism al-Adabī).

The death of al-Maḳrīzī in 845 and of al-ʿAynī in 855 left Abu 'l-Maḥāsin as Egypt's principal historian, and he wrote *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Maḍa 'l-Ayyām wa 'l-Shuhūr*, chronicles from 845/1441 to 12 Muḥarram 874/July 16, 1469, to continue al-Maḳrīzī's *al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*. Simultaneously he continued his own *Nudjūm*, but omitted from it much of the *Ḥawādith*'s fuller material regarding persons and economic and political conditions. Edition: *Extracts from Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicle Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, ed. Popper (*Univ. Cal. Pub. in Semitic Phil.*, viii), 1930-42 (contains all passages not represented in *Nudjūm*, vol. vii).

Two other extensive historical works, not mentioned by him or his biographers, are ascribed to him: *Nuzhat al-Ra'y* for 678-747/1279-1346, and *al-Baḥr al-Zākhir fī ʿIlm al-Awwal wa 'l-Ākhir*, for 32-71/652-90.

He wrote also several condensations or extracts from his main works: *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī ʿala 'l-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*; *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*; *al-Bishāra fī Takmilat al-Ishāra* (supplement to al-Dhahabī's *Ishāra*); *al-Kawākib al-Bāhira*; *Mansha' al-Laṭāfa fī Dhikr man Waliya'l-Khilāfa*; and *Mawrid al-Laṭāfa fī man Waliya'l-Salṭana wa'l-Khilāfa*, ed. with Latin translation by J. E. Carlyle, Cambridge 1798.

His works other than on history were: *Taḥārīf Awlād al-ʿArab fi 'l-Asmā' al-Turkiyya*; *al-Amthāl al-Sā'ira*; *Ḥilyat al-Ṣifāt fi 'l-Asmā' wa'l-Ṣināʿāt* (anthology of poetry, history and literature); *al-Sukkar al-Ḳādiḥ wa'l-ʿIṭr al-Fā'iḥ* (a poem of mystic content); and a short treatise on vocal music.

He left the manuscripts of his works to the tomb-mosque which he had built for himself. He died on 5 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja, 874/5 June 1470.

Bibliography: Aḥmad al-Mardjī (the author's pupil and copyist of the *Manhal*), in *Nudjūm*, Cairo, i, Introd., p. 9; Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, x, 305-8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ix, 317; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ* (Kahle and Mustafa), iii, (5c), 43; Weil, *Chalifen*, iv, pp. xvii-xxi; v, pp. vii-xiv; E. Amar, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, 1909, 245-54; G. Wiet, in *BIE*, 1930, 89-105; Brockelmann, II, 41, S II, 39; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 490; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), index, no. 4301; Babinger, 61.

(W. Popper)

ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-**FĀSĪ**, Moroccan scholar, and Ṣūfī *shaykh* of repute, born in 938/1530-31, the ancestor of the Fāsiyyūn (vernacular Fāsiyyīn) family, which, since the 16th century, has provided the town of Fās with a long succession of scholars and jurists.

Abū'l-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī himself belonged to the Fihrite branch of the Banu 'l-Djadd, which, about 880/1475, had emigrated from Malaga, in Spain, to Morocco. He was born at al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr (or, in the Spanish form, Alcázarquivir), where his grandfather Yūsuf had settled after a stay of seven years at Fās (this is how he came to acquire the appellative al-Fāsī, which remained that of all his descendants). But it was to the capital of North Morocco that Abu'l-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī went to study, and there he finally settled, from 988/1580 onwards. He soon acquired there an exceptional reputation for learning and piety, and founded a *zāwiya* which has been much frequented ever since. In 986/1578, he took part in the famous battle of Wādi' l-Makhāzin against the Portuguese (see SAʿDIDS). He died on 18 Rabīʿ I 1013/14 August 1604. Among his most famous descendants should be mentioned his son Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī, author of a monograph on Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, the *Mir'āt al-Maḥāsin* (lith. at Fez in 1324), his grandson ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Alī [*q.v.*], and the son of the latter, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*]. A genealogical table of the Fāsiyyūn family will be found in *Hist. Chorfa*, 242.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 240-41, and the numerous references mentioned *ibid.*, 240, n. 4, among which may be cited here only Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man Intashar*, Fez, n. d., 27; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, Fez 1310, i, 89; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, Cairo 1284, iv, 507; Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fez 1316, ii, 306 ff.; M. Bencheneb, *É'ude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjâza du cheikh Abd el-Qâdir el-Fâsy*, *Actes XVIe Cong. Int. Or.*, iv, Paris 1908, § 19 bis.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ MANṢŪR ILYĀS AL-**NAFŪSĪ**, governor of Djabal Nafūsa and Tripolitania, on behalf of the Rustamid *imām* of Tāhart, Abu'l-Yakẓān Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ (d. 281/894-5). He came from Tindemīra, a village in the Djabal Nafūsa, but the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown. His province comprised the whole of Tripolitania, excepting the town of Tripoli which belonged to the Aghlabids. He had immediately to engage in conflict with the Berber Ibāḍī tribe of Zawāgha, who occupied the coast between Tripoli and Djerba. The tribe, which sought to free itself from dependence on the Nafūsa and had adopted the dissident doctrines of Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, revolted against Abū Manṣūr under the leadership of the son of Khalaf, who had taken refuge with them. Abū Manṣūr, attacked by the Zawāgha, defeated them with severe losses; their leader fortified himself on the island of Djerba, but his followers were bribed and delivered him up to Abū Manṣūr.

According to Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, quoted by al-Shammākhī, when in 266/879-80 the invader Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn defeated the Aghlabid governor of Tripoli, Muḥammad b. Ḳurhub, and besieged the city for forty three days, the inhabitants called Abū Manṣūr to their help. He arrived with twelve thousand men, attacked Ibn Ṭūlūn outside the city and routed him.

Bibliography: E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 188-94; Dardjīnī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashā'ikh* (MS); Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 224-5; A. de Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 91, n. 3; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, *JA*, 1899, 432. (T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ MANṢŪR [see AL-THAʿĀLIBĪ].

ABŪ MAʿSHAR DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR AL-**BALKHĪ**, astrologer, usually known in western Europe as Albumasar, was born at Balkh in eastern Khurāsān, studied at Baghdād, and was a contemporary of the famous philosopher al-Kindī (first half of 3rd/9th century); after studying the Islamic traditions, he devoted himself particularly to the study of astronomy and astrology, and it is to the latter that he owes his celebrity. He benefited fully from the very flourishing state of astronomical studies in Baghdād, but had a decided preference for astrology. In any case, in his various astrological works it is possible to pick out the astronomical principles and laws that he derived from contemporary scholars. He died at Wāsiṭ, almost a centenarian, in 272/886.

In the works of Abū Maʿshar can be observed the influences exerted at that time on Arab learning by cultural currents from Persia (in the Pahlawi tongue), and, more indirectly, from India. But Abū Maʿshar not only benefited from the learning of his contemporaries; even in his own time he was reputed to be a plagiarist. The author of the *Fihrist*, on the authority of Ibn al-Muktafī, tells us that Abū Maʿshar plagiarized various authors, particularly the works of Sind b. ʿAlī, and these accusations are corroborated by modern criticism.

Among his numerous works may be cited:

(1) a collection of astronomical tables (*zīdj*), unfortunately lost, in which the movements of the planets were calculated for the meridian of Gangdiz (or Gangdez in Pahlawi), and in agreement with the Indian theory of millenary cycles (*hazārāt*).

(2) *al-Madkhal al-Kabīr* (The great introduction to Astrology), a treatise divided into eight books and still unpublished in Arabic, twice translated into Latin, first in 1130 by Johannes Hispalensis, then, in 1150, by Hermannus Secundus or the German. This work was to have a great influence in Christian Europe; the Latin manuscripts of it are numerous, and Hermann's translation was printed at Augsburg quite early, in 1489, under the title *Introductorium in astronomiam Albumasaris Abalachii octo continens libros partiales*; it was also printed in Venice in 1495 and again in 1506. It is important to note that this corpus of astrology contains an exposition of the theory of tides, and it can be said that medieval Europe learned the laws of the ebb and flow of the sea from it. There are in this theory, side by side with true observations, some completely fantastic explanations. The moon is made to influence also the winds, rainfall, and the whole sublunary world.

(3) *Aḥkām Taḥāwīl Sinī al-Mawālid*, translated by Johannes Hispalensis under the title *De magnis coniunctionibus et annorum revolutionibus ac eorum profectionibus octo continens tractatus*, printed at Augsburg in 1489, and at Venice in 1515. The Arabic text is found in Escurial ms. 917 (Brockelmann, I, 221, is wrong in supposing that this is a ms. of the preceding work), and also in ms. 2588 of the Bibl. Nat. of Paris. Nallino believed that the translation of *De magnis coniunctionibus* ... was from an Arabic original, *Dalālāt al-Ashkhās al-ʿUlwiyya* ('Indicazioni date dalle persone superiori dagli astri'), and Suter denied any connection between the *De magnis coniunctionibus* and the *Kitāb al-Ḳirānāt* which is also attributed to Albumasar; but, as J. Vernet points out in a recent article, there is a large measure of correspondence between the two works.

(4) *al-Nukat*, a sort of summary of the previous treatise, translated by Johannes Hispalensis under the title *Flores astrologiae*: the Arabic text is in Escurial ms. 918, 1, and 938, 5, and also in folios 1-29 of ms. 2588 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris. The Latin

translation was printed at Augsburg in 1488, at Venice in 1488, 1485, and 1506.

(5) *al-Ulūf fī Buyūt al-ʿIbādāt* was, judging by the quotations from it in later authors, a study on the temples built in the world in each millenary.

(6) *Mawālid al-Ridjāl wa'l-Nisāʾ*, a treatise on the horoscopes of men and women, divided into twelve chapters, and preserved in ms. Berlin no. 5881.

Some other works are also attributed to Abū Maʿshar, but their authenticity cannot be proved; in any case, they do not involve a different view of the scientific character of our author, which is almost exclusively astrological.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 221, S I, 394; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, 28, Nachtr., 162; Ibn al-Ḳiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ* (Lippert), 152; J. Lippert, *Abū Maʿshars Kitāb al-ulūf*, *WZKM*, 1895, 351-8; M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen*, 35-8; P. Duhem, *Le système du monde*, ii, 369-860; C. Nallino, *Scritti*, iv, 331-2; G. Sarton, *Introd. to the Hist. of Science*, i, 568; J. Vernet, *Problemas bibliográficos en torno a Albumasar*, Barcelona 1952. (J. M. Millás)

ABŪ MAʿSHAR Nadjīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān **al-Sindī** al-Madanī, a slave from the Yaman, possibly of Indian parentage, who purchased his freedom and lived in Medina. He was considered a rather "weak" *ḥadīth* scholar, but he is deservedly famous as the author of a Kitāb al-Maghāzī. Numerous fragments of it have been preserved by al-Wāḳidī and Ibn Saʿd. Among his authorities he mentions Nāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿUmar, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Ḳuraẓī, and other scholars of Medina. In the year 160/776-7, he left Medina and remained in Baghdād until his death in Ramaḍān (?) 170/787. There he enjoyed the favor of several members of the court of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Al-Ṭabarī has taken from him information on Biblical history and on Muḥammad's life and especially chronological statements, the latter going down to the very year of his death.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 207; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, Ḥaydarābād 1360, 114; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Madjrūḥīn* (ms. Āyā Ṣōfiya 496, fol. 234); Ibn ʿAdī, *Duʿafāʾ* ms. Topkapu Sarāy, Ahmet III, 2943, iii, fols. 183b-185a); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, Cairo 1349/1931, 457-62; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, 419-22; Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ* (ms. Topkapu Saray, Ahmet iii, 2910, vi, fols. 188b-190a); id., *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, under the *kunyas* of the obituaries of the 17th *ṭabaḳa*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 253; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 523; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 166; id., *Mushtarik*, 256; J. Horovitz, in *IC*, 1928, 495-8.

(J. Horovitz-F. Rosenthal)

ABŪ MIDFAʿ [see sikka].

ABŪ MIḤDJAN ʿAbd Allāh (or Mālik or ʿAmr) b. Ḥabīb, Arab poet of the Thaḳīf tribe, counted as one of the *mukhaḍramūn*. After taking part in the defence of al-Ṭāʾif against Muḥammad, when he wounded with an arrow a son of Abū Bakr (in 8/630), he was converted in 9/631-2 and fought at al-Ḳādisiyya. The story goes that, in order to take part in this battle, he escaped first from his escort (for ʿUmar had banished him to Ḥaḍawḍa, see Goldziher, *Abhandl.*, i), then managed to obtain provisional liberty, thanks to the wife of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ; Saʿd had imprisoned him for drunkenness, but the poet's conduct in the battle—which has been somewhat embroidered by the historians—won for him the general's pardon. It is possible that Abū Miḥdjan also took part in the battle of Vologesias (Ullays). In 16/637 he was again exiled by ʿUmar to Nāsiʿ, and died shortly afterwards; it is said that his tomb was to be seen on the frontier of Ādharbāydjān or of Djurdjān.

The fragments of his poetry that have been preserved show no originality, but his reputation as a poet is upheld mainly by his bacchanalian songs (the famous line: 'When I die, bury me at the foot of a vine . . .' is attributed to him); and a group of poems in which he openly challenges the Ḳurʾān's prohibition of wine must be taken seriously. It was this attitude that led to his being banished several times by ʿUmar.

This poet should not be confused with his namesake Abū Miḥdjan Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ, on whom see nuṣayb.

Bibliography: The *dīwān* of Abū Miḥdjan has been edited by C. Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, i, Leiden 1886 (another ed., Cairo n. d., with a commentary by al-ʿAskarī), and by Abel, Leiden 1887 (with a biography and a Latin translation). Accounts of him are to be found in Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Cairo), 105-6; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 251-3; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 213-19; *Aghānī*[1], xi, 137-43, xxi, 210-24; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, no. 1017; Baghdādī, *Khizāna* (Būlāḳ), iii, 550-6; Caetani, *Annali*, v, 224 sqq.; Brockelmann, I, 40, S I, 70; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 105-7; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 46.

(N. Rhodokanakis-Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ MIKHNAF Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī, one of the earliest Arabic traditionists and historians, d. 157/774. He is credited in the *Fihrist* with 32 monographs on diverse episodes of Arab history, relating mainly to ʿIrāḳ, much of the contents of which is preserved in the chronicles of al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. The separate works which have come down to us under his name are later pseudographs. His great-grandfather Mikhnaf was the leader of the 'Irāḳī Azd on the side of 'Alī (for him see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 22 and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (Cairo 1365), index); on the whole, however, Abū Mikhnaf presents an ʿIrāḳī or Kūfan, rather than purely Shīʿite, point of view in his historical narratives. As a traditionist he is regarded as weak and unreliable.

Bibliography: *Fihrist* 93; Ṭūsī, *List*, no. 575; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 175 (ed. Cairo 1951, no. 360); Brockelmann, I, 65; S I, 101-2; Storey, ii, 229; J. Wellhausen, *Ar. Reich*, pref. III-V (brief characterization of his materials and method); F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod Husains und die Rache* (*AGGW*, 1883); Bartold in *Zapiski Vostoch. otd. imper. arkheol. obshch.*, xvii, 147 ff.; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, Leiden 1884.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. **BARAKA** al-ʿUmānī, commonly called Ibn Baraka, Ibāḍite author from the township of Bahlā in ʿUmān. The precise dates of his life are not known, but an ʿUmānī Ibāḍite writer, Ibn Mudād, regards him as a disciple and partisan of the imām Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥbūb, killed in 328/939-40. He himself played a considerable part in the political life of ʿUmān and composed several historical and juridical works, of which only the following are extant: 1. *al-Djāmiʿ*, on the principles of law; 2. *al-Muwāzana*, on the condition of ʿUmān at the time of the imām al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, and dealing also with certain points of principle and their juridical solutions; 3. *al-Sīra*, somewhat similar to the preceding work; 4. *Madḥ al-ʿIlm*, in praise of

knowledge and those who pursue it; 5. *al-Taḳyīd*; 6. *al-Ta^cāruf*; 7. *al-Sharḥ li-Djāmi^c Ibn Dja^cfar*, doubtless a commentary on *al-Djāmi^c*, a work by Abū Djābir Muḥammad b. Dja^cfar al-Azkawī of ^cUmān, dealing with the application of legal principles.

Bibliography: Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-A^cyān fī Sīrat Ahl ^cUmān*, i, Cairo 1332, 153, 166, 167; idem, *al-Lam^ca* (in a collection of six Ibāḍī works published in Algeria, 1326), 210-1; *al-Siyar al-^cUmāniyya*, ms. Lwow, foll. 183v-198v and 271r; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 139, n.: A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, Algiers 1885, 19, nos. 19 and 20. (T. Lewicki)

ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ b. Yanṣāran b. Ghafiyyān al-Dukkālī al-Mādjirī, famous Moroccan saint of the 6th-7th century A. H., patron of the town of Āsfī [*q.v.*], the present-day Safi. Born about 550/1155, his principal master was the famous Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] al-Ghawth, patron of Tilimsān (Tlemcen). He went on pilgrimage to Mecca and is believed to have stayed in Alexandria twenty years to follow the teaching of the ṣūfī ^cAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Djazūlī, who was of Moroccan origin. After his return to Morocco he became the propagandist among his fellow-countrymen of the *ḥadjdj* and *ṭalab al-^cilm* in the East, and retired to the *ribāṭ* of Asfī, where he died on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 631/22 September 1234. A monograph on him, entitled *al-Minhādj al-Wāḍiḥ fī Taḥḳīḳ Karāmat Abī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*, was written by his great-grandson Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Abī Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ.

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1329, 132; Bādisī, *Maḳṣad*, tr. G. S. Colin, in *AM*, 1926, 92, 195 (n. 295); Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fez 1316, ii, 43-44; Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen Age*, Rabat 1934, 77-8; idem, *Hist. Chorfa*, 221 and n. 3. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

ABŪ MŪSĀ [see al-Ash^carī].

ABŪ MUSLIM, leader of the revolutionary ^cAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān. He was of obscure antecedents, probably a slave of Persian origin, in the service of the Banū ^cIdjl in Kūfa. Here he made contact with the *shī^ca* and in 119/737 he is found amongst the followers of the *ghālī* al-Mughīra b. Sa^cīd. In 124/741-2, the Khurāsānian *nuḳabā'* of the ^cAbbāsids, proceeding to Mecca, found him in prison. They liberated him and took him to the Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. After instructing him, the Imām sent him in 128/745-6 to Khurāsān with the mission of directing the movement of insurrection in that province.

On arrival in Khurāsān and after overcoming the initial hostility of the local chiefs of the movement (especially Sulaymān b. Kathīr), Abū Muslim managed with dexterity and energy to reap the fruits of the long ^cAbbāsid propaganda. On 1 Shawwāl 129/15 June 747 the black banners of the insurgents were publicly raised. Profiting by the internal discords of the Umayyad army, Abū Muslim gained support among the Yamanites, and succeeded in taking Marw in Rabī^c II or Djumādā I 130/December 747 or January 748. From there his generals operated in all the surrounding regions; one of them, Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [*q.v.*], took up the pursuit of the Umayyad forces towards the west, which was to end in the fall of the dynasty.

After the proclamation of al-Saffāḥ as caliph, Abū Muslim remained as governor in Khurāsān, ensuring, on the one hand, internal security (suppression of the Shī^cite revolt in Bukhārā, 133/750-1), and extending, on the other hand, the Islamic conquest towards the east (expedition of Abū Dā'ūd, the same year). His relations, however, with the new dynasty, which in great part owed to him its success, became increasingly strained. It does not seem that there was, on his part, an actual design of revolt, nor do the assertions of some heresiographers, followed by modern scholars, that he was carrying on an extremist religious propaganda, seem to correspond to the truth. His great prestige and power, however, were enough in themselves to alarm the ^cAbbāsids. The accession of al-Manṣūr in 136/753-4 marks the beginning of the crisis. After making use of Abū Muslim against his uncle ^cAbd Allāh b. ^cAlī [*q.v.*], he invited him to present himself at court. Abū Muslim, after long hesitation, suspecting, but not fully crediting, what was waiting for him, decided to do as he was bid, and was treacherously killed. His memory remained alive in the Eastern provinces, and, starting with the movement of al-Muḳanna^c [*q.v.*], gave rise, during many years, to political and religious agitation.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (Guirgass), Ya^cḳūbī, Ṭabarī, indexes; *Aghānī, Tables*; G. van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden 1890, 70-131; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 323-52; R. N. Frye, *The Role of Abū Muslim in the ^cAbbāsid Revolt*, *MW*, 1947, 28-32; S. Moscati, *Studi su Abū Muslim, I-III*, *Rend. Linc.*, 1949, 323-35, 474-95; 1950, 89-105. (S. Moscati)

ABU 'l-MU'THIR al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs al-Bahlawī al-^cUmānī, Ibāḍī historian and lawyer, native of Bahlā' in ^cUmān. His exact dates are not known; but he is counted among the Ibāḍī scholars of the second half of the 3rd/9th century. He left valuable literary materials, especially in the field of history, and also took an active part in the political life of his time, being a zealous partisan of the *imām* al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, deposed in 273/886-7.

Among his works, the following are worthy of note: (1) *al-Aḥdāth wa 'l-Ṣifāt*, devoted to events in ^cUmān at the time of al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, and to the circumstances of his deposition; (2) *al-Bayān wa 'l-Burhān*, on the principle of the institution of the Imamate in connection with the affair of al-Ṣalt; (3) *al-Sīra*, containing information about the important figures of the earliest period of Ibāḍism. — MSS of these three books were in the possession of S. Smogorzewski. (4) *Tafsīr al-khams mi'at Āya*, commentary on five hundred verses dealing with forbidden and permitted things.

Bibliography: Sālimī, *Tuhfat al-A^cyān fī Sīrat Ahl ^cUmān*, 1332, i, 65-6, 153; idem, *al-Lam^ca* (in a collection of six Ibāḍī works, published in Algeria, 1326), 219; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 139, note; *al-Siyar al ^cUmāniyya*, MS Lwow University, fol. 3r-16v, 17r-25r, 37r-47v, 115v-120r, 268r, 270v; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, 1885, 20, no. 27; S. Smogorzewski, *Matériaux pour servir à la bio-bibliographie ibāḍite* (unpublished). (T. Lewicki)

ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA, Ya^cḳūb b. Rafā'īl Ṣanū^c (also James Sanua), prolific Jewish Egyptian journalist and playwright (1839-1912). He indirectly influenced the ^cUrābī Revolt by teaching, lecturing, writing and performing short satirical plays and first starting the publication of *Abū Naḍḍāra Zarḳā'* ("the man with green spectacles"),

an anonymous lithographic sheet, enlivened by cartoons, in the Egyptian fallāḥīn dialect. Because he had criticized the Khedive and his counsellors, he had to leave Egypt in 1878; but he continued to publish his newspaper in Paris intermittently, in Arabic and French, and smuggled it into Egypt under various names. Copies also reached North Africa, Syria und India. Besides Abū Naḍḍāra himself, many characters drawn from Egyptian life appeared in his newspapers, notably the greedy *shaykh al-ḥāra* (the Khedive Ismāʿīl), officials, merchants, brokers, beggars, etc. They expressed their views in conversation form, letters, short plays, and minutes of meetings. He also contributed articles to various French newspapers. Besides his plays —of which he claims to have written over 30 (one preserved in Arabic)—he published a few stories and pamphlets, of little literary value. His political-journalistic activity in his exile had two phases. In the first, until 1882, he attacked the Khedives Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ, and encouraged the National Party and its supporters. In the second phase, after the failure of the ʿUrābī Revolt and the exile of its leaders, he inveighed against the British and their Egyptian supporters; called on France and Turkey to oust the British; proposed Prince Ḥalīm, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, for the throne of Egypt; and campaigned, albeit perfunctorily, for the betterment of the lot of the fallāḥīn. All in all, he was the creator of the satirical newspaper and the modern satirical play in Arabic.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S III, 265-6; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya*, 349-50; F. Ṭarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-ʿArabiyya*, ii, 238, 247, 283, 284, 354; iii, 8-9; id., *Arabic periodicals fascicle*, 1933, 162-3, 372-7, 398-9; Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, *Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya*, 1945, 107, 235, 236; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Society and politics in modern Egyptian literature*, in *Middle East Journal*, July 1948, 309-10; I. Krachkovskij, in *Vostok*, 1924, 165-8; Aimé Vingtrinier, *Abou Naddara à Constantinople*, 1897; J. M. Landau, *Abū Naḍḍāra, an Egyptian Jewish Nationalist*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1952, 30-44. (J. M. Landau)

ABU 'L-NADJM al-Faḍl (al-Mufaḍḍal) b. Ḳudāma al-ʿIDJLĪ, Arab poet of the 1st/7-8th century (d. after 105/724). Although he composed several *ḳaṣīdas*, he owes his celebrity to his verses in *radjaz* in which he treats of beduin subjects (descriptions of camels, horses, ounces, etc.), and eulogizes the Umayyads ʿAbd al-Malik, Hishām, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr, and the governor al-Ḥadjdjādj. The critics, who include him among the four best *rudjdjāz* (with his fellow-tribesman al-Aghlab and the two Tamīmites of al-Baṣra, al-ʿAdjdjādj and his son Ruʾba), rank him highest for description, and praise his facility for improvisation. His rivalry with al-ʿAdjdjādj (Muḍar against Rabīʿa) is famous, and the biographers describe a grotesque scene in which, at the *Mirbad*, Abu 'l-Nadjm mounted on a he-camel puts to flight his rival and his she-camel, and recites the well-known line: 'I and every poet of the human race [have demons to inspire us]: his is female and mine male'. Nevertheless it was Ruʾba who gave the name *Umm al-radjaz* to a long *ardjūza* which Abu 'l-Nadjm recited to Hishām, whose wrath was aroused by an ill-chosen word; he was soon received back into favour, however, and received from Hishām an endowment in the Sawād of al-Kūfa.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 90; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 223; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 98. A biographical account and some verses are to be found in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Hell), 148, 149-50; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 381-6; *Aghānī*[1], ix, 77-83; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 103, ii, 340-53; *MMIA*, 1928, collects together the biographical data (385-94), and publishes the *Umm al-radjaz* (472-9). A *lāmiyya* has been published by Maymanī, *al-Ṭaraʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937, 55-71, and there are scattered verses in a number of works, particularly al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*[2], in the indexes; Aṣmaʿī, *Fuḥūla*, *ZDMG* 1911, 499, 503, 511, 515; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 45, 144, 514, 755; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 310; ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, i, 113, 279. (Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ NAṢR [see al-fārābī].

ABŪ NUʿAYM AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Isḥāḳ b. Mūsā b. Mihrān al-Shāfiʿī, born in Iṣfahān in Radjab 336/Jan.-Feb. 948 (Ibn Khallikān: or 334, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 298, 330), d. Monday 21 Muḥarram (Ibn Khallikān: or Ṣafar; Yāḳūt: Monday 20 Muḥarram; Dhahabī, Subkī: 20 Muḥarram) 430/23 Oct. 1038, an authority on *fiḳh* and *taṣawwuf*. His grandfather Muḥ. b. Yūsuf was a well known ascetic, the first of his kin to accept Islam (Ibn Khallikān). Abū Nuʿaym mentions him as his forerunner in *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* (i, 4). His father who also was a scholar (Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 344) had him taught by important teachers, such as Djaʿfar al-Khuldī and al-Aṣamm, from his sixth year. From 356/967 he travelled and studied in ʿIrāḳ, Ḥidjāz and Khurāsān, and for 14 years he was reckoned as one of the best *ḥadīth*-authorities. This is stated by his contemporary al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī who quotes him (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 407, 412) and by al-Dhahabī and al-Subkī, but neither al-Khaṭīb nor Yāḳūt include him in their biographies of learned men. The number of those who transmitted *ḥadīth* from him is said to be about eighty. Al-Sulamī, his older contemporary, quotes one *ḥadīth* on his authority with one intermediary (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyyah* sub Abu 'l-ʿAbbās b. ʿAtāʾ). Al-Khaṭīb, according to al-Subkī one of his nearest pupils, criticises him for treating *idjāza*'s lightly, but is in this contradicted by al-Dhahabī, 278. The strife between Ḥanbalites and Shāfiʿites caused sharp criticism of him by his fellow townsman Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandah (cf. Brockelmann, S i, 281) and led to bodily attacks on him. He was even expelled from the mosque of Iṣfahān, which saved his life as, according to tradition, Subuktigīn, when he conquered the town, massacred the people assembled in the mosque at the Friday-service; this is reckoned one of his *karāmāt*. Al-Nabhānī (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 763 f.) relates that the mosque fell down twice and crushed the crowd because A. N. had cursed it. Abū Nuʿaym's work *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa-Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ* (Cairo 1351/1932-1357/1938) was finished in 422/1031 (see x, 408). It was written to strengthen what he regarded as the true ṣūfism (i, 4). After a general description of ṣūfism he mentions the different etymologies of the word, above all its derivations from *ṣūf*, on which he had written a book *Labs al-Ṣūf*, stressing its connotation of humility (i, 20, 23). The rest consists in accounts of and sayings by 649 pious people (*nussāk*) reckoned as ṣūfis, beginning with the four "righteous caliphs"—an evidence of the interpenetration of ṣūfism and orthodoxy. Every section begins with "the *shaykh* (Abū Nuʿaym) said". It differs from al-Sulamī's *Ṭabaḳāt*, which gives only sayings with few or no anecdotes. It is told that he brought the work personally to Nīsābūr

where he sold it for 400 dīnārs. Extracts from it are used in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*.

His second large work, *Dhikr Akhbār Iṣbahān* (ed. S. Dedering, Leiden 1931) contains biographies of people who had connexions with Iṣfahān, mainly scholars, after a short history and topography of the town. On this topic he had several forerunners (cf. Dedering ii, p. VIII-X). Besides these works he wrote several smaller books on the proofs of prophecy, the medicine of the prophet, the excellence of Muḥammad's first followers, with extracts from al-Bukhārī and Muslim etc. He died in Iṣfahān and his tomb is said by Yāḳūt (i, 298) to be in Murdbāb.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 616 f; Yāḳūt, index; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo, no. 32; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1334, iii, 275-79; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah*, Cairo 1324, 7-9; Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1315, i, 56; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 245; Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1329, i, 293.

(J. PEDERSEN)

ABŪ NUʿAYM AL-FAḌL B. DUKAYN AL-**MULĀʾĪ**, *ḥadīth* scholar and historical informant (b. 130/748, d. 29 Shaʿbān 219/8 Sept. 834).

He was a client of the family of Muḥammad's Companion Ṭalḥa. He lived in al-Kūfa and made occasional visits to Baghdād, where he was once received by al-Maʾmūn. Dukayn's actual name is said to have been ʿAmr. A son of Abū Nuʿaym, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (perhaps the author of the Ḳurʾān commentary, referred to in *Fihrist*, 34), and a grandson, Aḥmad b. Mītham, are mentioned.

Abū Nuʿaym is considered a very reliable transmitter of traditions. He is also highly praised for the courageous way in which he stood up for the uncreatedness of the Ḳurʾān against Muʿtazila inquisitors. On the other hand, he was suspected of being a Shīʿite. He admitted his secret veneration for ʿAlī, though he wanted it understood that he was moderate in his attitude. He moved in ʿAlid circles, and appears quite often as a transmitter of information about Ṭālibids and ʿAlids (cf., for instance, Ibn Saʿd, iii, 160; iv/1, 23 ff., 30; v, 66 ff., 236-8; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1368/1949, 46). He was acceptable to and respected by both Shīʿites and ʿAbbāsids. When he died, a descendant of Abū Ṭālib prayed for him first. Then, the ʿAbbāsid governor of al-Kūfa, a fifth cousin of the reigning caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, insisted upon repeating the ceremony.

Of Abū Nuʿaym's work nothing has come to light so far, except the frequent references of the historians to him. He appears as a transmitter mainly of biographical data but also of some general historical information. He himself probably never published any historical work. *Fihrist*, 227, credits him with two works concerned with ritualistic and legal problems, a *Kitāb al-Manāsik* and a *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fi 'l-Fiḳh*.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vi, 279 f., and *passim*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Goitein), v, index; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, Ḥaydarābād 1316, iv/1, 118; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 121, 262; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiḳāt*, ms. Topkapu Saray, Ahmet III, 2995, fol. 292b; *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 11; *Fihrist*, 227; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1349/1931, xii, 346-57; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Djammāʿīlī, *Kamāl*, in *MSOS As.*, 1904, 189-93; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ* (Wüstenfeld), i, 82; id., *Nubalāʾ*, ms. Topkapu Saray, Ahmet III, 2910, vii, fols. 174a-178a; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, viii, 270-6.

(FR. ROSENTHAL)

ABŪ NUMAYY I and **II**, sharīfs of Mecca [see MAKKA].

ABŪ NUWĀS AL-ḤASAN B. HĀNIʾ AL-ḤAKAMĪ, the most famous Arabic poet of the ʿAbbāsid period. He was born in al-Ahwāz between 130/747 and 145/762 and died in Baghdād between 198/813 and 200/815 (so also Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī, MS Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 6r). As his *dīwān* contains a *marthiya* on al-Amīn (d. 198/873), earlier dates are improbable. His father belonged to the army of the last Umayyad, Marwān II, and was a *mawlā* of al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, who came from the South Arabian tribe of Saʿd b. ʿAshīra; hence the *nisba* of Abū Nuwās and his dislike of the Northern Arabs. His mother Gullabān (= Gulbān) was Persian.

While still very young, Abū Nuwās came to Baṣra, and later to Kūfa. His first master was the poet Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, who is said to have been in erotic relationship with him. After Wāliba's death (cf. the *marthiya*, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1898, 132), he became the pupil of the poet and *rāwī* Khalaf al-Aḥmar. He acquired a knowledge of the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* also, and studied under the grammarians Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd, etc. He is also said to have spent, according to the old custom, some time among the beduins in order to improve his linguistic knowledge.

His education finished, Abū Nuwās came to Baghdād, to gain the favour of the caliph with panegyrics. He found, however, little favour at the court, but was better received by the Barmakids. After the fall of the Barmakids he had to flee to Egypt, where he composed panegyrics on the head of the *dīwān al-kharādj*, al-Khaṭīb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Soon, however, he was able to return to his beloved Baghdād, where he now spent, as a boon companion of al-Amīn, the most brilliant years of his life. Nevertheless, even al-Amīn once prohibited him from wine drinking and even imprisoned him on that account.

There are different reports about his death. According to one tradition he died in prison, to which he had been sent on account of a blasphemous verse, according to another in the house of a woman tavern-keeper, according to a third in the house of the learned Shīʿite family of the Āl Nawbakht. He was linked to this family, especially to Ismāʿīl b. Abī Sahl al-Nawbakhtī, by close friendship, though this did not prevent him from composing some wounding lampoons on Ismāʿīl (*Dīwān*, 171 f.). The assertion, therefore, that he was murdered by the Nawbakhtīs is probably mere slander, especially as this family interested itself even later in the collection of Abū Nuwās' poems and Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī made use of information derived from them (cf. MS Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 3v).

The Arab literary critics themselves regarded Abū Nuwās as the representative of the modern school of poets, the *muḥdathūn*. "What Imraʾ al-Ḳays was for the ancients, that is Abū Nuwās for the moderns" (Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 7r). At most, only Bashshār b. Burd could possibly compete with him. Although in his panegyrics Abū Nuwās still uses in general the classical form (cf. e.g. *Dīwān*, 77, the panegyric known as *manhūka*, addressed to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, to which Ibn Djinnī devoted an extensive commentary), otherwise the old forms, especially that of the *nasīb*, serve as a butt for his ridicule. Once he begins abruptly: "I do not weep because the dwelling-place has become an inhospitable desert" (Fatih 3775, fol. 12r); instead of the

former dwelling-place of the beloved he weeps for the taverns that have disappeared and bewails the boon-companions dispersed far and wide (cf. also the poem translated by H. Ritter, *Orientalia* i, Istanbul 1932).

Abū Nuwās is at his best in his songs on wine and pederasty. He is not only able to sing in ever fresh accents the delights of both, but also depicts with humorous realism his adventures in this field. Nor does he avoid self-irony, as when he describes the thrashing which he received at the hands of youths whom he had made drunk in order to amuse himself with them (cf. e.g. Fātiḥ 3775, fol 21). Equally ironical are the dirges which he composed about his own body, wasted by illness (*Dīwān*, 131 f.). Abū Nuwās confesses his sins with remarkable frankness and often also invites his fellow-men to repent likewise. He calls upon those who reproach him to leave him alone as their blame only incites him all the more; nor does he intend to mend his ways until the grave. He boasts of having omitted nothing that displeases God, except polytheism (*Dīwān*, 281), and ridicules all the institutions of Islam. His verses against Islam do not spring however, from any intellectual principle, but from his love of pleasure, to which the commandments of Islam were a hindrance. Finally, he too sets his hopes in God's forgiveness and considers himself too unimportant for God to take notice of his deeds (Fātiḥ 3775, fol. 16). His ascetic poems do not serve to prove that he repented in old age; they could have been composed in transient moods or as occasional poems due to special impulses. Otherwise, too, there are frequent contradictions in the *dīwān*; they ought not to be taken as proofs of a change of mind or of dishonesty, as Abū Nuwās was more interested in the witty formulation of his ideas than in the content of the idea itself.

Poems about love of women are rare in comparison with those on love of boys. It is said that only once Abū Nuwās fell in love with a girl, a slave called D̲janān. It is true that Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī denies this emphatically and enumerates a long list of women with whom Abū Nuwās was allegedly in love (Fātiḥ 3774, fol. 76 v); but these are only names taken from the poems and are perhaps even fictitious.

The *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās contains, for the first time in Arabic literature, a special chapter containing hunting-poems. They mostly describe hounds, falcons and horses, but also various kinds of game, and are remarkable for the richness of their vocabulary. Abū Nuwās had models for this genre in the descriptions of animals in the old beduin poetry, but he seems to have made it into an independent genre. Later on it was further developed by Ibn al-Muʿtazz.

The language of Abū Nuwās, though he uses some contemporary vernacular expressions, is on the whole correct. The mistakes which he makes were already usual among his predecessors (cf. J. Fück, *Arabiya*, 51 ff.). In certain groups of his poems Persian words occur very frequently (e.g. in *das̲h̲t-i biyābān*, Fātiḥ 3775, fol. 29, a whole *iḍāfat*-construction). Altogether, Persian civilization plays a considerable role in his poetry (cf. Gabrieli, *OM*, 1953, 283). We often find him referring to the heroes of Persian history, but as the old Arabs are also mentioned, this has certainly no special significance, and Abū Nuwās can hardly be called a poet of the *shuʿūbiyya*. His work only reflects the cultural background of the ʿAbbāsid epoch, in which the influence of the Iranian element gradually increased.

In the imagination of the Arabic world the figure of Abū Nuwās is intimately connected with that of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, who personifies in his turn the the glory of the caliphate. Thus he entered the *Arabian Nights* and still today he is a favourite figure of popular stories, where he most often plays the role of a court jester. (Cf. A. Schaade, *Zur Herkunft der Urform einiger Abū Nuwās Geschichten in 1001 Nacht*, *ZDMG*, 1934, 259 ff.; idem, *Weiteres zu Abū Nuwās in* 1001 *Nacht*, *ZDMG*, 1936, 602 ff.; W. H. Ingrams, *Abū Nuwās in Life and in Legend*, London 1933, cf. Schaade in *OLZ*, 1935, 525-7.)

Abū Nuwās did not himself make a collection of his poems. Thus, on the one hand much has been lost—more especially his poems written in Egypt remained unknown in ʿIrāk (cf. Fātiḥ 3773, fol. 4r); on the other hand, many poems, especially on wine and pederasty, were falsely attributed to him. His *dīwān* is extant in several recensions, of which the two most important are due to al-Ṣūlī and Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī (for the latter, see E. Mittwoch, in *MSOS*, 1909, 156 ff.). While al-Ṣūlī aimed at excluding all spurious poems and arranged the poems, within the separate chapters, in strict alphabetical order, Ḥamza shows a less critical sense, as one could never know if a suspect poem as not after all genuine. Thus his collection is about three times as large as that of al-Ṣūlī, and contains about 1500 poems with 13,000 lines. Moreover, he adds to many verses *ak̲h̲bār*, which are missing in al-Ṣūlī, and to some chapters adds a commentary. He also incorporated in his collection the so called "*Risāla* of the Syrian on the *sariḳāt* of Abū Nuwās", addressed to him by Muhalhil b. Yamūt. Ahlwardt's edition of the wine-songs follows the recension of al-Ṣūlī, while the printed edition of Cairo 1898 is based on that of Ḥamza. Today we have for both recensions better MSS—especially in Istanbul—than those that were available at the time of these editions.

Bibliography: Editions: W. Ahlwardt, *Dīwān d. Abū Nuwās*, i, *Die Weinlieder*, Greifswald 1861; lithogr. Cairo 1277; printed Beyruth 1301; ed. Iskandar Āṣaf, Cairo 1898, 1905; ed. Maḥmūd Kāmil Farīd, Cairo 1932; ed. al-Nabahānī, Cairo 1322-3; ed. A. ʿA. al-Ghazzālī, Cairo 1953; *Ḥadīḳat al-Inās fī S̲h̲iʿr Abī Nuwās*, Bombay 1312; Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Mutaʿālī, *al-Fukāha wa 'l-Iʾtinās fī Mud̲j̲ūn Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1316. Translation: A. von Kremer, *Diwan des Abû Nowâs, des grössten lyrischen Dichters der Araber*, Vienna 1855. Biographical sources: Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 501-52; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-S̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-Muḥdat̲h̲īn* (G.M.S.), 87-99; Marzubānī, *Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*, Cairo 1294, 263-89; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 96-103; al-K̲h̲aṭib al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, vii, 436-49; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, no. 169. Modern authors: Brockelmann, I, 74-6, S I, 114-8, 940, III, 1193; idem, in *EI*[1]; H. Ritter, in *IA*; Ibn Manẓūr, *Ak̲h̲bār Abī Nuwās, Taʾrīkhuh, Nawādiruh, S̲h̲iʿruh, Mud̲j̲ūnuh*, Cairo 1924; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muṣṭafā ʿAmmār, *Abū Nuwās, Ḥayātuh wa-Shiʿruh*, Cairo n.d.; ʿUmar Farrūk̲h̲, *Abū Nuwās, S̲h̲āʿir Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd wa-Muḥammad al-Amīn*, i, *Dirāsa wa-naḳd*, Beirut 1932; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣidḳī, *Abū Nuwās*, Cairo 1942; V. Rosen, *Ob Abu Nuwas i ego poesii*, in *Pamiati Akademika V. R. Rozena*, Moscow-Leningrad 1947, 57-71; F. Gabrieli, *Abû Nuwâs, Poeta Abbaside*, *OM*, 1953, 279-96.

(EWALD WAGNER)

ABŪ RIG̲H̲ĀL, mythical person, about whom two entirely different traditions can easily be distinguished. According to the first, he was a T̲h̲aḳafite of Ṭāʾif who guided Abraha [*q.v.*] on his

way to Mecca. He died in al-Mughammas [*q.v.*] and was buried there. It was the custom to stone his tomb. (For a similar custom cf. AL-DJAMRA.) The story is sometimes told with the object of slandering the Thaḳafites. The earliest mention would be a verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, lxii, 1), if it is not an anti-Thaḳafite falsification. The early date of the custom of stoning Abū Righāl's tomb is proved by a vers of Djarīr: "If al-Farazdaḳ dies, stone him as you stone the tomb of Abū Righāl".

According to the second tradition, found in its simplest form in al-Ṭabarī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abū Righāl was the only survivor of Thamūd [*q.v.*]. At the time of the disaster of Thamūd he was staying in Mecca and was saved by the sanctity of the place; he died, however, as soon as he left Mecca. His story was told by the Prophet as he was passing al-Ḥidjr with his army. In the earliest form, this version knows of no connection of Abū Righāl with Thaḳīf, but this feature was later introduced, possibly under the influence of the first story. In one of the stories in *al-Aghānī* he is even said to have been a king of Ṭā'if and ancestor of Thaḳīf. On the other hand, authors like al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba and al-Masʿūdī quote a version which is evidently meant as a defence of the Thaḳafites: it was they who killed Abū Righāl, a cruel and injust person.—Later authors still further confuse the two traditions. Al-Diyārbakrī gives as the name of Abū Righāl Zayd b. Mukhallif.

Bibliography: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 69; Ibn Hishām, i, 32; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 44; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1906, vi, 47; Ṭabarī, i, 250-1, 937; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 159-61, 261; Azraḳī (Wüstenfeld), 93, 362; *Aghānī*, xiv, 74-6, xv, 131; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, Cairo 1347, 50, 308; Yāḳūt, ii, 793, iii, 816, iv, 583; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 66, 321; Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, 188; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), ii, 73; *TA* and *LA*, s. v. *r-gh-l*.

(S. A. Bonebakker)

ABU 'L-SĀDJ Dīwdād (Dēwdādh) b. Dīwdast, founder of the Sādjid dynasty, descended from a noble Iranian family of Ushrūsana related to its ruler, the Afshīn [*q.v.*] Ḥaydar (Khaydhar) b. Kā'us, under whose command he served in the expedition against Bābak (221-2/836-7). In 224/839 he led an expedition against the Afshīn's rebellious deputy Mankadjūr in Ādharbaydjān. In 242/856 or 244/858 (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1436) he was appointed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil to the command of the Mecca Road, which he held until the outbreak of the conflict between al-Mustaʿīn and al-Muʿtazz in 251/865. He joined the former in Baghdād with his troop of 700 horsemen, and was sent to strengthen the defences of al-Madā'in and to engage Turkish raiding forces to the south-east. After the restoration of peace he was engaged first to collect the taxes in the Euphrates districts of the Sawād, and was later reappointed to the Mecca Road and the government of Kūfa, where his deputy succeeded by a ruse in seizing the ʿAlid Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, who had revolted there. He was subsequently (it is said) appointed to the Khurāsān Road, and in 254/868 was posted to Aleppo as the deputy of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf in the government of northern Syria and the ʿAwāṣim, but was driven out one or two years later by Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh. In 261/874-5 he was appointed to Ahwāz; shortly afterwards his troops were defeated by the Zindj [*q.v.*], and Ahwāz was sacked. In the following year, on the eve of the decisive conflict between al-Muwaffaḳ and Yaʿḳūb b. Layth al-Ṣaffār, he joined the latter and thus shared in his defeat and was deprived of his own estates. He died in 266/879-80 in Djundīsābūr, while returning from the Ṣaffārid camp to Baghdād.

Abu 'l-Sādj appears in history as the type of leader of a small band of irregular cavalry (*aṣḥāb Abi 'l-Sādj*), who stood in a rather loose relation with the central government at Sāmarrā, and was assigned to various tasks on the frontiers for which a mobile force was required. His son Muḥammad al-Afshīn, who had remained in the service of al-Muwaffaḳ, was posted to the Mecca Road in the year of his father's death and succeeded to the command of his troops. For the further history of the family see SĀDJIDS.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī iii, index; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 55, 100-4, 113, 118, 127 (read *Muḍar* for *Miṣr*), 190, 200-2, 231, 253, 260; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab* (Dahhān), i, 74; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur la famille des Sadjides*, *JA* 1847 (Mai), 409-413.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ SAFYĀN was according to popular legend a pre-Islamic king of al-Bāra in Djabal al-Zāwiya, north of ancient Apamea and west of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The ruins of al-Bāra are the most considerable in the whole region. The period in which the city, called in Syriac Kafrā dhe-Bārtā, was at the hight of its prosperity was the 5th-7th century A. D. Under the rule of Islam it continued to prosper for a considerable time, and it included also a Jewish colony. During the Crusades it became a center of conflict. It was probably at that period that a Muslim fortress was built to the north of the town, today called Ḳalʿat Abū Safyān. (For al-Bāra see Ibn Khurradādhbih, 76; Yaʿḳūbī, 324; Yāḳūt, i, 465; Littmann (see *Bibl.*); M. van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*; i, 196-200; R. Dussand, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, 181 and index.)—According to the legend the fortress was built in pre-Islamic times, and in it ruled a Jewish king, called Abū Safyān. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of Abū Bakr, fell in love with Luhayfa, the daughter of Abū Safyān, and was staying in the castle when his father summoned him to embrace Islām. Both ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Luhayfa were converted and fled. Abū Safyān pursued them and in the battle that followed there appeared the warriors of Islām, more particularly ʿUmar and Khālid b. al-Walīd, who had been summoned to give aid by the angel Gabriel. Abū Safyān was killed by ʿUmar and the whole country came under the dominion of the Muslims.

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 191, 193 ff.

(E. Littmann)

ABŪ SAʿĪD, the Īlkhān [see ĪLKHĀNS].

ABŪ SAʿĪD al-Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [see RUSTUMIDS].

ABŪ SAʿĪD Faḍl Allāh b. **ABI 'L-KHAYR,** Persian mystic, born 1 Muḥarram 357/7 December 967 in Mayhana (Mēhana, Mehna), the present-day Me'āna in Khurāsān, between Abīward and Sarakhs; died there 4 Shaʿbān 440/12 January 1049. His biography was written by his descendant Muḥ. b. Abī Rawḥ Luṭf Allāh b. Abī Saʿīd b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Abī Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr under the title *Ḥālāt u-Sukhunān-i Shaykh Abī Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr*, ed. V. Zhukowski, St. Petersburg 1899 (a manuscript, under the title *Čihil Maḳām*, Aya Sofya 4792, 29 and 4819, 4, Turkish translation Istanbul Univ. Libr., Yīldīz 958), and, much more fully, by the cousin of the foregoing, Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar b. Abī Saʿīd under the title *Asrār al-Tawḥīd fi Maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. V. Zhukowski,

St. Petersburg 1899, after two defective manuscripts; reprint Teheran 1313 H. Sh., new ed., Teheran 1332 H. Sh. (quoted as AT). (Manuscripts also Skutari, Hudāʾī, Taṣ. 238; Istanbul, Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha 1416.) This work was the source used in the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ* of ʿAṭṭār and the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* of Djāmī. The father of Abū Saʿīd was a druggist known as Babu Bu 'l-Khayr. He took the boy with him occasionally to the sacred performances of dances (*samāʿ*) which the ṣūfīs of the town gave by turns in their houses. Abū Saʿīd received his first instruction in mystical devotion from Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bishr-i Yāsīn (d. 380/990), who had a poetic streak in him and is the author of the majority of the verses which Abū Saʿīd later quoted in his sermons. As a young man Abū Saʿīd studied Shāfiʿite law in Marw under Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥuṣrī and Abū Bakr al-Ḳaffāl (d. 417; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 198-200). Among his fellow-students was Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī (d. 438; al-Subkī, iii, 208-19), the father of Imām al-Ḥaramayn. Then he studied exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, dogmatics and Ḥadīth in Sarakhs under Abū ʿAlī Zāhir (d. 389; al-Subkī, ii, 223), who succeeded in rooting out Muʿtazilism from Sarakhs.

In Sarakhs the crazy saint Luḳmān al-Sarakhsī introduced him to the ṣūfī Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥ. b. Ḥasan al-Sarakhsī. It was he who induced Abū Saʿīd to abandon the study of learned subjects and to devote himself entirely to ṣūfism and became his *pīr* whom he consulted in all difficulties: moreover after Abu 'l-Ḥasan's death Abū Saʿīd was in the habit of visiting his grave in Sarakhs when dejection (*ḳabḍ*) overtook him. He had, at the injunction of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the *khirḳa* bestowed upon him by the celebrated ṣūfī al-Sulamī. After the death of Abu 'l-Faḍl he went through Nasā to Āmul and spent some time with Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳaṣṣāb, who likewise bestowed the *khirḳa* upon him. Upon his return to Mayhana—the exact chronology of this period is by no means easy to establish—he gave himself up with extreme zeal to severe ascetic and mystic exercises. He spent his time partly in total seclusion in a room in his father's house, but also stayed in neighbouring monasteries, in particular the so-called *ribāṭ-i kuhan*. Here he was sometimes observed by his father in the midst of extraordinary practices of self-castigation. He went beyond the prescribed measures in his religious ablutions, washed the doors and walls of his cell, never reclined, ate nothing whatever during the day, at night only a morsel of bread, spoke to people only when it was unavoidable, and shut himself off during the performance of *dhikr* by padding his ears so as to be undisturbed. At times he could not bear so much as the sight of his fellow-men and would disappear for months in the mountains or the neighbouring desert.

This period of forming himself through asceticism with the object of subduing the sensual soul (*nafs*) and breaking asunder all bonds with the world, as well as of following up an ideal model of the Prophet in the minutest detail, is said to have lasted up to the fortieth year of his life. Already at this time the social motive of ṣūfism, the "service of the poor" (*khidmat-i darwīshān*) begins to assume importance for him. He begged for the poor, swept mosques, cleaned washing-places, and so on. This "service of the poor", conceived principally for self-abasement at first, came ever more to the fore in the course of his life. "The shortest way to God", he put it once, "lies in bestowing comfort upon the soul of a Muslim" (*rāḥatī bā dil-i musulmānī rasāndan*) (*AT*, 242). This mode of life is exhibited in its fully-developed form at the period of his one year's residence in the capital of Khurāsān, Nīshāpūr, where he stayed in the monastery of Abū ʿAlī Ṭarsūsī in the quarter of ʿAdanīkūbān. There young men flocked to him: he preached before large audiences and displayed himself as a kind of spiritual guide (*ṣidḳ maʿ al-Ḥaḳḳ, rifḳ maʿ al-khalḳ*). At this juncture the gift of thought-reading (*firāsat*), peculiar to him and esteemed a miracle (*karāmat*) by his followers, stood him in good stead: it revealed to him the most intimate impulses of the hearts even of his enemies, disarmed his adversaries and converted many of them into followers instead. He liked to arrange lavish, even extravagant entertainments for his followers, culminating in sacred dance music (*samāʿ*). During these, dancing and crying out (*naʿra zadan*) were, as was customary, the order of the day. In the throes of ecstasy gowns were thrown off, torn up, and distributed around. To finance these luxurious occasions, at which as much as a thousand *dīnārs* is supposed to have been spent in a day, and which moved ʿAwfī to remark that in later years Abū Saʿīd lived hardly as an ascetic but rather as a sultan (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 311), he did not hesitate to incur debts; these were the cause of frequent embarrassment to his household manager Ḥasan-i Muʾaddib. Some wealthy devotee, however, was always found, who, often at the last moment, provided the requisite money. Sometimes he sent Ḥasan to followers, even to opponents, with whom he stayed, in order to raise money in an almost barefaced manner. The money was immediately spent, as it was regarded as a principle to possess no assured property (*maʿlūm*) and to accumulate nothing. His way of living caused offence the Karrāmite Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Isḥāḳ b. Miḥmashādh made common cause with the Ḥanafite ḳāḍī Ṣāʿid b. Muḥammad al-Ustuwāʾī (d. 432; on both see ʿUtbī-Manīnī, ii, 309 ff., Persian translation by Djurfādḳānī, Teheran 1272, 427 ff.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 289-90, 311; on the latter Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍīʾa*, no. 685, and al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, under al-Ustuwāʾī) and laid information about Abū Saʿīd before sultan Maḥmūd b. Subuktigīn, who ordered an enquiry, perhaps in conjunction with a universal heresy hunt carried out by the aforementioned Karrāmite governor Abū Bakr (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 290). However, Abū Saʿīd contrived to disarm both through his skill in thought-reading, with the result that they abandoned the prosecution. The indictments were, that the *shaykh* recited on the pulpit verses in place of the Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth, that he gave too luxurious feasts and that he had made the young people dance. The great al-Ḳushayrī, who encountered Abū Saʿīd in Nīshāpūr, took exception to the excessively liberal way of life of the *shaykh* and to his dance music. The contrast between the characters of the two men is illustrated by an apt anecdote: al-Ḳushayrī had repudiated a derwish and banished him from the town. Abū Saʿīd showed him at a banquet how by very much gentler methods a derwish may be sent travelling (Nicholson, 35-6).

A strong kindliness of nature and an affection for his fellow-men were conspicuous characteristics of Abū Saʿīd. He was no preacher of repentance; seldom, if ever, did he refer in his sermons to the verses of the Ḳurʾān threatening the torments of Hell. Numerous stories were related of how by means of his *firāsa* he saw through the intimate thoughts of sinners and opponents and thoroughly

abashed them. The guiding motif of his life is said to have been the *ḥadīth*: *Ṣil man ḳaṭaʿak wa-aʿṭi man ḥaramak wa'ghfir man ẓalamak* (*AT*, 311). The celebrated ṣūfī Ibn Bākūya (d. 442/1050) reproached him for allowing young people to sit together with old and for treating them just as he did the old, for allowing them to dance and for giving back the cast-off *khirḳa* to its owner, whereas it should by being cast off have become common property. Abū Saʿīd contrived to give plausible reasons for these innovations (*AT*, 170-1). Ibn Ḥazm brands him as an unbeliever, since he wore now wool, now silk, sometimes prayed a thousand *rakʿas* a day, sometimes not at all (*Fiṣal*, iv, 188). At all events social work played a very much greater role in the second period of his life than individual mystic experience: and from this point of view he is comparable (in spite of substantial differences) with Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī [*q.v.*]. However he once gave tongue to a pronouncement similar to al-Ḥallādj's *Ana 'l-Ḥaḳḳ*. In the course of a sermon he was overcome by a state of inner excitement and called out *Laysa fi l-djubbati illā 'llāh*, "There is none other than God in this robe". So saying he ran his forefinger through the gown. It was divided and the portion with the hole made by his finger preserved.

In Nīshāpūr he also met the philosopher Ibn Sīnā and is supposed to have held lengthy conversations with him. A correspondence between the two is preserved. Abū Saʿīd asked the philosopher what was the way to God according to his experience, and received a reply (printed by H. Ethé, *SBBayr. Ak.*, 1878, 52 ff.; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Nadjāt*, Cairo 1331, 12-5; Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa, ii, 9-10; al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Kashkūl*, Cairo 1318, 264-5). At the end of his stay in Nīshāpūr he wished to accompany his son Abū Ṭāhir on the pilgrimage, but was restrained from this in Kharaḳān by the celebrated ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī. He then went to Bisṭām where he visited the grave of Abū Yazīd, and to Dāmghān, eventually reaching Rayy before returning with his son. He spent the rest of his life in his home town of Mayhana.

Abū Saʿīd is supposedly the author of a great number of quatrains. (On editions cf. Nicholson, 48, note; also editions Bombay 1294 and Lahore 1934.) However it has been expressly stated that he composed only one verse and one quatrain (Nicholson, 4). The quatrains may not then be attributable to him. One of them, with which he is supposed to have cured his Ḳur'ān-teacher Abū Sāliḥ of an illness (*AT*, 229) and which opens with the word *ḥawrā* was made the subject of a commentary by ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Shāshī under the title *Risāla-yi Ḥawrā'iyya* (*AT*, 322-5).

Abū Saʿīd left a numerous family, who tended his grave for more than a hundred years and were held in great respect in Mayhana. His eldest son Abū Ṭāhir Saʿīd (d. 480) continued the "service of the poor" and thereby involved himself in debts which were paid by Niẓām al-Mulk. He was an uncultured individual, however, who left school before he was ten years old and knew by heart only the 48th sūra of the Ḳur'ān, and did not have the personality to found an order after his father's death (as did the son of Djamāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Sulṭān Walad), although Abū Saʿīd did leave behind a kind of statute for an order (Nicholson, 46). The tradition was however broken by political events. Abū Saʿīd lived to see the entry of the Saldjūḳs into Khurāsān. They occupied Mayhana, and Abū Saʿīd was on friendly relations with Tughrīl and Čaghrī Beg. Sultan Masʿūd laid siege to the town and captured it shortly before his decisive defeat at Dandānaḳān in the year 431/1040. During the devastation of Khurāsān by the Ghuzz in the year 548/1153 the place was absolutely laid waste, no fewer than 115 members of Abū Saʿīd's family being tortured and put to death. A follower of Abū Saʿīd, Dūst Bū Saʿd Dada, whom the *shaykh* had sent to Ghazna not long before his death to have the Sultan discharge his accumulated debts, found Abū Saʿīd dead, went to Baghdād on his return, and founded a daughter monastery there. At the time of Ibn al-Munawwar his family held the position of *shaykh al-shuyūkh* in Baghdād, but nothing is known of the subsequent destiny of this offshoot (*AT*, 294-300).

Bibliography: Besides the sources quoted in the article: Subkī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, iii, 10; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 1-76. (H. RITTER)

ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-DJANNĀBĪ [see AL-DJANNĀBĪ].

ABŪ SAʿĪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MĪRĀNSHĀH B. **TĪMŪR**, Tīmūrid sultan. In 853/1449, at the age of twenty-five, Abū Saʿīd, taking advantage of the desperate situation of Ulugh Beg, at whose court he lived, tried his fortune in Transoxiana. A siege of Samarḳand (1449), then a rising at Būkhārā (May 1450) both ended in failure. Not long afterwards he seized Yasī (Turkistān), and held it against the troops of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrūkh. In Djumādā I 855/June 1451 he drove the latter out of Samarḳand with the help of the Özbeg khān Abū 'l-Khayr. In spring 858/1454 Abū Saʿīd crossed the Oxus and took Balkh. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, ruler of Khurāsān, invaded Transoxiana and laid siege to Samarḳand (Oct.-Nov.), where resistance was organized by the famous Naḳshbandī *shaykh* ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, who is said to have restrained Abū Saʿīd from deserting his capital. Peace was made, Abū Saʿīd keeping the right bank of the Oxus. The relations of the two princes remained cordial until the death of Bābur (Rabīʿ II 861/March 1457).

Abū Saʿīd then tried to take Harāt, where Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlā' al-Dawla b. Baysunghur had succeeded in having himself proclaimed. The siege (July-August 1457), marked by the execution of Gawhar Shād, who was accused of intelligence with Ibrāhīm, was raised without result. Defeated by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh, Ibrāhīm sought an alliance with Abū Saʿīd (beginning of 862/winter 1457-8), and a defensive treaty was concluded. At the end of June 1458 Djahānshāh occupied Harāt. Abū Saʿīd, who had stationed his army on the Murghāb to watch the course of events, took advantage of Djahānshāh's difficulties to get possession of the town peacefully (Nov. 1458), and thus became master of Khurāsān, which he had always coveted. In Djumādā I 863/March 1459 the three Tīmūrid princes ʿAlā' al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlā' al-Dawla, and Sulṭān Sandjar were defeated at Sarakhs.

The year 1459 was spent in mopping up Khurāsān. In 1460 Abū Saʿīd occupied Māzandarān; in his rear the amir Khalīl came from Sīstān and laid siege to Harāt (summer 1460); and when calm had been restored in Sīstān (autumn 1460), Abū Saʿīd had to deal with a revolt in Transoxiana (winter 1460). Sulṭān Ḥusayn took advantage of this to reoccupy Māzandarān and besiege Harāt (Sept. 1461), but Māzandarān was retaken by Abū Saʿīd in the same year.

Abū Saʿīd's power extended theoretically over Transoxiana, Turkistān (to the confines of Kāshghār and of the Dasht-i Ḳipčāḳ), Kābulistān and Zābu-

listān, Khurāsān and Māzandarān. In fact, he was powerless to prevent the Özbeg raids to the south of the Sīr Daryā. In 1454-5 the Tīmūrid Uways b. Muḥammad b. Baykarā had risen at Otrār with the support of Abu'l-Khayr Özbeg, and had inflicted a crushing defeat on Abū Saʿīd. In 865/1461 Muḥammad Djūkī b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ulugh Beg, after devastating Transoxiana, took refuge at Shāhrukhiyya (Tāshkent). Abū Saʿīd besieged this stronghold for ten months (Nov. 1462-Sept. 1463). Each year the Özbegs made raids into Transoxiana. In 868/1464 Sulṭān Ḥusayn, who had sought refuge in Khwārizm, ravaged with impunity Khurāsān from Abīward and Mashhad as far as Tūn.

Abū Saʿīd was more fortunate in the north-east, and succeeded in averting the Mongol threat to his frontiers. During his reign in Samarḳand he had repulsed two attacks by the Mongol khān Esen Bugha. In 1456 he recognized Yūnus, the elder brother of Esen Bugha, and on several occasions gave him help in establishing himself in the western part of Moghūlistān. In 868/1464 Yūnus once again sought refuge with Abū Saʿīd, who lent him troops.

Real though the personal qualities of Abū Saʿīd were, they have been exaggerated, and his reign revealed no very impressive trends. Among the Turkish aristocracy of his entourage, pre-eminence passed to the Arghūn clan, which had supported Abū Saʿīd from the beginning, and whose chiefs received offices and favours. Like his predecessors, Abū Saʿīd frequently adopted the practice of settling fiefs (*soyūrghāl*) on his sons (Māzandarān on Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Farghāna on ʿUmar Shaykh, etc.), on local potentates (Sīstān), and on important dignitaries, whether they were Turks or Tādjīks, lay or religious. Barthold has brought out the important role played, under Abū Saʿīd, by Khwādja Aḥrār [*q.v.*], who held undisputed authority in Samarḳand, and was head of the clergy in Transoxiana. The great expedition to the west in 1468 was not decided on without the favourable advice of the shaykh, of whom Abū Saʿīd proclaimed himself a *murīd*.

Another characteristic trait of fifteenth-century Iran was his interest in agriculture. Abū Saʿīd seems to have taken a personal interest in it; and he instituted many measures to help the peasants. In 860/1465, at the request of Khwādja Aḥrār, he ordered that in no case should more than a third of the *kharādj* be levied before the harvest; the *kharādj* was normally to be paid in three instalments. At Samarḳand, Bukhārā, and Harāt the *tamghā* was abolished or reduced. In 870/1466, after a cold spring, Abū Saʿīd waived the tax on fruit trees. He had constructed the famous dam of Gulistān (near Mashhad) in order to irrigate *khāṣṣa* lands. Among the men of ability who held the office of vizier the most remarkable, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Tāwūs Simnānī, was a specialist in agricultural matters; he had the Djūy-i Sulṭānī dug, north of Harāt.

Little is known of how the nomadic elements of the population fared. In 870/1465-6 Abū Saʿīd settled in Khurāsān 15,000 nomad families which had fled from the territories of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. On the whole the Tīmūrid empire remained poor in nomads by comparison with its neighbours in the west, which explains the inadequacy of its military enterprises.

The Campaign of 1468. Abū Saʿīd, hoping to regain from the Turkmens the territory lost after the death of Shāhrukh, went to the help of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Djahānshāh, against the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the traditional allies of the Tīmūrids. Governors were nominated for the principal towns to be conquered. But the empire of Abū Saʿīd was in a state of relative peace, and the expedition, hastily conceived, was ill prepared in the military sense. Abū Saʿīd set out with the cavalry without waiting for the thousands of carts requisitioned in Khurāsān and Māzandarān for the army's baggage. The Khurāsānian infantry, in the rearguard, was attacked by deserters. When the news of the death of Abū Saʿīd reached Harāt the troops raised in 'Hindūstān' (i.e. Afghānistān) were not yet organized. Notwithstanding this lack of preparation Abū Saʿīd made the mistake, when caught by the winter, of penetrating too deeply into Ādharbaydjān. He was cut off and captured near Mūghān by Uzun Ḥasan. A few days later the Tīmūrid Yādgār Muḥammad, a dependent of Uzun Ḥasan, had him executed (Feb. 1469) to avenge the death of his grandmother Gawhar Shād.

Bibliography: Sources. The *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī is the main source (ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1941-9). Supplement with: *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*; *Muʿizz al-Ansāb*; *Bābur-nāma*, ed. and transl. Beveridge; and Isfizārī, *Rawḍat al-Djannāt fī Taʾrīkh Harāt* (cf. Barbier de Meynard, *JA*, 1862/ii). 'Mongol' policy: *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Elias, transl. E. D. Ross. Biographies: Sayf al-Dīn Ḥādjī, *Āthār al-Wuzarāʾ* (ms.); Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Teheran 1317; and the Naḳshbandī collections, Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, two ed., Tashkent and Lucknow; Abīwardī, *Rawḍat al-Sālikīn* (ms.), etc. Documents: see the collections of *inshāʾ* mss. (especially B. N. Paris, Suppl. Pers. 1815); A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşivindeki . . . yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940 (one letter); cf. also Ferīdūn Bey, *Munshaʾāt*.

Studies. In the absence of monographs on the period, works dealing with questions or periods bordering on it must be used. See particularly V. V. Barthold, *Ulug Beg i iego vremja*, 1918 (Germ. transl. by Hinz, *Uluġ Beg und seine Zeit*, 1935), and *Mir Ali Shir i političeskaja zizn'* (transl. Hinz, *Herat unter Husain Baiqara*); the articles (by Yakubovskij, Molčanov, Belenitskij, etc.) in the two collections *Rodonačal'nik uzbekskoj literatury*, Tashkent 1940, and *Ali Shir Navoj Sbornik*, Tashkent 1946; Belenitskij, *K istorii feodal'nago zemlevladenija Srednej Azii pri Timuridakh*, in *Istorik-Marksist*, 1941/4; the works of I. P. Petrushevskij; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat*, 1936. On the Russian embassy to Harāt in 1464 cf. *ZVO*, i, 30 sqq. See also Browne, iii; Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*. Bouvat, *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, *JA*, 1926, and *L'Empire mongol* (*2e phase*), Paris 1927, may be disregarded.

(J. Aubin)

ABŪ ṢAKHR al-HUDHALĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama, Arab poet of the second half of the 1st/7th century. He belonged to the tribe of Sahm, a branch of the Hudhayl of the Ḥidjāz, and embraced the Marwānid cause; imprisoned by the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he regained his liberty when the latter died, and, according to his own account, took part in the capture of Mecca in 72/692. He celebrated in his verse the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, as well as his brother, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; see *Aghānī*¹, xxi, 144. Above all he praised the amīr Abū Khālid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of the Asīd clan, whose brother, Umayya, had been governor of al-Baṣra from 71/690

until 73/end of 692; see al-Ṭabarī, index; on the favour in which this family was held by the Caliph, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1359, viii, 55.

Some twenty poems and fragments by Abū Ṣakhr are known, which were included by al-Sukkarī in his *dīwān* of Hudhayl. A number are *ḳaṣīdas* of the classic type; others are erotic-elegiac compositions recalling those of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], xxi, 144-54; J. Wellhausen, *Letzter Teil der Lieder der Hudhailiten*, Berlin 1884, i, Arabic text, nos. 250-269; al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, no. 1009; Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *Naḳd al-Shiʿr*, 13, 44-5. (R. BLACHÈRE)

ABŪ SALAMA ḤAFṢ B. SULAYMĀN AL-**KHALLĀL**, vizier. A freed slave from Kūfa, he was sent in 127/744-5 to Khurāsān with ample powers, as one of the chief ʿAbbāsid emissaries. He took part in the armed insurrection which put an end to the Umayyad dynasty, and was appointed governor of Kūfa. At the culminating point of the revolution he inclined towards the ʿAlids and seems to have attempted to set up an ʿAlid caliphate. In this, one can perhaps see a consequence of the deliberate ambiguity about the rights of the "house of the Prophet", put into circulation by the revolutionary propaganda. Al-Saffāḥ, however, was chosen as caliph and Abū Salama gave him his allegiance (132/749). The caliph appointed Abū Salama vizier, without, however, losing his suspicions, and in the same year planned to remove him. Fearing that this might irritate Abū Muslim, the powerful governor of Khurāsān, who was Abū Salama's companion in the *daʿwa* and might have been acting in agreement with him, he sent his brother Abū Djaʿfar (al-Manṣūr) to consult Abū Muslim. Abū Muslim made no difficulties; on the contrary, he himself sent a hired assassin to kill Abū Salama. The crime was subsequently attributed to the Khāridjites. Abū Salama is described as an educated and capable man, and his services in the ʿAbbāsid cause are indisputable. Nevertheless, the fears of the caliph concerning him seem, by the common witness of the sources, to have been justified.

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ABU 'L-ṢALT UMAYYA B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. ABI 'L-ṢALT AL-ANDALUSĪ was born in 460/1067 in Denia (Dāniya), in the Levante, and studied under the *ḳāḍī* al-Waḳḳashī from whom he inherited his encyclopaedic knowledge. About 489/1096 we find him in Alexandria and Cairo, where he continued to pursue his studies. In consequence of an unsuccessful attempt to refloat a sunken ship, he was imprisoned by the vizier al-Afḍal. Exiled from Egypt, he went (in 505/1111-2) to al-Mahdiyya, where he was well received by the Zīrid *amīrs* Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, and his son ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, and he remained in al-Mahdiyya, an honoured and respected figure, until his death on 1 Muḥarram 529/1134 (other dates are also mentioned).

The following may be mentioned of his numerous works. (i) *Taḳwīm al-Dhihn*, a short treatise on Aristotelian logic, edited and translated into Spanish by A. González Palencia, Madrid 1915 (with biographical introduction). (ii) *Risāla fi 'l-ʿAmal bi 'l-Asṭurlāb*, on the use of the astrolabe; a short analysis with a list of the chapters, in Millás, *Assaig*. (iii) Answers to scientific questions (*masāʾil*) concerning different problems of physics, cosmography and mathematics; short summary ibidem. (iv) A summary of astronomy, composed for the Egyptian vizier al-Afḍal, which, according to the judgment of his contemporaries, was a manual without educational value and useless for teachers. (v) *Al-Adwiya al-Mufrada*, on simples, was translated into Latin by the famous physican Arnaldo de Vilanova and into Hebrew by Yehuda Natan. (vi) *Al-Rasāʾil al-Miṣriyya*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, and giving vivid information about the affairs and the customs of Egypt; ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, *Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo, (vii) *Risāla fi 'l-Mūsīḳī*; the Arabic original is lost, but an anonymous Hebrew translation is preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Hebrew MS no. 1036.

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Abu'l-Ṣalt also wrote for al-Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, a historical work, viz. a continuation of the History of Ifrīḳiya by Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, bringing it down to 517/1123. Extracts are to be found in Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, i, 274 ff., 292 ff., al-Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 51 ff. (= *JA*, 1852/ii, 131), 90 (= ibidem, 176), 237 (= *JA*, 1853, 375 ff.), and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Centenario di Michele Amari*, i, 455-9). (S. M. STERN)

ABU 'L-SARĀYĀ AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

ABU 'L-SARĀYĀ AL-SARĪ B. MANṢŪR AL-**SHAYBĀNĪ**, Shiʿite rebel. Said to have been a donkey-driver, and afterwards a bandit, he entered the service of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī in Armenia, and was engaged against the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*]. Later he commanded Yazīd's vanguard against Harthama in the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, but subsequently changed sides and joined Harthama. Obtaining permission to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, he openly revolted, and after defeating the troops sent against him went to al-Raḳḳa. Here he met the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭabāṭabā [*q.v.*], whom he persuaded to go to Kūfa, and himself joined him there on 10 Djumādā II 199/26 Jan. 815. Three weeks later he defeated the army sent by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to put down the revolt at Kūfa, and on the following day (1 Radjab/15 Feb.) Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died. The Sunnī sources accuse Abu 'l-Sarāyā of poisoning him, but the accusation is not borne out by the Shīʿī tradition. Another ʿAlid, Muḥammad b. Muḥ. b. Zayd, was chosen as Imām, but the effective power remained in the hands of Abu 'l-Sarāyā. He had dirhams coined in Kūfa (*ZDMG*, 1868, 707) and sent detachments to take Wāsiṭ, Baṣra, al-Ahwāz, Mecca, etc.

When he next marched on Baghdād, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl appealed to Harthama, then on his way back to Khurāsān. Harthama at once turned back, defeated Abu 'l-Sarāyā at Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra (Shawwāl/May-June), and besieged him in Kūfa. Since the Kufans refused to support him, Abu 'l-Sarāyā fled with 800 horsemen (16 Muḥarram 200/26 Aug. 815), made for Sūsa, but was there defeated and himself wounded by the forces of the governor of Khūzistān, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʾmūnī, and his followers dispersed. He tried to reach his

home at Ra's al-'Ayn, but was overtaken at Djalūlā by Ḥammād al-Kundaghush, who captured him and handed him over to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at Nahrawān. Al-Ḥasan had him beheaded (10 Rabī' I 200/18 Oct. 815) and his body was hung at the bridge of Baghdād.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 976 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 212 ff., 217 ff.; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Teheran 1307, 178-93; F. Gabrieli, *al-Ma'mūn e gli 'Alidi*, Leipzig 1929, 10-23; for the activities of his representative in Baṣra cf. Ch. Pellat, *Milieu Basrien*, Paris 1953, 198-9.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ SHĀMA Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl al-Maḳdisī, Arab historian, born in Damascus on 23 Rabī' II 599/10 Jan. 1203. All his life was spent in Damascus except when he stayed for one year in Egypt for the purpose of study, and visited Jerusalem for fourteen days, and al-Ḥidjāz, twice, on pilgrimage. He obtained a professorship in Damascus, in the madrasas al-Rukniyya and al-Ashrafiyya, only five years before his death on 19 Ramaḍān 665/13 June 1268. Like most scholars of his time he had a varied education, on a Sunnī basis, and his works, consequently, dealt with several subjects, but his reputation rests on his historical writings.

His main works are: 1) *K. al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, a history of Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (printed in Cairo, 1288, 1292; extracts, with French translation by Barbier de Meynard, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. Or.*, iv, v, Paris 1898, 1906; German translation—careless and incomplete—by E. P. Goergens, entitled *Buch der beiden Garten*, 1879). It derives from first-hand authorities and preserves, in parts, the important works *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī* by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib, *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* by Ibn Abī Ṭayy and a great number of *Rasā'il* by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil. The events are dealt with chronologically and the narratives are supported by documents mainly from al-Fāḍil and al-'Imād. In this book he names his sources when quoting, and keeps to their wording, except for al-'Imād. 2) *Al-Dhayl 'ala 'l-Rawḍatayn*, a continuation fo the preceding. In the first part of this book Abū Shāma draws mainly on the *Mir'āt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī. In the later part he himself as an eyewitness is the main source. This book is more of a biographical than historical work, especially in the econd part, and is less important than *K. al-Rawḍatayn*. (Printed in Cairo, 1947, with the title: *Tarādjim Ridjāl al-Ḳarnayn al-Sādis wa 'l-Sābi'*; extracts with French translation in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*.) 3) *Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ* (in two versions), a summary of the vast work of Ibn 'Asākir with the same title (Ahlwardt, *Verz. arab. Hs. Berlin*, no. 9782). 4) commentary on the *Ḳaṣīda al-Shāṭibiyya* (printed in Cairo). 5) A commentary on the seven poems of his teacher 'Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 643/1245) in praise of the Prophet, is extant in manuscript (Paris, 3141, 1).

All of his other works, dealing with various subjects, are lost, and some biographers say that they were destroyed by fire along with his library.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 252; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, xix, 10; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād, iv, 251; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 46; *Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 253; Brockelmann, I, 386, S I, 550. (Hilmy Ahmad)

ABU 'L-SHAMAKMAK Abū Muḥammad Marwān b. Muḥ. Arabic poet of the early 'Abbāsid period, was born in Baṣra in the quarter of the Banū Sa'd as a *mawlā* of the Banū Umayya. No date is given for his birth. His *laḳab* would seem to allude to his big nose and big mouth. He must have migrated to Baghdād some considerable time before the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786). Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳat al-Shu'arā al-Muḥdathīn* (A. Eghbal), 55, puts his death in or about 180/796. Like other poets of his time Abu 'l-Shamaḳmaḳ is credited with undertaking an occasional public duty. He appears to have served as transmitter of the *kharādj* of Madīnat Sābūr to the caliph. On the whole, however, he made his precarious living by means of eulogies and lampoons. A number of anecdotes illustrate his position on the margin of the contemporary world of letters. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1353/1935, iv, 255, lists Abu 'l-Shamaḳmaḳ among the "luckless wits." His originality, which was most effective in parody and to which the introduction to Arabic poetry of the talking cat that deserts its impoverished owner may be owed, went unrewarded and constant frustration induced frequent descents into unmitigated vulgarity.

Bibliography: A collection of his fragments with a critical introduction and a biography was published by G. E. von Grunebaum, *Orientalia*, 1953, 262-83. (G. E. von Grunebaum)

ABU 'L-SHAWḲ [see 'Annāzids].

ABU 'LSHĪṢ Muḥammad (b. 'Abd Allāh) b. Razīn al Khuzā'ī, Arab poet, died about 200/915. Like his relative Di'bil [*q.v.*], he lived at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd for whom he wrote panegyrics, and afterwards dirges. He then went to al-Raḳḳa and obtained the favours of the *amīr* 'Uḳba b. al-Ash'ath, remaining his boon-companion and court poet until 196/811.—To judge by the rare fragments of his work that have been preserved, Abu 'l-Shīṣ does not appear as an orginal poet in his panegyrics, hunting poems and wine songs, though these poems were valued by his contemporaries, notably by Abū Nuwās, who did not hesitate to plagiarize him. The elegies on the infirmities of old age which he composed at the end of his life, when he became blind, are of greater value as they as they express real feeling. Similarly, when he makes fun of himself or mocks at the poets who imitate the poetry of the desert (e.g. Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 536, concerning the *ghurāb al-bayn*), he is not lacking in humour.

Bibliography: Fragments of Abu 'l-Shīṣ's poetry and isolated verses are to be found in a number of books: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 535-9; *Aghānī*[1], v, 36, xv, 108-13; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], iii, 518, iv, 345, v, 184; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin* (van Vloten), 68; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 26-33; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 358; Tabari, iii, 763; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 135; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 96v; al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 401-2; Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-Himyān*, 257-8; Ibn Khallikān, iv, 232; Kutubi, *Fawāt*, ii, 281 ff.; 'Askarī, *Dīwān al-Ma'ānī*, Cairo 1352, i, 255, ii, 123, 198-9, 252; see also O. Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 28-9; Brockelmann, I, 83, S I, 133. (A. Schaade-Ch. Pellat)

ABŪ SHUDJĀ' Aḥmad b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) b. Aḥmad, a famous Shāfi'ī jurisconsult. His family came from Iṣfahān, his father was born in 'Abbādān. He himself was born in 434/1042-3 in Baṣra, and there taught Shāfi'ī law for more than 40 years; he was alive in 500/1106-7, but the date of his death is not known. At some time, he was a *ḳāḍī*. He is the author of a short compendium of Shāfi'ī law, called *al-Ghāya fi 'l-Ikhtiṣār*, or *al-Mukhtaṣar*, or *al-Taḳrīb*. This became the starting-point of one of the great literary traditions of the

Shāfiʿī school and acquired, from the 7th/13th to the 13th/19th century, a considerable number of commentaries and glosses, many of which have been printed. Editio princeps of the text, with (unreliable) translation, by S. Keyser, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane*, Leiden 1859; translation of the text by G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane*, separately printed from the *Revue Algérienne* 1935; edition and (faulty) translation of the commentary of Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512), with the title *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb*, by L. W. C. van den Berg, Leiden 1895 (some corrections to the translation in Bousquet, *Kitâb et-Tanbîh*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université d'Alger, II, XI, XIII, XV, Algiers 1949-52); partial translation of the gloss of Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī (d. 1277/1861), with reprint of the corresponding chapters of the text, by E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, Berlin 1897.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt iii, 598 f.; Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, iv, 38; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 374 f.; Brockelmann I, 492 f.; S I, 676 f. (J. SCHACHT)

ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḤUSAYN** [see AL-RŪDHRAWARĪ].

ABŪ SUFYĀN B. ḤARB B. UMAYYA, of the clan of ʿAbd Shams of Ḳuraysh, prominent Meccan merchant and financier (to be distinguished from Muḥammad's cousin, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib). His name was Ṣakhr, and his *kunya* is sometimes given as Abū Ḥanẓala. ʿAbd Shams had been at one time a member of the political group known as the Muṭayyabūn (which included the clan of Hāshim), but about Muḥammad's time had moved away from this group and in some matters cooperated with the rival group, Makhzūm, Djumaḥ, Sahm, etc. As head of ʿAbd Shams Abū Sufyān joined in opposing Muḥammad in the years before the hidjra, but his opposition was not so violent as that of Abū Djahl. On several occasions he led caravans in person, notably in 2/624 when a caravan of 1000 camels returning from Syria under his command was threatened by Muḥammad. In answer to his requests for help the Meccans sent out about 1000 men under Abū Djahl. By skilful and vigorous leadership Abū Sufyān eluded the Muslims; but Abū Djahl was eager to fight, and brought upon the Meccans the disaster of Badr. Of Abū Sufyān's sons Ḥanẓala was killed and ʿAmr taken prisoner but subsequently released, while his wife Hind lost her father ʿUtba. Abū Sufyān was apparently in charge of the preparations to avenge Badr, and commanded the large army sent to Medina in 3/625, probably as a hereditary privilege, the *ḳiyāda*. He realized that the result of the ensuing battle of Uḥud was not satisfactory for Ḳuraysh, but was prevented from attacking the main settlement of Medina by Ṣafwān b. Umayya (of Djumaḥ), possibly out of jealousy. Abū Sufyān also organized the great confederacy which besieged Medina in 5/627. When this proved a fiasco, he perhaps lost heart; at least resistance in Mecca to Muḥammad came to be directed by the leaders of the rival group, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, Suhayl b. ʿAmr and ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl. Abū Sufyān is not mentioned in connection with the peace of al-Ḥudaybiya. When in 8/630 allies of Ḳuraysh openly broke the peace, Abū Sufyān went to Medina to negotiate. What happened is not clear, but he possibly came to some understanding with Muḥammad. Muḥammad's marriage to his daughter, Umm Ḥabība, may have softened his heart, even though she had been some fifteen years in Abyssinia as a Muslim. Certainly, when Muḥammad marched on Mecca soon after, Abū Sufyān, along with Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, came out and submitted to him (apparently now becoming a Muslim), and those who took refuge with Abū Sufyān were guaranteed security. Thus he did much to bring about the surrender of Mecca peacefully. He took part in the battle of Ḥunayn and the siege of al-Ṭāʾif, where he is said to have lost an eye; like the other Meccans he would be well aware that Hawāzin and Thaḳīf were as hostile to Mecca as to Muḥammad. In the distribution of the spoils he and Ḥakīm seem to have received a specially large gift in recognition of their services. On the submission of al-Ṭāʾif, Abū Sufyān, who had business and family connections there, helped to destroy the idol of al-Lāt. He was appointed governor of Nadjrān and perhaps also of the Ḥidjāz, but whether by Muḥammad or Abū Bakr is disputed. If it is true that he was in Mecca at Muḥammad's death and spoke against Abū Bakr, he cannot have been governor of Nadjrān then; but the alleged speech, like many other statements about Abū Sufyān, may be anti-Umayyad propaganda. He was present at the battle of the Yarmūk, but may have done little more than exhort the younger men, as he was about 70. He is said to have died about 32/653 aged about 88. Of his sons, Yazīd died as a Muslim general in Palestine about 18/639, and Muʿāwiya was the first Umayyad caliph.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, Wāḳidī, Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabarī—see indexes; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 477-80; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 12-3, v, 316; Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii(l). (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ABŪ SULAYMĀN MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR B. BAHRĀM AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ AL-**MANṬIḲĪ**, philosopher, b. about 300/912, d. about 375/985. He was a pupil of Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 328/939) and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 364/974), and lived in Baghdād (he was patronized by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, to whom he dedicated some of his treatises), occupying an eminent place among the philosophers of the capital. His system, like that of most of the other members of his environment, had a strong Neo-platonic colouring. For the content of his teaching we are mainly indebted to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*], whose works, especially *al-Muḳābasāt* and *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-Muʾānasa*, are filled with reports of Abū Sulaymān's utterances on philosophical as well as many other topics, usually expressed in a rather involved and obscure style. A few of Abū Sulaymān's shorter treatises have survived in MS. Of his history of Greek and Islamic philosophers, *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, only an abbreviation is extant in several MSS (cf. M. Plessner, in *Islamica*, 1931, 534-8; add Brit. Mus. Or. 9033; cancel Bodl. Marsh 539; Leiden 133 contains an even shorter version by al-Ghaḍanfar al-Tibrīzī). The *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* was one of the sources of al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, for the description of the old Greek philosophers (cf. P. Kraus, in *BIE*, 1937, 207 = *IC*, 1938, 146). Various other authors also quote Abū Sulaymān for information concerning the history of philosophy: Ibn al-Nadīm (who was a disciple of his), *Fihrist*, 241, 243, 248; Ibn Maṭrān, see P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, p. lxiii; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 9, 15, 57, 104, 186-7.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 264, 316; Abū Shudjaʿ, *Dhayl Tadjārib al-Umam* (Amedroz-Margoliouth), 75-7; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* (M. Shafi), 74-5; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 89, iii, 100, v, 360, 398 (after Abū Ḥayyān); Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, 81; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 282-3; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i,

321-2; Brockelmann, I, 236, S I, 377; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ḳazwīnī, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Abū Sulaymān Manṭiḳī Sidjistānī* (Publ. de la Société des Études Iraniennes, no. 5), Chalons-sur-Saone 1933 = *Bīst Maḳāla*, Teheran 1934, 94 ff.

(S. M. STERN)

ABU ʾL-SUʿŪD MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤYI ʾL-DĪN MUḤ. B. AL-ʿIMĀD MUṢṬAFĀ AL-ʿIMĀDĪ, known as Khodja Čelebi (Hoca Çelebi), famous commentator of the Ḳurʾān, Ḥanafī scholar and Shaykh al-Islām, born 17 Ṣafar 896/30 December 1490, died 5 Djumādā I 982/23 August 1574. His father, a native of Iskilīb (Iskilip, west of Amasia) had been a notable scholar and ṣūfī. Abu ʾl-Suʿūd began his career as a teacher, being eventually promoted to one of the "Eight Madrasas" of Sulṭān Muḥammad II. In 939/1533 he was appointed *ḳāḍī*, first in Brūsa (Bursa), then in Istanbul; in 944/1537 he became *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia, and in 952/1545 Sulṭān Sulaymān I. made him Grand Muftī or Shaykh al-Islām. He kept this post for the rest of his life, under Sulaymān and his successor Salīm II. Abu ʾl-Suʿūd was bound to Sulaymān by real friendship, and though he could not quite maintain his exclusive influence under Salīm, this Sulṭān too held him in high esteem. The one reproach that is made against him is his scheming and his eagerness for the intimacy of the great. To Sulaymān, he justified the killing of Yazīdīs, and to Salīm, the attack on Cyprus, in breach of a treaty of peace with Venice. He was buried in the Abū Ayyūb quarter of Istanbul, where his tomb still exists. When the news of his death reached the Holy Cities, funeral prayers for an absent person were said for him. Several of his disciples held important positions under Salīm II, Murād III, and Muḥammad III.

As Shaykh al-Islām, Abu ʾl-Suʿūd succeeded in bringing the *ḳānūn*, the administrative law of the Ottoman Empire, into agreement with the *sharīʿa*, the sacred law of Islam. Supported by Sulaymān, he completed and consolidated a development which had already started under Muḥammad II. He formulated, consciously and in sweeping terms, the principle that the competence of the *ḳāḍīs* derives from their appointment by the Sultan, and that they are therefore bound to follow his directives in applying the *sharīʿa*. Already as *ḳāḍī ʿasker* he had begun, on the orders of the Sultan, to revise the land law of the European provinces and to apply to it the principles of the *sharīʿa*. (On the effects of this revision, see P. Lemerle and P. Wittek, in *Archives d'Histoire du droit oriental*, 1948, 466 ff.) His *fatwās*, of which a number still exist in the original, were brought together in several semi-official and private collections. In keeping with his general aim, Abu ʾl-Suʿūd took account of the practice in authorising the *waḳf* of movables and in particular of money, the giving and taking of remuneration for teaching and other religious duties, (on these two questions, he became involved in polemics), in allowing the Ḳaragöz play, and in refraining, in the end, from giving a *fatwā* against the use of coffee. Whilst he appreciated orthodox Ṣūfism, he did not hesitate to authorise the execution of extremist ṣūfīs.

In his spare time, Abu ʾl-Suʿūd composed a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, drawn mainly from al-Bayḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī, with the title *Irshād al-ʿAḳl al-Salīm*; it became popular in the Ottoman Empire and beyond its frontiers, found several commentators and was printed a number of times. Among his other, smaller works, a book of prayers drawn from traditions and meant to be learned by heart (*Duʿā-nāma*, or *R. fi ʾl-Adʿiya al-Maʾthūra*), may be mentioned. He also wrote some poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Efendi Manuḳ (d. 992/1584), *al-ʿIḳd al-Manẓūm*, Cairo 1310 (on the margin of Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* ii), 282 ff.; ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl-i Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, 183 ff.; Pečewī, *Tārīkh*, i, Istanbul 1281, 52 ff.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, viii, 398 ff.; Brockelmann, II, 579 f.; S II, 651; M. Hartmann, in *Isl.*, 1918, 313 ff. (on the publication of Sulaymān's *Ḳānūn-nāma-yi Djadīd*, containing *fatwās* of Abu ʾl-Suʿūd, and of Abu ʾl-Suʿūd's *Maʿrūḍāt*, another collection of his *fatwās*, in MTM, I 1-2); P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des Islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1935 (re-edition and translation of the *Maʿrūḍāt*); Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 116; Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Osmanli imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukukî ve malî esaslar*, Istanbul 1945; M. Cavid Baysun, in *IA*, iv, 92 ff.; M. Tayyib Okiç, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, i, 48 ff.; Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, ibid. 137 ff.; Okiç, ibid. ii, 219 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

ABŪ ṬĀHIR SULAYMĀN AL **KARMAṬĪ** [see AL-DJANNĀBĪ].

ABŪ ṬĀHIR ṬARSŪSĪ (ṬARṬŪSĪ, ṬŪSĪ) MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. MŪSĀ, a person otherwise unknown, said to be the author of several novels in prose, prolix in style and of great length, a confused mixture of Arab and Persian legendary traditions, written in Persian and afterwards translated into Turkish. These include *Ḳahramān-nāma* (about Ḳahramān, a hero from the epoch of Hūshang, semi-mythical king of Īrān), *Ḳirān-i Ḥabashī* (the story of a hero from the time of the Kayānid king Kay Ḳubād), *Dārāb-nāma* (history of Darius and Alexander).

Bibliography: Firdawsī, *Livre des rois*, ed. and transl. of J. Mohl, i, preface 74 ff.; H. Ethé, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.*, ii, 318; E. Blochet, *Cat. mss. persans Bibl. Nat. Paris*, nos. 1201-2; idem, *Cat. mss. turcs*, anc. fonds, nos. 335-7; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. Turkish MSS Brit. Mus.*, 219 ff.

(H. MASSÉ)

ABŪ ṬĀḲA [see SIKKA].

ABŪ ṬĀLIB, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and Fāṭima bint ʿAmr (of Makhzūm), and full brother of Muḥammad's father. His own name was ʿAbd Manāf. He is said to have inherited the offices of *siḳāya* and *rifāda* (providing water and food for pilgrims) from his father, but at the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl and war of the Fidjār his brother al-Zubayr seems to have been the leading man of Hāshim. He fell into debt, and to meet this surrendered the *siḳāya* and *rifāda* to al-ʿAbbās. Nevertheless he seems to have remained chief of the clan of Hāshim, and their quarter of the town was called the *shiʿb* of Abū Ṭālib. When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib died, he looked after Muḥammad, and is said to have taken him on trading journeys to Syria. He continued to protect Muḥammad when he came forward as prophet, even when most of the other clans of Ḳuraysh boycotted Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib; there were presumably also economic reasons for the boycott. He died shortly after the end of the boycott, about 619, and was probably succeeded as chief by his brother Abū Lahab. Of his sons by Fāṭima bint Asad b. Hāshim, ʿAlī (who is said to have been brought up by Muḥammad) and Djaʿfar became Muslims, while Ṭālib fought against Muḥam-

mad at Badr. He himself, though protecting Muḥammad, clearly did not become a Muslim; but the point was much discussed and varying traditions circulated, in connection with the theological question of the fate of those who lived before Muḥammad's mission.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 114-7, 167-77; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 75-9, 134-5, 139-41; Ṭabarī, i, 1123-6, 1173-85, 1198-9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 211-9; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1898, 27-8; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 107; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 158, 298, 307, etc.; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 115-8; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, index. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ABŪ ṬĀLIB KALĪM [see KALĪM].

ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤĀRITHĪ AL-**MAKKĪ**, d. in Baghdād in 386/998, muḥaddith and mystic, head of the dogmatic *madhhab* of the Sālimiyya [*q.v.*] in Baṣra. His chief work is the *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, whole pages of which were copied by al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 200, S I, 359-66; Sayyid Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf*, Cairo, ii, 67, 69 and passim; Shaʿrawī, *Laṭāʾif*, Cairo, ii, 28; Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī, *al-Rasāʾil al-Kubrā*, lith. Fez 1320, 149, 200-1; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, 2nd ed., index and reff. cited. (L. MASSIGNON)

ABŪ ṬĀLIB KHĀN (1752-1806), the son of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Beg, of Turkish descent, was born at Lucknow. His early years were spent in Murshidābād at the court of Muẓaffar Djang. With the accession of Āṣaf al-Dawla (1775) he returned to Oudh and was appointed *ʿamaldār* of Itāwah and other districts. He also served as a revenue official under Colonel Hannay who farmed the country of Sarwār. He was later employed by Nathaniel Middleton, the English Resident, and was connected with Richard Johnson in the management of the confiscated *djāgīrs* of the Begams of Oudh. He remained in Oudh until 1796. In February 1799 he sailed from Calcutta to Europe where he visited England, France, Turkey, and other countries, returning to India in August 1803. An account of his travels, the *Masīr-i Ṭālibī fī Bilād-i Ifrandjī* was published in 1812 and translated into English by C. Stewart (1814) and into French by Ch. Malo (1819). He also wrote the *Lubb al-Siyar wa-Djahān-numā* and the *Khulāṣat al-Afkār*. His *Tafzīh al-Ghāfilīn*, a history of Oudh under Āṣaf al-Dawla, is an important source for the careers of Ḥaydar Beg and the various English residents, and contains a spirited defence of Hannay's revenue administration (English trans. by W. Hoey, 1888). He published also the first edition of the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ, Calcutta 1791.

Bibliography: Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 298 ff.; Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.*, i, 378 ff. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

ABŪ TAMMĀM ḤABĪB B. AWS, Arabic poet and anthologist. According to his son Tammām he was born in the year 188/804; according to an account deriving from himself, in the year 190/806 (*Akhbār*, 272-3) and in the town of Djāsim between Damascus and Tiberias. He died according to his son in 231/845, according to others 2 Muḥarram 232/29 Aug. 846 (*ibid.*). His father was a Christian by name Thādhūs (Thaddeus, Theodosius?) who kept a wine-shop in Damascus. The son altered the name of his father to Aws (*Akhbār*, 246) and invented for himself a pedigree connecting him with the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. He was mocked on the score of this false pedigree in satirical verses (*Akhbār*, 235-8); later, however, the pedigree appears to have found acceptance, and Abū Tammām is therefore frequently referred to as "the Ṭayyite" or "the great Ṭayyite". He spent his youth as a weaver's assistant in Damascus (Ibn ʿAsākir, iv, 19). Subsequently he went to Egypt where at first he earned his living by selling water in the Great Mosque, but he also found opportunity to study Arabic poetry and its rules. The exact chronology of his life is difficult to reconstruct, at all events until the happenings mentioned in his poetry and the biography of the men eulogised by him are accurately established. According to one tradition he composed his first panegyrics in Damascus for Muḥ. b. al-Djahm, brother of the poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm (*al-Muwashshah*, 324). This, however, can hardly be correct, as this personage was only in 225 appointed governor of Damascus by al-Muʿtaṣim (Khalīl Mardam Bek, in the preface to the *Dīwān* of ʿAlī b. al-Djahm, 4). According to the poet's own account (*Akhbār*, 121), he composed his first poem in Egypt for the tax-collector ʿAyyāsh b. Lahīʿa (al-Badīʿī, 181). He was, however, disappointed by him and repaid him, as often in similar circumstances, with lampoons (cf. al-Badīʿī, 174 ff.). Al-Kindī (*Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 181, 183, 186, 187) quotes some verses of Abū Tammām referring to events in Egypt in the years 211-4. From Egypt Abū Tammām returned to Syria. At this time are to be placed, apparently, the encomia and lampoons on Abu 'l-Mughīth Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāfiḳī. When al-Maʾmūn returned from his campaign against the Byzantines (215-8), Abū Tammām, clad in the bedouin attire beloved by him all his life, offered him a *ḳaṣīda*, which however was not to the caliph's taste, since he took exception to the fact that a bedouin should compose urban poetry (Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, ii, 120). At this time the young Buḥturī perhaps came into contact with him in Ḥimṣ (*Akhbār*, 66, cf. 105).

Abū Tammām first rose to fame and became generally known under al-Muʿtaṣim. On the destruction of Amorium in the year 223/838 (cf. ʿAMMŪRIYYA) the Muʿtazilite chief ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] sent him before the caliph in Sāmarrā. The caliph recalled the harsh voice of the poet, which he had heard in Maṣīṣa, and granted Abū Tammām an audience only after making sure that he had with him a *rāwī*, or reciter, with a pleasant voice (*Akhbār*, 143-4). Then began Abū Tammām's career as the most celebrated panegyrist of his time. In addition to the caliph he eulogised in his *ḳaṣīdas* the highest dignitaries of his epoch. One of these was Ibn Abī Duʾād, whom, however, he offended temporarily through a poem in which the South Arabs (to whom the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ belonged) were greatly extolled to the disadvantage of the North Arabs (from which the chief ḳāḍī claimed descent). An apologetic *ḳaṣīda* had to be addressed to the patron before his reinstatement was effected (*Akhbār*, 147 ff.). Other personalities eulogised by him were, for example, the general Abū Saʿīd Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Marwazī, who had distinguished himself in the war against Byzantium and in the operations against the Khurramite Bābak, and his son Yūsuf, killed by the Armenians in 237 while governor of Armenia; Abū Dulaf al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIdjlī, d. 225; Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī, police chief (*ṣāḥib al-djisr*) of Baghdad from 207 to 235. Ḥasan b. Wahb, secretary to the wazīr Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt was a particular admirer of Abū Tammām. Abū Tammām also travelled several times to visit

provincial governors, for example the governor of Djabal, Muḥ. b. al-Haytham (*Akhbār*, 188 f.), Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, governor of Armenia under al-Wāthiḳ, d. 230 (*Akhbār*, 188 ff.) and others. His journey to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir in Nīshāpūr is the most celebrated. ʿAbd Allāh did not come up to his expectations in rewarding him, and the cold climate did not suit the poet, so that he quickly retraced his steps. He was held up by snow in Hamadhān, and made good use of his time in compiling with the aid of the library of Abu 'l-Wafā b. Salama the most celebrated of his anthologies, the *Ḥamāsa*. Some two years before his death, Ḥasan b. Wahb found him the postmastership of Mosul. The philosopher al-Kindī is supposed to have predicted an early death for him as the result of over-exertion of his intellectual faculties, *shiddat al-fikr* (Ibn Khallikān, apparently after al-Ṣūlī, where, however, the appropriate passage is lacking, cf. *Akhbār*, 231-2). It was in Mosul that Abū Tammām died. Abū Nahshal b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī, brother of the Muḥammad who fell in 214 in the campaign against Bābak, had erected over his grave a dome, visited by Ibn Khallikān. Abū Tammām was dark, tall, dressed in bedouin fashion, spoke extremely pure Arabic, having at the same time a most unattractive voice and suffering from a slight impediment of speech; he accordingly had his poetry recited by his *rāwī* Ṣāliḥ (*Akhbār*, 210).

Abū Tammām's *ḳaṣīdas* treat of important historical events, such as the conquest of Amorium, the campaign against Bābak and his execution (223/837-8), the execution of Afshīn (226/840), whom he himself had previously eulogised, and many others. In certain particulars the *ḳaṣīdas* supplement the historians (cf. *al-Ṭabarī's The reign of al-Muʿtaṣim*, transl. and annot. by E. Marin, New Haven 1951, index, and M. Canard, *Les allusions à la guerre byzantine chez les poètes Abū Tammām et Buḥturī*, in A. A. Vassiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, *La dynastie d'Amorium*, Bruxelles 1935, 397-403).

Even in Abū Tammām's lifetime opinions were divided upon the aesthetic merit of his poetry. The poet Diʿbil, held in awe by reason of his sharp tongue, asserted that one third of his poetry was plagiarized, one third bad, one third good (*Akhbār*, 244). His pupil al-Buḥturī, who held him in the greatest respect, thought Abū Tammām's best verse better than his own best, his bad verse worse than his own bad verse (*Akhbār*, 67). The poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm (d. 249; *Akhbār*, 61-2) was a friend and admirer of Abū Tammām. From him originates the account of Abū Tammām's first entry into the poets' hall (*ḳubbat al-shuʿarāʾ*) in the mosque of Baghdād (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 249, after al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾ; *Dīwān ʿAlī b. al-Djahm*, intr., 6-7). Long after the poet's death writings were penned both in praise of him and against him; in these works his literary "thefts" also were discussed. Abu l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḳutrabullī wrote against him (*al-Muwāzana*, 56), in his favour Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī, whose *Akhbār Abī Tammām* is at once the oldest and the most circumstantial source for the life of the poet. To his defenders must be added in addition al-Marzūḳī (d. 421) who wrote a *Kitāb al-Intiṣār min Ẓalamat Abī Tammām* (cf. *Oriens*, 1949, 268). The ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī (d. 366/976-7) in his *Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa Khuṣūmih*, Ṣaydā 1331, 58 ff., and al-Āmidī (d. 381) in his *Muwāzana bayn al-Ṭāʾiyyayn Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī*, Istanbul 1287 (Turkish transl. by Mehmed Weled, Istanbul 1311) weigh up his merits and demerits. Al-Marzubānī (d. 384) in *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1343, 303, 329, brings into prominence rather his weak points. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in his *al-Shihāb fi 'l-Shayb wa 'l-Shabāb*, Istanbul 1302, defends the poet against al-Āmidī's strictures. The modern reader will follow the judgement of the old critics. Abū Tammām's *ḳaṣīdas* contain, side by side with brilliant conceits which have established the poet's fame, much that is unpleasant. He has a penchant not only for queer words but also for artificial, frequently tortuous, sentence construction, the understanding of which much exercised the Arabic commentators. Unhappy personifications of abstract ideas, affected, far-fetched and unconvincing metaphors harass the reader often for many verses at a stretch till he stumbles on an excellent poetical figure. Added to this is an unfortunate tendency towards paronomasia and subtly-reasoned antithesis, to which he all too frequently sacrifices the clarity and attractiveness of the phrase (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār al-Balāgha*, ed. Ritter, 15). The *Dīwān* was collected by al-Ṣūlī (alphabetically), by ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (under subjects), also handed on by al-Sukkarī (*Oriens*, 1949, 268) and others. Unsatisfactory editions Cairo 1299, Beyrut 1889, 1905, 1923, 1934. Index by Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1905, 763-82. No edition exists as yet of the numerous comtaries, absolutely indispensable for the understanding of his poetry, by al-Ṣūlī, al-Marzūḳī, al-Tibrīzī, Ibn al-Mustawfī (*Akhbār*, intr. 8; H. Ritter, *Philologika*, xiii, in *Oriens*, 1949, 266-9; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, under *Dīwān Abī Tammām*, and Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn fi 'l-Dhayl ʿalā Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, i, Istanbul 1945, 422). [The commentary of al-Tibrīzī is in course of publication in Cairo; vol. i, 1952.]

Abū Tammām collected in addition several anthologies of poetry. The best known is a collection of fragments (*muḳaṭṭaʿāt*) by less known poets, which he made during his involuntary halt in Hamadhān, the *Ḥamāsa*. Edited with the commentary of al-Tibrīzī by G. Freytag, *Hamasae Carmina cum Tebrisii scholiis*, Bonn 1828, Latin transl. 1847-51, reprinted with all the errors Būlāḳ 1284, Cairo 1938. On the numerous commentaries see Brockelmann, i, 134 ff.; H. Ritter, *Philologika*, iii, in *Oriens*, 1949, 246-61; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, s.v. *Ḥamāsa*, and Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, i, 422. Of the other anthologies there are preserved in manuscript the *Ḥamāsa al-Ṣughrā* or *al-Waḥshiyyāt* (see *Oriens*, 1949, 261-2), not to be identified with any of the *Ikhtiyārāt* mentioned by al-Āmidī; and *Ikhtiyār al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Fuḥūl* in Mashhad (see *MMIA*, xxiv, 274). We know only the names of the remainder: *al-Ikhtiyārāt min Shiʿr al-Shuʿarāʾ wa Madḥ al-Khulafāʾ wa Akhdh Djawāʾizihim* (*Fihrist*, 165, *Maʿāhid al-Tanṣīṣ*, 18); *al-Ikhtiyārāt min Ashʿār al-Ḳabāʾil* (*Fihrist*) = *al-Ikhtiyār al-Ḳabāʾilī al-Akbar* and *al-Ikhtiyār al-Ḳabāʾilī* (*Muwāzana*, 23); *Ikhtiyār al-Muḳaṭṭaʿāt*, beginning with *ghazal* (ib.); *al-Ikhtiyār min Ashʿār al-Muḥdathīn* (ib.). Also the *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Akhṭal*, ed. Salhani, Beyrout 1922, derives from him.

Bibliography: Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, ed. Khalīl Maḥmūd ʿAsākir, Muḥ. ʿAbduh ʿAzzām, Naẓīr al-Islām al-Hindī, Cairo 1937; Naẓīr al-Islām, *Die Aḥbār über Abū Tammām von aṣ-Ṣūlī*, Diss. Breslau 1940; *Aghānī*, xv, 100-8; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 248-63; Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr* (Badrān), iv, 18-26; Ibn al-Anbārī

Nuzha, 213-6; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, Cairo, Maṭb. M. ʿAlī Ṣubayḥ, 205-10; alʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-Tanṣīṣ*, Cairo, 18-20; Ibn Khallikān, no. 146; Yūsuf al-Badīʿī, *Hibat al-Ayyām fīmā yataʿallaḳ bi-Abī Tammām*, Cairo 1934; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 1347, i, 322-3; Brockelmann, I, 12, 83-5, S I, 39-40, 134-7, 940, III, 1194; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 103-81. (H. Ritter)

ABŪ TĀSHUFĪN I, ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Abī Ḥammū, fifth sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Proclaimed 23 Djumādā I 718/23 July 1318 after the murder of his father Abū Ḥammū I, he exiled to Spain all those of his relatives who could claim the throne and thus freed his hands to lay siege to Constantine and Bidjāya (Bougie) and to make an attempt at extending his kingdom towards the east. The Ḥafṣids, however, allied themselves with the Marīnids and the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan seized Abu Tāshufīn's dominions and besieged Tlemcen in 735/1335. Two years later the capital was taken by assault and the king was killed in battle.

Bibliography: see ʿabd al-wādids.

(A. Bel*)

ABŪ TĀSHUFĪN II b. Abī Ḥammū Mūsā, sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Born in Rabīʿ I 752/April-May 1351, he passed his youth in Nedroma. After the flight of Abū Ḥammū II to Tunis, the Marīnid sultan Abū ʿInān sent him to Fez; he returned to Tlemcen only in 760/1359. In spite of his father's concessions to him, his impatience to acceed to the throne drove him to attempts to get rid of Abū Ḥammū. But Abū Ḥammū, put into prison in Oran, escaped; and when sent on pilgrimage, returned triumphantly to Tlemcen. Finally Abū Tāshufīn took command of a Marīnid army which defeated Abū Ḥammū and enabled him to accede to the throne in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 791/Nov. 1389. He remained faithful to his obligations as a vassal of the Marīnids and died on 17 Radjab 795/29 May 1393.

Bibliography: see ʿabd al-wādids.

(A. Bel*)

ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB [see al-mufaḍḍal].

ABŪ ṬAYYIB [see al-mutanabbī, al-ṭabarī].

ABŪ THAWR Ibrāhīm b. Khālid b. Abi 'l-Yamān al-Kalbī, prominent jurisconsult and founder of a school of religious law, died in Baghdād in Ṣafar 240/July 854. Living in ʿIrāḳ one generation after al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Thawr seems to have been influenced by al-Shāfiʿī's methodological insistence on the authority of the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, without, however, renouncing the use of *raʾy* [*q.v.*], as had been customary in the ancient schools of law. The later biographers represented this as a conversion on the part of Abū Thawr from the *raʾy* of the ancient ʿIrāḳians to the school of al-Shāfiʿī, and he is, indeed, often counted among the adherents of the Shāfiʿite school. But his opinions, which often diverge from Shāfiʿite doctrine, are not regarded as variants (*wudjūh*) of the doctrine of the school, nor does he, indeed, enjoy a particularly high reputation as a traditionist. Some cautious praise of him as a jurisconsult is attributed to his older contemporary, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. A limited number of Abū Thawr's opinions on religious law are quoted in the works on *ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*], particularly in the two fragments of al-Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahāʾ* (ed. Kern, Cairo 1902, and Schacht, Leiden 1933). The school of Abū Thawr was still widely represented in the 4th/10th century, particularly in Armenia and Ādharbaydjān.

Bibliography: *Fihrist* i, 211; ii, 91; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 65 ff.; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, i, 227 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 118 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 93 f.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 369, 371. (J. Schacht)

ABŪ TURĀB, nickname of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*].

ABŪ ʿUBAYD AL-BAKRĪ, Abd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥ. b. Ayyūb, was, with al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], the greatest geographer of the Muslim West, and one of the most characteristic representatives of Arab Andalusian erudition in the 5th/11th century.

Although little is known about the details of the life of Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, it is possible to describe the various aspects of his scientific activity, all of which seems to have taken place in his own country; in fact, he appears never to have travelled in the East, or even North Africa, which he nevertheless described so minutely. According to the information which has come down to us, the principal facts of his biography amount to the following: his father, ʿIzz al-Dawla ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, was the only sovereign (or else the second, after his own father Abū Muṣʿab Muḥ. b. Ayyūb) of the diminutive principality of Huelva (Walba [*q.v.*]) and Saltes (Shalṭīsh [*q.v.*]), founded in 403/1012, at the time of the fall of the Marwānid caliphate of Cordova, on the Atlantic coast of the south of the Iberian peninsula, not far west of Niebla (Labla). In 443/1051, ʿIzz al-Dawla, under the political pressure exerted against him by al-Muʿtaḍid b. ʿAbbād [see ʿabbādids], was forced to give up his principality to the king of Seville, who annexed it to his possessions. Abū ʿUbayd, the exact date of whose birth is unknown, must at this time have been at least thirty. He accompanied his father to Cordova, which was chosen by him for his new place of residence, under the more or less effective protection of its ruler Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥ. b. Djahwar [cf. djahwarids]. These, anyway, are the particulars given by Ibn Ḥayyān (*al-Matīn*, in Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, ii, reprod. by Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, iii, 240-2, and Dozy, *Abbad.*, i, 252-3), and which there is no reason to doubt, but another source (append. to *al-Bayān*, iii, 299) asserts that Abū ʿUbayd and his father, who died about 456/1064, withdrew to Seville itself, which is not improbable. However that may be, Abū ʿUbayd very quickly became known as a distinguished writer. He was the pupil of the chronicler Abū Marwān b. Ḥayyān and of other masters of repute, and moved in provincial court circles, especially that of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria. When he later witnessed the military and political intervention of the Almoravids in Spain, and the successive depositions of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, he had already written most of the numerous works for the preparation of which he had collected innumerable notes. He settled at Cordova, which had been restored by the sultan Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn to the position of capital of al-Andalus: and there he died, full of years, in Shawwāl 487/Oct.-Nov. 1094 (496 according to al-Ḍabbī, who attributes to him the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*).

Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, to judge by the variety of his works, appears as a perfect type of *mushārik*, having acquired an extensive knowledge of widely different branches of learning. He was principally a geographer, but also at the same time a theologian,

philologist, and botanist. He even cultivated the art of poetry, since certain of his biographers have reproduced some of his bacchic verses, and he has been given the reputation of a confirmed drinker. He has also been depicted as a bibliophile, who preserved his valuable manuscripts in envelopes of fine fabric.

In the religious sphere, Ibn Bashkuwāl attributes to him, without giving the title, a work on the 'signs of the prophetic mission' of the Messenger of God (*fī aʿlām nubuwwat nabiyyinā*). As a philologist, Ibn Khayr (*Fahrasa*, *B A H*, ix-x, 325, 326, 343, 344), attributes to him four works: (1) a criticism of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*], *al-Tanbīh ʿalā Awhām Abī ʿAlī fī Kitāb al-Nawādir*, ed. A. Ṣalḥani, 4 vol., Cairo 1344/1926; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 202; (2) a commentary on the *Amālī* of the same, *Simṭ al-Laʾālī fī Sharḥ al-Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maymanī, Cairo 1354/1936; cf. Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*; (3) a commentary on the verses quoted in *al-Gharīb al-Muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, entitled *Ṣilat al-Mafṣūl*; (4) a commentary on the collection of proverbs by the same Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, entitled *Faṣl al-Maḳāl fī Sharḥ Kitāb al-Amthāl* (MSS at Istanbul; cf. *M O*, vii, 123; *Z D M G*, 1910; Brockelmann, S I, 166 f. n.). Lastly we may mention another work, semi-historical, semi-philological, which seems to be lost: *al-Muʾtalaf wa 'l-Mukhtalaf* on the names of the Arab tribes.

The botanical work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Nabāt*, also indicated by Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 377, seems not to have been found yet in MS. It has its place, in any case, in the series of Andalusian treatises on descriptive botany, made up of alphabetically-arranged items, and it served as a direct source for the *muḥtasib* and naturalist of the 6th/12th century Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*] al-Ishbīlī, for the composition of his *ʿUmdat al-Ṭabīb fī Sharḥ al-Aʿshāb* (cf. M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botánico anónimo hispano-musulmán*, Madrid-Granada 1943, XXVII and n. 1). This botanical treatise, which Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa described in a few lines (cf. M. Meyerhof, *Esquisse d'histoire de la pharmacologie et botanique chez les Musulmans d'Espagne*, in *al-And.*, 1935, 14; the same, *Un glossaire de matière médicale de Maïmonide*, in *Mém. Inst. d'Égypte*, xli, 1940, XXVII), mainly concentrated, as did that of Ibn ʿAbdūn, on the peninsula of al-Andalus; it was made use of not only by the latter, but also by the naturalists al-Ghāfiḳī and Ibn al-Bayṭār.

Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī's geographical work, on which his renown in the Arab world was mainly based, consists of two books of unequal length and importance; *Muʿdjam mā istaʿdjam* and *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*. The *Muʿdjam*, which was published by F. Wüstenfeld in an autographed edition (*Das geographische Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1876-7; 4 vols, Cairo 1945-51), is a list of toponyms, mostly referring to the Djazīrat al-ʿArab, which occur in the poetry of the *djāhiliyya* and the literature of the *ḥadīth* and the spelling of which had given rise to discussions. This list is preceded by an interesting introduction on the geographical setting of ancient Arabia and the respective habitats of the most important tribes.

As for the *al-Masālik*, the main work of al-Bakrī, we have so far only part of it, in the form of extensive fragments, not all of which have yet been published. Of the introductory volume, which deals with general geography and the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples (MS at Paris, B. N., 5905), the greater part is still unpublished (fragment on the Russians and Slavs published at St. Petersburg in 1878 by A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh*, i; cf. also A. Seippel, *Rerum Normannicorum Fontes Arabici*, Oslo 1896-1928). But the portion which is undoubtedly the most important, that dealing with the Muslim West, has long been known, as far as Africa is concerned, through the edition and French translation (both today very outdated) of MacGuckin de Slane (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Arabic text, Algiers 1857; 2nd ed., Algiers 1910; Fr. tr., *JA*, 1857-8, 2nd ed., Algiers 1910). Before that, in 1831, an abridged translation had been published in Paris by Quatremère (*Not. et extraits*, xii). The author of this article has published some unpublished parts of *al-Masālik* relating to al-Andalus, and identified the quotations included in the historico-geographical compilation entitled *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī al-Sabtī (*La Péninsule ibérique au Moyen-Age*, Leyden 1938, 245-52; cf. also *La 'Description de l'Espagne'* of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, in *And.*, 1953, 100-4), using a MS in the library of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳarawiyyīn at Fez, in which is to be found the most extensive fragment that we yet possess on the description of the Iberian Peninsula.

Following the usual practice of geographers of his own time and preceding centuries, Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī aimed first and foremost at giving his work, as its title, descriptions of 'itineraries and kingdoms', indicates, the form of a roadbook, including an estimate of distances between each town or staging-post. A dry list of names might have been the result, interesting enough, but only a bare outline, if the author had not set upon it his personal stamp and made a discriminating choice among the mass of particulars which he had contrived to collect. These particulars are not only geographical; they concern to a considerable extent political and social history and even ethnography, and this is what gives to the *Masālik* of al-Bakrī, at least as far as the West is concerned, their inestimable value. His was an inquiring and methodical mind, and he thus drew some historical sketches that have never since been equalled: his accounts of the Idrīsids or the Almoravids, for example, still constitute the most reliable basis of our documentation on the first of these dynasties and on the origins of the second. Most of his descriptions of towns are remarkably precise; his toponymic material for the Maghrib, Ifrīḳiya, and the *bilād al-Sūdān* is of a fulness no less worthy of interest.

It goes without saying that, when writing his valuable description of North Africa, Abū ʿUbayd had at his disposal, in his residence at Cordova or Seville, not only the verbal information afforded him by people coming from Ifrīḳiya or the Maghrib but also the work of other authors who had dealt with the same regions. The basic source, which he actually mentions several times in his work, was in fact *al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* by Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Warrāḳ, on the geography of Ifrīḳiya. This man (see AL-WARRĀḲ and R. Brunschvig in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 151-52), who lived for a long time in al-Ḳayrawān before going to settle at Cordova in the reign of the caliph al-Ḥakam II and at his invitation, thus enabled al-Bakrī, who used his work (which now appears to be lost) to furnish us with information that goes back to the 10th century, and on which the geographer could draw at will. Moreover, he doubtless had at his disposal documents of the Cordovan archives

(for example on the heretical sect of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*]). On the other hand, the fact that he makes no allusion to the intervention of the Almoravids in Spain confirms the indication that al-Bakri finished his *al-Masālik* in 460/1068, i.e. eighteen years before the battle of al-Zallāḳa.

Another source, not less important than al-Warrāḳ's book, was the geographical work of one of Abu ʿUbayd's own masters, Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-ʿUdhrī, a native of Dalias (*Dalāya*, hence his *maʿrifa* Ibn al-Dalāʾī), who died at Almeria in 478/1085 (cf. *Pén. ibér.*, xxiv, n. 2.). This work, which was entitled *Niẓām al-Mardjān*, and was later to be used as a source by al-Ḳazwīnī also, gave much space to the *ʿadjāʾib* [*q.v.*], which were not omitted likewise by al-Bakrī himself. Finally, a further source should be mentioned, of uncertain provenience but which may conceivably be simply another of Abū ʿUbayd's own works: the *Madjmūʿ al-Muftaraḳ*, from which, in their turn, Ibn ʿIdhārī and al-Maḳḳarī were later to make borrowings.

For his documentation on Christian Spain and the rest of Europe, it may be noted finally that Abū ʿUbayd quotes — doubtless, however, through the intermediary of al-ʿUdhrī, since al-Ḳazwīnī also refers to him by the same indirect means — a Jew of Tortosa, Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al Isrāʾīlī al-Ṭurṭūshī, who lived at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, but whose work (perhaps written in Hebrew, then translated into Arabic or Latin?) appears to be lost.

The parts of al-Bakrī's *Masālik* that have been preserved amply merit a complete critical edition and systematic study. A study of the author's language has also yet to be undertaken; al-Bakrī is, together with the authors of *ḥisba* treatises such as Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Ishbīlī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, and al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga, and authors of treatises on husbandry, the Andalusian writer whose vocabulary contains the greatest number of Hispanicisms. From the point of view of the economic position of the West in the 10th and 11th centuries (data on metrology, the cost of living, commercial relationships and trade in commodities and luxury articles), his work, even in its fragmentary form, provides a mass of information which would give scope for the drawing up of analytical lists and maps, as does the *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ* of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, that other masterpiece, of a somewhat later date, on the historical geography of the Islamic world in the middle ages.

Bibliography: Biographical accounts of al-Bakrī, all short and with little details: Ibu Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, n. 628; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, n. 930; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ* (in Dozy, *Corrections* ..., Leyden 1883, 118-23); al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān*, 218; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, Cairo 1953, 347-8; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira*, ii (account reproduced by the preceding); Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 285; Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 52; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ* (*Analectes*), ii, 125. See also Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, n. 125; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Peninsula ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921, 45-6; R. Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes*, Paris 1932, 183, 255 (with a very dubious appreciation on the documentary value and style of al-Bakrī); Lévi-Provençal, *La péninsule ibérique au Moyen Age*, Leyden 1938, xxi-xxiv; Brockelmann, I, 476, S I, 875-6. The accounts by Reinaud, *Intr. à la Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, ciii, and by M. G. de Slane in the preface to his incomplete edition, are today very much out-of-date. Finally, for the materials relating to eastern Europe in the works of al-Bakrī, via his borrowings from Ibrāhīm al-Ṭurṭūshī, see C. E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid al-Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, Madrid 1953, 161-2.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

ABŪ ʿUBAYD AL-ḲĀSIM B. SALLĀM (the *nisba* varies between al-Baghdādī, al-Khurāsānī and al-Anṣārī), grammarian, Kurʾānic scholar and lawyer, was born at Harāt about 154/770, his father, of Byzantine descent, being a *mawlā* of the tribe of Azd. He studied first in his native town, and in his early twenties (about 179/795) went to Kūfa, Baṣra and Baghdād where he completed his studies in grammar, *ḳirāʾāt*, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*. In none of these fields did he adhere to one school or group, but chose a middle position in an eclectic way. Returning home he became tutor in two influential families in Khurāsān, and in the year 192/807 was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Ṭarsūs in Cilicia by its governor Thābit b. Naṣr b. Mālik. Abū ʿUbayd remained in office until 210/825 and after some travelling settled for the next ten years in Baghdād, where ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir became his generous patron. In the year 219/834 he performed the pilgrimage and afterwards stayed on at Mecca to die there in 224/838 and to be buried in the house of Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

Twenty titles of Abū ʿUbayd's books are mentioned in the *Fihrist*, several of which have survived in MS. His three main works deal with the *gharīb*, the difficult linguistic passages, especially in the Ḳurʾān and the *ḥadīth*, and are entitled *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* and *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* respectively. *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, the first great dictionary of the Arabic language, is said to consist of 1000 chapters, 1200 *shawāhid* and 17,990 words; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir granted the author a pension as a sign of recognition for it. This and all his other works are based on the previous research of other scholars, but Abū ʿUbayd in using them wrote the standard works on these subjects, which superseded his forerunners and were used and frequently quoted by all the later authors. — Only *al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1353, has been preserved of his works on *fiḳh*, and of his works on *adab* his *al Amthāl*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 71-2; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 403-16; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 188-98; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 162-6; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 86; M. J. de Goeje, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 781-814; Brockelmann, I, 106, S I, 166; H. L. Gottschalk, in *Isl.*, 1936, 245-89; A. Spitaler, in *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, Berlin 1952, 1-24 (partial edition of *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*).

(H. L. Gottschalk)

ABŪ ʿUBAYD ALLĀH Muʿāwiya b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yasār al-Ashʿarī, vizier. Appointed by the caliph al-Manṣūr to the retinue of his son al-Mahdī, he was made vizier on al-Mahdī's accession (158/775). He held the office probably up to 163/779-80, but already in 161/777-8 the accusation of heresy brought against his son Muḥammad, which led to the latter's execution, compromised his position. The enmity of the powerful chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b. Dāʾūd consummated his downfall. Removed from the vizierate and replaced by Yaʿḳūb b. Dāʾūd, he was nevertheless left in the charge of the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* until 167/783-4; he died in 170/786-7.

According to the unanimous witness of the sources, he was a man of the first rank, competent and honest. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā gives an account of his organizing and administrative achievements, culminating in the reform of the *kharādj*, substituting

for land tax in the *Sawād* of al-ʿIrāḳ a proportional tax on the produce, payable in nature; he is also stated to be the author of a book on this subject.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, Ṭabarī, indexes; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ* (Cairo 1938), 102-118; *Aghānī, Tables*; Ibn Khallikān, xi, 88; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī* (Dérenbourg), 246-50; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1946, 162-4. (S. Moscati)

ABŪ ʿUBAYDA Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā, Arabic philologist, born 110/728 in Baṣra, d. 209/824-5 (other dates also in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* and later works). He was born a *mawlā* of the Ḳurayshite clan of Taym, in the family of ʿUbayd Allāh Maʿmar (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1948, 130); his father or grandfather came originally from Bādjarwān (near al-Raḳḳa in Mesopotamia, less probably the village of the same name in Shirwān) and was said, on dubious authority, to have been Jewish. He studied under the leading philologists of the school of Baṣra, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, and composed a number of treatises on points of grammar and philology, none of which have been preserved. Breaking away, however, from the narrow philological interests of his teachers, Abū ʿUbayda took as his field of study everything that had been transmitted on the history and culture of the Arabs. Applying to these scattered oral materials the systematic methods employed in the philological schools, of collecting and grouping together items of the same or similar kinds, he composed some dozens of treatises on points of Arab and early Islamic history and tribal traditions, which served as the starting point and supplied most of the data for all future studies relating to pre-Islamic Arabia. His materials were arranged under general heads and these again by sub-categories, as, for example, in the *Kitāb al-Khayl*, on famous Arab horses, still preserved (ed. Hyderabad 1358). Similarly, materials relating to the tribes were most frequently arranged under the categories of "virtues" (*manāḳib*) and "vices" (*mathālib*); by the latter he gave much offence to the tribal pride of the Arabs, the more so because they provided ammunition for the anti-Arab polemics of the Persian *shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*]. Moreover, as a convinced Khāridjite (cf. with Ibn Khallikān, Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1932, i, 273-4; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 120), he had no respect for the contemporary Arab sharīfs, especially the Muhallabids, and publicly exposed their pretensions. For both these reasons he was accused by the opponents of the *shuʿūbiyya* of being a bitter calumniator of the Arabs (*kāna aghra ʾl-nās bi-mashātim al-nās*: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-ʿArab*, in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ* [3], Cairo 1946, 346), but there is little evidence to identify him, as Goldziher and Aḥmad Amīn have done, with the Persian *shuʿūbiyya* — rather, indeed, the contrary (cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 243). The accuracy of his scholarship was warmly defended in learned circles (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.* and *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 257), and even his critics were compelled to recognize the depth and many-sidedness of his learning and to utilize his works. Only on the more technical field of Arabic poetry was he held to be inferior to his rival al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*], although it was currently said "The seekers of knowledge, when they attend the instruction of al-Aṣmaʿī buy dung in the market of pearls, but when they attend Abū ʿUbayda's they buy pearls in the dung-market", in allusion to the latter's unclean habits and poor delivery. His abilities as an editor and glossator of poetry have, however, left a monument in his compilation of the *naḳāʾiḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, transmitted through Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb and al-Sukkarī (ed. A. A. Bevan, Leiden 1905-12). Almost the whole of his life was spent in Baṣra, except for one or two short visits to Baghdād. He was notoriously unwilling to allow the circulation of his books, and an amusing story is told of the stratagem of students in Baghdād to obtain copies of them (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 108). Among the more famous of his pupils were Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, Abū Ḥātim (ibn) al-Sidjistānī, ʿUmar b. Shabba, and the poet Abū Nuwās.

In addition to his compilations of historical traditions and literary materials, Abū ʿUbayda composed several philological works on the Ḳurʾān and the Ḥadīth. His *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* seems to have been the earliest work of its kind; it was a short book and contained no *isnāds* (Ibn Durustawayh in *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 405). More important was *Madjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, the first known work on *tafsīr* (*madjāz* meaning in this case "interpretation" or "paraphrase"), consisting of brief notes on the meaning of selected words and phrases in the order of the sūras. This work, which was transmitted by his pupil ʿAlī b. al-Mughīra al-Athram, survives in two MSS (edition in preparation in Cairo). Abū ʿUbayda also contributed philological notes to Ibn Hishām for his redaction of the *Sīra* by Ibn Isḥāḳ.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 53-4; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, no. 7210 (xiii, 252-8); Ibn Khallikān, no. 702; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 164-70; *Aghānī, Tables*; many other casual references in Arabic works; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* i, 194 sqq. (but see H. A.R. Gibb, in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 105 ff.); Brockelmann, I, 103, S I, 162; F. Krenkow, in *Kitāb al-Khayl*, 174-9; E. Mittwoch, *Proelia Arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899; A. Amīn, *Ḍuḥa ʾl-Islām*, ii, 304-5; Ṭāhā al-Ḥādjirī, *al-Riwāya wa ʾl-Naḳd ʿinda Abī ʿUbayda*, Alexandria 1951. (H. A. R. Gibb)

ABŪ ʿUBAYDA ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allah b. **al-DJARRĀḤ**, of the family of Balḥārith, of the Ḳurashite tribe of Fihr, one of the early Meccan converts to Islām, and one of the ten Believers to whom Paradise was promised (see al-ʿAshara al-Mubashshara). He took part in the emigration to Abyssinia, and is said to have been distinguished for courage and unselfishness and to have been given the title of *amīn* by Muḥammad for that reason. He was 41 years of age at the battle of Badr, and took part in the later campaigns, distinguishing himself at Uḥud, and as the commander of several expeditions. He was later sent to Nadjrān to instruct the Yamanite converts, but returned to Medina before the death of Muḥammad and together with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb played a decisive part in the election of Abū Bakr as Muḥammad's *khalīfa*. After ʿUmar's accession to the Caliphate (13/634) Abū ʿUbayda was despatched to Syria to join the campaigns against the Byzantine forces, and some time later, probably in the year 15/636, was given the supreme command there. After the victory on the Yarmūk in that year, Abū ʿUbayda completed the conquest of northern Syria (Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, Antioch). In 17/638 the caliph himself visited the headquarters of the Syrian army at Djābiya, to regulate the administration of Syria and to give Abū ʿUbayda the support of his authority. Tradition asserts that ʿUmar intended to nominate Abū ʿUbayda as his eventual successor, and when a serious epidemic broke out in Syria in 18/639 he summoned Abū ʿUbayda to Medina. Abū ʿUbayda, however, refused

to leave Syria and himself fell a victim to the plague. He was 58 years of age, and left no descendants. He was clearly a man whose personality impressed his contemporaries, but he is presented by later tradition in a rather colourless fashion.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 297-301; vii/2, 111-2; Ṭabarī, index; *Nasab*, 410, 445; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, i, 100-2; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iii, 84, v, 249; Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii, *passim*; idem, *Chronographia*, A. H. 18, para. 32; C. H. Becker, in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, ii, 1913, 341-6 (= *Islamstud.*, i, 81-7); H. Lammens, *Le "triumvirat" Aboû Bekr. ʿOmar et Aboû ʿObaida*, *MFOB*, 1910, 113 ff. (exaggerated, but contains many references to traditions in later sources).

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ABŪ ʿUBAYDA AL-TAMĪMĪ [see IBĀḌIYYA].

ABU 'L-WAFĀʾ AL-BŪZADJĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤ. B. YAḤYĀ B. ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-ʿABBĀS, one of the greatest Arab mathematicians, very probably of Persian origin, born in Būzadjān in Ḳuhistān, 1 Ramaḍān 328/10 June 1940. His first teachers in mathematics were his uncles Abū ʿAmr al-Mughāzilī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAnbasa, the former having in his turn studied geometry under Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī (or al-Māwardī) and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ b. Karnīb. In the year 348/959 Abu 'l-Wafāʾ emigrated to ʿIrāḳ, and lived in Baghdād until his death, which took place there in Radjab 388/July 998; according to Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khallikān, who follows him, in 387/997. It was Abu 'l-Wafāʾ who introduced, in 370/980-1, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī to the vizier Ibn Saʿdān, and for whom Abū Ḥayyān wrote his *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-Muʾānasa*.

Of his mathematical and astrononomical works the following are extant: 1. An arithmetic book, entitled *Fīmā yaḥtādj ilayh al-Kuttāb wa'l-ʿUmmāl min ʿIlm al-Ḥisāb*, identical with the *al-Manāzil fi'l-Ḥisāb* mentioned by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; Woepke published in *JA*, 1855, 246 ff. the titles of the "stations" and of the chapters of the book. — 2. *Al-Kāmil*, probably identical with the *Almadjist* mentioned by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; certain parts of it have been translated by Carra de Vaux, *JA*, 1892, 408-71. — 3. *Al-Handasa* (in Arabic and Persian), probably the same as the Persian *Book of the geometrical constructions* of the Paris Library, reviewed by Woepke, *JA*, 1855, 218-56, 309-59; the latter is of the opinion that this book was not written by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ himself, but by one of his pupils summing up his lectures. (See also H. Suter, in *Abh. z. Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. d. Med.*, Erlangen 1922, 94 ff.) — Nothing unfortunately has remained of his commentaries to Euclid, Diophantus and al-Khʷārizmī, nor of his astronomical tables called *al-Wāḍiḥ*; but the tables called *al-Zīdj al-Shāmil*, in Florence, Paris and London, of an unknown author, are very likely an adaptation from Abu 'l-Wafāʾs tables.

The chief merit of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ consists in the further development of trigonometry; it is to him that we owe, in spherical trigonometry, for the right-angled triangle, the substitution, for the perfect quadrilateral with the proposition of Menelaus, of the so called "rule of the four magnitudes" (sine a : sine c = sine A : 1), and the tangent theorem (tan. a : tan. A = sine b : 1); from these formulae he further infers : cos. c = cos. a. cos. b. For the oblique-angled spherical triangle he probably first established the sine proposition (cf. Carra de Vaux, loc. cit., 408-40). We are also indebted to him for the method of calculation of the sine of 30′, the result of which agrees up to 8 decimals with its real value (Woepke, in *JA*, 1860, 296 ff.). His geometrical constructions, which are partly based on Indian models, are also of great interest (Woepke, *JA*, 1855, 218-56). On the other hand, the merit of introducing tangents, cotangents, secants and cosecants into trigonometry does not belong to him, as these functions were already known by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib. Neither was he the discoverer of the variation of the moon, as asserted by L. A. Sedillot in 1836. (A passionate dispute followed between Sedillot and Chasles on the one side and Biot, Munk and Bertrand on the other, until Carra de Vaux, *JA*, 1892, 440-71, elucidated the truth of the matter.)

Bibliographie: *Fihrist*, 266, 283; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 287; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 97; Ibn Khallikān, no. 681 (transl. de Slane, iii, 320); Abu 'l-Faradj (Ṣālḥānī), 315; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Mathematik*[2], i, 698 ff.; A. v. Braunmühl, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Trigon.* Leipzig 1900, i, 54 ff.; Suter. 71, Nachtr. 166; idem, *Abh. zur Gesch. d. mathem. Wissensch.*, vi, 39; Nallino, *Scritti*, v, 272, 275, 336-7; Brockelmann, I, 255, S I, 400; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 666-7.

(H. SUTER*)

ABŪ YAʿAZZĀ (or YAʿZĀ) YALANNŪR B. MAYNŪN, sprung from a sub-Atlantic Berber tribe (Dukkāla, Hazmīra or Haskūra), famous Moroccan saint of the 6th/12th century. After living for a time at Fez, where his *zāwiya* in the al-Blīda quarter (a dialect form of *al-Bulayda*) is still frequented, he settled in a village of the Middle Atlas, half-way between Rabat and Ḳaṣabat Tādlā, Tāghyā, which is today a small administrative centre bearing the name of the saint, as pronounced now in that region: Mūlāy Būʿazzā. He is said to have been the disciple of the patron saint of Azammūr Abū Shuʿayb Ayyūb b. Saʿīd al-Ṣinhādjī (in the vernacular Mūlāy Būshʿīb), and himself to have had as pupil the famous Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] al-Ghawth. He died of plague on 1 Shawwāl 572/2 April 1177 in his hermitage at Tāghyā, where he led an ascetic life, among adepts of his ṣūfī doctrine. His funerary *zāwiya* is the object of an annual pilgrimage (*mawsim*): it was built and decorated at the end of the 17th century by the order of the ʿAlawī sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Apart from a long notice on him by al-Tādilī in his *al-Tashawwuf ilā Ridjāl al-Taṣawwuf*, Abū Yaʿazzā was the subject of a monograph, entitled *al-Muʿzā fī Manāḳib Abī Yaʿzā*, by a Moroccan ṣūfī author, Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ṣawmaʿī, who died in 1013/1604. See also E. Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen Age*, Rabat 1934, 77.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās 1309, 354; Muḥ al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī, *Mirʾāt al-Maḥāsin*, Fās 1324, 199; Yūsī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Fās 1317, 117; Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās 1316, i, 172-175; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique* (Schefer), ii, 30; L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI[e] siècle*, Algiers 1906, 37; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 239-40.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ABŪ YAʿḲŪB AL-KHURAYMĪ, ISḤĀḲ B. ḤASSĀN B. ḲŪHĪ, Arab poet, died probably under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, about 206/821. The scion of a noble family of Sogdiana, which he sometimes mentions with pride (Yāḳūt, v, 363), al-Khuraymī (the form al-Khuzaymī is erroneous) derived his *nisba* from his being a *mawlā*, not directly of Khuraym al-Nāʿim, as most of his biographers

have it, but of his descendants, viz. Khuraym b. ʿĀmir and his son ʿUthmān (see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 434-7; v, 126-8). He seems to have lived in Mesopotamia, Syria, al-Baṣra, where he frequented dissolute poets such as Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās etc. (*Aghānī*[1], v, 170, xiii, 82), and finally in Baghdād. In Baghdād he was connected with the entourage of al-Rashīd (*Aghānī*[1], xii, 21-2) and especially with the Barmakids Yaḥyā (al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 326), al-Faḍl (al-Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ*, 150r) and Djaʿfar (*Aghānī*[1], xii, 21-2), as well as with their secretaries al-Ḥasan b. Baḥbāḥ al-Balkhī and Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ziyād (Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, 103; al-Djahshiyārī, 118r, 170r). During the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, he took the part of the former (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 462-3) and composed during the siege of Baghdād a long *ḳaṣīda* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 873-80) in which he described the destruction of the city and besought al-Maʾmūn to put an end to the fratricidal war.

The work of al-Khuraymī, known even in the Maghrib (cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr* (Z. Mubārak), iv, 201; Ibn Sharaf, *Intiḳād* (Pellat), Algiers 1953, index) was no doubt more important than would appear from the *ḳasīda* quoted above and from verses scattered in books of history and *adab*. Though he composed some satires, some of which were sung by ʿAllawayh (Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, 105; *Aghānī*, x, 120-35), al-Khuraymī is in the foremost place an author of panegyrics (the choice of their object being dictated by self-interest) and of dirges on persons with whom he was connected, especially Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ziyād and the members of Khuraym's family (Ibn ʿAsākir, loc. cit.). At the end of his life, the loss of his second eye (he had been one-eyed before and is sometimes called al-Aʿwar) inspired him to moving verses (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Hayawān*[2], iii, 113, vii, 131-2; *Aghānī*, xv, 109; al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-Himyān*, 71).

The critics admit al-Khuraymī's talent and state that his poetry was especially enjoyed by the secretaries of the bureaux—no doubt because of his non-Arab origin; though he does not seem to have played a role among the Shuʿūbīs.

Bibliography: In addition to reff. in the article: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), i, 105 and *passim*; idem, *Bukhalāʾ* (Ḥādjirī), 328 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 542-6; idem, *ʿUyūn*, i, 229, ii, 129; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *al-Waraḳa*, Cairo 1953, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138-9; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940, viii, 146; *Fihrist*, index; ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, i, 74, 279, ii, 175, 197; idem, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 345; Thaʿālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, Tunis 1293, 97; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, iii, 286-94; A. Amīn, *Ḍuḥa ʾl-Islām*, i, 64-5; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 37-8; Brockelmann, I, 111-2. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ YAʿĶŪB ISḤĀḲ B. AḤMAD AL-**SIDJZĪ**, Ismāʿīlī dāʿī and one of the sect's most important authors. According to Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, MS Brit. Mus., Add. 7628, fol. 277r), "after that time"—viz. the execution of al-Nasafī in Bukhārā, 331/942—"Isḥāḳ-i Sidjzī, nicknamed Khayshafūdj, fell into the hands of the *amīr* Khalaf b. Isḥāḳ (sic MS, read Aḥmad) Sidjzī". (Khalaf b. Aḥmad, of the "second" Ṣaffārid dynasty, ruled 349-99.) This probably implies that Abū Yaʿḳūb was killed by the *amīr* Khalaf. (According to W. Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, 119, note 1, his book *al-Iftikhār* must be dated, by internal evidence—not, however, specified—after 360/971.) At any rate, the usual statement that Yaʿḳūb was executed in 331 in Bukhārā together with al-Nasafī, turns out to be erroneous. (The nickname Khayshafūdj for Abū Yaʿḳūb—read conjecturally, as there are no points in the MSS; it is probably the word for 'cotton-seed', cf. Dozy, i, 417—occurs also in al-Bustī's refutation of Ismāʿīlism, MS Ambrosiana, coll. Griffini 41, to be analysed by the present writer.)

Of the many surviving books of Abū Yaʿḳūb, the principal one of which seems to be *al-Iftikhār*, only one, the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, has been published (by H. Corbin, Teheran 1949), not in the Arabic original, which is lost, but according to a Persian version. A close study of Abū Yaʿḳūb's works is absolutely necessary, as he is our main authority for the doctrines of the philosophical wing of Ismāʿīlism in the 4th/10th century. It seems that the system expounded by Abū Yaʿḳūb was on the whole based on that of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], who seems to have been the one who introduced Neoplatonic philosophy into Ismāʿīlism about 300 A.H. (Abū Yaʿḳūb composed a book, unfortunately lost, in defence of al-Nasafī's main work, *al-Maḥṣūl*, against the attacks of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī.) However, while the system of al-Nasafī can only be reconstructed, from sparse quotations, in its main lines, the preserved books of Abū Yaʿḳūb allow us to study the system, in the form exposed by him, in all desirable detail.

Bibliography: Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 267; Bīrūnī, *Hind*, 32; W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 33-5; idem, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, index.—It is doubtful if Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī is the same person as Abū Yaʿḳūb, *dāʿī* of Rayy about the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentioned in *Fihrist*, 189, 190. (S. M. STERN)

ABŪ YAʿĶŪB YŪSUF B. ʿABD AL-MUʾMIN, second ruler of the Muʾminid [*q.v.*] (Almohad) dynasty, reigned 558-80/1163-84. He succeeded to the throne by a coup d'état, in spite of the official proclamation of his elder brother Muḥammad as crown-prince in 549/1154. It is true that Muḥammad ruled for about two months, a fact that has been passed over in silence by almost all the historians of the dynasty; but the powerful vizier ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, alleging that his father, four days before his death, had ordered the name of the heir-presumptive to be suppressed in the *khuṭba*, and that he had declared to himself (ʿUmar) on his death-bed that he wished Yūsuf to succeed him, summoned Yūsuf in all haste from Seville, where he had resided as governor for the last six years, and had him proclaimed by the *shaykhs* and the army, in Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (Rabat), as the new caliph.

The accession of Yūsuf was by no means received with unanimous approval. His brother ʿAlī, governor of Fez, who went to bury his father in Tīnmallal, protested against this arbitrary nomination, but died mysteriously on his return from the Atlas. Two other brothers, ʿAbd Allāh, governor of Bidjāya, who died shortly afterwards by poison, and ʿUthmān, governor of Cordova, also refused to recognize him. Thus Yūsuf did not dare to take the caliphal title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, but confined himself for five years to the title of *amīr al-muslimīn*.

Establishing himself in Marrākush, after dismissing the enormous army concentrated by his father in Rabat, Yūsuf had to suppress a revolt that broke out among the Ghumāra, between Ceuta and Alcázarquivir, while the *sayyids* ʿUmar and ʿUthmān were leading a vigorous campaign in al-Andalus against Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] and his Christian mercenaries. Invading his territory, they defeated his army in 560/1165, ten miles outside Murcia. The

city resisted, however, and preserved its independence for another five years.

When the hostile *sayyids* had submitted or had been eliminated, Ibn Mardanīs͟h had been defeated and the revolt of the G͟humāra had been suppressed, Yūsuf assumed in 563/1168 the caliphal title. Yet at the very moment that his proclamation was celebrated, the warlike little state of Portugal caused him grave concern. Giraldo sem Pavor, the famous captain of Afonso Henriques, captured the towns of Evora, Trujillo, Cáceres, Montanchez, Serpa and Juromenha, and laid siege, together with his king, to Badajoz, which could be saved only by the the intervention of Ferdinand II of Leon, the ally of the Almohads.

The problem of Ibn Mardanīs͟h in the Levante resolved itself almost spontaneously. Ibn Hamus͟hkū, lieutenant and father-in-law of Ibn Mardanīs͟h, quarrelled with him and submitted to the Almohads. Yūsuf then mobilized all his forces and crossed the Straits. Murcia was regularly besieged, Yūsuf conducting the operations from his headquarters in Cordova. The city could not be taken, but the troops of Ibn Mardanīs͟h deserted him one after the other and his cruelty lost him his last partisans. He died of chagrin, seeing the whole of his work undone (567/1172). His eldest son Hilāl and all his brothers soon joined the doctrine of the *tawḥīd* and submitted to Yusuf, who received them well and admitted them into his council.

When the latter came to Seville, they suggested to Yūsuf to lay siege to Huete (Wabd͟ha), which had been recently repopulated by Christians and had become a menace to Cuenca and the frontier of the Levante. Yūsuf left Seville, took Vilches and Alcaraz, and marching through the plain of Albacete, reached Huete in July. The siege at once revealed the caliph's lack of energy and the hesitant and unwarlike spirit of his troops, who failed completely. It seemed that the besieged, who withstood courageously the Almohad attacks, would have to surrender owing to lack of water, but violent summer storms filled their cisterns and threw the enemy's camp into disorder. Owing to lack of food and the approach of the Castilian army, the Almohads lifted the siege and returned, via Cuenca, Játiva, Elche and Orihuela, to Murcia; there the army was disbanded.

Yusuf rested in Seville during the winter of 568/1172-3. But the count Jimeno "the hunchback" (*al-aḥdab*), who, with the men of Avila, had caused severe damage in the valley of the Guadalquivir, penetrated, in S͟haʿbān 568/April 1173, into the region of Ecija and took enormous booty. The troops that had come back from Huete were collected again, and the indefatigable Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Īntī [*q.v.*], together with the two brothers of the caliph, Yaḥyā and Ismāʿīl, overtook the count near Caracuel, defeated and killed him. Subsequently, Badajoz was furnished with supplies and the whole left bank of the Tagus ravaged, from Talavera to Toledo; in consequence, Afonso Henriques, on behalf of Portugal, and the count Nuño de Lara, on behalf of Castile, were compelled to ask for and to sign an armistice for five years. The winter of 569/1173-4 was spent in resettling and fortifying Beja, in the Algarve, which had been ruined and evacuated two years before.

Later, Yūsuf celebrated with splendour his marriage with a daughter of Ibn Mardanīs͟h, and during the whole year of 570/1175 did not leave Seville. This second stay of Yūsuf in al-Andalus had already lasted almost five years when he suddenly left for Marrākus͟h.

At this time a severe epidemic was raging over the whole empire. Yūsuf lost several of his brothers and he himself remained ill for a long time while Alfonso VIII was besieging Cuenca and, after nine months, in October 1177, forced this famous fortress to surrender. The garrisons of Cordova and Seville tried to relieve it by a diversionary move towards Talavera and Toleda, but with no practical results.

After the loss of Cuenca, Yūsuf, who had recovered his health, consulted with his brothers, the governors of Cordova and Seville, on ways and means to cut short the ever-increasing agressiveness of the Christians. The armistice with Portugal had expired and the crown-prince, Sancho, earned his spurs by invading the valley of the lower Guadalquivir, attacking Triana, then Niebla and the whole of the Algarve. Beja had again to be evacuated.

Yūsuf found no other way to withstand these attacks but to transport to Morocco and al-Andalus the Arabs of Ifrīḳiya, but seeing that they were becoming more and more turbulent, under the leadership of ʿAlī, a descendant of the Banu 'l-Rand, lords of Ḳafṣa [*q.v.*] (Gafsa), who had revolted there, he took the field to stifle that dangerous centre of dissidence and to force the Arabs to join the holy war in Spain. He left Marrākus͟h for Ifrīḳiya, and after a siege of three months took Ḳafṣa, in the winter of 576/1180-1. ʿAlī, surnamed al-Ṭawīl, capitulated and the Riyāḥ pretended to submit. Only a small section of them, however, followed Yūsuf; the greater part remained in Ifrīḳiya, ready to support any attempt at revolt against the Almohads, and to lend assistance to Karāḳūs͟h [*q.v.*] and the Banū G͟hāniya [*q.v.*].

In the meantime, in the Iberian peninsula, an advance of Alfonso VIII towards Ecija and the taking of Santafila, near Lora del Rio, coincided with a Portuguese invasion towards San Lucar la Mayor, Aznalfarche and Niebla, and with the revolt in the Anti-Atlas of the Banū Wāwazgīt, who occupied the silver mine of Zad͟jundar. The caliph had to go in person to subdue the rebels, while Ibn Wānūdīn led a razzia against Talavera. Finally Yūsuf, after undertaking the extension of Marrākus͟h to the southward and enlarging the walls during the summer of 579/1183—an enterprise continued later by his son, Yaʿḳūb, by the building of the imperial quarter of al-Ṣāliḥa—decided, in spite of the discouraging example of Huete, to engage all his forces in a campaign designed to put a brake to the audacity of the Portuguese.

The preparations for the expedition and the concentration of the troops were very ample, but also took a long time. In May, Castille and Leon had concluded the peace of Fresno-Lavandera and engaged themselves to fight together against the Muslims—Ferdinand on his part renouncing his old alliance with the Almohads. Three months later, Yūsuf started collecting his troops. On 16 Rabīʿ I 580/27 June 1184, he appeared before Santarem (S͟hantarīn). The Portuguese had had about ten months to prepare the defence of the fortress, almost impregnable without a long siege. It cost the Almohads much trouble to take the suburb near the river, and at the end of a week's useless efforts and tenacious resistance, the approach of Ferdinand II with his Leonese spread terror in the Almohad army which, in panic, re-crossed the river. The caliph was mortally wounded when raising camp and died near Evora, on the road to Seville, on 18 Rabīʿ II 580/29 July 1184.

Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf was considered as the most

gifted of the Almohad caliphs. The son of a Maṣmūdī woman—the daughter of the *ḳāḍī* Ibn ʿImrān—and born in the heart of the Atlas, in Tīnmallal, he was instructed in Marrākush in the doctrine of the *tawḥīd*. Nevertheless, in spite of his Maghribi birth and education, his long stay in Seville, where he arrived at the age of seventeen years, made of him an Andalusian litterateur as refined as one of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. Surrounded by famous philosophers, physicians and poets, he perfected his literary knowledge and developed his artistic taste. Seduced by the charm of Seville, he gave it back the title of capital of al-Andalus, which had been taken away by his father at the end of his reign, and endowed it with numerous monuments and public works. He took pleasure in taking part in the scientific meetings adorned by men like Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rushd and Ibn Zuhr, who, encouraged by him, produced their most celebrated works.

At the same time, thanks to the terror with which his father had imposed his authority, this friend of scholarship was able to enjoy an absolute power in the Maghrib. Ifrīḳiya was still under his control and the dangerous enclave of Ibn Mardanīsh in Murcia disappeared. Yet in spite of appearances, the ceaseless war against the Christians in al-Andalus made manifest his incapacity as a military leader, the low morale of his enormous armies and the inefficiency of his commissariat. The small Christian states of the Peninsula, though divided by internal quarrels, could, in spite of their lack of men and resources, inflict on him the severest reverses. His urgent desire to pursue the *djihād* did not suffice to check the Christians' drive, and led to his death before the Portuguese castle of Santarem.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, iv, transl. Huici, Tetuan 1953, 1-84; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib* (Dozy), 169 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 318 ff.; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, Fez, 130 ff.; *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya* (Allouche), 131, transl. Huici, 188; R. Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 167, ii, 443-80; *Primera Crónica General* (R. Menéndez Pidal), i, 675; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 126-214; da Silva Tarouca, *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis de Portugal*, i, 99 ff. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

ABU L-YAḲẒĀN MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**AFLAḤ** [see RUSTAMIDES].

ABŪ YAʿLĀ B. AL-**FARRĀʾ** [see IBN AL-FARRĀʾ].

ABŪ YAZĪD (BĀYAZĪD) ṬAYFŪR B. ʿĪSĀ B. SURŪSHĀN AL-**BISṬĀMĪ**, one of the most celebrated Islamic mystics. With the exception of short periods, during which he was obliged to live far from his home town owing to the hostility of orthodox theologians, he spent his life in Bisṭām in the province of Ḳūmis. There he died in 261/874 or 264/877-8. The Ilkhānid Uldjaytu Muḥammad Khudābanda is reputed to have had a dome erected over his grave in the year 713/1313. He wrote nothing, but some five hundred of his sayings have been handed down. In part they are extremely daring and imply a state of mind in which the mystic has an experience of himself as of one merged with the deity and turned into God (*ʿayn al-djamʿ*). They were collected and handed down by his circle and people who visited him, in the first place by his disciple and attendant Abū Mūsā (I) ʿĪsā b. Ādam, son of his elder brother Ādam. From him the celebrated ṣūfī of Baghdād, al-Djunayd, received sayings of this nature in Persian and translated them into Arabic (*Nūr*, 108, 109, 122). The chief traditionist from Abū Mūsā is his son Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, known as "ʿAmmī", from whom the tradition was handed down by "the lesser Ṭayfūr" b. ʿĪsā, whose place in the family genealogy is not quite clear, and by other traditionists. Among the visitors who recorded sayings of Abū Yazīd must be named in the first place Abū Mūsā (II) al-Dabīlī, of Dabīl in Armenia (*Nūr*, 55) and Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Harawī, known as Istanba (Satanba), a pupil of Ibrāhīm b. Adham (*Ḥilya*, x, 43-4) and the celebrated Ṣūfī Aḥmad b. Khiḍrōya who visited him on the pilgrimage. Abū Yazīd was a friend of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. Djunayd wrote a commentary on his utterances, portions of which are preserved in *al-Lumaʿ* of al-Sarrādj. The most circumstantial source on Abū Yazīd's life and sayings is the *Kitāb al-Nūr fī Kalimāt Abī Yazīd Ṭayfūr*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sahl al-Sahlagī al-Bisṭāmī, born 389/998-9, died 476/984 (not quite satisfactory edition by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, i, Cairo 1949). Amongst al-Sahlagī's authorities the most important are: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīrāzī Ibn Bābōya, the celebrated biographer of al-Ḥallādj, died 442/1050, whom al-Sahlagī met in the year 419 or 416 (*Nūr*, 138) and Shaykh al- Mashāʾikh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Dāstānī (Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, ch. xii). The *al-Ḳaṣd ilā Allāh* of the pseudo-Djunayd contains a legendary embellishment of Abū Yazīd's "Journey to Heaven" (R. A. Nicholson, *An early Arabic version of the Miʿráj of Abú Yazíd al-Bisṭámí*, in *Islamica*, 1926, 402-15).

Abū Yazīd's teacher in ṣūfism was a mystic who was ignorant of Arabic, by name Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī, whom he had to teach the Ḳurʾān verses necessary for prayer, but who in return introduced him to the *the* Unio Mystica. It is not impossible that Indian influences may have affected Abū Yazīd through him. Abū Yazīd was, in contrast for instance with the later ṣūfīs Abū Isḥāḳ al-Kāzarūnī and Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr, a wholly introvert ṣūfī. He did not exercise, as they did, a social activity (*khidmat al-fuḳarāʾ*), yet was ready to save humanity, by vicarious suffering, from hell. He even finds words to criticize the infernal punishment meted out to the damned, who are, after all, but a handful of dust. The "numinous" sense is extremely highly developed in him, together with a sense of horror and awe before the Deity, in whose presence he always felt himself an unbeliever, just about to lay aside the girdle of the magians (*zunnār*). His passionate aspiration is aimed at absolutely freeing himself through systematic work upon himself ("I was the smith of my own self": *ḥaddād nafsī*), of all obstacles separating him from God (*ḥudjub*), with the object of "attaining to Him". He describes this process in extremely interesting autobiographical sayings with partly grandiose images. The "world" (*dunyā*), "flight from the world" (*zuhd*), "worship of God" (*ʿibādāt*), miracles (*karāmāt*), *dhikr*, even the mystic stages (*maḳāmāt*) are for him no more than so many barriers holding him from God. When he has finally shed his "I" in *fanāʾ* "as snakes their skin" and reached the desired stage, his changed self-consciousness is expressed in those famous hybrid utterances (*shaṭaḥāt*) which so scandalized and shocked his contemporaries: "*Subḥānī! Mā aʿẓama shaʾnī*"—"Glory be to me! How great is My majesty!"; "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee"; "I am the throne and the footstool"; "I am the Well-preserved Tablet"; "I saw the Kaʿba walking round me"; and so on. In meditation he made flights into the supersensible

world; these earned him the censure that he claimed to have experienced a *miʿrādj* in the same way as the Prophet. He was in the course of them decorated by God with His Singleness (*waḥdāniyya*) and clothed with His "I-ness" (*ananiyya*), but shrank from showing himself in that state to men; or flew with the wings of everlastingness (*daymūmiyya*) through the air of "no-quality" (*lā-kayfiyya*) to the ground of eternity (*azaliyya*) and saw the tree of "one-ness" (*aḥadiyya*), to realise that "all that was illusion" or that it "was himself" who was all that, etc. In such utterances he appears to have reached the ultimate problem of all mysticism. A later legend makes him solve with ease conundrums put to him in a Christian monastery, thus effecting the wholesale conversion of the monastery to Islam.

Bibliography: Sarrādj, *Lumaʿ*, ed. Nicholson, 380-93 and indexes; Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 67-74; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, MS Nāfidh Pasha 425, 38a-41b; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, 62 ff.; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, x, 33-42; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1318, 16-7; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, ch. xi, no. 12; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, i, *Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*, Cairo 1949—contains the *Kitāb al-Nūr* of Sahlagī, the relevant excerpts from Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī's *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, the *Ṭabaḳāt* of al-Sulamī and the legendary story about the monks. (This last is treated by A. J. Arberry, *A Bisṭāmī legend*, *JRAS* 1938, 89-91. It also exists in Turkish, MS Eyyūb Mihrshāh Sulṭān, 202 and 443; Fātiḥ 5334; in Arabic, Fātiḥ 5381.) Rūzbihān Baḳlī, *Sharḥ al-Shaṭhiyyāt*, MS Shehid ʿAlī Pasha 1342, 14b-26b; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 364 ff.; ʿAttār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, 134 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1275, i, 339; Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-Mu'minīn*, m. 6; Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, 338-41; R. A. Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1906, 325 ff.; L. Massignon, *Essai ... mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 243-56. Picture of his tomb in Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla Muḥ. Ḥasan Khān, *Maṭlaʿ al-Shams*, Teheran 1301, i, 69-70; E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Berlin 1917, 69.

(H. RITTER)

ABŪ YAZĪD MAKHLAD B. KAYDĀD AL-**NUKKĀRĪ**, Khāridjite leader (belonging to the Ibāḍī al-Nukkār [*q.v.*]), who by his revolt shook the Fāṭimid realm in North Africa to its foundations. His father, a Zanāta Berber merchant from Taḳyūs (or Tûzar) in the district of Ḳastīliya, bought in Tadmakat a slave girl called Sabīka, who bore him Abū Yazīd about 270/883 (apparently in the Sūdān). Abū Yazīd studied the Ibāḍī *madhhab* and became a schoolmaster in Tāhart. At the time of the victory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī he moved to Taḳyūs and started, in 316/928, his anti-government propaganda. After a first arrest, when he was, however, immediately released, he went to the Awrās mountain among the Hawwāra clan of the Banū Kamlān, among whom he gained a large following (they remained to the end his staunchest supporters); the Nukkārī *imām* Abū ʿAmmār al-Aʿmā ceded to him the leadership. Abū Yazīd was arrested in Tūzar, but Abū ʿAmmār broke into the prison and liberated him. He spent a year in the district of Sumāṭa, after which he returned to the Awrās.

In 332/943 he started his revolt. He took Tabissa and Marmādjanna (where he received as a present his favourite riding donkey, whence his surname *ṣāḥib al-ḥimār*), al-Urbus (Laribus; 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 332), Bādja (13 Muḥarram 333), and entered al-Ḳayrawān on 23 Ṣafar, executing the Fāṭimid commander Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ and the *ḳāḍī* of the city. The Sunnīs of al-Ḳayrawān were at first not unsympathetic to one who, though a heretic himself, liberated them from Fāṭimid rule (for the attitude of the Mālikī *fuḳahā'* cf. Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-Nufūs*, analyzed by H. R. Idris, in *REI*, 1936, 80-7; Abu 'l-ʿArab, ed. Ben Cheneb (*Classes des Savants de l'Ifrīqiya*), introd., viii f., xvi); but the exactions of the Berbers alienated them more and more. On the other hand the stricter sectarians became not a little dissatisfied when they saw their leader abandon his former simple habits, wear silken garments and mount a thoroughbred horse.

Leaving his son Faḍl and Abū ʿAmmār in al Kayrawān, Abū Yazīd engaged and defeated, on 12 Rabīʿ I, the Fāṭimid general Maysūr (whom he killed) and approached al-Mahdiyya. After an attempt to take the city by storm (3 Djumādā II), during which he reached the *muṣallā* (according to a celebrated Fāṭimid legend, it had been foretold by al-Mahdī that a future, very dangerous, rebel would reach that *muṣallā*, but would not get farther), he laid siege to it. After repeated attempts throughout Djumādā II, Radjab and Shawwāl to storm the city, and after counterattacks by the besieged in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 333 and Ṣafar 334, Abū Yazīd withdrew to al-Ḳayrawān. He made repentance for his luxury and returned to his former simple life; and so the Berbers again flocked to his standard. Heavy fighting went on round Tūnis (which changed hands several times) and Bādja; in Rabīʿ II Ayyūb, a son of Abū Yazīd, was seriously defeated by the Fāṭimid general al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī but soon took his revenge. Al-Ḥasan retired to the Kutāma country, and established himself firmly (taking Tīdjis and Bāghāya) in the rear of Abū Yazīd. On 6 Djumādā II Abū Yazīd laid siege to Sūsa. Al-Ḳā'im died on 13 Shawwāl, and a small cavalry detachment sent out from al-Mahdiyya by his successor, al-Manṣūr, succeeded in routing Abū Yazīd before Sūsa (21 Shawwāl), so that he hastily returned to al-Ḳayrawān. In the meantime, the populace of al-Ḳayrawān had risen against Abū ʿAmmār and now excluded Abū Yazīd from the city. Al-Manṣūr entered al-Ḳayrawān on 23 Shawwāl; after several futile attacks on the Fatimid army entrenched in the city (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 334, Muḥarram 335) and after a heavy battle on 13 Muḥarram, Abū Yazīd withdrew towards the west. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī moved against some of the remaining garrisons of Abū Yazīd (such as that in Bādja) and joined the army of al-Manṣūr. The fleet of the Umayyad admiral Ibn Rumāḥis, which was on its way to Ifrīḳiya, turned back on the news of Abū Yazīd's rout. (For the embassies of Abū Yazīd to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, cf. also Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 228 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 103-4.)

Abū Yazīd fled westwards, al-Manṣūr close on his heels. Al-Manṣūr left al-Ḳayrawān on 26 Rabīʿ I, reached (via Sabība and Marmādjanna) Bāghāya, and from there pursued Abū Yazīd to Billizma, Ṭubna and Biskra (which he reached on 5 Djumādā I). From there he returned to Ṭubna, defeated Abū Yazīd near Maḳḳara (12 Djumādā I) and entered al-Masīla. Abū Yazīd fled to Djabal Sālāt; when al-Manṣūr searching for him in vain in that wild country, went westwards to the Ṣinhādja country, Abū Yazīd, in the rear of al-Manṣūr, besieged al-Masīla. Al-Manṣūr returned and entered al-Masīla on 5 Radjab, on which Abū Yazīd took refuge in the mountains of ʿAḳār and Kiyāna. Leaving al-

Masīla on 10 Shaʿbān, al-Manṣūr defeated Abū Yazīd in a heavy battle; in Ramaḍān, he again defeated Abū Yazīd, who retired to the fortress of Kiyāna (overlooking what was later to be Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād). On 2 Shawwāl al-Manṣūr besieged the fortress, which was entered on 22 Muḥarram 336; at night, the last remaining warriors carried Abū Yazīd and Abū ʿAmmār from the citadel. Abū ʿAmmār was killed, while Abū Yazīd had a fall and was captured. The curious conversation that passed between al-Manṣūr and his captive has been recorded. Abū Yazīd died of his wounds in 27 Muḥarram/ 19 August 947. His body, stuffed with straw, was exposed to the insults of the mob in al-Mahdiyya. Faḍl, the son of Abū Yazīd, gave some further trouble in the Awrās and the district of Ḳafṣa, till he was defeated and killed in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 336. Other sons of Abū Yazīd found a shelter at the court of the Umayyads in Cordova.

Bibliography: The main source is a contemporary Fāṭimid chronicle of which the substance has been preserved in Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, second half of vol. v. The same chronicle was used by Ibn al-Raḳīḳ in his lost history of Ifrīḳiya. The whole account of Ibn Ḥammādū (Vanderheyden), 18 ff., is no doubt taken from Ibn al-Raḳīḳ. Ibn Shaddād, in his lost history of al-Ḳayrawān, also no doubt copied Ibn al-Raḳīk, while Ibn al-Athīr's account, viii, 315 ff., still easily recognizable as an abstract of the Fāṭimid chronicle, evidently goes back to Ibn Shaddād. The passages in Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 17, 18-9, 20-1, 233-5 (transl. in *JA*, 1852, 96 ff., 101 ff., 106 ff., 1953, 363 ff.) are taken from Ibn al-Raḳīḳ.—Further references: Abū Zakariyyāʾ (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, transl. Masqueray), Algiers 1879, 226 ff.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* (Colin and Lévi-Provençal), i, 316 (quotes Ibn Hammādū—6th/12th century, not identical with the Ibn Ḥammādū quoted above—Ibn Saʿdūn and Ibn al-Raḳīḳ); Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* (Bunz), while mainly deriving from Ibn al-Athīr, has some additional notes (55, 56-7).—Cf. also G. Marçais, *La Berberie et l'Orient*, 147-53; R. Le Tourneau, *La révolte d'Abû-Yazîd, Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1953, 103-125. (S. M. STERN)

ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB B. IBRĀHĪM AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KŪFĪ, a prominent religious lawyer, one of the founders of the Ḥanafī [*q.v.*] school of law. Abū Yūsuf was of pure Arab extraction; his ancestor, Saʿd b. Ḥabta, was a youth in Medina in the time of the Prophet. (For details of his genealogy, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiv, 243.) His date of birth, reckoned backwards from the date of his death, is rather arbitrarily given as 113. According to an anecdote, the several versions of which are mutually contradictory, he was a poor boy, was helped by his teacher Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] who recognized his worth, and achieved success beyond every expectation. All we know is that he studied religious law and traditions in Kūfa and in Medina, under Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik b. Anas, al-Layth b. Saʿd and others (a reasonably complete and authentic list of his teachers is given by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiv, 242), and lived in Kūfa until he was appointed *ḳāḍī* in Baghdād; he held this office until his death in 182/798. He is reported to have visited Baṣra in 176 and in 180. It is not certain whether he was appointed by al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, or Hārūn al-Rashīd. According to a story which al-Tanūkhī (d. 384) heard from his father (*Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, 123 ff.), Abū Yūsuf was able to assure on a point of religious law an officer who rewarded him generously and later had occasion to recommend him to the caliph Hārūn. As he succeeded in giving a satisfactory opinion to the caliph too, the caliph drew him near to his person and finally appointed him *ḳāḍī*. This version has a certain inner probability, but cannot for that reason alone be regarded as authentic. It is certain, however, that by his practical sense he soon became friendly with, and even made himself indispensable to, Hārūn al-Rashīd. By exaggerating this achievement, both his friends and his detractors made him into the prototype of the unprincipled lawyer who would find an easy way out of any legal difficulty for his clients and for himself. The existence of his *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* and the misunderstandings of the serious legal purpose underlying it, could not fail to reinforce that misconception. (Cf. Schacht, in *Isl.*, 1926, 217.) Al-Rashīd conferred upon him the title of Grand Cadi or *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* for the first time in Islam. This was then merely an honorific title given to the *ḳāḍī* of the capital, but the caliph not only consulted Abū Yūsuf on the administration of Muhammadan justice, on financial policy, and on similar questions, but on the appointment of other *ḳāḍīs* in the empire.

His son Yūsuf became a *ḳāḍī* during the lifetime of his father, as his substitute for the western side of Baghdad; he died in 192. His most prominent disciple was al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*].

The literary output of Abū Yūsuf must have been considerable. The *Fihrist* mentions a list of titles of works which, with one exception, have not survived. The exception is the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, a treatise on public finance, taxation, criminal justice, and kindred subjects, which Abū Yūsuf wrote at the request of Hārūn al-Rashīd (editio princeps of the Arabic text, Būlāḳ 1302; French transl. by E. Fagnan, Paris 1921). Three further works which are undoubtedly genuine, though they do not appear in the ancient bibliography of Abū Yūsuf, have been preserved: the *Kitāb al-Āthār*, a collection of the Kūfian traditions that Abū Yūsuf transmitted (Cairo 1355), the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfa wa-Ibn Abī Laylā*, a comparison of the opinions of the two authorities of Kūfa mentioned in the title (Cairo 1357; also in al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 87-150), and the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī*, a reasoned refutation, with broad systematic developments, of the opinions of the Syrian scholar al-Awzāʿī on the law of war (Cairo, n.d.; also in al-Shāfiʿī, *ibid.*, 303-36). The *Fihrist* mentions at least two titles of the same comparative and polemical kind: the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Amṣār* and the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Mālik b. Anas*. Finally, extracts from Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* (Book of legal devices) were incorporated by his disciple al-Shaybānī in his *Kitāb al-Makhāridj fi 'l-Ḥiyal* (ed. Schacht, Leipzig 1930). Several statements on principles and methods in his polemical treatises (e.g. *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī*, par. 5) show Abū Yūsuf's interest in legal theory (cf. *Fihrist*, 203_{17}), but, contrary to what is sometimes affirmed, he did not write special works on the subject.

The doctrine of Abū Yūsuf, on the whole, presupposes the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa, whom he regarded as his master. The points on which Abū Yūsuf diverged from him are therefore more relevant for appreciating Abū Yūsuf's own legal thought than those on which both are in agreement. The most prominent peculiarity of Abū Yūsuf's doctrine is that he is more dependent on traditions than his master, because there were more authoritative

traditions from the Prophet in existence in his time. Secondly, the doctrine of Abū Yūsuf often represents a reaction against Abū Ḥanīfa's somewhat unrestrained reasoning; but Abū Yūsuf was by no means consistent, and in a certain number of cases he abandoned, by diverging from Abū Ḥanīfa, the sounder or more highly developed doctrine. Thirdly, we can discern in Abū Yūsuf's legal thought certain favourite processes of reasoning, such as the *reductio ad absurdum*, and a habit of rather acrimonious polemics. Finally, a remarkable feature of Abū Yūsuf's doctrine is the frequency with which he changed his opinions, not always for the better. Sometimes the contemporary sources state directly, and in other cases it is probable, that Abū Yūsuf's experience as a judge caused him to change his opinion. Abū Yūsuf represents the beginning of the process by which the ancient school of the ʿIrāḳians of Kūfa was replaced by that of the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 203; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 242 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 834 (trans. de Slane, iv, 272 ff.); al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djanān*, i, 382 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa ʾl-Nihāya*, x, 180 ff.; Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥa ʾl-Islām*, ii, 198 ff.; Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, *Ḥusn al-Taḳāḍī*, Cairo 1948; K. Kufrali, in *IA*, iv, 59 f.; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950; Brockelmann, I, 177, S I, 288. (J. SCHACHT)

ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB B. YŪSUF B. ʿABD AL-MUʾMIN AL-**MANṢŪR**, third ruler of the Muʾminid [*q.v.*] (Almohad) dynasty reigned 580-95/1184-99. On the death of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf before Santarem on 18 Rabīʿ II 580/29 July 1184, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, bringing back the body of his father, reached Seville, where he was proclaimed on 1 Djumādā I/10 August. He hastened to Marrākush, took the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, issued several severe financial edicts and demanded from his subjects the strictest orthodoxy. He attempted for some time to administer justice himself at public audiences and satisfied his passion for construction by endowing his empire with important buildings. Finding the Almoravid Dār al-Ḥadjar, where his father and grandfather had lived, too cramped, he built the suburb of al-Ṣāliḥa, in order to take up his own residence there. But scarcely had he begun this enterprise when he received news of the landing of the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] in Bidjāya (Bougie).

As soon as the news of the disaster of Santarem reached Majorca, the Banū Ghāniya, rejecting the Almohad offers for submission and encouraged by the partisans of the Ḥammādids in Bidjāya, fitted out a squadron which took Bidjāya on 19 Ṣafar 581/22 May 1185. ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, profiting from the disorganization caused by the capture of Bidjāya, also took Algiers, Miliana, Ashīr and Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād. The reaction of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb was instantaneous. An army, assisted by the naval squadron of Ceuta, recaptured in the spring of 582/1186 Algiers, Bidjāya and the other places that had passed into the possession of the Almoravids, and marched against ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, then besieging Constantine. The Almoravid leader, abandoning the siege, retired hastily towards the Djarīd. There he took Tūzar and Ḳafṣa (Gafsa) and made an alliance with Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*] in Tripoli. Thus only Tūnis and al-Mahdiyya remained in the hands of the Almohads in Ifrīḳiya. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, in these circumstances, decided to lead a great expedition to the east. He marched to Tūnis and from there sent against the rebels and their allies a strong force, which was, however, defeated on 15 Rabīʿ II 583/24 June 1187 in the plain of ʿUmra, near Ḳafṣa. The Almohad caliph took his revenge for this reverse three months later, at al-Ḥamma (9 Shaʿbān/14 Oct.). The whole south of Ifrīḳiya was again subjected to Almohad domination and the sovereign returned to the west, reaching Tlemcen. Soon, however, the troubles broke out again in Ifrīḳiya, in spite of the death of of Alī b. Ghāniya, which occured shortly afterwards. Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya, brother of ʿAli, was able to sustain, with uncommon energy and ability, the struggle against the Almohad empire for almost another half-century, causing it grave anxieties.

On the other hand, it was time for Abū Yūsuf to turn his attention to the Iberian Peninsula, which he had left five years before, and to check the attacks of the Portuguese and the Castilians. While the Muʾminid ruler was making his preparations, Sancho I, with the help of strong Crusader contingents on their way to Palestine, laid siege to Silves (Shilb), on the south coast. After a siege of three months, the place was taken on 20 Radjab 585/3 Sept. 1189. At the same time, the king of Castille had taken the field against the Almohad possessions and attacked Magacela, Reina, Alcala de Guadaira and Calasparra. In 586/1190 Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb took the counter-offensive. He imposed an armistice on the Castillians and Leonese, and then attacked the Portuguese fortresses of Torres Novas and Tomar, to the north of Santarem, while another army besieged Silves. Torres Novas, unable to resist, had to capitulate, but Tomar, defended by the Templars, resisted and the garrison made vigorous sallies. Lack of food and an epidemic that broke out in the Almohad camp forced the caliph to raise the siege of both Tomar and Silves.

Next year, the caliph again led an expedition in the same direction. After storming several fortresses to the south of the Tagus, such as Alcacer do Sol, Palmella and Almada, he captured Silves by surprise on 25 Djumādā II 587/10 July 1191.

In 589/1193, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, who had supervised personally the works undertaken in Rabat, ordered the construction of the fortress of Ḥiṣn al-Faradj (Aznalfarache) near Seville, on the highest and narrowest part of the Ajarafe (al-Sharaf); it was thereafter celebrated by the poets in a great quantity of verses. Shortly afterwards, however, he had to organize a new expedition against Christian Spain, as the armistice signed in 1190 had expired and Alfonso VIII boldly attacked the region of Seville. Abū Yūsuf had again to cross the Straits and make for Seville, whence he departed, without loss of time, via Cordova, for the col of Muradal, to meet the army of Alfonso VIII. On 8 Shaʿbān 591/18 July 1195, took place the famous battle of Alarcos (al-Arak [*q.v.*]), where the Castilians were severely defeated. The Almohads captured five strongholds situated in the region of the Campo de Calatrava. On his return to Seville, the sovereign took, to mark his victory, the honorific title of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh.

Next spring, Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, eager to exploit his victory, took Montanchez, Trujillo and Santa Cruz and devastated, in the valley of the Tagus, the region of Talavera. He pushed even as far as the *vega* of Toledo and laid waste its vineyards and orchards. Another expedition next year led him without success as far as Madrid, (which was defended by Diego Lopez de Haro), Alcalá de Henares and Guadalajara.

On his return to Marrākus̲h̲, worn out by illness, he appointed his son Muḥammad as his heir and retired from public life, to spend his time in devotional exercises and pious works, such as the foundation of a magnificent hospital and distributions of alms. He obliged the Jews to wear a special sign to distinguish them from the Muslims. During the last days of his life he was assailed by remorse for having ordered the execution of some of his nearest relations. He assembled in his palace in al-Ṣāliḥa the Almohad *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* and the members of his family and informed them of his last wishes. It seems that the date of his death can be fixed with certainty on 22 Rabīʿ I 595/23 Jan. 1199.

The reign of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr marks the apogee of the Almohad empire. His energetic character, the care and rigorousness with which he supervised the administration of his dominions and his personal courage made it possible for him to defeat all his enemies, in Ifrīḳiya as well as in Spain, to raise the moral of his armies and to pass into the memory of posterity surrounded by an aureole of legend. His magnificent constructions in the imperial suburb of al-Ṣāliḥa and the mosque of the Booksellers (*d̲j̲āmiʿ al-Kutubiyyīn*) in Marrākus̲h̲ with its splendid minaret, the Giralda of Seville and the ensemble of the mosque of Ḥassān in Rabat show that he was the glorious continuator of the monumental work undertaken by his father and grandfather. His riches, the splendour of his court, his desire to be surrounded by scholars, his success in the holy war, have blinded his admirers and prevented them from observing the germs of decomposition hidden behind such a brilliant façade. In al-Andalus, in spite of his success in Portugal and Castille, he could hardly contain the Christian drive, while in Ifrīḳiya the Arabo-Majorcan revolt, stifled but always reviving, opened in the flank of the empire the deep wound which soon drained it of all force and energy. When the vigour and the skill of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr were no longer at the helm of the Almohad ship of state, it was inevitable that it should run upon the rocks and sink, during the reign of his successors, children or youths, who were, for most of the time, to show a total lack of ability.

Bibliography: *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, 27 ff.; idem, *Un recueil de lettres officielle almohades*, index; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *al-Bayān al-Mug̲h̲rib*, iv, transl. Huici, Tetuan 1953, 85 ff.; Marrākus̲h̲ī, *Muʿd̲j̲ib* (Dozy), 189 ff.; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 189 ff.; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, Fez, 137; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xii, 74, 75; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, no. 800; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyārī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār* (Lévi-Provençal), 18; Zarkas̲h̲ī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Dawlatayn*, transl. Fagnan, 17; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 289, 90; *Primera Crónica General* (R. Menéndez Pidal), i, 678; *Chronique des rois de Castille* (Cirot), 41, app. xi; A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghaniya*, 38 ff.; da Silva Tarouca, *Cronicas dos sete reis de Portugal*, i, 151; Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1952.

(A. Huici Miranda)

ABŪ ẒABĪ (commonly written Abū D̲h̲abī), a town (54° 22' E. long., 24° 29' N. lat.) and s̲h̲ayk̲h̲dom on the Trucial Coast of Arabia. The population of the town, the only settlement of any size in the s̲h̲ayk̲h̲dom, is several thousand. The most prominent structure is the ruler's fortresslike palace.

The town is said to have been founded about 1174-5/1761 by Banī Yās [*q.v.*], a tribe then ranging in the interior of al-Ẓafra [*q.v.*]. No evidence points to any earlier settlement on the site, which lies on the seaward side of a triangular island separated from the mainland by a narrow ford (al-Maḳtaʿ). The island is relatively secure from attacks by land and has a partially protected harbour for small craft, but the supply of drinking water is poor.

The chiefs of Banī Yās continued to reside in the interior until the accession of S̲h̲ak̲h̲būṭ b. D̲h̲iyāb of Āl Bū Falāḥ, the ruling clan, about 1209-10/1795. About 1214-5/1800 the Wahhābīs of Nad̲j̲d first appeared along the coast, but they developed close ties with the Ḳawāsim and the people of al-Buraymī rather than with Abū Ẓabī. Banī Yās do not appear to have come under Wahhābī influence until the accession of K̲h̲alīfa b. S̲h̲ak̲h̲būṭ in 1248/1833.

S̲h̲ak̲h̲būṭ signed the General Treaty of Peace sponsored by the British in 1235/1820 following the British expedition against Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma [*q.v.*]. In 1251/1835 Abū Ẓabī adhered to the first Maritime Truce, from which the Trucial Coast takes its name [cf. baḥr fāris]. An Exclusive Agreement in 1309/1892 gave Great Britain special rights in Abū Ẓabī, which like the other Trucial States is considered to be independent while under British protection. In 1357/1939 the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ of Abū Ẓabī granted an oil concession for 75 years which is operated by Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast) Ltd., an Iraq Petroleum Company associate; in 1372/1952 oil had not yet been found. Offshore drilling rights are held by other interests.

Zāyid b. K̲h̲alīfa (d. 1326/1908) during his reign of 53 years made Abū Ẓabī the leading power on the Trucial Coast, but during the successive reigns of his four sons Abū Ẓabī was surpassed in importance by al-S̲h̲āriḳa [*q.v.*] and Dubayy [*q.v.*], which developed more rapidly their relations with the modern world. The present ruler (1952) of Abū Ẓabī is S̲h̲ak̲h̲būṭ b. Sulṭān (acc. 1346-7/1928), a grandson of Zāyid.

Abū Ẓabī is by far the largest of the Trucial States, though most of its boundaries in the interior remain undefined. It claims a common land boundary with Ḳaṭar in the vicinity of al-ʿUdayd [*q.v.*] and extensive territory in al-Ẓafra, where members of Banī Yās still reside in some of the tiny villages of al-D̲j̲iwāʾ. Several villages of al-Buraymī belong to Āl Bū Falāḥ. Banī Yās are settled on some of the islands in the Gulf between the Trucial Coast and Ḳaṭar, and they visit others while engaged in pearling, fishing, and gathering firewood. Āl Bū Falāḥ are on friendly terms with many of the beduins of the hinterland, though in recent years the once firm connections with the Manāṣīr [*q.v.*] have grown weaker. (G. Rentz)

ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ AL-D̲J̲ANĀWUNĪ, Yaḥyā b. al-K̲h̲ayr, Ibāḍī scholar from the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa. He was a native of Id̲j̲nāwun (modern Djennaouen, near Djado, in the eastern part of the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa; cf. J. Despois, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1935, 213 and passim). Al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ī mentions him amongst the personages of the 6th/12th century. He was the grandson of another Ibāḍī scholar from the D̲j̲abal Nafūsa, Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr Tūzīn al-D̲j̲anāwunī, contemporary of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr Tūzīn al-Zawāg̲h̲ī. As the latter lived under the reign of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (406-54/1016-62; see al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ī, *al-Siyar*, 335-9), Abū Zakariyyāʾ can probably be assigned to the first half of the 6th/12th century. He studied under the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Abī Hārūn in the mosque of Ibnāyn (D̲j̲abal Nafūsa) and became

famous in Ibāḍī literature by the breadth of his learning and by his works, mainly on jurisprudence. Al-Barrādī quotes in his catalogue of Ibāḍī books, written shortly after 775/1373-4, a work by Abū Zakariyyāʾ, without giving its title. According to him the work contained seven parts, on fasting, marriage and divorce, testaments, salaries, judgments, preemption and security. The *K. al-Ṣawm*, on fasting, has been autographed in Cairo, 1310, and the *K. al-Nikāḥ*, about marriage and divorce, has been published in Egypt, with a marginal gloss by Muḥammad Abū Sitta al-Ḳaṣbī; the other parts are unpublished. Abū Zakariyyāʾ write also *al-Lamʿ* (or *al-Waḍʿ*), printed in Cairo (with a marginal gloss by Muḥammad Abū Sitta al-Ḳaṣbī) in 1305. It deals with dogmatics (1-116) and ritual law: ablutions, purification, prayer, alms, pilgrimage, etc. (117-692).

Bibliography: Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 535-7; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, 1885, 22; idem *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 89, n. 1; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, *JA*, 1899/ii, 98.

(A. DE MOTYLINSKI-T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ AL-WARDJLĀNĪ, YAḤYĀ B. ABĪ BAKR, historian of the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. The Ibāḍi chroniclers al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century) and al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522) who took the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ as the basis for their own works, give but scanty details about him and do not indicate the date either of his birth or of his death. From al-Dardjīnī it is known at least that he was a native of Wardjlān (Ouargla) and that he studied in the Wādī Rīgh (Oued Righ) under the Ibāḍī *shaykh* Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Ikhlaf al-Mazātī (d. 471/1078-9). Thus the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ must have been written at the end of the 5th/11th or the beginning of the 6th/12th century. According to an Ibāḍī tradition of Wardjlān, Abū Zakariyyāʾ died and was buried in that place, or perhaps in the neighbouring oasis of Sadrāta.

The chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *al-Sīra wa-Akhbār al-Aʾimma*, is the oldest document concerning the history of the Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib written by a member of the sect. It contains important information on the introduction and the development of the Ibāḍī doctrine in the Maghrib, the history of the Rustamids, their fall, the struggle of the Ibāḍīs against the Fāṭimids, as well as on the lives of the famous *shaykhs* of the community up to the time of the author. The work, not yet published, consists of two parts; the not very numerous manuscripts are generally modern; those especially of the second part are rare and very faulty. The most important part has been translated by E. Masqueray (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878) in a rather mediocre way, after a very bad manuscript. A table of contents has been given by A. de Motylinski.

According to al-Barrādī's catalogue of Ibāḍī works (8th/14th century) Abū Zakariyyāʾ was also the author of letters and decisions on dogmatic theology.

Bibliography: Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 427-8 and passim; Dardjīnī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashaʾikh* (in MS); Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1283, ii, 400 ff.; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, *Bull. de Coor. Afr.*, 1885, 27, 36-8, 39, 42; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, *JA*, 1899/i, 424-5. An edition and new translation of the chronicle of A. Z. by Dalet and R. Le Tourneau is in preparation. (A. DE MOTYLINSKI-T. LEWICKI)

ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ B. KHALDŪN [see IBN KHALDŪN].

ABŪ ZAYD, legendary hero of the Banū Hilāl. In the cycle of romances relating to the Banū Hilāl he is represented as the son of Rizḳ, ruler of the Bilād al-Sarw, and Khadrāʾ, daughter of the *sharīf* of Mecca. He was black-skinned and his original name was Barakāt. After various adventures in Arabia Abū Zayd goes with his people to the Maghrib; there he is treacherously murdered by the other chief figure in the romances, Diyāb (or Dhiʾāb), but is avenged in turn by the killing of Diyāb. No documentary evidence has yet been found to determine whether Abū Zayd was a historical personage.—For details and bibliography, see HILĀL.

ABŪ ZAYD AL-ANṢĀRĪ, SAʿĪD B. AWS, Arab grammarian and lexicographer of the school of Baṣra. He belonged to the Medina tribe of Khazradj. A pupil of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], he was one of the few Baṣrians who went to Kūfa, where he collected, from al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*] the greater part of the poetic material which he used in his *K. al-Nawādir*. He was invited by al-Mahdī to come to Baghdād and died in 214 or 215/830-1. A contemporary of Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī, he was considered superior to them in grammar, but of his numerous treatises only two have survived: *K. al-Maṭar*, a collection of Arabic expressions concerning rain (ed. R. Gottheil, *JAOS*, xvi, 282-312; ed. L. Cheikho, *Mash.*, 1905) and *al-Nawādir fi'l-Lugha*, a collection of rare poems and phrases. This work was handed down by his pupils Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash; it has been published by S. Shartūnī, Beirut 1894. ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī wrote *al-Tanbīh ʿalā Aghlāṭ Abī Zayd fī Nawādirih* (cf. al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iv, 39; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1895, 318 ff.; H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 471 ff.).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 270; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 173-9; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Krenkow), in *RSO*, 1919, 141; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn* (Krenkow), 52-7; Ibn Khallikān, no. 262; G. Flügel, *Die gram. Schulen*, 70 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 162. (C. BROCKELMANN *)

ABŪ ZAYD [see AL-BALKHĪ].

ABŪ ZAYD [see AL-ḤARĪRĪ].

ABŪ ZAYYĀN I MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ SAʿĪD ʿUTHMĀN B. YAGHMURĀSAN, third sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. Proclaimed in Tlemcen on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 703/6 June 1304, he succeeded in having the siege of his capital by the Marīnid troops raised. He then chastised the tribes in the eastern part of his kingdom who had supported the enemy; the Tūdjīn Berbers were forced to submit and pay tribute, the Arab tribes were severely treated and driven back into the desert. On his return to Tlemcen, he devoted himself to repairing the damage caused by the siege, but died shortly afterwards, on 21 Shawwāl 707/14 April 1308.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS.

(A. COUR *)

ABŪ ZAYYĀN II MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ḤAMMŪ II, sovereign of the ʿAbd al-Wādid dynasty. During the lifetime of his father he was governor of Algiers and tried in vain, on his father's death, to seize power. He took refuge with the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, who led an expedition against Tlemcen and made it possible for Abū Zayyān to be proclaimed in Muḥarram 796/Nov.-Dec. 1393. He remained a faithful vassal of the Marīnids. A patron of men of letters and poets, he was assas-

sinated in 801/1398 after being driven from the throne by his brother Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh.

Bibliography: see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS..

(A. COUR *)

ABŪ ZAYYĀN III AḤMAD B. ABĪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH, second last ʿAbd al-Wādid ruler of Tlemcen. Thanks to the support of the Turks of Algiers he seized the power and was proclaimed in 947/1540. The Spaniards of Oran who supported his brother Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad undertook an expedition against Tlemcen, which failed (949/1543). After a second, victorious expedition, the Spaniards made it possible for Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad to seize the power (30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʾda 949/7 March 1543), but he was soon driven out by his own subjects, who restored Abū Zayyān to the throne. He declared himself a vassal of the Turks and reigned until his death in 957/1550.

Bibliography: Marmol Caravajal, *Description Générale de l'Afrique* (Fr. transl. by Perrot d'Ablancourt), Paris 1667, ii, 345 ff.; Haedo, *Epitome de los reyes de Argel*, Fr. transl. by Grammont, in *RAfr.*, xxiv, 231 ff.; Fey, *Hist. d'Oran*, 85 f.; Sander-Rang and Denis, *Fondation de la régence d'Alger*, Paris 1873; Barges, *Complément de l'Histoire des Beni Zeiyan*, 449 ff.; Ruff, *Domination espagnole a Oran sous le gouvernement du comte d'Alcaudete*, Paris 1900, 90 ff.; Cour, *L'Etablissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1900, 84 f.

(A. COUR *)

ABŪ ZAYYĀN [see MARĪNIDS].

ABŪ ḌIYĀ TEWFĪḲ BEY [see TEWFĪḲ BEY].

ABUʿĀM [see TĀFĪLĀLT].

ABUBACER [see IBN ṬUFAYL].

ABŪḲĪR, or BŪḲĪR, small town on the Mediterranean coast, 15 m. east of Alexandria, on the railway which links this town with Rosetta (Rashīd). The earliest Arab geographer to describe the position of Abūḳīr was al-Idrīsī. But before him Arab texts on Ancient Egypt refer to the building of a lighthouse: and European travellers certainly mention, on this route, towers intended to serve as landmarks. Eutychius tells of the passage to Abūḳīr of the relieving fleet which had been summoned from Ṭarsūs to protect Egypt against the Fāṭimids. Alī Pasha Mubārak, according to a source that has not been traced, relates that European pirates raided Abūḳīr on 27 Shaʿbān 764/11 June 1363, and carried off about sixty inhabitants, who were put up for sale at Sidon. It was the period of Bonaparte's expedition that made Abūḳīr famous, by Nelson's naval victory on 1 August 1798 and the extermination of the Turkish army on 25 July 1799. At Abūḳīr, on 8 March 1801, disembarked the English army which was to end the French occupation; and, finally, Abūḳīr was again an English operational base in March 1807. There was an excellent anchorage and good shelter at Abūḳīr at that time, but the village itself was miserable.

Amélineau erroneously believed that he had found the name Abūḳīr in the *Jacobite Synaxary*; the reference there is to a church in Old Cairo, dedicated to Apa Kyros.

Étienne Combe has studied at length the problem of the Alexandria-Rosetta route, as well as of the lakes along the coast, and has provided a rich bibliography of Arab writers and European travellers. In this work will be found the various transcriptions of the name of the locality, and the monotonous description of a somewhat difficult journey: a sandy region had to be crossed, uncultivated and uninhabited, with only a few palm-trees here and there to enliven the prospect. The three lakes, from west to east, bore the names Maryūṭ, Abūḳīr and Atkū. The only account of the lake of Abūḳīr which is at all detailed in the *Ṣubḥ* of al-Ḳalḳashandī, but he refers to the prosperity of the region as a thing of the past. Some few birds lived on the shores of the lake, whose waters teemed with fish. The mullet (*būrī*) which was caught there formed part of the food supply of Alexandria. On the banks were some large salinas, whose product was exported to Europe.

A strong causeway, often reinforced, separated the lake of Abūḳīr from Lake Maryūṭ; the Maḥmūdiyya canal and the railway from Cairo to Alexandria were built along this. Since 1887 the lake of Abūḳīr has been drained and the land cultivated.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (Torrey), 40; Eutychius, ii, 81; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *MIFAO*, xlvi, 82; *Synaxaire*, *Patrologia orientalis*, iii, 404; Amélineau, *Géographie*, 6, 579, 581; U. Monneret de Villard, in *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Égypte*, xiii, 74, 76; E. Combe, *Alexandrie musulmane*, *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Égypte*, xv, 201, 238; xvi, 111-71, 269-92; Dehérain, *L'Égypte turque*, *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, v, 275, 277, 281-285, 433, 440, 445, 518-519, pl. xi; Durand-Viel, *Les campagnes navales de Mohammed Aly*, i, 49, 63, 65, pl. x, xi, xiii, xix.

Other places of no importance in Egypt have the same name.

Worthy of mention, however, is the gorge of the Būḳīr (Būḳīrān—Būḳīrāt), in the Djabal al-Ṭayr (Mountains of the Birds), in Middle Egypt, north of Minya. The Arab authors associate a curious legend with this locality. The mountain was, on a given day each year, the meetingplace of the birds called *būḳīr*. They put their heads into a cleft in the mountain, which closed on one of them: that bird remained suspended and died there.

Bibliography: J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 64-66.

(G. WIET)

ABUKLEA, misspelling for Abu Ṭulayḥ, so called after the *ṭalḥ* tree (*Acacia seyal*), the name of a well-centre on the road through the Bayūḍa desert which, avoiding the Nile bend of Abū Ḥamad, leads from Korti (Ḳurtī) south of Dongola to al-Metamma, a distance of 192 miles. The place is famous as the scene of a battle fought on 17 Jan. 1885 between the *darwīsh* forces of Muḥammad Aḥmad [*q.v.*] and a "desert column" of some 1800 British troops who were advancing from Korti to the relief of Khartūm where the Egyptian garrison and General Charles Gordon were besieged by the Mahdists. The British under Sir Herbert Stewart found a large body of the Mahdi's best troops (some 3000 Baḳḳāra and 5000 Djaʿliyyīn) in possession of the wells. Advancing in square formation they were fiercely attacked, and after desperate hand-to-hand fighting the Mahdists withdrew leaving about 1000 dead behind. The British casualties were 74 dead and 94 wounded. The way was now open to al-Metamma where the British forces were joined by four river steamers which Gordon had despatched from Khartūm. A fatal delay of a few days enabled the Mahdists to take Khartūm by storm (26 Jan.), and the relieving force was obliged to retrace its steps without achieving its object.

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military account); A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdīya*, London 1951; B. M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, London 1931. (S. HILLELSON)

ABULCASIS [see AL-ZAHRĀWĪ].

ABUMERON [see IBN ZUHR].

AL-**ʿABŪR** [see NUDJŪM].

ABŪSHAHR [see BŪSHAHR].

ABUSHKA [see ʿALĪ SHĪR NAWĀʾĪ].

ABŪṢĪR [see BŪṢĪR].

AL-**ABWĀʾ**, a place on the road from Mecca to Medina, 23 miles from al-Djuḥfa in the territory of Banū Ḍamra of Kināna. According to some authorities the name really belonged to a mountain situated there. Muḥammad's mother, Āmina, is commonly said to have died there while returning from Medina to Mecca, and to be buried there; but she is sometimes said to be buried in Mecca (Ṭabarī, i, 980). The first expedition from Medina in which Muḥammad himself took part was to al-Abwāʾ and Waddān nearby. It is said that at al-Abwāʾ, as the Meccans marched against Medina in 3/625, some proposed to dig up Āmina's body, but the majority opposed this.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 107, 415; Ibn Saʿd, 1/1, 73-4, ii/1,3; Ṭabarī, 1266-70; Wāḳidī, ed. Wellhausen, 103; Yāḳūt, i, 100; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 157, 461; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 155 (cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 112 f.). (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ABWĀB [see DARBAND].

ABYAN (or Ibyan, cf. Yāḳūt, i, 110; Nashwān, i, 208; C. Landberg, *Études*, ii, 1803), 1) district (*mikhlāf*) in Yaman in the Wādī Banā, comprising several castles and the seaport of ʿAdan [*q.v.*], hence the full name ʿAdan Abyan; 2) small place, now abandoned, ca. 18 km. NE of ʿAdan on the coast, birthplace of the poet Abū Bakr b. al-Adīb al-ʿĪdī (d. 725/1325); 3) persons in the genealogical tradition: (a) Abyan b. Zuhayr b. al-Ghawth b. Ayman b. al-Hamaysaʿ, (b) (Dhū) Abyan (Ibyan) b. Yaḳdum b. al-Ṣawwār b. ʿAbd Shams, (c) Abyan b. ʿAdnān (and his brother ʿAdan), Ṭabarī, i, 1111: eponymi of 1) and 2). For epigraphical material cf. G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i, 36b, 51a, 325a.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, transl. Forrer, 42, note 4 (with copious references); ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-Zaman fī Akhbār Mulūk Laḥdj wa-ʿAdan*, 1351, 19 f.; Abū Makhrama, *Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan*, i, 4 and passim. (O. LÖFGREN)

ABYSSINIA [see AL-ḤABASH].

ACADEMY [see MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ].

ACHEH [see ATJEH].

ACHIR [see ASHĪR].

ACRE [see ʿAKKĀ].

ʿĀD, an ancient tribe, frequently mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. Its history is related only in sporadic allusions. It was a mighty nation that lived immediately after the time of Noah, and became haughty on account of its great prosperity (vii, 69; xli, 15). The edifices of the ʿĀdites are spoken of in xxvi, 128 f.; cf. in lxxxix, 6-7 the expression: "ʿĀd, Iram of the pillars" [see IRAM DHĀT AL-ʿIMĀD]. According to xlvi, 21, the ʿĀdites inhabited al-Aḥḳāf [*q.v.*], the sand dunes. The prophet sent to them, their "brother" Hūd [*q.v.*], was treated by them just as Muḥammad was later treated by the Meccans, and on account of that they were, with the exception of Hūd and a few pious men, swept away by a violent storm (vii, 65 ff.; xl, 58; xli, 16; liv, 19; lxix, 6). Finally, in xi, 52, there is mention of a drought from which they suffered. From these indications the later legends of the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* wove their coherent narratives. [For these, cf. also HŪD, IRAM DHĀT AL-ʿIMĀD, LUḲMĀN, SHADDĀD B. ʿĀD.]

It cannot be shown with certainty what more ancient traditions are at the base of the Ḳurʾānic story. The old poets knew ʿĀd as an ancient nation that had perished (e.g. Ṭarafa, i, 8; *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, viii, 40; Ibn Hishām, i, 468; cf. Zuhayr, xx, 12 and LUḲMĀN); hence the expression: "since the time of ʿĀd", *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), 195, 341. Their kings are mentioned in the *Dīwān* of the Hudhaylites, lxxx, 6, and their prudence in that of Nābigha, xxv, 4. The mention of the ʿAdite Aḥmar by Zuhayr, *Muʿallaḳa*, verse 32, and in the *Dīwān* of the Hudhaylites, p. 31, merits consideration, as the Muslim legend connects (Ḳudār) al-Aḥmar with Thamūd [*q.v.*].

Whether there really existed, and where, a nation called ʿĀd, is still an unanswered question. The genealogies of the Arabs relating to the ʿĀdites are naturally valueless, just as is their locating of that people in the large and uninhabitable sandy desert between ʿUmān and Ḥaḍramawt. The identification of Iram with Aram, adopted by the Arabs and several modern scholars, is not at all likely. Of the latter, Loth has identified ʿĀd with the wellknown tribe of Iyād; on the other hand Sprenger sought for ʿĀd in the Oadites, who according to Ptolemy lived in N.-W. Arabia; this recalls the well of Iram in Ḥisma (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 126; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, § 207; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, ii/2, 128). The excavation of the second-century Nabataean temple at Djabal Ramm, about twenty-five miles due east of ʿAḳaba, brought to light Nabataean inscriptions giving the name of the place as *ʾrm*; Savignac, very plausibly, connected this with Iram. Cf. H. W. Glidden, in *BASOR*, no. 73, 1939, 13 ff.; Ramm would also be identical with al-Hamdānī's Iram and Ptolemy's Aramaua. But Wellhausen pointed out that instead of the expression "since the time of ʿĀd" the expression *min al-ʿād* also occurs; therefore he supposed that originally ʿĀd was a common noun ("the ancient time"; adj. *ʿādī*, "very ancient") and that the mythical nation arose from a misinterpretation of that expression.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 231 ff.; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 80; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i, 505-18; idem, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, § 199; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, i, 259; E. Blochet, *Le Culte d'Aphrodite-Anahita chez les arabes du paganisme*, 1902, 27 ff.; O. Loth, in *ZDMG*, 1881, 622 ff. J. Wellhausen, in *GGA*, 1902, 596 idem, *Wāḳidī*, 24; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuschungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 125 f.; Djawād ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿArab ḳabl al-Islām*, Baghdād 1951, 230-7. For *ʿĀdī*, "giant", see e.g. *Aghānī*, ii, 182; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 217; glossary to Mubarrad, *Kāmil* (Wright), 297. (F. BUHL *)

ADĀʾ (A.), lit. «payment», «accomplishment», a technical term used in the *fiḳh* to designate the accomplishment of a religious duty in the time prescribed by the law, in opposition to *ḳaḍāʾ*, which designates the belated accomplishment of a religious duty (of course when the delay is permitted). A distinction is also drawn between a perfect and an imperfect accomplishment (*al-adāʾ al-kāmil* and *al-adāʾ al-nāḳiṣ*).—In the reading of the Ḳorʾān *adāʾ* means the traditional pronunciation of the letters, synonymous with *ḳirāʾa* [*q.v.*].

ʿĀDA (A.) custom, customary law.

(i) General, (ii) North Africa, (iii) India, (iv) Indonesia.

i. — General. The realities of social life have never exactly reflected the *sharīʿa* [*q.v.*], or *sharʿ*, the ideal Muslim Law corresponding to God's will. This is true not only in regard to the ritual provisions of this Law, but also and even more so in regard to its juridical aspects. It is not, of course, the modern reforms of Muslim law in various countries that are envisaged here, but the survival of pre-Islamic custom (*ʿāda* or *ʿurf* [*q.v.*]). The words *ʿāda* and *ʿurf* have the same meaning, but the usage varies from region to region (e.g. the first is used in Indonesia, the second in North Africa, and in East Africa one says *dastūr*). In addition, the Muslim rulers have often issued administrative regulations on matters of law, called, e.g. in Persia *ʿurf*, in Turkey *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*] (for the meaning of this word in North Africa, see below ii), sometimes also *siyāsa* [*q.v.*]. Also the innumerable regulations made by rulers, establishing various taxes contrary to the Law (*maks* [*q.v.*]), must be recalled here.

What is, then, the exact role of custom in Muslim countries?

a) There is first of all the case where the *fiḳh* itself expressly refers to customary usage, e.g. to determine what is to be understood by equivalent dowry, or by ordinary standards of nourishment (e.g. for the *zakāt al-fiṭr*), etc. Some lawyers even felt justified in advancing the view, following the principle according to which everything that is not forbidden is permissible, that the Muslim Law could admit customary law in every case in which the *ʿurf* was not contrary to the *sharʿ*; in fact, however, custom has not been admitted as one of the sources (*uṣūl*) of the law [cf. UṢŪL].

b) A juridico-sociological analysis of social reality allows us to make the following distinctions.

1) In the most classically Muslim countries it can be observed that alongside the religious jurisdiction there exists an administrative ("political" = *siyāsa*) jurisdiction, varying in forms and names, which need not be treated here, e.g. in matters concerning penal law, obligations and contracts; in it customary law or the regulations (*ḳānūn*) of the princes are applied to a greater or lesser extent. So for example in Turkey marriage, from the 17th century onwards, had to be concluded obligatorily, from the penal point of view, before the authorities.

2) Sometimes even the religious courts are compelled to sanction local usage, either because, thanks to a juridical artifice (*ḥīla* [*q.v.*]) the act, though contrary to the spirit of the Law, has been put into a legally unchallengable form (e.g. in the matter of usury, or the conditional repudiation in favour of the wife in Java, and especially the use of the *waḳf*, in North Africa and elsewhere, to disinherit women); or even without that expedient —which is even more characteristic; thus in Java the pre-Islamic marriage arrangement is considered as a *sarikat* (i.e. *shirka*), a contract of commercial partnership between the husband and wife. On the island of Great Comore, there exists a kind of *waḳf*, the *magnahuli*, in favour of women only, the validity of which is well recognized. (For the *ʿamal* in North Africa, see below, ii.)

3) There exist religious courts administering the Law, but, except in case of litigation, the population ignores them and follows local custom. This is the case, among others, in the Awrās (cf. below, ii), to a large extent; in the same way, the religious courts were competent in matters of succession in Java up to 1938, but the population did not follow the Ḳurʾān in this field; also the persistence of the *Lek Dukagini* among the Muslims of North Albania can be quoted in this connection.

4) The clearest case of the persistence of a customary law is that where there is no religious jurisdiction at all, but only that of the customary courts, and these apply customary law. It is, however, essential to realize that this custom can be more or less islamized (see below, ii, concerning the Berbers). One point, especially, can be taken more or less for granted: viz. that there is no Muslim country where the marriage formalities, which are, to be sure, very simple, are not performed according to Muslim law.

It can be said that in general it is among populations which are still imperfectly islamized (in the objective meaning of the word, as those in question may have a very fervent faith) that the predominance of customary law and the absence of religious courts can be observed. There is, however, at least one very remarkable exception: until recent times, the region of Menangkabau (Central Sumatra) was strongly attached to its matriarchal customs, which were quite contrary to Islam, and yet Islamic learning was very widely spread in that region. The same matriarchate can be observed also e.g. among the Tuaregs of the Hoggar, who are, it is true, rather lukewarm Muslims. In the Laccadive islands, inheritance follows the female line. Thus the effective manifestations of the survival of custom among the Muslim community are innumerable.

As regards the future, something on the following lines may be said. If, on the one hand, the control of Muslim Law over practice is on the decline—total abolition in Turkey and in the countries under Soviet rule, reforms in Egypt, India etc.—on the other hand the Law is almost everywhere gaining ground at the expense of custom. Custom is thus on the way of slow disappearance, partly due to the influence of European colonization and European civilization. Custom is being Islamized, because the means of communication are improving and religious courts are installed in place of the old customary jurisdictions. As a matter of fact, almost everywhere the European colonizers believed that the law of the local Muslims was essentially the theoretical religious law.

In the following sections more detailed descriptions are given of the role of customary law in three representative areas of the Islamic world.

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ii. — North Africa. This region, where Berber dialects were spoken before the coming of the Arabs, has since been profoundly Arabicized and Islamized.

a) As regards the Arabic-speaking regions, no study has yet been made, with a few exceptions, of what elements among the customs of the population go back to the pre-Islamic period and are Berber survivals. On the other hand, it can be observed that, especially in Morocco, the *ḳāḍīs* sometimes apply solutions which are contrary to the prevailing Mālikī view and which may possibly—though this has scarcely yet been envisaged as an object of study from this point of view—represent Berber survivals; this is the *ʿamal* (especially *ʿamal Fāsī* [*q.v.*]).

b) As regards the Berber-speaking regions:

1) From a purely theoretical point of view, there are districts where, officially, the Berber customs have remained legally applicable, namely Greater Kabylia in Algeria and the very important zones of Berber customary law in Morocco, where the situation existing before the French conquest was made permanent by the *dahir* (*ẓahīr*) of 16 May 1930. This measure roused at the time violent polemics; these are, however, completely forgotten today, since, by the *dahir* of 8 April 1934, penal justice is no longer governed by customary law, but is unified througout the whole of Morocco; the civil courts of customary law have been reorganized, with two courts of appeal. In Kabylia, it is the *juge de paix* who administers the customary law with right of appeal to the court of the *arrondissement*. In all these cases, the matters involved are those of personal status and the law of succession.

2) The social reality is, however, much more complex. (a) In Tunisia, in the few remaining isolated Berber-speaking communities, there are scarcely more than memories of the ancient customary law. (b) In Algeria, more than a quarter of the population speaks Berber. In Greater Kabylia, where the social organization of each village has remained very strong, the *djamāʿa* continues illegally to settle many conflicts; it applies the local *ḳānūns*, i.e. rates of fines, some of which, renewed, are nowadays compiled in French (no longer in Arabic). In Berber-speaking Lesser Kabylia and in the Awrās (where the French have installed *ḳāḍīs*), the quasi-official Berber justice continues to operate on a fairly large scale. (c) It is in Morocco (where more than 40% of the population is Berber-speaking) that Berber law is most extensively applied, and there the real customary sphere tends much more to encroach upon the official sphere.

One cannot make a simple contrast between customary law and Muslim law, because the former has been influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by the latter. In Morocco, for instance, customary law has remained purest in the central regions; it is less pure in the Northern Middle-Atlas; it is strongly Islamized in the south. In Greater Kabylia, it has been influenced by the official French reforms. The inhabitants of the Mzāb, on the other hand, have a legal system that has been very greatly influenced by the heretical Ibāḍī religious law. It would be wholly premature to assert that there once existed a common stock of Berber legal institutions. My impression is that this was not the case (just as the Berber-speaking populations do not belong to one and the same race). To be sure, some characteristic institutions recur in the whole of North Africa (collective storehouses from Tunisia to Morocco, but not in Kabylia; inferior marriage, *mashrūṭ*, in the region of Guraya in Algeria; *amazzal* among the Zemmur in Morocco), but they are not found everywhere among the Berber-speaking population. On the other hand, the condition of women is essentially variable among the Berbers; it is very low, for example, among the Kabyles, very high indeed among the Tuareg, with all the intermediate stages between these two extremes. It is true that the collective oath as a method of proof is very widely spread and, from the point of view of succession, women are in general disinherited. It seems therefore preferable to suspend judgement about the existence of a primitive Berber custom.

Everything relating to Berber public law, which was in force in Morocco until the French conquest, is but a memory. In penal law, the custom of the *diya*, i.e. blood-money (in its Berber form and not according to the rules of the *fiḳh*) survives quasi-officially in several Berber-speaking regions (as well as among the Arabic-speaking population of North-Africa). The Berber civil institutions that survive in Algeria and in Morocco are being increasingly influenced by factors foreign to customary law (such as Islam or modern civilization).

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iii. — India. With the establishment of British rule in India, procedural and, to a large extent, substantive Muslim law gave place to the English legal system, and, on the grounds of equity, justice and good conscience, customs were invested with legal validity. Thus encouraged, many customary practices came to light. Most of these customs—inconsistent and sometimes directly contrary to the *s͟harīʿa*—have from time to time been deprived of their legal value by fresh legislation. The most far reaching of such legislation was the Shariat Act of 1937. Nevertheless, in spite of this law, custom still prevails among people, who respect its traditional force and who, moreover, would not think of bringing matters involving such questions before a court of law. Even to-day, therefore, we find custom playing a prominent part in the social life of some of the communities.

Before the Shariat Act of 1937, however, amongst those indigenous Muslim communities which were converts from Hinduism, Hindu law found a partial survival in customs and usages. These communities are the K͟hod̲j̲as [*q.v.*] the Memons [*q.v.*] of Kačč̣h, the Halai Memons of Porebunder, the Molesalam Grasias of Broach in Western India, the Moplas [cf. Māpilla] in Madras, and certain Muslim elements in Kas͟hmīr, the Pand̲j̲āb and Sind.

The Khod̲j̲as, Memons and Sunnī Bohras had retained the Hindu law of agnatic intestate succession, excluding the female from inheritance. It does not seem however that any of these communities had ever wholly adopted the Hindu law of joint family.

In Southern India, Moplas, who are the remnants of a matriarchal form of society, were governed by the *marumakkatyam* law (inheritance by the children of the sister). So a Muslim, who by custom was folowing this law, could make a valid gift of property to the Tawzihi, which is a corporate unit consisting of the mother and all her children and descendents in the female line (Chakkra Kannan vs. Kunhi Poker, (1916) 39 Madras 317).

In the Pand̲j̲āb and U.P. some of the Muslim communities excluded the female from inheritance. In Karamat Ali vs. Sadat Ali (1933) Lucknow 228, it was held that the Islamic law of inheritance was modified by the custom of the place of its application. In the same case the court enforced the custom of *stribant*, according to which the sons of each wife were regarded as one group and each group was awarded an equal share in the inheritance. A custom, similar in effect, called *chundawand* entitles the group to its allotted portion until the extinction of its last member (D. F. Mulla, *Principles of Mahomedan law*, 4).

In testamentary succession, Muslim law restricts the power of the testator to one third and excludes any heir from benefitting under the will unless with the consent of the other heirs. The K͟hod̲j̲as and Memons, however, could under the customary practices leave their whole property to whomsoever they wished. After the Cutchi Memon Act of 1938, the Memons were bound by the Muslim law in respect of testate succession. Testamentary customs at variance with the Muslim law have also been noticed in some parts of the Pand̲j̲āb (Rahim Baksh vs. Umar Din, (1915) P.R. 9). The retention of the Hindu law of inheritance by some of the communities prevents the making of gifts to non-agnates.

Adoption is not recognised by Islamic law, but in some parts of the Pand̲j̲āb and Sind where it is supported by custom it has prevailed over this prohibition. In U.P., also, the custom of adoption has been upheld and the Oudh Estates Act of 1869 permitted a Muslim *taluḳdār* to adopt a son. In other provinces, where some of the communities have retained the Hindu law of inheritance and succession, the courts have refused to accept the plea that the retention of Hindu law of inheritance implies, at the same time, the retention of the Hindu law of adoption. So when, in provinces where the custom has no legal force, a child is adopted—the practice being for wealthy families to adopt children from poor families—he cannot expect to receive an inheritance from the adopting parents under Islamic law, and gifts of property are made to him during their lifetime. The K͟hod̲j̲as, of course, need not resort to this expedient but do so by will.

The Muslim law of pre-emption (*s͟hufʿa*) is more or less applied in the light of customary practices. The Madras courts refused to apply it on the grounds of it being opposed to justice, equity and good conscience. In U.P., Bihār, Assam and Gud̲j̲arāt it was recognised by the courts that the right to pre-emption exists not only between Muslims, but also between a Muslim and a Hindu, and between Hindus if the custom so warrants.

In the law of marriage, custom usually tends to make divorce and polygamy difficult. In some marriage contracts the husband delegates to the wife the right to divorce (*ṭalāḳ al-tafwīḍ*) which she can use if any of the conditions mentioned in the marriage contract is broken; the marriage contract generally includes the right of the wife to use her powers of divorce if the husband should remarry. Another common device is to name an enormous dower sum (*mahr*), of which only a token amount (*muʿad̲j̲d̲j̲al* = prompt dower) is paid at the time of marriage, the remainder—the deferred dower (*muʾad̲j̲d̲j̲al*)—becoming payable when the wife is divorced or widowed. When both these conditions are combined within a marriage contract, they serve as a potent weapon in the hands of the wife.

In contrast to this in some parts of Southern India a large sum of money must be paid to the bridegroom by the bride's people, and in this the influence of Hindu custom is to be seen. It has often brought financial ruin to the family or compelled its daughters to remain unmarried.

The *ʿidda*, the waiting period of a divorced or widowed woman laid down by the Islamic law, was in one of the cases in the Pand̲j̲āb held to be outside the requirements of the customary law of certain Muslim communities (Bhagwat Singh vs. Santi 50. I.C. 654).

Though taking of interest is prohibited by Islamic law, it is a practice of long standing among most Indian Muslims, and in particular among the trading communities, and would seem to have gained legality.

Most of such customs which were contrary to Muslim law have been deprived of their legal validity by the Shariat Act of 1937. The force of the custom is almost wholly excluded from most matters of Muslim family law. But the Act excepted from its scope the devolution of agricultural lands which, it would appear, still devolve according to custom.

The Act does not summarily abolish customs pertaining to adoption, wills and legacies. But it lays down that if a Muslim who has reached majority makes a declaration to the effect that he and his descendents wish to be governed by Muslim law in the

matters stated above, Muslim law would be applicable to them.

In addition, there exist in India communities which are neither completely Muslim nor Hindu, retaining some elements of both religions. Such is the sect of Satpanthis and Pīrpanthis [*qq.v.*] (the "followers of truth" and the "followers of Pīr") in Gudjarāt, Kaččh and Khāndesh. They claim to belong to the Hindu caste of Mathia Kunbis and follow the Atherva-veda; yet they observe the fast of Ramaḍān and other Muslim practices and bury their dead with both Muslim and other ceremonies. Other such communities are the Nyitas in Mālwā, the Kanchandas in Sind, the Ḥusaynī Brahmans in U.P. the Bhagwanis or Satyadharmas in Bengal and the Chauhars in the Pandjāb. (See *Census of India*, 1931, i, 380 ff.).

With the partition of India, it may be assumed that henceforth customs will cease to have any legal sanction in Pakistan, though the same may not be said with certainty about India. However, whether or not custom is granted any legal sanction, it would not be possible to eradicate its deep rooted influences for generations to come.

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(Shamoon T. Lokhandwalla)

iv. — Indonesia. 1. The word, in the form *adat*, has been adopted, not only in Malay but also in many other languages of the Indian archipelago. It comprises all things Indonesian that are custom, usage, practice.

1. *Adat* thus includes also the juridical customs of a country or region. The scholars who studied the juridical parts of the general *adat* in Indonesia used the now well known word "*adat* law" (Adatrecht), and not the wider term "customary law", because at least among the Muslim population of Indonesia, not all the juridical customs in force were "customary" by origin.

Some rules concerning marriage and divorce and law of inheritance are due to the impact of the *sharīʿa* on the Muslim Indonesian world. From the *sharīʿa* the Indonesians also took the institution of "pious foundations" (*waḳf*). In some regions the influence of the *sharīʿa* on general rules of the law of relationship is visible. But otherwise some regional rule or institution was originally not unwritten law but due to a princely edict or order (viz. the older *pesuara* of the Balinese princes). Moreover in some regions one may find that parts of the law in the closed legal communities (*desa, subak*) are formulated in written local regulations (*awig-awig desa* in Bali). The famous *taʿliḳ-ṭalāḳ*-institution of Java—see § 4—is still often called by Javanese the *djandji dalem*, that is "the royal promise", because according to their tradition it was a seventeenth century king (*susuhunan*) of Mataram, who gave this order to his subjects in that way.

So far the situation in Muslim Indonesia is *mutatis mutandis* the same as in the older and central countries of Islam. For, notwithstanding the totalitarian pretention of the *sharīʿa* to be the formulation of God's eternal will, which is followed by every Muslim in any country, time or circumstances, only some chapters of the *fiḳh* system were actually enforced.

2. The particular situation in Muslim Indonesia, however, is that an incessant discussion is going on about the worth of *adat* law and about the relation of *adat* law and the *sharīʿa*.

Moreover those departments of juridical life which have been entirely Islamized in other countries: viz. law of matrimony, law of relationship, law of inheritance—are not the unchallenged domain of *sharīʿa* in Muslim Indonesia, as will be shown below. Before the second world war the more radical adherents of the nationalist parties argued that the pluriform *adat* law in the 18 juridical regions of the East Indies was an obstacle to the unification and modernization of the country. Their ideal became: one pan-Indonesian state, one (official) language and one law. They rejected the *sharīʿa* as well as *adat* law. Notwithstanding their anti-western attitude they believed—and partly still do—that western law should be introduced entirely. The former Dutch government often had (for its Indonesian subjects) considered the possibilities of westernization of private law but projects of codes were never carried out. Even unification of the *adat* law in force proved to be a troublesome experiment. Notwithstanding that, elements of western law began, rather long ago, to penetrate into Indonesian life as a consequence of modern enterprise, modern traffic and commerce. For several separate objects statute laws were made in order to meet modern needs, and this process is still going on. But this is adaptation of new rules where they are wanted. The main point is that *adat* law is still in force in all sections of Indonesian juridical life. Even now only the European group and the Chinese are subjected to western private law (Dutch codification).

3. Apart from the arguments of radical adherents to western law, there is a dispute about the mutual relations between *adat* law and *sharīʿa*. In the remarkable country of Minangkabau (Western Sumatra, so-called Padang Highlands) this discussion has been going on for at least 150 years. The rather highly civilized and thoroughly Muslim people of Minangkabau still preserve, in defiance of the *sharīʿa*, their matrilineal system of relationship. This means that husband and wife do not form one family but belong to separate clans or sub-clans. The heirs to the man's estate are not his children but his sisters'children. His wife's brother or her maternal uncle has the highest authority over her children and not their father. The matrimonial bond is very loose. Even the *walī*-ship is only a formality—real authority belongs only to the matrilineal family-chiefs.

For several generations two parties have existed in Minangkabau: the *sharīʿa* party and the *adat* party. Both groups have modernized their organization and activities. In 1952 a large congress was held where all notable persons of the upland districts of Minangkabau, both *ʿulamāʾ* and non-religious

persons, *adat*-functionaries and politicians tried to find a way out, that is to say a conciliation between both juridical complexes (on this occasion in the section of the law of inheritance) but without success. The view-point of the above-mentioned Minangkabau *ʿulamāʾ*, notwithstanding their concessions to *adat* law, was thoroughly traditional (orthodox).

4. There is however one outstanding problem that was already before the war—to quote a Javanese politician—"an inexhaustible source of disputes". This is the position of the woman, especially in Javanese life. From a social point of view the position of the Javanese woman is fairly high. But her position as a wife is extremely unsafe. The peculiar situation as far as this point is concerned is that in Java (and in Minangkabau) more than 50% of all marriages are dissolved by the husband's act of repudiation. Of course the *sharīʿa* gives the husband that right everywhere. It is remarkable however that in the Muslim regions where a patrilineal system of relationship is in force the matrimonial bond is strong, because the husband has to pay a considerable bride-price. In Java the so-called "*tuku*" (remnant of a bride-price) is only a combination of cheap presents, and even the *mahr* of the *sharīʿa* often remains unpaid. The socio-familial system in Java is bilateral.

Since a score of years a strong current has set in against polygyny. Not in the first place against simultaneous polygyny (which is not so frequent: ± 2%) but mainly against "successive" polygyny: the habit of the man (who can marry quite "cheaply") to exchange his wife for a younger one. The *taʿlīḳ-ṭalāḳ*-institution is not effective against this most serious social evil. This *taʿlīḳ*-regulation is as follows: Immediately after contracting his marriage the husband has to declare to his wife's *walī* and the witnesses that, if he leaves his wife for a certain time without providing for her and without sending her tidings, if he severely illtreats her or commits another unseemly act—then his wife is free, if she likes to do so, to complain before the Muslim authority concerned. If there is evidence of her husband's failing in these respects the authority states one *ṭalāḳ* to have taken place.

The republic has improved the (officially edited) forms for the *taʿlīḳ*-statements and given them by means of *iwadl*-paying the character of an eventual *khulʿ*. And a bill is being prepared which is an interesting combination of elements of western law, Muslim religious law and *adat* law, although the prospects of its enactment are doubtful.

This bill has the following salient points: (a) child-marriages (not frequent in Indonesia) are forbidden; (b) each marriage is to be registered in a registrar's office in accordance with the European continental system; (c) the future married couple have to give each other certificates as to their health (influence of "eugenics"?); (d) the mutual rights and duties of husband and wife are circumscribed partly (*mutatis mutandis*) in the words of the Dutch code, partly in the terminology of the *sharīʿa*, especially the duties of the "polygamous" husband; (e) As to polygyny in general: 1. polygyny is to be allowed only in the interest of society; 2. no man can take a second or third wife (etc.) without the consent of the wife (wives) he already has; 3. he requires a medical certificate stating that his health allows "polygamy"; 4. he must prove himself to possess the financial means to entertain more than one household; 5. the polygamist *in spe* must promise to be "righteous" in his conduct. Otherwise the judge is given a considerable power to dissolve marriages in well-defined cases, again partly derived from articles of the Dutch code, partly from regional rules of *adat* law and the usual *taʿlīḳ*-formulas. Whether, however, in the intention of the bill, a Muslim husband can still repudiate his wife depends on the ultimate legislative elaboration of the bill.

5. There are of course other points in the incessant disputes. As was already mentioned in § 3 above, there is the question of succession-law. Notwithstanding the fact that in Java Muslim courts exist (since centuries) which deal with all suits concerning Indonesian Muslim estates, it is well-known that in reality the Javanese, as well as the Sundanese and Madurese—outside the court—followed in case of partition of estates the lines of *adat* law. For this reason suits of this kind belong since 1937 to the competence of the common "secular" judge. There is still Muslim propaganda against this "colonial" measure.

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ADA ĶALʿE, island in the Danube in Rumania, inhabited by Turks, 4 kms above the Iron Gates and ½ km below Orsova; 800 by 200 m. In the 15th century the Ottoman Turks occupied the strategic points of the river in this region, but the island is mentioned for the first time only in 1691, when the vizier Dursun Meḥmed Pasha conquered the "little island in the straits of Irshowa (Orsova)" which was then occupied by 400 soldiers and called *Shans adāsi*, i.e. "entrenchment island", from German *Schanz* (Silihdār Fïndïklïlï Meḥmed Agha, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 540). In 1716 the first durable fortifications were built by the *muḥāfiẓ* of the Iron Gates, Čerkes Meḥmed Pasha (Meḥmed Rashīd, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1153, ii, 153). After occupation by the Austrians, it was retaken by ʿAlī Pasha, called *serdār-i ekrem*, in 1738; it is on this occasion that the name Ada Ķalʿesi appears for the first time (cf. Meḥmed Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh-i Weḳāʾiʿ*, Istanbul 1198, 131, 134). It depended from the *wāli* of Vidin. The last struggles round Ada Ķalʿe took place in 1788, when during the expedition of the *ṣadr aʿẓam* Ķodja Yūsuf Pasha against the army of Laudon, the last time when Ottoman troops appeared in the Banat, the island played the role of a river base. Yūsuf Pasha built a large bridge between Orsova and Tekye (Tekija) and reinforced the "fortress of the Great Island (Ada-i Kebīr Ķalʿesi)". (The expedition is described in detail by an anonymous writer in *Sefer-nāme-yi Serdār-i Ekrem Yūsuf Pasha*, MS Istanbul, Univ. Kitapsarayï, T.Y. 3254; another

MS in the possession of the writer). During the revolt of the Serbians, the island became an important stronghold of the Empire. The *Dayī*, who surrendered in Belgrade, were executed in Ada Ḳalʿe by the *muḥāfiẓ* Redjeb Agha in 1809 (Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, ix, 126, 128). Somewhat later Redjeb Agha himself, following the example of the *aʿyān* in the Balkans, rebelled, but was executed. His brothers, Ādem, Bekir and Ṣāliḥ, who occupied the fortress of Fetḥ Islām (Kladovo), had to retire to the island. Welī Pasha, son of ʿAlī Tepedelenli, who had been charged with the pacification of Serbia, granted them pardon, on which they surrendered the island. After 1867, when the Turkish garrisons evacuated Serbia, Ada Ḳalʿe remained without direct communication with the capital. At the Congress of Berlin (1878) the island was forgotten, and so remained an isolated possession of the Ottoman Empire, administered by a *nāḥiye müdürü*. Its inhabitants elected deputies to the Turkish parliament. By the treaty of Trianon (1920), it was incorporated, with the Banat, into Rumania; but this was recognized by Turkey only by the treaty of Lausanne (1923).

At the present day, the island has 640 Turkish inhabitants. There are schools for the Muslim population. The fortifications, in red brick and stones, with their basements and cisterns, are noteworthy, as well as the mosque built by Selīm III, with a *ziyāret-gāh* of Miskīn Bābā, a derwīsh who came in the 18th century from Turkestan and died on the island.

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(AUREL DECEI)

ADA PĀZĀRĪ, flourishing town in the province of Kodja-eli, Turkey, situated at 40° 47' N., 30° 23' E., in the fertile plain known as Aḳowa on the lower course of the Saḳarya river. Originally it lay between two arms of this river (hence the earlier name *Ada*, "Island"), but now lies between the Saḳarya and the Čarkh ṣūyu. It was occupied by the Turks under Orkhān and is mentioned for the first time in a *waḳf*-foundation which goes back to him (T. Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 161). In 1795 it appears, with the modern name of Adāpāzārl, as the seat of a *nāʾib*. In 1852-3 it was raised to the rank of a town, and about 1890 had 24,500 inhabitants, according to V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1899, 372 ff. By the census of 1950 the population had risen to 36,210. It is a trading centre for local produce, especially tobacco, vegetables and fruit. There are no Islamic monuments of importance.

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ADAB (A.). The history of this word reflects, parallel to and even better than the history of the words *ʿilm* and *dīn*, the evolution of Arab culture from its pre-Islamic origins to our own day. In its oldest sense, it may be regarded as synonym of *sunna*, with the sense of "habit, hereditary norm of conduct, custom" derived from ancestors and other persons who are looked up to as models (as, in the religious sense, was the *sunna* of the Prophet for his community). The etymology of the word put forward by Vollers and Nallino agrees with this earliest meaning: both considered that the plural *ādāb* was formed from *daʾb* ("custom, habit"), and that the singular *adab* was subsequently derived from this plural. (Indigenous lexicographers connect it with the root *ʾdb*, meaning "marvellous thing", or "preparation, feast"). In any case, the oldest meaning of the word is that already given: it implies a habit, a practical norm of conduct, with the double connotation of being praiseworthy and being inherited from one's ancestors.

The evolution of this primitive sense accentuated, on the one hand, its ethical and practical content: *adab* came to mean "high quality of soul, good upbringing, urbanity and courtesy", in this acceptation corresponding to the refining of bedouin ethics and customs as a result of Islam (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. *adab*) and contact with foreign cultures during the first two centuries A.H. Thus, at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid epoch, *adab* in this sense was the equivalent of the Latin *urbanitas*, the civility, courtesy, refinement of the cities in contrast to beduin uncouthness. (In this sense, the lexicons use the word *ẓarf*, courtesy and elegance, to explain *adab*.) The word kept this ethical and social meaning during the whole period of medieval Muslim civilization. So, for example, *adab*, etiquette, of eating, drinking, dressing [cf. ṬAʿĀM, SHARĀB, LIBĀS]; *adab*, etiquette, of the boon companion (cf. the treatise *Adab al-Nadīm* by Kushādjim and NADĪM); from another sphere: *adab*, etiquette, of disputation: cf. several treatises entitled *Ādāb al-Baḥth* and BAḤTH; etiquette of study (cf. books on *Adab al-Dars*, *Adab al-ʿĀlim waʾl-Mutaʿallim*, and TADRĪS).

However, from the first century of the *hidjra*, *adab*, in addition to this ethical and social meaning, acquired an intellectual meaning, which was at first connected with the first meaning, but then became increasingly differentiated from it. *Adab* came to imply the sum of knowledge which makes a man courteous and "urbane", profane culture (as distinct from *ʿilm*, learning, or rather, religious learning, Ḳuʾrān, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*) based in the first place on poetry, the art of oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, and also on the corresponding sciences: rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics. Consequently this humanistic concept of *adab* was at first strictly national: the perfect *adīb*, in the Umayyad period, was the man who excelled in knowledge of the ancient poets, in the *ayyām al-ʿArab*, in the poetical, historical and antiquarian sphere of Arab culture. But contact with foreign cultures widened the content of *adab*, or Arab *humanitas*, into *humanitas* without qualification; it now included a knowledge of those sections of non-Arab (Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic) literature (i.e. gnomic and technical literature) with

which Arab Muslim civilization became familiar from the early Abbasid period onwards. The *adīb* of the 3rd/9th century, of which al-Djāḥiẓ was the most perfect example, was therefore not only cultivated in Arabic poetry and prose, in maxims and proverbs, in the genealogy and tradition of the *djāhiliyya* and of the Arabs at a time when they were hardly yet Islamized, but broadened out his range of interest to include the Iranian world with all its epic, gnomic, and narrative tradition, the Indian world with its fables, and the Greek world with its practical philosophy, and especially its ethics and economics. It was thus that in the 3rd/9th century there came into being the great literature of *adab*, with its varied and pleasing erudition, which is not pure scholarship although it often also touches on, and handles scientific subjects, but which is centred above all on man, his qualities and his passions, the environment in which he lives, and the material and spiritual culture created by him. Within this domain al-Djāḥiẓ and his followers (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, al-Tanūkhī, etc.) turned to account and extended the heritage bequeathed to Muslim society in the previous century by the Iranian genius Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, who can be described as the true creator of this enlarged conception of *adab*, with his versions of foreign historical and literary works (*Khudāy-nāmak* and *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) and his original ethical and didactic tracts (*al-Adab al-Kabīr* and *al-Ṣaghīr* (though the authenticity of the latter is very questionable). The literature of *adab* is the very backbone of high ʿAbbāsid culture.

The richness and complexity of this concept of *adab*, as humanity or culture, was on the other hand reduced, already in the ʿAbbāsid epoch, to a narrower acceptation. From its meaning of the "necessary general culture" expected of any man of superior education, it took on the specific meaning of "the knowledge necessary for given offices and social functions". Thus one could speak of an *adab al-kātib* or culture specially required for holding the office of secretary (such is the title of a treatise by Ibn Ḳutayba [cf. also KĀTIB]); or of the *adab* or *ādāb* of viziers, in the sense of the sum of special knowledge and experience proper to this office. [For the *adab* of the *ḳāḍī*, cf. also KĀḌĪ]. On the other hand, the concept *adab* ended by losing the wide humanistic acceptation that it had had during the golden age of the caliphate and became restricted to a narrower, and more rhetorical sphere of "belles-lettres": poetry, artistic prose, paremiography, and anecdotal writing. This was the kind of *adab* at which al-Ḥarīrī was an adept, with his verbal virtuosity and his entirely formal and purist interests. From *humanitas*, *adab* had become merely the literature of the academy, and remained so throughout the long decadence of Arabic letters and spirit right up to the time of the modern renaissance.

In the modern age *adab*, and even more so its plural *ādāb*, are synonyms of literature in the most specific sense of the word. *Taʾrīkh al-Ādāb al-ʿArabiyya* is the history of Arabic literature; *kulliyyat al-ādāb* is the faculty of arts of letters in the universities organized in the European manner. But beyond the limits of technical nomenclature, the conscious usage of certain writers (e.g. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn) tends to give back to the word something of its former elasticity and amplitude.

Bibliography: Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 2-17. For books on various species of etiquette, cf. also Brockelmann, iii, index s.v. *adab*, *ādāb*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, s.v. *ādāb* and *adab*. (F. GABRIELI)

ʿADAD [see ḤISĀB].

ADAL, one of the Muslim states in East Africa that played an important part in the wars between Islam and Abyssinian Christendom. Al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Ilmām bi-Akhbār man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabasha min Mulūk al-Islām*, Cairo 1895, 5) enumerates the following seven Islamic states in Southern and Eastern Abyssinia, which he designates as *mamālik bilād Zaylaʿ*: Awfāt (the common form is Īfāt), Dawārō, Arayabnī (Arabaynī, Arababnī), Hadyā, Sharkhā, Bālī, Dāra. From Abyssinian chronicles, other states are known which stood on the same footing as the above, one of them being Adal.—Adal (ʿAdal) is the farthest east of those states, and is approximately identical with the present "Côte française des Somalis". The inhabitants are partly Somali, partly ʿAfar (Danākil [see DANKALĪ]). It is mentioned for the first time in the wars between the Abyssinian king ʿAmda Ṣeyōn (1314-44) and the Muslims. In the march of ʿAmda Ṣeyōn upon Zaylaʿ (1332), the king of Adal, who attempted to bar his passage, was vanquished and killed. The rulers of Adal have the title of *amīr*, later on also the title of *imām*, in the Arabic texts, but of *negūs*, "king", in the Ethiopic chronicles. In the 15th century Adal was part of Īfāt (Awfāt [*q.v.*]); in the 15th century the *amīr* of Adal ruled over Īfāt and had his capital at Dakar to the east of Harar. Under the kings Zarʾa Yāʿḳōb (1434-68) and Baʾeda Māryām (1468-78) negotiations took place between the Abyssinians and Adal; afterwards there was fighting between them with changing fortune. Adal frequently served also for the Muslims from districts further to the west as a refuge from the Abyssinians, who, however, often followed them thither. The Muslim writers (al-Maḳrīzī and ʿArabfaḳīh, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*) do not mention Adal—unless it is meant by ʿAdal al-Umarāʾ (al-Maḳrīzī, loc. cit., 2)—but refer only to the sultanate of Zaylaʿ in that region. Further, the king of Adal, Meḥmad son of Arwē Badlāy (Perruchon, *Chroniques de Zarʾa Yâʿeqôb et de Baʾeda Mâryâm*, 131), belonged to the family of the sultans of Zaylaʿ; he was a grandson of the celebrated Saʿd al-Dīn, after whom the dynasty and the land were called (Barr Saʿd al-Dīn). The latter reigned 1386-1415; he fell in 1415 in the battle with King Yesḥāḳ of Abyssinia (1414-29). "Adal" and "empire of Zaylaʿ" are often synonymous, and their histories are closely connected with each other [cf. ZAYLAʿ]. With regard to the 16th century see also AḤMAD GRAÑ. In the later history of those countries, the wars with the Muslim Somali and ʿAfar are thrust into the background by those with the Galla, who since 1540 warred with the Christians and Muslims of Abyssinia. Adal is still mentioned a few times in the chronicles. Even in the 19th century, before England, France and Italy took possession of the Abyssinian littorals, King Sāhla-Sellāsē of Shoa called himself also "King of Adal".

Bibliography: E. Cerulli, *Documenti Arabi per la Storia dell'Etiopia*, *Mem. Lin.*, 1931, fasc. ii; idem *L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici*, *Rivista Africa Italiana*, 1933, 80-98; idem, *Studi Etiopici I*: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, Rome 1936, 15-6; idem, *Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico*, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 1941, 28-9; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London 1952.

(E. LITTMANN*)

ʿADĀLA [see ʿADL].

ADALYA [see ANTALYA].

ĀDAM, the father of mankind (Abu'l-Bashar). In the Ḳurʾān it is related that when God had

created what is on the earth and in the heavens he said to the angels: "I am about to place a substitute (*khalīfa*) on earth", and they said: "Wilt thou place thereon one who will do evil therein and shed blood, whereas we celebrate thy praise and sanctify thee?" Then God taught Adam the names of all things, and as the angels did not know the names Adam taught them these (ii, 28-32 Fl.). Thereafter God ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, and this they did with the exception of Iblīs who in his haughtiness said that he was of higher rank, since he was created of fire, whereas Adam was created of clay (ii, 33; vii, 12 f.; xv, 26-36; xvii, 64; xviii, 49; xx, 116), cf. xv, 27 "we created man of dried clay, of black shaped mud". Iblīs was expelled from the garden (vii, 12; xvii, 66), in which Adam and his wife were placed to live pleasantly there, but with the order not to come near to "this tree" (ii, 35; vii, 19, cf. xx, 116 f.). Next follows the fall of man. "And Satan (*al-shayṭān*) caused them to slip from it (the garden) and had them removed from the state wherein they were" (ii, 36). He whispered to them in order to reveal to them their nakedness, and said that the tree was forbidden to them lest they should become angels and live eternally. So they ate of the tree and saw their nakedness and they sewed the leaves of the garden to cover them (vii, 20; xx, 120 f.). Then God sent them down on earth to live there as enemies, but when Adam asked for forgiveness, God promised him guidance (ii, 36-37; vii, 24-26; xx, 122-123). It is said that God had a covenant with Adam at first, but Adam forgot it (xx, 115), and God said "Have I not had a covenant with you, sons of Adam, that you will not serve Satan" (xxxvi, 60, cf. v, 172). Adam was chosen by God, as later Nūḥ and the families of Ibrāhīm and ʿImrān (iii, 23). Like Adam only ʿĪsā was created in a special way (iii, 59).

The non-Biblical elements in this account are to be found in Jewish, in some cases in Christian tradition. God's conversation with the angels before Adam's creation and Adam's superiority because of his knowledge about the names is known from *Bereshit Rabba*, xvii, 4; *Bemidbar Rabba*, xix, 3; *Pesikta*, ed. S. Buber, 34a; *Vita Adami* (Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 513). The προσκύνησις of the angels before Adam is not commanded by God in Jewish writings. The angels wanted to honour him as God, but were prevented from doing so as God made Adam sleep (*Bereshit Rabba* 8, 10; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, 19). On the other hand Athanasius (*Quaestio X ad Antiochum*) refers to the idea (which he rejects) that Satan fell because he refused to προσκυνῆσαι before Adam. In *Vita Adami*, l.c., whose origin is incertain, the angel Michael prostrated himself to Adam and called upon the other angels to do so, and it is understood, but not said, that God approved of it. In the Christian Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (ed. Bezold, 14 f.) God gave Adam power over all beings, and the angels worshipped him except the jealous devil who then was turned out from the heavens. God's covenant with Adam is mentioned *Sanhedrin*, 38b; Augustin, *De civitate dei*, xvi, 27, and Adam's remorse *ʿErubin*, 18b; *ʿAboda Zara*, 8a; *Vita Adami*, 512.

In post-Ḳurʾānic tradition the *ḳiṣaṣ* about Adam were growing, and these also reflect to a great extent Jewish and Christian influence. They are mainly found in *ḥadīth*-collections, in *ḳiṣaṣ*-collections, in the works of general history, and in the commentaries to the Ḳurʾān.

As a preparation for the creation of Adam it is related that God sent Gabriel and after him Michael to the earth to take a handful of clay (*ṭīn*), but the earth refused to give it for that purpose, then the angel of death was sent and took by force red, white and black clay; this is why men have different colours. Adam got his name because he was taken from the surface, *adīm*, of the earth. The clay was kneaded and worked on until it became sticky, then slimy, stinking and at last a body of dry clay (*ṣalṣāl*). Some authors tell that Iblīs went into his mouth and emerged from his anus and vice versa; then the spirit was blown into him by God and went into his brain, from where it went into his eyes, his nose and further through the whole body, whereafter the body became flesh, blood, bone, veins and sinews. According to a tradition ascribed to the prophet the dust for the head was taken from the Kaʿba, for breast and back from Jerusalem, thighs from Yaman etc. (al-Ṭabarī, i, 87 ff.; idem, *Tafsīr*, i, 159; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 51-3; al-Kisāʾī, 23-7; al-Thaʿlabī, 17). In Jewish tradition the clay for Adam's body was taken from the place of the temple or from the whole world, in different colours, and Adam was first shaped as a lifeless body (*golem*) (*Targum Yerushalmi*, to Gen. ii, 7; *Sanhedrin*, 38a; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, c. 11); a similar Christian tradition is found with Cyprian and Augustine. The beauty and the length of the body of Adam are mentioned in Muslim tradition (al-Thaʿlabī, 22, cf. Ḳurʾān, xcv, 4) as well as in Jewish (*Bereshit Rabba*, viii, 1; xii, 6; Sanhedrin, 38b) and Christian (*Cave of Treasures*, ed. Bezold, p. 12) literature.

The Jewish literature follows the tale of the Bible, in which the serpent seduces man. In *Vita Adami* (Kautzsch) 521, Satan speaks through the mouth of the serpent, and this is Christian tradition (*Cave of Tr.*, 22, Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xiv, 11, Bar Hebraeus, *Taʾrikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 7). Whereas the Ḳurʾān speaks only of Satan as the seducer, the Muslim tradition also introduces the serpent. The serpent speaks by order of Iblīs (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 107), or Iblīs is carried into the garden by the serpent in its mouth or its belly (al-Ṭabarī, 104-6). In the *Ḳiṣaṣ* of al-Kisāʾī, (36-9) and al-Thaʿlabī, (20) the peacock (*ṭāʾūs*) appears. Iblīs tries to enter the garden in order to seduce Adam, but God prevents him. Then he meets the peacock, the chief of the animals in the garden, whom he tells that all creatures shall die, but that he can show where the tree of eternity is. The peacock tells this to the serpent, the serpent goes to Iblīs, who rushes into its mouth and thus comes into the garden and speaks through the serpent to Adam and Eve, and Eve eats of the tree. The forbidden fruit is in Jewish tradition mainly mentioned as grape or fig or wheat (*Berakot*, 40a, *Bereshit Rabba*, xv, 7), the same and other opinions are found in Christian and Muslim tradition (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 183 ff. and other commentaries to Ḳurʾān, ii, 35; al-Thaʿlabī, 19). [For Eve see ḤAWWĀ.]

As Adam was ordered to "go down" (*habaṭa*) to the earth paradise was thought to be in heaven. Al-Ṭabarī says (i, 121) that the tradition that Adam was placed in India (*al-Hind*) has been refuted neither by Muslim, Christian nor Jewish scholars. The most common tradition is that he alighted in Ceylon (*Sarandīb*), Eve in Djidda, Iblīs in Baysān (or Maysān or Ubulla), the serpent in Iṣfahān (or the desert). Later Adam and Eve met in Muzdalifa and ʿArafa (al-Ṭabarī, i, 121; al-Masʿūdī, i, 60; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 3; al-Thaʿlabī, 21 f.). This is to be understood in connexion with the idea that Adam,

who according to a tradition founded the Jewish festivals (*ʿAboda Zara*, 8a), accomplished the *ḥadjdj* ceremonies, the black stone being sent to him from heaven, whereafter he built the Kaʿba (al-Ṭabarī, i, 122; al-Yaʿkūbī, i, 3; al-Thaʿlabī, 23). He also learned, with Eve, the use of fire, agriculture and handicraft, according to a tradition of Jewish origin (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (Gottwald), 84, Berlin 1340, 57; al-Ṭabarī, i, 123, 126 ff.; al-Thaʿlabī, 23-5). According to al-Thaʿlabī he even coined *dirhams* and *dīnārs*, as they are necessary for normal life. In continuation of the namegiving it is said that Adam learned all nouns and greetings and religious formulas (al-Ṭabarī, i, 93 ff.; al-Yaʿkūbī, 3). The presupposition is that Adam spoke Aramaic (*Sanhedrin*, 38b; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 5). Al-Ḥalabī (*al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1329, i, 20) says that Adam spoke Arabic in Paradise, but on the earth he spoke *suryāniyya*, and he wrote the 12 known kinds of writing, al-Kisāʾī (28) that he spoke 700 languages, of which the best was Arabic. He also wrote books (al-Dīnawarī, 8).

When Adam and Eve were united they begot children, first Ḳābīl and Hābīl [*q.v.*], each with a twin-sister. Adam married them each to the brother's twin-sister, therefore Ḳābīl was jealous and killed Hābīl. Shīth [*q.v.*], who was born without a sister, was the favourite of Adam and his spiritual heir (*waṣī*). Adam begot many other children, one of whom was named ʿAbd al-Ḥārith; al-Thaʿlabī says that Eve bore a boy and a girl twenty times and that the number of Adam's offspring was 40,000 before he died. Al-Ḥalabī mentions five gods of the Arabs who were sons of Adam; Iblīs made images of them and these were worshipped by later generations (al-Ṭabarī, i, 149 ff., 160 ff.; al-Masʿūdī, i, 62 f.; al-Yaʿkūbī, 4 f.; al-Thaʿlabī, 27; al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, i, 12).

God rubbed the back of Adam, and all his offspring appeared to him, amongst them David. When Adam heard that David should live only a short time he gave him 40 (50 or 70) years of his own life-time, so that he did not reach the 1,000 years that were destined for him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 156 f.; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 7 f.; al-Thaʿlabī, 26). The same occurs in Jewish tradition (*Bemidbar Rabba*, xvi, 12; *Yalḳuṭ Shimʿoni*, § 41; *Pirḳe R. Eliezer*, c. 19), and a related idea is the Christian tradition that everything was created at the same moment (Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, 7).

Adam was created on Friday, the 6th of Nīsān, year 1. On the same day he was expelled, and he died on a Friday at the same date of the month (al-Ṭabarī, i, 155 ff.; al-Masʿūdī, i, 60, 69; al-Yaʿkūbī, i, 4). He was buried, with Eve, in a cave, *maghārat al-kunūz*; at the foot of Abū Ḳubays near Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, i, 163; al-Yaʿkūbī, 4). Al-Thaʿlabī, 30, relates that after the flood he was brought to Jerusalem, following a Christian tradition that he was taken from the ark to Golgotha, the centre of the earth (*Cave of Treasures*, 38-42, 84, 112, 148), where the "chapel of Adam" is situated in the church of the holy sepulchre (see W. H. Roscher, *Der Omphalosgedanke*, Leipzig 1918; E. Wifstrand, *Konstantin's Kirche am heiligen Grabe*, Göteborg 1952, 30 ff.).

Adam was not only the first of men, but also the first of prophets, and so his position became influenced by the Muslim way of thinking. Just as Jesus was the second Adam in Christianity, a connexion was established in Islam between Adam and Muḥammad, with Adam as the first, Muḥammad as the last apostle (*rasūl*). In the Sabʿiyya system Adam is the first of the 7 *nāṭiḳ*'s, and some say there were men and *nāṭiḳ*'s existing before him. Seth was his *waṣī*. They distinguish between *Ādam al-kullī*, "all-Adam", identical with the intelligence (*ʿaḳl*), from whom the emanation began, and *Ādam al-djuzʾī*, the first one in the period of veiling. It is this ideal Adam before whom the angels prostrated themselves because he was godly, God's spirit being in him. This is sometimes designated as an incarnation (*ḥulūl*), which was continued by transmigration (*tanāsukh*). This deified ideal man was identified with "the perfect man" of Hellenism, and the same was by al-Ḥallādj named *nāsūt*. As Muḥammad became the centre of mankind, an idea especially emphasized in ṣufism, it became his essence (*ḥaḳīḳa*) or his "light" (*nūr*) that manifested itself in Adam. All creatures were created for the sake of Muḥammad, and Adam and his offspring were created of his light (al-Masʿūdī, i, 56; *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 23; al-Thaʿlabī, 16).

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(J. PEDERSEN)

ʿADAM (A.) is a translation of the Aristotelian term στέρησις (*privatio*) and means the absence of existence or being. A definition of the word is found in Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, v, 22 and is taken over by the Arabic Aristotelians. On the whole in Aristotelian philosophy two meanings of the word must be distinguished: (1) absolute non-existence, that is absolute nothingness, (2) relative non-existence, namely (a) the absence of a quality in matter, (b) the pure potentiality of matter. Since the absence of a quality contains, according to Aristotle, potentially its opposite, it has as potentiality a certain positive character. The Aristotelian theory of becoming is based entirely on this concept of privation. There is no absolute becoming, all becoming is the actualization of a relative non-existent or potential.

However, for Aristotle, even pure nothingness seems to have a certain being, for, according to him, by being something it is. But it is the Stoics who have discussed most acutely the problem of the existence of the non-existent and it is the repercussion of their discussions and their terminology which is found in Islam among the theologians. In particular the Muʿtazilites held that the non-existent is a thing (*shayʾ*), an entity (*dhāt*) and something positive (*thābit*). According to them, before the existence of the world God knew the entities which He was going to create and what He knew had, since He knew it, a certain reality. Creating the world He gave those entities the accident of existence.

Among the philosophers al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā regard, like the Muʿtazilites, existence as an accident, whereas for Ibn Rus͟hd, as for the As͟hʿarites, existence is an essence.

Bibliography: The theory of *ʿadam* as professed by the Muʿtazilites is found in the works dealing with that sect (e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, v, 45); a good discussion is found in S͟hahrastānī, *Nihāyat al-Iḳdām* (Guillaume), 150 ff. For a general discussion of the problem I refer to S. van den Bergh, transl. of Ibn Rus͟hd's *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ch. i and ii; see also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, 116 f.

(S. VAN DEN BERGH)

ADAMAWA, the name—deriving from the local leader of the Fulani *d̲j̲ihād* in 1809 (see para. 5 below)—given to a region in the hinterland of West Africa, and used:

(a) of an area never precisely defined in geographical terms but including the conquests of this *d̲j̲ihād* and the resulting sphere of Fulani influence in the region, extending from Marua in the north to well beyond Ngaundere in the south and from Rei Buba in the east to west of Yola,—approximately from 11° to 6° N. and 12° to 14° E. With the European occupation of this part of Africa early in the present century, the smaller and more closely populated western part came under the British administration of Nigeria,—the eastern section became part of the German Kameruns, which, after the German defeat in the 1914-18 war, were mandated to Great Britain and France by the League of Nations;

(b) of a Province, area according to 1931 census 281, 778 sq. miles—known until 1927 as the Yola Province—in Northern Nigeria, containing that part of (a) west of the original Anglo-German international boundary, plus those areas of the former German Kameruns mandated to Great Britain. These consist of a small area north of the river Benue, and a larger area to the south of it. The Adamawa Province also includes the Amirate of Muri in its south west corner and some tribal areas, not covered by the old name Adamawa. It lies south of the Bornu Province and east of the Bauchi Province of Nigeria.

2. Geography. The main features of Adamawa are the river Benue—the principal tributary of the river Niger and an international water-way which is navigable by steamers at the height of the wet season (August to October), and by large canoes and barges at all times,—running across its centre from east to west; the Mandara Mountains, over 3,000 feet, running north and south, north of the river Benue; and an extensive crescent-shaped massif,—over 5,000 feet at its higher western end,—curving from east to west, south of the river Benue.

3. Transport and Trade. The river Benue is itself extensively used for transport; the main caravan routes and modern motor roads run from south to north through the region. In earlier days, slaves and some ivory were the main exports; nowadays ground nuts and hides have replaced these, though there are numerous other items, including cotton, gum, sesame, etc. Imports consist of manufactured articles, especially cotton goods.

4. Economy. The region is not industrialised, and contains no large towns. It is self-contained so far as the necessities of life are concerned. Its population is mainly agricultural and pastoral. Its capital wealth consists in the numerous herds of cattle, sheep and goats.

5. Ethnography. (a) The population of the region comprises the Fulani (see article FULBE), both nomad and settled, and numerous pagan tribes. It is not possible to give figures with any accuracy for the indefinite region described in para. 1 (a) above. At the census of 1931, the salient figures for the Adamawa Province of Nigeria (para. 1 (b) above) were as follows: Fulani 150,936; Hausa [*q.v.*] 21,560; Kanuri [*q.v.*] 10,495; other tribes 467,138; these plus some minor groups gave a total population of 1,024,755.

The figures for the main pagan tribes were then: Bachama 19,703; Chamba 51,224*; Hona 6,604; Bata 23,003; Hiji 6,284; Kilba 22,799; Lala 9,733; Longuda 11,809; Mambilla 19,348; Mumuye 79,272; Vere 10,866; Wurkun 23,472; Marghi 151,223*. [Starred figures include members of the tribe outside the Provincial boundary, but inside the old "Adamawa".]

(b) Languages. Fulani (Fuffulde, see under FULBE) is the major language of the region, and the nearest approach to a lingua franca in it. Many of the pagan tribes now use it as such, though they have their own tongues, some of which are interconnected in varying degrees (e.g. Bura and Marghi with Kilba more remotely akin). Hausa is not much spoken outside the towns, and in them mostly by the trading elements. English and French are spoken only by those educated in the more advanced schools in the west and east of the region respectively.

6. History. Prior to the Fulani *d̲j̲ihād*, we have only orally transmitted tribal traditions. Most of the major tribes north of the river Benue do not claim to be indigenous and have traditions of immigration from the north and/or east. It seems clear that this was formerly the general direction of tribal movement, owing to the increasing desiccation of the Saharan areas further north, and a consequent thrust of those tribes least able to survive southwards to the tsetse ridden coast. The Fulani must have entered Adamawa centuries before the *d̲j̲ihād*. Local pagan tradition speaks (i) of an offshoot from the main Fulani trek (round the north and west African coasts, subsequently entering the West African hinterland from the direction of Senegambia), which entered Bornu and thence Adamawa from the north, having crossed the central Sahara by the westerly caravan route via Murzuḳ and Bilma), and (ii) of these Fulani arriving cattleless, having lost their herds en route, and then of their obtaining cattle from the local pagans. With the *d̲j̲ihād* we come to firm historical ground. When Usmanu bi Foduye [see ʿUT̲H̲MĀN B. FŪDĪ] started a *d̲j̲ihād* in the Sokoto area in circa 1804, his reputation spread, and he was joined by a certain Modibbo (Fulani for *muʿallim*) Adama. This Modibbo Adama was born near Gurin, east of the Vere hills on the west bank of the Faro tributary and just south of the river Benue, had studied in Bornu as a youth under a certain Modibbo Kiari thereafter returning to a village called Weltunde in the Benue region. In 1806, Usmanu gave M. Adama a flag and a few warriors with instructions to return to his own country and to start the *d̲j̲ihād* there. In 1809 Modibbo. Adama began a *d̲j̲ihād* from Gurin, thus embarking on a career of conquest and slave raiding amongst the local pagan tribes. Speaking generally, the Fulani horsemen achieved success except where the pagans could avail themselves of mountainous features unsuitable for mounted men. In such areas, many pagan tribes, such as the Hiji, Marghi and Kilba north of the Benue and the Mambilla, Chamba and others south of it, maintained actual or virtual independence until the European occupation.

In 1838, Modibbo Adama transferred his headquarters from Gurin (now only a tiny village, but still hallowed for its associations), to the nearby Ribadu, in 1839 to Joboliwo a little to the west, and, finally, in 1841, he founded Yola still more to the west (in Fulani the name means a raised area in a marsh), where he died in 1848. All these places are just south of the Benue river, and it is obvious that the intention was to control the river crossings. Details of the dynasty founded by Modibbo Adama are given below. The Fulani conquests, often amounting to little more than raids, were never closely organised except near to the capital. The administrative system was one of fiefs, feudal in character, the lesser chiefs owing allegiance to the *lamido* (Fulani = *amir*, plur: *lamibe*), and rendering tribute. But the tendency was centrifugal, and these fief holders (Fulani = *lamdo* plur: *lambe*) often achieved virtual though not nominal independence, in proportion to the distance of their fief from the capital. Good examples of this tendency were found in Madagali and Rei Buba in the north and east of the region respectively. Adamawa as a name for the region seems to have become current in the Modibbo's lifetime, for it was in use in Bornu when Clapperton was there in 1823-4.

7. Religion. Islam is the religion of the Fulani and many pagans have been converted and are in process of conversion to it, though adherents of the animistic cults are still numerous. Christian missions now operate in the region. Of these the most important numerically are the Church of the Brethren (American) in the Bura-Marghi tribal areas north of the river Benue, and the Sudan United (Danish) amongst the riverain Bachama tribe, west of Yola. In the 1931 census, of the total population of 1,024,755 for Adamawa Province, 674,516 were recorded as Muslim, 348,791 as animist, 1,425 as Protestant. It is certain that the next census will show considerable decrease of animists, a large increase of Muslims and some increase of Christians.

8. Miscellaneous. The first recorded European explorer was Dr. Barth in 1851. The French Lieut. Mizon visited the region in 1891-3. The Niger Company traded from hulks in the river Benue for several years before the actual military occupation of Yola by British forces on 2nd September 1901, when Yola Town was spiritedly defended with the help of deserters from Rabeh's forces (see under Bornu) armed with modern rifles, and two cannon presented to the then Lamido by Lieut. Mizon, contrary to agreements negotiated by him. The German forces occupied Garua in March 1902, and the Anglo-German international boundary was delimited by a commission in April 1903. During the world war of 1914-8 the region was the scene of military operations on a considerable scale, involving transport difficulties of magnitude. After an initial period of raid and counter raid, the German Kameruns were taken by an Anglo-French expeditionary force, which captured Garua on 10.6.15, and Ngaundere 28.6.15. The German mountain fortress of Mora surrendered 18.2.16.

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(C. E. J. Whitting)

The Amīrs of Yola

ʿADAN (Aden) (i) town, (ii) British crown colony, (iii) British protectorate in S.W. Arabia.

(1) Town and seaport on the South coast of Arabia, in British possession since 1839, with a mixed population of ca 35,000. ʿAdan (cf. akkad. *edinu* "steppe"), more precisely ʿAdan Abyan (by way of distinction from ʿAdan Lāʿa, and al-ʿAdan in a verse of Ufnūn al-Taghlibī; cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 622 f., Kay, 232, *AM*, ii, 17, 284), or *thaghr* ʿAdan from its being strongly fortified, is the *Athene* of Pliny, Ἀθήνη of Philostorgius, Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία of the Periplus, Ἀραβία ἐμπόριον of Ptolemy (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl., iii, 6), and most probably the *ʿeden* of Ez., xxvii, 23 (see recently v. Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge* 306 (88), where also the triple 𐩲𐩵𐩬 of CIH 550, which may, however, be a fake, is quoted). For other names of the place see al-Maḳdisī, 30, IM, 110 (= Löfgren, *Arab. Texte*, i, 29).

The peninsula of ʿAdan is an extinct volcano, nowadays called Shamshān (vulg. Shamsham), in earlier time al-ʿUrr "the mountain" (ʿUrr ʿAdan); it is 1775 feet (ca. 550 m.) high. On the east side is a gap in the range opposite to the island of Ṣīra: here is the main part of the town, and the habitations reach the sea. ʿAdan was once an island: the low and narrow isthmus is still nearly covered at high spring tide. This disadvantage was removed by means of a bridge, al-Maksir, built by the Persians (cf. "Khor Maksar" west of the isthmus). Beside the main volcano there are several minor heights, e.g. Djabal Ṣīra, Ḥuḳḳāt, Marshaḳ (with a large light-house) and Dj. Ḥadīd (west of the isthmus). The old harbour was on the east side, in connexion with the town; a mole (*shaṣna*) was constructed to protect it against the SE wind (*azyab*). The excellent harbour to which ʿAdan now owes its importance is the large and well protected bay between the peninsula of ʿAdan and that of "Little Aden", with the mountains Muzalḳam "Sugarloaf Peak" and Iḥsān "Ass's Ears". Bandar Tawayih (Tawwāhī),

as the modern port is called, extends along the NW shore (for details see *Red Sea and Aden pilot* 135). The habit of constructing dams and cisterns, typical of old Sabean culture, has left traces in the ʿAdan territory. There are remnants of some fifty reservoirs scattered over the peninsula. According to IM they were built by Persians from Sīrāf. They are attested by Salt in 1809 and by Haines, the future conqueror of ʿAden, in 1835, to be in a tolerable state; but from 1839 on they were neglected, and much of their stonework was carried away until 1856, when the restoration of those inside the crater was begun. There are thirteen tanks holding nearly two millions litres of water, but the scanty and irregular rainfalls seldom fill them completely. There are numerous wells within the crater and in the west part of the peninsula (cf. IM, 131 ff.), but they cannot supply the need of drinking water, being for the most part brackish. In the Middle Ages al-Ḥayḳ (= al-Ḥiswa of to-day?) was "the watering-place (*manhal*) of ʿAdan" (al-Hamdānī, 53). In 1867 the British government got the permission of the sultan of Laḥdj [*q.v.*] to build an aqueduct from the village of Shaykh ʿUthmān. Later on condensers were installed.

Legend usually ascribes the foundation of ʿAdan to Shaddād b. ʿĀd [*q.v.*], who is said to have caused the famous tunnel to be cut through the mountain range and to have used the place as a prison. We are told the same of the *Tubbaʿs* and the Pharaohs of Egypt, whence the name al-Ḥabs or Habs Firʿawn. According to old tradition (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 144) Ḳābīl, having killed his brother Hābīl [*q.v.*], fled with his sister from India to ʿAdan, where he was visited by Iblīs on Dj. Ṣīra and taught the use of musical instruments. His grave is shown to-day above the Main Pass gate. The "abandoned well" (*biʾr muʿaṭṭala*, Ḳur., xxii, 44) and *Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād* [*q.v.*] (Ḳur., lxxxix, 6) are located in or near ʿAdan. The tradition of a fire coming from Yaman or ʿAdan (Ṣīra) and portending the day of judgement, ascribed in *Ḥadīth* to Muḥammad, may be some sort of reminiscence of volcanic activity. IM makes Hanuman, the Indian ape-god who has a temple in ʿAdan, fetch the wife of Rāmacandra along a subway back to Udjdjayni from Ṣīra, where she had been brought by a demon (Rāvaṇa).

Population. According to al-Hamdānī (53, 124) the Arabs of ʿAdan were divided into three factions: Marab, Ḥumāḥim (var. Djamādjim, IM) and Mallāḥ (cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 622; BGA, iii, 102, iv, 206). The great number of Hindus and Somalis indicates a constant immigration by sea., IM 117 ff., has details on early migrations from Madagascar (Ḳumr) via Mogadishо and Kilwa, and of Persians from Sīrāf and Ḳays (Kīsh). Cf. Ferrand, *Le K'ouen-Louen* etc. (*JA*, 1919); Goitein, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 247 ff.; idem, in *Speculum*, 1954, 181 ff. A considerable number of the Jews of ʿAdan (abont whom see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. Aden) were in recent years evacuated into Israel.

The early history of ʿAdan is very imperfectly known. From the *Periplus* (ca 50 A.D.) we learn that the place had been destroyed recently by ΚΑΙCΑΡ (probably an error for ΙΛΙCΑΡ = Ilisharaḥ Yaḥḍib, cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge* 88), but in the time of Constantine the "Emporium Romanum" had recovered its old splendour; a church was built by the bishop Theophilus ca. 342. Later on ʿAdan lost its importance in favour of the Red Sea ports of Ahwāb and Ghulāfiḳa. The Persians (from 575 on) favoured culture in Yaman, building cisterns and bathhouses, and installing tanneries. After Bādhān, the last Sāsānid governor, had submitted to Muḥammad ʿAdan was visited in 10/631 by ʿAlī, who preached from its *minbar*. A mosque built by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was restored by Ḥusayn b. Salāma, the vizier of Banū Ziyād (204-429/819-1037). In 454/1062 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, *dāʿī* of the Fāṭimids of Egypt, conquered ʿAdan and presented it to Ḥurra Sayyida at her marriage with his son al-Mukarram in 461/1069. Banū Maʿn, since 410/1019 in possession of ʿAdan after the Ziyādids, were left in charge of the place until 476/1083, when they rebelled and were replaced by two brothers of the Hamdānid family of al-Karam (Mukarram) b. Yām, the founders of the Zurayʿid [*q.v.*] dynasty. ʿAbbās took up his residence in the fort of Taʿkar, controlling the isthmus gate, while Masʿūd held the castle of Khaḍrāʾ and superintended the sea trade. Later on the town was united in the hands of Muḥ. b. Sabaʾ (534-48/1139-53) and his son ʿImrān (-560/1165). The *kharādj* of ʿAdan by this time is given as 100,000 dīnārs a year. In 569/1173 Tūrān Shāh, the brother of Saladin, conquered Yaman by means of Turkish mercenaries (Ghuzz). The periods of Ayyūbid (-625/1228), Rasūlid (-858/1454) and Ṭāhirid (-923/1517) dominion were a golden time for the trade of ʿAdan. A new tax, collected by galleys (*shawānī*), was introduced by the Ayyūbids.

The discovery of the sea-route to India and the rise of the Ottoman power mark the beginning of decline in the trade of ʿAdan. The Portuguese admiral Albuquerque attacked the town on Easter Eve 1513 with twenty ships, but did not succeed in taking it. In 1538 a Turkish armada on its way to India outwitted the defenders, and the Turks dominated Yaman for nearly hundred years. ʿAdan was lost to the Zaydī imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ in 1568 and in 1630 the Turks left it finally. In 1735 ʿAdan passed into the hands of the ʿAbdalī sulṭān of Laḥdj, whose descendant Muḥsin was forced to cede it to the English expedition under Captain Haines, which had been sent to get an indemnity for the plundering of a British ship. In view of the sultan's treacherous attitude the place was taken by storm on the 20th January 1839. Of the prosperous town visited by Marco Polo in 1276, with 80,000 inhabitants and 360 (!) mosques, there was now left a miserable village of 600 persons living in huts. Since then the development of ʿAdan has progressed rapidly, especially after the opening of the Suez canal in 1869, and this "Arabian Gibraltar" is now a mercantile centre of great and increasing importance.

Buildings. A wall was built by the Zurayʿids for the protection of trade, and houses of stone increased in number. After the depart of Tūrān Shāh his viceroy in ʿAdan ʿUthmān al-Zandjīlī (Zandjabīlī) built a larger wall, with six gates, and a custom-house. Other secular buildings of Ṭughtekīn b. Ayyūb, his son Ismāʿīl, the Rasūlid ʿAlī al-Mudjāhid, and the Ṭāhirid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb are recorded, AM, 10 ff. Of the "handsome baths, lined with marble and jasper, and covered with a dome", which were seen in 1708 by de Merveille (Playfair, from La Roque), nothing is left. Among the mosques of ʿAdan the most celebrated is that of Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs [*q.v.*], the patron of the town, whose *ziyāra* is held on 15 Rabīʿ II. Other *masdjids* are mentioned by Hunter (175 f.) and in AM.

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(ii) British territory (since 1937 crown colony) in SW Arabia, including ʿAdan town, peninsula and isthmus, Shaykh ʿUthmān town with surrounding district, "Little Aden" peninsula, and Perim island. Area: ca. 80 square miles. Population: ca. 45,000.

(iii) British protectorate, divided into a Western and an Eastern half, with ʿAdan and Mukallā as centres. (a) The W. Aden Protectorate (ca. 40,000 sq. miles) comprises the "Nine Cantons", viz. (from W to E) Ṣubayḥī, ʿĀmirī (capital: Ḍāliʿ), ʿAlawī, Ḥawshabī (cap. Musaymir), ʿAbdalī (cap. Laḥdj), ʿAḳrabī, Upper and Lower Yāfiʿī, Faḍlī (cap. Shuḳra), Upper and Lower ʿAwlaḳī (cap. Aḥwar), in addition to the ʿAwdhalī and Bayḥānī districts [see articles on each of them]. (b) The E. Aden Protectorate (70-80,000 sq. miles) comprises the Ḥaḍramawt states (Ḳuʿayṭi and Kathīri) [see ḤAḌRAMAWT], the Wāḥidī [*q.v.*] sultanates of Balḥāf and Bir ʿAlī, the shaykhdoms of ʿIrḳa [*q.v.*] and Ḥawra [*q.v.*], and the Mahrī sultanate of Ḳishn [*q.v.*] and Suḳuṭra [*q.v.*]. Population: ca. 600,000.

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(O. Löfgren)

ADANA (in Arabic script Adhana, Adana, Adāna, in later times Āṭana), (i) city in southern Anatolia, (ii) Ottoman *wilāyet*.

(i) Adana, situated at 37° N, 35°18 E, in the northern part of the plain of Cilicia (Čukurowa), on the right (western) bank of the Seyḥān river (the ancient Sarus), in Ottoman times the capital of the *wilāyet* of Adana, since 1935 of the *wilāyet* of Seyhan (see (ii) below); flourishing trading centre; population (1950) : 117,799.

History. The changing fortunes of the city have been largely dominated by its geographical situation at the foot of the Taurus passes. Lying at the intersection of the opposing spheres of interest of the Anatolian empires pushing southwards over the Taurus and the Syrian empires expanding towards the north, whose balance of forces or common weakness allowed the establishment of minor dynasties from time to time (Rubenids, Ramaḍānids), it found security only in an empire which embraced both Anatolia and Syria, as before the Arab conquest, and later under the Ottomans. Adana is an ancient settlement, which seems to have flourished at the time of the Lydian kings, was resettled by Pompey after its destruction by war, and under the East Roman empire was an important commercial centre which competed with Tarsus (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i, 844).

Adana was occupied by the Arabs in the middle of the 7th century, but frequently changed masters in their struggle with the Byzantines. Depopulated by the constant frontier wars, it was rebuilt by Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors and became a bastion in the chain of fortresses of the "Syrian marches" (*thughūr al-Shām*). In 875 it was temporarily taken by Basil I, and again in Byzantine possession in 944-6, but recaptured by the Arabs after a siege in 964. In 1025 Cilicia was again occupied by the Byzantines, who could not however hold it permanently; nor apparently were the victorious Seldjūḳs (1071) able at first to establish themselves in the province (cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs ... jusqu'en* 1081, Paris 1913, 11). At any rate, in 1082 Adana again belonged to the Byzantines, but was taken by Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumīsh in 1083 (J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Paris 1905, 179). After its occupation by the Crusaders in 1097, it belonged at first to the principality of Antioch, but in 1104 was detached by Alexis I and came under Byzantine administration. In 1132 it belonged to Leon of Little Armenia, in 1137 became Byzantine, in 1138 was occupied by the Rūm Seldjūḳ Masʿūd, in 1151 (at the latest) again Armenian, 1158 Byzantine, finally in 1172-3 incorporated by the Rubenid Mlech in his Armenian state, in which it remained for a long time, although exposed to repeated Muslim attacks. Baybars, after his victory at Antioch in 1266 appeared before Adana; the Mamlūks also sacked the town in 1275 and 1304, and attacked it in 1355. It remained, however, in Armenian hands (except for 1341-4, when it fell by ihneritance to Guy de Lusignan). In 1359 it was occupied by the Mamlūks, and became the capital of a *niyāba*. In 1378 the governor was the Turkmen Yüregir-oghlu Ramaḍān, who, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Mamlūks, extended his dominions and founded the buffer-state of the Ramaḍān-oghlu [*q.v.*]. He and his successors followed sometimes a pro-, sometimes an anti-Mamlūk policy, securing for Adana a relatively quiet time. The inner conflicts and the invasion of the Dhu 'l-Ḳādirid Shahsuwār in 1467 do not seem to have disturbed the city. In 1485-9 the Ottomans endeavoured unsuccessfully to detach Adana from the Mamlūks. In 1516, Selīm I, during his Egyptian expedition, occupied it, but left the Ramaḍān-oghlu in possession, now as Ottoman vassals. In 1606 it came temporarily under the rule of the insurgent Djanbulāṭ-oghlu and in 1608 it was constituted a regular province (*eyālet*) under a governor (*wālī*) appointed by the Sulṭān. In the Turco-Egyptian war of 1832, Adana became the headquarters of the Egyptian army under Ibrāhīm Pasha, was ceded to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha by the treaty of Kütahya (6 April 1833), but restored to the Porte by the London Convention (6 July 1840). It was then made part of the province of Ḥalab, but in 1867 became again the capital of the new *wilāyet* of Adana. In Dec. 1918 it was occupied by French troops, but was returned to Turkey in 1922 under the terms of the Turco-French treaty of Ankara (20 Oct. 1921).

Commerce. Its favourable situation, as a bridgehead on the great Anatolian-Arabian road (cf. Fr. Taeschner, *Anat. Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1934, index), and the fertility of its surroundings, always enabled Adana to recover, in spite of its changing political fortunes. Nevertheless until the period of the Ramaḍān-oghlu it seems to have been less important than Ṭarsūs. In the 10th century, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, Adana was defended by

a wall with eight gates and a fortress on the opposite bank (the last remnants of which were demolished in 1836); according to al-Idrīsī (1150) it had a flourishing trade; W. von Ollenburg (1211) says that it was well populated but not rich. In the town, already famous for its cotton, the Venetians had privileges (Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce*, index, cf. Laurent, 11). Abu 'l-Fidā' described it as flourishing, B. de la Brouquière (1437) as a busy emporium. Its progress in the period of the Ramaḍān-oghlu, under Ottoman suzerainty, is reflected in the accounts of travellers (cf. e.g. Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (1530), MS Köprülü 1390; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī (1557), *Tarih Semineri dergisi*, i/2, 4 ff.; P. Belon, *Les observations, etc.*, Antwerp 1533). Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ, *Menāẓir al-ʿAwālim* (MS Nuru ʿOthmāniyye 3032, 215) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā* (Istanbul 1145, 601), depend on the Arabic geographers and do not add anything new. The anonymous *al-Menāzil wa 'l-Ṭarīḳ ilā Bayt Allāh* (MS Inkilap Kitabhanesi, M.C., K boy, 113, fol. 8v) mentions the excellence of its markets and of its products, likewise Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme* (Istanbul 1935, iii, 37, ix, 333 ff.), according to whom Adana had 8700 houses built of clay (this might be slightly exaggerated in his usual manner). With the general retrogression of the Ottoman empire, however, a decline set in which lasted till the middle of the 19th century; one of the main causes was the insecurity which began immediately outside its gates. Nevertheless, the cotton trade continued, and in the 18th century there seem to have existed extensive commercial relations with merchants from Kayserī (cf. P. Lucas (1766); C. Niebuhr (travelled 1766), *Reisebeschreibung*, Hamburg 1837, and others quoted by Ritter).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Adana had still a larger population than Ṭarsūs (according to J. M. Kinneir, *Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1818), while two decades later, in 1836, it is described as smaller than Ṭarsūs (J. Rusegger, *Reise in Griechenland ... und südöstl. Kleinasien*, Stuttgart 1841, 524 ff.). There was now but little trade, as is remarked in a report of the British consul Neale (cited Ritter, see Bibl.). On the attempt made during the Egyptian occupation more especially to revive cotton production, but without much success, see W. F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative*, i, London 1880. An account of the corporation of the oil factories is given by V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, Paris 1861. The city began to prosper again in the second half of the 19th century, due to the growing European demand for cotton and the efforts for improvement (e.g. road to Mersin) especially of the *wālī* Khalīl Pasha. According to J. Davies, *Life in Turkey* (London 1879, 48 ff.), as a result of these efforts, the land was well cultivated, the town relatively clean and active, and the number of inhabitants varying between twenty to thirty-five thousand (the difference being due to the migration of part of the population to the mountains during the hot summer and to the great number of migrating labourers). V. Quinet, ii, 35 ff., gives: 30,000 permanent inhabitants (13,000 Muslims, 12,575 Armenians) and 12,000-15,000 migrating labourers. In 1870 a municipal administration was established, with a mayor. Its communications were improved by the opening of the railway to Mersin in 1886, and the piercing of the Taurus tunnels during the first world war. The occupation and the subsequent exodus of the Armenians and Greeks, who had gained importance by their position in trade during the 19th century, brought about a crisis. Under the Turkish Republic there set in a period of rapid progress (72,577 inhabitants in 1927, 117,799 in 1950). Since 1935 Adana has been the capital of the province of Seyhan.

Population. Christianity was established in Adana from an early date, and it was an episcopal see. Since the government of the Armenian Rubenids the Armenians had greatly outnumbered the Greeks and the Armenian church acquired a preponderant position. Its Christian population, already affected by the constant Muslim attacks, steadily decreased after the Mamlūk conquest and under the Ottomans (see the reports of travellers, and data in Ritter and Alishan). During the 19th century the Christian population increased, but the victory of the Turks in 1922 brought about their total expulsion. Little is known of the Jews of Adana (cf. A. Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie*, Istanbul 1939, ii, 304). Arab elements penetrated into Cilicia with the armies from the 8th century, but could scarcely maintain themselves in Adana itself when Turkish nomads had already gained a firm foothold in the neighbourhood. Adana is described by P. Belon (1548) as lying on the linguistic frontier between Arabic and Turkish. Thereafter the Arab elements in the population were almost wholly displaced, and this situation could not be changed by the brief Egyptian occupation in the 19th century.

Culture. Adana has not played in the past, nor does it play at present, an important cultural role. It has an interesting museum, founded in 1924 in the *madrasa* of Djaʿfar Pasha. The main monuments are due to the Ramaḍān-oghlu: Eski or Yagh Djamiʿi, with a monumental gateway (inscription from 1553) and *madrasa* in the E. and S. sides of the court, domed *iwān* with finely sculptured ornament; the mosque itself is of uncertain date (before 1500). Ulu Djāmiʿ, built by Ramaḍān-oghlu Khalīl, 1507-41, and enlarged by his grandson Muṣṭafā, 948/1541 (for a legend relating to its construction, cf. Baki T. Arik, *Adana Fethinin destani*, Istanbul 1943, 47 ff.), mosque, *madrasa*, *türbe* and *ders-khāne*, enclosed by high wall; emphasis on eastern facade with main entrance. The groundplan, various details, coloured ornamentation and minaret indicate the influence of Syrian models; Seldjūḳ tradition is particularly apparent in the dragons at the base of the dome; richly elaborated *miḥrāb*; Ottoman tiles of the finest quality; these various stylistic elements are united into a convincing whole. *Türbe* with graves decorated with tiles of the Ramaḍān-oghlus Khalīl, Pīrī and Muṣṭafā. Of the many foundations of the dynasty the following are wholly or partly preserved: the so-called Waḳīf Serāyī, residence of the dynasty since 1495; Selāmīk Dayresī, today Tuz-khanī. Also noteworthy are the Čarshi Ḥammāmī, the *bedestān* (frequently mentioned by travellers, but rebuilt in the middle of the 19th century, and Aghdja Mesdjid, of 1409-10, the oldest mosque in the town, with carved door.

Bibliography: No special monograph exists. Scattered references, in addition to works cited in the article, in the following: *IA* and *Türk* (formerly *Inönü*) *Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; R. A. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey etc.*, i, London 1850; Ebū Bekr Fewḍī, *Khulāsa-yi Aḥwāl al-Buldān fī Memālik-i Dewlet-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, (Ist. Üniv. Kütübhanesi, Fotokopiler no. 28, p. 90); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 3-40; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 731; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 656; Sāmi Bey Frasherī, *Ḳāmūs ül-Aʿlām*, i, 290 f.; W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, iv, London 1890; Le Strange, 131; E. Reitmeyer,

Die Städtegründungen der Araber, Leipzig 1912; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides*, Algiers 1951; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von* 363 *bis* 1071, Brussels 1935; I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Ankara 1937; Mehmed Nüzhet, *Ramazanogullari*, *TOEM*, i, 167 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, x, index; L. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Armino-Cilicie*, Venice 1879; C. Ritter, *Vergleichende Erdkunde des Halbinsellandes Kleinasien*, Berlin 1859; *Sālnāme-yi Wilāyet-i Adana*, no 9, 1308, and 10, 1312; Naci Akverdi, *Adana Cumhuriyetten evvel ve sonra*, Ankara; M. Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1913; K. Otto-Dorn, *Islamische Denkmäler Kilikiens*, *Jahrb. f. Kleinasiatische Forsch.*, 1952, 118 ff.

(R. Anhegger)

(ii) The older name of the *wilāyet* embracing in general the Cilician plain (Čukurowa)—now called Seyhan—with the capital of the same name. The old Ottoman *eyālet* of Adana (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 601) comprised in addition to Adana only the two *sandjaḳs* of Sīs and Ṭarsūs; the later *wilāyet* of Adana (since 1867) the *sandjaḳs* of Adana, Ičel (Silifke), Khozan (Sīs), Djebel-i Bereket (Yarput); the present *wilāyet* of Seyhan (17,256 km², 509,600 inhabitants, 1950 *Genel nüfus sayımı*, Ankara 1950), which more or less corresponds to the earlier *sandjaḳ* of Adana, has the following *ḳaḍās*: Adana, Bagče, Ceyhan, Dörtyol, Feke, Kadirli, Karaisalı, Kozan, Osmaniye, Saimbeyli. The most important activity in the Čukurowa is cotton-cultivation, which today gives the impression of a monoculture.

(Fr. Taeschner)

ADĀT [see naḥw].

ʿĀDAT, ADAT LAW [see ʿāda].

al-**ʿAḌAYM** (ʿAḍēm), an eastern tributary of the Tigris (Didjla, [*q.v.*]). It is formed of the junction of several rivers which have their sources in the range east of and parallel to the Djabal Ḥamrīn and which in their course from N.E. to S.W. break through deeply cut ravines. The most important of these rivers are: the river of Kirkūk, viz. the Khāṣa (Kaza, Kissa) -čay (on some maps it figures also under the name of Ḳara-ṣū), which rises from several sources north of Kirkūk; further the river of Tāʾūk (Daḳūkā [*q.v.*]), viz. the Tāʾūk-ṣū (or -čay), the most important of all, which joins the Khāṣa-čay southwest of Tāʾūk; and the Aḳ-ṣū, also called the river of Tūz-Khurmatli. The latter comes from the Sedjirme-dagh and falls below the place Tūz-Khurmatli into the river of Tāʾūk. From this junction onwards the river is called al-ʿAḍaym, or Shaṭṭ al-ʿAdaym; it forces its way through the Djabal Ḥamrīn, flows in a southerly direction across the Babylonian plain and falls below 34° N 44°20' E into the Tigris. On their courses south of Tâza Khurmatli (below Kirkūk) down to the junction with the Aḳ-ṣū, the northern, and then the united northern and middle source rivers, meander through extensive swamps. When the snow melts, the ʿAḍaym is connected through a dried up river-bed north-east of the Djabal Ḥamrīn with the Narin-čay (on some maps also Narit-ṣū), a tributary of the Diyālā. The inhabitants are able to establish such a communication, when necessary, also south-west of the Djabal Ḥamrīn, by utilizing the generally dried-up Nahr Rādhān, which is connected with a tributary of the Diyālā (at present it is said to be used for irrigation and does not reach the Diyālā). (The ruins of the dam were first described by J. Ross, *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1840, 121 ff.; then by J. F. Jones, *Bombay Records*, Memoir xliii, 1857, 123; see also E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 76 ff.) When the channel of the Nahr Rādhān is opened, the water flows into the Diyālā and the lower ʿAḍaym is almost entirely dried up. Towards its estuary the ʿAḍaym is very scantily supplied with water in the hot season; according to travellers' statements, it is often for some month entirely dried up in its lower course.

The name ʿAḍaym occurs for the first time in the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ* (8th/14th century), 379, as al-ʿAẓīm or al-ʿUẓayyim; cf. Nahr al-Aʿẓam in Mustawfī (ca. 1340). For the identification of the ʿAḍaym with the Turnat of the cuneiform inscriptions and the Tornadotus (Tornas) of the classical writers, see F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. und Gesch. des alten Orients*², Munich 1904, 5, 293 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Tornadotus; for Radānu (= Nahr Rādhān) in the cuneiform inscriptions, which may have at one time denoted also the lower ʿAḍaym, see Streck, in *ZA*, 1900, 275 and Hommel, 293 ff. It is questionable wheter we may also identify the Gyndes of Herodotus with the ʿAḍaym; cf. Billerbeck, 72 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Gyndes.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 522 ff., 537 ff.; A. Billerbeck, *Mitteilungen d. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1898, 65 ff., 83; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten persischen Martyrer*, 1880, 253, 275.

(M. Streck *)

AḌDĀD (a.) (plur. of *ḍidd* = "a word that has two contrary meanings"), words which, according to the definition of Arab philologists, have two meanings that are opposite to each other, e.g. the verb *bāʿa* which may mean "to sell" and also "to buy" (= *ishtarā*); even the word *ḍidd* itself belongs to the same category of words, for in such an expression as *lā ḍiddᵃ lahū* it has not the meaning of "opposite", but that of "equal". The *aḍdād*, from their point of view, belong as a particular class to the homonyms (*al-mushtarik* [*q.v.*]), except that the latter class comprises two words that have the same sound but two different meanings (*maʿnayān mukhtalifān*), while in the *aḍdād* the two meanings are directly opposite to each other. The Arabs treated of this lexical question with the passion and accuracy which they applied to all the other domains of their language, and they devoted to it either special chapters of general works (e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Būlāḳ, i, 186-93; Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiii, 258-66), or separate monographs. The latter were enumerated for the first time by M. Th. Redslob, *Die arabischen Wörter mit entgegengesetzter Bedeutung*, Göttingen 1873, 7-9 (the name of al-Djāḥiẓ, however, is to be cancelled). While some of these works are known from citations, books called *Kitāb al-Aḍdād* by the following authors are preserved, and in part published: 1) Ḳuṭrub (d. 206/821), ed. H. Kofler, *Islamica*, 1932; 2) al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/831), ed. A. Haffner, *Drei arabische Quellenwerke über die Aḍdād*, Beirut 1913, 45-61; 3) Abū ʿUbayd (d. 223/837), see Brockelmann, S I, 167; 4) Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. ca. 250/864), ed. Haffner, ibid., 71-157; 5) Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 243/857), ed. Haffner, ibid., 163-209; 6) Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d. 327/939), ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1881; also Cairo 1325; 7) Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī (d. 381/991), see Brockelmann, S I, 190; 8) al-Saghānī (d. 650/1252), ed. Haffner, ibid. 221-48.

The opinion which has long been maintained that Arabic, contrary to all the other Semitic languages, contains a very large number of such *aḍdād* is no

longer tenable. If all that is false and all that does not belong here are cut out of the list, there remains also in Arabic only a small residue. Hence al-Mubarrad (MS Leiden 437, p. 180) and Ibn Durustawayh (quoted by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, i, 191) went so far as to deny entirely the existence of the *aḍdād* in Arabic. Ibn al-Anbārī enumerates in his book more than 400 such *aḍdād*; but in spite of the fullness of the work such words as *ankara*, *walā*, etc. are missing. Redslob has already pointed out that a considerable part of this must be eliminated, as the authors either extend too far the concept of the *aḍdād*, or artificially accumulate as much matter as possible: 1. First of all it must be noted that most of the words quoted were known to or currently used by the Arabs only in one meaning, and the contrary meaning can be evidenced only by scanty and sometimes even contested citations. If it were not so, many misunderstandings would arise in everyday life, while Ibn al-Anbārī in his introduction (p. 1) denies any ambiguity. 2. It is absolutely false to consider the words not only in themselves, but also in their syntactical construction in the sentence, and to establish a *ḍidd* when, through various constructions or interpretations of the sentence, two contrary meanings are possible (Ibn al-Anbārī, loc. cit., 167-8). 3. Particles like *in*, *min*, *an*, *aw*, *mā*, *hal*, must be struck out from the list of *aḍdād*. Such arguments as that *in* means "if" and "not", that is to say, can both indicate the possibility of a thing and negate it, are feeble. Equally trivial are the considerations that verbal forms (*kāna* or *yakūnu*) indicate different tenses, or that proper names (*Isḥāḳ*, *Ayyūb*, *Yaʿḳūb*) may also have secondary meanings. 4. Forms which only in certain circumstances may have a meaning contrary to their usual one could be enumerated in large numbers. Here belong words such as *kaʾs*, goblet, and also its contents, *naḥnu*, we, I; further all the *fāʿil* forms which are also passive (e.g. *wāmiḳ*, *k͟hāʾif*) and the *faʿīl* forms that are also active (e.g. *amīn*); the elatives which may be formed from participles of the first and augmented roots; the verbs that sometimes also in the first form have a causative meaning (e.g. *zāla*) etc.; but none of these cases represent any real *aḍdād*. 5. Equally to be excluded are words which in certain cases are used ironically (*ihtizāʾan* ot *tahakkuman*) e.g. *yā ʿāḳil* ("intelligent one!") for a fool, or euphemistically (*tafāʾul*), as *yā sālim* ("healthy one!") for a sick person. The use of both tropes is at the will of the speaker. 6. The highest degree of arbitrariness and artifice was finally attained by the grammarians who count among the *aḍdād* words like *talʿa* (in the meaning of "waterpipe" and "hill"), on the grounds that water flows downwards and the hill rises upwards.—Most of the examples given by Ibn al-Anbārī fall under one or other of the points just quoted and therefore ought not to be considered as *aḍdād*; only a small residue remains.

The Arabs themselves already sought for explanations for these phenomena, but only one deserves consideration in so far at least as in the interpretation it leads back to the root, whence both meanings have branched out (Ibn al-Anbārī, loc. cit., 5; *al-Muzhir*, i, 193 ff.). The other explanations account only for the actually occurring meanings, and either regard all the *aḍdād* as meanings borrowed by the roots from one another (Ibn al-Anbārī, loc. cit., 7; *al-Muzhir*, i, 194), or attempt, often clumsily, to harmonize the meanings; for instance, the Arabs explain *baʿḍ* in its meaning "whole" by arguing that the whole thing is only a part of something else (Ibn al-Anbārī, 6).

C. Abel, *Uber den Gegensinn der Urworte*, Leipzig 1884 (reprinted in his *Sprachwissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen*, Leipzig 1885) made an attempt to find a general explanation, starting from a single point of view, for the linguistic phenomenon of the "enantiosemia" as a whole. According to him the words used by primitive men were not expressions for certain unambiguous concepts, but described rather the mutual relation between two opposites; e.g. the concept of "strong" could only be understood by a comparison with "weak", and the two sides of the opposition was only gradually distinguished by phonetic changes. The theory of Abel was not accepted by linguists, but found recognition among the psychoanalysts.

R. Gordis, *Words of mutually opposed meaning*, *Am. J. Semit. Lang.*, 1938, 270-80, also endeavours to find an explanation that should be valid for all *aḍdād*. Starting from modern anthropological theories, he connects the *aḍdād* with taboo and mana and concludes that "by and large, words of contradictory meaning endure in the speech of mankind only as survivals from primitive ways of thought .

Against such theories, the prevailing opinion in general linguistics is that the enantiosemia cannot be explained from a unique principle. Words have from their origin a fixed meaning; in the case of each *ḍidd*, therefore, one of the meanings must be considered as original, the other as secondary. The task of linguistics is to trace out in each case the gradual change of meaning, although it is immediately evident that the facts cannot be established for each *ḍidd*. As a matter of fact, the Arab philologists already admitted in principle this doctrine: *al-aṣl li-maʿnan wāḥidin*. That their works, in spite of the richness of their materials, make so slight a contribution to the solution of the problem is due, among other reasons, to the fact that for them the explanation of the *aḍdād* was not so much a scientific task as a purely practical one. To the Arabs it was of prime importance to give as complete an index as possible of all the words destined for daily and literary use, which have contrary meanings; they are therefore often guided simply by exterior consonance; thus for instance they put among the *aḍdād* the word *mūdī*, 1. "perishing" root *wdy*, 2. "vigorous", "strong", root *ʾdy*.

F. Giese, in *Untersuchungen über die Aḍdād auf Grund von Stellen aus altarabischen Dichtern*, Berlin 1894, explained, for most of the *aḍdād* which he found in old poetry, how they passed to the opposite meaning, by arranging them under various semasiological categories: 1. Metonymy, when one meaning of the word is to be explained as being a causal or temporal consequence of another meaning: e.g. *naʿa*, to lift a burden with difficulty, to carry it away; *nāhil*, he who goes to the water, the thirsty one; he who returns from the water, having his thirst quenched. 2. Concatenation of concepts of various kinds; for instance *bayn*, separation and union (according to whether one is separated alone from a group or in union with another), or *d͟jalal* "to be rolled", hence "heavy , but also "to be rolled and whirled up", hence "insignificant", "light". 3. Contraction of concept, either by refining or coarsening it, as for instance *ramma* "to be marrow-like, strong", and "to be marrowless, feeble". 4. For the words of emotion and odour the neutral original meaning "to be excited" is to

be supposed, no matter whether it is applied in a good or bad sense; thus for instance *rāʿa* "to be afraid" and "to be pleased"; *ṭariba* "to be sad" and "to be joyful"; *radjā*, *khāfa*, "to hope" and "to fear"; *dhafar*, *banna*, a "good smell" and a "bad smell". To this class belong also the verbs of conjecture in their double meaning of "to know" and "not to know", e.g. *ẓanna*, *ḥasiba*, *khāla*. 5. Cultural influence has often caused the later differentiation of words originally meaning the same thing in *bāʿa*, *sharā*, "to sell" and "to buy", originally "to exchange". 6. Denominatives, especially in the 2nd and 4th forms, originally meant: "to undertake an action with the object in question", and therefore may be applied both positively and negatively; e.g. *farraʿa*, "to rise", "to sink" (cf. Hebrew *shērēsh*, *siḳḳēl*. — Besides this the lack of compound-forming prepositions in Arabic makes much ambiguity possible (cf. al-Suyuti, 189: *walā* = *aḳbala*, "to turn oneself to" and = *adbara*, "to turn oneself from"; *samiʿa*, "to hear", and "to give ear" in the sense of "to answer"), and there are many *voces ambiguae* or *communis generis* which admit a double interpretation, e.g. *amam*, properly "aim" = a thing of little or of great importance; *maʾtam*, "a gathering place of women", either on sad or on joyous occasions; *zawdj*, "husband", "wife". Finally the many dialectical *aḍdād* are of importance. Arab philologists already quoted such examples; *sudfa* "darkness" in the dialect of the Tamīmites, "light" in that of the Ḳaysites; *wathaba*, "to sit" (= Hebrew *yāshabh*) in the Ḥimyarite dialect, "to spring up" generally in Arabic; further *samīd*, *ḳarʿ*, etc. (cf. C. Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, Leiden 1905, 64 ff.).

The phenomenon of the enantiosema can be observed in all Semitic languages. Hence the monograph of E. Landau, *Die gegensinnigen Wörter im Alt- und Neuhebräischen*, Berlin 1896, was of interest also for the understanding of the Arabic *aḍdād*. The most comprehensive and most critical examination of the subject is by Th. Nöldeke, *Wörter mit Gegensinn* (*Aḍdād*), *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 67-108. 177 *aḍdād* of literary Arabic are examined and explained either etymologically or semasiologically (by pointing out similar changes of meaning), taking into consideration the corresponding roots in the Arabic dialects, in Hebrew and Aramaic, and in the languages of Abyssinia. Though Nöldeke classifies a large number of the changes into certain semasiological categories, he deliberately abstains from seeking a fixed principle or order and states explicitly that "in semasiology fixed and general laws are even less manifest than in phonetics" and that "the variegated reality of human speech resists all attempts to force it into formulas".

As is implied in the preceding argument, enantiosema are to be found in all languages. Jacob Grimm, *Kleinere Aufsätze*, vii, 367, had already drawn attention to this; interesting examples are to be found in K. Nyrop, *Das Leben der Wörter* (transl. R. Vogt). Special attention is drawn to the observations of J. Wackernagel (which might otherwise be overlooked) in a passage of his *Vorlesungen über Syntax*[2], Basel 1928, ii, 235. (G. WEIL)

ADEN [see ʿADAN].

ADFŪ (EDFU), provincial capital in Upper Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, the ancient Apollinopolis Magna of Greek times, the Arabic name of which is a transcription of the Coptic name, Atbō.

At the beginning of the Muslim administration the town was incorporated in the *kūra* of Aswān. It was on the caravan route from Cairo to the south, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is the only medieval traveller who refers to it, as being a day and a night's journey south of Armant. The temple of Adfū is merely mentioned by al-Dimashḳī, but without any description, for it must have been buried in sand. Indeed, Granger's reference to it, in 1730, is the first allusion to it by a European: he saw there 'the remains of a temple which one could not enter, and it was full of earth and rubbish'. We must wait for Vivant Denon to obtain a less rudimentary account; on him the temple made a tremendous impression. In the year 700/1300 some brickworkers brought to light the statue of a woman seated on a throne, on which were hieroglyphic inscriptions.

The district of Adfū seems to have been very fertile, and particularly rich in palm-trees. Its dates were made into cakes, after first being pounded. In the Mamlūk period its annual revenue was 17,000 dīnārs from an area of 24,762 *faddāns*. Al-Adfūwī is full of praise for the good qualities of the people of Adfū, whom he describes as generous, discreet, sincere, welcoming to strangers, and charitable.

No events memorable in history seem to have taken place in the town.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *MIFAO*, xlix, 125 (with bibliog.); Yāḳūt, i, 168-9; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 29; *Égypte de Murtadi*, re-ed. Wiet, introd., 113-4; Carré, *Voyageurs français en Égypte*, i, 65, 89, 134. (G. WIET)

AḌḤĀʾ [see ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀʾ].

ʿADHĀB (A.), "torment, suffering, affliction", inflicted by God or a human ruler, and in so far as it expresses not only absolute power but also love of justice, also "punishment, chastisement (*ʿuḳūba*)". The divine judgments, which are often mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, strike the individual as well as whole nations in the life of this world as well as in the life to come. It is mainly unbelief, doubt of the divine mission of the prophets and apostles, rebellion against God, that are punished in this manner [see ʿĀD, FIRʿAWN, LŪṬ, NŪḤ, THAMŪD, and others]. With regard to the punishments in the life to come, which begin already in the grave, see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR, DJAHANNAM.

For legal punishments, see ʿUḲŪBĀT.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL)

ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR, the punishment in the tomb, also called punishment in *barzakh* [*q.v.*]. The idea is based on the conception that the dead had a continued and conscious existence of a kind in their grave. So arose the doctrine of the two judgements, one which involves punishment or bliss in the grave and a subsequent judgement on the Day of Resurrection [for which see AL-ḲIYĀMA]. There are various ideas of what happens between death and resurrection.

1. The grave is a garden of paradise or a pit of hell; angels of mercy come for the souls of believers and angels of punishment for the infidels. The souls of believers are birds in the trees of paradise and will be united with their bodies at the resurrection; martyrs are already in paradise.

2. The dead are tortured by the weeping of the mourners, especially the wicked, hearing the steps of the mourners as they leave; the believer finds his grave spacious, 70 cubits by 70, while the unbeliever is crushed by his grave till his ribs inter

lock. The grave asks the dead man about his religion and the believer's good works answer for him. A sinner may be tormented by a snake of fire which bites him till the day of judgement.

3. Two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, black with blue eyes, make the dead man sit up and ask him about his religion. The believer answers with the "steadfast word" (Ḳur'ān, xiv, 26) and is shown the place in hell from which he is delivered and the place reserved for him in paradise; there upon he is left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The unbeliever cannot answer, so the angels beat him with iron whips which cause flames, and the blows are heard by all creation except men and *djinn*. It is a less reliable doctrine that punishment is of the spirit only. There are elaborate arguments to prove that those whose bodies are left impaled and those who were eaten by wild beasts suffer from it. The punishment lasts as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays. It may be eased as long as a branch planted on the grave is green. The angels draw the souls out of the bodies; those of believers come out easily while those of unbelievers have to be dragged out causing severe pain. Variations in detail are many. The questioning of believers lasts seven days, that of unbelievers forty; or unbelievers are not questioned and the angels proceed at once to punishment: martyrs, infants and those who have performed certain acts of supererogation are not questioned.

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*daghṭa*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure. The prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, and some others escape being crushed.

The punishment in the tomb is not plainly mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e.g. Ḳur'ān, xlvii, 26: "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs"; vi, 92: "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls: this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment"; viii, 49: "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers; they smite their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf. further ix, 100; xxiii, 20; lii, 46).

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in Tradition (see *Bibliography*), often, however, without the mention of angels. In the latter group of traditions it is simply said that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why, e.g. on account of special sins they have committed.

The names of Munkar and Nakīr do not appear in the Ḳur'ān, and once only in canonical Tradition (al-Tirmidhī, *Djanā'iz*, *bāb* 70). Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions. Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 163; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunna*, *bāb* 39b; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 233, 346; iv, 150; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 753). So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.

This state of things is reflected in the development of the creed. The *Fiḳh Akbar* I, which may date from the middle of the 2nd/8th century, gives only a short reference to the punishment of the tomb (art. 10). The *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the 3rd/9th century, mentions both the punishment and the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr. The *Fiḳh Akbar II*, which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the 4th/10th century A.D., is still more elaborate (art. 23): "The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality, and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality. The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful". In the later creeds and works on dogmatics the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr are treated in a similar way.

The Khawāridj, some Muʿtazilīs and some of the extreme Shīʿa do not believe in punishment in the grave. Some Muʿtazilīs explained Munkar as the muttering of the unbeliever as he stumbles in his reply and Nakīr as the violence done to him. Others said that Munkar and Nakīr were not individuals but two classes of angels because men were dying every minute in all parts of the world and two individuals could not be everywhere at once. Another rationalisation was that the two were personifications of a man's good and evil deeds, promising him bliss or misery.

The Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakīr with the two guardian angels who accompany man (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1928, p. 246). Al-Ghazzālī holds that all eschatological ideas are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*.

The origin of the names Munkar and Nakīr is uncertain; the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful. The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also. The details to be found in Jewish sources (*ḥibbūṭ haḳ-ḳeber*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones; the idea is, however, rather late among the Jews and apparently belongs to the post-Islamic period. (See J. C. G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, ii, 95 f.; *Jewish Enc.*, s.v. *Ḥibbuṭ ha-Ḳeber*.)

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(A. J. Wensinck-A. S. Tritton)

ADHĀN, "announcement", a technical term for the call to the divine service of Friday and the five daily *ṣalāts* [see ṢALĀT].

According to Muslim tradition, the Prophet, soon after his arrival at Madīna (1 or 2 years after the

Hidjra), deliberated with his companions on the best manner of announcing to the faithful the hour of prayer. Some proposed that every time a fire should be kindled, a horn should be blown or *nāḳūs* (i.e. a long piece of wood clapped with another piece of wood; with such a *nāḳūs* the Christians in the East used at that time to announce the hour of prayer) should be used. But one Muslim, ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd, related that he saw in a dream somebody who from the roof of the mosque called the Muslims to prayer. ʿUmar recommended that manner of announcing the *ṣalāt*, and as all agreed to it, this *adhān* was introduced by order of the Prophet. From that time the believers were convoked by Bilāl, and up to our days the *adhān* is called out at the time of the *ṣalāt*.

Becker (*Isl.*, 1912, 386 ff.) finds the historical model of the *adhān* in Christian Worship, Mittwoch (*Abh. Pr. Ak.W.*, 1913, Phil.-hist. Classe, No. 2, 22 ff.), perhaps less convincingly, in Jewish liturgy.

The *adhān* of the orthodox Muslim consists of seven formulas, of which the sixth is a repetition of the first:

1. *Allāhᵘ akbar*: "Allāh is most great".
2. *Ashhadu an lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāh*: "I testify that there is no god besides Allāh".
3. *Ashhadu anna Muḥammadᵃⁿ rasūl Allāh*: "I testify that Muḥammed is the apostle of Allāh".
4. *Ḥayya ʿala 'l-ṣalāt*: "Come to prayer"!
5. *Ḥayya ʿala 'l-falāḥ*: "Come to salvation"!
6. *Allāhᵘ akbar*: "Allāh is most great".
7. *Lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāh*: "The is no god besides Allāh".

The first formula is repeated four (by the Mālikites two) times one after the other, the other formulas are repeated twice each, except the last words: *lā ilāhᵃ illa 'llāh*, which are pronounced only once. The 2nd and 3rd formulas after being pronounced twice are repeated a third time in a louder voice. This repetition (*tardjīʿ*) is generally considered as recommended by the law, only the Ḥanafites forbid it. At the morning prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) the words *al-ṣalāt khayr min al-nawm* ("prayer is better than sleep") are added in the *adhān*. This formula, also pronounced two times and called *tathwīb* (repetition), is inserted between the 5th and 6th formulas, but the Ḥanafites pronounce it at the end.

The *adhān* of the Shīʿites differs from that of the Sunnites in that the former has an eighth formula (inserted between the fifth and the sixth): *Ḥayya ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal*, "Come to the best work"! These words have at all times been the shibboleth of the Shīʿites; when called from the minarets in an orthodox country, the inhabitants knew that the government had become Shīʿite (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 63; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe* i, text, p. 60; transl., p. 169). The Shīʿites pronounce also the final formula two times.

The Muslims who hear the *adhān* must repeat its formulas, but instead of the fourth and fifth, they recite: *lā ḥawlᵃ wa-lā ḳuwwatᵃ illā bi-'llāh*, "there is no strength nor power but in Allāh", and instead of the *tathwīb* formula in the morning *adhān*, they say: *ṣadaḳta wa-bararta*, "thou hast spoken truthfully and rightly".

The *adhān* is followed by formulas of glorification which are recommended and precisely determined by the law. They are omitted only after the call to the *maghrib ṣalāt*, because the space of time,i n which this prayer must be said, is very short.

There is no fixed melody for the *adhān*. Every *adhān* may be modulated at will with any known tune, provided that the right pronunciation of the words is not impaired by it. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 87: "In Mecca one hears different airs at the same time. Like the recitation of the Ḳur'ān, the singing of the *adhān* is in Mekka a highly developed art". Only among the Ḥanbalites there are doctors who do not allow any melody for the *adhān*, and the Wahhābīs follow this doctrine. The Ibāḍīs, too, do not sing the *adhān*. [For the melody of the *adhān* see also GHINĀ.]

Every Muslim who, alone or with others, recites the above-mentioned *ṣalāts* at home or in the field should pronounce the *adhān* in a loud voice as is recommended by the law (cf. Snouck Hurgrunje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, 87 = *Verspr. Geschr.* v, 83). At mosques, a *mu'adhdhin* [*q.v.*] is often appointed to perform the *adhān*.

The call to the other public *ṣalāts*, e.g. those of the two feasts, those at sun and moon eclipses, etc., has only one formula: *al-ṣalāt djāmiʿatᵃⁿ*, "come to the public prayer"! This formula is said to have been current already in the time of the Prophet. Cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1895, 315.

Important information on the modifications of the *adhān* formulas introduced at various times and in various places from the beginning of Islām is to be found in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 269 f.

Owing to the profession of faith frequently occurring in the *adhān*, the Muslims pronounce it in the right ear of a child shortly after its birth (cf. Lane, *Arab. Society in the Middle Ages*, 186; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 138) as well as in the ear of people supposed to be possessed of *djinn* (evil spirits).

The *ṣalāt* in the mosque is immediately preceded by a second call, the *iḳāma* [*q.v.*], which contains the same formulas as the *adhān*.

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(TH. W. JUYNBOLL*)

ĀDHĀR [see TA'RĪKH].

ĀDHARBAYDJĀN (AZARBĀYDJĀN) (i) province of Persia; (ii) Soviet Socialist Republic.

(i) The great province of Persia, called in Middle Persian Āturpātākān, older new-Persian Ādharbādhagān, Ādharbāyagān, at present Āzarbāydjān, Greek Ἀτροπατήνη, Byzantine Greek Ἀδραβιγάνων, Armenian Atrapatakan, Syriac Adhorbāyghān. The province was called after the general Atropates ("protected by fire"), who at the time of Alexander's invasion proclaimed his independence (328 B.C.) and thus preserved his kingdom (Media Minor, Strabo, xi, 13, 1) in the north-western corner of later Persia (cf. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, in Yāḳūt, i, 172, and al-Maḳdisī, 375: Ādharbādh b. Bīwarasf). The dynasty of Atropates flourished under the Arshakids and married into the royal house. The last scion of the house, Gaius Julius Artawazd, died in Rome in A.D. 38, when the kingdom was already incorporated by the Arshakids. (For the ancient history cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Atropatene.) Under the Sāsānians Ādharbaydjān was ruled by a *marzubān* and towards the end of the period belonged to the family of Farrukh-Hormizd, (see Marquart, *Eranšahr*, 108-14). The capital of Ādharbaydjān was at Shīz (or Ganzak), which corresponds to the ruins

44 45 46 47 48 49 50
BĀB AL-ABWĀB (DARBAND)
TIFLĪS
KUR R.
SAMUR
GURDJISTĀN
KABALA
SHAKKI
SHIRWĀN
GANDJA
SHAMAKHA
BĀKŪ
BARDHAʿA
LAKE SEVAN (GÖKČE)
BARDĪDJ
DABĪL (DVIN)
BAYLAKĀN
ARAXES
MŪKĀN
NAKHIČEWĀN
WARTHAN (VARDANAKERT)
ARMENIA
BĀDJARWĀN
DJULFA
BADHDH
BARZAND
KARAČAY
MAYMADH
TĀLISH
BAHR AL-KHAZAR
KHUWAYY (KHOY)
MARAND
AHAR
MT. SAWALĀN
ARDABĪL
SALMAS
TABRĪZ
MT SAHAND
UDJĀN
LAKE URMIJA
URMIYA
TARM (TĀROM)
DJĪLĀN
MARĀGHA
KHŪNADJ
SULDUZ (NIRĪZ)
USHNŪ
KELE-SHĪN PASS
GADIR-ČAY
SAWDJ BULAK
LAYLAN
SAFĪD-RŪDH
DJAGHATU R.
TATAWUR
PASWA
ROWĀNDUZ
ZANDJĀN
KIALU R.
ZAGROS
TAKHT-I SULAYMĀN
IRBIL
BĀNA
BARZA (SAKKIZ)
LESSER ZĀB
DJABAL
SHAHRAZŪR
SĪSAR (SENNE ?)
41 40 39 38 37 36

ĀDHARBAYDJĀN

of Laylān (south-east of Lake Urmiya). It possessed a famous firetemple which the Sāsānian kings visited on their accession. Later the fire was removed to the less accessible Arshakid castle of Βιθαρμαΐς, Θηβαρμαΐς (now Takht-i Sulaymān).

The Arab conquest of Ādharbaydjān is variously recorded under the years 18-22/639-43. In the days of ʿUmar, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān is said to have conquered Ādharbaydjān coming from Nihāwand; other expeditions came from Shahrazūr. Ḥudhayfa made a treaty with the *marzubān* whose capital was in Ardabīl. He agreed to pay 800,000 dirhams and the Arabs promised not to enslave anyone, to respect the fire-temples and the ceremonies held in them, and to protect the population against the Kurds (nomads) of Balāsagān, Sabalān and Shātrūdhān.

The population of Ādharbaydjān (of Iranian origin) spoke a multitude of dialects (al-Maḳdisī, 375: 70 languages near Ardabīl). Arab chieftains settled in various districts: Rawwād al-Azdī in the region of Tabrīz; Baʿīth al-Rabīʿa in Marand; Murr b. ʿAli al-Rudaynī south of Lake Urmiya, etc. They were gradually absorbed by the native population and towards the middle of the 4th/10th century the Rawwādids were considered as Kurds. (See in detail Sayyid A. Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, i-iii, Teheran 1928-9.)

After the revolt of Bābak [*q.v.*], the grip of the caliphate on Ādharbaydjān weakened. The last energetic governors of the province (276-317/889-929) were the Sādjids [*q.v.*] who themselves ended in revolt. After their fall native dynasties sprang up in Ādharbaydjān. After the Khāridjite Daysam (half Arab and half Kurd), Ādharbaydjān was occupied by the Daylamite Marzubān b. Muḥammad, of the *bāṭinī* creed (see MUSĀFIRIDS). The Daylamites were succeeded by the Kurdish Rawwādids [*q.v.*] (373-463/983-1070).

In the beginning of the 5th/11th century the Ghuzz hordes, first in smaller parties, and then in considerable numbers, under the Seldjūḳids occupied Ādharbaydjān. In consequence, the Iranian population of Ādharbaydjān and the adjacent parts of Transcaucasia became Turkophone. In 531/1136 Ādharbaydjān fell to the lot of the *atābek* Ildigiz [*q.v.*] (better *Eldigüz) whose descendants ruled, in competition with the Aḥmadīlīs [*q.v.*], till the short-lived invasion of the Khwārizm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn (622-8/1225-31) at whose heels came the Mongols. With the arrival of the Il-khān Hūlāgū (654/1256) Ādharbaydjān became the centre of a great empire extending from the Oxus to Syria. The residence of the Mongols was first in Marāgha [*q.v.*] and then in Tabrīz [*q.v.*] which became a great centre of trade and cultural life. After the Mongols and their successors the Djalāʾirs [*q.v.*], Ādharbaydjān was occupied by the Turkmens returning from the west (the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]) whose capital was in Tabrīz (780-908/1378-1502).

After 907/1502 Ādharbaydjān became the chief bulwark and rallying ground of the Ṣafawids, themselves natives of Ardabīl and originally speaking the local Iranian dialect. In the meantime, between 1514 and 1603, the Ottomans frequently occupied Tabrīz and other parts of the province. The Persian control was restored by Shāh ʿAbbās but during the Afghān invasion (1135-42/1722-8) the Ottomans recaptured Ādharbaydjān and other western provinces of Persia, until Nādir Shāh expelled them.

In the beginning of the reign of Karīm Khān Zand the Afghān Āzād Khān revolted in Ādharbaydjān and later the Dumbuli Kurds of Khoy and other tribal chiefs lorded it over various parts of Ādharbaydjān.

With the advent of the Ḳādjārs Ādharbaydjān became the traditional residence of the heirs-apparent. In the north the final frontier with Russia (along the Araxes) was established in 1828 (treaty of Turkmančay). The western frontier with Turkey was delimitated only in 1914, and under Riḍā Shāh Persia ceded to Turkey a small area north of the Ararat.

After 1905 the representatives of Ādharbaydjān took a lively part in the Persian revolution. On 3 April 1908 Russian troops arrived in Ādharbaydjān, by agreement with Great Britain, to protect the foreign colonies in Tabrīz, but then prolonged their stay under various pretexts, and in 1914-7 warred with the Turks with varying fortune. They evacuated Ādharbaydjān after the Russian revolution (1917), and on 8 June the Turks arrived and installed in Tabrīz a Turcophile government. About this time there appeared the first traces of Ādharbaydjānī self-consciousness. The Persian control was restored by the future Riḍā Shāh on 5 September 1921. After the events of 1941 (see ĪRĀN) the Soviet forces occupied the northern provinces, including Ādharbaydjān. Under cover of the occupation, there developed a movement for the autonomy of Ādharbaydjān within the limits of the Persian state. The Russians evacuated Ādharbaydjān by the beginning of May 1946 (instead of March 1946, as first agreed) and this delay led to a great discussion in the United Nations and to the first official split among the Allies. After the evacuation, the Premier Ḳawām recognised the provincial autonomy of Ādharbaydjān in an agreement signed on 13 June 1946, by which the rights of local self-government with the use of the local Turkish dialect were guaranteed. However, on 4 November, Persian troops moved into Ādharbaydjān and the *status quo ante* was restored.

Geography. The list of towns and districts of Ādharbaydjān in Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, is important for the composition of the province (*kūra*) soon after the conquest, and possibly even under the Sāsānians: 1. Marāgha; 2. Miyānadj; 3. Ardabīl; 4. Sīsar (= Senna); 5. Barza (= Saḳḳiz?); 6. Sābur-khāst; 7. Tabrīz; 8. Marand; 9. Khoy; 10. Kūlsara; 11. Mūḳān; 12. Barzand; 13. Djanza (Ganzak); 14. Djābarwān; 15. Nirīz; 16. Urmiya; 17. Salmās; 18. Shīz; 19. Rustāḳ al-Salaḳ; 20. Rustāk Sind-bāya (*Sind-pāye); 21. al-Badhdh; 22. Urm; 23. Balwān-Karadj (= Ḳaradja-dagh?); 24. Rustāḳ Sarāh (Sarāb); 25. Daskiyāwar (?); 26. Rustāḳ Māy-pahradj. Of these nos. 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19 and 26 lie to the south of Lake Urmiya (in the direction of Daynawar); nos. 7, 8, 9, 16 and 17 in the north-western corner; nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 23 and 24 east of the meridian of Tabrīz. Nos. 20 and 25 cannot be located. The frontier in the south was no. 26: "the watch of Media" (possibly the present day Sunḳur [*q.v.*]; in the east, it passed between Miyāna and Zandjān [*q.v.*]; in the N.E. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 121, names Warthān (now Altan on the south bank of the Araxes) as "the end of the *ʿamal* of Ādharbaydjān". Thus the territory of the province closely corresponded to its present extent, but as Ādharbaydjān was usually governed jointly with the neighbouring Armenia and Arrān (see al-Maḳdisī, 374: *iḳlīm al-riḥāb* comprising the three provinces), administrative frontiers were subject to temporary changes, especially in later times. In al-Maḳdisī, 374, Khoy,

Urmiya and even Dā<u>kh</u>arraķān (south of Tabrīz) are reckoned to Armenia. According to Yāķūt (13th century) Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān extended down to Bar<u>dh</u>aʿa (Parthav). In *Nuzhat al-Ķulūb* (730/1340), 89, Na<u>kh</u>ičewan and Ordūbād, on the left bank of the Araxes, are mentioned under Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān.

Very characteristic for Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān are the high peaks rising in various parts of the territory, with ranges of mountains connecting them: Mt. Sawalān west of Ardabīl (15,792 feet), Mt. Sahand, south of Tabrīz (12,000 feet), the Lesser Ararat (12,840 feet) south of which runs the long range which forms the frontier with Turkey and ʿIrāķ, and which in its southern part is studded with high peaks. The central parts of Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān consist both of considerable plains (Tabrīz, Marand, <u>Kh</u>oy, Salmās) and of high plateaux burrowed by deep gorges.

The territory of Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān belongs to the basins of the Caspian, of Lake Urmiya and of the Tigris. Towards the Caspian flow: (i) the tributaries of the Safīd Rūd having their sources on the south-eastern face of Mt. Sahand, and (ii) the southern tributaries of the Araxes (the river of Ardabīl, Ķara-su; the rivers of Ķara<u>dj</u>a-da<u>gh</u>; the river of <u>Kh</u>oy and the river of Mākū, Zangi-čay). The internal Lake Urmiya [*q.v.*] drains an area of 52,500 sq. km (the rivers of Marā<u>gh</u>a, Sufi-čay etc.; the river of Tabrīz, A<u>dj</u>ī-čay; the numerous rivers of Salmās and Urmiya; the important rivers of the Kurdish districts, <u>Dj</u>a<u>gh</u>atū, Tatawū, Gādir). The Lesser Zāb rises on the Persian side of the frontier range and, through the gap of Alān, emerges into the plains of Northern ʿIrāķ to join the Tigris.

The population of Ā<u>dh</u>arbaya<u>dj</u>ān lives chiefly in villages. The largest towns are Tabrīz (280,000 inhabitants), Ardabīl (63,000), Urmiya, <u>Kh</u>oy (49,000), Marā<u>gh</u>a (35,000). The semi-nomads are found on the Mū<u>gh</u>ān steppe (the Turkish <u>Sh</u>āh-sewan [*q.v.*]) and in the Kurdish districts along the Turkish frontier and south of Lake Urmiya. The population in its great majority speaks the local dialect of "Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān Turkish" (see Ā<u>DH</u>ARĪ). The characteristic features of the latter are Persian intonations and disregard of the vocalic harmony, reflecting the non-Turkish origin of the Turkicised population. The remains of the old Iranian (*ā<u>dh</u>arī*) dialects are found in small groups in Ķara<u>dj</u>a-da<u>gh</u>, near Sahand, near <u>Dj</u>ulfa, etc. Persian is the official language learnt at school. Armenians and Assyrians ("Aysor") are found in the districts to the west of Lake Urmiya. Kurdish is spoken along the western frontier and in the southern districts, to the west of the Tatawū river.

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(ii) Azerbay<u>dj</u>ān, Soviet Socialist Republic (Az. SSR) in the eastern part of Transcaucasia, between the south-eastern branches of the Caucasus, the Caspian coast and the Araxes (which separates it from the Persian province of the same name). In the north-east it borders on the Dā<u>gh</u>estān Autonomous republic (part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, RSFSR). In the north-west it borders on the Georgian S.S. Republic (along the Alazan) and in the west on the Armenian S.S. Republic (along the line running east of Lake Sewan = Gökče). In the south-west the autonomous republic (ASSR) of Na<u>kh</u>čewan, locked within the Armenian territories, is part of the Azerbai<u>dj</u>an republic, whereas the highlands of Ķara-ba<u>kh</u> (with a considerable Armenian population) form an autonomous territory (*oblast*) within Azerbay<u>dj</u>ān.

Historically the territory of the republic corresponds to the Albania of the classical authors (Strabo, xi, 4; Ptolemy, v, 11), or in Armenian Alvan-kʿ, and in Arabic Arrān [*q.v.*]. The part of the republic lying north of the Kur (Kura) formed the kingdom of <u>Sh</u>arwān (later <u>Sh</u>irwān [*q.v.*]).

After the collapse of the Imperial Russian army Bākū was protectively occupied by the Allies (General Dunsterville, 17 August-14 Sept. 1918) on behalf of Russia. The Turkish troops under Nūrī Pa<u>sh</u>a occupied Bākū on 15 Sept. 1918 and reorganized the former province under the name of Azarbay<u>dj</u>ān—as it was explained, in view of the similarity of its Turkish-speaking population with the Turkish-speaking population of the Persian province of Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān. When after the Mudros armistice the Allies reoccupied Bākū (17 Oct. 1918), General Thomson (28 Dec. 1918) recognized the existing Azarbay<u>dj</u>ān government of the *Musāwāt* party as the only local authority. After the evacuation of the Allies, the Soviet regime was proclaimed in Bākū on 28 April 1920, without armed opposition, and Azerbay<u>dj</u>ān became one of the three republics of the federated Transcaucasia. In 1936 the federation came to an end and on the 5 Dec. 1936 Azerbay<u>dj</u>ān was admitted into the U.S.S.R. as one of the sixteen constituent republics of the Union.

The present-day republic possesses an area of 87,700 sq. km. and a population of 3.2 million, of which 28% live in towns. Local Turks are in a majority of 3/5, whereas the Armeninas form 12% of the population, and Russians 10%. The capital of the republic, Bākū [*q.v.*], counts 809,000 inhabitants, Gan<u>dj</u>a [*q.v.*] (formerly Elizavetpol and Kirovābād) 99,000. Other large towns are <u>Sh</u>amā<u>kh</u>ī, Ķuba, Sāliyān, Nu<u>kh</u>ī, Mingečawr, etc.

Bibliography: *Bolshaye Sovietskaye Entsik.*, 1951; *Chambers's Encyc.*, 1950; L. C. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920.

(V. MINORSKY)

A<u>DH</u>ARGŪN (P., "flame-coloured"; Arabic A<u>DH</u>ARYŪN), a plant about 2-3 feet high with finger-long elongated leaves, of a red-yellow colour, and malodorous blossoms with a black kernel. The identification of this plant is not yet well established: in Greek χερὰ ἀζάριον occurs synonymously with *senecio vulgaris*, the common groundsel (B. Langkavel, *Botanik der spätern Griechen*, 1866, 74; I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, 1879, 47). The descriptions of the Arabian authors leave a choice between the dark yellow *buphthalmos*, for which Clément-Mullet decided, and the *calendula officinalis*, marigold, which indeed unites the characteristic features of shape, hue and smell and which formerly was officinal. In Arab medicine *adharyūn* passed for a

cordial, an antidote, etc. The plant played in popular belief a greater part than in medicine: it was believed that its odour alone was sufficient to cause or to facilitate delivery as well as to drive away flies, rats and lizards.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 16; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Falāḥa*, transl. Clément-Mullet, Paris 1866, i, 269; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld) i, 271; L. Leclerc, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, xxiii, 38; Meyerhof and Sobhy, *The abridged version of "the Book of Simple Drugs" etc.*, i, 146 ff. (J. HELL)

ĀDHARĪ (AZERĪ), a Turkish dialect.

(i) Language, (ii) literature.

(i) LANGUAGE

The word Ādharī, which means "pertaining to Ādharbaydjān", has been used to denote various ethnic groups from the 10th century onward. It was applied to the Ādharbaydjān Republic founded in the Caucasus in 1918, and is extended in the present day to cover not only the Soviet Republic of Ādharbaydjān and Persian Ādharbaydjān but also the Turkish populations of Khurāsān, Astarābād, Hamadān and other parts of Persia, Dāghestān and Georgia.

Ādharī Turkish has long maintained its identity as a literary language. According to the latest morphological classification of the Turkish dialects (Radloff, Samoilovich), it forms the "Southern Turkish" group, along with the Turkish of Anatolia, Turkmenistān, the Balkan peninsula and the Crimean littoral. Although the last word on the subject has not yet been said, the dialects of spoken Ādharī seem to fall into the following main groups: (i) Bākū-Shirwān; (ii) Gandja-Karabāgh; (iii) Tabrīz; (iv) Urmiya.

The chief phonetic and morphological characteristics of Ādharī are summarized below (the forms in brackets are those of the Turkish of Turkey).

a. *Vowels*:

There are two *e*-sounds an open [ɛ] and a closed [e] (here shown as *ẹ*). The former represents the sound of *fatḥa* in Arabic and Persian borrowings: *feget* (*fakat*), *veten* (*vatan*). So too in conjunction with *ʿayn* (which medially is heard as a pause): *etir* (*ıtır*), *eli* (*Ali*), *me'den* (*maden*), *ye'ni* (*yani*), *me'şuχ* (*māşuk*).

Closed *ẹ* occurs in initial syllables where other dialects of the group have *i*: *ẹniş* (*iniş*), *ẹndir-* (*indir-*), *ẹkiz* (*ikiz*), *ẹlm* (*ilim*), *ẹtibar* (*itibar*). It is also heard in the diphthong in *ẹyn* (*ayn*), *ẹyni* (*ayni*).

Initial *ı* has become *i* in modern Ādharī: *iraχ* (*ırak*), *illχ* (*ılık*), *ilan* (*yılan*).

av, *ev* of other dialects and Arabic *au*, appear as *oy*, *öy*, *ou*, *ō* or *ö*: *pilō* (*pilav*), *douşan*, *dōşan* (*tavşan*), *ōdan* (*avdan*), *söymek* (*sevmek*), *öy* (*ev*) *döylet* (*devlet*), *döşürmek* (*devşirmek*), *tōχ* (*tavuk*), *cōher* (*cevher*).

b. *Consonants*:

The sound of *ḳ* is rare in Ādhharī. Initially it is replaced by *g*, medially and finally by *χ*, except in foreign borrowings, where medial *ḳ* becomes *g* or *γ*. When doubled, it is pronounced *ḳg*: *gaya* (*kaya*), *gardaş* (*kardeş*), *baχmaχ* (*bakmak*), *hegiget* (*hakikat*), *egide* (*akide*), *aγll* (*akıl*), *teγvim* (*takvim*), *baḳgal* (*bakkal*), *saḳga* (*sakka*).

Palatal *k* replaces palatal *g* at the beginnings of words: *köç-* (*göç-*), *kölge* (*gölge*). In the Ādharī of Gandja and Persia, medial and final *k* is pronounced like the *ch* of German *ich*: *böyüḥ* (*büyük*), *çeḥmeḥ* (*çekmek*).

Initial *y* disappears: *il* (*yıl*), *üz* (*yüz*).

Initial *t* and *d* interchange, with no apparent rule: *tut* (*dut*), *tüşmek* (*düşmek*), *dartmaχ* (*tartmak*). In foreign words, final *t* is lost after *χ* or *s*, but is preserved when followed by a vowel: *vaχ* (*vakit*), *evdes* (*abdest*), *dos* (*dost*), but *vaχtim*, *evdeste*, *dosta*.

Initial *b* is almost always changed to *m* under the influence of a following *n*: *men* (*ben*), *minmek* (*binmek*), *muncuχ* (*boncuk*). Exceptions: *buynuz* (*boynuz*), *bende*.

ñ survives in some dialects: *doñuz* (*domuz*), *maña* (*bana*). In others it is dropped, nasalizing the preceding vowel: *mãa* (*bana*), *kõul* (*gönül*), *gözũa* (*gözüne*). In the dialects of Bākū and Persia it becomes *w*, particularly in the genitive, dative and accusative cases of the possessive forms of nouns: *ẹvüwüñ* (*evinin*), *ẹvüwe*, *ẹvüwi*.

r disappears from some words in the various dialects, with no definite rule, and in the Ādharī of Persia is regularly dropped from the 2nd person singular and plural and the 3rd person plural of verbal forms: see under *Verbs*, below. *dir*/*dır* loses its *r*, becoming *di*/*dı*.

l is commonly dropped from *değil*: *döyü*, *dẹy*, *dẹyi*. In some words it replaces *r*: *ḥançal*/*ḥençel* (*hançar*), *incil* (*incir*), *zerel* (*zarar*).

c. *Vowel Harmony* is generally observed in Ādharī, except in the dialects of Bākū, Nukha and Persia, where we find velar suffixes added to palatal stems—*ölmaχ*, *yiyacaχ*, *gẹdaχ*, *bildıγı*—and rounded vowels in suffixes: *aton*, *babon*, *alduχ*, *gelduχ*.

d. *Morphology*:

The chief morphological peculiarities are these: (1) The accusative suffix of all vowel-stems except *su* is *-ni*/*nı*: *arabanı*, *dereni*. Consonant-stems are treated as in the Turkish of Turkey: *aγacı*, *demiri*. (2) The suffix which denotes a regular occupation or forms a noun of agent is *-çi*/*-çı*: *demirçi*, *arabaçı*, *alvẹrçi*, *yazıçı*. (3) *kimi* or *kimin* is always used in place of *gibi*, and *ten* or *cen*/*can* in place of *kadar* or *dek*: *indiyeten*, *indiyecen*, *aχşamacan*, *dünenecen*. (4) The interrogative *mi* generally comes after the verbal suffixes: *öydedimi* (*evde midir*), *geleremmi* (*gelir miyim*), *yorgunsanmı* (*yorgun musun*), *gelmişemi* (*gelmiş miyim*). (5) In the conjugation of the verb, *k* and *χ* are used instead of *z* in the 1st person plural: *gelmirik* (*gelmiyoruz*); *almarıχ*, (*almayız*), *varajıχ* or *varacıχ* (*varacağız*), *sata bilmerik* (*satamayız*). (6) With personal names, instead of the plural suffix, *gil* is used, which means "house" in Čuwash: *Ahmetgil* (*Ahmet'ler*), *Memmetgil* (*Mehmet'ler*), *Hesengil* (*Hasan'lar*).

Verbs:

Ādharī has no necessitative mood; instead, it uses *gerek* with the optative: *gerek alam*, *gerek satam*, *gerek isdiyesen* (*istemelisin*).

The suffix of the 2nd person of the imperative is an invariable *ginen*, found only in Ādharī: *gelginen*, *atginen*.

The suffix of the present I tense is *-ir*[4]: *gelirem*, *gelirsen*/*gelisen*, *gelir*, *gelirik*/*gelürüχ*/*gelüruχ*, *gelirsiz*/*gelisüz*, *geliller*/*gellile*. The negative suffix is *-mir*/*-mır*: *gelmirem*, *gelmirsen*/*gelmisen*, *gelmir* . . . *gelmiller*/*gelmille*. The impotential form is: *gelemmirem*, *gelemmirsen*/*gelemmisen*, *gelemmir* . . . *gelemmiller*/*gelemmille*.

The present II or aorist tense is formed with *-er*/*-ar*: *gelerem*/*gellem*, *gelerse*. The negative: *gelmerem*/*gelmenem*, *gelmezsen*/*gelmesen*, *gelmez*, *gelmerik*/*gelmeruχ*, *gelmezsiñiz*/*gelmesüz*, *gelmezler*/*gelmezle*. The impotential: *gelemmerem*, *gelemmezsen*/*gelemesen* etc. The idea of inability is also expressed by the use of

the auxiliary verb *bilmemek*: *gele bilmirem, gele bilmirsen* etc.

The optative: *olam/olum, olasan, ola, alaχ, olasîñîz/olasîz, olalar/olala.* Negative: *almîyam/almiyem, almîyasan/almiyesen, almîya/almiye, almîyah/almîyaχ, almîyasîñîz/almiyesiñiz/almiyesiz, almîyalar almiyeler.*

The dubitative: *almîşam, almîşsan/almîsan, alîp/alîf/alîtdî, almîşîχ/almîşuχ, almîşsîñîz/almîsîz/almîsuz, alîpla/alîflar/alîtdîlar.*

Participle and gerundives: The participle in widest use is in *-en/-an*: *gelen, satan.* Ādharī is badly off for gerundives. In place of *-ken* and *-rek* it makes use of *-ende/-anda*: *gelende* (*gelirken*). The participle in *-diχ* is not used in the absolute form but only with case-endings.

Bibliography: For an extensive bibliography of works published up to 1933, see A. Caferoğlu, *Şarkta ve garpta Azerî lehçesi tetkikleri, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii, Istanbul 1933-4. The main scientific studies are: J. Zenker, *Allgemeine Grammatik der Türkisch-tatarischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1848; K. Foy, *Azerbajğanische Studien mit einer Charakteristik des Südtürkischen, MSOS* 1903, 126-93, 1904, 197-265; H. Ritter, *Azerbeidschanische Texte zur nordpersischen Volkskunde, Isl.*, 1921, 181-212, 1939, 234-68; A. Djaferoğlu, *75 Azärbajğanische Lieder "Bajaty" in der Mundart von Gänğä nebst einer sprachlichen Erklärung*, Breslau 1930; S. Talîphanbeyli, *Karabağ-İstanbul şivelerinin savtiyat cihetinden mukayesesi, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii; M. A. Shiraliev, *Izsledovanie narechiy azerbaydjanskovo yazika*, Moscow 1947; H. Seraja Szapszał, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türken aus dem persischen Azerbaidschan*, Cracow 1935; Muharrem Ergin, *Kadi Burhaneddin divanî üzerinde bir gramer denemesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatî Dergisi*, iv, Istanbul 1951, 287-327; T. Kowalski, *Sir Aurel Stein's Sprachaufzeichnungen in Äjnallu-Dialekt aus Südpersien*, Cracow 1937; K. Dmitriev and O. Chatskaya, *Quatrains populaires de l'Azerbaïdjan, JA*, 1928, 228-65; Djeyhoun bey Hadjibeyli, *Le dialecte et le folklore du Karabagh, JA*, 1933, 31-144. See also M. F. Köprülü's article *Âzerî* in *IA*.

(ii) LITERATURE.

If we set aside the *Kitāb-ī Dede Korkud* [*q.v.*], whose composition is ascribed to the 11th century, although the text was probably not fixed before the 14th, the first great name in Ādharī Turkish literature is that of Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn Asfarāyinī, a renowned 13th-century poet who wrote under the *makhlaṣ* of Ḥasan-oghlu or Pūr Ḥasan.

Two poets of the 14th century who played an important part in the development of Ādharī literature were Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Nesīmī. Nesīmī [*q.v.*], who sometimes used the *makhlaṣ* of Ḥüseynī, was a contemporary of Tīmūr. A master of Arabic and Persian, as well as of Ādharī, he used his poetic gift to propagate the Ḥurūfī doctrine. His simple and attractive diction made him the most popular poet of his time. The mediaeval period of Ādharī literature is regarded as closing with him, but the themes and lyricism of his poetry had their influence on the development of the new period.

The simple Turkish style introduced by Nesīmī was raised to its greatest heights by Ḥabībī, Shāh Ismāʿīl the Ṣafawī and Fuḍūlī. Ḥabībī, poet, lyricist and scholar, who for a while enjoyed the patronage of Shah Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, constitutes a stage between Nesīmī, Shāh Ismāʿīl and Fuḍūlī. The language of his matchless ṣūfī love-poems differs but little from that of his predecessors, whereas his contemporary Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] ("Khaṭāʾī", 1485-1524) made a literary vehicle of the real Ādharī Turkish of the people. This departure from the classical literary language has been explained as due simply to Shāh Ismāʿīl's desire to find a large audience for his political and religious views. At all events he opened a new period in Ādharī literature, both by his endeavour to escape from the Perso-Arabic vocabulary used by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*], and by his own remarkable creative powers. The course taken by writers after him was towards the language and literature of the people.

In this new development, which continued through the 17th and 18th centuries, an important part was played by the political, social and cultural movements then afoot in Ādharbaydjān. Classical literature began to develop side by side with the literature of the people, in the semi-independent khānates then coming into existence. Among the products of this folk-literature were romantic poems such as *Kör-oghlu, ʿĀshîk Gharib, Shāh Ismāʿīl* and *Aṣlî we-Kerem*. This genre, known as *ʿāshikh* (*ʿāshik*) literature, made great advances in Ādharbaydjān and formed a bridge between the classical literary language and the local dialects.

The progress made by folk-literature had its effect on the development of the classical literature, as is particularly evident in the language of the 17th- and 18th-century poets Mesīḥī, Ṣāʾib Tabrīzī [*q.v.*], Ḳawsī, Agha Mesīḥ Shirwānī, Nishāṭ, Widādī and Wāḳīf. Of these, Ḳawsī and Mesīḥī are especially noteworthy for their poetic power. Above all, the creative writers Widādī and Wāḳīf (18th century), who were steeped in the *ʿāshikh* literature, secured a large public for their poems among the broad mass of the people. Widādī, a prolific lyric poet, greatly enriched Ādharī literature. His contemporary, Molla Panāh Wāḳīf (1717-97) is considered the founder of the modern school. He chose his themes from life and appears in his poems as an historian and a realist. The simplicity, sincerity and melodiousness of his sweet songs in praise of his beloved and other beauties, replete with the lyricism of the people, have won him a great and abiding fame among the Ādharīs. In the same category is Dhākir (1774-1857), the greatest master of 19th-century comic poetry in Ādharī. The foremost stylist of Ādharī literature, he exposed in biting lampoons the injustices and shortcomings of the age.

After Wāḳīf a new stage begins. Ādharī literature underwent a virtual revolution, acquiring a number of new genres, thanks to the mature genius of Akhund-zāde [*q.v.*]. For the first time we find historical works, drama and prose-writings. ʿAbbās-Ḳulī Agha Ḳudsī (Bakikhānlî: 1794-1847), poet, scholar and lover of learning, is noted for his lyrical and satirical works. The literary coteries founded by Mirzā Shefīʿ "Wazeh", Nebātī and Natawan Khanîm (1837-97) on the one hand, and in Karabagh and Shamakhî on the other, and continued by such poets as Sayyid ʿAẓīm, ʿĀṣī, Newres, Ḳudsī, Ṣafā and Sālik, contributed by their rivalries to the enrichment of Ādharī literature. Seyyid ʿAẓīm (1835-88), who was recognized as a master of the *ghazal* and the *ḳaṣīda*, joined *Ekindji*, the progressive newspaper founded in 1875 by Ḥasan Bek Zerdābī (1841-1907) and devoted his poetic powers to castigating the fanaticism of the people.

The end of the 19th century may be described as

the period of the development of the Ādharī press. The appearance of *Ekindji*, the first Ādharī newspaper, was followed by that of several others: *Ḍiyā* and *Ḍiyā-i Ḳafḳas*, at Tiflīs (1879-1884); *Keshkül* (1883-91), *Sharḳ-ī Rūs* (1903-05), all of which served as rallying-points for progressive men of letters. The tempo of this development quickened remarkably after the Russian revolution of 1905, conditions becoming then more favourable, and new topics, ideas and figures began to appear. A stream of new periodicals arose: *Ḥayāt*, *Irshād*, *Teraḳḳī*, *Kaspiy*, *Ačïḳ Söz*. Their publishers were Aḥmed Agha-oghlu, ʿAlī Bey Ḥüseyn-zāde, ʿAlī Merdān Topčī-bashī and Meḥmed Emīn Resūl-zāde, nationalists and modernists with a knowledge of Ottoman, Russian and Persian literary and political life. Thanks to their labours and those of men like them, the common people became accustomed to the new cultural movement. The protagonist in the struggle was Alekper Ṣābir (d. 1911), the unequalled master of Ādharī satire, who used all the powerful resources of his pen to flay reaction, fanaticism and ignorance. Support came to him from the famous poet Djelīl Mamet Ḳulī-zāde, editor of the progressive and democratic revue *Molla Naṣr al-Dīn*, and from ʿAbbās Ṣīḥḥat (1874-1918).

Meḥmed Hādī and Ḥüseyn Djāwid were influenced by the literature of Turkey, imitating Nāmïḳ Kemāl, Fikret and Ḥāmid, and the poet Aḥmed Djewād also showed the influence of the Turkish national literary movement. Nedjef Bey Wezīrli and ʿAbd ül-Raḥīm Bey Ḥaḳwerdi maintained a constant flow of dramatic works, while Magoma and members of the Ḥadjībeyli family composed operettas and operas for the Ādharī theatre, laying the foundations of a national music.

The chief figures of the latest period, from the fall of the independent Republic of Ādharbaydjān to the present day, are Djelīl Mamet Ḳulī-zāde, Aḳwerdi, ʿAbd Allāh Shāʾiḳ, Djaʿfar Djabbarlī, and, of the younger generation, the poets Süleymān Rüstem, Ṣamed Wurgun, Rafīʿbeyli Nigār, Mīrwarī Dilbāzī.

Bibliography: The most important studies of Ādharī literary history are listed in *IA*, s.v. *Âzerî* (M. F. Köprülü). Other notable works are: B. Çobanzade, *Azerî edebiyatının yeni devri*, Baku 1930; M. Ali Nazim, *Azerbaydjanskaya khudojestvennaya literatura, Trudi Azerbaydjanskovo filial'a*, xxx, Baku, 1936); *Muhtasar Azerbaycan edebiyatı tarihi*, Baku 1943; *Antologiya azerbaydjanskoy poezii*, Moscow 1939; B. Nikitin, *La littérature des Musulmans en U.R.S.S.*, *REI*, 1934, cahier iii; M. E. Resulzade, *Çağdaş Azerbaycan edebiyatı*, Ankara 1950; A. Vahap Yurtsever, *Sâbir'in Azerbaycan edebiyatındaki yeri*, Ankara 1951. (A. Caferoğlu)

ʿADHRĀʾ [see nudjūm].

ADHRIʿĀT, the Edrei of the Bible, to-day Derʿa, chief town of Ḥawrān, 106 km. south of Damascus. Situated on the borderline between a basaltic region and the desert, the town, formerly renowned for its wine and oil, was always a great market for cereals and an important centre of trade routes. Before the Assyrian conquest (732 B.C.) the kingdoms of Damascus and Israel contended for it; some scholars have identified it with the Aduri of the Amarna tablets. The capital of Batanea, Adraa was taken by Antiochus III in 218 B.C.; then occupied by the Nabateans; next it came under Roman domination, and from 106 onwards was incorporated in Provincia Arabia. In the Christian era, Adraa became the seat of a bishopric of Arabia. In 613 or 614 the Persians, in the course of their victorious campaign against the Byzantines, sacked the town and destroyed the olive-groves of the region (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1005, 1007). On the eve of the hidjra, Adhriʿāt was the centre of an important Jewish colony; the tribe of Naḍīr, driven out of Medina by Muḥammad, took refuge there with their co-religionists. During the caliphate of Abū Bakr the inhabitants submitted to the Muslims, and acclaimed ʿUmar when he passed through the region. It is stated that Muʿāwiya II b. Yazīd was born there. At the time of the Ḳarmaṭian rebellion, 293/906, the population was massacred.

We find the place, called 'City of Bernard d'Étampes', in the works of the chroniclers of the Crusades, in 1119 and 1147 in particular. During the Mamlūk and Ottoman epoch Adhriʿāt, capital of Bathaniyya, formed part of the province of Damascus and was one of the stages of the Pilgrimage. The building of the railway linking Damascus, ʿAmmān, and Medina made it an important station, a junction for Buṣrā and Ḥayfā; it was occupied by the British on 28 September 1918.

At the present day Derʿa is an important railway centre, the southern road from Damascus to Baghdād passes through it, and it is a Syrian frontier post on the Jordan border.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 126, 139; Yāḳūt, i, 175 sq.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 383; Baudrillart, *Dict. Hist. et Géogr. ecclésiastiques*, s.v. Adraa; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 121 f.; R. Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, 325 ff.; H. Lammens, *Le siècle des Omeyyades*, 169; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, i, 547, ii, 215; J. Cantineau, *Les Parlers du Ḥōrān*. For the inscriptions cf. *Syria, Princ. Exp.*, i, 10; ii/A, 307; iii/A, 281 ff.; iv/D, 64 ff. (F. Buhl-N. Elisséeff)

ADHRUḤ (cf. Ἄδροα), more rarely Udhruḥ, a place between Maʿān and Petra, a magnificent Roman camp (the surviving monuments are described by Brünnow and Domaszewski), supplied by a gushing spring. This place, situated in pre-Islamic times in the Djudhām country, was visited by the Ḳurayshite caravans. It submitted to Muḥammad on payment of tribute during the expedition to Tabūk (9/631); the treaty of capitulation handed down by our authorities is probably authentic. Muʿāwiya is said to have received there the homage of al-Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. According to some Arab geographers Adhruḥ was the chief town of the district of al-Sharāt, in the province of al-Balḳāʾ. It is not mentioned since the time of the crusaders, who nevertheless possessed in that region Ahmant, Vaux Moyse (= Wādī Mūsā), etc.

Adhruḥ became famous in Islamic history on account of the conference which took place there after the battle of Ṣiffīn, in order to reach a decision in the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya (see ʿalī and muʿāwiya).

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 58; Maḳdisī, 54, 155; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Hamdānī, 129; Bakrī (Wüstenfeld), 83; Yāḳūt, i, 184 f.; Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, i, 443 ff.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 35, 39, 384.—The statement in *Ḥudūd al-ʿÂlam*, 150, that the place was inhabited by Khāridjites, is due to a confusion between al-Sharāt and *al-shurāt* (= Khāridjites).

(H. Lammens-L. Veccia Vaglieri)

AL-ADHWĀʾ, broken plural of *dhū*, denoting the kings and lords of Yaman whose names are

formed with Dhū. The most famous are the Mathāmina, the eight princes (*ḳayl* [*q.v.*]) of Ḥimyar [*q.v.*] who had the right of investiture at the election of the king. Their names are: Dhū Djadan, Dhū Ḥazfar, Dhū Khalīl, Dhū Muḳār (Maḳār), Dhū Saḥar, Dhū Ṣirwāḥ, Dhū Thuʿlubān (Thaʿlabān), Dhū ʿUthkulān. Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii (ed. N.A. Faris), 159 includes Dhū Murāthid, who is included also in the verses cited by Nashwān, i, 263, where Dhū Saḥar is omitted.

Bibliography: Lane, 985a; Hamdānī, *Südarab. Muštabih*, ed. Löfgren, 48-54 (where also the derivation *adhwāʾiyya* "title or dignity of *al-Adhwāʾ*", cf. O. Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, Uppsala 1935, 31); Nashwān, *Shams al-ʿUlūm*, ed. Zetterstéen, i, 263, ed. ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, GMS xxiv, 16, 39, 48; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, 319 ff. (O. Löfgren)

ʿADĪ B. ḤĀTIM B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD AL-ṬĀʾĪ, ABŪ ṬARĪF, Companion of the Prophet, and subsequently a follower of ʿAlī. Son of the celebrated poet Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*], and, like him, a Christian, he had inherited the command of his tribe from his father, but when threatened with the loss of it he became converted to Islam, in 9 or 10/630-1, and collected the taxes of Ṭayyiʾ and Asad. After the death of the Prophet he remained faithful to Islam, and prevented his tribe from apostatizing during the *ridda*. Later on he took part in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, and received from ʿUthmān a grant of land, al-Rawḥāʾ, on the Nahr ʿĪsā (cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, index) not far from the future Baghdād. However, he kept aloof from ʿUthmān, and it can be inferred from al-Ṭabarī (i, 3164) that he had some connection with his assassins. He fought under ʿAlī in the Battle of the Camel (36/656), where he lost an eye. During the negotiations which preceded Ṣiffīn he was one of the delegates sent by ʿAlī to Muʿāwiya; then, as standard-bearer, he took part in the battle, in which his three sons were killed. Afterwards he lived at Kūfa, where he did not renounce his ʿAlid sentiments, and offered effective protection to members of his tribe who were persecuted by the powerful governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. He died in 68/687-88.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, i, 948 sqq., 965; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 274; idem, *Ansāb* (= O. Pinto and G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califfo Muʿāwiya I*, index); Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 136; idem, *Shiʿr*, index; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn* (Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, index); Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 415-17; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iii, 392 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 4575; Yāḳūt, s.v. Djūsiya; Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, index. (A. Schaade *)

ʿADĪ B. MUSĀFIR AL-HAKKĀRĪ, SHAYKH ʿADĪ, Ṣūfī leader. He was an Arab of Ḳuraysh, an Umayyad, born at Bayt Fār near Baalbek; he met ʿAḳīl al-Manbidjī, Ḥammād al-Dabbās, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Suhrawardī, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī, Abu ʾl-Wafā al-Ḥulwānī and Abū Muḥammad al-Shanbakī. He travelled far, spending much time in the wilderness till he settled in Laylash (Lalēsh) near Mosul apparently before 505/1111, made for himself a convent there and started an order called the ʿAdawiyya. His rule was so severe that many ṣūfī leaders were unable to follow it; it is said that he was the first to train novices. His *ʿaḳīda* is quite orthodox and contains nothing unusual; he was opposed to the Muʿtazila and to all innovations; as a ṣūfī he was like al-Ghazzālī. Ibn Taymiyya calls him a pious follower of the *sunna*, equates him with al-Shāfiʿī as a true believer and with ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī as a ṣūfī; he adds that he experienced ecstasies and that there was some extravagance in him which increased under his successors. He died in 557/1162 or two years earlier or a year later. The sayings and poems ascribed to him might have been uttered by any ṣūfī. The poem quoted by Layard can hardly be genuine.

According to a Christian legend, told by a monk Rāmīshoʿ, he was a Kurd; his father tended the flocks of a monastery and he himself became its business manager. Taking advantage of the absence of the abbot and some of the monks, he massacred those who remained and seized the building. Three years later he was summoned to Marāgha and put to death there in 619/1221; but in 682/1283 the building was restored to his descendants.

As Shaykh ʿAdī had no children, the headship of the order passed to the offspring of his brother Ṣakhr. Another version is that ʿAdī adopted the son of a servant, Ḥasan al-Bawwāb, and his descendants provided the heads who were treated with unusual respect, parents being proud to lend their daughters to them. The order was confined mainly to the Kurds though it had a convent in the Ḳarāfa at Cairo. The members looked towards ʿAdī (i.e. towards his grave) when they prayed and made him their treasure on which they relied in the hereafter; such devotion was not known in any other order. It is said that the extravagant views did not develop at once; only later did the sect give up the Muslim prayers and believe that ʿAdī was eating bread and onions with God and was the provider for his people. One chief of the order, Ḥasan b. ʿAdī, wept while listening to a sermon whereupon the Kurds nearly killed the too eloquent preacher. The order was strong enough to attract the attention of authority; this Ḥasan was put to death in 644/1246 by Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ of Mosul though the Kurds believe that he is not dead. Six years later Luʾluʾ dug up the bones of Shaykh ʿAdī and burnt them. In 655/1257 Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAdī was called to the help of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Khusraw of Malaṭya along with another Kurd, Aḥmad b. Bilās. Another descendant fled to Egypt with his Mongol wife in 675/1276 and yet another fled to Syria where he was killed in 680/1281. Early in the 8th/14th century one of the family kept almost royal state in Bayt Fār; another, Amīrān, served the government in Syria, then retired to Mizza and was venerated by the Kurds who made offerings to him. As they planned rebellion, Amīrān was put in gaol (at his own wish, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, i, 414) and all was quiet, though the Kurds bowed down in front of the tower in which he was confined.

A lawyer stirred up the orthodox in 817/1414, so they destroyed the tomb and burnt the bones of the Shaykh in the presence of the remnant of his followers who are here called Ṣuḥbatiyya. Later the tomb was rebuilt.

For the relation between the historical Shaykh ʿAdī and his rôle in the religion of the Yazīdīs, cf. YAZĪDĪ.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 190 (year 557); Ibn Khallikān, no. 426; al-Shaṭannawfī, *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, 150; Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmūʿat al-Rasāʾil*, 1905, i, 273; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 158; Ibn Kathīr, xii, 243; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 435; id., *al-Sulūk*, year 817; Tādifī, *Ḳalāʾid al-Djawāhir*, 1303, 107; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 243; Yāḳūt, iv, 374; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, iv, 179, v, 229; Bar Hebraeus, *Syriac Chronicle* (Bedjan),

498 (= *Eccl. Chron.*, i, 726), *Arabic Chron.*, 466; F. Nau, in *ROC*, 1914, 105; 1915, 142; W. Ahlwardt *Verzeichnis*, index; A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, i, 293 ff.; id., *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 79 ff.; G. P. Badger, *Nestorians and their rituals*, i, 113 ff.; R. Frank, *Scheich ʿAdi* (Türk. Bibl. 14), Berlin 1911; Th. Menzel, in H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasiensexpedition*, Leipzig 1911, i, 109 ff.; A. Taymūr, *al-Yazīdiyya wa-Mansha' Niḥlatihim*, Cairo 1347/1928; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *ʿAbadat al-Shayṭān*, Sidon 1931; M. Guidi, in *RSO*, 1932, 408 ff.; Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yézides*, Beirut 1938.

(A. S. TRITTON)

ʿADĪ B. AL-**RIḲĀʿ**, ABŪ DUʾĀD ʿADĪ B. ZAYD B. MĀLIK B. ʿADĪ B. AL-RIḲĀʿ AL-ʿĀMILĪ, Arab poet of Syria, who was, in Damascus, the panegyrist of the Umayyads, especially of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86-96/705-15), in the presence of whom he fought a poetical contest with Djarīr; he was also the butt of attacks by al-Rāʿī. ʿAdī was celebrated for the grace of his *nasīb* (see especially al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 85, concerning Umm al-Ḳāsim) and for the care with which he composed his poems. His poems were known in Spain at an early date (*BAH*, ix, 397). He lived at least into the caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96-9/115-7).

Bibliography: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Hell), 144-5; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², iii, 64, iv, 336, v, 441; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 391-4; *Aghānī*¹, viii, 179-83; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 225; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 253; Maymanī, *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, 81-97 (three poems); Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 116; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 246-50; Brockelmann, S I, 96; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 161-2 (Fr. transl., 248).

(CH. PELLAT)

ʿADĪ B. **ZAYD**, Arab Christian poet of al-Ḥīra, of the second half of the 6th century. His life was spent partly at the Sāsānid court at Ctesiphon (al-Madāʾin), where he was secretary for Arab affairs to Chosroes Parwīz, and partly at the Lakhmid court at al-Ḥīra, where he was a courtier and councillor of al-Nuʿmān III, whom he had helped to the throne. This last, however, as a result of the intrigues of his enemies, later had him incarcerated, and finally put to death in prison (about 600 A.D.). ʿAdī is one of the most curious figures in pre-Islamic Arab history and poetry. With Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and al-Aʿshā he represents the type of courtly and urbane poet familiar with a higher level of culture and civilization than those of the desert. Arab historico-literary tradition accordingly regards him as being on the fringe of the main stream of the poetry of the *djāhiliyya*, because of his "un-Nadjdī" language, although the subjects with which he dealt and the form which he gave them had a long and profound influence on the development of Arab poetry in the Muslim epoch.

As ʿAdī's *dīwān* has been lost, only fragments of his work are known to us (collected in an incomplete fashion and without any critical sense by L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 439-74, to which should be added fragments in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, iv, 65-6, al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh*, i, 151, Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 112-3, and various quotations in the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī). Among these verses, those describing Biblical episodes (the creation and man's first sin) are of interest for the history of religion and culture: they, together with other evidence, confirm that the poet was a Christian (*ʿibādī*). But the main themes of his poetry seem to have been, on the one hand, praise of wine, and, on the other, meditation on the decay of human passions and effort, rendered vain by the inexorable passage of time. Of the former category a few sparse but significant examples have been preserved; we know that they were appreciated and imitated by Walīd b. Yazīd and, later, by Abū Nuwās. On the second theme, which was probably inspired by the poet's own misfortunes, we possess numerous fragments which are interesting not only for their pious and ascetic *Stimmung* (a curious contrast with the hedonism of the bacchic poetry), but for the reflections on and evocation of Oriental (Arabo-Iranian) history which are to be found there, exemplifying the vanity and feebleness of man. Instances of this are the famous fragment on al-Nuʿmān I and the castle of Khawarnaḳ (*Aghānī*³, ii, 138-9 and elsewhere), another on Hatra (al-Buḥturī, *al-Ḥamāsa* (Cheikho), 198), and one in Ibn Ḳutayba, 112-3, on Djadhīma al-Abrash and al-Zabbāʾ, which almost looks like a ballad. From all these relics, amounting to rather less than 400 lines, we receive the impression of a brilliant artistic personality, who contrived to give Arabic poetic form to the old themes of Semitic pessimism, and, at the same time, in contrast to the Biblical author of Ecclesiastes, to accompany them with a positive appreciation of some of the good things of life.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 111-7; *Aghānī*³, ii, 97-154; J. Horovitz, *Adi ibn Zaid, the Poet of al-Hira, IC*, 1930, 31-69; F. Gabrieli, *Adi ibn Zaid, il poeta di al-Ḥira, Rend. Lin.*, 1948, 81-96; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber z. Zeit der Sassaniden*, 312 ff.; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 109 ff.

(F. GABRIELI)

AL-ʿ**ĀḌID** LI-**DĪN ALLĀH**, the eleventh and last Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt. His name was ABŪ MUHAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. YŪSUF, and was the grandson of the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ; his father had been killed by the vizier ʿAbbās b. Abi 'l-Futūḥ on the very day of the enthronement of the caliph al-Fāʾiz. Al-ʿĀḍid succeeded this latter, his cousin, a sickly child who died at the age of eleven and a half. He himself came to the throne on 17 Radjab 555/23 July 1160, and was chosen by the all-powerful minister al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [*q.v.*], who had been governing Egypt for more than six years, because of his tender age. Al-ʿĀḍid was, in fact, born on 20 Muḥarram 546/9 May 1151.

The history of this child-caliph's reign is thus in no way one of personal action on his part. The Arab writers seem uncertain, and intermittently attribute to him stray impulses of revolt, which had little success. We shall cite them, although admitting that in general the caliph looked on helplessly at a shattering series of tragic incidents of which he himself was finally to be the victim.

Clearly an important factor eludes us, as we have little information about the role of the secret camarilla of the Palace, whose intermittent influence is hinted at. We cannot but observe the personal ambition of the protagonists, who lived dangerously and were preoccupied with increasing their personal prestige, if only with a view to saving their skins. The death-throes of the Fāṭimid régime are a sorry spectacle.

The better to ensure the docility of the young caliph, Ṭalāʾiʿ made him his son-in-law, which however did not save Ṭalāʾiʿ from being assassinated, the end that he had always feared, on 19 Ramaḍān 556/11 September 1161. To be sure, the caliph was not liberated by this murder, to which he was possibly privy, for he found himself compelled to

confer the vizierate on Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], the son of the dead man. Ruzzīk had no intention of giving up any of his prerogatives, and the caliph established relations with a prefect of Upper Egypt, S̲h̲āwar [*q.v.*], in order to invite him to rid him of Ruzzīk. S̲h̲āwar recruited troops and took the offensive; he succeeded in taking Cairo and assuming power in Rabīʿ I 558/February 1163. The caliph quickly perceived that he had made a blunder, as the new minister continued, like his predecessors, to seclude his master. S̲h̲āwar was soon betrayed by one of his own officers, Ḍirg̲h̲ām [*q.v.*], who took his place in Ramaḍān 558/August 1163. There were indeed grounds for the sad reflection of a contemporary writer, ʿUmāra, who observed that in those times "any man who had received the confidence of his brother betrayed him". Then followed the crucial event which was to bring about the fall of the dynasty. S̲h̲āwar had succeeded in making his escape; he took refuge at the court of the Zangid prince of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn, and asked his help to regain power. The prince of Aleppo did not hesitate, being fired with the idea of re-establishing Sunnism in Egypt and reconstituting Islamic unity. The expeditionary force was commanded by S̲h̲īrkūh [*q.v.*], "a man full of audacity to whom fear was unknown", who took with him Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the future founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Ḍirg̲h̲ām was beaten in the open country and killed, and S̲h̲āwar became vizier again in Ramaḍān 559/August 1164.

Difficulties arose in connection with S̲h̲īrkūh, but it does indeed seem that he was not to blame for them. S̲h̲āwar had demanded help from Sunnīs against the S̲h̲īʿites whose chief minister he was; the next time his treachery was much more serious, for he asked for the intervention of Amalric I to drive the forces of S̲h̲īrkūh out of Egypt. The temporary results of this are well known: S̲h̲īrkūh capitulated at Bilbays and went back to Syria, the Franks occupied Cairo for a short time, and S̲h̲āwar had Fusṭāṭ set on fire, being unable to defend it. For the vizier had become alarmed and was trying to negotiate the withdrawal of the Frankish troops. The caliph, who still had absolutely no authority, had now for his part decided to appeal to Nūr al-Dīn, thus signing the warrant for his imminent fall.

This was the third invasion by S̲h̲īrkūh. It was decisive; he had S̲h̲āwar assassinated on 17 Rabīʿ I 564/18 January 1169, and seized the viziership, which he held for only two months, for he died on 22 D̲j̲umādā II/23 March. His nephew, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, succeeded yet him.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn energetically repressed the internal disorders, and did not hesitate to accept the challenge of street fighting in the capital itself, in the course of which the remnants of the Fāṭimid army, the Sudanese and Armenian forces, were exterminated. Then, one fine day, the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Bag̲h̲dād was proclaimed in Cairo, in an atmosphere of complete indifference. A theologian of Persian origin, al-K̲h̲abūs̲h̲ānī, carried this out, and three years later Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn rewarded him by opening a college for him. The dedicatory inscription has been preserved; it celebrates the importance of S̲h̲āfiʿism, "characterized by a solid doctrinal foundation, unified by the method of al-As̲h̲ʿarī, against vain reasoners and other innovators". Perhaps the caliph ʿĀḍid never knew of his misfortune; he died a few days after the ʿAbbāsid proclamation, on 10 Muḥarram 567/13 September 1171. He was not yet twenty-one.

Thus ʿĀḍid was far from being a caliph on the scale of some of his predecessors. Nonetheless, we posses some interesting information about his personal appearance, for he received a Frankish embassy led by S̲h̲āwar. The Franks were taken, in the royal palace, to a vast hall divided into two by a great curtain of silk and gold, "with a pattern of beasts, birds, and persons". S̲h̲āwar prostrated himself three times before this hanging, the third time in an attitude of most humble adoration. Suddenly the great tapestry was raised and the caliph appeared, seated on a throne of gold, encrusted with precious stones. His face was veiled, and the removal of the glove of his right hand was an elaborate performance. The ambassadors were told that "the caliph was a youth whose beard was just beginning to appear, and that he was dark-skinned and very plump".

Bibliography: Ibn K̲h̲allikān, i, 338; Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 357; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, Cairo, v, 334 ff.; H. Derenbourg, *Oumara du Yémen*; Schlumberger, *Campagnes du roi Amaury Ier*; G. Wiet, *Inscr. du mausolée de S̲h̲āfiʿī*, *BIE*, xv, 169-171; idem, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 196-198; idem *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 289-302. (G. WIET)

ADIG̲H̲E [see ČERKES].

AL-ʿ**ĀDIL**, title of two Ayyūbid princes:

1. AL-MALIK AL-ʿĀDIL ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AYYŪB, with the honorific title of SAYF AL-DĪN ("Sword of the Faith", called by the Crusaders *Saphadin*), the brother, assistant, and spiritual heir of Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, [*q.v.*]). He was born in Muḥarram 540/June-July 1145, or according to other accounts in 538/1143-4, in Damascus or in Baalbek, thus being six or eight years younger than his celebrated brother.

Al-ʿĀdil accompanied Saladin to Egypt in the third and final expedition of S̲h̲īrkūh (564/1169). His first important appointment was to the government of Egypt during Saladin's frequent absences in Syria after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1174. In this position he proved himself an able and loyal administrator, and apart from sending reinforcements and supplies, when called upon, for Saladin's army, he enjoyed full and independent powers in both external and internal affairs, being "the real Sultan of Egypt" (ʿImād al-Dīn, in *al-Barḳ al-S̲h̲āmī*, v, fol. 117r). After the capture of Aleppo in 579/1183, Saladin at first gave it to his son al-Ẓāhir G̲h̲āzī, but a few months later, on al-ʿĀdil's own request, transferred it to him with full powers of government (diploma in ʿImād al-Dīn, ibid., 124-6, dated S̲h̲aʿbān 579), and appointed his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar to Egypt, as regent for al-Afḍal [*q.v.*]. Although al-Ẓāhir loyally submitted to his father's decision, his disappointment on this occasion probably contributed to his later strained relations with al-ʿĀdil. Three years later, however, in 582/1186, again on al-ʿĀdil's suggestion, al-Ẓāhir was reinstated in Aleppo, and al-ʿĀdil himself reappointed to Egypt, this time as regent for Saladin's son al-ʿAzīz ʿUt̲h̲mān. He remained in this post through the campaigns of 583-4/1187-8 and the ensuing Crusade, himself taking part in the conquest of southern Palestine and Karak, and sending ships, men, and supplies in support of Saladin's attempt to raise the siege of ʿAkkā (585-7/1189-91). During the subsequent operations in Palestine he played a particularly important part in the negotiations with Richard Coeur-de-Lion, with whom he formed such friendly relations that it was even proposed that he should marry Richard's

sister Joan, and that they should rule jointly over Palestine. In the following year (588/1192), in consequence of the disorders resulting from Taḳī al-Dīn's unauthorized campaigns in the Djazīra and Diyār Bakr, al-ʿĀdil was transferred to the government of these provinces (at the same time retaining Karak and Balḳāʾ). Behind these frequent changes there may perhaps be discerned a consistent policy applied by Saladin. Of all his brothers, the one in whom he had the most complete confidence, and on whose advice he relied in all contingencies, was al-ʿĀdil. It was therefore natural that al-ʿĀdil should be placed in command of that province which, in the changing conjunctions of events, was for the time being the most vital for maintaining the unity and strength of Saladin's possessions.

On Saladin's death in 589/1193, al-ʿĀdil's first task was, in fact, to defeat an attempt by ʿIzz al-Dīn, atābeg of Moṣul, to reoccupy the Djazīra. Having secured his own province, he next intervened as mediator in the rivalries between Saladin's sons al-ʿAzīz of Egypt and al-Afḍal of Damascus. Though at first he supported al-Afḍal, the latter's incapacity became so manifest that he finally joined al-ʿAzīz to drive out al-Afḍal and himself took over the government of Damascus as the viceroy of al-ʿAzīz (592/1196). He was thus on the spot and ready to deal energetically with the Crusaders of 1197. On the death of al-ʿAzīz (595/1198) the Egyptian troops split into two factions, one supporting al-Afḍal, the other al-ʿĀdil. Al-ʿĀdil was besieged in Damascus until relieved by his Mesopotamian troops under his son al-Kāmil, when he pursued al-Afḍal into Egypt, defeated him, and was proclaimed Sultan of Egypt and Syria (596/1200). His claim was challenged by al-Ẓāhir, who again besieged Damascus, but al-ʿĀdil succeeded in forcing his withdrawal and pursued him to Aleppo, where al-Ẓāhir was finally compelled to recognize his suzerainty (598/1202). In 604/1207 his Sultanate was formally confirmed by the Caliph, and thereafter he distributed his own provinces between his sons: al-Kāmil in Egypt, al-Muʿaẓẓam in Damascus, al-Awḥad and al-Ashraf in the Djazīra and Diyār Bakr, himself moving from place to place as circumstances required.

So far as can be judged, the cornerstones of al-ʿĀdil's policy were to hold Saladin's empire together, in face of the ever-present possibility of fresh Crusades from overseas, and at the same time to serve the interests of the Ayyūbid house. Although the major governments were placed in the hands of his sons, it cannot be denied that they were the most capable to administer them, but he maintained at Aleppo the only one of Saladin's sons who showed any capacity and even guaranteed the succession of his infant son (who was also his own nephew), besides maintaining the governments of the collateral branches at Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāh. His personal prestige was unrivalled, and he employed it to strengthen the moral and material welfare of his subjects, by patronizing religion and learning, fostering agriculture and commerce, and maintaining peace. He followed Saladin's policy of negotiating commercial treaties with the Italian states, with the double object of increasing his own military resources and discouraging them from supporting fresh Crusades. With the local Crusader states he ensured peace by a series of truces which covered almost the entire period of his reign, at the same time strengthening his defences against the danger which materialized with the arrival of the Fifth Crusade in 614/1217. Leaving the bulk of his forces on guard in Egypt, he moved into Syria ro assist al-Muʿaẓẓam to screen the approaches to Jerusalem and Damascus, and while organizing reinforcements for the defence of Damietta fell ill and died at ʿĀliḳīn, outside Damascus, on 7 Djumādā I, 615-31 August 1218.

Bibliography: Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287, passim; *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1366/1947, 111-3; Ibn Khallikān, no. 665; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (facs. Jewett), 390-2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vol. vi, passim; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, Cairo 1934, 58-194; Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm, *Histoire d'Alep* (trans. Blochet, Paris 1900), 82-158; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 318-347; general histories of the Third Crusade; and see also AYYŪBIDS and ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN.

2. AL-MALIK AL-ʿĀDIL II ABŪ BAKR SAYF AL-DĪN, son of al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] and grandson of the preceding, b. 617/1221. He succeeded al-Kāmil in the government of Egypt (635/1238) but was dethroned by his elder brother al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb [*q.v.*] in 637/1240 and died in prison at Cairo on 12 Shawwāl 645/9 Feb., 1248. See AYYŪBIDS.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 666; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, 466-485; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vi, 303 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 223-341.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

AL-ʿĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ, Fāṭimid vizier. He was the son of an Artuḳid officer, who entered the service of the Fāṭimids after the taking of Jerusalem by the Egyptians, in 491/1098. He married the widow of a Zīrid prince who had died in exile at Alexandria.

He first appears in history as governor of Alexandria, at the beginning of the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāfir. We learn that he assembled troops, marched on Cairo, and, on 7 Shaʿbān 544/10 December 1149, installed himself in the vizier's house, which had been abandoned by his predecessor, Ibn Maṣāl, an old man, who was killed in Upper Egypt on 19 Shawwāl/19 February 1150. In spite of his repugnance, the caliph al-Ẓāfir was forced to accept him as vizier, with the title of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. He tried, however, to foment a plot against his minister, but the latter got wind of it and took his revenge in a bloodthirsty way by wiping out the corps of pages. Before long he himself was to fall victim to a stepson, ʿAbbās b. Abi 'l-Futūḥ [*q.v.*], who assigned to his own son, Naṣr, the task of assassinating Ibn al-Salār, on 6 Muḥarram 548/3 April 1153. Naṣr carried out the crime with his own hand, and by carrier pigeon informed his father ʿAbbās, who had just taken command of the garrison of Ascalon. ʿAbbās hastened back to Cairo to assume the office of vizier.

An important point about the political career of Ibn al-Salār is that he was the first to consider the possibility of an entente with the prince of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn, for making common cause against the Franks. It was doubtless premature; Nūr al-Dīn had his own personal designs on Damascus, which the Crusaders had besieged some years previously. As proof of his good will, Ibn Salār had, in 546/1151, sent the Egyptian fleets against the ports of Jaffa, Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli, where great damage was caused. The expedition was also a reprisal against the Franks, who had sacked Faramā the previous year.

Bibliography: Ibn Muyassar, 89-92; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo, v, 288-299; *Usāma*, transl. Derenbourg, index; G. Wiet, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 193-194; idem, *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 278-284. (G. WIET)

ʿĀDILA KHĀTŪN, daughter of Aḥmad Pas̲h̲ā, wife of Sulaymān Pas̲h̲a Mizrāḳlī ("Abū Laylā"), Ottoman governor of Bag̲h̲dād. During the lifetime of her husband she took part in the government of the province, holding audiences where the petitions were presented to her through the intermediary of an eunuch. She had also a mosque and a caravanseray built, bearing her name. When on the death of Sulaymān (1175/1761) power was about to slip from her hands, she stirred up against his successor, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, first the Janissaries, then five of the principal Mamlūks, and succeeded in having ʿUmar Pas̲h̲a, her brother in law, appointed as governor in the place of ʿAlī (1764). It is not known when and where she died.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, ***Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien***, Fr. transl. ii, 215, 258 ff.; Cl. Huart, ***Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes***, 153 f.; S. H. Longrigg, ***Four centuries of Modern Iraq***, Oxford 1925, 165, 169, 173-4, 179.

(CL. HUART*)

ʿĀDIL-S̲H̲ĀHS, designation of the Muslim dynasty which ruled over Bīd̲j̲āpūr, one of the succession kingdoms to the Bahmanī kingdom of the Dekkan. The independent history of Bīd̲j̲āpūr extends from 895/1489 to 1097/1686 when the kingdom was conquered and absorbed by the Mug̲h̲al empire. The founder of the dynasty, Yūsuf ʿĀdil K̲h̲ān, was a slave in the service of Maḥmūd Gawān, the famous Bahmanī minister. After rising to the position of master of the horse at the Bahmanī court, Yūsuf was appointed to the provincial governorship of Dawlatābād. He took an active part in the intrigues and civil strife which marked the declining years of the Bahmanī kingdom and, according to the historian Firis̲h̲ta, caused the *k̲h̲uṭba* to be read in his own name in 895/1489. The Muslim historians of the dynasty claim a royal lineage for Yūsuf ʿĀdil K̲h̲ān, asserting that he was a son of the Ottoman Turkish sultan Murād II and was saved by his mother from death at the hands of the succeeding Ottoman sultan, his elder brother Muḥammad II, by being entrusted to a merchant of Sāwa, Khʷād̲j̲a ʿImād al-Dīn, who educated him. Eventually he found his way to India to take service under Maḥmūd Gawān. There is no independent evidence corroborating the testimony of historians partial to the ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh dynasty. That his background was Persian is generally accepted however. Yūsuf ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh introduced S̲h̲īʿa doctrines, being the first Muslim ruler in India to do so. During his reign, 895/1489-916/1510, spent in almost continual warfare against rival Muslim Dekkan princes and the Hindu rulers of Vījāyanagar, the Portuguese made their appearance off the shores of India, taking possession of the port of Goa. The successors of Yūsuf ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh reigned as follows:

Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf	916/1510-941/1534
Mallū b. Ismāʿīl	941/1534-941/1535
Ibrāhīm I b. Ismāʿīl	941/1535-965/1557
ʿAlī I b. Ibrāhīm	965/1557-987/1579
Ibrāhīm II b. Ṭahmāsp b. Ibrāhīm	987/1579-1035/1626
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm	1035/1626-1066/1656
ʿAlī II b. Muḥammad	1066/1656-1083/1672
Sikandar b. ʿAlī	1083/1672-1097/1686

Until the beginning of the 11th/17th century and the advent of the Mug̲h̲al threat from the north, the political history of Bīd̲j̲āpūr is filled by continuous warfare with the neighbouring Muslim states of the Dekkan, Bīdar, Aḥmadnagar, Golkonda and the Hindu empire of Vijāyanagar. However, in 972/1564 the four Muslim principalities combined against Vījāyanagar and at Talikot decisively defeated its forces and sacked the capital. The power and prosperity of Bīd̲j̲āpūr reached its zenith under Ibrāhīm II though it was never free from turbulence among the nobles.

Bīd̲j̲āpūr escaped the direct attentions of the Mug̲h̲als until the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, attempting indeed to acquire territory from Aḥmadnagar which was disintegrating under the onslaught of the Mug̲h̲als. Bīd̲j̲āpūr and the latter clashed and in 1046/1636 the Mug̲h̲als invaded Bīd̲j̲āpūr and forced a peace at which Bīd̲j̲āpūr acknowledged Mug̲h̲al suzerainty. For the next twenty years the kingdom enjoyed peace. In 1068/1656 when Muḥammad ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh died, S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān objected to the succession of ʿAlī ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh II, invoking his claims as suzerain, and ordered Awrangzīb to invade the kingdom. Operations were stopped, however, at the news of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's illness and Bīd̲j̲āpūr survived only to face further danger from the Mahratta chief Sīwād̲j̲ī who in 1069-70/1659 destroyed a Bīd̲j̲āpūr army and its leader Afḍal K̲h̲ān in an ambush. Thenceforth Bīd̲j̲āpūr was rarely free from Mahratta depredations. With the accession of a minor, Sikandar ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh, the kingdom was progressively bereft by Mug̲h̲al and Mahratta of its provinces until in 1097/1686, after a siege of more than a year, the capital itself was taken by Awrangzīb and the remnants of the kingdom absorbed into the Mug̲h̲al empire. Sikandar died in captivity in 1111/1700.

The ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āhs were great builders and made their capital at Bīd̲j̲āpūr [*q.v.*] one of the most magnificent monuments to the architectural genius of Islam in India. They were also great patrons of literature and the important historian Firis̲h̲ta wrote under the patronage of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil-S̲h̲āh II.

Bibliography: C. A. Storey, ***Persian Literature***, ii, 742 ff.; Henry Cousens, ***Bijapur and its Architectural Remains, Archaeological Survey of India***, Vol. xxxvii, Bombay 1916, 1-18; ***Cambridge History of India***, iii (Turks and Afghans), Chs. xvi and xvii; iv (The Mog̲h̲ul Period), Ch. ix; Cambridge 1928 and 1937; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, ***History of Aurangzīb***, Calcutta 1912-1924, Vol. iv, Chs. xxxviii-xlv; Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindū S̲h̲āh (Firis̲h̲ta), ***Guls̲h̲an-i Ibrāhīmī*** (***Tārīk̲h̲-i Firis̲h̲ta***), ed. Briggs, Bombay 1831, ii, 1-179.

(P. HARDY)

ADIYAMAN, formerly called ḤIṢN MANṢŪR, or Ḥiṣn-i Manṣūr (modern spelling Hüsnümansur), according to Cuinet also called Körkün, a small town in S.E. Anatolia, capital of the *ḳaḍā* of the same name in the *sand̲j̲ak*, now *wilāyet*, of Malaṭiya (formerly it belonged to the *wilāyet* of Maʿmūrat ül-ʿAzīz), 37° 45' N, 38° 15' E. The numbers of the inhabitants given in the past vary: according to EI[1], 10,000, mainly Armenians; according to Sāmī, 25,000, of which only 1255 Christians; according to ʿAli D̲j̲ewād in one passage 1150, in another more than 25,000 of which more than a half were Kurds; according to Cuinet 2,000 (in the whole *ḳaḍā* of Ḥiṣn-i Manṣūr: 42,134). The number in 1945 was 10,192.

The name Ḥiṣn Manṣūr derives from the Umayyad *amīr* Manṣūr b. D̲j̲aʿwana, who was killed in 141/758 on the orders of the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr. Later, Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd had the place fortified and gave it a garrison. Thus Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, or Adiyaman,

became the heir of the ancient town of the neighbourhood, Perre, whose site is still marked by aqueducts and rock graves. Subsequently, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr is rarely mentioned; in the 6th/12th century it belonged to the Artuḳids.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 192; Yāḳūt, ii, 278; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 601; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 169; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs ül-Aʿlām*, iii, 1962; ʿAlī Djewād, *Taʾrīkh we-Djughrafya Lughati*, 6, 331; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 885; Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, 139 f.; Le Strange, 123; idem, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 454.

(F. Taeschner)

ʿĀDJ, ivory.

1. From early times there was a demand for ivory in the civilizations of the Near East. The Assyrians excelled in the carving of ivory and excavations at Nimrūd and elsewhere have revealed masterpieces seldom surpassed. In the eastern Mediterranean area a tradition of ivory carving persisted and surviving examples have been attributed to the great centres of Antioch and Alexandria during the later centuries of Roman rule. There is no evidence that the workshops of Syria were producing ivories in the century before Islam; but in Egypt the tradition persisted into the Islamic period.

Probably the main source of ivory in the Islamic period was East Africa, the greatest ivory producing area during the Middle Ages. It is unlikely that India exported ivory in any quantity to the Near East or Europe as it scarcely produced enough for its own needs (W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig 1886, ii, 629-30). Surviving Islamic ivories seem to be of elephant tusk. Walrus ivory was used for the handles of daggers (see R. Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn*, Washington 1950, 120 ff.) and there are examples of bone carvings from Egypt.

The size and shape of the elephant tusk limits its use to relatively small objects or to elements in large scale decoration. In the Islamic period objects made entirely of ivory include caskets of both rectangular and cylindrical form, combs, oliphants or hunting horns and chess pieces. Techniques of decoration were carving in relief or painting on the surface with coloured stains including gilding; intarsia in which shaped ivory plaques either carved or painted were countersunk in a wooden surface; incrustation in which sheets of ivory were cut to the required shape and stuck to the wooden surface; and incised decoration usually consisting of dots and concentric circles sometimes filled with coloured pigments. Finally, ivories sculpted in the round are extremely rare.

2. It would be strange if ivory had not been in use in the early Islamic period. But so far excavations at sites of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid period have revealed no objects of ivory. There are very few ivories attributable to the Sāsānid period in Persia and perhaps the lack of a tradition accounts for this absence of ivory carvings in Mesopotamia and Persia. The cylindrical box with conical cover in the treasury of St. Gereon, Cologne, was made, according to the inscription, in Aden for a governor of Yaman probably about 136/753; but its technique and style belong rather to Egypt (*RCEA*, no. 41, ill. in Cott, pl. 79a). In Egypt Coptic craftsmen kept alive an earlier tradition. Large rectangular panels with both intarsia and incrusted decoration have been variously described as panels of a *tābūt* (coffin) and as book covers; the former is more probable. Pieces have been found in Egypt, and from their style were made by Coptic craftsmen in the 9th and 10th centuries. (For examples in the Arab Museum, Cairo, see Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Islamic Art in Egypt* (in Arabic), i, Cairo 1935, pl. 35; in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, ibid. pl. 34 and F. Sarre, *Islamic Bookbinding*, London 1923, pl. i and fig. 1 where it is described as a Ḳurʾān cover; and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, M.S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan art*², New York 1947, fig. 69.)

Bone and ivory carved panels have been found in the ruined mounds of Fusṭāṭ and are associated stylistically with the wood carvings of the Fāṭimid period. These are cut in low relief and depict scenes of the chase, isolated animals and human figures set against a background of scrollwork. They were probably either panels of caskets or insets to larger wooden panels and can be dated to the 11th-12th century. (Examples in the Arab Museum, in Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Cairo 1937, pl. 56; in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in M. Longhurst, *Catalogue of carvings in ivory*, i, London 1927, pl. xxviii; in the Metr. Mus., in Dimand, op. cit., fig. 70. For examples of carved woodwork, see E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubite* (*Cat. gén. du Musée arabe du Caire*), Cairo 1931.) Caskets of ivory both rectangular and round are mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 414, in an eye-witness account of the treasures of the caliph al-Mustanṣir.

Apart from these, it is impossible at present to attribute others with any certainty to Fāṭimid Egypt. A group which has the strongest claim is represented by the beautiful panels carved in ajouré in the Bargello Museum, Florence, which are perhaps related in style and subject matter to the famous carved wood panels from the *māristān* of Ḳalāʾūn now in the Arab Museum. In composition and workmanship they far surpass the Fusṭāṭ fragments. (Well illustrated in *Meisterwerke Muhammadanischer Kunst*, Berlin 1910, iii, pl. 253. There is another example in the Louvre, see G. Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*², Paris 1927, fig. 148. For the *māristān* panels, see Pauty, op. cit., pls. xlvi-lviii.) Another group which has been ascribed to the Fāṭimid period comprises ivory oliphants or hunting horns and caskets. Their style is distinct and characterized by relief cutting in two planes; the decoration consists of interlaced circles each containing an animal or bird and, in the caskets, human figures too. Similar treatment of the decoration occurs in the repertoire of Fāṭimid ornament as well as in that of Muslim Spain. An attribution to Sicily or South Italy whose Norman rulers are known to have employed Muslim craftsmen should also be considered, for there are a number of oliphants of apparent western manufacture which reproduce in a general way the decoration of the oriental ones. If the latter were in fact made in Egypt it is at least possible that they were made for export to the West. (See O. von Falke, *Elfenbeinhörner*, 511-7, who attributes six horns and a fragmentary piece in the Metropolitan Museum to this group; also four caskets, seven plaques (in the V. and A. Museum) and an ivory box (in the Metr. Museum).)

As has already been mentioned the technique of incrustation was practised in Egypt. A casket of wood with ivory incrustations in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo, has been attributed to Egypt since it is connected in style and technique with a

fragmentary wood panel incrusted with ivory found at Edfū and now in the Arab Museum. Its date would appear to be the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. (See Monneret de Villard, *La Casetta*, pls. i-v; for the Edfū panel, pl. xxvi.)

While the technique of incrustation was being adopted by the Muslim craftsmen, the Copts maintained the more ancient tradition of intarsia decoration. Both techniques were used in the doors of the Church of the Virgin in the Dayr al-Suryānī (in Wādī al-Naṭrūn), which were made in the first half of the 10th century (see Monneret de Villard, pls. xxi-xxv). But incrustation was rarely used in later times and was confined to small objects. Intarsia, on the other hand, was frequently used in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk period for the decoration of large surfaces. The famous *minbar* made in Aleppo by order of Nūr al-Dīn in 1168-9 A.D. and sent to the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā in Jerusalem, is the first of a series of works in which panels of ivory or bone, either plain or carved, were inserted into a wooden ground so as to form geometric patterns, stars or polygons. Intarsia decoration is found in *kursīs*, *minbars* and *dikkas* of the Mamlūk period. The contrast between wood and ivory serves to emphasise the abstract pattern and the effect is heightened when the ivory panels are carved with arabesque or inscriptions. After the fall of the Mamlūks the technique was adopted in Turkey where there are fine examples of mosque furniture with intarsia decoration dating from the 17th century. (The *minbar* in al-Aḳṣā is illustrated in M. van Berchem, *CIA*, *Syrie du Nord*, *Jerusalem*, iii, no. 277 (p. 393 ff., pls. 29-30). Mamlūk examples in L. Hautcoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, ii, pls. 172-3, and Turkish examples in E. Kühnel, *Meisterwerke der Archäologischen Museen in Istanbul*, iii, Berlin-Leipzig 1938, pl. 19.)

3. A group of ivories which has given rise to much discussion consists of caskets, combs and crosiers with painted and gilded decoration. Many of these found their way to the treasuries of European churches in the Middle Ages where the caskets were used as reliquaries or pyxes and the combs for liturgical purposes. P. B. Cott's *Siculo-Arabic Ivories*, which can claim to be almost complete, illustrates some ninety pieces in which the painted decoration is still visible. All have certain common stylistic and technical features. In many pieces all trace of the original colour has disappeared and the well preserved state of the famous casket of Würzburg is exceptional. Generally patterns are outlined in black and filled in with a palette which includes red, blue and green, and gold applied in both liquid and leaf form. Many pieces are inscribed around the rim of the cover in Arabic, either Kūfic or Naskh script. Most of these inscriptions contain benedictory phrases addressed to the owner and, more rarely, verses from a love poem which suggests that these were intended as bridal caskets to contain jewels and trinkets. There are examples, too, of Arabic letters used merely for decorative effect and without meaning. Unfortunately no surviving inscription contains a date, or the name of either maker or owner. If it is generally agreed that the painted ivories can be assigned to the 12th and 13th centuries, opinions differ regarding the place of origin and unless a piece comes to light with a revealing inscription or a reference in some contemporary source is discovered there can be no final answer to this question. In the circumstances style and iconography are the only evidence.

On stylistic grounds they have been variously attributed to Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Spain and Sicily. It is true that the decoration of the so-called *minā'ī* ware of Persia dating from the second half of the 12th to the 13th century has a superficial resemblance to that of the painted ivories, in the rather sparse arrangement of the decoration and in the figural representations, especially the horsed rider. Attenuated versions of the motives found in the decorative arts of Syria occur on the ivories. The decoration of one distinctive group of painted ivories contains star interlacings and geometric ornaments so similar to those found in the art of Granada during the Naṣrid period that their attribution to a Granada workshop during the 14th and 15th centuries seems certain. (Ferrandis, nos. 89-103. Ferrandis accepts the Sicilian origin for the remainder but suggests that three of these were "imitations" made in Spain, viz. nos. 9 and 65 in Cott and a casket in the parish church of Fitero, Navarre, not mentioned by Cott: Ferrandis, no. 21.) Apart, however, from this small and somewhat isolated group, the closest parallels are to be found in the art of Fāṭimid Egypt: in the fragments of pottery from Fusṭāṭ, wood carvings, notably the *māristān* panels, and the greatest surviving monument of Fāṭimid painting, the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo. Kühnel (cf. Bibliography), however, argues for their Sicilian (and, in some pieces, Spanish) origin. In this connection, a casket found at Carrión de los Condes in Palencia and now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid (Ferrandis, no. 9) is important. This is a rectangular box, the flat cover of which is inscribed on intarsia with a dedication to al-Muʿizz, the last Fāṭimid to rule from Ifrīḳiya, and the interesting information that it was made in al-Manṣūriyya, the Fāṭimid capital near al-Ḳayrawān. The maker's name is unfortunately almost entirely obliterated except for the *nisba* al-Khurāsānī. The casket can therefore be dated between 341/952 and 365/972. The sides are decorated with a border of scroll-work painted in green and red. Although the drawing is cursory and the style dissimilar to that of the group under discussion, it suggests that the technique of painting on ivory was already known and practised in the Maghrib in the third quarter of the 10th century and was presumably introduced from Egypt.

But the fact remains that these painted ivories give the impression of a style not entirely in accord with the canons of Islamic art. The sparse treatment of the decoration and the frequent carelessness of the drawing are in marked contrast with the careful presentation of decoration and precise drawing to which we are accustomed in Islamic art. Indeed, were it not for the Arabic inscriptions, there might well be doubt in assigning them to the Islamic world at all. For this reason it seems likely that they originated in an area on the fringe of the Islamic world which was open both to oriental and occidental influences. The fact that certain caskets contain Christian figures, that there are two crosiers with painted decoration identical to that of the caskets, and that painted ivories are found exclusively in the countries of Europe suggests that they were, at least, made for the Western market. (Christian figures occur on nos. 38, 39, 42, 44, 80 in Cott; for crosiers see Cott, nos. 148, 149. The Arabic inscription on the "Granadan" casket in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan states that it was made to contain the consecrated Host (Cott, no. 138). It is usually agreed that the combs were for liturgical

use.) Probably there was more than one centre where painted ivories were produced, and the poorer examples were copies of finer prototypes. But until we possess a documented piece, there can be no certain solution of the problem.

4. By far the most remarkable of the mediaeval Islamic ivories are the carved ivories made in Muslim Spain and among them are masterpieces which rival the Byzantine and Western ivories. Fortunately there are enough documented pieces to make it possible to trace their history over a period of little less than a century. Unlike most of the ivories which have been discussed so far, they were produced under royal patronage and include some made for presentation to royal personages. During the first half of the period, the centre of production was in Cordova and then moved to Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ; thus they belong to the declining years of the Caliphate of Cordova. The earliest of the Hispano-Arabic ivories were probably made in Cordova and are characterized by the exclusive use of plant ornament (see Ferrandis, nos. 1-3). In the earliest surviving products of the new workshop at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ the decoration of one consists of paired birds and animals amid flowering plant scrolls and that of another includes paired dancers (see Ferrandis, nos. 4-6). The artists of both these groups were evidently familiar with the carved marble panels in the Great Mosque of Cordova and the marble revetments found at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. Another group consists of pieces made in the Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ workshop by an artist who signs himself Khalaf (Ferrandis, nos. 7-10). His masterpiece is the circular box belonging to the Hispanic Society in New York. His style is quite distinctive; birds, animals and figures are conspicuously absent and the flowers and leaves which are deeply cut are rendered with exuberance and a close attention to detail.

But undoubtedly the greatest achievement is the series of ivories with scenes with figures and animals which, indeed, must be numbered among the most precious examples of Hispano-Arabic art; for not only are they of first-rate artistic quality but as social documents the scenes of court life and of chase which they depict give us a rare picture of the refinements of Andalusian civilisation. The three finest examples (Ferrandis, nos. 13-4, 19) are the two cylindrical boxes in the Louvre and the Victoria and Albert Museum, the first dedicated to al-Mughīra, brother of al-Ḥakam II and dated 357/968, and the second dedicated to Ziyād b. Aflaḥ and dated 359/970, and the casket in the Cathedral of Pamplona, dedicated to a son of al-Manṣūr and dated 399/1008. The last is the latest dated surviving piece from the Cordovan workshop. With these are associated some five other pieces (Ferrandis, nos. 15-6, 20-2). Scenes are enclosed in lobed circles, polygons or arcades. The plant decoration is subordinated to the animals and human figures which are proportionally large; the symmetrical arrangement of these does not preclude naturalistic effect. Scenes include the prince with attendant servants and musicians, huntsmen with falcons or at grips with their quarry and men performing rustic tasks such as gathering the date harvest, animals struggling with their prey; and in one case an elephant is depicted. None of these pieces is signed except the Pamplona casket which bears the name of more than one artist.

After the fall of the Caliphate of Cordova, the workers founded a new establishment in Cuenca where they were given an asylum by the Dhu ʾl-Nūnids, rulers of Toledo. The earliest surviving product (Ferrandis, no. 25) is dated 417/1026 and signed with the maker's name Muḥammad b. Zayyān. From this it is clear that the workshop was already established before Ismāʿīl al-Ẓāfir won the kingdom of Toledo in 427/1036. The last documented piece (no. 26) bears a dedicatory inscription to Ḥusām al-Dawla son of Yaḥyā al-Maʾmūn and governor of Cuenca and is dated 441/1049. It is also signed with the maker's name ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayyān and shows that the workshop was in the hand of a single family. The Cuenca ivories lack the vitality and invention of the Cordovan ivories. Cordovan motives recur but their presentation is monotonous. Animals and scenes are not enclosed by the lobed circles and polygons but are arranged in horizontal or vertical registers in which they are often repeated in identical form.

After the middle of the 11th century it seems that the Christian kingdoms of the North took the lead in ivory carving, although their products show the influence of Andalusian techniques. Yet the tradition of ivory carving was not entirely lost in Muslim Spain, for among the surviving examples of the decorative arts of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada are sword and dagger handles which incorporate carved ivory with floral and geometric designs and inscriptions resembling those of the Alhambra stucco revetments. (The most important pieces are illustrated in L. Torres Balbás, *Arte Almohade — Arte Nazari — Arte Mudejar* (*Ars Hispaniae* iv), figs. 256B and C, and 257; also a bow with ivory incrustations, fig. 255, and the staff of Cardinal Cisneros, said to be the sceptre of the Naṣrid kings, fig. 246. For two other sword handles see Migeon, op cit., fig. 161. Also attributed to Granada are the "eared" daggers with carved ivory plaques in the handles and "ears" of the pommel (see Torres Balbás, op. cit., figs. 256D and B).)

5. Besides ivory carving, Cordova had acquired a preeminence in ivory incrustation which was to survive the fall of the Umayyads. Muslim historians and travellers describe and praise the *minbar* made by order of al-Ḥakam II for the Great Mosque. But neither this nor the *minbar* made some years later for the mosque at Fez by order of Hishām II have survived though from the descriptions both were evidently formed of wooden panels with ivory incrustations. One of the earliest surviving Maghribī *minbars* with this kind of decoration is the magnificent example in the Kutubiyya of Marrākush. According to the inscription (see J. Sauvaget, in *Hesp.*, 1949, 313 ff.) this was made in Cordova and dates from the time of the Almoravids. Technically derived from mosaics, the decoration consists of interlaced bands incrusted with contrasting wood and ivory cubes enclosing polygons of carved arabesques, larger flowing floral or geometric patterns and a frieze with inscription in which the letters are formed of ivory sheets. The ivory is either natural colour or stained. (For detailed study and illustration see H. Basset and H. Terrasse, in *Hesp.*, 1926, 168-204; also Ferrandis, no. 159.) Other *minbars*, if technically less perfect, reveal a rich inventiveness. (The earliest is the *minbar* in the Mosque of al-Karawiyyīn, Fez, made at the close of the Almoravid period in 1145. Others are the *minbar* in the mosque of the Ḳaṣaba, Marrākush, for which see Basset and Terrasse, 244-70, and Ferrandis, no. 160, and the *minbars* in the mosque of Tāzā (1292-3) and in the Madrasa Bū ʿInāniyya, Fez

(1350-5). There is a copy of the Ḳaṣaba *minbar* in the mosque of al-Mawwāsīn, Marrākush, dating from the 16th century.) In Spain, few large-scale works of incrustation have survived; but there is a particularly fine pair of doors from a cupboard in the Museum of the Alhambra (Torres Balbás, fig. 244-5; Ferrandis, no. 167; other examples, Torres Balbás, fig. 243, Ferrandis, nos. 172, 174). Equally remarkable are caskets with ivory incrustations, decorated either with figural representations or geometrical designs (Ferrandis, nos. 161-3, 168-71). All these caskets have been found in Spain and because of the similarity of their decoration to certain Toledan stucco work have been attributed to Andalusia and the 12th to 13th century. Finally the handle of the so-called rapier of Boabdil in the Museo Historico Militar, Madrid, has delicate ivory incrustations of arabesques and is an eloquent witness of the skill of the Granadan craftsmen. (See Torres Balbás, fig. 240, and E. Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, Berlin 1924, pl. 124. The staff of Cardinal Cisneros has also ivory incrustations, see above.)

6. In this account of ivory products in the Islamic world, Persia figures scarcely at all. No piece has yet appeared that can be attributed to pre-Mongol Persia. It would be rash to assume for this reason that the art of working in ivory was unknown for there are references in contemperary literature which suggest the opposite. (Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, 15, quotes al-Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), ii, 273, who remarks that the inhabitants of Tarḳ, in the district of Iṣfahān, are skilled in making objects of ebony and ivory. M. de V. suggests that this implies a local industry of incrustation.) We can only blame the accidents and ravages of time for this absence. That incrustation was practised in later times is proved by the pair of wooden doors inlaid with ivory from the Gūr-i Mīr, Samarḳand, now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (*Survey of Persian Art*, vi, pl. 1470). Made about 808/1405, their decoration is typically Tīmūrid. A pen-box (S. Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens of Egypt*, London 1886, fig. 72) and dagger handles dating from the 18th century or later (P. Holstein, *Contribution à l'étude des armes orientales*, Paris 1931, ii, pl. lxi) imply the existence of a native school of ivory carving.

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ADJAʾ and **SALMĀ**, the two main ranges of the central Arabian mountain group of Djabalā Ṭayyiʾ, modern al-Djabal. An old tale of the type of "metamorphosis as punishment for sin" is attached to them; the tale is connected with reality insofar as Adjaʾ and Salmā occur in Old Arabic and in early North Arabic dialects as personal names.—According to Ibn al-Kalbī's "Book of Idols", and one of the two versions in the *Djamhara* by the same author, the God Fals/Fils/Fulus was worshipped in the guise of one of the cliffs of Adjaʾ. This cult is probably of great antiquity, as the cult of a certain cliff (Raʿn) in the valley of al-ʿŌlā/Dēdān, in the 2nd century B.C., and later between 50 and 150 A.D., is attested by the evidence of some proper names.

Bibliography: W. Caskel, *Lihyān und Lihyanisch*, Köln and Opladen 1954; Ibn Hishām, 56; R. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch, K. al-Aṣnām, des Ibn al-Kalbi*, Leipzig 1941, 61 f.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 51 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 122 ff., iii, 912. (W. Caskel)

ʿADJĀʾIB, "marvels", are in the first instance the marvels of antiquity. In addition, the term and its derivatives comprise, already in the Ḳurʾān, the marvels of God's creation. *ʿAdjāʾib* are thus any kind of casual data about extraordinary monuments, the three realms of nature and meteorological phenomena, and the two aspects under which they are viewed come from the Greek spirit on the one hand and the eastern biblical ideas on the other.

Islam, the continuator of the classical tradition as it was formulated in the East, was interested in exceptional monuments ,but in a spirit different from that of the Greek. Among the surprising buildings described as marvellous by the Arab authors, the Pharos of Alexandria acquired great notoriety. The monument, described by them in greater detail than by the Greek and Latin authors, existed until the 8th/14th century and was erroneously attributed to Alexander the Great. In general the Macedonian king represented a universal symbol, a mixture of Greek conqueror and of the spirituality of the ancient Orient, and many famous monuments were attributed to him.

As to the marvels of God's creation, these are no wanton inventions of fancy, but are often based on a minute and exact observation of nature. Thus in the *al-Ḥayawān* of Djāḥiẓ, there are rudiments of "Darwinism", and Abū Ḥāmid describes beavers' dams, which he considers to be miraculous; Ibn al-Faḳīh gives an account of the magnetic and electrical phenomena to be observed on a mountain near Āmid.

It was, however, inevitable that these two conceptions of the the *ʿadjāʾib*, so different from the ideological point of view, should fuse together to give rise, especially in the Arabic geographical texts, to a peculiar literary genre. The *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* by the captain Buzurg b. Shahriyār [*q.v.*] deserves to be mentioned in the first place by its early date and by its incontestable documentary value for its period. It starts with the statement: "God has divided the marvels of creation into ten parts, of which nine belong to the East, one to the other points of the compass. Of the nine parts belonging to the East, eight belong to India and China and one only to the other regions of the East . . .". The book consists of stories by the navigators of East Africa, India, and the islands of S.-E. Asia; some of them show an admixture of real observation while others can be explained only by study of the folklore of the people in question. While the marvels of far-away countries found their literary form already in the 4th/10th century, the curiosities of the various Islamic countries were only described in excursus in the geographical treatises (e.g. in al-Maḳdisī). It was only in the 6th/12th century that these isolated zoological, ethnological, archaeological etc. accounts acquired a particular literary form, especially through Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*] who collected them in his *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*. The Arabic literature of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, called "classical", is characterized by an equilibrium between erudition and aesthetic creation. When this equilibrium was disturbed by the decadence of Arabic literature, the writers increasingly disregarded science; the *ʿadjāʾib* thus came into greater favour and reached their full development in the cosmographies of the 8th/14th century. The greatest

author of this period was al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] whose work is divided into two parts: *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, "The Marvels of Creation", and *Āthār al-Buldān*, "The Monuments"; thus the best representative of the genre bears witness, centuries later, to the two forms of *ʿadjāʾib* mentioned above. At this epoch the cosmographical works increasingly neglect geography; what remains are collections of entertaining stories. It was also in this period that the Sindbād cycle, which is but a literary adaptation of the accounts of Buzurg b. Shahriyār, was introduced into it.

In the first centuries of the *hidjra* the *ʿadjāʾib* were correctly situated in geographical space by those who observed them or by the authors who copied the former; this is also the case with the earlier Arab geographers and with Abū Ḥāmid. As the scientific interest decreased, however, and the popular interest in amusing literature grew, the data lost their precision and their exact geographical localization. The items of real knowledge acquired in Islam and unknown in antiquity recur in general in the descriptions of the *ʿadjāʾib*; yet these *ʿadjāʾib* acquire a particular role in the history of thought in that they transport us from tangible reality to the realm of fancy constituted by the oriental tales. Abū Ḥāmid, the precursor of the popular cosmographers, is one of the authors who had most influence on the Arabic and Persian writers in the age of decadence of Islamic literature in the late Middle Ages; it is not for nothing that his books were among the main sources of al-Ḳazwīnī. On the other hand it is through the popular cosmographies that the *ʿadjāʾib* stories brought an essential contribution of the Muslim genius to world literature in the form of the tales of the *Arabian Nights*.

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(C. E. DUBLER)

ADJAL, the appointed term of a man's life or the date of his death; a topic regularly discussed in the earlier *kalām* along with that of *rizḳ* or sustenance. The idea that the date of a man's death is fixed presumably belongs to pre-Islamic thought. The word *adjal* is used in the Ḳurʾān in a variety of ways, e.g. for the date when the embryo emerges from the womb (xxii, 5), for the period Moses had to serve for his wife (xxviii, 28 f.), for the date when a debt is due (ii, 282), etc. In creating the heavens and earth, the sun and moon, God fixed an *adjal* for them (xlvi, 3; xxxix, 5 etc.); with this is connected the coming of the Last Day. More especially it is used for the term of existence decreed by God for communities (xxiii, 43, etc.) and for individuals (lxiii, 10 f.; vi, 2). This term is neither to be anticipated nor deferred; its fixity explains why the wicked are not punished at once. "No one has his life prolonged or no one has his life cut short except (as it is written) in a book (of God's decrees)" (xxxv, 12). The *adjal* is not shortened even through sinning (xxxv, 44, xlii, 13), while on the other hand it may be concluded that Muhammad presupposed the shortening of the *adjal* as a punishment, but it might be restored to the original length through repentance (xi, 3, xiv, 11). The Ḳurʾān very often emphasizes the expression of *adjal* as the irrevocable period of life assigned by God with the epithet *musammā* (xxxix, 43; xl, 69, and elsewhere), "enunciated" (without ambiguity) "through a word which had proceeded from God" (xlii, 13); the same epithet is applied to the course of the unchangeably operating phenomena of nature (xxxi, 28, xxxv, 14, xxxix, 7). The decreed duration of the world is also often designated by the same formal expression (vi, 2, 61, xxxv, 44). One may notice in the commentaries to the Ḳurʾān the tendency to refer the *adjal musammā*, where it is possible, to the period of the end of the world.

According to tradition (al-Bukhārī, *Ḳadar*, 1; Muslim, *Ḳadar*, 3; etc.) *adjal* and *rizḳ* are two of the four things determined for a man while he is in the womb. Some of the early Muʿtazila apparently suggested that a man who met a violent death had not reached the term decreed for him by God. Perhaps they said this because they hesitated to ascribe the evil of killing to God, just as they did not assert that sustenance consisting of stolen goods came from God. In a passage like Ḳurʾān xl, 67, *adjal* is capable of being interpreted as natural term or, as they put it, "the time at which God knew the man would have died had he not been killed" (cf. *Ibāna*). This view, however, offended the deep-rooted feeling that the date of death was fixed. Even Abu 'l-Hudhayl said that, if the man had not been killed then, he would have died in some other way. Al-Nadjdjār insisted that, whatever the mode of death, a man died at his term; and he was followed by the opponents of the doctrine of *ḳadar*, including al-Ashʿarī. Al-Kaʿbī tried to avoid ascribing evil to God by distinguishing between the death and the killing. No fresh points were raised after this, but the old points were frequently repeated by theologians. — The dogmatists discussed in connection with *adjal* also the question, in how far God lengthens or shortens the *adjal* as a reward for obedience or as a punishment of disobedience respectively, a question to which the answer results in the harmonizing interpretation of the Kurʾanic verses quoted above and puts the problem of *adjal* in the domain of the debates on *badāʾ* [*q.v.*]. An aspect of the problem of *adjal* concerns the death of great masses by elementary catastrophes, war, persecution, etc.

Jewish religious philosophy treats the problem from the same point of view.

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(I. GOLDZIHER-W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿADJALA, Arabic word borrowed from the North-Western Semitic languages (Hebrew *ʿagālāh*, Phoenician *ʿglt*, Jewish-Aramaic *ʿagaltā*, Syriac *ʿāgaltā*, Old Egyptian loan-word of the New Empire *ʿgrt* = **ʿagalta*, whence Coptic *ačolte*; see references in L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953, 679), derived from a root denoting rotundity or swiftness. In Arabic, as in these languages, it designs wheeled vehicles (chariots, carts, wagons) drawn by animals; but in Arabic it is a generic term. It is for this reason that the use of these vehicles in the Islamic Orient will be treated here, if only in a fragmentary way.

Before Islam, the use of various kinds of cars (among them those termed *ʿagālāh*, etc., in the Semitic countries of the west and in Egypt) is well attested in the whole of the Near East (cf. e.g. V. Gordon Childe, *Wheeled Vehicles*, in *A History of Technology*, i, Oxford 1954; A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, ii, Paris 1953, 98-100, 233; A. Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des Alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki 1951; Erman and Ranke, *Ägypten*[2], Tübingen 1923, 584; P. Montet, *La vie quotidienne en Égypte*, Paris 1946, 169). In spite of the decline of the chariot of war as early as the Persian period (Salonen, 21), carriages are frequently mentioned in the same region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf., e.g., for Egypt, C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Brussels 1939, 214; W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, 26; Jewish texts in S. Kraus, *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig 1910-2, ii, 336-8 and G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, ii, 111-5, iii, 58 f., 88-90, vi, 193 etc.). The same applies for pre-Islamic North Africa (R. Capot-Rey, *Géographie de la Circulation*, Paris 1946, 87).

In Islamic times, the texts concerning wheeled traffic seem much less frequent. The word *ʿadjala* occurs but rarely in the Middle Ages. None of the passages allows the technology of these vehicles to be determined; at the most they mention the animals which draw them. The lexicographers do not seem to deal with the subject. The reference in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Cheikho), 54, to a vehicle drawn by two oxen is derived from the Sanskrit original. In historical and geographical texts one comes across references, e.g. for Egypt, to such vehicles used for heavy loads (Umayyad period: Yāḳūt, i, 260; al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 28 f.) in the 4th/10th century mentions large wagons drawn by buffaloes in the Syrian *thaghr;* 7th/13th century: Ibn Saʿīd, in al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 691; for Morocco in the 8th/14th century: al-Djaznāʾī, *Zahrat al-Ās* (Bel), 27, transl. 69 f.).

Most of the references, however, concern vehicles used in exceptional circumstances, and which appeared to cause considerable astonishment. E.g. in 242/856, a pilgrimage from Baṣra to the holy cities on an *ʿadjala* drawn by camels (Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ii, 307); a few years later, an *ʿadjala* drawn by men, which carried the sick Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn from Antioch to Egypt (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 84); in 307/919 the large vehicles prepared in Baghdād for the public humiliation of the rebel Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj (*K. al-ʿUyūn*, in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, i, 49, n.). The Christians during their feasts used state carriages, e.g. in Edessa on the eve of the feast of the cross (Ḥusayn b. Yaʿḳūb, in al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, i, Cairo 1924, 265). The animals mentioned as drawing these vehicles, which were perhaps of very different shapes, are varied: horses of several breeds, camels, oxen, mules, donkeys, buffaloes, perhaps also elephants; as noted above, human traction also was used on occasion.

The word often serves to designate foreign vehicles: Byzantine racing chariots (Ibn Rusta, 120, Ibn Khurradādhbih, 112), wagons of the Christians of the Iberian peninsula (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 86; *Akhbār al-ʿAṣr*, ed. M. J. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, Munich 1863, 44, transl. 147-8), later Turkish *arabas*.

In Muslim Iran, literary references to carriages (*gardūn*) seem to be equally rare (B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 428-9, notes no examples). Firdawsī, however, transposes into the world of myth wagons drawn by buffaloes or oxen (reff. in F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v.). A wooden chariot used by Isfandiyār (*Shāh-nāmah* (Mohl), iv, 500-2, 510) is often shown in miniatures (e.g. *Survey of Persian Art*, v, 832 D; *La guirlande de l'Iran*, Paris 1948, 30), generally as a cart with two spoked wheels drawn by a horse tied between two shafts. Persian miniatures occasionally show other illustrations of wagons: a four-wheeled wagon drawn by a horse (MS from Tabrīz, end of 7th/13th century, in E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, London 1929, pl. xli); a cart with two spoked wheels drawn by a horse tied between two shafts on which are carried materials for building a mosque (miniature of Bihzād, A.D. 1467, in E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1922, pl. 51); a kind of yurt probably mounted on wheels, drawn by horses, and used to carry to Tabrīz the corpse of Ghāzān Khān in 703/1304 (MS of 9th/15th century, reproduced in E. Blochet, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris 1914-20, pl. xix, cf. p. 272).

On the other hand, carts (*ḳangli*, later also *araba*, *arba*) were very frequently used by the Turco-Mongols of Central Asia until the 14th century, after which the economic decline of the nomad world led to a lessening of their use. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 361, mentions them in Southern Russia. This vehicle, the name of which was arabicised as *ʿaraba* and even *ʿarabiyya* ("Arabian"), was introduced in particular into Mamlūk Egypt (see ʿARABA). Its name supplanted in popular use the word *ʿadjala* as a generic term for carriage; so that *ʿadjala* could be used anew in modern Egypt as a name for bicycle. In turkicised Anatolia the byzantine wagon (*kaghnī*) remained in use.

The medieval situation survived in the countryside up to modern times. In Syria, Volney states in the 18th century: "It is noteworthy that in the the whole of Syria no wagon or cart is seen; this is probably due to the fear lest they should be seized by the government's men and a heavy loss should be suffered in a moment" (*Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, Paris 1825, ii, 254). In Palestine, before the first world war, only Circassians and foreigners had peasant vehicles (Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, ii, 98 and fig. 40-2; A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebied*[2], Berlin-Vienna 1920, 424-5). On the whole, the situation was the same all over the Near East, except in Anatolia. For Morocco at the beginning of the 20th century, see Ch. René-Leclerc, *Le Maroc septentrional*, Algiers 1905, 87, 251-2; idem, in *Renseignements coloniaux*, 1905, 248; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 415. Various explanations have been offered, the most common being the bad state and insecurity of the roads (R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous le Ḥafṣides*, ii, 236; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1946, 133-6; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 461, Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 98). Yet the comparison with the condition of the same countries

in antiquity and with the Turkish countries makes this an unsatisfactory explanation. The increasing scarcity of wood, due to the loss of forests, should perhaps be taken into consideration, and one could perhaps establish a parallel with the degeneration of the plough (cf. A. G. Haudricourt, *L'homme et la charrue*, in the press, and MIḤRĀTH). Also the improvement of transport due to the increasing use of the camel and the pack-saddle must be taken into account.

Nevertheless, sooner or later in the various countries, European vehicles were introduced, together with their usually Romance names (in Persia with a Russian name, *kāleske*), but were often adapted to local techniques and customs. Restricted to urban, official and military use, to public transport (for Persia, numerous descriptions and illustrations in C. Anet, *La Perse en automobile*, Paris 1906, 122, 189, pll. 19, 25, 26, etc.), they rarely penetrated into the country-side. As early as the 17th century, the Murādid *bāy* of Tunis travelled in a *karrūṣa* (Italian *carrozza*) (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, Tunis 1286, 224); this word is now in common use in North Africa and is found even in Berber dialects (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Paris 1952, 712). Similarly *ḳarrīṭa* (Italian *carretta*) is used in Algeria for carts and wagons (Beaussier, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*[2], Algiers 1931, 793); the word was already used, in the plural form *karārīṭ*, to designate Portuguese wagons in the 16th century, *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie saʿdienne* (Colin), 59. In Egypt, the *ʿarabiyyat ḥanṭūr*, "cab", (from Hungarian *hintó* through Turkish *hinto*, cf. F. Miklosich, *SBAk. Wien*, 1885, 5, 1889, 8) and the *ʿarabiyyat kārrō* (Italian *carro*) are used (Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*[2], Milan 1913, 241; cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿĀdāt waʾl-Taḳālīd*, Cairo 1953, 333 and pl. xvi).

Bibliography: Ḥ. Zayyāt, *al-Khizāna al-Sharḳiyya*, iii, Beirut 1946, 149-51; V. V. Barthold, *O kolesnom i verkhovom dviženii v Srednei Azii*, *Zap. Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii nauk S.S.S.R.*, 1937, 5-7; A. G. Haudricourt, *Contribution à la géographie et à l'ethnologie de la voiture*, *Revue de Géographie humaine et d'Ethnologie*, 1948, 54-64 (important methodological indications).

(M. RODINSON)

ʿADJAM, the etymology and semantic evolution of this collective term in Arabic are exactly parallel to those of the Greek word βάρβαροι. In conformity with the basic meaning of the root from which it is derived, *ʿadjam* means people qualified by *ʿudjma*, a confused and obscure way of speaking, as regards pronunciation and language. *ʿUdjma* is therefore also the contrary of the Arabic *faṣāḥa*, and the *ʿadjam* are the non-Arabs, the βάρβαροι, so called after the most characteristic sign of barbarousness: an incomprehensible and obscure way of speaking. As to the Greeks, so also to the Arabs, the barbarians were primarily their neighbours the Persians, and pre-Islamic poetry already contrasted *al-ʿArab* with *al-ʿAdjam*, although for the latter the form *Aʿādjim*, the plural of *aʿdjam*, was preferred. The affective value attributed to the word depended on the point of view of the user; although it preserved for the most part the original contemptuous force inspired by the haughty presumption of Arab superiority, it sometimes, and even at an early date, implied the desirability and allurement of the exotic, and the acknowledgment of a more civilized and refined culture. In any case, during the whole Umayyad period the superiority of the Arabs, who held the hegemony in Islam and by whom it was spread, over the conquered *ʿadjam* was uncontested, and only isolated voices were raised (e.g. by the poet Ismāʿīl b. Yasār in *Aghānī*[2], iv, 411-2) in support of the race and culture of non-Arabs, i.e. of the Iranians. With the coming to power of the ʿAbbāsids, the victory of the *ʿadjam* over the Arabs, a victory which Naṣr ibn Sayyār had already deprecated in famous verses (al-Dīnawarī, 360), reversed the situation; the Iranians, having obtained political and social supremacy, soon laid claim to the supremacy of their cultural and spiritual values. This was the *shuʿūbiyya* movement [*q.v.*] which, in its essential nucleus, reaffirmed the superiority of the *ʿadjam* over the Arabs, even although its campaign was carried on in Arabic. When the heat of the controversy had died down, the two words remained in current usage merely to indicate ethnical difference, *ʿadjam* becoming synonymous with *Furs* (Persians). *ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī* indicated, from the late medieval period onwards, Iranian Media (which the ancient geographers had called *al-Djibāl*), to distinguish it from *ʿIrāḳ ʿArabī*, which is ʿIrāḳ proper. *Lāmiyyat al-ʿadjam* was given as the title, in contrast to the celebrated *ḳaṣīda* of Shanfara, to a similar poem in *lām* rhyme by the Iranian al-Ṭughrāʾī (d. 1121). For *ʿadjamī* = aljamiado see ALJAMIADO.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 10-146 (*ʿArab und ʿAǵam*).

(F. GABRIELI)

ʿADJAMĪ OGHLĀN (*acemî oğlan*), a term, meaning "foreign boy", applied to Christian youths enrolled for service as Ottoman *ḳapî ḳulus* [*q.v.*], originally, according to the *Penčik ḳānūn* of 1362, by the reservation of one in every five of those taken prisoner of war, and later by *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] conscription. They were first placed for from five to seven years at the disposal of feudal *sipāhīs* and others in Anatolia, and later also in Rumelia, in order to learn Turkish and accustom themselves to Muslim usages, and then posted to the *ʿadjamī odjaḳ* of Gallipoli and, after the conquest, to that of Istanbul, being simultaneously selected for subsequent service, according to their abilities, in the sultan's palace or in one or other of the *odjaḳs* of the standing army, infantry and cavalry, or of the *bostāndjîs* [*q.v.*] of Edirne and Istanbul. Their actual appointment—known as *ḳapîya čîḳma*—to the palace service or these various corps was by seniority on the occurrence of vacancies.

After preliminary training at Ghalaṭa Sarāyî or Ibrāhīm Pasha Sarāyî in Istanbul or at Edirne, *ʿadjamī oghlāns* appointed to the sultan's household (and hence thereafter called *ič oghlāns* or *ič aghas*) might gradually rise from its lowest *ḳoghush* or dormitory to the *khāṣṣ oda* [*q.v.*], from the chief posts in which those who attained them might be appointed *beylerbeyis* and *wezīrs*. The two most important standing cavalry regiments (*sipāhs* and *silāḥdārs*) were likewise recruited from among the *ič aghas*, the other four (*ʿölūfedjis* and *ghurabā*) being recruited from among those *ʿadjamī oghlāns* who, though selected for the palace service, were not in the event appointed to it.

Most of the *ʿadjamī oghlāns* not chosen for the palace were destined for service as Janissaries (see YENI ČERI), whether after preliminary service in the *odjaḳ* of the *bostāndjîs* or by immediate admission into one of the thirty-four *ortas* [*q.v.*], under the command of the *Istanbul aghasî*, which were reckoned as forming part of the Janissary *odjaḳ*.

The gradual abandonment during the 17th

century of the *dewshirme* naturally resulted in the disappearance of *ʿadjamī oghlāns* proper, though their organization was maintained, like that of the whole Janissary *odjaḳ*, till its abolition in 1826.

Bibliography: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, 1-141; *IA*, s.v. *Acemî Oğlan*; Aḥmad Djawād, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAskārī-yi ʿOthmānī*, 174 (Fr. transl., i, 241); Sayyid Muṣṭafā, *Natāʾidj ül-Wuḳūʿāt*, i, 166, 174, ii, 109; D'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, 313; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, index.

(H. Bowen)

ʿADJAMIYYA, a term used of the writing of non-Arabic languages in Arabic characters, [see ALJAMIADO, HAUSA].

ʿADJĀRIDA, Khāridjite sect which spread especially in Khurāsān. The name is derived from that of its founder, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAdjarrad, who seceded from the ʿAṭawiyya, one of the subdivisions of the Nadjadāt [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Karīm was a native of Balkh and was imprisoned by the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Khālid al-Ḳasrī (105-20/724-38).

The main religious tenets attributed to the ʿAdjārida were: the exclusion from Islām (*barāʾa*) of children (even of one's own, according to Ibn Ḥazm) until they grow up and become believers; the duty to invite them to embrace the true faith when they reach puberty; the assertion that *hidjra* is a meritorious act, not a duty; the profession of friendship (*wilāya*) towards the quietists (*al-ḳaʿada*); the affirmation that *sūra* xii (*sūrat Yūsuf*), which by its frivolity could not be the word of God, did not belong to the Ḳurʾān.

Al-Ashʿarī names as branches of the ʿAdjārida the Maymūniyya, Khalafiyya, Ḥamziyya, Shuʿaybiyya, Ṣaltiyya, Khāzimiyya (with two subdivisions) and Thaʿāliba (with five subdivisions). Al-Shahrastānī adds the Aṭrāfiyya. Most of these schools held a less rigid opinion concerning children, viz. that they are in a neutral status until they accept or renounce faith at the time of puberty. The Ḥamziyya played an important political role in the ʿAbbāsid period. The grave Khāridjite revolt which broke out in 179/795 in southern Khurāsān and which lasted till 195/810 was, in fact, led by their chief Ḥamza b. Adrak.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (Ritter), i, 93 ff.; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 72 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 191; Shahrastānī, 95 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 355; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 101, 103 ff., 114, 143; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 42, 127; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫārigismo in epoca abbaside*, *RSO*, 1949, 41.

(R. Rubinacci)

AL-**ADJDĀBĪ**, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Luwātī, author of various works on philology (especially the *Kifāyat al-Mutaḥaffiẓ*, a lexicographical work). Al-Tidjānī possessed several of them in autograph copies (al-Adjdābī was famous for his calligraphy). Al-Adjdābī lived in the second half of the 5th/11th century in Tripoli where he also died; his tomb is still venerated there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 131; idem, *Irshād*, i, 47; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 178; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 188 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 375, S I, 541.

(H. H. Abdul-Wahab)

ADJDĀBIYA, town of Cyrenaica, on the old main road which followed the coast from Alexandria to Tripoli, halfway between Barḳa and Surt. Adjdābiya now belongs to the district of Benghāzī. It was conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in 22/643, was subjected to poll-tax (*djizya*), and became during the following three centuries a military station and a great centre of commercial traffic. Built at the gate of the desert on stony ground—whence probably the Arabic name Adjdābiya, "the sterile"—it had in the 5th/11th century a citadel and a substantial mosque, built about 300/912-3 by the Fāṭimid prince Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, son of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, with a very fine octagonal minaret. Wells, cut in the rock, provided water of good quality; there was also a fountain of sweet water. The town was surrounded by orchards (figs, apricots, etc.) and a small number of palms. The houses were built mainly in the form of brick vaults (*damūs*), as in the Sahara *ḳṣūrs*. It was well supplied with meat, fruits, honey, wool, etc. from the hinterland, especially the Djabal Akhḍar, and prices were low. On the gulf of the Great Syrtis, later called Djawn al-Kibrīt ("gulf of sulphur") there was a small harbour six miles from the town, called al-Maḥūr (?), which served as port for ships destined for Adjdābiya. According to the early geographers, the inhabitants of the town and the district were mainly Luwāta Berbers (subdivisions of Zanāna, Wāhīla, Masūsa, Sīwa, Tahlala, etc.), but a number of Arab elements, such as Azd, Lakhm, Ṣadīf, etc., settled there after the conquest.

The prosperity of the town seems to have been lost following the great Hilālī and Sulamī invasion in the 5th/11th century. The travellers (al-ʿAbdarī, al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Warthilānī) who passed Adjdābiya on their way from the Maghrib to the East, describe it as a town long since ruined, without any vegetation in the vicinity, with only a few visible, but abandoned, vestiges of habitation. During the Turkish, and especially the Italian, occupation, Adjdābiya became a small village, serving as a stage between Benghāzī and Misrāta.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, Baghdad 1918, 102, transl. G. Wiet, 203; Ibn Rusta, 344; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 67; Bakrī, 5 (transl. 16); Yāḳūt, Cairo, i, 121; ʿAbdarī, *Riḥla* (MS), vol. i; Warthilānī, Algiers 1908, 219 ff.

(H. H. Abdul-Wahab)

AL-ʿ**ADJDJĀDJ**, Abu 'l-Shaʿthāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ruʾba, Arab poet of the Tamīm tribe, who resided mainly in al-Baṣra; it is probable that he was born during the caliphate of ʿUthmān (23-35/644-56), and he died in 97/115. Little is known about his life, except that he had to joust with his Kūfan rival Abu 'l-Nadjm al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*]. The main characteristic of al-ʿAdjdjādj's poetry—like that of his son Ruʾba [*q.v.*]—is the constant and exclusive use of the *radjaz* metre in poetical compositions marked by a very rich vocabulary and a laborious construction made more difficult by the poet's respect for the rules of prosody and the unusual number of lines (229 in one *urdjūza*). His *arādjīz* on the model of the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīda* generally comprise a traditional *nasīb* (replaced in one case by religious subject-matter), then descriptions of the desert and the animals found there (camels, horses, onagers, wild bulls), and end with the panegyric of a man, of the poet himself, or his tribe. Al-ʿAdjdjādj never cultivated either the satire or the elegy. His praises are addressed to eminent personnages such as Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, Bishr b. Marwān, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. The Arabic critics unanimously praise the verbal richness of al-ʿAdjdjādj, whose verses are frequently cited by the lexicographers; but he was guilty of an exaggerated use of alliteration, and an excessive addiction to rare words.

Bibliography: The poems of al-ʿAdjdjādj have been collected by W. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, ii: *Die Diwane der Regezdichter Elʿaǧǧāǧ und Ezzafajān*, Berlin 1903; R. Geyer, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis altarabischer Dichter*, 3: *al-ʿAjjâj und al-Zafayân*, in *WZKM*, 1909, 74-101; *Arādjīz al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1313, passim; R. Geyer, *Altarabische Diiamben*, nos. 1-2. Biographical accounts and verses are to be found in Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo, 218; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 374-6; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 6316; *Mash.*, xxiii, 439-48; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 219; Brockelmann, S I, 90; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, index (Fr. transl. 153-5, 160-2).

(CH. PELLAT)

ʿADJLŪN, district of Transjordania, bounded on the north by the Yarmūḳ, to the east by the Ḥamād, to the south by the Wādī al-Zarḳāʾ and to the west by the Ghawr, partly corresponding to the old territory of Gilead, and occupied in Roman times by the towns of the Decapolis. The name seems to be of Aramaic origin. A mountanous and wooded district, it was first called Djabal Djarash, later Djabal ʿAwf from the name of the turbulent tribe which occupied it in the Fāṭimid period. It was pacified by the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma, who, having been granted it in fief by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil b. Ayyūb, built there (it is said on the site of an ancient monastery) a fortress which was since then called Ḳalʿat ʿAdjlūn. Changing hands among various *amīrs* and princes, it played a part in the struggle against the Franks. Stripped of its walls by the Mongols, it was rebuilt in the Mamlūk period, when ʿAdjlūn constituted one of the districts of Damascus. At present ʿAdjlūn is the name of a *ḳaḍāʾ* (the chief place being Irbid [*q.v.*]), and a small township near the old fortress.

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(D. SOURDEL)

ADJMĒR (AJMĒR, AJMĪR), capital of a small semi-autonomous state of the name in the heart of Rādjasthān, pop. (1951): 196,633 (of whom 23% Muslims). The place is renowned for its architectural monuments, and especially for the tomb of Khʷādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sidjzī [*q.v.*] (d. 1236), which is one of the most important centres of pilgrimage in the country. The tomb was built by the Sultans of Mālwa shortly after 1455, while the adjoining buildings were constructed later, the two adjacent mosques having been erected by Akbar and Shāh Djahān. Archeologically the most important building is the Arhāʾī-din-kā-Djhonprā ("two-and-a-half days shed"), a Hindu college converted into a mosque. It consists of a quadrangle surrounded on all sides by cloisters of Hindu pillars, with four star-shaped towers at each corner. The *līwān* is a pillared hall, 248' x 40', divided into nine octagonal compartments, covered by a flat recessed roof, containing five rows of Hindu columns. A lofty screen wall (56 ft. high) of seven pointed arches gives the *līwān* a façade of remarkable beauty. The central arch, which stands higher than the others, is surmounted by two small minarets for the *muʾadhdhin* similar in style, like the rest of the mosque, to the Ḳuṭb Minār and mosque at Delhi. Constructed by Sultan Īltutmish (probably in place, or as an extension, of an earlier mosque started in 1200), it represents one of the finest examples of early Indo-Muslim architecture. Other monuments include a fortified palace built by Akbar, a garden laid by Djahāngīr, and marble pavilions erected by Shāh Djahān on the embankment of Anāsāgar.

History. Founded by the Rādjpūt Rādja Adjaya Cawhān around 1100, Adjmēr was conquered by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī in 1192, and annexed to the Sultanate by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak in 1195. Shortly after 1398, the Rādjpūts of Mēwāṛ captured it, but in 1455 the Sultans of Mālwa ousted them and held the place till 1531, when Rādja Māldēva of Mārwār occupied it. Adjmēr was annexed by Akbar early in his reign and attached to a *ṣūba* of that name. Surrounded as it was by Rādjpūt principalities, and lying on the route to Mālwa and Gudjrāt, the town soon became a strategic and trading centre; while Akbar's frequent visits to the shrine of Khʷādja Muʿīn al-Dīn made Adjmēr one of the most important places of pilgrimage. After 1721, it was occupied first by the Rādjpūts and then by the Mahrattas, who ceded it to the British in 1818.

Bibliography: *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, 1908, v; *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Reports*, ii and xxiii; H. B. Sarda, *Ajmer*, *Indian Antiquary*, 1897, 162.

(NURUL HASAN)

ADJNĀDAYN, the traditional name for the site of a battle fought in Djumādā I or II, 13/July-August 634, between the Muslim Arab invaders and the Greek defenders of Palestine. Although located by the literary sources between Ramla and Bayt Djibrīn, no place of this name is attested by the geographers. On topographical grounds, the site of the battle was located by Miednikoff on the Wādī al-Ṣamt in the vicinity of the two villages of al-Djannāba (Gharbiyya and Sharḳiyya), 34° 57' E., 31° 41' N., from the dual form of which (al-Djannābatayn) the traditional name seems to have arisen by conflation with the Ar. plural *adjnād* ("armies"). The Greek forces were commanded by Theodorus, brother of the Emperor Heraclius; some early Arabic sources mention also a certain Arṭabūn (? Araṭyūn = Aretion). The Arab forces were composed of the three separate contingents which had been operating in Palestine and Transjordan (see ABŪ BAKR), temporarily united under the command (most probably) of Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], who had reached Syria from the Euphrates three months before. (A less probable version represents ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ as the commander of the joint forces.) The numbers of the combatants, especially on the Greek side, are highly exaggerated in the Arabic sources; and it is probable that in reality the forces on either side scarcely reached 10,000 men. The Greek army was severely defeated and withdrew to Damascus, leaving the whole of Palestine open to the invaders, who again broke up into separate columns, until a further attempt by the Greek command to establish a defensive position at Fiḥl [*q.v.*] led to the renewed junction of their forces six months later.

Fig. 1. Plaquette from casket, Syria or Mesopotamia (Museo Nazionale, Florence). Photo: Alinari.

Fig. 2. Painted casket (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). *Crown Copyright.*

Fig. 3. Carved casket, Cuenca; enamel mount added in Christian Spain, 12th century (Museo Arqueológico, Burgos).

Fig. 1. Carved casket, Cordova. Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America.

Fig. 2. Carved casket, Cordova (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). *Crown copyright.*

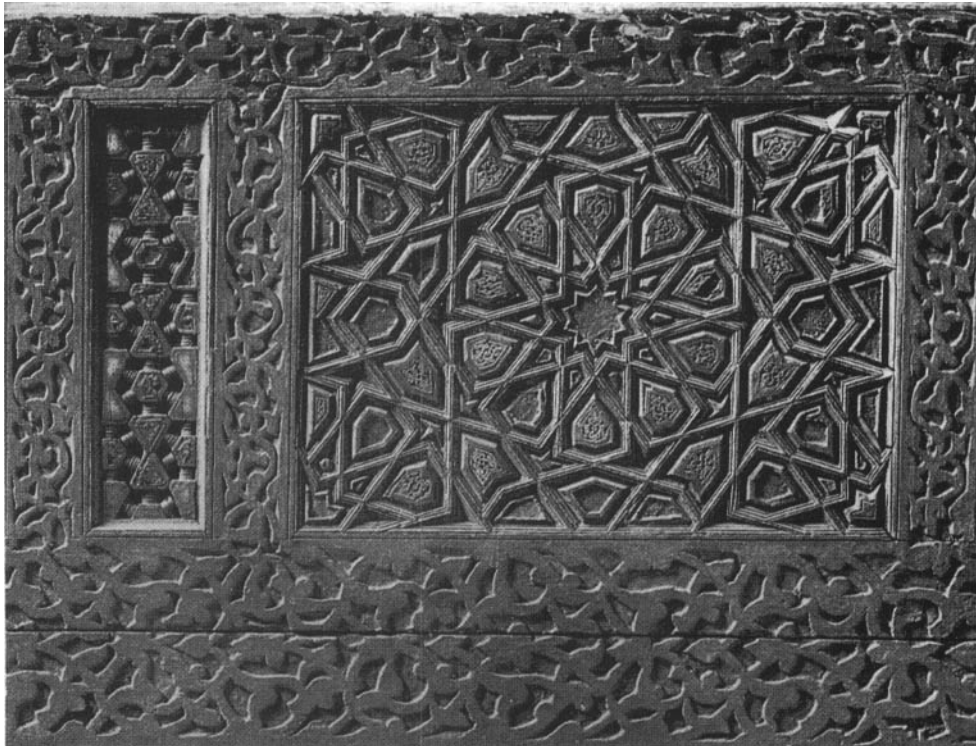



Fig. 3. Intarsia panel from Ḳā'itbay's *minbar* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). *Crown Copyright.*

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali* iii, 13-81 (A. H. 13, §§ 7-66): an exhaustive analysis and discussion of the sources and related problems; summarized by C. H. Becker, *Camb. Med. Hist.* ii, 341-2 (= *Islamstudien* i, 81-2).

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ADJR (A.), reward, wages, rent. The word is of Akkadian origin and was received into Arabic, through the intermediary of Aramaic, at an early date. It is used in a religious and in a legal sense, which both occur from the Ḳurʾān onwards.

1. In a great number of ḳurʾānic passages, *adjr* denotes the reward, in the world to come, for pious deeds. This concept seems to derive from Christian rather than from Jewish sources, and it has become one of the fundamental ideas of practical ethics in Islam. According to Ḳurʾān, vi, 160, ten good deeds are credited for each one accomplished, though the term *adjr* does not occur here. It is often stated in traditions that the well-intentioned, though imperfect, fulfilment of religious obligations gives right to one reward, whereas their successful accomplishment is rewarded twice or several times. The fulfilment of the religious duty of the *idjtihād* [*q.v.*], and of the parallel duty of giving judgment according to religious law, in particular, gives right to one reward, even though the decision arrived at is faulty; if it is right, two (or even ten) rewards are promised. The earliest tradition to this effect seems to have originated towards the middle of the second century of Islam.

2. As a legal term, *adjr* seems to have denoted in Mecca, in the time of the Prophet, any payment for services rendered, and it is used in the Ḳurʾān not only of wages, but of the *mahr* [*q.v.*] which is due to wives, whether free women or slaves, under the contract of marriage, including a *mutʿa* marriage [*q.v.*] (iv, 23 f.; v, 5; xxxiii, 50; lx, 10), and of the maintenance due to divorced wives who feed their children (lxv, 5). In the doctrine of religious law, the term was restricted to wages or rent payable under a contract of *idjāra* [*q.v.*]. For rent in particular, the special term *udjra* is often used.

Bibliography: A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 1938, 49; C. C. Torrey, *The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran*, Leiden 1892, 23 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, s.v. *adjr*; Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 1950, 96 f.

(J. SCHACHT)

ĀDJURRŪMIYYA [see IBN ĀDJURRŪM].

ʿADJŪZ [see AYYĀM AL-ʿADJŪZ].

ADJWAF [see TAṢRĪF].

ʿADL (1) Etymologically, the term is found both as substantive and as adjective, but with meanings that do not exactly correspond. *ʿAdl*, the substantive, means justice; as an adjective, it means rectilinear, just, well balanced; it thus applies both to beings and to things. In its two forms, the word is current in the vocabulary of religion, theology, philosophy, and law. In the Muʿtazilite doctrine, *ʿadl*, the justice of God constitutes one of the five fundamental dogmas (*uṣūl*) of the system [see MUʿTAZILA]. The Ḳāḍī must give judgment with *ʿadl* (or *ḳisṭ*; cf. Ḳurʾān, iv, 58; v, 42); but the idea of material justice plays hardly any part in the theory of religious law [cf. UṢŪL], although it is insisted upon in the "Investigation of Complaints" [see MAẒĀLIM]. The adjective which corresponds exactly to this substantive *ʿadl* is *ʿādil*.

As an adjective, the word *ʿadl* expresses more particularly a juridical conception, and has numerous applications. However, agreement has never been reached on a definition of the term, as the Mālikite jurist Ibn Rushd observes. Furthermore, the various definitions that have been formulated are too comprehensive and imprecise. In al-Māwardī's definition, *ʿadāla*, the quality of *ʿadl*, is described as a state of moral and religious perfection. For Ibn Rushd it consists in not committing major sins, and also avoiding minor ones. But another author observes that such a state can be found only very exceptionally, in the saints; that *ʿadāla* simply describes the state of a person who in general obeys the moral and religious law. This last conception is the one that came to be finally accepted. In the latest stage of Muslim law, as it appears in the codification undertaken in the Ottoman empire about the middle of the 19th century, the following definition is given: "The *ʿadl* person is one in whom good impulses prevail over bad" (*Madjalla* art. 1705). In short, one can translate *ʿadl* by "person of good morals", with the essentially religious sense that this has in Islam. Whether this quality must be a natural inclination, innate or acquired, or whether it is sufficient for it to be achieved by an effort of will, is however a theoretically disputed point.—The antonym of *ʿadl* is *fāsiḳ*.

The adjective is also employed substantively; it then means a person of good morals (pl. *ʿudūl*).

ʿAdāla enters into various juridical categories. In the theory of public law, *ʿadāla* is one of the principal conditions for carrying out public functions recognized by the doctrine of the School. But it is in private law, in the theory of evidence, that the idea has been most fully developed and involves a most detailed system of regulations. The witness must be *ʿadl*; it suffices, however, that his *ʿadāla* should be substantiated at the time when his evidence is given and not at the time of his observation of the fact in question. It is a disputed point, nevertheless, whether the witness is presumed to have *ʿadāla* so long as it is not contested by the adversary, or whether, even if it is not called in question, it should be the subject of verification. The latter course has prevailed in practice and in doctrine. Consequently a procedure has been evolved for substantiation of the *ʿadāla* of witnesses; it is known as *tazkiya* or *taʿdīl*. In the latest stage of the law, this procedure involves two phases. In the first, the judge proceeds to a secret investigation, by sending a question in a sealed envelope to qualified persons; this is *al-tazkiya al-sirriyya*. It is afterwards necessary, in certain cases, for these persons to appear at the public hearing to confirm their former attestation; this is *al-tazkiya al-ʿalāniyya*. The attestation of the *ʿadāla* of a witness is called *taʿdīl*; contestation of this *ʿadāla* is called *djarḥ*.

However, the *tazkiya* procedure is not used exclusively as an accessory or as incidental to a law-suit. It functions also independently and as an end in itself, for recognizing in a positive and final manner the quality of *ʿadāla* in given persons. Because of the small reliance placed on writing, as such, once its use became widespread, recourse was had, in order to give it once and for all conclusive force, to the procedure of testimonial proof. However, this method was not altogether reliable, for the witnesses of the instrument could always themselves be challenged on the ground of lack of *ʿadāla*. This difficulty was overcome by the use of a preliminary *tazkiya*; the judge recognizes once and for all the *ʿadāla* of a certain number of persons, who thus become in principle irreproachable witnesses, and

to whom appeal can be made to establish the preconstituted proof of written documents. From among such people the scriveners or notaries are recruited who bear the name of *ʿudūl* in a technical sense. But the *ʿudūl* are employed also for many other services: as assistants to magistrates for the certifying of instruments of procedure and of judgments, for the carrying out of various acts of judiciary administration, for answering *tazkiya* inquiries, for nominating people to functions for which *ʿadāla* is a requisite, etc. (cf. SHĀHID).

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabṣirat al-Ḥukkām*, Cairo 1302/1884, i, 173, 204 ff., etc.; *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, 1015 ff.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, § 67; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 109; Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1938, t. i, Ch. iv, sect. v; idem, *Le notariat ..... dans la pratique du droit musulman*, Beirut 1945. (E. TYAN)

(2) In numismatics *ʿadl* means "of full weight", and therefore this word (often abridged to ع) is stamped on coins to show that they have the just weight and are current (*ʿadlī*).

ʿADLĪ, pen-name of Muḥammad II and Maḥmūd II, further of Bāyazīd II. Gibb, *History of the Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 32 ff., believes that the pen name of this last was ʿAdnī, but the Upsala MS bears ʿAdlī. (Gibb, ii, 25 f. attributes the *dīwān* of *ʿAdnī*, Istanbul 1308, to Maḥmūd Pasha.)

ADMINISTRATION [see DĪWĀN].

ʿADN [see DJANNA].

ʿADNĀN, ancestor of the Northern Arabs according to the genealogical system which received its final form in the work of Ibn al-Kalbī, about 800 A.D. The name occurs twice in Nabatean inscriptions from N.W. Arabia (ʿAbd ʿAdnōn, ʿAdnon; Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909-14, nos. 38, 328) also in Thamudic (Lankester Harding/Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions*, Leiden 1952) and was taken to South Arabia along the incense-route (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semit.*, iv, no. 808). As already noted by al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (Hell), 5 (cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā Ḳabāʾil al-Ruwāh*, Cairo 1350, 48), it does not occur in pre-Islamic poetry at all (Labīd, xli, 7 is spurious), and only very rarely in early Islamic literature. This means that the name does not owe its place in the system to the conflict of parties in the Umayyad period, like Nizār and Rabīʿa, but is of pre-Islamic origin, although it does not spring from bedouin tradition. It may come, like other rudimentary elements of the system, from the Meccan tradition.—It is noteworthy that, owing to the revival of national feeling, the name ʿAdnān again became current in Turkey by the last quarter of the 19th century. This is explained by the fact that the Young Turkish movement represented in its earliest stage an Ottoman nationalism which included also the Arabic traditions.

Bibliography: W. Caskel, *Die Bedeutung der Beduinen für die Geschichte der Araber* (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften*, Heft 8) Köln and Opladen 1953, 11 ff.; *CIH*, 808; *EI*, s.v. NIZĀR; Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, i, ii, Paris 1909, 1914, nos. 38, 328; Lankester Harding/Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions*, Leiden 1952; G. Strenziok, *Die Genealogie der Nordaraber nach Ibn al-Kalbi*, thesis, Köln 1953. Cf. also NIZĀR. (W. CASKEL)

ADRAMIT [see EDREMID].

ADRAR, Berber geographical term meaning "mountains" and applied to a number of mountainous regions of the Sahara.

1. ADRAR, 650 km. to the south-east of Colomb-Béchar, capital of the Tawāt (Touat) and main *ḳsar* (*ḳaṣr*) of the tribe of Timmi.

The centre of Adrar, on its present site, dates from the French conquest (30 July 1900). Since that time, the town developped as an administrative and commercial centre. In 1951, Adrar had 1,795 inhabitants.

Agriculture plays but a small part in the life of the *ḳsar*. Craftsmanship (fabrication of woollen and cotton wall covers called *dokkali*) is in decadence. The main role was always played by commerce, but the caravan traffic to the Sūdān (dates, tobacco) and to the oases of Algeria (skins, butter, live sheep) has greatly diminished owing to the competition of motor transport.

Bibliography: Cne. Flye Sainte Marie, *Le commerce et l'agriculture au Tuat*, *Bul. Soc. Gég. Arch. Oran*, 1904; Watin, *Origine des populations du Touat*, *Bul. Soc. Géog. Alger*, 1905; A. G. P. Martin, *Les oasis sahariennes* (*Gourara, Touat, Tidikelt*), Paris 1908; P. Devots, *Le Touat, étude géographique et médicale*, *Archives Inst. Pasteur Algérie*, 1947.

2. ADRAR OF THE IFOGHAS, an ancient massif in the southern Sahara (Sūdān), between 21° and 18° N, 30′ and 3° E. Like the Ahaggar range of which it is an extension, it is made up of crystalline rocks of the pre-Cambrian age, but there is no trace of recent volcanic action.

The monsoon rains from the Gulf of Guinea come annually to the Adrar of the Ifoghas (Kidal: 123 mm.) and the vegetation already approximates to that of the coastal region, at least in the valleys; but the water points are rare because of the impermeability of the soil.

The massif is inhabited by Tuareg tribes, among which the noble tribe of Kidal, that of the Ifoghas, supplies the *amenokal* [*q.v.*]; by extension, the name Ifoghas is applied to all the tribes who inhabit the Adrar and its confines. In 1949 the subdivision of Kidal had 14,574 inhabitants, all nomads, breeding camels, oxen, and sheep. They nomadize close to the massif, but go to Tidikelt and Tuwāt (Touat), crossing the Tanezruft, to sell their sheep. The principal administrative centre is Kidal (683 inhabitants); not far from there the ruins of the ancient Songhai town of al-Sūḳ (Es Souq, Tadmekket) can still be seen.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Description de l'Afrique* (transl. de Slane, *JA*, 1842); Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (transl. de Slane, Algiers, 1913); E. F. Gautier, *A travers le Sahara français* (*La Géo.*, xv, i, 1907); Lt. Cortier, *D'une rive à l'autre du Sahara*, Paris 1908; R. Chudeau, *Sahara soudanais*, Paris 1909; R. Mauny, *Encyclopédie maritime et coloniale. Afrique occidentale française. Protohistoire et histoire ancienne.* Paris 1949, vol. i; R. Capot-Rey, *Sur quelques formes de relief de l'Adrar des Ifoghas*, *Trav. I.R.S.*, vol. vii, 1951; H. Lhote, *Sur l'emplacement de la ville de Tademekka, ancienne capitale des Berbères soudanais*, *Notes Afr.*, no. 51, July 1951.

3. ADRAR OF MAURETANIA (also called Adrar Tmar to distinguish it from the Adrar of the Ifogha). A group of plateaus in the southern Sahara between 19° and 23° N, 10° and 13° 30′ W, having a surface of 150,000 sq. km. These plateaus are formed by sedimentary layers, gravel, schist and limestone

and are limited by graded slopes which overlook schistous depressions followed by wadis or traced by *sebkhas*; the main slope, the Ḍhar, reaches the height of 830 m.

By the scanty rainfall (81 mm. in Atar, 52 in Chinguiti), the absence of permanent drainage, the steppe vegetation consisting of thorny shrubs, the Adrar forms part of the desert. Nevertheless, the climate, the hydrography and the vegetation have features which are different form those of the Sahara. In the summer the humid air of the Gulf of Guinea invades the Adrar and tornadoes occur in July and August; the wadis flow and fill the closed depressions called *graʾir*.

The first inhabitants of the Adrar were the Bafur about whom one knows scarcely more than that the Adrar was called by the Portuguese, as late as the 16th century, "Mountains of the Bafur". From the 10th century, the Lamtuna [*q.v.*] penetrated into the Adrar and their chief Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar made himself master of Shinḳīṭ ([*q.v.*]; modern Chinguiti) and finally of G͟hāna, though this conquest did not last. Three centuries later the Maʿḳil [q.v.], driven by the first Marīnids, retraced the steps of Abū Bakr and subjugated the Berber tribes. The marabutic movement of the 15th century also contributed to the arabization of the western Sahara. At this period arose the hierarchical organization characteristic of the society of Mauretania; at the summit of the scale the warriors (Hasan), descendants of the Arab conquerors, followed by the Marabuts (Zwāyā) and the Tributaries (Zenaga), both Berbers; finally the Ḥarātīn, the slaves and smiths, Bafur, negroes or of mixed-race. This organization survived up to the French penetration. In 1909 the Adrar was occupied by the column of Gouraud. In 1932 the *amīr* of the Adrar rebelled and the region was only pacified two years later.

Animal breeding is the main source of livelyhood. Warriors, Marabuts and Tributaries possess numerous herds of camels and sheep, which disperse during the cool season in the *ergs*, while in the summer they are assembled near the wells or graze in the coastal zone. Agriculture assumes two forms: raising of sorghum and water-melon in the *graras*, after the floods; raising of millet, corn and barley under the palm-trees in irrigated gardens; the dates, harvested in July (*gatna*), are the object of a lively trade. There are a number of small oases, Azougui, Ksar Torchane, Toungad, Oujeft. Chunguiti, which used to be a religious and intellectual centre, the radiation of which was felt as far as Senegal, is today a miserable little township. All the life is concentrated at Atar, capital of the district, which lies on the motor-road connecting Saint Louis with Agadir. [Cf. also MAURITANIA.]

Bibliography: Th. Monod, *L'Adrar mauritanien, esquisse géologique*, Dakar 1952; idem, *Contribution à l'étude du peuplement de la Mauretanie. Notes botaniques sur l'Adrar, Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire*, April 1952; F. de la Chapelle, *Esquisse d'une histoire du Sahara occidental*, Rabat 1930; P. Marty, *Les tribus de la Haute Mauritanie, Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française, Renseignements coloniaux*, 1915; Col. Modat, *Les populations primitives de l'Adrar mauritanien, Bulletin du Comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F.*, 1919; idem, *Portugais, Arabes et Français dans l'Adrar Mauritanien*, ibid., 1922; Cne. Huguet, *Les populations primitives de l'Adrar mauritanien, Bull. du Com. de l'Afr. fr., Rens. col.*, 1927. (R. CAPOT-REY)

ADRIANOPLE [see EDIRNE].

ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA, ABŪ S͟HUD͟JĀʿ FANNĀ K͟HUSRAW, son of Rukn al-Dawla, Buwayhid [*q.v.*] *amīr al-umarāʾ*, born at Iṣfahān on 5 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 324/24 Sept. 936. On the death in 338/944 of his uncle ʿImād al-Dawla, according to the latter's wish, since he left no son of his own, Fannā K͟husraw, though then aged only thirteen, succeeded him as ruler of Fārs; in 351/962 he received the *laḳab* ʿAḍud al-Dawla from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ; on the death of his other uncle Muʿizz al-Dawla in 356/967 he obtained possession of ʿUmān; and in the following year he conquered Kirmān, in the government of which he was confirmed by the caliph, and was acknowledged as overlord by the ruler of Sīstān. In 361/971-2, after foiling an attempt by a brother of its former ruler to recover Kirmān, he extended his authority south-eastwards over Makrān, temporarily subduing the Balūč and other predatory tribes of that province.

Having thus obtained control of all southern Persia, ʿAḍud al-Dawla next sought to displace his cousin Bak͟htiyār as lord of al-ʿIrāḳ. Bak͟htiyār's folly had involved him in a rebellion of his Turkish troops; and in 363/973-4 ʿAḍud al-Dawla persuaded his father, now senior member of the Buwayhid clan, to authorize his leading an expedition to Bak͟htiyār's aid in conjunction with a small force of Rukn al-Dawla's own troops from Rayy. He delayed moving, however, until Bak͟htiyār was on the point of defeat. Then, himself routing the revolted Turks, he entered Bag͟hdād in D͟jumādā I 364/January 975 and two months later frightened Bak͟htiyār into abdicating. For the moment his ambition of acquiring al-ʿIrāḳ for himself was nevertheless disappointed, his father's indignation at his treatment of Bak͟htiyār being so violent as to bring on the illness from which in the next year he died. In the interval, however, by obediently restoring Bak͟htiyār and returning to S͟hīrāz, ʿAḍud al-Dawla succeeded in obtaining confirmation as his father's heir; and since his much younger brothers Fak͟hr al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla swore allegiance to him, on Rukn al-Dawla's death ʿAḍud al-Dawla was able to invade al-ʿIrāḳ a second time without fear of opposition from them in Persia. Bak͟htiyār was prepared for this attack, which he decided to meet at al-Ahwāz, only to be completely defeated (D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 366/July 977). It was not until three months later, however, that he acknowledged ʿAḍud al-Dawla as his overlord. Moreover, on his way to Syria, to which he proposed migrating, he was induced by the Ḥamdānid Abū Tag͟hlib to defy ʿAḍud al-Dawla yet again, with the result that on 12 S͟hawwāl 367/24 May 978 ʿAḍud al-Dawla routed their combined forces at Sāmarrā (Ḳaṣr al-D͟juṣṣ). Bak͟htiyār was caught and killed on the field; and Abū Tag͟hlib in the course of the next twelve months was pursued, deprived of all his hereditary lands, and eventually forced to seek refuge with the Fāṭimids in Syria. The outcome of these operations was that by D͟hu 'l-Ḳa'da 368/June 979, when ʿAḍud al-Dawla returned to Bag͟hdād, he was master, not only of al-ʿIrāḳ, but also of Diyār Rabīʿa, Diyār Bakr, and most of the D͟jazīra.

In expectation of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's second onslaught Bak͟htiyār had sought help not only from Abū Tag͟hlib, but also from ʿImrān b. S͟hāhīn, the ruler of the marshes (al-Baṭīḥa), from the Kurdish chieftain Ḥasanwayh al-Barzikānī, from ʿAḍud al-Dawla's brother Fak͟hr al-Dawla, and from the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wus͟hmgīr. In 369/979, accordingly,

having overcome Abū Taghlib, ʿAḍud al-Dawla determined on ensuring the subservience of all these, sending two expeditions against ʿImrān's son and successor al-Ḥasan, which resulted in the following year in his agreeing to pay tribute, and another against the sons of Ḥasanwayh, who had also died in the interval. On his addressing a letter of admonishment to Fakhr al-Dawla, moreover, the latter replied with such truculence as to prompt ʿAḍud al-Dawla to lead a force in person into the Djibāl against him; on which so many of Fakhr al-Dawla's supportes deserted him that he fled to Ḳazwīn, whence he entered into a compact with Ḳābūs to oppose ʿAḍud al-Dawla with Sāmānid help, and moved to Nishāpūr to obtain it. Whilst on this expedition ʿAḍud al-Dawla fell gravely ill with epilepsy, and though he was able to reduce all the local Ḥasanwayhid fortresses, he was then obliged to return to Baghdād. Finding, however, that, in contrast to Fakhr al-Dawla, his other brother, Muʾayyid al-Dawla, was ready to acknowledge his suzerainty, he first conferred on him the government of Hamadhān and Nihāwand, and in 371/981, after receiving a defiant reply to his approaches from Ḳābūs, secured from the caliph a commission for Muʾayyid al-Dawla to replace Ḳābūs as governor of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān. Muʾayyid al-Dawla in due course drove Ḳābūs from both these provinces; and though Ḳābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla obtained Sāmānid assistance, they failed to dislodge him as long as ʿAḍud al-Dawla and he remained alive.

In the last years of his reign ʿAḍud al-Dawla was involved in negotiations with both the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids. In 369/980 the rebel commander Bardas Sclerus sought refuge in Diyār Bakr and solicited ʿAḍud al-Dawla's support; but on the arrival in Baghdād of an embassy from Constantinople, to which a favourable reply was sent by the hand of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī, ʿAḍud al-Dawla not only refused it but held the rebel and some of his relatives captive for the rest of his reign. In the same year there likewise arrived in the capital an envoy from the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, who had been perturbed at rumours that ʿAḍud al-Dawla intended invading Egypt—a project that he in fact abandoned only because of his preoccupation with the defiance of Fakhr al-Dawla and Ḳābūs, but which, despite ʿAḍud al-Dawla's eventual assurances of his good will, continued up to his death to occasion alarm in Cairo.

ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death occurred in his forty-eighth year on 8 Shawwāl 372/26 March 983 at Baghdād, by which date he had not only united all the territory ever held by princes of his family in a single dominion, but had greatly enlarged it by the various conquests referred to above. He is generally regarded, with justice, as the greatest *amīr* of the Buwayhid dynasty, whose power reached its zenith after his acquisition of al-ʿIrāḳ. He then exacted from the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ, who married his daughter, various privileges not enjoyed by his predecessors in the amirate, namely designation by a second *laḳab*, Tādj al-Milla; the introduction of his name after that of the caliph into the *khuṭba* at the capital; and the beating of drums before the entrance to his palace at the hours of prayer. These distinctions were well deserved. ʿAḍud al-Dawla had been early instructed in the duties of monarchy by his father's *wazīr* Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd; and first in Fārs, and later in the other provinces which he acquired, he not only introduced such security and administrative order as had long been unknown in them, but exerted himself in the construction of public works, of which the most notable were the Band-i Amīr, a barrage across the river Kūr in Fārs, and the hospitals, called ʿAḍudī after him, in Shīrāz and Baghdād. To Baghdād indeed he restored much of its lost prosperity and magnificence. He also built a new mausoleum over the supposed grave of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at Nadjaf, where he himself was buried. For various references to other buildings etc. of his, see in particular the indices to the *Fārs-nāma* of "Ibn al-Balkhī" and al-Maḳdisī and for references to his library at Shīrāz see both al-Maḳdisī, 499 and Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 446. ʿAḍud al-Dawla was a liberal, though exacting, patron of the learned and of poets, including al-Mutanabbī, and himself wrote verse, some of which is quoted by al-Thaʿālibī in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr*. A convincing account of his character, daily life, and methods of government, is supplied by al-Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 39 f.

Bibliography: Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, continued by Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī (text and transl. in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* by Amedroz and Margoliouth), index; Maḳdisī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, indices; ʿUtbī, *Yamīnī*, i, 105-30 (citing the *Tādjī* of Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ); the *Fārs-nāma*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (Amedroz), index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 543 (transl. de Slane, ii, 481 f.); Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, ii, iv, indices; cf. also BUWAYHIDS. (H. BOWEN)

ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN, ABU'L-FARADJ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, of the family of Ibn Muslima [*q.v.*], held the office of *ustād dār* under al-Mustandjid until he had the latter assassinated in the bath and homage paid to al-Mustaḍīʾ (566/1170). He was appointed vizier by the latter, but one year later he was dismissed and shortly afterwards re-established in his office. When ʿAḍud al-Dīn prepared himself for the pilgrimage to Mecca in 573/1178 he was killed by the Ismāʿīlīs. — Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī [*q.v.*] was one of the poets who glorified him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 219 ff.; *Fakhrī* (Ahlwardt), 367 ff.

ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN [see AL-ĪDJĪ].

ADULTERY [see ZINĀʾ].

ADWIYA, pl. of *dawāʾ*, every substance which may affect the constitution of the human body, every drug used as a remedy or a poison. In accordance with Greek ideas, Muslim pharmacologists distinguished between simple drugs, *adwiya mufrada* (φάρμακα ἁπλᾶ) and compound drugs, *adwiya murakkaba* (φ. σύνθετα), [for the latter see AḲRĀBĀDHĪN]. According to their origin, the *adwiya* were divided into vegetable (*nabātiyya*), animal (*ḥayawāniyya*) and mineral (*maʿdiniyya*).

Like medicine in general, Muslim pharmacology depends on Greek learning. An element of Persian tradition is also revealed in the pharmacological nomenclature. In many cases these Persian names of plants and drugs, some of them still in use (see e.g. Ahmed Issa Bey, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes*, Cairo 1930) may date from the time of the celebrated medical school of Djundīsābūr, where Greek science flourished on Persian soil. This learning began to exercise an effective influence on the Muslims in the year 148/765, when the caliph al-Manṣūr summoned to attend him the chief physician of the hospital of Djundīsābūr, Djurdjīs of the family of Bukhtyashūʿ. Greek pharmacological learning was transmitted through Syriac translations of the fundamental works of Dioscorides, Galen, Oribasius and Paul of Aegina.

For the history of the Arabic translation of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, see Diyusḳuridīs. The Dioscoridean idea, clearly expressed by the great Iranian scientist al-Bīrūnī in his pharmacological work cited below, that, theoretically, every plant had some medicinal virtue, whether actually known or not, caused pharmacological writers to include in their works plant descriptions which had a purely botanical interest, derived especially from Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī. There is thus in Muslim tradition no clear difference between *materia medica*, or works on *al-Adwiya al-Mufrada* etc., and botany, *Nabāt* [*q.v.*].

According to the autobibliographical *risāla* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*Uber die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, (Bergsträsser), no. 53), the first five *maḳālāt* of the *Book of Simple Drugs* of Galen were translated into Syriac, rather unsatisfactorily, by Yūsuf al-Khūrī, later on by Ayyūb (Job of Edessa, about A.D. 765-835), and, finally, in an abridged form (?) by Ḥunayn himself, who also made an Arabic translation of the text; of the second part a Syriac translation made by Sergius (Sargīs of Rishʿaynā, d. 536; a MS of the text in Brit. Mus., 1004) was corrected by Ḥunayn and turned into Arabic by his nephew Ḥubaysh. (The *Book of Compound Drugs* also was translated into Syriac by Sergius and Ḥunayn, then into Arabic by Ḥubaysh; Ḥunayn, *op. cit.*, no. 79.)

The *Synopsis* and the *Ad Eunapium* of Oribasius were translated (into Arabic?) by Ḥunayn, who translated also, together with ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā, into Syriac the first tract of the *Collectiones* (= *al-Kunnāsh al-Kabīr* mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 10?). These translations are lost but frequently quoted by later authors.

The *Pragmatia* of Paul of Aegina was highly appreciated by Muslim physicians, who used an (abridged?) translation of its seven books by Ḥunayn (*al-Kunnāsh fi'l-Ṭibb*, *Fihrist*, 293; *Kunnāsh al-Thurayyā*, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 103). Apart from small fragments no manuscript survives in Arabic, but there are frequent quotations in the works of later authors.

According to Bar Hebraeus (*The Chronography*, transl. by E. A. W. Budge, Oxford 1932,57), Ahron the priest wrote his medical pandect in Greek, and his work was translated into Syriac. An Arabic translation was made by Māsardjis (Māsardjawayh). The *Kunnāsh* of Ahrun *al-ḳass* is often quoted by pharmacological writers, and its author had a great reputation as a scholar (Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356, i, 250). Māsardjis/Māsardjawayh (see Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, 1899, 428-34), the first translator of medical works into Arabic, was also the author of two books, one on food and the other on simples (*al-ʿAḳāḳīr*), perhaps identical with the two *maḳālāt* added to his translation of Ahron (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 80).

After the time of Ḥunayn, pharmacology rapidly developed in the Eastern countries of the Muslim world. About a hundred Arabic authors on *materia medica* are mentioned in the bibliographical works of Ibn al-Nadīm, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī. Some thirty are represented by manuscripts in Eastern and Western libraries. Only a few of these works have been studied by Western scholars. For the history of the Greek text of Galen etc. these Arabic texts will certainly prove to be of importance.

In the course of time, many hundreds of names of simple drugs, not known to the Greeks, were incorporated in the body of learning transmitted by the Greeks to their Arab and Persian disciples. (For a preliminary list of such drugs see L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 232-3.) Serious confusion in terminology inevitably followed from the great influx of names of Arabic, Iranian, Greek and Indian names of plants and drugs which were current in theory and practice. In the course of time many works were written with the purpose of determining their true significance and of putting together synonyms. For practical purposes the translation of Dioscorides made in Baghdād was of little use to readers, as long as the Greek names were for the most part only transliterated in Arabic characters. Arabic equivalents were introduced into the text by Spanish scholars in the middle of the 10th century. About the same time the Arab translator of the Syriac *Kunnāshā* of Yuḥannā b. Sarābiyūn (Serapion, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 109) gave Arabic equivalents to the great number of Greek and Syriac names of simples contained in that work (MS Aya Sofiya 3716; P. Guigues, *Les noms arabes dans Sérapion*, *JA*, 1905-6). One of the oldest prose works written in Persian is the *al-Abniya ʿan Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Adwiya* of Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī al-Harawī explaining, in alphabetical order, the Arabic, Persian, Syriac and Greek names of 584 different simples (ed. F. R. Seligmann, Vienna 1859; German transl. by A. C. Achundow, Dorpat 1893).

The most interesting work on pharmacological synonyms written in the East is certainly that of al-Bīrūnī (361-440/972-1048), *al-Ṣaydana fi'l-Ṭibb* (M. Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Beruni*, *Quellen und Studien zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und der Med.*, iii, Berlin 1933; idem, *BIE*, 1940, 133 ff., 157 ff.). Apart from two MSS of a Persian translation, this work has come down to us in a single, mutilated MS in Brusa, representing the author's rough draft of the work, probably written in his old age and never completed by him. In its unfinished condition it contains 720 articles, in the common order of the Arabic alphabet, dealing with vegetable, animal and mineral simples with numerous remarks on their names in Greek, Syrian, Indian, Persian and other Iranian languages, philological notes on the meaning of plant names and their synonyms used in Arabic poetry, and copious quotations from medical and botanical works (many of them quite unknown to us) on the quality and origin of the drug, its substitutes (*abdāl*) etc. This work certainly deserves further study.

Among the numerous works on medicine written in the East and containing also chapters on pharmacology only the most important can be mentioned here. The *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* of ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, written in 235/850 (ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928), quotes the translations of Ḥunayn and his disciples and is of special interest as aiming to introduce also Indian medicine (cf. A. Siggel, in *Abh. der Akad. der Wiss. und Lit.*, Berlin 1950). The large medical encyclopaedia (*al-Ḥāwī*) of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (250-313/864-925) abounds with names of drugs. The corresponding chapter in the immense *al-Ḳānūn fi'l-Ṭibb* of Ibn Sīnā (Būlāḳ 1294) treats of eight hundred remedies. The 10th book of the *Dhakhīra-yi Khʷārizmshāhī* (not yet printed), a medical encyclopaedia written by Zayn al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Djurdjānī in the 6th/12th century, contains a special treatise on the names of drugs and their operation.

In very many cases the descriptions of Dioscorides, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, etc., were certainly inadequate for the recognition of the plant. Thus, in the

absence of technical terminology — a want shared by Muslim as well as ancient science — it was a most valuable device to depict the plants in figures. In ancient time this method was introduced by the "rhizotomist" Crateuas (1st century B.C.), and a part of the synonyms and figures of his herbal passed into the recension of Dioscorides represented by the Juliana Anicia codex of A.D. 512 (in which later hands introduced also Arabic synonyms). It was the gift of an illustrated Dioscorides by the Byzantine Emperor to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in Cordova in the year 948 that inspired a new and most fruitful study of the text in Spain. (For illustrated MSS of Dioscorides see DIYUSḲURIDĪS.) By Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ii, 216-9) we are told that his teacher Rashīd al-Dīn al-Manṣur b. al-Ṣūrī (d. 639/1241) prepared a herbal illustrated with figures depicted from living plants. For the botanical chapter of Ibn Faḍl Allāh, see B. Farès, *Un Herbier arabe illustré du* XIV *siècle, Archeologica Orientalia in Memoriam E. Herzfeld*, 1952, 84 ff.

The Muslim inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula were the inheritors of a country famous in antiquity for its wealth of minerals and plants useful for preparing remedies. At first, pharmacological knowledge in Spain was, however, an import from the Orient, and Western students went to Baghdād for medical studies. A strong impulse to pharmacological studies in Spain was given by the revised text of Dioscorides, and from the end of the 10th century on there was no lack of contributions to the knowledge of simples. (See M. Meyerhof, *Esquisse d'histoire de la pharmacologie et botanique chez les Musulmans d'Espagne, And.*, 1935, 1-41.) The first to write books on simples in Spain were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāḳ b. Haytham and Sulaymān b. Ḥassān, known as Ibn Djuldjul, both of whom joined the monk Nicolas and the other physicians and botanists who worked on the text of Dioscorides. Ibn Djuldjul wrote a work on those simples which are not mentioned by Dioscorides (MS Oxford, Hyde 34, fol. 197-201). The great medical encyclopaedia *al-Taṣrīf* by Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (d. about 400/1009) contains in its 27th book a treatise on the simples, their synonyms and substitutes. About the life of Abū Bakr Ḥāmid b. Samadjūn very little is known except that he was a prominent physician in the days of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002). His famous *Book of Sayings of Ancient and Modern Physicians and Philosophers about the Simple Drugs* has recently come to light (cf. P. Kahle, *Ibn Samağūn und sein Drogenbuch, Documenta islamica inedita*, Berlin 1952, 25 ff.).

The most comprehensive textbook on simples (and botany) produced in Spain was written by al-Ghāfiḳī, probably in the first half of the 6th/12th century. The first vol. exists in two illustrated MSS (see M. Meyerhof, in *BIE*, 1941, 13 ff; the whole work was discovered in Tripolitania). An abridged version was made by the Christian Abu'l-Faradj b. al-ʿIbrī, commonly called Barhebraeus (ed. M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, Cairo 1932-8, not completed). The method and arrangement of materials followed by Ibn Samadjūn and al-Ghāfiḳī was the model also of al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1166). In his *Book of Simple Drugs* (the first half of the work in MS Fātiḥ 3610, Istanbul) he contributes a vast material of synonyms in many languages (see M. Meyerhof in *Archiv für Gesch. der Math., der Naturwiss. und der Technik*, 1930, 45 ff., 225 ff.; idem, in *BIE*, 1941, 89 ff.). For Ibn Rushd's pharmacological chapter see the photographic reproduction of Book iv of *al-Kulliyyāt* by A. al-Bustānī, Tangier 1939.

In a vast encyclopaedia, *al-Djāmiʿ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa'l-Aghdhiya* (bad edition of the Arabic text, Būlāḳ 1291); French transl. by L. Leclerc, *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxx, 1877-93), Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) put together all information available to him, quoting about 150 previous authors from Dioscorides to his own teacher, Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī, whose *Riḥla*, or "Botanical Journey", he often quotes. Most of these works Ibn al-Bayṭār certainly knew from secondary sources, al-Ghafiḳī above all. In 2324 articles the *Djāmiʿ* treats of about 1400 different drugs and plants, 400 of which were not known to the Greeks.

To these works, written in the West, containing descriptions of the drugs and directions for their use, may be added also a number of others, containing lists of synonyms written in order to explain the meaning of the different names given to simples and drugs. Such are e.g. the *Sharḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿUḳḳār* of the famous Jewish theologian, philosopher and physician Mūsā b. Maymūn (Maimonides, A.D. 1135-1204), ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, and the anonymous *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, ed. H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, Rabat 1934, treating especially of the names current in Morocco and written probably in the 18th century.

Bibliography: M. Meyerhof, in the introduction to Maimonides, *Sharḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿUḳḳār*; for a list of drugs, M. Steinschneider, *Heilmittelnamen der Araber, WZKM*, xi (2043 items). (B. LEWIN)

AFʿĀ means not only the viper, as it is commonly assumed, but also other similar kinds of snakes (Nöldeke, in Wiedemann, 271). The descriptions, however, which are given in Arabic zoological works (spotted or speckled, broad head, slender neck, short tail, sometimes furnished with two horns, etc.) fit well with specific kinds of vipers (*echis carinatus, echis coloratus, aspis cerastes cerastes*). Most sources state that *afʿā* denotes the female, whereas the male is called *ufʿuwān*. The first term, however, is always employed in a generic sense. Corresponding forms in Hebrew and Ethiopian suggest that the word belongs to the oldest stock of the Semitic languages.

The *afʿā* is often mentioned in Arabic literature, from ancient poetry, proverbs and *ḥadīth* down to those later works in which zoology and zoological items are treated systematically. In ancient poetry it is represented as the emblem of the mortal enemy, of one who seeks revenge for murder. Its noxiousness is illustrated by the proverb: "He who has been stung by an *afʿā* is afraid to take hold of a rope". Rich information is offered by al-Djāḥiẓ. The *afʿā* had a market value since theriac was prepared from it. Certain people made a living from this trade importing the *afʿā* chiefly from Sidjistān. In al-Djāḥiẓ's time thirty *afʿā* sold for two *dīnārs*. With certain Bedouins the *afʿā* served as food, and this habit was satirically alluded to by some poets.

A good deal of the information on the *afʿā* is fabulous: e.g., that it lives to an age of a thousand years, that it becomes blind and recovers its sight by rubbing its eyes on the fennel-plant (*rāziyānadj*). Among the correct accounts is the statement that the *afʿā* is viviparous, in contrast, i.e., to most other species of its genus.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 160. 174, 192; Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar, i, 56-8); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, i, 44; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*,

Būlāḳ 1291, i, 46-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 79, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104 (transl. Kopf, 54, 72, 74, 75, 77, 80); Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 428-9; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 107-8; A. Malouf, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, x, 133 ff.; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss.*, liii, 249-50. (L. KOPF)

AFĀMIYA, or FĀMIYA, the Seleucid city of Apamea on the right bank of the Orontes (ʿĀṣī), at its northward bend 25 m. N.W. of Ḥamāt. During the Syrian campaign of the Sāsānid Khusraw I (540) it was captured and laid waste. After the Arab conquest of Syria it was colonized by tribesmen of ʿUdhra and Bahrāʾ. It regained importance as a fortified outpost of Aleppo only in the Ḥamdānid period and during the early Crusades. After the disintegration of the Saldjūḳ power in Syria, Afāmiya was occupied by the Arab Khalaf b. Mulāʿib in the Fāṭimid interest in 489/1096. On his murder by Assassins, it was captured by Tancred in 500/1106, and became the seat of a Latin archbishopric. It was recaptured by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd on 18 Rabīʿ i, 544/26 July, 1149, after his victory at Inab, but its fortifications were destroyed in the great earthquake of 552/1157. The ruins of the old city still exist, flanked on the west by the later citadel, now named *Ḳalʿat al-Muḍīḳ* (for *al-Maḍīḳ*, i.e. the shallows or ford).

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān* 324; Yāḳūt, i, 322-3; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, index; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, i, ii, Damascus 1951-4, index; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 98 (wrong year); E. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935, index; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades* Paris 1940, index; J. Richard, *Notes sur l'archidiocèse d'Apamée* in *Syria*, xxv, 103-8; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 71-82; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 196-9. See also, for the Lake (*buḥayra*) of Afāmiya and the régime of the Orontes in its vicinity, Ḳalḳashandī in G. Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 17, 22-2; and J. Weulersse, *L'Oronte, étude de fleuve*, Tours 1940. (H. A. R. GIBB)

ʿAFĀR [see DANḲALĪ].

AL-**AFḌAL** B. ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, in full AL-MALIK AL-AFḌAL ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ NŪR AL-DĪN, the eldest son of Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, [*q.v.*]), b. 565/1169-70, d. at Sumaysāṭ 622/1225. On Saladin's death he was recognized as ruler of Damascus and head of the Ayyūbid family, but owing to his incapacity and self-indulgence he lost successively Damascus, Egypt, and all his Syrian fiefs, and ended as a dependent of the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm. See AYYŪBIDS.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 459; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, 145; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vi, index; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, index. (H. A. R. GIBB)

AL-**AFḌAL**, Rasūlid ruler [see RASŪLIDS].

AL-**AFḌAL** B. **BADR** AL-**DJAMĀLĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM SHĀHANSHĀH, Fāṭimid vizier, commonly known in history by his vizierial title. His birth is placed about 458/1066, and it is known from an inscription of 482/1089 that he was associated with his father in the vizierate. On the death of Badr, the aged caliph al-Mustanṣir was forced by the army to accept al-Afḍal as his chief minister, and himself died a few months later.

The accession of the caliph al-Mustaʿlī assumed a capital importance by its indirect repercussions. While al-Mustanṣir was still alive, but of great age, the problem of his successor had been debated, and an Ismaʿīlī missionary from Persia, Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, had concluded in favour of Nizār, one of the caliph's sons. Al-Afḍal, being the vizier in office, raised to the throne a younger son of al-Mustanṣir, Aḥmad, who was given the title of al-Mustaʿlī. The dispossessed heir, Nizār, who had fled to Alexandria to raise an army, was seized and immured in a dungeon. Some persons, however, believed that he succeeded in escaping, and he was recognized as Imām by Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, who founded the formidable sect of the Assassins. The coinage of the latter bore for some time the name of Nizār, and their partisans in Egypt were called Nizārīs. Al-Afḍal had not foreseen these consequences, and his attitude had been dictated by considerations of personal ambition, which induced him to place on the throne a young man who would be submissive to his will.

Badr al-Djamālī, who had saved Egypt from disaster, had set up a dictatorial regime, and al-Afḍal now followed in his footsteps, confining the caliph al-Mustaʿlī, who was about twenty years of age on his accession, to his palace. Al-Mustaʿlī reigned for less than eight years (487/1094-495/1101), and some historians have suggested that he may have been poisoned by Nizārīs. Al-Afḍal then placed on the throne a son of al-Mustaʿlī, a child five years old, who was given the title of al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, and the all-powerful minister went on to govern without interference. But as the caliph grew up he became restive under his vizier's tutelage, and succeeded in hiring the services of assassins who rid him of al-Afḍal in 515/1121. The latter had held the office of chief minister for twenty-seven years, marked by an internal tranquillity which is the more impressive by contrast with the unprecedented disorders of the following years.

Al-Afḍal's dictatorial power justifies the laying at his door of the responsibility for the Egyptian negligence in face of the invasion of Palestine by the Crusaders. The Fāṭimid government may be partially exonerated if its unpopularity outside the borders of Egypt is taken into account. It has certain actions to its credit: some fortresses were restored (we have epigraphic evidence at least for the port of Sidon in 491/1098); in the previous year the Fāṭimid army had regained Tyre from a disloyal governor; finally, Jerusalem was forcibly captured in 491/1098 from the Artuḳid officers who had established themselves in it. The Egyptians were not unaware that Jerusalem was the essential aim of the Crusaders, and it cannot be believed that they captured it in order to hand it over to the Franks. Ambassadors from Egypt had in fact appeared in 490/1097 in the Crusaders' camp before Antioch, and the latter in turn sent envoys to Cairo, possibly to negotiate an agreement. As a matter of fact, northern Syria was occupied by princes of Sunnī obedience; the Fāṭimids had no desire to interfere with them, and the Saldjūḳids would have viewed their intervention with bad grace. In the absence of precise documents we are reduced to putting forward these hypotheses.

Nevertheless, the inaction, or at least the lack of vigour, of the Egyptian troops cannot be ignored. They did not move to the defence of Jerusalem. Its fall was deeply felt, and al-Afḍal led an army corps to a position north of Ascalon; there, however, he

held them immobile, while he waited for reinforcements which were expected to arrive by sea and for the concentration of his bedoiun contingents from Palestine. The Franks took the offensive and massacred the Egyptian army; al-Afḍal fled to the protection of Ascalon and hastily returned to Cairo. The year 494/1101 witnessed the Frankish occupation of Palestine, whose population sought refuge in Egypt. The vizier continued, in the following and later years, to show a certain activity against the Crusaders, but in fact the expeditions scarcely went beyond the outskirts of Ascalon and never gained more than booty and prisoners. The main ports of Syria were at the time in the hands of overlords, who sported Sunnī or Shīʿī colours according to the interest of the moment. One of the more important raids, led by a son of al-Afḍal, succeeded in taking Ramla. In 497/1103 ʿAkkā (Acre) fell, surrendered by its Fāṭimid commandant because of lack of support. The stubborn resistance of the autonomous prince of Tripoli induced al-Afḍal to send a naval squadron, which arrived too late. In 512/1118 the Frankish threat redoubled when the town of Faramā was burnt down—an episode which became famous because of the accidental death of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, who led the expedition. During this lamentable period the Muslim princes were full of mutual suspicion, but al-Afḍal had solicited, and obtained, the cooperation of the Būrids of Damascus.

Clearly, a very bad impression is made by the luxury which surrounded the caliph al-Āmir and his vizier; ceremonies and feasts seemed to multiply in direct ratio with the number of cities that fell into the hands of the Franks. Whatever responsibility rests on the government of Egypt for this indifference cannot be placed on the caliph, still a mere child, but on his all-powerful minister, who was given over to frivolous heedlessness. There is in particular a striking contrast between the kind of edifices built by Badr—of which only the wall and the monumental gates of Cairo need be mentioned here — and those erected by his son al-Afḍal. The latter was concerned with his own wellbeing, and multiplied pleasure-pavilions in Fusṭāṭ and Cairo. On his death, the caliph al-Āmir appropriated the minister's property; it required no less than two months to transfer the precious objects, jewels and silks. On the credit side, however, the historians record al-Afḍal's financial readjustments, which notably increased the revenues of the State.

For al-Afḍal's son, surnamed Kutayfāt, see the following article.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muyassar (Massé), 30-43, 56-60; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-Wizāra*, Cairo 1924, 57-61; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (Amedroz), 128-204 passim; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper), ii (ed. Cairo, v, 142-222); Ibn Khallikān, no. 285; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 356 ff., 423; ii, 290; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Mediaeval Egypt*, 161 sqq.; G. Wiet, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, iv, 255-67; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Insc. Arab.*, ii (*MIFAO* lii) (contains a very full bibliography); *History of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, 95-97.

(G. WIET)

AL-AFḌAL, ABŪ ʿALĪ AḤMAD, surnamed **KUTAYFĀT**, son of the preceding. After the death of the caliph al-Āmir (12 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 524/17 Oct. 1130), the power was assumed by two favourites of the late caliph, Hazārmard and Barghash, who put forward al-Āmir's cousin ʿAbd al-Madjīd as temporary regent. Four days later the army raised Kutayfāt (who assumed the title of al-Afḍal) to the vizierate. Shortly afterwards the vizier declared the Fāṭimid dynasty deposed, and the empire was placed under the sovereignty of the Expected Imām of the Twelver-Shīʿa; ʿAbd al-Madjīd was removed from the regency and placed in custody, and Kutayfāt ruled as a dictator. We have coins of 525 bearing the name of "The Imām Muḥammad Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Muntaẓir li-Amr Allāh"; others of 526, with the inscription *al-Imām al-Mahdī al-ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh ḥudjdjat Allāh ʿala 'l-ālamīn*, give greater prominence to the vizier: "al-Afḍal Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, his representative (*nāʾib*) and lieutenant (*khalīfa*)". Although this implied the abolition of Ismāʿīlism as the state religion of Egypt, Kutayfāt did not propose to outlaw it, and even showed it a certain consideration; in the college of *ḳāḍīs* appointed by him there sat an Ismāʿīlī in addition to a Ḥanafī, a Shāfiʿī and an Imāmī. The Ismāʿīlī elements evidently did not relish the idea of being relegated to the status of a disestablished religious sect. Kutayfāt was killed while riding outside the city, and ʿAbd al-Madjīd was brought out of his prison (16 Muḥarram 526/ 8 Dec. 1131). The event was commemorated annually, right to the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 357, 490). ʿAbd al-Madjīd first ruled as regent, but after a brief interval was proclaimed caliph under the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muyassar (Massé), 74-5; Rūḥī (MS. Oxford 865), art. "al-Ḥāfiẓ"; Ibn al-Athīr, s.a. 524, 526; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper) ii, 328-9, iii, 1 ff. (ed. Cairo, v, 237-40); G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Insc. Arab.*, ii (*MIFAO*, lii, 1930), 85 ff.; S. M. Stern, *The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir*, *Oriens* 1951, 193 ff. (with full numismatic references). (S. M. STERN)

AL-AFGHĀNĪ [see DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ].

AFGHĀN.

(i) The people; (ii) The Pashto language; (iii) Pashto literature.

(i) THE PEOPLE.

Racially, there is a considerable difference between the various Afghān tribes. According to B. S. Guha, *Census of India*, 1931, i, iii A, p. xi, the Paṭhāns of Bādjawṛ are closely related to the Kalashes of Čitrāl, probably because they are to a large extent afghānized Dards. On the other hand the broad-headed Paṭhāns of Balūčistān resemble their Balūč neighbours. In the plains of Peshāwar and the Dēradjāts there is some admixture of Indian blood, and among some tribes we find traces of Turko-Mongolian influence. But in general it may be said that the Afghāns belong to the Irano-Afghān branch of the dolichocephalic Mediterranean race. According to Coon, *Races of Europe*, 419, the skull index is 72-75, and the average height 170 cm. (Frontier Paṭhāns), and 163 cm. (Afghāns of Afghānistān). The nose is prominent, frequently convex, of the so-called "Semitic" type. Similar noses are found also among Balūčes, Kashmīris, etc. "The Afghāns are usually brunets, but at the same time show a persistent minority of blondism, which in this case reflects Nordic admixture. They are heavy-bearded" (Coon, 420).

A distinction is sometimes made between Afghān and Paṭhān, the former name being applied to the Durrānī and allied tribes. But the difference is probably only one of nomenclature, the Persian designation Afghān (of unknown etymology) being naturally applied chiefly to the western tribes,

while Paṭhān, the indianized form of the native name is used about the eastern ones.

The native name, employed by all tribes, is Pas̲h̲tūn, or Pəs̲h̲tūn (north-eastern dialect Pak̲h̲tūn), pl. Pa/əs̲h̲tānə. Lassen and others after him, compared Pas̲h̲tūn to the Πάκτυες of Herodotus, and the name of the Afrīdīs has been identified with that of the 'Απαρύται. This latter identification is possible, if by no means certain. The first one, however, must be rejected, for phonetic and other reasons. (The ending *-ūn* goes back to *-āna*, and the ancient sound-group which has resulted in Pashto *s̲h̲t* (*k̲h̲t* is a later dialect form), could scarcely have been rendered by Greek κτ.) More probable is the connection first suggested by Marquart, with Ptolemy's Παρσυῆται, a tribe inhabiting the Paropamisus. Psht. *s̲h̲t* can go back to ancient *rs* (see Morgenstierne, "*Pashto*", "*Pathan*", *etc.*, *AO*, 1940, 138 ff.), and the probable ancient form was **Parsw-āna*, derived from **Parsu*, cf. Assyrian-Babylonian *Parsu(a)* Persian. This does not imply any specially close relationship between the two Iranian tribes in question. (Cf. also Pus̲h̲t, Puk̲h̲t, the name of the supposed seat of the Afg̲h̲ān tribes in the Wazīrī country.)—*Pas̲h̲to* (*Pak̲h̲to*) the native name of the Afg̲h̲ān language, probably goes back to a fem. adjective **Parsawā* (sc. language).

The Afg̲h̲āns are called *Kās̲h̲* by the Ōrmuṛs of Logar, and the Wazīrīs *Kəsī* (pl.) by the Ōrmuṛs of Kānigurām. The origin of this word is unknown, but it is connected with Kāsī, the name of an Afg̲h̲ān tribe near Quetta (Masson, *Travels*, i, 330) and with the Pas̲h̲to name of the Sulaymān Mountains: (da) Kase G̲h̲ar.

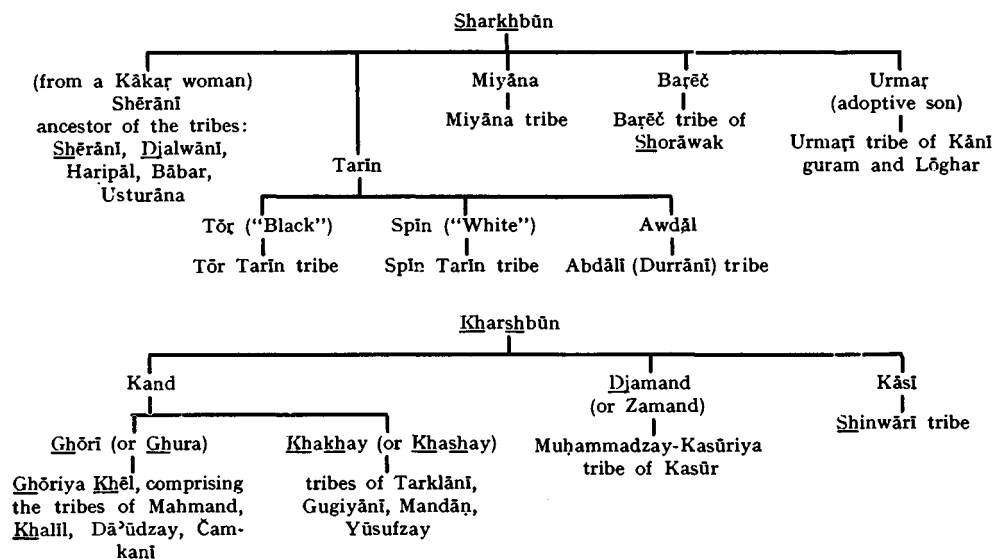
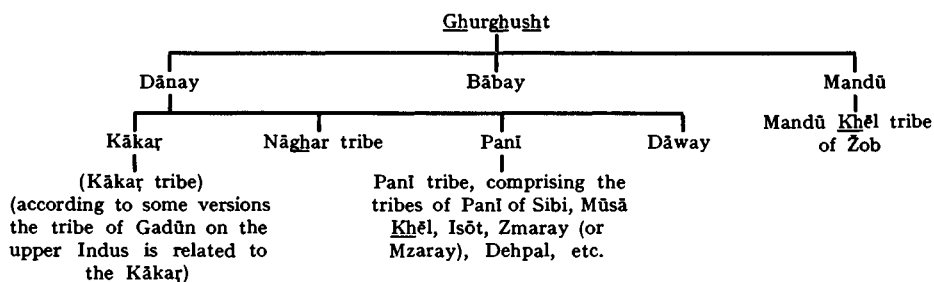
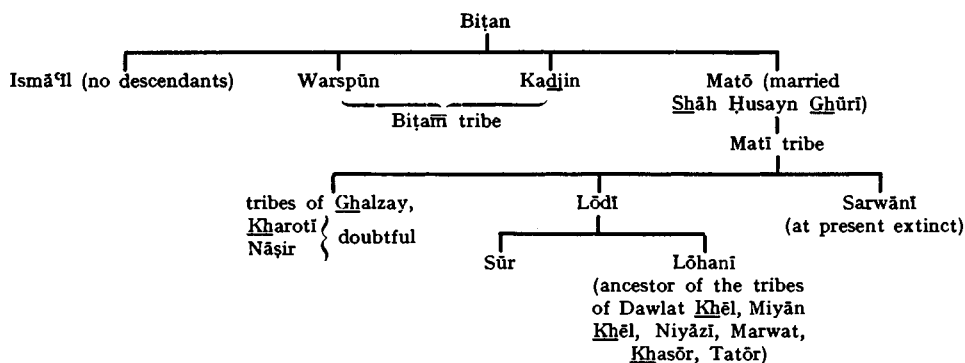
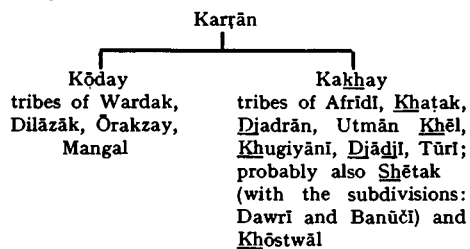
The word *Pas̲h̲to* is used also as a synonym of *Pas̲h̲tūnwalī*, etc., the special social code of the Afg̲h̲āns, the main pillars of which are: *nanawātai*, right of asylum, *badal*, revenge by retaliation, vendetta, *mēlmastyā*, hospitality. The causes of feuds leading to *badal* are said to be "women, gold and land" (*zan*, *zar*, *zamīn*). Among most tribes the organization is democratic, the hereditary *k̲h̲ān* having restricted power. More important matters are settled in consultation with the chiefs of the sub-tribes and clans, and the tribal or village council (*d̲j̲irga*) plays an important rôle. But the semi-independence of many tribes has become constantly more curtailed as well in Afg̲h̲ānistān as in India (Pakistan). Afg̲h̲ān or non-Afg̲h̲ān clients (*hamsāyas*) are attached to, and living under the protection of most tribes.—The ancient custom of periodical redistribution of land (*wēs̲h̲*) is now dying out in most places.—Even while politically disunited, and fighting amongst themselves, the Afg̲h̲ān tribes had a feeling of some kind of unity, based upon their sharing language, customs and traditions. On the other hand, each tribe is split up into sub-tribes, septs and clans. The names of such sections are often formed with the word *k̲h̲ēl*, or with the suffix *-zay*, but in some cases *-zay* denotes a whole tribe.

The Afg̲h̲āns are first referred to (in the form Avagāṇa) by the Indian astronomer Varāha Mihira (early 6th cent.) in his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. A little later is the probable reference to them in the Life of Hiuen-Tsang, which mentions a tribe A-p'o-kien (*Avagan?) located in the northern part of the Sulaymān Mountains (see A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, ii, Paris 1947, 235, 252 note 17). The earliest Muslim work mentioning them is the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372/982), followed by al-ʿUtbī's *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Yamīnī*, and al-Bīrūnī. The name Paṭhān does not occur till the 16th century, but the change of *s̲h̲t* to *ṭh* shows that it must have been borrowed into Indo-Aryan at a considerably earlier date.—According to al-ʿUtbī, Cairo 1286, ii, 84, Maḥmūd of G̲h̲aznī attacked Ṭuk̲h̲āristān with an army consisting of Indians, K̲h̲alad̲j̲, Afg̲h̲āns and G̲h̲aznawīs, but on another occasion he attacked and punished the Afg̲h̲āns, and this is corroborated by Bayhaḳī who wrote shortly afterwards. Al-Bīrūnī mentions the various tribes of Afg̲h̲āns as living in the western frontier-mountains of India (*India*, transl. Sachau, i, 1, 208, cf. 199). This points to the Sulaymān Mountains as the earliest known home of the Afg̲h̲āns. It is uncertain how far they extended towards the West, but no Afg̲h̲ān settlement west of G̲h̲aznī is mentioned by early authors. There is no evidence for assuming that the inhabitants of G̲h̲ūr were originally Pas̲h̲to-speaking (cf. Dames, in EI[1]). If we are to believe the *Pəṭa K̲h̲azāna* (see below, iii), the legendary Amīr Karōṛ, grandson of S̲h̲anasb, (8th century) was a Pas̲h̲to poet, but this for various reasons is very improbable. The origin and early history of the westernmost Afg̲h̲ān tribe, the Durrānīs (Abdālis) [*q.v.*], is quite obscure.—Regarding the G̲h̲alzays [*q.v.*] it seems possible that their name is based upon a popular etymology ("Thief's Son") of the Turkish tribal name K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī, K̲h̲alad̲j̲, located by al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī on the middle course of the Hilmand and by the *Ḥudūd* in the region of G̲h̲aznī [see KHALADJ]. But the G̲h̲alzays themselves may have been partly, perhaps predominantly, of Afg̲h̲ān origin. At any rate the Afg̲h̲āns do not appear to have acquired any political significance during the G̲h̲aznawī period. Some early references which follow were noted by M. Longworth Dames (*EI*[1]) and have been supplemented by P. Hardy. In 431/1039-40 Masʿūd sent his son Īzadyār into the hill country near G̲h̲azna to subdue the rebel Afg̲h̲āns (Gardīzī, ed. M. Nazim, 109). In 512/1118-9 an army composed of Arabs, *ʿad̲j̲am*, Afg̲h̲āns and K̲h̲alad̲j̲ was assembled by Arslān S̲h̲āh. In 547/1152-3, Alfī says, Bahrām S̲h̲āh assembled an army of Afg̲h̲āns and K̲h̲alad̲j̲. With the rise of G̲h̲ūrī power, the same state of things continues. In 588/1192 according to Firis̲h̲ta, Bombay 1831, 100 f., the army assembled by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām consisted of Turks, Tād̲j̲īks and Afg̲h̲āns, and his Indian opponent Pithoray (Prithwī Rād̲j̲) assembled a force of Rād̲j̲pūt and Afg̲h̲ān horsemen. Thus in this great war between Muslims and Hindus Afg̲h̲āns are represented as fighting on both sides, which probably indicates that they were not yet completely converted to Islam, although the manufactured legends represent them as having been converted from the days of K̲h̲ālid. It is not clear whence Firis̲h̲ta obtained his statement. It does not appear in the account of this war given by Minhād̲j̲-i Sirād̲j̲ in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*. This author does not mention the Afg̲h̲āns throughout his account of the G̲h̲aznawī and G̲h̲ūrī kings. His first and only mention of them is in his own time in the year 658/1260 in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He there says (transl. Raverty, 852) that Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān employed 3000 brave Afg̲h̲āns in subduing the hill-tribes of Mēwāt in Rād̲j̲pūtāna. According to D̲j̲uwaynī, i, 142, K̲h̲alad̲j̲, G̲h̲aznawīs and Afg̲h̲āns formed part of the Mongol army which sacked Marw in 619. During the next two centuries we find occasional mention of Afg̲h̲āns in Indian history. For instance Baranī says in the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, 57, that Balban in 664/1265 established small forts in the neighbourhood of Gopālpur and entrusted

them to Afghāns; three other towns, particularly afflicted by robbers, were also given the protection of forts entrusted to Afghāns. According to the same author (p. 482) in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughlaḳ there was a rebellion at Multān of a body of Afghāns headed by Multān Mall (this name means in the Multānī dialect "the champion of Multān" and is probably not the proper name of an Afghān). Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, Calcutta 1931, 106, says that this revolt was in 744/1343. Again Makh Afghān was one of the foreign *amīrs* who rebelled at Dēogīr. In 778/1376-7 the fief of Bihār was given to Malik Bīr Afghān (*Taʾrīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 133). Tīmūr found them still hill robbers and in the *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, the *Ẓafar-nāma* and the *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn* it is related that he ravaged the country of the Awghānī (or Aghānī) who inhabited the Sulaymān Mountains. Thus except as occasional soldiers of fortune they remained a fierce race of mountain robbers until the rise to power in India of one of these adventurers made them famous. This leader was Dawlat Khān Lōdī of the Lōdī clan of Ghalzays; he rose to be one of the most important persons in the empire. Bahlūl Lōdī occupied the throne of Delhi in 855/1450 [see LŌDĪ]. The dynasty was overthrown by Bābur in 932/1525, but for a short time (944-63/1537-55) Shīr Shāh Sūr reinstalled the Afghāns in power [see SŪR] and a large number of Ghalzays and other Paṭhāns settled in India. At a later date Awrangzīb made grants of land to Paṭhāns of various tribes in Rohilkhand [*q.v.*; see also RĀMPUR] (Bareilly division, etc.), so called from Pashto *rohēla* (Rohilla), "hill-man", "Paṭhān". At the court of the Nawāb of Rāmpur some Paṭhān traditions were still alive at the time of Darmesteter's visit in 1886. But gradually the Afghān settlers in India were assimilated, except in the extreme North-West.

The immigration into India was part of the great expansion of Afghān tribes during the late Middle Ages. This expansion was on such a scale that it is difficult to believe with Dames (*EI*[1]) that the Afghāns were still at a period as late as that of the Ghūrid dynasty only an unimportant hill-tribe inhabiting a restricted area.—The Lohānīs were expelled from the Ghaznī mountains by the Sulaymān Khēl Ghalzays, who also pressed the Biṭanīs eastward through the Gōmal Pass in the 15th cent. A century or two earlier the Khaṭaks [*q.v.*] and Bangashes had started their movement towards their present homes in Kohāṭ, and Yūsufzays and allied tribes had, according to tradition, left the Tarnak and Arghasān for Kābul in the 12th cent. Later on they were expelled from Kābul and reached the Peshāwar plain during the 14th cent., pushing back the Dilāzāks, who perhaps represented an earlier wave of Afghāns, and penetrating into the mountain valleys to the North of Peshāwar [cf. YŪSUFZAY]. The Ghōriya Khēls (Mahmands, etc.), followed in their wake early in the 15th century. Some tribes crossed the Indus into the Pandjāb.

A first attempt to rally the Paṭhān tribes on the Frontier to a common fight for independence from the Mughals was made by the warrior-poet Khushḥāl Khān Khaṭak in the latter part of the 17th century. But a national Afghān state first came into being under the leadership of the Ghalzay chief Mīr Ways, and, more permanently, under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in the 18th century [see AFGHĀNISTĀN, History].

The main outlines of the tribal traditions of the Afghāns are mentioned by Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*; slightly different versions are given in Sulaymān Mākū's *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ* (allegedly of the 13th century) and in the *Pəṭa Khazāna* (cf. about these below, iii). Our main source for the tribal traditions is Niʿmat Allāh's *Makhzan-i Afghānī* (completed A.D. 1613). The genealogies given there and copied in later works such as the *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*, cannot be relied upon as historical sources, but are valuable as a testimony to the traditions current among the Afghāns in the 17th century. According to this tradition the common ancestor of the majority of the Afghān tribes was Ḳays ʿAbd al-Rashīd who was converted to Islam by Khālid and descended from Afghāna, a grandson of King Ṭālūt or Sārūl (Saul). Ḳays had three sons: Sarban, Baṭan (Biṭan) and Ghurghusht. Sarban had two sons: Sharkhbūn and Kharshbūn. The further ramifications may be tabulated as follows:

Most of the remaining tribes are said to be descended from Karṛān (or Kaṛlān), of doubtful ancestry.

According to some traditions also the Bangash (Bangakh) and Wazīrīs are descended from Kakhay; according to other, the Wazīrī and the Dawr tribes are not attached to any of these genealogies.

Certain clans claim to be *sayyids* by descent; such are to be found among the Sherāni, Kākaṛ, Karṛānī, Dāway, Tarīn, Miyāna and Biṭanī. The same descent is claimed by the tribes of Gandāpur and Ustarāna; these were originally subdivisions of the Shērānī. The Bangash claim to be of Ḳurayshite descent.

In the ***Makhzan-i Afghānī*** all these tribes are expressly acknowledged as Afghāns, with the exception of the Bangash, Wazīrī and those Karṛānī which belong to the Kakhay division (Afrīdī, etc.). The last seem to have remained unknown to him.

It is of interest to note that all the Pashto dialects which change the long vowels (*ā* > *ō*, etc., see below ii) belong to the Karṛānī group or to the Wazīrīs.—The extreme complexity of the tribal system may be exemplified by the ramifications of the Yūsufzays. One of their five sub-tribes, the Akōzays, are divided into Rānīzays and other sections. One of the five Rānīzay clans is in its turn divided into Ghaybī Khēl and three other clans. And one of the two Ghaybī clans are the Nūr Muḥammad Khēls, divided into Gharīb Kh. and Dwar Kh.—It may also be noted that the name Tōrmān, one of the ancestors of the Khaṭaks, is probably identical with that of Toramāṇa, a Hūṇa king of India, and also a member of the Shāhī dynasty. This does not imply any historical connection between the legendary Afghān and these princes, but only a survival of the name in local traditions.

Geographical distribution of the Afghān tribes. Durrānīs [*q.v.*] in the lower river valleys from Sabzawār and Zamīn-dāwar to south-cast of Ḳandahār and Čaman. Among the sections are the Pōpalzays (including the royal clan, the Sadōzays) and the Bārakzays.—Next to the Durrānīs, the Ghalzays [*q.v.*] are the most powerful tribe, and were for a long time their rivals. They occupy the country between Kalāt-i Ghilzay and Djalālābād. The Hōtaks were formerly the leading clan. The most important section is now the Sulaymān Khēl from whom are recruited the Pōwindas, nomads moving in autumn down through the Gōmal and Tōčī passes to the banks of the Indus, and returning in spring to Afghānistān. The Kharōtīs are related to the Ghalzays.—Kākaṛs and Tarīns inhabit the Pishin and Žōb districts in Balūčistān. The Panīs of Sibi are their neighbours.—North-west of Žōb, around the Takht-i Sulaymān, we find the Shērānīs.—The Wazīrs [*q.v.*] (divided into Darwēsh Khēl and Maḥsūd) live in the mountains between the Gōmal and the Kurram on both sides of the frontier. In the foothills to the East we find the Biṭanīs and Lōhānīs, and in the plains south of the lower Kurram the Marwats. The Tōčī valley is inhabited by the Dawrīs and Banūčīs.—The Khaṭaks occupy the plains of Kōhāṭ and extend right up to Attock. In the upper Kurram valley live the Bangash, the Shī'a Tūrīs and other tribes, and on the Afghān side of the frontier the Djādjīs, with their neighbours the Mangals and Khostwāls.—North of the Bangash are the Ōrakzay (with some Shī'a clans), and in Tirāh, the Khaybar and Kōhāṭ passes the Afrīdīs [*q.v.*], with Shinwārīs to the north of them, on both sides of the frontier.—The Mahmand [*q.v.*] occupy a large tract of land north of the Kābul river in

Afghānistān and in the Peshāwar district. Related to them are the Khalīls in Peshāwar.—East of the Mahmands are the Yūsufzays [*q.v.*] and allied tribes (Mandāṇ), etc., in Peshāwar and in the mountains to the North (Bunēr, Swāt, Dīr, etc.), where they are pushing back and assimilating the Dardic population.—The so-called Swātīs are a mixed lot, driven by the Yūsufzays across the Indus into the Hazārā district.—In the Kunaṛ valley and in other places in N.E. Afghānistān we find the Sāfīs.—In recent times many Pashto speaking Afghāns have settled, or have been settled, in various places north of the Hindū-kush and in the Harāt region.

Bibliography: see the works of Muḥammad Ḥayāt, Bellew, Raverty, quoted in the Bibliography to AFGHĀNISTĀN, section ii; the work of Elphinstone, quoted in that to AFGHĀNISTĀN, section i; H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of Tribes and Casts of the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province*, Lahore 1911-9, especially s.v. Pathán; H. C. Willy, *From the Black Mountain to Waziristan*, London 1912 (on the Paṭhān frontier tribes).

(ii) THE PASHTO LANGUAGE.

Pashto is spoken in south-eastern Afghanistān from north of Djalālābād to Ḳandahār, and from there westwards to Sabzawār. (The Kābul area is mainly Persian-speaking, and so is Ghaznī.) Pashto is also spoken by settlers in northern and western Afghānistān. In Pakistan Pashto is used by the majority of the inhabitants of the N.W. Frontier Province from Dīr and Swāt southwards, in some localities in the Pandjāb, and in Balūčistān as far south as Quetta, probably in all by over 4 million people.

Pashto is in its origin and structure an Iranian language, although it has borrowed freely from Indo-Aryan. It shares all the common Iranian sound-changes. It sides with the other Eastern Ir. languages e.g. in having fricatives corresponding to W.Ir. initial *b*-, *d*-, *g*-., and in the sonorization of intervocalic -*sh*-. In its origin it is probably a "Saka" dialect, introduced from the North, but it is not possible to define its relationship more closely. Note ***dr***- < ****thr***, as in Khotanese, and *l*- < *dh*- as in Mundjī (but also in other E.Ir. languages). Various sound-changes, especially assimilations and reductions of consonant groups, have radically altered the form of most words of Iranian origin, as will appear from the comparison between some Pashto words and their Persian etymological equivalents: ***drē*** 3 : ***sih***; ***tsal(w)ōr*** 4 : ***čahār***; ***shpaǧ*** 6 : ***shash***; ***ōwə*** 7 : ***haft***; ***atə*** 8 : ***hasht***; ***las*** 10 : ***dah***; ***(w)shəl*** 20 : ***bīst***; ***mōr*** mother : ***mādar***; ***lūr*** daughter : ***dukhtar***; ***ghwaǧ*** ear : ***gōsh***; ***zṛə*** heart : ***dil***; ***sōṛ*** cold : ***sard***; ***ūx̌*** camel : ***ushtur***; ***yəǧ*** bear : ***khirs***; ***ǧdən*** millet : ***arzan***; ***pəx̌t-əm*** I ask : ***purs-am***.—Stress has been retained as a relevant factor, and metre is based on it, not on quantity.

Sound-changes and borrowings have given Pashto a phonemic system which includes a number of phonemes foreign to Persian, viz. the neutral vowel *ə*, the dental affricates *ts*, *dz*, the "back" sibilants here written *x̌*, *ǧ* (v. below), and the "cerebrals", *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ*. In Pashto literature these sounds are usually expressed by the following special letters: ځ *ts* and *dz*; ښ *x̌*; ږ *ǧ*; ټ *ṭ* ډ *ḍ*; ړ *ṛ*; ڼ *ṇ*.

Bāyazīd Anṣārī and some of his successors employed a somewhat different set of letters, and in Afghānistān ځ *dz* is now being differentiated from څ *ts*. Here also *madjhūl ē* is distinguished from *ī* by putting two dots in vertical position below the *yā*-sign (ې), and devices have also been invented to express final -*əi*. More sporadically, and chiefly in dictionaries, attempts have been made to mark other vocalic distinctions and stress.

The most striking isoglott is that which separates the south-western group (the so-called "soft" dialects) from the north-eastern ("hard") group (Bangash, Ōrakzay, Afrīdī, Yūsufzay, Mahmand, etc.). The soft „dialects" preserve *x̌*, *ǧ* with the original quality of back *sh*, *ž*, while the „hard" ones they merge with respectively *kh* and *g*. Thus: *Pax̌to* = *Pashto* and *Pakhto*, *ǧira* beard *žira* or *gira* (in the other sections of this article *x̌* has been rendered by *sh* in tribal names and in the word Pashto, etc.). Some Ghalzay dialects occupy an intermediate position. The exact date of the change is uncertain, but it is probably later than the great northward migration of tribes.—Dialects also vary a good deal in their treatment of *sh*, *ž*, *ts*, *dz* (partly owing to the influence of an Indian sub- or adstratum), and palatalization, assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis act differently according to dialect (e.g. *nwar*, *lmar*, *nmar*, *mar*, etc. sun, *wužənz*, *ǧmandz*, *mangaz* comb, *px̌a*, *x̌pa* foot).—Cutting across the line dividing "soft" from "hard" Pashto runs an isoglott encircling a number of dialects (from Afrīdī to Wazīrī) changing *ā* > *ō*; *ō* > *ȫ* and in some dialects further to *ē* and *ū* > *ī* (e.g. Wazīrī ***mēr*** mother, ***plōr*** father; ***līr*** daughter).—The Waṇetsī dialect of north-eastern Balūčistān (Harnai-Shāhrīg region) occupies a rather independent position and must have split off from the bulk of Pashto earlier than any other dialect. It has retained *r* before *ž*, e.g. in *yirž* bear, and it shows a different development of -*t*- (*piyār* father, etc.).

Important morphological features of Pashto are e.g.: 1. Distinction between two genders, masc. and fem. 2. A great variety of declensions and traces of case-inflection. 3. No distinction between 3rd sing. and plur. 4. So-called passive construction of the preterite of transitive verbs (*zə tā wahəm* I strike you, but *zə tā wahələm* you struck me).

(iii) PASHTO LITERATURE.

Until recently no Pashto literary work older than the 17th century had been published. But in the *Almanach de Kābul*, 1940-1 (*Da Kābul Sālnāma*) ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī published fragments of the *Tadhkirat-i Awliyā*ʾ by Sulaymān Mākū, containing poems said to go back to the 11th century. In 1944 he published in Kābul the *Pəṭa Khazāna* by Muḥammad Hōtak, which professed to be written in Ḳandahār (finished 1729), and to be an anthology of Pashto poets from the 8th century down to the time of the compiler. But these works raise a number of grave linguistic and historical problems, and the question of their authenticity cannot be finally settled until the manuscripts are made available for philological investigation. Even if the authenticity of the *Khazāna* is admitted, however, Muḥammad Hōtak's dating of the oldest poems may be doubted. According to Raverty, Shaykh Malī in 1417 wrote a history of the Yūsufzays, but nothing more is known about this work [cf. YŪSUFZAY]. A manuscript exists, and has been examined, containing the ***Khayr al-Bayān*** of the arch-heretic Bāyazīd Anṣārī (d. 1585). From the early 17th century we possess the theological and historical works—rich in invectives—of his orthodox opponent Akhūn(d) Darwēza [see RAWSHANIYYA] (***Makhzan-i Afghānī*** and ***Makhzan-i Islām***). The 17th and 18th centuries are rich in poets,

but most of them are imitators of Persian models. The most remarkable according to European standards, and also the national poet of modern Afghānistān, is Khushḥāl Khān ([*q.v.*]; 1022-1106/1613-94), chief of the Khaṭaks, patriot, warrior and prolific writer on a multitude of subjects. His spontaneousness, force of expression and independence of mind lend a special charm to his best poems. Several of his descendants were also poets, and his grandson Afḍal Khān wrote the *Ta'rīkh-i Muraṣṣaʿ*, a history of the Afghāns. The oldest mystical poet was Mīrzā who belonged to the family of Bāyazīd Anṣārī, but the most popular were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (both about A.D. 1700). Also Aḥmad Shāh, the founder of the Durrānī dynasty, was a poet. There are also numerous translations from the Persian and versified versions of Persian and Afghān legends, e.g. Ādam Khān and Durkhānaī. Of considerable interest are the folk-songs, ballads, etc., collected and published by Darmesteter. Recently the Afghān Academy (*Paxto Ṭōləna*) in Kābul has published a volume of folk-songs, chiefly so-called *landais* or *miṣrāʿs*, lyrical distichs in a peculiar metre, and some of them of great beauty. There is a considerable output of modern poetry in Afghānistān, and the Pashto Academy publishes also other literary works.

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(G. MORGENSTIERNE)

AL-AFGHĀNĪ [see DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ].

AFGHĀNISTĀN.

(i) Geography; (ii) Ethnography; (iii) Languages; (iv) Religion; (v) History.

(i) GEOGRAPHY.

The country now known as Afghānistān has borne that name only since the middle of the 18th century, when the supremacy of the Afghān race became assured: previously various districts bore distinct appellations, but the country was not a definite political unit, and its component parts were not bound together by any identity of race or language. The earlier meaning of the word was simply "the land of the Afghāns", a limited territory which did not include many parts of the present state but did comprise large districts now either independent or within the boundary of Pakistan. As at present constituted, under the rule of the Bārakzay kings (formerly *amīrs*), Afghānistān consists of a territory of irregular shape lying between 29° 30′ and 38° 30′ N. and between 61° and 75° (or, if the long strip of Wakhān is omitted, 71° 30′) E.

Geological formation. This country forms the north-eastern portion of the great Iranian plateau (cf. IRĀN), which is bounded to the north by the Central Asian depression, and to the east by the plains of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, while to the south and west it slopes away into the depressed tract which occupies the central portion of the plateau, and on the south-east is connected with the mountain system of Balūčistān. The northern barrier of the highlands is the mountain range extending westwards from the Pāmir, with its outlying ridge, the Band-i Turkistān, beyond which the plain of sand and loess extends to the Oxus. On the east there is a sudden drop into the Indus valley. It will be seen therefore that, with the exception of the loess plain of Turkistān, the whole country belongs to the plateau, which is itself a late geological formation of the tertiary period, mainly sandstones and limestones. The north-eastern part of the plateau previously formed part of a great ocean connecting the Caspian depression with the plains of Pakistan. The process of upheaval which has raised it still continues, and Holdich considers that the extraordinarily deep river gorges are due to the fact that the erosive action of the rivers is too slow to keep pace with the upward movement.

Orography. The most prominent feature of the mountain system is the northern range running east and west above alluded to as forming the northern boundary of the plateau. It divides the Turkistān districts on the north (the ancient Bactria) from the provinces of Kābul, Harāt and Ḳandahār (the ancient Ariana and Arachosia) on the south. This main range is known by various names such as Hindū-kush [*q.v.*] on the E. where it branches from the Pāmir, Kūh-i Bābā further west, and Kūh-i Safīd and Siyāh Bubuk near Harāt; the latter is generally known as Paropamisus, although the true Paropamisus (or Paropanisus of Ptolemy) included the Hindū-kush. The greater part of the country south of this range is occupied by a number of subsidiary chains or long spurs which run from east to west or more generally from north-east to south-west. These ranges and the intervening valleys form the greater part of the Harāt and Ḳandahār provinces, while the tangled mass of mountains lying to the south of the eastern Hindū-kush comprises the valleys of the Kābul and Kuṛam rivers and forms the provinces of Kābul and Nūristān. The highest elevation in the northern range is the Shāh Fulādī peak (16,870 ft./5158 metres) in the Kūh-i Bābā, and the long spur running to the south-west contains several peaks of about 11,000 ft./3353 m. The ridges dividing the Hilmand, Tarnak, Arghandāb and Arghasān are outliers of this system, and it may be traced further south-east into Balūčistān. The Sulaymān [*q.v.*] range (highest peak the Takht-i Sulaymān, 11,200 ft./3145 m.), which drops finally into the Indus valley and is the eastern edge of the plateau, is beyond the political limits of Afghānistān. The mountains further

north on this eastern flank of the plateau between the Kuṛam and Gumal rivers are a more irregular mass with peaks over 11,000 ft./3353 m., while further north still between the valleys of the Kābul and the Kuṛam is the Safīd Kūh, the highest range in Afghānistān after the Hindū-kush and Kūh-i Bābā (highest peak Sikārām, 15,600 ft./4543 m.).

River system. Northward from the Hindū-kush the level of the country falls rapidly towards the Oxus valley, while southward the valleys fall more gradually towards the Sīstān depression containing the Hilmand Hāmūn (H. Lake) and its extension the Gūd-i Zirah, into which flow, with the exception of those belonging to the Indus system, all the rivers south of the Hindū-kūsh. Thus the rivers fall naturally into three groups, which may be called the Indus group, the Hilmand group and the Oxus group.

The Indus group comprises the Kābul [*q.v.*] river and its affluents, of which the most important are the Tagao and Kunar flowing from the Hindū-kush on the north and the Lūghar flowing from the Gul Kūh on the south. South of this the Kuṛam rising in the Paywar, and its tributary the Toči, called in its lower course the Gambīla, which joins it in Pakistan territory below the mountains. Still further south separating the Wazīristān mountains from the Takht-i Sulaymān is the Gumal formed by the junction of the Kundar and Žōb. These rivers though of small volume drain extensive tracts and mark important military and trade routes through the mountains between India and the plateau. Other small streams such as the Wahuā, Lūnī, Kahā and Nārī further south serve a similar purpose. It may be noted that many of these streams flow not along the natural valleys formed by the mountain range but transversely across the sandstone and limestone ridges of the Sulaymān Mountains, through which they cut deep precipitous gorges.

The second or Hilmand group consists of the Hilmand and its tributaries, and of the other rivers running towards the south-west into the Sīstān depression. The Hilmand [*q.v.*] or Hirmand (the Haētumant of the Avesta, the Etymandrus of classical writers) is the principal of these. It rises near Kābul and flows through narrow mountain valleys into the more open country of Zamīn-dāwar, where it is joined on the left bank by the Arghandāb (Harahwaiti, Arachotis). The latter in its turn is formed by the junction of the Upper Arghandāb, the Tarnak, and the Arghasān (or Arghastān), which drain a series of nearly parallel north-easterly and south-westerly valleys. Another member of the same system is the stream flowing southward from Ghazna which never joins the Hilmand system but is absorbed by the Ābistāda Salt Lake. Other rivers west of the Hilmand with the same general south-westerly flow, which also discharge into the Hāmūn, are the Khash Rūd, the Farāh Rūd, and the Harūt Rūd.

The Hāmūn [*q.v.*], a basin sometimes of small extent, expands enormously to the south in seasons of high flood, when the hill fort of Kūh-i Khʷādja becomes an island. It then discharges itself through a channel called the Shīlagh into a still lower depression known as the Gūd-i Zirah. Part of the Hāmūn is in Afghān territory and part in Persian according to modern demarcations which have divided Sīstān. The Hāmūn is only 1580 ft. above sea-level, and the Gūd-i Zirah is still lower. The Hāmūn on the average overflows once in ten years into the Gūd-i Zirah. Its water is only slightly brackish, and can be drunk, a circumstance due no doubt to its occasional overflow. The level of Sīstān does not appear to have risen since ancient times in spite of the enormous volumes of silt discharged by the rivers which have no other outlet. The cause for this is probably the prevalence of violent north-west winds through a great part of the year, which remove the light surface soil.

The third or Oxus group of rivers comprises the Oxus [see AMŪ DARYĀ] and it southern tributaries, as well as the Murghāb [*q.v.*] and Harī Rūd which also flow northward into the plain but never reach the Oxus. All of these rise on the northern flank of the great mountain barrier, with the exception of the Harī Rūd [*q.v.*], which rises on the south of the Kūh-i Bābā and flows westwards through a narrow valley between the Kūh-i Safīd and Kūh-i Siyāh into the Harāt plain where it turns to the north and after passing through a depression in the mountains loses itself in the plains of Russian Turkistān beyond Dhu'l-Fiḳār.

General formation. The mountain ranges generally become less lofty towards the south and west and the difficulties of communication that exist further north disappear. Hence the easy route for trade or military expeditions from Harāt to Ḳandahār has in all ages been circuitous via Sabzawār, Farāh and Girishk, while from Ḳandahār to Kābul and Ghazna the direct line of the Tarnak valley is followed. From Harāt where the Paropamisus drops to an insignificant elevation the Turkistān province is easily accessible, and the same country can also be reached from Kābul directly by difficult passes, the Khawāk, Bāmiyān and others, through the Hindū-kush.

Thus the three towns Harāt, Ḳandahār and Kābul are marked out by natural position as the most important points in the country. Each of them lies in a fertile valley and is self-supporting, and each of them commands important routes to the others as well as to India, Persia and Central Asia. If therefore Afghānistān is to be an independent whole the possession of these three points is essential to its rulers. There can be no stability if they are in separate hands. In this political sense Ghazna and Djalālābād must be classed with Kābul, the old capitals Bust and Girishk with Ḳandahār, and Sabzawār with Harāt. Sīstān lying on the easy route from Harāt to Ḳandahār has always been a debatable land.

Kābul is in every way the strongest position, and has generally in consequence been more independent than other districts. Harāt on the contrary is much exposed to attack from the west and north, and when Harāt has been conquered by a foreign invader Ḳandahār is immediately threatened. As long as Harāt is held Ḳandahār is safe from an attack on the western side and it has also a strong position towards the Indian side, though not so strong as that of Kābul.

The district of Sīstān adjoining the Hāmūn is fertile and suited for irrigation. Occupying a commanding position on the route leading eastward to Ḳandahār and westward to Harāt, it is of great importance to the rulers of Afghānistān, and its present division between that country and Persia is unfortunate.

Climate. The whole country is liable to great extremes of temperature ranging from the intense summer heat of Sīstān, the Garmsīr district and the Oxus valley to the great winter cold of the high exposed regions, where violent snowstorms are

not uncommon. Instances of armies suffering from such cold are well known in history. The march of the emperor Bābur from the neighbourhood of Harāt through the Hazāra mountains to Kābul is a case in point, and the Hindū-kush (lit. Hindu-slayer) is popularly supposed to derive its name from the death of the Indian troops of the emperor Shāh Djahān. More recent instances are the sufferings of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's army in 1868 and of the British Boundary Commission in Bādghīs in 1885. The daily range of temperature is everywhere very great, the difference between maximum and minimum varying from 17 to 30 degrees of Fahrenheit. In the spring and autumn the upland valleys have a temperate and pleasant climate, which is very favourable to the growth of fruit, especially grapes, melons, peaches, plums, apricots, walnuts and pistachio-nuts. Modern travellers have found the neighbourhood of Kābul to be not unworthy of the praises lavished on it by the emperor Bābur.

In the more lofty part of the Hindū-kush inhabited by the Kāfir tribes a truly Alpine climate is found resembling that of parts of the Himalayas.

The vegetation generally speaking is that of the Persian plateau, and is quite distinct from that of the Indian plains. In the plains few trees are found except those cultivated in gardens, fruit trees, planes and poplars, while on the higher mountains many varieties of pines and evergreen oaks are found with wild vines, ivy and roses. On the lower and dryer ranges the wild pistachio (*Pistacia khinjuk*), wild olive (*Olea europea*), juniper (*J. excelsa*) and the reodan (*Tecoma undulata*) are the most characteristic trees. The *angūza* or *hing* (*Ferula assafoetida*) is very abundant in many parts. Wild flowers also abound in the spring, especially the iris, tulip and poppy.

Political divisions. The divisions of the country follow its physical formation.

Kābul. The province of Kābul contains the fertile high-lying valleys round the upper waters of the Kābul, Lūghar and Tagao rivers and Ghazna, also the lower part of the Kābul valley near Djalālābād [*q.v.*]. Ghazna [*q.v.*] was the most important town in this tract formerly, but Kābul [*q.v.*] has taken its place during the past four hundred years. Kābul was recognized as the centre of government under Mughal emperors, and was adopted by the Durrānī kings as their capital taking the place of Ḳandahār. Its old rival Peshāwar [*q.v.*] is the natural centre of the tribes in the lowlands near the Indus, but has been cut off from Afghānistān since it was taken by the Sikhs in 1834, and from 1848 to 1947 formed part of British India.

Ḳandahār. Ḳandahār includes the old province of Zamīn-dāwar, and comprises the lower valleys of the Hilmand, Tarnak, Arghandāb and Arghasān, the principal home of the Durrānīs. The modern town of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*] on the Arghandāb has been the capital of the province since the 14th century, and has taken the place of older towns such as Girishk [*q.v.*] and Bust [*q.v.*].

Sīstān. Sīstān [see SIDJISTĀN] is the hot and fertile irrigated district lying around the Hāmūn. A large part of it, however, belongs to Persia. It contains no large town.

Harāt. The Harāt province includes the fertile valley of the Harī Rūd and the open country lying between the Hazāra Mountains and the Persian border; also a considerable part of these mountains which are inhabited by the Hazāra [*q.v.*] and Čahār Aymāḳ [*q.v.*] tribes. The town of Harāt [*q.v.*], one of the most famous in eastern history, is its capital; although fallen from its ancient glory it is still and must remain a place of importance and will no doubt develop greatly with peace and improved communications. Sabzawār [*q.v.*] is also a thriving town in the south of the province.

Hazāristān [*q.v.*]. The country of the Ḥazāra and Čahār Aymāḳ tribes in the mountainous mass bounded to the north by the Kūh-i Bābā, to the west by the open country of Harāt, to the east and the south by the Hilmand valley. It is the country anciently known as Ghūr [*q.v.*], and the ruins of the town of Ghūr probably mark the site of the old capital of Fīrūz Kūh, where the Ghūrī kings reigned in the 12th century. It now contains no town of importance.

Turkistān. The country north of the Kūh-i Bābā as far as the Oxus is known as Turkistān. Its old capital Balkh [*q.v.*] has lost its former importance and the present centres of administration are Mazār-i Sharīf [*q.v.*], Tāshkurgān and Maymana [*q.v.*].

Badakhshān. The region lying north of the Hindū-kush and east of Turkistān along the left bank of the Oxus is known as Badakhshān [*q.v.*]. It is watered by the Ḳunduz river and its affluents.

Wakhān. Still further to the east and extending as far as the Pāmir is the long mountain valley called Wakhān [*q.v.*].

Nūristān. A mountainous tract of the Hindū-kush lying north of the Kābul valley and west of the Kunar is inhabited by the Kāfirs. It was known as Kāfiristān [*q.v.*], but after its conquest by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān in 1897 its name was changed to Nūristān.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES *)

(ii) ETHNOGRAPHY.

The population of Afghānistān is divided into the following main groups: (1) Afghāns; (2) Tādjīks and other Iranians; (3) Turko-Mongolians; (4) Hindū-kush Indo-Aryans (including Kāfirs). According to an estimate made in 1947 the population amounts to twelve millions, of which 53% are said to be Afghāns, 36% Tādjīks, 6% Uzbeks, 3% Hazāras and 2% others. But the figures are by no means certain. No "pure races" are to be found, each linguistic community being composed of several anthropological types, and intermixture and secondary adoption of Persian and Pashto having to a great extent blurred whatever clear distinctions may have existed at some earlier date. Apart from the theoretical difficulties in defining race, the meagreness of anthropological data, dealing with clearly defined local groups, warns us to be cautious in our statements.

1) For the Afghāns, see the separate article AFGHĀN.

2) Tādjīk is the general name [cf. TĀDJĪK] of the Persian-speaking population of Afghānistān, often also called Pārsiwāns, or, in the East and South, Dihgāns and Dihwārs. They are villagers, and also the inhabitants of most towns speak Persian. The Tādjīks have no tribal organization, except in some remote regions. In the villages they are peaceful tenants. In Harāt and Sīstān they are a direct continuation of the Persians of Persia, while in Northern Afghānistān (from Maymana to Badakhshān) they are in contact with the Tādjīks of the Soviet Union. In South-eastern Afghānistān they occupy some of the most fertile agricultural districts around Ghazna and in the Kābul region (Kūh-i Dāman, Pandjshīr, etc.). Anthropologically they are very mixed, but the hill-Tādjīks of Badakhshān, and of Northern Afghānistān in general, are of the Alpine type. South of the Hindū-kūsh many Tādjīks probably belong to the Irano-Afghān race. Some of the hill-Tādjīks of Badakhshān still retain their ancient Iranian languages. The same is the case with the Parāčīs north of Kābul and the Ormuṛs in the Lōgar valley.—The Ḳizilbash are descended from Persian Turks settled in Kābul and Harāt by Nādir Shāh.

3) Turkish and Mongolian tribes. In the plains of Northern Afghānistān Turkish tribes form an important, or even dominant part of the population. The majority are Uzbeks [*q.v.*], settled in villages and towns, and estimated by Jarring at about 500,000. West of them, between Andkhūy and Bālā Murghāb we find Turkmen [*q.v.*] nomads, chiefly Ersarīs (estimated at up to 200,000). In Afghān Pāmir there are about 30,000 Ḳirghiz [*q.v.*] nomads. Also some other Turkish tribes are represented in Afghānistān.—The Turks settled in the Kūhistān and Kūh-i Dāman north of Kābul have now all probably given up their national language.

The central *massif*, from Ghazna to Harāt, and from north of Bāmiyān to the middle Hilmand, is occupied by tribes of Mongol or mixed Turko-Mongol origin and type, extending also into Persia. The eastern part of this territory is the home of the Hazāras [*q.v.*] (or Barbarīs). They are divided into a number of tribes, Day-Kundī, Day-Zengī, Djāghurī, etc. The Hazāras are settled in villages, their formerly very powerful chiefs living in baronial castles. They are Shīʿites, and up to the time of the Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥman they retained semi-independence. Their orthodox neighbours accused them of practising the infamous "lamp-extinguishing" ceremonies, and of laxity in sexual behaviour in general. When finally subdued by the Afghān Amīr, many of them sought refuge in Quetta and other places outside Afghānistān. A large number of Hazāras work as labourers in Kābul and other cities. They have decidedly mongoloid features, but are usually distinguishable from the more flat-faced Uzbeks. Further west, on both sides of the Harī Rūd, we find the half-nomadic Sunnī Čahār Aymāḳ [*q.v.*] ("Four Tribes"), a term apparently used somewhat loosely, but usually including Taymanīs (south of the Harī Rūd), Fīrūzkūhīs (north of this river), Djamshīdīs (Kushk), Taymūrīs (west of Harāt, in Persia) and Hazārīs (Ḳalʿa-i Naw), probably not to be confounded with the eastern Hazāras.—The Hazāras are often assumed to be descended from Čingiz Khān's soldiers, but more probably Mongol and to some extent also Turkish elements have gradually occupied the territories laid waste by him and his successors (see Bacon, op. cit.).

4) Indo-Aryans and Kāfirs. Among the Indo-Aryan "Dardic" tribes of Afghānistān the most important are the Pashaīs (locally also called Dihgāns) in the Kūhistān of Kābul, Laghmān and the lower Kunaṛ Valley. They are the remnants of the ancient Hindu and Buddhist population of Kāpisha and Nagarahāra. There are also some smaller communities of Indo-Aryan origin in the Kunaṛ region.—Nūristān (formerly Kāfiristān) is inhabited by a number of tribes, linguistically distinguished from the true Indo-Aryans [cf. KĀFIRISTĀN]. They were finally conquered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in 1896, and converted to Islām. Some of the Dardic tribes also remained pagans till comparatively recent times. The Kāfirs are now called Nūristānīs or Djadīdīs, i.e. "Recruits (of Islām)". Their ancient religion was a polytheism of an Indian type, with pantheons varying from tribe to tribe. They had also preserved many ancient social customs. There is no evidence of their being of Greek origin as sometimes asserted. Their neighbours divided them into Siyāh-pūsh "black-clad" (Katīs and Kāms) and Safīd-pūsh" white-clad" (Wāygalīs, Ashkuns and Prasūns or Parūnīs). Anthropologically the Kāfirs contain Oriental, Dinaric and Nordic elements, beside a short, dolichocephalic type with connections in the West Himalayas. Among some of the tribes the ratio of blondism is rather high.

There are some Djaṭ [*q.v.*] "gipsies" in Afghānistān, and a few Gūdjars [*q.v.*] in the Kunaṛ valley. Hindus are settled as traders and money-lenders in Kābul and other towns, and as horticulturists in the Kūh-i Dāman north of Kābul.

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AFGHĀNISTĀN
MARW
ASHKĀBĀD
KARKĪ
KHAM-I ĀB
ĀMŪ DARYĀ
KOKČA R.
FAYDĀBĀD
DJURM
PANDJA R.
WAKHĀN
LITTLE PAMIR
BAROGHIL P.
EASTERN HINDU KUSH
HUNZA
GILGIT
ČITRĀL
TARDJAND R.
KARA KUM
SARAKHS
KARA BEL
ANDKHUY
AKČA
BALKH
KHULM
KUNDUZ
KISHM
SHIBARGHĀN
MAZĀR-I SHARĪF
TASHKURGĀN
KHĀNĀBĀD
BADAKHSHĀN
SAR-I PUL
HAYBAK
SURKHĀB R.
PUL-I KHUMRĪ
PUL-I KHĀTŪN
PANDJDIH
MARŪČAK
MAYMANA
DHU'L-FIKAR
BĀLĀ MURGHĀB
BAND-I TURKISTĀN
MURGHĀB R.
KHURĀSĀN
HARĪ RŪD
KUSHK
SIYĀH BUBAK
BAND-I AMĪR
KAHMARD
DOSHĪ
ANDARĀB
KHAWAK P.
HINDŪ-KUSH
PANDJSHĪR R.
NŪRISTĀN
BASHGUL R.
DĪR
SWĀT R.
SWĀT
BADJAWR
KUNAR R.
AK ROBĀT P.
GHŪRBAND
ČĀRĪKĀR
ISLĀM KILĀ
BĀMIYĀN
NIL P.
BĀMIYĀN
KŪH-I BĀBĀ
PAGHMĀN
KŪH-I DAMAN
LATABAND P.
PAROPAMISUS
HARĀT
AWBA
DAWLAT YĀR
PANDJĀO
UNAYR
KĀBUL
DJALĀLĀBĀD
MAHMAND
PROVINCE
BAND-I BĀYĀN
DJAGDALAK P.
KHAYBAR P.
SAFĪD KŪH
PESHĀWAR
ATAK (ATTOCK)
LOGHAR R.
PĀRA ČINĀR
ALTIMUR P.
KOHĀT
KŪH-I SAFĪD
GARDĪZ
GHAZNĪ
KHOST
SABZAWĀR
HAZĀRADJĀT
FRONTIER
TŌČĪ V.
BANNŪ
KURAM
HILMAND R.
MUKUR
KATAWĀZ
SULAYMĀN RANGE
WAZĪRISTĀN
HARŪT RŪD
ARGHANDĀB R.
FARĀH
FARĀH RŪD
ZAMĪN-DĀWAR
KALĀT-I GHILZAY
NORTH WEST
GUMAL R.
PANDJĀB
KHASH RŪD
GIRISHK
KANDAHĀR
KUNDAR
ZHŌB R.
DĒRA ISMĀ'ĪL KHĀN
HĀMŪN
ARGHASĀN
FT. SANDEMAN
ČAKHĀN SŪR
SĪSTĀN
ČAMAN
ZHŌB
PISHĪN
RIGISTĀN
INDUS R.
HILMAND R.
QUETTA
KŪH-I MALIK-I SIYĀH
0 50 100 K.M.
0 50 100 MILES.
BALŪČISTĀN
KALĀT
SIBĪ
62
64
66
68
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32
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(iii) LANGUAGES,

Bābur mentions eleven languages spoken in the Kābul region, and the actual number for the whole of the country is considerably higher. The majority of the inhabitants speak either Pashto or Persian, both of them Iranian.

For Pashto see AFGHĀN.

Other Iranian Languages. Most of the Persian dialects [cf. also ĪRĀN, section on language] spoken in Afghānistān are of the eastern type, retaining the distinction between *madjhūl ē, ō* and *maʿrūf ī, ū*. In the Harāt region they merge into the western type, and the dialect of the Hazāras presents traits of its own. Balūčī just crosses the frontier into the southern deserts. In the Lōgar Valley, south of Kābul, Ōrmuṛī is dying out, but it is still spoken in Kāṇigurām in Wazīristān. Another ancient local Iranian language is Parāčī, which is found in a few villages north of Kābul. North of the Hindū-kūsh, in the mountains of Badakhshān, the so-called Pāmir or Ghalča [*q.v.*] languages have survived, but are probably receding and being gradually replaced by Tādjīkī Persian. They include: Mundjī spoken in Mundjān (with an offshoot called Yidgha in Čitrāl), the very archaic Wakhī in Wakhān (overflowing into Gilgit and Čitrāl), Sanglēčī, Zēbākī and Ishkāshmī at the bend of the Oxus and in the upper Wardōdj valley; Shughnī and Rōshānī in the Oxus Valley, north of Ishkāshm.

Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī. Apart from Lahndā spoken by Hindūs, we find a number of Indo-Aryan languages and dialects on the fringes of Nūristān in North-Eastern Afghānistān. They belong to the so-called Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan. The most important is Pashaī which has several widely diverging dialects, and is rich in popular poetry. In the Kunaṛ Valley, close to the frontier of Čitrāl, Gāwar-Bātī is spoken.—The Kāfir languages (Katī, Wāigalī, Ashkun and Prasūn) occupy a somewhat separate position and must have split off from Indo-Aryan in pre-Vedic times. But they have now been heavily overlaid with purely Indo-Aryan elements.

Non-Indo-Iranian Languages. Turkish dialects are spoken by Uzbeks, Turkmens and Ḳirghiz in Northern Afghānistān. Most Hazāras have now given up their ancient language, and the same is probably the case with the Čahār Aymāḳs. But (acc. to a private communication) F. Mackenzie was still able in 1951 to collect lists of words, containing many of Mongolian origin, among the Hazāras of Bīhsūd and the "Moghols" north of Maymana.—Some nomads west of Mazār-i Sharīf are said to be still speaking Arabic, as is also the case with some Arabs in Tādjīkistān [see ʿARAB].

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(iv) RELIGION.

Since the conversion of the Kāfirs practically the entire population of Afghānistān are Muslims, and the great majority are Sunnīs. Shīʿite are the Hazāras, Ḳizilbash, the Kayānīs of Sīstān and Harāt, a few Paṭhān frontier tribes (Tūrīs, and some sections of Ōrakzays and Bangash, beside the Sayyīds of Tīrāh), and some Kūhistānīs and Badakhshīs (especially the Ghalčas). Of these the inhabitants of Badakhshān (with Shughnān, Wakhān, etc.) and many Pashaīs of Laghmān and adjacent valleys are Ismāʿīlīs, the Badakhshīs calling themselves Mullāʾīs and the Pashaīs being known under the name of ʿAlī-Ilāhīs (cf. Ivanow, *Guide to Ism. Lit.*, p. 9). Among the Shīʿī Paṭhāns there may still be secret adherents of the great heretic Bāyazīd Anṣārī [cf. RAWSHANIYYA].

Orthodox Islām is now very firmly established in Afghānistān, and the Islamic law (*sharīʿa*) is recognized. Hindus and Shīʿīs are tolerated, but Aḥmadīs are not allowed to enter the country, and Christian missions are prohibited. Local saints and their tombs are worshipped. Among the Paṭhān tribes of the Frontier the *mullās* have often played an important role in local politics and in preaching the *djihād* (holy war). (G. MORGENSTIERNE)

(v) HISTORY. (1) PRE-ISLAMIC.

The territories now known as Afghānistān were occupied by Iranian tribes during the Aryan migrations in the second and first millenia B.C., incorporated in the Achaemenid empire by Cyrus, and after the conquests of Alexander (cf. e.g. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1948) disputed between the Greco-Bactrians and the Parthians (cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1952). In the first century B.C. there was a fresh influx of Iranian tribesmen under the leadership of the Kushan tribe of the Yueh-Chi. The Kushan empire, which attained its height under Kujula Kadphises in the 1st century A.D. and Kanishka in the 2nd (cf. *Cambridge History of India*, i, 1935; R. Ghirshman, *Bēgram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, Cairo 1946), eventually fell to the Sāsānids under Shāpūr II, probably before the middle of the 4th century. Shortly after 350 the Yueh-Chi tribes which had remained in Kāshgaria, pressed from the East by Turco-Mongol elements, appeared in Bactria, supported by a confederation of tribes of allied origin known as Chionites (see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1948, 69 ff.). Shāpūr, though at

war with Rome, marched against the invaders, but was obliged to come to terms with them and to establish them in Bactria and its peripheral regions, in return for their aid against the Romans.

Kidara, the king of the Yueh-Chi or "Lesser Kushans", soon extended his conquests to the south of the Hindū-kush and annexed the Paropamisad and Gandhara. It is in the period of this expansion that the establishment of a tribe of Chionites, the Zabuls, in the region of Ghazni is to be placed. When, later on, Kidara's efforts to assert his independence led to a fresh conflict with Shāpūr, the Chionites sided with the latter. Kidara lost his kingdom, and probably his life; and Bactria passed into the hands of the Chionites known as Hephthalites from the name of their ruling dynasty. About 400 the lands both to the north and to the south of the Hindū-kush were held by the Chionites-Hephthalites, divided into two branches by the mountain-chain, but whose southern branch, the Zabuls, recognized the supremacy of the northern branch—both, however, remaining vassals of the Sāsānids. This vassal status was preserved so long as the Persian dynasty remained strong, but already by the beginning of the 5th century the Hephthalites, exploiting the difficulties experienced by Persia in the struggle against Rome and in defending the passes of the Caucasus against the barbarians, attempted to throw it off, only to be resubjected by Bahrām Gōr, just as their pressure towards India was halted by the Gupta kings.

The middle of the 5th century was a turning-point in the relations between Persia and the Hephthalites. During the reign of Pērōz, the Hephthalites won, in 484, a victory which transformed them almost from the vassals into the masters of Iran, to whom the Sāsānids paid tribute for more than half a century. It was only c. 560, when a new people, the Western Turks, had appeared on the chessboard of Central Asia, that a coalition between them and Khusraw I put an end to the central power of the Hephthalites. (For the relations with the Sāsānids, cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 1944.)

The kingdom of Zābul, or of the southern Chionites, followed its own course. At the end of the 5th century a new dynasty reigned to the south of the Hindū-kush. Its two kings, Toramana and Mihiracula (c. 515-544), made extensive conquests in India; the latter, devoted to a religion with a solar divinity, Mihira, left a memory of cruel persecutions which were pursued until he was crushed by an Indian national coalition. The disappearance of the kingdom of the southern Chionites preceded by a few years the destruction of Hephthalite supremacy in the northern lands.

After the destruction of these two kingdoms, their territories remained in the hands of a number of minor princes, some of whom became vassals of the Sāsānids, others of the Turks. The political condition of Eastern Afghānistān about the middle of the 7th century is portrayed in the account of the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, where the Afghān people are mentioned for the first time in an historical source under the form of the country of A-p'o-kien, located in the northern part of the Sulaymān mountains (see A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, ii, Paris 1947, 235, 252 n. 17).

Shortly after the passage of Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese T'ang dynasty crushed the Western Turks and extended its suzerainty to the west of the Pāmir. For a whole century (659-751) sixteen kingdoms north and south of the Hindū-kush recognized the authority, more nominal than real, of the Chinese emperor. The Arab invaders, who so rapidly overran Iran, were checked in this part of Afghānistān by the tenacious resistance of the last kinglets, seconded by the civil wars and dissensions between the conquering tribes, and it was only at the end of the 9th century that Islam finally triumphed south of the Hindū-kush. Nevertheless, the Hephthalite element did not disappear without leaving its traces in the ethnic composition of modern Afghānistān, and there still exists in Badakhshān an important group bearing the name of Hayṭal. See, for a fuller account of the Chionites-Hephthalites the articles HAYṬAL, ZĀBULISTĀN, ZŪN. For the background of the early history, cf. also W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, 1939.

(R. GHIRSHMAN)

(2) ISLAMIC—TO THE RISE OF THE AFGHĀN NATIONAL STATE.

To the Mongol period. The territories that form modern Afghānistān belonged in the first thousand years of Islamic history to different provinces, and although these neighbouring provinces, often shared common vicissitudes, they did not at any time form a separate entity. Nor did the Afghāns form a state of their own until the days of Mīr Ways, and more especially Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. The little that is known of the earlier history of the Afghāns has been summarized in the article AFGHĀN; here a short sketch will be given of the history of the country. (For further details see the articles on the various provinces, e.g. KHURĀSĀN, SIDJISTĀN, ZĀBULISTĀN, ZAMĪN-DĀWAR,, ṬUKHĀRISTĀN, KĀBULISTĀN, and on the various dynasties that ruled these lands, as well as the articles on the most important towns, e.g. BALKH, GHAZNA, HARĀT, KĀBUL, etc.)

At the time of the Islamic conquest the provinces belonging to the Sāsānid empire were quickly overrun. One wave of the invasion passed through Sidjistān, but the attempts made during the first three centuries to conquer Kābul from this base produced no lasting results until the rise of the Ṣaffārid [*q.v.*] dynasty. The province of Kābul resisted Islamization much longer than the other eastern Islamic provinces, and it was only under the Ghaznawids that this was fully achieved. In the middle of the 4th/10th century Alp-takīn [*q.v.*] seized Ghazna from its former ruler Lawīk, conquered Zabulistān and built up an independent principality, which was inherited by his son Isḥāḳ, then by a slave of his, Balkā-takīn, then by another slave, Subuk-takīn, the founder of the Ghaznawid [*q.v.*] dynasty. The dynasty had its seat in Ghazna, and it was from that town that the greatest Ghaznawid ruler, Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], set out on his expeditions to Persia in the west and India in the east. Yet, while it is about this time that the name Afghān first appears in the historians, the Ghaznawid dynasty was in no sense a national Afghān one. The armies were probably composed mainly of Turks. When Maḥmūd marched to Balkh against the Ḳarakhānid ruler, his army comprised, according to al-ʿUtbī, Indians, Khaladj [*q.v.*], Afghāns and "Ghaznawīs", the last term no doubt meaning Iranians ("Tādjīk" [*q.v.*]) of the province of Ghazna. In 414/1023 Maḥmūd attacked the Afghāns of Sulaymān Kūh and sacked their country.

By the end of his life Maḥmūd ruled over an extensive territory comprising in the west Khurāsān, part of Djibāl and Ṭabaristān and in the east the whole of the Pandjāb; to the north his influence

extended beyond the Oxus while the core was formed by the whole of what is now Afghānistān. The personality of the great conqueror made a deep impression, and he became in a way a national hero in the land which formed the centre of his empire. For the further history of the dynasty, see GHAZNAWIDS. Bahrām Shāh (511-52/1118-57) had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Saldjūḳs; thereafter, the chieftains of Ghūr became increasingly stronger, and after long struggles drove out the Ghaznawids. The Ghūrid [*q.v.*] dynasty was probably of "Tādjīk" origin. The fortunes of this dynasty were checked by invasions of Afghānistān by the Ghuzz and the Khwārizm-shāhs, so that the Ghūrids lost their power in their native land, but succeeded in building up an empire in India, which was inherited by their Turkish slaves. Djalāl al-Din Mankubirni, the last scion of the house of the Khwārizm-shāhs, after strong resistance, had to vacate Afghānistān before the Mongols of Čingiz Khān.

Mongols, Karts. Harāt and Sīstān were conquered by Čingiz Khān's son Tulūy, Ghazna by Uguday. Uguday also entered the Ghūr country and, making it the centre of his operations, conquered the mountains of Fīrūz Kūh and Ghardjistān as well as the plains of Garm-sīr and Sīstān. The last Ghūrid kings were swept away and Fīrūz Kūh completely destroyed. Tulak and other mountain fortresses offered resistance but to no effect. A leader of the resistance in Ghūr was the *amīr* Muḥammad of Ghardjistān, descendant in the maternal line of the Ghūrid kings. He was killed in 620/1223 in the fortress of Ashyar. The founders of the Kart dynasty were his descendants. The greater part of Afghānistān was incorporated into the Mongol empire. In the east, however, a Turkish chieftain, Sayf al-Dīn Ḥasan Karlugh, who had perhaps been allied to Djalāl al-Dīn Mankubirni, managed for some time to get possession of Bāmiyān, Ghazna and Ghūr. He must have exercised his rule in 622/1225, in which year he issued coins in the name of the caliph al-Ẓāhir. In 636/1238 he submitted to Uguday, and was placed under the control of a Mongol *shiḥna* (intendant). Nevertheless, he was expelled through the Kuṛam valley to India. In Sind he and his son Nāṣir al-Dīn reigned for a further twenty years. Ghazna and the Kuṛam served as a base for the further incursions of the Mongols into India. We do not hear of Afghāns in these movements; perhaps they had not yet reached as far north as the Kuṛam valley. After Uguday's death the Mongol empire was divided and Afghānistān fell to the lot of the Ilkhāns of Persia. Under their sovereignty a Tādjīk dynasty, named Karts [*q.v.*] came into power and ruled for nearly two hundred years over the greater part of the country. It was Tīmūr who put an end to the dynasty of the Karts, who represented the last effort of the Tādjīk element in Ghūr and Harāt to establish in their country an independent state. From this time until the rise of the Afghāns in the 18th century no native dynasty held rule in Afghānistān.

Tīmūr, Tīmūrids. In the course of Tīmūr's invasion Sīstān suffered terrible destruction; Kābul and Kandahār (which now began to be of importance) were quickly subdued and the whole country became part of Tīmūr's empire. In 800/1397 Tīmūr turned to the east and left his grandson Pīr Muḥammad as governor of Kābul, Ghazna and Kandahār, while his son Shāhrukh received in fief the kingdom of Khurāsān, with Harāt as its capital. Pīr Muḥammad attacked the Afghāns of Sulaymān Kūh and then advanced into India. On the news that he was resisted in Multān, Tīmūr himself advanced from Andarāb over the Hindū-kush, turned aside from Laghmān to attack the Siyāh-pūsh and the Kator-Kāfirs. After this expedition, he attacked the rebellious Afghāns and then passed over the Indus. Both on his outward march and on his return he passed Bānū; he therefore probably followed the road of Toči, which leads through the country of the Ghalzāy and the Wazīrī. We do not hear of Afghāns serving in his army, though it comprised Tādjīks.

When Tīmūr died (807/1405), Pīr Muḥammad reigned in Kābul; it was, however, Khalīl who took possession of the throne of the empire. (For fuller details concerning the history of the descendants of Tīmūr cf. TĪMŪRIDS.) The war that ensued ended with the murder of Pīr Muḥammad. Shortly afterwards, Khalīl was deprived of the throne and Shāhrukh became the supreme ruler. His reign, which lasted for about forty years, was a period of peace and the country was able to recover from the devastations of the last years. He was followed by Ulugh Beg, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, ʿAbd Allāh, Bābur Mīrzā, all of whom reigned for a short time only. In 861/1456 Abū Saʿīd ascended the throne, but the possession of Khurāsān and Afghānistān was contested by Ḥusayn Bayḳara. The latter was defeated in 870/1465, but Abū Saʿīd died two years later, and his successor, Sulṭān Aḥmad, did not possess Khurāsān at all. Ḥusayn Bayḳara ruled uncontested, from his captal Harāt, over Khurāsān, Sīstān, Ghūr and Zamīn-dāwar. Under the long reigns of Shāhrukh and Ḥusayn Bayḳara, Harāt reached the zenith of its fame as a centre of poetry, learning and art. During the latter years of Ḥusayn Bayḳara, his rule was menaced from the north by the growing might of Shaybānī and his Uzbeks, while other parts of Afghānistān showed a tendency to dissolve into separate principalities, though not under indigenous rulers. Bābur [*q.v.*] established himself in Kābul and assumed the title of *pādshāh*. Until then Kābul had been governed by more or less independent menbers of the Tīmūrid house; Muḳīm, the son of Arghūn, had just taken possession of it when Bābur appeared before the city and occupied it (910/1505). Kābul remained under Bābur and his successors, the emperors of India [see MUGHAL] for more than two hundred years, until the invasion of Nādir Shāh.

Bābur, Arghūn, Uzbeks, Shāh Ismāʿīl. More dangerous for the kingdom of Khurāsān was the rise of the dynasty of Arghūn [*q.v.*]. Its founder, Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn, a descendant of the Ilkhāns, governor of Ghūr and Sīstān, received also, after defeating the tribes of Hazāra and Nīkūdārī, the regions of Zābulistān and Garm-sīr. Taking Kandahār as his capital, he made himself independent, and with the help of his son, Shāh Beg, extended his rule southward to the Bolān pass and Siwastān. In 904/1498-9 he even invaded Harāt, recruiting his army from the population of Ghūr, Zamīn-dāwar and Kandahār—probably Tādjīks and Afghāns. His son Muḳīm, as mentioned above, occupied Kābul, though only for a short time. Shaybānī's invasion, however, proved the undoing of Dhu 'l-Nūn Beg; in the first battle against the Uzbeks he was killed and in 913/1507 Shaybānī took Harāt.

Dhu 'l-Nūn's sons Shāh Beg and Muḳīm were now between Bābur and Shaybānī. Bābur with some right claimed to be heir to Tīmūr's empire and advanced against Kandahār, while the Arghūn princes allied themselves with his old enemy Shaybānī. Bābur defeated them and took Kandahār.

He left there as governor his son Nāṣir Mīrzā, who was inmediately attacked by Shaybānī. Bābur himself had been on his way to Harāt to concert measures of defence against the Uzbeks with Sulṭān Ḥusayn when he heard of the latter's death. He joined the Sulṭān's sons in their campaign on the Murghāb, and then after visiting Harāt returned in winter by the mountain road to Kābul, a journey during which he and his troops underwent great hardships. He returned to Kābul in 912/beginning of 1507 just in time to suppress a dangerous plot amongst his own relations. Then followed his expedition to Ḳandahār in the summer, and he was back in Kābul by Djumādā I 913/Sept. 1507, arranging an Indian expedition, and had already started when he was recalled by the news that Ḳandahār had fallen and that the Arghūns had been restored by Shaybānī. When the news reached him he was actually engaged in war with the Afghān tribes of Djagdalak and Nangrahār, tribes recently established in the Kābul valley. He had great difficulty in holding even Kābul, where his authority was threatened by rebellion and mutiny. Shaybānī was now possessor of Khurāsān and overlord of Ḳandahār, but his power began to decline. His armies suffered severely during an expedition into the mountains of Ghūr, and another warrior king, Shāh Ismāʿīl, founder of the Ṣafawī kingdom of Persia, threatened him from the west. In 916/1510 Ismāʿīl invaded Khurāsān and Shaybānī was defeated and slain near Marw. Harāt passed into Ismāʿīl's possession and the Shīʿite doctrines were enforced there by a severe persecution. Bābur now allied himself with Ismāʿīl and recovered for a time possession of his hereditary dominions in Central Asia, leaving the kingdom of Kābul to his brother Nāṣir Mīrzā. The alliance with the Ṣafawī king was unpopular, however, and the Uzbeks rallied. In the end Bābūr, after a severe defeat at Ghaždawān near Bukhārā (918/1512) from which he barely escaped with his life, had to fall back upon Kābul, which he found in great disorder, and he had to suppress outbreaks among his own Mughal troops and among the Afghān tribes. The Yūsufzays had moved down from the mountains into the Peshāwar valley, and expelled their predecessors the Dilāzāks from the mountains of Bādjawr and Swāt. Bābur put them down severely and took Bādjawr with great slaughter. He also had to put down risings among the Hazāras. He then turned his attention to Kandahār where Shāh Beg Arghūn was still established. He had tried in vain to make terms with Shāh Ismāʿīl, had been imprisoned at Harāt, but escaped, and had since been endeavouring to establish a kingdom for himself in Sind, which he invaded with the assistance of some Balūč tribes in 917/1511. Bābur made two attempts to take Ḳandahār before he finally succeeded in 928/1522. Shāh Beg then removed his headquarters to Shāl (Quetta) in summer and Sībī in winter, and pursued his schemes in Sind, while the whole Ḳandahār province remained in Bābur's possession. Bābur now felt himself strong enough to embark on the series of enterprises which ended in the overthrow of the kingdom of the Lōdī Afghāns in India. He always preferred Kābul to the plains of India, and was buried at Ghazna where his tomb is marked by a column.

Between the Mughal and Ṣafawī empires. Afghānistān entered upon a more settled period under the influence of the two great empires of India and Persia between which it was divided. Harāt and Sīstān remained with Persia though still for a time troubled by Uzbek raids. Kābul remained part of the Mughal empire while Ḳandahār belonged sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. The power of the Mughal emperors was gradually restricted to the south of the Hindū-kūsh. North of it Sulaymān Mīrzā, established by Bābur as governor of Badakhshān, founded something like an independent dynasty, and the rest of the country remained under the Shaybānids. Ismāʿīl died in 930/1524, and Bābur in 937/1530. Bābur's son Humāyūn succeeded him and his brothers Kāmrān, Hindāl and ʿAskarī held various governments. Kābul and Ḳandahār were united with the Pandjāb under Kāmrān. On the Persian side Ṭahmāsp the successor of Ismāʿīl had made his brother Sām Mīrzā governor of Harāt. The Ṣafawīs regarded Ḳandahār as an appanage of the kingdom of Khurāsān now in their possession, and considered its occupation by the Mughal emperors to be a usurpation. In 941/1535 Sām Mīrzā made a sudden attack on it, but it resisted him successfully, and after eight months Kāmrān arrived and raised the siege. During Sām's absence the Uzbeks under ʿUbayd Allāh invaded Khurāsān, and the unfortunate town of Harāt was again taken and sacked. Ṭahmāsp recovered it, deposed Sām and himself attacked Ḳandahār which he took; but it was recovered by Kāmrān. Meanwhile Humāyūn lost his throne in India through the rising of the Sūr Afghāns under Shīr Shāh, and in 950/1543 he made his way from Sind through the desert south of Ḳandahār to Sīstān and Persia, where he was treated hospitably by Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In 952/1545 with the assistance of a Persian army he laid siege to Ḳandahār which was held against him by his brother ʿAskarī on behalf of Kāmrān, and took it after a prolonged resistance. In accordance with his engagement with Ṭahmāsp he made the town over to the Persians, but this excited great discontent among his own followers, and Humāyūn at last retook Ḳandahār from the Persians, and treated the province as part of his own dominions, greatly to the anger of Ṭahmāsp. Shortly afterwards Humāyūn took Kābul and with it obtained possession of his young son Akbar now three years old. During the next few years the war between the brothers went on with varying fortunes. Kāmrān twice regained possession of Kābul but could not hold it long; on one occasion he is said to have exposed the young prince Akbar on the battlements. He then spent some time among the Mahmand and Khalīl tribes of Afghāns, whom he incited to plunder the Kābul valley. At last in 961/1553, he surrendered to Humāyūn and was deprived of his sight. Humāyūn now held the kingdom of Kābul and Ḳandahār and found himself strong enough to attempt the reconquest of India. This resulted in his victory over the Sūr kings, but soon afterwards, in 963/1556, he died from the effect of an accident. While the young king Akbar was occupied in completing the reconquest of India Ṭahmāsp took the opportunity (965/1558) of seizing Ḳandahār, and it remained under Persian rule until the prince Muẓaffar Ḥusayn surrendered it to Akbar thirty-eight years later in 1003/1621. Shāh ʿAbbās recovered it, but it was lost again by his successor Shāh Ṣafī I, in whose time the governor ʿAli Mardān Khān surrendered it to Shāh Djahān (1047/1637); Girishk was also taken after a siege, and Zamīndāwar occupied. In 1058/1648 the young Persian king ʿAbbās II, then only sixteen years of age, led an army to Ḳandahār and took it, and it never again formed part of the dominions of the Mughal

empire. Shāh Djahān's armies in vain attempted the reconquest. The rival princes Awrangzīb and Dārā-shikūh both conducted expeditions against it, but were equally unsuccessful, and after the failure of the last (1062/1652) no further attempts were made.

With the exception of the vicissitudes of Ḳandahār, there is little to record in the history of Afghānistān during the time it was divided between the Mughal and Ṣafawī empires. The Afghān tribes were steadily increasing in numbers and influence, and it was probably in this period that the Abdālīs and Ghalzays spread from their mountains over the more fertile lands of Ḳandahār and Zamīn-dāwar and the Tarnak and Arghandāb valleys. The decline in the position and influence of the Tādjīk races which had borne the brunt of the Mongolian invasions, and the occupation of their mountain fortresses of Ghūr by a semi-Mongolian population [cf. HAZĀRA], gave the Afghān race the opportunity of rising into prominence. In their eastern mountains they had been but little affected by invaders, eager chiefly to press on through the passes to the plunder of India, and the same need of an outlet for their increasing population which led them to spread into the plains of India on the east also led the pastoral tribes to spread westwards. The mountain tribes continued to maintain practical independence of all rule. The Mughal government of Kābul ruled nominally, but its actual power was confined to the open valleys. In 994/1586 for instance Akbar's army met with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Yūsufzays of Swāt and Bādjawr, and the general Rādjā Bīrbal was slain. Rādjā Mān Singh afterwards defeated the mountaineers but they were never really conquered; they often raided the plains and sometimes took sides in dynastic quarrels, as when the Yūsufzays took up the cause of the pretended prince Shudjāʿ against Awrangzīb. When Shāh ʿĀlam I before his accession was governor of Kābul under Awrangzīb in 1114/1702 one of his commanders Purdil Khān himself an Afghān, was killed with all his troops when trying to pass from Khōst to Kābul, and he had to bribe the tribes to keep open the road between Kābul and Peshāwar.

Abdālīs, Ghalzays, Nādir Shāh. In the Ḳandahār province the frequent changes of government between India and Persia fomented dissensions and intrigue, and enabled the powerful tribes to play off one against the other. The Abdālīs [*q.v.*] near Ḳandahār succeeded in this manner in obtaining concessions from Shāh ʿAbbās the Great. Sadō was recognized as chief, and his descendants the Sadōzays became the ruling family. Nevertheless their misconduct led to part of the tribe being removed to the Harāt province. This removal led to the extension of the influence of the Ghalzay [*q.v.*] tribe near Ḳandahār, and their power continued to increase until the accession of the emperor Shāh ʿĀlam I, when the Ghalzays of the Ḳandahār province began to intrigue with him against the Persian government. The plot was discovered and Gurgīn Khān, a Georgian chief, was sent to Ḳandahār at the head of an army, and arrested Mīr Ways the Ghalzay chief. During his imprisonment, however, Mīr Ways succeeded in gaining the confidence of Shāh Ḥusayn the Persian king, and was allowed to return to his tribe. Shortly afterwards he treacherously murdered Gurgīn Khan whom he had invited to a banquet, seized upon Ḳandahār and defeated all attempts to subdue him. He died soon after, and his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who showed an inclination to submit to Persia, was murdered by Maḥmūd, son of Mīr Ways, who established himself as ruler. (For further details of their conquest of Persia see GHALZAY.)

At the same period the section of the Abdālī tribe in the Harāt province became practically masters of that province, defeated a strong army sent against them under Ṣafī Ḳuli Khān, and held their own till the time of Nādir Shāh, even taking Farāh from the Ghalzays after the latter had conquered Persia. While the Ghalzay Maḥmūd fought in Persia, the Abdālīs spread over Khurāsān and laid siege to Mashhad. The Ghalzay dynasty was in no way fitted to reign over a country like Persia, and had not sufficient force behind them to oppose any truly national movement. Even the support of the Ḳandahār province was lost when Ashraf succeeded his cousin Maḥmūd, whose brother was able to retain Ḳandahār. The Abdālīs too remained independent in Harāt. Thus when Nādir [*q.v.*] put himself at the head of a national movement Ashraf's government collapsed rapidly, and few of the Ghalzays survived to reach their native country. Ashraf was killed while wandering in Balūčistān in 1142/1729. Nādir now turned his arms against the Abdālīs under Malik Maḥmūd Khān who held Mashhad (1142/1728). He thoroughly defeated them and took many prisoners. Nevertheless he perceived their value as fighting men and secured their support by restoring them to their old home near Ḳandahār, from which he removed the Ghalzays when he had the opportunity. He banished them to the Harāt province, but very few, if any, seem to have really settled there, and there are none there at the present day. When Nādir Shāh had made himself king of Persia he laid siege to Ḳandahār which resisted him for a year, but at last fell (1150/1738). The Ghalzay power was thoroughly broken, but towards the Afghān tribes in general and especially the Abdālīs he pursued a policy of conciliation, and enlisted large numbers in his army. Many Ghalzays took refuge in the Kābul province of the Indian empire, and Nādir Shāh, asserting that his remonstrances had received no reply, advanced on Kābul which fell at once (1151/1738). Thus it was finally severed from the Mughal empire. The last known date of any coin of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh struck there is 1138/1725. Nādir Shāh apparently did not use the Kābul mint, but struck coins at Ḳandahār in 1150/1737, the year of his conquest, and others struck at Nādirābād (which he built during the siege outside Ḳandahār) no doubt refer to the period of the siege. The whole of Afghānistān was now in his hands and afforded him the necessary base for his invasion of India in 1152/1739. As a result of his victory over Muḥammad Shāh the whole Mughal territory west of the Indus including Peshāwar and the Dēradjāt with the suzerainty over the Kalhōrā or ʿAbbāsī rulers of Sind was ceded to him as well as the province of Kābul. On his return from Dihlī (1152/1740) he first crossed the Indus at Attock and attacked the Yūsufzays who had been giving trouble, and then went to Kābul. Thence he descended via the Kuṛam valley and the Bangash country, and went through the Dēradjāt to Sind, returning by the Bolān to Ḳandahār and thence to Harāt. During the remainder of his life he relied to a great extent on his Afghān troops and but little on the Persians, from whom he was alienated by his Sunnī creed. The Abdālīs were especially favoured and their young chief Aḥmad Khān rose to a high position in his army. Tradition says that Nādir himself prophesied that Aḥmad would be king after him. When Nādir Shāh was assassinated by Persians

and Ḳizil Bash, Aḥmad Shāh who was near by with a strong body of Abdālīs seized on a treasure convoy and made his way to Ḳandahār, where he made himself king. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES*)

(3) THE AFGHĀN NATIONAL STATE. (A) THE SADŌZAY DYNASTY.

Aḥmad Shāh made himself king in Ḳandahār and obtained possession of all the eastern portion of Nādir's empire up to the Indus. Harāt soon followed, and in the general break up of the Persian monarchy Aḥmad Shāh acted as the protector of Shāhrukh, grandson of Nādir Shāh, who was blinded by his enemies, and maintained a principality for him in Khurāsān. This province in reality formed part of the dominions of Aḥmad Shāh and his son Tīmūr Shāh, both of whom occasionally struck coins at Mashhad, but Shāhrukh continued to rule in name until he was seized and killed by Āghā Muḥammad Kādjār after Tīmūr Shāh's death. Harāt was however treated as an integral part of the Durrānī monarchy, and the ancient kingdom of Khurāsān has remained divided between Persia and Afghānistān.

Aḥmad Shāh made Ḳandahār his capital and gave it the name of Aḥmadshāhī which appears on his coins and those of his successors. He took the title of Durr-i Durrān, and his tribe, the Abdālīs, have since been known as Durrānī [*q.v.*]. His family had long been looked up to, and this fact, combined with his tact and energy, enabled him to hold his own. The tribes were treated mildly, and he relied upon foreign war rather than taxation to provide him with a revenue. The Durrānīs were proud of him and followed him willingly, but they were not an easy race to govern, and his son Tīmūr Shāh on this account moved his capital to Kābul where the population is mainly Tādjīk. In his Indian conquests Aḥmad Shāh not only rivalled but excelled Nādir Shāh, and extended his dominions far beyond the Indus. He added the provinces of Kashmīr, of Lahore and Multān, that is the greater part of Pandjāb and the suzerainty over the Dā'ūdpotras of Bahāwalpur to his dominions.

He invaded India several times, and occupied Dihlī more than once. His defeat of the Mahrattas at Pānipāt in 1174/1761 was a turning point in Indian history, but he did not add any provinces beyond the Pandjāb to his own dominions. His wars with the Sikhs were perpetual and led to the eventual loss of the province. The *khān* of Ḳalāt too, the Brahū'ī Nāṣir Khān who had become feudatory to Nādir Shāh declared his independence in 1172/1758. Aḥmad Shāh besieged Kalāt without success, and on being called away to India accepted a purely nominal submission. Nāṣir Khān, however, supported Aḥmad Shāh in his wars in Khurāsān, and contributed greatly to his victory over Karīm Khān Zand in 1182/1768. On this occasion the blind Afshārī prince took the side of Karīm Khān and sheltered him in Mashhad which Ahmad Shāh reduced by blockade.

For further details about Aḥmad Shāh see AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ; he died at Murghāb in the hills near Ḳandahār in 1187/1773, leaving his successor a very extensive but insecure empire.

Tīmūr Shāh had held important posts under his father, such as the Niẓāmship of Lahore and Multān, which is marked by a distinct series of coins. At the time of Aḥmad Shāh's death he was at Harāt, and only obtained possession of Ḳandahār after seizing and executing his brother Sulaymān, who had been set up as his rival. He soon moved his capital to Kābul, and reigned uneventfully for twenty years, during which the monarchy declined steadily in strength and stability, although externally it remained unimpaired. The authority of the central government over the outer provinces was precarious. The Sikhs grew in power and took Multān in 1196/1781, but Tīmūr Shāh retook it the same year. In Sind the feudatory Kalhōrās were overthrown and replaced by Balūč *amīrs* of the Tālbur tribe (commonly called Tālpurs), who waged successful war against Tīmūr Shāh's generals from 1197/1782 to 1201/1786, and remained independent, although they accepted a nominal suzerainty. The Mangit *amīr* of Bukhārā Maʿṣūm, who had been encroaching on the Turkistān province, especially Marw, also made a nominal submission when attacked by Tīmūr Shāh, but retained all his conquests. In Kashmīr also there was a revolt which was suppressed. Internally the power of the Bārakzay clan of the Durrānīs became gradually greater. Tīmūr Shāh died in 1207/1793 and was succeeded by his son Zamān Shāh, who reigned till he was dethroned by his brother Maḥmūd Shāh in 1215/1800. Short as his reign was he was able to concentrate in it crimes and follies enough to wreck the Durrānī monarchy. Although weakened at home by the rivalry of his brothers Maḥmūd and Shudjāʿ al-Mulk, threatened in Khurāsān by the Ḳādjārs and in the north by Shāh Murād Mangit, and in the south defied by the *khān* of Kalāt and the *amīrs* of Sind, yet he could not refrain from wasting his strength in foolish attempts to rival Aḥmad Shāh's conquests in India, and to pose as the champion of Islam against Sikhs and Mahrattas. This brought him into collision with the English now rapidly becoming the ruling power in North India. His first invasion (1209/1795) was cut short at Ḥasan Abdāl by the news that Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār had captured Mashhad and murdered the blind old Shāhrukh. Having been appeased by an embassy from the Persian king he began a second invasion of India, which was interrupted by the rebellion of Maḥmūd at Harāt. After defeating this rising he invaded the Pandjāb, and this time reached Lahore and received the nominal submission of the Sikhs, now headed by Randjit Singh, but the Ḳādjār encroachments in Khurāsān again called him back. Maḥmūd meanwhile led a wandering life intriguing with discontented persons in Harāt and Ḳandahār. Among these was the powerful leader of the Bārakzay clan, Payinda Khān, known by the title of Sarfarāz Khān, who was jealous of the authority wielded by the vizier Wafā'dār Khān. The conspiracy was detected and Payinda Khān was executed. His son Fatḥ Khān fled to Maḥmūd in Khurāsān and induced him to throw himself on the sympathy of the Durrānī tribe with whom Zamān Shāh was unpopular (Zamān Shāh's mother was a Yūsufzay while Maḥmūd's was a Popalzay Durrānī). This advice was justified by the result. Maḥmūd obtained possession of Ḳandahār while the infatuated Zamān Shāh was preparing for another invasion of India. Maḥmūd advanced on Kābul and Zamān Shāh fled, but was soon captured and blinded (1215/1800). Simultaneously with Maḥmūd's accession at Kābul Shudjāʿ al-Mulk proclaimed himself king at Peshāwar. He was assisted by a Ghalzay rising against Maḥmūd and in 1218/1803 he took Kābul, imprisoned Maḥmūd and released the blind Zamān Shāh, his own whole brother. For a time Ḳandahār was held by Maḥmūd's son Kāmrān supported by Fatḥ Khān, but the latter made terms for himself and submitted, but discontented with his position almost immediately set up a rival king Ḳayṣar Shāh son of Zamān Shāh.

The next few years were occupied by constant intrigues. Fatḥ Khān changed rapidly from one pretender to another, sometimes supporting Maḥmūd and Kāmrān, sometimes Ḳayṣar, while Shudjāʿ al-Mulk dissipated his strength in expeditions to Sind and Kashmīr. Finally Fatḥ Khān, who was now supporting Maḥmūd, defeated Shudjāʿ al-Mulk at Nimla (1224/1809). He fled into India and Maḥmūd's second reign began. He was however absolutely dependent on Fatḥ Khān, whose power became very great. His brother Dūst Muḥammad held high office, another brother Muḥammad Aʿẓam became governor of Kashmīr, and another Kūhandil governor of Ḳandahār. Harāt which had become independent under another prince was reconquered by Fatḥ Khān and Dūst Muḥammad in 1232/1816. Soon afterwards Dūst Muḥammad incurred the enmity of Kāmrān, who had become governor, by entering his harem and insulting his sister. He fled to Kashmīr and Kāmrān took his vengeance on Fatḥ Khān, whom he blinded and afterwards killed with the consent of Maḥmūd. Although perfidious and unscrupulous Fatḥ Khān was greatly admired by the Afghāns, and his brother Dūst Muḥammad had no difficulty in raising a large force and defeating Maḥmūd in 1235/1818 near Kābul. Maḥmūd lost Kābul which he never recovered. He held Harāt till his death in 1245/1829 and Kāmrān continued to rule there till he was murdered in 1258/1842.

(M. Longworth Dames *)

(B) THE BĀRAKZAY (OR MUḤAMMADZAY) DYNASTY.

The Muḥammadzay, a small subdivision of the Durrānī Bārakzay of Ḳandahār, derive their name from Muḥammad, a contemporary of Malik Sadō, chief of the Abdālī clans, with whom he lived amongst his small tribe at Arghasān, SE of Ḳandahār, about 1000/1591. His descendants held the title of chief among the Bārakzay tribes of Ḳandahār, and came into prominence with Ḥādjdjī Djamāl Khān b. Ḥādjdjī Yūsuf b. Yāro b. Muḥammad, who served under Aḥmad Shāh and died in 1184/1770-1. His son Pāyinda Khān rendered important services to Tīmūr Shāh in the suppression of rebellions, but in consequence of his intrigues with Maḥmūd against Shāh Zamān was executed in Ḳandahār in 1214/1800. He left a number of sons, the eldest of whom, Fatḥ Khān, was installed as vizier, with the title of Shāh Dūst, on Maḥmūd's occupation of Kābul (1215/1800). With the increasing power of the Muḥammadzay their ambitions clashed with the ruling Sadōzay family and plunged Afghānistān into strife and bloodshed until finally, after the execution of Fatḥ Khān in 1234/1818-9, his brother Dūst Muḥammad drove Maḥmūd out of Kābul.

The Bārakzay chiefs, who by now held most of the country, ruled at first in the name of various puppet kings of the Sadōzay family, such as Ayyūb and Sulṭān ʿAlī (who took the name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd on his coins). It was not until 1254/1838 that Dūst Muḥammad formally assumed the style of *amīr* of Kābul; but neither he nor any of his successors before Ḥabīb Allāh took the title of shāh or king. During the early years of his rule the outer provinces of the empire were rapidly lost. The Sikhs took Multān in 1233/1818, Kashmīr in 1235/1819, Dēra Ghāzī Khān in the same year, and Dēra Ismāʿīl Khān in 1236/1821. Peshāwar long resisted them under Dūst Muḥammad's brother, Sardār Sulṭān Muḥammad, but it too fell in 1250/1834. The *amīrs* of Sind threw off the last sign of Afghān rule by taking Shikārpūr, and to the north of the Hindū-kush Balkh was lost also. Dūst Muḥammad therefore became the ruler of a compact Afghān kingdom; the loss of the outlying provinces, which had always been a source of weakness to the Sadōzay kings, tended to consolidate his power. Although without scruples of any sort in attaining his ends, yet he had the reputation of a just man and was popular among the Afghāns. But his progress was checked by the inevitable rivalries of his brothers. While he made Kābul his capital, Kūhandil Khān held Ḳandahār and defeated an attempt by Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Sadōzay to recover it in 1250/1834. Harāt was taken by the Persians after the murder of Kāmrān by his vizier Yār Muḥammad Khān (1258/1842), and was only recovered by Dūst Muḥammad in 1280/1863, just before his death.

Shudjāʿ al-Mulk, after his failure at Ḳandahār, endeavoured to obtain British assistance, and political events led to his ultimately obtaining it. Attempts by Alexander Burnes to negotiate a treaty with Dūst Muḥammad had broken down, and the growth of Russian influence led the Indian government to favour Shudjāʿ al-Mulk's claims. The Persians had at this time (1253/1837) laid siege to Harāt. It was believed that their operations were directed by Russians and an English officer conducted the defence. This brought matters to a climax. An Anglo-Indian army advanced through Sind and the Bolān Pass on Ḳandahār (end of 1254/Feb. 1839) and after taking the city marched on Kābul. Dūst Muḥammad fled to Bukhārā and Shudjāʿ al-Mulk was placed on the throne of Kābul (1 Djumādā II 1255/17 Aug. 1839). Dūst Muḥammad, after some unsuccessful operations in the north, surrendered to the British in the following year and was sent to Calcutta.

Shudjāʿ al-Mulk's reign was a troubled one. Kābul was abandoned by the British-Indian army in 1841, and on its retreat the army was almost annihilated at the Khurd Kābul pass. These operations were conducted by Muḥammad Akbar Khān, son of Dūst Muḥammad. The British continued to hold Djalālābad and Ḳandahār, and reoccupied Kābul in the autumn of 1258/1842. Shortly before this, Shudjāʿ al-Mulk had been murdered, and his son Fatḥ Djang was recognized as king by the Popalzays but opposed by the Bārakzays. The British soon afterwards left Afghānistān, and Fath Djang, knowing that he could not hold his own, went with them, accompanied by the blind old Zamān Shāh, who was still living. Dūst Muḥammad was sent back to Afghānistān, as he was the only man who could establish a firm government. His sons and brothers were reestablished in their governments, but rifts continued from time to time to breach the solidarity of the clan, and even Akbar Khān, now vizier, was on bad terms with his father till he died in 1266/1849-50. Dūst Muḥammad maintained friendly relations with Britain except at the time of the Sikh war of 1849, when the Afghān contingent covered itself with ridicule by its rapid flight after the battle of Gudjrāt. During the mutiny of the Indian army in 1857, Dūst Muḥammad gave them no support. He occupied himself in strengthening his own country, and from 1267 to 1272/1850-55 he reconquered Balkh, Khulm, Kunduz and Badakhshān. In 1280/1863 he succeeded in driving the Persians from Harāt, and he died there immediately after its recovery, having been a good ruler on the whole in spite of obvious faults. [See also DŪST MUḤAMMAD KHĀN.]

Shīr ʿAlī, his fifth son, who had been nominated by him as his successor, bacame almost at once

involved in civil war with his own elder brothers Muḥammad Aʿẓam and Muḥammad Afḍal, and with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the able and determined son of the latter. (For an account of these wars see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN). Shīr ʿAlī was defeated in 1283/1866 and lost first Kābul and then Ḳandahār. Afḍal and Aʿẓam reigned in succession until 1285/1868, but never held possession of Harāt, whence Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb, Shīr ʿAlī's son, advanced in the latter year and recovered Ḳandahār and Kābul for his father. Shīr ʿAlī now held the whole of Afghānistān, and was recognized by the Indian government, and met the viceroy Lord Mayo at Ambāla in 1286/1869. He was not, however, satisfied with his treatment, as he could obtain no definite promise of support against other powers. At this period he imprisoned his enterprising son Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb and resented the viceroy's attempt to intercede for him. He agreed to an arbitration by British officers as to the Sīstān border, regarding which there was a dispute with Persia. According to this arbitration (1290/1873) a considerable part of the most fertile lands was awarded to Persia, and this was another cause of resentment. Finally he began to negotiate with Russia and refused to receive a British embassy. These causes led to the war of 1878-80. The British army took Kābul, and Shīr ʿAlī fled to Mazār-i Sharīf, where he died in 1296/1879). [See also SHĪR ʿALĪ]. His army, organized on the European model, was defeated by Lord Roberts at the Paywār pass.

Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb, released from prison and proclaimed *amīr* on his father's flight (Rabīʿ I 1296/Feb.-March 1879), met the advancing British forces at Gandamak, and there concluded a treaty (4 Djumādā II/26 May) by which he ceded to British India certain territories near the Bolān pass and the Kuṛam valley, and agreed to receive a mission at Kābul. A few months later a rising in Kābul resulted in the massacre of the members of the mission headed by Sir Louis Cavagnari. This led to a fresh outbreak of war. Roberts took Kābul a second time, but was besieged there by a tribal army headed by Muḥammad Djān and the *mulla* Mushk-i ʿĀlam. After its defeat Yaʿḳūb Khān was deposed and removed to India, and the government was offered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a separate state being constituted at Ḳandahār. Part of the army at Ḳandahār under Stewart marched to Kābul, as a preliminary to evacuating the country, and in passing through the Ghalzay country was attacked at Aḥmad Khayl by a large force of men of that tribe, who were only defeated after a most desperate conflict. Scarcely had ʿAbd al-Raḥmān been proclaimed when Ayyūb, a son of Shīr ʿAlī, who had been collecting an army at Harāt, marched on Ḳandahār, defeated a small Anglo-Indian force at Maywand, and laid siege to Ḳandahār. Roberts marched rapidly from Kābul and defeated Ayyūb. After this the British army withdrew and the whole country including Ḳandahār was made over to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1297/1880). In spite of internal difficulties and external problems [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN], he preserved the independence and integrity of the country, and on his death (15 Djumādā II 1319/1 Oct. 1901) transmitted an undisputed authority to his son Ḥabīb Allāh. Shortly after the latter's accession the conclusion of a Russo-British agreement removed the fears of further annexation or intervention by either Power, and in 1323/1905 the *amīr* confirmed the treaty made by his father with the government of British India, securing to the latter control of the foreign relations of Afghānistān in return for an annual subsidy of eighteen *lakhs* of rupees (£160,000). Internally, peace was almost wholly unbroken and some advance was made in education. During the First World War Afghānistān maintained a policy of neutrality. On 18 Djumādā I 1337/20 Feb. 1919 Ḥabīb Allāh Khān was shot in his camp at Ḳalaʿ-i Gūsh in Laghmān. His brother Naṣr Allāh proclaimed himself his successor, but was captured by the late *amīr*'s third son, Amān Allāh, who had the support of the army, and imprisoned.

Amān Allāh Khān almost at once opened hostilities against British India but only a month later sued for an armistice, and by the Treaty of Rāwalpindi (11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1337/8 Aug. 1919) the independence of Afghānistān was formally recognized. New treaties were concluded with the USSR and Great Britain in 1921, but tension continued on the northern frontier until 1922 and on the SE frontiers until 1924. In 1922 a constitution was promulgated at a Loe Djirga, followed in 1923 by an administrative code and in 1924 by measures to provide for the higher education of women. After the outbreak of a rebellion in Khost, led by the *mulla* ʿAbd al-Karīm, the latter were cancelled and the conscription laws modified at a second Loe Djirga (July 1924), and the rebellion was eventually suppressed. Nevertheless, King Amān Allāh (he had assumed the royal title in 1926), on returning from a tour through India, Europe, the USSR and Turkey (Dec. 1927 to July 1928), summoned a third Loe Djirga to promulgate a new constitution, and to announce a programme of social and educational reforms. A series of tribal risings followed, during which a Tādjīk brigand, Bačča-i Saḳaw, later entitled Ḥabīb Allāh Khān, advanced from Kūh-i Dāman and seized Kābul (Jan. 1929). Amān Allāh fled to Ḳandahār, and his attempts to regain Kābul were defeated by the Ghalzay supporters of Ḥabīb Allāh (April-May 1929); meanwhile, Harāt was occupied by another Tādjīk, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.

The cause of the Muḥammadzays was now taken up by a collateral line descended from Pāyinda Khān, under the leadership of a former army commander who had been living in exile, Nādir Khān (b. Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān b. Yaḥyā Khān b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, brother of Dūst Muḥammad). After several unsuccessful attempts, he secretly recruited a force of Wazīrs and Mahsūds, which, under the command of his brother Shāh Walī Khān, occupied Kābul, where Nādir Khān was proclaimed king, with the title of Nādir Shāh, on 12 Djumādā I 1348/16 Oct. 1929. Ḥabīb Allāh surrendered, and was executed. The pacification of the country required a further two years, and discontent continued to smoulder among the former supporters of Amān Allāh, of whom the most active were the Čarkhī family of Logar. The hasty execution of its leading member provoked a blood-feud, in the course of which king Nādir Shāh was assassinated (20 Radjab 1352/8 Nov. 1933) in the palace of Dilkushā. His son Muḥammad Ẓāhir, then aged 19, was at once proclaimed as successor by the brothers of Nādir Shāh, the eldest of whom, Sardār Muḥammad Hāshim Khān, exercised a virtual regency until 1946. Several tribal risings in the following years were sternly suppressed, and an active programme of military, educational and economic development was pursued. In 1934 Afghānistān entered the League of Nations, and in 1937 signed with Turkey, ʿIrāk and Iran the pact of Saʿdābād; a trade agreement was negotiated with the USSR in 1936. During the second World

War it again maintained a strict neutrality. The remaining frontier disputes were settled in 1947—that in the north by agreement with the USSR, and that with Iran over the Hilmand river by American arbitration. Since the constitution of Pakistan in the same year, however, the problem of the unsubdued tribes of the former "North-West Frontier" (see the articles AFRĪDĪ and MAHMAND), which for a century bedevilled relations between Afghānistān and British India, continues equally to disturb those between the two Muslim States.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAMES—H.A.R. GIBB)

ʿAFĪF AL-DĪN AL-TILIMSĀNĪ (see AL-TILIMSĀNĪ).

AL-**AFLĀDJ** (AFLĀDJ AL-DAWĀSIR), a district in southern Nadjd athwart the great cuesta of Ṭuwayḳ, roughly bounded by Wādī Birk (N), the plain of al-Bayāḍ (E), Wādī al-Maḳran (S), and the sands of al-Daḥy (W). The most populous oasis and present capital is Laylā (46° 44′ 35″ E, 22° 16′ 45″ N).

The district contains a remarkable group of spring-fed pools called ʿUyūn al-Sayḥ and the extensive remains of a system of channels which once irrigated a more prosperous land. The pools, the largest of which is nearly a kilometre long, are the most noteworthy features of this kind in the Arabian Peninsula. The district, in older times also known as al-Faladj, takes its name from *faladj* (pl. *aflādj*), the term still used in ʿUmān for an underground aqueduct with surface apertures to facilitate cleaning of the channel, though strangely enough this type of aqueduct, which may be of Persian origin, is now called *sāḳī* (pron. *sādji*, pl. *sawādji*) in al-Aflādj. The poorly kept aqueducts of Samḥān, Barābir, al-Wadjdjādj, and three smaller ones, all of which water the oasis of al-Sayḥ, are still flowing.

The northernmost village of al-Aflādj is Usaylila. Laylā comprises the settlements of Ghaṣība, the present seat of the *amīr*, al-Mubarraz, the former seat, and al-Djufaydiriyya. Farther south are the oases of al-ʿAmār (not to be confused with Āl ʿAmmār, a section of the Dawāsir), al-Sayḥ, which is the most extensively cultivated of all, al-Kharfa, and al-Rawḍa. The pools lie south-west of al-Sayḥ. South of the pools are the tiny oases of Suwaydān, al-Ruḳayḳiyya, al-Ghawṭa, and Marwān. The southernmost oases are al-Badīʿ in Wādī Ḥashradj, which descends from al-Haddār, and al-Shuṭba in the upper reaches of al-Maḳran. In the highlands of Ṭuwayḳ are al-Sitāra (al-Ṣidāra in al-Hamdānī), Ḥurāḍa, and al-Ghayl, all ancient places. Along the western escarpment of Ṭuwayḳ are al-Ḥamar (al-Aḥmar) (N) and al-Haddār (S).

At the dawn of Islam the dominant tribe in al-Aflādj was Djaʿda [*q.v.*], whose ancestor was a brother of Ḳushayr and al-Ḥashīr, sons of Kaʿb, a descendant of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa of the Northern Arabs. In 9/630-1 Djaʿda embraced Islam and sent an envoy to Medina, where the Prophet confirmed the tribe's position in the district (Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 1, 297).

In 126/743-4 Djaʿda and their allies of Banū ʿĀmir on the First Day of al-Faladj killed a governor of Banū Ḥanīfa who had been set over them. Banū Ḥanīfa, after defeating Banū ʿĀmir on the Second Day of al-Faladj, had their power broken on the Day of al-Nishāsh in 126 (Caetani, *Chronographia*, v, 1601).

Three centuries after the Prophet, Djaʿda remained the foremost tribe of al-Aflādj, followed in importance by Ḳushayr and al-Ḥashīr (al-Hamdānī, i, 159). Djaʿda's chief centre was Sūḳ al-Faladj, a city with iron gates and walls 30 cubits thick enclosing an area said to contain 260 wells of sweet water. Also within the territory of Djaʿda was al-Ḳaṣr al-ʿAdī, reputed to date back to the time of Ṭasm and Djadīs—perhaps the same as the ruins now known as Ḳuṣayrāt ʿĀd just south of al-Sayḥ. Ḳushayr occupied the city of al-Hayṣamiyya with walls broad enough for four horses to run abreast along the summit. Among the towns belonging to al-Ḥashīr was al-Haddār, but many members of this tribe had already moved to the Yemen.

In 443/1051 Nāṣir-i Khusraw found al-Aflādj in a state of virtual ruin as the result of internal dissensions so severe that men wore their shields and swords even while praying. During this medieval age the tribe of Djumayla, said to be a branch of ʿAnaza, became the leading power. Āl Ṣabāḥ and Āl Khalīfa, the present ruling houses of al-Kuwayt and al-Baḥrayn, who trace their lineage back to Djumayla, emigrated from al-Haddār well over two centuries ago under pressure from the Dawāsir [*q.v.*] of the south, who eventually supplanted Djumayla in control of the whole district.

In 1199/1785 the people of al-Aflādj, following the lead of their kinsmen in Wādī al-Dawāsir, adhered to the Wahhābī cause and have since remained staunch in its support, though the district has played only a minor role in modern history. In 1328/1910 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd cornered the rebellious leaders of the Hazāzina of al-Faraʿ at Laylā and executed them. The district is now under an *amīr* responsible to the central government of Saudi Arabia in al-Riyāḍ.

In addition to the Dawāsir, small numbers of Subayʿ, the Suhūl, and the Fuḍūl live in al-Aflādj. Remnants of Djumayla are found at al-Haddār. *Ashrāf* form an important part of the population of al-Sayḥ. Negro blood is often seen in the towns, and there are many folk of Banū Khaḍīr [*q.v.*], mainly tillers of the soil (*kaddād*, pl. *kawādīd*).

The dates of al-Aflādj are famous. Both al-Hamdānī and Philby mention the *ṣufrī* variety (called by al-Hamdānī *sayyid al-tumūr*, though the present inhabitants regard the *sirī* as the *sayyid*),

and Nāṣir reckoned the dates of al-Aflādj better than those of al-Baṣra.

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AFLĀKĪ, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, biographer of the saints of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*], was a disciple of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's grandson, Djalāl al-Dīn al-ʿĀrif, at whose request he wrote the *Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifīn*, lives of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, his father, successors and associates, begun in 718/1318-9, completed in 754/1353-4. Edition: Agra 1897; Fr. transl. by Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22; Engl. transl. of extracts: *The Mesnevi, Book the first*, transl. by J. W. Redhouse, London 1881, 1-135. There is a revised version by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Hamadānī (947/1540-1), with additional dates, etc., and a Turkish translation of this work.

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AFLĀṬŪN Arabic for Plato, the Greek philosopher, who became, together with Aristotle, the standard philosopher in late Greek philosophy.

(i) Works and doctrine; (ii) Lives; (iii) Sayings.

(i) Plato is known to Arab authors according to the different ways in which his genuine works or those erroneously attributed to him were read and studied in the Greek sections of the Roman Empire during the centuries preceding the Arab conquest of Hellenized lands in the Eastern Mediterranean. Most Arab thinkers did not consider Plato the main representative of Greek thought as St. Augustine e.g. had done (*Civ. Dei*, viii, 4, 12) but subordinated him to Aristotle; they were however like e.g. Porphyry, Ammonius and Simplicius aware of an identity of purpose and a basic agreement between the two great philosophers.

Just as commentaries on Aristotle written outside the Neoplatonic schools survived in Arabic translations and, partly, in Arabic translations only (as in the case of certain writings of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, etc.), interpretations of Plato, untinged by Neoplatonism, found their way to the Arabic philosophers and were studied by them. Part of Galen's (Djālīnūs [*q.v.*]) Πλατωνικῶν διαλόγων σύνοψις in eight books, lost in the Greek original but still partly accessible to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*Mā Turdjima min Kutub Djālīnūs* (Bergsträsser), no. 124) and his school, has been traced and recently published, viz. the summary of the whole of the *Timaeus*, with many verbal quotations, a fragment of his paraphrase of the *Republic*, a fragment of his summary of the *Laws* and a reference to his summary of the *Parmenides* (P. Kraus and R. Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, i, 1951). Fragments of his medical commentary on the *Timaeus* (Ḥunayn, no. 122) have been recovered from Arabic medical writers (H. O. Schröder and P. Kahle, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum*, i, 1934). Many quotations from Plato and references to him reached the Islamic world through translations of other works by Galen. As had happened in the case of Aristotle, late Greek philosophers tried to arrange Plato's dialogues in systematic order. An otherwise unknown work of this type, completely free from Neoplatonic influence and still fully aware of the political aspects of Plato's thought, was used and partly reproduced by al-Fārābī (F. Rosenthal and R. Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, ii, 1943). The author of the Greek treatise, who had even regarded this systematic ordering of the dialogues as a chronological arrangement by date of composition, is unknown. A commentary on the *Republic* of similar provenience was widely used by al-Fārābī; it constitutes the main part of Ibn Rushd's commentary which is available in a Hebrew translation and a 16th century Latin one (edition in preparation by E. J. Rosenthal). A summary of Plato's *Laws*, of a similar type, was used by al-Fārābī in his compendium of the work (F. Gabrieli, *Plato Arabus*, iii, 1952). Al-Rāzī commented on Plutarch's commentary on the *Timaeus* (S. Pines, *Atomenlehre*, 90) and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī copied Plutarch's book (*Fihrist*, 246).

But, in general, Arabic philosophers look at Plato through the eyes of his Neoplatonic interpreters, Plotinus [cf. al-shaykh al-yūnānī], Porphyry (Furfūriyūs [*q.v.*]), Proclus (Buruḳlus [*q.v.*]) and others. In the preface to his translation of a fragment of Proclus' commentary on the *Timaeus* (89E-90C: E. Pfaff, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum*, iii, p. xlii, 1941) Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (cf. also *Mā Turdjima*, no. 45) says: "Galen is the standard interpreter of Hippocrates, and the man who is best entitled to explain the meaning of Plato's words is Proclus the most famous of scholars". An instructive example of this Proclean interpretation of Plato is to be found in Miskawayh's *al-Fawz al-Aṣghar*, in the section on the immortality of the soul (F. Rosenthal, 399 ff.), based probably on Proclus' work *On the immortality of the soul according to Plato*, in three books, which was known to the Arabs (*Fihrist*, 252). A tradition of this kind is followed by al-Kindī, in whom the Platonic element is strong (cf. *Rasāʾil* (Abū Rīda), nos. 10-13) not only in psychology but also in his extremely orthodox neoplatonic metaphysics of the One and in his ethics. The Plato to whom al-Fārābī (with the exception of his theory of the ideal state), Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn Rushd refer is, whether explicitly or implicitly, always the Plato of Plotinus and his followers. Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī had Olympiodorus' (6th century A.D.) commentary on the *Sophist* (lost in the Greek original) in his library (*Fihrist*, 256) in the translation of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn. We find an interesting account of Plato's metaphysics, cosmology and psychology, derived from an unknown but valuable neoplatonic source, in al-Shahrastānī, 283 ff. (German transl. by Th. Haarbrücker, ii, 117). On the whole, since Neoplatonism claims to be a reinterpretation of Plato, influential Neoplatonic writings deserve to be mentioned here as well, the *Theology of Aristotle*, in which Aristotle is supposed to have become a Platonist in his old age, the *Liber de causis* based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, the new Plotinian text discovered by P. Kraus (cf. Bibliography) and the Arabic Plotinus source discussed by F. Rosenthal [cf. ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS and AL-SHAYKH AL-YŪNĀNĪ].

A new development starts with al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl [*q.v.*] and the Ishrāḳīs [*q.v.*], who, criticizing al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, emphasize the mystical aspects of Platonism, or rather Neoplatonism, and make Plato the mystic the chief authority in philosophy. The Ṣūfīs now become the true followers of Plato (cf. e.g. al-Suhrawardī, *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica* (Corbin), i, p. viii, xxxiii ff.). An anonymous book *On the Platonic Ideas* (ed. ʿA. Badawī,

Cairo 1947), written probably in the 14th century (Corbin, *op. cit.*, 4, n. 79), depends on al-Suhrawardī's strange interpretation of the Platonic ideas.

Another special tradition of Platonism is represented by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], who also claims to follow Plato as his main authority. His Platonising ethics (cf. *al-Ṭibb al-Rūḥānī*) may be connected with his study of Galen, and his rejection of the eternity of the world with the interpretation of the *Timaeus* put forward by Plutarch and Galen, but his five eternal principles are of Neopythagorean provenience, although he considered them to be Platonic. His theory of the atomic structure of matter may go back to Plato's lecture *On the Good*, it is certainly found in a neopythagorean version of Plato's metaphysics (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Physicos*, ii, 249 ff.).

The Arabic bibliographers list the titles of all the dialogues to be found in the Greek Corpus Platonicum, but give little information about Arabic translations. They mention a commentary on the *Republic* (translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ); translations of the *Timaeus* by Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī. (Ḥunayn wrote also a treatise *That which ought to be read before Plato's works*.) Ibn al-Nadīm also mentions a copy of the *Crito* in Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī's handwriting. Part of Proclus' commentary on the *Phaedo* (lost in the Greek original) was translated from the Syriac by Ibn Zurʿa.

No manuscripts of these or other Arabic translations of a Platonic dialogue have so far been traced. A verbal quotation from the *Republic* (apart from the more or less verbal references in Ibn Rus͟hd's paraphrase and references to its contents in works of other philosophers) occurs e.g. in the *Rasā'il Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347, iv, 134 (the story about Gyges, *Rep.*, ii, 359 ff., cf. Rosenthal, 397). Al-Kindī wrote a treatise on the Platonic number (*Rep.*, viii; *Fihrist*, 256). Quotations from the *Timaeus* occur frequently, but it is difficult to decide whether they are taken from Plato or from some intermediary. For the quotations from the *Laws* to be found in al-Bīrūnī's *India* cf. F. Rosenthal, 359 f. and F. Gabrieli, *Plato Arabus*, iii, p. xii, n. 2. There are numerous quotations from the *Phaedo* in the same work. The closing section on Socrates' death is to be found e.g. in Ibn al-Kiftī, 200-6 and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 45. A Persian version of the dialogue exists in Brusa (*Bell.*, 1952, 114). The Alcibiades-speech from the *Banquet* has been traced by F. Rosenthal in Istanbul, Köprülü 1608, fol. 216. Persistent research will no doubt trace more quotations of Platonic dialogues in Arabic philosophical and non-philosophical writings.

Among the pseudepigrapha of a philosophical kind can be mentioned: the neophythagorean treatise *Plato's Exhortation of young men*, probably of Greek origin (F. Rosenthal, *Orientalia*, x, 383-95), a letter by Plato addressed to Porphyry (!) about the banishment of grief, depending on a treatise on consolation by al-Kindī (*Mas͟h.*, 1922, 884-9, see H. Ritter-R. Walzer, *Memorie Ac. dei Lincei*, 1940, 388 n. 2) and Plato's will addressed to Aristotle.

But the Arabs are acquainted not only with the different interpretations of Plato's thought which are familiar to the student of Greek philosophy but also with a Plato who had been associated with the superstitions which had become an integral part of the teaching of most of the neoplatonic schools: magic, astrology and alchemy (Olympiodorus and other late Neoplatonists had dabbled in alchemy and made Plato their patron). The Arabs went a step further and made Plato the author of alchemical works. D̲j̲ābir quotes a *Musaḥḥaḥāt Aflāṭūn* in which Plato initiates his disciple Timaeus in the secrets of alchemy; but the passages of the *Timaeus* referred to by D̲j̲ābir have nothing to do with the original dialogue of Plato (P. Kraus, *Jabir et la science grecque*, 48 ff.). Another work of a similar character, a philosophical alchemical book attributed to Plato is the *Rawābiʿ Aflāṭūn* known to the West as *Liber Quartorum* and preserved in two Arabic MSS. It contains a dialogue between Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. D̲j̲ahār Buk͟htār and the well known Ḥarrānian mathematician and astronomer T͟hābit b. Ḳurra (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 51, 339). Another alchemical treatise, the *Liber Platonis de XIII clavibus*, is supposed to have been translated from the Arabic into Latin in A.D. 1301 (L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, iii, 57). Cf. also Kraus, *op. cit.*, 51, n. 9.

Among the magical treatises ascribed to Plato the *al-Nawāmīs*, which deals with artificial generation, appears to be worth mentioning (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 104 and n. 12), as well as *al-Sirr al-K͟hafī* (*ibid.*, 52).

(ii) The Arabic "Lives of Plato" do not add anything substantial to the material to be found in the Greek tradition as represented by Diogenes Laertius, book iii, Olympiodorus, and the *Prolegomena to the Platonic philosophy* by an anonymous Neoplatonist (cf. H. Breitenbach, F. Buddenhagen, A. Debrunner, F. von der Muehll, *Diogenes Laertius III*, 1907; J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 11855). There is, however, no direct connection between them and any of the Greek texts known. Part of the Arabic tradition can be traced back to an introductory work by Theo of Smyrna (2nd century A.D.), referred to by the *Fihrist*, 245, and quoted at length by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 17-9 (cf. J. Lippert, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungslitteratur*, i, Braunschweig 1898, 39 ff.). The *Fihrist* refers also to (Ps.-) Plutarch, see H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 287. Al-ʿĀmirī, a philosopher of the 4th/10th century (quoted in the Abbreviation of Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī's *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, introduction), probably following some lost Greek tradition, made Plato one of the five pillars of wisdom, the others being Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates and Aristotle (Anbāduḳlīs, Fūt͟hag͟hūras, Suḳrāṭ, Arisṭūṭālīs [*qq.v.*]); these philosophers derived their wisdom from the Prophets. According to him Plato retired in old age into solitude and prayer. He also gives an account of Plato's solution of the Delian problem (cf. Plutarch, *De gen. Socr.*, 7, p. 579; idem *De Ei ap. Delphos*, 6, p. 386; Tannery, *La Géométrie grecque*, 110; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād* (Wüstenfeld), 45; Luṭfī al-Maktūl, *Tadʿif al-Mad͟hbaḥ* (S. Yaltkaya, A. Adnan, H. Corbin), Paris 1940). On him depends Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, 23; Ṣāʿids life was used, as a minor source, by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *passim*.

The life in Mubas͟hs͟hir b. Fātik's *Muk͟htār al-Ḥikam* (MS Brit. Mus. Add. 25893, fol. 44 ff.; on this work cf. F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1937, 21 ff.) was copied by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 50 ff. He made both Plato's parents descendants of Asclepius, probably misinterpreting the epigram to be found in Diog. Laertius, iii, 45 (cf. E. J. and and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Baltimore 1945, i, no. 322, ii, 127). Alone among the Arab biographers he mentions Plato's supposed stay in Egypt. For the physiognomical section cf. F. Rosenthal, *loc. cit.*, 38.

Ibn al-Ḳifṭī based his long and detailed life (17-27) on the *Fihrist*, on Theo of Smyrna (cf. above) and on an unidentified Greek source (19 line 16-25

l. 3). There are Greek parallels to almost everything mentioned. Stories similar to the discussions reported to have taken place at Dionysius' court (21) are to be found in Olympiodorus' *Life* and in Plutarch's *Dio*. There are a very few confusions, such as the story of Socrates' stay in Sicily and the introduction of Plato's two female disciples as his wives and the inclusion of Proclus among his pupils. The section 25^4-26^{14} is taken from al-Fārābī (cf. the anonymous *Proll. Phil. Plat.*, cap. 7-16); 26^{15}-27^{14} reproduces Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, 19. Plato's prayer in neoplatonic language (27^{16-7}) is worth mentioning (cf. also MS Oxford, Hunt. 162, fol. 202r).

Al-S̲h̲ahrazūrī's account of Plato's life in his *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* (in MS) is based on Mubas̲h̲s̲h̲ir.

In later centuries Plato's tomb could be visited at Ḳonya (F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, 363 and *passim*).

(iii) The main source for the various compilations of sayings of Plato is Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *Nawādir al-Falāsifa wa 'l-Ḥukamā'* (cf. the Hebrew transl., ed. by A. Löwenthal, Frankfurt 1896, and translated by him into German, Berlin 1896; and K. Merkle, *Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*, Leipzig 1921). Another primary source is Ibn Hindū, *al-Kalim al-Rūḥāniyya fi 'l-Ḥikam al-Yūnāniyya*, Cairo 1318. The life in the Abbreviation of Abū Sulaymān's *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* contains only sayings. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 51^7-53^{16}, reproduces the section on sayings to be found in Mubas̲h̲s̲h̲ir. Sayings attributed to Plato occur very often in Arabic literature.

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(R. Walzer)

ĀFRĀG (Berber, "enclosure"), term adopted in Morocco since the Almohad period for the enclosure of cloth, which isolates the encampment of the sovereign and his suite from the rest of the camp. It corresponds to the Persian *sarāča* or *sarāparda*.

AFRĀSIYĀB, legendary king of the Tūrānians according to Iranian tradition. In the Avesta (especially *Yas̲h̲t* xix) "Frangrasyan the Turian" was an adversary of Kavi Haosrava (> Kay K̲h̲usraw), having treacherously murdered Kavi Haosrava's father Syavars̲h̲an (> Siyāwus̲h̲). He vainly desired to secure the *hvarna*, "the Glory of the Aryans", and was killed, in revenge, by Kavi Haosrava. He may have been originally a historical figure, chief of the Turian tribes (who were probably themselves of Iranian race [cf. TŪRĀN]). The Pahlavi form of the name is Frāsiyāb. Some additional details about him are given in the religious literature (*Bundahis̲h̲n*, etc.). His genealogy is given, his first ancestor being Tūč (Tūr, ancestor of the Tūrānians), son of Frēdōn (> Farīdūn [q.v.]). His incursions are said to have started in the reign of Manus̲h̲čihr: he defeated the latter and gained dominion over Iran. Subsequently Uzaw (> Zaw or Zāb) delivered Iran from his domination; Frāsiyāb tried to recapture the "Glory" and sought it in all the seven *kēs̲h̲wars*. Frāsiyāb's residence (the subterranean fortress of the *Yas̲h̲ts*, where Frangrasyan lived "surrounded by iron") is described in detail. In the end Frāsiyāb was killed by Kay K̲h̲usraw. Thus in the development of the legend after the period of the *Yas̲h̲ts* Frāsiyāb became the chief of the Tūrānians in all their wars, not only against the Kayānids but also against their predecessors, the "Pīs̲h̲dādids": he thus became a contemporary of Manus̲h̲čihr and Uzaw; his end, however, is still firmly connected with Kay K̲h̲usraw.

The Islamic authors derived their information from secular books on the national tradition, more especially the *K̲h̲wadāy-nāmak*. Many additional details are to be found. Afrāsiyāb fought with Manūs̲h̲ihr in Ṭabaristān; then they reached an agreement, making the river of Balk̲h̲ the boundary between their territories. Siyāwus̲h̲, sent by Kay Kā'ūs with an army against Afrāsiyāb, concluded an armistice with him, which was repudiated by Kay Kā'ūs. Siyāwus̲h̲ took refuge with Afrāsiyāb who married him to his daughter Wisfāfarīd̲h̲ (al-Ṭabarī; Firdawsi: Faringīs), but nevertheless murdered him, out of jealousy. Wisfāfarīd̲h̲, pregnant with Kay K̲h̲usraw, escaped and was taken back to Iran by the hero Gēw (Bayy, Waww). Rustam and Tūs then ravaged the land of Tūrān, to avenge Siyāwus̲h̲. The reign of Kay K̲h̲usraw was filled with wars against Afrāsiyāb (details in al-Ṭabarī, i, 605 ff.; cf. also index, s.v.; al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Histoire des rois de la Perse* (Zotenberg), 222 ff.; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma* (Vullers), ii, 764-iii, 1444). After the final battle Afrāsiyāb fled from Turkistān and hid in Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, but was caught, and killed by Kay K̲h̲usraw with his own hands.

The Tūrānians having been identified with the Turks [see TŪRĀN], Afrāsiyāb was regarded as a Turk; this is strongly emphasized in the *Shāh-nāma*. Turkish dynasties therefore sometimes claimed him as their ancestor: thus the Ḳara K̲h̲ānid [q.v.] dynasty is also called Āl Afrāsiyāb, and the Sald̲j̲ūḳs claimed descent from him. (Cf. W. Barthold, *Hist. des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 70,84).

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1932, index, s. vv. Franrasyan and Frāsiyāβ (with further references to Islamic authors); F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v. Cf. also PĪS̲H̲DĀDIDS, KAYĀNIDS.

(S. M. Stern)

AFRĀSIYĀB founder of a line of governors of Baṣra (Āl Afrāsiyāb). He was an officer of unknown racial origin, who purchased the government of Baṣra from the local pas̲h̲a about 1021/1612. Afrāsiyāb was succeeded by his son ʿAlī in 1034/1624-5, during an attack on Baṣra by Persian forces, which failed in face of ʿAlī's resistance. A second Persian attempt in 1038/1629 was equally unsuccessful. During the Turco-Persian struggle for Bag̲h̲dād, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a took neither part and continued to govern his province independently. The succession of his son Ḥusayn (c. 1062/1652) led to internal conflicts, of which advantage was taken by Murtaḍā Pas̲h̲a of Bag̲h̲dād to evict Ḥusayn in 1064/1654 and replace him by ʿAlī's brother Aḥmad. Murtaḍā's subsequent execution of Aḥmad led to a rising of the local population and tribesmen and the restoration of Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a. His attempts to extend his power over al-Ḥaṣā were followed by a full-scale expedition against him led by Ibrāhīm (Ṭawīl), pas̲h̲a of Bag̲h̲dād, in 1076/1665. After a prolonged siege of Ḳurna, Ḥusayn abdicated in favour of his son Afrāsiyāb, but continued to govern as regent until a second expedition from Bag̲h̲dād under Ḳara Muṣṭafā (Firārī) Pas̲h̲a drove him out and restored the imperial government in 1078/1668.

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1928: *Sidjill-i ʿUthmānī*, i, 108; ii, 195; iii, 513; iv, 400: J. B. Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, Paris 1676 etc., Eng. trans. London 1678; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, 99-117; ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayna Iḥtilālayn*, vol. v, Baghdad 1953, 21-101.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

AFRĀSIYĀBIDS, also called (by Rabino) the Kiyās of Čulāb or Čalāb (after one of the eight *bulūks* of Āmul, and (by Sachau), the Kiyā Djalāwī, minor dynasty of Māzandarān. The eponym of the clan, Afrāsiyāb b. Kiyā Ḥasan, was a *sipāh-sālār* in the service of his brother-in-law, Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan Bāwand [see BĀWAND]. Kiyā Afrāsiyāb conspired with his sister, who had a daughter from a previous marriage, accused the Bāwand of taking this girl as his mistress, and obtained from the *ʿulamā* of Āmul a *fatwā* authorizing the death of the culprit. At the same time, the Bāwand put to death his minister, Kiyā Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Djalāl, a member of the powerful family of the Kiyā-yi Djalālī. This filled the nobles with anger and consternation and obliged the Bāwand to seek the friendship of the Kiyās of Čulāb, old rivals of the Kiyā-yi Djalālī. The reconciliation of the two families gave Kiyā Afrāsiyāb liberty of action, and finally the Bāwand was assassinated in a bath, on 27 Muḥarram 750/17 April 1349, by ʿAlī and Muḥammad, sons of Afrāsiyāb (or by the latter alone, according to Justi). With the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, the dynasty of the Bāwand, which had ruled for 750 years (45-750/665-1349) came to an end, and Kiyā Afrāsiyāb took over the power in Āmul (and Sārī?; *JA*, 1943-5, 237). Seeing that most of the officers of his former master refused to submit to him, he tried to make use of religion and became the disciple of the *darwish* leader Ḳawām al-Dīn Marʿashī, called Mīr-i Buzurg, hoping that the veneration of the population of Āmul for the latter would restrain them from rebellion. After ten years of rule, however, Kiyā Afrāsiyāb was defeated and killed, together with his three sons, by the same *darwishes* in the battle of Djalālakmār-parčin, in 760/1359.

Mīr-i Buzurg established himself as governor of Āmul and thus founded the dynasty of the Marʿashī [*q.v.*] *sayyids* (760-989/1359-1581). In the same year, a member of Afrāsiyāb's clan, Kiyā Fakhr al-Dīn Djalāwī, murdered ʿAbd Allāh, son of Mīr-i Buzurg, and was himself executed with his four sons; Kiyā Gushtasp (Wishtas) also, another brother-in-law of the last Bāwand, was killed with his seven children.

The Kiyās of Čulāb re-emerge only with Iskandar-i Shaykhī, eighth son of Kiyā Afrāsiyāb, who took refuge at Harāt, led an adventurous life and eventually entered the service of Tīmūr. In 795/1392-3 Timur invaded Māzandarān, took the fortress of Māhāna-Sar near Āmul, sacked Āmul and Sārī, deported the Marʿashī *sayyids* and appointed Iskandar as governor. Having returned with the invader, Iskandar enjoyed little popularity, all the less that he ordered the mausoleum of Mīr-i Buzurg at Sārī to be demolished. In 802/1400-1 Iskandar accompanied Tīmūr on his expedition to ʿIrāḳ, Ādharbaydjān, Anatolia and Syria, then, having obtained permission to return to Āmul, he rebelled. In 805/1403-4 Tīmūr marched into Māzandarān in pursuit of Iskandar, who fled into the forest with his wife and two small children, and fearing that he might be betrayed by their cries he killed them together with their mother. Finally he was killed at Shīrūd Dū-Hazār, and the officers of Tīmūr sent his head to his son Ḥusayn Kiyā who was holding out in the fortress of Fīrūz Kūh and now hastened to surrender it. Another son, ʿAlī Kiyā, had fallen into the hands of Tīmūr's troops. Tīmūr pardoned the two brothers and Ḥusayn Kiyā continued to rule over Fīrūz Kūh. His son, Luhrasp b. Ḥusayn b. Iskandar ruled over Ṭālakān in 880/1479-80. In his turn, *amīr* Ḥusayn (Ḥasan ?; Sachau) b. ʿAlī b. Luhrasp ruled over part of Rustamdār and the mountainous region of Fīrūz Kūh, Damāwand and Harī Rūd. In 909/1503 Shāh Ismāʿīl I, after taking the fortresses of Gulkhandān and Fīrūz Kūh, laid siege to the fortress of Wusta, where the *amīr* Ḥusayn Kiyā had taken refuge. Forced to surrender, he shortly afterwards committed suicide at Aywān-i Rasūl Wād (Kabud-Gunbad). The last member of the family, *amīr* Suhrāb Čulāb, keeper of the fortress of Ardahin in Sāwdj-būlāḳ, was confirmed in his post by the Shāh.

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(B. Nikitine)

AFRĪDĪ, the name of a large and powerful Paṭhān tribe, with an estimated fighting strength of 50,000, on the northwest frontier of Pākistān. The territories inhabited by the Afrīdīs stretch from the eastern spurs of the Safīd Kūh through the northern half of Tīrāh and the Khyber (Khaybar) [*q.v.*] pass to the west and south of the Peshāwar district. On the east they are bounded by the settled districts of Pākistān; on the north by the territories of the Mohmunds; on the west by the Shinwārīs; and on the south by the Ōrakzays and Bangash tribes. They are divided into eight clans. In and around the Khyber Pass are to be found the Kūkī Khēl, Malikdīn Khēl, Kambar Khel, Kamraʾīs, Zakka Khēl, and Sipāh. These six clans are generally referred to as the Khyber Afrīdīs. The Akā Khēl Afrīdīs have no connection with the Khyber and are located to the south of the Bārā river. The Ādam Khēl Afrīdīs inhabit the hills between the districts of Kohāt and Peshāwar.

The origin of the Afrīdī, or as they call themselves, Aprīdī tribes has always puzzled ethnologists. H.W. Bellew (*JRAS*, 1887, 504) identified them with the Ἀπάρυται of Herodotus. This has been accepted by G. A. Grierson (*Linguistic Survey of India*, x, 5) and A. Stein (*JRAS*, 1925, 404). But the name does not occur in the Achaemenian inscriptions, and it is doubtful whether Herodotus intended to describe the Ἀπάρυται as dwelling where the Afrīdīs now are. H. G. Raverty (*Notes on Afghanistan*, 1888, 94), relying on what are probably fictitious genealogies, believed them to be of Paṭhān or Afghān origin, the descendants of a supposed eponymous ancestor Karlān. The derivation of the name Afrīdī in the *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī* of Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān (Engl. transl.: *Afghanistan*, Lahore 1874, 201), from *āfrīda* (a creature of God) is also evidently a modern fabrication. According to Grierson (*JRAS*, 1925, 405-16) the modern Afrīdī country of Tīrāh was at one time occupied by a people speaking a language still known as Tīrāhi which resembles the Dardic languages of the Hindū-kush. It seems probable, therefore, that the Afrīdīs, although speaking Pashto, contain a large, if not predominant racial element, which was

established in Tirāh long before the advent of those Pas͟hto-speaking Afg͟hān invaders who gradually pushed their way into the belt of hills and alluvial plains to the west of the Indus between the 13th and 16th centuries.

Their position athwart the Khyber Pass connecting India with Afg͟hānistān made it extremely difficult for the Mug͟hal emperors of Hindustān to maintain safe communications with their outlying province of Kābul. In the reign of Akbar, incited by the preaching of Bāyazīd, the founder of the Raws͟hāniyya [q.v.] sect of heretics, and of his son D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn, they attacked Mug͟hal troops and caravans passing through the Khyber. They were forced into submission by Akbar's forces in 1587 and in the following year agreed, in return for allowances, to keep the pass open for traffic. They were however only temporarily subdued and expeditions had to be undertaken against them in the reigns of D̲j̲ahāngīr and Awrangzīb. Djahāngīr deported many Afrīdīs to Hindustān and Deccan, where their descendants are still to be found. After the establishment of the Afg͟hān kingdom by Aḥmad S͟hāh Durrānī the Afridis were nominally subject to him and are mentioned in the register of his army; according to it the tribe counted 19,000 fighting men.

The first skirmish of British troops with the Afrīdīs dates back to the invasion of Afg͟hānistān during the first Afg͟hān War of 1839-42. From the annexation of the Pand̲j̲āb in 1849 to the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 no less than eight expeditions were required against these unruly clans. The first was against the Kohāt Pass Afrīdīs in 1850. In 1853, troops were sent against the D̲j̲awākī Afrīdīs, a clan of the Ādam K͟hēl Afrīdīs. Punitive measures were necessary against the Āka K͟hēl Afrīdīs in 1855. Expeditions were necessary against the D̲j̲awākī Afrīdīs in 1877 and 1878; and against the Zakka K͟hēl Afrīdīs in 1878 and 1879. The Zakka K͟hēls of the Khyber and the adjacent Bazār valley of Tirāh have been the most contumacious of all the Afrīdī clans. Inhabiting lands stretching from the slopes of the Safīd Kūh to the border of Pes͟hāwar they have been able to force their neighbours to pay exorbitant tolls for the privilege of passing through their territories. The first agreement with the Zakka K͟hēls was during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (Aitchison, xi, 92-6). This was observed until the Second Afg͟hān War, 1878-80, when the peace of the Khyber and the whole frontier zone was abnormally disturbed. Zakka K͟hēl attacks on the Khyber lines of communication forced the British, in 1878 and 1879, to enter their country, destroy their crops, and raze their forts and villages to the ground. On 17 Febr. 1881, the Khyber Afrīdīs, together with the Loargi S͟hinwārīs of Landi Kotal, accepted responsibility for the safety of the Khyber; and in return for the recognition of their independence, agreed to have no dealings with other foreign powers. At the same time arrangements were made for the protection of the Khyber by a force of *d̲j̲azā'ilčis* (tribal levies), to be paid by the Government of India (Aitchison, xi, 97-9). The Afrīdīs were the last to join in the general frontier conflagration of 1897 and were only forced to come to terms after extremely severe fighting in the Tirāh campaign of 1897-8. At the end of this campaign the previous system of allowances which had proved so successful for seventeen years, 1881-97, were once more adopted. At the same time the Khyber Rifles were reorganized under British officers supported by a movable column at Pes͟hāwar. This agreement, under which the British became responsible for the Khyber Rifles and for the safety of the pass, regulated British relations with the Afrīdīs until the year 1908 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, lxxiv, Cd. 4210, pp. 14-5).

Towards the end of 1904 large numbers of Afrīdīs visited Kābul. This was followed by small marauding incursions into British territory, in which the Zakka K͟hēls, assisted by other Afrīdī clans, by Ōrakzays, and even by bands of Afg͟hān outlaws, such as the Hazārnao gang, were the chief offenders. From 1905 to 1908 bands of well-armed Afrīdīs ravaged the British borders. An attack by a gang of about eighty men upon Pes͟hāwar city, on the night of 28 January 1908, exhausted the patience of the Government of India, and in that year, the Zakka K͟hēls were speedily coerced by troops under the command of Major-General Sir James Willcocks. The entry of Turkey into the First World War, in November 1914, created considerable excitement on the frontier. One of the great dangers on the frontier has always been the possible attitude of the Afrīdī clans whose lead in war the other tribes are usually prepared to follow. Fortunately for the peace of the Pes͟hāwar borders and possibly of the whole frontier, the mission of the so-called Turkish generals to Tirāh failed because of a shortage of funds. The danger of an Afrīdī rising was averted when, on 1 February 1915 the Government of India decided to double their allowances.

Quickly following the wake of the 1914-8 war came the Third Afg͟hān War of 1919 which was the signal for risings along the entire frontier, and for the collapse of Lord Curzon's militia scheme. By 1921 the Afrīdī clans had made full submission. The Khyber Rifles were disbanded and their place taken by *k͟hāṣṣadārs*, tribal levies paid by the Government of India but providing their own arms and ammunition. But there was a great danger of a recrudescence of Afrīdī raiding because of the intrigues of the Akā K͟hēl *mulla*, Sayyid Akbar, who denounced all tribesmen who had accepted British terms. His activities were checked when, in April 1921, the Afrīdī tribal *d̲j̲irga* accepted new allowances in compensation for the increased tribal responsability involved in the construction of the Khyber railway (*Secret Border Report*, 1921-2, p. 1). In February 1922 the Zakka K͟hēls agreed to pay a substantial fine for their past misdeeds. In the following year the peace of the Afrīdī country was rudely disturbed by the exploits of the Kōhāt gang. Members of this gang were forced to seek refuge in Afg͟hān territory where their immunity from punishment led to a diplomatic protest on the part of the Viceroy. The opening of the Khyber Railway from D̲j̲amrūd to Landī K͟hāna did not make for peace. The construction of this line had been a source of profit to the tribesmen but its completion reduced their allowances. From 1927 to its settlement in March 1930 Tirāh became the scene of a religious struggle between its Sunni and S͟hīʿite clans. In the spring of 1930 the Afrīdīs came under the influence of Indian National Congress agitators with the result that Afrīdī *las͟hkars* (tribal forces) entered the Pes͟hāwar district and attacked the city of Pes͟hāwar in June and August of that year. By the end of August all raiding gangs had been expelled from the district. Since 1947 the Government of Pakistan has been responsible for the control of the Afrīdī clans. As recently as December 1952 the Afg͟hān government has been accused of granting asylum to Afrīdī outlaws who had been organizing depredations into Pakistan.

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AFRĪDŪN [see farīdūn].

ʿAFRĪN important right tributary of the Orontes (al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*]), which it reaches after joining with the Nahr Yāghrā (Murād Pasha) in the Lake of Antioch and the Nahr al-Aswad (Ḳara-sū), in the ʿAmk. Its wide middle valley, between the Djabal Simān and the Kurd-dagh, was known in the Middle Ages as the district of the Djūma. The importance of the valley was due to the crossing of the road, which used it to connect Antioch with the districts of the upper Euphrates, with the roads which led from Cilicia and Asia Minor towards Aleppo and inner Syria. One of these roads, after passing the Amanus at the col of Baghrās [*q.v.*] and following the shore of the Lake of Antioch, crossed the ʿAfrīn at the ford near modern Bellane (the "Ford of the Baleine" of the Crusaders). In the first centuries of Islam it was guarded on the south side by the small fortresses of Tīzīn, Artāḥ, ʿImm and since the time of the Crusades by that of Ḥārim [*q.v.*], which lay nearer to the Orontes. The other, more northern roads issued, after passing the Kurd-dagh, at the gap of ʿAzāz and passed the ʿAfrīn either at the bridge of Ḳībār (now ʿAfrīn) or further up below the old capital of the region, Ḳūriṣ (Cyrrhus). The new capitals were ʿAzāz, outside the real basin of the ʿAfrin, and Rāwandān—of which important ruins are still preserved near one of the ʿAfrīn's sources. Thus the valley of the ʿAfrin served in the classical period of Islam as the main longitudinal line of communication in the western part of the military district of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*]. It was temporarily captured from Islam by the Byzantines in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, and by the Crusaders in the first half of the 6th/12th century. At present it lies athwart the political and ethnical boundary between Turkey and Syria.

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ʿAFRĪT [see ʿifrīt].

ʿAFṢ denotes, according to Arab authors, the fruit of the oak or a similar tree and the tree itself. It actually is the gall, an excrescence which forms on certain kinds of trees and shrubs as the result of the sting of various insects. The Arabic term, however, was probably applied to the oak-gall in particular. It was maintained that the *ʿafṣ* is produced either simultaneously or alternately with the acorn.

In medieval Arab medicine the gall served chiefly as an intestinal astringent and a remedy for skin diseases. It was also said to strengthen the gums and preserve the teeth from caries. In different preparations, chiefly in powdered form or boiled in vinegar or wine, it was applied both internally and externally. Frequent mention is also made of its use as a black hair-dye and as the main ingredient in the manufacture of ink. Recipes for the latter are indicated by al-Ḳalḳashandī.

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AFSANTĪN, Afsintīn or, more rarely, Ifsintīn (from Greek ἀψίνθιον) mostly denotes the common wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium L.*) but also other similar kinds of plants. In medical writings it is often called *kashūth rūmī*. The cognate form *isfinṭ* (absinth-wine) already occurs in ancient Arabic poetry (Nöldeke, in Löw, 389).

A good deal of the information which Arab authors offer on the *afsantīn* goes back to classical sources. Its different kinds were generally classified according to their origin: Persian, Nabataean, Syrian, Egyptian, Khurāsānian etc. That from Tyre and Tarsus was considered the best. The yellow flower in particular was put to diverse medicinal uses. Not only tonic and vermifugal but also laxative, diuretic and other properties were attributed to the plant. It was also recommended as an antitoxin. Externally it was used in plasters, oils etc. Its juice mixed with the ink was said to preserve the paper. In addition to many other applications it was also employed against the loss of hair (*dāʾ al-thaʿlab*).

Bibliography: ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* (Siddiqi), 418-9; Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1935, i, 49-50; Ghāfiḳī (Meyerhof-Sobhy), no. 27; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet) ii/a, 302-3; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 41-4; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 272; I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 81, 421; idem, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 386-9: Maimonides, *Sharḥ Asmāʾ al-ʿUḳḳār* (Meyerhof), no. 3; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Colin), no. 1. (L. Kopf)

AFSHĀR (or Awshār), Oghuz (Ghuzz [*q.v.*]) tribe, first mentioned by al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, i, 56; cf. also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* (Bérézine), i, 32, according to whom Awshār was the grandson of Yildiz Khān, the third son of Oghuz Khān (whence Yazīdjī-oghlu, *Saldjūḳ-nāma*, in MS; Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shedjere-yi Turkī* (Desmaisons), 27; idem, *Shedjere-yi Terākime*, Istanbul 1937, 42). They seem to have migrated westwards with the other Ghuzz tribes. An Afshār chieftain, Aydoghu b. Kushdoghan, known as Shumla, ruled in Khūzistān as a vassal of the Saldjūḳs (al-Bundārī (Houtsma), 230, 287; al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, 260; Ibn al-Athīr, index, s.v. Shumla; Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, ii, 149, writes

Ya'kūb b. Arslān al-Afshārī; "Ḥusām al-Dīn Shūhlī" in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, i, 547—whence Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma* (Velyaminov-Zarnov), i, 33—seems to refer to the same person and to be due merely to a textual error). Shumla, who ruled 543-70/1148-74, was followed by his son Ghars (or 'Izz) al-Dawla (al-Rāwandī, 377); after his death in 590/1194 the family's rule came to an end. No further information about the Afshār is available in these early centuries; this may simply be due to the fact that authors often speak of Turkmens in general without specifying their exact tribal affinity.

As is well known, the usual practice was to allocate a particular district as an *iḳṭā'* (*tiyūl*) to a chieftain, who would take with him his clan and whose office was inherited by his descendants; this practice was followed, no doubt, also in the case of the Afshār. Afshār chieftains are mentioned during the rule of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (e.g. Manṣūr Beg Awshār, 877/1472-3, Hasan Rūmlu, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, in MS, chapter on the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu; Dawwānī, *'Arḍ-nāma*, *MTM*, v, 298, Engl. transl. in *BSOAS*, 1940-2, 156, 174; Manṣūr Beg, district of Shīrāz, 904/1498-9, 906/1501-2, idem, ed. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 21 ff. 69; Pīrī Beg, Shīrāz, 904/1498-9, ibidem, 24). The Afshār played a part in the establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty [cf. ḲIZIL BASH, ISMĀ'ĪL I]. High dignitaries of Afshār origin are often mentioned in the Ṣafawid chronicles (e.g. *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, 236, 332, 339, 345, 438; Iskandar Munshī', *Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 155, 185, 190, 251, 309 ff., 400, iii, 763; *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* (Minorsky), 16).

Under the Ṣafawids we find Afshār clans in various districts, and their chieftains occupied provincial governorships. Afshār *khāns* ruled in the district of Kūh Gīlū; the tribesmen of this region belonged mainly to the Gündüzlü and Arashlu clans (see *Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, 199, 340-4, 358 and LUR). After the revolt of 1005/1596-7 their rule came to an end, most of the clans that escaped punishment were scattered and only small remnants survived by the beginning of the 19th century.

The Gündüzlü and Arashlu played an important role in Khūzistān. In the beginning of the 16th century we find in Dizfūl and Shushtar Afshār governors like Mahdī Ḳuli Sulṭān and Ḥaydar Sulṭān. When the governor Mahdī Ḳuli rebelled in 946/1539-40, the Afshār Ḥaydar Ḳuli was charged with his punishment (*Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, 294 ff.). [For the Afshār governors of Shushtar, see SHUSHTAR.] After Nādir Shah, the Afshār in this region were weakened by the continuous attacks of the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood. According to C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, some Afshārs were removed from Doruk and transferred to Kangāwar, Asadābād and Urmiya, while a smaller portion were settled in Shushtar and Dizfūl.

Afshār governors ruled for two and a half centuries, from the time of 'Abbās I till about 1250/1834-5, in Kāzarūn [*q.v.*]. We find governors belonging to various Afshār clans also in other regions: Inallu in Yazd, Kirmānshāh, Mosul and Rūmiyya, Alplu, Köse Aḥmadlu and Ḳirḳlu in Khurāsān (Abīward, Farāh, Isfīzār).

In the vicinity of Urmiya, Afshārs were settled in the time of 'Abbās I (the tradition in the text translated by Nikitine, that they came there with Tīmūr in 802/1400, has no foundation). Ḳāsim Khān, a distinguished general of 'Abbās I, chieftain of the Inanlu, settled with his tribe, shortly after 1032/1622-3, in the regions of Urmiya, Sā'īn Ḳal'a and Sulduz (*Ta'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, 763). His son, Kalb-i 'Alī Khān, was governor in 1037/1627-8, and was followed by other Afshār governors; Khudādād Beg Ḳāsimlu (the Ḳāsimlu clan probably derived its name from Ḳāsim Khān) took the title of *beglerbeg* in 1119/1707. (For further details see B. Nikitine, *Les Avšar d'Urumiyeh*, *JA*, 1929, 71 ff. and URMIYA; cf. also SĀ'IN ḲAL'A.)

In general, the Afshār played an important role in the wars of the Ṣafawids against the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, though, as we have seen above, 'Abbās I, according to his policy in general, tried to break the particularist tendencies of the clans. During the reign of Nādir Shāh, who himself came of the Ḳirḳlu branch of the Abīward district, Afshār *amīrs* were prominent. Some Afshār chiefs played important roles during the troubled period after Nādir's death. Afshār contingents were an important element in the Ḳādjār army and were used in the suppresion of revolts as well as against external enemies.

According to Joannin (quoted in Langles, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, Paris 1811, x, 243) the Afshār counted at the beginning of the 19th century 88,000 souls (repeated by Ritter, *Asien*, viii, 400-5; etc.)—this may, however, refer to the number of tents. (Detailed statistics according to localities are also given there.) For the same period, cf. also P. A. Jaubert, *Voyages en Arménie et en Perse*, 225; Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shirwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāḥa*², 106 (the numbers seem exaggerated). For more modern times see Mas'ūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Mufaṣṣal-i Irān*, Teheren 1310-1, ii, 86 (Inanlu in Fārs, as part of the *īlāt-i khamsa*); 106 ff., 112, 363 (Inanlu and Afshār in the vicinity of Ardabīl, Mishkin, Zarand, and especially Sāwa and Ḳazwīn [cf. also SHĀH SEWAN and KHAMSA]; 90 (clan called Afshār as part of the Akadjeri in Kūh Gīlū—cf. also *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, ii, 270); 92 (Gündüzlü near Shushtar and Dizfūl, completely assimilated); 92, 253 (Afshār in Kirmān); cf. also 75 and 371 (their name in geographical and administrative nomenclature); Meḥmed Ḥasan Baharlu, *Āzarbaydjān*, Baku 1921, 73 (Afshār in the Republic of Ādharbaydjān; for an earlier time, cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāma*, ii, 259, 859, iv, 284, 337); G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund 1939, 61 (some Afshār settled (in Andkhūy) by 'Abbās I, others by Nādir Shāh).—Just as Afshār elements were (as noted above) attached to other tribes, so also we find Afshār clans, which, to judge by their names, must have originally belonged to other tribes: the Shāmlu and Djalā'ir in Urmiya (mentioned by Nikitine) who were probably detached from the great tribes of the same name; the same is true of the Tekelü and Imirlü (O. Mann, *Das Mujmil et-Tārīkh-i ba'd Nādirije*, 31).

Afshārs figure among the Turkmens who lived during the Mamlūk period in Syria, especially round Aleppo (cf. e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper), vi, 225, 364, 386, 557). They seem to have played a role in the establishment of the principality of the Ḳaramān-oghlu ([*q.v.*]; see Cl. Cahen, in *Byzantion*, 1939, 133). In the Ottoman period various branches of the Afshār are mentioned (Radjab-oghlu near Ḳal'at Dja'bar: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 593; in documents: Radjablu Awshāri, A. Refik, *Anadoluda türk aşiretleri*, Istanbul 1930, 145, 165-76, 186, 209, 239; Ḳara Awshār, Ḳara Gündüzlü Awshārī, Bahrili Awshārī', ibid., 106, 102). These tribes, who were also known under the

collective name of Yeni Il, spent the winter in Syria and the summer in Anatolia, near Zamanti. The government made continuous efforts to settle them (Aws̲h̲ār villages near Isparta, *D̲j̲ihān-nümā*, 640; also other villages in Anatolia called Aws̲h̲ār). In the 19th century Darwīs̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a after military operations against the Afs̲h̲ār tribes in the Čukur Owa settled them forcibly in the vicinity of Göksun and Ḳayseri and other places (*TTEM*, lxxxviii, 348, and the general index to the series). There remain still some small nomad groups in the regions of the Čukur Owa, Marʿas̲h̲ (cf. Besim Atalay, *Mar'aş tarihi*, Istanbul 1340, 70 ff.), Ičel and Ḳayseri in Anatolia, and near al-Raḳḳa in Syria (Ali Riza Yalman, *Cenupta türkmen oymaklari*, Adana 1939, ii, 105 ff.).

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. Avşar (by M. F. Köprülü); Aḥmad Āḳā Tabrīzī, in *Āyanda*, iv and v, and part ii, viii, Teheran 1926-8; idem, *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Panṣad Sāla-yi K̲h̲ūzistān*, Teheran 1312; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, index; V. Minorsky, *Aḭnallu/Inallu, Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1951-2, 1 ff. (M. Fuad Köprülü)

AFS̲H̲ĪN, pre-Islamic title borne by the native princes of Us̲h̲rūsana, the mountainous district between Samarḳand and K̲h̲ud̲j̲anda, including the upper course of the Zarafs̲h̲ān river (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 165-9). The province was subjected to the Arab governors of K̲h̲urāsān by an expedition commanded by al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 178/794-5, but it was only after an internal conflict and a second expedition under Aḥmad b. Abī K̲h̲ālid in 207/822 that the ruling *afs̲h̲īn* Kāwūs accepted Islām. Kāwūs was succeeded by his son K̲h̲ayd̲h̲ār (in Arabic texts generally: Ḥaydār), who became universally known in Islamic historiography as *al-Afs̲h̲īn*. He first came to notice in the reign of al-Maʾmūn, when as an officer of the Caliph's brother Abū Isḥāḳ al-Muʿtaṣim, the titular governor of Egypt, he was given charge of Barḳa (Cyrenaica) and vigorously suppressed the rising of the Copts and Arabs in the Delta in 216/831. He is credited also with forming al-Muʿtaṣim's regiment of "Mag̲h̲āriba" by recruitment from the Arabs of the Delta and the Western Desert.

During the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-41), the Afs̲h̲īn's chief exploit was the tenacious campaign which he maintained without interruption in 220-2/835-7 against the K̲h̲urramī rebels in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān led by Bābak [*q.v.*]. In reward for his success the caliph gave him a crown, two jewelled swords, and the government of Sind in addition to that of Armenia and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. He played also a prominent part in the celebrated Amorium campaign conducted by al-Muʿtaṣim in person in 223/838. Subsequently, out of rivalry with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (as the leading native prince of the Transoxanians, he appears to have resented the control exercised over Mā warāʾ al-Nahr by the parvenu Ṭāhirids), he secretly encouraged the revolt of al-Māziyār (Muḥammad b. Ḳārin), the *iṣpahbād̲h̲* of Ṭabaristān, and was consequently involved in the latter's defeat, charged with apostasy, and after a celebrated trial starved to death in his prison at Sāmarrā in S̲h̲aʿbān 226/May-June 841.

The title of *afs̲h̲īn* was borne also by other princes in Central Asia; according to al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 344), G̲h̲ūrak, the prince of Samarḳand, calls himself in his treaty with Ḳutayba b. Muslim "Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īd̲h̲ of Ṣug̲h̲d, Afs̲h̲īn of Samarḳand"; cf. also B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 357, n. 14.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1105, 1171-1318 passim; trans. Zotenberg, iv, 525-45; trans. E. Marin, *The Reign of al-Muʿtaṣim*, New Haven 1951; Balād̲h̲urī 430 f; Kindī, 189-93; Bayhaḳī (Morley), 199 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 577-84 (ed. Nad̲j̲af 1358, iii, 199-203); Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 259, 262, 293; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, 107, 262, 326 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*², 210-1; Browne, i, 330 ff.; E. Herzfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Samarra*, Berlin 1948, 101, 138-52. (W. Barthold-H. A. R. Gibb)

AFSŪN (P.), charm, incantation; for etymology and usage in old Persian, see Salemann, in *Gr.I.Ph.* i/1, 304, and especially H. W. Bailey, in *BSOAS*, 1933-5, 283 ff. This word is now used in Persia to designate especially a charm against the biting of poisonous animals; certain *darwīs̲h̲es* who pretend to have the power to charm serpents, scorpions etc., will, for some gratuity, communicate their invulnerability to other persons. Often it is one part of the body which is so protected, as for instance the right or the left hand, and it is with this that the animals of this kind must be seized (Polak, *Persien*, i, 348).

(Cl. Huart*)

AFSŪS (Afsōs), poetical name of Mīr S̲h̲īr ʿAlī, the son of Sayyid ʿAlī Muẓaffar K̲h̲ān, and descendant of the Prophet through Imām D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. His ancestors dwelt at K̲h̲ʷāf in Persia. One of them, Sayyid Badr al-Dīn, the brother of Sayyid ʿĀlim al-Din Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲ānī, came to India and settled at Narnawl near Agra. Sayyid G̲h̲ulām Muṣṭafā, the grandfather of Afsūs, came to Delhi during the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1719-48), and was an associate of Nawwāb Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah K̲h̲ān. Afsūs was born at Delhi and received a liberal education. On the assassination of the Nawwāb (1747), when Afsūs was 11 years of age, his father took him to Patna; later on, after 1760, they removed to Lucknow, where Afsūs settled, supported by Nawwāb Sālār D̲j̲ang the son of Isḥāḳ K̲h̲ān, and became an associate of Mīrzā D̲j̲awān-bak̲h̲t (D̲j̲ahān-dār S̲h̲āh), the eldest son of the emperor S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam.

After living some years at Lucknow, he was brought to the notice of the Resident, Colonel W. Scott, at whose recommendation he went to Calcutta in 1215/1800-1, and was appointed Head *Muns̲h̲ī* in the Hindustani department of the College at Fort William.

Afsūs wrote a Hindustani Dīwān during his residence at Lucknow. He also made there a translation of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī, which was completed in 1216/1802, under the title of *Bāg̲h̲-i Urdū*. The introduction to this translation contains an autobiographical sketch, which is the principal source of our information regarding his life. Whilst at Calcutta, he edited the *Kulliyāt* of Sawda, and revised the Hindustani translations of Persian works, which had been prepared by *muns̲h̲īs* of the College. He also made a translation of the first part of the *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-Tawārīk̲h̲* or a Persian history of Hindustan written by Muns̲h̲ī Sud̲j̲ān Rāʾe of Patiala in 1107/1695-1696. This work, undertaken at the instance of J. H. Morington, was completed in 1220/1805 under the title *Ārāʾis̲h̲-i Maḥfil*, and was first printed at Calcutta in 1808. John Shakespear translated the first ten chapters of this work into English and included them in his *Muntak̲h̲abāt Hindī*, Dublin 1847. A complete English translation was made by M. J. Court and published at Allahābād, 1871 (2nd ed. Calcutta 1882). According to Garcin de Tassy and Sprenger (*Oudh Catalogue*, 198), Afsūs died in 1809.

Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*², Paris

1870, i, 120-136; J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani MSS. in the British Museum*, London 1899, no. 72; Mīrzā ʿAlī Luṭf, *Gul͟shan Hind* (a contemporary source in Urdu), Lahore 1906, 47-50; Nawwāb M. Muṣṭafā K͟hān Shēftah, *Gul͟shan Bēk͟hār* (in Persian) Lucknow 1874, 23-4; M. Yaḥyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-Muṣannifīn* (in Urdu), Delhi 1924, i, 79-87; Sayyid Muḥammad, *Arbāb Nat͟hr Urdū* (in Urdu), Hyderabad-Deccan, 91-109; R. B. Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1927, 244-5.

(J. F. BLUMHARDT-SH. INAYATULLAH)

AFṬASIDS (BANU 'L-AFṬAS), small Hispano-Muslim dynasty of the 5th/11th century, which reigned during the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of al-Andalus over a vast territory in the western part of the Iberian peninsula, with Badajoz (Baṭalyaws) as its capital.

On the dismemberment of the caliphate of Cordova, the "Lower March" of al-Andalus (*al-t͟hag͟hr al-adnā*), consisting of the middle valley of the Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) and the central portion of modern Portugal, passed into the possession of a liberated slave of al-Ḥakam II, Sābūr, who, according to the custom followed in Muslim Spain at that period, took the title of *ḥād͟jib*. Sābūr, whose epitaph has been preserved and who died on 10 S͟haʿbān 413/8 November 1022, took as his minister a man of letters of Berber origin, belonging to the group of Miknāsa established in the Faḥs al-Ballūṭ, north of Cordova: ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Maslama, surnamed Ibn al-Afṭas. The latter did not hesitate to usurp power when Sābūr died, leaving two sons under age, and founded the dynasty of the Afṭasids of Badajoz, sometimes also called Banū Maslama.

ʿAbd Allāh, who took the honorific *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr, reigned until his death, which, according to his epitaph, also preserved, occurred in Badajoz on 19 D͟jumādā II 437/30 Dec. 1045. Few details are known of his reign, which seems to have been peaceful and fruitful for his principality at first, but was later troubled by the bad relations which soon obtained between al-Manṣūr and his neighbour in Seville, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād (cf. ʿABBĀDIDS). The latter even captured him at Beja (Bād͟ja) and kept him prisoner for some time.

ʿAbd Allāh was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, best known under his *laḳab* of al-Muẓaffar. The historians are unanimous in praising his deep learning and literary taste, and record that he appreciated but little the contemporary poets, who in his opinion were incapable of producing anything to equal even remotely the poems of al-Mutanabbī and al-Maʿarrī. He is attributed with the authorship of a large work, no doubt an anthology, in no less than fifty volumes, entitled *al-Muẓaffarī*. The fact that the book is very rarely quoted proves that it was not widely known even in Spain.

The reign of al-Muẓaffar, which lasted for twenty years, was extremely troubled from the political angle and almost entirely occupied with a tenacious but ineffective struggle against the king of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid. In spite of the attempts of the prince of Cordova, Ibn D͟jahwar (cf. D͟JAHWARIDS) to arbitrate in the conflict, the almost continuous hostilities greatly weakened the kingdom of Badajoz and induced Ferdinand I, king of Castile and Léon, to attack it and impose a tribute upon it. In 449/1057 the northern frontier fortresses of the Afṭasid kingdom, Vizeu and Lamego, passed in this way into the possession of the Christian king, who in 456/1063, by the capture of the city of Coimbra (Ḳulumriyya) and of the whole region between the rivers of Douro (Duero) and Mondego, marked one of the decisive stages of the Reconquista.

At the death of al-Muẓaffar, who only survived for a short time this grave amputation of his dominions, he was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā al-Manṣūr, who was challenged by his brother ʿUmar, governor of Evora (Yābūra) and soon disappeared from the scene. ʿUmar, who took the *laḳab* of al-Mutawakkil, was exposed, like all the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of his epoch, to the increasing demands of the Christian king Alfonso VI, who in 471/1079 took from him the fortress of Coria (Ḳūriya). He seems to have been the first, even before the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, to solicit the intervention of the Almoravids in Spain, but eventually, like all his neighbours, he was unable to resist the growing aggressiveness of the Christian king, and had to comply with his demands for tribute. His attempt in 472/1080 to add the kingdom of Toledo to his dominions, following on the offer made to him by the inhabitants of Toledo themselves, failed in spite of the fact that he stayed for ten months in the D͟hu 'l-Nūnid capital. He was present at the battle of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], which took place within his own territory on 12 Rad͟jab 479/23 Oct. 1086, and had a hand in the intrigues which finally decided the Almoravids to dethrone all the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of al-Andalus and annex their possessions. Feeling himself menaced, ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil turned towards Alfonso VI and solicited his help, in return for the cession of Santarem (S͟hantarīn), Lisbon (al-Us͟hbūna) and Cintra (S͟hintara). But all this was in vain, and Badajoz was taken at the end of 487/1095 by the Almoravid general Sīr b. Abī Bakr, with the connivance of the inhabitants, who had had enough of the fiscal exactions of their king. Al-Mutawakkil and two of his sons, al-Faḍl and Saʿd, were taken prisoner and sent to Seville, but even before their arrival there they were executed. Another son of al-Mutawakkil, al-Manṣūr, escaped, fortified himself for some time in the castle of Montanchez, in the modern province of Cáceres, and finally, together with his followers, migrated into the dominions of Alfonso VI and was converted to Christianity.

Bibliography: All the chronicles of the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, especially Ibn Ḥayyān, as quoted by Ibn Bassām, *D͟hak͟hīra*; Ibn ʿId͟hārī, *Bayān*, iii, index; Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām* (Lévi-Provençal), 211-5. The narrative in the *Memoirs* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn [*q.v.*] which relates to the reign of al-Mutawakkil is by far the most detailed and trustworthy source. Hoogvliet, *Specimen e litt. orient. .... de regia Aphtasidarum familia*, Leiden 1839, is antiquated. See also R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], iii, index; A. Prieto y Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, 65-8; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1947, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 53-5; idem, *Islam d'Occident*, 125-6; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iv (in preparation).

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**AFWAH** AL-**AWDĪ**, ABŪ RABĪʿA ṢALĀʾAT B. ʿAMR, pre-Islamic Arab poet, chieftain of the Awd clan of Mad͟hḥid͟j, about the middle of the 6th century A.D. Most of his extant poetry celebrates the warlike virtues of his tribe and of its chief, while his gnomic poems caused him to be counted among the sages of the *d͟jāhiliyya*. Al-D͟jāḥiẓ, however (*al-Ḥayawān*[2], vi, 280), doubts the authenticity of the poems attributed to him, and the arguments which he presents are to the point.

Bibliography: The *dīwān* of al-Afwah al-Awdī was published in *al-Ṭarā'if al-Adabiyya*, Cairo 1937; L. Cheikho, *Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniyya*, 70-4; it was introduced into Spain by al-Ķālī, who had received it from Ibn Durayd (*BAH*, ix, 396). Verses and biographical notes are to be found in Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], index; idem, *Bayān* (Sandūbī), i, 171; Ibn Ķutayba, *Shi'r*, 110-1; idem, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, iii, 113; Ķālī, *Amālī*, i, 125; *Aghānī*[2], xi, 41-2; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms*, 45 (offprint from *JA*, 1907); Brockelmann, S I, 57; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 29 (French transl. 48). (CH. PELLAT)

AFYŪN, opium, from Greek ὄπιον, diminutive of ὀπός, "vegetable juice". Opium is the dried resinous juice of the unripe capsules of the oppyx (*Papaver somniferum L.*, in Arabic *khashkhāsh*), the preparation of which is already described by classical authors, e.g. by Dioscorides, iv, 64. (For opium in Antiquity see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Mohn.) In Islamic times it was used officinally and as a narcotic (also by *darwīshes*). The poppy had long been cultivated in Upper Egypt: according to Kūhīn al-'Aṭṭār, 128, in his time (7th/13th century) the best opium was prepared in Abū Tīdj, S. of Asyūt. The cultivation of the poppy and the preparation of opium flourished in Egypt until the beginning of the 19th century. (Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* [5], i, 118, ii, 35). The cultivation of the poppy in Asia Minor does not seem to go back to the Byzantine period. It apparently spread after the Crusades, and under Turkish rule the plant was acclimatized especially in the neighbourhood of Ķara Ḥiṣār, which received the nickname of Afyūn Ķara Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*]. This town was the centre for the cultivation and the export of the opium as late as the 19th century (cf. O. Blau, *Etwas über das Opium, ZDMG*, 1869, 280). In Persia, as well as in Turkey, opium is often called *tiryāķ*, "antidote". When 'Abbās II tried to enforce the prohibition of wine, the consumption of opium grew to such dimensions that he was forced to soften the prohibition and take measures, instead, against the trade in opium (1621; P. della Valle, ii, 108). Yazd and Iṣfahān used to export opium to India and Turkey. (See Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1735, iii, 14-5, 92 ff.; ii, 58.67; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 248-55; and the vivid description of opium-eating by E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, index.) Opium played a considerable role also in India, where the decoction of the husks was called *post* (cf. J. Charpentier, *Pōst(ā)*, *BSOS*, 1935-7, 101 ff.; especially for the Mughal period). According to B. Laufer, in *T'oung Pao*, 1916, 462 (cf. also O. Franke, *Geschichte d. Chines. Reiches*, ii, 551, iii, 428) the knowledge of preparing opium came to the Chinese from (medieval) India and not from the Muslims (contrary to the assertions of scholars such as J. Edkins, *The Poppy in China*, 5; E. Bretschneider, in A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 400; Yule and Burnes, *Hobson-Jobson*, 641; Giles, *Glossary of Reference*, 200, who derive the Chinese names of opium from the Arabic).—For the adulteration of opium by dishonest merchants (by admixture of various resins, or sandarac, etc., see E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erl.*, xlvi, 1914, 176-206.

Bibliography: Abū Manṣūr al-Muwaffaķ, *Abniya* (Seligmann), i, 36; Ibn al-'Awwām, *Filāḥa*, transl. Clément-Mullet, ii/1, 128 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmi'*, i, 45, transl. Leclerc, nos. 116 and 2120; Ķazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 282; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Colin), 40; I. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 364-70; M. Meyerhof, *Un glossaire de matière médicinale comp. par Maimonide*, no. 35. (cf. also no. 401); Millaut, *L'opium et le hachich, La Géographie*, 1912, 132 ff. (C. E. DUBLER)

AFYŪN ĶARA ḤIṢĀR (modern spelling: AFYONKARAHISAR), more correctly AFYŪN ĶARA ḤIṢĀRĪ, "Opium Black-castle", at present also simply AFYON, formerly ĶARA ḤIṢĀR-I ṢĀḤIB (in Neshrī, ed. Ankara, 64 = ed. Berlin, 21 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, Frankfurt 1591, col. 140: Ṣāḥibuñ Ķara Ḥiṣār[ī], *Principis Maurocastrum*; Saibcarascar in Caterino Zeno, *Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia*, Venice 1558, 14b), town in western Anatolia, 38°50' N, 30°30' E, about 1007 m. above sea level, on the stream Akarčay, which flows into the Eber Gölü, and then into the Akshehir Gölü, at the foot of an isolated and steep trachyte cone which rises from the plain to a height of 200 m. above the town surrounding it. Ķara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib was the capital of a *sandjaķ* of the *eyālet* Anadolu (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 641), since 1281/1864 of a *sandjaķ* of the *wilāyet* Khudāwendigār (Brusa); in modern Turkey Afyūn Ķara Ḥiṣār is capital of the *wilāyet* (*il*) of the same name, comprising the *ķaḍās* (*ilče*) Afyūn Ķara Ḥisār, Bolwadin, Dinar Emirdagh ('Azīziyye), Ṣandīķlī and Shuhut. In 1945 the town had 29,030 (1950: 29,826), the *ķaḍā* 136, 667, the *wilāyet* 335,609 (1950: 372,600) inhabitants; the *wilāyet* has a surface of 13,555 sq. km.—The name Afyūn Ķara Ḥiṣār, formerly only in popular, but at present also in official use (Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, i, 120 has: Aphiom Carassar; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1834: Aphioum) comes from the rich production of opium in the district, already mentioned by Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses mémorables*, Paris 1555, 183 a (cf. O. Blau, in *ZDMG*, 1869, 280).

Ķara Ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib is identified with the Byzantine fortress of Akroïnos, Akroynos, near which in 740 A.D. the emperor Leo III defeated the Arabs, and the legendary hero Sayyid Baṭṭāl and his armies met their death (Theophanes, *Chronogr.* (de Boor), i, 390,411), and where the emperor Alexius I Comnenus negotiated in 1116 with the Saldjūķ prince Malikshāh (Anna Comnena, *Alexias* (B. Leib, Paris 1934-45, iii, 209)). It was apparently taken from the Byzantines by the Turks in the beginning of the 13th century, but no details are available. The inscription on the Altīgöz köprüsü (*RCEA*, no. 3658) shows that the town was Turkish in 606/1209. It was to Ķara Ḥiṣār that the famous Saldjūķ vizier Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā' Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 687/1288-9) from whom the town received its designation, retired with his treasures before the Ķaramānians. His sons, Tādj al-Dīn Ḥusayn and Nuṣrat al-Dīn received in fief in 1271 the whole territory of Ķara Ḥiṣār, with Kütahya, Ṣandīķlī, Ghurghurum and Aķ Shehir, later also Lādīķ (Laodicaea on the Lycus, near the modern Deñizli) and Khonas (ancient Chonae, modern Honaz); see Aķsarāyī (Osman Turan), 74; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), 308 (also mentioned, in connection with the sons of the Ṣāḥib, p. 323, 327, 334; by Ķara Ḥiṣār Dewele our Ķara Ḥiṣār is meant). Lādīķ and Khonas fell into the hands of the Turkman 'Alī Beg during the troubles of Djimrī (1277); he was, however, defeated in a successful campaign by the Sultan and killed near Ķara Ḥiṣār (Ibn Bībī, 333). The latter descendants of the Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā' had to submit to the Germiyans and finally lost their territory to them. (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār* (Taeschner) states in one passage, p. 31, that Ķarasār was in the possession of Ibn Torghud; in

another, p. 36 and 37, that Ḳarasārī was in the possession of Ibn al-Sāyib—by which no doubt the descendant of the Ṣāḥib is meant—under the suzerainty of the Germiyans; cf. also Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, 1st series, ii, 563 ff.) After this Ḳara Ḥiṣār shared in the vicissitudes of the principality of Germiyan [*q.v.*], which soon became a dependency of the Ottomans and under Bāyazīd I actually belonged for a time to the Ottomans, from 792/1390 until its restoration under Tīmūr, 805/1402. Khiḍr Pasha (d. 750/1349), son of Sulaymān-shāh of Germiyan, and other members of this princely family, are mentioned as heads (*čelebi*) of the Mewlewī colonies in Ḳara Ḥiṣār (see Ghālib Dede, *Tedhkire-yi Shuʿarā*ʾ*-yi Mewlewiyye*, MS Vienna, no. 1257, fol. 54r, 90r = ʿAlī Enwer, *Semāʿkhāne-yi Edeb*, Istanbul 1309, 48 f., 102). During Tīmūr's invasion of Asia Minor after the battle of Anḳara (1401), Ḳara Ḥiṣār also suffered from the raiding parties of the conqueror (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, ii, 446, 457, 484, 492 = *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, transl. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, iv, 21, 31, 60, 68; Dukas, *Hist.*, Bonn, 77).

In 832/1428-9 the principality of the Germiyan-oghlu definitely fell into the hands of the Ottomans, and Ḳara Ḥiṣār with its territory became a *liwā* (*sandjaḳ*) of the *eyālet* Anadolu (cf. *Djihān-nümā*, 641). As a fortress near the Ḳaramān frontier, it was, as long as Ḳaramān remained independent, of military importance. At the beginning of the war with Uzun Ḥasan (877/1472-3) the prince Muṣṭafā retired to Ḳara Ḥiṣār and used it as a base for his expeditions against the Ḳaramān-oghlu, the allies of the Persians (ʿĀshiḳpasha-zāde, *Ta*ʾ*rīkh* (Giese), 169; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj ül-Tewārīkh*, i, 534; Caterino Zeno, loc. cit), and in 895/1489-90 it served as a base for the operations of Hersek-zāde Aḥmed Pasha against the Egyptians who had invaded Ḳaramān (Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 65). Ḳara Ḥiṣār is often mentioned in connection with the revolts and struggles of contending pashas in the 17th century (1011/1602, revolt of Djelālī, 1041/1631, revolt of Baba ʿÖmer, 1069/1658, revolt of Abāza Ḥasan Pasha). In 1833 the town was temporarily occupied by Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. In the Greco-Turkish war in 1921-3 it was occupied by the Greeks twice (28 March-7 April 1921 and 13 July 1921-27 August 1922). The war caused great damage to the town, which was, however, restored by reconstruction on a large scale under the republic.

The greater part of the scanty antiquities from the classical period seems to have been removed to the town from the ruined sites of the vicinity, notably Seydīler (Prymnessus), Isče Ḳara Ḥiṣār (Docimium) and Čifut Ḳaṣabasī (Synnada). The town's land-mark, the steep trachyte cone with the late Byzantine fortifications restored by the Germiyan-oghlu (described by Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 29-34) bore as late as at Niebuhr's time (1766) the name Bek Baran Ḳalʿesi ("the fortress which gives refuge to the Beg"). It was never properly inhabited, and is now derelict, but was used occasionally for the internment of political prisoners (ʿĀshiḳpasha-zāde, *Ta*ʾ*rīkh*, ed. Istanbul, 243 f., not in ed. Giese), and as late as 1802 for the imprisonment of the French prisoners of war from Egypt.—The other monuments from the epoch of the Saldjūḳs and the Germiyan-oghlu, such as the Ṣāḥibler Türbesi, the Ulu Djāmiʿ of Khōdja Beg and the mausoleum et Sulṭān Dīwānī, as well as the Ottoman monuments, such as the mosque of Aḥmed Gedik Pasha with its annexes (the *medrese* is at present used as a museum; Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Fâtih deuri mimarisi*, Istanbul 1953, 252-58), still await detailed examination.—In addition to the inscription on the Altlgöz köprüsü, mentioned above, other inscriptions from the town are published in *RCEA*, nos. 4132, 4329, 4540 and 4667.

Bibliography: *Sāl-nāme* of the *wilāyet* Khudāwendigār for 1302, 466 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 224 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 641 f.; Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1677, i, 87 ff.; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii/2, 82; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 131-4 (with plan and panorama); W. G. Browne (1802), in R. Walpole, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1820, 116 f.; Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 64 ff. (with beautiful views); W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 462, 470; v. Vincke, F. L. Fischer and v. Moltke, *Planatlas von Kleinasien*, Berlin 1846, 54, page no. 4; *Mitt. des Deutschen Arch. Instituts in Athen*, 1882, 139 f.; G. Radet, *Rapport sur une Mission scientifique en Asie Mineure*, *Nouv. Archives des Missions scientifiques*, 1895, 425 ff.; E. Naumann, in *Globus*, vii, no. 19 (illustration); Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, Berlin 1896, 81 ff.; Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin 1899, 390 ff.; Besim Darkot, in *IA*, vii, 277-80; Edib Ali Baki, *Afyonda eski zamanlarda yaşayiş*, in *Taşpinar dergisi*, Afyon; M. Ferid and M. Mesût, *Sahip Ata ile ogullari*, Istanbul 1934.

(J. H. Mordtmann-Fr. Taeschner)

AGA [see agha].

AGADIR, one of the names of a fortified enclosure among the Berbers, where chambers are allotted to the various families of the tribe for storage of grain, and where the tribe takes refuge in times of danger. The following are the areas where this ancient Berber institution survives: Djabal Nafūsa (under the name of *gasr* = *ḳaṣr*, or *temidelt*); Southern Tunisia (*ghurfa*); the Awrās (*gelāa* = *ḳalʿa*); and in Morocco the Rīf and more especially the Great, Middle and Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa (*agadir* among the Shluḥs and *igherm* among the Berbers of the Middle Atlas). The word *agadir* probably goes back to Phoenician *gadir* = Hebrew *gādēr* "wall" (in fact the word has in the Sūs the meaning of "strong wall").

Bibliography: R. Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas*: *L'Agadir des Ikounka*, *Hesp.*, 1929; idem, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930, 253 ff.; idem, *Villages et Kasbas Berbères*, Paris 1930, 9 ff.; Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers Collectifs*, *Hesp.*, 1949, 97 ff.; idem, *Greniers-Citadelles au Maroc*, Paris 1951.

AGADIR-IGHIR, Moroccan town situated at the junction of the Moroccan High Atlas with the plain of Sūs, on the Atlantic coast. The town stands at the northern end of a large bay, at the foot of a hill some 800-900 feet high which is surmounted by a fort. The population numbers 30,111, of whom 1,518 are Jews and 6,062 Europeans (1952 census).

It is not clear whether a settlement existed there before the arrival of the Portuguese, although a letter from the inhabitants of Māssa to Emmanuel I of Portugal, dated 6 July, 1510 (*Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, *Portugal*, i, 243) speaks of an *agādīr al-arbaʿā* at that site. This suggests that an *agādīr* existed there near which a travelling market was held every Wednesday. At all events, it was of no great importance. Leo Africanus mentions the

same settlement under the name Gartguessem ("Cape Ksīma" named after a Berber tribe living round about the town).

In the second half of 1505, a Portuguese nobleman João Lopes de Sequeira, built a wooden castle there, perhaps to protect a fishing fleet, perhaps also, with the approval of his sovereign, to thwart the Spaniards in the Canary Islands who had designs of the southern coast of Morocco. The castle was situated near a spring, at the foot of the hill commanding the roadstead. This site still bears the name of Funti, although its official designation seems from the first to have been Santa Cruz del Cabo de Aguar, by reason of its relative proximity to Cape Ghir. This castle was purchased by the King of Portugal on 25 January 1513.

The establishment of the Portuguese at Santa Cruz caused a strong reaction among the Berber tribes of the Sūs. The members of the Djazūliyya order, which had established itself in the Sūs 50 years previously, were able to exploit this antipathy for the purpose of a holy war, and some of them promoted the rise of the Saʿdids (Banū Saʿd), a family of *shurafāʾ* coming from the Darʿa (Draʿ). The chief of this family, Muḥammad, later entitled al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh, was proclaimed war leader about the year 1510.

From that date the Portuguese fortress was subjected to an intermittent, but nevertheless irksome, military and economic blockade, and to attacks which grew in severity as the power of the Saʿdids increased. In September 1540, the Saʿdid king of the Sūs, Muḥammad al-Shaykh, son of al-Ḳāʾim, captured the hill which dominated Santa Cruz and concentrated there a strong force of artillery. The siege began on 16 February 1541 and ended, on 12 March, with the surrender of the Governor, D. Guttere de Monroy, and the survivors of the garrison. A very detailed and lively account of these events can be found in the *Chronique de Santa Cruz*, the work of one of the besieged who, after 5 years' captivity at Tarūdant and elsewhere, wrote this account of his adventures.

For many years Santa Cruz-Agadir was left deserted until the Saʿdid sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib biʾllāh (1557-74) built a fort on the top of Agadir hill to protect the anchorage from the Christian fleets. From then onwards Agadir was one of the points at which European traders regularly called, principally to take on cargoes of sugar (see especially *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, 1ère série, France*, iii, 361). Agadir retained its role of trading port up to the founding of the Muslim town of Mogador [*q.v.*] in 1773. Since that date, Agadir harbour has been little used.

The settlement achieved momentary renown in 1911 when the German gunboat "Panther" cast anchor in the roads to assert German claims there at a time when General Moinier's column had just occupied Fez (1 July 1911). After the signing of the Protectorate agreement, Agadir was occupied by French troops in 1913. Its population was then less than 1,000.

Since then, the town has developed greatly. It has become the chief town of one of the administrative regions of Morocco which comprises nearly 700,000 inhabitants. It owes its growth chiefly to the development of its agriculture and fisheries, and to the exploitation of its mineral wealth. The port of Agadir, constructed since 1914, has recently been enlarged.

Bibliography: Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, (Schefer), i, 176 (Guarguessem); *Chronique de Santa Cruz du Cap de Gué (Agadir)*, ed. and tr. P. de Cenival, Paris 1934; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, tr. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1667, ii, 34-9; J. Figanier, *Historia de Santa Cruz de Cabo de Gué (Agadir), 1505-1541*, Lisbon 1945 (cf. *Hesp.*, 1946, 93 ff.); these works deal primarily with the Portuguese period; H. de Castries, *Une description du Maroc sous le règne de Moulay Ahmed el-Mansour* (1596), Paris 1909, 110; Ch. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, new edition, Paris 1934, 184-5; J. Erekmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris 1885, 50-1 (with a map); Castellanos, *Historia de Marruecos*, Tangier 1898, 203-17; Budge Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901, 378-82; H. Hauser, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe* (1871-1914), Paris 1929, vol. ii, 6th part, ch. iii: P. Renouvin, *La crise d'Agadir*; P. Gruffaz, *La port d'Agadir*, in *Bull. Ec. et Soc. du Maroc*, 1951, 297-301; G. Guide, *Agadir* in *Les Cahiers d'Outremer*, 1952.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ĀGDĀL (Berber), a term borrowed by the Arabic of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia from Berber, with the same meaning as in that language namely "pasturage reserved for the exclusive use of the landowner". In Morocco, however, the word has acquired the special sense of "a wide expanse of pasture lands, surrounded by high walls and adjoining the Sultan's palace, reserved for the exclusive use of his cavalry and livestock". Such enclosures exist in each of the royal cities, Fez, Meknes, Rabāṭ and Marrākush.

(G. S. COLIN)

ĀGEHĪ, Turkish poet and historian, d. 985/1577-8. His real name was Manṣūr. He was born in Yenidje-yi Wardar (Giannitsa in Greek Macedonia), which was at that time an important centre. His career as *mudarris* and *ḳāḍī* took him to various places; Gallipoli and Istanbul are mentioned by his biographers. Āgehī was a poet of considerable renown in spite of the fact that no *dīwān* of his poems seems to have existed. He owed his fame, particularly, to a *ḳaṣīda* addressed to his sweetheart, a young sailor, and composed in the professional slang of the Turkish sailors of his time and containing many terms borrowed from the nautical lingua franca, especially, terms belonging to the terminology of the galley; it was imitated by several poets of his time. Of Āgehī's only known historical work, the *Taʾrīkh-i Ghazāt-i Sigetwar*, describing Suleymān's expedition against Szigetvár, (see Babinger, 69) no manuscript is known.

Bibliography: The main sources for Āgehī's life are the contemporary collections of biographies of Ottoman poets (*Tedhkire-yi Shuʿarāʾ*, by ʿĀshīḳ Čelebi, Ḳīnalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Riyāḍī, ʿAhdī, Beyānī, Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī) and the biographical sections in ʿĀlī's *Kunh al-Akhbār*; none of these sources is published; excerpts in the article Āgehī in Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, i, 16-8, where also several of Āgehī's poems are printed. The *ḳaṣīda* in sailors' slang is published with a commentary in A. Tietze, *xvi. asīr Türk şiirinde gemici dili, Āgehī kasidesi ve tahmisleri, Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 1951, 113-121 (with further bibliography). (A. TIETZE)

AGĒL [see ʿUḲAYL].

AGHA, a word used in eastern Turkish generally to mean "elder brother", sometimes in contrast to *ini*, "younger brother", but in Yakut (*āgā*) meaning "father" (cf. V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Déchiffrées*, 98 (*āḳā*)), in Koybal-Karaghasī "grand-

father" and "uncle", and in Čuwash "elder sister". Among the Mongols it appears already to have been used as an honorific, the princesses of the imperial family being designated by it (cf. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, xxxix-xl).

In Ottoman Turkish *agha* (usually pronounced *ā'ā* or even *ā*) means "chief", "master" and sometimes "landowner". It is also used for the head servant of a household and occurs in combination with many words, e.g. *čarshi aghasi* ("market inspector"), *khān aghasi* ("innkeeper"), *köy aghasi* ("village headman") and *aghabey* ("elder brother" —cf. above— or "senior"). As a title, up to the reform period and in some cases even later, it was given to many persons of varying importance employed in the government service, for the most part in posts of a military, or at least a non-secretarial, character, being contrasted particularly with *efendi* [*q.v.*]. The most notable *aghas* of this kind were the *Yeničeri Aghasi* (see YENI ČERI) and most of the principal officers of the standing as opposed to the feudal army, and the *Üzengi* or *Rikāb Aghalari* and most officers of both the "Inside" and "Outside" Services of the sultan's household. But the *kāhya* (*ked-khudā*) of the Grand Vizier was also entitled *agha*, though his duties were entirely administrative and secretarial—whence, in his case, the word *efendi* was usually added to his title and he was called *Agha Efendimiz*; and so were the eunuchs of the palace service heade by the *Bāb ül-Se'ādet Aghasi* or *Kapi Aghasi* (white) and the *Dār ül-Se'ādet Aghasi* or *Kizlar Aghasi* (black), and the eunuchs attendant on the *Wālide Sulṭān* and princesses of the imperial blood. Hence eunuchs employed by officials and the well-to-do in general came usually to be known as *ḥarem* or *khādim aghalari*, till the word *agha* alome might sometimes mean "eunuch".

After the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826 and the formation by Maḥmūd II of the *'Asākir-i Menṣūre*, it became the custom to entitle *agha* illiterate officers up to the rank of *ḳā'im-maḳām*, literate officers of corresponding rank being addressed as *efendi*; and this usage was maintained among the people up to the end of the Ottoman regime. Until the establishment of the Constitution there existed a military rank intermediate between those of *yüzbashi* and *binbashi* called *ḳol aghasi* (i.e. commander of a wing).

Agha, often spelt *āḳā*, is also used in Persian, in which it again sometimes signifies "eunuch", as notably in the case of the first Ḳādjār, Āghā Muḥammad Shāh.

Bibliography: W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch d. Turko-Tatar. Sprachen*, i, 5-6; H. Vambéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. Turko-Tatar. Sprachen*, 5; Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, 24; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1921, 146; 'Aṭā, *Ta'rikh*, i, passim, particularly sections beginning pp. 7, 30, 72, 138, 157, 182, 205, 209, 257 and 290; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, cf. index; *IA*, s.v. *Ağa*; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, index.

(H. BOWEN)

AGHA KHĀN, properly ĀḲĀ KHĀN, title applied to the Imāms of the Nizārī [*q.v.*] Ismā'īlīs. It was originally an honorary title at the court of the Ḳādjār Shāhs of Persia, borne by Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh, who, after the murder of his father Khalīl Allāh in 1817, gained the favour of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh and received the hand of one of his daughters in marriage. In consequence of intrigues at the court under the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh revolted in 1838 in Kirmān, but was defeated and fled in 1840 to Sind, where he rendered valuable services to Sir Ch. Napier in the Sind campaign. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in Persia from the Bunpore district, he went to live in Bombay, but was removed to Calcutta at the instance of the Persian government. In 1848 he returned to Bombay, which has remained, except for a brief period at Bangalore, the headquarters of the movement headed by him and his successors. Internal conflicts among the Khodjas [*q.v.*] concerning the leadership of the Imām, led to lawsuits, culminating in the famous judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould in 1866 in favour of the Agha Khān. (It was this case, during which a great deal of information about the sect was elicited, which called the attention of western scholarship to the continued existence of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs; cf. M. H. B. Freer, *The Khojas, the Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain*, *Macmillan's Magazine* 1876, 431 ff.; St. Guyard, in *JA*, 1877/i, 337 ff.) Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh (d. 1881) was succeeded by his son 'Alī Shāh (d. 1885), and the latter by his son, the present Agha Khān, H. H. Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (b. 2 Nov. 1877), the spiritual head of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in India (including the Khodjas), Persia, Central Asia, Syria and East Africa. Under his guidance, the organization of the Nizārī community has been greatly developed. The Agha Khān has also occupied a prominent position in public life. His heir (*walī 'ahd*) is 'Alī Khān (b. 1910).

Bibliography: J. N. Hollister, *The Shī'a of India*, London 1953, 364 ff. The memoirs of the present Agha Khān were published under the title of *World Enough and Time*, London 1954.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ĀGHĀ MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, founder of the Ḳādjār [*q.v.*] dynasty of Persia, who was born in 1155/1742, was the elder son of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, hereditary chief of the powerful Ḳādjār tribe. When a child he was castrated by order of 'Ādil Shāh, Nādir Shāh's nephew, an act which warped his character in later life. On his father's murder in 1758, he became chief of the Ḳādjārs. He spent his youth at Karīm Khān's court at Shīrāz; on Karīm's death in 1779 he fled to Astarābād and engaged in a long struggle with his descendants. By 1785 he had made himself master of the north and centre of the kingdom, and in that year he made Teheran his capital because of its central position and its proximity to the Ḳādjār territories. In 1794 he captured the gallant Luṭf 'Alī Khān, the last of Karīm Khān's descendants, and put him to death after inflicting fearful tortures. In the following year he re-established Persian authority over Georgia. He was crowned Shāh in 1796. He subsequently added Khurāsān to his dominions, deposing Shāhrukh, Nādir Shāh's blind grandson; by means of torture, he forced Shāhrukh to disclose where he had hidden his grandfather's jewels. So dreadful were the unfortunate prince's sufferings that he died. Nemesis soon overtook Āghā Muḥammad, for he was assassinated in 1797. He showed great skill as a statesman and also as a military leader, but his reputation was sullied by his revengefulness, his revolting cruelty and his insatiable avarice.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Razzāḳ b. Nadjaf Ḳulī, *Ma'āthir-i Sulṭāniyya*, Tabrīz 1826 (English translation by Sir Harford Jones Brydges entitled *The Dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833); Riḍā

Ḳulī Khān Hidāyāt, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, ix; Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 300-302; R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year* 1858, London 1866, 65-105; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*[2], ii, 289-96.

(CL. HUART-L. LOCKHART)

AGHAČ, meaning in Ottoman Turkish "a tree", "wood", in Eastern Turkish (in which the forms *yïghač*, *yïghāč* are the more frequent) means also "the male member" and "parasang"; cf. al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Istanbul 1933, iii, 6, and Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkische Wortschatz*, Budapest-Leipzig 1928, 87. Al-Kāshgharī shows only the forms *yïghāč* and *yïghač*, but W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, 1893, i, 150, shows also *aghač* and other forms of the word such as *aghatz*, *aghas* and *yaghač*, as signifying not only "tree" and "wood" but also "a measure of distance". The measure thus referred to by al-Kāshgharī as a "parasang" is said (cf. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, Paris 1870, 554-5) to be three times the distance at which a man standing between two others can make himself heard by them. An *aghač* in this sense is equal, according to a verse of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, to 12,000 double cubits (*ḳarī*); according to Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, iii, 141, to a Spanish league, or four Italian miles; according to Flandin and Costa, *Voyages en Perse*, i, 111, to 6 kilometres; and according to Radloff, loc. cit., to between 6 and 7 Russian versts.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given above, Sulaymān Efendi, *Lughat-i Čaghatāʾī wa-Turkī-yi ʿUthmānī*, 15 (transl. I. Kúnos, Budapest 1902, 6, 105); H. Vámbéry, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, 357. (CL. HUART-H. BOWEN)

AL-AGHĀNĪ [see ABŪ'L-FARADJ AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ].

AGHĀTHŪDHĪMŪN, Agathodaemon. The correct transliteration of the name occurs, e.g., in Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, i, 18. Other forms are Aghāthādhīmūn and similar spellings, Aghādhīmūn and similar spellings, as well as more serious distortions. In Latin translations from Arabic we find various representations of different accurateness, e.g. in the *Turba Philosophorum*: Agadimon, Adimon, Agmon.

The Graeco-Egyptian god Agathodaemon (see Ganschinietz, in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. Suppl.-Bd., s.v.) is represented in Arabic tradition as one of the ancient Egyptian sages or prophets. Already Ps.-Manetho refers to Agathodaemon as the third king of Egypt, in another place as son of Hermes the second and father of Tat. According to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 2, Agathodaemon was the teacher of Idrīs/Henoch/Hermes. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, on the authority of al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, says that he was the teacher of Asclepius. The Ṣābians [*q.v.*] identify him with Shīth b. Ādam. Ibn Waḥshiyya attributes to him the prohibition of fishes and beans, after him confirmed by Armisa/Hermes, and also the invention of three ancient alphabets. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Bombay), iv, 296, mention him together with three other sages, each of whom inaugurated one of four schools: Agathodaemon created the Pythagorean. Djābir b. Ḥayyān mentions him in several places together with Socrates, Ps.-Madjrīṭī together with other philosophers, and al-Shahrastānī quotes some teachings of his.

Agathodaemon is a great authority in the occult sciences. Djābir and Ps.-Madjrīṭī attribute to him a clock that lures snakes, scorpions, etc. out of their holes. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm amongst the alchemical authors and he is quoted in several authors on the art, even in Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *Sirr al-Asrār*.

Many authors consider the two great pyramids the graves of Hermes and Agathodaemon [cf. HARAM].

Bibliography: Manetho, ed. Waddell, 1940; D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, index s.v.; idem, *Ueber die Ueberreste der altbabylonischen Literatur*, 1859; J. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters*, 1806; A. v. Gutschmid, *Die nabatäische Landwirtschaft*, *Kleine Schriften*, ii, 1890; P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, ii, 1942, index, s.v.; Ps.-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (Ritter), 327, 406; Shahrastānī, 241; *Fihrist*, 353, cf. J. W. Fück, *Ambix*, 1951, 92; J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1926, index s.v.; idem, *Turba Philosophorum*, 1931, index s.v.; idem, *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, 1937, 21; M. Plessner, *Hermes Trismegistus and Arabic Science*, *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 45 ff. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-AGHLAB AL-ʿIDJLĪ (AL-AGHLAB B. ʿAMR B. ʿUBAYDA B. ḤĀRITHA B. DULAF B. DJUSHAM), Arab poet, born in the pre-Islamic era and converted to Islam, who later settled at al-Kūfa, and was killed at the battle of Nihāwand (21/642) at the reputed age of 90. He is not regarded as one of the Companions of the Prophet. Al-Aghlab is considered to be the first to have employed the *radjaz* metre in lengthy poems constructed on the pattern of the *ḳaṣīda*, but very few traces of his works remain. Critics praise particularly a poem on the prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*], and quote an anecdote which suggests that Islam afforded him little inspiration for the composition of religious poetry.

Bibliography: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo, 218; Sidjistānī, *Muʿammarīn* (Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii), no. 107; Aṣmaʿī, *Fuḥūla*, in *ZDMG*, 1911, 466-7; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], ii, 280; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 389; *Aghānī*[1], xviii, 164-7; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 332-4; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 225; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 22; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 208; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 114; Brockelmann, S I, 90; Nallino, *Scritti* vi, 96-7 (Fr. trans. 149-51).

(CH. PELLAT)

AGHLABIDS or **BANU 'L-AGHLAB**, a Muslim dynasty which throughout the 3rd/9th century held Ifrīḳiya in the name of the ʿAbbāsids and reigned at al-Ḳayrawān.

(i) General Survey; (ii) Religious Life; (iii) Chronological Survey.

(i) GENERAL SURVEY.

In 184/800 the founder of this dynasty, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, who, as governor of the Zāb, had displayed skill and energy in restoring law and order in his province, was invested with princely power by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd on terms advantageous to the latter. His vassal relinquished the subvention hitherto paid to Ifrīḳiya and undertook to pay a tribute of 40,000 dinars to the imperial treasury. The ties which linked the Aghlabid *amīr* to the Caliph were such as to allow him a large measure of autonomy, especially in the matter of the succession. "He bequeathed his dominions to a son or a brother as he pleased" (al-Nuwayrī), making his choice without interference from Baghdād, and this practice was followed by each of the *amīrs* who succeeded him.

Our knowledge of these Arab rulers of Ifrīḳiya is considerable, and it is possible to discern their

characters with reasonable clarity. In these high officials of the caliphs who had become independent princes, one finds the merits and defects of their masters. Although the majority were devoted to pleasure and addicted to drink, which at times incited them to outbursts of violence and bloodshed, there were among them men of culture who had a sense of greatness, shrewd statesmen, at once stern and humane, and leaders anxious to promote public works and to devote the revenues accruing to them to the welfare of the State. Under them, Ifrīķiya experienced a genuine renaissance, and many magnificent foundations still testify to their beneficent rule.

They needed energy and political skill to overcome the difficulties which confronted them. Ibrāhim b. al-Aghlab (184-97/800-12) had to extinguish the last outbreaks of Berber revolt. On the borders of Aghlabid territory, Khāridjism was in control of Southern Ifrīķiya, of the Awrās and nearly all of Central Maghrib, the Zāb forming the western boundary of the kingdom. The adherence of the Kutāma of Lesser Kabylia to Shīʿism was to cause the downfall of the dynasty. The gravest crises, however, were centred round the very heart of the Aghlabid kingdom. Tunis and even al-Ķayrawān were centres of opposition, and the most troublesome elements were the Arabs of the *djund*, who ought to have been the strongest supporters of Aghlabid power. In the towns in which they were garrisoned, they treated the indigenous population with contumely, and proved exacting and contentious in their dealings with the rulers of the country. Ibrāhīm I had to suppress two Arab revolts: that of Ḥamdīs b. ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān al-Kīndī (186/802) and that of ʿImrān b. Mukhallad (194/809), in both of which Ķayrawānīs were involved. Foreseeing the danger, the *amīr* had constructed, 2 m. south of al-Ķayrawān, al-Ķaṣr al-Ķadīm (or al-ʿAbbāsiyya [*q.v.*]) and had taken up residence there. He surrounded himself there with those elements of the *djund* considered reliable and with slaves bought for the purpose, who constituted an imposing coloured guard.

Under the third Aghlabid *amīr*, Abū Muḥammad Ziyādat Allāh (201-23/817-38), who had displayed excessive severity towards the *djund*, a new and more serious Arab revolt broke out, instigated by Manṣūr b. Naṣr al-Tunbudhī. From his fort at Tunbudha, near Tunis, he called the Arab chiefs to arms and received their support (209/824). After varying fortunes the insurgents found themselves masters of nearly the whole of Ifrīķiya except Ķābis and its surrounding district. With the help of the Berbers of the Djarīd, Ziyādat Allāh succeeded in regaining the advantage. Al-Tunbudhī surrendered and was executed. The coalition then broke up and Ziyādat Allāh pardoned the remaining rebel chiefs. Once again the Ķayrawānīs had supported the cause of the insurgents.

The hostility of the Ķayrawānīs and the policy of the Aghlabids towards them constitute another aspect of the internal history of the dynasty. This hostility was fostered mainly by the religious classes, scholars and devotees who enjoyed the confidence and regard of the people. These doctors of religion, exponents of *ḥadīth*, jurists and theologians who, for the most part, were of eastern origin, lived close to the people and guided public opinion. As professing ascetics, they criticised the morals of the *amīrs*; as champions of orthodoxy, they protested against their illegal decisions and their abuse of power. The second of the Aghlabids, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (197-201/812-7) promulgated a financial reform which was contrary to Islamic tradition, namely, the levy on crops of a fixed sum in cash instead of the tithe in kind. This measure aroused strong protests, and the death of the *amīr* soon afterwards was regarded as a divine punishment. On the whole, the Aghlabid rulers treated the religious classes with respect and tried to conciliate them, but they rarely induced them to relax their uncompromising attitude. Apart from various architectural creations and public works (which will will be described later), which may be considered to owe their origin to this religious policy, the conquest of Byzantine Sicily can also be attributed to the same cause.

Although this conquest, the supreme military achievement of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, was undertaken by Ziyādat Allāh immediately after the revolt of Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī, and was doubtless inspired by the desire to divert the energies of the Arabs to an external theatre of operations, the expedition of 211/827 assumed the guise of a holy war. The army was entrusted to the learned jurist Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*], and Sūsa [*q.v.*], where the fighters for the Faith and their followers embarked, already had the character of a *djihād* port, as the town had been furnished with a *ribāṭ* six years previously.

This *ribāṭ* still exists. An inscription at the foot of the signal tower bears the name of Ziyādat Allāh and the date 206/821. The rebuilding of the Great Mosque at al-Ķayrawān [*q.v.*] is attributed to the same *amīr*. This splendid building, founded by Uķba b. Nāfiʿ about 670, twice remodelled or rebuilt in the course of the 8th century, was in fact the work of the Aghlabids. In addition to Ziyādat Allāh, two other *amīrs*, Abū Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm II, carried out work there and enlarged the prayer-hall.

The Aghlabids were enthusiastic builders. Under Ziyādat Allāh's successor, Abū ʿIķāl al-Aghlab (223-6/837-40), the small mosque named after Abū Fatyāta was built at Sūsa, which acquired other new foundations about the same time. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad endowed it with the Great Mosque (236/850) which still exists. The ramparts, also preserved, were constructed under Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242-9/856-63), who of all the dynasty figures most prominently in the architectural history of Ifrīķiya. To him is attributed the construction of the great mosque of Tunis, which like that at al-Ķayrawān, superseded an earlier mosque which was now considered inadequate. The creative activity and the munificence of this prince were shown, above all, in his military and public works. Ibn Khaldūn, who is usually more cautious in his assertions, states that "Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad built in Africa nearly 10,000 forts, constructed of stone and mortar and furnished with iron gates". It is true that he constructed a large number, both along the coast and on the western frontier, many perhaps being strongholds of the Byzantine *limes* which he restored. At Sūsa, the rampart, dating, according to an inscription, from 245/859, seems to have been built on the old wall of Hadrumetum. Similarly the Burdj Yunga, on the Tunisian coast south of Mahres, which also dates from the Aghlabid era, is a Byzantine fort, the foundations of which were used by the Muslim architects.

The same thing probably applies to a number of of hydraulic undertakings, but it can be asserted that the Aghlabids carried out many of these in order to restore prosperity to regions possessing only a poor water supply, notably to the south

of the "Tunisian chain". A recent work by M. Solignac, based on an examination of the constructional methods employed and the nature of the materials used, and a comparison with those used at the neighbouring reservoirs at al-Ḳayrawān, leaves no doubt on this point.

For their public works, their defence installations, and, in general, for their buildings, the *amīrs* evidently relied on a labour force recruited locally. The superintendence of the workshops was entrusted to non-Muslim freedmen, their clients (*mawlā*), whose names are recorded on the buildings themselves. On their coins are mentioned officials of the same origin who controlled the Mint.

Although the inherited traditions of Christian Africa had a considerable influence on the construction and ornamentation of buildings (the Roman mosaic style of paving being still employed), Aghlabid architecture draws also on Oriental sources. The influence of Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia is apparent, and a new and specifically Muslim art emerges which finds its most striking expression in the Great Mosque at al-Ḳayrawān.

The dynasty enjoyed its last years of prosperity in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm II, who succeeded Abū ʿAbd-Allāh Muḥammad called Abu 'l-Gharāniḳ ("Father of the Cranes"), a frivolous and extravagant prince. Ibrāhīm II, in whose strange character were blended in exaggerated form the merits and defects of his line, was by turns a just sovereign, concerned for the welfare of his people, and a sadistic tyrant, whose cruelty spared no member of his family. On the command of the ʿAbbāsid Calīph al-Muʾtaḍid, who had received complaints about him, he abdicated in 289/902 in favour of his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh, and devoted himself to a most edifying life of penitence. Being unable to perform the pilgrimage by the overland route, he travelled to Sicily, made himself master of Taormina, and then went on to Calabria, where he died before Cosenza (19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 289/29 Oct. 902).

During the reign of Ibrāhīm II there appeared in Ifrīḳiya the Shīʿite missionary Abū ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], who was to bring about the downfall of the dynasty and secure the triumph of the Fāṭimid al-Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh. Supported by the Kutāma Berbers, whom he had converted to Shīʿism, Abū ʿAbd Allāh set out to conquer the Aghlabid kingdom. The posts on the western frontier, some of which had been imprudently denuded of their Arab garrisons, victims of Ibrāhīm's severity, were incapable of checking these fanatical mountaineers. The *amīr* Abū Muḍar Ziyādat Allāh III perceived the danger, but his measures lacked any rational plan and were insufficient to delay the catastrophe. He restored the walls of al-Ḳayrawān and sent against the Kutāma several forces which were defeated. Then, announcing a great victory, he made preparations for flight. He left Raḳḳāda, the royal city which Ibrāhīm II had founded 4½ m. south of al-Ḳayrawān, and, taking with him what treasures he could, set out for Egypt. From there he went to Raḳḳa, but later returned to Egypt, and died at Jerusalem.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 195-207 (trans. Noel Des Vergers, *Hist. de l'Afrique sous la dynastie des Aghlabides*, Paris 1841); Nuwayrī, ed. M. Gaspar Remiro (trans. in appendix to Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i (trans. E. Fagnan, i, 111-204); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vii (trans. E. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1898, 157-299); Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. sept.*, trans. de Slane, 52-54; Māliki, *Riyāḍ al-Nufūs*, ed. H. Muʾnis, Cairo 1953; ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, passim; Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrikiya* ed. and trans. M. Bencheneb, *passim*; Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie de Benou l-Aghlab* (800-909) Paris 1927; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1857-75; Ch. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de 395 a 1081* (*Histoire générale de G. Glotz*), 413-419; H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Khulāsat Taʾrīkh Tunis*, Tunis 1372, 64-76; M. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan et des steppes tunisiennes du VIIe au XIe siècle*, Algiers 1953; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, 57-101; idem, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, chap. i.

(G. Marçais)

(ii) RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Al-Ḳayrawān under the Aghlabids was a great centre of Islamic religious life, scholarship and literature, both in its own right and as a half-way house between the Islamic East and West. Whilst they did not elaborate a common local interpretation of religious law of their own, the scholars of al-Ḳayrawān followed one or the other of the Eastern schools of thought, sometimes adopting an eclectic attitude. This eclecticism is attested not only by the *Asadiyya* of Ibn al-Furāt but by other works as well. ʿIrāḳian and Medinese doctrines were equally well represented in al-Ḳayrawān of the Aghlabids, but the teaching of al-Shāfiʿī never took root there. In particular, al-Ḳayrawān under the Aghlabids became the most important centre of the Mālikī school, superseding Medina and Cairo as such. Some of the most prominent specialists in religious law of the period, whose works have to a greater or lesser extent survived, are: Asad b. al-Furāt ([*q.v.*], d. 213), Saḥnūn ([*q.v.*], d. 240), author of the *Mudawwana*, the great digest of Mālikī doctrine, Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā (d. 288), Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Kinānī (d. 289), ʿĪsā b. Miskīn (d. 295), and Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād (d. 302). Manuscripts dating from the time of the Aghlabids, of the works of these and of other scholars, are still preserved in the library of the Great Mosque of al-Ḳayrawān. In the field of dogmatic theology, too, al-Ḳayrawān under the Aghlabids was the meeting-place of many opinions and the stage of lively discussions, occasionally, too, of violence and persecution, between the orthodox, the Djabariyya, the Murdjiʾa, the Muʿtazila, and last but not least the Ibāḍiyya (see these artt.). Asad b. al-Furāt, for instance, assaulted Sulaymān al-Farrāʾ who denied that the believers would see God, and when Saḥnūn became ḳāḍī, he had slowly beaten to death his predecessor ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi 'l-Djawād, who was of the opinion that the Ḳurʾān was created. Concerning this last proposition, the religious policy of the Aghlabids followed that of the Caliphs of Baghdād. Shortly after the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] in the East, the upholders of the orthodox doctrine had to undergo a similar, though milder, tribulation under the pretender Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab; Saḥnūn himself had been in danger on that occasion, but escaped serious trouble. In the same way as in the East, an orthodox reaction soon asserted itself, but Muʿtazilite doctrines were not eradicated, and a professed Muʿtazilite, such as Ibrāhīm b. Aswad al-Ṣaddīnī, was appointed ḳāḍī of al-Ḳayrawān at the end of the reign of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, shortly before the end of the dynasty. Religious life proper is represented by a great number of pious persons and saints who were often

in opposition to, but still in contact with the religious scholars. Both groups were very influential under the Aghlabids, and both showed a spirit of independence and held a critical attitude towards the government. Occasionally, the ḳāḍīs were at the same time governors and military commanders. Several collections of biographies, the oldest of which are very near to the period in question, give a vivid picture of the religious and intellectual life in al-Ḳayrawān (and in the other cities of Ifrīḳiya) under the Aghlabids.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿArab (d. 333), *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*; the same, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Tūnis*; al-Khushanī (d. 371), *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya* (these three ed. and transl. by M. Ben Cheneb; Paris-Algiers, 1915, 1920); Abū Bakr al-Mālikī (d. after 449), *Riyāḍ al-Nufūs* (ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, i, Cairo, 1951); digest of the whole work by H.-R. Idris, in *REI*, 1935, 105 ff., 273 ff.; 1936, 45 ff.; Ibn al-Nādjī (d. 837), *Maʿālim al-Īmān*, Tunis, 1320-25. (J. SCHACHT)

(iii) CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The dynasty consists of the following eleven princes:

1. Ibrāhīm I b. al-Aghlab b. Sālim b. ʿIḳāl al-Tamīmī (12 Djumādā II 184/9 July 800—21 Shawwāl 196/5 July 812), the founder of the dynasty. His father al-Aghlab, a former associate of Abū Muslim, was one of the commanders in the Khurasanian corps sent to Ifrīḳiya by al-Manṣūr; in 148/785 he had succeeded Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath as governor, and was killed in 150/767 during the revolt of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb. In 179/795 Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of the Zāb, and in return for his assistance in putting down a revolt against the governor Ibn Muḳātil was granted the province as a hereditary fief by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Energetic and wise, prudent and shrewd, a brave fighter as well as skilful diplomat, Ibrāhīm gave Ifrīḳiya an excellent administration. He was a man of wide culture, being, it is said, a good *faḳīh* as well as a fine orator and poet. At the time of his death, his son ʿAbd Allāh, who had been sent in 186/811 to suppress a rising of the Khāridjite Huwwāra in Tripolitania, was besieged in Tripoli by the Rustamid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Tāhart, and made peace with the latter by ceding the entire hinterland of Tripoli.

Supplementary bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 233 f.; *K. al-ʿUyūn* (*Frag. Hist. arab.*, 302 f.); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 488, 511, 528, 532; Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Chronique*, tr. Masqueray, 121-6; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, Cairo, 159-241; for Frankish embassies to Ifrīḳiya, cf. Eginhard, *Annales Francorum*, an. 801; Reinaud, *Invasion des Sarrazins en France*, Paris 1836, 117.

2. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh I b. Ibrāhīm (Ṣafar 197/Oct.-Nov. 812—6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 201/25 June 817) had a reputation for beauty and ill-nature; he was blamed more especially for having imposed non-kurʾānic, and particularly heavy, taxes.

3. Abū Muḥammad Ziyādat Allāh I b. Ibrāhīm (201/817—14 Radjab 223/10 June 838) was one of the greatest princes of the dynasty. Apart from the revolt of al-Tunbudhī, the outstanding event of his reign was the conquest of Sicily, from 217/827 onwards, under the command of the *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳayrawān, Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*]. Two years later he granted an amnesty to the former rebels, and Ifrīḳiya entered on a period of general peace. To him is due also the restoration of the mosque of al-Ḳayrawān and other public works.

4. Abū ʿIḳāl al-Aghlab b. Ibrāhīm (223/838—Rabīʿ II 226/Feb. 841) was a brilliant and cultivated prince, who devoted his attention to the administration of Ifrīḳiya and gave a further impulsion to the *djihād* in Sicily.

5. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad I b. al-Aghlab (226/841-2 Muḥarram 242/10 May 856). Six years after his accession he was ousted by his brother Aḥmad, whom, however, he managed to defeat a year later and banished to the East, where he died. His reign was marked by two rebellions: those of Sālim b. Ghalbūn in 233/847-8 and of ʿAmr b. Sālim al-Tudjībī in 235/850. Muḥammad was a warm supporter of the Mālikites and especially of the *ḳāḍī* Saḥnūn [*q.v.*].

6. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (242/856—13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 249/28 Dec. 863) was a nephew of the preceding. He had a peaceful reign, marked especially by public works.

7. Ziyādat Allāh II b. Muḥammad (249/863—19 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 250/23 Dec. 864) was a brother of the preceding.

8. Abu 'l-Gharānīḳ Muḥammad II b. Aḥmad (250/863—6 Djumādā I 261/16 Jan. 875), son of Abū Ibrāhīm, was noted for his great passion for hunting. His reign was marked by the conquest of Malta (255/868).

9. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad (261/875—17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 289/18 Oct. 902) was raised to the throne by popular acclamation in place of his nephew Abū ʿIḳāl. In 264/878 he built himself a new residence, Raḳḳāda [*q.v.*], which he later abandoned for Tunis. The main events of his reign are the capture of Syracuse (264/878), the defeat of an invasion of Ifrīḳiya by al-ʿAbbās, son of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, by the Ibāḍites of Djabal Nafūsa (266-7/879-80), the suppression of a revolt of the Berbers of the Zāb (268/881-2), and of another rising in the north of Ifrīḳiya (280/893). His son ʿAbd Allāh, appointed governor of Sicily in 287/900, captured Palermo and Reggio, and was recalled on Ibrāhīm's abdication (see above).

10. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh II b. Ibrāhīm (289/902—29 Shaʿbān 290/23 July 903). He endeavoured to check the Shīʿite menace, but was assassinated at the instigation of his son Ziyādat Allāh.

11. Abū Muḍar Ziyādat Allāh III b. ʿAbd Allāh (290/903—296/909). Ascending the throne after the murder of his father and other members of his family, he was completely lacking in courage. Nevertheless, he proclaimed the *djihād* in 291/904, but, driven to despair by the fall of Laribus (18 March 909; see ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪʿĪ), he incontinently fled from the country.

ĀGHMĀT, a small town in Southern Morocco, about 25 m. south of Marrākush, on a small watercourse Wādī Ūrika or Wādī Āghmāt, at the edge of the Great Atlas range (the Djabal Daran of the Middle Ages). From the 5th/11th century the name of this place, according to the statement of the geographer Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, applied to two distinct settlements 1½ m. apart, namely Āghmāt an-Waylān (the spelling given by al-Baydaq, *Doc. inédits d'hist. almohade*) or Āghmāt of the Aylān (a Berber tribe: *arabice* Haylāna) and Āghmāt Ūrīka, or Āghmāt of the Ūrīka (Warīka). To-day the latter is a small country town named simply Ūrīka. Al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī describe Āghmāt as a flourishing town surrounded by well-irrigated gardens and inhabited by a considerable and highly industrious population. It is a fact that before the foundation of Marrākush, at the beginning of the

Almoravid expansion beyond the Great Atlas range, this town was the chief urban centre in southern Morocco and even, if one accepts the testimony of certain biographical notices in the Andalusian dictionaries, an extremely active cultural centre. In the 25 years prior to the accession of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn [*q.v.*], many scholars and jurists flocked to Āg͟hmāt from Cordova and even from al-Ḳayrawān, the latter having been forced into exile in large numbers by the disturbances which had just devastated Ifrīḳiya. At that time Āg͟hmāt was the capital of a small Berber state, in the hands of a chief of the Mag͟hrāwa [*q.v.*], Laḳḳūt b. Yūsuf, who married the celebrated Zaynab al-Nafzāwiyya, the daughter of one of the emigrés from Ifrīḳiya. The latter afterwards became successively the wife of the Lamtūna chief Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], and of his lieutenant and successor Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn. This intelligent and cultured princess who, according to certain chroniclers, was also something of a magician, speedily assembled at Āg͟hmāt a literary entourage and introduced the rough Lamtūna chieftains from the Sahara and their wives also to a more cultured mode of existence. Once it had been founded and become the capital of the Almoravids, Marrākus͟h attracted many members of this select circle from Āg͟hmāt, and this marked the beginning of its decline which, however, seems to have been consummated only much later. The Almoravids chose Āg͟hmāt as an enforced place of residence for two of the rulers whom they had deposed in Spain, namely the Zīrid ruler of Granada ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn, and the famous al-Muʿtamid of Seville. Later, Āg͟hmāt was the last stage on the journey of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart on his return from the East, prior to his "rising", in both a religious and a political sense, in the Great Atlas Mountains. By the time of Leo Africanus the old Berber capital was in a state of complete decline.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AG͟HRÎ, an East-Anatolian wilāyet (*il*) of the Turkish Republic, in large part identical with the former *sandjaḳ* of Bāyazīd [*q.v.*], and named from the Ag͟hrī Dag͟h [*q.v.*], the Biblical Ararat, which forms its N. E. boundary with the *wilāyet* of Kars and with Iran. Area: 12,659 sq. km; inhabitants in 1889 (after Sāmī): 47,236, of which 8,367 were Armenians, the rest Muslims; in 1891 (after Cuinet): 52,544, mainly Kurdish Muslims (41,471) and 10, 485 Armenians; 1945 : 133,504, all Muslims, of whom 78, 987 were Kurds and 54,473 Turks. Capital: Karaköse (1945 : 8,605 inhabitants; formerly called Ḳara Kilise). Consists of 6 *ḳaḍā's* (*ilče*): Karaköse, Diyadin, Doğubayazit (formerly Bāyazīd [*q.v.*], capital of the *sandjaḳ* of the same name), Eleşkert (formerly Ales͟hkird or Alas͟hgird), Patnos (formerly ʿAntāb), Tutak. The name is now spelled Agrı.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 227-39; S͟h. Sāmī Fras͟hērī, *Ḳāmus ül-Aʿlām*, ii, 1235.

(F. TAESCHNER)

AG͟HRÎ DAG͟H (sometimes also EGHRÎ DAG͟H), mountain (extinct volcano) with a double peak on the eastern frontier of the Turkish Republic, 39°45 N 44°20 E, the highest point in the plateau of the region of the Aras (Araxes) and Wan (high plateau of Ararat), in Armenian Masis or Masik, in Persian Kūh-i Nūḥ; by Europeans it is called Ararat, as it was identified with the mountain of this name (Hebrew Arārāṭ, originally the name of the country of Urarṭu, later understood as the name of a mountain), on which Noah's ark is said to have alighted. (Originally Ararat was identified with Djabal Djūdī [*q.v.*] near Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar in Mesopotamia.)

The mountain rises, almost without any intermediate ridges, over the flat plain of the Araxes, which is just over 800 m. high and extends to the east and north of the mountain. To the south and the west there extends an undulating high plateau from 1800 to over 3000 m. high, from which rise other extinct volcanoes, and ridges from which to NW and W form the transition to the system of the Eastern Taurus. The Ararat group covers an area of over 1000 square kms. and has a circumference of over 100 kms. It culminates in two summits, Great Ararat (5172 m.) in the NW and Little Ararat (3296 m.) in the SE; these are connected by a narrow, smooth-rounded saddle (2687 m.) 13-14 kms. long, called, after a spring c. 8 km. below, Serdār Bulaḳ. A pass leads over this ridge. In absolute height Ararat surpasses all the mountains of Europe, and with its relative height of over 4300 m. also many famous giants of the other continents. Seen from the north, the mountain, towering over the whole landscape, offers a majestic sight.

Great Ararat (Djabal al-Ḥārit͟h) has the form of a slightly rounded cone. From its summit, which forms an almost circular plateau with a circumference of 150-200 feet, falling off steeply on all sides, snow-fields and glaciers descend for 1000 m. (the snow line is over 4000 m. high). The NE slope of Great Ararat is cleft downwards by a steep ravine (the valley of St. James), the highest part of which is a spacious basin, enclosed by vertical walls of rock, while the lower part, now a stony desert, was formerly inhabited (the village of Arguri, 1737 m., and the monastery of St. James). Lesser Ararat (Djabal al-Ḥuwayrit͟h) has the form of a beautiful regular cone.

The district is afflicted by frequent earthquakes. The most terrible earthquake of recent centuries was that of 20 June 1840; this caused an enormous landslide, which destroyed a flourishing settlement, the ancient Arguri (old Armenian Akori; cf. Hübschmann, in *Indogerm. Forsch.*, xvi, 364, 395), with all its inhabitants (c. 1600), the small monastery of St. James 3 km. above, with all its monks, and the holy well of St. James.

The whole of the Ararat district, owing to the porousness of the cinder- and slag-stone, suffers from a considerable scarcity of water; in spite of the abundant cover of snow, there are only two springs of importance on the slope of Great Ararat (the Sardār Bulaḳ, 2290 m.; and the famous well of St. James, which emerges since 1840 at a different spot), none on Little Ararat. The latter does not

reach the region of eternal snow. It is only in the districts at the eastern and northern feet of the mountain, in the plain of the Aras, that the water oozes out and forms in parts marshy patches.

The dearth of water results in scanty vegetation. Apart from some birches, Ararat, like all the neighbouring mountains, is completely bare of forests; in this extreme form, however, this is caused by human agency. A poor fauna corresponds to the scanty flora. Since the destruction of the human settlements in the valley of St. James the district of Ararat is an uninhabited, solitary desert. In the Middle Ages the conditions were quite different. Al-Istakhrī, 191, expressly states that there was much wood and game on Ararat; al-Maḳdisī adds that there were more than 1000 hamlets on the promontories of Ararat. The Armenian historian Thomas of Artsruni (10th century) also stresses the richness of the region in deer, boars, lions and wild asses (cf. Thopdschian, in *MSOS*, 1904, ii, 150).

After the Persian wars of Selīm I and Süleymān I Ararat was for centuries the northern pillar of the Ottoman Empire against Persia, though both the summit and the northern slopes of Great Ararat, as well as the eastern slopes of Little Ararat, lay in Persian territory, or in that of the Persian vassal state of Nakhčewān. By the treaty of Turkman-čay (2-14 Febr. 1828) the plain of the Aras north of Ararat (the districts of Surmalu, Kulp and Igdir) was ceded by Persia to Russia. Thus the northern slopes together with the summit of Great Ararat fell to Russia, while Little Ararat formed the gigantic boundary stone between the three empires of Turkey, Persia and Russia. By the treaty of Moscow, 16 March 1921, between Soviet Russia and Turkey the plain of the Aras was ceded to Turkey; and in the Turco-Persian agreement (*iʾtilāf-nāma*) of 23 Jan. 1932 (which came into force on 3 Nov. 1932) Persia also ceded to Turkey a small territory, comprising the eastern slope of Little Ararat (cf. *MSOS*, 1934, ii, 116); thus at present the whole territory of the immense mountain belongs to Turkey. (Cf. G. Jäschke, *Die Nordostgrenze der Türkei und Nachitschewan*, *WI*, 1935, 111-5; idem, *Geschichte der russisch-türkischen Kaukasusgrenze*, *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 1953, 198-206.)

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(M. Streck-F. Taeschner)

ĀGRA, town, headquarters of a division and district of the name in the state of Uttar Pradēsh, is situated on the banks of the river Yamunā, 27° 1′ N, 77° 59′ E. Pop. (1951) 375,665, of whom 15.6% are Muslims. The city was for a long time the seat of residence of the Mughal emperors, and is renowned especially for its remarkable monuments of Mughal architecture.

History. Little is known about the early history of Āgra, but there is no doubt it was founded long before the Muslim invasions of India. The first reference to the city, and to an ancient fortress in it, is contained in a *ḳaṣīda* written in praise of the Ghaznawid prince Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm by the poet Masʿūd b. Saʿd b. Salmān (d. 515/1121 or 526/1131), wherein the conquest of the fortress (presumably during the reign of Sulṭān Masʿūd III, 493-508/1099-1115) is mentioned. The town was ruled by Rādjpūt chiefs, who, upon making their submission to the Sultanate of Delhi, were allowed to keep their control over it, under the overall command of the governor of Biyāna province. It remained unnoticed until Sultan Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517) rebuilt the city in 911/1505 and made it the seat of his government. The place quickly gained in importance and attracted scholars and learned men from many parts of the Muslim world. Commanding routes to Gwalior and Mālwa in the south, Rādjpūtāna in the west, Delhi and the Pandjāb in the north-west, and the plain of the Ganges in the east, it soon became a strategic and trading centre. It continued to be the capital of Ibrāhīm Lōdī (923-32/1517-26) and, on his defeat in 932/1526, it became the capital of Bābur. In addition to building his palace of Čārbāgh, Bābur laid out a number of gardens in the city and constructed many baths. His nobles followed his example, and a considerable portion of the old city was levelled down. The city remained Humāyūn's and Shīr Shāh's capital, but neither Humāyūn, nor Shīr Shāh or his successors were able to spend much time there. It again became the seat of government in the third year of Akbar's reign (965/1558), when he took up residence in the citadel formerly known as Badal Gadh, and his nobles built their houses on both banks of the river. In 972/1565 the construction of the fort on the site of Badal Gadh was undertaken, but before it could be completed, the building of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*] was commenced. From 982/1574 to 994/1586 Akbar lived mostly in the new city, and later, till 1006/1598, his headquarters were generally at Lahore. In the latter year he returned to Āgra. On his death in 1014/1605, Djahāngīr ascended the throne in that city and lived there almost continuously from 1016/1607 to 1022/1613. He spent another year at Āgra in 1027/1618, but later, until his death in 1037/1628, he spent most of his time in Kashmīr and Lahore. Like his father, Shāh Djahān also ascended the throne at Āgra, but had to leave for the Deccan in the following year. From 1040/1631 to 1042/1633 he again resided in the city, but after that, except for brief visits, he did not stay there for long. Thereafter, he lived mostly at Delhi, where he built

the new city of S͟hāhdjahānābād. (The name of Āgra was also changed to Akbarābād, but the latter name was never widely used.) In 1067/1657 he fell seriously ill and was brought to Āgra by his eldest son, Dārā S͟hikūh. In the war of succession that broke out, Awrangzīb was victorious and ascended the throne in 1068/1658. S͟hāh Djahān was imprisoned in the Fort, where he died in 1076/1666. On hearing the news, Awrangzīb returned to Āgra and held Court there for some time. Later, he again stayed in Āgra from 1079/1669 to 1081/1671. However, Awrangzīb's usual place of residence was, first, Delhi, and then, in the Deccan. Though, in the 17th century, the court did not remain at Āgra for long, the place was nevertheless regarded as one of the capital cities of the Empire. Most of the European travellers who visited India considered it to be one of the largest cities they had seen, comparable in size to Paris, London and Constantinople. It was a centre of trade and commerce and was well known for its textile industry, gold inlay work, stone and marble work and crystal. However the population as well as the trade diminished considerably when the court was away.

The successors of Awrangzīb lived mostly in Delhi, though Āgra continued to be important politically. During the second half of the 18th century, it suffered much from the depredations of the Djāts [*q.v.*], the Mahrattās and the Rohillāhs. Though nominal Mug͟hal sovereignty over the town continued till it was annexed by the British in 1803, except for the years 1774 to 1785 when Nadjaf K͟hān (d. 1782) and his successors were its governors, Āgra was under the occupation of the Djāts (1761-1770, and 1773-74) and the Mahrattās (1758-61, 1770-73, and 1785-1803).

Monuments. The Fort. The present fort of Āgra was built by Akbar on the site of the Lōdī fortress of Badal Gad͟h on the right bank of the Yamunā. It was constructed in about eight years (1565-73) under the superintendance of Muḥammad Ḳāsim K͟hān Mīr-i Baḥr at a cost of 35 lacs of rupees. It is in the shape of an irregular semi-circle with its base along the river. The fort is surrounded by a double wall, loop-holed for musketry, the distance between the walls being 40 ft. The outer wall, just under 70 ft. high and faced with red sand-stone, is about 1½ miles in circuit and represents the first conception of dressed stone on such a large scale. The principal gateway, the Delhi Gate, is one of the most impressive portals in India. Within the fort, according to Abu'l Faḍl, Akbar built "upward of 500 edifices of red stone in the fine styles of Bengāl and Gudjrāt". Most of these buildings were demolished by S͟hāh Djahān to make room for his marble structures, among those that still stand *Akbarī* and *Bangālī Maḥalls* are the earliest. Akbar's buildings are characterised by carved stone brackets which support the stone beams, wide eaves and flat ceilings, the arch being used sparingly. Similar in design is the *Djahāngīrī Maḥall*, a double-storeyed construction, 261 ft. by 288 ft., supposed to have been built by Akbar for Prince Salīm (later Djahāngīr) but very probably built by Djahāngīr himself for the Rādjpūt princesses of the *ḥaram*, though Cunningham thinks it was built by Ibrāhīm Lōdī. After the accession of S͟hāh Djahān architectural style underwent a radical change. With the discovery of marble quarries, red sand-stone was practically eliminated and large-scale use of marble made carved line and flowing rhythm of style possible. Instead of the beam and brackets, foliated or cusped arches became common and marble arcades of engrailed arches distinguished the buildings of S͟hāh Djahān. Among the most important of his buildings in the Fort are the *K͟hāṣṣ Maḥall* and its adjoining north and south pavilions; the *S͟hīs͟h Maḥall* a bath whose walls and ceilings are spangled over with tiny mirrors of irregular shape set in stucco relief; the *Mut͟hamman Burdj* built for the Empress Mumtāz Maḥall (in which building S͟hāh Djahān breathed his last); the *Dīwān-i K͟hāṣṣ* (or private assembly chamber); the *Dīwān-i ʿĀmm* (or public audience chamber) having a court 500 ft by 73 ft,, and a pillared hall 201 ft. by 67 ft. with an alcove of inlaid marble being the throne gallery (built of red sand-stone plastered with white marble stucco which is artistically guilded); the *Motī Masdjid* (or Pearl Mosque) a magnificent structure of white marble standing on a plinth of red sand-stone.

Not far from the fort stands the *Djāmiʿ Masdjid*, built by Djahān Ārā Bēgam, the eldest daughter of S͟hāh Djahān, in 1058/1648, a red sand-stone building having three domes and five gracefully proportioned arches, the central archway being a semi-domed double portal.

The tomb of Akbar at Sikandara, constructed in Djahāngīr's reign on a site selected by Akbar himself, stands in the middle of a well-laid garden about five miles from Āgra. Very probably some idea of the design was settled by Akbar, but the building lacks that correctness which is characteristic of the construction undertaken by that monarch. The building is 340 ft. square, consisting of five terraces diminishing as they ascend. The lowest storey is arcaded and in the centre of each side is inserted a large portico with a deeply recessed archway. The next three storeys consist of superimposed tiers of pillared arcades and kiosks built mainly of red sand-stone. The topmost storey is of white marble and is screened with perforated lattices. Each corner of this storey is surmounted by a slender kiosk.

The tomb of Djahāngīr's minister, Mirzā G͟hiyāt͟h Bēg entitled Iʿtimād al-Dawla (d. 1622), constructed by his daughter, the Empress Nūr Djahān and completed in 1628, stands in the middle of a well-laid garden on the left bank of the river. The mausoleum consists of a square lower storey 69 ft. wide with a gracefully proportioned octagonal turret, like a dwarfed minaret, thrown out from each corner; while the second storey rises in the form of a traceried pavilion covered by a canopy shaped vaulted roof sending out broad stooping eaves, surmounted by two golden pinnacles. It is the first large building in India built entirely of marble and is remarkable for the richness of its decoration and profuse *pietra dura* work.

Tādj Maḥall. The most famous building at Āgra is the *Tādj Maḥall*, the beautiful mausoleum erected by S͟hāh Djahān for his dearly loved wife, Ardjumand Bānū Bēgam, entitled Mumtāz Maḥall, popularly known to her contemporaries as Tādj Maḥall. She was the daughter of Āṣaf K͟hān, son of Iʿtimād al-Dawla, and was married to S͟hāh Djahān in 1612 at the age of nineteen. She bore him fourteen children and died in June 1631 at Burhānpūr after giving birth to a daughter. Work on the mausoleum was started almost immediately after her death and was completed in about twelve years at a cost of five million rupees, though some later writers have put the figure at 30 million rupees. According to the contemporary European traveller,

Tavernier, the structure, together with its subsidiary buildings, was completed in about twenty-two years during which period twenty thousand workmen were continuously employed on it. The best architects and craftsmen, each a specialist in his own field, available in the Empire as well as in the neighbouring countries were engaged for the work, which was carried on under the general supervision of Makramat Khān and Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm. The tradition that the architect of the *Tādj Maḥall* was a Venetian, Geronimo Veroneo, based on a statement made by Father Manrique, finds no corroboration either in the Mughal chronicles or in the writings of the other contemporary European travellers like Tavernier, Bernier, and Thevenot, who regarded the building as a purely oriental work. Its close resemblance with the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi, and an analysis of its architectural as well as decorative features, suggest that it was undoubtedly the culminating point in the evolution of the Indo-Muslim style of architecture, though no other building in India is quite as exquisite, elegant or beautiful.

The tomb, built of white marble from Djodhpūr, stands on a raised platform, 18 feet high and 313 feet square, faced with foliated arches. At each corner of this platform there is a beautifully proportioned cylindrical minaret, 133 ft. high girt with three galleries and finished with an open domed *čatr* throwing out broad eaves. In the centre of the platform stands the mausoleum, a square of 186 feet, with angles canted to the extent of 33 ft. 9 ins., the façade rising 92 ft. 3 ins. from the platform. In each face of the building is a high arched recessed porch. On either side of each porch, and at the canted angles, there are arched recesses of uniform size arranged in two storeys. These recesses and the porches are vaulted. Above each of the canted angles stands a domed pillared kiosk, while the centre is occupied by a beautiful bulbous dome, rising from a high circular drum, and surmounted by a gilt pinnacle finished with a crescent. The central dome, 58 ft. in diameter and rising 74 feet above the roof or 191 feet from the platform, is one of the finest in the world. Beneath the dome is the central chamber, octagonal within, buttressed at each angle by small octagonal rooms of two storeys, with the great porches in between each pair. In the middle of the central chamber is the cenotaph of Mumtāz Maḥall, and beside it that of her husband. Immediately beneath these, in the crypt, are the two graves. The cenotaphs are enclosed by a remarkable screen of trellis-work of white marble. The porches are framed in ornamental inscriptions from the Ḳurʾān, and the beauty of the whole is enhanced by copious and graceful ornamentation in *pietra dura*. All the spandrels, angles, and important architectural details are inlaid with semi-precious stones combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colour. The tomb is surrounded by a formal garden of great beauty, with long lily-ponds, also of marble, containing a row of fountains, leading from the principal entrance to the mausoleum. The river, which bounds the garden on the north, provides marvellous reflections of the building.

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(NURUL HASAN)

AGRICULTURE [see FILĀḤA].

ĀḤĀD [see KHABAR AL-WĀḤID].

AḤĀDĪTH [see ḤADĪTH].

AḤADIYYA [see ALLĀH, WAḤDA].

AHAGGAR, a Berber word denoting (a) the members (pl. *ihaggarən*) of one of the noble tribes constituting the former group of the Northern Tuaregs [*q.v.*], and (b) one of these tribes (Kəl Ahaggar or Ihaggarən), inhabiting a region to which it has given the name of Ahaggar (Hoggar).

In its widest sense, the Ahaggar is the group of territories under the dominion of the Kəl Ahaggar. It covers an area of about 200,000 sq. miles between lat. 21°-25° N and long. 3°-6° E. Bounded by mountain massifs (the Ahanəf to the E., the Tassili of the Ajjər to the N.-E., the Immidir to the N., the Adrar of the Ifoghas [*q.v.*] and the Ayr [*q.v.*] to the S.), it consists of a barren peneplain bounded by the Tassili, which stretch out in an arc both north and south, and dominated by mountain massifs, of which the highest and most important is, in the centre, the Atakor n-Ahaggar or Ahaggar proper, with a mean altitude of 7,200 ft. and with peaks rising to 9,835 ft. (Tahat, 9,835 ft.; Ilaman, 9,510 ft.; Asekrəm, 9,110 ft.). Valleys and steep gorges which debouch into shallow enclosed basins are evidence that in the past the volume of water was more considerable than at present, when the water courses are extremely irregular, and consist of subterranean channels which are easily accessible in places [see IGHARGHAR]. It has a desert climate, and the vegetation is poor and thorny. The few trees which manage to survive are stunted and apparently unable to reproduce themselves further. The fauna comprises several *ungulata*, principally gazelles, and cheetahs, jackals and hares. The people grow dates and a few cereals, breed camels and goats and employ large numbers of donkeys.

The name of the region is taken from that of the peoples who inhabit it or who rule it, the Kəl Ahaggar. The word *ahaggar* is to be related to the name of the Huwwāra [*q.v.*] tribe, the change from *ww* to *gg* being normal in Berber phonetics, and it is likely that branches of this tribe, coming from the Fazzān, established themselves during the historical era in the mountain massif which has taken their name, and reduced the inhabitants of

the region to vassal status. The problem of the origins of these peoples is still not solved [see BERBERS], and the local traditions and the theories formulated by writers at different periods about the populating of the Ahaggar must be treated with reserve. It is clear however that the country has been inhabited from remote antiquity, as witness the traces of work in stone and the many rock engraving which have been discovered (see F. de Chasseloup-Laubat, *Art rupestre au Hoggar*, Paris 1938).

The Ahaggar country was visited several times during the course of the 19th century. After the massacre of the Flatters mission (1880) and the Foureau-Lamy expedition (1898), the *aménokal* [*q.v.*] Mūsā ag Amāstan surrendered to Commandant Laperrine in 1904, and Ahaggar was placed under the control of France. It forms part of the Oasis Territory and its chief centre, Tamanrasset, comprises less than 1,000 inhabitants.

The population of the Ahaggar does not exceed 5,000. The noble tribes of the Kəl Ghəla, Taytoḳ and Tégehé Məllət, with their subdivisions and subject tribes constitute the Ahaggar confederacy, the *aménokal* being chosen from amongst the Kəl Ghəla.

The Touareg of the Ahaggar live in tents. Society is divided into three classes: the noble and suzerain tribes (Ihaggarən or Imuhagh), the subject tribes (Amghid, pl. Imghad) and slaves (akli, pl. iklan). The Ihaggarən, essentially warriors, levied tribute from the Imghad in exchange for their protection. They deputed all manual labour to them and to the slaves, and themselves lived by warfare and pillage. By putting an end to their warlike activities, the occupation of the country by France had somewhat curtailed the resources of the Ihaggarən, who nevertheless retain their prestige and continue to be supported by the Imghad.

For their writing (*tifinagh*), language (*tamahaḳḳ*), the subject of a masterly study by P. de Foucauld, and literature, see BERBERS.

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ʿAHD, injunction, command; thence: obligation, engagement; thence: agreement, covenant, treaty. The term (as well as the 1st and the 3rd forms of the corresponding verb) occurs frequently in the Ḳurʾān. It is used there over the whole range of its meanings, of Allāh's covenant with men and His commands, of the religious engagement into which the believers have entered, of political agreements and undertakings of believers and unbelievers towards the Prophet and amongst each other, and of ordinary civil agreements and contracts (xvii, 34; xxiii, 8; lxx, 32); occasionally, the agreement is personified: it "will be asked" to give evidence (xvii, 34; xxxiii, 15). From the idea of God's covenant derive the Christian Arabic terms *al-ʿahd al-ʿatīḳ* and *al-ʿahd al-djadīd* for the Old and the New Testament respectively. The basic concrete concept is "joining together", whereas the synonym *ʿaḳd* derives from the concrete idea of "binding". In later usage, the latter term is commonly used of civil engagements and contracts, whereas *ʿahd* is generally restricted to political enactments and treaties, in particular to the appointment of a successor, a *walī al-ʿahd* [*q.v.*], by a ruler, and to treaties of alliance with non-Muslims outside the Islamic state, who are therefore called *ahl al-ʿahd*; this last term is occasionally extended, on one side to the *mustaʾmin* [see AMĀN], and on the other to the *dhimmīs* [see DHIMMA]; both *amān* and *dhimma* are, indeed, a political *ʿahd* with religious sanction.

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AL-**AHDAL** (plur. Mahādila, < *Mahdalī for am-Ahdalī(?); on etym. cf. al-Muḥibbī, i ,67, Wüstenfeld, 6), a family of sayyids living mostly in SW Arabia, descended from the sixth ʿAlid *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. Their ancestor, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. al-Ahdal, called Ḳuṭb al-Yaman, and his son Abū Bakr (d. 700/1300) were famous ṣūfīs, living in the little town of Murāwaʿa (*TA*) or Marāwiʿa (al-Muḥibbī) N (*ḳibliyya*) of Bayt al-Faḳīh Ibn ʿUdjayl, where their graves are visited by pilgrims. To this clan belong the following ṣūfī scholars:

1. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥ., Badr al-Dīn (b. in Ḳuḥriyya 779/1377, d. as Muftī in Abyāt Ḥusayn 855/1451). Among eighteen titles enumerated by al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* iii, 146 f. are *Tuḥfat al-Zaman fī Taʾrīkh Sādāt al-Yaman* (*Aʿyān Ahl al-Y.*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), an adaptation and continuation of al-Djanadī's *Taʾrīkh* (*al-Sulūk*); a similar revision of al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djanān* was called *Ghirbāl al-Zamān*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 185, S II, 238 f.; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 248, 355, 407.

2. Ḥusayn b. al-Siddīḳ b. Ḥusayn (grandson of 1) (b. 850/1446 in Abyāt Ḥusayn, d. 903/1497 in ʿAdan) abridged, according to his pupil Abū Makhrama, his grandfather's *Taʾrīkh* (i.e. *Tuḥfat al-Zaman*). A mosque was built in ʿAdan in his memory in 1847. Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 251 (incorrect), *Nūr*, 27-30, *Ḍawʾ*, iii, 144.

3. Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Djamāl al-Dīn (b. 914/1508 in Murāwaʿa, d. 998/1590 in Zabīd), a jurist and traditionist, abridged a work of his ancestor Ḥusayn (no. 1) called *Maṭālib Ahl al-Ḳurba fī Sharḥ Duʿāʾ al-Walī Abī Ḥarba* (*Nūr*, 447 ff., cf. *Ḍawʾ*, iii, 146). His son

4. Muḥ. b. Ṭāhir wrote *Bughyat al-Ṭālib bi-Maʿrifat Awlād ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* (Wüst., 7; Brockelmann, S II, 239 is incorrect).

5. Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Abiʾl-Ḳāsim b. Muḥ. (d. 1013/1604 in the seaport Makhāʾ (Mukha), where he had lived for 37 years), famous ṣūfī and scholar, "the Ibn ʿArabi of his time", according to his disciple ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-ʿAydarūs (*Nūr*, 161-475), who published their correspondence in the work *al-Darr al-Bāsim min Rawḍ al-Sayyid Ḥātim*. His improvised poems were collected into a *dīwān*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 407, S II, 565; al-Muḥibbī, i, 496-500, Wüst., 114, Serjeant, *Materials*, ii, 585 f.

6. Abū Bakr b. Abiʾl-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad (b. 984/1576, d. 1035/1626) had a *zāwiya* in al-Maḥaṭṭ (Wādī Rimaʿ). Among his works are: *Nafḥat al-Mandal* (*fī Tarādjim Sādāt al-Ahdal*, Ism. Pasha, *Dhayl*) and *al-Aḥsāb al-ʿAliyya fiʾl-Ansāb al-Ahdaliyya*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 544; al-Muḥibbī, i, 64-8, Wüst., 112 f.

7. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān (d. 1250/1835) is mentioned with eight titles in Brockelmann, S III, 1311. Another work, *al-Nafas al-Yamānī fī Idjāzat Baniʾl-Shawkānī*, cited by Serjeant, *Materials*, ii, 587.

For two more members of this family, with the nisba al-Mūsawī, Muḥ. al-Kāẓim in the 9/15th century, the other in recent time, see Brockelmann, S II, 239, 865. A collection of traditions on South Arabia, *Nathr al-Durr al-Maknūn min Faḍā'il al-Yaman al-Maymūn*, was published ca. 1350/1931 in Cairo by Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Ahdalī al-Ḥusaynī al-Azharī.

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AḤDĀTH, literally "young men", a kind of urban militia which plays a considerable role in the cities of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries, and is particularly well known at Aleppo and Damascus. Officially, its role is that of a police, charged with public order, fire-fighting, etc., and also, in time of need, with military defence in reinforcement of the regular troops. For these services the *aḥdāth* receive stipends allocated from the product of certain urban taxes. The only distinction between them and any ordinary police is the local nonprofessional nature of their recruitment, but it is precisely this which gives them an effective function, much more important and often quite different from that of a police. As armed and pugnacious men of the native-born population, they constitute in face of the political authorities (usually foreigners, or in any case from outside the city) the dynamic element of "municipal" oppositions. It is for this reason that we repeatedly find them rising against the domination of the princes, and sometimes, when the latter are weak, forcing upon them in effect a regime of condominium in the city. In relation to the population, however, they do not always represent the same strata. At critical moments, for example at Damascus immediately after the Fāṭimid occupation, they are dominated by popular elements; more often they appear to accept the direction of the bourgoisie, and form more especially a body of supporters for one or two great families, from whom is drawn their chief, the *ra'īs*. This *ra'īs* forces the authorities to recognize him as *ra'īs al-balad*, a kind of mayor, whose influence counterbalances, and sometimes exceeds, that of the *ḳāḍī*, also a local notable. Out of this there may thus emerge finally veritable urban dynasties, such as (parallel to the Banū ʿAmmār of Tripoli, arising out of the *ḳāḍīs* of that city) the Banū Nīsān of Āmid, hereditary chiefs of Āmid in the 6th/12th century under the nominal suzerainty of the Inālid Turkman princes. The portrait of the cities of Syria and the Djazīra furnished to us by these facts is evidently at some remove from the common view which presents them as lacking any kind of municipal structure. The *aḥdāth* were, of course, most active at times and places in which a professional police (*shurṭa* [*q.v.*]) could not be maintained, and for this reason neither Baghdād nor Cairo offer us a comparable picture. Their final decadence begins with the establishment by the Saldjūḳids or their successors of military commandants (*shiḥna* [*q.v.*]) at the head of each city, supported by garrisons drawn from the regular army. About the same period the term *aḥdāth* is applied also to armed bands of the Bāṭiniyya or "Assassins" in Syria.

The term is found in earlier centuries in ʿIrāḳ, especially in Baṣra and Kūfa in the 2nd/8th century, but also in Baghdād and elsewhere. The officer in charge of the *aḥdāth* was responsible for public order, but the term *aḥdāth* in this case has generally been taken (following the opinion of Dozy, s.v.) in the other sense, equally justified by etymology, of blameworthy "innovations" of such a nature as to disturb public order and whose authors should be seized and punished. In general use, the term certainly has in given contexts the sense of "crime", but equally certainly in other contexts the sense of groups of "young men", vaguely specified. In the light of the materials described above, Dozy's view must be regarded as open to question; but up to the present time no text has come to notice which allows of a definite decision.

The further question arises of the relations between the Syrian and Mesopotamian *aḥdāth* and the *fityān* (see FATĀ) and *ʿayyārūn* (see ʿAYYĀR) whose existence is documented in ʿIrāḳ and the Iranian regions throughout the Middle Ages, and who also were especially active from the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries. These certainly played the role of "active wing" of the popular oppositions to the official authorities, parallel to, but more vigorously pressed than, that of the *aḥdāth*; the Iranian cities, moreover, all had apparently a *ra'īs*, who seems sometimes to have been the *ra'īs* of the *fityān* in his city. Etymologically also, *aḥdāth* and *fityān* have the same meaning. Nevertheless, though there is often convergence in fact, the two institutions differ in their origin, and these differences persisted. *Fityān* and *ʿayyārūn* were essentially private groups, recruited from the depressed classes and more violent in action, and it was only by gradual stages that they sometimes succeeded in drawing certain bourgeois or aristocratic elements in their train, or in replacing the military police. They often formed organized bodies with initiatory rites, within which there developed the peculiar ideology of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. No parallel to this has yet been found among the *aḥdāth*. It may not be accidental that the boundary between cities with *fityān* and those with *aḥdāth* corresponds very closely to the ancient Byzantine-Sasanid frontier, a fact which suggests that the *aḥdāth* may possibly be related to the ancient "factions" of the Later Roman empire. The whole question can, however, only be investigated in the framework of the general social study of the Islamic cities, on which little work has yet been done.

Bibliography: Numerous references to *aḥdāth* in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ* (Amedroz) (Eng.tr. by H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932; Fr. tr. by R. Le Tourneau, *Damas de* 1075 *à* 1154, Paris 1952); also in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab* (Dahan), Ibn Abī Ṭayyi (ap. Ibn al-Furāt, in MS), Ibn al-Athīr, Yaḥyā al-Anṭāḳī (Kratchkowsky & Vasiliev), Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, and other Syrian sources. For the ʿIrāḳī problem see esp. Ṭabarī, *passim*, and Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, ch. xix. Summary in *Recueil de la Soc. Jean Bodin*, vi, by Cl. Cahen, who is preparing a more complete study; remarks by Reinaud in *JA*, 1848/ii, 231; indications by Gibb and Le Tourneau in their introductions to translations of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 96, 103, 139. See also AKHĪ, ʿAYYĀR, FATĀ. (CL. CAHEN)

ĀHĪ, Turkish poet, whose real name seems to have been Beñli Ḥasan ("Ḥasan with the mole"). His father Sīdī Khodja was a merchant in Trstenik (not far from Nicopolis). After the latter's death Āhī went to Istanbul and chose for himself the career of a scholar, but for a long time advanced no further than the rank of candidate (*mulāzim*), because he declined the position of *müderris* in Bāyazīd Pasha's *medrese* in Brusa. Finally he obtained the less important position of *müderris* in Ḳara Ferya (Berrhoea), where he died in 923/1517. He left two unfinished poetical works, of which the titles are: *Shīrīn we-Perwīz* (imitating Sheykhī's *Khusrew u-Shīrīn*), and *Ḥusn u-Dil* (Istanbul 1277). The latter work is an allegorical poem written in prose interspersed with verses, and is an imitation of Fattāḥī's [*q.v.*] work of the same title. Gibb has epitomized its contents.

Bibliography: Sehī, 108; Laṭīfī (Chabert), 105; ʿĀshīḳ Čelebi and Ḳīnalī-zāde, s v.; Gibb, ii, 286 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 209; *Yeni Medjmūʿa*, 1918, no. 54; *Istanbul Kitaplīklarī Türkçe Yazma divanlar kataloğu*, no. 33.

AL-**AḤḲĀF**, the title of Sūra xlvi of the Ḳurʾān, and a geographical term the meaning and application of which have been generally misunderstood. The Sūra derives its title from verse 21, which speaks of ʿĀd as warning his people in al-Aḥḳāf. The word *aḥḳāf* is usually interpreted in dictionaries, books of *tafsīr*, and translations of the Ḳurʾān as meaning curved sand dunes. Medieval Arab geographers considered al-Aḥḳāf to be the name of a sand desert in Southern Arabia, said to lie between Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān, i.e., in the eastern part of al-Ramla or al-Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*]. Modern Western geographers, on the other hand, have inclined towards the identification of al-Aḥḳāf with the whole of al-Ramla or just its western half. C. Landberg (*Ḥaḍramoût*, 146-160) showed that al-Aḥḳāf as a regional name is used in Southern Arabia as roughly synonymous with Ḥaḍramawt in the broadest sense and is not applied to the sands farther north. The southern bedouins define Barr al-Aḥḳāf as the mountainous area running behind the coast from Ẓufār west to Aden, the central valley of which is Wādī Ḥaḍramawt; to them the word *aḥḳāf* means simply mountains and is not associated either with dunes or, as suggested by Landberg, with caves (*kuhūf*). A statement made to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by a man of Ḥaḍramawt, as recounted by Ibn al-Kalbī and repeated by al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt (s.v.), indicates that even in ancient times *aḥḳāf* may have been used in Southern Arabia in this connection rather than as a name for dunes in the Great Desert.

(G. RENTZ)

AḤKĀM, pl. of *ḥukm*, decision, judgment. [See also ḤAKAM.] In the Ḳurʾān, the word occurs only in the singular, and is used (as is the corresponding verb) of Allāh, the Prophets, and other men. Used of Allāh, it denotes both individual ordinances and the whole of His dispensation (iii, 79; xlv, 16; lx, 10). In the ultimate sense, final jurisdiction belongs to Allāh alone [see AL-MUḤAKKIMA], but He has given authority to make decisions to His Prophets. The jurisdiction of Muḥammad, in particular, is opposed to that of paganism (v, 50). So *ḥukm* comes to mean the authority, imperium, of the Islamic government and, on the other hand, the judgment of a ḳāḍī on a concrete case.

From *ḥukm* in the sense of a judicial decision derive the meanings of a logical judgment concerning a thing, of a status to be predicated of a thing or of a person, and of a rule in religious law, in grammar, and in other sciences. In all these meanings, the term is freely used in the plural. In particular, one speaks of *al-aḥkām al-khamsa*, the "five qualifications" (obligatory, recommended, indifferent, reprehensible, forbidden), by one or the other of which every act of man is qualified in religious law [see SHARĪʿA]. In a broader sense, *aḥkām* means the sum of the rules pertaining to any given subject (cf. the titles of books such as *aḥkām al-awḳāf* "On Waḳf", *al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* "On Government", also *aḥkām al-ākhira* "On the Next World"; *aḥkām al-nudjūm* "astrology", etc.). In the field of religious law, *aḥkām* is therefore synonymous with the *furūʿ*, the positive law as opposed to legal theory or jurisprudence [see FIḲH]; but as it also means judicial decisions, the term is more specifically used of the application of legal rules to concrete cases.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥukm*; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 97; A. Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v. *ḥukm*; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 72 f.; A. Jeffery, in *MW*, 1950, 121 f.; R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qurʾān*, 153; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, index, s.v. *aḥkām* and *ḥukm*. (J. SCHACHT)

AHL (A.), originally meaning "those who occupy with one the same tent (Hebrew *ōhel*)", thus "family, inmates". Therefore *ahl al-Bayt* means literally "the household of the Prophet". When the *ahl* (pl. *ahālī*) of a town or a country is spoken of it denotes its inhabitants, sometimes, as in Medina (according to Burton), specially those who were born there and own houses. But this word is often connected with other concepts, and is in these combinations more loosely used, so that it may come to mean "sharing in a thing, belonging to it", or "owner of the same", etc. Some of the compounds with *ahl* most in use follow here.

AHL AL-**AHWĀʾ** (A.; sing. *hawā*, "predilection, inclination of the soul"; comp. Ḳurʾān vi, 151) is a term applied by the orthodox theologians to those followers of Islām, whose religious tenets in certain details deviate from the general ordinances of the Sunnite confession (cf. *ZDMG*, 1898, 159). As examples there are mentioned: Djabariyya, Ḳadariyya, Rawāfiḍ, Khawāridj, anthropomorphists, Muʿaṭṭila. From the above definition it may be inferred that in the sense of Muslim theology it is not proper to designate these tendencies as sects.

(I. GOLDZIHER)

AHL AL-**BAYT**, ĀL AL-BAYT, "the people of the House", ĀL AL-NABĪ, "the family of the Prophet", all mean the same; the term *Āl Yāsīn* also occurs. The origin of the phrase is to be found in the strong clan sense of the pre-Islamic Arabs, among whom the term *al-bayt* was applied to or adopted by the ruling family of a tribe (by derivation from an ancient right of guardianship of the symbol of the tribal deity, according to H. Lammens, *Le Culte des Bétyles*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 136 ff., 154 ff.), and survived into later centuries in the plural form *al-buyūtāt* for the noble tribal families [see AHL AL-BUYŪTAT and ĀL]. In early Islamic times the term *bayt* was applied to themselves by a number of families, e.g. by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar to the house of ʿUmar (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, Cairo 1927, 19), and by ʿUmar II to the Umayyad house (*innamā al-Ḥadjdjādju minnā ahlu 'l-bayti*: ibid. 24). In the Ḳurʾān the phrase *ahla 'l-bayti* occurs twice: once in xi, 73, applied to the house of Ibrāhīm; the

second passage, xxxiii, 33 ("God desires only to remove filthiness from you (masc. pl.), *ahl^a 'l-bayt^i*, and with cleansing to cleanse you"), serves as the proof-text for its application to the house of Muḥammad (but see R. Paret, in *Orientalische Studien Enno Littmann .... überreicht*, Leiden 1935, 127-20).

The precise interpretation of the term in xxxiii, 33, gave rise to differences of opinion. In one tradition, according to which Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] is included among the *ahl al-bayt* (Ibn Hishām, *Sira* (Cairo), iii, 241; Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 59,), it is opposed to *muhādjirūn* and *anṣār*. Among the Shīʿa (and generally in circles friendly to ʿAlī) it was applied to Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (cf. already al-Kumayt, *Hāshimiyyāt* (Horovitz), 38 l. 30; cf. 92, l. 67) by interpreting the verse through the wellknown "tradition of the mantle" (*ḥadīth al-kisāʾ*, *ḥadīth al-ʿabāʾ*), which was accepted also in Sunnī circles [see AHL AL-KISĀʾ]. In keeping with an explanation of the Ḳurʾānic phrase as referring to the Prophet's wives and dependents, attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿIkrima, Umm Salama is, in some versions of this tradition, recognized by the Prophet as belonging to the *ahl al-bayt*. It is given a still wider application in a version of the so-called *ḥadīth al-thaḳalayn*, where the term is applied to those to whom (including their *mawālī*) a share in the *ṣadaḳa* is forbidden; among these are definitely mentioned the families (*āl*) of ʿAlī, of his brothers ʿAḳīl and Djaʿfar, and of al-ʿAbbās. In this tradition, therefore, the *ahl al-bayt* includes the Ṭālibids and ʿAbbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim; and in order to strengthen their claim to inclusion in the verse of purification, the ʿAbbāsids also had their counterpart of the *ḥadīth al-kisāʾ*. Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa extended it to include all the Banū Hāshim and al-Shāfiʿī extended it to the Banū Muṭṭalib also, while others make it include the whole community. The current orthodox view is based on a harmonizing opinion, according to which the term *ahl al-bayt* includes the *ahl al-ʿabāʾ*, i.e. the Prophet, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, together with the wives of the Prophet.

The Shīʿa limit the family (which they call by preference *ʿitra*) to the *ahl al-kisāʾ* and their descendants, making devotion to them an essential, or even the main, part of religion. In one version of the "Farewell Sermon" Muḥammad is represented as saying that God has given two safeguards to the world: His Book and the Prophet's *sunna*; in another version, this is replaced by: His Book and the Prophet's *ʿitra*. The official creed of the Shīʿa does not go beyond this, but popular belief ascribes cosmological importance to the family as in traditions like: "The stars are a pledge to the world that it will not be drowned, and my family are a pledge to the community that it will not go astray"; "God would not have created heaven, earth, paradise, Adam, Eve, the angels, nor anything else but for them (the family)". They have the same saving function as Noah's ark. The heads of the family are the Imāms [*q.v.*], infallible and sinless. The extreme Manṣūriyya called the family heaven and the Shīʿa earth (al-ʿAshʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 9).

The ideas of the Shīʿa found their way into later collections of *ḥadīth*, although the Sunna declares that love for the family is of no avail without obedience to the *sunna*. Al-Maḳrīzī is quoted as saying: "Beware of finding fault with one of the family, for no heresy, no default in the performance of religious duties, and no sin deprives him of his sonship."

The form *Āl* is used more especially in the invocation: "O God, bless (*ṣalli ʿalā*) Muḥammad and his *āl*" (cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, L, 114-7). The definition of those comprehended in this expression has produced controversies similar to those about the *ahl al-bayt*. Ibn Khālawayh enumerated twenty-five classes in his *K. al-Āl* (G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen d. Araber*, 231; citation in Baḥrānī, *Manār al-Hudā*, Bombay 1320, 200). See also al-Ṭūsī, *List of Shyʿa Books*, no. 294.

Bibliography: The law books on *zakāt*, e.g. Ḳudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Kazan 1880, 23; Nawawī, *Nihāya* (Van den Berg), ii, 305; Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī, *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb* (Van den Berg), 252; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Faḍāʾil al-aṣḥāb*, no 30, with Ḳastallānī, vi, 151; Commentaries to Ḳurʾān xxxiii, 33; the works of Maḳrīzī, Ṣabbān, Nābhānī quoted in the bibliography to art. SHARĪF; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Haythamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-Muḥriḳa*, Cairo 1307, 87 ff. (comprehensive discussion, in an anti-Shīʿite sense, of the extension of the notion of *ahl al-bayt*); Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, *al-Bābu 'l-Hādi ʿashar*, trans. Miller, London 1928; ʿAlī Aṣghar b. ʿAlī Akbar, *ʿAḳāʾid al-Shīʿa*, summarised trans. by A. A. A. Fyzee, *A Shīʿite Creed*, Bombay 1942; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, 95 ff.; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 19 f.; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, 65 ff.; Wensinck, Handbook, s.v.

(I. GOLDZIHER-C. VAN ARENDONK-A. S. TRITTON)

AHL AL-BUYŪTĀT (A.), originally denoted those that belong to Persian families of the highest nobility (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 71), then, the nobles in general. Other meanings are given by Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 131.

AHL AL-DĀR (A.) = "the people of the house", in the Almohad hierarchy the 6th order [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

AHL AL-DHIMMA (A.), the Jews and Christians, between whom and the Muslims there is according to Muslim law a certain legal relation [see DHIMMA].

AHL AL-FARḌ [see MĪRĀTH].

AHL AL-ḤADĪTH, also AṢḤĀB AL-ḤADĪTH, the partisans of traditions [see ḤADĪTH]. Traditionalism in Islam manifested itself first in the re-emergence of the old Arabian concept of *sunna* [*q.v.*], the normative custom of the community, which was in due course identified with the *sunna* of the Prophet. This normative custom found its expression in the "living tradition" of the ancient schools of religious law, which came into being at the very beginning of the second century of Islam. In opposition to the ancient schools and their extensive use of human reasoning and personal opinion [see AṢḤĀB AL-RAʾY and RAʾY), the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, who appeared on the stage a little later, claimed that formal traditions from the Prophet, even though they were transmitted only by isolated individuals [see KHABAR AL-WĀḤID], superseded the "living tradition". The traditionists themselves were responsible for putting into circulation many traditions which purported to go back to the Prophet, and they specialised in collecting, perfecting, transmitting and studying them; long journeys were made in search of traditions. Though hardly any of this material, as far as religious law is concerned, can be regarded as authentic by the standards of historical research, the Muslims, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, have accepted its essential parts as genuine.

The movement of the traditionists was the most

important event in the history of Islamic religious law in the second century of Islam. The ancient schools opposed it strongly at first, and the discussion concerning the authority of formal traditions from the Prophet, as against the "living tradition" of the schools, occupied most of that century. Once consciously formulated, however, the thesis of the traditionists, invoking as it did the highest possible authority under the Ḳur'ān, was assured of success, and the ancient schools had no real defence against the rising tide of traditions. Al-Shāfi'ī [*q.v.*] adopted the thesis of the traditionists and the other schools accepted it too, though they did not necessarily change their established doctrine accordingly. Only the doctrine of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] is purely traditionist. The final theory of religious law represents a compromise, insofar as the thesis of the traditionists, while accepted in principle, was made dependent in its application on the consensus of the scholars [see UṢŪL].

The main material aim of the traditionists was the same as that of the ancient schools, that is, to subordinate the legal subject-matter to religious and ethical considerations. On occasion, they showed themselves interested in purely legal issues as well. Al-Shāfi'ī had reason to complain that their standards of reasoning in general were inferior to those of the ancient schools, and in particular, he disavowed those extreme traditionists who accepted all traditions indiscriminately. The majority of traditionists, however, attempted to discriminate between reliable and unreliable traditions by criticism of the *isnād* [*q.v.*]; this criticism was directed against the ancient schools whose standards, by the nature of things, were less exacting in this respect. This traditional criticism of the *isnād* has no direct bearing on determining the historical authenticity of a tradition.

As early as the 2nd/8th century, the study of traditions from the Prophet became an end in itself, and the science of traditions, no longer opposed but complementary to the science of positive religious law (*fiḳh* [*q.v.*]), became an important and assiduously cultivated branch of Islamic religious scholarship. The usual term for a technical specialist in traditions is *muḥaddith*.

Bibliography: Shāfi'ī, *K. al-Umm*, vii, passim; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, 88 ff. (defence of the traditionists); idem, *Ma'ārif* (Wüstenfeld), 251 ff. (list of traditionists); *Fihrist*, 225 ff. (another list); al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Ma'rifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 3 f.; Ibn Fūrak, *Bayān Mushkil al-Aḥādīth*, 3; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 77 ff. (transl. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, 91 ff.); A. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, 69 f.; J. Fück, in *ZDMG*, 1939, 1 ff. (represents a very conservative point of view); J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 253 ff. and passim; idem, *Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, 31 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

AHL-I ḤADĪTH, "the followers of the Prophetic tradition", is a designation used in India and Pakistan for the members of a Muslim sect, who profess to hold the same views as the early *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* or *ahl al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] (as opposed to *ahl al-ra'y*). They do not hold themselves bound by *taḳlīd* or obedience to any of the four recognized *imāms* of the *fiḳh*-schools but consider themselves free to seek guidance in matters of religious faith and practice from the authentic traditions, which together with the Ḳur'ān are in their view the only worthy guide for true Muslims. They disregard the opinions of the founders of the four schools when they find them unsupported by or at variance with traditions, transmitted on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet. They have thus earned the name of *ghayr muḳallid*, which appellation, though disowned by them, nevertheless admirably defines their position in relation to other sects. They reject also the common notion that the *idjtihād* or legal conclusions of the founders of these schools are of final authority; and rather contend that every believer is free to follow his own interpretations of the Ḳur'ān and the traditions, provided he has sufficient learning to enable him to give a valid interpretation. Consequently, they do not regard the *idjmā'* or consensus of the preceding generations of Muslims as binding on them. As a result of their characteristic attitude, they have found themselves in conflict chiefly with the Ḥanafīs or followers (*muḳallids*) of Abū Ḥanīfa, who constitute the majority of Sunnī Muslims in India and Pakistan. Their controversy has, however, been confined in actual practice to certain minor points of ritual (such as *raf' al-yadayn, āmīn bi'l-djahr*) and belief, there being a substantial agreement on really important theological and doctrinal questions.

The Ahl-i Ḥadīth try to go back to first principles and to restore the original simplicity and purity of faith and practice. Emphasis is, accordingly, laid in particular on the reassertion of *tawḥīd* or the unity of Allāh and the denial of occult powers and knowledge of the hidden things (*'ilm al-ghayb*) to any of his creatures. This involves a rejection of the miraculous powers of saints and of the exaggerated veneration paid to them. They also make every effort to eradicate customs that may be traced either to innovation (*bid'a*) or to Hindu or other non-Islamic systems. In all this, their reformist programme bears a striking resemblance to that of the Wahhābīs of Arabia; and as a matter of fact their adversaries often nickname them Wahhābīs, an appellation which they repudiate, on the ground that their tenets are not derived from the Arabian Wahhābīs, who are themselves *muḳallids* in the sense that they follow the opinions of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal in legal matters.

The Ahl-i Ḥadīth made their first appearance as a distinct sect in the last century, partly through the influence of the writings of Nawwāb Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān ([*q.v.*]; d. 1307/1890) and partly through the teaching of Sayyid Nadhīr Ḥusayn (d. 1320/1902), an eminent theologian who specialized in the science of *Ḥadīth* and lectured on it for more than half a century at Delhi. Among his numerous pupils, who became influential teachers and writers in their own turn and propagated his ideas in different parts of the country, special mention is due to Mawlawī 'Abd Allāh Ghaznawī (d. 1298/1881), who was banished from his native country of Afghānistān for his views and settled in Amritsar (Pandjāb); Mawlawī Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Batāla (d. 1338/1919), who edited the monthly *Ishā'at al-Sunna* for many years; and Mawlawī Abu 'l-Wafā Thanā Allāh (d. 1367/1948), who edited the weekly *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* till 1947 and made a great name for himself as a controversialist and an expositor of the views of the school. The last named also took a leading part in organizing the All-India Ahl-i Hadith Conference with its head-quarters at Delhi, where its first annual meeting was held in 1912.

The Ahl-i Ḥadīth have their own journals, mosques and seminaries, and are distinguished by (1) their zealous effort, only partly successful, to purify the

religious life of the Muslims by ridding it of its innovations, superstitions and unnatural accretions, (2) their active promotion of the study of Ḥadīth literature, the importance of which had already been recognized by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith of Delhi [*q.v.*], and (3) their polemics against the Ārya-Samādjist Hindus, the Christian missionaries and the Aḥmadīs (Ḳādiyānīs).

Bibliography: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Tardjumān-i Wahhābiyya*, Agra 1300; Muḥsin al-Mulk Sayyid Mahdī ʿAlī Khān, *Taʾrikh-i Taḳlīd awr ʿAmal bi ʾl-Ḥadīth*, Aligarh 1906; M. Thanā Allāh, *Ahl-i Ḥadīth kā Madhhab*, Amritsar 1926; Abū Yaḥyā Imām Khān, *Tarādjim-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Ḥadīth-i Hind*, Delhi 1356; idem, *Ahl-i Ḥadīth kī ʿIlmī Khidmāt*, Delhi 1937; Nadjm al-Ghanī Khān, *Madhāhib al-Islām*, Lucknow 1924, 611-22; Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Hindustān mēn ʿIlm Ḥadīth* in the *Maʿārif*, xxii, Azamgarh 1928; Masʿūd ʿĀlam Nadwī, *Islām kī Pehlī Siyāsī Taḥrīk*[2], Rawalpindi 1368, 21-31; S. M. Ikrām, *Mawdj Kawthar*, Bombay, 48-55; M. Ibrāhīm Mīr Siālkotī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ahl-i Ḥadīth*, Lahore 1953; *Fatāwā Thanāʾiyya*, ed. M. Dāʾūd Rāz, Bombay 1372. (All the preceding works are in Urdu.) Shāh Walī Allāh, *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-Bāligha*, Cairo 1352, i, 147-62; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Hidāyat al-Sāʾil ilā Adillat al-Masāʾil*, 1292 A.H.; Shaykh Aḥmad al-Makkī, *Taʾrīkh Ahl al-Ḥadīth*, lithographed at Lahore; Murray Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, 187-9; H. A. R. Gibb (editor), *Whither Islam* ?, London 1932; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*[2], Lahore 1947; H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1946. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

AHL-I ḤAḲḲ, "Men of God", a secret religion prevalent mainly in western Persia. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ would seem to be a rather imprecise name for this sect, because it is used, for example, by the Ḥurūfīs (see Cl. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Ḥurûfî*, 1909, 40), and because it has an affinity with such ṣūfī terms as *Ahl-i Ḥaḳīḳa*, a term which is also used by the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. In the strict sense, however, Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the name properly given to initiates of the religion described in the present article. The name ʿAlī Ilāhī [*q.v.*] applied to them by their neighbours is an unsuitable title, because ʿAlī is not the dominant figure in the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, and further because the term ʿAlī Ilāhī is also used in relation to sects whose connection with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has not yet been established.

The only reliable method is to describe the sect on the basis of the authentic sources, supplemented by material drawn from the narratives of travellers. The difficulties of this task arise firstly from the fact that the number of texts available is still limited (besides being often in dialect and bristling with abstruse terms) and secondly from the existence of numerous subsects. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ church has no canonical unity, but resembles rather a federation of associated movements (see a provisional list of these subdivisions in Minorsky, *Notes*, 46 [33]). There are twelve main *khānadāns* or *silsilas* (v. infra), but there are branches which are not included in this list, cf. the Sayyid Djalālī (Minorsky, *Notes*, 48 [35]) and the Tūmārī (a highly abnormal group) (*Minorsky*, *Études*, I). The account by Gobineau, the *Firḳān* and the text published by W. Ivanow reveal a religious system more philosophical than the naive legends of the *Sarandjām* (in the Ātash-begī version). Since, at the moment, however, this branch is better known to us, the following account will be based primarily on the Ātash-begī documents, to be supplemented later by material from the *Firḳān*, the author of which was a Khāmūshī (?).

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. The manifestations of God are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: "to become incarnate" means "to come (to dwell) in a garment" (*libās*, *djāma*, *dūn* < Turk. **don*).

On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (*yārān-i čār-malak*) with whom he forms a close group.

The table of theophanies according to the MS. of the *Sarandjām* is given below.

In pre-eternity (*azal*) the Divinity was enclosed in a Pearl (*durr*). He made his first external appearance in the person of Khāwandagār, the Creator of the world. The second avatar was in the person of ʿAlī. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes quite original and typically Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge: *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa*, *maʿrifa* and *ḥaḳīḳa*. According to all branches of the sect, the representative of the last and the highest stage is Sulṭān Ṣohāk. On the other hand, several differences of opinion regarding the successors of Sulṭān Ṣohāk are recorded.

Just as the divine essence reappears in each of the seven "garments", the angels (cf. the vertical columns in the table) are avatars of one another. For this reason their names are interchangeable and Salmān is often spoken of in the epoch of Sulṭān Ṣohāk or Benyāmīn in the epoch of Khāwandagār. The angels are emanations of the Divinity: the first of them was produced by Khāwandagār from his armpit, the second from his mouth, the third from his breath, the fourth and

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. Khāwandagār	Djibrāʾīl	Mīkāʾīl	Isrāfīl	ʿAzrāʾīl	?
2. Murtaḍā ʿAlī	Salmān	Ḳanbar	Ḥaḍrat-i Muḥammad	Nuṣayr	Fāṭima
3. Shāh Khoshīn	Bābā Buzurg	Kākā Reḍā (Riḍā)	Kore-Faḳī	Bābā Ṭāhir	Māmā Djalāla
4. Sulṭān Ṣohāk	Benyāmīn	Dāwūd	Pīr-i Mūsī	Muṣṭafā Dowdān	Khātūn Dāyira
5. Ḳirmīzī (Shāh Ways Ḳulī)	Kāmarīdjān	Yārīdjān	Yārālī	Shāh Sawār Agha	Razbār
6. Mamad-beg	Djamshīd-beg	Almās-beg	Abdāl-beg	?	Parī-khān-i Shart
7. Khān Ātash	Khān Djamshīd	Khān Almās	Khān Abdāl	?	Dūstī Khānum

fifth from his perspiration and his light respectively (cf. the *Sarandjām*). According to another version, Benyāmīn was created from the perspiration, which is characteristic of modesty; Dāwūd — from the breath (anger); Mūsī — from the moustache (pity); Razbār — from the pulse (charity). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity: Benyāmīn is the deputy (*wakīl*) and the *pīr*; Dāwūd is the overseer (*nāẓir*) and judge (?); Pīr Mūsī is the *wazīr* who records good and evil; Muṣṭafā Dowdān (= Nuṣayr) is the Angel of Death.

The angels are usually said to be four in number (in some lists and in certain periods this number is reduced to three) but in fact a fifth angel is especially charged with the supervision of worship. This angel's symbolical name is Razbār, Raẓbār or Ramzbār ("entrusted with mysteries") and her feminine character is indisputable; but the sex in Razbār is not emphasized. One of the informants even alleges that Razbār is a hermaphrodite (*khunthā*). Razbār is the mystical name of Khātūn Dāyira, mother of Sulṭān Ṣohāk, and the compiler of the list quoted above is wrong in relegating her to the fifth epoch.

Metempsychosis and Eschatology. The belief in the reincarnation of the theophanies finds its parallel in the general belief in metempsychosis. "Men! Do not fear the punishment of death! The death of man is like the dive which the duck makes".

Human beings must pass through the cycle of 1,001 incarnations, in the course of which they receive the reward of their actions (*Notes*, p. 131 [251]). According to the *Firḳān* (i, 32, 35, 57, 68), however, the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the very nature of beings; of whom some, created out of yellow clay (*zarda-gil*), are good, and the others, created out of black earth (*siyāh khāk*), are evil. "The more (the former) go through the world of garments and the more they suffer, the more they approach God and the more their luminous state increases", while the "Dark ones" shall never see the Sun. As a complement to these beliefs, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ eagerly await the advent of the Lord of Time who shall come "to accomplish the desires of the Friends and embrace (*iḥāṭa*) the Universe". There are a number of prophetic *kalām*s which announce the coming of the Messiah. The scene of the Last Judgment, (*sān*, "review") will be the plain of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] or that of Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*] where the "sulṭāns shall be exterminated" (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). According to the *Firḳān*, i, 57, the Good shall enter Paradise (which is the contemplation) of the beauty of the Lord of Generosities, while the Wicked shall be annihilated (*maʿdūm*).

Rites. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ have a number of practices which are quite original.

1. We find little mention of individual prayer; on the other hand, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ attach tremendous importance to assemblies (*djam* < *djamʿ*) in which "all difficulties find their solution". The life of the community is eminently collective and the assemblies are held at fixed intervals and in connection with all important events. *Kalām*s are recited at them to the accompaniment of music.

2. On solemn occasions sessions of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] are held. Specially qualified darwīshes to the sounds of music (*sāz*) enter into a state of ecstasy, accompanied by anaesthesia, which enables them to walk over burning coals, to handle them, etc.

3. The indispensable features of these assemblies are the offerings and the sacrifices: *nadhr wa-niyāz* (raw offerings, uncooked, including animals of the male sex, oxen, sheep, cocks, intended for sacrifice) or *khayr wa-khidmat* (cooked or prepared victuals, like sugar, bread, etc.). The *Firḳān*, i, 74 counts fourteen kinds of bloody or bloodless sacrifices (*ḳurbānī-yi khūndār wa-bī-khūn*). The ritual of sacrifice is regulated and the flesh is separated from the bones, which are buried. The boiled meat and the other offerings are distributed among those present and dedicatory formulae (*khuṭba*) are repeated. The term *sabz namūdan*, "to render green, i.e. living, to reanimate", is applied to the ceremony (*Notes*, p. 210 [90]).

4. "Just as every dervish must have a spiritual director (*murshid*) so the head of every Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has to be commended to a *pīr*". In the course of this ceremony (*sar sipurdan*) the persons symbolising the "Five (sic!) Angels" stand round the infant. A Muscat nut (*djawz-i buwā*) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, with a piece of silver called *hawīza* bearing the Shīʿa form of the profession of faith (*hawīza* from the Shīʿa town of Hawīza in Khūzistān; cf. *Notes*, p. 227 [107], and W. Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Islamica*, 1931, 48-93, and the art. MUSHAʿSHAʿ). Links recalling blood relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the *shaykh* to whom the head has been commended. This spiritual relationship carries with it the prohibition of marriage between the individual dedicated and the family of the *pīr*.

5. With the object of attaining moral perfection special unions (nuclei) are formed between a man (or several men) and a woman who are called brother and sister (*sharṭ-i iḳrār*). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: *Notes*, p. 230 [110]; cf. the *akh wa-ukht al-ākhira* among the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*].

6. Fasting is rigorously observed but lasts only for three days, as among the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*]. It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the Ātash-begī do not observe the fast "for the days of the (final) advent are near" and instead of fasting they say one ought to feast.

For the other rites and customs see the *Notes* by Minorsky (*Bibl.*).

Firḳān al-Akhbār. The author of this treatise was Ḥādjdjī Niʿmat Allāh of Djayḥūn-ābād near Dīnawar (1871-1920) who belonged to the Khāmūshī division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (*ḥaḳīḳat*). His son Nūr ʿAlī Shāh (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the *Firḳān* under the title of *Kashf al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*. While confirming much that was already known, the *Firḳān* represents a tradition different from that of the Ātash-begī in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for Khāwandagār and Sulṭān Ṣohāk while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (Bābā Nāʿūth, etc.).

The *Firḳān* consists of 4 parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the *ḥaḳīḳat* established in pre-eternity by the Divinity who in the stage of "*yā-yi ghaybat*" became externalised in the garment of Khāwandagār. The law remained concealed till the coming of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ (Ṣoḥāk). Then the *daftardār*s recorded these doctrines but each in his own way and according to the sources which were accessible to him. As a result the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ community has no [single?] sacred book and

its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ required a *ḳuṭb-i kull* which would be unique. So after 1324/1906 Niʿmat Allāh, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the "messenger of the Lord of the Hour", i.e. of Pīr Benyāmīn (explained as *bin* + *yā* + *amīn* "faithful son of Yā"). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (*gardis̲h̲-i dūn bi-dūn* = "going from one garment to another").

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (*zarda-gil* or *k̲h̲āk-i siyāh*). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective *sardārs* are Benyāmīn and Sayyid Muḥammad (in his avatar of Buzurg-sawār). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective *sardārs* are Iblīs and K̲h̲annās, with whom are associated the first three caliphs, Muʿāwiya, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, etc. The intermixture of the two categories of beings produces combinations which may be recognised even externally.

The second part of the treatise is mainly concerned with the correspondence of the avatars through the ages. Thus the manifestations of Benyāmīn are Noah, Jesus and provisionally (*mihmān*) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbār: Bilḳīs, the queen of Sabaʾ, Mary, etc.; those of Sayyid Muḥammad: Zoroaster, the prophet Muḥammad, etc. Next we are given the history of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ (Ṣohāk) and of his successors.

The third part relates the personal experiences of Niʿmat Allāh and the commandments which he received from God during his journey "to the beyond" (*safar-i ʿuḳbā*), notably his mission to unite the *k̲h̲ānadāns*, to give absolution from sins (*az k̲h̲iyānat pāk namūdān*) and to intercede (*s̲h̲ifāʿat*) with the Lord of Time.

The fourth part is the very full description of the rites and customs (*amr wa-nahy*), with the Gūrānī text of the formulae recited on each occasion.

Distribution. The principal centres of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are in the west of Persia, in Luristān, Kurdistān (land of the Gūrān east of Zohāb, town of Kerend) and in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān (Tabrīz, Mākū, with ramifications in Transcaucasia especially Ḳarabag̲h̲). Little colonies of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are found almost everywhere in Persia (at Hamad̲h̲ān, Teheran, at Māzandarān, Fārs and even in K̲h̲urāsān, to which, according to tradition, one of the brothers of K̲h̲ān Ātas̲h̲ had gone). In ʿIrāḳ there are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ among the Kurd and Turkoman tribes of the region of Kirkūk, of Sulaymāniyya and probably at Mosul.

Very little is known of the connection between the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ and the sects popularly known under the name of ʿAlī Ilāhī or by contemptuous terms like *čirāg̲h̲-söndüren* ("extinguishers of lights"), *k̲h̲urūs-kus̲h̲ān* ("slaughterers of cocks") etc. [see BEKTĀS̲H̲, ḲÎZÎL-BAS̲H̲, SĀRLI, S̲H̲ABBAK). In any case, it is a striking fact that the direct influence of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ preachers of the district of Zohāb could be traced among the ʿAlawī (Ḳîzîlbas̲h̲) of ʿAyntāb; cf. Trowbridge, *The Alevis*, *Harvard Theol. Review*, 1909, 340-55, repr. in *MW*, 1921, 253-66.

Religious History. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ possess a wealth of legends arranged according to the manifestations of the Divinity. The collections of these legends are known as *Sarand̲j̲ām*. The epoch of K̲h̲āwandagār is interesting only for its cosmogonic myths. The traditions relating to the epoch of ʿAlī (which does not in any way form the central point) are inspired by the extreme S̲h̲īʿa. The epoch of K̲h̲os̲h̲īn is placed in a typically Lur [*q.v.*] environment, the geographical nomenclature showing an excellent knowledge of the localities of Luristān. One of the angels of K̲h̲os̲h̲īn is Bābā Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] whose quatrains in dialect are quoted. The fourth epoch is placed in the land of the Gūrān close to the river Sīrwān. The sayings attributed to Sulṭān Ṣohāk are in Gūrānī, which is the sacred language of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (cf. *Firḳān*, i, 3; see Minorsky, *The Guran*, *BSOS*, 1943, 77-103). The greatest sanctuaries of the sect: Bābā-Yādegār and Perdiwar, are situated in the same region. In the later epochs the scene is transferred to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and the *kalāms* relating to these epochs are in Ād̲h̲arī Turkish. From these facts it may be concluded that the stages of propagation and development of the religion have been: Luristān — land of the Gūrān — Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān.

Exact dates are naturally difficult to obtain and we shall endeavour to proceed from the known to the unknown. K̲h̲ān Ātas̲h̲, born at Ad̲j̲ari (north of Marāg̲h̲a) and buried in the village of Ātas̲h̲-beg in the district of Has̲h̲ta-rūd, northeast of Mount Sahand, is said to have lived at the beginning of the 18th century (*Notes*, p. 41 [27]). This line was continued by his direct descendants of whom the seventh was called Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Mīrzā (Ag̲h̲ā-bak̲h̲s̲h̲) and lived at Garrabān (also called Dorū) on the Gāmāsāb to the south of Bisūtūn, where O. Mann visited him. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Ḥasan Mīrzā. The popularity of the Turkish poems of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī is significant; the *kalām*, known as *Ḳuṭb-nāma*, calls S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl the "*pīr* of Turkistān" (= Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān where Turkish is spoken). The spread of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ doctrines among the Turkoman tribes seems in any case to go back to an earlier period, that of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu rulers. The remnants of these Turkomans who live in a district in the centre of Mākū are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Similarly in Transcaucasia the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu in the region of Gand̲j̲a live in the close neighbourhood of the G'öran (< Gūrān!). S̲h̲āh Ibrāhīm, whom many of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ regard as the successor of Sulṭān Ṣohāk, and who lived in Bag̲h̲dād and whose acolyte angel was Ḳus̲h̲či-og̲h̲li (author of Turkish *kalāms*), is perhaps responsible for the dissemination of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ teaching among the Turkomans north of the Tigris.

Tradition places immediately before S̲h̲āh Ibrāhīm the famous Sulṭān Ṣohāk who (outwardly) was the son of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿĪsī and K̲h̲ātūn Dāyira (Dāyarāk), daughter of Ḥasan Beg D̲j̲ald, chief of the tribe of D̲j̲āf-i Murād. His real name is said to have been Sayyid ʿAbd al-Sayyid. Barzind̲j̲a, north of Sulaymāniyya, is said to have been his birthplace. He is said to have had seven sons from his wife K̲h̲ātūna Bas̲h̲īr, who are named *hafttan*. His tomb is at Perdiwar (in Awramān-i luhūn, see SENNE), on the right bank of the Sīrwān.

The Kākāʾī chiefs of Taʾūḳ claim to be his direct descendants (see al-ʿAzzāwī, *al-Kākāʾiyya*). S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Maḥmūd, who after the World War proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistān" [cf. the article KURDS], claimed to be descended from the brother of Sulṭān Ṣohāk in the twelfth generation. At Kirkuk Minorsky found a MS containing a genealogy of that family.

The only definite indication of Bābā K̲h̲os̲h̲īn's date would be his association with the poet Bābā Ṭāhir (11th century) but here tradition is on very uncertain ground.

The Elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is typically syncretist. At its foundations we find S̲h̲īʿa extremism. It should be

noted that the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ always speak of the 12 imāms and as a result ought not (at least directly) to be connected with Ismāʿīlism. According to the *Firḳān*, the "religion of Truth" simply re-establishes the contents of the 10 *djuz'* which were suppresed in the received text of the Ḳur'ān, but in fact the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ deviate from the orthodox Shīʿa to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has in common with those of the Druzes and the Nuṣayrīs the worship of ʿAlī, but ʿAlī is completely overshadowed by Sulṭān Ṣohāk.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the rites of the Ṣūfī darwīshes: election of the *pīr*, agapes with *dhikr* and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is professed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, darwīshes etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment "the sulṭāns" will be punished (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). On the other hand, the eminently popular character of the religion is apparent in the exuberance of the miraculous and folklore element in the traditions of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Amid the country people in the remote provinces which have at all times been outside the control of central governments, it is natural to expect to find survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Manichaean idea (personal communication by Th. Nöldeke), like the belief in the purification of the "Luminous" in the course of their transmigrations. The belief in metempsychosis cannot be directly Indian for it was already in existence in Ismāʿīlism. The division of beings into two distinct categories is perhaps a later development of Zoroastrian ideas. The sacrifice of the cock has been several times connected with the corresponding Jewish rite (cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer*, Giessen 1914), while the Biblical names (Dāwūd, Mūsī) may have come through the intermediary of the Ḳur'ān. The alleged Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ in their conversations with missionaries talk of Jesus and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the Ḳur'ān, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the agapes it is not necessary to go farther back than the known darwīsh practices (e.g. the Bektashī). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. W. Ivanow has called attention to the name of Malak Ṭā'ūs [cf. YAZĪDĪS] in a fragment containing traditions, found at Shīrāz.

Bibliography: The first references to the genuine Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are found in the European travellers at the beginning of the 19th century: Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, 141; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of a journey from India to England*, 1817, ii, 61 ff. H. Rawlinson, who commanded a regiment recruited from the tribe of Gūrān (Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ), was the first to give any reliable information about the sect, *Notes on a march from Zohab*, *JRGS*, 1839, 36, 39, 53, 57, 95, 97, 99, 105, 109. The Baron de Bode visited the shrine of Bābā Yādegār, *Biblioteka dl'a čteniya*, St. Petersburg 1854, t. cxxiii, p. 45, cf. also his *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, i, 371-8, ii, 180. The first general outline of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is in *Trois ans en Asie* by Gobineau, Paris 1859, 338-70, who was in direct contact with the representative of the sect in Teheran, see Schemann, *Gobineau, eine Biographie*, Strasburg, 1913, i, 506-7, and Minorsky, *Gobineau et la Perse*, in *Europe*, Paris, Oct. 1923, 116-27. A very interesting anonymous article (signed: Sh.) on the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Tabrīz appeared in the journal *Kavkaz*, Tiflis, 1876, nos. 27, 29 and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (a *Kalām* of 34 verses, "the Credo") was published with important notes by V. A. Žukowsky in the *Zap.*, 1887, 1-25. The American missionary S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1896, collected a certain amount of information at first hand. In 1902 Minorsky acquired in Teheran an authentic Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ MS., dated 1295/1843 and containing a collection of religious legends listed under epochs (see above), (*Kitāb-i Sarandjām* "Book of the End, or Fulfilment") in Persian, and also a number of *Kalāms* in Turkish (translated and published in Russian with a French summary: V. Minorsky, *Materiali dl'a izučeniya persidskoy sekti "L'udi Istinï ili "Ali-Ilahi"*, Moscow, 1911, published as fasc. xxxiii of *Trudi po vostokovedeniyu izdavayemiye Lazarevskim Institutom*; id., *Notes sur la secte des Ahle-Haqq*, in *RMM*, 1920, 20-97 (p. 61-84: detailed bibliography containing 54 items), and *RMM*, 1921, 205-302 (also published in book form with certain additions); a review by F. Cumont in *Syria*, 1922, 262; V. Minorsky, *Un traité de polémique Béhaï-Ahle-Haqq*, in *JA*, 1921, 165-7; D. Saeed-Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1927, 31-42; Gordlevsky, *Kara-koyunlu*, in *Izv. Obščestva izučeniya Azerbaydjana*, Baku, 1927; Ajarian, *Gyorans and Toumaris, a newly found religion in Persia*, *Bull. de l'Université d'Erivan*, French translation by F. Macler in *RHR*, 1926, 204-307; Minorsky, *Études sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, i, "*Toumari*" = *Ahl-i Haqq*, *RHR*, 1928, 90-105; F. M. Stead, *The Ali-Ilahi sect in Persia*, *MW*, 1932, 184-9; Y. N. Marr, *Radeniye sektï L'udi istinï* (in Y. Marr. *Statyi i soobščeniya*, ii, 1939, 248-54); Ch. P. Pittmann, *The final word of the Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1937, 147-63 (makes use of a text of the *Sarandjām* which corresponds closely to that translated by Minorsky): W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi fragment*, *Collectanea* (The Ismā'īlī Society), I, 1948, 147-84, idem, *The Truth Worshippers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Haqq*, Texts, Bombay 1953, (a third version of the *Sarandjām*); ʿAbbās al-Azzāwī, *al-Kākā'iyya fi'l-Ta'rīkh*, Baghdad 1368/1949 (the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Kirkūk considered jointly with various ʿAlī Ilāhī; cf. *Oriens*, 1953, 407 ff.); Minorsky, *Un poème Ahl-i Ḥaqq en turk*, *Westliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, 1954, 258. The results of the researches of Minorsky amongst the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (Teheran, Tabrīz, Mākū, Kurdistān) and of his visits to the sanctuaries of the sect (Bābā-Yādegār, Perdiwar) have been set forth in his *Notes* (see above). In the same work there is a translation of the Bahā'ī polemic tract directed against the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Minorsky's other materials comprise numerous *Kalām* (in Gūrānī and Turkish), and the important account of the collection of dogmas *Firḳān al-Akhbār* (see above), as well as an account of his visits to the sanctuaries of Kirkūk and Kirind (1934).

(V. MINORSKY)

AHL AL-ḤALL WA'L-ʿAḲD (this, though illogical, is the normal order of the words), "those who are qualified to unbind and to bind", the representatives of the community of the Muslims who act on their behalf in appointing and deposing a caliph or

another ruler [see BAYʿA]. They must be Muslims, male, of age, free, *ʿadl* [*q.v.*], and capable of judging who is best qualified to hold the office. No fixed number of "electors" is required; according to the prevailing opinion, even the appointment made by one "elector" in the presence of two qualified witnesses is valid. This is the theory; in fact, all through the history of Islam, the *ahl al-ḥall wa'l-ʿaḳd* have consisted of the persons who wielded political power in the capital, acting in association with the notables and prominent religious scholars. The thought of modernists and reformers occasionally identifies them with the whole of the community, or nation, with parliament, or with the body of religious scholars.

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 332; id., *Handleiding*, 335 f.; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, book I, § 13; H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rašīd Riḍā*, Beirut 1938, index, s.v.; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, Paris 1953, 172 ff., 334 ff.; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, Paris 1954, index s.v. (ED.)

AHL AL-KAHF [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF].

AHL AL-ḲIBLA (A.) = "the people of the *ḳibla*" [*q.v.*], appellation of the Muslims.

AHL AL-KISĀʾ, the people of the cloak. According to a tradition Muḥammad went out one morning—at the time of the visit of the Nadjrān delegation in 10/631 [cf. MUBĀHALA]—wearing a figured black cloak; first Fāṭima, then ʿAlī and then al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn came and he took them under his cloak, hugging them and quoting from Ḳurʾān, xxxiii, 32: "God only desireth to put away filthiness from you as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you". The Sunnīs explains filthiness as unbelief but the Shīʿa explain it as intercourse with the impure world, a parallel to the statement that the family lost the visible caliphate to win the invisible. Another version says that Muḥammad threw his cloak over his uncle ʿAbbās and his sons saying: "Hide them from hell fire as I hide them with my cloak".

Bibliography: See AHL AL-BAYT, and L. Massignon, in *Vivre et penser*, Paris 1941, 1 ff. (A. S. TRITTON)

AHL AL-KITĀB, "possessors of the Scripture" (or "people of the Book"). This term, in the Ḳurʾān and the resultant Muslim terminology, denotes the Jews and the Christians, repositories of the earlier revealed books, *al-Tawrāt* [*q.v.*] = the Torah, *al-Zabūr* [*q.v.*] = the Psalms, and *al-Indjīl* [*q.v.*] = the Gospel. The use of this term was later extended to the Sabeans (*al-Ṣābiʾa* [*q.v.*])—both the genuine Sabeans, mentioned in the Ḳurʾān alongside the Jews and the Christians (= Mandeans), and the spurious Sabeans (star-worshippers of Ḥarrān)—to the Zoroastrians (*Madjūs* [*q.v.*]), and, in India, even to idolaters.

This article deals only with the doctrinal position of the Ḳurʾān, the *ḥadīth* and the controversialists concerning the Jews and the Christians. For their legal status as protected persons (*ahl al-dhimma*) on the fringe of the Muslim community, see DHIMMA and DJIZYA.

In the Ḳurʾān, the term does not occur before the end of the Meccan period. A possibly slightly earlier expression is *ahl al-dhikr*, "possessors of edification", witnesses of previous revelations (xv, 43 (45); xxi, 7), but *kitāb* already denotes generally the Pentateuch and the Psalms.

The Ḳurʾān emphasises the community of faith between the possessors of the earlier scriptures and the adherents of the new revelation. It occasionally pays tribute to their religious and moral virtues and calls on the Prophet to interrogate them. More often, however, as a result of the disappointment of Muḥammad at the intransigence of the Jews of Medina and of the Christians with regard to his mission, he puts the emphasis on their failure to comprehend the message which they possess but do not put into practice, just as they fail to comprehend the new teaching which fulfils that message, on their exclusiveness, and on their impotent jealousy; they are therefore not to be treated as allies, but to be fought with: xxix, 45-7 (44-6); xlii, 14 (13); x, 93-5; ii, 105 (99), 109 (103), 111 (105), 135 (129); xcviii, i, 4, 6; iii, 19 (17), 23 (22), 64-5 (57-8), 69-73 (62-7), 75-6 (68-9), 77 (71), 98-100 (93-5), 110 (106), 113 (109), 199 (198); lviii, 29; iv, 153 (152), 171 (169); lix, 11; ix, 29; v, 5 (7), 15 (18), 19 (22), 57-9 (62-4), 65 (70), 68 (72).

The Ḳurʾānic texts which mention the adherents of these two religions by their proper names (*Banū Isrāʾīl* [*q.v.*] and *Yahūd* [*q.v.*] for the Israelites of biblical history and the contemporary Jews of Medina respectively, *Naṣārā* [*q.v.*] for the Christians) adopt similar viewpoints and determine the entire future attitude of Islam towards these two groups. The children of Israel are God's chosen people, recipients of his bounty, admitted to his covenant, beneficiaries under his law, to whom Paradise is assured. The Ḳurʾān recognises several episodes of their history: the bondage in Egypt, the crossing of the Red Sea, their wanderings in the wilderness, their sojourn before the Mount, their division into twelve tribes, their entry into the Promised Land and into the Holy City and the City by the Sea. But they distinguish themselves by their rebellious spirit and unbelief; they worship the golden calf, they demand to see God and they clamour for idols. Instead of believing in the prophets, they persecute them. They violate the Sabbath and infringe the Law; they are uncircumcised in heart. Though guardians of the Scriptures, they alter them, conceal them and pervert their meaning; they are signalized by their opposition to all further revelations, and they are themselves divided into factions. Cursed by the Lord, metamorphosed into apes, punished in this world where they are doomed to humiliation, they are moreover consigned to Hell. They can only be saved by righteousness; they have on the other hand given rise to a just community.

This picture is coloured, like all Muḥammad's conceptions of religious history, by his experiences and disappointments, which are expressed still more clearly in his pronouncements concerning the contemporary Jews and Christians.

At first the Ḳurʾān admits that Jews, Christians and Sabeans can, like Muslims, achieve salvation through the performance of the rites of their respective religions, but this standpoint is not maintained. At Medina, the Ḳurʾān admonishes the Jews (recalling especially the divine protection vouchsafed to their ancestors) and summons them to Islam. Although certain Jews are praised and granted forgiveness, the tension, and finally the breach and conflict between the Jews and Muḥammad, are reflected by the condemnation of their doctrines, by maledictions, and the ban on association between them and believers. Their sins fall into the moral as well as the religious category. Their attitude resembles that of their ancestors: eager to enjoy life, they fear death; ungrateful for God's blessings, they are careless too of the welfare of their doctors of religion; they practise usury, war among themselves, and

rush into iniquity and corruption. They preserve and study their Law, but do not hesitate to transgress it, to distort its phraseology and to conceal the truth. The prohibitions concerning food have been imposed on them as a punishment. Their enmity towards the Christians is not forgotten. Even their monotheism is questionable; they believe in the *Djibt* and *Ṭāghūt* and deify ʿUzayr [*q.v.*]. They ally themselves with the polytheists. Their attitude towards the Ḳurʾānic revelation, the advent of which has caused disunity amongst them, is compounded of hostility and unbelief. They are the worst enemies of Islām; they bandy words with the Prophet, are jealous of the believers, and are conspicuous for their mockery, their machinations, and their treachery. Assured of obloquy in this world, they are destined to Gehenna. [See also YAHŪD.]

As regards the Christians, God has made a convenant with them, and their salvation through their faith is admitted in several passages. Muḥammad at one time credited them with a leaning towards Islam, and they are declared to be superior to the Jews, to whom they are opposed. But the condemnation of their doctrines is no less outspoken. Their exclusive claim to salvation and to the true religion is severely criticised; it would be a grave error to adopt their religion. The divinity of Jesus (ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]), the reality of his Passion, the Trinity and monasticism are all rejected. They are threatened with Hell; affiliation with them is forbidden, and recourse to imprecation (*mubāhala* [*q.v.*]) is proposed to them. The dissension between the Christian sects is not forgotten. [See also NADJRĀN, NAṢĀRĀ.]

The attitude of Islām towards the Jews and Christians, as reflected in the *ḥadīth*, is one of mistrust. It stresses the importance of differentiating at all costs, as regards religious and social conduct, between the believers and these two religious groups, which are rather superficially understood. Moreover there is noticeable in Muslim tradition a clear tendency to stress the originality of those Muslim institutions which invite comparison with similar (mainly Jewish) institutions. Finally, the *ḥadīth* sometimes puts into a polemical context the condemnation of various abuses prevalent among the Muslims, as well as certain positions taken up in many internal controversies within the Muslim community. The principles and processes employed betray more than once their Jewish origin. The basic rule is: "do not act as do the people of the Book" (*khālifūhum*), which corresponds to the Talmudic ban on following the practices of the Gentiles (*ḥukḳōt ha-gōy*). By virtue of this principle, the *ḥadīth* condemns numerous practices of little consequence in themselves. But to Jewish rigorism it opposes a certain degree of Muslim laxity, especially in sexual matters. It claims as purely Muslim (if it does not date back to "Israelite" antiquity or to pre-Islamic Arabia) an institution like the fast of ʿ*Āshūrā* [*q.v.*], which is in fact derived from the Jewish *Yōm Kippūr* and is moreover virtually supplanted by Ramaḍān [*q.v.*], which again is found to have its origin in Jewish and Christian institutions. Developing and aggravating the grievances uttered in the Ḳurʾān, Muslim tradition willingly underlines above all the enmity of the Jews, but also that of the Christians, ranging from certain episodes in the Prophet's life to eschatological disputes. Although Muslim tradition rarely gives evidence of direct acquaintance with large portions of the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures (information of this type stemmed from intercourse with the *ahl al-kitāb* or was supplied by converts), this does not prevent it from accusing the inheritors of those Scriptures of suppressing certain portions which had fallen into desuetude (capital punishment for adultery in Deuteromony) or which foretold the mission of Muḥammad, and also of interpreting passages falsely and even of materially altering their sense. Discussion with the *ahl al-kitāb* is regarded with dislike, and consultation of their religious documents is deprecated as much by reason of the probable fraudulency of their owners as from the fact of the autarchy of the Ḳurʾānic revelation, which abrogates all that is antiquated in previous revelations and renders the remainder superfluous by superseding it. In contrast, the edifying stories connected with the antiquity of the *ahl al-kitāb* (*Isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*]) are tolerated.

The anti-Jewish and anti-Christian polemics of Islām display a remarkable consistency in their major themes from the writings of the controversialists of the 3rd/9th-4th/10th centuries down to contemporary apologetics. Unlike the *ḥadīth*, they make use of a scriptural, theological, historical and sometimes liturgical knowledge which is ample if not always exact.

As regards their use of the two Testaments, Muslim polemics continually waver between two opinions: (a) the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures in their existing form are authentic documents which only require a suitable exegesis; (b) they are not to be trusted, either because their actual meaning has been falsified [see TAḤRĪF], or because their recension and transmission do not afford the necessary guarantee of sincerity and authenticity, so that they cannot be accepted as the Torah and Gospel as actually revealed to Moses and Jesus. The first view prevailed in the 9th-10th centuries (whatever one thinks of the authenticity of "The Book of Religion and Empire", attributed to ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, which includes a huge mass of scriptural arguments), whereas Ibn Ḥazm wrote the most penetrating literary, historical, theological and moral criticism of the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures. This method has been followed down to the modern polemic writers, who in addition utilise the rationalist bible-criticism of the 19th century in their attacks on Judaism and Christianity.

In the anti-Jewish polemics the chief theological problem is the abrogation (*naskh*) [*q.v.*] of previous divine revelations, which does not imply *badāʾ* [*q.v.*] (alteration of God's purpose). The principal charge levelled at Judaism, in most of the traditional compositions, is that of the anthropomorphic conception of the Deity.

The anti-Christian polemics are much richer in historical and theological argument. The message of Jesus has been altered by Paul, and the historical position of the Christian community has been falsified by Constantine. The christological controversies between the Melkites, the Nestorians and the Jacobites afforded ample material to the Muslim polemic writers. The Trinity, taken to mean tritheism, is irreconcilable with divine unity; the incarnation is a blasphemous offence against divine transcendence. Jesus may have had the prerogative of theopathic speech, but nothing more than a moral union can be involved (al-Ghazzālī). Muḥammad is the Paraclete foretold by the Gospel [see AḤMAD], and in addition several messianic and eschatological prophecies of the Old Testament are similarly fulfilled in his person. Historically and sociologically, the astonishing success of Muslim arms and the superiority

of Muslim civilisation are proofs of the truth and superiority of Islam. In al-Djāḥiẓ, there is a "sociological" study of Christianity and Judaism within the framework of Muslim society.

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AHL AL-NAẒAR, "those who apply reasoning". This term originally denotes the Mu'tazila [*q.v.*], and it is probable that they coined it themselves. It occurs in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ta'wīl Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, passim; al-Mas'ūdī speaks of *ahl al-baḥth wa 'l-naẓar*; synonyms are *ahl al-kalām* (in al-Shāfi'ī) and *al-mutakallimūn* (in al-Ash'arī). Later, *ahl* (or *aṣḥāb*) *al-naẓar* came to denote the careful scholars who held a sound, well-reasoned opinion on any particular question. See also NAẒAR. (ED.)

AHL AL-RA'Y [see AṢḤĀB AL-RA'Y].

AHL AL-ṢUFFA, a group of Muḥammad's Companions, mentioned chiefly in ascetic and mystical writings, where they have come to typify the ideal of poverty and piety. The *ṣuffa* or *ẓulla* (often rendered 'bench', 'banquette', etc.) was, according to Lane, a long, covered portico or vestibule, which formed part of the mosque at Medina. This—so the legend ran—was the sole home of these men, and they spent their time in study and worship, except when in obedience to a command from Muḥammad they went out to fight. They are sometimes said to have been as many as 400; Lane (s.v. *ṣuffa*) quotes al-Sayyid Murtaḍā as saying in *TA* that he had made a list of 92 or 93 names. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (cf. Brockelmann, I, 200) wrote a history of them (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* tr. R. A. Nicholson, Leyden and London, 1911, 81; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, i, 337-47). According to L. Massignon (*Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*, Paris 1922, 140), al-Muḥāsibī, Ibn Karrām and al-Tustarī admitted the authenticity of the legend, and it was defended by Abū Nu'aym, Ibn Ṭāhir, al-Maḳdisī and al-Subkī. (For the latter cf. Brockelmann, II, 87.) It also appears in al-Ghazālī, where there is an anecdote contrasting the *ahl al-ṣuffa* with *al-mu'allafa ḳulūbuhum*, 'those whose hearts are reconciled' (*Iḥyā'*, iv, book 34, *bayān faḍīlat al-faḳr muṭlaḳan*; cf. al-Sayyid Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, ix, 277-8). Ibn Taymiyya, though in the main an opponent of *taṣawwuf* or mysticism, developed his conception of the true nature of the religious or devotional life by describing the piety of the Companions, and in this gave a prominent place to the men of the *ṣuffa* (esp. *Risāla fī Ahl al-Ṣuffa*, in *Madjmū' min al-Rasā'il wa-'l-Masā'il al-Kayyima*, Cairo 1349/1930, i, 25-60). The supporters of the legend claimed that Ḳur'ān, ii, 273/4 (and other verses such as vi, 52, xviii, 28/7, and xlii, 27/6) referred to this group; but the orthodox commentators express hesitation about this attribution (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on ii, 273/4, 'it is said') or neglect it al-together (al-Ṭabarī on the same).

The factual grounds for the legend are slight. The later lists include names of persons who were either poor or pious but not necessarily both; among the 34 persons mentioned by al-Hudjwīrī (l.c. 81-2) is Abū Lubāba, one of the most influential men in Medina, who was wealthy enough to present a balcony to the *masdjid al-ḍirār* (al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 410). In the early account in Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 13-4, those named are Wāthila b. al-Aska', Abū Hurayra, Abū Dharr and Ḳays b. Ṭihfa al-Ghifārī; while from the (possibly not exhaustive) index to Ibn Sa'd (s.v. *ṣuffa*, ix/2, 26) we learn that 'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. Ka'b) al-Aṣamm, Djarhad b. Razāḥ al-Aslamī, Rabī'a b. Ka'b al-Aslamī, Asmā' b. Ḥāritha al-Aslamī and Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallāh (or b. 'Amr) al-Naḍrī al-Laythī belonged to the *ahl al-ṣuffa* (Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 48; iv/2, 33, 44, 51; vii/1, 35). The first report in Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 13 f. emphasizes not the poverty of the men of the *ṣuffa* but the fact that they had no dwelling in Medina, but other parts of the material there speak of their ragged clothing. This suggests that those who slept (perhaps only temporarily) in the *ṣuffa* were men from the less influential tribes round Medina who had no confederates to put them up in Medina apart from Muḥammad. Some of them were prominent in their tribes, and so presumably not poverty-stricken. Muḥammad apparently also invited a few poor followers to share his meal, but this probably happened only occasionally (cf. Ibn Sa'd, l.c.; al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳīt al-Ṣalāt*, 41).

The legend must have begun to grow before the time of al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/822), himself an Aslamī, since Ibn Sa'd's material on this point comes from him. The statement that Ḳur'ān, ii, 273/4 referred to the *ahl al-ṣuffa* is passed on as from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Ḳuraẓī. Though scholars are now agreed that *ṣūfī* is derived from *ṣūf*, wool, the similarity in sound of *ṣuffa* encouraged the legend, and it was said, for example, that a *ṣūfī* was one who resembled the *ahl al-ṣuffa* in character (al-Kalābādhī, *al-Ta'arruf*, ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1934, and Cambridge 1935, ch. 1; cf. al-Hudjwīrī, op. cit. 30).

Bibliography: works mentioned in the article; also Sarrādj, *Luma*ʿ (Nicholson), 132 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1928, 176 f.; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Ṣuffa; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines ... d'Ibn Taimīya*, Cairo, 1939, see index. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AHL AL-SUNNA, the "Sunnites", i.e. the orthodox Muslims [see SUNNA].

AHL-I WĀRIS, in general use among the Muḥammadan peoples of Indonesia with the meaning of Arabic *wārith*. The word is taken from the Persian usage and has reached the East Indian archipelago via India.

Bibliography: Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Over de herkomst van enkele Arabische bastaardwoorden in het Maleisch*, in *TBG*, xlviii, 189 ff.

AḤLĀF [see ḤILF].

AḤMAD, one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad and a proper name used by Muslims. Formally, it is the elative of Maḥmūd or Ḥamīd and means "more, or most, worthy of praise", or, less probably, of Ḥāmid, in which case it would mean "praising [God] to a higher, or the highest, degree". As a proper name it is, however, distinct from the other, etymologically connected forms, including the name Muḥammad. It occurs occasionally, and less frequently than Muḥammad, among the pre-Islamic Arabs. In the Ṣafāitic North-Arabian inscriptions of the Syrian borderland, names of this form seem to occur as abbreviations of composite theophoric names of the scheme "God is praiseworthy"; but whether the same is true of literary Arabic in the Ḥidjāz is subject to doubt.

The basis of its use in Islām is Ḳurʾān, lxi, 6: "And when Jesus, son of Mary, said: 'O Children of Israel, I am God's messenger to you, confirming the Torah which was before me, and announcing the good tidings of a messenger who will come after me, whose name is Aḥmad'." There is no obvious parallel to this passage in the New Testament. It has therefore been suggested that Aḥmad is the translation of *periklutos* "celebrated", which in its turn would be a corruption of *paraklētos* "the Paraclete" in John, xiv, 16, xv, 23-7. But the history of the text and of the translations of the Gospel, together with the fact that *periklutos* was not common in contemporary Greek, shows this to be impossible. The Muslims did indeed apply to Muḥammad the prediction of the Paraclete, before the middle of the 2nd century A. H. (Ibn Hishām, 150, quoting Ibn Isḥāḳ); but the terms used are either the Greek *paraklētos* or its correct Aramaic translation *mᵉnaḥḥᵉmānā*; this identification is based only on the assonance between the Aramaic word and the name Muḥammad, and seems to have been suggested by Christian converts to Islām.

Whereas the name Muḥammad was used by Muslims from the lifetime of the Prophet onwards, and the forms Maḥmūd, Ḥamīd and Ḥumayd occur in the first century of Islām too, the use of Aḥmad as a proper name among Muslims seems to begin only about 125/740. From this it has been concluded that the word *aḥmad* in Ḳurʾān, lxi, 6 is to be taken not as a proper name but as an adjective (the verse might then contain an obscure reference to John, xiv, 12), and that it was understood as a proper name only after Muḥammad had been identified with the Paraclete. Occasional references to the Prophet as Aḥmad in the poetry of the first century are accordingly explained as caused by the necessity of the metre. Traditions which state that the name of the Prophet was Aḥmad (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 64 f.) are regarded as proposing an interpretation which had not always been obvious. But the original hesitation of the Muslims to use the name Aḥmad is sufficiently accounted for by the form of the word as an elative, even though it was a proper name from the beginning.

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AḤMAD I, fourteenth Ottoman sultan. Eldest son of Meḥmed (Muḥammad) III, born at Manisa 22 Djumādā II, 998/18 April 1590, succeeded his father 18 Radjab 1012/22 Jan. 1603. The chroniclers have noted that on his accession, contrary to established custom, he did not put to death his brother Muṣṭafā, and the latter later succeeded him. One of the first acts of the sovereign was the confinement in the old *Serāy* of his grandmother Ṣāfiya Sulṭān (the Venetian Baffa), the prime mover in the Ottoman administration under Murād III and Meḥmed (Muḥammad) III. Aḥmad sent an army under the command of Čighāle-zāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] against the Persian troops of Shāh ʿAbbās I, who had just gained possession of Eriwān and Kars but had been repulsed in front of Aḳīsḳa. Sinān Pasha, however, was defeated at Salmās (9 Sept. 1605) and shortly afterwards died of chagrin in Diyārbakr, while Shāh ʿAbbās profited by his victory to recover Gandja and Shīrwān. In Hungary the Grand-Vizier Lālā Meḥmed Pasha [see MUḤAMMAD PASHA], after experiencing setbacks before Pest and Esterghon (Esztergom, Gran), captured Wač (Vác, Waitzen). In a seond campaign, in which he was supported by the ruler of Transylvania, Stephan Bocskay, he was able to isolate and storm the fortress of Esterghon (4 Nov. 1605), while Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha entered Wesprim (Veszprém) and Palota. Bocskay was invested with the principalities of Transylvania and Hungary. Soon afterwards the Grand-Vizier died, and his post was held successively by Darwīsh Pasha and Murād Pasha [*q.v.*] surnamed Ḳuyudju ("the well-sinker"), who signed the treaty of Zsitvatorok (11 Nov. 1606) with the Austrians, whereby the Ottomans were left in possession of the territory which they had conquered and received in a single, definitive payment an indemnity of 200,000 *ḳara ghurūsh*, but contracted to accord the Austrian sovereign the title of "Emperor" and not merely "King", a step which would give him equality of status with the Sulṭān. Conferences were held at Neuhäusel in 1608 to settle the final details of the treaty, and at Vienna in July 1615 and March 1616 to extend its validity. Internal difficulties had forced the Ottomans to sign it; revolts, caused by repeated military levies and by the exactions of certain governors, had broken out in various parts of the empire. Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha was despatched against the rebels, and triumphed over Muṣlī Čawush at Lāranda, over Djamshīd at Adana, and notably over Djānbūlād-oghlū ʿAlī Pasha in the plain of Orūdj, near Beylān (24 Dec. 1607). In the west, he attacked Ḳalender-oghlū Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Pasha, who held the districts of Brusa and Manisa, and defeated him at Alāčāyïr (5 Aug. 1608). In Syria, the Turkish forces launched themselves against the Druse amīr Fakhr al-Dīn b. Maʿn [*q.v.*], but could not win a decisive victory. The Grand-Vizier, at the age of 90, then set out for Tabrīz, but shortly after opening peace negotiations with the Shāh of Iran,

he died. His successor Naṣūḥ Pasha [q.v.] concluded in 1611 a peace treaty which fixed the demarcation of the frontier on the basis of the settlement made during the reign of Selīm II, but hostilities were resumed four years later. At sea, the Grand-Admiral Khalīl Pasha [q.v.] achieved important successes against the Florentine and Maltese fleets. In 1609, six Maltese galleons were captured in Cypriot waters, including the "red galleon" of Commander Fressinet (battle of Ḳara Djahannam); in 1610, the Turks suffered a setback at Lepanto, and the Maltese Corsairs were checked at Cos; in 1612 a Florentine squadron raided the Cilician coast, near the port of Aghālīmān, and 1614 Khalīl Pasha inflicted some losses at Malta. In the Black Sea, the Cossacks, who had sacked Sinope, were overtaken and defeated at the mouth of the Don by Shāḳshāḳī Ibrāhīm Pasha; another Cossack attack in Moldavia was checked by Iskender Pasha, and peace was signed at Bussa, on the Dniester, on 27 Sept. 1617. Under Aḥmad I, the capitulations with France, England and Venice were renewed (1604), and similar capitulations were concluded for the first time with the Netherlands (1612). The use of tobacco became widespread in Turkey during his reign. Aḥmad I devoted himself to the promulgation of a *Ḳānūn-nāme* designed to establish an authoritative code of the administrative and commercial regulations of the empire, hitherto not co-ordinated. He constructed (1609-1616) in the At Meydānī at Istanbul the magnificent mosque which bears his name. He died 23 Dhu'l-Ḳa'da 1026/22 Nov. 1617 after a two months' illness. Of a violent and changeable nature, and easily swayed, Aḥmad I was not always capable of appreciating the services of his most able ministers; a pious man, he established numerous religious foundations, and even furnished the Ka'ba with ornaments. He was passionately fond of hunting and *djarīd*, and took a close interest in poetry.

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(R. Mantran)

AḤMAD II, twenty-first Ottoman sultan. Son of sultan Ibrāhīm and Mu'azzaz Sulṭān, born, according to Na'īmā, 6 Dhu'l Ḥidjdja 1052/25 Feb. 1643 (according to Rashīd 5 Djumādā I 1052/1 Aug. 1642), succeeded his brother Sulaymān II on 26 Ramaḍān 1102/23 June 1691. He confirmed the Grand-Vizier Köprülü-zāde [q.v.] Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha in his post, and the latter resumed hostilities against the Imperial Powers, but was defeated and killed at the battle of Slankamen (19 Aug. 1691). 'Arabadjī 'Alī Pasha succeeded him, but was soon replaced by Ḥādjdjī 'Alī Pasha who, in 1692, conducted his campaign with great caution. In the same year, the Venetians made an unsuccessful attempt on Canea. As the result of a dispute with the sultan, Ḥādjdjī 'Alī Pasha was dismissed from office, and his post given to Bozoḳlu Muṣṭafā Pasha, who forced the Austrians to raise the siege of Belgrade (1693). Dismissed in his turn, he was succeeded by Sürmeli 'Alī Pasha [q.v.], who failed in an attempt to capture the fortress of Peterwardein (1694), while the Venetians gained control of Gabella in Dalmatia and of the important island of Chios. During the reign of Aḥmad II, there were disturbances in 'Irāḳ and the Ḥidjāz and, in the west, Tunis was attacked by both Tripoli and Algiers. A sovereign of weak personality, and continually swayed by his entourage, Aḥmad II was in addition addicted to drink, and died of dropsy 22 Djumādā II, 1106/6 Feb. 1695 at Adrianople. He was buried in the *türbe* of Ḳānūnī Sulaymān at Istanbul.

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AḤMAD III, twenty-third Ottoman sultan, son of Meḥmed IV (Muḥammad IV, [q.v.]). Born in 1084/1673, he succeeded his brother Muṣṭafā II [q.v.] on 10 Rabī' II 1115/21 August 1703, when the latter abdicated in consequence of a rising of the Janissaries. The leaders of this rising were soon got rid of by the new sultan on his immediate re-establishment of Istanbul as the habitual residence of the court; and for the next few years large numbers of persons known to have, or suspected of having, been implicated in it continued to be dismissed, banished, or executed, to the detriment of governmental efficiency. Aḥmad's resolve to break the power of the soldiery was also shown by his dismissal from the palace service of 700 *bostandjīs* and their replacement by *dewshirme* conscripts (this being the last application of the *dewshirme*), as well as by his later drastic reduction of the Janissary establishment. Nevertheless during the first half of his twenty-seven years' reign in particular he lived in a morbid dread of "revolutionaries" (*fitnedjiler*); for three years he was unable, though making four changes in the Grand Vizierate, to find a capable minister; and it was only with the appointment in Muḥarram 1118/May 1706 of Čorlulu 'Alī Pasha [q.v.] that the government regained some stability. During this period, and indeed for the following eight or nine years, his actions were largely influenced by a palace camarilla, headed by the Wālide Sulṭān, the Ḳīzlar Aghasī, and the sultan's favourite, later to be known as (Shehīd) Silāḥdār Dāmād 'Alī Pasha [q.v.]. The sultan and the camarilla were always uneasy at the appointment to the Grand-Vizierate of "outsiders"—i.e. persons not of the palace service, such as Köprülü Nu'mān Pasha (see below), and took fright at any initiative they might display.

No event of much note occurred during the reign until July 1709, when, after being defeated by Tsar Peter the Great at Poltava, King Charles XII of Sweden, nicknamed in Turkish *demir bash*, "Iron Head", sought refuge at Bender on the Dniester in Ottoman territory. The Porte had so far made no attempt at profiting either by the preoccupation of Austria and the western powers with the War of the Spanish Succession to recover any of the territory lost to the sultan in 1699 by the Treaty of Carlovitz, or by the preoccupation of Russia with the "Great Northern War" to nullify the concessions to the Tsar's Black-Sea ambitions agreed to in the Russo-Ottoman treaty of 1700. Charles, however, in order to retrieve his fortunes, soon began urging the

sultan to take up arms against Peter, an action to which the Porte was also incited by successive ambassadors of Louis XIV and the Venetian representative at Istanbul, with the result that in June 1710 Čorlulu ʿAlī, who had but recently renewed the Russian treaty, was dismissed, and that though his successor, Köprülü [*q.v.*] Nuʿmān Pas̲h̲a, proving too independent for the taste of the camarilla, fell in turn two months later, his replacement in September by the pliant intriguer Balṭad̲j̲ī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [see MUḤAMMAD PAS̲H̲A], who had shown his incapacity when in office earlier, was followed on 20 Nov. by a a declaration of war, the main Ottoman grievances being the Tsar's construction of warships at Azov, his erection of a number of fortresses along the Ottoman frontiers, his interference with the Tatars subject to the *K̲h̲ān* of the Crimea, and his incitement of the sultan's Orthodox subjects to disaffection.

The opposed armies met only in July 1711, after Peter had been enabled to overrun most of Moldavia owing to the treachery of the Hospodar Demetrius Cantemir [*q.v.*]. But by then he had run gravely short of food supplies and was surprised by the main Ottoman army when marching south along the Pruth with the intention of seizing Ibrāʾīl; was forced to retreat; and was eventually surrounded and obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was signed forthwith by which Peter agreed to retrocede Azov and raze the other objectionable fortresses, to interfere no further either with the Tatars or in the affairs of Poland, no longer to maintain an ambassador at Istanbul, and to cease intriguing with the sultan's Orthodox subjects. Since, however, the Grand Vizier could have forced the Tsar to almost any concession, he fell under suspicion of having been bribed into the acceptance of such lenient terms and was dismissed three months later, largely as the result of further intrigues on the part of Charles, whose hopes had been disappointed by the treaty. Charles continued indeed for most of the next three years to incite the Porte to a renewal of hostilities, a task made easier by Peter's failure to observe his undertakings. Largely as a result of the king's efforts war on Russia was again actually declared no less than three times (in Dec. 1711, Nov. 1712 and April 1713), though it was always averted by Russian concessions. A final agreement with Peter was reached only in June 1713, with the signature at Adrianople of a treaty, to remain in force for twenty-five years, whereby the terms of the Treaty of the Pruth were confirmed and peace with Russia was in the event established for a long period. Charles, persisting in a refusal to quit Ottoman territory unless provided with money and troops with which to recover his losses in Poland, was at length, in the spring of 1714, removed forcibly from Bender to Demotika and then to Demirṭas̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a Sarayī near Adrianople, and was obliged in the autumn to return home with his Swedish troops via Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary.

Meanwhile, on 27 April 1713, Aḥmad's favourite and son-in-law, Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, had been appointed Grand Vizier himself; and it was by his policy that peace was thus re-established with Russia, so that the Porte might seek to regain what had been lost to Venice at Carlovitz. Venetian rule had proved exceedingly unpopular in the Morea, the Orthodox inhabitants of which had sent repeated appeals to the Porte for deliverance from their new masters. But a suitable pretext for war against the republic occurred only in 1714, when, after the suppression of a Russian-instigated rebellion in Montenegro, the Venetian government refused to extradite the Vladika and other eminent Montenegrins who had sought refuge in Venetian territory. War was declared on 9 Dec. 1714; and in the following summer within two months (June-July) an Ottoman army under Silāḥdār ʿAlī's own command, operating in conjunction with the sultan's fleet, reconquered the whole province with but little serious fighting, while the fleet also took the islands of Tenos, Aegina, Cerigo and Santa Maura, and reduced Suda and Spinalonga (in Crete), which had remained till then in Venetian hands.

These Ottoman successes, and the possibility that Corfu and the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia might also fall into the sultan's grasp, alarmed Austria. In April 1716, accordingly, the Emperor Charles VI concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with Venice, and in June provoked the Porte by an ultimatum into a declaration of war. It opened with an unsuccessful attack by the Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a on Corfu; and this was followed in August by a rout at the hands of Eugène of Savoy near Peterwardein of the Ottoman main army commanded by Silāḥdār ʿAlī, who was mortally wounded on the field. Eugène followed up this victory with the reduction of Temesvar and the occupation of the Banat and Little Wallachia in the autumn; and in the summer of 1717 laid siege to Belgrade, where on 16 August he completely routed a superior Ottoman relieving force. The Belgrade garrison surrendered three days later, after which, though the Austrians failed in an attempt to overrun Bosnia, there was no fighting of importance. The Porte soon made proposals for an armistice; and peace was eventually signed, on 21 July 1718, at Passarovitz (Pasarofča, Požarevac), whereby Belgrade and the region about it, the Banat, and little Wallachia were ceded by the Porte to Austria, while the Morea, the Cretan ports and Tenos, as well as the south-eastern districts of the Hercegovina were ceded to the Porte by Venice, which for its part received Cerigo and the strongholds the Venetians had captured in Albania and Dalmatia. A commercial treaty further secured to Austrian and Venetian traders certain advantages they had not till then enjoyed.

The Grand Vizier responsible for this treaty was another favourite of Aḥmad's: News̲h̲ehirli Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who by marrying the sultan's thirteen-year-old daughter, Fāṭime Sulṭān, formerly the nominal wife of Silāḥdār ʿAlī, had also become a *dāmād*; and for the remaining twelve years of the reign, which with this entered upon its second phase, he entirely dominated the court. Ahmad was of a pleasure- and art-loving nature, and with Ibrāhīm, who shared his tastes, was able, as he had not been able with the warlike Silāḥdār, to indulge them and set new fashions for Ottoman society. The gradual abandonment of the *dews̲h̲irme* during the 17th century had led, with the occupation of the chief governmental posts by free-born Muslims, to a growth of interest among the powerful in the arts and learning, side by side with a decline in military and administrative efficiency. Moreover the Greek community of the Phanar quarter had at the same time acquired both a stronger influence than before in metropolitan society and some familiarity with contemporary western thought. In consequence the twelve years ensuing on the peace of Passarovitz witnessed a remarkable change of taste in poetry, music and architecture and a new inclination to profit by European example. During this short

period—known as *lāle dewri*, "the Age of Tulips", the cultivation of which became for some years a "craze", and the secular spirit of which is exemplified by the poet Nadīm [*q.v.*] in the verse "Let us laugh and play and enjoy the world!"—pavilions and gardens were more often built than mosques and mausoleums, and they were built to designs imported from the west. An ambassador accredited to Louis XV received specific instructions to study French institutions and report on those adaptable to Ottoman use; and in 1724 his son assisted Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳa [*q.v.*] to establish the first printing press in Istanbul. A French officer of Engineers was invited by the Porte to prepare plans for the reform of the army on western lines, while a French convert to Islam organized a fire service (the *odjaḳ* of the *tulumbadjis*); and though the reform of the army came to nothing, the organization of the Admiralty was overhauled and the building of three-decker men-o'-war was undertaken for the first time. Some of the *ʿulamā* further founded a society for the translation of books (from Arabic and Persian); the export of rare manuscripts was prohibited for educational reasons; and no less than five libraries were founded at the capital, including the sultan's own Enderūn-ü Hümāyūn Kütüb-khānesi, of which Nadīm was made curator. China factories at Kütahya and Izmid were revived and a new one founded at Tekfūr Sarayl at Istanbul; extensive repairs to the Byzantine walls were carried out from 1722 to 1724; and a barrage was built to provide water for the capital from springs at Belgrade. The most notable extant architectural monuments of the period are the mosque built by Aḥmad III for his mother at Üsküdar and his *česhme* outside the Bāb-i Hümāyūn of the Ṭopḳapl Sarayl, for which he composed the chronogram himself.

It was Ibrāhīm Pasha's policy to avoid war. Nevertheless the Tulip Age saw the temporary extension of Ottoman rule over large tracts of western Persia. The decline of the Ṣafawids and the Afghān invasion of their dominions, culminating in the capture of Iṣfahān in 1135/1722, had plunged the country into a state of anarchy tempting to both Russia and the Porte. In 1135/1723 Ottoman forces occupied Tiflīs, and on Russia's seizing Darband and Bākū in the same year, in 1724, after a period of tension during which a fresh war between Aḥmad and the Tsar came near to breaking out, another Russo-Ottoman treaty was concluded, providing for a partition that should leave Peter in possession of Darband, Bākū and Gīlān and the sultan in that of Georgia, Eriwān, Shīrwān, Ādharbaydjān and all Persian territory west of the line Ardabīl-Hamadān. Ottoman forces in fact took over all this vast region, the Porte forming it into some ten new *eyālets*. But when in April 1725 the Afghān Ashraf proclaimed himself shāh, he demanded the relinquishment of these conquests; and on the Porte's refusal eventually, in November 1726, defeated Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] commanding the Ottoman forces in Persia. However, a year later Ashraf was obliged to make peace; and the sultan's sovereignty over the conquered provinces was recognized. From then until 1730, accordingly, these regions formed part of the Ottoman Empire. But in 1729 Ashraf was overthrown by the future Nādir Shāh, who in the following year also defeated the Ottomans and obliged them to relinquish all their gains.

The result was a revolt of the people at Istanbul, to suppress which Ibrāhīm and the sultan hesitated until it was too late. The Muslims of the capital, though they had at first disapproved the Persian conquests, were now indignant at their loss. But Ibrāhīm Pasha was anxious to avoid further fighting and prepared for it only under pressure from public opinion; moreover he was already unpopular for the nepotism he practised to secure his own position and for the fiscal policy he had pursued; the new luxurious and "Frankish" manners of the court were disliked by the conservative and resented by the poor; and the project of army reform had alarmed the Janissaries. The leader of the revolt was a Janissary "affiliate", an Albanian, formerly a *lewend* and hence [cf. BAḤRIYYA] called Patrona Khalīl, who acted under the influence of two disaffected *ʿulamā* and with the approval of many Janissary officers. It began on 28 Sept. 1730; and in a few hours a partially armed crowd of thousands had gathered in the At Meydānl. Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm were in camp at Üsküdar; but on learning of the outbreak in the evening, they returned to the palace at night. For the next two days fruitless attempts were made to parley with the rebels, who demanded the delivery up to them of the Grand Vizier, the Shaykh al-Islām, the Ḳapudan Pasha, the Kāhya Bey and others, till, during the night of 30 Sept., the sultan, finding no support in any of his troops, decided to sacrifice his favourite, whose corpse, together with those of the Ḳapudan and the Kāhya, was brought out to them in the morning. Aḥmad himself agreed to abdicate on condition that his own life and the lives of his sons should be spared, and was accordingly succeeded on 1 Oct./18 Rabīʿ I 1143 by his nephew Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*]. He died, in the retirement that was henceforth his lot, in 1149/1736.

Aḥmad III was handsome of person and an accomplished calligraphist, letter-writer and poet. Though normally of a mild disposition, he was ruthless in the treatment of those whom he feared or who had incurred his displeasure. He had no taste for war, partly because of the expense it entailed; for he was exceedingly fond of money and applied himself to the accumulation of treasure. His love of amusement and display ran counter to this propensity. But Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha contrived to minister to both his avarice and his extravagance by increasing the revenues and curtailing other expenditure in ways that contributed to his unpopularity. Aḥmad was greatly attached to his harem, to which he gave much of his attention, but he did not allow its members to influence public affairs as some of his predecessors had done. He had no less than thirty-one children; and his reign was consequently distinguished by frequent festivities to celebrate the circumcision of his sons and the marriage of his daughters, which lent it a special air of gaiety.

Minor events of the reign were a revolt of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] Arabs in the neighbourhood of al-Baṣra in 1117/1705; the suppression of another Arab revolt in the same region in 1727-8; the affirmation of Ottoman sovereignty over certain areas of the Caucasus bordering on the Black Sea early in the reign; the conquest of Oran (Wahrān) from Spain by Algerian forces in 1708; recurrent troubles in the Armenian *millet* occasioned by Jesuit propaganda (particularly in 1706-7 and 1727-8); and two insurrections in Egypt (in 1712-3 and 1727-8). Successive *khāns* of the Crimea played a considerable part in the events of the period, more especially in the war with Russia, the *khān* Dewlet Girāy [*q.v.*] in particular strongly supporting Charles XII in his anti-Russian schemes. During the war with Austria

the Porte accepted an offer of assistance from Francis Rákóczy, the Prince of Transylvania, after the final failure of his attempts to secure the independence of Hungary, but he reached Istanbul too late to be made use of. Finally the treachery of Cantemir and his fellow-Hospodar of Wallachia during the campaign of the Pruth resulted in the appointment from 1716 onwards of Phanariote Greeks to the governorship of the Principalities.

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(H. Bowen)

AḤMAD b. ABĪ BAKR [see MUḤTĀD͟JIDS].

AḤMAD b. ABĪ DUʾĀD al-Iyādī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Muʿtazilite ḳāḍī born at Baṣra about 160/776. Through his own merit and also, it is said, through the good offices of Yaḥyā b. Akt͟ham [*q.v.*], who introduced him to the Court at Bag͟hdād, he reached a position of great honour under the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, soon becoming one of the Caliph's closest friends. Shortly before his death, the Caliph recommended his brother and successor al-Muʿtaṣim to admit Aḥmad, a fervent follower of the Muʿtazilite doctrine, to the circle of his advisers, and as a result al-Muʿtaṣim, after his accession (218/833) made Aḥmad his Chief Ḳāḍī. In the latter capacity he presided over cases heard before the court of inquisition which had been set up by al-Maʾmūn after the elevation of Muʿtazilism to the status of the state religion [see MIḤNA], and he consequently played an important part in the examination of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*]. In the discharge of his duties he nevertheless displayed a tolerance and humanity unusual at that time. He retained his post under al-Wāt͟hiḳ; at the death of the latter several high officials and officers wished to place his son, a minor, on the throne, but at the instance of the commander of the Turkish guard, Waṣīf, the brother of the late Caliph, D͟jaʿfar, was proclaimed Caliph, and Aḥmad himself gave him the title of al-Mutawakkil. The new Caliph, however, gradually adopted a hostile attitude towards the Muʿtazilites and established amicable relationships with the Sunnīs, with the result that the Chief Ḳāḍī could not maintain his position of influence. A short while after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, he suffered an attack of apoplexy, and handed over his office to his son Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, who had been his *nāʾib* since 218/833 (L. Massignon, in *WZKM*, 1948, 107). The latter was dismissed in 237/851-2 and, with his brothers, thrown into prison, and all the property of Ibn Abī Duʾād was confiscated. The prisoners were eventually released, but Aḥmad and his son did not long survive their disgrace; Muḥammad died at the end of 239/May-June 854, and his father three weeks later, in Muḥarram 240/June 854.

Sunnī writers naturally pass a severe judgement on Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād and, in the religious sphere, do not conceal their hostility towards him, but all recognize his great learning and magnanimity. Himself endowed with some poetic talent, he was courted by the poets of his own circle. He was the patron of various men of letters notably of al-D͟jāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], who dedicated to him *inter alia* his *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, and addressed to him, either directly or through his son Abu 'l-Walīd, *risālas* in which he dwelt at length on the details of Muʿtazilite doctrine, and furnished the Ḳāḍī with arguments with which to confront the Sunnīs subject to his inquisition (on the relations between al-D͟jāḥiẓ and Ibn Abī Duʾād, see Ch. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 55 ff.; idem, in *AIEO*, Algiers 1952, 302 ff.; and idem, in *Mas͟h.*, 1953, 281 ff.).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1139 ff.; Ibn al At͟hīr, vi, 365 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī ii, 569; Ibn K͟hallikān, no. 31; al-K͟haṭīb al-Bag͟hdādī, *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, iv, 141; Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-G͟hufrān*, Cairo 1950, 435; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 171; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 261 ff.

(K. V. Zetterstéen-Ch. Pellat)

AḤMAD b. ABĪ K͟HĀLID al-AḤWAL, secretary to al-Maʾmūn, was of Syrian origin and the son of a secretary of Abū ʿUbayd Allāh. He took advantage of his former connections with the Barmakids to enter the service of al-Faḍl b. Sahl. Indeed the Barmakids were already under an obligation to his father, and he himself had managed to be of service to the disgraced Yaḥyā. Apparently even before the capture of Bag͟hdād he went to K͟hurāsān and, as the result of a letter of recommendation which Yaḥyā had given to him before his death, he was placed in charge of several *dīwāns* at Marw. After the return of the caliph to ʿIrāḳ, profiting by the support of T͟humāma b. As͟hras, he assisted al-Ḥasan b. Sahl in the direction of the administration, and later replaced him. A man of doubtful integrity, easily corrupted, notorious for his greed and his harshness towards his subordinates, he was, nevertheless, up to his death in 211/826-7, the right-hand man of al-Maʾmūn. It is not possible, however, to state definitely whether he acquired the rank of *wazīr*. Doubtless his ability was the reason why the Caliph, who was fully aware of his faults, still retained him in his service.

He played an important part in the political intrigues which secured in 205/821 the nomination of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, then governor of Bag͟hdād, to the governorship of K͟hurāsān in place of G͟hassān b.

ʿAbbād. When Ṭāhir asserted his independence in 207/822, al-Maʾmūn ordered his secretary to proceed at once to Khurāsān and to bring back the governor whose loyalty he had guaranteed. Aḥmad with much difficulty secured a respite of 24 hours, and, before his departure, the news of the death of Ṭāhir is said to have reached the city. Everything points to the fact that, as some chroniclers aver, Aḥmad was privy to this sudden death. He secured the appointment of Ṭāhir's son Ṭalḥa as governor, but al-Maʾmūn sent Aḥmad himself to Khurāsān to assist, or rather to keep watch on Ṭalḥa. The secretary, furnished with military powers, penetrated on this occasion as far as Transoxania, and conquered Ushrūsana. Aḥmad also used his influence to obtain a pardon for al-Maʾmūn's uncle, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who had laid claim to the throne and who had for several years succeeded in eluding the caliph's police.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 430-1; Ibn Ṭayfūr, Yaʿḳūbī, ii, Ṭabarī, iii, indexes; Djahshiyārī, index and *RAAD*, xviii, 330; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 351-2; *Aghānī, Tables*; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt* (ʿAwwād), 94-5 (cf. G. Rothstein, in *Festschrift Th. Nöldeke*, i, 155-70); Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 211-5; *Faradj*, Cairo 1938, i, 74-5, ii, 30 (cf. D. Sourdel in *Mélanges Massignon*); Ibn al-Athīr, vi, index; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, ii, 205. (D. Sourdel)

AḤMAD b. ABĪ ṬĀHIR ṬAYFŪR [see ibn abī ṭāhir].

AḤMAD b. ḤĀBIṬ (rather than Ḥāʾiṭ, if the position in the alphabetical order given to him by al-ʿAsḳalānī is taken into consideration), a theologian ranked among the Muʿtazilites; he was the pupil of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], and the teacher, in particular, of al-Faḍl al-Ḥadathī. Nothing is known about his life, and only his "innovations" are partly known to us. His doctrine, evolved before 232/846-7, seems to differ from Muʿtazilite teaching on the following two fundamental dogmas, which are borrowed from systems alien to Islam but which, in the eyes of Ibn Ḥābiṭ, found justification in the Ḳurʾān. (1) On the basis of Ḳurʾān lxxix, 22 (23); ii, 210 (206); and v, 110, he affirms the divinity of Jesus, from which heresiographers infer that, for him, the world has two creators, God and the Messiah. (2) He professes the doctrine of *kurūr*, or the reincarnation of souls, sprung from the Universal Spirit, in forms which will be more beautiful or more ugly according to the merits they have acquired in their previous incarnation. This theory involves the existence of five stages: a place of damnation (Hell); a place of testing (this world); two places of relative reward; and, finally, Paradise, where the souls were created. According to Ḳurʾān vii, 34 (32); x, 49 (50); xvi, 61 (63), souls which have "filled to the brim the cup" of good or evil go eventually to Paradise or Hell. Ibn Ḥābiṭ, who accepts incarnation in animals, is obliged to concede its corollary, the doctrine of the *taklīf* of animals, of their individual responsibility, which can be justified only if they have had prophetes to teach them; verses vi, 38; xvi, 68 (70) and xxxv, 24 (22), enable him to put forward this opinion. The heresiographers, of course, have passed a severe judgement on this theologian, to whom they deny the name of Muslim.

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AḤMAD b. ḤANBAL, "the imām of Baghdād", celebrated theologian, jurist and traditionist (164-241/780-855), and one of the most vigorous personalities of Islam, which he has profoundly influenced both in its historical development and its modern revival. Founder of one of the four major Sunnī schools, the Ḥanbalī, he was, through his disciple Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the distant progenitor of Wahhābism, and has inspired also in a certain degree the conservative reform movement of the Salafiyya.

1. Life. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was an Arab, belonging to the Banū Shaybān, of Rabīʿa, who had played an active role in the conquest of al-ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān. His family, first resident in Baṣra, moved to Marw with Aḥmad's grandfather, Ḥanbal b. Hilāl, governor of Sarakhs under the Umayyads and one of the early ʿAbbāsid propagandists. Aḥmad was born in Rabīʿ ii 164/Dec. 780, a few months after his father Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, who was serving in the army of Khurāsān, had removed to Baghdād, where he died three years later. Aḥmad inherited, however, a small family estate which allowed him a modest but independent livelihood. After studying in Baghdād lexicography, jurisprudence and tradition, he devoted himself from 179/795 to the study of tradition, in pursuit of which he made a series of journeys in al-ʿIrāk, Ḥidjāz, Yaman, and Syria. His visits to Īrān, Khurāsān, and even to the distant Maghrib must be dismissed as legendary. Already in 183 he had visited Kūfa. He stayed more frequently in Baṣra; after a first visit in 186, he returned there in 190, 194 and 200. He was more often still at Mecca, where he made the Pilgrimage on five occasions: in 187, 191, 196, 197 (followed by a pious retreat (*mudjāwara*) at Medina), and 198, followed by a second *mudjāwara* into the year 199, after which he visited the traditionist ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ at Ṣanʿāʾ (*Manāḳib*, 22-3; *Tardjama*, 13-24).

His studies of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* were made under a great many teachers, whose names have been preserved (*Manāḳib*, 33-6; *Tardjama*, 13-24). At Baghdād he attended the courses of the ḳāḍī Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] d. 182/798), by whom he was not profoundly influenced, and studied regularly under Hushaym b. Bashīr, a disciple of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, from 179 to 183 (*Manāḳib*, 52; *Bidāya*, x, 183-4). His principal teacher thereafter was Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/813-4), the greatest authority of the school of the Ḥidjāz. Others of his more important teachers were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī of Baṣra (d. 198/813-4) and Wāḳiʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ (d. 197/812-3) of Kūfa. But, as Ibn Taymiyya noted (*Minhādj al-Sunna*, iv, 143), his juristic formation is due, above all, to the school of ḥadīth and of the Ḥidjāz. He cannot therefore be regarded, as is sometimes done, simply as a disciple of al-Shāfiʿī, whose juridical work he knew, at least partially, but whom he seems to have met only once, at Baghdād in 195 (*Bidāya*, x, 251-5, 326-7).

The policy adopted by the caliph al-Maʾmūn, towards the end of his reign, under the influence of Bishr al-Marīsī, of giving official support to the doctrine of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], inaugurated for Ibn Ḥanbal a period of persecution, which was to gain for him a resounding reputation [see al-maʾmūn, al-miḥna]. Ibn Ḥanbal vigorously refused to accept the dogma of the creation of the Ḳurʾān, contrary to orthodoxy. Al-Maʾmūn, then at Ṭarsūs, on hearing of this, ordered that Ibn Ḥanbal should be sent to him, together with another objector, Muḥammad b. Nūḥ. They were put in chains and sent off, but shortly after leaving Raḳḳa they

received the news of the caliph's death. They were then sent back to Baghdād; Ibn Nūḥ died on the journey, and Ibn Ḥanbal, on arrival in the capital, was imprisoned first at the Yāsiriyya, then in a house of the Dār ʿUmāra, and finally in the common prison of the Darb al-Mawṣilī (*Manāḳib*, 308-317; *Tardjama*, 40-56; *Bidāya*, x, 272-280).

The new caliph, al-Muʿtaṣim, though inclined to abandon the inquisition, was, it is said, persuaded by the Muʿtazilite ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād of the danger to the authority of the State of surrendering a position now officially taken up. Ibn Ḥanbal was therefore summoned to appear before the caliph in Ramaḍān 219. Still stoutly refusing to acknowledge the creation of the Ḳurʾān, he was severely beaten but permitted to return to his home after an imprisonment of some two years in all. During the whole of al-Muʿtaṣim's reign he lived in retirement and disisted from giving lectures on Tradition. On the accession of al-Wāthiḳ (227/842), he attempted to resume his courses of lectures, but almost at once preferred to discontinue them, though not officially forbidden to give them, lest he should be exposed by further reprisals by the Muʿtazilite ḳāḍī. He continued therefore to remain in retirement, sometimes even (it is said) in hiding, in order to escape from his enemies (*Manāḳib*, 348-9).

With the reinstatement of Sunnism by al-Mutawakkil on his accession in 232/847, Ibn Ḥanbal was able to resume his teaching activity. He does not, however, appear among the traditionists appointed by the caliph in 234 to oppose the Djahmiyya and the Muʿtazila (*Manāḳib*, 356). The disappearence of the leading figures of the era of persecution opened the way to an association between the caliph and the independent-minded theologian. Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād was removed from office in 237/852, and his successor Ibn Aktham is even said, in certain traditions, to have been recommended to the caliph by Ibn Ḥanbal (*Bidāya*, x, 315-6, 319-29). After a first unsuccessful approach to the court, the date and circumstances of which remain obscure (*Manāḳib*, 359-62), Ibn Ḥanbal was invited in 237 to Sāmarrā by al-Mutawakkil. It appears that the caliph wished him to give lessons in *ḥadīth* to the young prince al-Muʿtazz, and it may also be supposed that he had some idea of utilizing the famous theologian for his policy of restoration of the *sunna*. This journey to Sāmarrā gave Ibn Ḥanbal the occasion for making contact with the personalities of the court, without danger of compromise. The extant narratives show him welcomed on his arrival by the ḥādjib Waṣīf, installed in the luxurious palace of Ītākh, loaded with gifts, presented to al-Muʿtazz, but eventually exempted, on his own request, from any special charge on account of his age and health. After a short stay, he returned to Baghdād without seeing the caliph (*Manāḳib*, 372-8; *Tardjama*, 58-75; *Bidāya*, x 314, 316, 337-40).

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal died in Rabīʿ i 241/July 855, at the age of 75, after a short illness, and was buried in the Martyrs' cemetery (*Maḳābir al-Shuhadāʾ*) near the Ḥarb gate. The traditions which surround the account of his funeral, although partly legendary in character, convey the impression of a genuine popular emotion, and his tomb was the scene of demonstrations of such ardent devotion that the cemetery had to be guarded by the civil authorities (*Manāḳib* 409-18; *Tardjama*, 75-82; *Bidāya*, x, 340-3). His tomb became one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage in Baghdād. In 574/1178-9 the caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ furnished it with an inscription glorifying the celebrated traditionist as the most faithful defender of the Sunna (*Bidāya*, xii, 300). It was washed away by a flood on the Tigris in the 8th/14th century (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 166).

By each of his two legitimate wives Ibn Ḥanbal had one son, Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbd Allāh, besides six children by a concubine, who are not otherwise known (*Manāḳib*, 298-306). Ṣāliḥ (born in Baghdād 203/818-9, died as ḳāḍī of Iṣfahān 266/879-80) is said to have transmitted a large part of Aḥmad's *fiḳh* (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 173-6). ʿAbd Allāh (b. 213/828) was chiefly interested in ḥadīth, and through him the major part of Aḥmad's literary work was transmitted. He died in Baghdād in 290/903 and was buried in the Ḳuraysh cemetery, and to his tomb was transferred the veneration enjoyed by that of his father when the latter was swept away (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 180-8). Both sons, who were closely associated with the intellectual life of their father, were amongst the chief architects of that collective structure which constitutes the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*.

2. Works. The most celebrated of Ibn Ḥanbal's works is his collection of traditions, the *Musnad* (1st ed., Cairo 1311; new edition by Aḥmad Shākir in publ. since 1368/1948). Although Aḥmad himself gave an exceptional importance to this work, it was his son ʿAbd Allāh who collected and classified the enormous accumulation of material, and himself made some additions. His Baghdād disciple Abū Bakr al-Ḳaṭīʿī (d. 368/978-9) transmitted this recension with some further additions. In this vast collection the traditions are classified not according to subjects, as in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but under the names of the first guarantor; it thus consists of a number of particular *musnads* juxtaposed, and includes those of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and the principal Companions, and ends with the *musnads* of the Anṣār, the Meccans, the Medinians, the people of Kūfa and Baṣra, and the Syrians.

This order, though evidence of an effort of intellectual probity, made it difficult to use by those who did not know it by heart. It was therefore sometimes reshaped. In his *K. fī Djamʿ al-Masānīd al-ʿAshra* the traditionist Ibn Kathīr classified, in alphabetical order of the Companions, the traditions contained in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, in the "Six Books", al-Ṭabarānī's *Muʿdjam* and the *Musnads* of al-Bazzār and Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī (*Shadharāt*, vi, 231). Ibn Zuknūn (d. 837/1433-4; *Shadharāt*, vii, 222-3) follows, in his *K. al-Darāri*, the order of the chapters of al-Bukhārī, and has the great merit of having inserted among the ḥadīths which he quotes extracts from numerous Ḥanbalī works, especially of Ibn Ḳudāma, Ibn Taymiyya, and Ibn al-Ḳayyim. This voluminous compilation, preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus, has served as a mine for numerous editions of Ḥanbalī texts in the last fifty years.

Within the framework of Tradition, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is to be regarded as an "independent *mudjtahid*" (*mustaḳill*), who as Ibn Taymiyya has remarked (*Minhādj*, iv, 143), was able, from amongst the mass of traditions and opinions received from many teachers, to form his own doctrine (*ikhtāra li-nafsih*). In no sense can he be regarded, in the manner of al-Ṭabarī, as merely a traditionist, and nothing of a jurisconsult (*faḳīh*) concerned with normative rules. As already pointed out by Ibn ʿAḳīl, "certain positions adopted (*ikhtiyārāt*) by Ibn Ḥanbal are supported by him on traditions with such consummate skill as few have equalled, and certain of his decisions bear witness to a juridical subtlety without parallel" (*Manāḳib*, 64-6). "Fol-

lowers of tradition" (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) must not be too systematically contrasted with "followers of opinion" (*aṣḥāb al-ra'y*), since it is hardly possible to acquire an understanding of ḥadīths and to resolve their contradictions and divergences, or to deduce from them the consequences which may derive from them, without using a minimum of personal judgment.

The two fundamental treatises for the study of Ibn Ḥanbal's dogmatic position are the short *Radd ʿala'l-Djahmiyya wa'l-Zanādiḳa* and the *K. al-Sunna* (both printed together, Cairo n.d., a longer version of the *K. al-Sunna* in Mekka 1349). In the former of these, he expounds and refutes the doctrines of Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], whose ideas, widely circulated in Khurāsān, were adopted by certain disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa and of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd. In the *K. al-Sunna* he re-examines some of the theological questions already raised in the *Radd* and unequivocally defines his own position on all the principal points of his creed (cf. also *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 24-36). Of his other surviving doctrinal works, the *K. al-Ṣalāt* (Cairo 1323 and 1347), on the importance of the communal prayer and rules for its correct observance, was transmitted by Muhannā b. Yaḥyā al-Shāmī, one of his early disciples, and extracted from the bio-bibliographical repertory of the ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 345-80). Two unpublished MSS should be noted: the *Musnad min Masā'il Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (B.M.; cf. Brock., S I, 311), transmitted by Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, which may possibly be a fragment of the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* (see below) and is important for the study of Ibn Ḥanbal's politico-religious ideas; and the *K. al-Amr*, transmitted by Ghulām al-Khallāl (MS Ẓāhiriyya).

In the *K. al-Waraʿ* (Cairo 1340; partial trans. by G.-H. Bousquet and P. Charles-Dominique in *Hespéris*, 1952, 97-112), there are to be found, in the form of roughly-classified notes, the opinions of Ibn Ḥanbal on certain cases where scrupulosity (*waraʿ*) seems necessary in his view. Their reporter, Abū Bakr al-Marwazī, has added the opinions of other doctors on the same or related subjects, with the apologetic object, it seems, of showing that Ibn Ḥanbal's teaching in the matter of pious scruples, the ascetic life and devotion, can be compared with advantage to that of his contemporaries Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, or Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. This work, it has been noted (cf. Abd al-Jalil, *Aspects intérieurs de l'Islam*, 228, n. 193), is extensively quoted by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī in *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, and taken up again by al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn*.

The *Masā'il*. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was constantly consulted on questions (*masā'il*) of all sorts relating to dogmatics, ethics or law. Although he may not have prohibited the writing down of his opinions as formally as certain traditions assert, it is certain that he warned his questioners against the danger of a codifying of his thought (*tadwīn al-ra'y*) which might then replace the principles of conduct traced by the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna; he himself, in contrast to al-Shāfiʿī, never sought to present it systematically as a body of doctrine. The fundamental purpose of his teaching is to be seen as a reaction against the codification of the *fiḳh*. Since primitive Muslim law was a doctrine of essentially oral transmission, which on a common substructure left a wide latitude to individual variations, any systematic codification, such as to impose it in the terms of thought of any particular representative or to congeal it by fixation, was to change its inner character.

The written redaction of his *responsa* and their classification under the general headings of the *fiḳh* was the work of Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbd Allāh and of the following other disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal: 1) Isḥāḳ b. Manṣūr al-Kawsadj (d. 251/865-6; *Ṭab.*, i, 113-5); 2) Abū Bakr al-Athram (d. 260/873-4 or 273/886-7; i, 66-74); 3) Ḥanbal b. Isḥāḳ (d. 273; i, 143-5); 4) ʿAbd al-Malik al-Maymūnī (d. 274/887-8; i, 212-6); 5) Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (d. 275/888-9; i, 56-63); 6) Abū Dā'ūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275; i, 156-63; printed in Cairo, 1353/1934); 7) Ḥarb al-Kirmānī (d. 280/873-4; i, 145-6); 8) Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ al-Harbī (d. 285/898-9; i, 86-93). There are also other collections, and in addition the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Abī Yaʿlā contains the replies given by Ibn Ḥanbal to numerous visitors.

These dispersed materials were assembled in the *K. al-Djāmiʿ li-ʿUlūm al-Imām Aḥmad*, by a disciple of Abū Bakr al-Marwazī, the traditionist Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923-4), who taught at Baghdād in the mosque of al-Mahdī (*Ṭab.*, ii, 12-15; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 112-3). Al-Khallāl's role has been well appreciated by Ibn Taymiyya, who says (*K. al-Īmān*, 158) that his *K. al-Sunna* is the fullest possible source for a knowledge of Ibn Ḥanbal's dogmatic views (*uṣūl dīniyya*), and his *K. fi'l-ʿIlm* the most valuable repository for the study of law (*uṣūl fiḳhiyya*); these are no doubt subdivisions, or a rehandling, of *K. al-Djāmiʿ*. According to Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (*Iʿlām al-Muwaḳḳiʿīn*, Cairo, i, 31), the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* consisted of twenty volumes. To our present knowledge, the work is lost, except for the fragment referred to above; but as it has entered deeply into the output of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim, the study of these two writers may partially compensate for its loss in assisting an evaluation of Ibn Ḥanbal's thought.

Al-Khallāl's work was completed by his disciple ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/973-4), better known as Ghulām al-Khallāl, who did not always accept his master's interpretations of Ibn Ḥanbal's thought, and whose *Zād al-Musāfir*, though less important than the *Djāmiʿ*, presents a body of supplementary materials often consulted. The divergences which this *Corpus* has allowed to remain in the exposition of Ibn Ḥanbal's thought explain why the Ḥanbalīs distinguish between the text (*naṣṣ*) of the founder of the school, the teachings ascribed to him (*riwāyāt*), the indications (*tanbīhāt*) suggested by him, and what are simply points of view (*awdjāh*) of his disciples.

Ibn al-Djawzī (*Manāḳib*, 191) cites a *Tafsīr* based upon 120,000 ḥadīths, and other works now lost. See also Brockelmann, I, 193; S I, 309-10.

3. Doctrine. Ḥanbalism has sometimes suffered from a slightly fanaticized turbulence among certain of its followers, or an extravagant literalism adopted by others through ignorance or as a challenge. It has been exposed throughout its history to numerous and powerful opponents in the various schools whose principles it opposed, who, when they did not deliberately disregard it, have united to attack it or to muffle it with insidious suspicions. Western orientalism has taken little interest in it, and has been no less severe. It has become the received opinion to see in Ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine a ferociously anthropomorphist theodicy, a traditionalism so sectarian as to be no longer viable, a spirit of frenzied intolerance, a fundamental lack of social adjustment, and a kind of permanent inability to accept the established order. A direct study of his works shows that it is not in these summary judg-

ments that the governing objectives of his teaching are to be sought.

The Attributes of God. For Ibn Ḥanbal, God is the God of the Ḳur'ān: to believe in God is to believe in the description which God has given of Himself in His Book. Not only, therefore, must the attributes of God, such as hearing, sight, speech, omnipotence, will, wisdom, etc., be affirmed as realities (*ḥaḳḳ*), but also all the terms called "ambiguous" (*mutashābih*) which speak of God's hand, throne, omnipresence, and vision by the Believers on the day of resurrection. In conformity with tradition, also, it must be affirmed that God descends to the lowest heaven in the last third of every night to hearken to the prayers of his worshippers, and at the same time, with the literal text of the Ḳur'ān (cf. *sūra* cxii), that God, the Unique, the Absolute, is not comparable to anything in the world of His creatures (*K. al-Sunna*, 37; *Manāḳib*, 155). Ibn Ḥanbal therefore vigorously rejects the negative theology (*taʿṭīl*) of the Djahmiyya and their allegorizing exegesis (*ta'wīl*) of the Ḳur'ān and of tradition, and no less emphatically rejects the anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) of the Mushabbiha, amongst whom he includes, in the scope of his polemics, the Djahmiyya as unconscious anthropomorphists. In the fideism of Ibn Ḥanbal, one must believe in God without seeking to know the "mode" of the theologoumena (*bilā kayf*), and leave to God the understanding of his own mystery, renouncing the vain and dangerous subtleties of dogmatic theology (*kalām*) (*K. al-Sunna*, 37; *Manāḳib*, 155-6). So simple, and at the same time so strong, was this position from the Ḳur'ānic angle, that al-Ashʿarī, on abandoning Muʿtazilism, seeks, either for tactical reasons or in sincere acceptance, to place himself under the patronage of Ibn Ḥanbal before making certain concessions to his former *credo*, concessions successively enlarged by his disciples, on the problem of the attributes, the Ḳur'ān, and the legitimacy of dogmatic theology.

The Ḳur'ān. The Ḳur'ān is the uncreated Word of God (*kalām Allāh ghayr makhlūḳ*). To affirm simply that the Ḳur'ān is the Word of God, without further specification, is to refuse to take up a position, and to fall into the heresy of the *wāḳifiyya*, the "Abstentionists", which, because of the doubt which it inspires, is a graver sin than the more open heresy of the Djahmiyya (*K. al-Sunna*, 37-8). By Ḳur'ān is to be understood, not just an abstract idea, but the Ḳur'ān with its letters, words, expressions, ideas—the Ḳur'ān in all its living reality, whose nature in itself eludes our understanding.

The Pronunciation of the Ḳur'ān. It is difficult to define Ibn Ḥanbal's position on this question. Some traditions assert that he regarded its pronunciation as uncreated (*lafẓī bi'l-Ḳur'ān ghayr makhlūḳ*). In *K. al-Sunna* (38) he goes no further than to say: "Whoso asserts that our words, when we recite the Ḳur'ān, and that our reading of the Ḳur'ān are created, seeing that the Ḳur'ān is the Word of God, is a Djahmī". While formally condemning the *lafẓiyya*, who held the pronunciation of the Ḳur'ān to be created, he gives no more positive formulation of his own doctrine, to the embarrassment of the later Ḥanbalīs. Ibn Taymiyya regards this question as the first on which a real division existed among the Ancients (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur . . . Ibn Taymiyya*, 172) and states that Ibn Ḥanbal avoided taking up a position. He himself gives, in *al-Wāsiṭiyya*, the cautious formula which appears to him to be in conformity with the spirit of Ḥanbalism: "When men recite the Ḳur'ān or write it on leaves, the Ḳur'ān remains always and in reality the Word of God. A word cannot in fact be really attributed except to the one who first formulated it, and not to anyone who transmits or carries it."

Methodology. Ibn Ḥanbal, unlike al-Shāfiʿī, wrote no treatise on ethico-juristic methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), and the well-known later works of his school, composed with elaborate technique and in an atmosphere of discussion with other schools, cannot be accepted as rigorously expressing his thought. His own doctrine, as it may be elucidated from the *Masā'il*, is more rudimentary than the later elaborations, but has the merit of setting out the first principles of the methodology of the school.

Ḳur'ān and Sunna. This doctrine claims to rest above all on the Ḳur'ān, literally understood, without any allegorical exegesis, and on the Sunna, i.e. the total of traditions which can be regarded as deriving from the Prophet. From his own statement (*Musnad*, i, 56-7), Ibn Ḥanbal aimed to collect in his *Musnad* the *ḥadīths* generally received (*mashhūr*) in his time. In this work , therefore, there are found, to use his own terminology, *ḥadīths* whose authenticity is properly established and which may be regarded as perfectly sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), and *ḥadīths* which benefit only from a presumption of authenticity and for whose rejection (as *ḍaʿīf*) there is no positive reason, or, to use the classification established by al-Tirmidhī, sound *ḥadīths* and "good" (*ḥasan*) *ḥadīths*. It was only much later, when the criticism of Tradition had reached, with Ibn al-Djawzī, the climax of formalist rigour, that Ibn Ḥanbal was reproached with admitting apocryphal (*mawḍūʿ*) *ḥadīths*—an accusation contested by many traditionists, as, for example, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī. The opinion which has come to prevail is that in the *Musnad* there are found, along with "sound" traditions, "good" or "rare" (*gharīb*) traditions, none of which, however, are strictly speaking unacceptable.

The Fatāwā *of the Companions and* Idjmāʿ. Ḳur'ān and Sunna find their continuation in a third source, derived and complementary: the *consulta* (*fatāwā*) of the Companions. The reasons which, for Ibn Ḥanbal, sustain the legitimacy of this new source of doctrine, are clear: the Companions knew, understood, and put into practice the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna much better than later generations, and all of them are worthy of respect. The Prophet also, in his *waṣiyya*, had recommended the Muslims to follow, together with his own Sunna, that of the "rightly-guided" (*rāshidūn*) caliphs who should succeed him, and to avoid all innovation (*bidʿa*). Where the Companions disagree, it is easy to determine the juster view by reference to the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna, or by taking into account their order of pre-eminence (*Manāḳib*, 161).

In hierarchical order (*tafḍīl*), Ibn Ḥanbal puts Abū Bakr first, then ʿUmar, then the six *aṣḥāb al-shūrā* appointed by ʿUmar "all of whom were worthy of the caliphate and merit the title of *imām*": ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Zubayr, Ṭalḥa, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ; then the fighters at Badr, the Muhādjirs and the Anṣār (*K. al-Sunna*, 38; *Manāḳib*, 159-61). This doctrine of Sunnī reconciliation acknowledges the eminent position of ʿAlī and the legitimacy of his caliphate, but also rehabilitates his enemies, and in the first place Muʿāwiya, whose historical role in the consolidation of Islam has always been indulgently evaluated in the Ḥanbalī school, and whose decisions are not necessarily to be discarded.

The decisions of the most authorized representatives of the later generations (*tābiʿūn*) also deserve to be taken into consideration as evidence of plausible interpretations. The consensus of the Community, in such a doctrine, expresses a general concentration around a truth founded on Ḳurʾān and Sunna; it does not constitute in itself, properly speaking, an independent source of law. A community may well fall into error collectively, if not guided by the light of revelation transmitted by the Tradition (cf. *Essai*, 239-42).

Function of the muftī. The first duty laid upon the jurisconsult is to follow faithfully the spiritual legacy transmitted by the Elders, by avoiding any spirit of creation or innovation. Ibn Ḥanbal therefore condemns *raʾy*, the gratuitous expression of personal opinion (Abū Dāʾūd, *Masāʾil*, 275-7), but without requiring as a rule of conduct an absolute and impossible passivity in face of the texts. He does not reject analogical reasoning (*ḳiyās*), but does not fully appreciate its value as an instrument of juridical systematization and discovery, as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim were to do later, under intellectualizing influences.

Ibn Ḥanbal made an extensive use of *istiṣḥāb*, a method of reasoning which consists in maintaining a given juridical status so long as no new circumstance arises to authorize its modification, and of *dh̲arāʾiʿ*, another method of reasoning to the effect that, when a command or prohibition has been decreed by God, everything that is indispensable to the execution of that order or leads to infringement of that prohibition must also, as a consequence, be commanded or prohibited.—The notion of *maṣlaḥa*, or recognized common interest, which allows the limitation or extension of a juridical status, is also in conformity with his doctrine, although he did not himself extend and regulate its use as Ibn Taymiyya and his disciple al-Ṭūfī were to do.

To repeat a comparison of Ibn Ḳayyim's, which seems to us to characterize very successfully the double care for tradition and for realism shown by Ibn Ḥanbal: the *muftī*, like the physician who must adapt his treatment to the state of his patient, must make a constant personal effort (*id̲j̲tihād*) to draw from the sources of the law the moral prescriptions which should be applied to a given case. Thus, if the great Ḥanbalīs have never called for the reopening of *id̲j̲tihād*, it is because they have held that its continual use was indispensable to the understanding and application of legal doctrine.

The Caliphate and the Arabs. Ibn Ḥanbal's political views, directed essentially against the Kh̲āridj̲ites and the Sh̲īʿites (*rawāfiḍ*) affirm first and foremost the legitimacy of the Ḳurays̲h̲ite caliphate: "No person has any claim to contest this right with them, or to rebel against them, or to recognize any others until the Day of Resurrection" (*K. al-Sunna*, 35). In the quarrel of races (*s̲h̲uʿūbiyya*) which was raging in his time, he defended the Arabs, but without proclaiming their superiority: "We must give the Arabs credit for their rights, their merits, and their former services. We must love them, by reason of the very love which we bear for the Apostle of God. To insult the Arabs is hypocrisy; to hate them is hypocrisy" (ibid., 38)—hypocrisy because, behind the insults or the hatred, there was concealed a more secret aim, to destroy Islam by reviving the ancient empires or reinstating other forms of culture.

On the precedents furnished by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, Ibn Ḥanbal founded the legality of a caliph's designation of his successor, but any such designation, to become effective, should be followed by a contract (*mubāyaʿa*) in which the imām and the authorized representatives of public opinion swear to mutual fidelity in respect for the Word of God (cf. *Essai*, 287). His view of the functions of the imām follows the general lines of the legal expositions, but leaves to the imām, within the framework of the prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna, a wide freedom of action to take, for the common good (*maṣlaḥa*), all the measures which he considers necessary to improve the material and moral conditions of the community. In this lies the germ of that important concept of "juridical policy" (*siyāsa s̲h̲arʿiyya*), which was methodically taken up by Ibn ʿAḳīl, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Dj̲awziyya.

The members of the community owe obedience to the imām and may not refuse it to him by disputing his moral quality. "The *dj̲ihād* should be pursued alongside all imāms, whether good men or evildoers; the injustice of the tyrant or the justice of the just matters little. The Friday prayer, the Pilgrimage, the two Feasts should be made with those who possess authority, even if they are not good, just or pious. The legal alms, the tithe, the land taxes, the *fayʾ*, are due to the amīrs, whether they put them to right use or not" (*K. al-Sunna*, 35). If the ruler seeks to impose a disobedience to God (*maʿṣiya*), he must be met on this point with a refusal to obey, but without calling for an armed revolt, which cannot be justified so long as the imām has the prayer regularly observed. But every member of the community has also the duty, according to his knowledge and his means, of commanding to the good and prohibiting the evil. By their apostolate, therefore, the doctors of the law, while remaining within the limits of loyalty, may revive the Sunna, keep public opinion vigilant, and impose on the prince respect for the prescriptions of religion.

The Spirit of Community. Ibn Ḥanbal's policy is one of communal concentration and confessional solidarity; to the *fitna*, disunity, which weakens the community, he opposes the concept of *dj̲amāʿa*, of group unity and cohesion. He goes so far as to adopt, on the problem of excommunication (*takfīr*), an attitude of tolerance which links up with the laxism of the Murdj̲iʾa. One may not exclude from the community, he states, any Muslim guilty of a grave sin except on the authority of a *ḥadīth* which must be interpreted with a restrictive literalism (*K. al-Sunna*, 35-6). He cites only three sins which involve excommunication: non-observance of prayer, consumption of fermented liquors, and spreading of heresies contrary to the dogmas of Islam, among which he mentions none but the Dj̲ahmiyya and the Ḳadariyya. As to excommunication properly speaking, he replaces it by a systematic refusal to associate with the heretical within the bosom of the community. "I do not like (he wrote) that prayer should be made behind innovators, nor that the prayer for the dead should be said over them" (*K. al-Sunna*, 35-6).

Ethics. Ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine is entirely dominated by ethical preoccupations. The end of action is to serve God (*ʿibāda*). In opposition to the Dj̲ahmiyya and the Murdj̲iʾa, he asserted that faith (*al-īmān*) "is word, act, intention, and attachment to the Sunna" (*K. al-Sunna*, 34). It may therefore vary in intensity, "increase or diminish", and it implies so total an engagement of the being that no man may possibly call himself a Believer without making his affirmation in a conditional form (*istit̲h̲nāʾ*), by

adding "if God wills". Faith is, therefore, not a simple body of rites, but implies a whole system of strong moral convictions: an absolute sincerity brought to the service of God (*ikhlāṣ*); renunciation of the world, with refinement of feeling and a spirit of poverty (*zuhd, fiḳr*); a moral courage which lies in "relinquishing what one desires for what one fears" (*futuwwa*); fear of God; a scrupulous mind, which leads one to avoid dubious things (*shubuhāt*) between the two well-marked limits of the licit and the illicit (cf. *Manāḳib*, 194-269). Ibn Ḥanbal's belief has, therefore, nothing of a pedantic juristic literalism.

Religious practices and Customs. This is not the place in which to analyse in detail the juridico-moral prescriptions which constitute the applied doctrine of Ibn Ḥanbal (*furūʿ*) in the two domains which come within this discipline: that of religious practices (*ʿibādāt*) and that of usages and customs (*ʿādāt, muʿāmalāt*). The methodical exposition of them contained in *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī does no more than reproduce single opinions of Ibn Ḥanbal and presents a restrictive codification of his thought. The same is to be said of the *ʿUmda* of Ibn Ḳudāma, precious as it may be for a knowledge of Ḥanbalism in the 7th/13th century. (See Laoust, *Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Damascus 1950.)

But there is one very important rule which Ibn Taymiyya has brought out and which seems to us characteristic of primitive Ḥanbalism: nothing is to be regarded as imposing social obligations but the religious practices which God has explicitly prescribed; inversely, nothing can be lawfully forbidden but the practices which have been prohibited by God in the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. This is the dual principle which Ibn Taymiyya resumes in the formula: *tawḳīf fi 'l-ʿibādāt wa-ʿafw fi 'l-muʿāmalāt*, i.e. the most rigorous strictness in regard to religious obligations and a wide tolerance in all matters of usage (cf. *Essai*, 444). A wide liberty should therefore be left to both parties in drawing up the conditions of a contract, especially in regard to transactions, in which no stipulations can be nullified except those contrary to the formal interdiction in the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna of speculation (*maysir*) and usury (*ribā*). In the *Kitāb al-Sunna* (38), Ibn Ḥanbal, reacting against al-Muḥāsibī, regards the free pursuit of an honest profit as an obligation of religion.

On the other hand, in the domain of religious practices those alone are lawful which are prescribed by the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna, and only in the manner in which they are prescribed. The rigorism of the Ḥanbalī school is to be explained less by the spirit of devotion and of attention to detail which it seeks to bring to the performance of religious duties, than by its refusal to recognize any legal value to forms of worship introduced by the *idjtihād* of ascetics or mystics, or even by the arbitrary decision of the administrative authorities. This attitude of hostility to innovations (*bidʿa*)—vestiges of paganism, inventions of later generations, or infiltrations from foreign civilizations—showed itself with especial violence in al-Barbahārī and the early Wahhābiyya.

Bibliography: (a) Biography: a chapter in Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's (d. 311/923-4) history of Ḥanbalism, of which a few pages are preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus; the monograph of Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī (d. 458/1065-6), of which large extracts are quoted in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, x, 234-43. (A biography is also attributed to al-Harawī, d. 481/1087-8.) Two extensive biographies: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, Cairo 1349/1931; Dhahabī, excerpt from his great history, ed. separately by A. M. Shākir, *Tardjamat al-Imām Aḥmad*, Cairo 1365/1946 (reprinted in vol. i of the *Musnad*); they contain abundant documentation going back to Ibn Ḥanbal's sons and first disciples, but are in the first instance laudatory biographies and often lack precision in chronology. (b) Works: mentioned in the article. (c) Studies: W. M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leiden 1897; I. Goldziher, *Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen*, *ZDMG*, 1908, 1-28; idem, in EI[1]; Muḥammad Abū Zuhra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, Cairo 1949.

(H. Laoust)

AḤMAD B. IDRĪS, Moroccan sharīf and mystic, a disciple of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh, the founder of the Khaḍiriyya order, himself founded a religious congregation, the Idrīsiyya, in ʿAsīr, where in 1823, he initiated the founder of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*]. He died in Ṣabyā (ʿAsīr) in 1253/1837, after founding a kind of semi-religious and semi-military state, the two last heads of which were his great-grandson Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad (1892-1923), and the latter's son ʿAlī (from 1923), who was forced to submit to Saʿūdī Arabia by a pretectorate agreement, negotiated by the Sanūsī leader Aḥmad Sharīf [see Idrīsīs].

The Idrīsiyya order is at present strongly represented in former Italian Somaliland (Merca), in Djibūti, among the Banū ʿĀmir (Khatmiyya) in Eritrea, and among the Gallas (where their missionary, Nūr Ḥusayn, enjoys great veneration). The Idrīsiyya order maintains fraternal relations with the other congregations derived from the Khaḍiriyya, particularly the Mirghāniyya of the Sudan.

Bibliography: *Awrād, Aḥzāb, wa-Rasāʾil*, lith. Cairo 1318; Nallino, *Scritti*, ii, 387 f., 397 f., and especially 403-7; *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[4], 1954, 27, 380, 385, 387, 392-3; ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiʿī al-Yamānī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346, 338-43. (L. Massignon)

AḤMAD B. ʿĪSĀ b. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿAriḍ b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (the great-grand-son of ʿAlī), called al-Muhādjir "the Emigrant", saint and legendary ancestor of the Ḥaḍramī *sayyids*. He left Baṣra in 317/929 accompanied by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (alleged ancestor of the Banū Ahdal [*q.v.*]) and Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh (ancestor of Banū Ḳudaym), was prevented from visiting Mecca until next year by Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḳarmaṭī's occupation and settled with his companions in Western Yaman (region of Surdud and Sahām). In 340/951 he left with his son ʿUbayd Allāh for Ḥaḍramawt, and lived at first near Tarīm in al-Hadjarēn, then in Ḳārat Banī Djushayr and finally in Ḥusayyisa, where he bought the territory of Ṣawf above the town of Bawr and where, after vigorously supporting the cause of the *Sunna* against the heresies of the Khawāridj and Ibāḍiyya he died in 345/956 (according to al-Shillī). His grave and that of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī in Shiʿb Mukhaddam (Shiʿb Aḥmad) outside Ḥusayyisa are visited by pilgrims. His grandsons Baṣrī, Djadīd, and ʿAlawī settled in Sumal, six miles from Tarīm. Since 521/1127 this town is the centre of the (Bā) ʿAlawī [*q.v.*] family in its wider sense, i.e. the offspring of the ʿAlawī mentioned above.

For another Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, ʿAmūd al-Dīn, ancestor of the Ḥaḍramī family al-ʿAmūdī, see v. d. Berg, *Ḥadhramout*, 41, 85.

Bibliography: L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout*, 1886, 50, 85; F. Wüstenfeld, *Çufiten*, 2 ff.; al-Shillī, *al-Mashraʿ al-Rawī fī Manāḳib Banī ʿAlawī*, 1319, i, 32 f., 123 ff.; C. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramout*, 450; Zambaur, *Manuel*, Tabl. E.

(O. LÖFGREN)

AḤMAD B. KHĀLID [see AḤMAD AL-NĀṢIRĪ].

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD ABŪ NAṢR, vizier of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (after the death of his celebrated predecessor al-Maymandī (423/1032). He began his career as steward (*katkhudā*) of Khʷārizm Shāh Altūntāsh, and having become the vizier of Masʿūd he managed to retain this office during the latter's reign. After the defeat at Dandānaḳān, Masʿūd, who himself retired to India, sent him as attendant of his son Mawdūd to Balkh in order to defend this city against the Saldjūḳs. Also after the accession of Mawdūd (432/1041) he officiated for some time as vizier until al-Maymandī's son received that office. The year of his death is unknown.

Bibliography: Bayhaḳī (Morley); Ibn al-Athīr, ix; De Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Diwan Menoutchehri*, preface.

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD ʿIRFĀN [see AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ].

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MANṢŪR [see AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR].

AḤMAD B. SAHL B. HĀSHIM, of the aristocratic dihḳān family Kāmkāriyān (who had settled near Marw), which boasted of Sāsānian descent, governor of Khurāsān. In order to avenge the death of his brother, fallen in a fight between Persians and Arabs (in Marw), he had under ʿAmr b. al-Layth stirred up a rising of the people. He was taken prisoner and brought to Sīstān, whence he escaped by means of an adventurous flight, and after a new attempt at a rising in Marw he fled for refuge to the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad in Bukhārā. Aḥmad took an active part in the battles of Khurāsān and Rayy under Ismāʿīl, and in the conquest of Sīstān under Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl. Having been sent under the command of Naṣr b. Aḥmad against the rebellious governor of Khurāsān, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwarrūdī, he defeated his antagonist in Rabīʿ I 306/Aug.-Sept. 918. But shortly afterwards he rebelled himself against the Sāmānids, was vanquished on the Murghāb by the commander-in-chief Ḥamūya b. ʿAlī and sent to Bukhārā, where he died in prison in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 307/May-June 919.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornb., viii. 86 ff.) and the same information in a somewhat more circumstantial wording in Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār* (ed. Nazim, 1928, 27-9); evidently there is a common source, probably al-Sallāmī's *Taʾrīkh Wulāt Khurāsān*.

(W. BARTHOLD)

AḤMAD B. SAʿĪD [see BŪ SAʿĪD].

AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN, founder of the Ṭūlūnid [*q.v.*] dynasty, the first Muslim governor of Egypt to annex Syria. Vassal in name only of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, he is a typical example of the Turkish slaves who from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd were enlisted in the private service of the caliph and the principal officers of state, and whose ambition and spirit of intrigue and independance were soon to make them the real masters of Islam. Aḥmad's father Ṭūlūn is said to have been included in the tribute sent by the governor of Bukhārā to the caliph al-Maʾmūn c. 200/815-6, and rose to command the caliph's private guard. Aḥmad, born in Ramaḍān 220/Sept. 835, received his military training at Sāmarrā and afterwards studied theology at Ṭarsūs. By his bravery he gained the favour of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn, who, on his abdication in 251/866, chose to go into exile under the guard of Aḥmad. The latter had no hand in the subsequent murder of al-Mustaʿīn, probably because his cooperation had not been invited. In 254/868 the caliph al-Muʿtazz gave Egypt as apanage to the Turkish general Bākbāk, who had married Ṭūlūn's widow. Aḥmad was appointed as lieutenant of his father-in-law, and entered Fusṭāṭ on 23 Ramaḍān 254/15 Sept. 868.

For the next four years Aḥmad was engaged in seeking to obtain control of the administration from Ibn al-Mudabbir, the powerful and skilful intendant of finance, whose intolerable exactions, cunning and greed had earned the hatred of the Egyptians. The struggle was fought out mainly through the medium of their agents and relations at Sāmarrā, and ended with the removal of Ibn al-Mudabbir. After the murder of Bākbāk Egypt was given as apanage to Yardjūkh, who had married one of his daughters to Ibn Ṭūlūn; he confirmed Aḥmad in his post as vice-governor, and invested him also with authority over Alexandria, Barḳa, and the frontier districts, which had hitherto lain outside his government. The revolt of Amādjūr, governor of Palestine, gave Aḥmad the opportunity to obtain the caliph's authorization to purchase a large number of slaves in order to subjugate the rebel. Although the task was subsequently confided to another, this intact army constituted the foundation of Ibn Ṭūlūn's power. For the first time, Egypt possessed a large military force which was independent of the caliphate. By liberal gifts, Aḥmad gained the favour of the ʿAbbāsid courtiers, and succeeded in obtaining the annulment of an order of recall issued by the caliph. It was to Ibn Ṭūlūn, and not to Ibn al-Mudabbir's successor, that the caliph addressed his requests for the Egyptian contributions to the treasury. In order that he might have the personal use of them by keeping their sum a secret from his brother al-Muwaffaḳ, he placed the financial administration of Egypt and the Syrian Marches under Aḥmad. In 258/872, the caliph's son Djaʿfar (later entitled al-Mufawwaḍ) succeeded Yardjūkh as apanagist of Egypt; al-Muʿtamid had recognized his brother al-Muwaffaḳ as heir to the throne after his own son and had divided the empire between the two heirs-presumptive, al-Muwaffaḳ receiving the eastern provinces as his apanage, and al-Mufawwaḍ the western; a regent, the Turk Mūsā b. Bughā was appointed as coadjutor of the latter. In fact, al-Muwaffaḳ exercised the supreme power. But while the caliphate was threatened in the east by attacks and movements of independence, and in the south by the revolt of the Zindj which engaged the forces of al-Muwaffaḳ, he himself, the only man capable of making a stand against Ibn Ṭūlūn, was threatened above all by the disorders in the administration and by the internal conflicts between the caliph and himself on the one hand, and the captains of the Turkish regiments on the other.

Such was the state of the caliphate at the moment selected by Ibn Ṭūlūn for his essay at independence, after gaining the financial control of his territories. On account of the long and costly campaigns against the Zindj the commander-in-chief al-Muwaffaḳ considered himself entitled to obtain financial assistance from all the provinces belonging to the caliphate. On receiving a sum from Ibn Ṭūlūn which he considered unsatisfactory, he sent a force of troops under Mūsā b. Bughā to remove him (263/877), but the demands of the soldiers and the fears inspired

by Ibn Ṭūlūn's forces led to the abandonment of the attempt. Aḥmad was now encouraged to occupy Syria (264/878), under the pretext of engaging in the holy war and of defending the frontiers in Asia Minor against the Byzantines. But he had to return to Egypt shortly after to deal with a revolt by his son ʿAbbās, whom he had appointed as his lieutenant in Egypt.

After the Syrian campaign, Ibn Ṭūlūn began to add his own name to those of the caliph and of D̲j̲aʿfar on his gold coinage. (It should be noted that Ibn Ṭūlūn always recognized the caliph al-Muʿtamid himself, perhaps just because he was powerless.) In 269/882 Aḥmad invited the caliph to take refuge with him, aiming by this means to concentrate the whole sovereign authority in Egypt and to gain the merit of being the saviour of the caliph, now a shadow. But the latter's flight was intercepted, and al-Muwaffaḳ nominated Isḥāḳ b. Kundād̲j̲ as governor of Egypt and Syria. Aḥmad retaliated by proclaiming through an assembly of jurists which met at Damascus the forfeiture of al-Muwaffaḳ's succession to the throne. Al-Muwaffaḳ thereupon compelled the caliph to have Aḥmad cursed in the mosques, while Aḥmad had the same measure applied to al-Muwaffaḳ in the mosques of Egypt and Syria. But al-Muwaffaḳ, though finally victorious in his war with the Zind̲j̲, sought to have the *status quo* recognized, in the hope of gaining from Aḥmad by mildness and diplomacy what he had failed to gain by war. Aḥmad gave a favourable response to his first approaches, but died in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 270/March 884.

Ibn Ṭūlūn owes his success not only to his talents, his cleverness, and the strength of his Turkish and Sudanese slave-armies, but also to the Zind̲j̲ rebellion, which prevented al-Muwaffaḳ from devoting himself to counter his encroachments. His agrarian and administrative reforms were directed to encouraging the peasants to cultivate their lands with zeal, in spite of the heavy charges which were still laid upon their produce. He put an end to the exactions of the officers of the fiscal administration for their personal profit. The prosperity of Egypt under Ibn Ṭūlūn was due principally to the fact that the greater part of the revenues of the state were no longer drained off to the metropolis; they were thus employed to stimulate commerce and industry and to found, to the north of Fusṭāṭ, a new quarter, called al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, which was the seat of government under the Ṭūlūnids and in which the great mosque built by Ibn Ṭūlūn was situated.

Bibliography: Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī); Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mug̲h̲rib* (ed. Zaky M. Hassan, Sayyida Kashef and Shawky Deif, and ed. Vollers, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*); Ṭabarī, iii, 1670 ff.; Yaʿḳūbi (Houtsma), ii, 615 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, i, 313 ff.; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin (ed. of Cairo), iii, 1 ff.; Ibn Iyās, i, 37 ff.; Marcel, *Egypte*, chap. vi ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten*, iii ff.; Corbett, *The Life and works of Ahmed ibn Tūlūn*, *JRAS*, 1891, 527 ff.); Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 59 ff.; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, iii, 149-198; Wiet, *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne*, iv, Chap. iii; Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1937.

(Zaky M. Hassan)

AḤMAD b. YŪSUF b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ṣubayḥ, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar, secretary to al-Maʾmūn. He belonged to a *mawālī* family of secretaries and poets originating from the neighbourhood of al-Kūfa. His father, Yūsuf, was secretary to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, then to Yaʿḳūb b. Dāwūd, and finally to Yaḥyā the Barmakid. It appears that Aḥmad held a secretarial post in ʿIrāḳ at the end of the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn. He was presented to al-Maʾmūn by his friend Aḥmad b. Abī K̲h̲ālid, and soon attracted notice by his eloquence. He became an intimate of al-Maʾmūn, and at a date impossible to determine accurately, was placed in charge of the *dīwān al-sirr* (rather than the *dīwān al-rasāʾil*, which was entrusted to ʿAmr b. Masʿada). As private secretary to the caliph he occupied a position of such importance that some historians have styled him "vizier", a title, however, which he does not appear to have held. He came into conflict with the future caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, and died, it seems, in Ramaḍān 213/Nov.-Dec. 828. Various letters, terse remarks, aphorisms and verses by which he achieved fame as a "secretary-poet" are attributed to him.

Bibliography: D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Fī D̲h̲amm Ak̲h̲lāḳ al-Kuttāb*, 48, *Bayān*, ii, 263; Ibn Ṭayfūr, Ṭabarī, iii, D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, indexes; Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ* (*Poets*), 143, 156, 206-36; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 352; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, Tables; Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, ii, 160-71.

(D. Sourdel)

AḤMAD b. ZAYNĪ DAḤLĀN [see dahlān].

AḤMAD AMĪN, Egyptian scholar and writer, b. in Cairo 2 Muḥarram 1304/1 Oct. 1886, d. 30 Ramaḍān 1373/30 May 1954. After studying in al-Azhar and the School of S̲h̲arʿī Law, he served as a magistrate in the Native Courts, and in 1926 was appointed to the staff of the Egyptian University (U. of Cairo), where from 1936-1946 he was professor of Arabic Literature. In 1947 he became Director of the Cultural Section of the Arab League. Aḥmad Amīn was one of the founders and most active members of the *Lad̲j̲nat al-taʾlīf wa'l-tard̲j̲ama wa'l-nas̲h̲r* (see U. Rizzitano, in *OM*, 1940, 31-8), for which he edited and produced (in collaboration) a number of classical Arabic texts and general works on literary history. As a scholar, his most important production was a history of Islamic civilization to the end of the 4th/10th century (in three parts: *Fad̲j̲r al-Islām*, 1st ed., Cairo 1928; *Ḍuḥa'l-Islām*, 1st ed., Cairo 1933-6; *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, Cairo 1945-53), notable as the first comprehensive attempt to introduce critical method into modern Muslim Arabic historiography. From 1933 he collaborated in the weekly literary journal *al-Risāla*, and from 1939 edited a similar journal *al-T̲h̲aḳāfa*; his essays on literary, social and other topics in these journals were later collected and issued in book form (*Fayḍ al-K̲h̲āṭir*, 8 vols., Cairo 1937 ff.). Of his many other works special mention should be made of his dictionary of Egyptian folklore (*Ḳāmūs al-ʿĀdāt wa'l-Taḳālīd wa'l-Taʿābīr al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953), and his autobiography *Ḥayātī* (Cairo 1950).

Bibliography: Autobiography (see above; Eng. tr. by A. J. M. Craig to be published); U. Rizzitano, in *OM*, 1955, 76-89; Brockelmann, S III, 305.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

AḤMAD BĀBĀ, otherwise Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Takrūrī al-Massūfī, Sudanese jurist and biographer belonging to the Ṣinhād̲j̲ī family of the Āḳīt, born at Tinbuktū (now Timbuktu) 21 D̲h̲u'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 963/26 Oct. 1556. All his ancestors in the male line were *imāms* or *ḳāḍīs* in the Sudanese capital in the 15th and 16th centuries, and he himself rapidly became a *faḳīh* of repute in learned circles in his country. At the time of the conquest of the Sudan by the Saʿdid Sulṭān of Morocco Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] in 1000/1592, Aḥmad Bābā refused

to recognise the authority of the court of Marrākush and, two years later, the governor Maḥmūd Zarḳūn arrested him on the Sulṭān's orders, and accused him of fomenting a revolt at Tinbuktū against the new rulers. Taken in chains to Morocco with several of his compatriots, Aḥmad Bābā was not long in regaining his liberty, but he was required to reside in Marrākush (1004/1596). He began to give instruction in *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, and formulated legal opinions (*fatwā*). His renown soon spread throughout the Maghrib. At the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1016/1607, his successor Mawlāy Zaydān allowed Aḥmad and the other Sudanese exiles to return to Tinbuktū. It was no doubt at this time that he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned to his native town where he died on 6 Shaʿbān 1036/22 April 1627.

Aḥmad Bābā was the author of some 50 works on Mālikite law, grammar and other subjects. But his chief work is his supplement to the biographical dictionary of the *faḳīhs* of the school of Mālik b. Anas, composed in the second half of the 14th century by Ibn Farḥūn [*q.v.*] and entitled *al-Dībādj al-Mudhahhab fi Maʿrifat Aʿyān ʿUlamāʾ al-Madhhab*. Aḥmad Bābā gave his supplement the name of *Nayl al-Ibtihādj bi-Taṭrīz al-Dībādj*. He completed it at Marrākush in 1005/1596, and later issued an abridged version dealing only with those Mālikite *faḳīhs* not represented in Ibn Farḥūn, called *Kifāyat al-Muḥtādj li-Maʿrifat mā laysa fi'l-Dībādj*. The *Nayl* was lithographed at Fās in 1317 and printed at Cairo in 1329, in the margins of the *Dībādj*.

Aḥmad Bābā's dictionary is one of the main sources for a bio-bibliographical survey of the Maghrib up to the 16th century, and contains, apart from the Mālikite doctors, a certain amount of information on the great Moroccan saints (*awliyāʾ*) of the period. The extensive library which he built up in the Sudan has still not been entirely dispersed, and it was one of his own copies of which particular use was made in the publication of the materials relating to Spain in *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī (Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au Moyen Âge*, Leiden, 1938 p. xii-xiii).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 250-5; idem, *Arabica Occidentalia*, iv, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 89-96; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i, 170 ff.; al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, Fez, 81 ff.; idem, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, Fez, 52 ff.; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, Fez 1310, i, 151 ff.; Aḥmad Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312, iii, 63; Saʿdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* (Houdas), i, 35-6, 244; transl. 57-9, 379; M. Ben Cheneb, *Idjāza*, § 94; idem, in *IE*[1], i, 191 (with a complete list of the works of Aḥmad Bābā); Brockelmann, II, 618, S II, 715-6. (E. Lévi Provençal)

AḤMAD al-BADAWĪ (in modern Egyptian Arabic il-Bedawī), with the *kunya* Abu 'l-Fityān, is the most popular saint of the Muslims in Egypt and has been so for about 700 years. By the people he is often called simply *is-sayyid*; in a song in his honour (ed. Littmann) he has the title of *shēkh il-ʿArab* because of his name al-Badawī, and this name was given to him because he wore a veil like the bedouin of the Maghrib. As a Ṣūfī he was called *al-ḳuṭb*, «the pole».

Aḥmad was probably born in Fez in 596/1199-1200, and he seems to have been the youngest of seven or eight children. His mother was called Fāṭima, his father ʿAlī (al-Badrī); the occupation of his father is not mentioned. His genealogy was traced up to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. In his early youth Aḥmad went with his family on a pilgrimage to Mecca where they arrived after four years' travelling. This is placed in the years 603-7/1206-11. In Mecca his father died. Aḥmad is said to have distinguished himself in Mecca as a daring horseman, and he received there, according to tradition, the surnames al-ʿAṭṭāb, "the intrepid horseman", al-Ghaḍbān, "the furious, raging one". His name Abu 'l-ʿAbbās may be a miswriting for Abu 'l-Fityān; and the latter would have much the same meaning as al-ʿAṭṭāb. Other names that were given him later are al-Ṣammāt, "the silent" and Abū Farrādj, "liberator", namely of prisoners. About 627/1230 he seems to have undergone an inner transformation. He read the Ḳurʾān according to all the seven readings and studied some Shāfiʿite law. He gave himself up to devotion and declined the offer of a marriage. He retired from men, became taciturn, made himself understood by signs. According to some authorities Aḥmad was summoned in 633/1236 by three consecutive visions to visit ʿIrāḳ, and he went there in company with his eldest brother Ḥasan. They visited the tombs of the two great "poles" Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and of many other saints. In ʿIrāḳ he is said to have subdued the indomitable Fāṭima bint Barrī, who had never yet surrendered to any man, and to have refused her offer to marry him. This incident has been turned into a highly romantic story in popular Arabic literature; it may go back to ancient Egyptian mythology. In 634/1236-7 Aḥmad had another vision which told him to go to Ṭanṭā in Egypt. His brother Ḥasan returned from ʿIrāḳ to Mecca. In Ṭanṭā Aḥmad entered on the last and most important period in his life. His mode of life is described as follows : He climbed in Ṭanṭā to the roof of a private house, stood there motionless and gazed up into the sun so that his eyes went red and sore and looked like fiery cinders. Sometimes he would maintain a prolonged silence, at other times he would indulge in continuous screaming. He went without food or drink for about forty days. (The forty days fast is also known from the legends of Christian saints. The standing on the roof is reminiscent of Symeon Stylites, and the name of the followers and disciples of Aḥmad : Suṭūḥiyya or Aṣḥāb al-Saṭḥ, "the roof men", of the Christian "pillar saints", the followers of Symeon.) Those saints who were still worshipped at the time of Aḥmad's arrival in Ṭanṭā (such as Ḥasan al-Ikhnāʾī, Sālim al-Maghribī and Wadjh al-Ḳamar), found themselves eclipsed. His contemporary, the Mamlūk sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Baybars, is said to have worshipped him and to have kissed his feet. A boy called ʿAbd al-ʿĀl came to him when he was searching for a cure for his sore eyes, and this boy became afterwards his confident and his *khalīfa* (successor); the saint is therefore called Abū ʿAbd al-ʿĀl in popular literature. Aḥmad died on 12 Rabīʿ I 675/24 August 1276.

Aḥmad al-Badawī is the author of (i) a prayer (*ḥizb*); (ii) a collection of prayers (*ṣalawāt*), commented by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-ʿAydarūsī under the title of *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*; and (iii) a spiritual testament (*waṣāyā*), containing admonitions of a rather general character.

Aḥmad al-Badawī is a representative of the lower type of the dervishes, and his intellectual qualities seem to have been of small importance.

After his death ʿAbd al-ʿĀl (d. 733/1332-3) became his *khalīfa* and built a mosque over his tomb. The veneration of Aḥmad and the pilgrimage to Ṭanṭā were often disapproved by more highly educated scholars and other opponents of the ṣūfīs. These

opponents were partly men who were averse to all ṣūfism, partly politicians who objected to the ṣūfīs as rulers of the people. We hear twice of the murder of a *khalīfa* of al-Badawī (Ibn Iyās, ii, 61, iii, 78). In 852/1448 the *ʿulamāʾ* and pious politicians caused the sultan al-Ẓāhir Djaḳmaḳ to forbid the pilgrimages to Ṭanṭā, but this edict had no effect because the people would not forsake their old customs. The sultan Ḳāʾitbay seems to have been an admirer of the saint (Ibn Iyās, ii, 217, 301). Under Ottoman rule the outward splendour of the cult of Aḥmad seems to have diminished, because it annoyed the powerful Turkish orders. But this political attitude could not prejudice his veneration amongst the Egyptians. The *darwish* order of the Aḥmadiyya founded by him is, together with the Rifāʿiyya, the Ḳādiriyya and the Burhāmiyya, among the most popular orders in Egypt. The banner and the turbans of the Aḥmadiyya are red. There are several "branches" of the Aḥmadiyya, such as the Bayyūmiyya [*q.v.*] etc. [cf. ṬARĪḲA].

The place where Aḥmad al-Badawī is venerated is the mosque at Ṭanṭā [*q.v.*], which was built over his tomb. On this E. W. Lane says (*An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1846, i, 328): "The tomb of this saint attracts almost as many visitors, at the period of the great annual festivals, from the metropolis, and from various parts of Lower Egypt, as Mekkah does pilgrims from the whole of the Muslim world". Many Egyptians who make the pilgrimage to Mecca first go to Ṭanṭā, and therefore Aḥmad is called *bāb in-nebi*, "the door of the Prophet". The three great festivals (*mawālid*, plural of *mawlid* [*q.v.*], *mūlid*) are (i) on the 17 or 18 Jan.; (ii) on or about the vernal equinox; (iii) about a month after the summer solstice, when the Nile has risen considerably, but the dams of the canals are not yet cut. They are, as Lane says, "great fairs as well as religious festivals". The dates are reckoned according to the Coptic calendar, and it is very likely that in these festivities and pilgrimages old Egyptian and Christian practices have survived; the date of the first festival corresponds to the time of the Christian Epiphany. Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, ii, 338) suggested a connection between the pilgrimages to Ṭanṭā and the ancient Egyptian processions to Bubastis described by Herodotus.

Festivals in his honour are also held in other places in Egypt, in Cairo, but also in small villages (cf. e.g. ʿAlī Mubārak, ix, 37). It is somewhat doubtful if all the sanctuaries bearing the name of "al-Badawī" refer to Aḥmad. Such sanctuaries occur, e.g. near Aswān; in Syria near Tripoli (J. L. Burckhardt, *Syria*, 166); at Gaza (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 338; *ZDPV*, xi, 152, 158).

Many legends are told in Egypt about Aḥmad al-Badawī: miracles that he did while he was alive; miracles that he performed from his tomb; miracles that he did reviving from the dead; miracles in favour of those who celebrated his festivals. What many people still nowadays believe of him is shown by the song taken down in Cairo by Littmann (see *Bibl.*). In this song incredible miracles of Aḥmad are told; it is also said that he began to speak on the day on which he was born, and that he was an unusually heavy eater. He is especially renowned as a saint who brings back prisoners and lost persons or goods. Therefore he is known as *gāyib il-yasīr*, "bringer of the prisoner", and when a public crier announces the loss of a child, of an animal or of a piece of property, he invokes Aḥmad al-Badawī. Spoer (in *ZDMG*, 1914, 243) tells of a miracle in Palestine by this saint.

Bibliography: Biographies by Maḳrīzī (MS Berlin 3350, no. 6) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (MS Berlin 10,101); Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 299 f.; Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1299, i, 245-51 (he was a particular admirer of the saint and called himself al-Aḥmadī; see Vollers, *Cat. Leipzig*, no. 353); ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Zayn al-Dīn, *al-Djawāhir al-Saniyya fi 'l-Karāmāt al-Aḥmadiyya*, repeatedly printed (this important compilation, written in 1028/1619, quotes, in addition to the above-mentioned, many lost works); ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044/1634-5), *al-Naṣīḥa al-ʿAlawiyya fi Bayān Ḥusn Ṭarīḳat al-Sāda al-Aḥmadiyya*, MS Berlin 10,104; Ḥasan Rāshid al-Mashhadī al-Khafādjī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1321; *Ḳiṣṣat Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī wa-mā djarā lahū maʿ al-Thalātha al-Aḳṭāb*; *Ḳiṣṣat al-Sayyid al-Badawī maʿ Fāṭima bint Barrī wa-mā djarā baynahumā min al-ʿAdjāʾib*; *Ḳiṣṣat al-Sayyid al-Badawī maʿ Fāṭima bint Barrī wa-mā djarā lahumā min al-ʿAdjāʾib wa'l-Gharāʾib* (the last three are small pamphlets printed in Cairo; the second and the third have much the same text). He is frequently treated together with the other *aḳṭāb*, so e.g. by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAdjlūnī (ca. 899/1494), MS Berlin 163; Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Sharnūbī (ca. 950/1543), ibid. no. 337. A poem on Aḥmad, ibid. no. 5432, 8115/3. ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, xiii, 48-51 is mainly based on Shaʿrānī and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. A *Madīḥ is-Sayyid il-Bedawī we-Bayān Karāmātu 'l-ʿAẓima* has been edited and translated in E. Littmann, *Aḥmed il-Bedawī. Ein Lied auf den ägyptischen Nationalheiligen*, Mainz 1950. See also Brockelmann, I 450, S I, 808. (K. VOLLERS-E. LITTMANN)

AḤMAD BEY, bey of Tunis (1837-55), tenth ruler of the Ḥusaynid dynasty. He proclaimed himself commander-in-chief of the army and attempted to modernize it; he sent Tunisian officers to Europe for instruction, and obtained European military advisers and French officers to act as instructors, but the latter were unable to instil habits of discipline into the troops or to form them into reliable regiments. When Aḥmad decided to send a contingent of 10,000 men to take part in the Crimean war, this force was quartered in the Caucasus, where epidemics decimated its ranks and shattered its morale.

With the Bey's permission, a French topographer made a careful survey and drew up a map of the Regency. The Bey also founded, in 1838, a polytechnic institution, with the object of training a cadre of specialist and administrative officers. This institution ceased to function after the campaign in the East.

Aḥmad also wanted a navy. He purchased twelve ships abroad and resolved to create a naval station at Porto Farina. A frigate was built there, but proved permanently unseaworthy, and the port was soon silted up by the Medjerda. Towards the end of his reign, the Bey contented himself with modernizing the arsenal at La Goulette (Ḥalḳ al-Wādī). He showed no interest in improving the commercial ports.

Aḥmad resisted the claims of Turkey, which seized every opportunity to reassert its suzerainty over Tunisia, to demand gifts, and to press for payment of an annual tribute which would at least have been tangible evidence of the Bey's vassal status. As England supported Turkey, Aḥmad sought the aid of France, which, to maintain security

in Algeria and to put an end to the illicit arms traffic, took care that the Porte should not interfere in Tunisian affairs. In 1846, Aḥmad went to France and was warmly welcomed in Paris. As a reward for his stubborn resistance, he succeeded in obtaining from the Porte in a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* which recognized him individually as an independant sovereign.

Ten miles from Tunis, on the banks of the Sebkha Sedjūmī, Aḥmad built the Muḥammadiyya palace, a huge mass of enormous buildings which were still incomplete at the end of his reign and which soon fell into ruins.

This extravagances, and the prodigality of the Bey's favourites, the Genoese Raffo, the minister of foreign affairs, and above all the Greek Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, minister of finance from 1837 to 1873, exhausted the Treasury. The farming of the tax on tobacco and increased taxation generally caused revolts in 1840 at Tunis and in the region of Ḳābis, and in 1842 at La Goulette. They were suppressed, but the Bey was unable to impose his will on the mountain tribes. Beneath an outwardly brilliant display, a love of ostentation coupled with chaotic administration set Tunisia on the road to decadence.

It must nevertheless be recognized that Aḥmad, sincere in his desire to confer on his country western institutions, introduced some beneficial reforms. In 1841 he prohibited the sale of negroes, and emancipated his household slaves. In 1846 he formally abolished slavery throughout the Regency. He abrogated the laws discriminating against Jews. Finally, he promoted the development of education. The abbé Bourgade, in charge of the chapel of Saint Louis of Carthage, the construction of which had been authorized by Aḥmad, founded a hospital in 1843 and, two years later, built the Saint Louis College, which was open to boys of all creeds and to which a nursery school was attached, as well as a small printing press. The abbé later opened other schools and dispensaries. Various archaeological excavations were begun. French influence became dominant in Tunisia, as a result both of their educational activities and of the flourishing trade conducted by the merchants of Marseilles.

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(G. YVER-M. EMERIT)

AḤMAD BĪDJĀN [see BĪDJĀN AḤMAD].

SAYYID **AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ**, a militant religious reformer of Muslim India, was the son of Muḥammad ʿIrfān and the 36th direct descendant of Ḥasan, the son of ʿAlī. He was born on 6 Ṣafar 1201/28 Nov. 1786 at Bareilly (Brēlī), where he received his early education. He then went to Lucknow and after a few months' stay there, he proceeded about 1219/1804 to Delhi, where he became a disciple of the famous divine Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*], and received formal instruction from his younger brother Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. About 1222/1807, he returned to Bareilly, where he married. In 1225/1810, he left for Radjpūtāna, where he served for seven years in the army of Nawāb Amīr Khān, who subsequently became the ruler of Tonk.

In 1232/1817, he left the service of the Nawāb and returned to Delhi. Roused by the religious and political degradation of his co-religionists, he started on a missionary tour as a religious teacher and reformer. His tenets bore a great similarity to those of the Arabian Wahhābīs in the adoption of a pure and simple form of religion, free from superstitious innovations and exaggerated veneration for prophets and saints. His reputation spread far and wide, and thousands of Muslims adopted his views. His chief disciples and constant companions in his chequered career were Mawlawī Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, the nephew of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, the son-in-law of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and Mawlawī Muḥammad Yūsuf of Phulhat, a descendant of Shāh Ahl Allāh, the elder brother of Shāh Walī Allāh.

In 1236/1821, Sayyid Aḥmad set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, staying a few months at Calcutta on the way. On his return to India in 1239/1824, he began to make active preparations for a *djihād* or religious war. It is clear from his letters that the ultimate object of his reformist movement was to overthrow the rule of the British and the Sikhs and restore Muslim dominion in India. His first aim was to oust the Sikhs from the Pandjāb. Having enlisted the sympathy and promised aid of his co-religionists at Kābul and Ḳandahār, he started on his expedition in 1241/1826 with an army of enthusiastic followers, and reached Peshāwar via Radjpūtāna, Sind, Balūčistān and Afghānistān. He attacked and repulsed the Sikh army at Akora Khattak (20 Nov. 1826); but lost the battle of Saydo through the desertion of Yār Muḥammad Khān Durrānī and his brothers. Although he succeeded in occupying Peshāwar in 1830, he was discouraged by the treachery of the Durrānīs and other local khāns, and decided to proceed to Kashmīr. On the way, however, he was encountered by the Sikhs in 1246/1831 at Bālākot where he was killed along with Shāh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl and his army was dispersed. Nevertheless, the remnants of his army continued their struggle in the North-West Frontier Province for the cause for which their leader had laid down his life.

His numerous disciples continued his reformist movement in India, and were responsible for the production of a vast religious literature. In order to reach the masses, they adopted the Urdu language as their medium and were incidentally instrumental in promoting the growth of a simple, direct and vigorous style. His adherents preferred to engage themselves in commercial pursuits rather than seek service under the British government.

A few short epistles and pamphlets on religious topics are credited to Sayyid Aḥmad. He is also said to have inspired the composition of *Ṣirāṭ Mustaḳīm*, a work written in Persian by his two foremost disciples, Shāh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl and Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥayy. Several collections of his letters (in Persian) also exist in manuscript.

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script; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litt. Hindouie et Hindoustani*², Paris 1871, iii, 32-7; W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, London 1871; M. Dja'far Thānesarī, *Tawārikh ʿAdjība* or *Sawāniḥ Aḥmadī* (in Urdu), Delhi 1309; Sayyid Djaʿfar ʿAli Naḳawī, *Ta'rīkh Aḥmadī* (in Persian), MSS at Tonk and Lahore); Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Makhzan Aḥmadī* (in Persian), Agra 1299; Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nadwī, *Sīrat Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, 1939, 1941; Muḥammad Ikrām, *Mawdj Kawthar*, Bombay, 7-48; M. T. Titus, *Indian Islam*, London 1930, 181-6; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore 1943; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd* (in Urdu), Lahore 1954, a critical and exhaustive work on the subject.

(SH. INAYATULLAH)

AḤMAD DJALĀ'IR [see DJALĀ'IR].

AḤMAD-I DJĀM, "Aḥmad of Djām", also AḤMAD-I DJĀMĪ, Persian ṣūfī in the Saldjūḳ period, contemporary of al-Ghazālī, ʿAdī b. Musāfir, ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī, and Sanā'ī, in full SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. MUḤ. AL-NĀMAḲĪ AL-DJĀMĪ. He is also known by the nickname of Žanda Pīl, "Elephant-colossus". He claimed descent from the Prophet's Companion Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī (Ibn Saʿd, vi, 13), but although of Arab origin had a ruddy complexion, reddish beard and dark-blue eyes. Born in the village of Nāma or Nāmaḳ, in Turshīz (Ḳūhistān), in 441/1049-50, he led as a youth, according to the legend, a somewhat wild life, until, when 22 years of age, in 463/1070-1, as he was driving an ass laden with wine homeward to a drinking-bout, he was converted by a supernatural voice and withdrew to the solitude of the hills of his native village. After twelve years spent there in ascetic exercises, and visits to some cities of Khurāsān, he settled as the result of an inner call in the mountains of B(P). z.d-i Djām (in Ḳūhistān), where he built a *masdjid-i nūr* and entered into active intercourse with men. He stayed here for six years. At the age of 40, i.e. in 481/1088-9, he moved to the village of Maʿaddābād of Djām and built here a convent (*khānḳāh*) and a Friday mosque. He travelled widely in eastern Persia, to Sarakhs, Naysābūr, Harāt, Bākharz, etc., and is said also to have visited Mecca. The sources speak also of a personal connection with sultan Sandjar. He died in his convent as the leader of a considerable body of disciples in Muḥarram 536/Aug. 1141, and had himself buried outside Maʿaddābād at a place which a friend had seen in a dream. A mosque and convent were later built over the grave, followed by a complex of buildings which became the centre of a new, and still existing, place called Turbat-i Shaykh-i Djām [*q.v.*], "Mausoleum of the Shaykh of Djām". One of his 14 surviving sons (out of 39), Burhān al-Dīn Naṣr, took over the leadership of the group of disciples. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kūsawī al-Djāmī, a ṣūfī who died in Harāt in 863/1459 (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 574 f.), was descended from a daughter of this Burhān al-Dīn and her cousin Sirādj al-Dīn Aḥmad, another grandchild of Aḥmad-i Djām.

Aḥmad-i Djām had no regular novitiate training, but sought his own way in solitude. He had nevertheless relations with a certain Abū Ṭāhir-i Kurd, who is said to have been a disciple of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr and even to have given Aḥmad the latter's patched robe (*khirḳa*). That a famous shaykh gives his own robe to the care of a friend, together with a description of certain signs by which he may recognize its future authorized wearer, is a wellknown motive of ṣūfī hagiography, and can generally be shown up as an invention (cf. *Firdaws al-Murshidiyya* (Meier), introduction, 18 ff.). This may well be the case here. The above-mentioned al-Kūsawī is later said to have claimed to wear the same robe.

Aḥmad wrote the following works, all in Persian: *Uns al-Tā'ibīn*, *Sirādj al-Sā'irīn* (professedly written in 513/1119), *Futūḥ al-Ḳulūb* (= *Futūḥ al-Rūḥ*?), *Rawḍat al-Mudhnibīn*, *Biḥār al-Ḥaḳīḳa*, *Kunūz al-Ḥikma*, *Miftāḥ al-Nadjāt* (written in 522/1128). Of these only the first and last-named works have so far been recovered, although Mīrzā Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh (1901) had still read the second. The biographers' information on the dates of the first six writings (Ivanow, in *JRAS*, 1917, 303 f., 349-52) must be false in part, since all these works are listed in *Miftāḥ al-Nadjāt*, and must be earlier than 522/1128, unless the list is an interpolation or the works mentioned were subsequently revised. There has been preserved further a *Risāla-yi Samarḳandiyya* (also called *Su'āl u-Djawāb*), in reply to a question. Two or three other works listed by the biographers, together with the *Futūḥ al-Rūḥ*, are said to have perished in Djām in consequence of the Mongol invasion. Only the library (in Dihlī) of Fīrūzshāh, of the Tughlaḳid dynasty (752-90/1351-88), still possessed all Aḥmad's works. The *Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ* (MS Riḍā Pasha 3009), mentioned in the *IA*, s.v. Cami, is probably not a work by Aḥmad.

On his conversion Aḥmad, as he himself says, possessed no theological training, and what he later learned and published on this subject was professedly acquired by revelation. This is to be taken *cum grano salis*. Even his early dicta betray some theological knowledge and still more his writings, where he positively requires it. His views, or at least his formulations, are, however, not exempt from contradictions and inconsequences. His theology is firmly grounded on Ḳur'ān and Sunna, and on the *sharīʿa* in the ṣūfī sense, and in it he shows himself a pronounced Sunnī; he allows, for example, the *masḥ al-khuffayn*. Right action includes, however, also *ḥudjdjat*, i.e. inner reasoning; unlawful conduct accompanied by *ḥudjdjat* is, according to him, better than lawful conduct without *ḥudjdjat*. His doctrine of the *ṭarīḳa* recognizes the purification of the soul through the stations *ammāra*, *lawwāma*, *mulhama*, up to *muṭma'inna*, and aims to clarify the relation of the last stage to the heart (*ḳalb*); Aḥmad defines the "soul at rest" (*muṭma'inna*) as the sheath in which the heart is fixed (*ghilāf-i dil*). The aim of mystical endeavour is according to him—to pick out only one of many expressions—to find the "spirit" (*rūḥ*, *djān*), the "real being" *ḥaḳīḳat-i tu*), to which only two ways lead: remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*) and waiting (*intiẓār*) until God in His grace discloses this being to one. An assumption of God's qualities *in concreto*, as certain ṣūfīs had taught, is regarded by Aḥmad, in agreement with al-Sarrādj, al-Kalābādhī, and al-Ḳushayrī, as impossible, since this implies indwelling (*ḥulūl*), and only effects (*āthār*) of God's qualities, not these themselves, can inform the creature (incommensurability of the eternal and the temporal). True belief in *tawḥīd* consists in Aḥmad's view of referring all action and event back to the one original cause, God (*muḳaddarāt — taḳdīr — ḳudrat — ḳādir*). For the rest, conditions in mystical love are much the same as in ordinary love; no person can really become one with another. The representation which one may take on oneself from the Beloved is rapidly dissipated,

and one immediately returns to daily life. Should it reappear, so in reverse one loses again one's connections with the world. Together with this, however, Aḥmad expresses the dignity and the spiritual power of ṣūfī life in poetic tones. He cites the case of Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ who, when converted from highway robbery, returned their possessions to those whom he had robbed and when he had nothing more left, still brought gold from beneath his robe for a Jew, the earth having been turned into gold. One who is converted, he says in the same treatise (*Miftāḥ al-Nad̲j̲āt*, which was written on the occasion of the conversion of one of his sons), him does the water praise over which he journeys; him do the stars praise and for him they pray. The *ṣiddīḳ*, *abdāl*, *zāhid*, is the sun, from whom all men derive their light. The ṣūfī should distil a dew of blessing around him, as musk and aloes distil their scent. True poverty (*faḳr*) is, according to Aḥmad, the elixir which has the faculty of colouring everything which comes into contact with it.

The picture of Aḥmad's spiritual personality acquired from his prose writings and sayings is in contradiction with the *Dīwān* which goes under his name, and which would make him out to be an ecstatic pantheist intoxicated with self-deification. As already remarked by Ivanow (*JRAS*, 1917, 305) and expressed in a private letter by H. Ritter, there is room for suspicion that the *Dīwān* is at least partly a falsification, but the question still awaits fuller investigation. It is preserved in several MSS, not all of which are complete (list in Meier, *Bibl.*), and has been lithographed (Cawnpore 1898, Lucknow 1923). *Tak̲h̲alluṣ* Aḥmad and Aḥmadī. A book of "Poems" is also mentioned, however, by his biographers.

Bibliography: Biographies: (1) Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm-i Tāʾabādī, a contemporary of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*; it is not preserved, but was used by: (2) Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-G̲h̲aznawī, also a contemporary and a disciple of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, *Maḳāmāt S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām ... Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Nāmaḳī t̲h̲umm al-D̲j̲āmī*, composed ca. 600/1204, MS Nāfid̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a, Istanbul, 399, 38v-132v. It is almost worthless for Aḥmad's real biography and thought, being full of miraculous legends appealing to the primitive masses; al-G̲h̲aznawī must have interpreted in a concrete sense certain poetical utterances of his master. It is, however, interesting for the typical forms of the ṣūfī legend and for certain historical circumstances, as well as geographical names, of eastern Persia. (3) Aḥmad-i "Tarak̲h̲istānī", a contemporary of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, whose work is apparently not preserved, but was used, together with that of al-G̲h̲aznawī, by: (4) Abu 'l-Makārim b. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk-i D̲j̲āmī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-Maḳāmāt*, written in 840/1436-7 and dedicated to S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲, MS of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow's Cat., i, no. 245), and two incomplete MSS in Russia, one of which was published by Ivanow, in *JRAS*, 1917, 291-365. (5) ʿAlī of "Būzd̲j̲and" (probably = Būzd̲j̲ān), of 929/1523, probably depending of Abu 'l-Makārim, was used by Khanikoff.—The articles in D̲j̲āmī's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* (Calcutta 1859, 405-17) on Aḥmad-i D̲j̲ām and Abū Ṭāhir-i Kurd, as well as certain other parts, are derived from al-G̲h̲aznawī.—See also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Defrémery-Sanguinetti), iii, 75 ff.; Mīrzā Maʿṣūm ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Lith. Teheran 1316, 261. Studies: N. de Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1861, 116-9; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS in the Br. Mus.*, ii, 551; H. Ethé, in *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 284; W. Ivanow, *A Biography of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad-i Jām*, *JRAS*, 1917, 291-365; idem, *Concise Descr. Cat. of the Persian MSS in the Coll. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, index; E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Berlin 1918, 78-82; F. Meier, *Zur Biographie Aḥmad-i Ǧām's und zur Quellenkunde von Ǧāmī's Nafaḥātu'l-uns*, *ZDMG*, 1943, 47-67. Further references in these studies. (F. Meier)

AḤMAD D̲J̲AZZĀR [see D̲J̲AZZĀR PAS̲H̲A].

AḤMAD D̲J̲EWDET PAS̲H̲A eminent Ottoman writer and statesman, born on 28 D̲j̲umādā ii, 1237/22 March 1822, at Lofča (Lovec) in northern Bulgaria, of which his father, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ismāʿīl Ag̲h̲a, was a member of the administrative council, and where his earliest known ancestor, a native of Ḳïrḳlareli (Ḳïrḳ Kilise), had settled after taking part in the campaign of the Pruth in 1711. Aḥmed early displayed unusual aptitude and diligence, and in 1839, on reaching the age of seventeen, was sent to continue his education in a *medrese* at Istanbul. There, as well as following the traditional *medrese* courses, he not only studied modern mathematics, but devoted his spare time to learning Persian with the poet Süleymān Fehīm and himself took to composing verse in the traditional style. It was from Fehīm that he received the *mak̲h̲laṣ* D̲j̲ewdet that he thenceforth added to his name.

After obtaining the *id̲j̲āzet* that permitted him to enter the judicial profession, he received his first paid but nominal appointment as *ḳāḍī* in 1260/1844-5. When Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a, on becoming Grand Vizier in 1846, applied to the office of the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* for an open-minded *ʿālim* to provide him with the knowledge of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* necessary for the proper drafting of the new *ḳānūns* and *niẓām-nāmes* he had it in mind to promulgate, it was D̲j̲ewdet who was chosen. From this time to Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a's death thirteen years later D̲j̲ewdet remained closely attached to him, even living in his house and becoming his children's tutor. During this period he also became acquainted with ʿĀlī and Fuʾād Pas̲h̲as, and under Res̲h̲īd's influence was persuaded to undertake political and administrative duties. In August 1850 he received his first appointment proper as Director of the recently founded *Dār al-Muʿallimīn*, with membership, as its chief secretary, of the *Med̲j̲lis-i Maʿārif*.

During his directorship of the *Dār al-Muʿallimīn*, which seems, however, to have come to an end in the following year, D̲j̲ewdet achieved reforms in the admission, maintenance and examination of the students attending it; and as secretary of the *Med̲j̲lis-i Maʿārif* he wrote the report that led to the foundation in July 1851 of the *End̲j̲ümen-i Dānis̲h̲*, to which, after accompanying Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a on a state visit to Egypt in March 1852, he devoted his attention, beginning his best known work, the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Waḳāyiʿ-i Dewlet-i ʿAliyye*, of which he completed the first three volumes during the Crimean War, under its auspices. On his presenting these to ʿAbd al-Med̲j̲īd he received promotion to Süleymāniyye rank; in February 1855 he was appointed *waḳʿa-nüwis*; in 1856 he was appointed *molla* of Galata; and in 1857 he attained Mecca rank in the judicial hierarchy. Meanwhile, during the war, he was made a member of a commission set up to compose a work on the prescriptions of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* regarding commercial transactions, which was dissolved, however, after publishing only a *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*. In 1857 he was appointed to the Council

of the *tanẓīmāt*, taking a lead in the composition of a new criminal *ḳānūn-nāme*, and, as a president of the *Arāḍī-yi Seniyye Komisyonu*, participated in that of a *ḳānūn-nāme* on *ṭapu*.

After the death of Reshīd Pasha in 1858 it was suggested to Djewdet by ʿĀlī and Fuʾād Pashas that he should abandon the learned profession in favour of the government service by accepting the *wālīliḳ* of Vidin. It was not for another eight years, however, that he took this step, although in the interval he was twice charged with important administrative missions as an "Extraordinary Commissioner", the first in the autumn of 1861 to Ishḳodra, and the second (in company with a general commanding a division) in the summer of 1865 to Ḳozan in the Taurus region, to pacify those areas by the introduction of needed reforms. So successful was he in the first that he was sent in March 1863 as *müfettish*, with the judicial rank of *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia, to Bosnia, where he was again markedly successful during the ensuing eighteen months in restoring order. During this period he was also made a member, first of a commission appointe to reform the official newspaper *Taḳwīm-i Waḳāyiʿ*, and secondly of the *Medjlis-i Wālā*. His abandonment of the learned profession took place in Jan. 1866, when he ceased to be *waḳʿa-nüwīs*. His "learned" rank was then replaced by that of vizier, and he was appointed governor of the *wilāyet* of Aleppo, as reconstituted under the Ordinance of *wilāyets*. In Febr. 1868, however, he was recalled to the capital to become president of the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, one of the two bodies that then replaced the *Medjlis-i Wālā*, the other being the *Shurā-yi Dewlet*. It was chiefly owing to Djewdet's efforts in this post that the Niẓāmī courts were instituted; that this *Dīwān* was in due course divided into a Court of Appeal (*Temyīz*) and a Court of Cassation (*Istiʾnāf*); and that the presidency was converted into a ministry. It was also during this his first term as a Minister of Justice that on the one hand Djewdet instituted law courses at the Ministry for the better instruction of judges and the improvement of judicial procedure, and, on the other, a beginning was made with the composition of a legal code (*Medjelle* [*q.v.*]) based on Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, under the auspices of a society for the purpose. In securing approval for such a code (that is one based on Islamic prescriptions) Djewdet had the support of Fuʾād and Shirwānī-zāde Rüshdü Pashas in opposition to ʿĀlī Pasha, who favoured rather the adoption of the French *Code Civile*.

Djewdet Pasha (as he now was) remained Minister of Justice up to the end of April 1870, by which time four volumes of the *Medjelle* had been published. Just as the fifth was completed, however, he was dismissed, and though appointed *wālī* of Brusa, was almost immediately relieved of that post also. He remained unemployed until August of the following year, when he was recalled to the presidency of the *Medjelle* society and of the *tanẓīmāt* department of the *Shūrā-yi Dewlet*. In the interval, as well as the fifth volume of the *Medjelle*, a sixth, in which Djewdet had had no hand, had been published. It was largely the deficiencies of this volume, which he at once superseded by a new version, that led to his recall; and from this date until the publication of the final volumes in 1877 he continued to supervise the composition of the code, though also otherwise employed in a variety of important offices, sometimes in the provinces. One of the chief of these was his appointment in April 1873 as Minister of Education, in which capacity he achieved a reform of the primary schools for boys (*ṣibyān mektebleri*); drew up curricula for the Rüshdiyye, and the still to be created Iʿdādiyye, schools—measures that necessitated the composition of new manuals of instruction, three of which he wrote himself; and reorganized the *Dār al-Muʿallimīn* to meet the demands of these three educational grades. On 2 Nov. 1874, however, after the appointment as Grand Vizier of Ḥüseyn ʿAwnī Pasha, who was apparently already meditating the deposition of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Djewdet was made *wālī* of Yanya (Jannina) in order to remove him, as a likely opponent of the move, from the capital; and it was not until June of the next year, after Ḥüseyn ʿAwnī's fall, that he was restored to his former post. In Nov. 1875 he became for the second time Minister of Justice, and as such secured the transference to his Ministry of the commercial courts, which had till then depended on the Ministry of Commerce. But he incurred the displeasure of Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha, during the latter's second Grand Vizierate, by opposing his grant of customs concessions to foreign capitalists; and after first being sent on a tour of inspection through Rumelia in March 1876, he was dismissed from the Ministry of Justice and was on the point of proceeding to Syria as *wālī*, when on the fall of Maḥmūd Nedīm he was for a third time made Minister of Education.

Djewdet played no part in the deposition of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which occurred at the end of May, and in November, after the accession of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, he returned to the Ministry of Justice. It was now that he and Midḥat Pasha became permanently estranged, owing to what Midḥat regarded as Djewdet's reactionary attitude to the constitution, in the discussions upon which the latter began by taking part. Yet throughout his Grand Vizierate Midḥat maintained Djewdet in office; and it was only on Midḥat's disgrace and replacement by Sakîzlî Edhem Pasha that Djewdet left it for newly created Ministry of the Interior. In this he remained until near the end of the war of 1877 with Russia, the involvement of the Porte in which he disapproved, when after a short term as Minister of the Imperial *Ewḳāf*, he was for a second time appointed *wālī* of Syria.

He remained in Syria nine months, during which, having special knowledge of the area, he repressed in person another revolt at Ḳozan. In December of the same year he was replaced by Midḥat and recalled to the capital to preside over yet another ministry, that of Commerce. On the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Khayr al-Dīn Pasha in Oct. 1879 Djewdet acted for ten days as President of the Council of Ministers, and on the appointment of Küčük Saʿīd Pasha he was for a fourth time made Minister of Justice. This was, so far, his longest term in that position, lasting three years. It was during it that Midḥat was put on trial. Djewdet appears already to have denounced him as treacherously pro-Christian, and went out of his way, as *ex-officio* head of the body appointed to arrest Midḥat and bring him to the capital, himself to travel for the purpose to Smyrna.

His fourth tenure of the Ministry of Justice came to an end in Nov. 1882, on the appointment of Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha as Grand Vizier; and it was only in June 1886 that he was given office again, for the last time, in the same post. He held it on this occasion for four years, during which he also became one of the three members of the special conclaves

convened by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd for the discussion of political problems, and presided over a commission set up to compose a *firmān* embodying various modifications in the regulations for the government of Crete, introduced after the suppression of the rebellion of 1889. In May 1890 he resigned, owing to differences with the Grand Vizier Kāmil Pas̲h̲a; and thereafter played no further part in public affairs. During the last thirteen years of his life, nine of which were spent in retirement, he devoted most of his attention to literary work of various kinds, including the last volumes of the *Taʾrīk̲h̲*. He died on 25 May 1895 after a short illness at his *yalî* at Bebek.

D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a, both in his conduct and in his works, exhibited a curious mixture of the progressive and the conservative. While he consistently advocated the greater enlightenment of Ottoman society and fiercely condemned any manifestation of ignorance, bigotry and self-seeking in the ruling class and the erroneous beliefs prevalent among the people, his outlook was fundamentally shaped by his early *medrese* education. Whereas in the writings of his earlier years he criticizes the shortcomings of his contemporaries in a hopeful tone, those of his declining age exhibit a disillusionment with the *tanẓīmāt*, about which his language is often bitter. It would appear that this change of attitude was due at least in part to his quarrel with Midḥat, who antagonized him in particular by mocking D̲j̲ewdet's imperfect command of French and consequently of European thought. Thenceforth he would seem to have been more or less forced by events, and above all by the unhandsome part he played in connection with Midḥat's trial, into a reactionary attitude, which harmonized all too well with the prevailing spirit of the Ḥamīdian regime.

Of D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a's numerous works the most important are historical. Apart from his *Ḳiṣaṣ-i Enbiyā we-Tawārīk̲h̲-i K̲h̲ulefā*, an educational compilation in 12 vols. (starting with Adam and ending with the sultan Murād II), which he composed towards the end of his life, and *Ḳîrîm we-Ḳawḳāz Taʾrīk̲h̲česi* (largely based on the *Gülbün-ü K̲h̲ānān* of Ḥalīm Giray), three deserve particular mention. These are (i) his *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, commonly called *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲ewdet*, also in 12 vols., covering the period between 1774 and 1826 (from the Treaty of Küčük Kaynard̲j̲a to the abolition of the Janissaries). Thirty years elapsed between his beginning and finishing it, during which his outlook altered with the great contemporary changes that took place in Ottoman life. This is exemplified in particular by his adoption from vol. 6 onwards of a simpler, less traditional style. In most of the various editions brought out as the composition of the work progressed, while making corrections and additions, he followed his original plan. But in the final edition (*tertīb-i d̲j̲edīd*), completed between 1885 and 1891-2, the whole was more radically altered, so that in it, for instance, the original vol. 1 figures wholly as an introduction. (ii) The *Ted̲h̲ākir-i D̲j̲ewdet*, a collection of memoranda made by him on contemporary events as *waḳʿa-nüwīs* and for the most part handed over by him to his successor Luṭfī. Only four of those so handed over have survived. They have been published in *OTEM*, nos. 44-7 and in the *Yeni Med̲j̲mūʿa*, ii, 454. The memoranda he retained are preserved in manuscript in the Şehir ve İnkilâp Müzesi at Istanbul, but form the basis of his daughter Faṭma ʿAliyye K̲h̲anîm's *D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a we-Zamanî*. (iii) His *Maʿrūḍāt*, a long series of observations submitted to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd at the sultan's request on the events of the period 1839 to 1876, in 5 parts, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of which have been published in *OTEM*, nos. 78-80, 82, 84, 87-9, 91-3. Part 1 appears to be lost. Part 5 deals with the fate of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

D̲j̲ewdet's purely literary works date from his *medrese* days and are of little interest. Most of the poems that he collected at ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's request into a *Dīwānče* were composed at this early period. Of more consequence were his Turkish grammars: the *Ḳawāʿid-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye* (the first version of which he wrote in collaboration with Fuʾād Pas̲h̲a in 1850); an introduction to the same work for primary schoolboys called *Medk̲h̲al-i Ḳawāʿid*; and a much simplified version of the first called *Ḳawāʿid-i Türkiyye* (1292/1875). Other works are the *Belāg̲h̲at-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye*, a manual on eloquence composed for his students at the Law School; the *Taḳwīm-i Edwār* (1287/1870-1), in which the question of calendar reform was first raised; and his completion of Pīrī-zāde Meḥmed Ṣāʾib's Turkish translation of the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, by which D̲j̲ewdet's own historical writing was much influenced. The publication from 1862-3 of the collection of *ḳānūns* called *Düstūr* was also due to D̲j̲ewdet's initiative; and, as has been indicated above, he took the lead in the composition of the *Med̲j̲elle-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*.

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. Cevdet Paşa (by Ali Olmezoğlu); Ebü'lûlâ Mardin, *Medenî Hukuk Cephesinden Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukük Fakültesi Mecmuasî*, 1947; Mahmut Cevat, *Maarifi Umimiye Nezareti Tarihçei Teşkilât ve Icraatî*, i, 47, 52, 128, 136-9, 149, 163-72; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 316, 317, 319, 370-1, 390-1; Ibnülemin Mahmut Kemal Inan, *Son Asîr Türk Şairleri*, 236-40; idem, *Osmanlî Devrinde Son Sadrîazamlar*, 345, 355, 387; I. H. Uzunçarslîl, *Midhat ve Rüştü Paşalarîn Tevkiflerine dair Vesikeler*, index; M. Z. Pâkalîn, *Son Sadrazamlar ve Başvekiller*, i-ii, index; D̲j̲urd̲j̲ī Zaydān, *Tarād̲j̲im Mas̲h̲āhīr al-S̲h̲arḳ*, ii, 190 f.

(H. BOWEN)

AḤMAD FĀRIS AL-S̲H̲IDYĀḲ [see FĀRIS AL-S̲H̲IDYĀḲ].

AḤMAD G̲H̲ULĀM K̲H̲ALĪL [see G̲H̲ULĀM K̲H̲ALĪL].

AḤMAD GRAÑ B. IBRĀHĪM, leader of the Muslim conquest of Abyssinia, whence he was called *ṣāḥib al-fatḥ* and *al-g̲h̲āzī*. The Amharans nicknamed him *Grañ* 'the left-handed'. According to tradition he was of Somali origin. Born (c. 1506) in the Hūbat district of the state of Adal he attached himself to *al-D̲j̲arād* Ābūn, leader of the militant party opposed to the pacific policy of the Walas̲h̲maʿ rulers towards Abyssinia. On Ābūn's death Aḥmad became leader of the opposition, defeated and killed Sultan Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, and assumed the title of *imām*. His refusal to pay tribute to the Negus Lebna Dengel precipitated the war. After defeating the governor of Bāli he welded his Somali and ʿAfar troops into a powerful striking force, won a decisive victory over the Abyssinians at S̲h̲emberā Kurē (1529) and within two years had gained control of Shoa. Six more years of remarkable campaigns sufficed for him to conquer most of Abyssinia. But he was unable to consolidate his successes. The centrifugal forces working within his army of nomads and the setback given by the early successes of the Portuguese force which had arrived in 1542 after Lebna Dengel's death, led him to send to the Pas̲h̲a of Zabīd for disciplined musketeers.

With their aid he defeated the Portuguese, but then sent away his mercenaries. The new Emperor Galāwdēwos, joining up with the Portuguese remnant, took the offensive and won a decisive victory at Zānterā in 949/1543, when Aḥmad's death in battle brought about the complete collapse of the nomad invasion.

Bibliography: Shihāb al-Dīn, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, ed. R. Basset, 1897-1901; R. Basset, *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*, 1882; F. Beguinot, *La Cronaca Abbreviata d'Abissinia*, 1901 (cf. *Rivista di Studi Etiopici*, 1941, 94-103); C. Conti Rossini, *Storia di Lebna Dengel*, *Rend. Lin.*, 1894; Miguel de Castanhoso, *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, ed. Pereira, Lisbon 1898.

(J. S. Trimingham)

AḤMAD ḤIKMET (1870-1927), Turkish novelist and journalist, was surnamed Müftī-Zāde, his ancestors having long served as *muftīs* in the Peloponnese. Born in Istanbul on 3 June 1870, he began his career as a writer while still a pupil at the Galatasaray lycée. He entered the Foreign service after leaving school (1889) and held several consular and vice-consular appointments, until 1896, when he was transferred to the Foreign Office. He crowned a distinguished career by becoming director-general of the Consular department (1926). At the same time he had been teaching literature at his old school and, from 1910 onward, at the Dār ül-Fünūn. For a time he acted at Ankara as head of the cultural section of the *Türk Ocaklarï*.

He wrote for *Iḳdām* and *Therwet-i Funūn*, but did not conform to the prevailing literary fashion: his style and themes were Turkish and he was a pioneer of the language reform movement. A volume of his stories was published under the title of *Khāristān we-Gülistān* (Istanbul 1317/1899-1900); German translations of three of these, by Fr. Schrader, were published as *Türkische Frauen* in vol. vii of Jacob's *Türkische Bibliothek*, Berlin 1907. Some of his later writings appeared as a volume entitled *Čaghlayanlar*, Istanbul 1922. His subtle humour is best exhibited in his monologues, a genre which he introduced into Turkish literature. He died at Istanbul on 20 May 1927.

Bibliography: Schrader's introduction to his translation (see above); *Türk Yurdu*, 1927, no. 30; *IA*, s.v. (by A. H. Tanpīnar); F. Tevetoğlu, *Büyük Türkçü Müftüoğlu Ahmed Hikmet*, Ankara 1951, critically reviewed by H. Dizdaroğlu in *Türk Dili*, 1952, 429-31.

(F. Giese-G. L. Lewis)

AḤMAD IḤSĀN (Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz), Turkish author and translator, was born in Erzurum on 24 Dhū'l-Ḥidjdja 1285/7 April 1869. Passing out from the school of administration (*Mülkiyye*) at the age of 17, he was appointed interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief of the artillery, but soon abandoned this post, despite strong family opposition, to become a journalist. At the age of 18 he founded a shortlived fortnightly, *ʿUmrān*, and at the same time embarked on his career as a translator of French novels, including many of the works of Jules Verne and Alphonse Daudet. While working as a translator on the staff of *Therwet*, a Constantinople evening newspaper, he conceived the idea of publishing a weekly illustrated magazine. He persuaded his Greek employer to let him bring out a scientific supplement to the paper, under the title of *Therwet-i Fünūn*. A year later, this acquired a separate existence under the ownership of Aḥmad Iḥsān. The first issue, in March 1889, was described as "an illustrated Ottoman newspaper" devoted to "literature, science, art, biography, travel and novels". The new review for the most part fought shy of politics. Realizing the potentialities of an illustrated magazine as a propaganda weapon, the authorities at first gave it every assistance, including financial subsidies, but this support was soon transferred to another illustrated paper, Baba Ṭāhir's *Muṣawwar Maʿlūmāt*. *Therwet-i Fünūn* continued to devote itself to making known and imitating the intellectual life of the west, especially of France. Almost all the young literary men of the time wrote for it: Ekrem Bey, Khālīd Ḍiyā (Ziyā), Aḥmad Rāsim and Nabī-zāde Nāẓim were among the regular contributors and in 1896 Tewfīḳ Fikret was given full editorial control. But in 1901 he quarrelled with Iḥsān and resigned; their estrangement lasted till 1907. In 1901 a worse disaster befell: the sultan's anger was roused against the paper because of a translation by Ḥüseyn Djāhid of a French article, some sentences in which touched on the French Revolution and were held to be seditious. *Therwet-i Fünūn* was closed down for some weeks but then reappeared, thanks to the influence of Meḥmed ʿĀrif, a member of the Palace staff who had been at school with Iḥsān. But all the writers who had worked for the paper severed their connection with it, and although Iḥsān continued to publish it the old enthusiasm was gone.

Iḥsān's original literary production was not outstanding. An account of his travels in Europe was published in 1891, and under the title of *Matbuat Hatïralarï*, Istanbul 1930-1.

Late in life he became a member of the Grand National Assembly and died in 1942.

Bibliography: O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1916, 58; İ. A. Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurlarï Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, 383.

(K. Süssheim-G. L. Lewis)

AḤMAD KHĀN, educational reformer and founder of Islamic modernism in India (1817-98). Aḥmad Khān (often called after his two titles of honour Sir Sayyid) sprang from an ancient Muslim family of high nobility. His forefathers came from Persia and Afghānistān, settled down in India about the reign of Shāh Djahān (1628-66), and became closely connected with the Mughal Court. He was born on 6 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1232/17 Oct. 1817 at Delhi. His mother, a sensible woman, gave him a good education, but the schooling he had was no more than that taught in a *maktab*. On the death of his father Mīr Muttaḳī in 1838, the emoluments from fictitious posts at the Court stopped, and Aḥmad Khān had to seek his livelihood. He entered the service of the East India Company and had to content himself with a minor clerical appointment in the court of justice at Delhi. Soon, however, his industry and sense of duty were rewarded with promotion to the rank of *munṣif* (sub-judge).

To his first literary products belong half a dozen religious treatises, mainly in defence of Sunnī belief. More important are the historical and archeological studies he published in this period. The best known of them is the work on the old buildings and monuments in Delhi and its environs *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd* (1847). Its translation into French by Garçin de Tassy in 1861 won him fame. Three years later on he was elected an honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

A second decisive change of his life and outlook was effected by the Indian Revolution, known as

the Mutiny (1857). The unhappy outcome of it, especially for the Indian Muslims, decided him to work for the future of his compatriots, in the first place by earnest attempts at reconciliation between the British and the Indian Muslims, who, rather than the Hindus, were considered to have been the actual rebels. Aḥmad Khān, who himself had proved his loyalty to his government by saving the European colony in Bidjnawr through personal intercession, wrote two treatises to calm the resulting passions, viz. *Asbāb Baghāwat Hind*, 1858, and *Loyal Muhammadans of India*, 1860-1. He put the blame on both sides, and in his opinion the Mutiny was caused by the Indian people's misunderstanding of English rule as well as by the government's ignorance of the conditions of the ruled.

Keeping aloof from political agitation he sought the uplift of his nation with spiritual means derived from 19th century European mode of life. On a visit to England (1869-70), he had been much impressed by the standard of civilization of the ordinary Englishman. Back in India he started a periodical *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* with the object of educating the public by removing prejudices. His next and still more admirable achievement was the establishment of a Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh ([*q.v.*] 1878), modelled after Oxford and Cambridge (in 1920 raised to the rank of a university). Thirdly he instituted The Muhammadan Educational Conference (1886), which held annual meetings in various cities and afforded opportunities for exchange of thought and propagation of reforming ideas.

Aḥmad Khān perceived that in the process of westernization religious ideas needed to be reconsidered. In a speech at Lahore (1884) he argued: "To-day we are, as before (i.e. when Islam came into close contact with the Greek world of ideas), in need of a modern *ʿilm al-kalām*, by which we should either refute the doctrines of the modern sciences or undermine their foundations, or show that they are in conformity with the articles of Islamic faith". The last way of approach, however, gained so much the upperhand in his own re-interpretation of Islam, that it was felt to injure the specific character of religion, in spite of his sincere intentions to counter secularism. The axiom of his theology was the adage: "The Work of God (Nature and its fixed laws) is identical with the Word of God (Ḳur'ān)".

A violent reaction was provoked in the camp of the *ʿulamā*, who heaped abuse on him as a *Nečarī* (Urduized form of Naturist), and fiercely attacked his demythologizing of the Ḳur'ān and his teaching about the *duʿā* (the effect of it would be merely psychological, i.e. of setting the mind at rest, and not "real", in the sense of exerting any influence on the divine decrees), but in the end his tenacity and disinterested work for the welfare of his people overpowered the opposition. About the eighties he became the acknowledged leader of his community. This found expression, when in 1887 he advised the Muslims not to join the National Congress and the bulk of them followed his advice. His loyalty to the British was rewarded by nomination in 1878 as a member of the Viceregal Legislative Council and his appointment in 1888 to be a Knight Commander of the Star of India; in 1889 he received an honorary degree from the University of Edinburgh.

He rendered great services to his countrymen in the field of social and educational reform; but also his significance as a religious reformer is not to be neglected. In a mitigated form his modernistic views re-emerge regularly in writings of the present generation. The greatest benefit, however, which Aḥmad Khān rendered to his country was that he restored the despairing Muslims of his age to faith in themselves. In this respect—and not for the communalism imputed to him—he may be regarded as a forerunner of Pakistan.

Bibliography: (a) His main writings (beside the above-mentioned): a Bible commentary *Tabyīn al-Kalām*, 1862; *Essays on the Life of Mohammed*, 1870 (cf. Nöldeke, in *Academy*, i, 312-4); *Review on the Book of Dr. Hunter*, 1872; *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, 1880-95. (b) On his life and work: Urdu biography by Alṭāf Ḥusayn, called Ḥālī, *Ḥayāt Djāwīd*, 1901; J. M. S. Baljon jr, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān*, 1949 (with a full bibliography); A. H. al-Biruni, *Makers of Pakistan*, 1950, 1-60; G. F. I. Graham, *Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan*, 1885.

(J. M. S. BALJON JR.)

AḤMAD KÖPRÜLÜ. [See KÖPRÜLÜ].

AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR, sixth sovereign of the Moroccan dynasty of the Saʿdids [*q.v.*], son of the second sultan of the dynasty, Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī (d. 964/1557), was born at Fez in 956/1549. He held various military commands, but was driven into exile at Algiers with his elder brother, ʿAbd al-Malik. The latter, on acceding to the throne in 983/1576, designated Aḥmad as his heir presumptive. Two years later Aḥmad took part in the famous battle of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin, in the vicinity of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] in the N.W. of Morocco. This battle, which took place on the last day of Djumādā I 986/4 August 1578, ended disastrously for the troops of King Sebastian of Portugal, who was killed, while a great number of Portuguese noblemen were taken prisoner. In his turn, the sultan ʿAbd al-Malik, who was very ill, died in his litter during the battle. The same day Aḥmad was proclaimed sultan by the victorious troops, to whom he promised pay and rewards; he took the honorific *laḳab* of al-Manṣūr, "the victorious."

The new sovereign acceded to the throne under the most favorable auspices. From all sides, felicitations poured in, from the Grand Turk, the *pasha* of Algiers, even from Spain and France. Nevertheless he had to overcome many difficulties at home; these he faced with skill and energy, reinforced by the considerable sums which he realized by the ransom of the prisoners of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin. With this money he engaged, in the customary manner of Islamic rulers, a reliable bodyguard commanded by morisco officers and organized in the Turkish fashion, and built fortifications in Tāza, Fez and the *ḳaṣaba* of Marrākush. At the same time, he turkicised to a certain degree his court and administration (*makhzen* [*q.v.*]), as well as his military cadres, under the command of *beys* and *pashas*. He also had to repress various troubles stirred up by the Arab tribes and to overcome the opposition of some members of his family who rose against him. But in general, Aḥmad's reign, which lasted for a quarter of a century, was peaceful and allowed Morocco, at last, to enjoy for a time a relative tranquillity.

It was in foreign affairs that Aḥmad al-Manṣūr showed real diplomatic talent. We have ample materials at our disposal for estimating his abilities in the incomparable collection of documents made by H. de Castries in his *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. First of all, the sultan had to give some

pledges to the Porte, without completely yielding to its demands; then he had to negotiate with Philip II of Spain, and he did this in such a way that Spain achieved no positive results. On the contrary, the practically-minded sultan encouraged the development of smuggling, or even piracy. In 1585 a "Barbary Company" was founded by British merchants in order to monopolize the external trade of Morocco. After the destruction of the Armada in 1588, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr gave up the friendship with Spain and entered into relations with Queen Elisabeth.

To Aḥmad's credit stands also the conquest of the Sūdān, which, though it was ephemeral, gained for this ruler, greedy for riches, a considerable booty in gold and procured him his second surname of al-D̲h̲ahabī, "the golden". It was prepared by reconnoitring and the conquest of the oases of Tūwāt (Touat) and Tīgūrārīn in 990/1581 and was decided upon by the advice of al-Manṣūr's Morisco general staff. It is related in detail by all the historians of the Saʿdid dynasty and by three Sudanese chronicles. The expedition, commanded by the *pas̲h̲a* D̲j̲awd̲h̲ar, left Marrākus̲h̲ in the autumn of 999/1590 and reached, not without difficulties, the Niger three months later. The Sudanese *askia* of Gao, Isḥāḳ, after a battle near that town, had to ask for peace and shortly afterwards the Moroccan troops entered Timbuktū [*q.v.*]. After the *pas̲h̲a* D̲j̲awd̲h̲ar had been replaced in his command by another morisco officer, Maḥmūd Zarḳūn, the conquest of the whole country was continued, while the most important *faḳīhs* of Timbuktū, amongst them Aḥmad Bābā [*q.v.*], were deported to Marrākus̲h̲. Thereafter, for some years, there was an incessant afflux of gold and captives to the Saʿdid capital.

Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, who hardly left Marrākus̲h̲ during the whole of his reign, wanted to build there a residence worthy of himself: the palace called al-Ḳaṣr al-Badīʿ, the construction of which was begun soon after his accession and lasted for about twenty years. This sumptuous mansion was later mutilated by the sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. At the same time, the Moroccan ruler made a point of assembling a literary court, in which shone various writers, especially the secretary of the chancery, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fis̲h̲tālī [*q.v.*], author of a panegyrical chronicle, *Manāhil al-Ṣafā*ʾ.

The last years of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's reign were troubled by the intrigues of his sons to obtain the succession, and by an epidemic of cholera which began, from 1007/1598-9 onwards, to decimate the population of the capital. Deserting Marrākus̲h̲ to escape the scourge, the sultan went to the north of the country, and soon after his arrival at Fez he died there on 11 Rabīʿ I 1012/20 August 1603. His body was transferred to Marrākus̲h̲ and buried in the sumptuous mausoleum which he had built for himself and his family and which still exists.

Bibliography: Arabic sources enumerated in Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*: Ifrānī; Fis̲h̲tālī; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Muntaḳā al-Maḳṣūr*; Anonymous chronicle (ed. by G. S. Colin, Rabat 1934); Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā*ʾ, Cairo 1312 (translated by the son of the author in *AM*, xxxiv, Paris 1936). European sources: H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1st series, i-v. See also *EI*¹, iii, 250 ff., and the bibliography of the articles SAʿDIDS and SŪDĀN. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AḤMAD MIDḤAT, Ottoman Turkish writer, was born in Istanbul in 1260/1844, the son of a poor draper called Sulaymān Ag̲h̲a and a Circassian mother. He lost his father in early childhood, and was for a while apprenticed to a shopkeeper. When he was 10 years old the family moved to Vidin, where his half-brother Ḥāfiẓ Ag̲h̲a was the *mudīr* of a *ḳaḍā*. Ḥāfiẓ, however, fell into disgrace, and in 1859 Aḥmed returned to Istanbul, where he began his schooling. In 1277/1861 Ḥāfiẓ Ag̲h̲a, having won the favour of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, was reinstated and given an appointment in Nish, to which he brought the family. Aḥmed entered the Rüs̲h̲diyye school there, and graduated in 1280/1863. In 1281/1864, when Midḥat Pas̲h̲a took over the newly constituted *wilāyet* of Tuna, the family followed him to its capital, Rusčuk, where Aḥmed was apprenticed as a clerk in the provincial chancery (*wilāyet mektūbī ḳalemi*). While working, he continued his studies privately, and also studied French and western knowledge under the guidance of a Christian colleague. He won the favour of Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, who gave him his own name, and, after appointing him to various offices, made him, at the age of 24 or 25, editor-in-chief of the *wilāyet* newspaper *Tuna*. In 1285/1868, when Midḥat Pas̲h̲a became *wālī* of Bag̲h̲dād, Aḥmad Midḥat followed him there, taking charge of the government printing-press and newspaper (*Zawrā*ʾ). During his stay in Bag̲h̲dād he continued his private studies, and began to write school-books and stories. In 1288/1871 his brother Ḥāfiẓ, who had meanwhile become *mutaṣarrif* of Baṣra, died, and Aḥmed returned with the whole family to Istanbul. Abandoning the state service, he devoted himself entirely to writing and printing. For several years he contributed articles to various papers, and also ran a printing-press where he himself printed and published his numerous books. His journalistic activities brought him into an apparently fortuitous association with the Young Ottomans, and in 1289/1872 he was arrested and summarily exiled to Rhodes, together with Abu'l-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ. There he wrote a number of books, some of which were published in Istanbul under a pseudonym. In 1293/1876, after the deposition of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he was pardoned, and returned to Istanbul, where he resumed his activities as a writer and printer. His cautious attitude during the following months won him the good will of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and in 1294/1877, after publishing the *Uss-i Inḳilāb* (an historical justification of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's accession), he was given the directorship of the official gazette and printing-press. This led to a permanent breach with the Young Ottomans. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd he held various state offices, and from 1295/1878 onwards edited the *Terd̲j̲ümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*, a periodical of some importance in the intellectual history of that time. In the summer of 1888 he went as official Ottoman representative to the International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm, and spent some 3½ months in Europe. (This trip is described in his *Awrupada bir D̲j̲ewelān*, Istanbul 1307/1891.)

In 1908, after the Young Turk revolution, he was retired from his official positions under the age-limit, and was subjected to vigorous attacks. He attempted to resume the literary work which he had long since sacrificed to his official career, but abandoned the attempt in the face of hostile opinion and altered tastes. For a few years he held teaching posts at the University, the Woman Teachers' Training College, and the School for Preachers. He died in Muḥarram 1331/Dec. 1912-Jan. 1913.

Besides playing an important role in the development of Turkish journalism in the 19th century,

Aḥmed Midḥat also wrote an enormous number of books, estimated at about 150. These fall into two main groups, fiction and popularised knowledge. His novels and short stories, many of them first published as serials in periodicals, were widely read among the generation of Turks that grew up under the *tanẓīmāt*, and played no small part in developing new tastes and interests among a public still entirely unacquainted with western literary forms and aspirations. His novels were in every sense popular, simple in both style and sentiment, intended to entertain and sometimes also to instruct a reader of unsophisticated and unliterary tastes. Some are romances of adventure, others deal with his own and the immediately preceding periods, and at times manage to achieve a certain liveliness and realism. Aḥmed Midḥat was much influenced by the French popular novelists, and also translated a number of their works. Apart from fiction he wrote or adapted a considerable number of popular and semi-popular works on history, philosophy, religion, ethics, science, and other subjects, the purpose of which was to bring modern European knowledge to his compatriots in a simple and attractive form. The most important of his historical works are *Uss-i Inḳilāb* (2 vols., 1294-5/1877-8), already cited, and *Zubdet ül-Ḥaḳā'iḳ* (1295/1878), an attempt to explain the Turkish defeat in the war of 1877-8. He also wrote a universal history in 3 volumes (1303-5/1880-2), and a series of separate histories of European countries (*Kā'ināt*, 14 vols, 1292-1303/1871-1881).

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. (by Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil), on which much of the foregoing is based. Further Turkish publications are cited there. A contemporary judgment will be found in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref's obituary notice, published in *TOEM*, 3rd year, 1328 [sic], 1113-9. See further P. Horn, *Geschichte der Türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig, [1st ed. 1902] 1909, 12-30; Babinger, 389-91; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1916. For two sharply contrasted judgments by European contemporaries see M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig 1910, 70, 208; J. Østrup, *Erindringer*, Copenhagen 1937, 41-44.

(B. Lewis)

AḤMAD b. Khālid b. Ḥammād al-**NĀṢIRĪ** al-**SALĀWĪ**, Abu'l ʿAbbās Shihāb al-Dīn, Moroccan historian, born at Salé (Salā) 22 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1250/20 April 1835, died in the same town 16 Djumādā I 1315/13 Oct. 1897. The genealogy of this writer descends in a direct line from the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya, Aḥmad b. Nāṣir, who was buried at his *zāwiya* at Tāmgrūt in the valley of Wādī Darʿa (Drā). He pursued his studies at Salé, and, without neglecting his religious and juridical studies, delved deeply into Arabic profane literature. At the age of about 40, Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī entered the judicial branch of the Sharīfī administration as a notary or as a steward of State lands. Intermittently, he held relatively important posts. He lived first at Dār al-Bayḍā' (Casablanca), from 1292-3/1875-6, and had two periods of residence at Marrākush, where he was employed in the Steward's department of the royal household. Later, he lived for a time at al-Djadīda (Mazagan), as a customs official. He then stayed successively at Tangier and Fez, and, at the end of his life, returned to his native town, where he devoted himself to teaching. At his death, he was buried in the cemetery at Salé situated outside the gate known as Bāb Maʿallaḳa. In short, al-Nāṣirī was a minor official under the Sharīfs, and at the same time a man of letters and a historian. Apart from his historical writing, which gained him a name even outside Morocco, he left several works which without doubt would have sufficed to draw attention to him and to assure him an honourable place among contemporary Maghribī men of letters. These are, in addition to six short works (*Chorfa*, p. 353 n. 1); 1) a commentary on the Shamaḳmaḳiyya, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān, which he called *Zahr al-Afnān min Ḥadīḳat Ibn al-Wannān* (lithographed at Fās in 1314/1896); 2) a survey of the schisms and heresies of Islam, entitled *Taʿẓīm al-Minna bi-Nuṣrat al-Sunna* (Ms. Rabat; cf. *Catalogue*, i, 23); 3) a monograph on the alleged sharīfī house of the Nāṣiriyya, to which he himself belonged, entitled *Ṭalʿat al-Mushtarī fi'l-Nasab al-Djaʿfarī* (lithographed at Fās; French summary by M. Bodin, *La Zaouïa de Tamagrout*, *Archives Berbères*, 1918). This work, which the author completed in 1309/1881, is an excellent history of the *zāwiya* of Tāmgrūt, containing a great deal of interesting information which compensates for the lengthy arguments by which the author seeks to demonstrate the authenticity of the family's genealogy.

The major work of Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī is the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*. Its publication was an unprecedented event in Maghribī historiography. The author produced, not a chronicle of limited scope, but a general history of his country, printed, moreover, in the Orient. Hailed, ever since its appearance, by the orientalists of Europe, this work speedily attracted the attention of the North African historians, who frequently had recourse to it in the course of their studies—the more so when a French translation, in the *Archives Marocaines*, rendered the last part of the work, containing the history of the ʿAlid dynasty, available even to non-Arabists.

It was quickly realised that this chronicle was akin to other productions of western Arab historiography; it was no more than a compilation, the main virtue of which was to have combined in a connected narrative the fragments of political history scattered throughout the chronicles and the biographical anthologies previously produced in the country. But it must be recognized that al-Nāṣirī was the first of his countrymen to deal exhaustively with a subject which his predecessors had treated only in part. This however, was not his original aim. Elsewhere (*Chorfa*, 357-60) it has been explained that the starting-point for the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā* was a work of considerable length on the Marīnid dynasty of Morocco, composed mainly with the aid of the historical works of Ibn Abī Zarʿ and Ibn Khaldūn, and entitled *Kashf al-ʿArīn fi Luyūth Banī Marīn*. His successive transfers from one capital of Morocco to another enabled him to extend his knowledge of the sources for the history of other Moroccan dynasties, and he conceived the idea of writing a full history of Morocco. He completed his work on 15 Djumādā II 1298/15 May 1881, and dedicated it to the reigning prince Sulṭān Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, but received no reward for his action. On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his history printed at Cairo, after bringing it down to the accession of Sulṭān Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the *Istiḳṣā* duly appeared at Cairo in four volumes in 1312/1894.

For an analysis of the Arabic historical sources of al-Nāṣirī, and for a list of the works from which he adapted or quoted verbatim numerous passages, the work previously cited should be consulted. It is

sufficient to say here that, apart from documenting his work from the Arabic sources, he was the first Moroccan chronicler to call on European sources which, however, only became known to him by chance. These were the history of Mazagan under Portuguese domination, entitled *Memorias para historia de praça de Mazagao*, by Luis Maria do Conto de Albuquerque de Cunba, Lisbon 1864, and *Description historica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastias*, by Manuel P. Castellanos, Santiago 1878; Orihuela 1884; Tangier 1898.

In the presentation of his history, al-Nāṣirī follows the usual method of his fellow-countrymen but he does occasionally demonstrate a critical sense. On the whole, however, he gives the impression of being a historian by accident, but a man of letters by vocation. Sometimes he gives indication of considerable intellectual independence and breadth of outlook. His style is lucid and polished, and he rarely resorts to the artificial use of metaphor and rhymed prose. He gives the impression of being the modern Moroccan historian who has perhaps handled his language with the greatest ease and elegance.

Vol. iv of the Arabic edition of the *Istiḳṣā* has been translated by E. Fumey, with the title of *Chronique de la dynastie ʿalaouie au Maroc*, in *Archives Marocaines*, Vols. ix and x, Paris 1906-7. The remainder has been translated in the same journal, Vols. xxx ff., Paris, 1923-35, by A. Graulle, G. S. Colin, I. Hamet and the sons of the historian himself.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 350-368; Brockelmann, S II, 888-9 (new edition of *al-Istiḳṣā*, Rabat 1954.) (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AḤMAD PAS͟HA, Ottoman governor of Bag͟hdād, son of Ḥasan Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], also governor of Bag͟hdād. In 1715 he was appointed governor of S͟hahrizūr and Kirkūk, and subsequently of Baṣra; in 1719 he was made vizier. After the death of his father (at the beginning of 1724) he was appointed governor of Bag͟hdād and charged with the continuation of the expedition undertaken by the former against the Persians. In the spring of 1724 he took Hamadān, and although he was defeated (owing to the desertion of the Kurdish chieftains) by As͟hraf, the G͟halzay ruler of Persia, he achieved in 1727 favourable terms, acquiring for the Ottoman empire Kirmāns͟hāh, Hamadān, Tabrīz, Rawān, Nak͟hičewān and Tiflīs. After losing these conquests to the Ṣafawid Tahmāsp, Aḥmad Pas͟ha undertook another campaign and captured Kirmāns͟hāh and Ardalān, and in 1732, after winning the battle of Ḳurid͟jān, reached Hamadān. By the treaty of 1732, some of the conquered territories were kept by the Ottomans, others returned to Persia. Hostilities, however, were soon resumed and Aḥmad Pas͟ha had to defend Bag͟hdād itself from Nādir S͟hāh. In 1733 he was made governor of Baṣra in addition to Bag͟hdād. The following year he was transferred first to the governorship of Aleppo, then to that of Raḳḳa. After the death of Köprülü-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pas͟ha, he, though retaining the governorship of Raḳḳa, was made commander-in-chief in the east and succeeded in reaching an armistice with Nādir S͟hāh. He was appointed governor of Bag͟hdād for the second time, and was engaged, in addition to the Persian affairs, in subduing rebellious tribes. He died in 1747, on his return from an expedition against the Bābān ruler Salīm, and was buried at the side of his father near the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa. He had governed Bag͟hdād first for a period of eleven, and on the second occasion for twelve years.

Bibliography: Rās͟hid, *Taʾrīk͟h*, iv, 57; Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim (continuation of the former), Istanbul 1282, passim; Sāmī, S͟hākir and Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1198, passim; ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1199, passim; Kātib Čelebi, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīk͟h*, Istanbul 1146, 153 ff.; Naẓmī-zāde Murtaḍā, *Güls͟hen-i K͟hulefā* (MS of M. Cavid Baysun; the passage on Aḥmad Pas͟ha not in printed ed.); *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ* (continuation of former), Baghdad 1246, index; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 254-6; *Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, i, 250, ii, 149; Hammer-Purgstall, index; C. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, 145-6; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 75, 127 f., 131-62, 165 f., 346. (M. CAVID BAYSUN)

AḤMAD PAS͟HA, ḲARA, Ottoman grand-vizier under Sulaymān I. He was of Albanian origin, was educated in the palace and rose to the posts of *ḳapīd͟jī bas͟hī*, *mīr-i ʿalem* and (in 927/1521) *ag͟ha* of the Jannisaries. He was appointed *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia and took part in the campaign in Hungary, taking (950/1543) Valpo and Siklós and being present at the capture of Esztergom (Usturgun, Gran) and Székesfehérvár (Estūn-i Belg͟hrād, Stuhlweissenburg). In 955/1548 he was appointed commander-in-chief against the Persians and raised to the rank of second vizier. He put the Persians to flight in 1549 near Kamāk͟h and took numerous fortresses in E. Anatolia and Georgia. After the loss of Lippa in Hungary (959/1552) and the vain siege of Temesvár (Tems͟hwar) by Sokollu Meḥmed Pas͟ha, he was transferred to the post of commander-in-chief in Hungary and took Temesvár (defended by Stephan Losonczy) after a siege of 35 days. Subsequently he captured Szolnok, but was unsuccessful in the siege of Eger (Eg͟hri, Erlau) undertaken by him together with Sokollu. During the war against S͟hāh Tahmāsp (960/1553) Sulaymān deposed the grandvizier Rustam Pas͟ha and appointed in his stead Aḥmad Pas͟ha. The latter took part in the campaigns of Nak͟hičewān and Ḳarabāg͟h. After the treaty of Amasya (1555) which ended the war, and the sultan's return to Istanbul, Aḥmad was arrested during a meeting of the *dīwān* and decapitated (13 D͟hu'l-Ḳaʿda 962/28 Sept. 1555). Though the reason given was his intrigue against ʿAlī Pas͟ha, governor of Egypt, the sultan's main motive seems to have been his wish to reappoint Rustam Pas͟ha, his son-in-law, to the grand-vizierate.—According to *Ḥadīḳat al-D͟jawāmiʿ*, i, 143; *Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, i, 259, Aḥmad Pas͟ha married Fāṭima Sulṭān, daughter of Selīm I. He began to build a mosque near Top Ḳapī, which was, however, finished only after his death.

Bibliography: D͟jelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Masālik*, MS; D͟jelāl-zāde Ṣāliḥ, *Süleymān-nāme*, MS; Rüstem Pas͟ha, *Tawārīk͟h-i Āl-i ʿOt͟hmān*, MS; Luṭfī Pas͟ha, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1341, 323-453; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Ak͟hbār*, MS, Universite Kütüph. no. 2290/32, fol. 317; Pečewī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, i, 24, 247-343; Solak-zāde, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1297, 504-34; Müned͟jd͟jim-bas͟hi, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Ak͟hbār*, Istanbul 1285, iii, 497-506; Kātib Čelebi, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīk͟h*, Istanbul 1146, 121, 176, 236; ʿOt͟hmān-zāde Aḥmad Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 31; Aywansarāyī Ḥüseyn, *Ḥadīḳat al-D͟jawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 141-3; *Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, i, 198-9, 259; Hammer-Purgstall, passim; Busbecq, *Litterae Turcicae*. (M. CAVID BAYSUN)

AḤMAD PAS͟HA BONNEVAL. Claude-Alexandre Comte de Bonneval was born in 1675 into a noble family of the Limousin. After serving with

great distinction in the French army at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1704, regarding himself as insulted, he changed sides and soon won a European reputation as a general in the Austrian service under Eugène of Savoy in a succession of campaigns against his own countrymen, the Pope, and finally the sultan, being wounded at Peterwardein in 1716 and participating in the siege of Belgrade in the following year. He later, however, fell out with Eugène and, after being imprisoned for a year, in 1727 fled to Venice, whence, after offering his services in vain to various powers inimical to Austria, he resolved to place them at the disposal of Aḥmed III. In 1729 he accordingly travelled by way of Ragusa to Bosna Sarayî, where, to avoid being extradited to Austria, he turned Muslim, taking the name Aḥmed; and after the accession of Maḥmūd I was first given a daily allowance while resident at Gümüld̲j̲ine in Thrace, and then, in Sept. 1731, summoned by the grand Vizier Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a, who aimed at training the Ottoman army on European lines, to reform the *od̲j̲aḳ* of the *k̲h̲umbarad̲j̲îs*. Although on ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a's fall in the following April, Bonneval was at first neglected by his successor Ḥekīm-og̲h̲lu ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, in 1733 the latter sought his advice on the course to be followed by the Porte in relation to the problem of the Polish succession, and in Jan. 1735 appointed him *K̲h̲umbaradjî Bas̲h̲î* with the rank of a *pas̲h̲a* of two *ṭug̲h̲s* (*mîrmîrān*). After the dismissal of ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in July of the same year, however, Bonneval was excluded from the counsels of the Porte until 1737, when he was again called on by Muḥsin-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a to advise on the conduct of the war against Austria. But although he eventually accompanied the next Grand Vizier Yeg̲h̲en Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a to the front, a plan he had put forward for the fomentation of a revolt in Hungary was a failure, and on his return to Istanbul in 1738 he fell from favour and in the following year was deprived of his command and exiled to Ḳastamonu. Moreover, although he was restored in less than a year, he never regained his former influence, and up to his death in 1747, by which time he was casting about for means to return to France, he was employed only in the continued management of the *k̲h̲umbarad̲j̲îs* and in furnishing the Porte with comments (some of which have been preserved in Turkish translation) on European political developments. He was buried in the cemetery of the Mewlewī-k̲h̲āne in Galata, and succeeded in his command by his adoptive son, also a French convert, who went by the name of Süleymān Ag̲h̲a.

Bibliography: Meḥmed ʿĀrif, *K̲h̲umbarad̲j̲î Bas̲h̲î Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a Bonneval*, *OTEM*, nos. 18-20; Prince de Ligne, *Mémoire sur le comte de Bonneval*, Paris 1817; A. Vandal, *Le Pacha Bonneval*, Paris 1884; idem, *Une Ambassade Française en Orient*, Paris 1887, index; *IA*, s.v. (M. Cavid Baysun).

(H. Bowen)

AḤMAD PAS̲H̲A, called **BURSALÎ**, Ottoman poet of the second half of the 15th century, the most important after S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī and before Ned̲j̲ātī. He was the son of the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* Welī al-Dīn b. Ilyās (who claimed descent from Ḥusayn) and was most probably born in Adrianople (according to some authorities in Brusa). He was appointed *müderris* at the *madrasa* of Murād II in Brusa and in 855/1451 succeeded Mollā K̲h̲osrew as *ḳāḍī* of Adrianople. After the accession of Muḥammad II he became *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, and tutor of the new ruler, obtaining the rank of vizier. He accompanied the sultan during the conquest of Constantinople. Though his wit made him a great favourite of the sultan, he fell into disgrace (allegedly because of a love affair with a favorite of the sultan, but possibly merely in consequence of the sultan's well known captiousness) and was held in custody, but was pardoned and appointed as *mütewallî* of the Ork̲h̲ān and Murād mosques in Brusa, afterwards even as *sand̲j̲ak beyi* of Sulṭān Önü, Tire and Anḳara, and after the accession of Bāyazīd II, as *sand̲j̲ak beyi* of Brusa. He took part in the suite of Sinān Pas̲h̲a, *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia, in the battle of Ag̲h̲ačayîrî against the Mamlūks (8 Ramaḍān 893/17 August 1488; cf. Saʿd al-Dīn and Hammer Purgstall). He died in 902/1496-7 in Brusa; the ruins of his *türbe* could be seen not long ago in that town.

Among his poems there are many composed for Muḥammad II, Bāyazīd II and Sulṭān D̲j̲em; he also composed a dirge on the death of Muḥammad II's son, Muṣṭafā. He was closely connected with various scholars of his time, and while governor of Brusa, he drew into his entourage poets such as Ḥarīrī, Resmī, Mīrī, Čak̲h̲s̲h̲ird̲j̲i S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī, and S̲h̲ehdī.

Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a was influenced by Turkish poets such as Aḥmedī, Niyāzī, Melīḥī and especially S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī and ʿAṭāʾī (cf. *Yeni Med̲j̲mūʿa*, 1918). Like the other poets of his age, he was also under the influence of Persian poetry (his models were especially Salmān Sāwad̲j̲ī, Ḥāfiẓ, Kamāl K̲h̲ud̲j̲andī and Kātibī); on the other hand, the very widespread opinion (which we find for the first time in the *Ted̲h̲kere* of Ḥasan Čelebi) that he began his poetical career by making *naẓîres* on some poems of ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī is quite erroneous (cf. M. Fuad Köprülü, in *Türk Yurdu*, 1927, no. 27; idem, *Türk dili ve edebiyati hakkînda araştirmalar*, Istanbul 1934, 264 ff.). Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a was acknowledged as the greatest poet of his day and was imitated by many poets of the late 15th and early 16th century; and his influence can be felt even after his poetry lost its preponderant position owing to the new trends initiated by Ned̲j̲ātī and especially by Bāḳī.

Apart from his *diwān*, which was compiled by order of Bāyazīd II, and the numerous manuscripts of which are rather different from each other, Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a's poems (some of them written in Arabic and Persian) are to be found also in the great *naẓîre* collections of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Bibliography: The *ted̲h̲keres* of Sehī, 20, Laṭīfī, 76, ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ Čelebi and Kînalî-zāde, s.v.; *al-S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya*, Turkish transl., 217; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Ak̲h̲bār*, v, 230 f.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tād̲j̲ al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, ii, 511; Belīg̲h̲, *Güldeste*, 259; Hammer-Purgstall, index; idem, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 41 ff.; Muʿallim Nād̲j̲ī, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlî S̲h̲āʿirleri*, i, 209-17; Fāʾiḳ Res̲h̲ād, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Edebiyyāt-i ʿOt̲h̲māniyye*, Istanbul 1913, 137-50; Gibb, ii, 40-58; Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, i, 305-20; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Bursalî Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a*, *Dersaʿādet*, 1920, nos. 29, 36, 45, 56; idem in *IA*, s.v.; *Istanbul Kitapliklari Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, no. 13.

(Halil Inalcik)

AḤMAD PAS̲H̲A GEDIK, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Serbia, he was taken into Murād II's palace as an *iç-og̲h̲lanî* and became for a short time *beglerbegi* of Rūm (Toḳat) under Meḥmed (Muḥammad) II before being appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia in 1461. He kept this post until he was made a vizier in 1470. He played a decisive role in consolidating the new conquests in Anatolia against the Ḳaramanids and Aḳ Ḳoyunlus. He first distinguished

himself by capturing Koylī Ḥiṣār (1461). In 1469-72 he subdued the mountainous part of Ḳaraman-ili and its coastal area, taking ʿAlāʾiyya in 1471, Silifke, Mokan, Gorigos and Lulye (Lullon) in 1472. In 1472 a dangerous attack of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu forces, which, led by the Ḳaramanid prince Pīr Aḥmad, had advanced as far as Ḥāmid-ili, was repelled by Gedik Aḥmed, who subsequently reconquered Ḳaramān-ili. According to Neshrī, 211, he played an important part in the victory over Uzūn Ḥasan [*q.v.*] in 878/1473. Later we find him in Ič-ili fighting successfully against the Ḳaramanid princes who had retaken it with the help of a Christian fleet. During this campaign Aḥmed captured Minan, Silifke, massacred or banished the local chieftains in Ṭash-ili (1473-4). Having been the second vizier up to this time, he became the first after the execution of the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd in 1474 (Kemāl Pasha-zāde). He was sent by Meḥmed II against the Genoese in the Crimea, where he took Kaffa (June 1475), Soldaya and Tana, and besieged Mangup (which was to be captured later by Yaʿḳūb Beg (December 1475)). Aḥmed also signed an agreement with the new *khān* Mengli Girāy whom he had saved from prison in Kaffa, by which Mengli Girāy accepted the sultan's protection. Aḥmed's self-confidence roused the sultan's displeasure and when he dared to disagree with the sultan on the subject of an expedition to Scutari in Albania, he was imprisoned in Rumeli Ḥiṣār (1477). In 1478 he was released and made *Kapudan* of the fleet. In 1479 he seized Santa Maura from Leonardo Tocco (who fled to Apulia), and setting sail from Valona, he captured Otranto on 11 August 1480. When in the next spring he gathered in Valona a new army to make further conquests from Otranto, he was persuaded to uphold the new sultan, Bāyezīd II, against his brother Djem Sulṭān, and played a decisive part in securing the throne for Bāyezīd. But as he would not, or could not, capture Djem in his flight to Mamlūk territory, the suspicious sultan put him into prison. This, however, led to a tumult among the *ḳapi-ḳulu*, so that he had to be rehabilitated. After the failure of Djem's second attempt to seize the throne, Bāyezīd felt himself strong enough to put Aḥmed to death (6 Shawwāl 887/18 Nov. 1482), though this caused a new tumult among the *ḳapi-ḳulu*.—A district in Istanbul is called after Gedik Aḥmed because of his pious foundations there and the mosque of Gedik Aḥmed in Afyon is a fine example of old Ottoman architecture.

Bibliography: Neshrī, *Djihān-nümā* (Taeschner); Kemāl Pasha-zāde (MS Fātiḥ 4205); Urudj, *Tawārikh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* (Babinger); D. da Lezze (G. M. Angiolello), *Historia Turchesca*, Bucarest 1910; Hammer-Purgstall, index; S. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey*, Urbana 1948; Fr. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, Munich 1953; *IA*, s.v. (by M. H. Yinanç). (Halil Inalcik)

AḤMAD PASHA KHĀʾIN, Ottoman Vizier. Georgian in origin, Aḥmed entered Selīm I's palace as *ič-oghlani*; later, as *büyük emīr-i ākhūr* he took part in the campaign against the Mamlūks in 1516-7 and became *beglerbegi* of Rūm-ili in 1519. In the campaign of Süleymān I against Belgrade Aḥmed's plan of operations was accepted. Accordingly he took Bögürdelen (Sabacz) (2 Shaʿbān 927/8 July 1521) and invaded Syrmia. As a reward for his services in the siege of Belgrade the sultan appointed him vizier of the *dīwān* (autumn of 1521). In the campaign against Rhodes he, as commander-in-chief, was responsible for the successful operations during the landing and the siege. Subsequently he negotiated with the knights of St. John the terms of surrender of the castle (2 Ṣafar 929/21 Dec. 1522). Aḥmed Pasha was instrumental in causing the fall of the Grand Vizier Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and expected to be promoted from the third viziership to the first, as the second vizier was in Egypt. But, contrary to custom, the grand vizierate was given to the *khāṣṣ oda-bashī* Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]. Deeply disappointed Aḥmed asked the sultan for the governorship of Egypt (19 August 1523). There he reconciled the discontented Mamlūks as well as the bedouin chieftains who were in a state of great agitation after the death of Khayrī Beg. Süleymān, still under Ibrāhīm's influence, appointed Ḳara Mūsā governor of Egypt and charged him with Aḥmed's execution. On discovering this, Aḥmed decided to declare his independence with the title of Sultan (January 1524). He massacred and dispersed the Janissaries in the castle of Cairo and established relations with the Christian powers against the Ottomans. Süleymān sent an army to Egypt under the vizier Ayās Pasha, while Aḥmed's troops were secretdly encouraged to turn against him. One of his officers, Ḳāḍī-zāde Meḥmed Beg, made an attempt on his life in a public bath. Though wounded, Aḥmed succeeded in escaping to the Banū Bakr Bedouins, who, however, finally delivered him to be beheaded.

Bibliography: Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mamālik we-Deredjāt al-Masālik* (MS Fātiḥ 4423); Süheylī, *Taʾrikh-i Miṣr al-Djadīd*, Istanbul 1145; Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt*, Istanbul 1274, 507-40; Pečewī, i, 71-9; Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vols. xxxv-xxxviii, Venice 1879-1903; Hammer-Purgstall, index; J. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs*, Urbana 1942.

(Halil Inalcik)

AḤMAD RAFĪḲ (he assumed the family name of Altīnay), Turkish historian. He was born in Beshiktash, Istanbul, in 1880, and educated in the Kuleli military lycée and the military school (*Ḥarbiyye Mektebi*), became an officer, but for most of the time was engaged in teaching geography and French. In 1909 he was appointed to the General Staff, as editor of the *ʿAskerī Medjmūʿa*, in which he himself published articles on military subjects. After becoming a member of the *Taʾrikh Endjümeni*, he retired and devoted himself entirely to his studies. From 1917 to 1933 he was professor of history in the University of Istanbul. He died on 10 Oct. 1937.

He wrote a very large number of historical books, partly of a scholarly, partly of a more popular character, and published many documents concerning Ottoman history from the archives. Among his best known books are those on life in old Istanbul (*Hicri X uncu*—or respectively *XI inci*, *XII inci*, *XIII üncü—Asirda Istanbul Hayati*), and the series of monographs: *Gečmish ʿAṣirlarda Türk Ḥayāti*. Numerous articles by him were published in *TOEM*, *Yeni Medjmūʿa*, *Ḥayāt*, *Edebiyat Fakültesi*, *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*.

Bibliography: Reşad Ekrem Koçi, *Ahmed Refik*, Istanbul 1938; Ismail Habib, *Edebiyat Tarihi*, Istanbul 1942, 384; O. Spies, *Die türkische Prosaliteratur der Gegenwart*, Berlin 1943, 83-7 (with full list of his works). (A. Tietze)

AḤMAD RĀSIM, Turkish writer, b. 1864 in Sarīgüzel or Sarīgez, a quarter of Fātiḥ, Istanbul, d. 21 Sept. 1932 in the island of Heybeliada and buried there. In early life he lost his father Bahā al-Dīn, who belonged to the family of Mentesh-oghlu from Cyprus, and was brought up by his mother.

From 1292/1875 to 1300/1882-3 he attended the school Dār ül-Shafaḳa in Istanbul, where he was attracted to art and literature and decided to become a writer; and to this profession (or, as he himself calls it, "the Sublime Porte Road", *Bāb-i ʿĀlī Djaddesi*) he remained faithful throughout all later political changes. Like many other writers he began as a journalist, and almost all the more important Turkish papers received contributions from his pen. He afterwards collected his numerous articles and sketches, for example in the two volumes of *Maḳālāt we-Muṣāḥabāt* (1325) and the four volumes entitled *ʿÖmr-i Edebī* (1315-19). The latter is not an account of his life but reflects his spiritual development and the feelings and emotions reflected in his publications of different years.

Aḥmad Rāsim's output became in time very extensive; in all, he is said to have produced about 140 works of larger or smaller size. Nevertheless he was not a polygraph in the depreciatory sense of the word; before dealing with a subject he always studied it thoroughly and then wrote on it seriously, or sometimes in the lightly humorous fashion of which he was a master, or again in a pleasing conversational way, but always with artistic feeling and in his particular style, which was new and independent of existing schools and coteries. He had a great success with his public; he himself created a school of writers, and his influence has been strongly felt in Turkish literature.

His literary work in the fields of the novel, short story and tale, includes his early novels *Meyl-i Dil* (1890) and *Tadjārib-i Ḥayāt* (1891) (short analysis of both in P. Horn, *Gesch. der Türkischen Moderne*, 46 f.), the patriotic novel *Mashāḳḳ-i Ḥayāt* (1308), the stories *Tedjribesiz ʿAshḳ* (1311) and *Mekteb Arkadashlm* (1311), a little later *Nākām* (1315) and another patriotic novel *ʿAsker-oghlu* (1315) and the more lyrical *Kitābe-yi Ghamm* (1315) and *ʿAndalib* (in verse).

At the same time he had from the first a preference for history and sought to arouse an interest in it among his fellow-countrymen by presenting his carefully prepared compilations in popular form. After earlier works on the history of Rome, of civilisation, etc., he devoted himself to the history of Turkey, and produced a work on Turkish history from Selīm II to Murād V, entitled *Istibdāddan Ḥākimiyyet-i Milliyyeye* (1341-2), and a general survey, *ʿOthmānlī Taʾrīkhi* (1326-30). A valuable supplement to these is formed by his "City Letters", *Shehir Mektūblarī* (1328-29), which contain an unsurpassed description of old Istanbul life in all its variety, written in a vivid and stimulating manner. In *Menāḳib-i Islām* (1325) the Muslim festivals, mosques, and other religious matters are dealt with. To the history of literature belongs his book on Shināsī [*q.v.*], which was intended as an introduction to the history of the Turkish Moderns (*Maṭbūʿāt Taʾrīkhine Medkhal. Ilk büyük Muḥarrirlerden Shināsī*, 1927). *Maṭbūʿāt Khāṭīrlarīndan* (1924) contains his personal recollections of Turksh writers, and *Falaḳa* (1927) of his own schooldays and the old system of education in general.

Aḥmad Rāsim was also a prolific writer of school books on grammar, rhetoric, history, etc., and composed also a work on model letters (*ʿIlāweli Khazīne-yi Mekātīb yahod mükemmel Münsheʾāt*, 5th ed. 1318). In addition he translated many western works, and a large collection from his early period is called "Selections from Western Literature" (*Edebiyyāt-i Gharbiyyeden bir Nebdhe*, 1887). He was a talented composer as well, and left 65 songs now preserved in the Dār ül-Shafaḳa library.

For this great literary activity Aḥmad Rāsim required a measure of freedom which did not exist under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and such as he could hardly have enjoyed at all as a state official. He was, however, twice a member of a commission of the Conseil de l'Instruction Publique (*Endjümen-i Teftīsh we-Muʿāyana*), but only for a short time. He showed his interest in religious matters in 1924, when after the abolition of the caliphate he wrote an article in *Waḳit* on 4 March 1924 on the relics (*amānāt, mukhallafāt*) of the Prophet, cloak (*khīrḳa*), banner (*liwāʾ*), praying-carpet (*sadjdjāda*) etc., which also appeared in Cairo and Damascus in Arabic. He proposed to make these relics accessible to the public in a museum (cf. C. A. Nallino, in *OM*, 1924, 220 f.). From 1927 he was a deputy for Istanbul along with men like ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and Khalīl Edhem (cf. *OM*, 1927, 416; 1931, 227 and Meḥmed Zekī, *Encyclopédie biographique de Turquie*, i, 1928, 23 and ii, 1929, 88), but suffered from ill-health in his last years.

Bibliography: *Newsāl-i Millī*, i, 1330, 265-7; Ismāʿīl Ḥabīb, *Türk Tedjeddüd Edebiyyātī Taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1925, 567-9; *Tanzimattanberi*, 1940, 358-64; Ali Canip, *Edebiyat*, 1929, 171-4; idem *Türk Edebiyatī Antolojisi*, 1934, 98-120; Bulḳurluzade Riḍā, *Muntakhabāt-i Bedāyiʿ-i Edebiyye*, 1326, 347-50; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, 1910, 217; Hüseyin Djāhid, *Kagawlarīm*, 1326, 259-90; Ahmet Ihsan, *Matbuat hatīralarīm*, 1930, 76; Wl. Gordlewskij, *Očerki po nowoy osmanskoy literaturie*, Moscow 1912, 76, 100; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei* (*Der islamische Orient*, vol. ii), Leipzig 1910, index, p. 252; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asir türk şairleri*, viii, 1939, 1358-62; Reşat Ekrem Koçī, *Ahmed Rasim, hayatī, seçme şiir ve yazīlarī*, 1938; Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurlarī ansiklopedisi*, 24; Nihad Sami Banarlī, *Resimli türk edebiyatī tarihi*, 328-9; *IA*, s.v. (by S. E. Siyavuşgil); Suat Hizarcī, *Ahmed Rasim* (Türk Klasikleri, 30), 1953. (W. Björkman)

AḤMAD RASMĪ, Ottoman statesman and historian. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, known as Resmi came from Rethymno (Turk. Resmo; hence his epithet?) in Crete and was of Greek descent (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 202). He was born in 1112/1700 and came in 1146/1733 to Istanbul, where he was educated, married a daughter of the Reʾīs Efendi Taʾūḳdji Muṣṭafā and entered the service of the Porte. He held a number of offices in various towns (cf. *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 380 f.). In Ṣafar 1171/Oct. 1757 he went as Ottoman envoy to Vienna and on his return made a written report of his impressions and experiences. In Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1176/May 1763 he was again sent to Europe, this time as ambassador to the Prussian court in Berlin. He also wrote a very full account of this mission, which early attracted attention, in the West also, for its views on Prussian policy, its description of Berlin and its inhabitants and all sort of observations on related topics. After filling a number of important offices he died on the 2 Shawwāl 1197/31 August 1783; on this date cf. Babinger, 309, note 2) in Istanbul. His tomb is in the Selīmiyye quarter of Scutari.

In addition to the descriptions already mentioned of his embassies (*sefāret-nāme's*) to Vienna and Berlin, Aḥmed Resmī wrote in connection with the Russo-Turkish war and the peace of Küčük

Ḳaynardje (1769-74) a treatise entitled *Khulāṣet ül-Iʿtibār*, in which as a participator in the campaign and eye-witness, he gave his impressions of this important period in the history of Turkey. Of especial value are his biographical collections, particularly his *Khalīfet ül-Rüʾesāʾ* (composed in 1157/1744) with the biographies of 64 *reʾīs ül-kuttāb* (*reʾis efendiler*) and his *Ḥamīlet ül-Küberāʾ*, in which he gives the lives of the chief eunuchs of the imperial *ḥarem* (*ḳîzlar aghalarî*). Of a similar nature is his continuation (written in 1177/1766) of the *Wefayāt* of Meḥmed Emīn b. Ḥādjdjī Meḥmed called Alay-beyī-zāde, in which he gives in twelve lists the deaths of famous men and women (cf. the accurate list of contents in Hammer-Purgstall, ix, 187 f.). He also wrote several other works on geology and proverbs.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 380 f.; Brusalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, iii, 58 f. (with list of works); Babinger, 309-12 (add to the list of the MSS of his *sefer-nāme's*: Berlin, Or. 4° 1502, fol. 27v-46v (incomplete), Paris, Suppl. Turc 510 (?); Paris, collection of Cl. Huart and the MSS described in *İstanbul Kitaplîklarî Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmalarî Kataloglarî*, i, no. 483; add also the Polish transl. *Podroż Resmi Ahmed-Efendego do Polski i poselstwo jégo do Prus* 1177 (according to Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 239 ff.) in J. J. S. Sękowski, *Collectanea z Dziejopisów Tureckich*, ii, Warsaw 1825, 222-89; for MSS of the *Khalīfet ül-Rüʾesāʾ* and the *Ḥamīlet ül-Küberāʾ*, see also *İstanbul Kitaplîklarî etc.*, nos. 412 and 413).

(F. Babinger)

AḤMAD AL-RĀZĪ. [See AL-RĀZĪ].

AḤMAD SHĀH is the name of various Muslim monarchs in India. The most notable are:

1. Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur Mudjāhid al-Dīn Abū Naṣr, son and successor of Muḥammad Shāh, Grand Mughal of Delhi. He was born in 1138/1725 and came to the throne in 1161/1748. The actual ruler during his reign was Ṣafdar Djang, Nawāb of Oudh, who was also appointed vizier of the new emperor. In order to check the Rohēlas he called upon the Marāṭhās for help, which resulted in their plundering the provinces of his realm, while the Afghāns devastated the Pandjāb. Aḥmad Shāh himself was an incapable ruler and lived for pleasure. After the dismissal of the vizier Ṣafdar Djang his reign soon came to an end; another vizier, ʿImād al-Mulk Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Khān caused him to be declared unworthy to govern, had him put into prison and had his eyes put out 1167/1754. Aḥmad Shāh died in 1189/1775.

2. Aḥmad Shāh I, II and III, Bahmanid rulers; see BAHMANIDS.

3. Aḥmad Shāh b. Muḥammad Shāh Shams al-Dīn, prince of Bengal (835-46/1431-42); see RĀDJĀ GANESH.

4. Aḥmad Shāh I and II, rulers of Gudjarāt, see GUDJARĀT.

5. Aḥmad Shāh, founder of the dynasty of the Niẓām Shāhs; see NIẒĀM SHĀHS.

AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ, the first of the Sadōzay rulers of Afghānistān and founder of the Durrānī empire, belonged to the Sadōzay section of the Popalzay clan of the Abdālī [*q.v.*] tribe of Afghāns. In the early 18th century the Abdālīs were to be found chiefly around Harāt. Under their leader Zamān Khān, the father of Aḥmad Khān, they resisted Persian attempts to take Harāt until, in 1728, they were forced to submit to Nādir Shāh. Some time later they rebelled under Dhu'l-Fiḳār Khān, the brother of Aḥmad Khān, but were once more defeated by the Persian ruler who, in 1731, captured Harāt. Recognizing the fighting qualities of the Abdālīs he enlisted them in his army, and, in 1737, after the expulsion of the Ghilzays, he allowed the Abdālīs to settle in Ḳandahār. Aḥmad Khān Abdālī distinguished himself in Nādir's service and quickly rose from the position of personal attendant (*yasāwal*) to the command of Nādir's Abdālī contingent, in which capacity he accompanied the Persian conqueror on his Indian expedition. In Djumādā II 1160/June 1747, Nādir Shāh was assassinated by Ḳizilbāshī conspirators at Kučān in Khurāsān. This prompted Aḥmad Khān and the Afghān soldiery to set out for Ḳandahār. On the way they elected Aḥmad Khān as their leader, hailing him as Aḥmad Shāh. This election was facilitated by the withdrawal in his favour of Hādjdjī Djamāl Khān, the chief of the Muḥammadzays or Bārakzays, the great rivals of the Sadōzays. Aḥmad Shāh assumed the title of *Durr-i Durrān* (Pearl of Pearls), after which the Abdālī tribe were known as Durrānīs. He was crowned at Ḳandahār where coins were struck in his name. Like the Persian conqueror who served as his model, he organized a special force dependent on himself, known as the Ghulām Shāhīs, a heterogeneous body recruited from Tādjīks, Ḳizilbāshes, and Yūsufzays; but he naturally relied chiefly on his immediate followers the Durrānīs. With Ḳandahār as his base he easily extended his control over Ghaznī, Kābul, and Peshāwar. His aims were to consolidate his power in Afghānistān and to increase his prestige and provide employment for his turbulent followers by means of foreign wars in which course he was favoured by the anarchical conditions prevailing in India. Regarding himself as heir to Nādir Shāh's eastern dominions, he laid claim to the provinces which Nādir had wrested from the Mughal emperor. In accordance with this policy, but with no intention of founding an empire in India, he invaded India nine times between 1747 and 1769. He set out from Peshāwar on his first Indian expedition in December 1747. By January 1748 Lahore and Sarhind had been captured. Eventually Mughal forces were sent from Delhi to resist his advance. Lacking artillery and greatly outnumbered he was defeated at Manupur, in March 1748, by Muʿīn al-Mulk, the son of the *wazīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn, who had been killed in a preliminary skirmish. Aḥmad Shāh retreated to Afghānistān and Muʿīn al-Mulk was appointed governor of the Pandjāb. Before Muʿīn al-Mulk could consolidate his position, Aḥmad Shāh, in December 1749, again crossed the Indus. Receiving no reinforcements from Delhi Muʿīn al-Mulk was forced to come to terms. In accordance with instructions from Delhi, Aḥmad Shāh was promised the revenues of the *Čahār Maḥāll* (Gudjrāt, Awrangābād, Siālkot, and Pasrūr) which had been granted by the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh to Nādir Shāh in 1739. While he had been absent in the Panjāb, Nūr Muḥammad Alīzay, a former Afghān general of Nādir Shāh, had conspired to dethrone him. On his return to Ḳandahār the conspiracy was suppressed and Nūr Muḥammad executed. He next turned his attention to his western frontier. By 1163/1751 Harāt, Mashhad, and Nīshāpūr had been captured. Mīrzā Shāhrukh, the grandson of Nādir Shāh, was forced to surrender several districts bordering on Harāt and to acknowledge Afghān suzerainty on his coins. In the same year Aḥmad

S͟hāh came into conflict with the rising Ḳād͟jār power but was repulsed at Astarābād beyond which he was unable to advance. He was more successful across the Hindū Kus͟h where he annexed Balk͟h and Badak͟hs͟hān after which the Oxus roughly formed his northern frontier.

The non-payment of the revenues of the *Čahār Maḥāll* was the reason for his third Indian expedition of 1751-2. Lahore was besieged for four months and the surrounding country devastated. Muʿīn al-Mulk, without reinforcements, was defeated in March 1752, but was reinstated by Aḥmad S͟hāh to whom the emperor formally ceded the two *ṣūbas* of Lahore and Multān. During this expedition Kas͟hmīr was annexed to the Durrānī empire. By April 1752 Aḥmād S͟hāh was once more back in Afg͟hānistān. Muʿīn al-Mulk found the Pand͟jāb a troublesome charge and his death in November 1753 only served to intensify the anarchy. All power was for a time in the hands of his widow Mug͟halānī Bēgam whose profligacy led to constant rebellions. The Mug͟hal *wazīr* ʿImād al-Mulk took advantage of this anarchy to recover the Pand͟jāb for the empire and entrusted its administration to Adīna Beg. Aḥmad S͟hāh immediately set out to recover his lost provinces. Lahore was reached towards the end of December 1756, and, after an unopposed march, Delhi was entered on 28 January 1757. The city was plundered and the defenceless inhabitants massacred. A similar fate befell the inhabitants of Mathurā, Brindāban, and Āgra. Towards the end of March 1757, an outbreak of cholera amongst his troops forced Aḥmad S͟hāh to leave India. Before leaving he married Ḥaḍrat Bēgam, daughter of the late emperor Muḥammad S͟hāh, while his son Tīmūr was married to Zuhra Bēgam, daughter of the puppet emperor ʿĀlamgīr II. The territory of Sarhind was annexed to his empire. Nad͟jīb al-Dawla, the Rohilla leader who had supported him, was left in charge of Delhi and Tīmūr remained as viceroy of the Pand͟jāb. He had no sooner left India than the Sikhs, together with Adīna Beg, rose in revolt against Tīmūr. Early in 1758 Adīna Beg invited the Marāṭhās to expel the Afg͟hāns from the Pand͟jāb. This was accomplished by the Marāthās who actually crossed the Indus and held Pes͟hāwar for a few months. (The evidence which corroborates Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 1921, 507, is to be found in the Persian manuscript *ak͟hbārāts* (news-letters) in the archives of the Bharat Itihasa Samahodhak Mandal and in the *Chandrachuda Daftar*, i, 1920, ii, 1934. See also H. R. Gupta's *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, 1944, 175-6.) These events brought Aḥmad S͟hāh to India a fourth time (1759-61). Before setting out he marched against Naṣīr K͟hān, the Brahūī chief of Kalāt in Balūčistān who had declared his independence. Despite Aḥmad S͟hāh's failure to capture Kalāt, Naṣīr K͟hān agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty and to furnish contingents for his army. The Marāṭhās rapidly evacuated the Pand͟jāb before the Afg͟hān advance and fell back on Delhi. Sadāshiv Bhāu, the brother of the Marāṭhā *pes͟hwa*, was entrusted with the formidable task of ousting the Afg͟hāns from northern India. The Marāṭhās had not only to face a coalition of the northern Muslim chiefs who had joined forces with Aḥmad S͟hāh but they had to fight without the assistance of the Rād͟jputs and other Hindu powers whom their extortionate demands for *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* had estranged. The Marāṭhās occupied Delhi (22 July 1760) but it was of little use as a base since food, fodder, and money were unprocurable. The situation, so far as supplies were concerned, was temporarily relieved by the capture of Kund͟jpura (17 October 1760). But this advance proved disastrous as the Afg͟hān army crossed the D͟jumna cutting off Marāṭhā communications with Delhi. The Bhāu now decided to entrench his forces at Pānīpat. Deprived of all supplies by more mobile forces he was compelled to leave his entrenchments and attack the Afg͟hāns. Although the Marāṭhās fought desperately they failed to withstand the fierce Afg͟hān onslaught under Aḥmad S͟hāh's expert generalship and were routed with enormous losses at Pānīpat on 14 January 1761. Aḥmad S͟hāh made no attempt to consolidate his position and in March of the same year was once more on his way back to Afg͟hānistān. The Afg͟hān victory at Pānīpat had far-reaching consequences. It enabled the Niẓām to recover from his defeat at Udgīr (1760), and probably saved the state of Hyderabad from extinction. It also contributed to the rise of an independent Muslim power in Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī. It is usual to regard Pānīpat as a temporary set-back from which the Marāṭhās rapidly recovered. This view ignores the real importance of the victory which granted the English the respite needed for the consolidation of their power in Bengal.

After Pānīpat the main factor in the history of northern India was the growing strength of the Sikhs whose attacks on Aḥmad S͟hāh's lines of communication gradually led to a cessation of the Afg͟hān menace. It was against the Pand͟jāb Sikhs that his sixth expedition (1762) was directed. They were defeated with enormous slaughter near Gūd͟jarwāl in a battle known to Sikhs as the Ghallūghārā. Aḥmad S͟hāh remained in the Pand͟jāb for nine months during which Kas͟hmīr whose Afg͟hān governor had revolted was re-annexed to his empire. But the Sikhs were by no means crushed. Their attacks on Afg͟hān garrisons necessitated three more expeditions between 1764 and 1769. Aḥmad S͟hāh had also to contend with serious revolts nearer home. The Aymāḳ near Harāt rebelled in 1763, and, in 1767, serious disturbances broke out in K͟hurāsān. At Aḥmad S͟hāh's death, in 1184/1773, his empire roughly extended from the Oxus to the Indus and from Tibet to K͟hurāsān. It embraced Kas͟hmīr, Pes͟hāwar, Multān, Sind, Balūčistān, Persian K͟hurāsān, Harāt, Ḳandahār, Kābul, and Balk͟h. Even in his lifetime it was apparent that he would be unable to maintain distant conquests like the Pand͟jāb. Balūčistān was practically independant, and K͟hurāsān was obviously destined to become a Ḳād͟jār possession. Under his successors the Durrānī empire rapidly disintegrated.

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AḤMAD AL-**SHAYKH** (known locally as AMADU SÊKU) Tokolor (Takrūrī) ruler, son of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tal [*q.v.*] the Tokolor conqueror of Western Sudan. Before he proceeded to the conquest of Māsina which cost him his life, ʿUmar left Aḥmad in charge of the Bambara kingdom of Segu, and appointed him *khalīfa* of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīḳa* for the Sudan. ʿUmar died (1864) before he was able to consolidate his conquests and left Aḥmad to face, not only a heritage of dynastic troubles and revolts of subjected peoples, but also the steady advance of the French. His titular inheritance to the paternal power was not seriously contested, but the unity of the military empire was weakened because the various governors ruled their regions in practical independence. These were his brothers Ḥabīb (ruling Dingiray) and Mukhtār (at Koniakari), his cousin al-Tidjānī (who ruled Māsina independently from 1864 to 1887), and his father's slave Muṣṭafā at Nyoro. Aḥmad's vain attempt to avert the break up involved him in continual warfare. His early years were occupied in dealing with the Bambara of his own kingdom, who were never crushed. His Tokolor chiefs intrigued with his relatives, the revolt of Ḥabīb in 1868 being only one of many. In 1874 he assumed the title of *amīr al-mu'minīn*. The period from 1878-84 witnessed the steady penetration of the French into the Sudan. The anarchy into which the country had fallen gave Aḥmad no chance of offering effective opposition, whilst hostility between him and Samori [*q.v.*] enabled the French to attack and defeat them separately. Aḥmad's brother, ʿAdjību, ruler of Dingiray, allied himself with the French. In 1884, feeling his life in danger at Segu from discontented Bambara and Tokolor, he moved to Nyoro, dispossessing his brother Muntaḳa whom he had installed there in 1873. On 6 April 1890 Segu was occupied by the French Colonel Archinard, and the following year he fled from Nyoro (occupied by Archinard on 1 Jan 1891) to Bandjagara where his defeat on 26 April 1893 brought an end to Tokolor dominion over the Sudan. He fled to the Sokoto region in Hausaland where he died in 1898.

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SHAYKH **AḤMAD SIRHINDĪ**, generally known as MUDJADDID-I ALF-I THĀNĪ, an eminent divine and mystic of Muslim India, who contributed in a considerable measure towards the rehabilitation of orthodox Islam, after the heterodoxies of the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) had had their day. He was born at Sirhind (Patiāla State, East Pandjāb) in 971/1564, being the son of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Aḥad, who traced his descent from the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He received his early education from his father and later pursued a course of higher studies at Siyālkōt. He later went to the capital, Agra, where he frequented the society of the chief minister Abu 'l-Faḍl [*q.v.*] and his brother Fayḍī [*q.v.*]. It was probably during these days that he wrote among other things a tract, entitled *Tahlīliyya* in refutation of Shīʿite views. (This tract was, subsequently, translated into Arabic by Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, with a prologue on the religious trends of the court of Akbar and the activities of Shaykh Aḥmad.) After some years, he returned to his native town. In 1008 he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī order of Ṣūfīs by Khwādja Bāḳī bi'llāh (d. 1012), who was then living in Delhi. The energy with which he controverted the doctrines of the Shīʿa, who were at that time in favour at the court of the emperor Djahāngīr, rendered him particularly odious to them and they represented his activities as dangerous to the state. An ecstatic utterance of his caused him to be summoned in 1028/1619 to the court at Agra, where his unbending attitude incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who ordered him to be confined in the fort of Gwalior. The emperor was, however, soon reconciled to him, for he not only released him after a year but bestowed upon him a *khilʿa* and a gift of money. Thereafter, the Shaykh kept in close touch with the Imperial camp, till he died in 1034/1624 and was buried at Sirhind, where his tomb is an object of veneration to this day.

Shaykh Aḥmad wrote a number of tracts on religious topics, viz., *al-Mabdaʾ wa'l-Maʿād* (Delhi 1311); *Risāla Tahlīliyya*, published as an appendix to the Lucknow edition of his *Maktūbāt*; *Maʿārif Laduniyya*; *Mukāshafāt Ghaybiyya*; *Risāla fi Ithbāt al-Nubuwwa*; *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*; *Sharḥ Rubāʿiyyāt Khwādja Bāḳī bi'llāh*, etc. But he is chiefly remembered for Letters (*Maktūbāt*), which he wrote (in Persian) to his disciples and other persons and in which he explained a large number of points, ranging over a wide area of Islamic faith and practice. These letters have exercised a great influence in favour of orthodoxy and, in their collected form, constitute one of the most important classics of religious literature produced in Muslim India. It was in recognition of his services to the cause of orthodox Islam that Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkōtī [*q.v.*] gave him the title (*laḳab*) of *Mudjaddid-i Alf-i Thānī*, i.e., the Renovator of Islam who appeared at the beginning of the second millenium of the Islamic era. Even in his life time, his influence spread as far as Afghānistān and Central Asia. After his death, it deepened still further, when his descendants and disciples, now called Mudjaddidīs, were dispersed, as a result of the unfavourable conditions produced by the rule of the Sikhs in the Pandjāb.

Although Shaykh Aḥmad was connected with several ṣūfī orders, he avoided their extravagances, especially their pantheistic tendencies; and in fact he tried to bridge the gulf between the monotheistic and pantheistic groups of ṣūfīs by putting forth the theory of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* [*q.v.*] in place of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* (pantheism). This theory is regarded as his special contribution in the field of religious thought.

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AḤMAD TĀ'IB [see ʿUTHMĀN-ZĀDE].

AḤMAD TAKŪDĀR [see ILKHĀNIDS].

AḤMAD WAFĪḲ PASHA, (AḤMED WEFĪḲ PASHA), Ottoman statesman and leading Turkish Turcologist, born 23 Shawwāl 1238/6 July 1823, died at Istanbul 22 Shaʿbān 1308/2 April 1891. He came of a family of interpreters, grandson of Bulgar-zāde Yaḥyā Nādjī, a dragoman of the Porte converted to Islam, of *rūmī* origin according to the historian Shānī-zāde ʿAṭā Allāh Efendi, of Jewish origin according to A. D. Mordtmann. Aḥmed Wefīḳ accompanied his father Rūḥ al-Dīn Meḥmed Efendi, the Turkish chargé d'affaires in Paris, studied for three years at the Lycée Saint-Louis, and returned at the age of 14 to Turkey where a full and varied career lay before him (for details see *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 308). After initial employment on the interpreting staff, his most important posts were as follows:—ambassador in Paris (1860); inspector of the Western Anatolian provinces; legendary president of the first and ephemeral Ottoman Parliament of 1876, with the rank of *wezīr* and title of *pasha*; twice Grand Vizier (for periods of 25 days and one day respectively); governor-general of Brusa. As a diplomat, he successfully defended Turkish interests at the time of the Russian occupation of the Danubian principalities and the French occupation of the Lebanon. He edited the first Imperial Year Book (1293/1876), and the newspaper *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* (in collaboration with Shināsī). He was responsible for the restoration of the Yeshil Djāmiʿ mosque at Brusa (by the French ceramist Parvillé), and for effecting the transfer of the Burgaz Owa estates in the Izmir region, which were granted to Lamartine by ʿAbd al-Madjīd (1849). It was he who was responsible for the celebrated incident in the Paris theatre concerning the production of Voltaire's *Mahomet*.

A strong personality, he was an energetic, honest and conscientious man, frank to the point of rudeness; at the same time he was whimsical and an eccentric, and possessed a dry wit. Extremely studious, and with long periods of leisure at this disposal as a result of being debarred from office by the enmity of ʿAlī Pasha, he immured himself in the library of his famous villa in Rumeli Ḥiṣār, and there produced works to which, however, he scorned to subscribe his name. Turkish studies were his special province. He was self-taught, but acquainted with western studies which, paradoxically, he underestimated; as one of the first "Turkicists", he made an impressive contribution to the Turkish purist movement. His *Lehdje-yi ʿOthmānī* (1st edition 1293/1876: 2nd edition 1306/1890), the first Turkish dictionary in Turkish worthy of the name, a concise work of which the fullest use has not yet been made, formed a basis for the work of Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Bey Frasherī and many others (see the preface to the *Supplément* of Barbier de Meynard, i, p. v). His translation, or rather adaptation, of sixteen comedies of Molière (2nd edition in Latin script, 1933) is a masterpiece. (He produced them on the stage at Brusa.) He also translated *Télémaque*, *Gil Blas de Sentillane* and the *Micromégas* of Voltaire. In eastern Turkish, he published Abu 'l-Ghāzī and, in collaboration with Belin, the *Maḥbūb al-Ḳulūb* of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī (1289/1872). A collection of proverbs (*Atalar Sözü*) figures among his other works. For his historical works, see Babinger (see below) and Enver Koray, *Türkiye tarih yayinlari bibliyografyasi*, Ankara 1952.

Aḥmed Wefīḳ was buried in the Ḳayalar ("Rocks") cemetery at Rumeli Ḥiṣār, allegedly by order of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, but once again there are probably no grounds for this assertion. Aḥmed Wefīḳ's grandfather, who owned estates in the neighbourhood, was buried in the same cemetery. The Sultan's displeasure may be explained by the fact that Aḥmed Wefīḳ had sold land to the American institution Robert College.

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AḤMAD WĀṢIF [see WĀṢIF].

AḤMAD YASAWĪ, Turkish ṣūfī shaykh of Central Asia. His life story is shrouded in legend like those of many popular saints. Son of a certain Shaykh Ibrāhīm, he was born at Sayrām (Isfīdjāb) in Turkistān during the second half of the 11th century. He lost his father at the age of seven and the family settled at Yasī. There, he began his education (it is said as a disciple of Arslan Baba),

later moving to Bukhārā where he became a disciple of the great Shaykh Yūsuf Hamadhānī, and eventually succeeded him in 555/1160. He returned to and remained in Yasī until his death in 562/1166.

Aḥmad Yasawī's tomb became a place of pilgrimage for kings and princes and was especially venerated by the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga region. A sumptuous mausoleum was erected in Yasī (later known as Turkistān) by Tīmūr [see YASĪ] and the cult of Yasawī has never decreased. Among the Turkish nomads Yasawī's doctrine was adapted to local trends and was strongly influenced by pre-islamic Turkish creeds and rituals. The *shaykh*'s first *khalīfa* was Arslan Baba's son, Manṣūr Ata (d. 594/1197) great-grandfather of Zengi Ata [*q.v.*]; the second, Saʿīd Ata (d. 615/1218), the third Ḥakīm Ata [*q.v.*] (d. 582/1188). His other successors also bore the title of *ata*. Yasawism established itself in Eastern Turkistān, later spread to Mā warā al-Nahr, Khwārizm, as far as Bulghār, Khurāsān and Persia, and penetrated into Anatolia with the migration of Yasawī shaykhs, among whom Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh and Sarī Saltuḳ [*qq.v.*] are outstanding.

We know that Aḥmad Yasawī wrote vernacular Turkish verse in the old syllabic metre in order to popularize and spread his mystic doctrine. But the poems to be found in the extant collection called *Dīwān-i Ḥikmet* attributed to him (*ḥikmet* = "religious poem"), can hardly be genuine. The original work of Aḥmad Yasawī has not come down to us and the oldest MSS belong to the 17th century. But we can safely assert that these poems reproduce the true spirit and style of Aḥmad Yasawī, since we know that the verses of many a mystic leader were often faithfully imitated, for centuries, by later disciples (cf. Yūnus Emre and his followers). The poems in the *Dīwān-i Ḥikmet* are of a didactic character and express, in popular language, Islamic and mystic precepts. They gave rise to a new *genre* in Turkish literature : mystic folk literature which, in the following centuries, flourished side by side with secular folk literature and classical literature.

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ADĪB **AḤMAD YUKNAKĪ** (the *nisba* may possibly refer to the village of Yūghnāk, south of Tāshkent), early Turkish poet of the 12th century, author of the didactic poem in quatrains, *ʿAybat al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, dedicated to a certain Dād Sipāhsālār Beg. Its subject matter is related to that of Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib's [q.v.] *Kutadghu Bilig*; its language is also akin to, though not identical with, that of the *Kutadghu Bilig*. The content is, however, more Islamic in character, and more Arabic and Persian words are used. It was edited by Nedjīb ʿĀṣim, under the title *Hibet al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1334. Critical edition by R. Rahmati Arat, Istanbul 1951.

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AḤMADĀBĀD is the capital of the district of that name in India (Presidency of Bombay), on the river Sābarmatī. In 1901 the town numbered 185, 899 inhabitants, of which about 1/8 were Muslims, the district (3,816 square miles = 9,883 square kilometres) containing 795,967 inhabitants. Aḥmadābād is one of the most beautiful towns in India and is famous for the manufacture of gold and silver brocade, of silk, cotton and satin (*kamkhāb*) materials. It is equally noted for its brass and bronze works, and for the manufacture of mother of pearl ornaments, of japanned goods and wood-carving (e. g. betel-boxes, *pāndān*). There are also a great many monuments of ancient Muslim art, amongst others mosques and mausoleums of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Aḥmadābād was founded in 1411 by Aḥmad Shāh I sultan of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], (who made the old Hindu town of Aṣaval his capital), and was enriched by him with countless buildings. In the first century of the Gudjarāt dynasty it rapidly attained prosperity. But after that it fell into decline; it enjoyed another period of prosperity under the reign of the Mughal emperors, until, in the 18th century, it again deteriorated. In 1818 the English took possession of the town.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer*, i, (1901), 492; *Bombay Gazetteer*, iv-B (1904); *Muhammedan Architecture of Ahmedabad A.D. 1412-1520* (1900); Th. Hope, *Ahmedabad*; Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*; Schlagintweit, *Handel und Gewerbe in Ahmedabad* (*Oesterr. Monatsschr. für den Orient*, 1884, 160 ff.).

AḤMADĪ, TĀDJ AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. KHIḌR, the greatest Ottoman poet of the 8th/14th century. His place and date of birth are not known: the weight of the evidence is in favour of Germiyān, before 735/1334-5. After learning all that Anatolia had to teach him, he went to Cairo to study under Akmal al-Dīn (al-Bābartī), commentator of the *Hidāya*; he also made friends with Ḥādjdjī Pasha and Molla Fenārī. Returning home, he entered the service of the Germiyān-oghlu in Kütahya, Sulaymān Shāh, a well-known patron of poetry, who ruled over the principality from c. 769/1367 to 788/1386. (He wrote for him the *Iskander-nāme*, the final version of which was, however, presented to Sulaymān Čelebi.) Later he joined the court of his patron's son-in-law, the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I, and was especially favoured by his son, Sulaymān Čelebi. If the traditional account is to be believed, he met Tīmūr after his victory at Ankara. What is certain is that the poet seized the earliest opportunity of rejoining Sulaymān Čelebi at his court in Adrianople, although from several hostile references in his poems to the people of Brusa it appears that Aḥmedī spent some years in the latter city. This hostility is understandable in view of Aḥmedī's devotion to Sulaymān, as the people of Brusa sided with Meḥmed Čelebi (Muḥammad I). His *dīwān* contains many panegyrics on Sulaymān, to whom he also dedicated the final version of the *Iskender-nāme*, *Djemshīd we-Khurshīd*, and *Tarwīḥ al-Arwāḥ*. At the end of his moving

elegy on the death of Sulaymān (814/1411) the poet did not neglect to add a prayer for the new sultan, Meḥmed, to whom he subsequently dedicated some of his poems. He died at Amasia in 815/1413.

His main works are the following. (1) *Iskender-nāme*, on the life and deeds of Alexander the Great, the subject matter of which is borrowed from Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, but is expanded by many didactic digressions. The language is singularly pure Turkish and the metre is the native *parmak ḥisābī*. The poem ends with a trivial sketch of Islamic history, the last part of which, however, is a highly important versified history of the Ottomans, the first we have, on which later historians frequently drew. (The story is brought down to different dates in different versions.) (2) *Djemshīd we-Khurshīd*, a *mathnawī* on the theme of the love of a Chinese prince for a Byzantine princess, based on Salmān Sāwadjī's poem of the same title. (3) *Tarwīḥ al-Arwāḥ*, a didactic *mathnawī* on medicine and preservation of health, apparently written for the edification of Sulaymān Čelebi. (4) A *dīwān*.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿUḳūd al-Naṣīḥa*, (quoted by Taḳī al-Dīn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, MS); Tashköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya*, 70 f.; the *Tedhkeres* of Sehī, 54 f., Laṭīfī, 82, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi; ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-Akhbār*, v, 128; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 260 ff.; Babinger, 11 ff.; J. Thury, *Török nyelvemlékek*, Budapest 1903, 31 ff. (Turkish transl. in *MTM*, ii, 110 ff.); S. Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, i, 384 ff.; Nihad Sami Banarli, *Aḥmedî ve-Dâsitân-i Tewârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmān*, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 1939, 49 ff.; C. Brockelmann, in *ZDMG*, 1919, 1 ff. (on Aḥmedī's language); P. Wittek, in *Isl.*, 1932, 205; idem, in *Byzantion*, 1936, 303 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Fuad Köprülü). (G. L. Lewis)

AḤMADĪ [see SIKKA].

AḤMADĪLĪS, a dynasty of princes of Marāgha. Distinction must be made between the eponym Aḥmadīl and his successors. Aḥmadīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī al-Kurdī was a descendant of the local branch of the originally Arab family of Rawwād (of Azd) established in Tabrīz (see RAWWĀDIDS). In the course of time the family became Kurdicized, and even the name Aḥmadīl is apparently formed with an Iranian (Kurdish) diminutive suffix *-īl*. Aḥmadīl took part in the anti-Crusade of 505/1111. During the siege of Tell Bāshir, Jocelyn made an arrangement with him and he withdrew from the town (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, *RHC*, iii, 599). Shortly afterwards he left Syria altogether in the hope of winning the succession to the Shāh-i Arman [*q.v.*] Suḳmān (d. 506/1112). As Suḳmān had subjugated Tabrīz, Aḥmadīl was probably interested in recapturing the basic fief of his ancestors. According to Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī (*RHC*, iii, 556), Ahmadīl could muster 5,000 horsemen and his revenue amounted to 400,000 dinars yearly. In 510 (or 508) he was assassinated in Baghdād by the Ismāʿīlīs, to whom he had caused much harm (*RHC*, ibid.; Ibn al-Athīr, s.a. 510).

The study of his successors is complicated by the variants of their names and titles used in different sources. Aḥmadīl was apparently succeeded by one of his slaves, bearing the Turkish name Aḳ Sunḳur "al-Aḥmadīlī", who is often mentioned in the struggles between the sons of Sultan Muḥammad (d. 511/1118). In 514 Masʿūd b. Muḥammad appointed his former *atābek* Ḳasīm al-Dawla al-Bursuḳī to Marāgha, but Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad restored Aḳ Sunḳur (who had come to Baghdād) to Marāgha. After the death in 515/1121 of Kün-tughdi, *atābek* to Malik Ṭughril b. Muḥammad, Aḳ Sunḳur was anxious to succeed him; Tughril ordered him to raise 10,000 horse and went with him to conquer Ardabīl. During the unsuccessful siege of this town, Marāgha was occupied by Djuyūsh-beg, sent by Sultan Maḥmūd. Under 516/1128 the Georgian chronicle (Brosset, i, 368) mentions the defeat of the "*atābek* of Arrān" Aghsunthul (*Aḳ Sunḳur), whom Ṭughril had directed to carry out a raid in Sharwān. In 522 he was employed to frustrate the intrigues of the Mazyadid Dubays. Under 524 we hear of Aḳ Sunḳur, *atābek* to Dāʾūd b. Muḥammad, supporting the candidature of this prince. In 526 Ṭughril defeated his nephew Dāʾūd and occupied Marāgha and Tabrīz (al-Bundārī, 161). Aḳ Sunḳur fled to Baghdād and then helped Dāʾūd's other uncle Masʿūd to reoccupy Ādharbaydjān. He also captured Hamadhān but in 527/1133 was killed by Ismāʿīlīs instigated by Ṭughril (ibid., 169).

Aḳ Sunḳur's son and successor is usually called Aḳ Sunḳur (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 166, 177; *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 472), but is called also Arslān b. Aḳ Sunḳur (*Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*), and referred to by ʿImād al-Dīn as Nuṣrat al-Dīn Khāṣṣ-bek (al-Bundarī, 231, and even, p. 243, as Nuṣrat al-Dīn Arslān-Aba ?). At this time the authority in Ādharbaydjān was divided between Eldiguz, *atābek* to Arslān b. Ṭughril, and Aḳ Sunḳur II, who was associated chiefly with the family of Malik Muḥammad b. Sultan Maḥmūd. An enemy of Aḳ Sunḳur, Khāṣṣ-bek Arslān b. Beling-eri, besieged Marāgha in 541/1146 (al-Bundārī, 217). In 547/1152 Sultan Muḥammad executed Ibn Beling-eri, but in point of fact this execution alerted the two lords (*ṣāḥibān*) of Ādharbaydjān, Eldiguz and Aḳ Sunḳur, who proclaimed another candidate (Sulaymān). When Muḥammad was restored he appointed Aḳ Sunḳur as *atābek* to his son Dāʾūd. This led to a rift with Eldiguz. With the help of the Shāh-i Arman, Aḳ Sunḳur defeated Pahlawān b. Eldiguz on the Safīd Rūd. In 556/1161 he supported Inandj of Rayy, who was hostile to Eldiguz, but this *amīr* was defeated by Eldiguz in 557, and Aḳ Sunḳur subsequently accompanied Eldiguz on his expedition to Georgia (557/1162). In 563, however, Aḳ Sunḳur obtained from Baghdād the recognition of his charge, Malik Dāʾūd, and this led to a new clash with Pahlawān (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 218). Soon afterwards, Aḳ Sunḳur fades out of the picture. According to *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 472, his brother Ḳutlugh revolted in Marāgha, apparently with the encouragement of the *amīr* Inandj of Rayy (d. 564/1168-9; see Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 230). Pahlawān suppressed the revolt and left Marāgha to Aḳ Sunḳur's brothers ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn.

Under 570 Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 280) mentions in Marāgha Falak al-Dīn, son of Aḳ Sunḳur (II), who must have cherished some designs on Tabrīz, but after a clash with Pahlawān had to desist from this claim, although the hereditary rift between the two families persisted. In 602/1205-6 the lord of Marāgha ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn made a pact with the lord of Irbil Gökbüri to depose the incapable Eldiguzid Abū Bakr, but the latter, with the help of the former slave of the family Ay-doghmïsh, expelled ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla from Marāgha, giving him Urmiya and Ushnū in compensation. In 604 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (whom Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 157, 182, this time calls Ḳara Sunḳur) died, and a courageous servant of his took charge of his minor son who died in 605. The servant remained in the castle of Rūyīn-diz, while Abū

Bakr occupied the remaining territories of Marāgha. It seems certain that ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was the patron to whom Niẓāmī dedicated his *Haft Paykar* (completed in 593 ?) and whom the poet calls ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Krb (*Körp*-"young")-Arslān (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS*, ii, 567, and *Suppl.*, 1985, 154). Niẓāmī refers to his two sons Nuṣrat al-Dīn Muḥammad and Aḥmad (one of whom may be the son who according to Ibn al-Athīr died in 605).

After this we find the line continued by women. When in 618/1221 the Mongols took Marāgha the mistress of the town survived in the fortress of Rūyīn-diz. In 624/1224 Sharaf al-Mulk, *wazīr* of the Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, besieged Rūyīn-diz, whose mistress was a granddaughter of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kraba (Nasawī, 129; possibly *Körp-apa ?). She was married to the deaf-mute son of the Eldiguzid Uzbek (called Khāmūsh, "silent"), but probably was separated from him because Khāmūsh had joined Djalāl al-Dīn and later went over to the Ismāʿīlīs (Nasawī, 129-30). The princess was ready to wed Sharaf al-Mulk when Djalāl al-Dīn himself arrived on the spot, married her, and appointed his own governor to Rūyīn-diz (ibid., 157). Khāmūsh had a numerous family and it is not clear whether his son "*atābek* Nuṣrat al-Dīn" was born to him of the Aḥmadīlī princess. According to Djuwaynī, Nuṣrat al-Dīn was hiding in Rūm, but towards 644/1246 he obtained an *āl tamgha* from Güyük Khān for the governorship of Tabrīz and Ādharbaydjān.

(V. Minorsky)

AḤMADIYYA is the name (i) of an organized religious community, standing in continuity with its eponym, Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Ḳādiyān; and (ii) of a small organization or movement derived from (i).

Ghulām Aḥmad was born into the leading family of the small town of Ḳādiyān, Gurdāspur district, Pandjāb, India, about 1255/1839. The title *Mīrzā* relates to the family's having come in with the conquering Mughals, in this case under Bābur. The boy received a good traditional education, in Arabic and Persian, and was from childhood studious and reflective. Rather than follow his father as *ḥakīm*, or this father's wishes by going on in British government service or practising law, he soon gave himself up (on his landlord income) to quietude in his native place. Along with meditation and religious study he developed apparently a propensity for hearing voices. At the age of about forty he began to publish (1880) a considerable work *Barāhīn-i Aḥmadiyya*, which was well received. On 4 March 1889 he announced that he had received from God a revelation authorizing him to accept *bayʿat*; and a small group was forthcoming of formal disciples, who were devoted and in some cases remarkably able men. Opposition from the Muslim community began two years later when he announced that he was the *Masīḥ* and the *Mahdī*. From that date (1891) until his death (24 Rabīʿ II 1326/26 May 1908) there was continuous increase both in opposition to him and in his own claims; also in his following. Controversy raged; chiefly with Muslims, though also with Hindus and Christians. He claimed to receive revelations (both *ilhām* and *waḥy* are used), including foreknowledge; to perform miracles (including both raising the dead to life, and *vice-versa*: he boasted of bringing about, through prayer, the death of rivals); and to be an *avatār* of Kṛṣṇa (1904) as well as Jesus returned to earth and the Mahdī; also the *burūz* ("re-appearance") of Muḥammad. Whether he claimed to be a *nabī*, and if so what he meant by it, is disputed between the two groups into which his followers later divided (see below). His teachings, over his last twenty years, are multifarious: sometimes curious (as, e.g., that Jesus died and is buried in Srinagar) or well-informed, sometimes inconsistent, often polemical and crude, sometimes remarkably spiritual. One discerns in them, in addition to peripheral Hindu concepts and a reaction against Christian influences, but more especially in the pattern of his life and the positive response evoked, a late Indian ṣūfī version of Islam activated by modern-Western infiltrations.

When he died, his followers thereby ceased to be a body of disciples; they became instead a community of believers, and, rather than disintegrating, elected a *khalīfa* (Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn) and proceeded to exist as an independent community. The validity of this, or at least of its form, was doubted by some; and when this first *khalīfa* died (1914), most of the executive and westernized minority seceded, to set up at Lahore a society propagating the new teachings (as they saw them), while the majority remained at Ḳādiyān rather as a community embodying those teachings (and propagating itself). There was a political difference also: the secessionists (dissociating themselves less from the wider Muslim community) were beginning to feel and to participate in the nascent anti-imperialism of Indian Islam (Kānpur mosque incident, 1913), while the major group explicitly clung to the traditional loyalty of the founder and his family. They chose the founder's twenty-five-year old) son as *Khalīfat al-Masīḥ II*. The forty years of his *khilāfat* have been the story of the gradual forging of the virtually new movement that exists to-day. Similarly in the case of the Lahore party, which had as leader a young lawyer and religious intellectual, it has been rather the gradual working out of a virtually new system of ideas.

Both groups were—and are—dynamic, and have developed much, each in its own way. They have travelled far, from their common starting point, and also from each other. They will, accordingly, be separately described.

(i) The community. Name: Urdū, Djamāʿat-i Aḥmadiyya; English, Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam. An Aḥmadī is also commonly referred to as *Ḳādiyānī* (which since 1947 has become less appropriate; see below), and sometimes—usually to his own annoyance—as *Mirzāʾī*. Membership is by birth within the movement, or by joining, on formal profession of faith and acceptance of duties. According to their own figures, there are some half-million members; about half of these being in Pakistan, the rest somewhat evenly divided between India and the remainder of the world (chiefly West Africa; but there are Aḥmadī congregations from Indonesia to the Arab world, with small bands of converts also in Britain, the continent of Europe, and the United States). Members pay monthly dues (from each a minimum of $^1/_4$ % of his income is required; with various further contributions expected and often given). The movement accordingly handles considerable sums; and its organization is strong and centralized. The community also operates and enforces (on traditional "Islamic" lines) its own internal judiciary (*ḳaḍāʾ*) so far as feasible. New headquarters of the community are at Rabwah, Pakistan. There is a central Advisory Council (*Madjlis-i Mushāwarat*), largely elected; and a strong central secretariat. However, all power is finally vested in the head of the movement, who for the last

forty years has been, as already indicated, the founder's son, Ḥaḍrat Mīrzā Bashīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad (b. 1306/1889). So largely have direction and control been in his hands that the movement in its present form may be said to be in significant degree his creation.

The above organization binds the community together; and strikingly vigorous, well-planned missionary activity throughout the world continues to expand it. These externals, however, are manifestly informed by a spiritual quality, a faith and religious life. Four, overlapping, aspects of this may be noted: the memory of the founder, reverence for the present head, doctrine, and the intensity of corporate life. The teachings are those of the founder, as interpreted (expanded, modified) by the present head. At the present stage of development they are most effectively presented in his *Aḥmadiyyat or the True Islam* (1924: 3rd ed., Washington 1951; also available in other languages), and in his vast Ḳur'ān commentary, now in process (*Tafsīr-i Kabīr*, in Urdū). In the formula currently signed on joining the movement, a statement addressed to the head, these sentences figure: "I bear witness that God alone is to be worshipped. He is One having no partner. /... I will try my best to act upon all the Laws of Islam. /I will obey you in everything good that you tell me. /I consider the Holy Prophet Muhammad to be the Seal of the Prophets, and also believe in all the claims of the Prophet Aḥmad of Qadian (peace be on them) ..." (from the English version used in the Washington, D. C., mosque). The core of Aḥmadī belief is that their community embodies the only true form of Islam (the one true religion, sent by God), it having been launched in this revitalized and newly revealed form by Aḥmad, who was sent by God for the purpose, and it is being further divinely guided through its present head. Other Muslims, by rejecting this heaven-sent re-formation, are pronounced *kāfir*. Of the veneration in which the present head is held by his followers a compelling illustration is the reasoned tribute by one who is to-day a world figure: Zafrullah Khan, *The Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam* (offprint, Chicago, n.d. [c. 1945]).

The activities of the community, apart from their zealous and efficient propaganda, include such internal matters as the establishing and running of schools and colleges (the former centre, Ḳādiyān, appears to have been much the most literate town in India, with almost total feminine literacy). They produce great quantities of literature (see below); have their own exclusive mosques; and sustain a telling *esprit de corps*.

Aḥmadī relations with Hindus and Sikhs have been chiefly attempted proselytism, with very limited success; with Christians there was also at first a spirited polemic on both sides, not without acerbity, though the situation appears gradually to have improved. It is with other Muslims that the Aḥmadiyya have had primarily to deal: from them has come the overwhelming body of their converts, and also their opposition, often bitter and at times violent. The ambiguities of their situation became particularly vexed with the establishment in 1947 of Pakistan, into which both geographically and ideologically they almost, but not quite, fit. They transferred their headquarters perforce from Ḳādiyān (in India, because of the controversial Radcliffe award) to a site, previously barren, in Pakistan, which they named Rabwah (cf. Ḳur'ān, ii, 265) and where they are now constructing a town (about 90 miles south-west of Lahore). The political issue was less easily settled: wether they, who called other Muslims *kāfir*, should be fully admitted into the Muslims' new state, was a question that flared up in 1953 and brought riots, bloodshed, and the fall of governments.

The *Bibliography* is enormous. The most important source is the movement's own voluminous publications. A few of the founder's more than 75 books (in Arabic, Persian, Urdū) have been republished by the present community in several languages (perhaps most important to-day: *The Teachings of Islam*, various editions); the first *khalīfa* wrote some half-dozen, and the present head is the author of over thirty works (two most important noted above; add: *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Quran*, London 1949; *Economic Structure of Islamic Society*, Qadian 1946). Other members have written about the community, and its leaders; also lives of Muḥammad, etc. (e.g. Sufi M. R. Bengalee, *Life of Muhammad*), and translations of the Ḳur'ān in several lanquages. Moreover, the community has produced and produces large numbers of periodicals—daily, weekly, and monthly—from India, West Pakistan, East Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Lagos, Israel, Zurich, London, Chicago, Washington, and elsewhere. Sunnī Muslim and Christian missionary writing on the movement has often, though not always, been polemical; the former often important and revealing (e.g. Muhammad Iqbal, *Islam and Ahmadism*, Lahore, 1936), the latter often informative (e.g. H. A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement*, Calcutta and London 1918; numerous other studies; articles in *MW* every few years). Almost all books on Indian Islam (e.g. M. Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, 226 ff.; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, 1946, 298 ff.) or Modern Islam mention the community. Objective descriptive studies, of an academic sort, do not seem to have appeared in significant or comprehensive form since L. Bouvat, in *JA*, 1928, 159-81.

(ii) The Aḥmadiyya Andjuman Ishā'at-i Islām (headquarters in Lahore). This group accepts Ghulām Aḥmad as *mudjaddid*, not as prophet, and affirms that he never claimed to be a prophet. It has always been incomparably smaller than (i); but comparably zealous in its activities. It has differed, for instance, in trying more to win converts to Islam than to itself. It has been active in a systematic and effective fashion, chiefly in three overlapping fields: publishing, organized foreign missionary work, and leadership in intellectual modernism (liberalism) in Islam, especially of English-reading Islam. It has produced and circulated throughout the world (chiefly in English and Urdū, but also in a half-dozen and more other European and well over a dozen Asian languages) translations of the Ḳur'ān, lives of Muḥammad, impressive expositions of Islam, many monographs and essays, and innumerable pamphlets. Its foreign mission stations, in London, Berlin, Indonesia, have been influential; especially the first (the Woking Mission, an independent entity from 1930, but from 1947 again semi-officially related to the Lahore movement). The leader of the movement from its inception until his death in 1951, prolific author of much of its literature, and chief creator of its distinctive intellectual contribution was Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī. Also to be mentioned is the equally prolific but shorter-lived *imām* of the Woking mosque, Khwādja Kamāl al-Dīn (1870-1932).

Bibliography: The movement's own publications are again the main source: see the writings

of Muḥammad ʿAlī (chiefly his *English Translation of the Holy Qur'an with Arabic Text, Commentary and Index*, Lahore, several editions; over 50,000 copies have been distributed; *The Religion of Islam*, Lahore 1936; *Muḥammad the Prophet*, 1924, Urdū original, *Khayr al-Bashar*, ibid., 1917; etc. etc.), and also of Kamāl al-Dīn (e.g., *the Ideal Prophet*, London 1925; *Islam and Christianity*, ibid., 1932; and many others). For external sources, see the bibliography of (i) above.

(WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH)

AḤMADNAGAR is the capital of the district fo that name in India (Presidency of Bombay) on the river Siva. In 1901 the town numbered 42,000 inhabitants, the district (6586 square miles = 17,058 square kilometres) 837,695 inhabitants. The town was built in 1494 by Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, the founder of the dynasty of the Niẓām Shāhs [*q.v.*], who reigned for about a century in Aḥmadnagar, until, after a brave defence by Čānd Bībī, the place was taken by Akbar's troops and annexed to the Mogul empire. After the death of Awrangzīb, Aḥmadnagar became subject to the Marāṭhās, and in 1803 Dawlat Rao Sindhiya was obliged to surrender the town to the Duke of Wellington.

Bibliography: *Bombay Gazetteer* xvii-B (1904).

AḤMADU [see AḤMAD AL-SHAYKH].

AḤMADU LOBBO (SHAYKH AḤMAD, SEKU AḤMADU (ḤAMADU) LOBBO, SHEKU AḤMADU SISE), Ful religious chieftain, of the Bari clan (or Saugare or Daebe, corresponding to the Mandingo clan of the Sise) a native of Malangal or Mareval in central Māsina, actually called Ḥamadu Ḥamadu Lobbo, that is to say the son of Ḥamadu Lobbo. The latter was a pious Muslim living at Yogunsiru (district of Uro Modi in central Māsina), a native of Fituka (the region to the east of Niafunke), called Lobbo after the name of his mother. Māsina was then occupied by the Ful, who were mostly pagan or superficially Muslim, and were ruled by *ardos* of the Dyallo dynasty, vassals of the Bambara rulers of Segu, and only Djenne was occupied by Moroccan troops. Aḥmadu Lobbo, a disciple of the marabout Kunta of the order of the Ḳādiriyya Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad, who died in 1826, accompanied ʿOthmān dan Fodio on his successful expeditions intended to propagate Islam (about 1800), and took up residence in a hamlet near Djenne. He was expelled by the Moroccans, who distrusted his reputation for learning and his influence, and settled in Sebera, birthplace of his mother, where he gathered round him many students. An incident between these students and the son of the *ardo* of Māsina, Gurori Dyallo, incited Aḥmadu to open revolt. A Bambara army which was sent against him was defeated by a ruse, the Dyallo dynasty was dethroned (1810) and all the Ful of the region placed themselves under his command. He took Djenne after a siege lasting nine months, defeated Geladjo, the leader of the Kunari, (whose exploits are still the subject of a popular ballad, see G. Vieillard, in *Bull. du Comité d'études hist. et scient. d l'A.O.F.*, 1931, 151-6) and built a new capital in that district, on the Bani, called Ḥamdallāhi (fulbe: Hamdallay) (1815). He conquered Isa Ber from the Touareg (1825), Timbuktū (1827), and extended his authority eastwards as far as the first ranges of Tombo, and to the south-east as far as the confluence of the Black Volta and the Suru.

He adopted the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn* and devoted himself to propagating orthodox Islam according to the Ḳādiriyya order, demanding strict observance of its religious requirements; he demolished the tribal mosques and local places of worship, placed a ban on tobacco, established relations with the sultan of Istanbul, and, about 1838, welcomed al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tal [*q.v.*] on his return from Mecca. He organized his dominions along orderly lines. Vi lages, districts and provinces were governed by officials, appointed by himself, who could be impeached before the *ḳāḍī* (fulbe: *algāli*) of the region. The State owned lands and flocks, and received a portion of war booty, fines etc. Taxation comprised the *zakāt* (fulbe: *d'akka*, tithe on grain crops, proportion of flocks); a surtax on the rich (1/40 on gold, cowry and bar salt); the *kharādj* on food crops; the *muddu* in millet at the festival of the breaking of the fast; a contribution from slaves for the provisioning of the army; the *ʿushr* (fulbe: *usuru*), a 10% customs duty. Every spring military expeditions were organized. Each village had to provide a fixed quota of men for these military operations, a third of this quota being mobilized each year by roster. The troops, free men, received subsistence for the maintenance of their families during their absence. There were five high-ranking military officers, each responsible for the defence of a particular sector. There existed a right of appeal from the regional *ḳāḍīs* to the *ḳāḍī* at Ḥamdallāhi, and from the latter to Aḥmadu himself, aided by a "marabout tribunal" in an advisory capacity.

Aḥmadu I died in 1844 and his son Aḥmadu (Ḥamadu) II succeeded him, despite the native customary law of succession. In 1846 he reimposed, in a modified form, the sovereignty of Māsina over Timbuktū, which had rebelled at the death of his father. Aḥmadu II was similarly succeeded in 1852 by his son, Aḥmadu III. He tried, by diplomacy or by force, to check the expansion of the great Tokolor conqueror, al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tal, but the latter took Ḥamdallāhi in June 1862. Aḥmadu III fled towards Timbuktū, but was captured and put to death at ʿUmar's orders. His uncle Ba Lobbo continued the fight against ʿUmar and his successors. The Māsina State had been a centre of strict Islām, inimical to infidels, as the European travellers René Caillé and Heinrich Barth had discovered.

Bibliographie : Ch. Monteil, *Monographie de Djenné*, Tulle 1903, 266-77; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1912, ii, 232-9; L. Tauxier, *Moeurs et histoire des Peuls*, Paris 1937, 163-85; P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, ii, Paris 1920, 137-8; 177-80, 246-7; Mohammadou Aliou Tyam, *La vie d'El Hadj Omar*, ed. and trans. H. Gaden, Paris 1935, 20, 154 ff., 164 ff., 185 ff.; R. Caillé, *Journal d'un voyage à Tombouctou et à Jenné*, Paris 1830, ii, 206 ff., E. Mage, *Voyage dans le Soudan occidental*, Paris 1868, 258 ff.; H. L. Labouret. *La langue des Peuls ou Foulbé*, Dakar 1952, 162-5. (M. RODINSON)

AḤMAR, BANU 'L-, genealogical name of the naṣrid dynasty [see NAṢRIDS].

AL-**AḤNAF** B. **ḲAYS**, the usual cognomen of a Tamīmite noble of Baṣra named ABŪ BAḤR ṢAKHR (sometimes, but erroneously, called al-Ḍaḥḥāk) B. ḲAYS B. MUʿĀWIYA AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-SAʿDĪ, of the family of Murra b. ʿUbayd; through his mother, he was descended from the Bāhilite clan Awd b. Maʿn. He was born before Islam and, probably at an early age, lost his father, killed by the Banū Māzin. His biographers state that he was deformed from birth and that he had undergone an operation. His cognomen (*al-aḥnaf*) derives from the fact that his feet were misshapen, but he also had other abnormalities (see the description of his physical appearance in al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān* (Hārūn), i, 56).

At the advent of Islam, the Tamīmites did not respond immediately to the Prophet's overtures, and it was al-Aḥnaf who was instrumental in procuring their conversion. He then presented himself to ʿUmar, and was among the first inhabitants of Baṣra, where he soon emerged as spokesman and leader of the Tamīmites who, during the 1st/7th century formed the intellectual, religious and political élite of the city. Under the command of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, he took part, notably in 23/644 and 29/649-50, in the capture of Ḳumm, Kāshān and Iṣfahān. He was later one of the best generals of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], under whose orders he conquered Ḳuhistān, Harāt, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Balkh and other districts (near Marw al-Rūdh, his memory was perpetuated by the Ḳaṣr al-Aḥnaf and the Rustāḳ al-Aḥnaf). He even led his troops as far as the plains of Ṭukhāristān, thus preventing the last king of Persia from organising further resistance against the Muslims. For a time governor of a district of Khurāsān, he afterwards returned to Baṣra where his position as head of the Tamīmites enabled him to play an important political role. Although a neutral at the battle of the Camel (36/656) between the partisans of ʿAlī and those of ʿĀʾisha, he fought on the side of ʿAlī the following year at the battle of Ṣiffīn. From then on he appears to have devoted himself to local political affairs, but the Umayyads considered his influence to be such that they consulted him on general political problems, and it was in this way that he came to give his opinion on the question of Muʿāwiya's successor. At Baṣra there was latent hostility between the Rabīʿa faction, represented by the Bakr b. Wāʾil, and the Muḍar faction, represented by the Tamīm. Al-Aḥnaf was sufficiently adroit to prevent bloodshed, but he did not succeed in extinguishing smouldering animosities. At the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (64/683) a rising occurred there, and the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] placed an Azdite, Masʿūd b. ʿAmr al-ʿAtakī, in charge of the city, but the latter was assassinated shortly afterwards. The Azd faction then allied themselves with the Bakr and the ʿAbd al-Ḳays against the Tamīm, whom al-Aḥnaf had exhorted to adopt a moderate policy towards the Azd. The situation remained extremely confused for several months; finally al-Aḥnaf agreed to a compromise favourable to the Azd, and contributed from his own funds to an indemnity for the Azdite victims. When order was restored, he devoted his energies to achieving an alliance of the various tribes at Baṣra against the common enemy in the shape of the Khāridjites who were threatening the city, and it was he who, in 65/684-5, proposed that the Azdite al-Muhallab [*q.v.*] should be entrusted with the command of an expedition against the Azraḳites which the populace hoped to induce him to undertake. In 67/686-7 the Shīʿite agitator al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] succeeded in recruiting supporters at Baṣra, but al-Aḥnaf took his stand against the Shīʿites, and succeeded in evicting al-Mukhtār's partisans from the city. He then assumed command of the Tamīm contingent of the Baṣra forces which, under the orders of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, marched to attack al-Mukhtār at Kūfa. It was there that he died, at an advanced age.

His line soon came to an end, but his memory was kept alive by the Tamīm who considered him one of their greatest leaders. He was something of a poet, but above all he left a reputation for sagacity, which is conveyed by a large number of aphorisms and maxims, some of which have become proverbs; his *ḥilm* is compared to that of Muʿāwiya, and is also proverbial; hence the saying: *aḥlam min al-Aḥnaf* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*², ii, 92; al-Maydānī, i, 229-30).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*², index; idem, *Mukhtār*, Berlin ms. 5032, 81*b*-86*b*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv b, v, index, Istanbul ms. ii, 994 ff. (see *B. Ét. Or.*, 1952-4, 208); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/i, 66-69; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 173-74; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 36, 37, 134, 186-87, 250, 268; idem, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, index; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, 53-57; Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 429; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 229-30, ii, 274; *Aghānī*, index; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, II, 96, 205; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-AḤSĀ [see AL-ḤASĀ and HUFHŪF].

AL-AḤSĀʾĪ, SHAYKH AḤMAD B. ZAYN AL-DĪN B. IBRĀHĪM, founder of the theological school (later, after his excommunication by the Shīʿī *mudjtahids*, more properly speaking "sect") which, from his designation, took the name of Shaykhī [*q.v.*]. He was born in al-Aḥsāʾ (Arabia) in 1166/1753. His biographers record his great piety from his years of infancy. At the age of twenty, already learned in the religious sciences, he went on pilgrimage to the Shīʿite sanctuaries in al-ʿIrāḳ, where he had his first successes, obtaining from their *mudjtahids* "licences" to teach the religious sciences. After establishing himself with his family in Baḥrayn, and later in Baṣra, he made several journeys in al-ʿIrāḳ and, from 1221/1806 onwards, also in Persia, where he made the pilgrimage to Mashhad and, on his return, settled at Yazd as a teacher, enjoying the greatest veneration. Even the shāh (Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār) summoned him to Teheran, and loaded him with honours. This, together with his great popularity, roused the jealousy of the divines of Yazd, and several reports began to circulate on the unorthodoxy of Shaykh Aḥmad's teachings; more particularly challenged were his eschatological doctrines, in which, according to the 'orthodox' Shīʿite theologians, he had denied the resurrection of the body and interpreted it as a purely spiritual resurrection (see SHAYKHĪ). After a final pilgrimage to Karbalāʾ, he settled in 1229/1814 in Kirmānshāh, whence he made several journeys (into al-ʿIrāḳ and, in 1232/1817-8, to Mecca). His definitive rupture with the *mudjtahids* took place at Ḳazwīn about 1239-40/1824, after his return from another pilgrimage to Mashhad, in consequence of a discussion with the fiery Ḥādjdjī Mullā Taḳī Barakānī, uncle of the famous Bābī poetess Ṭāhira (or Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn, see BĀBĪ). The hostility of the *mullās* towards him steadily increased, and he was even accused of professing theories which never entered his head (e.g., the divinity of ʿAlī, the doctrine of *tafwīḍ*, according to which God had entrusted the care of the worldly creation to the *imāms*, etc.). After many wanderings, interspersed with teaching and the composition of his numerous works, he died in the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca, at the age of 75 years, near Medina, in 1241/1826, and was buried there. His theological works (including minor treatises) number about a hundred. For his doctrines see art. SHAYKHĪ. The school founded by him was guided by his successor Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], and out of it there developed at a later date the Bābī [*q.v.*] movement.

Bibliography: A. L. M. Nicolas, *Cheikh Ahmad Lahçahi*, Paris 1910 (*Essai sur le Cheikhisme*, i); Brockelmann, S II, 844-5. For further bibliography see SHAYKHĪ. (A. BAUSANI)

AḤSANĀBĀD [see GULBARGA].

AL-**AḤWAṢ** AL-ANṢĀRĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤ. B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿĀṢIM B. THĀBIT, Arabic poet, of the Banū Ḍubayʿa b. Zayd (a clan of al-Aws), born about 35/655; he spent his life mainly in the refined society of Medina. The noble-born inhabitants of Medina had grown rich during the first conquests, acquired great wealth by the sale of historical buildings and gardens in the town and were, in addition, subsidized by the caliphs. They were, however, not allowed to take part in government and in political life and thus lived in a sort of political exile. Affluence and the exclusion of political aspirations exercised an influence also on the social life of Medina, which was dominated by worldly pleasures. In this milieu arose the urban poetry of love, of which ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, al-ʿArdjī, and al-Aḥwaṣ were the main representatives.

The first personal relations of al-Aḥwaṣ were with al-Walīd, whose guest he was on various occasions. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, when he was governor of Medina, had him whipped for an amorous adventure (*Aghānī*[1], vi, 53-4). During the last years of al-Walīd's reign began his quarrel with Ibn Ḥazm, who was first *ḳāḍī* (94/713), and then governor (96/715) of Medina. Al-Aḥwaṣ slandered him in the presence of the caliph and also attacked him in his verses. This was aggravated by other political and moral offences, such as his love-affairs, his mentioning of noble ladies (e.g. Sukayna bint al-Ḥusayn) in his poems, his conflict with the Islamic aristocracy, the suspicion of paederasty, immoral utterances, and perhaps also the circumstance that he was the member of a family which had taken an active part in the rising in Medina. On the instigation of the governing circles and by order of the caliph Sulaymān he was whipped, put in the pillory, and exiled to the island of Dahlak in the Red Sea (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 48, [2]iv, 246; [1]iv, 43, [2]iv, 233; [1]iv, 45, [2]iv, 239). He remained there during the reigns of Sulaymān and ʿUmar II, i.e. for four or five years, although the Anṣār, whose mouth-piece he was, interceded on his behalf. Yazīd II released him and conferred on him rich gifts; al-Aḥwaṣ became his boon-companion and supported his political aims by a satire against the Muhallabids. Nothing more is known of al-Aḥwaṣ after his relations with Yazīd; he died after an illness in 110/728-9.

The judgements about al-Aḥwaṣ's character are negative: he had neither *muruwwa* nor *dīn* (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 43, [2]iv, 233). He was, however, highly appreciated as a poet. He excelled chiefly in love poetry, *fakhr*, *madḥ* and *hidjāʾ*. He is praised for the ease of his diction, good sense, beautiful and agreeable expressions, and the well-ordered structure of his poems. He is, however, less original than ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa; this is shown in his preference for the old themes of the *ḳaṣīda* and the old metres. His language is influenced by the dialect of Medina (cf. K. Petráček, in *ArOr*, 1954, 460-6).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], iv, 40-7, [2]iv, 224-68 and *Tables*, s.v. al-Aḥwaṣ; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 329-32; *Khizāna*, i, 232-4; Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1925, 334-45; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 313. Verses by him in Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*; idem, *Muʿdjam*; *LA*; *TA*; Ibn Dāʾūd al-Iṣfahānī, *Zahra*. Studies by Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgesch.*, ii, 232-40; Brockelmann, I, 44; Rescher, *Abriss der ar. Lit.*, i, 167-8; Pizzi, *Lett. ar.*, 115; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qotaïba, Introduction au livre de la poésie et des poètes*, 64-7; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿāʾ*, ii, Cairo 1926, 93-104; K. Petráček, *Al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī, příspěvky k poznání života a díla*, thesis, Prague 1951 (to appear in *ArOr*). (K. PETRÁČEK)

AL-**AHWĀZ** (or AHWĀZ), a town, is situated (31°19′ N, 48°46′ E) on the Kārūn river at the point on the Khūzistān plain where it cuts through a low sandstone ridge; this ridge causes rapids which impede navigation and necessitate the trans-shipment of goods from vessels on the lower river to those on the upper or *vice versa*. Attempts have been made to identify Ahwāz with the town of Aginis mentioned by Strabo, but it is more likely that it stands on the site of Tareiana where, in Achaemenian times, the royal road connecting Susa with Persepolis and Pasargadae crossed the river by a bridge of boats. Nearchus anchored his fleet just below this bridge after his memorable voyage up the Persian Gulf. (Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. vv. Aginis and Tareiana.)

Tareiana was rebuilt by the Sāsānian king Ardashīr I, who renamed it Hormuzd Ardashīr and began the construction of the great dam across the rapids. Under him and his successors the town prospered greatly and became capital of the province of Susiana in place of Susa. (Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber zur zeit d. Sasaniden*, 13, 19; I. Guidi, in *ZDMG*, 1889, 410.)

When the Muslim Arabs conquered Susiana (Khūzistān) and took Hormuzd Ardashīr, they renamed the town Sūḳ al-Ahwāz, meaning "the market of the Hūzī" (Ahwāz is the Arabic plural of Hūzī, i.e., Khūzī or Khūdjī, in Syriac Hūzāyē, a warlike tribe which has been identified with the Οὔξιοι of the classical writers; hence also Khūzistān [*q.v.*]).

Ahwāz continued to prosper under the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid Caliphates. It was the centre of extensive sugar plantation [cf. SUKKAR], but the serious Zandj rebellion caused a decline towards the close of the 3rd/19th century. A recovery was subsequently made, but the collapse of the great dam some five and a half centuries later brought about the virtual ruin of the town and it ceased in consequence to be the provincial capital. At the beginning of the present century it had about 2000 inhabitants, but the discovery of the important oilfields in Khūzistān restored its fortunes to such an extent that it again became the capital of Khūzistān in 1926. The town has also benefited greatly from the opening of the Trans-Persian railway; the line crosses the Kārūn by a fine bridge which has for its foundations the remains of the great dam. Further downstream is an imposing road bridge. In 1948 the population of Ahwāz exceeded 100,000. [See also KHŪZISTĀN, for the history of the province.]

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 424 ff.; Le Strange, 233 ff.; Schwarz, *Iran*, 315-24; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 219-30; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*; ii (*Etudes géographiques*), 275 ff.; A. Kasrawī, *Taʾrīkh-i Pan-Ṣad Sāla-yi Khūzistān*. (L. LOCKHART)

AI . . . [for words beginning with AI, see under AY].

ʿĀʾILA (A), "family". From the root ʿWL or ʿYL, this word is not found in the Ḳurʾān except (ix, 28) as a variant reading for *ʿayla* "poverty", but a marginal gloss in the *Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (2nd ed., iv, 24) and a *ḥadīth* quoted by al-Ghazālī attest the meaning "family". The modern neo-classic language uses it freely, perhaps influenced by the Ottoman civil code (*Madjalla*), for example *ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿāʾile ḳarār-nāmesi*, "Ottoman family law", (*J. O.*

Ottoman, 14 Muḥarram 1336), but the polished style to-day prefers *usra*.

Sociological theories. The collective work of the Arab genealogists is based implicitly on the assumption that the tribe is a family on a larger scale. Robertson Smith has made a just appreciation of this over-simplified conception, which is ostensibly based on common sense, and, more recently, Bichr Farès (*L'Honneur chez les Arabes*, Paris 1932, 49-50) has recognized "that it appears impossible to study the social morphology of the ancient Arabs". This picture corresponds to that given by the nomads regarding their social structure. But does it correspond to reality? The existence of ancestor-worship and of the cult of the dead among the Semites, disputed by Renan, has been proved by A. Lods as regards biblical antiquity, and by I. Goldziher as regards the Arab world. The cult of the dead concerns the family because the natural ministers of such a cult are recruited from within the family, and because it implies a posterity for its own perpetuation. It is not impossible even that this cult may have played some part in the formation of the family, and especially in establishing it as a religious unit, endued with social functions. Easily-recognizable traces of the cult of the dead, to which Islam has been opposed since its inception, persist even to the present day, with unmistakable signs of propitiatory rites. The need, still felt to be imperative, for descent in the male line could be a final relic of this cult. On the other hand, to liken saint-worship and the veneration of holy places to ancestor-worship is to invite disagreement. The inter-connexion between divine and human genealogies has been amply demonstrated by Dhorme (*La Religion des Hébreux nomades*, Brussels 1937, Ch. xviii). It confirms the identification of legal relationships involving protection or alliance, with kinship, an idea which still exists among the nomads, and which is typical of the patriarchal system.

The basic social unit among the Semites was the clan (Hebrew *mishpaḥa*, Arabic *ḥayy* [*q.v.*]). The totemistic theory of an exogamous organization between maternal clans has been brilliantly developed by Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885). In his review of this work, Nöldeke (*ZDMG*, 1886, 148-87) disputes the importance of the naming of clans after animals "which occurs, relatively speaking, much rarer than the exposé of the author would imply". But, in addition to the linguistic arguments based on the words indicating the clan by allusion to a uterine relationship, and on two parallel series of names of kinship, agnate and cognate, all the facts so far advanced hardly seem to provide a better explanation. Marriage customs of a matriarchal character seem to have persisted relatively late in the Peninsula. The lack of a prohibition of incest in the paternal line is also adduced as evidence by R. Smith (ibid., 163), but Wellhausen (*Die Ehe bei den Arabern, Nachr. von d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. u. d. Georg-August Univ. zu Göttingen*, 1893, 431-82) is of the opinion (441) that this has not been sufficiently proved. Even if one admits the existence of a totemistic period during remote antiquity, the patriarchal régime is firmly established from the dawn of the historical era, and the notable survivals of earlier practices pose a difficult problem. According to Gertrude H. Stern (*Marriage in Early Islam*, London 1939), certain marriage alliances of a political nature, contracted by the Prophet with the tribes, were of a different character from the others, and the women continued to reside amongst their own clan (appendix A, 151-7). In fact it is possible to find, up to the contemporary epoch, evidence of this type attested in Assyrian legislation. It is, however, indisputable that the family regime has become patriarchal.

The family in Islam. Islam did not create the practices of the social milieu in which it appeared, and to begin with it concerned itself only with improving the moral standards governing these practices. In the second period, at Medina, the Prophet, now head of the State, is led to dispense justice and to create, in progressive stages, a system of rules, called into being by judgements in individual cases, with the force of statutory law. The work by G. H. Stern quoted above shows that he followed a plan of reform, by unifying the chaotic practices of pagan Arabia. This unification could not have been completed, as is clear from monographs on present day customs. Elements borrowed from conquered peoples have been incorporated in the original Arabic background. But if the lack of unity displays itself in a marked discrepancy between fact and theory, the overall picture nevertheless reflects the type of patriarchal family which has maintained its position with remarkable stability throughout the Near East, and which is already depicted in the ancient Hittite, Babylonian, Assyrian and Sumerian systems of law. In its most primitive forms, the authority of the head of the family is entirely unrestricted; it becomes weaker among the settled populations of the great cities. This patriarchal authority is the origin of the laws on divorce, polygamy etc. The veil (*ḥidjāb* [*q.v.*]), which goes back to remote antiquity, is not strictly relevant to the subject of family institutions, although it is in keeping with their patriarchal character. In short, the Muslim family recalls in certain respects though with some notable points of difference that portrayed in European literature in the heyday of the Middle Ages. See also ḤARĪM, MARʾA, NIKĀḤ, ṬALĀḲ.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned above, the following works on Semitic antiquity should be consulted: Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London 1889 (re-ed. S. A. Cook, 1927); I. Goldziher, *Le Culte des ancêtres et le culte des morts chez les Arabes*, in *RHR*, 1884, 332-59; A. Lods, *La croyance à la vie future . . .*, and especially *Le Culte des morts dans l'antiquité hébraïque*, Paris 1906; for the modern period, see H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947 (French trans. Paris 1949); R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabische-islamischen Welt*, Stuttgart 1934; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1895; Kâzem Daghestâni, *Étude sociologique sur la famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris n. d.; for a full bibliography, see J. Lecerf, *Note sur la famille dans le monde arabe et islamique*, *Arabica*, 1956/I. (J. LECERF)

ĀʾĪN, Persian word meaning "law, rite, institution." Among the works translated from Pahlawī into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the *Fihrist*, 118, mentions an *Āʾīn-nāma* (sometimes rendered in Arabic as *Kitāb al-Rusūm*). This work which, like the *Khudāy-nāma*, was of a quasi-official character, presumably contained an account of the organisation of the Sāsānid state, of the privileges and prerogatives of the classes, and of court life and etiquette (Christensen calls it "le vieil almanach royal"), much of its contents being of a sententious and didactic nature. Fragments

of the *Āʾīn-nāma*, translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, are preserved in the *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn Ḳutayba, and the most important of these, relating to military tactics, archery and polo, have been studied by Inostranzev. It is possible that, co-existent with the large official *Āʾīn-nāma*, there were lesser works of a specialized nature dealing with each branch of court education. This belief arises from other titles quoted in the *Fihrist*, namely, *Āʾīn al-Ramy* and *Āʾīn al-Ḍarb biʾl-Ṣawālidja*, although these could be considered merely as portions of or extracts from the larger work. The Sāsānid *Āʾīn-nāma* is also mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 104-6); (pseudo?)-Djāḥiẓ, in the *Kitāb al-Tādj fī Akhlāḳ al-Mulūk*, which has very full materials concerning the manners and etiquette of the Sāsānids, also refers to, but does not quote directly, an *Āʾīn al-Furs*. The title of *Āʾīn* was used later in other works on Persian Islamic history and institutions, such as the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, being that part of the *Akbar-nāma* of Abuʾl Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*] (16th century) which is devoted to the institutions of Akbar's court.

Bibliography: Inostranzev, *Sasanidskie Etiudī*, St. Petersburg, 1909, 25-80; F. Gabrieli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in RSO, 1932, especially 213-5.

(F. Gabrieli)

AĪR (ayr), also called Asben, mountainous district of the Sahara, falling between lat. 17°-21° N., and long. 7°-9° E. It comprises three distinct regions: 1) the northern Aïr, consisting wholly of plateau and plain; 2) the central Aïr, which is a homogeneous unit, has a rugged landscape, with peaks rising to 5,000 ft.; 3) the southern Aïr, consisting of rocky plateaus sloping towards the Sudan. The rainfall, more abundant in the Aïr than in the rest of the Sahara (rainy season from June to August) feeds underground basins which support a fairly rich vegetation (gum trees); agriculture is, however, on a small scale, and the country owes its important place in the economic life of the Sahara primarily to its position on caravan routes (*azalay*). It possesses strata of slate, and hot springs; primitive handicrafts are still carried on.

The population of the Aïr is composed of two main elements: negroid (Hausa) and Berber—the Kel Aïr who form one of the seven principal Tuareg groups; they comprise the Kel Geres and the Kel Ui (Ewey), the latter having intermarried to a considerable extent with the Hausa. According to the censuses of 1933-8, the Kel Aïr number 27,765. They are a semi-settled people, and live in villages or in primitive encampments. The most important town is Agades. Founded in the 15th century, it became after 1515 the capital of the sultanate of the Kel Ui who, in the Aï, had just supplanted the Kel Geres. Agades is now the chief town of a region (Niger Territory) of which the Aïr is part.

The whole population is Muslim (the Kel Geres since the 9th/15th century), and religious activity is relatively keen, owing to the presence of religious brotherhoods with considerable numbers of adherents.

Bibliography: H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central Africa*, Gotha 1857 (French trans., Paris 1860); E. de Bary, in *Zeitsch. d. geog. Gesellsch.*, 1880 (French trans. by Schirmer, *Journal de Voyage*, Paris 1898); Schirmer, *On the ethnography of Air*, *Scott. geogr. Mag.*, 1899, 538-40; E. Foureau, *D'Alger au Congo par le Tchad*, Paris 1902; idem, *Documents scientifiques de la Mission saharienne*, Paris 1905; E. F. Gautier, *Le Sahara*, Paris 1928; A. Buchanan, *Exploration of Aïr out of the world North of Nigeria*, London 1921; F. R. Rodd, *People of the veil*, London 1926; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire des populations du Soudan central*, Paris 1936; L. Chopard et A. Villiers, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Aïr*, Mémoire de l'*I.F.A.N.*, no. 10, Paris 1950, particularly *Ethnologie des Touarag de l'Aïr*, by F. Nicolas and H. Lhote, ibid. 459-533; Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944 (with a bibliography); L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*[4], Paris 1955, 331.

(G. Yver-R. Capot-Rey)

ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR, the third and favourite wife of the Prophet, was born at Mecca about 614. Her mother, Umm Rūmān, came from the tribe of Kināna. Muḥammad gave ʿĀʾisha the *kunya* Umm ʿAbd Allāh, after the name of her nephew ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

The usual story of her marriage to Muḥammad is that the initiative came from Khawla bint Ḥakīm, wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, who possibly helped Muḥammad in domestic matters. Some time after the death of Khadīdja, Khawla suggested to Muḥammad that he should marry either ʿĀʾisha, the six-year old daughter of his chief follower, or Sawda bint Zamʿa, a widow of about 30, who had gone as a Muslim to Abyssinia and whose husband had died there. Muḥammad is said to have asked her to arrange for him to marry both. It had already been agreed that ʿĀʾisha should marry Djubayr b. Muṭʿim, whose father, though still pagan, was friendly to the Muslims. By common consent, however, this agreement was set aside, and ʿĀʾisha was betrothed to Muḥammad. Since Muḥammad had a political aim in nearly all his marriages, he must have seen in this one a means of strengthening the ties between himself and Abū Bakr, his chief follower. The marriage was not consummated until some months after the *hidjra* (in Shawwāl 1 or 2/April 623 or 624). ʿĀʾisha went to live in an apartment in Muḥammad's house, later the mosque of Medina. She cannot have been more than ten years old at the time, and took her toys to her new home. Muḥammad sometimes joined in her games with them. She seems to have possessed great beauty, both as child and as young woman, and to have remained Muḥammad's favourite even after he had married several other beautiful women. Her position as principal wife, however, may partly depend on her father's position in the community.

A serious crisis developed out of an incident on the return from the expedition against Banu ʾl-Muṣṭaliḳ in 5/627, on which ʿĀʾisha accompanied Muḥammad. At the last halt before Medina ʿĀʾisha, who had gone a little way from the camp to satisfy a natural need, dropped a necklace and spent some time searching for it. She was so light in weight that the men who loaded her litter on the camel had not noticed her absence from it, and the whole caravan had moved off before she returned to the camp. She sat down to wait, and was eventually found by a handsome young man, Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī, who escorted her back to Medina. In the circumstances of the time, especially in view of the imposition of the *ḥidjāb* on Muḥammad's wives, this was highly improper. Gossip was magnified, however, not merely by personal enemies of ʿĀʾisha and her family, but by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, the leader of the Munāfiḳūn or Hypocrites. Already during the expedition he had given expression to his dissatisfaction with the growing power and prestige of Muḥammad. It became clear at length that there was no solid evidence against ʿĀʾisha, and Muḥammad received a revelation

(Ḳurʾān, xxiv, 11 ff.) implying her innocence and rebuking those who had gossiped. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy was publicly humiliated.

A number of stories about ʿĀʾis̲h̲a have been preserved from the later years of Muḥammad's life. They depict Muḥammad as having genuine affection for ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, and ʿĀʾis̲h̲a as being devoted to him. They do not, however, justify the view (cf. H. Lammens, *Le Triumvirat Abou Bakr* etc., *MFOB*, iv) that she engaged in political intrigue and influenced Muḥammad's decisions. Nevertheless, there seem to have been two factions among Muḥammad's wives, one led by ʿĀʾis̲h̲a and Ḥafṣa, the daughter of ʿUmar, which supported the policy of their fathers, and another led by Umm Salama of the Meccan clan of Mak̲h̲zūm; but their rivalry probably had little political effect. When Muḥammad realized that death was near, he asked his wives to agree that he should go to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's chamber and remain there. She nursed him for the few days of his illness, and his grave was made in the floor of her chamber. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were also buried there.

As Muḥammad's power increased, his wives had a more comfortable life and a higher status in the community, including the title "mothers of the believers" (cf. Ḳurʾān, xxxiii, 6); but they were forbidden to remarry (ibid. v, 53). ʿĀʾis̲h̲a was thus left a childless widow about the age of 18. For two years her father was caliph, and then for ten ʿUmar, with whom she was on good terms, but she does not seem to have played any part in public affairs. As opposition grew against ʿUt̲h̲mān, the third caliph, however, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a came to have a leading part in it, though she was not in agreement either with the group of insurgents responsible for ʿUt̲h̲mān's assassination nor with the party of ʿAlī. She openly declared her opposition to the killing of ʿUt̲h̲mān, but left Medina for Mecca to take part in the pilgrimage. Many motives have been alleged for this flight by ʿĀʾis̲h̲a at a critical juncture. Perhaps the chief one was to help in organizing in Mecca a party of likeminded persons.

ʿUt̲h̲mān was assassinated in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 35/June 656. About four months later ʿĀʾis̲h̲a left Mecca for Baṣra along with about 1,000 men of Ḳurays̲h̲, professing to be taking vengeance for ʿUt̲h̲mān. Shortly before this she had been joined by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. The three were now leaders of a movement in opposition to ʿAlī. They obtained control of Baṣra, and with many of the Muslims of that city marched to the outskirts to meet ʿAlī who had meantime left Medina for Kūfa, and was advancing against them. The battle (in D̲j̲umādā II 35/December 656) came to be known as the Battle of the Camel, since the fiercest struggle was round the camel bearing ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's litter. ʿAlī was victorious, and the opposing army was scattered. ʿĀʾis̲h̲a herself was treated with respect, but Talḥa and al-Zubayr lost their lives.

After this failure ʿĀʾis̲h̲a lived quietly in Medina for over twenty years. She took no further active part in politics, but became reconciled to ʿAlī and did not oppose Muʿāwiya. Her approval and disapproval, however, still seem to have counted for something. She died in Ramaḍān 58/July 678. In later times she was depicted as a model of piety, but it is difficult to know what is the basis of fact for this view.

It is said that 1210 traditions were related on her authority, but barely 300 of these were retained by al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim. She is said to have had a codex of the Ḳurʾān, and a few readings are given on her authority (cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Qurʾān*, Leiden 1937, 231-3). She was noted for her knowledge of poetry and ability to quote it, and also for her eloquence; and she was versed in Arab history and other subjects.

Bibliography: Ibn His̲h̲ām, index; Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, index; idem, *Usd al-G̲h̲āba*, v, 501-4; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 39-56; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 691 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv; Nawawī (Wüstenfeld), 848 ff.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 29-282; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muḥammads*, passim; N. Abbott, *Aishah the Beloved of Mohammed*, Chicago, 1942.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ʿĀʾIS̲H̲A BINT ṬALḤA, one of the most famous of Arab women. Daughter of a Companion of the Prophet, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī [*q.v.*], who had already won great renown, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr through her mother Umm Kult̲h̲ūm, and niece of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, the Prophet's favourite wife, she combined nobility of birth with an imperious spirit and a rare beauty, which she was anxious should not go unnoticed. By nature a coquette, she courted the praises of the *g̲h̲azal* poets (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, i, 80; Kut̲h̲ayyir ʿAzza, Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 322; ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, *Ag̲h̲ānī*, x, 60), and knew how to use to the best advantage the emotions which she inspired. She even occasioned the dismissal of the Governor of Mecca, al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. K̲h̲ālid al-Mak̲h̲zūmī, who had agreed to postpone the hour of prayer in order to allow her to complete her *ṭawāf* (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, iii, 100, 103, 113; see D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Big̲h̲al*, (ed. Pellat, in course of preparation) § 20, and *Ag̲h̲ānī*, x, 60, for an anecdote concerning the brilliant retinue which she had obtained from the caliph for the purposes of her pilgrimage). She is reckoned as one of the *mutazawwid̲j̲āt*, i.e. women who have had several husbands; she married successively her cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, and after the latter's death, ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī. The date of her death is not known.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 102-103; Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 342; Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, xi, 16, 204-5, 222; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād, 1361/1942, 66, 100, 442; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, Tables; Nawawī, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, 850; A. von Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients unter den Chalifen*, I, 29, II, 99. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿĀʾIS̲H̲A BINT YŪSUF [see AL-BĀʿŪNĪ].

ʿĀʾIS̲H̲A AL-MANNŪBIYYA, Tunisian saint of the 7th/13th century whose name was ʿĀʾis̲h̲a bint ʿImrān b. al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Sulaymān. The *nisba* by which she became known derives from her native village of Mannūba (La Manouba), situated 5 m. W. of Tunis. She is also commonly known, especially at Tunis, by the reverential title of *al-Sayyida*. The contemporary historians of the Ḥafṣid dynasty, under which she lived, maintain complete silence about her, but we possess a small anthology of her *manāḳib* written, in a style strongly influenced by the colloquial, by an anonymous semiliterate author; the latter appears to have made use of another anthology, composed during the saint's lifetime or soon after her death by an *imām* of the mosque at Mannūba. While still young, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a gave evidence of her future vocation by a number of *karāmāt*. When she reached a marriageable age, her mystical ideal caused her to refuse the cousin whom her parents wished her to marry and to flee to Tunis, where she took refuge in a *ḳaysariyya* (a kind of caravanserai) situated outside the old Bāb al-Fallāḳ (S.E. of the

town, later known as Bāb al-Gurdjānī). There she passed her life, enjoying, especially among the lower classes, a great reputation for saintliness, although certain doctors of law showed hostility towards her. Oral tradition relates that she received mystical teaching from the celebrated ṣūfī Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, who was at Tunis during her lifetime, but neither the *manāḳib* of the saint herself, nor those of the disciples of Abu'l Ḥasan, make any reference to this. She died at an advanced age, 21 Radjab 655/20 April 1257, or 16 Shawwāl 653/19 Nov. 1255. She was buried in the cemetery which, in her time, was known as Maḳbarat al-Sharaf, and at the beginning of this century, a fervent devotee believed he had discovered her tomb. He erected there a wooden mausoleum which soon became a place of pilgrimage for the women of Tunis. However, the locality where ʿĀʾisha lived continues to attract believers, especially women, and to-day bears the name of al-Mannūbiyya. Around the old *ḳaysariyya* has grown up in the course of centuries a small group of buildings comprising an oratory, rooms for visitors, private dwelling-houses, and even a few shops. The visit (*miʿād*) to the sanctuary is performed by men on Thursdays, by women on Mondays. The house in the village of al-Mannūba where the saint was born has similarly been made the object of special veneration. During the reign of the Ḥusaynī Bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-82), it was converted into a huge building containing a *zāwiya*, private apartments, and a large covered courtyard where the religious fraternities held their meetings. To-day, the decline in saint-worship has meant the abandonment of the buildings at al-Mannūba. Much religious poetry in dialectal Arabic has been composed in honour of al-Sayyida Lallā ʿĀʾisha al Mannūbiyya; Sonneck (*Chants arabes du Maghreb*, i, 5-7, ii, 36-9) has given examples of this verse. The cognomens al-Mannūbiyya and al-Sayyida are frequently given to girls, especially in Tunis, and even a masculine cognomen, al-Mannūbī, has been formed from the *nisba* of the Saint.

Bibliography: Anon., *Manāḳib al-Sayyida ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya, Tunis* 1344/1925, 44 pp. (several Mss. of this work exist in Tunis itself); Muḥammad al-Bādjī al-Masʿūdī, *al-Khulāṣa al-Naḳiyya fi Umarā Ifriḳiya*, Tunis 1323/1905, 64; Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Shahīrāt al-Tūnusiyyāt*, Tunis 1353/1934, 77-8; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 329. (H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

AÏSSAOUA [see ʿĪSĀWA].

AJARAFE [see AL-SHARAF].

AḲ DENIZ [see BAḤR AL-RŪM].

AḲ ḤIṢĀR (T. "white castle"), name of several towns.

1. The best known is Aḳ Ḥiṣār in Western Anatolia, formerly in the *wilāyet* of Aydln, since 1921 in that of Manisa, situated in a plain near the left bank of the river Gördük (a sub-tributary of the Gediz), 115 m. above sea level. Known as Thyatira (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.) in antiquity and Byzantine times, it owes its Turkish name to the fortress on a neighbouring hill. Annexed by the Ottomans in 784/1382, it was lost again during the disorders which followed Tīmūr's invasion, and recaptured from the rebel Djunayd [*q.v.*] by Khalīl Yakhshī Beg in 829/1425-6 (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīkh*). Before 1914 Aḳ Ḥiṣār had 12,000 inhabitants, of whom three-quarters were Muslims; in 1935 they numbered 21,000. The *ḳaḍā* of Aḳ Ḥiṣār in the *wilāyet* of Manisa had, according to Cuinet (*Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 548 f.), 31,746 inhabitants; in 1935 it had 91,000.

2. Aḳ Ḥiṣār in the Marmara district, now called Pamuk-ova, in the *ḳaḍā* of Geyve, *wilāyet* of Izmid (Kodja-eli), situated on the left bank of the Ṣaḳarya river, and a station on the Anatolian railway. It was captured by the Ottomans in 708/1308-9. The fortress, now deserted, commands a vast plain. The remains of many ancient columns and other buildings in the town and its neighbourhood bear witness to its earlier prosperity, but its ancient name is unknown. In 1935 it had 1,668 inhabitants, and its *nāḥiye* 9,324.

3. Aḳ Ḥiṣār was formerly also the name of a small locality in Bosnia west of Sarajevo, at the outlet of the Prusekota in the Semeskilitza; its modern name is Polnyi (i.e. Lower) Wakuf. It was conquered by Muṣṭafā Pasha in 907/1501-2 (J. von Hammer, *Rumili und Bosna*, 166; Ch. Perturier, *La Bosnie*, Paris 1822, 222). (K. SÜSSHEIM*)

4. Town in Northern Albania, called also in Turkish Aḳče Ḥiṣār, and in Albanian Krujë, Kroya, "well-spring", and formerly in the *sandjak* of Shkodra. Mentioned by the name of Kroas in the chronicle of Acropolites (13th cent.), it was in 1343 a Venetian possession and in 1395 passed into the hands of Constantine Castriota. It became famous as the residence of Scanderbeg (Iskender Beg [*q.v.*]), and withstood vigorous sieges in 1450, 1466, and 1468, before it was finally taken by Muḥammad II in 883/14-15 July 1478. Later on it was the centre of the Bektāshī [*q.v.*] order of darwīshes in Albania. One of the graves of Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ Dede [q.v.] is shown in Kroya and the number of graves of Bektashī saints around the town is considerable. Special reverence is paid to the tombs of Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza Baba and Baba ʿAlī (with a *tekke*). The citadel was demolished in 1248/1832 by order of Rashīd Pasha. In the Albanian state the town became the centre of a sub-prefecture, and had in 1938 4,500 inhabitants, mostly Muslims.

Bibliography: Ippen, *Skutari*. 71 f.; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, vii, 60; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, 215 ff.; F. W. Hasluck, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1915. 121 f.; F. Babinger, in *MSOS*, 1930, 149; idem, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, index, s.v. Kruje. — For the date of the capture of the city see especially the contemporary chronicler Benedetto Dei (in *Della decima e delle altre gravezze, della moneta, e della mercatura de' Fiorentini*, ii, Lisbon-Lucca 1765, 270 f.).

(K. SÜSSHEIM-F. BABINGER)

AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ, nisba of several authors originating from one of the places called Aḳ Ḥisār. To Aḳ Ḥiṣār in Aydln belong:

(a) Ilyās b. ʿIsā, commonly called, IBN ʿĪSĀ B. MADJD-AL-DĪN, author of a Turkish book of prophecies (*Kashf-i Rumūz-i Kunūz*) which, composed in 965/1557-8 when the Ottomans had reached the summit of their power, foretold the continuation of their empire until the end of the world and, from the numerical value of the letters of proper names, predicted the fate of the nation until the year 2035 A.H. (Cf. Pertsch, *Cat. Berlin*, No. 45, 9; Krafft, *Cat. Vienna Acad.*, No. 301; Flügel, *Cat. Vienna*, No. 1502). A few other works of his in prose and in verse are mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), iii, 480, iv, 155, 412, 440 and by Meḥmed Ṭāhir (see bibliography). He died in 967/1559-60.

Bibliography: Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿUthmānlī Muʾallifleri*, i, 18.

(b) MUḤAMMAD B. BADR AL-DĪN, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Munshi', also called al-Ṣārūkhānī, al-Rūmī, or al-Mufassir. It was at his suggestion that Sūdī wrote his commentary on Ḥāfiẓ. His main work is a popular commentary on the Ḳur'ān with the title *Nazīl al-Tanzīl* (or *Tanzīl al-Nazīl*), begun in Aḳ Ḥiṣār in 981/1574 and completed in 999/1590. The author dedicated it to Sultan Murād III. He became *Shaykh al-Ḥaram* in Medina in 982/1574, was later in Damascus, where in 998/1589-90 he wrote an Arabic commentary on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī (Ahlwardt, *Cat. Berlin*, No. 7798), and died in Mecca towards the end of the year 1000/1592 (sic, according to the oldest sources).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 439, S II, 651; ʿAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, 321; Naʿīmā, *Ta'rikh*, 40; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), ii, 380, iv, 528, vi, 339; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iii, 400; Meḥmed Ṭāhir, ii, 20.

(c) NAṢŪḤ, called NAWĀLĪ, became in 990/1582 tutor to the future Sultan Muḥammad III, when the young prince was governor of Maghnisa. For him he wrote a *Faraḥ-nāme* on the duties of a ruler (Rieu, *Cat. Br. Mus.*, 117); this work claims to be the Turkish version of the *Kitāb al-Ri'āsa wa'l-Siyāsa*, allegedly written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, (Flügel), iv, 411, v, 89). He also translated the *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī*. To Nawālī is further attributed one of the Turkish translations of al-Ghazzālī's *Kīmiyā' al-Saʿāda*, but this is perhaps a confusion with the work of Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī (d. 1000/1591). Naṣūḥ died in 1003/1594-5.

Bibliography: ʿAṭā'ī, 390; Meḥmed Ṭāhir, ii, 43.

To Aḳ Ḥiṣār in Bosnia belong:

(d) ḤASAN, called KĀFĪ. He was born in 951/1544 and died in 1025/1616, having been *ḳāḍī* in his native town for more than twenty years. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage. He took part in the campaign of Egri (Erlau) in Hungary in 1004/1595, and during the campaign composed in Arabic a treatise on good government and on the necessity of reforms in the Ottoman administration, entitled *Uṣūl al-Ḥikam fī Niẓām al-ʿĀlam*. In the following year 1005/1597 he translated it himself into Turkish, at the request of high officials. He further wrote a popular compendium of theology, directed against the Ṣūfīs and other innovators, called *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt fī Uṣūl al-Iʿtiḳādāt* (completed in 1014/1605), to which he himself wrote a commentary called *Azhār al-Rawḍāt* (completed in 1015/1606), a commentary on the *ʿaḳīda* of al-Ṭaḥāwī entitled *Nūr al-Yaḳīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, and a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 443, S II, 659; Babinger, 144; ʿAṭā'ī, 304; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), index, s.v.; Ewliyā' Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, v, 445 ff.; Meḥmed Ṭāhir, i, 277. For printed editions and French, German, and Hungarian translations of the treatise on government, see Babinger, loc. cit.

(e) Ḥādjdjī NASĪM-OGHLU Aḥmad b. Ḥasan described in 1186/1772-3, whilst prisoner in Germany, the campaign and the subsequent events in Bosnia of 1148-1156/1735-1744 (cf. Babinger, 276, n. 1).

(K. SÜSSHEIM-J. SCHACHT)

AḲ KIRMĀN (KERMĀN), "White City" (or "White Emporium"), in Rumenian Cetatea Albă, in Russian Belgorod, town on the western bank of the Dniester estuary. In antiquity it was called Tyras. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetus (ed. and transl. Moravcsik-Jenkins, 168, 62), the fortress was called "the White Castle". The anonymous "Toparcha Gothicus" (in B. Hase's ed. of Leo Diaconus, 496 ff.), however, calls it Maurokastron, "Black Fortress". Subject to the Mongols after 1241, the town was frequently visited by Genoese traders, who called it Maurocastrum (Malvocastrum, Moncastrum), but also Album Castrum. Abu 'l-Fidā', following Ibn Saʿīd, calls it Aḳča Kirmān; ʿĀlī (*Künh ül-Akhbār*, iv, 218) referring to Abu 'l-Fidā', writes : "Aḳča Kirmān is known at present as Aḳ Kirmān". In the 14th century Maurocastro-Moncastro was a Genoese fortress, under the administration of the Officium Gazariae (= Khazaria), which comprised the Genoese colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The Genoese fortress was restored by the Moldavians and the Turks, and still exists. Towards the end of the 14th century the town was occupied by the ruler of the newly established state of Moldavia (in Turkish Boghdān [*q.v.*]), and remained under Moldavian domination until 1484. The fortress was attacked by an Ottoman fleet in 1420, and another attack was made in 1454. In 1455 the Voivoda Petru III recognized Ottoman sovereignty over Moldavia; the sultan Muḥammad II, by a *firmān* dated 5 Radjab 860/9 June 1456, gave the merchants of Cetatea Albă permission to frequent Adrianople, Brusa and Istanbul.

The town was captured by Bāyezīd II on 4 August 1484; the sultan directed the operations in person. (Cf. *Fetiḥ-nāme-yi Ḳara Boghdān*, MS Cairo, *adab turkī*, 131, 103 f; I. Ursu, *Stefan cel Mare*, Bucarest 1925, 202-4; I. Bogdan, *Cronice inedite atingătoare de istoria Românilor*, Bucarest 1895, 43, 58). Most of the inhabitants of the town were deported to Istanbul and Anatolia, and Aḳ Kirmān became a *sandjaḳ* under the jurisdiction of the *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia. It was included in the *eyālet* of Özü [*q.v.*], when this was created in 1593. According to ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* (Istanbul 1280, 12), the *sandjaḳ* contained 914 *tīmārs*. The custom duties of the port were regulated at the same period. The town is described by Ewliyā Čelebi (v, 108 f.) who visited it in May 1658. He mentions the fortress (read *darūn* instead of *bīrūn*), mosques built by Bāyezīd II, Mengli Girāy Khān, Selīm I, a Wāʿiẓ Djāmiʿi, a *medrese* built by Selīm I, and a *ḥammām* built by Bāyezīd II. He also mentions (vii, 501) the sanctuary of Mayak Baba Sulṭān near the ford of the Dniester. Muḥammad Efendi Aḳ Kirmānī, a well-known Turkish philosopher, was a native of the town (cf. Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Mü'ellifleri* i, 214). In addition to the original inhabitants, Aḳ Kirmān and its district was inhabited by Turks and Crimean and Nogay Tatars; the Tatars were settled there after the attempt of the Voivoda Aron of Moldavia to capture the fortress in 1595.

In 1502 the last chief of the Golden Horde, Shaykh Aḥmad, fled to Aḳ Kirmān, in order to rally his forces. Selīm I made Aḳ Kirmān the base for his operations against his father Bāyezīd II (1 April 1511). The brothers Meḥmed Girāy and Shāhīn Girāy of Crimea in 1610 made the town their basis for raiding the Ukraine; they were, however, ousted by their brother the Khān Djānbey Girāy (cf. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii/i, 176). Between 1618 and 1636, Kantemir, Pasha of Silistria, controlled the region between the Danube and the Dniester and defeated the *kalgay* Ḥusām Girāy, "in the plain of Aḳ Kirmān" (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhlaka*, ii, 187); Murād IV, however, had his head cut off (Uzunçarşılı, 180). Ewliyā Čelebi (vii, 497) describes the battle between the Tatars of Meḥmed Girāy Khān

and those of ʿĀdil Girāy, under the walls of Aḳ Kirmān.

In 1683 the Cossack chief Kunicki advanced as far as Aḳ Kirmān, but was pushed back by the *serdār* Bosnak Ṣarl Süleymān Pas̲h̲a (Fındıklılı Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a, *Silāḥdār Taʾrīk̲h̲i*, Istanbul 1928, i, 397, ii, 127, 185). The Russian general Igelström captured the town in 1770, but it was returned to the Porte by the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynard̲j̲a (art. 16). The fortress was repaired in 1780 (Topkapı Arşivi, E 10, 416; for other repairs from 1646 onwards, see ibid. E 5880, 6237). In 1789 Potemkin occupied the town again (D̲j̲ewdet, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*², iv, 332), but it was returned to Turkey in the peace of Yassi (1792), after which the fortress was strengthened.

In 1806 the town was captured by the Russian colonel Förster and Prince Kantakuzino; the Tatars left the district and passed to the eastern bank of the Dniester. In the peace of Bucarest (1812), Aḳ Kirmān was transferred to Russia. It was there that the short-lived Convention of Aḳ Kirmān between Russia and Turkey, concerning the Rumanian principalities and Serbia, was signed in 1826. Subsequently the town shared the vicissitudes of Bessarabia.

Bibliographie: N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetaţii-Albe*, Bucarest 1899; G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă*, Bucarest 1935; idem, *Contributions à l'histoire de Cetatea-Albă (Akkerman) aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Acad. Roumaine, Bull. Sect. Hist., xiii, Bucarest 1927, 25 ff.; B. Spuler, *Gesch. d. gold. Horde*, 408 (commercial relations with K̲h̲ʷārizm and China in the Genoese period); Ferīdūn Bey, *Müns̲h̲eʾāt-i Selāṭīn*, i, 312, 319; Ḥasan Esīrī, MS Millet Kütüphanesi T 803 (cf. Babinger, 267); A. Decei, *Les Fetiḥnāme-i Karaboğdan des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, *Actes XII^e Congr. Orient.*; O. F. v. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Walachei, Moldau, Bessarabien etc. in der Mitte des vorigen Jahrh.*, *SBAk Wien*, 1863; *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, by E. de Hurmuzaki, Bucarest 1887 ff. (A. Decei)

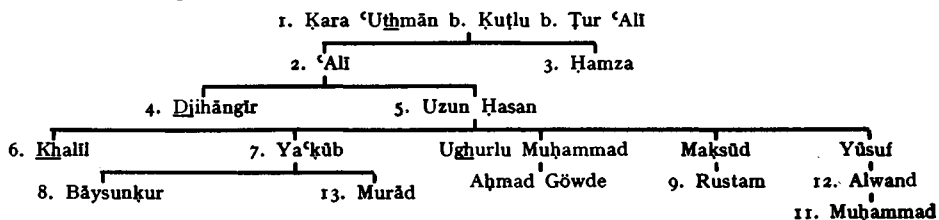
AḲ ḲOYUNLU, "those of the White Sheep", federation of Turkmen tribes, which rose in the region of Diyār Bakr in post-Mongol times (in the 14th century) and lasted till c. 908/1502. The name (cf. Chalcocondyles, ch. ix: Λευκοὶ Ἀσπρο‹προ›βατάντες) is unknown in earlier times. There is some uncertainty about the origin of the name, whether it refers to the breed of sheep, or to some kind of totem; the tumular stones of the Turkmens have often the form of rams, but such a symbol is absent in Uzun Ḥasan's banner, see Uzunçarşılı, pl. 49. The federation consisted of various Og̲h̲uz (Turkmen) tribes (Bayat, Döger, Čepni, etc.) who had apparently arrived with the Sald̲j̲ūḳs but, under the Mongols, led an inconspicuous existence. Among these clans must be particularly distinguished the Bayundur clan, to which belonged the rulers, who, with their immediate followers, must have taken the leadership and organised the federation. The early period of these Turkmens (both Aḳ and Ḳara Ḳoyunlu) is reflected in the Turkish epic poem *Dede Ḳorḳut* (Rossi), Vatican 1952, 46-9. The Bayundur family ("the *amirs* of Āmid") are first mentioned by the Byzantine chroniclers in 1340. They several times attacked Trebizond, and in 1352 Ḳutlu Beg son of Ṭur ʿAlī married a princess of Trebizond, as later did his son Ḳara Yoluḳ (sometimes: Kara Yülük, "black leech") ʿUt̲h̲mān. This latter was the real founder of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu power. For a long time, as a soldier of fortune, he took service with the local rulers of Erzind̲j̲ān and Sīwās and even with the sultans of Egypt. He succeeded in destroying two rivals: the chief of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, Ḳara Muḥammad (in 791/1389) and Burhān al-Dīn of Sīwās (towards 799/1397). He submitted to Tīmūr and, at his side, took part in the battle of Anḳara (805/1402), for which Tīmūr gave him the whole of Diyār Bakr. However, till his death in 839/1435 he was unable to take a firm stand on the Armenian plateau.

The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu were hampered in their expansion by the rise of the rival federation of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (whose original centres lay north of Lake Wān) especially when the latter's chief Ḳara Yūsuf, after the death of Tīmūr, returned to his principality and even ousted (in 813/1410) his former protectors, the D̲j̲alāyirs.

After a period of struggles between Ḳara ʿUt̲h̲mān's sons, ʿAlī and Ḥamza, the Aḳ Koyunlu came again to the fore with Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], son of ʿAlī (871-83/1466-78), who failed in his attempts to contain the eastward expansion of the Ottomans, but had brilliant successes in the east (he defeated the last Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, D̲j̲ihāns̲h̲āh, in 872/1467, and the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, in 873/1468) and extended his dominions to Bag̲h̲dād, Harāt and the Persian Gulf. His son Yaʿḳūb (883-96/1478-90) was, on the whole, a successful ruler, but after his death struggles began between his children and his nephews. Meanwhile, the Ṣafawids were sapping the position of the Sunnite Aḳ Ḳoyunlu by their S̲h̲īʿa propaganda carried on among the Turkmen tribes. In 908/1502, in a pitched battle in S̲h̲arūr (near Nak̲h̲ičewān) S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl defeated Alwand b. Yūsuf b. Uzun Ḥasan. For some years the struggle was continued by Yaʿḳūb's son Murād who had to flee to the west. He accompanied Sultan Selīm during the latter's invasion of Persia in 920/1514 but finally died in the same year near Urfa.

For some time an autonomous Aḳ Ḳoyunlu principality existed in Mārdīn: princes Ḥamza b. ʿUt̲h̲mān, D̲j̲ihāngīr b. ʿAlī and Ḳāsim b. D̲j̲ihāngīr. About 909/1503 the latter was killed by Alwand retreating from S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl.

In its heyday (under Uzun Ḥasan and Yaʿḳūb) the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu power cut a figure in world affairs, and with the transfer of the capital to Tabrīz, Persia was on the way to regain her political entity. The European powers (especially Venice) and the Pope sought alliances with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu against the prevailing Ottomans. Uzun Ḥasan's agrarian census (*ḳānūn-i Ḥasan pādis̲h̲āh*) was maintained for a time both in eastern Turkey and in Persia.

The following is the genealogical tree of the Bayundur rulers:

The chronology is as follows. Ḳara ʿUthmān was killed in 839/1435 at the age of eighty. Of his sons who disputed his succession ʿAlī died in 842/1438 and Ḥamza in 848/1444. Djihāngīr ruled in the west 848-74/1444-69. Uzun Ḥasan, b. 828/1424, ruled from 857/1453, overthrew the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in 872/1467 and died in 882/1478. Yaʿḳūb ruled 883-96/1478-90; Bāysunḳur 896-7/1491-2; Rustam 897-902/1492-7; Aḥmad Gövde 902-3/1397. After Aḥmad Gövde's death the struggle went on (903-7/1497-1502) between Muḥammad, Alwand and Murād. Alwand, defeated by Shāh Ismāʿīl in 907/1502, retreated to Diyār Bakr and died in 910/1504. Murād, defeated by Shāh Ismāʿīl in 908/1503, fled to Baghdād, where he ruled for four and a half years, and then went to Diyār Bakr and Turkey. He died at the age of 25 and with him the dynasty came to an end.

Bibliography: The special history of the beginnings down to Uzun Ḥasan is the *Taʾrīkh-i Diyārbakriyya* by Abū Bakr Tihrānī (being prepared for publication in Ankara by F. Sümer); for the reign of Sultan Yaʿḳūb *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī* by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān (MSS in Paris and Istanbul—unpublished). Detailed general survey in Ghaffārī, *Djihān-ārā* (with additions in MS Br. Mus. Or 141, fols. 190v-196v) and *Münedjdjim-bashi*, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār* (in the abridged Turkish translation, iii, 154-67). Numerous facts in historical works and documents in Persian, Turkish, Georgian, Armenian, Italian and Spanish; see bibliography in V. Minorsky, *La Perse entre la Turquie et Venise*, 1933; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 1936 (early relations with the Ṣafawīs); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*, 1937, 63-9, and index; V. Minorsky, *A soyūrghal of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr (903/1498)*, *BSOS*, 1939, 927-60; idem, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, *BSOS*, 1939, 141-78; idem, *The Aq-qoyunlu and land reforms*, *BSOS*, 1952, 449-62; *IA*, s.v. (by M. H. Inanç; many new facts). On Aḳ Ḳoyunlu refugees in Turkey see T. Gökbilgin, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 1951, 35-46.—See also UZUN ḤASAN.

(V. MINORSKY)

AḲ MASDJID, "White Mosque", name of two towns:

1. Town in the Crimea (local pronunciation: Aḳ Mečet), founded in the 16th century by the *khāns* of the Crimea in order to protect their capital, Bāghče Sarāy, from nomad incursions. It was the residence of the crown prince (*kalghay sulṭān*), whose palace was outside the town, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 638-41. The town was destroyed by the Russians in 1736, and rebuilt in 1784 under the name of Simferopol (although the local population continued to use the Turkish name).

2. A fortress on the Sīr Daryā, which belonged to the Khānate of Khōḳand. It was captured by the Russians under general Perovsky on 9 August (28 July) 1853, and rebuilt in the same year under the name of Fort Perovsky. Renamed Perovsk, it became the capital of a district in the province of Sīr Daryā. In 1924, its name was changed into Kïzïl Orda; it was the capital of the Republic of Ḳazaḳistān until 1928, when it became the capital of a province. (W. BARTHOLD)

AḲ SARĀY (AḲ SARĀ), "White Palace", town in inner Anatolia. Its ancient name was Archelais (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.). Aḳ Sarāy was an important place in the Saldjūḳ period and the castle, now in ruins, was built under Ḳïlïdj Arslān II. Subsequently it passed under the dominion of the Ḳaramān-oghlus and the Ottomans. The great part of the inhabitants was transferred by Muḥammad II to Istanbul after its conquest and a quarter in the capital received the name of Aḳ Sarāy after them. The town is an agricultural centre and has an important carpet industry, already mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 286; it is the capital of a *ḳaḍā* belonging to the *wilāyet* of Nigde and had in 1935 8,300 inhabitants (the *ḳaḍā* 19,000). Noteworthy monuments are the Ulu Djāmiʿ (beg. of 15th century, with a Saldjūḳ *minbar*), the Zindjirli *medrese* (first half of the 15th century), the Kadiroghlu *medrese*, built under the Saldjūḳs and restored by the Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg, the Naḳḳāshī Djāmiʿi (modern, but with a minaret from the 14th century) and various *ḥammāms*; on the Erwal Tepe near the town there is a *türbe* in briquets from the 13th century.

Bibliography: Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 93 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 509, 566; Ainsworth, *Travels and researches in Asia Minor*, i, 192; E. Réclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 571; Hamilton, *Researches*, ii, 22; *Gülshen-i Maʿārif*, i, 521, 524; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyenin Taʾrīkh we-Djoghrāfiyā Lughati*, 21; W. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 284; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 191.

(F. TAESCHNER)

AḲ SARĀY, palace near Gurgāndj (Urgenč), still mentioned in the "Shaybāniade" (ed. Vámbéry, 392). For the palace of the same name erected for Tīmūr in Shahr-i Sabz, see KASH.

AḲ SHAMS AL-DĪN, properly MUḤAMMAD SHAMS AL-MILLA WA'L-DĪN, saint of the Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*] and discoverer of the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī near Constantinople. He was the son of a certain Ḥamza, who acquired fame in Syria as a worker of miracles and later died in the district of Ḳawaḳ (near Amasia). Aḳ Shams al-Dīn was born in 792/1389-80 in Syria (Damascus) and came with his parents to Ḳawaḳ in 799/1396-7. After the early death of his father (when Shams al-Dīn was seven years old) he engaged in theological studies; Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samawnā is reputed to have been among his teachers. Later he obtained a post of Ḳurʾān teacher (*müderris*) in ʿOthmāndjïk. Not satisfied with the rational outlook of orthodox Islam, he sought a spiritual leader, undertaking for this purpose long journeys, extending to Persia and Transoxania. He gave up, following an exhortation in a dream, an attempt to attach himself to Zayn al-Dīn al-Khawāfī, and about 830/1426-7 he turned, after some initial hesitations, to Ḥādjdjī Bayrām [*q.v.*], who shortly afterwards appointed him to his succession (*khilāfet*). The scenes of his later activities as *shaykh* of the order and nature-healer were Begbāzār (west of Ankara), where he built a small mosque and a mill, the district of Isklīb (near ʿOthmāndjïḳ) and Göynük (near Brusa). The dates of his seven pilgrimages to Mecca are not known. Between 851/1447-8 and 855/1451-2 he was called to Adrianople, to treat Sülaymān Čelebi, *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* of sultan Murād II. He took part in the conquest of Constantinople as a preacher in the army; according to a later legend he discovered the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] and worked other miracles of *firāsa*. He healed a daughter of Meḥmed II and in general gained the favour of the sultan. After the conquest Aḳ Shams al-Dīn returned to Göynük, where he died at the end of Rabīʿ II 863/1459. The story of his interpretation of a dream of the sultan before the battle of Terdjān against Uzun Ḥasan (1 August 1473) cannot refer to him and seems to be a forgery of Ferīdūn. Aḳ Shams al-Dīn had seven, according to others twelve, sons, the most

important of whom was the poet Ḥamdī [*q.v.*]. He also wrote several medical and ṣūfī works, which have not yet been published. In the history of the Bayrāmiyya, Aḳ Shams al-Dīn seems to have played a fatal part, because a quarrel between him and some of his companions caused the great secession of the Malāmatiyya, which could not fail to hamper considerably the development of the whole order.

Bibliography: Tāshköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-Nu'māniyya* (transl. O. Rescher, 145 ff.); Emīr Ḥüseyn, *Menāḳib-i Aḳ Shams al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1301 (also used, on the basis of a MS, by Ünver); Gibb, ii, 138 ff.; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlī Mü'ellifleri*, i, 12 ff.; A. S. Ünver, *Ilim ve sanat bakımından Fatih devri notları*, i, Istanbul 1947, 127 ff. ("*Halk menakibine göre Ak-şemseddin ve Istanbul hakkında*"; on his miracles, sayings, etc.); H. J. Kissling, *Aq Šems ed-Din. Ein türkischer Heiliger aus der Endzeit von Byzanz*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1951, 322 ff. (with detailed justification of statements differing from views of earlier authorities). (H. J. KISSLING)

AḲ SHEHR, in modern Turkish orthography Akşehir, "White Town":

(i) Town in inner Anatolia situated at the foot of the Sulṭān Dagh. In antiquity it was known as Philomelium (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.). In old sources the name of the town occurs as Aḳshar, Akhshar or Akhshehir. It was under Saldjūḳ and Ḳaramān-oghlu dominion and was annexed by Bāyezīd I. In the 16th-17th centuries it is mentioned by the travellers Ghazzī, Makkī and Ewliyā Čelebi. The town, capital once of a *sandjaḳ*, now of a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Ḳonya, gained its importance from its situation on the Istanbul-Baghdād road (now on the railway line), and is also an agricultural centre; in 1935 it had 10,335 inhabitants (some of them immigrants from Greece and Yugoslavia); the *ḳaḍā* 60,000. Its mosque was founded by Bāyezīd I, the Ṭash Medrese has an inscription of the Saldjūḳid Kaykā'ūs I (613/1216) but is of a later time. Other monuments are a *tekke* with an inscription of Ṣāḥib 'Aṭā from the time of Kaykā'ūs II (659/1260-9); the tomb of Sayyid Maḥmūd Khayrānī, with an octagonal pyramid (621/1224; restored in the beginning of the 15th century); the Ulu Djāmi' (beg. of 15th century); Iplikči Djāmi' (738/1337); and an *imāret*. The modern tomb of Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*] bears the date of 386/926.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 803, 818; Cl. Huart, *Konia*, Paris 1897, 109-17; idem, *Epigraphie Arabe d'Asie Mineure*, *Revue Sémitique*, 1894, 28-34; Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 21 f.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 435; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, ii, 63; Hamilton, *Researches*, ii, 185; 'Alī Djewād, *Memālik-i 'Othmāniyyenin Ta'rīkh we-Djoghrāfiyā Lughati*, 21; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 15 ff. (CL. HUART-F. TAESCHNER)

(ii) AḲ SHEHIR (also AKSHAR or ASHKAR; Pizzigani, 1367, writes Azcar), town in north-east Anatolia, on the Kelkit Irmaḳ between Ḳoylu Ḥiṣār and Sushehri; it is often mentioned by early authors, and occurs as late as in Kātib Čelebi's *Djihān-nümā*, 627. It is probably identical with the modern village of Güzeller or Ezbider. The name was preserved, even longer than for the town, for the plain (Aḳ Shehir Owasi), which is regularly mentioned in the iteneraries of the Ottoman armies on their campains against Persia and Georgia.

Bibliography: F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, ii, 2 (with further references). (F. TAESCHNER)

AḲ ṢU (T.), "white water", (1) technical term for the original bed of a river (also *aḳ daryā*), from which a canal (*ḳara ṣu* or *ḳara daryā*) is derived; (2) name of several rivers in Turkish-speaking countries; they are sometimes better known under other names. The following are some of the rivers that bear in Turkish the name of Aḳ Ṣu: (i) one of the source rivers of the Amū Daryā [*q.v.*], also called Murghāb [*q.v.*] or the "River of Kūlāb"; (ii) the "southern" Bug (in Ukrainian: Boh) in the Ukraine (so regularly in the Ottoman historians), which forms at its issue into the Black Sea a common estuary with the Dnieper; (iii) a rapid mountain stream in Eastern Turkistān (Sin-kiang), which, coming from the T'ien-shan, flows in a S. E. direction towards the Tarim (Yārkand Daryā) and reaches it somewhat above its junction with the Khotan Daryā near Sil. The town of Aḳ Ṣu (see next article) receives its name from this stream. (B. SPULER)

AḲ ṢU, town in Eastern Turkistan (Sin-kiang), about 6 km. to the north of the river of Aḳ Ṣu (see preceding article), approximately opposite to its junction with the Tawshḳan Daryā; 1006 m. above the sea, 41°14, 7' N, 80° E; on the northern caravan route, between Maralbashī and Kučā. A little upstream from the modern town lies another settlement called Aḳ Ṣu, and N. E. of both is the "Old Town", which possibly both correspond to older settlements with Chinese names of their own (see below). Aḳ Ṣu is first mentioned with its Turkish name in the 8th/14th century only; the usual identification (current since Deguignes) with Auzakia in Ptolemy is therefore more than doubtful. Its identification with various Chinese toponyms is not yet finally settled. W. Barthold had identified it (mainly on the basis of its present Chinese name, see below) with the Wön-su of the Han period and the B.nčūl (B.nčūk ?) of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (ed. Minorsky, 98) and Gardīzī (in Barthold's *Otčët o poyezdkye v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, 91); later, however, he gave up this view. P. Pelliot identified Aḳ Ṣu with the Ku-mo of the Han period (Pa-lu-kia in Hsüan-tsang, Po-huan in the T'ang period; al-Idrīsī's "Bākhuwān"). Chinese merchants in Aḳ Ṣu are mentioned already about 1400 (Niẓām Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*), but even in 1475 its importance was small in comparison with other towns of Eastern Turkistān (W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 220); according to Ḥaydar Mīrzā's *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, however, it was about 1547 one of the capitals of the country. In modern times the importance of the town (which did not reach, however, that of Yārkand, Kāshghar and Ṭurfān) lay in its role as a commercial centre and a junction of roads between China, Siberia, Eastern and Western Turkistān, Kashmīr, Ladakh and India. It had also a military importance. It is said that at one time the town had 6000 houses, six caravansarays, five *madrasas*, and a wall with four gates. As the town was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1716, no old buildings have been preserved. By the travellers of the 19th century (A. N. Kuropatkin, 1876-7; N. M. Prževal'skiy, 1885-6; Carey, 1885-6; F. E. Younghusband, 1886; Sven Hedin, 1895) it is described as having about 15,000 inhabitants and being about 2 km. in circumference. The livelihood of the inhabitants was based on metalwork, cotton materials of very good quality (*bazz*), saddles, bridles, jewellery and the breeding of camels, horses

and cattle. Between 1867 and 1877 Aḳ Ṣu belonged to Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*] of Kās͟hg͟har, since 1877 again to China (Chinese name: Wön-su-chow); the Chinese chose the town for the residence of the president (*tao-tʿai*) of the "Four Eastern Towns" (Aḳ Ṣu, Kučā, Ḳara S͟hahr and Üč Turfān). In the 20th century it shared the changing fortunes of Eastern Turkistan. The number of the inhabitants (presumably mostly Sunnī Eastern Turks) is at present given as between 20,000 and 40,000, who occupy themselves also with carpet weaving.

Bibliography: P. Pelliot, *La ville de Bakhouan dans la géographie d'Idriçi*, *Tʿoung-pao*, 1906, 553-6; idem, *Notes sur les anciens noms de Kučā, d'Aq-su et d'Üč-Turfān*, *Tʿoung-Pao*, 1923, 126-32; the materials are put together in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 293-7, cf. also 27 f. and the map, 279; Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy slovar*[1], St. Petersburg 1890, i, 307 f.; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 24, 37, 58, 60; *Bol'shaya Sovyetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], 1950, i, 617 f. (B. SPULER)

AḲ ṢU (AḴH ṢU), village near S͟hemāk͟hī, (Russian Shemakhā) in Soviet Ād͟harbayd͟jān, with a mosque, a bazar and with the ruins of "New S͟hemāk͟hī" [*q.v.*]. (B. SPULER)

ĀḲ SUNḲUR, "White Falcon", the name of many Turkish officers, of whom the following are the most important:

1. ĀḲ SUNḲUR B. ʿABD ALLĀH ḲASĪM AL-DAWLA, known as AL-ḤĀD͟JIB, mamlūk of Malik-s͟hāh [*q.v.*], who appointed him to the government of Aleppo in 480/1087. He at first supported the efforts of the Sald͟jūḳ prince Tutus͟h [*q.v.*] to establish himself in Syria, but after Malik-s͟hāh's death he, with the other governors in northern Syria and the D͟jazīra, declared for Barkiyāruḳ, and was defeated and executed by Tutus͟h near Aleppo in D͟jumādā I, 487/May 1094. He was the father of Zankī [*q.v.*], afterwards atābeg of Moṣul, and is highly praised for his justice and good government.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (Amedroz), 119-26, trans. Le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, Damascus 1952, 15-27; Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 98, 149-51, 157-8; Ibn K͟hallikān, no. 99; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīk͟h Ḥalab*, ii, Damascus 1954, index.

2. ĀḲ SUNḲUR AL-AḤMADĪLĪ [see AḤMADĪLĪ].

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ĀḲ SUNḲUR AL-BURSUḲĪ (ABŪ SAʿĪD SAYF AL-DĪN ḲASĪM AL-DAWLA), originally a mamlūk of Bursuḳ [*q.v.*], and one of the principal officers of the Sald͟jūḳid sultans Muḥammad and Maḥmūd. He became prominent firstly through his activities as military governor (*s͟hiḥna*) of al-ʿIrāḳ, and later, at the end of his life, as governor of Mosul, which office he held simultaneously with the former. Appointed *s͟hiḥna* in 498/1105. his main task was to oppose the Mazyadite Arabs of Dubays [*q.v.*], who were infesting the environs of Bag͟hdād. In his first government of Mosul (507/1113) his chief duty was the organization of the Holy War in the name of the sultan against the Franks in Syria, combining with this an effort to restore the Sald͟jūḳ authority in Diyār Bakr and up to the Mediterranean. After several setbacks, due essentially to the suspicions aroused by these ambitions, and which led to his spending the years 509-512/1116-8 in partial disgrace at his fief of al-Raḥba on the Euphrates, he finally succeeded, after saving Aleppo from an attack by the Crusaders supported by Dubays, in taking over the government of the entire province (518/1125), by agreement with the leading citizens of Aleppo. He thus realized that union of a part of the D͟jazīra with northern Syria which had served as the basis of Ḥamdānid power, and was to support that of Zankī [*q.v.*]. His life was cut short by the Bāṭinīs of Alamūt, one of whose allies he had opposed in al-ʿIrāḳ, in 519/1126, before he could display his abilities, and it fell to Zankī to realize, with greater solidity, the task thus begun. But already al-Bursuḳī had combined, as Zankī was also to do, Sald͟jūḳid legitimism, represented by his dignity as *atābek* of a prince, with an almost complete *de facto* autonomy at Mosul, and had effected that reinforcement of Muslim north Syria by the forces of the D͟jazīra which was to permit the former to break the Frankish encirclement and explains its readiness, despite its particularism, to accept his authority.

Bibliography: C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, i, Paris 1934; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, ii, Cambridge 1952; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (Amedroz; tr. Le Tourneau, index, s.v. al-Borsoqî); Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 272, 290, 350-3, 374, 378-80, 415, 439-40, 446-7; Ibn K͟hallikān, no. 100; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, Damascus 1954, index; Ibn Abī Ṭayy; and, among non-Muslim authors, Matthew of Edessa; other sources quoted by Cahen, *op. cit.*, introduction. (CL. CAHEN)

AL-ʿ**AḲABA**, a mountain-road, or a place difficult of ascent on a hill or acclivity. There are many places of this name: the best-known is that between Minā and Mecca. Here, according to traditional accounts, Muḥammad had secret meetings with men from Medina at the pilgrimages of the years 621 and 622 A. D. In 621, at "the first ʿAḳaba", twelve were present, and they gave to Muḥammad an undertaking known as 'the pledge of the women' (*bayʿat al-nisāʾ*); at "the second ʿAḳaba" seventy-three men and two women promised to defend Muḥammad, if necessary, by arms, in what is known as 'the pledge of war' (*bayʿat al-ḥarb*). Some Western writers have held that there was only one meeting at al-ʿAḳaba, since only one is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī (i, 1224 f.), and since the wording of "the pledge of the women" in the extant sources is based on Ḳurʾān, lx, 12, which is admittedly later (cf. F. Buhl, *Muhammed*, Leipzig 1930, 186). It is likely, however, that the delicate negotiations involved would require more than one meeting. (For the stone-throwing that takes place at al-ʿAḳaba as part of the pilgrimage, see AL-D͟JAMRA and ḤAD͟JD͟J.)

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 692 f.; Ibn His͟hām, 288-300; Ṭabarī, i, 1209-27; G. Mélamède, in *MO*, xxviii, 17-58; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, 144 ff.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-ʿ**AḲABA**, the sole seaport of the Hās͟himite Kingdom of Jordan, lying on the eastern side of the head of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba at the foot of the D͟jabal Umm Nuṣayla.

Al-ʿAḳaba is the successor of Ayla [*q.v.*], from which it developed as the town grew further to the southeast. The name al-ʿAḳaba is a shortened form of ʿAḳabat Ayla, "the Pass of Ayla", which refers to the pass through the D͟jabal Umm Nuṣayla traversed by the route from al-ʿAḳaba northeast to Maʿān through the Wādī It͟hm and the Wadi Ḥismā. This pass, which was improved under the Ṭūlūnid K͟humārawayh (884-95), ultimately gave its name to the town itself. The term ʿAḳabat Ayla appears as early as the time of al-Idrīsī (d. 1166), but the town was still generally known as Ayla. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

1304-77), however, knows it only as ʿAḳabat Ayla (i, 256, iv, 324) and by the time of the 16th century historian Ibn Iyās it was called by its present name of al-ʿAḳaba.

At the very end of the Mamlūk period (920/1514-5) Sultan Ḳansawh al-Ghawrī, through the agency of his architect Khāyir Bey al-ʿAlāʾī, erected the present ruined fortified *khān* at al-ʿAḳaba in order to protect pilgrims from the attacks of predatory bedouin bands.

Under Turkish rule (1516-1917) al-ʿAḳaba, by the beginning of the 20th century, was reduced to a village of some fifty mud-and-stone huts, the inhabitants of which lived from the produce of their gardens and from the fruit of date palms, the latter of which they divided equally with the Ḥuwayṭāṭ bedouin, to whom the palms still belong. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the building of the Ḥidjāz railway in 1908 had deprived al-ʿAḳaba of its only remaining importance as a pilgrimage station. When Musil visited the town in 1898 it was the seat of a Turkish garrison guarding the frontier with British occupied Egyptian Sinai. (It belonged to the province of the Ḥidjāz and was the seat of a *muḥāfiẓ* subordinated to the *wālī* in Djidda.)

During the sea bombardment by British and French warships which preceded the capture of al-ʿAḳaba by Anglo-Arab forces on 6 July 1917, the town was severely damaged. Following the end of World War I, al-ʿAḳaba was part of the Ḥidjāz, but with the fall of the Ḥidjāz to the Saʿūdī Arabian forces in Oct. 1925 the town, along with the Ma'an district, was annexed to Transjordan. Little change took place in the condition of al-ʿAḳaba until 1942, when new construction was undertaken by the British forces to prepare the port as a supply port in the event of the fall of Egypt to axis armies driving from Libya. At this time a paved road was constructed from al-ʿAḳaba to the railhead at Naḳb Shitār S. W. of Maʿān. Following the Palestine war of 1948-9 the town grew rapidly in population and in 1954 it was projected to develop the port as Jordan's outlet on the Red Sea.

Bibliography: A. Musil, *The Northern Ḥiǧāz*, New York 1926, 81-8; idem, *Arabia Petraea*, ii/i, Vienna 1907, 257-60; E. Robinson, *Biblical researches in Palestine*, London 1856, 163-72; T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, New York 1938, 310-4; C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, London 1936, 141-4; H. W. Glidden, *A Comparative Study of Arabic Nautical Vocabulary from al-ʿAqabah*, *JAOS*, 1942, 69-72; idem, *The Mamluk Origin of the Fortified Khan at al-ʿAqabah, Jordan*, in *Archeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952, 116.

(H. W. GLIDDEN)

ʿAḲABAT AL-NISĀʾ, a name for the pass of Baghrās or Baylān [see BAGHRĀS].

ʿAḲĀʾID [see ʿAḲĪDA].

ʿAḲĀL [see ʿIMĀMA].

AKANṢŪS ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, Moroccan historian and man of letters originating from the Berber tribe of Idā ū-Kansūs which inhabited Sūs in southern Morocco, where he was born in 1211/1797. He studied at Fez under teachers of repute, and then obtained a post at the Sharīfian court as secretary. Promoted to the rank of vizier in 1236/1820, he was entrusted by the Sulṭān Mawlāy Sulaymān (Mūlāy Slīmān) with several official missions, but lost his post on the latter's death (1238/1822). He retired to Marrākush, where he devoted his time to the composition of poetical and historical works and became one of the most prominent representatives of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīḳa*. He died, at an advanced age and afflicted with blindness, on 29 Muḥarram 1294/14 Febr. 1877, in the same town. His tomb, situated outside the Bāb al-Rabb, is still visited by initiates of the Order.

The major work of Akanṣūs is a general history of Islām up to his own era, in which pride of place is given to the history of his own country and, even more specifically, to that of the ʿAlid dynasty (ʿAlawiyya) of Morocco, from its origins up to 1282/1865. This voluminous work, a limited number of copies of which were lithographed at Fez (1336/1918), is entitled *al-Djaysh al-ʿAramram al-Khumāsī fī Dawlat Awlād Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sidjilmāsī*. Its chief merit lies in the fact that it constitutes the first chronicle of the reigns of the sultans ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and was subsequently used extensively by Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī [*q.v.*] in his *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*. For the earlier period, the *Djaysh* plagiarizes most frequently the chronicles of al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] and al-Zayyānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 200-13 (with bibliography, 200 n. 1); idem, *Extraits des historiens arabes du Maroc*[3], Paris 1948, 8-9 and 126-7; Brockelmann, S II, 884-5.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿAḲĀRIB (see ʿAḲRABĪ].

ʿAḲARḲŪF group of ruins 30 kms. west of Baghdād; its identification by H. Rawlinson with the town of Dur Kurigalzu, founded by the Kassites in the 14th century B. C., has been confirmed by the excavations of 1942-5 (see T. Baqir, in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, 1945; 1946, 73 ff.). The high tower (the ruins of the ancient *zikkurat*) drew the attention of the Arabs, and is referred to in connection with the Arab conquest as *al-manẓara* (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 250; cf. also al-Ṭabarī, ii, 917, iii, 943). It was said to be the tomb of the "Kaynānī" dynasty (Ibn al-Faḳīh, in Yāḳūt), or to have been built by Kay Kāʾūs (Ḥamd Allāh, *Nuzha*, 39) or by ʿAḳarḳūf, son of either Ṭahmūrath (Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī) or of Fāris b. Ṭahmūrath (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 196) or of Sām (Abū Ḥāmid). According to a legend (already found in Ḥamd Allāh) the stove into which Namrūd threw Abraham [see IBRĀHĪM] was at ʿAḳarḳūf; for this reason it was sometimes called Tell Nimrūd. Abū Nuwās mentions ʿAḳarḳūf in a verse (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1898, 100) and al-Maḳdisī (258) quotes from al-Kalbī a Persian tradition naming it among the seven towns of al-ʿIrāḳ noted for intelligence (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 210). There was also a village, a prominent family being the descendants of Saʿd b. Zayd al-Khazradjī (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 93; al-Samʿānī, Yāḳūt). The European travellers of the 16th century and later who mention ʿAḳarḳūf (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 847-52; Tuch, *De Nino urbe*, Leipzig 1845, 4) usually call it the "Tower of Babel".

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 697-8; Samʿānī, 395r; Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, 79; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, 284-5; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, i, 211, ii, 267-8, 227; Le Strange, 67; G. Awwad, in *Sumer*, 1949, Arabic part 81 ff.

(S. M. STERN)

AL-**ʿAKAWWAK**, "thick-set", sobriquet of the poet ʿALĪ B. DJABALA. Born at Baghdād in 160/776, of a family of Khurāsānī *mawālī*, al-ʿAkawwak seems to have spent most of his life in ʿIrāḳ, where he was the panegyrist of Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*], Ḥumayd

b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī, and the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. The exaggerated and almost sacrilegious eulogies addressed to the two first-named excited, it is said, the hostility of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, who had the poet's tongue torn out. Al-ʿAkawwak died as a result of this mutilation in 213/828. His *dīwān*, a work of considerable proportions (see *Fihrist*, 164₁₈), has not come down to us, and his poetry is known to us only through the quotations of anthologists; the long poem quoted by al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus edition, iii, is ascribed to him, but this is questionable. Al-Djāḥiẓ had a great admiration for the way in which he recited poetry (see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and also Ibn Khallikān); but this prolific and catholic writer quotes al-ʿAkawwak once only in his *Kitāb al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn*. On the other hand, contemporaries of al-Djāḥiẓ such as Ibn Ḳutayba and Abu'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī consider al-ʿAkawwak to be a poet of exceptional merit.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 550-3; *Aghānī*, xviii, 100-14; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd*, (ʿUryān), i, 238, 243; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 359; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo, 1310, i, 348, ed. Cairo 1948, no. 434; Brockelmann, S I, 120.

(R. Blachère)

AKBAR, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (15 Oct. 1542-16 Oct. 1605), the greatest of the Mughal emperors of India, was born at Umarkot in Sind while his father Humāyūn, who had been ousted by the Afghān usurper Shīr Shāh Sūr, was escaping to Persia. A grandson of Bābur, he was both a Tīmūrid Turk and a Čaghatāy Mongol. His mother, Ḥamīda Bānū, was a Persian. After thirteen years of exile Humāyūn, because of the decline of Sūr power, decided to attempt the reconquest of Hindūstān. Little however had been accomplished before his death on 24 Jan. 1556. In fact there was no Mughal empire before Akbar, only an attempt to create one. In his early struggles Akbar owed much to his able guardian and regent Bayram Khān [*q.v.*]. In addition to the Sūr claimants the most dangerous of his rivals was a usurping Hindu minister named Hēmū who had assumed the title of Rādjā Vikramaditya. Hēmū's forces were routed at Pānīpat on 5 Nov. 1556. The following year saw the surrender of Sikandar Shāh Sūr. In 1560 Bayram Khān fell from power, after which Akbar remained for about four years under the pernicious influence of the ladies of the harem and of a faction controlled by his foster relatives, the *atga khayl* of contemporary Muslim historians. His personal rule therefore dates from 1564.

His annexations. In 1561 his kingdom comprised the Pandjāb and Multān; the basin of the Ganges and Djumna between Pānīpat and Allāhābād; the country between the Gumti and the foothills of the Himalayas; Gwalior in Central India and Adjmēr in Radjputana. The country around Kābul was held by his half brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Ḳandahār belonged to Persia. Outside his dominions were the Muslim states of Gudjarāt and Khāndesh; the five Deccani sultanates of Berār, Bīdār, Aḥmadnagar, Bidjāpūr and Golconda; and, to the south of the river Tungabhadra, the Hindu empire of Vidjayanagar. Kashmīr, Radjputana, and Gondwana were under independent chiefs and rādjās. Bihār and Bengāl acknowledged an Afghān ruler, Sulaymān Kararanī. The Portuguese were firmly established at strategic points along the coast.

Between 1562 and 1576 he added to his dominions Malwā (1562), the Gond kingdom of Garha-Katanga in Gondwana (1564), Čhitor (1568), Rantambhor (1569), Kalandjar in Bundelkhand (1569), and Gudjarāt (1573). The annexation of Bengāl in 1576 made him master of the whole of northern India with the exception of lower Sind. Subsequent additions to his empire were Kashmīr (1586), Sind (1591), part of Orissa (1592), Balūčistān and Makrān (1594), and Ḳandahār (1595). As a result of his Deccan campaigns Berār, Khāndesh, and part of Aḥmadnagar were annexed between 1595 and 1601. At his death, in 1605, his empire comprised the following fifteen *ṣūbas* (provinces): Kābul (including Kashmīr), Lahore, Multān (including Sind), Delhi, Oudh, Agra, Adjmēr, Aḥmadābād, Malwā, Allāhābād, Bihār, Bengāl, Khāndesh, Berār and Aḥmadnagar (not fully subjugated).

Administrative policy. Akbar was not merely a conqueror. He was in addition endowed with a genius for administration to which the structure of both his central and provincial government bears testimony. The ideas of Akbar can be traced back to his immediate predecessors the Sūr Afghāns and the sultans of Delhi. The chief lesson he learned from the past was the danger of the unlimited wazirate. In 1564, therefore, the central government was reorganized by entrusting the financial functions of the *wakīl-i muṭlaḳ* to the *dīwān* or *wazīr*. From this time onwards the power of the *wakīl* was eclipsed by that of the *dīwān* and the importance of the office was further lessened by keeping it vacant for long periods. Other important officers of the central government under Akbar were the *mīr bakhshī*, the *mīr sāmān*, and the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*. It is extremely difficult to define the functions of the *mīr bakhshī*, who has been referred to as the Paymaster-General or as the Adjutant-General, but the more fitting modern equvalent would be Quartermaster-General. Under Akbar the *mīr bakhshī* as administrative head of the military department was responsible for all transport arrangements during campaigns and could be placed in command of an army in the field. In accordance with Akbar's policy of separation of powers it was only on active service that the *mīr bakhshī* actually paid the troops. Normally this was the work of the *dīwān*. The *mīr sāmān* was in charge of the *buyūtāt* department and was responsible for the organization of the *kār-khānas*, the factories, workshops, and stores maintained by the emperor. The *ṣadr al-ṣudūr*, the chief spokesman of the *ʿulamāʾ*, was the Chief *Ḳāḍī* and head of the judiciary. In the early part of Akbar's reign this official had extraordinary powers. His reading of the *khuṭba* in the name of a new sovereign legalized the accession. He also exercised the right of patronage recommending deserving cases to the king for *madad-i maʿāsh* grants. It is incorrect to assert that in 1581 Akbar abolished this office. It is true that six provincial *ṣadrs* were appointed but the office of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* continued, though shorn of its former extraordinary powers. All important officials, whether civil or military, were graded as *amīrs* or *manṣabdārs* on a military basis. They were divided into 33 classes and their rank and precedence were regulated by nominal commands of horse, ranging from 10 to 5000. Under Akbar there was evidently some connection between an officer's rank and the number of troops he entertained, but the exact meaning of the terms *dhāt* and *suwār* is controversial.

The provincial government was administered by a hierarchy of officials corresponding to those at the centre. The *ṣūbas* (provinces) were divided into *sarkārs* (districts) which were further subdivided

into *parganas* or *maḥalls*, the lowest fiscal unit in the empire. Distance and the backwardness of communications necessitated elaborate precautions to prevent fraud and rebellion. The provincial governor was a bureaucratic head and was not allowed to develop into a feudal baron. Not only was the governor's tenure of office short but important provincial officials like the *dīwān* and the *fawdjdār* (executive head of a *sarkār*) were appointed by the central government. There was also an elaborate system of espionage carried out by the *wāḳiʿa nuwīs* (reporter) and other officials.

Akbar's revenue policy was the outcome of three experiments. In each case a different set of assessment rules was adopted but in all three the assessment was based on the area sown and varied with different crops. The first two experiments failed and it was not until the 24th regnal year (1579-80) that a stable system was introduced. This was known as the *dah sāla* system because the assessment was based on the average of the previous ten years. An attempt was made to deal directly with the peasants who had to pay one-third of their gross produce to the state. It was enforced only in the six central provinces which formed the original nucleus of his empire.

His religious policy was chiefly dictated by political and dynastic considerations. His policy of *ṣulḥ-i kull* (universal toleration), his abolition of the *djizya* and of the tax formerly levied on Hindu pilgrims were aimed at securing the loyalty of his Hindu subjects, who formed the bulk of the population. It was also inextricably bound up with his conception of sovereignty and was an assertion of the supremacy of the state politically, economically, and financially. With this object he curbed the powers of the *ʿulamāʾ* by the so-called Infallibility Decree of 1579 by which he was recognized as the chief authority in the realm on religious matters. Although illiterate he was genuinly interested in the study of Comparative Religion and built an *ʿibādat-khāna* (House of Worship) where learned men of all religions assembled to discuss theological problems. These discussions convinced Akbar that there was good in all religions and prompted him to promulgate a new eclectic faith called the *dīn ilāhī* which he vainly hoped would prove acceptable to his subjects. It was the reversal of his policy of conciliation by his immediate successors and their gradual departure from the main principles of his rule that led to the decline of the Mughal empire.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AKBAR, SAYYID **ḤUSAYN ALLĀHĀBĀDĪ,** Indian Muslim poet, who wrote in Urdu under the pen-name of Akbar. Born in 1846 in Bāra, a small village near Allāhābād, he received a casual and desultory schooling. After several years' practice as a lawyer, he spent many years of his life as a judge in the service of the British government, till his retirement in 1903. He died in Sept. 1921.

His chief characteristic is his use of humour and satire to enforce his views on political and social subjects. The employment of *jeux de mots*, of which he made frequent and effective use, greatly added to his popular appeal. His command of pure Urdu was matched by his ability to bend to his purpose strange words, whether English or vernacular. From the sociological point of view, the main interest of his poetry lies in the fact that it may be regarded as a running commentary on the social foibles of his contemporaries and the political and religious trends of his times. This rôle of a humorous commentator on contemporary life earned him the title of *Lisān al-ʿAṣr* or "the Mouthpiece of the Age." His criticism is not, however, the result of deep or sustained sociological thought, but is the impulsive reaction of a conservative mind to that Westernization of Indian life, which as a matter of fact had been in progress for a long time past. The shafts of his wit and ridicule simply touch the surface of things, and as the phases of life criticised by him pass away in a changing society, a considerable part of his poetry is likely to lose its topical interest for the coming generations.

His poetical compositions have been collected in four volumes and frequently published under the title of *Kulliyyāt-i Akbar*. The first volume was published in 1909, the fourth in 1948. His letters, too, have been published in several collections. Shortly before his death, he composed *Gāndhī-nāma*, in which he set down the political views of the various parties, which took part in the anti-British movement led by M. K. Gandhi. It was edited by M. Naʿīm al-Raḥmān, Allahabad 1948.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

AḲČE, meaning "small white", was the name given in Turkish to the Ottoman silver coin habitually referred to by European writers as the

aspre or *asper*, from the Greek *aspron*. The term was already in use under the Saldjūḳids of ʿIrāḳ during the 12th century (see al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, 300, where a gift of 1,000 *aḳčes* is recorded); and since, when applied to the first Ottoman coin to be struck, under Orkhān in 727/1327, it was qualified by the epithet "ʿOthmānī", it would appear to have continued in use either for some other coin or as signifying "money" in a more general sense. In later Ottoman times it certainly came to bear this wider sense, as in such phrases as *selāmet aḳčesi*, *ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi*, and to have been generally used by all the northern Turkish-speaking peoples in both senses (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.). During the 14th and 15th centuries the Ottoman coin was usually called simply "ʿOthmānī", but from the reign of Selīm I onwards, this usage being abandoned, it came to be known simply as the *aḳče*.

The earliest Ottoman *aḳče* was modelled on the *dirham* of the Saldjūḳids of Rūm; and although in one issue or another of the sultans down to Murād II there appear most of the elements that were later to make up the final formulae of the *aḳče's* inscriptions, it was not until the reign of Meḥmed II that these were all regularly, though not always identically, combined.

The *aḳče* of Orkhān weighed 6 *ḳīrāṭs*, or one-quarter of a *mithḳāl*, was 90% silver, and measured 18 mm. in diameter; and down to the reign of Murād II, though the *aḳče* was somewhat reduced in size, its standard of purity and even its weight were pretty well kept up. Under Meḥmed II, Bāyazīd II, and Selīm I, however, its standard was reduced by 5% and its weight to 3³/₄ *ḳīrāṭs*; and although under Süleymān I and Selīm II this decline was retarded, it continued, till, under Murād III and his successors down to ʿOthmān II, though retaining the same standard and more or less the same diameter, it was reduced by fits and starts to a weight of no more than 1¹/₂ *ḳīrāṭs*, becoming thinner and thinner. Moreover, under Murād IV, Ibrāhīm, and Meḥmed IV, its silver content was reduced first to 70 and then to 50%, though its weight and size remained roughly the same. The effect of these various debasements on its value was that, whereas 40 *aḳčes* went to the first Ottoman gold piece, of Meḥmed II, by the reign of Muṣṭafā II, when a currency reform resulted in the first coining of the Ottoman *ḳurūsh*, the rate of the gold piece (whose own weight and standard had been pretty well maintained) had risen to as much as 300 *aḳčes*. The *aḳče* continued to be minted thereafter down to the reign of Maḥmūd II; but from the end of the 17th century its value, which gradually declined still further, was so slight that it became little more than a conventional unit, used chiefly for accountancy purposes; and in the *tanẓīmāt* period it was abandoned, except in connection with *waḳfs*, even for that.

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ʿAḲD. The *ʿaḳd*, in Muslim law, is properly the legal act, whether it relates to a contract or to a simple unilateral declaration, such as a will. More especially, however, the term *ʿaḳd* denotes the legal act which involves a bi-lateral declaration, namely the offer (*īdjāb*) and the acceptance (*ḳabūl*). The offer by itself has no obligatory character, in Ḥanafite law. Mālikite law differs on this point. At all events, the *ʿaḳd* is formally constituted at the moment when the acceptance is given.

It is necessary at this point to distinguish clearly between the *ʿaḳd* or contract, and simple promises (*ʿidāt*) and also allowances (*ibāḥāt*), which are not binding.

The *ʿaḳd* is not merely a simple expression of agreement. Every *ʿaḳd* requires a *ṣīgha*, or form, by which the wishes of each of the parties are expressed. These wishes must in principle be expressed verbally, unless a mute is involved. Writing cannot be used unless the parties are not in the presence of each other. But there is no question of an inflexible formalism. The *ṣīgha* is not confined to a stereotyped form. Any mode of expression (*ṣūra*) is valid, provided it gives the required meaning. It is necessary however to realise that *verba de futuro* can in no way validly express the will to contract. *Verba de praesenti* only bind the contracting party if the will to contract is established independently. There is no necessity to try to establish this intention (*niyya*) if the *verba* are in the past tense.

The *ʿaḳd* should therefore reflect a mutual understanding which has already been reached. It is concluded in order to secure for this agreement its legal effects. Thus the effect of a contract of sale is the immediate transfer of the ownership of the object of sale to the vendee. This conveyance cannot be deferred. In the definition of the *ʿaḳd*, there is no question of obligations being incurred by one party or the other by virtue of the contract. The *ʿaḳd*, in Muslim law, is not so much an act giving rise to obligations as a legal act creating a new legal situation or modifying an existing one. The vendor is naturally obliged to deliver the object of sale, just as the purchaser is obliged to pay the price. These obligations, however, are not considered to be effects (*ḥukm*) of the contract, but are properly considered to be contractual rights (*ḥuḳūḳ al-ʿaḳd*).

If the obligations of the two contracting parties are discharged as soon as mutual agreement is reached, then this does not constitute an *ʿaḳd*, but only a *muʿāṭāt*, a mutual delivery of the object of sale and of the sale price. This delivery is certainly valid for *res viles*. It is also valid, according to some legal doctrines, for articles of value, if there has been an effective fulfilment of the contract by at least one party. But, in principle, the *ʿaḳd* postulates a *ṣīgha* which necessarily creates, in law, a new situation.

It should also be noticed that, in certain contracts, the material delivery of the object of sale is regarded as a condition of the fulfilment of the *ʿaḳd*. This position obtains as regards loan of fungible and not fungible things, pledge and gift which, in Muslim law, are equivalent to "real" contracts.

The *ʿaḳd* must comply with a condition of unity in time and space. The *ʿaḳd* constitutes an indivisible whole. The *negotium* (*ṣafḳa*) is one and indivisible, in the sense that the offer cannot be accepted in part, even when it involves two distinct things. Similarly, the offer cannot be accepted by one of its recipients to the exclusion of the other. Finally, the contract is rendered null and void if one of the objects of the contract proves to be an asset *extra commercium*. This conception of the contract as an inviolable unit gives great rigidity to the structure of the *ʿaḳd*. Thus the *ʿaḳd* cannot comprehend more than one

negotium. On the other hand, the *ʿakd* must be concluded at one and the same sitting (the contractual meeting or *madjlis al-ʿakd*). In short, the contracting parties must assemble in one and the same place. The contractual act thus takes place under the symbol of the three unities (see Ch. Chehata, *Théorie générale*, no. 116).

From this it follows that any clause added to the contract will be declared inoperative unless it is implied by the nature of the contract itself, so that it can be smoothly integrated into its structure. Such clauses are termed *essentialia* and *naturalia*. All other clauses (*accidentalia*) will be considered invalid. Thus the inalienalibity clause added to a contract of sale will be deemed null and void.

Does this mean that contracts in Muslim law are all formulated contracts, and that the parties cannot, by mutual agreement, conclude contracts which have not been anticipated by the Law (*sharʿ*)? The answer usually given is that Muslims are bound by their stipulations (*shurūṭ*) [*q.v.*]. But at the same time every type of contract is considered on its merits and pronounced legal or otherwise on the basis of the Ḳurʾānic texts, the *hadith* or the *idjmāʿ*. It must moreover be realised that the conditions governing the formation of contracts are tantamount to prescripts of an authoritative nature, and that the various regulations laid down by jurists concerning contracts entail the sanction of nullity, which considerably limits the area of contractual freedom. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the Muslim social order, in matters concerning contracts, is based on two main principles; the struggle against usury and any suspicion of usury (*ribā* and *shubhat al-ribā*), and the exclusion of all risk (*gharar*) from transactions.

The *ʿakd*, once drawn up in accordance with the requisite conditions, cannot in principle be vitiated by some fault in the agreement, unless there is a question of constraint (*ikrāh*). Constraint is usually the subject for a separate chapter in works on *fikh*. The party which has suffered constraint can revoke its contractual obligations. In the case of fraud, on the other hand, the contract can be challenged only if the fraudulent actions have inflicted on the deceived party excessive loss (*ghabn fāhish*). Errors, such as a fault in the agreement, pass almost unnoticed. The party which is deceived as to the quality of the article can only withdraw from its contractual obligations if the quality has been made the subject of a special stipulation in the contract. The contract will then have to be cancelled, not on account of the error, but on the basis of the resolutory clause.

An *ʿakd* which does not satisfy the required conditions is in principle ineffective, and is termed null and void (*bāṭil*) [*q.v.*]. Ḥanafite doctrine distinguishes, however, between the invalid contract and the irregular (*fāsid*) contract. The contract will be considered null and void only if one of the conditions (*rukn*) regulating the conclusion of the contract happens to be unfulfilled. In all other cases, the contract will simply be irregular. The irregular contract, however, is, like an invalid contract, an act devoid of legal consequences. The advantage of the distinction between these two categories appears only when the protection of a third party is involved. Thus a person acquiring property by virtue of a *fāsid* contract can validly alienate it in favour of a third party, if he has previously taken possession of it. The alienation in this case arises from a *non dominus*, but it is considered valid, because the third party, which has acquired the property from its owner, could be ignorant of the irregularity (*fasād*) attaching to that owner's title. This measure of protection is at the basis of the theory of *fāsid* contracts in Ḥanafī Muslim law. (See Ch. Chehata, in *Travaux de le Semaine de Droit Musulman*, Paris 1953, 36 ff.)

It should, however, be noted that certain contracts are neither valid nor invalid, but belong to a third category. The *ʿakd* is then said to be *mawkūf*, as, for example, in the case of a contract concluded, without the *auctoritas* of his guardian, by a minor who is not without powers of discrimination. Unless gratuitous transactions are involved, transactions concluded by minors who are not without powers of discrimination are not null and void. They are simply non-effective (cf. Art. 108 of the German civil code). The ratification (*idjāza*) of the guardian gives them full and absolute effect. Similarly a contract agreed to by a *non-dominus* is considered simply to be non-effective, prior to the ratification of the *verus dominus*. In the meantime, the contract has no legal effects whatever. It is in a state of suspense (*mawkūf*) between the parties and equally as regards any third party.

If an *ʿakd* is to have effect on other than on the contracting parties, representation is required. In Ḥanafī Muslim law the agent (*wakīl*) does not, in principle, represent his client. In order that the *ʿakd* may produce its effect directly on the client, the agent must act in the name of his client (*alieno nomine*). But he then assumes the role of a messenger a spokesman pure and simple (*rasūl*). If he acts in his own name (*proprio nomine*), which is the usual function of an agent, the *ʿakd* will still produce its effect in regard to the client, but the obligations arising from the contract will not be binding on the client; they will be binding on the agent alone. Thus the legal representative of a person acquiring property will find himself bound to pay its price himself, while the property will go directly to his client. The distinction, already noticed, between the effects of the contract (*aḥkām*) and rights arising from the contract (*ḥukūk al-ʿakd*) is clearly illustrated here. (See Chefik Chehata, *La représentation dans les actes juridiques en droit musulman hanéfite, d'après les textes de Shaybānī*, to appear in the Proceedings of the Congress of Comparative Law, Paris 1954.)

The effective *ʿakd* is in principle binding (*lāzim*). There are, however, several exceptions to this rule; for instance agency, gratuitous loan, pledge, partnership, suretyship, security and gift are considered, among others, to be contracts which are essentially revocable. In all these contracts one of the parties is free, depending on the circumstances, to withdraw from its contractual obligations by a simple unilateral declaration. (In the case of gift, however, a judicial decree is necessary.) Moreover, contracts of lease can always be rescinded if one of the parties lodges a plea (*ʿudhr*) on any grounds whatever. Finally, a special clause can be inserted in general in any contract, to confer on one party, or on both parties equally, the right to withdraw (*jus paenitandi*, called in Muslim law *khiyār al-shart*).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that mutual agreement between the parties can always put an end to a contract. This is termed *iḳāla* (*mutuus dissensus*), and is discussed at length in works on *fikh*. But the *ʿakd* cannot in principle be cancelled on the grounds of non-fulfilment. Thus the vendor, in default of a special clause, cannot demand the rescission of the sale in a case where the purchaser has not paid the agreed price. [See also SHURŪṬ.]

Bibliography: Ch. Chehata, *Essai d'une théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, vol. i, Cairo 1936; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, vol. ii, Rome 1938; Sim. Tolédo, *Analyse de la théorie des contrats et obligations en droit civil ottoman*, thesis Paris, 1915; G. G. C. van den Berg, *De contractu "do ut des"*, thesis Leiden, 1868 (Ital. trans. Gatteschi, Alexandria 1877); Z. A. Rifai, *Le consentement et les vices du consentement en droit musulman hanefite*, thesis Nancy, 1933. Modern works in Arabic: ʿAlī al-Khafīf, *Aḥkām al-Muʿāmalāt al-Sharʿiyya*, 3rd edition, Cairo 1947; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Milkiyya wa-Naẓariyyat al-ʿAḳd*, Cairo 1939; Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, *al-Amwāl wa-Naẓariyyat al-ʿAḳd fi'l-Fiḳh al-Islāmī*, 2nd edit., Cairo 1954; Ṣubḥī Mahmasānī, *al-Naẓariyya al-ʿĀmma li'l-Mūdjabāt wa'l-ʿUḳūd*, 2 vol., Beirut 1948; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-Zarḳā, *al-Madkhal al-Fiḳhī al-ʿĀmm ila'l-Ḥuḳūḳ al-Madaniyya fi 'l-Bilād al-Sūriyya*, i, Damascus 1952; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī, *Maṣādir al-Ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-Fiḳh al-Islāmī*, i, *Ṣīghat al-ʿAḳd*, Cairo 1954.

Doctrinal sources, i.e. those for Ḥanafite law, which is specially discussed in the article: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *al-Aṣl*, Kitāb al-buyūʿ wal-salam, ed. by Shafīḳ Shiḥāta, Cairo 1954; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, 30 vol., Cairo 1324/1906; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ fī Tartīb al-Sharāʾiʿ*, 7 vols., Cairo 1328/1910.

(Chafik Chehata)

AKDARIYYA is the name of a well-known difficult law-question about inheritance which belongs to the *masāʾil mulaḳḳaba* (i.e. questions "called by special names"). When a woman leaves behind as her heirs: 1. her husband, 2. her mother, 3. her grandfather, and 4. her sister (whether she be her *shaḳīḳa*, i.e. her full sister, or her *ukht li 'l-ab*, i.e. her half-sister on the father's side), then her husband gets $^1/_2$, the mother $^1/_3$ (cf. Ḳurʾān, iv, 12-13), so that there would only remain $^1/_6$ of the inheritance for the grandfather and the sister. The latter two are generally considered, when they inherit together, as *ʿaṣabāt*, that is the sister inherits half of the grandfather's part, and together they get everything that remains when the *aṣḥāb al-farāʾiḍ* (i.e. the heirs to whom the Ḳurʾān grants a definite part of the inheritance) have been satisfied.

Now the grandfather can, according to the current interpretation of Ḳurʾān, iv, 12, in any case lay claim to a sixth part of the whole inheritance. But then the sister would get nothing. This is actually the doctrine of the Ḥanafīs. According to them, the grandfather here excludes the sister from the inheritance. But the other schools of *fiḳh* are of opinion that in this case the grandfather and the sister are not to be regarded as *ʿaṣabāt*, but that in the same way as the husband and the mother, they get the parts to which the Ḳurʾān entitles them. Then the division is as follows:

the husband inherits	$^1/_2 = ^3/_6$
the mother inherits	$^1/_3 = ^2/_6$
the grand-father inherits	$^1/_6 = ^1/_6$
the sister inherits	$^1/_2 = ^3/_6$

By means of *ʿawl* [*q.v.*] these nine sixths are reduced to nine ninths.

Then the husband would receive	$^3/_9$
the mother	$^2/_9$
the grand-father	$^1/_9$
the sister	$^3/_9$

But as the sister can after all only lay claim to half the grandfather's part, the right proportion between these two parts has again to be re-established. Together they inherit $^4/_9 = ^{12}/_{27}$, but the grandfather receives $^8/_{27}$ and the sister $^4/_{27}$.

About the meaning of the name *akdariyya* the Muslim scholars hold different opinions. Some say that the question itself is *akdar* (i.e. troubled, obscure), or that the otherwise generally accepted principles are "troubled, disturbed" in this case; others believe Akdar to be the name of a man, to whom ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān submitted this question.

Bibliography: *TA* iii, 518; Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Muʿrib*, sub voce; *LA*, vi, 450; W. Marçais, *Des parents et alliés*, Rennes 1898, 154 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, iii, 15; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, ii, 517 f.; id., *Sommario del diritto malechita di Ḥalīl Ibn Isḥāq*, ii, Milan 1919, 823; H. Laoust, *Le Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beyrouth 1950, 139; Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, 6th ed., § 229 f. (Th. W. Juynboll*)

AKH [see ʿĀʾila, ikhwān, muʾākhāt].

ĀKHĀL TEKKE was between 1882 and 1890 the name of a district (*uězd*) in the Russian territory (*oblastʾ*) of Transcaspia, which had been conquered by the Russians in 1881. It comprised the sub-districts of Atek [*q.v.*] (chief place: the village of Kaakhka) and Durūn [*q.v.*] (Darūn; chief place: Bakharden). Since 1890 the district is called ʿAshḳābād [*q.v.*] — The name Ākhāl (which is of modern origin) applies to the oases on the northern slope of the Kopet Dagh and Küren Dagh; Tekke refers to the Tekke or Teke [*q.v.*] Turkmen, the present inhabitants of this region. The Islamic geographers of the Middle Ages have no special name for the region, which was inhabited by Iranians, masters in the art of irrigation. Here was situated the town of Nasā [*q.v.*] or Nisā, now in ruins, the border fortress of Shahristān (three parasangs to the north of Nasā) and Farāwa (Afrāwa) near the present Ḳïzïl Arwat. In the 16th-17th century the country came under Uzbek rule and was called Tagh Boyu ("mountain side") in contrast to Ṣu Boyu, "water side" (i.e. Khʷārizm proper). At that time the town of Nasā seems to have still existed, but subsequently it was completely ruined owing to the neglect of irrigation; Durūn (Darūn) is also mentioned at this time. At the time of the Russian conquest the country had no towns; ʿAshḳābād and Ḳïzïl Arwat came into being only under Russian rule. The district suffers from earthquakes (for instance in 1893, 1895, 1929, 1948).

Bibliography: Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy Slovarʾ*[1], St. Petersburg 1891, ii, 526 f. and xii, map after 160; *Bolʾshaya Sovyetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], 1950, iii, 562 (horse-breeding). Cf. also Bibl. s.v. ʿAshḳābād.

(W. Barthold-B. Spuler)

AKHALČIKH [see akhiskha].

AKHARNAR [see nudjūm].

AKHBĀR [see taʾrīkh].

AKHBĀR MADJMŪʿA, title of a short anonymous chronicle recording the conquest of al-Andalus by the Arabs, the period prior to the foundation of the Marwānid amirate of Cordoba, and the history of the amirate itself up to the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir. This text, published on the basis of the *unicum* of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris, and translated into Spanish by Lafuente y Alcantara (Madrid 1867), has had little documentary

interest since the discovery of the greater part of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān. It is an ill-proportioned and relatively late work, probably contemporary with the reconquest of Valencia. In it are found lengthy passages from earlier chronicles, notably from that of ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī. The fact that this text does not refer to the sources which it transcribes or transposes has deceived Dozy (preface to his edition of the *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn ʿIdhārī, Leiden 1848-51, 10-12) and Ribera (introduction to his translation of the *Iftitāḥ* of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, Madrid 1926, XIII ff.) into supposing it to be an original work. The extremely debatable study and problematical conclusions reached by by the non-Arabist Spanish historian Cl. Sanchez Albornoz, in his work *El "Ajbār maymūʿa", cuestiones historiográficas que suscita*, Buenos Aires 1944, need only be mentioned here.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 23-32.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**AKHḌAR**, "the green", a vulgar form currently used in North Africa for the personal name al-Khiḍr [*q.v.*]. Various santons, especially at Constantine, are known by this name.

AL-**AKHḌARĪ**, ABŪ ZAYD ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. SAYYIDĪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ṢAGHĪR, Algerian author of the 10th/16th century. He wrote (1) *al-Sullam al-Murawnaḳ* (composed in 941/1534), a short versification of al-Abharī's [*q.v.*] *Īsāghūdjī* on logic; this little work soon became extremely popular and acquired numerous commentaries (one by the author himself) and glosses; it has often been lithographed or printed, in Fās, Būlāḳ (editio princeps of 1241 in *Madjmūʿ Muhimmāt al-Mutūn*), Cairo and Lucknow; French transl. by J. D. Luciani, *Le Soullam*, Algiers 1921. Very popular, too, is his (2) *al-Djawhar al-Maknūn fī Ṣadaf al-Thalātha al-Funūn*, a versification of the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Brockelmann, I, 353), to which the author himself supplied a commentary (composed in 950/1543); in this form, or with commentaries by other writers, it has often been lithographed or printed in Cairo (first in 1285). Also printed or lithographed are (3) *al-Durra al-Bayḍāʾ fī Aḥsan al-Funūn wa'l-Ashyāʾ*, a metrical treatise on arithmetic, inheritance and legacies (composed in 940/1533), (4) *Naẓm al-Sirādj fī ʿIlm al-Falak*, a metrical treatise on astronomy (composed in 939/1532-33), and (5) a *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ʿIbādāt*, a popular elementary treatise on ritual duties according to the Mālikī school. Several other works of his exist in manuscripts. He is buried in the *zāwiya* of Bentiyūs (al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib*, 52, 72), the modern Ben Thious, s.w. of Biskra, and his tomb is still visited.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 705 f.; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt*, 406 f.; Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥifnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-Khalaf bi-Ridjāl al-Salaf*, Algiers 1325-27/1907-9.

(J. SCHACHT)

AL-**AKHFASH**, ("nyctalope" or "devoid of eyelashes"), cognomen of a number of grammarians listed by al-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*, Cairo, undated, ii, 282-3), viz.: Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, Saʿīd b. Masʿada and ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, see below; ʿAbd. Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī; Aḥmad b. ʿImrān b. Salāma al-Alhānī, died before 250/863, author of a *Gharīb al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, grammarian, lexicographer and poet (see Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, 34); Hārūn b. Mūsā b. Sharīk, d. 271/884-5; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, tutor of Ibn Djinnī; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Andalusī, tutor of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, d. after 450/1058; Khalaf b. ʿAmr al-Yashkurī al-Balansī, d. after 460/1068; ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Radjāʾ al-Fāṭimī. To this list may be added ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak (Brockelmann, S I, 165), and a traditionist named al-Ḥusayn b. Muʿādh b. Ḥarb, d. 277/890 (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 313-4). The three following are the most famous; the first two of these belong to the school of al-Baṣra.

I. — AL-AKHFASH AL-AKBAR, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd, d. 177/793, pupil of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ; he was the first, it is said, to provide ancient poems with an interlinear commentary, and he collected together numerous dialectal terms; his principal pupils were Sībawayh, Abū Zayd, Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī [*qq.v.*].

Bibliography: Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn* (Krenkow), 52; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1954; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 248, 249; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 485; Brockelmann, S I, 165.

II. — AL-AKHFASH AL-AWSAṬ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan SAʿĪD B. MASʿADA, the most famous of all the Akhāfish, *mawlā* of the Tamīmite clan of Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim; born at Balkh, he was a pupil of the Muʿtazilite Abū Shamr, but more particularly of Sībawayh, whom he survived although superior to him in age, and it was he who gave instruction on the *Book* and made it widely known; he died between 210 and 221/825-835. Nothing has been preserved of his own works (*Fihrist*, i, 52). Al-Thaʿālibī (d. 427/1035) made use of his *Kitāb Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān*, and his *Kitāb al-Muʿāyāt* is frequently quoted in the *Khizāna* of al-Baghdādī (i, 391; ii, 300; iii, 36, 527).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 271; Azharī, in *MO*, 1920, 12; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 184-8; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*; Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn*, 49-51; Ibn Khallikān, no. 250; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 242-4; Yāfiʿī, *Djanān*, ii, 61; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 258; id., *Muzhir*, ii, 253, 287; Brockelmann, S I, 165.

III. — AL-AKHFASH AL-AṢGHAR, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. al-Mufaḍḍal, pupil of al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab; he gained distinction by introducing the grammatical studies of Baghdād into Egypt, where Aḥmad al-Naḥḥās was his pupil; a grammatical work which he wrote was studied and annotated in Spain (see *BAH*, ix, 313-4). He died in 315/927.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 165. On the subject of these grammarians, see also Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 61 ff.

(C. BROCKELMANN-CH. PELLAT)

AKHĪ, designation of the leaders of associations of young men organized as guilds in Anatolia in the 13th-14th centuries, who adopted the ideals of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] and were recruited mainly among the craftsmen. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 260) connects the name with the Arabic word for "my brother"; if this explanation is based on anything more than an identity of sound, it would offer an instance of a "title in forms of address" similar to A. *sayyidi*, T. *khānum*, *begum*, etc. It is more likely, however, that the homonymy of the two words is accidental, though it was willingly adopted by the Akhīs; occasionally also it is borrowed in the Persian translation *birādar* (cf. Taeschner-Schumacher, *Nāṣirī*, 38). In reality it is a Turkish word (cf. J. Deny in *JA*, 1920, 182 f.; H. H. Schaeder, in *OLZ*, 1928, 1049, n. 1), which is already found in Uyghur in the form *aḳï* "generous" (A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, glossary, s.v.; *Turfantexte*, vi, 1.4). The word occurs in the same form and with the same meaning (cf. also *aḳïlïḳ*, "generosity") in Middle Turkish (Kāshgharian): in al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* (*aḳï*, "*al-djawād*", i, 84 —

facs. ed. 57; *aḳilik*, iii, 129 — facs. ed. 520; C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, s.v.), and in the didactic poem *ʿAtebet al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ* by Edīb Aḥmed b. Maḥmūd Yüknekī, ch. ix (ed. R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1951, 58-61, index, s.v.; under the title *Hibet al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Nedjīb ʿĀṣim, Istanbul 1334, 52-5; cf. J. Deny in *RMM*, 1925, 219, n. 1); *aḳi er*, "the generous one", and *aḳi bol*, "be generous"; the opposite is *bakhīl* and *bakhīllik*, or *bukhul*, also *khasis and khasislik*). In the latter work the form *akhi* occurs also as a variant reading for *aḳi*, and this is the form which is exclusively used in Rūm-Turkish. It is found several times in the oldest Rūm-Turkish literature, as a vocative ("oh generous one, oh noble one, oh hero") constituting the rhyme-word at the end of a line; for instance in the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut* (ed. E. Rossi, fol. 65r, three times; ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, 16; ed. Gökyay, 9), in two poems of Yūnus Emre (ed. Burhan Ümid, ii, 344, 361; ed. Abdülbaki Gölpinarli, 117), and also elsewhere (e.g. Enwerī (Mükrimin Khalil), 43). The word passed from the general to the particular meaning, i.e. possessor of *futuwwa* (P. *futuwwat*, T. *fütüwwet*), by acquiring the full implications of the Persian word *djawānmard*, which the latter in turn had received as a translation of Arabic *fata**, *al-fatā* (cf. H. H. Schaeder, loc. cit.).

Akhī, as a term qualifying its bearer as possessing *fütüwwet* (*ṣāḥib fütüwwet* or *fütüwwet-dār*), always precedes the name and occurs occasionally with reference to persons even earlier than the 7th/13th century. So for instance it is applied to the ṣūfī *shaykh* Akhī Faradj Zandjānī (d. 1 Radjab 457/8 June 1065), and the teacher of the poet Niẓāmī (b. 535/1141) is also said to have borne that designation. It is, however, only in the 7th/13th, and more especially the 8th/14th century, that the name occurs frequently, in the whole of the Middle East, but predominantly in Anatolia; it gradually disappears again in the course of the 9th/15th century.

In the more particular sense, Akhism is the specific form assumed by the *futuwwa* organization in late- and post-Saldjūḳ Anatolia. It is well attested here by a literature of its own (the Persian *Futuwwat-nāma* of Nāṣirī, written in 689/1290 in N. E. Anatolia, being a *mathnawi* of 886 couplets; the Turkish *Fütüwwet-nāme*, in prose, by Yaḥyā b. Khalīl al-Burghāzī, probably from the 8th/14th century; the important chapter on *fütüwwet* in Gülshehrī's old-Ottoman version of ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr*, studied by F. Taeschner in *SBPAW*, 1932, 744-60), as well as by allusions in various authors (the most impressive being Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's vivid account, ii, 254-354, especially 260 ff., the chapter on *al-akhiyya al-fityān*), and by inscriptions and documents. (A list of the references, to which many additions could now be made, in *Islamica*, 1929, 29-47.) ʿĀshiḳpasha-zāde (Giese), 201, 213 (= Istanbul ed. 205), names the *akhiyān*, together with the *ghāziyān*, *abdālān* and *bādjiyān*, as the four groups of "travellers" (*müsāfirler we-sayyāḥlar*) in Rūm (Anatolia) (for comments on this statement see P. Wittek, in *Byzantion*, 1936, 310). The wording of the sentence seems to imply that these groups came to Anatolia from abroad. They can perhaps be connected with the flood of *darwishes* and related figures from the east (Khurāsān and Turkistān), who are known from other sources as well to have come to Anatolia in the Mongol period (second half of the 13th century). Some early mentions of *akhis* in Iranian territory in pre-Mongol times would bear this out. The earliest mentions of *akhis* in Anatolia (especially in Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifīn*, cf. Cl. Cahen, see below) also go back to relations with Iran. On the other hand, in considering the forms of organization of Akhism, the connection with the courtly *futuwwa* at the caliphs' court in Baghdād ought not to be passed over; this is made likely by the relations, repeatedly attested, between the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622/1180-1225), the reformer of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], and the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm.

During the disintegration of the state of the Rūm Saldjūḳs and the division of Anatolia into a number of Turkish principalities (second half of the 13th century), the *akhis*, who according to the contemporary or slightly later authors (such as Ibn Bībī, Aḳsarāyī, the Paris Anonymous and Aflākī) were leaders of bands (*runūd*), showed a remarkable activity, reminiscent of the activity of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] in Baghdād and the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] in Syria a century before. In the first half of the 14th century, the *akhis* appear in the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, to whom the *akhis* extended hospitality in every town during his journey through Anatolia, ca. 1333, as an important element of cohesion in the motley conglomeration of states in Anatolia at that period. In towns where no prince resided, they exercised a sort of government and had the rank of *amir* (Aḳ Sarāy, Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 286; Ḳaysariyye, ii, 288 f.); sometimes they exercised judicial authority (Ḳonya, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 281). Their position seems to have been especially strong in Anḳara, at the time when the authority of the Mongol governor residing in Sīwās did not reach so far. Sharaf al-Dīn, the richest and most powerful of these *akhis* of Anḳara, calls himself in his tomb inscription of 751/1350: *akhi muʿaẓẓam* (Mübārek Ghālib, *Anḳara*, ii, 15 f., no. 20; *Islamica*, 1929, 44, no. 3b). According to Neshrī (Taeschner), 52 (= ed. Ankara, 190-2), it was from their hands that Murād I accepted the town in 762/1360-1, We find *akhis* also in the entourage of the first Ottoman rulers; some of these *akhis* took part in the conquest of Brusa (for details see *Islamica*, 1929, 30). Basing himself on this fact, Fr. Giese (*ZS*, 1924, 255, 258) considered the *akhis* as the troops with whose help the Ottomans founded their power, and surmised that they themselves were members of *akhi* organizations. This is, however, little likely, in view of the urban character of Akhism and the fact that its associations were composed of craftsmen. P. Wittek has shown with much probability that the role attributed by Giese to the *akhis* belongs in reality to the *ghāzis*, fighters for the faith, who constituted a military counterpart to the *akhis* (first in *ZDMG*, 1925, 288 f., and then frequently). On the other hand it results from a *waḳfiyya* of Murād I, of 767/1366, and an inscription in Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, of 769/1368, that Murād, probably for political reasons, joined the still powerful *akhi* organization (see Fr. Taeschner, *War Murād I Grossmeister oder Mitglied des Achibundes*, *Oriens*, 1953, 23-31). This was followed, however, by the decline, rather than the advancement, of Akhism, as it seems that the Ottoman sultans, when they had no further need of the *akhis*, dropped their relations with them.

The *akhis*' own literature does not allude to any activity in public life. Here the *akhi* organization appears as a half-religious, *darwish*-like society. It comprised three grades: *yigit* ("young man", translation of A. *fatā*, designated the ordinary unmarried member of the organization); *akhi* (president of a corporation of *fityān* and owner of a *zāwiya*, meeting-house, of which there were sometimes more than one

in a town); and *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*. The latter grade seems to have played practically no active role; probably it refers to the leader of a *darwīs̲h̲* settlement, to which the members of the corporation felt themselves attached. Such attachments seem to have varied with the individual corporations; there are known to have been relations between *ak̲h̲īs* and the Mewlewīs, Bektas̲h̲īs, K̲h̲alwetīs, and probably yet other orders. The ordinary members were again divided into two classes: they were either *ḳawlīs*, "word-members", when they made a general profession only ("by way of speech"), or *sayfīs*, "sword-members", who probably were the active members. Their symbol was, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 264, a knife (*sikkīn*); they covered their heads with a white woollen headgear (*ḳalansuwa*), from the end of which there hung down a piece of cloth one ell long and two fingers in breadth (the resemblance to the head-covering of the later Janissaries, the *keče*, is noteworthy). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the members of an *ak̲h̲ī* corporation met every evening in the house of their leader, the *ak̲h̲ī*, bringing him their daily earnings, which served to cover the expenses of the club premises and the communal meal, to which also guests, especially passing travellers, would be invited. The lodging and entertaining of travellers was considered by the *ak̲h̲īs* as their main function. According to Ibn Baṭṭūta, they also played a political role by fighting tyrants and murdering their adherents; this statement may be an echo of the frequently attested activities of the *ak̲h̲īs* in earler times, which found expression in revolts and similar demonstrations.

As regards other customs and their code of honour, the *ak̲h̲īs* accepted the general rules of *futuwwa* ([*q.v.*], T. *fütüwwet*). As in the *futuwwa*, so also among the *ak̲h̲īs*, the initiation of novices (*terbiye*) into the association by their girding, the cutting of their hair, the passing round of a cup of salted water and putting on the trousers, was of central importance. Their religious-political position, however, was not fixed: some elements in the custom and theory of the *ak̲h̲īs*, as for instance the intense cult of ʿAlī, shows a S̲h̲īʿite colouring; yet they no doubt considered themselves to be Sunnīs and like all Turks followed the Ḥanafī rite. (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as a Mālikī, fell in Sinob under suspicion of being a Rāfiḍī, i.e. S̲h̲īʿite, because of a minute difference in the ritual of prayer and had to clear himself by eating roasted hare (ii, 352 f.).)

In the 15th century information about Ak̲h̲ism becomes more and more rare and finally ceases. Sometimes the word *ak̲h̲ī* occurs, but merely as a proper name. A *molla* Ak̲h̲aweyn is named under Meḥmed II; a family called Ak̲h̲ī-zāde, whose members occupied high judicial posts, survived into the 17th century. Also place-names in which the word *ak̲h̲ī* occurs in various combinations are not uncommon in Anatolia and Rumelia. But it seems that Ak̲h̲ism disappeared in the course of the 15th century. Its tradition survived only in some elements of the Turkish guilds [cf. ṢINF], in whose organization (which according to Sayyid Meḥemmed b. Sayyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's *Great Fütüwwet-nāme* (composed in 1524) had nine grades) the *ak̲h̲ī*, also called *k̲h̲alīfe*, occupied the seventh grade. The *ak̲h̲ī* tradition was especially cultivated in the guild of the tanners, who had as their patron Ak̲h̲ī Ewrān [*q.v.*], a semi-mythical figure, who, if he is historical at all, must have lived in the first half of the 14th century. The president of the tanners' guild bore the title of Ak̲h̲ī Baba [*q.v.*]. Moreover, among the tanners the *Fütüwwet-nāme* of Yaḥyā b. K̲h̲alīl al-Burg̲h̲āzī continued to be read, revised and copied.

The designation *ak̲h̲ī* occurs sporadically also outside Turkey, but the evidences are too scanty to allow of any definite conclusions as to its exact significance. The most striking case is appearance of a man called Ak̲h̲īd̲j̲ūḳ [*q.v.*], "little *ak̲h̲ī*" in Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān after the decline of the Īlk̲h̲āns of Persia. The word *ak̲h̲ī* occurs, in a weakened sense, several times in the *dīwān* of "K̲h̲aṭāʾī", i.e. S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl, as one of the designations given to his followers (V. Minorsky, *The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I*, *BSOAS*, 1942, 1030a; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Halkedebiyatl Ansiklopedisi*, no. 1, Istanbul 1935, 30a).

Bibliography: Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk Edebiyyātinde ilk Mütesawwifler*, Istanbul 1918, 237-43; ʿOt̲h̲mān Nūrī, *Med̲j̲elle-i Ümūr-i Belediyye, i*: *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Tes̲h̲kīlāt-i Belediyye*, Istanbul 1338/1922, ch. vi: *Ak̲h̲ī tes̲h̲kīlātinin esnāflik-la münāsebeti*, 537-56; Vl. Gordlevskiy, *Iz žizni tsekhov v Turtsii.K istorii "akhi"*, *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, 1926-7, 235-48 (French résumé by G. Vajda, in *REI*, 1934, 79 f.); Fr. Taeschner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Achis in Anatolien* (14.-15. *Jhdt.*) *auf Grund neuer Quellen*, *Islamica*, 1929, 1-47; M. D̲j̲ewdet, *D̲h̲ayl ʿalā Faṣl "al-Ak̲h̲iyya al-Fityān al-Turkiyya" fī Kitāb al-Riḥla li-Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (*L'éducation et l'organisation aux foyers des gens des métiers en Asie Mineure et Syrie du XIIe siècle jusqu'à notre temps*), Istanbul 1350/1932; Âfet Inan, *Aperçu général sur l'Histoire économique de l'Empire Turc-Ottoman*, Istanbul 1941, 63-6; Fr. Taeschner, *Der anatolische Dichter Nāṣiri* (*um* 1300) *und sein Futuvvetname*, mit Beiträgen von W. Schumacher, Leipzig 1944; Ilhan Tarus, *Ahiler*, Ankara 1947 (to be used with caution); Fr. Taeschner, *Spuren für das Vorkommen des Achitums ausserhalb von Anatolien*, Proceedings of the 22nd Inter. Congr. of Orient., Istanbul 1951; Cl. Cahen, *Sur les traces des premiers Akhis*, *M. F. Köprülü Armağanl*. Cf. also FUTUWWA. (FR. TAESCHNER)

AK̲H̲Ī BABA, in popular parlance also AHU BABA or EHI BABA, title of the s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ of the tekye of Ak̲h̲ī Ewrān [*q.v.*] in Kīrs̲h̲ehir. Sometimes also his delegates to the Turkish guilds [cf. ṢINF] in Anatolia, Rumelia and Bosnia, especially those of the tanners and other leather workers (saddlers and shoemakers), as well as the heads of these guilds, were given the title of Ak̲h̲ī Baba (more correctly *Ak̲h̲ī Baba wekīli*). The main task of the Ak̲h̲ī Baba, or of his delegate or local representative, was to carry out the initiation of apprentices to these guilds by the ceremony of the girding (*ḳus̲h̲aḳ* or *pes̲h̲temāl ḳus̲h̲atmak*); this carried with it some fees. The Ak̲h̲ī Babas succeeded little by little in extending their ascendancy over other guilds and conducting the girding ceremony in them also. Thus they brought under their control almost the whole Turkish guild organization, both in Anatolia and the European provinces (but not, however, in the provinces with Arab population), acquiring for themselves a position of considerable power, and for the *tekye* of Kīrs̲h̲ehir great riches. Only a few guilds managed to escape their control; among these were the guilds of Ankara, which had formerly been the stronghold of *ak̲h̲ism*. His influence even reached as far as the Crimea, where also the tanners' guild had precedence in all celebrations of the guilds (E. Bulatov, in *Očerki Rossii*, ed. V. Passek, Moscow 1840, iii, 139-54; V. Gordlewskiy, *Organizatsiya*

tsekhov v krimskikh Tatar, Trudi etnografo-arkheologičeskovo Muzei, pri I. Moskovskom Gosudarsto. Universitete, iv, Moscow 1928, 56-65).

The Akhī Babas claimed to be descendants of Akhi Ewrān. The local representatives of the Akhī Baba were elected by the members of the respective guilds, but did not necessarily belong to them, and any persons who were in any way notable could be chosen. They had, however, to receive a licence (*idjāzet-nāme*) from the Akhī Baba of Kīrshehir and a diploma (*berāt*), confirming the appointment, from the government. The Akhī Baba of the tanners was at the same time the head of the whole guild organisation in his town. He could, however, be deposed.

With the decline of the Turkish guilds, following on the penetration of Western economic systems, the journeys of the Akhī Babas of Kīrshehir, as well as the sending of delegates by him, fell into disuse. A delegate of the Akhī Baba came to Bosnia for the last time in 1886-7 (Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo*, in *Zbornik Narodni život i običaje južnik Slavena*, Zagreb 1935, 101-47). In the provinces which remained part of the Ottoman Empire, this practice ceased only at the time of the abolition of the old guilds in 1908.

Bibliography: see AKHĪ and AKHĪ EWRĀN, also Fr. Taeschner, *Das Zunftwesen in der Türkei, Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa*, 1941, 172-88; idem, *Das bosnische Zunftwesen zur Türkenzeit* (1463-1878), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1951, 551-9. (FR. TAESCHNER)

AKHĪ EWRĀN, semilegendary Turkish saint, patron of the Turkish tanners' guilds. His tomb sanctuary in Kīrshehir (built in the 9th/15th century, with inscriptions of 854/1450 and 886/1481; the last in the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Süleymān Beg, probably of the family of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr, and thus brother-in-law of Sulṭan Meḥmed II), connected with a *tekye*, was a frequented place of pilgrimage. Tashköprü-zāde (on margin of Ibn Khallikān, 15; Turkish transl. of Medjdī, 33; German transl. by O. Rescher, 6) mentions him amongst the *shaykhs* of the period of Orkhān. His name first occurs in a Turkish *mathnawī, Kerāmāt-i Akhī Ewrān ṭāba tharāh*, by Gülshehrī, which was composed probably after the author's *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* (finished in 717/1317)—from which it has many borrowings—and not long after the saint's death. He is next mentioned in the *Wilāyet-nāme* of Ḥādjdjī Bektash, written in the time of Murād II (E. Gross, *Das Vilâjet-name des Ḥâǧǧî Bektasch*, Leipzig 1927, 82-93). While in Gülshehrī's *mathnawī* Akhī Ewrān's figure is given only a slight touch of the miraculous (it is noteworthy that there is as yet no mention there of his relation with the tanners' craft), in the *Wilāyet-nāme* it is already fully elaborated with legendary features (there is also mention of relations with the tanners); it is worth noting that here Akhī Ewran is presented not as a disciple, but as a friend of Ḥādjdjī Bektash. According to ʿAlī Emīrī (*OTEM*, 1335, 467 f., note) and M. Djewdet (*Dhayl ʿalā Faṣl "al-Akhiyya al-Fityān"*, Istanbul 1351/1932, 279-82) there exists a document of endowment (*waḳfiyye*) by Akhī Ewrān dating from 706/1306-7 (in a copy published by C. H. Tarīm, *Kīrşehir Tarihi*, Kīrşehir 1938, it even bears the date of 676/1277!), where the full name of the saint is given as al-Shaykh Naṣīr (Tarīm: Naṣr) al-Dīn Pīr-i Pīrān Akhī Ewrān. The document can, however, easily be recognized as a forgery, as Shaykh Ḥāmid Welī (d. 815/1412), teacher of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Welī (d. 833/1428-9) is named in it; it was probably fabricated in the first half of the 15th century, in order to give legal sanction to the possessions of Akhī Ewrān's sanctuary in Kīrshehir.—The importance of the sanctuary as a place of pilgrimage is attested by Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs (*Mirʾāt ül-Memālik*, Istanbul 1313, 16; Engl. transl. by A. Vambery, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, London 1899, 105), who visited it in 964/1556 on his return from India. Also other Anatolian cities besides Kīrshehir boasted of the possession of the grave, or at least of a memorial, of the saint, for instance Trapezunt (a *maḳām* on the Boz Tepe), Ḳonya (in the quarter of Sīrčalī), Nigde and Brusa. All these were, however, more or less forgotten, and only the sanctuary of Kīrshehir retained its position.

In addition to the aforementioned writings, legends of Akhī Ewrān are occasionally found in authors such as ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-Akhbār*, v, 64; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, i, 594 f.; in the literature of the tanners' guilds, which continued the *akhī* tradition (often in the form of appendices bearing the title of *Menāḳib* to the *Fütüwwet-nāme* of Yaḥyā b. Khalīl al-Burghāzī, (cf. AKHĪ)); in oral traditions, recorded for instance by M. Räsänen, *Türkische Sprachproben aus Mittelanatolien*, iii, Helsinki 1936, 99 ff., nos. 22, 23 and 25, and by W. Ruben (see Bibl.). For the most part they deal with the saint's work as a tanner (or gardener) or with his name (Ewran or Ewren, "snake, dragon"; for this reason Gordlevskiy suspects a survival of a snake cult). In the tanners' guild literature the legend is found that his original name was Maḥmūd, that he was a son of al-ʿAbbās, the Prophet's uncle, and that he had been specially commended by the Prophet. (This anachronism was censured in the work of Münīrī Belghrādī, who criticized the Shīʿite tendences which were displayed in the literature of the guilds, in a work entitled *Nisāb ül-Intisāb wa-Ādāb ül-Iktisāb*, composed in 1620.) In the *ʿAnḳā-yi Mushriḳ* of the Djelwetī *shaykh* Sayyid Muṣṭafā Ḥāshim (d. 1197/1783), quoted by ʿAlī Emīrī (loc. cit., 464-6), the saint, under the name of Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh Akhī Ewrān Welī, is brought, along with Ḥādjdjī Bektash Welī and Sayyid Edebālī, into connection with Ghāzī ʿOthmān's girding with the sword. As patron of the Turkish tanners, a *silsile* was ascribed to him which went back to Zayd Hindī, patron of all the tanners; other *silsiles* go back to Manṣūr ʿĀbid, i.e. al-Ḥallādj.

The sanctuary of Akhī Ewrān in Kīrshehir played a great role into the first years of the 20th century, as the *shaykh* of the monastery, who bore the title of Akhī Baba [*q.v.*] controlled, partly personally, partly through his representatives who resided in the various towns, the guilds of the tanners and of kindred leather workers (saddlers, shoemakers) in Anatolia and the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and gradually succeeded in extending his influence over almost the whole of the Turkish guild-organisation.

Bibliography: V. Gordlevskiy, *Dervishi Akhi Evrana i tsekhi v Turtsii, Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1927, 1171-94 (French résumé by G. Vajda, in *REI*, 1934, 81-8); Fr. Taeschner, in *Islamica*, 1929, 31-4 (with references to earlier bibliography); idem, *Legendenbildung um Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kīrşehir, WI*, Sonderbd. Festschrift Fr. Giese, 1941, 61-71, 90 f.; C. H. Tarim, *Kīrşehir tarihi üzerinde araştirmalar*, i, Kīrşehir 1938, 114-76; idem, *Tarihte Kīrşehri — Gülşehri*, 1948; H. B. Kunter, *Kitabelerimiz, Vakīflar Dergisi*,

1942, 431 ff. (the inscriptions in the sepulchral sanctuary: 434 f. nos. 8-14); W. Ruben, *Kırşehir'in dikkatlmiz çeken san'at âbideleri, iii*: *Ahi Evran Türbesi, Bell.*, 1947, 616-38 (German résumé in *Bell.*, 1948, 195-9; description of the sepulchral sanctuary and legends about Akhī Ewrān); Fr. Taeschner, *Gülschehrī's Mesnevī auf Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kirschehir und Patron der türkischen Zünfte*, Wiesbaden 1955. (Fr. Taeschner)

AKHĪDJŪḲ, "little *akhī*", an *amīr* of unknown name in Tabrīz, in the 8th/14th century, follower of the Čobanid Malik Ashraf, who was defeated and executed by Djānī Beg, *khān* of the Golden Horde. When after Djānī Beg's death his son, Berdī Beg, who had been left by his father as governor in the conquered city, left Tabrīz in order to secure his father's throne for himself (758/1357), Akhīdjūḳ succeeded in obtaining possession not only of Tabrīz, but of the whole of Ādharbaydjān, and in defending them for some time from the Djalā'irid sultan of Baghdād, Uways, son of the "Great Ḥasan" (Ḥasan-i Buzurg). When, however, Uways captured Tabrīz in 760/1359, he ordered the execution of Akhīdjūḳ, who had taken part in a conspiracy against him. During his short rule Akhīdjūḳ corresponded with the Mamlūk Empire of Egypt (he was adressed by the Mamlūk chancery simply by the title of "*akhī*"; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, viii, 261, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Agypten*, 128). His fame spread as far as Anatolia, where a chapter was devoted to him by the old Ottoman poet Aḥmedī in his famous *Iskender-nāme*.

Bibliography: Mirkh^wānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1266, v, 169; Kh^wāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii, 81; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, transl. Bayani, Paris 1936, 154; V. Minorsky in *EI*[1], IV, artt. TABRĪZ and UWAYS; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 137; Fr. Taeschner, *Der Achidschuk von Tebriz*, in *Festschrift Jan Rypka*, Prague 1956. (Fr. Taeschner)

ĀKHIR-I ČĀRSHAMBA [see ṢAFAR].

ĀKHIRA, fem. of *ākhir*, "the last", is a term used already in the Ḳur'ān for the life to come, according to the commentators properly *al-dār al-ākhira*, "the last abode", as opposed to (*al-dār* or *al-ḥayāt*) *al-dunyā*, "the nearer or nearest abode or life", i.e. the present world. A synonym is *maʿād*. The same antithesis is expressed by the terms *dār al-baḳā'*, "the abode of everlasting existence", and *dār al-fanā'*, "the abode of transitoriness", and by the roots ' *dj l* and ʿ *dj l*. *Ākhira* also denotes the condition of bliss or misery in the hereafter, again as opposed to *dunyā*, the lot of man in the present world, and in particular its pleasures. From these meanings derive more technically theological and philosophical definitions, such as the state of resurrection whether corporeal or incorporeal or, if resurrection of the body is denied, a spiritual state. See also DUNYĀ.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; A. Sprenger (ed.), *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v.; Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, *kitāb* 40 and passim; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, *rukn* 3, *ḳism*, 2. (A. S. Tritton)

AKHISKHA, the Persian and Turkish name of a town, in Georgian AKHAL TSIKHE, "New Fortress", situated on the Poskhov river (left tributary of the upper Kur), centre of the Georgian province Samtskhe (later Sa-atabago) which is mentioned among the conquests of Ḥabīb b. Maslama (under Muʿāwiya), al-Balādhurī, 203.

Under the Mongols the local rulers (of the Djakilʿe family) became autonomous and received the title of *atabegs*. The name Ḳurḳūra found in Persian and Turkish sources refers to these rulers of whom several bore the name of Ḳuarḳuare (see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii). In 1579 Akhal Tsikhe was occupied by the Ottomans who succeeded in implanting in this region Islam and Ottoman customs. In 1625 the Turkish pashas took over the administration. Akhal Tsikhe became a considerable strategic point and one of the chief Caucasian slave-markets, cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 408 f. In 1829 the town was incorporated by the Russians. After the revolution it forms part of the Georgian S. S. Republic. (V. Minorsky)

AKHLĀḲ (plural of *khuluḳ*, "innate disposition"), ethics.

(i) Survey of ethics in Islam; (ii) Philosophical ethics.

(i) SURVEY OF ETHICS IN ISLAM.

1. Islamic ethics took shape only gradually and the tradition of the different elements of which it is composed was not finally established before the 5th/11th century. Unlike the Greek world, in which popular ethics were refined and reshaped by philosophical reasoning without any breach between them, and with no perceptible influence of any foreign doctrine, so that eventually philosophy came to express the moral values by which the lives of the educated classes were governed, in Islam ethics appear in their matured state as an interesting and, on the whole, successful amalgamation of a pre-Islamic Arabian tradition and Ḳur'ānic teaching with non-Arabic elements, mainly of Persian and Greek origins, embedded in or integrated with a general-Islamic structure. The praise of, and value attached to, good character (*ḥusn al-khuluḳ*) is common enough among traditionalists, mystics, philosophers, and those writers who aim at giving practical advice to rulers and "civil servants". But their ideas of moral perfection are drawn from widely different sources, although all of them, in various ways, try to conform to the basic standards of Islam (which are in themselves not static); hence the process of assimilation and eventual integration of these different and sometimes conflicting trends extended over a considerable time.

2. It would be erroneous to assume that the different kinds of morality which found literary expression in successive periods from the age of the pre-Islamic poets to the 5th/11th century present a cumulative process, in the sense that each new type as it emerged replaced or suppressed the earlier types. On the contrary, they co-existed for a long time, in varying strength. The tribal *sunna* of the pre-Islamic Arabs, based on usage and custom, described by I. Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien*, i) and others (e.g. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932), by no means died out with the advent of Islam; and since pre-Islamic literature eventually became part of the accepted Arabic humanities, the values expressed in it were never entirely forgotten: a high sense of personal honour [see ʿIRḌ], courage [see ḤAMĀSA], loyalty to one's fellowtribesmen [see ḲABĪLA], hospitality [see ḌAYF], endurance [see ṢABR], self-control [see ḤILM], and a secular spirit which could never be completely quelled by the prevailing religious morality [cf. also MURUWWA]. The preaching of Muḥammad obviously produced a radical change in moral values as well, based on the sanctions of the new religion, and fear

of God and of the Last Judgment: kindness and equity, compassion and mercy, generosity, self-restraint, sincerity, moral fellowship of the Believers are among the new virtues to replace tribal morality, and to become the pillars of an ethical society or, at least, the programme for such a society.

The religious ethic of the Ḳur'ān was subsequently expanded and pointed in immense detail by the traditionists in the form of *ḥadīth̲s* [*q.v.*], professedly based upon and expounding the *sunna*, or model behaviour, of the Prophet, but frequently supplementing this source by traditions of the Companions and by adaptation of materials from the cultural traditions of the older religions. The importance of the *Ḥadīth̲* in forming and maintaining the common ethical ideas of the Muslim Community in all ages and all regions has been incalculable; but in addition it was largely responsible for the ethical framework of the developing Islamic Law [see SH̲ARĪʿA], and for laying the foundations which made possible the process of integration described above. It may be said broadly that the whole corpus of *Ḥadīth̲* constitutes a handbook of Islamic ethics, inasmuch as in the general Muslim view the correct performance of religious duties and the right understanding of religious doctrine are inseparable elements of the moral life. Within this comprehensive structure, however, certain forms of conduct were more particularly designated by the term *adab* [*q.v.*], which in this early religious context had a definitely ethical connotation (see, e.g. Wensinck's *Handbook*, s.v. Adab). It is tempting to surmise (though it might be difficult to prove) that it was the capture of this term for the very differently motivated ethic of Persian origin expounded by the 2nd/8th century writers (see § 4 below) which led to the substitution of the term *ak̲h̲lāḳ*, which appears in various traditions extolling "good *ak̲h̲lāḳ*" (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 11a and B. Farès, *Makārim al-Aḫlāq*, *Rend. Linc.*, 1937, 417 = *Mabāḥith̲ ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1939, 21 ff.). The tradition of the Prophet used as a proof-text by later writers on Islamic ethics: "I have been sent to fulfil the virtues which go with nobility of character (*makārim al-ak̲h̲lāḳ*)", does not occur in the canonical books of tradition (cf. B. Farès, loc. cit.). Under this title several collections of ethical *ḥadīth̲s* were made from the 3rd/9th century onwards, e.g. by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (Brock., I, 160), al-K̲h̲arā'iṭī (Brock., S I, 250), and al-Ṭabarsī (Brock. I, 513; S I, 709), the last-named being the classical S̲h̲īʿite book on the subject (cf. also B. Farès, 411-2).

3. The refinement and development of moral thought on the basis of the *Ḥadīth̲* was carried further by both of the religious movements which began to develop within Sunnī Islam in the 3rd/9th century. In theological circles, on the one hand, the conflict with the antideterminist trend of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], and the consequent emphasis laid by the Muʿtazilite theologians on moral decision and individual responsibility, produced an elaborate discussion and analysis of these topics [see ḲADAR]; and it was through both the Muʿtazilite movement, which in its turn was connected with Greek thought and Christian-Hellenistic apologetic works, and the orthodox reaction to it [see KALĀM] that the reception of Greek philosophical ethics was prepared and made possible. On the other hand, the anti-intellectual and ascetic mystical movement of Ṣūfism [see TAṢAWWUF] produced a somewhat divergent type of Islamic ethics, which was gradually to become more and more influential and eventually almost dominated in the Islamic world. For the ṣūfī preachers, poverty, self-humiliation, and complete surrender of personality became the highest values in life. It may be sufficient here to mention one eminent early ṣūfī writer, al-Muḥāsibī (d. 213/857), who had a decisive influence on al-G̲h̲azālī when he made ṣūfism a definite part of Islamic ethics in his fundamental *Revivification of the Religious Sciences* (see M. Smith, *An early Mystic of Baghdad*, London 1935, and *JRAS*, 1936, 65).

4. The introduction of Persian moral thought into the Islamic tradition preceded the acquaintance with Greek ethics. Its main representative is Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], and—apart from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, a work which deserves to be mentioned in this context—its main content is to be found in the two *adab* works ascribed to him, the *Adab al-Kabīr* (Fr. translation by C. F. Destrée, Brussels 1902, from the Dutch of G. van Vloten; German trans. by O. Rescher, *MSOS*, 1917) and the *Adab al-Ṣag̲h̲īr* (German trans. by O. Rescher, 1915), whose authenticity has been doubted but not disproved by G. Richter (*Isl.*, 1930, 278) and F. Gabrieli (*RSO*, 1932, 219 ff.). These works [cf. also ARDAS̲H̲ĪR, BUZURD̲J̲MIHR] are not based on any philosophical principle, but rather remind the reader of Greek rhetorics, giving the rulers, "civil servants" and persons who wish to advance in life advice on how to be successful. The Islamic allusions contained in this literature are at first scanty and formal, but the connection of this tradition with religion is steadily emphasized; Islam is regarded accordingly in the character of a state religion, linked to the sovereign power as religion had been linked with political power in the old Persian state (cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, ch. iii): "religion and government are sisters". The advice, conveyed in a pleasing and effective style, is based on opportunist considerations and the recognition of force, which the intelligent man (*al-ʿāḳil*) will know how to deal with properly. In the course of a century or so, however, this originally foreign *adab* tradition was more or less adapted to Islamic standards, and was finally received into the accepted body of Islamic *adab* in the *ʿUyūn al-Ak̲h̲bār* of Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889-90). This work, which may be called the first comprehensive manual of Islamic ethics, brought together and to a remarkable degree integrated the Ḳur'ānic, *ḥadīth̲*, pre-Islamic and Persian contributions, and by excluding the irreconcilable elements of the two latter, practically defined and standardized the component elements of the orthodox morality in its pre-philosophical and pre-ṣūfistic stage. Related types of literature are the "Mirrors of Princes" [see MALIK] and popular wisdom in apophthegmatic form [see ḤIKMA].

5. Philosophical ethics, derived from the Greeks, was introduced at first by the limited circles who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy. The details of its development amongst the Muslim *falāsifa* are studied in the next section. As is pointed out in §§ 8-10 of that section, philosophical ethics exercised an influence on *adab* literature and what is of even greater importance, philosophical ethics in the form given to it by Miskawayh was fully excepted by such an influential theologian as al-G̲h̲azālī and in this way was integrated with religious tradition. Miskawayh's doctrine became known also through another channel, viz. the Persian works of authors such as al-Ṭūsī and al-Dawwānī. On the other hand, the purely ṣūfistic morality gained through the great Persian poets an

immense influence in the eastern Islamic world, including Turkey—an influence which was paralleled and reinforced in all countries by the powerful social position occupied by the ṣūfī orders and the extension of their lay membership to all classes.

6. During the last century, the strong revulsion from ṣūfism in orthodox Muslim circles has had a parallel effect on Muslim ethical thought, which in reaction from the extreme passivity of the ṣūfī ethic has tended to swing towards an activist ethic, rather guardedly expressed by such leaders as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and in more outspokenly "Muʿtazilite" terms by others. Outside theological circles, the same trend, reinforced by the influence of western philosophies, together with internal social and political developments, has stimulated more evolutionary types of ethical theory, notably those of the Turkish sociologist Ziyā Gökalp and of the Indian poet Muḥammad Iḳbāl, all of which, however, are most properly to be regarded as representing transitional phases in modern Muslim thought. (R. WALZER and H. A. R. GIBB)

(ii) PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS.

1. In the classification of the various branches of philosophy, *akhlāḳ* is considered, together with politics (*al-ʿilm al-madanī*, see MADĪNA) and economics (*tadbīr al-manzil* [*q.v.*]), as a part of practical philosophy. Galen's work *Fi 'l-Akhlāḳ* is described in Ḥunayn's treatise on the Syriac and Arabic Galen-translations in the following terms: "Galen dealt in it with different ἤθη, their causes, signs and treatment" (ed. Bergsträsser, no. 119; cf. Seneca, Epist. xcv, 65). Al-Ghazālī uses almost the same words when he says (*al-Munkidh*, 99) that *akhlāḳ* as a branch of philosophy consists in "defining the characteristics and moral constitutions of the soul and the method of moderating and controlling them". The same definition still occurs in Ibn Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shirwānī (d. 1036/1626-7), quoted by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, s.v. *akhlāḳ*: "It is the science of virtues and the way how to acquire them, of vices, and the way how to guard against them. Its subject is: the innate dispositions (*akhlāḳ*), the acquired virtues, and the rational soul as far as it is affected by them". *Akhlāḳ* as a philosophical doctrine of ethics appealed at first only to the limited circles of persons interested in Greek philosophy. But since its representatives insist that philosophical ethics are not meant to contradict Islam but either to supplement or confirm it, these ideas could eventually be integrated with the religious tradition and retain some influence even in later centuries.

2. Greek moral philosophy was conveyed to the Arabs in several different ways which eventually converged. Standard works of the classical days of Greece read in the late philosophical schools, like Plato's *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Laws*, were known in the original and in commentaries and summaries (cf. AFLĀṬŪN). Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, divided into eleven books, were known in Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation. Books viii-xi of the Arabic text, corresponding to vii-x of the usual division, have been traced in a Moroccan manuscript (cf. A. J. Arberry, in *BSOAS*, 1955, 1 ff.). The same manuscript contains a summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Nicolaus of Damascus (1st century B. C.). Porphyry's commentary (cf. *Fihrist*, and J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, Gand-Leipzig 1913, 56*-58*) was translated into Arabic and most probably extensively used by Miskawayh in chapters 3-5 of his *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* (see § 7 below). The Arabs knew also a late Greek summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* ("Summary of the Alexandrines"): extracts in MS Taymūr Pasha, *akhlāḳ* 290, no. 16; this work was translated into Latin by Herman the German in 1243 or 1244 (cf. *Aristoteles Latinus*, ii, Cambridge 1955, 1308). Al-Fārābī wrote a commentary on the introduction of the *Nicomachean Ethics* which is referred to by Spanish authors of the 12th century (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, St. Petersburg 1869, 60). Ibn Rushd's Middle Commentary (written in A. D. 1177) is preserved in a Latin translation by the same Herman in 1240 (cf. *Aristoteles Latinus*, ii, 1308) and in a Hebrew translation of 1321 by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles (M. Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen*, 217).

Among Greek works less known in the Western tradition but widely read in the Arab world are three treatises by Galen. (1) Περὶ ἠθῶν, *Fi 'l-Akhlāḳ*, lost in the Greek original and preserved only in Arabic guise. (Arabic Epitome published by P. Kraus in *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts of the Univ. of Egypt*, v/1, 1939; cf. R. Walzer, in *Classical Quarterly*, 1949, 82 ff.; idem, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 1954, 243 ff.; S. M. Stern, in *Classical Quarterly*, 1956.) (2) *How a man may discover his own vices* (cf. *Corpus Med. Graec.*, v, 4, 11; Ḥunayn, *Risāla*, no. 118). (3) *Good men profit by their enemies* (lost in the Greek original; Ḥunayn, no. 121). Both of these two latter treatises were used by al-Rāzī (see § 5 below), all three by Miskawayh (§ 7 below). A treatise by Themistius is quoted under a wrong name by Miskawayh (see below); another one attributed to him survives in Arabic (ed. L. Cheikho, *Mash.*, 1920, 887-9, tr. M. Bouyges, *Arch. de Philosophie*, 1924, 15 ff.). There were, no doubt, some other late Greek books from which middle-platonic Greek thought, only slightly touched by neoplatonic ideas, was handed down to the Arabs. Among other pre-neoplatonic treatises studied by Arabic writers on moral philosophy are the *Pinax* of Cebes ("Kābis the Platonist"), reproduced in Miskawayh's *Djāwidhān Khirad* (ed. Badawi, 229 ff.; separate editions by Elichman, Leiden 1640 and R. Basset, Algiers 1898); the neopythagorean Bryson's Οἰκονομικός, preserved only in Arabic translation and extensively quoted by Miskawayh (ed. M. Plessner, Heidelberg 1928); the *Golden Verses* ascribed to Pythagoras [see FUTHĀGHŪRAS] and a pseudo-platonic *Exhortation concerning the education of young men*, two "pythagorean" documents by which Miskawayh was impressed (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1941, 104 ff., 383 ff.).

3. Al-Kindī's ethical treatises (*Fihrist*, nos. 190-1, 193-6, cf. also F. Rosenthal, *al-Sarakhsī*, ii A, 10-2, 16-7) were apparently appreciated by subsequent Islamic writers. His treatise *On freedom from Grief* (ed. H. Ritter-R. Walzer, *Studi su Al Kindi II*, Rome 1938; M. Pohlenz, in *GGA*, 1938, 404 ff.) was used by Miskawayh (*Tahdhīb*, 70 ff.), Ibn Sīnā and others. Another quotation in Miskawayh (61) may derive from al-Kindī's lost work *Fi 'l-Akhlāḳ* and is also known to al-Ghazālī (F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1940, 186 ff.). Al-Kindī (cf. *al-Ḥudūd*, in *Rasāʾil* (Abū Rīda), 177-8 and elsewhere in his *Rasāʾil*) bases his moral philosophy, not unlike the Stoics, Galen and other late Greek philosophers, on the threefold platonic partition of the soul into a rational, spirited and appetitive part or soul or faculty, and on a platonic definition of the four cardinal virtues, wisdom, valour, temperance and justice [cf. FAḌĪLA]; these in their turn are each associated with a number of subordinate virtues. This scheme may, though

different in detail, be compared to the Stoic arrangement of the virtues and vices, or, e.g., to the pseudo-Aristotelian *De virtutibus et vitiis* (transl. in the 11th century by Ibn al-Ṭayyib (Brock., S I, 884). The Aristotelian definition of virtue as the mean between two extremes is combined with the platonising view (cf. Porphyry, Ἀφορμαί, ch. xxxii, 2 and I. Goldziher, *Maʿānī al-Nafs*, 20). Although the evidence available in the few extant works of al-Kindī is obviously slight, it seems probable that Miskawayh based himself in the first chapter of *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* on al-Kindī's treatment of the virtues and vices. There is on the whole nothing ultra-neoplatonic in al-Kindī's platonising popular philosophy, in which platonic, peripatetic and stoic elements are blended in a way not uncommon in hellenistic and later popular Greek moral treatises.

4. The Christian Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā's treatise *About the causes of the differences which exist between men with regard to their characters, ways of life, desires and considered moral choice* (ed. P. Sbath, in *BIE*, 1941) is based on the Platonic tripartition of the soul and on the whole on ideas to be found in Galen.

5. Al-Kindī's treatise *On Spiritual Medicine* appears to be lost but al-Rāzī's brilliant treatment of the same subject is available in a critical edition of the Arabic text (*Opera Philosophica*, ed. Kraus, 15-96, Eng. tr. by A. J. Arberry, *The spiritual Physick of Rhazes*, London 1950). As was to be expected in this Muslim "Platonist", it is written in an uncompromisingly platonic vein, and the Aristotelian elements found in al-Kindī and Miskawayh are missing. It should be studied together with his autobiographical defence of the philosophical way of life (*Opera*, 98-111; French transl. by P. Kraus in *Orientalia*, 1935, 300 ff.; English tr. by Arberry in *Asiatic Review*, 1949). Al-Rāzī's version of Greek moral philosophy did not, however, influence the main trend of philosophical ethics in Islam.

6. The treatise *Fī Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* of the Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī represents another variant of late Greek thought. There are no specifically Christian ideas in it; Aristotelian influence is, as in al-Rāzī, non-existent. It is based on the platonic tripartition of the soul, but the 21 virtues and corresponding vices are neither specifically referred to the three souls nor subordinated to the four cardinal virtues and their contraries (which are listed among them). This scheme probably depends ultimately on some lost pre-neoplatonic Greek original. His concluding chapter on the perfect man who bases his life on the requirements of his intellectual soul and has trained himself to love every human being combines stoic and neoplatonic language, and is not very different from the thought of al-Fārābī [*q.v.*].

7. The most influential work on philosophical ethics is *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* of Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) (analysis of its contents in de Boer, 507, and Donaldson, 127-133; Eng. tr. by A. J. M. Craig in course of publication). Miskawayh firmly rejects the pre-Islamic Arabic poets as educators, but is not unsympathetic to the Persian tradition of ethics. In many striking passages he insists on the agreement of Greek moral philosophy with the basic tenets of Islam. He tries, however, to reconcile revealed and philosophical truth on the basis of rational thought, and for this reason his views are not acceptable to a primarily religious thinker, except with a certain shift of emphasis. The few Greek writers mentioned by name and quoted, sometimes at considerable length, are all of the later centuries of the Roman Empire: Galen (see § 2 above), Bryson (on the right upbringing of children; ibid.), Porphyry as a commentator on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and Themistius, wrongly quoted under the name of Socrates (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *IC*, 1940, 403). References to Plato and Aristotle occur within the context of these late works. Although al-Kindī is only twice mentioned by name, Miskawayh is probably in al-Kindī's debt to a much greater extent (see § 3 above). In chapters 3-5 he follows rather closely a neoplatonic commentator on certain sections of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which recalls the known teaching of ethics in the later Peripatos and the extant commentaries on the *Ethics* without being identical with any of them. But at the same time he stresses the platonic elements to be found in the *Ethics* to make out Aristotle to be a more decided platonist than he was. Miskawayh's own contribution to this inherited interpretation, if any, was (apart from demonstrating the compatibility of Greek philosophy with Islam) to emphasise the neoplatonic aspects of this moral philosophy still further (cf. R. Walzer, *Some aspects of Miskawaih's Tahdhib al-Akhlāq, Mélanges Levi della Vida*, Rome 1956).

8. The influence of philosophical ethics on *adab* literature has been noted by de Boer, who singles out as an instructive example *Adab al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn* by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058). In this work the presentation of the traditional ethical materials is refreshed and "modernized" by the inclusion of materials from the later centuries, including both philosophical and ascetic ideas; these are combined with the older materials somewhat unsystematically, but in a direction not dissimilar from that taken later by al-Ghazālī. (German transl. by O. Rescher, 1932-3.)

9. A much more far-reaching and fundamental synthesis was carried through by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who on the one hand discarded the merely formal and superficial elements of the *adab* tradition, and on the other firmly based his exposition on the penetrating spiritual analysis developed by the ṣūfī teachers (see sect. i, § 3 above). At the same time, he evidently regarded Miskawayh's treatise as "reasonable in itself and supported by proof", and agreed that its contents "did not contradict the Book and the *Sunna*". Hence the philosophical ideas of Greek origin which Miskawayh discusses and explains became part of the generally-accepted educational theory to be found in the *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, in which the section on self-discipline (2nd book of the 3rd quarter) is based on Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ*. Miskawayh's influence is also unmistakably traceable in other works of al-Ghazālī, and his ethical theory was in this way eventually integrated with the religious tradition. (Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *La Pensée de Ghazzali*, Paris 1946, esp. chap. ii; M. Plessner, op. cit.; H. Ritter, *Al Ghazzali, Das Elixier der Glückseligkeit*, Jena 1925; and see AL-GHAZĀLĪ.)

9. How successful the Ghazālian synthesis was in influencing later ethical literature and thought is a question which still awaits investigation. The literary evidence suggests *prima facie* that its influence, if anything, was indirect, and that the diverse trends of ethical thought continued to exist side by side. The influence of Miskawayh's work was perpetuated chiefly in Persian literature; the Shīʿite Avicennian, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, follows Miskawayh closely, as he himself avows, in the section on ethics of his *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* (completed 633/1233) (cf. Plessner, loc. cit.). Two centuries

later, al-Dawwānī (d. 907/1501), the author of the *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī* (Eng. trans., with valuable notes, by W. F. Thompson, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People*, London 1839; short analysis by Donaldson, 184), selected his basic material from Ṭūsī's work, but he also refers to al-Ghazālī as an additional Islamic authority. (For Persian *akhlāḳ* literature cf. H. Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 346 ff.)

Bibliography to (i) and (ii): No comprehensive history of Islamic ethics has yet been written. D. M. Donaldson, *Studies in Muslim Ethics*, London 1953, is of unequal value. There is a brief but suggestive survey by T. J. de Boer in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, 1912, s.v. Ethics and Morality (Moslem). Scattered materials are to be found in a number of works; in addition to those mentioned in the article, different aspects are dealt with in the following: G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago 1909; C. E. von Grünebaum, *Mediaeval Islam*, Chicago 1946, etc.; L. Gardet, *La Cité Musulmane*, Paris 1954. (R. WALZER)

AKHLĀṬ or KHILĀṬ, town and fortress at the N.W. corner of Lake Wān.

(i) Pre-Mongol; (ii) Mongol and Ottoman periods.

(i) In Armenian the town is called Khlatʿ, the name being possibly connected with the ancient inhabitants of the country, the Urartian Khalds. It lies half-way between Sipan Dagh and Nimrūd Dagh on the route taken by invasions from Mesopotamia into eastern Armenia. Al-Balādhurī, 200, reckons it to Armenia III, which in the Arab view included Ḳālīḳalā (Erzerum), Ardjīsh and Baḥunays (i.e. either Apahunikʿ, where Manāzgird lies, or Bznunikʿ, the district of Akhlāṭ).

Under ʿUmar, ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm made a treaty with the Akhlāṭians (al-Balādhurī, 176, 199). For four centuries Akhlāṭ was ruled in turn by Arab governors, Armenian autonomous princes, and the Arab local *amīrs* of the Ḳays tribe (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ch. 44, ed. and tr. Moravcsik-Jenkins, Budapest 1949, 198-205; cf. J. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 501-8, and M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, 471-8). Among the episodes of this period may be cited: in 316/918 the attack on Akhlāṭ by the domesticus John Curcuas (see Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 146); in 328/939 the arrival of Sayf al-Dawla (*Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn*, see M. Canard, *Sayf al-Daula*, Algiers-Paris 1934, 76-8; idem, *H'amdanides*, i, 478-87); in 353/964 the occupation of Akhlāṭ by Nadjā (Miskawayh, ii, 201 etc.).

Towards 373/983 Akhlāṭ became part of the dominions of the Kurd Bādh (Asolik of Taron, iii, ch. 14) and was associated with the Marwānid [*q.v.*] princes untill the battle of Manāzgird (463/1071), after which Alp Arslān himself is said to have taken it over (*Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn*, fol. 145v). In 493/1100 it was occupied by the Turkish *amīr* Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī and for over a century remained the capital of the dynasty known as Shāh Arman [*q.v.*]. In 604/1207i t was captured by the Ayyūbid al-Awḥad, son of al-ʿĀdil, and on his death in 609/1212 passed to his brother al-Ashraf. In the interval, the Georgians twice reached Akhlāṭ (605/1208 and 607/1210). In 627/1230 it was stormed after a six months' siege by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Manguburnī, who was, however, shortly afterwards defeated by al-Ashraf in alliance with the Rūm Saldjūḳid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I at Arzindjān. In 633/1233 Kayḳubād in turn seized Akhlāṭ, and held it in spite of a coalition of the Ayyūbid princes against him.

Bibliography: A full bibl. of Akhlāṭ is given in A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris 1940, i, 241-51 (with plates, ii, 85-90); for the inscriptions, Abdurrahim Şerif, *Ahlat Kitabeleri*, Istanbul 1932 (corrections and additions by J. Sauvaget, in Gabriel, *op. cit.*, 346-50, and *RCEA*, nos. 3880-2, 4440, 4682, 4696, 4782-3, 4801-2, 4996, 5038, 5116-9. E. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze d. Byzant. Reichs*, Brussels 1935, passim; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, index; Le Strange, 183; H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, London 1901, ii, 280-97; Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien u. Kurdistan*, Leipzig 1913, 58. (V. MINORSKY)

(ii) After the battle of Köse Dagh (641/1243) Akhlāṭ was captured by the Mongols (642/1244; see Tomaschek, in *SBAW*, 133, no. iv, 31 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (Reiske-Adler), iv, 472), who, however, confirmed the native princes in their possessions (confirmation of a Georgian princess in her possessions in Akhlāṭ: Cyriac of Gandja, 440, cf. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 330, n. 1). The definitive occupation by the Mongols of Akhlāṭ and the neighbouring lands of Upper Mesopotamia and the Armenian highlands followed only after their capture of Baghdād (656/1258), in conjunction with Hulāgū's advance into Syria in 658/1259-60 (Spuler, op. cit., 55). Thereafter Akhlāṭ belonged to the kingdom of the Ilkhāns and their successor states (Djalāʾirids, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu), and was also a mint-city of the Ilkhāns. In 644/1246 the city was largely destroyed by a severe earthquake.

In one version of the legend of the foundation of the Ottoman empire Akhlāṭ is mentioned as the starting-point of the Oghuz tribe to which Ertoghrul, the alleged father of ʿOthmān, belonged; he is said to have moved westwards from Akhlāṭ under pressure from the Mongols. Neshrī, however, denies the identity of this Ertoghrul with ʿOthmān's father (*Taʾrīkh*, ed. Taeschner, 21-2; the statement is missing in the Ankara ed.). According to Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 140) tombs of the ancestors of the Ottomans were shown in Akhlāṭ. The city appears to have come into Ottoman possession only under Selīm I; in 955/1548, however, it was captured by Shāh Tahmasp and levelled to the ground. Sulaymān I, under whom it was finally incorporated in the Ottoman empire, built on the lake shore a citadel (completed in 963/1554-5 according to Ewliyā Čelebi), in the vicinity of which a smaller new town arose. During the Ottoman period, Akhlāṭ remained under the rule of local Kurdish chieftains, and was brought under direct Ottoman administration only under Maḥmūd II in 1847. At the end of the 19th century, according to Cuinet, the *ḳaḍā* of Akhlāṭ had 23,659 inhabitants (16,635 Muslims, 6609 Gregorian Armenians, 210 Orthodox Greeks, 250 Yazīdīs). It is now the capital of a *ḳaḍā* (*ilče*) in the *wilāyet* (*il*) of Bitlis in the Turkish Republic; population of the town (1945), 3,124, of the *ḳaḍā*, 13,702.

The mediaeval town (Eski Akhlāṭ), on the slope of the mountain, is in ruins and uninhabited; the new town, with a large Ottoman *ḳalʿe* (on the main gate an inscription of Selīm II, 1568) lies to the E. of it on the lake shore. The latter contains two mosques of the 16th century (Iskender Pasha Djāmiʿi, with inscriptions from 972/1564 and minaret from 978/1570, and Ḳāḍī Maḥmud Djāmiʿi, dating from 1006/

1597). Between the medieval and the modern towns there is a famous cemetery with richly ornamented tombstones from the 13th-16th centuries (among them a "ram" stone from 1401) and many funeral buildings (*türbes* or *künbeds*) from the Saldjūḳid, Mongol and Turkmen periods. The most noteworthy among them are: Ulu Künbed (undated); Shādī Agha Künbedi (1273; now disappeared); Iki Türbe (of Būghātay Agha, d. 1281, and his son Ḥasan Timūr, d. 1279); Bayīndīr Mesdjid (882/1483) and Türbe (890/1491-2; of specially interest, one built by Baba Djān); Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn Türbesi (1222); Ḥasan Pādishāh Türbesi (1275); and Erzen Khātūn Türbesi (1396-7).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned under (i), Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 413 f.; Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 134-42; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, i, 46a; Réclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 376; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 564-6. (F. Taeschner)

AKHMĪM, town in Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile about 312 m. from Cairo. Its name reflects the Coptic name, Shmin, the Greek Khemmis, and the place is called Panopolis in Byzantine texts. It was the chief town of a pagarchy (*kūra*), and later, from the time of the reforms of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, of a province. In the 12th/18th century the town lost its position of chief city and was incorporated in the province of Girgā. In the middle ages, Akhmīm was surrounded by rich areas of cultivation, with plantations of date palms and fields of sugar cane. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions it as a centre for the manufacture of leather mats. There was a toll-house there, and the strictness of the officials aroused the indignation of Ibn Djubayr. The population to-day still includes a considerable number of Christians. The town was the birthplace, at the end of the 2nd/8th century, of the mystic Dhu 'l-Nūn.

All the Arab writers have enthused over the ancient temple of Akhmīm, (of which no trace now remains), which was particularly famed owing to its traditional association with Hermes Trismegistus. Most of the accounts record the usual legends which have grown up around relics of Egypt under the Pharaohs. The delightful description given by Ibn Djubayr, however, merits special attention. He displays a keen power of observation, intelligently used. The temple was destroyed in the course of the 8th/14th century, and the materials used to build a *madrasa*. But it appears that some of the materials had previously been purloined; historians of Mecca mention the erection in the *ḥaram* of columns originating from Akhmīm.

The town has no history. It was sacked at the beginning of the 12th/18th century during the struggle between the Mamlūk chiefs, and the governor, Ḥasan Akhmīnī, was put to death; the latter had restored, in 1114-16/1702-4, the principal mosque, an act which is commemorated by inscriptions.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, 332 (trans. Wiet, 187); Maḳdisī, 201; Idrīsī (Dozy and de Goeje), 46-7; Ibn Djubayr 60 ff. (trans. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 68-70; trans. G. Broadhurst, 53-55); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 103 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 165; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Wiet), iv, 134-8; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, MIFAO, xxxvi, 6-7; Djabartī, 1, 47, 98; Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, 103-10. (G. Wiet)

AKHNŪKH [see idrīs].

AL-AKHRAS, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Wahb, Arab poet of ʿIrāḳ, born at al-Mawṣil about 1220/1805, died at al-Baṣra 1290/1874. After settling in Baghdād, he established a connection with the *wālī* Dāwūd Pāshā. The latter, at his request, sent him to India for treatment to correct the defective power of speech which had gained him his sobriquet of al-Akhras ("the mute"), but he refused to undergo the operation. The panegyrics which he addressed to Dāwūd Pāshā and ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, and also to various men of note at Baghdād and al-Baṣra, appear to have secured him his livelihood, but the fame which he enjoys in ʿIrāḳ rests on the remainder of his work, which embraces every category of classical poetry: *ghazal*, elegy, threnody, satire, descriptive verse, personal glorification. He even composed some *muwashshaḥāt* and wrote some notable bacchic songs which led to his being dubbed the "Abū Nuwās of the 19th century". His *dīwān*, although incomplete, was compiled through the efforts of the nephew of ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Aḥmad ʿIzzat Pāshā al-Fārūḳī, and published in Constantinople in 1304/1886, under the title: *al-Ṭirāz al-Anfas fi Shiʿr al-Akhras*.

Bibliography: Dj. Zaydān, *Tarādjim Mashāhir al-Sharḳ*, 3rd ed., 1922, ii, 257-60; L. Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXe siècle*, 2nd ed., 1924-6, ii, 9-11; M. M. al-Baṣīr, *Nahḍat al-ʿIrāḳ al-Adabiyya fi 'l-Ḳarn al-Tāsiʿ ʿAshar*, Baghdād 1365/1946, 114-29; H. Pérès, *La litt. arabe et l'Islam par les textes*, 28; Brockelmann, S II, 792 and references quoted. (Ch. Pellat)

AKHSHĀM [see ṣalāt].

AKHSĪKATH or Akhshīkath (Sogdian, "city of the prince"), in the 4th/10th century capital of Farghāna and residence of the *amīr* and his lieutenants (*ʿummāl*), on the north bank of the Sīr Daryā (Jaxartes), near the mouth of the Kasān-say, at the foot of a mountain. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 208, calls the place Madīnat Farghāna, "the city of Farghāna"; according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 512, it was a large town (1 sq. mile) with many canals and a citadel where stood the Friday Mosque, the governor's palace, and the prison. The city was then enclosed by a wall with five gates, outside of which stretched extensive suburbs and gardens. There was a market-place both in the city and the suburb, and there were rich pasturages in the vicinity (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 333; al-Maḳdisī, 271; al-Ḳazwīnī, ii, 156; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 72, 116).

The town was apparently destroyed during the wars of the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad II, at the beginning of the 13th century, and the succeeding Mongol invasions (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 441, ii, 633; here also the form Akhsīkant). The capital was transferred to Andīdjān, but for some time Akhsī, as the town was called at the time of Bābur (see transl. of Beveridge, index), still remained the second town of Farghāna. As late as the 11th/17th century Namangān, the present capital, was considered only one of Akhsī's less important sisters (*tawābiʿ*); cf. *Baḥr al-Asrār*, in H. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 575, fol. 108v. The ruins, near the villages of Akhsī and Shahand (1000 steps from west to east, 600 steps from north to south, abou 150 feet above the level of the Sīr Daryā), with the old citadel, Iski Akhsī, were explored in 1885 by N. I. Veselovskiy (cf. *Sredneaziatskiy Vyestnik*, Tashkent, July 1896).

Bibliography: Schwarz, *Iran*, iii, 269 (incidental reference, Farghāna is not dealt with in the book); Le Strange, 477 f.; 489; K. Miller, *Mappae arabicae*, Stuttgart 1926-31, iv, 78-82, 86*-91*. (B. Spuler)

AL-**AKHṬAL,** "the loquacious", the sobriquet of the Arab poet GHIYĀTH B. GHAWTH B. AL-ṢALT, who died probably before 92/710. He belonged to the great tribe of the Taghlib [*q.v.*] of northern Syria, which remained entirely Christian, of the Monophysite persuasion. By his mother Layla he was connected to another Christian tribe, that of Iyād. He was born either at Ḥīra (see *Aghānī*[1], vii, 170), or near Ruṣāfa (Sergiopolis); his date of birth is uncertain, but may have been about 20/640. He remained a Christian all his life, and was unmoved by the efforts of prominent members of the Umayyad dynasty to convert him to Islam. Although a Monophysite, he maintained good relations with the Melkite family of the Sardjūn. In his poetry, certain features prove his zeal for his faith and even indicate a certain ostentation in asserting it (see *Dīwān*, passim). His moral standards, however, do not seem to have differed markedly from those of the society in which he lived. He repudiated his wife and married a divorced woman. He seems to have been a heavy drinker, passing his time in taverns in the company of singing-girls of easy virtue.

All his life al-Akhṭal followed the fortunes of the reigning dynasty. During the reign of Muʿāwiya, he became embroiled in political affairs. He was the close companion of Yazīd I, whom he lauded in his panegyrics, and of other men of rank such Ziyād and al-Ḥadjdjāj. Under ʿAbd al-Malik, he actually became official poet to the Caliph (see *Aghānī*[1], xii, 172-6). He remained in the service of the successors of ʿAbd al-Malik, and in his poetry attacked all opponents of the dynasty (see *Dīwān*, 58, 73, 93, 204, 277 etc.). Lammens has clearly shown the historical interest of such compositions.

The poet's whole career was dominated by verbal warfare with his contemporary, the poet Djarīr. In his diatribes he was supported by the poet al-Farazdaḳ who, although a Tamīmite like Djarīr, was in antagonism with his fellow-tribesman. It is almost impossible to dissociate here the accounts of these three men. It is clear that in this sphere al-Akhṭal and Djarīr perpetuated the pre-Islamic tradition and simply expressed the sentiments of their particular group. In this respect, the poems of al-Akhṭal show how the old bedouin themes break through the religious veneer.

Under Walīd I, it appears that al-Akhṭal was not held in such high favour (see *Aghānī*, vii, 179 ff.). He died, probably shortly before the end of Walīd's reign, and left no offspring.

The poems of al-Akhṭal have reached us in a recension of al-Sukkarī, compiled with the aid of material collected by Ibn al-Aʿrābī (see Brockelmann, S I, 94; and *Fihrist*, 78, 158). This recension is availabe in provisional editions; Ṣalḥānī, *Dīwān al-Akhṭal*, Beirut 1891-2, is in part completed by the same, *Dīwān al-Akhṭal*, Beirut 1905, (photographic reproduction of a Baghdād MS.) and by Griffini, *al-Akhṭal, Dīwān*, Beirut 1906 (reproduction of a Yemen MS). In order to produce a counterpart to a compilation containing the epigrammatic polemics between Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, the poet Abū Tammām composed, in the 3rd/9th century, a *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Akhṭal*, which presents the verbal contests between the two rivals. A MS of this work exists at Istanbul.

The works of Al-Akhṭal, like those of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, have their origin in contemporary events, and reflect the feuds and political controversies of the time. The bedouin tradition is always apparent in them. The *Dīwān* comprises panegyrics in *ḳaṣīda* form and also a large number of epigrammatic poems. The poetical forms, the stereotyped terminology and the language resemble, with but slight variations, those of the other contemporary poets. It is highly probable (as Bashshār thought) that the vogue which al-Akhṭal enjoyed during his lifetime was the result of an infatuation on the part of the Rabīʿite Arabs, who rejoiced at finding in him a champion worthy to stand against those of the Bakrite and Tamīmite Arabs (see al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, 138). Later, however, when the literary centres of ʿIrāḳ evolved their poetic ideal, it became the fashion to draw comparisons between the works of al-Akhṭal, al-Farazdaḳ and Djarīr. People succumbed to this taste for "assessments of comparative merit" so engrained in mediaeval oriental scholars, and this type of critical comparison became a regular subject for debate, which al-Hamadhānī parodied in his *Maḳāmāt* at the end of the 4th/10th century. It is possible that as early as the end of the 2nd/8th century or the beginning of the 3rd/9th the grammarians and philologists of Baṣra and Kūfa had indicated their preference for al-Akhṭal (see the judgments of Abū ʿUbayda, al-Aṣmaʿī, and Ḥammād "the Reciter" collated in *Aghānī*[3], viii, 284 ff., 291, 305). Al-Akhṭal does not seem to have kept his place in Arabic literature in the eyes of later generations (cf. for example the rather cautious judgement of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in *Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿā*, ii, 77 ff.) Up to the present time al-Akhṭal has, in the West, been the subject only of biographical studies.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], vii, 169-88 = *Aghānī*[3], viii, 280-320; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 132 ff.; Caussin de Perceval, *Notice sur les poètes Akhtal, Ferazdaq et Djerir*, in *JA*, xiii, 289 ff., xiv, 5 ff.; Lammens, *Le Chantre des Omiades*, in *JA* 1894, 94-176, 193-241, 381-465; idem, *Études sur le règne du Calife omaiyade Moʿawia Ier*, Beirut 1908, 397-404; I. Kračkowskiy, *Der Wein in al-Aḫṭal's Gedichten*, *Festschrift G. Jacob*, 146-64; further details in Brockelmann, I, 49-52 and S I, 83 ff.; C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, vi, 73-6 (= *La Littérature arabe des origines a l'époque de la dynastie umayyade*, trans. Pellat, Paris 1950, 115-20).

(R. BLACHÈRE)

AKHTARĪ is the *takhalluṣ* of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳaraḥiṣārī (d. 968/1561). He wrote an Arabic-Turkish Dictionary (952-1545), known by the name of *Akhtarī Kabīr* (there are also concise recensions), and printed at Constantinople (1242, 1256, 1292). Cf. Flügel, *Die arab. pers. u türk. Hss. zu Wien*, i, 119-120.

ĀKHŪND (ĀKHŪN, ĀKHWĀND), title given to scholars. In Eastern Turkistān it is used after the name as "Mister", in Western Turkistān it is given to *ʿulamāʾ* of high rank, in the district of Ḳāzān to the chief *imām* of a place. In Persian it is current since Tīmūrid times in the sense of "schoolmaster, tutor". The word probably comes from Persian *khwānd* (*khwand, khund*), from *khudāwand* [*q.v.*].

ĀKHUND-ZĀDA, MĪRZĀ FATḤ ʿALĪ (1812-78) was the first writer of original plays in a Turkish idiom. The son of a trader who hailed from Persian Ādharbaydjān, he was born in 1811 (according to Caferoğlu) or 1812 (according to the *Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1950) in Shēkī, the present-day Nūkhā. Thanks to the assistance of a relative he was able to avail himself of a good literary and philosophical education, which brought him into closer touch with liberal ideas than the actual calling which he intended to follow, that of an

Islamic theologian. After instruction from a divine in Gandja (Ḳarabagh) Āḳhund-zāda finished his training at the newly-opened Russian intermediate school for Muslims at Shēkī. It is possible that Āḳhund-zāda was in his early days brought into touch with modern trends in Islam owing to contacts with the reformers Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī and Malkum Khān. Influence of this nature, however, as reported by Köčerli on the basis of communications from Āḳhund-zāda's family, can scarcely be proved. In his youth Āḳhund-zāda wrote in the style of Persian poetry, one of his works being an elegy on Pushkin's death.

He received a stimulus to activity as a dramatist from the advancement of the theatre in Tiflīs by the military governor, Prince Worontsow (1844-48), in whose government chancellery he was employed as oriental interpreter. Between 1850 and 1857 Āḳhund-zāda wrote six comedies and a historical narrative in Ādharī Turkish, the titles being as under: (1) *Ḥikāyet-i Mollā Ibrāhīm Khalīl-i Kīmīyāger* ("Story of M. I. Kh. the alchemist"), 1850; (2) *Ḥikāyet-i Monsieur Jourdan Ḥekīm-i Nebātāt we-Mostaʿlī Shāh Djādūger-i Meshhūr* ("Story of M. Jourdan and Mostaʿlī Shāh, the well-known magician"), 1850; (3) *Sergüzesht-i Wezīr-i Khān-i Serāb* ("Adventures of the Vezir of the Khān of S."), 1850; (4) *Ḥikāyet-i Khirs-i Guldur-basan* ("Story of the bear that caught the robber"), 1952; (5) *Sergüzesht-i Merd-i Khasīs* ("Adventures of the miser"), 1852-3; (6) *Ḥikāyet-i Wukalā'-ye Murāfaʿa* (Story of the attorneys in the lawsuit"), 1855; and the historical-satirical narrative, *Aldanmish Kewākeb* ("The betrayed stars"), 1857. In the plays and in the narrative the author gave play to his progressive ideas in opposition to feudalism, the practice of highway robbery, the prevalent corruption of justice and the superstition then rife in the Caucasus. Now and again he preaches loyalty to the Russian authorities in order to facilitate the transition of the Transcaucasian Muslims (the term "Ādharī Turks" was not yet in use in the 19th century) to modern civilization.

Several of the plays were published in Russian translation in the official Government journal *Kavkas*, and performed in Russian at Tiflīs and St. Petersburg. The first performances in the original language were given by pupils of Ādharbaydjān state schools at the end of the 1870 s. A complete Ādharī Turkish edition of the plays and the narrative appeared in Tiflīs in 1859: a second was brought out in 1938 by the Ministry of Culture of the Az.S.S.R. to mark the 125th anniversary of the writer. (In the 1920 s, frequent separate editions for school use had already appeared.) The plays were translated into Persian by Muḥammad Djaʿfar Munshī; no. 1 was transl. into French by Barbier de Meynard, *JA*, 1886; no. 2 into German (after the Persian) by A. Wahrmund, Vienna 1889, and into French (after the Turkish original) by L. Bouvat, Paris 1906); no. 3 into English (after the Persian) by W. H. O. Haggard and G. le Strange, *The Vazir of Lankurán*; no. 4 into French by Barbier de Meynard, in *Recueil de textes et de traductions*, Paris 1889; no. 5 into French by L. Bouvat, *JA*, 1904; no. 6 into French (after the Persian) by Aillière, in *Deux comédies turques*, Paris 1888; the narrative was edited and transl. by L. Bouvat, *JA*, 1903.

Besides his activity as a dramatist, which earned him the name of the "Caucasian Gogol" or the "oriental Molière", Āḳhund-zāda wrote treatises on political science against absolutism and theocracy, and also two memoranda on an alphabetical system of his own invention, designed to render the Islamic tongues, especially the Turkish idioms, more tractable and thus more capable of progress.

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(H. W. BRANDS)

AKHŪR [see AMĪR ĀKHŪR].

ʿAḲĪDA (A.), creed; but sometimes also doctrine, dogma or article of faith; and hence *ʿaḳā'id* (pl.), articles of faith, is also used for "creed".

1. The Development and Use of the Form. The documents to which the terms *ʿaḳīda* or *ʿaḳā'id* are applied vary in length, and the longer ones cannot be sharply divided from the comprehensive theological treatises (e.g. *al-ʿAḳīda al-Niẓāmiyya* by al-Djuwaynī). The terms, however, may usefully be taken to signify compositions where the chief interest is in the formulation of doctrine or dogma, and not in intellectual discussion or argument about it. The earliest and simplest creed is the *shahāda* or confession of faith [*q.v.*], and this alone appears to be used liturgically. Though the term *ʿaḳīda* is usually not applied to the *shahāda*, there is a sense in which most of the later creeds are expansions of it. Sectarian discussions, however, also led to the development of doctrine, and an important source of the later creeds is the succinct formula defining the position of an individual, school or sect on some disputed point. The *Fiḳh Akbar I* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa is a collection of such formulae, since it does not mention belief in God and in Muḥammad's apostleship, but only the attitude of the Ḥanafī school on matters on which they rejected views of the Khawāridj, Shīʿa and Djahmiyya. The later creeds are usually statements of the doctrinal position of the various theological schools, orthodox and heretical, and are often the subject of many commentaries and glosses. Sometimes an *ʿaḳīda* is intended as a catechism to be learnt by children. Creeds are often built round either the *shahāda* (as al-Ghazālī's) or the tradition, which elaborates a Ḳur'ānic formula, that faith is faith in God, His angels, His books, His prophets, etc. (as Birgewī's). Sometimes they are included in legal treatises, as introductory statements of what it is obligatory for a Muslim to believe. The development of the literary form and of its contents has been studied by Wensinck (see *Bibl.*).

2. The Development of Dogma. While the statement of the faith, it seems likely, was constantly being more accurately formulated during Muḥammad's lifetime, the development of dogma is generally regarded as beginning with the caliphate of ʿAlī and the appearance of the Khawāridj and Shīʿa as distinct religio-political parties, the one making justice according to the Scripture the supreme principle, while the other looked for a leader from the household of Muḥammad. For at least the first two centuries of Islam religion and politics were

inextricably mingled, but the topic has not been fully investigated. The exclusiveness of the K͟hawāri d͟j was opposed by the inclusiveness of the Murd͟jiʾa, who refused to treat Muslims who had committed grave sins as unbelievers (and could therefore remain loyal to caliphs of whom they disapproved). As these sects had many subdivisions with differing views, there was a great variety of doctrine by the middle of the 2nd/8th century. In the second half of that century elaborate intellectual arguments about doctrine appeared, inspired partly by Greek and Christian thought. This may be regarded as the beginning of *kalām* or theology [*q.v.*]. It influenced the formulation of dogma to the extent that some philosophical terms were introduced into the theologians' creeds, e.g. when they said that God is neither substance nor accident (*d͟jawhar*, *ʿaraḍ*), or when al-Sanūsī prefaces his creed by distinguishing between the necessary, the impossible and the possible. The opposition to this intellectualizing tendency, which probably always existed, found its chief exponent in Ibn Taymiyya. The statements of their position by Ṣūfīs often contain, besides their specifically mystical teaching, a section dealing with their attitude on matters of dogma.

3. The main Dogmas of Islam. No credal statement has been accepted even by all Sunnī Muslims as the standard account of Islamic dogma. The following brief account has been compiled from various creeds (chiefly those of al-Bag͟hdādī, al-G͟hazālī and Nad͟jm al-Dīn al-Nasafī), though not in their precise words. Short comments have been added. For fuller details see the articles referred to below.

(a) God [see ALLĀH] is one; there is no god except Him; He has no partner nor wife; He neither begets nor is begotten.—This article of faith belongs to Muḥammad's Meccan period, though it was given no emphasis in the earliest passages of the Ḳurʾān. It soon became necessary, however, to insist that Muḥammad's doctrine was incompatible with the vague monotheism apparently current in Mecca, which, while acknowledging God as supreme, tolerated lesser deities. Hence in the later Meccan sūrahs strict monotheism was vigorously proclaimed, and *s͟hirk* [*q.v.*], the giving of partners to God, i.e. polytheism, became a serious sin. When the Muslims came into closer contact with Christians, they regarded the current interpretations of the doctrine of the Trinity as an infringement of this article of faith. This is the point chosen for emphasis in the first clause of the *s͟hahāda*.

(b) God exists; His existence is rationally proved from the originated character of the world.—When the Muslims had to defend their religion against materialists and other unbelievers, some of them offered rational proofs of the existence of God. These were given at length in the theological treatises, and came to influence the credal statements (cf. al-Bag͟hdādī, Nad͟jm al-Dīn al-Nasafī). Some schools (cf. al-Sanūsī) treated existence (*wud͟jūd*) as one of God's attributes. This implied a distinction between essence and existence which was opposed by the early As͟hʿariyya and Ibn Taymiyya.

(c) God is eternal; His existence has neither beginning nor end.—This calls for no comment except on the difficulty of translation. Arabic has no single word for "eternal". *Ḳadīm* (properly "old" or "ancient" and *azalī* mean "being from eternity" or "having no beginning", while *bāḳiⁿ* and *abadī* mean "being to eternity" or "having no end" [cf. ABAD, ḲIDAM]. Consequently the renderings in European languages sometimes puzzle the uninitiated, e.g. "priority" and "continuance" for the hypostatized attributes *ḳidam* and *baḳāʾ*. Perhaps "pre-eternity" and "post-eternity" might be suggested.

(d) God is different from created things. He does not resemble any of them, and none of them resembles Him. He is not a body nor a substance nor the accident of a substance. He is not bounded nor limited in any way; He does not have a position in space; He may not be said to be in any direction. He sits on the throne (*ʿars͟h*), but only in the sense in which He Himself intended. He is above the throne and the heavens, but at the same time is "nearer to man than his jugular vein" (Ḳurʾān, L, 16/15). He is not subject to movement or change or suffering.—The otherness (*muk͟hālafa*) of God is presupposed in Islamic thinking from the Ḳurʾān onward, but only gradually became an explicit article of faith; al-Sanūsī makes *muk͟hālafa* one of the negative attributes of God. At an earlier period the main body of Muslims came to regard the Mus͟habbiha (those who made God resemble man) as unorthodox [cf. TAS͟HBĪH]. This was chiefly with regard to the interpretation of the anthropomorphic expressions in the Ḳurʾān, such as God's sitting on the throne and having hands and a face. At the other extreme from the Mus͟habbiha were those, like the Muʿtazila, who interpreted the terms metaphorically. The central position was that of those who said the terms were to be taken neither literally nor metaphorically but *bi-lā kayf* ("without how"), i.e. without specifying their manner or modality, or, as it was sometimes expressed, "in the sense in which God intended them" when He used them in the Ḳurʾān. It was emphasized that God was not corporeal and not material, and those who held that view were sometimes called Mud͟jassima. From the 5th/11th century onwards the followers of al-As͟hʿarī and other orthodox theologians, but not the Ḥanābila, largely abandoned *bi-lā kayf* and accepted metaphorical interpretations of anthropomorphic terms.

(e) God will be seen by the faithful in the world to come.—This article occasioned great difficulty because of God's incorporeality. The Muʿtazila and others denied the possibility of any vision of God. Ḍirār suggested that a sixth sense would be created. Eventually, however, it was generally agreed to accept the doctrine *bi-lā kayf*, and to avoid any inferences from it which involved corporeality.

(f) God is eternally powerful (or omnipotent), knowing (or omniscient), living, willing, hearing, seeing, speaking. He is so by the attributes of power, knowledge, life, will, hearing, sight and speech. These attributes are eternal; they are not God, yet not other than God. His power extends to everything, and no inadequacy or weakness characterizes Him. He knows everything, even what is concealed and secret, even the creeping of a black ant on a rugged rock on a pitch-black night.—These seven attributes (*ṣifāt* [*q.v.*]) received special attention from the theologians from the 3rd/9th century on. The discussion probably arose out of the question whether the Ḳurʾān was created or uncreated (see below). If the Ḳurʾān was uncreated, it was an eternal entity existing in relative independence of God's essence, even though it was His speech. For the D͟jahmiyya and Muʿtazila this view was unsatisfactory, and they asserted that God does not possess attributes of power, knowledge, speech, etc. which are distinct from His essence. In their view it is by His essence that He knows. Opponents called this

taʿṭīl, "stripping" (sc. God of His attributes), and the upholders of it Muʿaṭṭila. Those who held that God knows by an attribute of knowledge, neither identical with His essence nor distinct from it, are sometimes known as Ṣifātiyya, and include the As͟hʿariyya and other orthodox theologians. The points at issue were discussed with much subtlety, and in al-Sanūsī and al-Faḍḍālī a further distinction is drawn between God's power and His "being powerful" (*kawn ḳādiran*), etc.; the first groupa re known as *ṣifāt al-maʿānī* and the second as *al-ṣifāt al-maʿnawiyya* (perhaps to be rendered "attributes which are hypostatized concepts or aspects" and "attributes connected with hypostatized concepts"). It was doubtless because of their importance in popular religion that hearing and seeing were retained among the seven.

(g) The Ḳurʾān [*q.v.*] is the eternal and uncreated speech of God. This eternal speech is repeated by men's tongues, written in their copies of the Ḳurʾān and remembered in their hearts, yet it is distinct from its material embodiments.—The doctrine of the uncreated character of the Ḳurʾān was doubtless advanced in order to justify its position as the chief foundation of law and doctrine. The opponents, who included the D̲j̲ahmiyya, the Muʿtazila, and the central government of the caliphate from about 217/832 to 234/849 [cf. MIḤNA], were sympathetic politically to certain groups of the S͟hīʿa; and the S͟hīʿa tended to set the imamate above the written scripture. (It is still the view of the S͟hīʿa that the Ḳurʾān is created.) The Māturīdiyya and other followers of Abū Ḥanīfa rejected the As͟hʿariyya's view that the eternal speech of God can be heard.

(h) God's will is supreme and always effective; "what He wills exists, and what He does not will does not exist". Thus He wills all things, good and evil, though He does not command or approve of all. There is no obligation of any sort upon Him, e.g. to do what is best for men, or to reward them for good works, or to command them to do only what they are able to perform. Actions are good or bad because He commands or forbids them, and not in themselves; He could, if He so willed, change what is good and bad.—The sovereignty of God's will in the world was thought to be impaired by the Muʿtazila's assertion of man's free will, and was vigorously re-asserted by the orthodox. The Muʿtazila also held that God was bound by our (sc. human and rational) conceptions of good and bad. Al-As͟hʿarī and some of his followers opposed this, maintaining that good and bad are known only by revelation. They further asserted that God may punish one who obeys Him, that He may change a faithful man into an infidel (and that therefore when one says "I am a believer" one ought to add "if God will" [cf. ISTIT͟HNĀʾ]), and that God may impose on men duties that are beyond their powers. The Māturīdiyya took a contrary view on these and similar problems, though affirming the sovereignty of God's will against the Muʿtazila. The later and more intellectualistic theologians emphasize the supremacy of God's will at the time of events, but in the earlier and more popular creeds, the stress is on God's determination of events *beforehand* [cf. ḲADAR]; and thus al-As͟hʿarī himself includes in his creed the doctrine that whether a man dies or is killed his death takes place at his appointed term (*ad̲j̲al* [*q.v.*]).

(i) Man's acts are created by God, but are nevertheless properly attributed to man. They proceed from a power (*ḳudra, istiṭāʿa*) in the man, but this power is created by God; God does so at the moment of the act, not before it.—The leading orthodox theologians all try to find a middle way between absolute determinism (*d̲j̲abr*) and absolute free will (*ḳadar*). The argument of the Muʿtazila, that God's justice (*ʿadl*) presupposed that men could properly be punished or rewarded for their acts, forced orthodoxy to deny that men were mere automata. The As͟hʿariyya (and others before them—cf. *JRAS*, 1943, 234-47) used the vague word *kasb* [*q.v.*] or *iktisāb*, "acquiring", to describe the relation of man to his act. They held that, though the act proceeded from a power in the man, this power was created by God at the moment of the act for this specific purpose and no other. The Muʿtazila on the other hand held that the power was created before the act and was power to do either the act or its opposite.

(j) God is also characterized by active attributes (*ṣifāt fiʿliyya*), such as creating and giving sustenance. —Some, especially the As͟hʿariyya, held that God cannot be called creator, sustainer, etc. until He has created or given sustenance; as this implies the existence of originated beings, these attributes cannot be eternal. On the other hand, some, like the Māturīdiyya, held that God is eternally creator, etc.

(k) Only those names (or attributes) are applicable to God which are to be found in the Ḳurʾān and sound traditions, or are sanctioned by *id̲j̲māʿ*.— The Muʿtazila argued that names might be applied to God by inference. It is commonly held that there are 99 names [cf. AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ], but in fact more are found.

(l) The questioning by Munkar and Nakīr, and the punishment of the tomb, are realities; so also are the signs of the end, such as the slaying of the Dad̲j̲d̲j̲āl by ʿĪsā.—Between death and the resurrection on the Last Day men will be questioned in the graves by two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, and rewarded or punished. Various signs of the coming of the Last Day are also mentioned. These are popular beliefs, based on Tradition and not on the Ḳurʾān, but they have been incorporated into the creeds [cf. ʿAD̲H̲ĀB AL-ḲABR]. Among the S͟hīʿa special emphasis is laid on the Return (*rad̲j̲ʿa* [*q.v.*]), i.e. of the Mahdī and of a limited number of very good and very bad people; this is for the punishment of the latter and the glorification of the household of Muḥammad (cf. D. M. Donaldson, *The Shiʾite Religion*, London 1933, 236 f.). This return to earth *before* the Last Day, though "a preliminary judgement", is to be distinguished from God's final judgement.

(m) God will judge all men on the Last Day [cf. ḲIYĀMA]. The balance (*mīzān*), the bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) and the pool (*ḥawḍ*) are realities.—The central fact of judgement is prominent in the Ḳurʾān, and the balance on which men's deeds are weighed is hinted at (cf. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 167 ff.). The pool or basin of Muḥammad, from which he quenches for ever the thirst of his followers, and the knife-edge bridge over the pit of Hell, from which the wicked fall down, come from popular conceptions. The various ideas were reconciled with one another only by the later systematizers.

(n) Certain persons, and notably Muḥammad, will be permitted by God to intercede for others on the Last Day [cf. S͟HAFĀʿA]. Muḥammad will intercede for sinners of his community.—This was denied by the Muʿtazila on Ḳurʿānic grounds, but ultimately gained general acceptance.

(o) Paradise and Hell already exist, and will continue to exist eternally [cf. D̲J̲ANNA, D̲J̲AHANNAM]. Grave sinners of the Muslim community will be

punished in Hell, but not eternally. No monotheist will remain eternally in Hell.—The Djahmiyya and other sects held that Paradise and Hell would not be created until the Last Day and would cease to exist after a time, but the majority rejected this view. There are some divergences about the precise late of Muslims who are sinners, but it is generally agreed that by intercession of otherwise they will eventually be released from Hell, if they enter it at all.

(p) Prayers for the dead and alms offered on behalf of them are advantageous to them.

(q) God has sent to mankind messengers (*rusul*) and prophets (*anbiyāʾ*). The prophets are above saints and angels. Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets and the most excellent of them.—The *Fiḳh Akbar* ascribed to al-Shāfiʿī says there are 120,000 prophets and 313 messengers.

(r) Prophets are preserved (*maʿṣūm*) from all sin by God.—This was the view of the Māturīdiyya and other followers of Abū Ḥanīfa, but the Ashʿariyya admitted that they might commit light sins.

(s) The best of men after the prophets are Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān, then ʿAlī.—This assertion of the acceptance of the first four caliphs in order is made in opposition to the Shīʿa who held that ʿAlī was best.

(t) No Companion of Muḥammad is mentioned except for good.—This was to bury the quarrels about rights and wrongs of ʿUthmān, of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, etc. It was directed mainly against the Shīʿa.

(u) Unbelief (*kufr*), or the status of being an unbeliever, does not necessarily follow the commission of sin by a believer.—This was directed against the Khawāridj, who excommunicated anyone guilty of sin.

(v) Faith is knowing in the heart, confessing with the tongue and performing works. It increases and decreases [cf. ĪMĀN].—Many others, however, notably the Ashʿariyya, said that works were not a part of faith, and that faith did not increase and decrease.

(w) Faith and unbelief are due to God's guidance and abandonment (*khidhlān*) respectively.

(x) (Some later creeds also contain articles about the nature of knowledge and true report, and other philosophical matters.)

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ʿĀKIF PASHA [see muḥammad ʿākif pasha].

ʿAḲĪḲ (a.; *nomen unitatis*: ʿAḳīḳa) is the name of the cornelian, which is found in Arabia in various colours and qualities, of which the red shade is especially in demand. The cornelian has of old been exported from Yaman (al-Shiḥr) via Ṣanʿāʾ to the ports of the Mediterranean; and also from India. It was used for seal-rings, for ladies' ornaments and even costly mosaics, for example in the *miḥrāb* of the great mosque at Damascus (according to al-Maḳdisī, 157). It was used as a medicine for the preservation of the teeth; superstitious belief ascribed to the cornelian in the seal-ring the power of soothing the heart—especially in battle—and of stopping hemorrhage. Even Muḥammed is said, according to some traditions, to have shared this belief and to have confirmed the power of the seal to give happiness and to protect from poverty. (Similar beliefs are attached to the cornelian also in Europe, cf. *Handwörterbuch d. Deutschen Aberglaubens*, s.v. Karneol.) Down to the present day the cornelian has remained a favourite neck-ornament for women, and the name *ʿaḳīḳ* has been transferred to any kind of necklace which is of a red colour, whether made of glass or shells or other materials.

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, 172 ff.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 230; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 128; Tīfāshī, *Azhār al-Afkār*; *TA*, vii, 15; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 145; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836, ii, 358; J. J. Clément Mullet, in *JA*, 1868, i, 157. (J. Hell*)

AL-ʿAḲĪḲ, the name of a number of valleys, mines, and other places in Arabia and elsewhere. When applied to valleys, ʿAḳīḳ is used in the sense of a bed cut out by a stream; when applied to mines, it may refer either to stones such as the cornelian (*ʿaḳīḳ*) or more generally to any mineral cut away from its source. The name is much used by the Arab poets, who do not always make clear which of the many ʿAḳīḳs they have in mind.

The best known of the ʿAḳīḳs is the valley passing just west of Medina, from which it is separated by Ḥarrat al-Wabra. It continues northwards to join Wādī al-Ḥamḍ [*q.v.*], the classical Iḍam, which empties into the Red Sea south of al-Wadjh. The mountain ʿAyr south of Medina rises above the right bank of al-ʿAḳīḳ, which draws much of its water from the neighbouring lava beds. After heavy rains the valley is filled with a broad river which has been compared with the Euphrates; when the rains fail, only the wells remain to slake the thirst of men, beasts, and plants.

In the Prophet's time the first stage of the route from Medina to Mecca ran through al-ʿAḳīḳ to Dhu 'l-Ḥulayfa, as does the present road. Numerous traditions speak of the fondness Muḥammad had for al-ʿAḳīḳ, the "blessed valley" in which he was once told to pray by a messenger from God. As the valley lay within the territory of Muzayna, Muḥammad gave it as a *ḳaṭīʿa* to Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith of this tribe. Muḥammad also established a reserve (*ḥimā*) for the Muslims' horses at al-Naḳīʿ a good distance up the valley from Medina. Bilāl having done nothing to improve his land, the Caliph ʿUmar took most of it from him and distributed it among deserving Muslims. For several generations thereafter the valley flourished: wells were dug, gardens and fields abounded, and the country houses (*ḳuṣūr*) of ʿAlids and other Medinan notables witnessed parties where the entertainment was hardly in keeping with the sober spirit of the first days of Islam. (Cf. H. Lammens, *Berceau de l'Islam*, 98; idem, *Le règne de Moʿâwia*, index—with further references.) Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ retired to his estate in al-ʿAḳīḳ on the election of ʿAlī as Caliph. The poets lavished praise on the lovely scene and the famous wells, particularly Biʾr Rūma (now known as Biʾr ʿUthmān after ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who bought it from its Jewish owner and gave its water to the Muslims) and Biʾr ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. The water of al-ʿAḳīḳ was so sweet that it was sent all the way to Hārūn al-Rashīd in ʿIrāḳ. With the decline of ʿAbbāsid power and the increase of insecurity in al-Ḥidjāz, the valley lapsed into its old somnolence, to remain there for centuries.

Another ʿAḳīḳ, sometimes called ʿAḳīḳ Dhāt ʿIrḳ by the older authors, extends northwards from the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif along the inner side of the main mountain range of al-Ḥidjāz. Some writers state that this valley is connected with ʿAḳīḳ al-Madīna, but recent hydrographic studies have shown that it empties instead into a large swampy basin called al-ʿĀḳūl between Mecca and Medina.

A great valley in Central Arabia was known in classical times as ʿAḳīḳ al-Yamāma or ʿAḳīḳ Tamra. Although the descriptions given by the

older authors are meager, there is little doubt about the identification of this valley with the present Wādi'l-Dawāsir [*q.v.*], a small settlement in which still bears the name Tamra, while a nearby salt flat in the valley bed is still called al-ʿAḳīḳ. According to al-Hamdānī (i, 152), Tamra was a town with 200 Jews. The same authority may well be mistaken in connecting the name of this valley with Maʿdin al-ʿAḳīḳ, a mine he places in the vicinity, no trace of which has been found. Other mines with the same name are mentioned, but in such general terms that identifying them may be a hopeless task.

In addition to various other valleys named al-ʿAḳīḳ in Arabia, there has been at least one in ʿIrāḳ south of the Euphrates (cf. W. Wright, *Opuscula arab.*, 110; *Ḥamāsa*, i, 468; *Aghānī*, vii, 123; al-Dīnawarī, 260). On the Sudanese shore of the Red Sea a village named ʿAḳīḳ (without the definite article) stands on a gulf of the same name southwest of Sawākin.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, index; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. and "al-Naḳīʿ"; Yāḳūt, s.v.; *Aghānī*, index; Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, Cairo 1326, ii, 186-226; Shakīb Arslān, *al-Irtisamāt al-Liṭāf*, Cairo 1350, 211-4; M. Ḥusayn Haykal, *Fī Manzil al-Waḥy*, Cairo 1356, index; H. St. J. B. Philby, *A pilgrim in Arabia*, London 1946, 50 ff.

(G. Rentz)

ʿAḲĪḲA (A.) is the name of the sacrifice on the seventh day after the birth of a child. According to religious law it is recommendable (*mustaḥabb* or *sunna*) on that day to give a name to the new-born child, to shave off its hair and to kill a victim, for a boy two rams or two he-goats, for a girl one of these according to the Shāfiʿites, but in both cases only one according to the Mālikites. If the offering of the *ʿaḳīḳa* has been neglected on the seventh day, it can be done afterwards, even by the child itself when it has come of age. The greater part of the flesh of the sacrifice is distributed amongst the poor and indigent, but a meal (*walīma*) for the family is recommendable.

Some of the older scholars (amongst other Dā'ūd al-Ẓāhirī) have looked upon the offering of the *ʿaḳīḳa* as a duty. Abū Ḥanīfa on the contrary regarded it as optional.

The shorn hair of the child is also called *ʿaḳīḳa*, and the law recommends to the faithful to spend a sum not less than the weight of this hair in silver (or gold) in almsgiving.

The *ʿaḳīḳa* sacrifice was doubtless derived from old Arabian heathenism. The Prophet is said to have observed: "When some one wishes to offer a sacrifice for his new-born child, he may do so". In heathenish times it was the custom to wet the child's head with the blood of the animal. According to some traditions Muḥammed had allowed the Muslims to do the same. The jurisconsults maintain that this custom is not desirable (*sunna*) but it is done, e.g. in Palestine.

According to Doughty (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i, 452) the *ʿaḳīḳa* is one of the most frequent sacrificial ceremonies in the Arabian desert, but there it is only performed at the birth of a boy, never when a girl is born.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook* s.v.; Bādjūrī, Cairo 1326, ii, 311 ff. and the other *fiḳh*-books; Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma fi 'khtilāf al-A'imma*, Būlāḳ 1300, 61; Juynboll, *Handbuch* 160 f., 169; I. Guidi, *Il Muḫtasar*, i, Milano 1919, 338 f.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste*², 174; idem, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (*NGW* Göttingen, 1893), 459; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia* (new ed. 1907), 179 ff.; idem, *The religion of the Semites* (3. ed. 1927), 329; G. A. Wilken, *Über das Haaropfer* etc., 92 (*Revue coloniale internationale*, 1887, i, 381); J. Chelhod, *Le Sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, index, and works quoted, 137-40; Lane, *Manners and Customs* (Everyman's library), 55; J. A. Jaussen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes*, i, *Naplouse* (1927), 37 ff.; H. Granquist, *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs* (1947), 88, 240; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 137; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (1949), 180 f. —Concerning the *ʿaḳīḳa* in Indonesia cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, i, 423 (= *The Achehnese*, i, 384); van Hasselt, *Midden-Sumatra*, 269 ff.; Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, 67.

(Th. W. Juynboll-J. Pedersen)

ʿĀḲIL [see bālig̲h̲].

ʿAḲĪL b. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, elder brother of ʿAlī, who was 20 years his junior. After fighting against the Muslims at Badr, where he was taken prisoner and ransomed by al-ʿAbbās, he became a convert to Islām. The sources give contradictory information as to the date of this event (after the capture of Mecca, according to al-Balādhurī; shortly before or after the pact of al-Ḥudaybiya, according to Ibn Ḥadjar, etc.), as well as on his participation in the Khaybar and Mūta expeditions, the capture of Mecca, and the battle of Ḥunayn. During the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, he ranged himself on the side of the Umayyad because his brother, it is said, refused to draw on the state coffers in order to pay a debt to him, but the estrangement between the two brothers probably had political causes. Yet ʿAḳīl would never allow anyone to insult ʿAlī in his presence.

He had "an extremely prosperous household" and a considerable entourage. He died, probably in 50/670, and was buried at Medina. He left several sons who joined al-Ḥusayn at the time of his rebellion against Yazīd; one of them, Muslim, was killed by Ibn Ziyād, and others, either six or nine in number, fell at Karbalā'. ʿAḳīl left a reputation not only as a great authority on genealogies and the history of Ḳuraysh, on the strength of which he became one of the four arbiters (*ḥakam*) of Ḳuraysh, and was summoned by ʿUmar to assist in compiling the *dīwān*, but also as a man endowed with great natural eloquence; his swift and pungent retorts are often quoted by the historians.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 28-30 and index; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, 416r-417v; Ṭabarī, iii, 2340 ff. and index; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 140; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 89-93 and index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo ed., iii, 422-24; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta ed., no. 9994, Cairo ed. no. 5628; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325-27, vii, no. 463; *Aghānī*, xv, 45 ff. and Tables; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 492; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Būlāḳ 1293, ii, 133 ff.; Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 200; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʿ*, 426-27; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omayade Moʿawia Ier*, Beirut 1906-7, 91, 112-3, 175 ff. A series of anecdotes, translated from Balādhurī, are to be found in Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H. and 176, and several other quotations exist in his *Chronographia*, 50 A.H., no. 39, 551.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ʿĀḲILA, one of the most significant institutions of Muslim penal law as regards both the origins and the sociological evolution of that law.

The term *ʿāḳila*, pl. *ʿawāḳil*, denotes, as its ety-

mology would suggest, the group of persons upon whom devolves, as the result of a natural joint liability with the person who has committed homicide or inflicted bodily harm, the payment of compensation in cash or in kind. This compensation is called *diya* [*q.v.*], *ʿaḳl*, pl. *ʿuḳūl*, and also *maʿḳula*, pl. *maʿāḳil*, from a root meaning "to bind, shackle": the Arab lexicographers readily explain that it referred originally to the camels of the *diya*, which were given "shackled" to the victim or his inheritors (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-Kātib*, 1346 A. H., 52; *LA*, xiii, 487-8, which has a detailed account); but the classical jurists prefer to relate it to the idea of a "restraint" operating against the exercise of private revenge (cf. Germanic *wergeld*). The original meaning is perhaps to be found in the classical expression *ʿaḳalᵃ l-ḳatīlᵃ*, "to pay the compensation for the victim of a murder", which possibly meant at first "to prevent the victim [from avenging] himself".

This institution has its roots in the ancient Arab tribal principle of joint responsibility (Procksch, *Über die Blutrache etc.*, Leipzig 1899, 56-61; Morand, *Études de droit mus. algérien*, Paris 1910, 65-7; idem, *Introd. à l'étude du droit mus. algérien*, Paris 1921, 210-12; Lammens, *Arabie occidentale*, 189). In Islam, it seems to be a survival not easy to reconcile with the individualist tendencies of religious doctrine which find expression, in the field of moral responsibility, in the Ḳurʾān (vi, 164): "no soul bears another's load." *Fiḳh*, however, approved of it (protests were raised by the Muʿtazilite Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm, and in Khāridjite circles), and several "*ḥadīths*" of the Prophet" (conveniently grouped, with a commentary, in al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-Awṭār*, 1357 A. H., vii, 80-6) gave it the tardy support of Tradition: the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik only takes cognizance of such versions as are irrelevant to the question of the *ʿāḳila*, which it discusses at considerable length without invoking any decision of the Prophet. Its incorporation into *fiḳh* was accompanied, however, by the imposition of highly restrictive regulations and even, in one of the principal schools of law, by an appreciable change in the principle of joint responsibility.

Firstly, as was to be expected, *taʿāḳul*, or joint liability by *ʿāḳila*, is not permissible between Muslims and non-Muslims (it is allowed between *dhimmīs*, the conditions varying according to the school). Secondly, a factor of much greater importance, four other basic restrictions are laid down in the formula, valid in principle for all the orthodox schools: *lā taʿḳilᵘ 'l-ʿāḳilatᵘ ʿamdᵃⁿ wa-lā ʿabdᵃⁿ wa-lā ṣulḥᵃⁿ wa-lā iʿtirāfᵃⁿ*: "*ʿāḳila* does not intervene in the case of an intentional act, or a slave, or a compromise or a confession". The first of these restrictions, which limits the legal function of the institution to the case of non-intentional homicide or injury (*khaṭaʾ* [*q.v.*]) — and most of those who allow this supplementary category include the quasi-intentional — is extremely important; there is a clear connection between it and the distinction drawn in the Ḳurʾān (ii, 178; iv, 92) between intentional and non-intentional homicide. The intentional act of a minor or an insane person is counted by the majority of authors as tantamount to a non-intentional act. The second restriction apparently denotes (the grammatical vindication of this was given by the grammarian al-Aṣmaʿī to the Ḥanafī ḳāḍī Abū Yūsuf) that if the victim — and not the guilty party — is a slave, the *ʿāḳila* of the guilty party does not intervene; but the Ḥanafīs, followed with some hesitation by the Shāfiʿīs, see the matter in a different light. The two remaining restrictions mentioned in the formula are represented by the jurists as seeking to prevent any collusion prejudicial to the members of the *ʿāḳila*.

Even more drastic is the Ḥanafī innovation which affects the members of the *ʿāḳila* themselves. Among the pre-Islamic Arabs, only the relatives by parentage, real or fictitious, were concerned. The Muslim jurists have not departed from this customary view, with the exception of the Ḥanafīs of ʿIrāḳ, who have accepted and confirmed an Umayyad administrative practice (Schacht, *Origins*, 207) which gave precedence to the joint liability between companions-in-arms entered on the same pay-roll or *dīwān*. This tallied with the tendency towards state control, because the authorities could in this way directly guarantee compensation for the victim, by means of official deductions from pay. The experiment made by some early Mālikīs, obviously following the example of the ʿIrāḳīs, of taking the *dīwān* into account to a certain extent, was unsuccessful (compare ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Ishrāf*, ii, 194, with al-Bādjī, *Muntaḳā*, vii, 113-4).

The schools of law are thus virtually unanimous on the point that the *ʿāḳila* comprise, as in the pre-Islamic period, the *ʿaṣaba* (cf. MĪRĀTH] of the guilty party, that is to say, the male relatives or agnates, after whom come, in the case of a freedman, the patron and his *ʿaṣaba* (an old Shāfiʿī ruling in favour of the reciprocal obligation of the freedman towards the patron has not been generally accepted). As regards the agnates, the old system of kinship is seen here in all its force and clarity, more plainly even than in the rules governing inheritance; moreover, the agnatic relationship, in such a conservative question of penal law, continues to be interpreted with the greatest strictness: Mālik, for example, stipulates that neither the husband nor the son of a woman who is a guilty party, although they are her heirs, can be a member of her *ʿāḳila*. The Shāfiʿīs are alone in excluding from the *ʿāḳila* the sncestors and descendants of a man who is the guilty party, though the Ḥanbalīs are undecided on this point (Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, 1367 A. H., vii, 784). Minors and insane persons are excluded from the *ʿāḳila*, as are women. As regards the guilty person himself, it is certain that originally he was not party to the *ʿāḳila* which intervened on his behalf; although certain Mālikīs have incorporated him in it, it can be confidently asserted that this is in imitation of the Ḥanafīs — an additional modification to be attributed to the latter (Brunschvig, in *Studia Islamica*, iii, 69).

Ḥanafism has not completely excluded from the *ʿāḳila* either the agnates or the patron by right of manumission; it even includes the contractual patron, to whom it alone of the orthodox schools accords legal status; and it places no limitations of time or degree on the agnatic relationship. But agnates and patrons, under this system, only play a suppletory role. Further, Ḥanafism justifies its theory of the superiority of the military *dīwān* to the *ʿaṣaba* by declaring itself faithful to the traditional idea of an overriding duty of "mutual assistance" (*nuṣra, tanāṣur*) as the basis of penal solidarity, and by adducing the changes which had occurred during the first century of Islam in the very composition of the natural group of mutual aid; thus there was initiated among the members of this school a development of doctrine which led to the acceptance of the principle that, in default of the *dīwān*, members of the same *sūḳ* or of the same

profession, in a given locality or district, should between them perform the function of *ʿāḳila*. Further developments occurred among the mediaeval Ḥanafīs, but the various jurists trod divergent and confused paths (the classical works on *ikhtilāf*, through being over-condensed, give the illusion of a unified doctrine); some left the judge considerable scope for the exercise of his own discretion, others were inclined to provide a definitely geographical basis for the institution, at least in the absence of agnates.

As a result of the dislocation of the tribes under Islam and their dispersal over vast areas of territory, the problem of a limitation either, again, of a geographical nature, or connected with the degree of kinship, arose in the other schools, in which the role of the agnates retained its original importance. The Mālikīs had early signified their decision (*Mudawwana*, xvi, 198) that there should be no *taʿāḳul* between the people of Egypt and Syria, for example, because they constituted different *djunds* (a faint echo of the *dīwān* theory); and the Shāfiʿīs, who to begin with saw no impediment in any distance, however remote, wondered in their turn whether relations who were near at hand might not be called upon in preference to more closely connected relatives who lived at a distance (compare al-Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, ii, 214, with *K. al-Umm*, vi, 103). The Ḥanbalīs were not inclined to take geography into account at all; but, while the Shāfiʿīs rejected joint liability between tribes considered to be related, they, on the other hand, limited the institution to that fraction of the tribe in which kinship was clearly established (*Mughnī*, vii, 786, 788). Again, within the framework of the social changes occasioned by Islam, and as a mark of its distrust of Bedouin life, there is recorded the attempt of several doctors to prevent *taʿāḳul* between townsmen and nomads: the Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī emphasizes this point (*Mabsūṭ*, xxvii, 132-3); the Mālikīs, notwithstanding the *Mudawwana*, loc. cit., on the whole refused to follow this path (al-Bādjī, *al-Muntaḳā*, vii, 98).

Attention must be drawn here to a theoretical discussion, which occurs in detailed works of *fiḳh*, on the nature of the obligation devolving on the *ʿāḳila*, and which is notable as an interesting example of Muslim legal thought, rather than for its problematical influence on practical solutions. Does this obligation rest on the *ʿāḳila "per se"* (*ibtidāʾan*: this is the technical significance of this term, which is sometimes not fully understood), that is, are they considered as debtors *"per se"*, or does it result from a legal "transfer" (*intiḳāl*) from the guilty party, the "acceptance of responsibility" (*taḥammul*) being made by the group? The second hypothesis allows emphasis to be placed on the idea of the "alleviation" (*takhfīf*) and the "generous help" (*muwāsāt*) which, although obligatory, are afforded by the *ʿāḳila* to the guilty party. Ḥanafism seems to adhere to this theory. The other schools are undecided; the *ibtidāʾ* of the responsibility, which they hesitate to affirm or maintain, would doubtless tally better than the rival theory with the primitive conception by which the clan, jointly responsible, feels itself bound to offer reparation collectively, as much or even more on its own behalf as on behalf of the guilty party.

Again, as regards the amount of *ʿaḳl* and the modalities of the payment incumbent upon the *ʿāḳila*, Muslim law has shown a tendency to restrict and regulate the institution. The Shāfiʿīs alone have remained faithful, or have returned to their allegiance, to the settlement of the compensation by the *ʿāḳila*, whatever the amount may be (theoretical discussion by al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1940, nos. 1039 ff., and *K. al-Umm*, vii, 297). The Mālikīs, on the other hand, followed by the Ḥanbalīs, have fixed, perhaps in conformity with an old government decision (*K. al-Umm*, loc. cit.; Schacht, loc. cit.), a minimum, representing a third of the whole *diya*, below which the *ʿāḳila* are not liable. The Ḥanafīs, in the same way, but acting with greater moderation, have absolved the *ʿāḳila* from responsibility for sums less than 500 *dirhams* or —what amounts to the same thing according to them—1/20th of the whole *diya*, the legal rate for head injuries which "lay bare" (*mūḍiḥa*) the skull. Below these minima, therefore, the responsibility rests on the guilty party personally.

All the schools have given their assent (exceptions apart) to the general rule, deriving almost certainly from Umayyad practice, which allows the *ʿāḳila* to discharge its liability by three consecutive annual payments (according to some to commence from the date of the injury, according to others from that of the agreement between the parties, or from the date of the conviction), instead of by the immediate payment of the whole. But they again reveal an appreciable difference of opinion on the method of assessment among the members. The Ḥanafīs, who like accountantcy, and who are anxious to embarrass each member as little as possible, have opted for an extremely low *maximum*, to be the same for all—three or four *dirhams* per head. The Shāfiʿīs, who aim at relieving the poor, have fixed two rates of contributions according to means, very similar to the preceding ones, but in this case revolving round a *minimum*—½ *dīnār* for the rich, ¼ for persons of more moderate means, proceeding from the nearest agnates to the most distant. The Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs refuse to lay down any fixed amount; each of the agnates, in order of kinship, must pay according to his means; this was undoubtedly the ancient method. In an organized State, if an equal assessment is refused, the case must be referred to a judge; the schools concerned agree on this.

The *ʿāḳila* reappears in a closely-connected penal institution, the *ḳasāma* [*q.v.*], but in slightly different forms from the ones just described.

The Imāmī Shīʿites have made virtually no innovations on the subject of the *ʿāḳila*. Their fundamental solutions are those of the orthodox doctors, with a preference now for one school, now for another. In their eyes, the persons jointly responsible are first and foremost the agnates; the guilty person himself, minors and the insane, and the emancipator too, are excluded; the priority accorded to, or rather imposed upon, relations german as against consanguineous relations of the same degree is debated by the orthodox, who in general disallow it. The minimum sum involving the *ʿāḳila* is that laid down by the Ḥanafīs; the minimum devolving on each member is fixed either in accordance with Shāfiʿī doctrine, or by the magistrate; payment is made, as in the case of the Sunnīs, in three annual instalments.

Finally, can *fiḳh* be said to have succeeded in its effort to preserve, and at the same time to delimit, the function of the *ʿāḳila*? The reply can only be in the negative. In general, large sections of the old Muslim penal law, even though based on the Ḳurʾān, fell rapidly into disuse, when faced with competition from the secular, and highly arbitrary, justice of rulers; there was even greater reason why this

should occur in the case of an institution such as the *ʿāḳila*, which was extra-Ḳurʾānic and no longer corresponded to social reality as far as an increasing number of Muslims were concerned. The evolutionary process initiated during the first centuries of Islam by Ḥanafism, in the sense of joint liability on a territorial basis, was indecisive, and unsatisfactory in many respects; taken a stage further by the Ḥanafīs in the course of time, it even went as far as the doctrine, put forward by some, that the public treasury, i.e. the state, was responsible in the absence of family or of a military *dīwān*. Instead of this solution, which was hard to admit, some authors advocated that the *diya* should be placed to the sole charge of the guilty person—this being the germ of a theory of civil liability which was not further developed (Tyan, *Le système de la responsabilité délictuelle en droit musulman*, Beirut 1926, 123-8; Abou Haïf, *Le Dièh en droit musulman*, Cairo 1932). It seems that collective responsibility to-day exists only in societies where the joint responsibility of the tribe is still an active force, for example among the Arabic-speaking nomads (the literature on the subject is summarized in Grāf, *Das Rechtswesen der heutigen Beduinen*, Bonn 1952), or among the settled Berber populations; customary law then predominates, only influenced in varying measure by Muslim law.

Bibliography: In addition to the references quoted in the text, all the general works on *fiḳh*. For the three principal orthodox schools see Bercher, *Les Délits et les Peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926. For reference on the Mālikī school Arévalo, *Derecho penal islámico*, Tangier 1939, 40-44. Bourham, *De la vengeance du sang chez les Arabes d'avant l'Islam*, 1933-44, is of no value. (R. Brunschvig)

AḲÎNDJÎ, irregular cavalry during the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire, based on and primarily for service in Europe. Their name derives from the verbal noun *aḳîn* (from *aḳ-maḳ*, "to flow, be poured out"), which means a "raid, incursion into enemy territory". Akîndjî is "the name given to those who carry out *aḳîn*-s on foreign territory to reconnoitre, plunder, or spread destruction". (M. Zeki Pakalîn, *Osmanlî tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 36). The treasurer of Meḥmed II, G. M. Angiolello, in his eye-witness account of the campaign against Uzun Ḥasan (1473), gives the best description (trans. Charles Grey): "Besides the five columns we have mentioned, there was also another of the Aganzi, who are not paid, except by the booty which they may gain in guerilla warfare. These men do not encamp with the rest of the army, but go traversing, pillaging, and wasting the country of the enemy on every side, and yet keep up a great and excellent discipline among themselves, both in the division of the plunder and in the execution of all their enterprises. In this division were thirty thousand men, remarkably well mounted . . .".

Tradition ascribes the formation of these auxiliary troops, comprising contingents from the Turcoman tribes of Anatolia, to the Saldjūḳids; and in fact, although accurate information is lacking concerning the battle in the plain of Brusa at the end of the 13th century between Ertoghrul, supported by the *aḳîndjî*, and the Byzantine-Tatars, it seems probable that this tradition contains the truth. The term *aḳîn* is also used in connection with naval expeditions. Enwerī (ed. M. H. Yinanç, Istanbul 1928, 24) records an *aḳîn* made along the Bosporus with 35 ships. Neshrī mentions the *aḳîndjî ḳāḍîlarî*, or "*aḳîndjî* judges". These irregular units of the Ottoman army established themselves, as the Turks gradually advanced into the northern Balkans, in strategic and wellprotected localities. Fīrūz Bey of Vidin was ordered by Bāyazīd I to make an *aḳîn* on Wallachia, and in 1391 the Turks (*aḳîndjî*) for the first time advanced north of the Danube. Later they numbered not less than 40-50,000 horsemen. They were commanded by what were virtual dynasties of local chiefs (*bey*); Ewrenos-oghullarî (the descendants of Ewrenos Bey [*q.v.*], at Gümüldjina, Serez, Ishkodra) in the north-west; Mīkhāl-oghullarî, descendants of Köse Mīkhāl [*q.v.*], a Greek renegade of the family of the Palaeologi (Serbia, Hungary); Turkhān-oghullarî (Smederevo-Semendire, Greece, Wallachia and in the direction of Venetian territory); Malkoč-oghullarî, originally from Bosnia where they were known as Malkovitch (Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia and Poland); Ḳāsim-oghullarî (at Vienna, 1529).

Towards the end of the 16th century, the *aḳîndjî* lost some of their thrust and importance. In the course of the ill-fated expedition of the Grand Vizier Kodja Sinān Pasha against Mihai Viteazul of Wallachia (1595), they were almost annihilated: at Giurgiu (Yerköyü) on the Danube they remained on Rumanian territory, where "the root of the *aḳîndjî* was severed and they withered away". Again in 1604, Sultan Aḥmad I issued orders to ʿAlī Bey Mīkhāl-oghlu to join the expedition against Hungary. But the *aḳîndjî* rapidly adapted themselves to new forms of warfare. They became artillerymen, armourers, and drivers, and demanded to be entered in the army muster-rolls and to be paid regularly. The statistician of the decline of the Ottoman empire, Koči Bey, in his *Risāle* (ed. A. Wefīḳ Pasha, London, 1279/1862, 17) written in 1630, stated that "the *aḳîndjî* contingents (*aḳîndjî ṭāʾifesi*) had become either paid troops or regular soldiers, or had relinquished their positions (*aḳîndjîlîghî inkār idüb*); scarcely 2000 *aḳîndjî* remained". Their individuality became lost in the main body of the regular Ottoman forces.

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ʿAKK, old Arabian tribe, probably identical with the ʼΑγγῖται (ʼΑχχῖται) of Ptolemy, vi, 7, § 23. H. Reckendorf considered the name ʿAkk as a place-name; but it occurs as a personal name in Thamūdic inscriptions. At the beginning of the 7th century the territory of the ʿAkk in the Tihāma of Yaman stretched from Wādī Mawr, over Surdud, to Wādī Sahām (i.e. between modern Luḥayya and Ḥudayda), where it met that of the Ashʿar. At that time they

participated in the Meccan cult. Earlier a colony of the ʿAkk was to be found in ʿAḳīḳ (Tamra) = Wādī al-Dawāsir. No information is available concerning their adherence to Islam. In the revolt of al-Aswad, which broke out during the last year of the Prophet's life, they took sides against him, so that the representative of Medina, Ṭāhir b. Abī Hāla, was able to remain in their territory. On the other hand, after the death of Muḥammad a group of ʿAkk and As̲h̲ʿar assembled at Aʿlāb near Ṣuḥār (in the territory of a sub-tribe of ʿAkk of the same name), but they were annihilated by Ṭāhir and a chieftain of the ʿAkk themselves. During the wars of the conquests some groups from the tribe came to Syria (they settled in the valley of the Jordan), and from there to Egypt and the Mag̲h̲rib, also to Kūfa and Persia. Members of the tribe were prominent in the conquest of Egypt and in the battle of Ṣiffīn (on the Syrian side). In Arabia, the tribe preserved its old territory, and even extended it to the north and south.

Wüstenfeld, Table A2, shows the divisions of the emigrant ʿAkk, the *Ṭurfa* those of the tribe in its primitive seat in the 13th century. In the tradition of Medina (Ibn Isḥāḳ) the ʿAkk are counted among the ʿAdnān, in that of K̲h̲urāsān among the Azd S̲h̲anūʾa (through ʿUdt̲h̲ān, which is often corrupted into ʿAdnān). Both versions are easy to understand: when Kūfa was founded, the ʿAkk were assigned to the "seventh" of the Iyād (b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān), while in K̲h̲urāsān they were assigned to the Azd.

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(W. Caskel)

ʿAKKĀ, the Acco (ʿAkkō) of the Old Testament, the Ptolemais of the Greeks, the Acre of the French, town on the Palestinian seaboard. ʿAkkā was captured by the Arabs under the command of S̲h̲uraḥbīl b. Ḥasana. As the town had suffered in the wars with the Byzantines, Muʿāwiya rebuilt it, and constructed there naval yards which the Caliph His̲h̲ām later transferred to Tyre. Ibn Ṭūlūn constructed great stone embankments round the port; al-Maḳdisī, whose grandfather executed the work, gives an interesting description of their construction. The port became subsequently one of the naval bases of the Fāṭimids in Syria. The Crusades marked a new epoch in the history of the town. After an unsuccessful attempt, Baldwin I succeeded, in 497/1104, in gaining possession of this important port, which then became the central point in the Christian possessions in the Holy Land. Al-Idrīsī's description of ʿAkkā belongs to this period: a large straggling town, with many farms, a fine, safe harbour and a mixed population. After Saladin had won the great battle of Ḳarn Ḥaṭṭīn, ʿAkkā surrendered to him in 583/1187. But since possession of ʿAkkā was vital to the Christians, they again laid siege to the town. The siege lasted for two years, and finally (1191) the arrival of Philippe Auguste and Richard Coeur de Lion led to the capture of ʿAkkā by the Christians. From 626/1229 onwards, ʿAkkā was the principal centre of Christian power in Palestine, and received the name of Saint-Jean d'Acre, after a splendid church built there by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In 690/1291 the Sultan al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf gained possession of ʿAkkā and put an end to Christian domination in Palestine. The town was completely destroyed, and for long remained a heap of ruins, with few inhabitants. Towards the middle of the 18th century, a revival took place, when S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ẓāhir, who had founded a kingdom in Galilee, made ʿAkkā his capital. The town was rebuilt, and flourished still more during the reign of terror of Aḥmad al-D̲j̲azzār (1775-1804). It was during his rule that Napoleon conducted a fruitless siege of the town, which was protected by the British fleet. ʿAkkā continued to prosper under the peaceful rule of al-D̲j̲azzār's successors, but in 1832 it was taken by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and razed. It rose yet again, only to be bombarded in 1840 by the Turkish fleet supported by the British and the Austrians. Since then the town has witnessed a certain revival.

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(F. Buhl*)

AKKERMAN [see aḳ kirmān].

ʿAḲL, intellect or intelligence, the Arabic equivalent to Greek νοῦς.

(1) In neoplatonic speculation, which in many respects resembles the late Greek doctrine of the Logos and also in many respects corresponds to the Logos christology, *ʿaḳl* is the first, sometimes the second, entity which emanates from the divinity as the first cause, or proceeds from it by means of intellectual creation, *nafs* and *ṭabīʿa* etc. coming after *ʿaḳl* in succession. As first created entity the *ʿaḳl* is also called "the representative" or "the messenger" of God in this world. The neoplatonic idea of *ʿaḳl* as first creation also appears in the *ḥadīt̲h̲*: "The first thing created by God was the *ʿaḳl* etc." (cf. I. Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und gnostische elemente im Hadīt*, *ZA*, 1908, 317 ff.). [Cf. also falsafa, ik̲h̲wān al-ṣafāʾ; for the role of *ʿaḳl* in Ismāʿīlism, ismāʿīliyya and durūz; for *ʿaḳl* in ṣūfī theosophy, e.g. ibn ʿarabī and ʿabd al-razzāḳ al-ḳās̲h̲ānī]. (Tj. de Boer*)

(2) According to the theologians (*mutakallimūn*), *ʿaḳl* is a source of knowledge and, as such, is the antithesis of *naḳl* or tradition (see e.g. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ch. iii); the words *fiṭra* and *ṭabīʿa* (φύσις) are also used for it. *ʿAḳl* is thus a natural way of knowing, independently of the authority of the revelation, what is right and wrong. (Thus it corresponds to the λόγος of the Stoics, who understood by this term a "natural light" (*lumen naturale*), which was their criterion for distinguishing between good and bad.) This *ʿaḳl*, possessed by all human beings, is also called *al-raʾy al-mus̲h̲tarak* (al-Fārābī, *R. fi 'l-ʿAḳl* (Bouyges); cf. the κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι of the Stoics and the κοινὸς νοῦς of Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De anima* (Bruns)). Allied to this meaning of *ʿaḳl* is the view qualified by al-

Fārābī (op. cit.) and Ibn Sīnā (*al-Ḥudūd*) as that of the masses (*al-d̲j̲umhūr*), according to which *ʿaḳl* must lead to praiseworthy conduct, so that a man of bad character, however ingenious he might be, is not an *ʿāḳil* (cf. the ὀρθὸς λόγος of the Stoics and the distinction made by Aristotle between φρόνησις and πανουργία, *Nic. Ethics*); *ʿaḳl* here means "wisdom".

(3) The philosophers of Islam followed in their accounts of *ʿaḳl* Aristotle and his Greek commentators, more especially Alexander of Aphrodisias. According to them *ʿaḳl* is that part of the soul (for their psychology in general see NAFS) by which it "thinks" or "knows" and as such is the antithesis of perception. Mostly, however, *ʿaḳl* is not regarded as a part of the soul at all, which is then restricted to the lower mental functions, but as an incorporeal and incorruptible substance differing in kind from the soul—an ambiguity which also pervades Aristotle's psychology. *ʿAḳl* is broadly divided into the theoretical (*al-naẓarī*) and the practical intellect (*al-ʿamalī*); the former apprehends the quiddities or universals, while the latter deliberates about the future actions and through the appetitive faculty moves the body to the attainment of the good.

The development of the theoretical intellect in man is the most widely and richly discussed subject of the doctrine. In a brief and rather obscure passage (*De anima*, iii, 5) Aristotle had said that the potential intellect in man is actualized by an eternally actual intellect (an application of the general Aristotelian principle that for the realization of a potentiality the agency of something already actual is necessary); the latter acts upon it as light acts upon our faculty of sight or art on its material. The disparity between the two analogies obscures Aristotle's view of the relationship between the passive and active intellects, but it was Alexander's interpretation which provided the basis for the Arabs' discussions. According to Alexander (op. cit.) our intellect is initially a pure potentiality which is actualized by the active intellect which is God; when our actualized intellect is not operating, it is *intellectus in habitu*, which in actual operation becomes *intellectus in actu*. Most of the succeeding commentators, especially Themistius and (pseudo-)Philoponus (Stephanus), reject Alexander's equation of the active intellect with God and declare it to be a part of the human soul. According to Muslim philosophers, the active intellect (*ʿaḳl faʿʿāl*) is the lowest of the separate intelligences, which gives individual forms to material objects and universal forms to the human intellect—hence its name: *wāhib al-ṣuwar* (*dator formarum* of the later scholastics). According to al-Fārābī (op. cit.) the first stage of actualization consists of the abstraction of forms from matter by the "light" of the active intelligence: the second stage is reached when the thus actualized intellect (*ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl* = *intellectus in effectu*) reflects upon itself and attains to a knowledge of the categories and becomes *ʿaḳl mustafād* (*intellectus acquisitus* or *adeptus*). According to Ibn Sīnā (*al-S̲h̲ifāʾ*, *De anima*) the potential intellect (*ʿaḳl bi 'l-ḳuwwa*, or *ʿaḳl hayūlānī* = *intellectus potentialis* or *materialis*) reaches the first stage of its actualization when it acquires the axiomatic truths (this is called *ʿaḳl bi 'l-malaka* = *intellectus in habitu*), the second stage (called *ʿaḳl bi 'l-fiʿl* = *intellectus in actu*) when it acquires the secondary intelligibles from the primary intelligibles or axioms, the final stage (*ʿaḳl mustafād* = *intellectus acquisitus*) when it actually contemplates these intelligibles and becomes similar to the active intellect. Ibn Sīnā, inspired by Neo-platonism, affirms that the universal cannot be acquired by abstraction from the particulars, but by direct intuition from the active intelligence. The final stage of human bliss comes when the human intellect becomes one with the active intellect, which happens, according to al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, only after death, although Ibn Rus̲h̲d allows such a union during earthly life.

One of the chief difficulties of this whole Greco-Arabic doctrine is the individuality of intellect which they affirm to be incorporeal and therefore, according to their general principle of individuation by matter, universal. Although its individuality is recognized, seeing that the subject of thought is the individual "I", the basic principle of their theory of knowledge, viz. that of the identity of subject and object (a principle laid down by Aristotle in order to ensure the objectivity of knowledge, but rejected by Ibn Sīnā), prevented the formulation of the individual ego. This difficulty culminated in Ibn Rus̲h̲d (*De anima*), who declared the intellect to be one for all humanity, while recognizing that his theory did not do justice to the individuality of the act of thought.

(4) The Muslim philosophers recognized a hierarchy of separate intelligences (*ʿuḳūl mufāriḳa*), each lower one emanating from the higher. These incorporeal beings, usually ten in number and endowed with life, intuitive thought and bliss in varying degrees, create and govern their respective spheres which themselves are regarded as being possessed of souls. Like the Greco-Christian thinkers (e.g. (pseudo-)Philoponus, *De anima* (Hayduck), 527), the Muslims identified the separate intelligences with certain angels, the lowest of these, the active intellect, called Gabriel, being the ruling *ʿaḳl* of the sublunar sphere.

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ʿAḲLIYYĀT, (A.), technical term in *ʿilm al-kalām* (scholastic theology). Its use is common (see the commentators on al-Taftazānī, al-Bad̲j̲ūrī etc.), as expressing a certain concept, and to denote a genus of theological dissertations, which go back at least to the 6th/12th century with Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and are clearly stated in the 8th/14th century by al-Īd̲j̲ī, al-Taftazānī and al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī. The term refers to the earlier expression *al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*, derived from *falsafa*, signifying the rational (and natural) knowledge which the reason (*ʿaḳl*) can acquire by itself. Al-G̲h̲azzālī uses this phrase freely (cf. *Iḥyāʾ*, iii) and opposes it to *al-ʿulūm*

al-sharʿiyya wa ʾl-dīniyya (revealed and religious knowledge). According to Muʿtazilite tradition, and Saʿadya al-Fayyūmī, *ʿakliyyāt* denotes that which is accessible to the reason and especially, on the ethical level, the natural values of law and morals. Cf. the Muʿtazilite MS *al-Madjmūʿ fi'l-Muḥīṭ* (abridged from the Muḥīṭ of the *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, end of the 10th century) by Ibn Mattawayh (Berlin, MS Glaser 526; information supplied by G. Vajda).

In classical *kalām*, this distinction operates also within the "religious sciences". Traces of it are found from the time of the first Muʿtazilite disputation, when *ʿilm dīnī* is sometimes subdivided into *ʿilm ʿaḳlī* and *ʿilm sharʿī*. In later works (Ashʿarī and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī schools), *ʿaḳliyyāt* denotes the aggregate of subjects in *kalām* (i.e. "religious science") which are amenable to reason; that is to say subjects the fundamentals of which, even where they are provided by the *sharʿ*, can be "proved" by "apodictic arguments" (*ḳaṭīʿ*). These are contrasted with the subjects called *samʿiyyāt, ex auditu*, the fundamentals of which derive only from Ḳurʾānic or traditional texts (*ḥadīth, idjmāʿ*). In this latter category, reason only intervenes to resolve arguments of expediency. Two kinds of problems are considered as *ʿaḳliyyāt*: (1) the preliminary subjects of *kalām*, which deal with "essentials and accidents", subjects which are in the strict sense "rational", and which assemble the products of logic, natural philosophy, and ontology; (2) *ilāhiyyāt*, which deal with (a) the existence of God (*wudjūd Allāh*), and his attributes (*ṣifāt*), with the exception of the three attributes of Sight, Hearing, and Speech, and of the "vision of God" (*ruʾyat Allāh*), which are considered as *samʿiyyāt*; and (b) the "acts of God" (*afʿāluhū taʿālā*). The *ilāhiyyāt* must always have a scriptural basis, but a basis which reason, for its part, can prove by apodictic arguments. The other subjects, such as prophecy, eschatology, the "statutes and the names", the "command and prohibition" (*imāma*), are *samʿiyyāt*. The great classic of al-Djurdjānī, the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* (8th/14th century) for example, has six principal sections; five of these treat of *ʿaḳliyyāt*, and one only, the final section, comprises all the subjects called *samʿiyyāt*. (L. Gardet)

AL-AḲRAʿ B. **ḤĀBIS** B. ʿIḲĀL B. MUḤAMMAD B. SUFYĀN B. MUDJĀSHIʿ B. DĀRIM, Tamīmite warrior. *Al-Aḳraʿ* is an epithet ("bald"); his proper name (Firās ? Ḍull ?) is disputed. He is said to have been the last judge in the *djāhiliyya* at ʿUkāẓ, having inherited this office (which was a privilege of Tamīm) from his ancestors; he performed this duty until the rise of Islam, giving his judgments in *sadjʿ* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 236). He is said also to have been the first to prohibit games of chance (*ḳimār*), but was accused of partiality in the controversy between Badjīla and Kalb. He took part, and was captured, in the battle of Zubāla (or Salmān, according to al-Balādhurī and Yāḳūt) and was freed by Bisṭām b. Ḳays. Another exploit of al-Aḳraʿ was the raid on Nadjrān after the battle of al-Kulāb al-thānī (see *al-Naḳāʾiḍ*, 46, 448; Ibn Ḥabīb's statement (*Muḥabbar* 247) that he took part in al-Kulāb al-awwal is due to a confusion with his ancestor Sufyān: see *Aghānī*, xi, 61). Ibn Ḥabīb also states that he was one of the *djarrārūn*, who succeeded in uniting a whole branch of his tribe, the Banū Ḥanẓala, under his banner. According to Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-Maʿārif*, 194) and Ibn al-Kalbī (quoted in the *Iṣāba*) he was a Zoroastrian (*madjūsī*); this is of importance for the estimation of Persian influence on some sections of Tamīm.

Nothing is known of his attitude towards Muḥammad up to the time when he joined the Prophet in al-Suḳya during the expedition to Mecca in 8/630. He took part in the conquest of Mecca and was one of *al-muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum* who were presented with gifts, which gave occasion to a famous verse of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās. He took part also in the battle of Ḥunayn and refused to return his booty, in spite of the Prophet's request. (For Muḥammad's somewhat negative opinion of him see also Ibn Hishām, iv, 139.) He participated later in the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet, the traditional account stressing his arrogant conduct; nevertheless, he was appointed to collect the *ṣadaḳāt* of part of the Banū Ḥanẓala (*al-Ansāb*, x, 970ʳ). Together with other chiefs of Tamīm, he interceded for the captives of the Banu ʾl-ʿAnbar, and was a witness to a letter despatched by the Prophet to Nadjrān.

During the *ridda*, according to Sayf (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1920), al-Aḳraʿ and al-Zibriḳān proposed to Abū Bakr to guarantee the allegiance of Tamīm against the grant of the *kharādj* of Baḥrayn, and it was only ʿUmar who prevented Abū Bakr from accepting the proposal. In view of the situation of Tamīm at this period, this tradition does not seem trustworthy, but it may reflect ʿUmar's attitude towards al-Aḳraʿ (cf. *Bayān*, i, 253, and *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo), i, 85). Sayf relates also that he took part in the battle of the *ridda* alongside Khālid b. al-Walīd, and was in the vanguard at the battles of Dūmat al-Djandal and al-Anbār. His name is last mentioned in 32/652-3, when he was sent by al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays to subdue Djūzdjān; he must have been a very old man at that time. Al-Balādhurī mentions that his descendants lived in Khurāsān.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Bukhārī, ch. on *Wafd Banī Tamīm*, iii, 65; *Naḳāʾiḍ* (Bevan), index; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, B. M. 1202, 65ᵛ; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1319, 414; idem, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, MS, x, 969ᵛ-970ʳ; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1929, 243-52, 353; Ibn Saʿd, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1355, i, 133; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 236, 253; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 134, 182, 247, 473; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1935, 194, 305; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940 f., index; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 160; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 219; Ibn ʿAsākir, iii, 86-91; Yāḳūt, s. vv. Salmān, Djūzdjān; Ibn al-Athīr, index; *LA*, s.v. *ḳaraʿa*; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v. al-Aḳraʿ; E. Bräunlich, *Bisṭām b. Qais*, Leipzig 1923, 46; Maḳrīzī, *Imlāʾ al-Asmāʾ*, Cairo 1941, index. (M. J. Kister)

ʿAḲRAB (A.), scorpion. This branch of the *arachnida*, which is met with as far north as lat. 45°, includes, in Asia and Africa, some species whose sting produces effects of a more or less serious nature, and sometimes even death. For this reason the scorpion has always haunted the imagination of oriental peoples; it has found a place among the stars (a constellation and the 8th sign of the Zodiac are named after it), and has played some part in the magic and the interpretation of dreams. As a protection against its sting, magic formulas and, later, verses of the Ḳurʾān, were used, engraved on rings and other talismans; according to the Traditions, Muḥammad saw no objection to this practice. The observations of Arab naturalists, who claimed that the scorpion escaped from pain and intense heat by committing suicide, and that the female carried its young on her back and ultimately perished in this way, have been confirmed in modern times.

The behaviour of the scorpion when confronted by human beings, and the effect of its sting on different victims, were noted at an early period; different species were identified; but above all, efforts were made to discover a remedy against its sting. The best method, apart from sucking the venom from the wound, was to cut the animal open and place it on the affected part. The scorpion played an important part also in Arab medicine; its ashes were an effective remedy against calculus; its roasted flesh would cure the eye complaint known as *rīḥ al-sabal*. Scorpion oil (*duhn al-ʿaḳārib*), prepared in various ways, was considered to possess particularly curative powers; it was used in the treatment of malignant sores, sciatica and pains in the back, orchitis, and falling hair. In addition, cases are quoted in which hemiplegia and fever were cured by a scorpion sting.

On the use of scorpions in war see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², v, 358; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, v, 550-1. In Arabic literature, the name "scorpion" occurs quite frequently, and always typifies treacherous hostility (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 105, verse 1; 156, verse 2; *Hudsailian poems*, no. 21, verse 24; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, no. 19, verse 12; Nābigha, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 1, verse 4), or mockery (ʿUrwa, no. 15, verse 2), or calumny (ʿUrwa, no. 5, verse 6; Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, no. 61, verse 3), and similarly in proverbs (Freytag, *Proverbia*, no. 902). The three coldest days of winter (the new moons of November, December and January) were, on account of their "biting" cold, called "the three scorpions" (*Calendrier de Cordoue*, 10).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², v, 353 ff. and the index; Damīrī, i, 106 ff.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 439 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 1281; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 152-3; Hommel, *Ursprung und Alter arab. Sternnamen und Mondstationen*, in *ZDMG*, xlv, 605; A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, 1951, 155-7. (J. Hell)

ʿAḲRABĀʾ is the name of two localities:

1. A place on the frontier of Yamāma, famous for the bloody battle in which Musaylima and the Banū Ḥanīfa were defeated by Khālid. In its neighbourhood was a grove (*ḥadīḳa*), surrounded by a wall and, before this battle, known by the name of "Raḥmān's garden"; later on it was called "garden of death".

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1937-1940; Balādhurī (de Goeje), 88; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* ii, 226; iii, 694.

2. A place of residence of the Ghassānid princes in Djawlān; it is probably identical with the present ʿAḳrabā in the province of Djēdūr.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 695; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 430; cf. in *ZDPV*, xii, the map of the Djabal Ḥawrān A B 3. (F. Buhl)

AḲRĀBĀDHĪN, or Ḳarābādhīn from Syriac *grāfādhīn*, reproducing Greek γραφίδιον, "small treatise", was used by the Arabs as a title of treatises on the composition of drugs, or pharmacopoeias, while the simples which went into the composition were designed by the term *al-adwiya al-mufrada* [*q.v.*].

The practice of pharmacology. In the hospitals pharmacological instruction very early made an important part of the medical training. That the big hospitals had a pharmacist on the staff we can infer e.g. from the *al-Ṣaydala fi ʾl-Ṭibb* of al-Bīrūnī. The rapid increase in the *materia medica*, not only of Greek but also of Iranian and Indian origin certainly called for a special body of men and for the separation of the pha[rmaceut]ica from the medical profession. In ordinary outside practice the doctor may have prescribed and compounded his own mixtures (cf. C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia and the Eastern caliphate*, Cambridge 1951, 272 f.). As a rule drugs were bought separately from the druggist [cf. al-ʿaṭṭār] and then compounded. The *muḥtasib* had to give heed to the various ways in which drugs were adulterated (cf. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-Ḳurba* (Levy), ch. 25). The practice of preparing substitutes for certain simple drugs is attested by the philosopher al-Kindī who wrote a treatise containing recipes for the preparation of substitutes for rare drugs (*Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿIṭr wa ʾl-Taṣʿīdāt*, (K. Garbers), Leipzig 1948).

Pharmacological literature. Galen's *De medicamentorum compositione secundum locos et genera* had been translated into Arabic, under the title *Kitāb Tarkīb al-Adwiya*, by Ḥubaysh from the Syriac of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galenübersetzungen*, Leipzig 1925, 23 f.). We are told that surgeons, before they could practise, were obliged to make themselves masters of this work (cf. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, ch. 45).

The first pharmacopoeia to receive universal acceptance throughout the caliphate was written by the Christian physician Sābūr b. Sahl (d. 255/869), of the staff of the hospital of Djunday Sābūr. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 297) it contained 22 chapters, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, i, 161) 17 chapters. It was in common use until the publication of the *Aḳrābādhīn* of Amīn al-Dawla Hibat Allāh b. Saʿīd b. al-Tilmīdh (d. 560/1165). Ibn al-Tilmīdh was a court physician to al-Muḳtafī and to his successor al-Mustandjid and attached to the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdād. Besides the *Aḳrābādhīn* in 20 chapters he wrote a compendium (*al-Mūdjaz al-Bīmāristānī*) for use in ordinary hospitals (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 276). Manuscripts of these works or of parts of them have come down to us (Brockelmann, I, 642 and S I, 888), as have also manuscripts of the *Aḳrābādhīn* of the famous physician and philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (Brockelmann, I, 269). Of the pharmacopoeias written in the East, the *Aḳrābādhīn* of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahrām al-Ḳalānisī, who wrote in the year 590/1194, is also worth mentioning. In this work, of which several manuscripts have come down to us, the author quoted the *Ḥāwī* and the *Ṭibb al-Manṣūrī* of al-Rāzī, the *Ḳānūn* of Avicenna and other works (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 31). Of the great medical compilation written by Nadjm al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Iyās al-Shīrāzī (d. 730/1330), the 5th part, containing a treatise on compound drugs, was edited by F. F. Guigues (thesis, Paris 1902).

In Egypt the Jewish physician Mūsā b. al-ʿĀzār (Moses b. Eleazar) wrote an *Aḳrābādhīn* for the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 86). In the hospitals of Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāḳ the *al-Dustūr al-Bīmāristānī* of Abu ʾl-Faḍl b. Abi ʾl-Bayān al-Isrāʾīlī (publ. by P. Sbath in *BIE*, 1933, 13-78) was in common use until it was replaced by the *Minhādj al-Dukkān* of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār al-Isrāʾīlī which was published in Kairo in 658/1260 (Brockelmann, I, 648).

In Muslim Spain the study of the text of Dioscurides seems to have inspired an exclusive confidence in the simple drugs. We are informed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ii, 49) that the famous physician Ibn

Wāfid (d. after 460/1068) very seldom prescribed a compound drug. Like his contemporary ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bakrī, who wrote an inventory of the plants and trees of al-Andalus (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 52), Ibn Wāfid seems to have been an enthusiastic adherent of the Dioscoridean tradition in medicine. This is true also of al-Ghāfiḳī, the most important pharmacologist of Muslim Spain. In the Latin tradition the *Grabadin* of Mesue Junior (according to Leo Africanus this work was written by a certain Māsawayh al-Mārindī, who died in Baghdād in 1015, and translated into Latin by a Sicilian Jew) was for centuries the recognized authority on pharmacy throughout Europe and became the basis of later official pharmacopoeias.

For the medical principles underlying the composition and administration of drugs see ṬIBB.

(B. LEWIN)

ʿAḲRABĪ (plural: ʿAḳārib), a Soutb Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of Aden. Their territory, stretching on the coast line from Biʾr Aḥmad to Raʾs ʿImrān, is very small (a few square miles only). It is crossed by the lower part of the river of Laḥidj, which here is nearly always dry; as rain is also lacking, the soil is barren and yields but little fruit. The chief town is Biʾr Aḥmad, with a few hundred inhabitants and the castle of the sultan. The ʿAḳārib, according to the Rasūlid al-Ashraf, *Turfat al-Aṣḥāb* (Zetterstéen), 56, 57, belonged to the Kuḍāʿa (text obscure; according to 56 to the branch of Banū Mādjid, according to 57 to that of Khawlān). The identification by A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, 80, with the Agraei of Pliny, is very doubtful. Their chief, Mahdī, threw off the allegiance of Laḥidj and became independent about 1770. Ḥaydara b. Mahdī, a descendant of the former, signed a treaty of friendship with the British in 1839, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaydara various treaties in 1857, 1863, 1869, and the treaty of protectorate in 1888. (The animosity always latent between them and the ʿAbdalī led to open war as late as 1887, when the latter besieged Biʾr Ahmad; peace was restored by British intervention.)

Bibliography: H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873, 314-23; C. U. Aitchisen, *A collection of Treaties etc.*[3], xi, 99, 158 ff.

(J. SCHLEIFER-S. M. STERN)

AKRĀD [see KURD].

ʿAKS [see BALĀGHA].

AḲSARĀ [see AḲ SARĀY].

AKTHAM B. **ṢAYFĪ** B. RIYĀḤ B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. MUKHĀSHIN, ABŪ ḤAYDA (or Abu 'l-Ḥaffād, *Ansāb*; the verse quoted there is, however, attributed in *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, 92, to Rabīʿa b. ʿUzayy, also of Usayyid) of the clan of Usayyid, a branch of the tribe of Tamīm, was one of the judges of the *djāhiliyya*. The biography of Aktham consists mostly of legendary stories. Numerous traditions tell of missions by kings and chiefs to ask advice from him. The utterances of Aktham contain wise sayings about life, friendship, behaviour, virtue, women, etc. His personality as reflected in these sayings may be compared with that of Luḳmān, to whom some of the wise sayings attributed to Aktham are actually attributed in other traditions.

Aktham is famous as one of the *muʿammarīn*. Muslim tradition tries to bring him into relation with the person of the Prophet and stresses that Aktham approved of Islam; he is even said to have, spurred on his people to embrace Islam, and to have died as a martyr on his way to the Prophet, but these traditions are certainly spurious.

Aktham is said to have had descendants in al-Kūfa, particularly the *ḳāḍī* Yaḥyā b. Aktham.

Bibliography: *Naḳāʾiḍ* of Djarīr and Farazdaḳ (Bevan), index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Istanbul MS, fols. 964r, 1070r-1075r; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn* (Goldziher), 9-18; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1935, 35, 130, 240; idem, *ʿUyūn*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1355, index; Washshāʾ, *Fāḍil*, MS Brit. Mus., Or. 6499, fols. 118r, 121r; *Aghānī*, *Tables*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Ḍabbī, *Fākhir* (Storey), index; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, 200; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo 1280, i, 111-3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 482.

(M. J. KISTER)

AL (ar.), the definite article, see TAʿRĪF.

ĀL, the clan, a genealogical group between the family (*ahl*, *ʿāʾila*, [*q.v.*]) and the tribe (*ḥayy*, *ḳabīla*, [*q.v.*]), synonym of *ʿashīra* [*q.v.*]. In this sense, the word occurs in the title of sūra iii, *sūrat āl ʿImrān*. The *āl* of the Prophet are the descendants of Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib; when the Shīʿa restricted this concept to his nearest relatives and descendants [see AHL AL-BAYT], the Sunnīs enlarged it so as to include all his followers (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Later, the term came to mean the dynasty of a ruler, e.g. *āl ʿUthmān*, the Ottoman dynasty, *āl Bū Saʿīd*, the dynasty of the rulers of ʿUmān and Zanzibār, *āl Fayṣal āl Suʿūd*, the official title of the Saudi Arabian dynasty. [ED.]

ĀL, demon who attacks women in childbed, a personification of puerperal fever; cf. *ZDMG*, 1882, 85; Goldziher, *Abh. zur arab. Philologie*, i, 116; H. A. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina*, 104-7.

(A. HAFFNER *)

ĀL [see SARĀB].

ĀLA "instrument", "utensil" (synonym of *adāt* plural *adawāt*).

i. In grammatical terminology, *āla* and *adāt* are found in expressions like *ālat al-taʿrīf* "instrument of determination" (= the article *al*), *ālat al-tashbīh* "instrument of comparison" (= the particle *ka*) etc. The term *āla* (like *adāt*) does not seem to have been used by the Arab grammarians of the 3rd/9th century; in works such as that of Ibn Fāris, the word *adāt* is only met with once. Towards the end of the 4th/10th century the term *ḥarf* ("particle") may be regarded as signifying also the grammatical "instruments" later called *āla* and *adāt*. This usage seems to imply a distinction between the idea of "casual action" (connected with *ḥarf*) and the idea of "syntactic function" (represented by *āla* and *adāt*), leading to the expression of "determination", "finality", "comparison".

Bibliography: Ibn Fāris, *Ṣāḥibī*, 102; al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, art. *adāt* and *āla*. (R. BLACHÈRE)

ii. In the classification of sciences *ālāt* is the name of such attainments as are acquired not for their own sake (as an end in itself), but "as a means to something else", as e.g. philological sciences and logic, as ancilliary studies of the religious ones: *al-ʿulūm al-āliyya* in contrast to *al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyya*. Cf. the expression *ālāt al-munādama*, i.e. knowledge and accomplishments which are useful in social intercourse. Consequently that what is called *āla* differs from what is called *adab* [*q.v.*] only in so far as the former takes into account the attainments in their relation to *ʿilm*; cf. also *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (Brockelmann), i, 4. The appellation *ālāt* corresponds exactly to the expression ὄργανα in the classification of the philological sciences by Tyrannion of Amisus;

see H. Usener, *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft* Bonn 1882, 23.

Bibliography: Ghazālī, *Iḥyā, Kitāb al-ʿIlm*, ch. ii (*Itḥāf al-Sāda*, i, 149); Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 206; Goldziher, in *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, 114 (with further references). (I. GOLDZIHER)

iii. Logic is called *āla*, following the peripatetic view according to which it is an instrument (ὄργανον), not a part, of philosophy (cf. Goldziher, in the bibliography of ii, above; S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Epitome d. Metaphysik*, 148; al-Bīrūnī, introd. to *al-Ṣaydana* (ed. M. Meyerhof, in *Quellen u. Stud. z. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. Med.*, 1932); and MANṬIK).

For other meanings of *āla* see ḤIYAL, NAWBA.

ALA DAGH (T.), "mountain of various colours", name of various mountains. (1) In N.W. Anatolia, near Bolu. (2) In the Taurus range. (3) In E. Anatolia, near the springs of the Murād Ṣu, N. E. from Lake Wān; it served as summer headquarters for the Ilkhānids. (4) In N. E. Persia, S. of the Atrek. (5) In Central Asia, between Dzungaria and the basin of Lake Balkash. (6) Between the Issik Köl and Alma Ata. (7) In Siberia (in Russian Kuznets Mountains), N. of the Altai Mountains. The local pronunciation for the last three is Ala Taw.

ALA SHEHIR, "the motley-coloured town", town in Anatolia at the foot of the Boz Dagh (ancient Tmolus), near the Kuzu Čay. In antiquity and in Byzantine times the town, called Philadelphia after its founder, Attalus II Philadelphus, played an important role (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.). It was taken, together with the other towns of Phrygia, by Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush in 1075 or 1076, but was recaptured by the Byzantines in 1098 and served as an important base in their operations against the Saldjūḳids. According to Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), 37, the battle between the emperor Theodore Lascaris and the Saldjūḳid Kay Khusraw I, in which the latter lost his life (607/1210), was fought near the town (here called for the first time Ala Shehir), but this is not borne out by the Byzantine historians. The town was besieged by the Germiyan-oghlu Yaʿḳūb I in 1303, but was relieved by the Catalan mercenaries; as a result of repeated sieges by the Germiyan-oghlus (1307 and 1324), the town was reduced to the payment of tribute. Subsequently, the tribute was paid to the Aydin-oghlus (though the statement of the *Düstūr-nāme-yi Enweri*, that it was actually captured by the Aydin-oghlu Umur Beg in 1335, does not seem to correspond to reality). Ala Shehir was captured, the last of the free Greek cities in Asia Minor, by Bāyezīd I in 794/1391, but passed in 1402 into the possession of Tīmūr, and subsequently into that of Djunayd Beg, until it came finally under Ottoman dominion in the reign of Murād II. In Ottoman times the town did not preserve its former importance and was only the capital of a *ḳaḍā* (of the *wilāyet* of Aydin, later of Manisa). Between 1919-23 it was occupied by the Greeks. In 1890 the town had 17,000 Muslim, 4000 Greek inhabitants (Cuinet); in 1945 the town counted 8,883 inhabitants (all Muslims), the *ḳaḍā* (1,115 sq. km.) 45,792.

Bibliography: Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-empire*, Paris 1833-6, xv, 357 f., 426 f., 447 f., 446, xvi, 6 f., 184, 285, 331 f., 412 f., xvii, 253, xviii, 3, xix, 42 f., 76, 316, xx, 460 f.; Chalandon, *Alexis I. Comnène*, Paris 1900, 12, 197, 255, 265; idem, *Jean II. Comnène et Manuel Comnène*, Paris 1912, 37, 217, 305 f., 460, 501, 513; Moncada, *Expédition des Catalans* (French transl., Paris 1828), 73-84; ʿAshiḳpasha-zāde, *Taʾrikh*, Istanbul 1332, 56, 64 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārikh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 127; Mükrimin Halil, *Düsturnâme-i Enverî*, Istanbul 1929, introd., 36 ff.; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure*, 61; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Ankara 1937, 10, 28, 187 f.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 269 ff.; A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im 14. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1903, 39 f.; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, 78 ff.; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, ii, 375; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, iv, 31 f.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 571 f.; F. Sarre, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, 4 f.; *IA* s.v. Alaşehir (by B. Darkot and Mükrimin Halil Yinanç).

ʿALĀʾ AL-DAWLA [see KĀKAWAYHIDS].

ʿALĀʾ AL-DAWLA AL-SIMNĀNĪ, RUKN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM AḤMAD B. SHARAF AL-DĪN MUḤ. B. AḤMAD AL-BIYĀBĀNAKĪ, important mystic, born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 659/Nov. 1261 in Simnān (Khurāsān) of an illustrious and rich family [see SIMNĀNĪ]. When he was fifteen, he left Simnān and entered government service. Under the Īlkhān Arghūn his father became governor of Baghdād and the whole of ʿIrāḳ, his paternal uncle vizier, and his maternal uncle *ḳāḍi 'l-mamālik*. In the course of a campaign in 683/1284 against Arghūn's uncle, Simnānī experienced near Ḳazwīn a vision of the other world, and though he remained until mid-Shaʿbān 685/beg. Oct. 1286 in the service of the Īlkhān, he was then allowed to go on leave to Simnān, where he found his way, after examining his conscience, to Sunnī Orthodoxy and Ṣūfism. He performed spiritual exercises with the aid of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, until he made the acquaintance of *Akhī* Sharaf al-Dīn Saʿd Allāh, by whom he was taught a particular form of «remembering God» (*dhikr*), viz. throwing the head swiftly hither and thither; this resulted after only one night in powerful manifestations of light. Simnānī decided to join as a novice Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kasirḳī al-Isfarāʾinī, by whose command Saʿd Allāh had visited him; so in Muḥarram 686/Febr.-March 1287, instead of returning to Tabrīz, he travelled in ṣūfī dress to Baghdād, where Kasirḳī lived. He was, however, stopped in Hamadān by Arghūn's men and was carried to Sharūyāz, where Arghūn was founding the city of Sulṭāniyya (later completed by Uldjaytu). He succeeded, as a result of successful disputations with Buddhist monks (*bakhshī* < *bhikshu*), who played a great role at the court, in appeasing the Īlkhān's anger, so that he was asked to remain at court at least as a Ṣūfī. After staying, rather unwillingly, for eighty days, Simnānī escaped to Simnān, which he reached in Ramaḍān 686/Oct. 1287. Arghūn, having ascertained that he had not gone to Baghdād, left him alone. Saʿd Allāh, who had in the meantime visited Baghdād, brought for Simnānī the *khirḳa* of Kasirḳī, in whose name he entered the *khalwa* in Simnān, in Shawwāl 687/Nov.-Dec. 1288. After the dismissal of his father and the execution of his uncle (for the date see SIMNĀNĪ; ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla's own statements vacillate), he succeeded in reaching Baghdād, where for the first time he met his *shaykh* Kasirḳī personally (Ramaḍān 688/Sept. 1289). Simnānī entered the *khalwa* in the Masdjid al-Khalīfa and undertook, in obedience to an order by Kasirḳī, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. He returned to Baghdād in Muḥarram 689/Jan. 1290, entered the *khalwa* for the second time (in the Shūnīziyya), and finally returned to Simnān, where he began to instruct Ṣūfīs in the Khānḳāh-i Sakkākī. After a life of extensive educational and

literary activity he died in his monastery, Ṣūfiyābād-i Khudādād, in Simnān, on 22 Radjab 736/6 March 1336.

Simnānī was a Sunnite; he condemned the Shīʿite tendencies of Üldjaytu and praised the amīr Čūbān, who did not share them. In spite, however, of his zealous advocacy of war against unbelievers, he rejected the idea of a revolt against Shīʿite oppression and advised, with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, to show patience under oppression, though not to withhold exhortation or prayer for improvement. In the Shīʿa he appreciated the love of the Prophet's family, but deprecated their hatred of ʿĀʾisha. He adapted the Shīʿite belief in the dissappearance of the twelfth Imām to his doctrine of the *abdāl*, who according to him, was raised after his disappearance to the grade of *ḳuṭb* and then, after 19 years, died. By his ṣūfī affiliation he was a Kubrawī (Simnāni—Kasirḳī, d. 717/1317 —Aḥmad al-Djūrafānī, (Gūrpānī), d. 669/1270—Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Lālā, d. 642/1244—Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, d. 618/1221), but he also venerated, in addition to this line, other shaykhs, and more especially Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234). He also took as a model the Kubrawī Madjd al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (d. 616/1219,) whose name he sometimes inserts between Lālā and Kubrā. He was impressed by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, but advised caution. He admired also Ghazālī, but blamed in him the excess of theory over experience and the abundance, in some of his writings, of philosophical (Avicennian) ideas. Simnānī's main opponent was Ibn ʿArabī, against whose pantheistic system he kept up continuous polemics, not only in his books, but also in his correspondence with ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330). He accused Ibn ʿArabī of idolizing a verb (*fiʿl*), by his identification of Being (*wudjūd*) and God; he himself considers Being as an attribute (*ṣifa*) or accident, which, though it is eternally inherent in God, is distinct from His essence (*dhāt*). For this reason the last degree of the mystic is not *tawḥīd*, but *ʿubūdiyya*. The only possible share of man in God is the grace of inner purity (*ṣafāʾ*), by which he is enabled to reflect the higher things. To become a mirror in this sense is the aim of manhood and mysticism. Simnānī's doctrine was later elaborated by the Čishtī Aḥmad-i Sirhindī ([*q.v.*]; d. 1035/1626) who opposed this renovated doctrine, *shuhūdiyya*, to the *wudjūdiyya* of Ibn ʿArabī.

Simnānī shared with Kubrā a strongly mediumistic nature and a preference and capability for visionary experience. He had a particularly refined feeling for spiritual vibrations in his environment; out of a deep sense of the living presence of Khaḍir, he insisted on saying "the Lord" Khaḍir; and at places where he attempted to contact the spirits of the great dead (*tawadjdjuh*), he registered the slightest oscillations of experience. Like most of the Kubrawīs, in mystical training he accepted the so-called "eight conditions of Djunayd" (see Meier, *Fawāʾiḥ*, index), about which we have different statements by him. In addition to the particular *dhikr* of Kasirḳī (cf. above) he had another, viz. the recital of the formula *lā ilāha illa'llāh*, in four beats; the *lā* being drawn as it were from the navel, the *ilāha* sunk into the right side of the breast, the *illā* raised from there, and the *Allāh* thrust into the left side of the breast, the heart (cf. for the recital of this *dhikr* in two beats Nadjm al-Dīn al-Dāya, *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād*, Teheran 1312/52, 151, and for another practice, ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, in *WZKM*, 1953, 165). Simnānī also practised listening to music (*samāʿ*) and fed in his monastery passing travellers. The greater part of his possessions he left as *waḳf* for the Ṣūfīs of his persuasion; he disagreed with the view that the Ṣūfī must have no material possessions, though he demanded that each individual should give away all he had. He denounced begging and in general insisted, in the interest of humanity, upon the most intensive cultivation of the soil, another feature which connects him with Kubrā and his disciple, Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākharzī.

Simnānī aspired to a great number of disciples, hoping that there would be amongst them at least one chosen one. His most important, and for a time most beloved, disciple seems to have been ʿAlī-i Dūstī, who became teacher of ʿAlī-i Hamadānī. Names of other disciples are to be found in Iḳbāl-i Sīstānī's collections of Simnānī's apophthegmata, and thence in Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 510-24 and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, i, 251. Some of them bore the title of *akhī*.

There exists as yet no critical bibliography of Simnānī and none of his works has been published. For the works in Persian, cf. the catalogues of MSS and for those in Arabic, Brockelmann, II, 263, S II, 281 (delete *al-Wārid al-Shārid etc.* and *Tuḥfat al-Sālikīn*). *Mashāriʿ Abwāb al-Ḳuds*, *al-ʿUrwa li-Ahl al-Khalwa* and *Ṣafwat al-ʿUrwa* belong together as different versions of the same work and can be exactly dated: the first 711/1311 (MS Shehīd ʿAlī 1378, not 1328), the second Ramaḍān 720/Oct. 1320-23 Muḥarram 721/22 Febr. 1321, and the last Djumādā II 728/April 1328-18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 728/24 Oct. 1328. Some of the surviving MSS are excellent; MS ʿAshīr I 482 of the *ʿUrwa* reproduces the autograph, Lāleli 1432 of the *Ṣafwa* is dated Ṣūfiyābād 733/1333 and was thus written in the lifetime and perhaps under the eyes of the author). The book *Faḍl al-Sharīʿa* (MS Fayḍ Allāh 2135, not 2133) should probably be called more correctly *Faḍl al-Ṭarīḳa*; it is once quoted by Simnānī himself, in accordance with the sub-title of part i, as *Tabyīn al-Maḳāmāt wa-Taʿyīn al-Daradjāt* and dates from 712/1312-3. The treatise *Mā lā budd fī 'l-Dīn* is in Persian and the treatise on Simnani's ṣūfī affiliation, also in Persian (MS Paris 159, 10) is called not *Tadhakkur*, but *Tadhkirat al-Mashāyikh*. Of great importance for Simnānī's biography and mystical teaching is the collection of his sayings, made by his disciple Iḳbāl b. Sābiḳ-i Sīstānī and preserved in several MSS under the titles of *Čihil Madjlis*, or *Malfūẓāt-i Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla-yi Simnānī*, etc. On this is based the greater part of Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 504-15.

Bibliography: Autobiography in *Mashāriʿ*, *ʿUrwa*, *Ṣafwa*; Iḳbāl-i Sīstāni and Djāmī, see above; Nūr al-Dīn Djaʿfar-i Badakhshī, *Khulāṣat al-Maḳāmāt* (MS Berlin, in Pertsch no. 6, 6; MS Oxford, in Ethe, no. 1264); Dawlatshāh, 251-2; ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn-i Wāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, lith. Lucknow 1905, 35 (correspondence with ʿAlī-i Rāmītanī); ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawātī, *Ridjāl Kitāb Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1324, 29-30; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿĀrifīn*, Teheran 1316, 178; and other biographical collections; W. Ivanow, in *JASB*, 1923, 299-303; Maulavi Abdul Hamid, *Cat. of the Arab. and Pers. MSS in the Or. Publ. Libr. at Bankipore*, xiii, no. 905; Mir Valiuddin, in *IC*, 1951, 43-51; F. Meier, in *Isl.*, 1937, 14 f.; idem, *Die Fawāʾiḥ al-ǵamāl des Naǵm ad-dīn al-Kubrā*, Mainz 1956, index.

(F. MEIER)

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN [see GHŪRIDS, KHWĀRIZMSHĀH, SALDJŪḲS].

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN BEG (commonly **ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN PAS̲H̲A**), son of ʿOt̲h̲mān, the founder of the Ottoman state. His figure remains enigmatic, owing to the absence of reliable documents and the tendentious, and rather legendary, character of the early Ottoman chronicles—the same circumstances which are the cause of so many uncertainties in early Ottoman history. In some sources he is called Erden ʿAlī (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar), or ʿAlī, According to the historians he and Ork̲h̲an were born of the same mother, Māl K̲h̲ātūn, daughter of the *ak̲h̲ī* Edebali; according to a document of 724/1324, however, Māl K̲h̲ātūn was the daughter of a certain ʿOmar Bey—thus there seems to be some error. There are conflicting statements as to whether he was a younger, or an older, brother of Ork̲h̲an.

The historians relate that after the death of ʿOt̲h̲mān, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (who is said to have stayed during his father's lifetime with Edebali in Biled̲j̲ik) refused the offer made by Ork̲h̲an to assume the direction of the affairs of the state and retired to his property situated in Kotra (or Kudra) in the district of Kete, between Brusa and Mik̲h̲alič. Ḥ. Ḥüsām al-Dīn has put forward the suggestion that in reality the two brothers were rivals for the throne and that this fact was purposely distorted in the historical tradition. (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar say: "Erden ʿAlī succeeded his father".)

According to tradition ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn for some time occupied the post of vizier and commander-in-chief; in effect, in a *waḳfiyya* by him, dated 733/1333, he bears titles which befit a military position. Ḥ. Ḥüsām al-Dīn holds that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, while he was commander-in-chief, was never a vizier, but that his figure was conflated with that of a certain ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pas̲h̲a, who was in fact ʿOt̲h̲mān's and Ork̲h̲an's vizier. (He is mentioned in a *waḳfiyya* of Asporḍ̲j̲e K̲h̲ātūn, Ork̲h̲an's wife, dated 723/1323.)

The establishment of various Ottoman institutions are ascribed to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn: the choice of the coniform cap of white felt as official costume and the organization, together with D̲j̲enderli-zāde Ḳara K̲h̲alīl, of Ottoman infantry (*yaya*). The responsibility for the introduction of an Ottoman coinage is also credited to him by late historians. [Cf. ORK̲H̲AN.]

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn died about 1333; the various accounts concerning the circumstances of his death in late authors (such as Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲i and Belīg̲h̲) are not worthy of credit. His tomb is in ʿOt̲h̲mān's mausoleum in Brusa.

Descendants of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn are mentioned in the latter half of the 15th century by Nes̲h̲rī and ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳpas̲h̲a-zāde, in the 16th century in land-cadasters, in connection with *waḳfs* established by their ancestor.—ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn founded a *tekke* in the Kükürtli quarter of Brusa and two mosques in the fortress of Kaplid̲j̲a.

Bibliography: ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳpas̲h̲a-zāde, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1332, 21, 36 ff.; Nes̲h̲rī (Taeschner), index; Urud̲j̲, *Tawarik̲h̲-i Āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān* (Babinger), 5 ff.; *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān* (Giese); Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1341, 27 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tād̲j̲ al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1279, i, 21 ff.; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Ak̲h̲bār*, v, 42; Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1297, 18 f.; Muḥammad Zaʿīm, *Taʾrīk̲h̲* (cf. *TOEM*, ii, 436-45); Hammer-Purgstall, index; Ḥüseyn Ḥüsām al-Dīn, *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bey*, *TOEM*, xiv, 307 ff., 380 ff., xv, 128 ff., 200 ff. (with excerpts from unpublished sources); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Gazi Orhan Bey vakfiyesi* (724), *Bell.*, 1941, 276 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (by I. H. Uzunçarşılı). (S. M. STERN)

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. HASAN [see ALAMŪT].

ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD K̲H̲ALD̲J̲Ī [see DIHLĪ, SULTANATE OF].

ĀLABA WA 'L-ḲILĀʿ, "Alava and the forts", a geographical expression used in the 2nd 3rd/8th-9th centuries by Arab chroniclers to denote that part of Christian Spain which was most exposed to the attacks of summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) sent from Cordova by the Umayyad *amīrs*. The term Ālaba was used more especially to denote the northern part of the Iberian peninsula beyond the left bank of the upper valley of the Ebro. This region was bounded on the west by the territories of Bureba and Castilla la Vieja ("Old Castile" = al Ḳilāʿ), which stretched from the left bank of the Ebro, opposite the Pancorbo pass as far as the outskirts of the present town of Santander. Alava is to-day the name of a Spanish province, the capital of which is the modern town of Vitoria.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp Mus.*, i, 143 n. 1. See also AL-ANDALUS, i. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ALADDIN [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA].

ALAD̲J̲A (T.; originally a diminutive of *ala* = spotted, variegated) = chintz with coloured stripes (cp. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Alleja, 8 and 756); it is also found in geographical names (see for example the next article).

ALAD̲J̲A DAG̲H̲, "mountain of various colours" a name often employed for mountains in Turkish speaking countries; it is the name e.g. (1) of a mountain S. W. of Ḳonya; (2) a mountain, constituting a spur of the Ḳara Dag̲h̲ in the S. E. part of Ḳarṣ, near which the Russians defeated the Turks on 16 Oct. 1877.

ALAD̲J̲A ḤIṢĀR, "the motley-coloured fortress", the Turkish name of the town of Krushevats, on the south side of the Western Morava. The town was the capital of Serbia under Lazar (who assembled there his army to march against the Turks, and lose his empire, at Kosovo, in 1389) and his son Stephan. It was occupied by the Turks in 1428, after the accession of George Brankovits, who made Semendria his capital. The town played a role in the Serbian wars and Muḥammad II established there a gunfoundry. Alad̲j̲a Ḥiṣār was the capital of a *sand̲j̲aḳ* in the *eyālet* of Rūm-eli [*q.v.*]. The Austrians occupied the town for a short while in 1737; a second occupation lasted from 1789 to 1791, when the town was restored to Turkey by the treaty of Sistovo. It was occupied from 1806 to 1813 by the Serbian insurgents of Ḳara George; in 1833 it was ceded to the autonomous principality of Serbia as one of the "six districts" (cf. G. Gravier, *Les frontières historiques de la Serbie*, Paris 1919, 67 ff.); the small garrison of the citadel, however, had to be starved into surrender.

Bibliography: C. Jireček, *Staat u. Gesellschaft im mittelalt. Serbien*, iv (*Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, 1919), index; idem, *Gesch. d. Serben*, Gotha 1918, 186, 191, 202, 212; B. de la Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremere* (Schéfer), 205; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, 146, 165, 385; Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 584; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, transl. J. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 146; A. Boué, *Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1840, ii, 25, 395, iii, 203-4, 267, iv, 287; idem, *Recueil d'Itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, i, 176 ff.; R. M. Ilić, *Kruševać*, 1908. (S. M. STERN)

ʿALĀʾIYYA [see ALANYA].

ʿALĀḲA [see NISBA].

ʿALAM, plural *aʿlām* (A), i. "signpost, flag", used in the latter sense concurrently with the Arabic *liwāʾ*, *rāya*; the Persian *band*, *dirafsh*; and the Turkish *bayraḳ* = *liwāʾ*, *sandjaḳ*: see SANDJAḲ, and compare the Latin *signa*.

It is known that when, before the advent of Islām, the Ḳuraysh waged war on another tribe, they received from the hands of Ḳuṣayy the *liwāʾ*, a piece of white cloth which Ḳuṣayy himself had attached to a lance (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 237-8). During Muḥammad's lifetime, flags were called indifferently *liwāʾ* or *rāya*, less commonly *ʿalam*. Tradition, however, says that the flag (*ʿalam*) of the Prophet was called *ʿuḳāb*. Other traditions contrast the *rāya*, the Prophet's black flag, with his *liwāʾ*, which was white (*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, iv, 18, no. 346; 45, no. 995). In another tradition the proposal is made to Muḥammad that the faithful should be called to prayer by the raising of a *rāya*, but he will not consent to this method of summoning them (ibid., iv, 264, no. 5461). In yet other traditions, however, *liwāʾ* and *rāya* appear to be synonymous (ibid., v, 268, no. 5357; 269, no. 15358). The use of the *rāya* does not seem to have been confined exclusively to Muslims, since, at Badr, Ṭalḥa carried the *rāya* of the idolaters (ibid., 269, no. 5365).

Later, flags played an important part in Islām. The Umayyads adopted white, the ʿAbbāsids black, and the Shīʿites green. Representations of flags occur frequently on various objects, especially in miniatures. One of the oldest representations is that shown on a Persian lustre-ware plate, which unquestionably dates from the 10th century (*Survey*, pl. 577). For other later drawings of flags, see Kratchkowskaya in *Ars Islamica*, iv, 468-9. Compare also the Moorish flag of the 14th century preserved in Toledo cathedral (Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, pl. 149). Banners and standards were also used in Egypt and Syria during the Mamlūk period (see Leo A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, s.v. *Banners*; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 23 ff.: *khizānat al-bunūd*). There may at this period have been some differentiation in the use of the various words meaning "flag".

In epigraphy, an inscription of Ḳāytbāy balances the words *sayf* and *ḳalam* with *band* and *ʿalam*, which seems to suggest that the first term denotes a military standard, the second a religious flag (see J. David-Weill, *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire, Bois à épigraphes depuis l'époque mamlouke*, 57-8; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Faḍl Allāh, Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, XLVD-LVI and 26). Numerous flags with religious inscriptions are preserved in museums; they usually date from the 17th or 18th century and the majority derive from the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. (Cf., among others, a Turkish flag: C. J. Lamm, *Malmö Musei Vanners*, Arsbok 1940; *En Turkish Fana*, Malmö 1940.) Some flags are still used in processions conducted by the religious orders.

For Turkish standards see ṬUGH, SANDJAḲ. For the emblem of the crescent see HILĀL, for that of the lion and the sun, SHĪR U-KHŪRSHĪD. For heraldic symbols, see SHIʿĀR, TAMGHA.

Bibliography: In addition to the references already mentioned: Freytag, *Einleitung*, 262 ff.; Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*², 126; Mez, *Renaissance*, 130-1; G. van Vloten, *De opkomst der Abbasiden*, 137 ff.; idem, *Les drapeaux en usage à la fête de Huçein à Téhéran*, *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, 1892, 109 ff.; Herklots, *On the customs of the Moosulmans of India*, 176 ff.; A. Sakisian, in *Syria*, 1941, 66-80; Phyllis Ackerman, in A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2766-82.

(J. DAVID-WEILL)

ii. Proper noun, see ISM.

ʿĀLAM (A., pl. *ʿālamūn*, *ʿawālim*), world.

1. The word is found as early as the Ḳurʾān, where in borrowed formulae we have references to the *rabb al-ʿālamīn* and the seven *samawāt*.

Allāh is its lord and creator who has created it for man as a sign of his omnipotence. This transitory world (*dunyā*) is of little value—"not worth the wing of a midge" is the traditional expression—in comparison with the next (*ākhira*). We are told very little about the structure of the world [cf. the article KHALḲ]; the subjects of interest, in the Ḳurʾān as well as in Tradition, are God, the spiritual world and man.

This became altered as Islam took over the inheritance of Hellenistic eclecticism and especially through the translation of Indian and Greek works on science and philosophy. The huge figures with which the Hindus operated were, it is true, ridiculed, nor were the fables of the ancient Greeks about an endless plurality of worlds beside or in succession to one another, believed nor, from the theological point of view at least, was the belief in the eternity of the world accepted; on the whole however, the picture of the world as given by Greek science was accepted. The teaching of Plato and Aristotle that there is only one universe was naturally easy to reconcile with the monotheism of Islam; cf. *Ḳurʾān*, xxi, 22: "If there were in these two worlds gods in addition to Allāh, both (heaven and earth) would perish".

On the scientific development of the cosmogonic teaching of Aristotle and Ptolemy in Islām, see the articles NUDJŪM (Astronomy and Astrology) and the article Sun, Moon and Stars in Hastings, *Encycl., of Rel. and Ethics* (by C. A. Nallino). Here we must confine ourselves to the speculations of the theologians and philosophers regarding the origin and nature of the world in relation to the existence of God and man. They are mainly based on Plato's *Timaeus* or Aristotle's Περὶ οὐρανοῦ and Book Λ of his *Metaphysics* and also on the commentaries of Simplicius and Johannes Philoponus. Of the greatest importance for the Islamic elaboration of the Greek philosophy we have the neo-Platonic "Theology of Aristotle" and to some extent the tradition of Christian dogmatics. In reference to Aristotle's work Περὶ οὐρανοῦ ("On the Universe"), it should be noted that according to Hellenistic tradition the title of the Arabic tradition is *fi 'l-Samāʾ wa 'l-ʿĀlam* ("On Heaven and the World"). August Müller (*Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle 1873, 51) therefore suggested that the Arab translators of the Aristotelian work had added to it the Περὶ κόσμου which is three hundred years later and influenced by the Stoics. But so far no translation of this work ascribed to Aristotle has been found.

All Muslim thinkers asserted that God is the author of the world although they used different expressions for the coming into existence of the world in distinction to the existence of God: creation out of nothing, emanation (*fayḍ*) or manifestation (*tadjallī*). The image most used, whether emanation or manifestation was talked of, was that of light (*nūr*) which disseminates itself timelessly.

In general the theologian who adhered to tradition said that the reason for the world was the all-powerful will of God. Mutʿazilī thinkers

laid more emphasis on the benevolent wisdom of the Creator, who orders everything well for the good of his servants. Mystics talked a great deal about the overflow of divine love; finally the philosophers in the narrower sense, as well as a few speculative theologians, regarded the world as the product of pure thought, in itself accidental, but necessary on God's part.

The world forms a whole, a unity in plurality. Even the atomist theologians, who denied any interconnection in nature, were of the opinion that no part of the world but only the whole could be destroyed at once by an act or an omission of God.

The world is a plurality. The traditional distinctions between heaven and earth or between this world and the next continued. But Hellenistic mediatorial theories complicated this originally simple universe. From Plato came the distinction between the visible world of beings (κόσμος ὁρατός) and the spiritual intelligible world (κόσμος νοητός). Aristotle rather emphasised the distinction between our earthly world of origin and decline (*ʿālam al-kawn wa 'l-fasād*) and the world of the heavenly spheres. The world of heaven controlled by exalted spirits or souls, consisting of one element entirely, the ether, and provided from eternity with the most beautiful motion revolving in a circle, is far more perfect than the earthly world with its four elementary circles and motions of various kinds Then came the Stoics who brought God and the world together and worked out a theodicy. Finally came the Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists, who took over a great deal from Aristotle and the Stoics, but with Plato, and much more decidedly than he, transferred the central point into the world of God and of pure spiritual existence.

This is the starting point of the cosmological speculations of the Muslim thinkers just as it was for the Gnosis and the doctrine of the Eastern Christian church. Since God is the highest being and everything in the most exalted sense, so also is He the first world. The mystics in Islam (cf. al-Djīlī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, ch. 1 ff. and Horten, *Das philosophische System von Schirázi*, Strassburg 1913, 36, 276 f.) in so far as they were influenced by Christian dogmatics, ultimately talked of five worlds: 1. the world of the divine being; 2. of His names; 3. of His qualities; 4. of His actions; 5. of His works. Others established mediation between God and the world by triads and tetrads. Emphasis on three qualities of God was very common: power, knowledge, and life (in speculation these were no doubt interpreted as the power of the Creator, the knowledge of the *ʿaḳl* and the life of the soul). God's spheres of activity in the world were determined according to his qualities. When for example al-Ghazālī speaks of three worlds (*ʿālam al-mulk, al-malakūt, al-djabarūt*), this looks like a triad for the spheres of the Creator's power (for Ghazālī's immediate sources see Wensinck (*Bibl.*)).

To distinguish three or four worlds the philosophers as a rule used the neo-Platonic terminology from the "Theology of Aristotle": the world of the mind (*ʿaḳl*), of the soul (*nafs*) and of nature (*ṭabīʿa*). The soul of man is there the centre of interest which, although associated with a mortal body, remains, in so far as it is intelligent, always associated with the highest world, its origin and the goal of its longing, through the mediation of the world soul and the world intelligence. From the point of view of this soul, only two worlds are as a rule mentioned: the physical and the spiritual, the lower and the upper world. If it is desired to define more closely the sphere ruled by the soul it is called the world of the heavenly spheres and its site (*ufḳ*) is transferred to the sphere of the fixed stars. The world of pure intellectual being has a superheavenly site (*al-ufḳ al-aʿlā*) and nature has its special sphere of operation in the sub-lunary world.

It is not possible here to go into the modifications of this cosmogony in the different philosophers. The main object in all cases is to indicate the different stages of being and parallel with them the stages of cognition. The world is a man on a large scale and man a little world. Now man is made up of a natural body, a conceiving soul and a pure intelligence. The sub-lunary world is therefore also called the world of sensual perception (*shahāda, ḥiss*); the world of the heavenly spheres that of allegorical conception (*wahm, takhayyul*), if we assume, e.g. with Ibn Sīna that the souls of the spheres possess a power of imagining (Ibn Rushd denies this); and the super-heavenly world that of pure thought or of intellectual observation (*ʿaḳl, naẓar* etc.).

Of the great deal that could still be said let us only emphasise one thing in conclusion, that is the optimism of the philosophers, who with the Stoics regard this beautiful world as the best possible and with Plato and Aristotle they make it last for ever. Al-Fārābī, for example ("Model-State", Arab. text, ed. Dieterici, 17), sees in the general order of the universe God's goodness and justice. According to the general philosophical view, evil and wickedness are only imperfections without real existence. Even the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, although they call the physical world a hell for fools and a purgatory for the wise, are quite aware of the amenities of this world and appreciate the splendid life of its kings. The mystics also can be optimistic: everything comes from God and returns to Him. All thus endeavour to regard the relatively better as allied to the absolutely good.

Bibliography: in the text, cf. also: D. B. Macdonald, *The Life of al-Ghazzālī*, in *JAOS*, 1899, esp. 116 ff.; Tj. de Boer, *The Moslem Doctrines of Creation*, *Proceed. of the 6th Internat. Congr. of Philosophy*, New York 1927, 597 ff.; *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, ed. S. v. d. Bergh, Leyden 1924, chap. iv.; A. J. Wensinck, *On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism* (in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, vol. lxxv., ser. A, no. 6, 1933). (Tj. de Boer)

2. ʿĀlam al-Djabarūt, ʿĀlam al-Malakūt, ʿĀlam al-Mithāl. *ʿĀlam*, "world", is used here in the gnostic sense of "sphere of existence". The idea is a common one, and is derived from a dual stream of influences—Plotinian and Iranian: Ismaʿīlī traditions, the Hellenistic philosophers (*falāsifa*), notably al-Fārābī, and the ṣūfī schools. Introduced by the Ṣūfīs of the early centuries of Islam, it became one of the themes of al-Ghazzālī, and was adapted and developped by the "master of the *ishrāḳ*" and his school. Later, it was widely adopted by the ṣūfīs of the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*.

Platonist and Neoplatonist stream of influence: the world of sensual perception: *ʿālam al-mulk*, *ʿālam al-khalḳ*, is distinguished from the world of the mind or the world of ideas (*maʿānī, muthul*). The latter is the *ʿālam al-mithāl* (or *muthul*), translated by Henry Corbin as "world of archetypal images".

Oriental gnostic stream of influence: opposed to the *ʿālam al-mulk* are the worlds of the *malakūt* and

the *dj̲abarūt* (Aramaic terms); and, transcending them both, the world of the *lāhūt*.

Lāhūt (antonym of *nāsūt*, "humanity"): the incommunicable world of the divine essence—a word occurring frequently in Ḥallād̲j̲ian terminology. In general: the world of absolute divine transcendence, and therefore absolutely superior to all other "spheres of existence". For some supporters of Monist tendencies, *malākūt* and *dj̲abarūt* are, as it were, assumed by *lāhūt*; this is then the *ʿālam al-g̲h̲ayb*, the world of Mystery (uncreated).

ʿĀlam al-mulk, a term of Ḳurʾānic origin, "the world of kingship" (synonyms: *ʿālam al-k̲h̲alḳ*, *ʿālam al-s̲h̲ahāda*, the latter expression being frequently used by al-G̲h̲azzālī): it is the world of becoming, the world here below.

ʿĀlam al-malakūt, similarly of Ḳurʾānic origin, (cf. *Ḳurʾān*, vi, 75; vii, 185; xxiii, 88; xxvi, 83): "the world of Kingdom, of Sovereignty", of which the *ʿālam al-mulk* is the contingent reflection. It is the world of immutable spiritual truths (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*), and hence of the angelic beings, to which are added the *entia* of Islamic tradition, the Preserved Table, the Pen, and the Scales (see AL-WAʿD WAʾL-WAʿĪD), and often also the Ḳurʾān. The spiritual reality (*rūḥ*) which is in man belongs to it. So too do the separated intellects, and hence the human *ʿaḳl* which partakes of them. Al-Dj̲urdj̲ānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 246) includes the *nufūs* (souls) which are sometimes assigned to the *ʿālam al-dj̲abarūt*. Common synonyms: *ʿālam al-g̲h̲ayb*, *ʿālam al-amr*. This "world of Sovereignty" recalls the "City of the Angels" of Gregory of Nyssa.

ʿĀlam al-dj̲abarūt, a term originating in Tradition, occurring in various *ḥadīt̲h̲* (see A. J. Wensinck, *La pensée de G̲h̲azzālī*, 83 n. 3): "the world of (divine) Omnipotence". In general, the place of *barzak̲h̲*, an "intermediate" world (some texts, however, are inclined to put this last near to the *malakūt*). To it belong, according to al-G̲h̲azzālī, the impressionable and imaginative faculties of the human soul. Sometimes, however, as is pointed out by al-Dj̲urdj̲ānī, following Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 77), *dj̲abarūt* is the world of the divine Names and Attributes. Al-Kās̲h̲ānī assigns to it *ḳaḍāʾ* (decree of divine predestination); the Preserved Table has also been assigned to it.

The mutual inter-relation of these various "worlds". (1) The *ʿālam al-mit̲h̲āl* can coincide either with the *malakūt*, or with the *dj̲abarūt*, or with both together. It is in fact stated (al-G̲h̲azzālī) that the world of sensual perception is the reflection, the image, the copy of the *ʿālam al-malakūt*: cf. the "shadows" of the cave of Plato. In so far as the *ʿālam al-mit̲h̲āl* denotes the idea of archetypal images, it also recalls the *dj̲abarūt* and the *barzak̲h̲*. To sum up: *malakūt* is the world of pure self-existent *intelligibilia*; *dj̲abarūt*, the world of the archetypal images and symbols of the contingent world, evoking the idea of "transcendental imagination", in Heidegger's acceptance. According to the Avicennan cosmogony, the active intellects belong to *malakūt*, the celestial souls to *dj̲abarūt*.

(2) Whether this hierarchy of "worlds" is considered as real or as a privileged myth, the *falāsifa*, al-G̲h̲azzālī, and the *is̲h̲rāḳiyyūn* teach, from the standpoint peculiar to each school, how man can elevate himself from the *ʿālam al-mulk* to the two superior worlds. This is the *kas̲h̲f* ("unveiling") or *mukās̲h̲afa*. Al-G̲h̲azzālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, iii, 17-19) tells us that the heart (*ḳalb*) has "two doors", the one open towards the world of the *malakūt*, the other towards the world of the *mulk* or *s̲h̲ahāda*. Further, referring to the relationship of the macrocosm-microcosm, the same author sees in man—body, psychic faculties, and spirit—a reflection of the three worlds—*mulk*, *dj̲abarūt* and *malakūt*. It can happen, however, that the relationship between the two worlds is reversed. The following summary classification can be made: the world of *amr* is opposed to the (perceptible) world of *k̲h̲alḳ*, and the *amr* combines *dj̲abarūt*, *malakūt*, and *mit̲h̲āl*.

(3) Some ambiguity exists regarding the mutual relation between *malakūt* and *dj̲abarūt*: (a) the thesis of al-G̲h̲azzālī (cf. above): *malakūt*, the world of intelligible realities to which belong the Angels, "light-substances" (cf. the G̲h̲azzālian text of the *Mis̲h̲kāt al-Anwār*) is practically synonymous with *ʿālam al-amr*, the world of Command, of the divine Logos uncreated. The *dj̲abarūt* becomes therefore a refraction of the light emanating from this higher world into an intermediate world of archetypal images, and is thence accessible to the insight of a prophet or a gnostic (*ʿārif*), who borrows from it symbols for the instruction of the people. In the *Iḥyāʾ*, al-G̲h̲azzālī compares the journey through the *ʿālam al-mulk* to the progress of man on earth; that through the *ʿālam al-dj̲abarūt* to a voyage on a ship; that through the *ʿālam al-malakūt* to the progress of a man with the power to walk directly on the waters. Clearly, therefore, the *dj̲abarūt* is the "intermediate" world, "in contact with both the others". It "can be manifested in the visible world, although the eternal Power has linked it to the world of the *malakūt*", says al-G̲h̲azzālī in the *Imlāʾ*. The superiority of the *malakūt* is also affirmed by Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of Alexandria, etc. (b) In other texts, particularly, it seems, those representing the Ṣūfī line of thought of the *waḥdat al-wudj̲ūd* [see ALLĀH], which itself had its origin in a Plotino-gnostic tradition, superiority is accorded to the *dj̲abarūt*. Thus in the Turkish dictionary *Maʿrifet-nāme* (cf. Carra de Vaux, in *Bibl.*) the following hierarchy in descending order is given: (1) *ʿars̲h̲* (divine Throne or Tabernacle), (2) *dj̲abarūt*, (3) *kursī* (divine Seat), (4) *malakūt*, (5) human worlds, including Paradise. The (according to W. Montgomery-Watt, apocryphal) G̲h̲azzālian text *al-Durra al-Fāk̲h̲ira* states: the race of Adam, and the animals, belong to the world of the *mulk*; the angels and the *dj̲inn* to the world of the *malakūt*; the "elect among the angels" to the world of the *dj̲abarūt* (cf. Wensinck, op. cit., 99). Or again: the Ḳurʾān (uncreated), the substantial Word of God, "exists personally" in the *dj̲abarūt*, while *islām* (*ṣalāt*, *ṣawm*, *ṣabr*) belongs to the *malakūt*.

Al-Suhrawardī, "master of the *is̲h̲rāḳ*", brings together in the same passage (*Ḥikmat al-Is̲h̲rāḳ*, ed. Corbin, 156-7) the "light which permeates the world of the *dj̲abarūt* and the entities of the *malakūt*". Other passages from the same work sometimes treat of the *dj̲abarūt*, sometimes of the "victorial lights of the *malakūt*", both worlds being the hierarchized places of archangelic or intelligible irradiations (*is̲h̲rāḳāt*).

The mutual inter-relation between the suprasensory worlds can thus vary. Each case where the words are mentioned must be considered in its context, while the indications derived from the etymology can serve as a orientation.

Bibliography: Numerous texts by al-G̲h̲azzālī, among others, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, i, 107, iii, 17-19, iv, 20, 212 ff., etc.; *Imlāʾ* (in margin of the *Iḥyāʾ*, with inversion of texts 168-71 and 135-41), in *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 49, 170-1, 135, etc. See also *Ḳisṭās*, *Arbaʿin*, *Mis̲h̲kāt*, *Durra*, etc.; Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of

Alexandria, *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ*, Cairo, n. d., 5-6; Suhrawardī, *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques*, ed. H. Corbin, ii, Teheran-Paris, 1952; *al-Muthul al-ʿAḳliyya al-Aflāṭūniyya*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1947. (On the concept of *mithāl*, see the texts of Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and others.) The *Rasāʾil* of Ibn ʿArabī, Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948, still remain to be analyzed.—Carra de Vaux, *La Philosophie illuminative d'après Suhrawerdi Meqtoul*, *JA*, 1902, 78; idem, *Fragments d'eschatologie musulmane*, Brussels 1895, 27 ff. (with an explanation of the figure in the *Maʿrifet-nāme*); S. Guyard, *Traité du décret et de l'arrêt divins par le Dr. Soufi Abd er-Razzaq*, 1879, 3-4 (text); A. J. Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazzālī*, Paris 1940, chap. iii; idem, *On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism*, *Mede. Ak. v. Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, 75, A, 7; M. Smith, *al-Ghazzālī the Mystic*, London 1944, passim; Henry Corbin, *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire*, Teheran-Paris 1954, i, 34 ff. (Ibn Sīnā's idea of *mithāl*). (L. Gardet)

AL-AʿLAM AL-**SHANTAMARĪ** [see AL-SHANTAMARĪ].

ʿALĀMA, mark of ratification or initialling used in the Muslim west, from the time of the Muʾminid dynasty, on all official chancery documents. This *ʿalāma*, in principle inscribed by the sovereign's own hand in the space provided for the purpose at the head of the document, beneath the *basmala*, consisted of a doxology, which varied under the different dynasties: *al-ḥamdu li'llāh*, under the Muʾminids and Saʿdids; *al-ḥamdu li'llāh wa 'l-shukru li'llāh*, under the Ḥafṣids; *lā ghāliba illa'llāh* under the Naṣrids of Granada. The *ʿalāma* was gradually replaced by illegible arabesque initials, and supplanted, in modern times, by the seal in indelible ink. At the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the chronicler Abu 'l-Walīd b. al-Aḥmar devoted a short treatise, *Mustawḍaʿ al-ʿAlāma*, to the formula of ratification (cf. *Hespéris*, 1934, 200).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, Paris 1942, 17-9; the same, *Arabica occidentalia*, v (in *Arabica*, ii, 1955, 277; on the *ʿalāma* of the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād, al-Mustaẓhir bi-llāh al-Qāhir bi-llāh); H. de Castries, *Les signes de validation des Chérifs saadiens*, *Hespéris*, 1921, 231 ff. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

ALAMAK [see NUDJŪM].

ALAMBIC [see AL-ANBĪḲ].

ʿĀLAMGĪR [see AWRANGZĪB].

AL-**ʿALAMĪ**, the name of an old Jerusalem family, the *nisba* being to one ʿAlam al-Dīn Sulaymān (d. 790/1388). The family traces its descent to Ibn Mashīsh and may have been one of the many Maghribī families which immigrated to Jerusalem in the 14th century, though Mudjīr al-Dīn hints (ii, 616) that it was of Turcoman origin. Two sons of ʿAlam al-Dīn: Mūsa (d. 802/1399) and ʿUmar (d. 806/1403), succeeded one another as governors of the city (*nāʾib al-salṭana*), and keepers of the sacred places of Jerusalem and Hebron (*nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*), and at least three other members of the family became chiefs of police (*amīr ḥādjib*) before this post was merged into the governorship by al-Ashraf Īnāl about 857/1453. Muḥammad al-ʿAlamī (d. Jerusalem 1038/1628), for whose works see Brockelmann, S II, 470, was one of the more famous ṣūfī saints of his day in Syria. He conceived the plan of building a mosque near the site of the Place of Ascension on the Mt. of Olives, which the Christians of Jerusalem at first thwarted by appealing to Constantinople. But Shaykh Muḥammad enlisted the support of Shaykh Asʿad b. Ḥasan, the *mufti* of Constantinople (al-Muḥibbī, i, 396), after whom the building, when completed, in 1025/1616 was called al-Asʿadiyya, and where Muḥammad was later buried. Muḥammad's teaching was carried on by his nephew Ṣalāḥ (d. 1055/1645), who also became Shādhilī *khalifa* in Jerusalem. Arab travellers to the city in the 18th century mention several ʿAlamīs, chiefly as lecturers at the Aḳṣā Mosque and Ḥanafī *muftīs*. Early in the present century the Alamīs re-entered administrative life with Fayḍ Allāh (who was also the author of the Concordance of the Ḳurʾān, *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, Cairo 1927, 1955) and his son, Mūsā (still alive).

Bibliography: Mudjīr al-Dīn, *Uns*, ii, 506, 609; Muḥibbī, index; Murādī, i, 49, 71, 116, ii, 330, iii, 88, iv 218; Ḥusaynī, *Tarādjim Ahl al-Ḳuds*; Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaḍra al-Unsiyya* (both MSS in writer's possession); Kirk, *The Middle East 1945-1950*, London 1954, 314-5. (W. A. S. Khalidi)

AL-**ʿALAMĪ**, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib, Moroccan poet and man of letters belonging to the branch of the Shurafāʾ ʿAlamiyyūn (or descendants of the Moroccan saint ʿAbd al-Salam b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*], who is buried among the Djebāla, in Djabal al-ʿAlam, north Morocco). Born and educated at Fās, he lived for a while at Miknās, at the court of Mawlāy Ismaʿīl, and died at Cairo, on his way to Arabia to perform the pilgrimage, in 1134 or 1135/1721-23. He has left a work, which is at once an anthology of poetry and a compilation on certain technical subjects, in which there is much information on Moroccan literary life at the beginning of the 12th/18th century; this work, entitled *al-Anīs al-Muṭrib fī-man laḳītuhū min Udabāʾ al-Maghrib*, was lithographed at Fās in 1315 A. H.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 295-97 (and references quoted); Brockelmann, S II, 684; J. Berque, *La littérature marocaine et l'Orient au XVIIIe siècle*, *Arabica*, 1955, 311-2. (L. Lévi-Provençal)

ALAMŪT. (i) The fortress; (ii) the dynasty and state.

(I) THE FORTRESS.

The ruins of the fortress of Alamūt are situated on the summit of a lofty and almost inaccessible rock in the heart of the Alburz mountains two days's march north-north-east of Ḳazwīn. According to Ibn al-Athīr (x, 131), an eagle indicated the site to a Daylamite king, who built a castle there, hence the derivation of Alamūt from *āluh*, "eagle" and *āmū(kh)t*, "teaching". In 246/860 the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan al-Dāʿi ila'l-Ḥaḳḳ rebuilt the castle. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, the founder of the Assassins, seized Alamūt in 483/1090 and made it the headquarters of the Order. The Mongols took Alamūt in 654/1257 but the Assassins regained it in 673/1275, only to lose it finally soon afterwards. In Ṣafawid times, Alamūt was used as a state prison or "castle of oblivion". Remains of the walls and buildings are still to be seen.

Bibliography: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, i, 517-27; Le Strange, 220-1; Col. Monteith, *Journal of a Tour through Azerdbijan and the Shores of the Caspian*, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, iii; J. Shiel, *Itinerary from Teheran to Alamut and Khurrem Abad in May*, 1837, ibid., viii; L. Lockhart, *Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ and the Assassins*, *BSOS*, v, 675-96; W. Ivanow (who is doubtful

regarding the identification of Alamūt), *Some Ismaili Strongholds in Persia*, *IC*, xii, 382-92; F. Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins*, London 1934. (L. Lockhart)

(ii) THE DYNASTY.

Alamūt was the center of a Shīʿite state between 483/1090 and 654/1256 with territories scattered unevenly from Syria to eastern Iran, ruled by the head of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī [*q.v.*] sect, sometimes called the Assassins.

The state grew out of an attempt by the Ismāʿīlīs of Iran to break the power of the Sunnite Saldjūḳs on behalf of the Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt. Their revolt began in the last years of Malikshāh's reign, spreading especially during the troubled time of Barkiyāruḳ; Ismāʿīlīs seized strongholds in Ḳuhistān, Ḳūmis, Fārs, al-Djazīra, Syria, and elsewhere, and Ismāʿīlī troops intervened in the civil wars. Among the leaders the most important were the learned ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh, *dāʿī* (chief propagandist) of Iṣfahān, his son Aḥmad b. ʿAṭṭāsh, who seized Shāhdiz near Iṣfahān in 494/1100, and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*], who seized Alamūt in Daylamān in 483/1090. On the death of the *imām* al-Mustanṣir of Egypt in 487/1094 the Ismāʿīlīs of Iran supported the claims of his son Nizār; when Nizār was defeated they refused to recognize al-Mustaʿlī, and carried on their revolt independently of Egypt, under the name of Nizārīs [*q.v.*].

With the concentration of Saldjūḳ power in the hands of Muḥammad Tapar the tide turned against the Ismāʿīlīs; Shāhdiz fell in 500/1107 and Alamūt was in grave danger when Muḥammad's death, in 511/1118, allowed the Ismāʿīlīs a time of recuperation. By this time the leadership was clearly in the hands of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ at Alamūt. He controlled an essentially independent state consisting of the strongholds in the Rūdbār district around Alamūt, of the fortress of Girdkūh near Dāmghān in Kūmis, and of numerous towns in Ḳuhistān south of Khurāsān. In addition, he was the leader of most of the Ismāʿīlīs under Saldjūḳ rule in Iran and the Fertile Crescent and even a few partisans of Nizār in Egypt. With a later small addition in Syria, the territory of the state remained substantially the same till its end, while the importance of Ismāʿīlī adherents in the surrounding lands seems to have declined rapidly.

The history of the state was dominated by a sustained hostility between the Ismāʿīlīs and the surrounding Sunnite and even Shīʿite populations; a hostility expressed on the one side in repeated massacres of all suspected Ismāʿīlīs in a town and on the other side in assassinations of their most active enemies, such as Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*]. Assassination was not in itself unusual at that time, but its systematic use by the Ismāʿīlīs produced a special terror. Especially in the earlier years, Ismāʿīlīs owing allegiance to the sect leadership at Alamūt lived interspersed among the people, keeping their unpopular faith secret with Shīʿite *taḳiyya*. Those detailed to get rid of some persecuting *ḳāḍī* or *amīr* sometimes stalked their victim with signal devotion, finally killing him spectacularly in public. Any public murder therefore was likely to be ascribed to the Ismāʿīlīs; hence a nickname of theirs, al-Ḥashīshiyya, has become the word *assassin* in Western languages. (There is no evidence that the use of the drug *ḥashīsh* entered in any way into the assassinations.) Eventually, at least, assassination as a weapon became institutionalized, assassins being kept in readiness at hostile courts and their services perhaps even hired out to friendly rulers. Suspicion and war almost never ceased between the Ismāʿīlī state and the surrounding peoples; raiding Ismāʿīlī villages and slaughtering their inhabitants was considered a pious act among the Sunnites, while the Ismāʿīlīs in their isolated districts maintained a united front against outsiders until the end.

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ died in 518/1124, leaving the leadership to one of his generals, Buzurg-ummīd, as *dāʿī* of Daylamān. Buzurg-ummīd's son Muḥammad succeeded him in 532/1138. During these two reigns defense against Saldjūḳ rulers, especially Sandjar and Maḥmūd, alternated with local raids against mountain rivals or nearby towns like Ḳazwīn. Of symbolic importance were the assassinations of two ʿAbbāsid caliphs, al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid. Meanwhile, after playing a calamitous role in the politics of Aleppo and Damascus, the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs finally acquired for the state the fortresses of a part of Djabal Bahrā, north of the Lebanon.

Muḥammad's son, Ḥasan II, who succeeded in 557/1162, declared himself in 559/1164 no longer simply *dāʿī* but *khalīfa*, plenipotentiary of the long-hidden *imām*; and probably hinted that he was himself that *imām*. Proclaiming the Day of Resurrection, the spiritual consummation of the world, he abolished the Shīʿite *sharīʿa* law as inconsistent with the mystical life in Paradise to which Ismāʿīlīs were henceforth called; thus consecrating irrevocably the breach with the Muslim community at large. Some objected to the new order, and in 561/1166 Ḥasan was murdered; but his young son Muḥammad II took firm control and carried through his father's policy. Henceforward the ruler of Alamūt was regarded as an ʿAlid *imām*, lineal descendant of Nizār. But external relations remained much as before; Muḥammad had a long and relatively peaceful reign, troubled toward its end by the enmity of the Khʷārazmshāh. During his reign Syrian Ismāʿīlism was dominated by the able Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [*q.v.*], who acted with apparent independence of Alamūt in his quarrels and rapprochements with Aleppo and Saladin, with the Crusaders, and with the Nuṣayrī mountaineers about him. But after his death in 589/1193 the authority of Alamūt was unquestioned.

The son of Muḥammad II, Ḥasan III, succeeded in 607/1210 and declared himself a Sunnite Muslim, ordering all his followers to accept the Sunnite *sharīʿa*, and allying himself with, among others, the caliph al-Nāṣir. The Ismāʿīlīs accepted his decrees outwardly; he made minor conquests in alliance with Uzbag of Ādharbāydjān. But when he died in 618/1221 (perhaps by poison) his young son who succeeded, Muḥammad III, was not brought up a Sunnite; and though officially Ḥasan's decrees probably stood, in fact the *sharīʿa* was dropped and the state resumed its political isolation.

Nevertheless, a broad Islamic outlook was maintained. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] and other scholars were attracted to its fortresses; and ambitious quarrels were carried on with Djalāl al-Dīn Mangūbirtī [*q.v.*] and then with the Mongols; allies were sought even in western Europe. But the Sunnites' ingrained hatred finally prevailed. The Mongol Hūlāgū's first objective in Iran was to destroy the Ismāʿīlī state. Muḥammad had developed a degenerate character and his refusal to negotiate frightened his generals, who were evidently hoping to circumvent him when a courtier murdered him, in 653/1255.

After ambivalent negotiations and the fall of many fortresses, his son Khᵘrshāh surrendered unconditionally in 654/1256. He was soon killed, and the Ismāʿīlīs of Daylamān, Ḳūmis, and Ḳuhistān were massacred; the survivors never succeeded in reestablishing the state. The Syrian fortresses survived the Mongols only to be taken by Baybars of Egypt, who however left them as an autonomous community, furnishing assassins to their new overlords.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*; Djuwaynī, iii; Ibn al-Athīr, passim. Landmarks in modern research were Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins, Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, iv, Paris 1818, part 2; C. Defrémery, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Ismailiens ou Bathiniens de Syrie*, *JA*, 1845/i, 373-421, 1855/i, 5-76, and *Essai sur l'histoire des Ismaéliens ou Batiniens de la Perse*, *JA*, 1856/ii, 353-387, 1860/i, 130-210. J. von Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1818, was a hostile tract. Zambaur's notice is full of errors. Full bibliography will be found in M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

ALĀN (in Arabic usually taken as al-Lān), an Iranian people (Alān < Aryan) of Northern Caucasus, formerly attested also east of the Caspian sea (see al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd al-Amākin*, ed. A. Z. Validi, in *Bīrūnī's Picture of the world*, 57), as supported by local toponymy. The Alān are mentioned in history from the 1st century A.D. In 371 they were defeated by the Huns. Together with the Vandals, a part of the Alāns migrated to the West across France and Spain, and finally took part in the creation of the Vandal kingdom in North Africa (418-534). On conquering this kingdom Justinian assumed the title of king of "Vandals and Alans". The Alāns remaining north of the Caucasus became neighbours consecutively of the Bulghārs, the Turks and the Khazars, who pushed them out of the plains towards the mountains. In 119/737 Marwān b. Muḥammad "entered the Khazar country from the direction of Bab al-Lān (Darial)", see al-Balādhurī, 207 (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 160).

The Alāns were the ancestors of the present-day Ossets whose name (in Georgian: Ows-etʿi) is derived from Ās (very probably the ancient Aorsi; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 10, 12: *al-Arsiyya guards in Khazaria) who were apparently a sister tribe of the Alāns. The Armenian Geography calls the westernmost Alans "Ashtigor" (As-Digor), and the Digor are the western division of the present-day Ossetes, while "Asi" in Osset refers to the still more westernly region near Mt. Elbruz, which the Ossets must have occupied too in earlier days.

The Alans were converted *en masse* under the Byzantine Patriarch Nicholas the Mystic (between A.D. 901 and 925), though al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 43, states that in 320/932 they apostasised (probably temporarily) and expelled their bishops and priests. According to Ibn Rusta, 148, only the chief of the al-Lān was a Christian. Muslim authors do not know any other peoples between the dominions of the Alāns and those of the Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr, the ruler of the Daghistān Avar, who also professed the Christian faith. The tribe D.khsās (*Rukhs-ās) which Ibn Rusta, 148, mentions as the noblest tribe of the Alāns, may correspond to the Roxalani of the western authors, and the name Ṭwlās (see *Ḥudūd*, 445) should probably be read Tuwal-ās and refer to the Tualtae living now across the Caucasian range. The Alan capital M.gh.s mentioned in the *Murūdj*, ii, 42, should be read *Magas and explained in Arabic as *dhibbāna*, "a fly" (not *diyāna* as in the Paris edition).

The Alāns (or Ās) are frequently mentioned at the time of the Mongol invasion when they were Greek Christians. Their settlements in the 13th century extended towards Darband and the estuary of the Volga. The Alans had close relations with the Byzantines, the Georgians and the Russians (the latter called them Yasī).

The Mongol conquest led to a further dispersion of the Alāns, whose military contingents and settlers are known even in China. The Persian sources know the Ās as Christians at the court of the Mongol sovereigns, but according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Defrémery), ii, 448, the Ās in Sarāy on the Volga were Muslims.

Bibliography: Y. Kulakovsky, *Alani*, Kiev 1899 (classical and Byzantine sources); V. F. Miller, *Osetinskiye et'udi*, 1887, iii, 1-116; M. Vasmer, *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven*, i: *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, Leipzig 1923, 23-59; Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Alani; J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 164-72; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, transl. Minorsky, 444-6 (bibliography); Minorsky, *The Alan capital Magas and the Mongol campaigns*, *BSOAS*, 1952, 221-38. On the Mongol invasion see Ibn al-Athīr under 617/1220; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, ii, 235; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, 84-90. V. I. Abayev, *Osetinskiy yazik* etc., Moscow, 1949, i, 248-59: "Alanica" (linguistic evidence); B. Skitsky, *Očerki po istorii osetinskogo naroda*, Dzaudjikau 1947, 32-44.

(W. Barthold-V. Minorsky)

ALANYA (ʿAlāʾiyya, ʿAlāyā), port in South Anatolia, 36° 32′ N, 32° E, at the foot of a mountain 250 m. high and towering above the sea; capital of the *ḳaḍā* of the same name, which belongs to the *wilāyet* (formerly *sandjaḳ*) of Antalya. In 1945 the town had 5884, the *ḳaḍā* 37, 971, inhabitants. The name is derived from the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I, who, in 1220, conquered, and adopted as his winter residence, the castle on the mountain. This had been in the possession of a Greek, or Armenian, baron, called by Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), iii, 234-44, iv, 97-103, Kīr Fārd, and was known, on account of its beautiful situation, as Galonoros (i.e. καλὸν ὄρος; hence the name of Candeloro or Skandeloro in medieval European sources). From 692/1293 ʿAlāʾiyya belonged to the principality of Ḳaraman; Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii, 257 f.) found there in ca. 1333 Yūsuf Beg as prince of the Ḳaraman. According to al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Sulūk*, s.a.) the town was sold by the Ḳaraman to the Mamlūk sultan Barsbey in 830/1427; but according to the Ottoman chronicles the town was, later in the 15th century, in the possession of a descendant of the Saldjūḳ dynasty. In 876/1471-2 ʿAlāʾiyya was captured by Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, Meḥmed II's general (Neshrī (Taeschner), i, 205 f.). From then ʿAlāʾiyya remained in Ottoman hands and was the capital of a *liwā* (*sandjaḳ*) in the *eyālet* of Ičel (Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, 611).

The old town of ʿAlāʾiyya was situated on the mountain, which slopes steeply to the W. and S., but descends more gradually to the E and N. To the north it is connected with the mainland only by a narrow neck of land, and thus forms together with the latter two bays, of which, however, only the eastern one served, and serves still, as a harbour. The old town on the mountain is surrounded by a wall which starts from a strong octagonal tower in

the NE side of the peninsula on the eastern shore, made of red sand-stone (hence the name Ḳïzïl Kule) and dated 623/1226, and ascends up to the summit of the mountain at the southern end of the peninsula. The area so enclosed is further divided by two transverse walls, of which the upper, southern one encloses, together with the outer wall, the citadel (Ič Kalʿe) lying at the summit, the other the outer fortress (Dïsh Ḳalʿe). In Turkish times, the citadel served as barracks for the garrison; it is uninhabited today, but contains the ruins of a Byzantine church. The outer fortress was the residential area of the old town; it contains a *khān* (caravanserai; not, it seems, a *bedestān*, as is often stated) of the early Ottoman period, an old, though in its present state only Ottoman, mosque (Kalʿe Djāmiʿ) and the *türbe* (from 628/1230) of a certain Aḳshebe Sulṭān. The mosque called after ʿÂlāʾ al-Dīn, situated outside the outer fortress, does not seem to be very old. On the shore there is an arsenal (*tersāne*) built, according to its inscription, by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I; it consists of five large barrel-vaults with five arched openings in each partition-wall, the only building of its kind as yet known from the Saldiūḳ period.

The old town is at present but sparsely populated; a new town arose at the foot of the mountain on the isthmus and on the mainland. It contains no monuments worthy of mention.

Not far to the east of ʿAlāʾiyya in the coastal plain on a rivulet, is to be found the ruin of a small, *köshk*-like building of the Saldjūḳ period, mainly consisting of a barrel-vault in the middle of an area surrounded by a wall. It was probably the country-house of a Saldjūḳ nobleman with a garden. On the line of the wall lies the ruin of a small Christian church.

Bibliography: R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931, 53-60 and ill. 99-109, inscriptions (by P. Wittek), 92-101 and ill.209-213; *IA*, s.v. Alâiya (by B. Darkot and Mükrimin Halil Yïnanc), with further references. (Fr. Taeschner)

ALARCOS [see al-arak].

ALAYA [see ālaba wa ʾl-ḳilāʿ].

ʿALAWĪ (ʿAlluwī < Ahl ʿAlī, according to v. Maltzan, *Reise*, 356), tribe and district on the caravan route ʿAdan-Ḳaʿṭaba-Ṣanʿāʾ, the smallest among the "nine cantons" of the Western Aden Protectorate. It lies between ʿĀmirī (N) and Ḥawshabī (S) territory and formerly belonged to the ʿĀmir (v. Maltzan, loc. cit.), but later it became semi-independent and signed a treaty with the British in 1895. Population: 1000-1500. The *shaykh* lives at al-Sawda, which is the only place of some importance, with a landing ground for aircraft.

Bibliography: *Handbook of Arabia* (Admiralty), i, 212; Hunter, *Account of the British settlement of Aden*, 87 f., 155, 169 f.; von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 204, 356; D. Ingrams, *Survey of social and economic conditions in the Aden protectorate*, 24, 27, 34. (O. Löfgren)

ʿALAWĪS (ʿAlawiyya), the reigning dynasty in Morocco.

Morocco at the advent of the ʿAlawid dynasty. When the ʿAlawid *Shurafāʾ* [see sharīf] succeeded in asserting their sovereignty over Morocco, the country was rent by a serious political, social and religious crisis. The great movement of maraboutism and xenophobia for which the growth of Ṣūfism and Sharīfism and the development of the religious brotherhoods had for long paved the way, and which had manifested itself as early as the 15th century, the period of incursions by Portuguese and Spanish Christians on the coasts of Morocco, assumed a new form. While the two Saʿdid *makhzens* established at Fez and Marrākush crumbled into ruin, strong provincial factions, based on a religious allegiance, divided up the country and warred amongst themselves. The marabouts of al-Dilāʾ [*q.v.*], supported by the Berber population of the Middle and Central Atlas, some of whom began to move down into the Atlantic plains, seemed to be on the point of establishing a Ṣinhādjī domination in Morocco. Morocco needed rehabilitation, organisation, and also pacification, because anarchy and brigandage continued to spread. The ʿAlawids, if they were not faced with the task of overcoming the preceding dynasty, had to meet difficult problems on every side.

The establishment of the dynasty. The ʿAlawids, of Ḥasanid descent, had come from Arabia to Tāfīlālt at the end of the 13th century. For a long time they played no part in politics. But, in the anarchy which marked the decline of the Saʿdid dynasty, the inhabitants of Tāfīlālt, threatened simultaneously by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Samlālī and by the marabouts of al-Dilāʾ, adopted as their leader Mawlāy al-Sharīf. His son Mawlāy Maḥammad (*sic*), who succeeded him during his lifetime in 1045/1635-6, strove for a period of twenty years to organise a small principality in eastern Morocco, but left no permanent structure. Maḥammad's brother, Mawlāy al-Rashīd [*q.v.*], took up his task with greater foresight and determination. The moment was favourable; the country was tired of anarchy and the great marabout organisations were beginning to decline. It was in order to escape from his brother Mawlāy Maḥammad that Mawlāy al-Rashīd, after the death of their father, al-Sharīf, in 1069/1659, sought his fortune in Morocco. He had managed to collect a small force and, after obtaining funds by killing a rich Jew, Ibn Mashʿal, he succeeded in establishing himself in eastern Morocco with the aid of the Maʿḳil Arabs and the Ayt Inassen Berbers. Gradually he extended his kingdom, and made Tāzā his provisional capital. In 1076/1666 he seized Fez; from then on he assumed the role of sultan and applied himself to the subjugation of the marabout powers which shared the Atlantic seaboard of Morocco. First he conquered northern Morocco, and then he defeated the Dilāʾites and took possession of their *zāwiya*. In 1079/1669 he entered Marrākush, and occupied Sūs and the Anti-Atlas. But he died at Marrākush in 1082/1672 without having consolidated his achievements.

Thus the Filālī Sharīfs had achieved power as a result of a personal venture which for long was situated half-way between banditry and war, and which reached its climax with the conquest of the Morocco of the plains and oases. With a few Arab tribes forming his only genuine support, Mawlāy al-Rashīd, thanks to the weak state of the country and the decline of the great marabout organizations, had successfully carried out the task of regrouping and of imposing law and order. But, in this country, practically everything had still to be put in order. Although the marabout crisis had suddenly ended, the Arab problem, always serious, was about to find a parallel in a formidable Berber problem, the essential phase of which was to be the push of the Ṣinhādja of the Atlas towards the north and west. The tasks of organizing an army, re-forming a government, and of establishing the place which

Morocco intended to hold in the Mediterranean theatre, still remained.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727) and the consolidation of the dynasty. The work of pacification accomplished by al-Ras͟hīd proved impermanent. His brother and successor Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (1672-1727) had to face two rival claimants to the throne and to suppress numerous revolts both in the towns and among the tribes. He deprived Fez and Marrākus͟h, to which he had been obliged to lay siege, of their status as capital cities, and installed himself with his government at Miknāsa. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had first of all to solve the problem of the army. He had recourse first to the old expedient of the Arab *gīs͟h*, to which he added the Maʿḳil Arabs of the oases and to which he gave the name of *gīs͟h* of the Udāya. But more especially he pressed into service the descendants of the black slaves who had been imported in large numbers by the Saʿdids; these were the *ʿabīd al-Buk͟hārī*; but this black militia never had any great military value.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, who from the beginning of his reign had been unsuccessful in his Algerian ventures and had had to conclude peace with the Turks on the usual terms, succeeded in recovering from the Spanish Maʿmūra, Mahdiyya and al-Arāʾis͟h (Larache). The British evacuated Tangier. Mazagan, Ceuta and Melilla remained in Christian hands.

Nearly the whole of his long reign was devoted to the suppression of internal revolts, risings by pretenders, and rebellions on the part of the tribes. The task was a heavy one; the country had a long tradition of anarchy, and the crushing financial burdens which the sovereign imposed on conquered territory were a clear incentive to revolt. The hardest campaigns were those against the Ṣinhād͟ja Berbers. With the aid of some of these, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl pacified for a time the Middle Atlas. But he never succeeded in occupying the whole of Morocco.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's diplomatic relations with Europe have often given rise to misconceptions. The sovereign hated the Christian world. His European policy, based on a desire for holy war and on cupidity, and implemented with reluctance, was fundamentally negative. In spite of the efforts of the European nations, the crying problem of the captives was not settled. Foreign trade continued to be negligible. Morocco isolated itself to an increasing extent from Europe and also from Turkish Algeria; the seeds of revival could not be planted from without.

At home, Ismāʿīl had strengthened the dynasty's position and pacified part of the country, but he had failed to resolve either the Arab or the Berber problem. After his death the black militia proved to be the principal fomentors of trouble. Ismāʿīl had not remedied Morocco's deep-rooted disorders, nor had he set the country on a new path. At his death, the ensuing anarchy was worse than ever.

The period of anarchy (1139-70/1727-57). For a period of thirty years, various sons of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl were elected and deposed by the *ʿabīd*, the *gīs͟h* and even by the Berber tribes, who had come down into the plains. Seven rulers came and went. One of them, Aḥmad al-D͟hahabī, reigned twice, and ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], on four different occasions. This was one of the darkest periods in Moroccan history. Anarchy and brigandage laid waste the subject territory and the large towns.

The rehabilitation under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1170-1204/1757-90). Muḥammad, when he was elected sulṭān in 1170/1757, had already, as *k͟halīfa* of his father at Marrākus͟h, accomplished work of importance. Muḥammad had no more ability than his predecessors or his succ ssors to devise new solutions or to undertake a real reorga nization of the country. He failed to settle any of the major problems which confronted him. Conscious of the limitations of his resources, he gave his kingdom, as far as he was able and as far as the country itself allowed him, peace and prosperity. He organized the collection of taxes, minted a sound currency, and built up a small army from the remnants of the *gīs͟h* and the *ʿabīd*, and a few con tingents from subject tribes. Despite his alliances with the Berbers, he was unable to check the encroachment of the Ṣinhād͟jī tribes on the plains; the road from Fez to Marrākus͟h via the Tādlā was cut.

He had the good fortune to reoccupy Mazagan, which the Portuguese evacuated in 1182/1769. After two defeats at Ceuta and Melilla, he made peace with Spain. He realised that a certain minimum of foreign trade was indispensable to Morocco; accordingly he signed treaties of trade and friendship with the principal European powers. He tried in vain to concentrate the majority of the European merchants and consular officials in the new town of Mogador, planned by European architects, which was commenced in 1179/1765.

The end of the reign of Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was marred by the rebellions of his son and heir-apparent, al-Yazīd.

The conservative policy of the ʿAlawids: prelude to the Moroccan crisis (1204-1311/1790-1894). The short reign of al-Yazīd (1204-6/1790-2) was marked by conflict with Spain and a serious revolt in southern Morocco. On the death of this fanatical and bloodthirsty sultan, his brother Sulaymān rid himself of two rivals and gave Morocco a brief respite from warfare.

Up to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was spared crises concerning the succession; in each case the heir designate succeeded to the throne without difficulty.

The Sulṭāns Sulaymān 1206-38/1792-1822) [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. His͟hām (1238-76/1822-59) [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1276-90/1859/73), and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94) [*q.v.*], were practical rulers endowed with common sense. But their policies, though persevering and flexible in detail, were not progressive. Throughout this period the internal problems of Morocco remained the same. The army was weak: the *ʿabīd* had been suppressed but the *gīs͟h*, restored to a position of supremacy, remained undisciplined and largely ineffective. The best troops were the contingents of the adherent tribes, which were mustered on the eve of an expedition. The energies of the sultans were entirely directed, not always with success, to levying the taxes in the subject territories. They had given up all pretensions to the pacification of the *bilād al-sība* [*q.v.*], which gradually increased in size.

In order to put down local revolts and to secure payment of the taxes, the ʿAlawid sultans of the 19th century spent part of their time conducting *ḥarkas* over their territories; the effect of these was often limited and temporary. Diplomacy was employed rather than force; and attempts were made to secure the aloof homage of the tribes which lived in actual independence. By all these means, the *mak͟hzen* endeavoured to save face, if not at home, at least in the eyes of Europe. It avoided headlong collision with the powerful unsubdued

groups; the latter were, for their part, incapable of uniting against the central power. At the end of the 19th century, however, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had the good fortune to bring within his orbit the powerful *ḳāʾids* who had established themselves in southern Morocco.

Both the military and political activities of the sultans were limited in scope and exhausting. Their financial resources, though administered with care, remained exiguous; the smallness of the sums at the disposal of the *makhzen* precluded any works of a lasting character.

In a Morocco which clung obstinately to a sort of paradoxical mediaevalism, European interventions steadily became more pressing, and questions of foreign policy eventually, at the beginning of the 20th century, took pride of place over domestic matters. The fate of Morocco, the last Mediterranean country to stand aloof from the modern world, was not settled earlier because rivalries between the powers, and above all the desire of France, the country principally interested, for peace, long preserved it in its existing condition. Morocco, however, imprudently provoked two wars with European powers. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gave his support to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥyi'l-Dīn [*q.v.*] in his conflict with France. The Moroccan troops were defeated on the Isly (28 Djumādā II 1260/15 July 1844) and the ports of Tangier and Mogador were bombarded by the French fleet. The sultan hastened to conclude peace. His son and successor, Muḥammad, as a result of frontier incidents, declared war on Spain. The Spanish army, marching from Ceuta, occupied Tetuan and was advancing on Tangier when Great Britain negotiated peace. The ʿAlawid dynasty emerged unscathed from these two adventures into which it had been led by its xenophobia and its attachment to the holy war. Nevertheless European penetration increased during the reign of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. In 1297/1880 the Convention of Madrid gave rulings on questions of trade and protection; European trade in the ports expanded. Every endeavour of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was directed towards the maintenance of his authority in the subject territory, and the prolongation of an independence which was in increasing jeopardy. This unstable and paradoxical position could only last so long as the diplomatic façade constituted by the Sharīfian empire remained intact.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French Protectorate (1311-30/1894-1912). The internal disintegration of Morocco grew more rapid during the first years of the 20th century. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] was only fourteen when he succeeded his father Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. Until 1900, the vizier Bā Aḥmad exercised the real authority and in all respects continued the practices of the preceding reign. Despite the blundering good intentions of the sultan and his attempts at reform, the *bilād al-makhzan* itself was breaking up; a pretender unrelated to the dynasty, the *rūgī* Bū Ḥmāra (Abū Ḥamāra), installed himself at Tāzā and defied the Sharīfian armies. The dynasty was tottering. Thus Morocco advanced involuntarily to the forefront of the diplomatic stage. Mounting confusion in the country set at nought the agreements concluded by the chancelleries of Europe with a view to the preservation of peace. The main episodes in this crisis had their origin in military or other moves on the part of Germany, which was trying to prevent the expansion of French influence in Morocco. The final act of the Conference of Algeciras, convened to resolve the first of these clashes, proclaimed the independence of the sultan, the inviolability of his empire, and economic equality among the Powers, while, however, recognizing a certain privileged position for France.

The murder of French dependents and agitation on the Algerian border induced France to pacify the Oujda region and to occupy the Chaouia. A new diplomatic crisis ended with the Franco-German agreement of 1909. France and Spain increased their activities in Morocco.

During all these events the ʿAlawid dynasty, engrossed in domestic disorders and preoccupied with its own defence, was singularly inactive. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was replaced by his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, who had rebelled against him at Marrākush. Finally the incident at Agadir, which for a moment threatened the peace of Europe, led to a new Franco-German agreement which gave the Reich compensations in Equatorial Africa and made possible the signature of the Protectorate agreement (11 Rabīʿ II 1330/30 March 1912). The ʿAlawid dynasty, which had seemed on the point of collapse, could thus, under French protection, maintain its position and enter a new phase. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, who showed extreme ill will in promulgating the reforms anticipated in the Protectorate agreements, abdicated in 1913 and was replaced by his brother, Mawlāy Yūsuf, who was succeeded in 1926 by his son Sīdī Muḥammad; the latter was replaced in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1372/August 1953 by Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mawlāy ʿArafa.

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les années 1790 et 1791, trans. by Sainte-Suzanne, 1801. On Morocco immediately prior to the Protectorate, see E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904; W. Harris, *Morocco that was*, trans. under the title of *Le Maroc disparu*, by P. Odinot, Paris 1929. Studies: H. Basset, *Un grand sultan marocain: Moulay Hassan*, in *L'Armée d'Afrique*, 1927; H. de Castries, *Moulay Ismail et Jacques II: une apologie de l'Islam par un sultan du Maroc*, Paris 1903; P. de Cenival, *Lettre de Louis XVI à Sidi Mohammed b. Abdallah (19 décembre 1778)*, *Mémorial Henri Basset*, i; P. de Cenival, *La légende du Juif Ibn Mechʿal et la fête du sultan des Tolba à Fès*, *Hesp.*, 1925; M. Delafosse, *Les débuts des troupes noires du Maroc*, *Hesp.*, 1923; Colonel Justinard, *La Riḥla du Marabout de Tasaft* (trans.), Paris 1940; Lieutenant Reyniers, *Un Document sur la politique de Moulay Ismaʿil dans l'Atlas* and F. de la Chapelle, *Le Sultan Moulay Ismaʿil et les Berbères Ṣanhaja du Maroc central*, *AM* xxviii, 1931; Ch. Penz, *Les Captifs français du Maroc au XVII^e siècle (1577-1699)*, Rabat 1944. On the Moroccan crisis: H. Hauser, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe (1871-1914)*, 1929, especially ii, part 6, chap. iii; *La Crise d'Agadir* by P. Renouvin; A. Tardieu, *La Conférence d'Algésiras*, Paris 1909; A. Tardieu, *Le Mystère d'Agadir*, Paris 1912; G. Saint-René Taillandier, *Les Origines du Maroc français, Récit d'une mission (1905-6)*, Paris 1930. See also the detailed bibliography in H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, ii, 239-41 and cf. AL-RASHĪD, ISMĀʿĪL, ʿABD ALLĀH B. ISMĀʿĪL, SULAYMĀN, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. HISHĀM, AL-ḤASAN, ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. AL-ḤASAN. (H. TERRASSE)

In October 1955, Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mawlāy ʿAfara went to reside in Tangiers, and a Council of the Throne was instituted in the Sharifian Empire; Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was installed on the throne again on 16th November 1955. (ED.)

ALAWITES [see NUṢAYRĪ].

ALAY, a Turkish word probably derived from the Greek *allagion*, which was applied to certain divisions of the Byzantine army (cf. Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, *Bizans Müesseselerin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te'siri*, *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i, 277), signifying in Ottoman usage "a troop", "a parade", and hence "a crowd", "a large quantity", and used from the time of the 19th century military reforms to denote "a regiment". The most important parades to which the name was given were the *ḳılıč alayı*, held on the occasion of the sultan's visit to Eyyūb for his girding with the sword of ʿOthmān; the *alay-ı hümāyūn*, held on his departure from or return to the capital whether in connection with a campaign or for some other reason; the *ṣürre alayı*, held at the *sarāy* on the despatch of his annual gift to the Holy Cities; the *Mewlūd* and *Bayram alayları*, held for his visitation of mosques on the Prophet's Birthday and the two *ʿīds*; and the *wālide alayı*, held on the translation of a new Wālide Sulṭān from the Old to the New Sarāy. The word also figures in designations such as *alay beyi*, applied to officers commanding the feudal cavalry of a *sandjaḳ* or *eyālet* and themselves fief-holders, and *alay čawushu*, applied either to *čawushes* whose duty it was to clear the route for processions or to those who conveyed commands in battle by shouting. The Alay Köshkü was a pavilion in the Ṭopḳapı Sarayı built in the reign of Murād III from which sultans might view parades.

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ʿALĀYA [see ʿALANYA].

ALBAICIN [see GHARNĀṬA].

ALBARRACIN [see RAZĪN, BANŪ].

ALBISTĀN [see ELBISTAN].

ALBUFERA [see BALANSIYA].

ALBURZ (now usually pronounced ELBURZ), in Old Persian Hara Berezaiti or "High Mountain", is a mountain chain which, besides separating the Persian central plateau from the Caspian depression, links the Caucasus range with the Paropamisus. The average height of the western portion is just under 10,000 feet, culminating in Damāwand [*q.v.*], which is 18,600 feet high. The northern slopes of the range are densely wooded, but vegetation is scanty on the southern side because of the much lower rainfall

Firdawsī gives the name Alburz to a mythical mountain in India. The first Persian geographer to apply the name to the range was Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī.

Alburz or Elburz is not to be confused with Elbruz, the Caucasian peak. Cf. Le Strange, 368 note. (L. LOCKHART)

ALCACER DO SAL [see ḲAṢR ABĪ DĀNIS].

ALCALA [see AL-ḲALʿA].

ALCANTARA [see AL-ḲANṬARA].

ALCAZAR, Spanish (from Arab. *al-ḳaṣr*): castle, citadel (Portug. Alcacer). Famous are the Alcazars of Seville, Cordova, Segovia, Toledo etc. Alcazar is also a frequent name of places, e.g.: Alcazar de San Juan, a town in the Spanish province of Ciudad-Real, Alcazarquivir, the Spanish name of Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*], a town in Mórocco.

ALCAZARQUIVIR [see AL-ḲAṢR AL-KABĪR].

ALCHEMY [see AL-KĪMIYĀʾ].

ALCIRA [see DJAZĪRAT SHUḲR].

ALDEBARAN [see NUDJŪM].

ALEMBIC [see AL-ANBĪḲ].

ALEPPO [see ḤALAB].

ALEXANDER THE GREAT [see DHU 'L-ḲARNAYN, AL-ISKANDAR].

ALEXANDER OF APHRODISIAS [see AL-ISKANDAR AL-AFRŪDĪSĪ].

ALEXANDRETTA [see ISKANDARŪN].

ALEXANDRIA [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA].

ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA, "Thousand nights and one night" is the title of the most famous Arabian collection of fairy-tales and other stories. One often reads or hears nowadays "like a fairy-tale from the thousand-and-one nights", and, indeed, the fairy-tales are the most striking part of the collection. Like all Orientals the Arabs from the earliest times enjoyed imaginative stories; but since the intellectual horizon of the true Arabs in ancient times before the rise of Islam was rather narrow the material for these entertainments was borrowed mainly from elsewhere, from Persia and from India, as we gather from the accounts of the Prophet's competitor, the merchant al-Naḍr. In later times when Arab civilization had grown richer and more comprehensive the literary influence from other countries was, of course, much stronger. An attentive reader of the "Nights" will soon be astonished by the manifold variety of their contents: they resemble in a way an Oriental meadow with many different beautiful flowers intermingled with a few weeds. On the other hand, the reader will notice that these stories comprise a very wide field: there are stories of King Solomon, of the kings of

ancient Persia, of Alexander the Great, of the caliphs and the sultans on one side, and stories in which guns, coffee and tobacco are mentioned on the other side.

Its appearance in Europe. The entire work is enclosed in a "frame-story", and this was known in Italy in the Middle Ages. Traces of it are to be found in a novel by Giovanni Sercambi (1347-1424) and in the story of Astolfo and Giocondo which is told in the 28th canto of *Orlando Furioso* by Ariosto (beginning of the 16th century); travellers who had been in the East may have brought this knowledge to Italy. But the whole *Alf Layla wa-Layla* came to Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. The French scholar and traveller Jean Antoine Galland (1646-1715) published it for the first time. Travelling in the Near East at first as a secretary of the French ambassador, then as a collector of objects for museums commissioned by amateurs, he had known the world of the Orient, and his attention was directed to the great number of stories and fables told there. After his return to France he began in 1704 to publish his volumes *Les mille et une Nuits contes arabes traduits en Français.* By 1706 seven vols. had appeared: vol. viii appeared in 1709, vols. ix and x in 1712, vols. xi and xii in 1717, two years after Galland's death. This delay in the appearance of the later vols. is significant for Galland's difficulties as to material and also for his indifference to this side of his work as a scholar. He was a born story-teller; he had a flair for a good story and a knack of re-telling it well. Thus he adapted his translation to the taste of his European readers, changing sometimes the wording of the Arabic text and paraphrasing things that were foreign to Europeans. Hence the great success of his "Nights". But he was also fortunate in the material which fell into his hands. He began by translating Sindbād the Sailor from an unidentified MS; then he learned that this was part of a great collection of stories called "The Thousand and One Nights"; then he had the luck to have sent to him from Syria four vols. of a MS of that work which is, except for a small fragment found by Nabia Abbott, the oldest known and contains the best surviving text. The first three of his vols. are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the fourth is lost. In the first seven vols. of his translation he exhausted his three vols. of Arabic text which we still have and added Sindbād and Camalzaman (Ḳamar al-Zamān) from unidentified MSS. Then for lack of material he stopped for three years until his publisher forced his hand by issuing, without authority, vol. viii containing Ganem (G͟hānim), translated by Galland from an unidentified MS, and two stories, Zeyn Alasnam (Zayn al-Aṣnām) and Codadad (K͟hudādād), translated by Pétis de la Croix and intended for his *Mille et un jours.* Again Galland was completely out of material and stopped; he was also tired and disgusted with the whole matter. But in 1709 he met a certain Maronite from Aleppo, Ḥannā, brought to Paris by the traveller Paul Lucas, and at once recognized that he had got an oral source of the story material. Ḥannā told him stories in Arabic, and Galland inserted in his *Journal* abstracts of some of these. But Ḥannā also gave him transcripts of some. In this way the last four vols. of Galland's translation were filled out; his *Journal* gives full details. Ḥannā's transcripts have vanished, but two Arabic MSS of Aladdin have since come to light and one of Ali Baba. This, then, is the origin of the book which made the "Nights" known to Europe and which in the French text and in very many translations from the French became the "Arabian Nights" for the great multitude of readers. For details see H. Zotenberg, *Histoire d'ʿAlāʾaldin . . . avec Notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et une nuits et la traduction de Galland*, Paris 1888. This contains the Arabic text of Aladdin (ʿAlā al-Dīn) and a study of certain MSS of the Nights and of the entries in Galland's *Journal.* See also V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie arabe*, iv, Liège 1900, and D. B. Macdonald, *A bibliographical and literary study of the first appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe, The Library Quarterly*, vol. ii, no. 4, Oct. 1932, 387-420.

For more than a century Galland's French version meant the Nights for Europe, and two of his stories whose original Arabic texts were not known were even translated into Oriental languages. But meanwhile other MSS, more or less connected with the Nights, were brought to light and, from these, various supplements to Galland were translated and published. Just as the MSS of the Nights themselves varied enormously as to the stories which they contained, so these translators were prepared to attach to the Nights any story that existed in Arabic. The following supplements, partly separate and partly attached to editions of Galland, are of importance in themselves and as signs of the interests of their times. For further details on all of them see Chauvin's *Bibliographie*, iv, 82-120.

In 1788 there appeared as a supplement to the *Cabinet des Fées*, vols 38-41, a series of tales translated from the Arabic by Denis Chavis. It is significant for the interest at the time in the whole subject of the Nights that there appeared, 1792-1794, three separate English translations of this supplement. In 1795 William Beloe published in the third vol. of his *Miscellanies* some Arabic stories which had been translated for him orally by Patrick Russell, the author of *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1794). In 1800 Jonathan Scott translated in his *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters* certain stories from the MS of the Nights brought from India by James Anderson, and in 1811 to his edition of an English version of Galland he added a vol. of new stories from another MS, the Wortley Montague MS now in Oxford. In 1806 Caussin de Perceval had already added two vols. of supplement to his edition of Galland. But Edouard Gauttier in his professed edition of Galland (1822-1825) went much farther: besides two vols. of new tales drawn from all manner of sources he freely inserted others in the course of Galland's Nights. Von Hammer in his *Die noch nicht übersetzten Erzählungen der Tausend und einen Nacht*, Stuttgart 1823, had a much firmer foundation and used a real recension of the Nights. He had acquired in Egypt a MS of the recension now known as Zotenberg's Egyptian Recension, which through numerous editions has become the Vulgate text of the Nights; see the editions, below. Von Hammer's French translation of a number of stories not in Galland is lost, but Zinserling (1823) translated it into German, and this version was rendered in English by Lamb (1826) and in French by Trébutien (1828). In 1825 M. Habicht began to publish 15 volumes professing to be a new translation but consisting really of Galland with some supplements from Caussin, Gauttier and Scott and an ending from a so-called Tunisian MS. He began also to publish an Arabic text. From this text, later on also from Galland, from Gotha MSS and from a text printed in Egypt, Weil published his translation within the years 1837-1867.

Editions and translations. The main editions of the Arabic *Alf Layla wa-Layla* are the following.

1. The first Calcutta Edition: *The Arabian Nights Entertainments; In the Original Arabic, published under the Patronage of the College of Fort William*; By Shuekh Uhmud bin Moohummud Shirwanee ul Yumunee, Calcutta, vol. i 1814; vol. ii 1818. It contains only the first two hundred Nights and the story of Sindbād the Sailor.

2. The first Būlāḳ Edition, a complete Arabic edition, printed in 1251/1835 (from MSS found in Egypt) in the State Printing Office at Būlāḳ near Cairo founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī.

3. The Second Calcutta Edition: *The Alif Laila or the Book of the Thousand Nights and one Night, Commonly known as "The Arabian Nights Entertainments", now, for the first time, published complete in the original Arabic, from an Egyptian manuscript brought to India by the late Major Turner, editor of the Shah-Nameh.* Edited by W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. In four volumes, Calcutta 1839-42.

4. The Breslau Edition: *Tausend und Eine Nacht Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis herausgegeben* von Dr. Maximilian Habicht, Professor an der Königlichen Universität zu Breslau (etc.), nach seinem Tode fortgesetzt von M. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, ordentlichem Prof. der morgenländischen Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig, Breslau 1825-43. D. B. Macdonald, in his article on Habicht's Recension in *JRAS*, 1909, 685-704, and in his article *A Preliminary Classification of some MSS of the Arabian Nights*, in the *E. G. Browne Volume*, Cambridge 1922, 304, discussed the value of this edition. His expert opinion is that Habicht wilfully created a literary myth and enormously confused the history of the Nights because a Tunisian recension of the Nights never existed, and out of many stories which had come to him from many sources he constructed a new recension of the Nights much in the same way that he had constructed his translation described above. However, Macdonald acknowledged that Habicht's texts are given verbatim without any attempt at correction, and are, therefore, "vulgar" in the exact sense whereas all other texts have been grammatically and lexicographically "improved" by learned shaykhs.

5. Later Būlāḳ and Cairo Editions. In the latter half of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century the complete text of the first Būlāḳ edition, in the main the same as the second Calcutta edition, was several times reprinted. They are representatives of Zotenberg's "Egyptian Recension", which is the result of a compilation made by a certain shaykh in the 18th century, according to a notice in U. J. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, Berlin 1854-5, iii, 188; the name of the shaykh is not known, but this notice confirms Zotenberg's hypothesis. The Jesuit Press at Bayrūt has published an independent but expurgated edition from another MS of the same recension (1888-90).

From the Egyptian Recension have been made all the modern western translations. Lane's translation, incomplete but with a very valuable and full commentary, began to appear in parts in 1839 and was finished in 1841. It was made from the first Būlāḳ edition. Payne's translation from the Macnaghten edition, complete and privately printed, appeared in 9 vols. 1882-84. Three additional vols. contained tales in the Breslau and 1st Calcutta editions (1884), and a 13th vol. (1889) contained Aladdin and Zayn al-Aṣnām. Since Payne's death in 1916 there have been a number of complete reprints. The translation by Sir Richard Burton, also from the Macnaghten edition, is very largely dependent upon that of Payne and often reproduces Payne verbatim (10 vols., 1885; 6 supplementary vols., 1886-8). Besides the Smithers edition (12 vols., 1894) and Lady Burton's edition (6 vols., 1886-8) it has been completely reprinted several times. On the strange relation between the versions of Payne and of Burton see Thomas Wright, *Life of Sir Richard Burton* (2 vols., London 1906) and *Life of John Payne* (London 1919), and for an attempt at a comparative estimate of the above English translations see Macdonald's *On translating the Arabian Nights*, *The Nation*, New York, Aug. 30 and Sept. 6, 1900, In *Reclam's Universal-Bibliothek* (1895-97) Max Henning published a German translation, 24 small vols.; it is somewhat expurgated and rather prosaic and gives only half the verses. The first 17 vols. give the Nights from the Būlāḳ edition and vols. 18-24 various supplements, largely translated from Burton. In 1899 J. C. Mardrus began a French translation of the Nights professedly from the Būlāḳ edition of 1835. His translation is not very trustworthy, and it incorporates tales from all manner of other collections than the Nights. Moreover there are translations of the Nights in Spanish, English, Polish, German, Danish, Russian, Italian. The Spanish translation is by Vicente Blasco Ibañez; the English by E. Powys Mathers; the Polish translation is incomplete. The German translation by E. Littmann appeared in Leipzig, 6 vols., 1921-8; first re-edition Wiesbaden 1953, second re-edition ibid. 1954. It contains the complete translation of the second Calcutta edition and the following stories: *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the Magic Lamp*, from the Paris MS edited by Zotenberg (cf. above); *ʿAlī Baba and the Forty Robbers*, from the Oxford MS edited by Macdonald (*JRAS*, 1910, 221 ff., 1913, 41 ff.); *Prince Aḥmad and Parī Bānū*, from Burton, i.e. an English rendering of a Hindustani version derived from Galland; *Abu'l-Ḥasan or the Sleeper Awakened*, from the Breslau edition; *The Craft of Women*, from the first Calcutta edition; the end of Sindbād's sixth journey and his seventh journey, from the first Calcutta edition; supplement in the *Story of the Brass City*; the end of the *Story of Sindbād and the Seven Viziers*; *The Story of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Bundukdārī and the Sixteen Guardians*, from the Breslau edition; *The Jealous Sisters*, from Burton-Galland; *Zayn al-Aṣnām*, from a Paris MS edited by F. Groff; *The Nocturnal Adventure of the Caliph*, *Khudādād and his Brothers*, *ʿAlī Khawādja and the Merchant of Baghdād*, from Burton-Galland.—The Danish translation by J. Oestrup was published at Copenhagen in 1927. The Russian translation by I. Kračkovsky appeared in 1934, the Italian translation by F. Gabrieli in 1949.

Problems of origin and evolution. When the Arabian Nights first became known in Europe they served only for the entertainment of European readers; but at the beginning of the 19th century western scholars began to take an interest in the question of their origin. Silvestre de Sacy, the founder of modern Arabian philology, discussed this question in several dissertations: *Journal des savants*, 1817, 678; *Recherches sur l'origine du recueil des contes intitulés les Mille et une nuits*, Paris 1829; in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*, x, 1833, 30. He denied, correctly, the possible authorship of one single writer and believed

that the book was written at a very late period without Persian and Indian elements; therefore, he regarded as spurious a passage in *Murūdj al-Dhahab* of al-Masʿūdī (written in 336/947 and re-edited in 346/957) referring to these elements. This passage, published by Barbier de Meynard in Arabic and French (*Les prairies d'or*, iv, 89), reads in English: "The case with them (viz. some legendary stories) is similar to that of the books that have come to us from the Persian, Indian (one MS has here: Pahlawī) and the Greek and have been translated for us, and that originated in the way that we have described, such as for example the book *Hazār Afsāna*, which in Arabic means "thousand tales", for "tale" is in Persian *afsāna*. The people call this book "Thousand Nights" (two MSS have here: Thousand Nights and One Night). This is the story of the king and the vizier and his daughter and her servant-girl; these two are called Shīrazād and Dīnāzād (in other MSS: and her nurse; in again other MSS: and his two daughters)".

In *al-Fihrist* by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Abī Yaʿḳūb al-Nadīm (written in 377/987), ed. Flügel, i, 304, the *Hazār Afsān* are mentioned and a résumé of the frame-work story is given. The *Fihrist* adds that Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdūs al-Djahshiyārī (d. 331/942), the author of the *Book of the Viziers*, began to write a book in which he selected a thousand stories from the stories of the Arabs, the Persians, the Greek and other peoples. He collected four hundred and eighty stories, but he died before he had attained his purpose, i.e. to complete a thousand stories.

Contrary to de Sacy, Joseph von Hammer (*Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1819, 236; *JA*, 1e série, x; 3e série, viii; Preface to his *Die noch nicht übersetzten Erzählungen* (see above) maintained the genuineness of the passage in al-Masʿūdī with all its consequences. William Lane tried to prove that the whole book was the work of one single author and had been written in the period 1475-1525 (Preface to *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*, London 1839-41).

The discussion was resumed by de Goeje (*De Arabische Nachtvertellingen, De Gids*, 1886, iii, 385, and *The Thousand and One Nights* in the *Encycl. Britann.*, xxiii, 316). He collated the passage in the *Fihrist* (see above), in which the *Hazār Afsān* are said to have been written for Humāy (var.: Humānī), the daughter of King Bahman, with a passage in al-Ṭabarī (9th century), i, 688, where Esther is called the mother of Bahman and the name Shahrazād is assigned to Humāy; and consequently tried to show that the frame-work story of the Nights was connected with the Book of Esther. August Müller seems to have been the pioneer towards a freer attitude in his *Sendschreiben* on the subject to de Goeje (*Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, xiii, 222) and in his article in *Die deutsche Rundschau*, xiii, July 10, 1887, 77-96. He distinguished various layers in the work, one of which he supposed to have been written in Baghdād, whereas to another and larger one he assigned an Egyptian origin. The idea of various layers was worked out with greater accuracy by Th. Nöldeke (*Zu den ägyptischen Märchen, ZDMG*, 1888, 68) who gave an approximate definition of the texts, by which each could be recognized.

The contents of the Nights were described and considered by Nöldeke several times. In this respect Oestrup's *Studier over* 1001 *Nat*, Copenhagen 1891, are of special importance; they were translated into Russian by Krymski (*Izsliedowanie o* 1001 *noči*, Moscow 1905, with a long introduction) and into German by Rescher, "*Oestrups Studien über* 1001 *Nacht*" *aus dem Dänischen* (*nebst einigen Zusätzen*), Stuttgart 1925, and a French résumé with notes was published by Galtier, Cairo 1912. Other ingenious discussions of the subject were given by Horovitz, mainly in his article *Die Entstehung von Tausendundeine Nacht, The Review of Nations*, no. 4, April 1927; idem, in *IC*, 1927. See also Littmann, *Tausendundeine Nacht in der arabischen Literatur*, Tübingen 1923, and *Die Entstehung und Geschichte von Tausendundeiner Nacht* in the *Anhang* to Littmann's translation (mentioned above).

The earliest testimony to the existence of the book of the Thousand Nights was discovered by Nabia Abbott, *A Ninth-Century Fragment of the "Thousand Nights". New Light on the Early History of the Arabian Nights, Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 1949. After that the work is mentioned by al-Masʿūdī and in the *Fihrist* (see above). In the 12th century a collection of tales called "The Thousand Nights and one Night" was known in Egypt as we learn from a certain al-Ḳurṭī who wrote a history of Egypt under the last Fāṭimid caliph (1160-71), and al-Ghuzūlī, who died in 815/1412, transmitted in his anthology a tale of the Nights, as Torrey recognized (*JAOS*, 1894, 42 f.). A MS discovered by H. Ritter in Istanbul which is of the 13th or 14th century contains four stories that are in the Egyptian recension. These stories are not stated to be a part of the Nights; they will be published and translated by H. Wehr on the basis of preliminary studies by A. von Bulmerincq. Then follow Galland's MS and a number of other MSS of the Nights which cover the period from the 15th to the 18th centuries.

We know then that in the common form of the Nights there are a Baghdād and an Egyptian part. Oestrup grouped the separate tales into three layers of which the first one was to comprehend the fairy-tales from the Persian *Hazār Afsāna* with the frame-work of the book, the second those which had come from Baghdād, and the third the stories which had been added to the body of the work; certain tales, as for example the extensive chivalric romance of ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān, were inserted when the number 1001 was taken in its literal sense. But the *Story of Sūl and Shumūl* in a Tübingen MS, which is professedly a part of the Nights and which was edited as such by Seybold, certainly never was an integral part of them, because in it a Muslim is converted to Christianity; in the true Nights Christians, Zoroastrians and pagans often adopt Islam, but a Muslim never adopts another religion.

The following forms of the Nights were established by Macdonald (*The earlier history of the Arabian Nights, JRAS*, 1924, 353 ff.)—meaning by that any collection of stories fitted into the frame-work which we know: i. The original Persian *Hazār Afsāna*, "Thousand Stories". ii. An Arabic version of the *Hazār Afsāna*. iii. The frame-work story of *Hazār Afsāna*, followed by stories of Arabic origin. iv. The Nights of the late Fāṭimid period; to its popularity al-Ḳurṭī testifies. v. The recension of the Galland MS. From notes in it that MS was in Syrian Tripoli in 943/1536 and at Aleppo in 1001/1592; it may, of course, be older. But it was written in Egypt. There remains the at present still unsolved problem of the relations between it and the other old and independent MSS; there are according to Macdonald at least six such MSS which must be considered.

Nabia Abbott (see above) stated the following six

forms. i. An eighth-century translation of the *Hazār Afsāna*. According to her belief this was most probably a complete and literal translation, perhaps entitled *Alf Khurāfa*. ii. An eighth-century Islamized version of the *Hazār Afsāna* entitled *Alf Layla*. This could have been either partial or complete. iii. A ninth-century composite *Alf Layla* containing both Persian and Arabic materials. While most of the former came undoubtedly from the *Hazār Afsāna*, other current story-books, especially the *Book of Sindbād* and the *Book of Shimās*, are not improbable sources. The Arabic materials, as Littmann had already pointed out, were not so slight or insignificant as Macdonald believed them to be. iv. The tenth-century *Alf Samar* of Ibn ʿAbdūs. Whether this was meant to include, among other materials, all the current *Alf Layla* and to supersede it, is not clear. v. A twelfth-century collection augmented by materials from iv and by Asiatic and Egyptian tales of local Egyptian composition. The change of title to *Alf Layla wa-Layla* belongs, in all probability, to this period. vi. The final stages of the growing collection extending to the early sixteenth century. Heroic tales of the Islamic countercrusades are among the most prominent additions. Persia and ʿIrāḳ may have contributed some of the later predominantly Far Eastern tales in the wake of the thirteenth-century Mongol conquest of those lands. The final conquest of Mamlūk Syria and Egypt by the Ottoman Salīm I (1512-20) closed the first chapter of the history of the Arabian Nights in its oriental homeland.

The title "Thousand Stories" may have been changed to "Thousand Nights" when, with the Arabs, the frame-work story and other stories were combined; that cannot have been done later than the 9th century. Originally "1000 stories" meant only a very large number of stories; in the same way it is said of Shahrazād that she had collected "a thousand books". For the simple mind even 100 is a high number, and "before 100 years" means—even for Oriental historians—the same as "a long time ago"; therefore the number 100 must not be taken in its exact sense. But 1000 is almost the same as "innumerable". And the Book of the Thousand Nights which was known at Baghdād scarcely contained a thousand separate nights. But why was 1000 changed to 1001? This change may partly owe its origin to the superstitious aversion to round numbers common among the Arabs as among other peoples. But it is very likely that it was also influenced by the Turkish idiomatic use of *bin bir* "thousand and one" for a large number: in Anatolia there is a ruin called *Bin-bir-kilise* "1001 Churches", but there are, of course, not nearly so many there. In Istanbul there is a place called *Bin-bir-direk* "1001 columns"; but there are only a few dozens of them there. The Turkish alliteration *bin bir* points to the origin of the Persian idiom *hazār yak* "1001" and of the title *alf layla wa-layla*. Since the 11th century Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria and the other countries of Eastern Islam were under the influence of the Turks. Thus the title "1001 Nights" at the beginning meant only a large number of nights, but later on the number was taken in its literal meaning, and it became necessary to add a great many stories in order to complete the number 1001.

The various component elements. If then India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and in some way the Turks were partners in the origin of the Nights we must assume that materials derived from all these countries and peoples are to be found in them. The first outer tests might be the proper names. There are Indian names like Sindbād, Turkish names like ʿAlī Baba and Khātūn; the names Shahrazād, Dīnāzād, Shāhzamān are Persian and occur, as de Goeje has shown, in Persian legends; so also Bahrām, Rustam, Ardashīr, Shāpūr and many others are Persian. However, by far the majority of names are Arabic, i.e. old Arabic names used among the Arabian bedouin and later Islamic names. Greek and European names occur in a few cases in stories treating of the relations between Muslims and Byzantines and Franks. Egyptian names refer to places and to months in their Coptic forms. Of Hebrew names chiefly Solomon and David occur; both play an important rôle in Islamic tradition. Besides them Āṣaf, Barakhiyā, Bulūḳiyā and others are named. But since in very many cases stories are transferred to other persons and frequently persons without names act in them the question of the names must not be stressed.

However, the frame-work system, which is very common in India but very rare in other countries, is a test of the Indian origin of certain parts of the Arabian Nights. In the Indian popular books it usually runs like this: "You may not do such and such a thing or else you will go the same way as so and so".—"How was that?" asks the other, and then the admonisher begins his story.

The foreign elements in the Nights have been carefully studied by Oestrup. One of the interesting statements he made was that in the Iranian fairy-tales the demons or supernatural powers act on their own account and independently, whereas in the more recent tales, especially in those from Egypt, they are always subject to some talisman or magic object; hence its owner decides the development of the action, not the Djinns and ʿIfrīts themselves. Only a short summary of the foreign elements in the Nights can be given here.

The frame-story is of Indian origin. That it consists of three different parts which originally were independent stories was shown by Emmanuel Cosquin in *Études folkloriques*, Paris 1922, 265. These parts are: 1. The story of a man who was grieved by a disloyal wife but whose grief was allayed when he saw that a high personality had the same misfortune. 2. The story of a demon or a giant whom his wife or his captive betrayed with many other men in the most audacious manner. This is the same as the tale told by the seventh vizier in the *Story of Sindbād the Wise*. 3. The story of a clever girl who by her skilful telling of stories averts an evil threatening her or her father or both of them. Of these three parts only the third one seems to have belonged to the original frame-work story, as indicated by al-Masʿūdī and by the *Fihrist*; in it, then, only the cruel king, the clever daughter of the vizier and her true old nurse were known. It is probable that the story of the clever daughter of the vizier came at an early date from India to Persia, where it was "nationalized" and combined with the other two parts of the frame-story. A number of tales in the Nights are of Indian origin: such are the stories of pious men that remind us of Buddhist and Jainist saints, the fables of animals, the story-cycles of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Wise*, and of *Djaliʿād and Shimās*. Indian motifs are to be found in different passages of the Nights: such are, e.g., the *Story of the Magic Horse*; the poisoning by means of the leaves of a book (by the physician Dūbān), a practice which points to Indian customs (cf. Gildemeister, *Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis loci et opuscula*, Bonn

1838, 89). All this passed through Persian before it reached the Arabs.

Quite a number of tales are of Persian origin, especially those fairy-tales in which the ghosts and the fairies act independently; see above. The tales which Oestrup enumerates as being of Indian-Persian origin are the following: 1) *The Story of the Magic Horse*; 2) *The Story of Ḥasan of Baṣra*; 3) *The Story of Sayf al-Mulūk*; 4) *The Story of Ḳamar al-Zamān and of Princess Budūr*; 5) *The Story of Prince Badr and of Princess Djawhar of Samandal*; 6) *The Story of Ardashīr and Ḥayāt al-Nufūs*. And according to him the relation between the *Story of ʿAlī Shār* and the Persian original, the former containing many details which recur in the probably later narrative of *Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī and the Girdle-girl*, also to be found in the Nights, is uncertain. The *Story of the Jealous Sisters* and the *Story of Aḥmad and Parī Bānū* that are found only in Galland give a strong impression of being originally Persian, but Persian prototypes of them have not become known as yet.

Baghdād is situated in the region of ancient Babylonia: it is, therefore, probable that ancient Babylonian ideas should have survived there until Islamic times and might be reflected in the Nights. Even a whole story, the *Story of Ḥayḳār the Wise*, which in some MSS appears as a part of the Nights, is of Old Mesopotamian origin; it probably dates back to the 7th century B.C., and it found its way through the Jewish and Christian literatures into Arabic literature. Khiḍr the Ever-Youthful, has a Babylonian prototype; the journeys of Bulūḳiyā and the water of life fetched by Prince Aḥmad may seflect motifs of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh. But Khiḍr and the water of life were probably iransmitted to the Arabs by the Romance of Alexander, and the journeys of Bulūḳiyā became known to them through Jewish literature. Above all, the frequent anecdotes about the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and their court and also some anecdotes about their subjects belong to the Baghdād recension of the Nights. The *Story of Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Sailor* found its definite shape probably in Baghdād, the romance of *ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān* [*q.v.*] contains Persian, Mesopotamian and Syrian materials; the romance of *ʿAdjīb and Gharīb* points to Mesopotamia and to Persia; the story of the clever slave-girl *Tawaddud* [*q.v.*] originated in Baghdād and was in some respects reshaped in Egypt. The Stories of *Bulūḳiyā*, of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Wise*, and of *Djaliʿād and Wird Khān* were certainly known in Baghdād. But there is no certain proof that all these tales were parts of the Baghdād recension. The same is to be said of the four stories of the Istanbul MS found by H. Ritter (see above); it contains four of our Nights stories but does not refer to *Alf Layla wa-Layla*. These stories are: 1) *The Story of the Six Men*, i.e. of the six brothers of the barber of Baghdād; 2) *The Story of Djullanār the Sea-girl*; 3) *The Story of Budūr and ʿUmayr b. Djubayr*; 4) *The Story of Abū Muḥammad the Slothful*.

Egyptian origin is to be postulated of the stories in which the tricks of clever thieves and rogues are related, of the tales in which the ghosts and demons appear as servants of talismans and of magic objects, and of stories that might be called "bourgeois novels", some of which resemble modern romances of adultery. All these stories date, of course, in their present form from the time of the Mamlūk sultans and of Turkish rule in Egypt. But some of the motifs go back to Ancient Egypt. The clever rogue ʿAlī al-Zaybaḳ and his companion Aḥmad al-Danaf have their prototype in the bold *condottiere* Amasis, and the treasure of Rhampsinit is found in the story of ʿAlī al-Zaybaḳ, as Nöldeke pointed out. The monkey-scribe in the story of the three dames of Baghdād may have his prototype in Thot, the scribe of the Egyptian gods who is often represented as a monkey, or in Hanuman the monkey-leader of the Indian *Ramayana*. It has also been suggested that the ancient story of the Egyptian shipwrecked person is to be connected with Sindbād's journeys, and that the story of the capture of Jaffa by Egyptian warriors hidden in sacks recurs in the story of ʿAlī Baba; but these connections are not very likely; see Littmann, *Tausendundeine Nacht in der arabischen Literatur*, 22.

For possible Greek influences in the Nights see von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, Chapter Nine, *Greece in the Arabian Nights*.

The various literary genres. It remains to give a summary account of the different classes of literature represented in the Nights; it is here, of course, impossible to mention every one of all the stories, as has been done in the *Anhang* to Littmann's translation. There six main groups were distinguished: 1) Fairy-tales; 2) Romances and novels; 3) Legends; 4) Didactic stories; 5) Humorous tales; 6) Anecdotes. A few examples of each group must suffice here.

1. The frame-story consists of three Indian fairy-tales. The tales which come first in all manuscripts (*The Merchant and the Djinnī*; *The Fisherman and the Djinnī*; *The Porter*; *The Three Calenders and the Three Dames in Baghdād*; *The Hunchback*) belong to this class; they are themselves examples of the frame-work system and contain some traits which remind us of Indian prototypes and even of some motifs which have parallels in stories from farther east. The best known fairy-tales are those of *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the Magic Lamp* and *ʿAlī Baba*. Other examples are *Ḳamar al-Zamān and Budūr*, *The Jealous Sisters*, *Prince Aḥmad and Parī Bānū*, *Sayf al-Mulūk*, *Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, *Zayn al-Aṣnām*.

2. The longest romance is that of *ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān* [*q.v.*] *and his Sons*; it has been discussed by Paret (*Der Ritterroman von ʿUmar an-Nuʿmān*, Tübingen 1927), and by H. Grégoire and R. Goossens (*ZDMG* 1934, 213: *Byzantinisches Epos und arabischer Ritterroman*). *The Story of ʿAdjīb and Gharīb* is the model of an Islamic popular romance. The stories of *the Porter and the Three Dames*, of *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Shāmāt*, of *Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn*, of *Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the Girdle-girl* might be called "bourgeois" romances or novels, as also the story of *Abū Ḳīr and Abū Ṣīr*.

Here the love-stories may be added. There are a great many of them in the Nights, and they comprise three groups: a) ancient Arabian life before Islam; b) urban life in Baghdād and Baṣra, love-affairs with girls or slave-girls in the cities or in the palace of the caliphs; c) love-novels from Cairo which are sometimes frivolous and lascivious. See Paret, *Früharabische Liebesgeschichten*, Bern 1927.

Also the stories of rogues and of seafarers are to be mentioned here. For *ʿAlī al-Zaybaḳ* see above; many short stories of the guardians are told before the rulers of Egypt. The famous story of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Sailor* is based on a book *The Wonders of India*, which contained adventures and sailors' yarns collected by a Persian sea captain at Baṣra in the 10th century. The first part of the story of *Abū Muḥammad the Slothful* is composed of sailors' stories and motifs of fairy-tales.

3. There are a few ancient Arabian legends inserted in the Nights: *Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī*, *Iram the City of Columns*; *The Brass City*; *The City of Lebta*, which refers to the conquest of North-western Africa by the Arabs. Other legends refer to pious men and women, among them to pious Israelites (these need not necessarily be due to Jewish authors); the legend of *The Pious Prince*, who was a son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and became a dervish, is reminiscent of the famous legend of Alexius.

4. Didactic stories, fables and parables, especially of animals, are known to many peoples and have found their way into the Nights also, where most of them seem to have originated in India, as e.g. the two long cycles of *Sindbād* [*q.v.*] *the Wise* (*Syntipas*) and of *Djaliʿād and Wird Khān*, and many of the fables of animals, but they were sometimes remodelled in their Arabic forms. The long story of the clever slave-girl *Tawaddud* [*q.v.*] (in Spain *la doncella Teodor*, in Abyssinia *Tauded*) with its probable Greek prototype correctly discussed by Horovitz belongs in this category.

5. Humorous tales are the stories of *Abu 'l-Ḥasan or the Sleeper Awakened*, of *Khalīfa the Fisherman*, of *Djaʿfar the Barmakid and the Old Bedouin*, and of *ʿAlī the Persian*; the latter is a typical story of lies. In the stories of *Maʿrūf the Cobbler* and of *the Hunchback* there ary many humorous traits.

6. The group of anecdotes comprises here all the stories that are not classified in the preceding groups. Collections of anecdotes are the stories of the *Hunchback* and of *the Barber and his Brothers*, and they are combined to a comedy of great style. The other anecdotes are to be divided into three groups: those of rulers and their circles, those of munificent men, those taken from general human life. Those of rulers begin with Alexander the Great and end with the Mamlūk sultans: a few of them refer to the Persian kings, a very large number of them refer to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, above all to Hārūn al-Rashīd who became the ideal ruler in the opinion of later Muslims. Some of these anecdotes may not originate from Baghdād but from Egypt where they were ascribed to him. The munificent men about whom the Nights tell are mainly Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, Maʿn b. Zāʾida and the Barmakids. The anecdotes from general human life are of several kinds: they tell of rich and poor, of young and old, of sexual abnormities (*Wardān and the Woman with the Bear*; *The Princess and the Monkey*), of bad eunuchs, of unjust and of clever judges, of stupid schoolmasters (a type known in Greek and Roman literature as well as in modern Egyptian Arabic tales). The *Nocturnal Adventure of the Caliph* transmitted only by Galland contains three long anecdotes told at large and intermingled with motifs from fairy-tales.

There are about 1420 poems or fragments of poetry in the 2nd Calcutta edition, according to Horovitz (in *Festschrift Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 375-9) Of these a number of 170 repetitions must be deducted, so 1250 insertions of poetry remain. Horovitz has been able to prove that those insertions whose authors he could discover are to be dated from the 12th to the 14th centuries, i.e. from the Egyptian period of the history of the Nights. These poems and verses are mostly of the kind that they might be omitted without disturbing the course of the prose texts, and, therefore, have been later added to them.

Bibliography: Has been given in the course of the article. Here special attention should be called to Oestrup's *Studier* and their annotated translation by Rescher (see above), to N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et Motifs des Mille et Une Nuits*, Beirut 1949, and to the full bibliography given by Brockelmann, II, 72-4, S II, 59-63. For the influence of the Arabian Nights on European literature cf. *The legacy of Islam*, 199 ff.; *Cassel's Encyclopaedia of literature*, s.v. (E. LITTMANN)

ALFARD [see NUDJŪM].

ALFŪNSHO, the transcription adopted by the majority of the Arab chroniclers of al-Andalus for Alfonso, the name of several monarchs of Christian Spain in the Middle Ages. The forms Idhfūnsho and al-Idhfūnsho, however, which correspond to the old Latin-Gothic form Ildefonso, are also occasionally found.

ALGARVE [see GHARB AL-ANDALUS].

ALGAZEL [see AL-GHAZĀLĪ].

ALGEBRA [see AL-DJABR WA'L-MUḲĀBALA].

ALGECIRAS [see AL-DJAZĪRA AL-KHAḌRĀʾ].

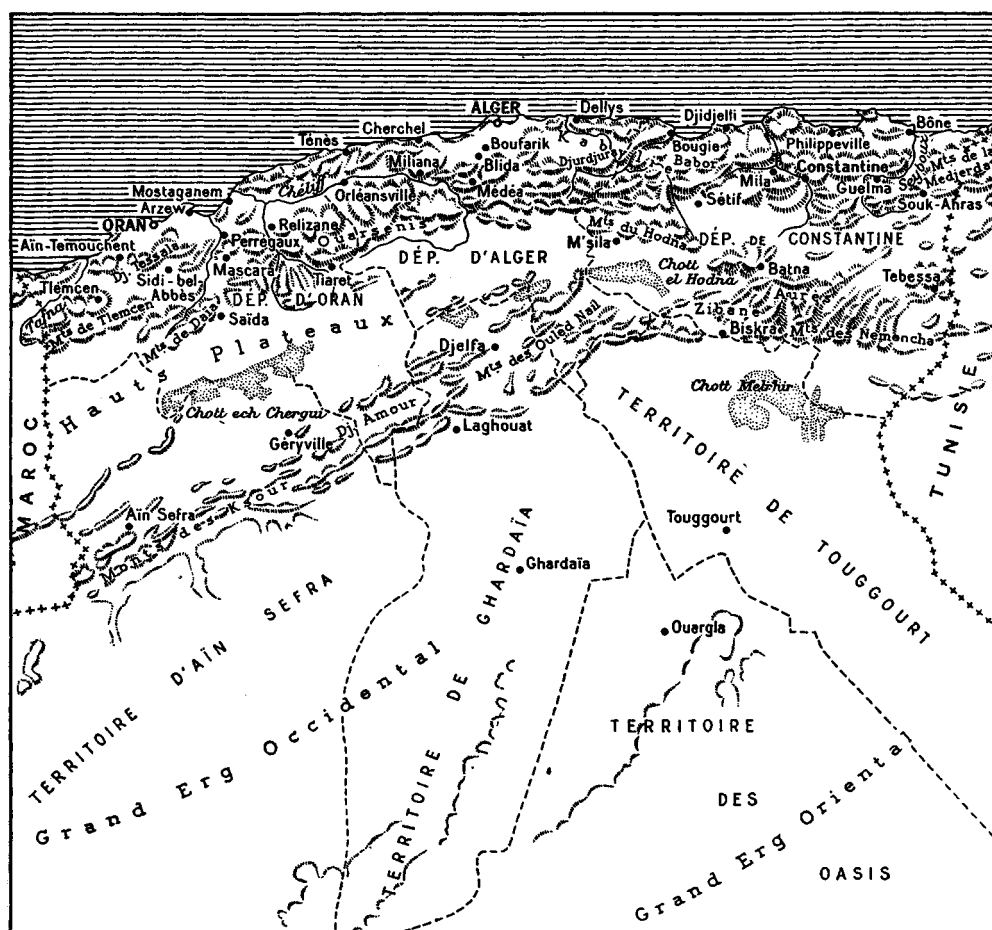
ALGEDI [see NUDJŪM].

ALGERIA (Ar.: BARR AL-DJAZĀʾIR), modern term indicating the central part of northern Africa between Morocco in the West, and Tunisia in the East.

(i) — Geography.
(ii) — History:
 (1) To the 16th century.
 (2) The Turkish period.
 (3) After 1830.
(iii) — The population.
(iv) — The institutions.
(v) — Languages.

(i) GEOGRAPHY.

Algeria comprises the central section of North Africa (also called Maghrib, Barbary, Africa Minor, the Atlas region [cf. MAGHRIB] and a large part of the Sahara, and has an area of 2,191,464 sq. km. Situated between latitudes 37° and 19° N., it is bounded by Morocco and Spanish Rio de Oro in the West, by French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa in the South, and by Libya and and Tunisia in the East. Algeria proper, which extends roughly to the southern slopes of the Saharan Atlas, covers only 14.6% of this area, or 320,000 sq. km. It is 1000 km. long, with 1,300 km. of coastline; it is 350 km. in breadth at the Moroccan frontier and 240 km. at the Tunisian, and extends from lat. 32° 1° to 35° 1' in the West, and from lat. 34° 9' to 37° 1' in the East. Tlemcen is at the same latitude as the oasis of Biskra. Algeria proper is a plateau with a mean altitude of 900 m. Is is traversed by the Atlas Mts., a southern branch of the Alpine chain, which were thrown up in a series of folds during the tertiary and at the beginning of the quaternary period, on the edge of the hard Saharo-African platform. They are divided into two main groups, the Tell Atlas in the North and the Saharan Atlas in the South, which come together in the east and enclose upland plains.

The Tell. The Tell Atlas in relief presents a complex picture, by reason of its excessively folded structure and of the extensive erosion caused by the Mediterranean rains and by the fact that its coastline is near sea level. The successive ridges rise parallel to or at an angle to the coast, cut by deep transverse valleys and separated, in the West, by longitudinal depressions. South of the hills of the Sāḥil (Sahel) of Oran, Dahra, and Benī Menāṣer, and the mountains of Zaccar (1,579 m.) stretches a depression 350 km. in length, following the line of the Sebkha of Oran, the low marshy plains of the Macta and the Mina, and the valley of the lower Chélif (Shalaf). It is

bounded in the South by lines of hills which rarely exceed 1000 m.: the Tessala, Ouled Ali, and Beni Chougran mountains, and the great massif of the Ouarsenis (Wan<u>sh</u>arīs) and the Maṭmāṭa which rises between the Chélif valley and the high plains. To the West of the valley of the Mina, the inner plains are dominated to the South by table-like limestone and sandstone formations, which rise to between 1000-1500 m.: these are the plateaus of Oran.

To the East of Algiers and the hills of the Sahel the mountain formations are higher and more massive. Between the plains of the Mitī<u>dj</u>a and Bône (Būna) there is no important depression, except that of the Wādī Sāḥil-Soummam with its western extension. The mountains of Kabylia, between the Mitī<u>dj</u>a and the Edough, are of great size and are dominated by a "limestone spine" formed by the <u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ura (highest peak Lālla <u>Kh</u>adī<u>dj</u>a, 2,308 m.) [see KABYLIA], the Babor (Bābūr) (2,004 m.), and the highest peaks of the Numidian chain. To the South, the Mitī<u>dj</u>a and the Medea mountains, the Bībān ranges, and the Constantine and Me<u>dj</u>erda mountains, composed of non-durable marl and schistose material, have comparatively soft or deeply-furrowed contours. The littoral, precipitous and rocky nearly everywhere, affords scant natural shelter against the N-W gales; the bays of Mers el Kebir-Oran (Mars al-Kabīr), Arzeu, Algiers, Bougie (Bi<u>dj</u>āya) and Bône face East.

The High Plains. The high plains, wrongly termed high plateaus, are monotonous expanses broken by isolated rocky humps whose moderately-folded structure makes them similar to the Saharan Atlas. Situated below the Tell Atlas, and subject to a climate which is already arid, they form a succession of enclosed basins: the *wādīs* discharge their alluvia and their waters into *sebk<u>h</u>a* (or *zahrez*), whose surface in summer sparkles with salt, while their margins (*<u>sh</u>oṭṭ*) have a covering of salt-loving plants. The high plains of the West, with the Gharbi (*<u>gh</u>arbī*) and Chergui (*<u>sh</u>arḳī*) *shoṭṭs* (1000 m.), the Zahrez (800 m.) and the shallow basin of the Ḥoḍna ([*q.v.*] 400 m.), drain partially into the sea. East of the mountains of the Ḥoḍna (1,890 m.) and the Belezma (2,094 m.), the high plains of Constantine (900-1100 m.) abound in mountain massifs which are extensions of the mountain chains of the Ḥoḍna, the Belezma and the Awrās.

The Saharan Atlas is formed, from Morocco to Biskra, by a group of asymmetrical minor ranges running SW-NE, the debris of moderately-folded ranges; they are separated by large depressions and

are half-buried under their own detritus. The Ksour (Ḳṣūr; 2,236 m.), the Amour (ʿAmūr [*q.v.*]; 2,008 m.) the Ouled Nail and the Zībān (or Zāb) mountains drop towards the NE.; they are easily negotiated. East of Biskra, the Aurès [see AWRĀS] is the largest and highest Algerian massif (D̲j̲abal Chélia, 2,329 m.), and is a succession of peaks and depressions running SW-NE.

The Desert. The varied terrain of the Atlas region contrasts with the extremely monotonous expanse of the desert; for instance its severe plateaus or *ḥamāda*, its immense plains which constitute enclosed basins and which are partly covered with sandy or pebbly *reg*, and finally its *erg*, vast agglomerations of sand-dunes which cover only 1/5 of its surface [see AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ].

The climate is Mediterranean in the Tell Atlas, but it deteriorates in the high plains and the Saharan Atlas where it becomes an arid without actually becoming a desert climate. On the littoral the variation in the mean monthly temperatures is small, because of the humidity. The climate is becoming continental; considerable heat has been known in depressions sheltered from the sea winds, with cold winters in the mountains and on the high plains. Everywhere, except on the littoral, where it rarely occurs, the sirocco (*s̲h̲ehīlī*) brings temperatures of 104° F and higher several times a year; in winter, on the other hand, snow covers the principal massifs for 2-3 weeks.

The summer is dry, apart from a few storms, and rain falls principally from October to May. The massifs of the Tell Atlas to the East of Algiers receive more than 31 ins. of rain, and sometimes more than 39 ins. The plains of the West, and the Ḥodna, receive only some 7-11 ins., except on their northern boundary, and the Saharan Atlas 11-15 ins. on its northern slopes. The desert receives less than 7 ins.

Only the main rivers of the Tell Atlas have water all the year round, and even then their summer flow is very small: these are Mediterranean torrents whose spate is sudden and violent. Such are the Tafna, the Macta (formed by the confluence of the Sig and the Habra), the S̲h̲alaf (Chélif), the Sebāw (Sebaou), the Wādī Ṣāhil, the al-Wādī al-Kabīr, the Seybūs (Seybouse), the Med̲j̲erda and its tributary, and the Wādī Melleg (the lower courses of the last two belong to Tunisia). Not one of them is navigable; some are used for irrigation. On the high plains and in the Saharan Atlas the *wādīs* contain water for only part of the year, and then only in their upper courses; many only contain water after heavy rains.

The vegetation has been much impaired by man. Thin forests of non-deciduous and resinous trees still cover the Tell mountains and certain more arid massifs; there are cork-trees on the siliceous and well-watered mountains of the Kabylias and the Bône region; evergreen oaks, or holm-oaks, indifferent to the soil, even in the Awrās; Aleppo pines on the limestone of the humid regions and on mountains already dry; Barbary thuyas and Kermes oaks in the Oran Tell, and thinly-sown junipers on the drier slopes. A few well-watered peaks still support plantations of cedars. Agricultural expansion and the demand for timber and charcoal have caused the forests to recede; the area under cultivation has chiefly increased at the expanse of dense thickets of wild olives and mastic trees, a characteristic of heavy, well-watered soils, and of a thin undergrowth of jujube trees on the drier plains of the Tell Atlas and the high plains of Constantine.

The areas which receive less than 13 ins. of rain annually are the regions of the steppe, a formation characterized by the scarcity of bushes and trees, especially of the latter, and by the presence of perennial herbaceous plants such as alfa (10 million usable acres) and esparto, of small ligneous plants such as the artemisia, salt-loving plants growing on the saline soil of the *s̲h̲oṭṭs*, and of an annual herbaceous vegetation which burgeons every spring. The desert is only an open steppe without alfa.

Algeria, therefore, comprises two great natural regions in addition to the desert: a Mediterranean region, where the cultivation of cereals, wheat and and barley, and of trees like the olive, the fig and the almond is practicable without irrigation, and consequently where a sedentary mode of existence possible: it is known to the indigenous peoples as the Tell; and, secondly, the steppes, where cultivation is not practicable without irrigation or flood waters, and which is devoted to the breeding of livestock on a migratory basis, and to nomadism: natives know this area and that of the desert under the common name of Sahara. This distinction between Tell and Sahara is a fundamental one in the history of the country no less than in its geography.

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(ii) HISTORY.

(1) *To the 16th century.*

The region which later became known as Algeria presents a framework not readily acceptable to the historian of Muslim North Africa. The frontiers which are shown on the map cannot set bounds to his field of study; they only assume any significance with the establishment of the Turkish regency of Algiers in the course of the 16th century. During the nine hundred years prior to this event, the future Algeria, which comprises what the Arab writers call central Mag̲h̲rib (al-Mag̲h̲rib al-Awsaṭ) together with part of Ifrīḳiya (or near Mag̲h̲rib), was closely linked with the two neighbouring countries, being almost invariably either subject to rulers coming from these countries or in fear of their domination. Although, in comparison with the two other subdivisions of Barbary or Mag̲h̲rib, this central region appears to be a large rural area with few towns, populated by nomadic shepherds and hill farmers, it has nevertheless through the centuries played a not inconsiderable part in the history of the Muslim West. Only the more important episodes in its history will be mentioned here.

In the middle of the 1st/7th century, North Africa was invaded by the Arabs, the propagators of Islam. The military power of Byzantium rapidly

disintegrated; but the reduction of the Berbers was a more difficult task. Resistance was primarily organized in central Maghrib; inspired, it is said, by Kusayla [*q.v.*], chief of the Awrāba, native bands arose which, near Biskra, engaged Uḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*]—a battle in which the latter lost his life (63/682). The Awrās in particular seems to have been used as a strongpoint in the struggle against the Arabs; it was in the foothills of this mountain massif that the Kāhina [*q.v.*], legendary queen of the country, witnessed, after a brilliant success, the destruction of Berber independence (74/693).

The central Maghrib again became the centre of autochthonous resistance in the 2nd/8th century, when the Berbers had become converted en masse to Khāridjism. Tlemcen, where Abū Ḳurrā, chief of the Banū Ifran [*q.v.*] (148/765), was in command, was at first their chief centre. In the 3rd/9th century Tīhert (near the modern Tiaret), capital of the Rustamid [*q.v.*] *imāms*, became the centre of Berber Khāridjism.

The position of this central region, on the borders of the territory which the Aghlabids of al-Ḳayrawān held in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, explains how the Fāṭimid [*q.v.*] power was engendered there among the Kutāma [*q.v.*] Berbers of Lesser Kabylia at the end of the 3rd/9th century. These new masters, however, were not accepted without a struggle; the Awrās and its environs witnessed the terrible revolt of the Man with the Donkey, in which the Fâṭimid cause was nearly lost [see Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī].

Taking over the role of the Kutāma, the Ṣinhādja [*q.v.*; see also Zīrids] of central Maghrib became, in the 4th/10th century, the most useful allies of the Fāṭimids and supported their policy of opposition to the Zanāta [*q.v.*], who were vassals of the Umayyads of Spain. The Zanâta were for the most part nomads, and frequented the central and western plains. The Ṣinhādja were settled tribes, and inhabited the central and eastern mountain regions; they founded or developed towns, such as Ashīr and the Ḳalʿa, capital of the Ṣinhādja Banū Ḥammād [see Ḥammādids]. This latter kingdom experienced the repercussion of the serious events which occurred in Ifrīḳiya. The invasion of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] Arabs in the middle of the 5th/11th century, which destroyed the kingdom of al-Ḳayrawān, caused an influx into the Ḳalʿa of merchants and artisans, and palaces were built there which betrayed the influence of Fāṭimid Egypt and of Persia. But it was not long before the Arab scourge menaced, in their turn, the Banū Ḥammâd, who emigrated to Bidjāya (Bougie).

While, in what was later the province of Constantine, the power and prosperity of the former rulers increased, the future provinces of Oran and Algiers acquired new masters. Emerging from Morocco, the Almoravids (5th/11th century) [see al-Murābiṭūn] overran the country as far as Algiers; the Almohads (6th/12th century) [see al-Muwaḥḥidūn and Muʾminids] extended their sway over the whole of North Africa. Both dynasties, which had in addition annexed Muslim Spain, enriched the cities of their Berber dominions, particularly Tlemcen, with the products of the magnificent civilization of al-Andalus.

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the great Almohad empire collapsed, and Tlemcen, which had escaped ravage et the hands of the Arabs and the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], became the capital of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād [see ʿAbd al-Wādids], formerly Zanâta nomads. This new kingdom achieved real economic prosperity; but it was constantly threatened by the Marīnids, its Moroccan neighbours, and, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, it was annexed by the Turks of Algiers.

It was the appearance of the Spanish off the small Berber port of Algiers which led to Turkish intervention in the central region of North Africa and made Algiers the centre of a vassal State. For nearly three centuries piracy, a substitute for holy war, provided the Regency of Algiers with important resources. The country itself, which later became Algeria, and which was divided into three provinces, to some extent evaded the control of its Levantine masters, and its nomadic and settled populations pursued in relative independence an archaic mode of existence, the history of which is, and will doubtless long remain, obscure to us.

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(G. Marçais)

(2) *The Turkish period.*

The establishment of the Turks in Algiers was not the result of a deliberate policy of expansion planned and carried out by the Ottomans. It was, on the contrary, at least at its inception, a private venture by two intrepid corsairs, known in Western sources as the Barbarossa brothers, ʿArūdj [*q.v.*] and Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. These two, with a great reputation for valour gained in hunting down Christian vessels in the Mediterranean, came to the rescue of Islam in

Africa, which they saved from the hands of the Spaniards. In 922/1516, the inhabitants of Algiers appealed to ʿArū̲d̲j̲, who proclaimed himself sultan, and occupied Miliana, Medea, Tenes and Tlemcen. He was killed at Tlemcen after resisting siege by the Spanish for six months (924/1518). K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn restored the situation, which had been rendered momentarily critical by the death of his brother, by presenting the Ottoman Sultan Selīm with the newly-acquired territories, thus gaining both increased prestige and the military and financial aid which he needed. He extended his authority over Collo, Bône, Constantine and Cherchell, and 1529 forced the surrender of the Peñon of Algiers, a fort which the Spanish had erected on an islet some 300 yards from the shore. In 940/1533 K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn was appointed commander-in-chief of the Ottoman fleet, and was replaced at Algiers by *beylerbeys* who administered the country either directly or through lieutenants until 995/1587. Aspirations to independence on the part of some of these officials led the Ottoman Government, in 1587, to replace them by *pas̲h̲as* appointed for a term of three years. The *pas̲h̲as* were eclipsed, after 1070/1659, by the *ag̲h̲as* of the army corps, who were in turn succeeded by a new power, that of the *deys*, who ruled until the capture of Algiers by France. The triennial *pas̲h̲as*, *ag̲h̲as* and *deys* were more often than not tools in the hands either of the army corps (*od̲j̲aḳ*), recruited primarily from the townsmen of Anatolia, or of the *ṭāʾifat al-ruʾasā*, a guild of corsair captains which, for three centuries, furnished the Algerian treasury with the greater part of its resources. The four *ag̲h̲as* who reigned successively from 1659-71 were all assassinated, and fourteen of the twenty-eight *deys* met the same fate.

The internal organization of the Algerian State is obscure; the scant information of a reliable nature which is available to-day deals for the most part with the era of the *deys*. The *deys*, when they managed to stay in power, governed as absolute sovereigns assisted by a council (*dīwān*) composed of the *k̲h̲azinedār* or *k̲h̲aznad̲j̲ī* (treasurer), the *ag̲h̲a* of the camp (commander of the troops), the *wakīl al-k̲h̲ard̲j̲* (head of naval administration), the *bayt al-māld̲j̲ī* (trustee of vacant estates), and the *k̲h̲od̲j̲at al-k̲h̲awl* or *atk̲h̲od̲j̲an* (receiver of tribute).

With the exception of the district of Algiers itself which constituted the *dār al-sulṭān* and was divided into seven regions (*waṭan*) administered by Turkish *ḳāʾids* under the direct control of the *dey*, the whole country was divided into three provinces (*beylik*), each under a *bey*, which anticipated the later French provinces. These were the province of Tīṭarī, with Medea as its chief town; the eastern province with Constantine as its centre; and the western province, the capital of which was successively Māzūna, Mascara and, after 1792, Oran. The *beys*, appointed and dismissed by the *dey*, ruled their provinces with absolute authority, assisted by *ḳāʾids*. In the eyes of the central government, they were no more than revenue collectors, tax-farmers who contracted, usually having bought their offices, to pay into the state coffers large sums, the size of which was determined in Algiers. The sum contracted was payable during the financial year, the commencement of which coincided with the appointment of the *bey*, in several instalments, effected by the *bey*, his lieutenant and a courier. The *bey* appeared in person at Algiers during the spring following his appointment and thereafter every three years. His lieutenant travelled to Algiers twice a year, spring and autumn, and the courier, whose office was occasionally discharged by an official described in the archives at Algiers as *wakīl-i sipāhiyān*, went to the capital regularly every month, or every two or three months. The sums remitted to the Treasury by each official remained constant, but each official remitted a different amount. This organization seems to have been designed solely to enable the *dey* to exercise the closest supervision of the provincial governors, and to dismiss them at the slightest sign of any shortcoming.

This preoccupation with financial matters was apparent throughout the internal organization of Algeria under the Turks. All commissions and offices involving the collection of taxes, dues, imposts or fines were farmed out by the State for sums payable, according to circumstances, in one or more annual instalments. Such a system gave rise to a host of abuses and led to exploitation of the people on such a scale as to render any attempt at winning their sympathies impossible. Moreover, Turkish ascendancy existed more in theory than in fact, and in their garrison-towns in the interior of the country (Bid̲j̲āya, Bord̲j̲ Lehaou, Constantine, Medea, Miliana, Māzūna, Mascara, Tlemcen) the Anatolian *yoldas̲h̲* had often the appearance of troops under siege. In order to maintain their own position, the Turks were obliged to inflame tribal rivalries; the *mak̲h̲zen* tribes, when they espoused the Turkish cause, secured not only various financial immunities but also the right to oppress subject tribes (*raʿāyā*) and to exterminate rebel tribes. At the same time, the Turks established military colonies (*zumūl*) on all the main communication routes. Thus the Kabylian massif was ringed with posts responsible for ensuring the free passage of troops. Finally the Turks endeavoured to conciliate the religious orders. But they were not entirely successful, and the revolts which broke out at the beginning of the 19th century in in the province of Oran and in the Bābūr Kabylia were the work of the powerful Darḳāwa order encouraged and supported by the S̲h̲arīfs of Fez.

The Turks had no thought of improving the territories they conquered. The future of Algeria, they considered, did not lie in its hinterland. They had come by sea, and they continued to look seawards, and Mediterranean piracy provided the major part of their revenue. The 17th century was the golden age of privateering. In Algiers, about 1650, there were nearly 35,000 captives in the city prisons. Spain made several unavailing attempts to capture Algiers (1541, 1567, 1775). But thereafter French and British naval demonstrations checked the Algerian mariners' piratical career, and their power declined. Their crews became less audacious. Only one *raʾīs*, Ḥamīdū, deserves mention in the 18th century for the temerity of his exploits. After the middle of the century Algiers, impoverished and shorn of its former importance, suffered a decline in population, a decline hastened by famine and plague. In 1816, after the Congress of Vienna, when Lord Exmouth and the Dutch admiral Van der Capellen, the representatives of Europe, arrived to bombard the town, there were only 1,200 slaves in the prisons. On the eve of the French invasion, Algiers, which had at one time had 100,000 inhabitants, had been reduced to barely 40,000.

To sum up, little is known even now of the history of Algeria under the Turks; it is a period which has not aroused much interest. At that time, however, the frontiers of the region situated between present day Morocco and Tunisia, corresponded for the

first time with the frontiers drawn on the map of Barbary as we know it to-day. Moreover, the fusion between the Arab and Berber elements of the population had become more complete. Algeria entered on its career as an entity, and Algiers attained the status of a capital.

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(3) *After 1830.*

Following a dispute concerning the supply of wheat, the *dey* of Algiers Ḥusayn insulted Deval, the French Consul. The Government of Charles X instructed the fleet to blockade the old pirate stronghold. In 1830, influenced by considerations of internal policy, Polignac, the chief minister, decided, despite British objections, to send an expeditionary force to Algiers. The *dey* surrendered on 5th July and embarked with the majority of his janissaries. France, which did not aim at permanent occupation, entered into negotiation with the other powers. At first the July Monarchy was perplexed by the "embarrassing legacy" of the previous régime. It decided to begin with to confine itself to a limited and temporary occupation. It was not until 1834 that a Governor-General was appointed following the report of an "African Commission". Until 1841 the French occupation, frowned on by the Chambers, was limited to possession of the principal ports and their environs.

Meanwhile, the situation had changed in the interior. The Turks, the *ḳul-oghlus*, and the former *makhzen* were harassed by the Arabs, and various native states came into being. The *bey* of Constantine, Aḥmad, consolidated his power within his province. In the west, after a period of anarchy, the people accepted or were subjected to the rule of the marabout ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who was conspicuous for his bravery, his diplomacy and his organizing ability. French policy vacillated between collaboration with the former *makhzen* and dealings with the new Arab chiefs. But although ʿAbd al-Ḳādir twice agreed to sign treaties which strengthened his position, Aḥmad refused, and repulsed a French army before Constantine in 1836. The following year a new expedition captured the town, and France decided to effect a definitive occupation of the eastern province. In 1839 ʿAbd al-Ḳādir declared war on France. The conduct of operations during Marshal Valée's governorship was apathetic. General Bugeaud was despatched to Algeria with a large force and, by employing new tactics, he succeeded, between 1841 and 1847, in crippling the power of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, in suppressing the risings organized in the mountains by religious agitators, in defeating in 1844 the army of the Sultan of Morocco, who supported the rebels, and in beginning the subjection of the nomads of the south. He put in hand the organization of indirect rule through "Arab bureaus", and encouraged European colonization in the coastal plains by populating villages, virtually military colonies, which were designed to consolidate his work.

These colonies were reinforced in 1848 by an influx of Parisian workers who formed forty-two new villages, followed by colonists of all kinds, who were given small grants of land by the State or who set themselves up on their own account.

The occupation of the country proceeded under the Second Republic, and at the beginning of the Second Empire, by the annexation of the oases and of Kabylia. In order to protect Algeria from the nomads of the south, and to control the desert trade routes, fortified posts were established on the plateaus, and columns scoured the Saharan borders. Kabylia, which was independent during the Turkish era, had already been penetrated by two expeditions under Bugeaud, and by the campaigns of Saint-Arnaud and Randon. France was thus enabled to extend her control over the Kabylia of the Babors, the Oued Sahel region and the Sebaou valley. The Kabylian confederations of Djurdjura held out longer, and were subjugated by Marshal Randon in 1857. France allowed the people to retain their municipal organization and their customs. Since that time peace in Algeria has not been disturbed by any general uprising. The insurrection of 1871 was the result of Germany's defeat of France, of the reduction in the strength of the garrisons, and the discontent of the great Moḳrānī family. The Medjana, both the Kabylias, parts of the department of Algiers, and the southern half of the department of Constantine, rebelled. The rebels massacred colonists, and threatened the Mitidja. Admiral de Gueydon, appointed Governor-General of Algeria, restored order. The rebels were heavily fined, and over a million acres of land were confiscated and set aside for colonization. Again in 1881 a comparatively serious revolt broke out in the south of the department of Oran, led by Bū ʿAmāma. This led to the establishment of a line of permanent posts on the southern edge of the plateaus. A revolt in the Sétif (Saṭīf) and Guelma (Ḳālama) areas in 1945 caused the death of about 100 Europeans, but was of short duration and was severely repressed.

The organization and colonization of Algeria since the time of Bugeaud have passed through several phases characterized by the application of quite distinct methods. The Second Republic favoured a policy of assimilation and of French colonization. The civil territory of the three departments was placed under prefects responsible for the administration of the colonists. The remainder was in the hands of the military authority under the control of the Governor-General, the supreme head of the "Arab bureaus". The native population was governed by Muslim chiefs, appointed and supervised by the military administration. This organization continued to exist under the Second Empire. Under Randon's governorship, European colonization was increased and the economic framework of the country was built up. Algeria was visualised as a source of

tropical foodstuffs; but the crop which succeeded best was corn, the colonists' crop until about 1881. An economic crisis and the increasing claims of the colonists, who were handicapped by the limited scope of their concessions and who wished to acquire land made available through the establishment of cantonments, led the Government to renew the policy of assimilation. From 1858-60, the country was governed from Paris by a Ministry for Algeria and the Colonies, entrusted at first to Prince Napoléon, and them to the Comte de Chasseloup-Laubat. The disorder of the administration forced Napoléon III to restore military government under Marshal Pélissier and, after the latter's death in 1864, under Marshal Mac-Mahon. During this period, despite opposition from the colonists, the Emperor tried to make Algeria an "Arab Kingdom". He protected the tribal collective lands by the *senatus consultum* of 1863; by that of 1865, Muslims were allowed to adopt French nationality.

In 1870 the colonists expelled the imperial agents and set up the revolutionary government of the "commune" of Algiers. The Government headed by Thiers decided on the establishment of a civil administration. From that time, although the first two governors, Admiral de Gueydon and General Chanzy, came from the armed forces, the civil territory increased steadily in extent and the "Arab bureaus" gave way to "mixed communes".

Complete administrative and financial autonomy was achieved in 1900. The powers of the Governor General were increased, and the budget was henceforth voted by the "Délégations financières", a body representing the various economic interests in the country. Algeria was empowered to raise loans in order to improve its industrial plant, ports, roads, railways, dams etc. An era of prosperity was inaugurated. More varied types of crops were grown, and over an ever-increasing area. European colonization was stimulated; the outlay necessitated by increasingly scientific agricultural methods gave it a capitalist character unknown before the large-scale cultivation of the grape and of citrus fruits. New mines of iron, zinc and phosphates were developed. The native population increased as the result of a high birth-rate coupled with a decreased mortality rate, the product of more hygienic methods. The economic achievement was very considerable, but social policy continued to be paternal in spirit.

Algeria played a prominent part in the 1939-45 war. After the Anglo-American landings in 1942, a French liberation force was organized there which took part in driving the Germans and Italians out of Tunisia, and participated in the Italian compaign and in the fighting in France. In recognition of the services rendered by Muslims during this common effort, the political régime was improved by the creation of an Algerian Assembly, elected by universal suffrage and consisting of two houses, European and Muslim, with equal rights. The work of economic development was resumed on a more generous scale; a comprehensive scheme for the education of Muslims was drawn up, and an era of social reform was ushered in.

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(M. Emerit)

(iii) Population.

Demography. The total population of Algeria, according to the census of 31 Oct. 1948, is 8,681,785, which represents a large increase as compared with previous censuses. It comprises 7,721,678 Muslims and 960,107 non-Muslims; the latter include 876,686 French and 45,586 other Europeans, of whom $^3/_4$ are Spanish. More than 75% of the Europeans live in the cities. In the country they are found chiefly in the Tell, especially in the wine-growing and market-gardening districts. In the department of Oran most of the French are of Spanish origin.

The majority of the Muslims live in the rural areas, and the movement to the towns is a recent phenomenon: 1/5 of them now live in them. They form the majority everywhere except in Algiers and Oran. The population of the largest towns (1948) is as follows:

	Muslims	*Non-Muslims*	*Total*
Algiers (incl. suburbs)	225,539	247,722	473,261
Oran (incl. suburbs)	90,678	174,036	264,714
Constantine	77,089	37,249	114,338
Bône	56,614	44,541	105,155

There are five other cities of from 50-100,000 inhabitants: Tlemcen, Philippeville, Sidi-bel-Abbès, Mostaganem, and Sétif, all situated in the Tell. The distribution of the population in the administrative districts and its density per sq. km. are as follows:

Department of Oran	1,990,729	density 30
Department of Algiers	2,765,896	density 50
Department of Constantine	3,108,165	density 35
Southern Territories	816,993	density 0.4

The most populous regions are those of the Tell Atlas where the density per sq. km. generally exceeds 30 and sometimes 60 (Trārā, the Algiers district, the Kabylias); it reaches 114 in the purely rural and mountainous arrondissement of Tizi Ouzou, but drops to between 10 and 30 on the high plains of Constantine (except in the NW) and in the Awrās and the Ḥodna, to less than 10 on the steppes, and less than 1 in the desert.

Ethnography. The Muslim peoples of Algeria, the Berbers [*q.v.*], have an obscure origin. Of white race, they are, and apparently have been since remote antiquity, of various physical types. The influx of foreigners has not been on a large scale in the course of the centuries, except for that of the Arabs (i.e., Muslims from the East) in certain

regions, and of Mediterranean elements in the cities, where the most recent arrivals are the Andalus (Muslims returning from Spain), Turks and Europeans. But although most of the population calls itself Arab because it speaks Arabic, although the descendants of Turks who married Algerian women call themselves *ḳul-oghlu* (*kouloughli*), although the older citizens, of considerably mixed origin, pride themselves in the term *ḥaḍar* while others boast of being "Andalus", the bulk of the population has changed little, anthropologically, and has remained Berber. In the Saharan oases the coloured Ḥarāṭīn [see ḤARṬĀNI] cultivate the soil, and the coloured races of the Sudan were for long sold as slaves (*ʿabīd*) in the towns. In practice, the terms "Arabs" and "Berbers" are used for Arabic-speakers and Berber- speakers.

29% of Algerian Muslims still speak Berber; they are chiefly the Shāwiyya (Chaouia), who spill over extensively from the Awrās, and the Kabyles (*ḳabāʾil*) west of Djidjelli; there are also the Benī Menāṣer of the mountains between Tenes and Cherchell, and small groups in the Mitīdjian Atlas, the Wansharīs (Ouarsenis), the Tlemcen Mountains and, in the South, the mountains of the Ksour. In the Sahara Berber is spoken by the Tuareg [*q.v.*], by the Mzābites [*q.v.*] and some Ksourians (villagers) of the Saoura, Gourara, Wargla and the Wādī Rīgh (Oued Righ). The Berber dialects, which vary from district to district, do not constitute a literary language; Berber is not written, and its literature is transmitted orally. From the 11th century onwards, Arabic was propagated far more by the nomads than by the towns. The sedentary Arab dialects are localised in the cities, in eastern Kabylia and the Trāra; everywhere else Berber was pushed back by the bedouin dialects.

The Arabs, who have thus furnished 71% of Algerians with dialects derived from their language, have gradually converted them all to Islam (except for 130,000 Jews, at the present day). Virtually the only rite practised in Algeria is the Mālikite; there are a few followers of the Ḥanafī rite among people of Turkish descent in Algiers and Tlemcen. The Mzābites, Ibāḍī (Khāridjite) heretics, form a separate community.

Of the fundamental practices of Islam, which are the same everywhere, the five daily prayers are regularly performed in Algeria only by a minority of the population; the pilgrimage to Mecca, to which people now travel by sea or air, is performed by about a thousand believers a year; and the Ramaḍān fast is the most universally respected religious obligation.

Islam in North Africa is characterised by the development there of religious brotherhoods and of the cult of saints or marabouts. The religious brotherhoods once played a considerable part in political affairs, as a result of their moral authority in an Algeria in which law and order had not yet been fully established. Their importance has since greatly diminished; they maintain, on the whole, good relations with the French authorities, but they are strongly criticised by the townspeople. It is impossible to state the number of their adherents with any accuracy (250 to 450,000?). The most important is the Raḥmāniyya which comprises more than half the *ikhwān*, notably in eastern Algeria; next come the Ṭayyibiyya, still active in the province of Oran; the Shādhiliyya, whose adherents are primarily recruited in the department of Algiers; the Tidjāniyya in department of Constantine; and the Ḳādiriyya; there are also a few Darḳāwa in Oran, and ʿIsāwa and ʿAmmāriyya in Constantine. [Cf. the articles on these orders.]

The saints, or marabouts [cf. WALĪ], are not necessarily members of the brotherhoods. In former days some of them played a considerable moral and political role, especially in western Algeria where numerous marabout families or tribes still survive, such as the Awlād Sīdī Shaykh (Ouled Sidi Sheikh) of Southern Oran. Some of them trace their origin to the Prophet's family (though ʿAlī and Fāṭima): these are the *shurafāʾ* (*chorfa*) [cf. SHARĪF]. At the end of the Middle Ages, and later, many are said to have come from Morocco and Sāḳiyat al-Ḥamrāʾ (Saguiet el Hamra, Rio de Oro), but the majority pass as natives of the country. They all transmit the *baraka* to their descendants, if any. But many marabouts have never existed, and their cult is proof of the persistance of pre-Islamic nature cults involving trees, springs, rocks, and mountains (for instance Lālla Khadīdja at the highest point of the Djurdjura). The marabout cult has sometimes gained non-Muslim adherents. Pre-Islamic practices survive in various rites involving magic and sorcery; in the belief in the evil eye, and in sundry agricultural rites. All the non-orthodox popular practices are still widespread in certain country districts, especially among the women.

Islam, in Algeria as elsewhere, has permeated social life. Although the life of the Kabyles in the West, and of the inhabitants of the Awrās and of the Tuareg of the Sahara, remains faithful to customs which owe nothing to Muslim law, the private life of the majority of native Algerians is regulated by this law, especially as regards the law of succession, which, in detail, is extremely complex, and personal status. Polygamy, although of course authorized, is in fact not prevalent, particularly in the towns. Mālikite law does not forbid child marriage, and the young girls' consent to their own marriage, which is arranged by their father, is not required (the right of *djabr*); women can be repudiated by their husbands without any formality or indemnity, a practice which encourages "successive polygamy". Agrarian law in Algeria has undergone a radical transformation through the influence of French law.

Ways of life. Social life and economic activity are bound up with the way of life of the various elements of the population.

The tribes of the steppes and the desert, consisting of shepherds who breed sheep, goats, camels and horses, are still more or less nomadic. Omitting the Tuareg and the Shaʿānba who are pure Saharans [see AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ], only those tribes will be mentioned which roam between the desert and Algeria proper. Some still spend the summer in the Tell. The Arbāʿ (Laârba) of the Laghwāṭ region, and the Said Atba of the Wargla neighbourhood are almost solely pastoral in their way of life, and spend the summer in the Serson and on the southern slopes of the Wansharīs. The nomads of the Touggourt Territory, owners of palm-trees and with fewer flocks, spend the summer in the high plains of Constantine; they include the Ouled Djedi and Bouazid of the Oued Djedi, the Arab Sherāḳa (Cheraga), the ʿAmūr and Ouled Sidi Salah of the dependency of Biskra and the Arab Gheraba and the Ouled Moulet of the dependency of Touggourt. Other tribes, which live in the valleys of the Saharan foot-hills, cultivating a certain amount of grain and grazing the pasturages, spend the summer with their flocks in the Saharan Atlas; for instance the Awlād Sīdī Shaykh, the Awlād Naīl of the south and the Nememcha in the east.

The steppes are the province of the semi-nomads who, for 6-8 months of the year, remain close to their barley and wheat fields and their winter pasture grounds. The ʿAmūr and the Awlād Naʾil of the north use the pasture grounds of the southern valleys of the Saharan Atlas and the folds of the high steppes, and spend the summer in the Atlas. The semi-nomads of the high steppes, cultivators of grain crops and collectors of alfa, spend the summer with their flocks on the southern slopes of the Tell Atlas. The Hamian, to the west, are former camel nomads. The tribes of the Ḥodna have no alfa and in the summer migrate with their flocks and as labourers to the high plains of Constantine.

The breeding of the horse, formerly used in battle, is on the decline; so also is that of the camel, the beast of burden and trade, owing to the competition of rail and road. Sheep breeding, which flourished between 1880 and 1920, is giving way to the cultivation of cereals. The collective ownership of agricultural land is developing into family ownership and even into private ownership; the tents, made of camel hair, goat's hair and wool, formerly grouped in great *douars*, are dwindling; they are only used as temporary dwellings by the semi-nomads, who spend the winter in huts or houses. The economic and social unit, which among the nomads is the tribe or a subdivision of the tribe, is a smaller subdivision or the patriarchal family among the semi-nomads.

In the principal mountain massifs the inhabitants often still retain their Berber dialects and customs; but their way of life depends on local conditions. The Awrās is the stronghold of the Shāwiyya, who are both agriculturalists and breeders of sheep and goats. Their terraced fields, usually irrigated, support cereals and, depending on the altitude, date-palms, figs, apricots and nuts. Although principally village dwellers, they undertake a winter migration, and to some extent follow a semi-nomadic existence, in the direction of the plains of the north and south; they spend the summer on the upland pasture grounds with the exclusively pastoral people. Their lofty villages, surmounted by fortified granaries (see AGADIR), are still under the effective authority of *djemāʿas*. Among the Kabyles, only those of the west (Djurdjura, Soumman, Bābūr, Guergour) have retained their traditional dialects and customs. Their terraced fields chiefly support olive and fig trees; they lack cereals and livestock. For want of space they are emigrating in increasing numbers, principally to the towns of Algeria and to France. The village (*taddart*), whether its quarters (*kharrūba*) are combined, separate or scattered, forms the economic, social and political unit: the *djemāʿa* officially maintains its traditional authority in Kabylia of the Djurdjura. The Kabyles of the east are arabicised. Like their non-Kabyle neighbours of the Bône region, they live in large clearings where they cultivate barley, sorghum and a few fruit trees; they breed cattle and sheep etc., and work in the forests, mainly stripping cork. Their neighbours have huts made with branches; they live in houses grouped in hamlets and are emigrating in large numbers. In western Algeria the way of life of the Beni Menāṣer (Berber-speaking) and of the Trāra (Arabicised) recalls that of the Kabyles of the west. The inhabitants of the high valleys of the Wansharīs and the Oran plateaus, once almost all semi-nomads, now have no more than a few tents.

The fertile plains and hills of the Tell, formerly coveted and menaced by both nomads and mountain dwellers, and only insufficiently exploited by people living in huts and tents and gaining a livelihood from the cultivation of cereals and extensive stock-breeding, have greatly changed in appearance. In the areas of dense colonization, some of the former *fellāḥs* have become agricultural labourers while others have profited by the examples before their eyes. The local populations everywhere, whose numbers have greatly increased, have considerably extended the area devoted to the cultivation of cereals, at the expense of rearing of livestock. The old semi-nomad tribes of the high plains of Constantine are now bound to the soil. Tribal connections are forgotten; society is crumbling, but private ownership of property often still remains vested in the family. French schooling, military service, and emigration—usually temporary—to the towns or to France accentuates individualism and family autonomy.

Individualism is getting the upper hand in the cities, without causing loss of solidarity between men of the same origin. The partly-Turkish bourgeoisie of the ancient cities of Algeria (Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen) has been to a large extent regenerated by people of rural origin; artisans have gradually disappeared. Both old and new towns now have a prosperous or rich bourgeoisie of landed proprietors and a few business men, a middle class of civil servants, members of the liberal professions and various employees, and a large proletariat, burdened with an excessive number of rural immigrants with no manual skill and potentially only mediocre labourers.

Economy. The native elements remain the dominant factor in the Algerian economy. They cultivate nearly 3/4 of the grain lands, sowing almost entirely barley and wheat, and nearly 2/3 of the bearing olive trees and of land devoted to pulses and tobacco. They own more than 96% of the date palms and nearly all the fig trees. They own 95% of the sheep and goats. The colonists, on the other hand, cultivate the vine almost exclusively, and are almost alone in growing early vegetables and citrus fruits. A fundamental problem is how to increase the volume, still very low, of the native output as a whole, and to improve the quality of livestock. Some Algerians have been trained in fishing by Frenchmen of Spanish or Italian origin. The native peoples provide only the labour force and fill a few lower grades in the mines (iron and phosphates, especially lead and zinc), but they are employed in large numbers in the transport services. Industry, still underdeveloped despite recent efforts, finds in them an ample source of labour, but few skilled craftsmen or specialists. Short-term emigration to the industrial cities and to dockyards in France assures an abundant flow of money into the country.

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(iv) INSTITUTIONS.

Algeria is part of the French Union as defined by the constitution of 27 October 1946. In it Algeria holds a peculiar position, which was defined by the law of 20 September 1947 entitled "the Algerian Statute". At the head of Algeria, there is a Governor with wide powers. The inhabitants are represented by an elective Algerian assembly which not only has financial powers, as had the "*Délégations financières*" which it replaces, but also a part in the initiation and adaptation to the country of the laws, the principal legislative body being the French Parliament.

Personal status had previously been defined by the law of 7 May 1946, an entirely new law which bears the name of its author, Lamine-Gueye, and which proclaimed the equality of the inhabitants of the country: "all subjects of French nationality of the departments of Algeria enjoy, without distinction of birth, race, language or religion, the rights attaching to the status of French citizens and are subject to the same obligations". But since alongside the Europeans, who are mainly French, lives a large Muslim majority, whose private life is largely regulated by Muslim law, it is laid down that "citizens who do not possess French civil status keep their personal status as long as they have not renounced it". The citizens of French status are French citizens by birth, Algerian-born Jews, who have been citizens since the Crémieux decree of 24 October 1870, a few Muslims who have applied for French citizenship as a result of the facilities given by the *senatus-consultum* of 14 July 1865 and by the law of 4 February 1919, and finally naturalised foreigners, especially pursuant to the law of 26 June 1889. Citizens of local status are all the other Muslims. For these, the following matters remain subject to Muslim law (and, for certain Berber-speaking areas, to customary law): "marriage, marital authority, married women's rights, divorce, repudiation, affiliation, paternal authority, majority, minority, deprivation of control over property, emancipation, and guardianship" (J. Lambert). For foreigners the regulations are in general similar to those in force in France. Foreign Muslims, mainly Tunisians and Moroccans, have in certain cases, e.g. before the courts, the same status as Algerian Muslims.

Political Organisation. The Governor General "represents the Government of the French Republic throughout Algeria .... he resides at Algiers". The Algerian Assembly is composed of 120 members: 60 representatives of each of the two Colleges, elected for 6 years by universal suffrage, with two ballots on a single member basis, half the members being replaced every 3 years. The first College comprises citizens of French civil status. All other citizens of local status belong to the second College. The electoral laws are similar to those obtaining in France, but Muslim women do not vote. All citizens are eligible without distinction for election to one or other college.

The peoples of Algeria are represented in the Parliament of the Metropolis by 30 deputies in the National Assembly (15 per College), by 14 Councillors of the Republic (7 per College), and by 12 elected persons in the Assembly of the French Union, 6 of these being elected by the Algerian Assembly and 6 by the general councils.

Administrative organisation. The three departments (Algiers, Constantine and Oran), whose prefects have wider jurisdiction than in the metropolis, are divided into *arrondissements* (7, 7 and 6). Their general councils are made up of 3/5 of citizens of French status and 2/5 of elected Muslims. The communes are large and varied in character. Where the non-Muslim French are found in sufficient numbers, they are *Communes de plein exercise* (with full powers) in which both Colleges are represented (3/5 and 2/5); dependent on the mayor, where needed, are the *ḳāʾids* (*caïds*) of the *douars* (sections of communes), subdivisions which have their own elected representatives, the *d̲j̲amāʿa* (*djemâa*). The "mixed Communes", destined eventually to disappear, are headed by officials of the Algerian civil service. These preside over the municipal committee which consists of elected members, the *ḳāʾids*, and the presidents of the *d̲j̲amāʿa* of the various *douars*. In those areas with native populations which have reached a sufficient stage of development there have recently been set up "municipal centres" which, under the control of a civil servant, are undergoing their apprenticeship to public life.

The increase in the size of the departments has gradually pushed back towards the Sahara the former military districts, which have become the Southern Territories. Covering an enormous area, two of them encroaching on the Saharan Atlas and the high steppes of the west, the four Territories have as their centres Colomb-Béchar, Laghaout (Lag̲h̲wāṭ), Touggourt and Ouargla (Wargla). They are under the direct authority of the Governor General, acting in the capacity of a prefect; the military commanders who are subordinate to him have the administrative powers of a sub-prefect. The Territories used to be divided into dependencies (*annexes*) which have become the basis of the present communes: 10 mixed communes under civil administrators, and 9 "native communes" under officers for Saharan affairs or administrators. The *ḳāʾids* of the *douars* are subordinate to them, and members of the *d̲j̲emāʿa* are elected or nominated. The Algerian Statute provides for the gradual conversion of the Southern Territories into civil districts.

The Judicial System. The judicial system is closely modelled on that of the Metropolis. Algiers is the seat of a Court of Appeal; there are 17 assize courts (with French and Muslim jurors) and 17 courts of first instance. Questions concerning the personal status and the inheritance of French Muslims are dealt with by the *ḳāḍīs* of the 84 principal *maḥkamas* (*mahakma*) and by the *bas̲h̲ ʿādil* (*bachadel*) of the 23 dependencies. But their jurisdiction is always optional, and the interested parties can refer to the

justices of the peace, judges of common law in Muslim matters who apply the provisions of Muslim law, or to the French judicial authorities and to French law. The Kabyles of the west, the majority of whom have preserved their own customs, do not have *ḳāḍīs*. [Cf. also ʿĀDA.]

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(v) LANGUAGES.

(1) *The Arab dialects of Algeria.*

The territory forming the present Algeria was arabicised during two distinct periods, in common with North Africa in general. The first period commenced with the Muslim invasions at the end of the 1st/7th century. Although not important from the point of view of their ethnic contribution, these invasions had a considerable military, political, religious, and therefore linguistic, effect. They affected primarily the urban centres. The conquering Arabs established garrisons there, distributing units of the eastern *djund* throughout the countries which they wished to control and administer. Just as Idrīsid Fez and Aghlabid al-Ḳayrawān arabicised the rural and mountain regions around them, so Tlemcen and Constantine, in Algeria, caused the regions which lay between them and the sea, namely Trāra and eastern Kabylia, to foresake the native idiom and adopt the language of the conquerors. Later, the Shīʿite propaganda, by directly linking the Berber tribes to the Shīʿa movement, very probably played a part in imposing Arabic on certain peoples in the north of the department of Constantine. The arabicisation of this first period is responsible for the Arabic spoken in the old centres and in the adjacent mountainous regions; thus its various forms can be called "pre-Hilālī dialects".

The invasion of the Banū Hilāl, the Sulaym and the Maʿḳil inaugurated the second period of arabicisation. It began halfway through the 4th/11th century, unleashing the turbulent throng of Bedouin tribes against "perfidious Maghrib". This time the ethnic contribution was important. The movement of populations which was brought about by the invasion of these new-comers threw Barbary into a ferment, and resulted in the widespread diffusion of the language which they brought with them. Not merely small districts but vast areas abandoned Berber for Arabic; at first, no doubt, it was the steppes and high plains devoted to the pastoral life, where the nomads felt at home; then, as a result of alliances which were offered to them or which they imposed, vast settled regions of the Tell and even of the Sahel. Important transfers of populations continued to take place up to the end of the 8th/14th century; for example the establishment of the Hilāl Dawādida in northern Constantine province, and of the Maʿḳil ʿUbayd Allāh and the Hilāl Zughba b. ʿĀmir between Tlemcen and the sea. Through contact with the Bedouin Arabs or under their tutelage, entire Berber tribes, sharing a common mode of existence with the Bedouin, turned to Arabic; for example the Sadwikīsh of western Constantine province and sections of the Zanāta of northern Oran. Arabicisation has continued until our own times, penetrating the mountain massifs and ancient Saharan centres which remained the strongholds of Berberism. An unpublished work of al-Ṣabbāgh on the life of the great saint of the Chélif, Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, gives us an idea of the linguistic state of this region in the 10th/16th century, and quotes phrases in *lugha zanātiyya*. Berber was still spoken in the Chélif at that period, but now Arabic alone is spoken, except in the mountain massifs of the Banī Menāser and Wansharīs which skirt the region. One is tempted to consider that the propagation of the conquerors' language was particularly encouraged by the Turks between the 9th/15th and the 13th/19th centuries. In the northern regions which they endeavoured to control, they executed large transfers of rural and Bedouin groups, on a scale surpassing that of the dynasties which preceded them in central Maghrib.

The upheaval of populations in the course of centuries has been so great that linguistics cannot provide any ethnic criteria. It is doubtless permissible to conjecture that the groups which have remained Berber-speaking include a large proportion of elements of Berber origin, but nothing enables us to assess the proportion of the elements of Arab origin among the Arab-speaking populations. It is most likely that the latter are largely composed of arabicised Berbers. No shibboleth, or linguistic criterion, enables us to establish the ethnical origin of the various groups; no dialectal indication, as far as we know, makes it possible to identify the Berber groups converted to Arabic such as the Ulḥāṣa, the Huwwāra, the Sindjās, the ʿAdjīsa, the Luwwāta or the Kutāma, etc.

As regards the Arabic dialects introduced by the invasions of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, it is generally considered that the territory of the Sulaym was definitely to the east, and that of the Maʿḳil more to the west. The territory of the Hilāl cannot be defined exactly; it was certainly centrally situated, but probably encroached on the territories to the east and west. The dialectal variations of the language which they spoke or which they disseminated are known as "Bedouin dialects".

(A) Pre-Hilālī dialects. Included in this category are village (or mountain) dialects, and urban dialects (Jewish and Muslim).

(a) Village dialects. These are represented by two groups which have been clearly identified but have not been the subject of equal study; namely, Oran dialects, and Constantine dialects. The former embrace the mountain massif of the Trāra, which extends from the *wādī* of Moghniyya (Marnia) as far as the sea, and is bounded approximately by the course of the Tafna to the east. Nadrūma (Nédroma) is the urban centre. This region belongs to the Ulḥāṣa and the Kūmiyya, and is crossed by the routes connecting Tlemcen with the ports of Ḥunayn and Arashḳūn (Rachgoun). Its arabicisation dates probably from the Idrīsid era. The second group corresponds to eastern Kabylia, and is completely mountainous, having the form of a triangle whose apexes are Djidjelli, Mila and Collo. Historically, the region represents the seaward expansion of Constantine and Mila, which were Arab garrison towns in the Aghlabid period. This is the former Kutāma country, the centre of the Fāṭimid movement.

These dialects are characterised phonetically as follows: uvular *ḳ* is changed into velar *k*, e.g. *kalb* for *ḳalb* "heart"; *k* is pronounced as a palatal,

and often, with a marked degree of palatalisation, *ky*, or as an affricate, *ksh*, *tsh*, or as a fricative *sh*, with a voiceless *y* (Trāra), e.g. *tshelb*, *shelb* for *kelb*, "dog"; the interdentals *th*, *dh*, *ḏh* disappear, confounded with *t*, *d*, *ḍ*; *t* becomes the affricate *ts*; *ḍ* often becomes *ṭ*; the voiced sibilant is pronounced *ž* when it is single, *dj* when it is doubled; diphthongs with a short element are resolved, *ay* becoming *ī*, *aw* becoming *ū*; there is a very marked decay of the short vowels especially in eastern Kabylia, where the neutral vowel *e* predominates; changes occur in the syllabic structure which derive, in words containing short vowels, from the phonetic influence of radical consonants, rather than from etymology; the labials *m* and *b*, and the uvular *ḳ*, have the ability to assimilate the *l* or the article, e.g. *eb-bāb*, "the door", *eḳ-ḳemḥ*" the corn".

Morphologically these dialects are characterised as follows: by the constant reconstruction of defective verbs, *nsā-nsāt-nsāw*, *yensā-yensāw* "to forget", *bkā-bkāt-bkāw*, *yebkī-yebkīw* "to weep", and of verbs hamzated on the first radical, *klā-klīt-klāw*, *yākel*, *kūl* "to eat"; by the use of *-āyen* as a sign of the dual in nouns of measure, *yūm-yūmāyen* "two days", *shber-shebrāyen* "two spans"; by the adoption of plural forms, *ṣnādeḳ* "coffers" and of diminutives, *mfīteḥ* "small key" (with a short vowel in the final syllable), for all quadriliterals; by the substitution in the case of diminutives for the form *ṭfeyl* (cl. *ṭufayl*) of *ṭfeyyel* "small child", from *ṭfel*. as in *žneyyen* (cl. *žunayyin*) "small garden", from *žnān*; by the confusion of gender in the expression of the second person, both in the verbal endings and in the inflexions of the independent personal pronouns, *ḍrabt* "thou (m. or f.) hast struck", *taḍrab* "thou (m. or f.) wilt strike", *enta* "thou" (m. or f.); by the frequent usage of the form *yāna* for *āna* "I"; by the pronunciation *u* of the 3rd person masc. sing. pronominal affix, after a consonant, *ḍarbu* "he has struck him", *weldu* "his son"; by the constant use of *-ayya/-iyya*, *āk/-īk*, *āh/-īh*, etc., pronominal endings suffixed to the duals of nouns denoting parts of the body. On all these points of morphology, the dialects of Trāra and those of eastern Kabylia are analogous, but they differ in certain other respects; in the plural persons of the imperfect of sound verbs with radical stems, the Trāra dialects have a doubled form *yeḍḍarbu*, while the rural Djidjellians have the non-doubled form *iḍarbu*, from *ḍrab* "to strike"; similarly in the case of nouns with a short vowel and final *-at*, the former have *reḳḳebtek*, the latter *rḳebtek* "thy neck", from *reḳbat*; in the perfect of hollow verbs, the Trāra dialects follow the sequence, as regards the radical vowel, of short with changed quality, or long with pure quality, according as it occurs in a closed syllable or not, *bāʿ - ibīʿ - beʿt* "to sell", while the rural peoples of Djidjelli maintain the same vowel quality and follow the sequence semi-long/long, *bāʿ - ibīʿ - bīʿt*; to express the continuous or customary present, the Trāra use the imperfect of the verb, without any special verbal prefix, while the rural Djidjellians make free use of the prefix *ka/ku* (probably derived from the verb *kān - ikūn*), *ka-yekteb*, *ku-nekteb* "he is writing, I am writing".

As regards syntax and vocabulary these dialects are characterised as follows: by the extensive use of an indefinite article *wāḥed* or *ḥa*; the latter is especially prevalent in eastern Kabylia; by the disappearance of the direct construct relationship (except in groups in which the idea of a possessive relationship impresses itself strongly on the speaker), and by the expression of this relationship by means of the particles *di*, *eddi*, *dyāl* and, especially in Collo, *elli*; by the impossibility, in the Djidjelli region, of expressing the noun of kinship unless it has a pronominal suffix denoting the person with whom the relationship is established: *ʿammu ddi-Keddūr* "his uncle (to him) of Keddūr". In both groups specifically Berber features have survived and been integrated into the grammatical system, such as the use of the genitive link *n* among the Trāra, e.g. *bbwāy en fāṭma* "the father of Fāṭma", or the use of the demonstrative *d*, which in the Djidjelli region plays the role of a logical copula, as in *khūh d - eḳ - ḳāyd* "his brother (the one who) is the *ḳāʾid*"; or again, the transference of the number and gender of the Berber word to the Arabic word which has superseded it, e.g., in eastern Kabylia, *ržel*, a feminine treated as a masculine (Berber *aḍar* is masculine) "foot", *ṣōf*, masculine changed to feminine (Berber feminine *taḍuf*) "wool", *ma*, a singular considered as a plural (Berber plural *aman*) "water"; and finally, certain elements of vocabulary have survived, such as words of Berber forms with the prefix *a-* (not taking the Arabic definite article), or of the form *t . . . t*, most of them associated with rural life (dwellings, domestic life, domestic utensils, country life, agricultural implements, animals, plants, etc.).

These two types of village dialects unquestionably possess considerable points of difference; but they have certain features in common with the dialect of the Moroccan Djbāla to the west. The Oran group is nearer to the Moroccan group than to the Constantine. To the ears of townsmen, and with even more reason to those of the Bedouin, the speech of the Djbāla, the Trāra, and the rural Djidjellians sounds like a foreign tongue, whose sounds, syntax and vocabulary seem to them alien to Arabic. It is, however, Arabic, and even Arabic of an ancient stock, as is witnessed by certain archaisms, such as the preservation of the old monoliteral *fa* "mouth" in the Nedroma district, and of the final *iyyesh* among the rural Djidjellians; but at the same time it is an Arabic in which appears the Berber method of presenting ideas, and through which the substratum of Berber vocabulary often emerges; an Arabic, finally, which, retaining the marks of the bilingualism which preceded the supersession of Berber by Arabic, is still handled by those, whose ancestors had adopted it, with a beginner's clumsiness.

(b) Urban dialects. These do not form a homogeneous group, and the listing and description of these dialects is far from complete. They are divided into two classes—Jewish and Muslim.

Jewish dialects. The North African Jews are almost entirely city-dwellers in Algeria. Apart from the semi-nomadic group of the Baḥūṣiyya in the Souk-Ahras region, now dispersed, they all live in towns. Only those Jewish communities which, because of their populousness and strong social cohesion, constitute societies distinct from and virtually alien to the Muslim majority around them, possess any special form of Arabic; for instance the communities of Oran, Tlemcen, Miliana, Médéa, Algiers and Constantine. Although the Jewish dialects differ from one city to another, they share certain common characteristics.

The phonetic system is rather changed in these dialects, especially as spoken by women: loss of the interdentals *th*, *dh*, *ḏh*, which revert to *t*, *d*, *ḍ*; the unvoiced dental *t* becomes the affricate *ts*, in Oran and Tlemcen, a change which leads to confusion with the fricatives *sh* and *s* and the sibilants *ž* (*dj*) and *z*;

the excessive rolling of *r*, very noticeable in Algiers; a general inability correctly to pronounce back consonants; thus ʾ, glottal check, for *ḳ*, in Algiers, and, in Tlemcen and Oran (as in Jewish Fez), *k* for *ḳ*, and *ts͟h* for *k*; the muting of the aspirate, especially in Algiers; the decay of the short vowels, in which the neutral sound *e* predominates; an excessive syllabic curtailment which gives the impression that the language consists wholly of consonants, where the only vowels are those which are absolutely indispensable to the pronunciation of the consonants and to the definition of morphological groups; e.g. *yiktbu* "they write", *ḍrabtu* "she has struck him", *rḳebti* "my neck", etc. Schematically, the morphology has forms analogous to, if not identical with, those described in respect of the village dialects, especially as regards the normalisation of paradigms and the strengthening of grammatical forms; it is characteristically Arabic.

The dialects used by the Jewish communities differ from those of the urban Muslims primarily in vocabulary. The vocabulary, largely Arabic, nevertheless contains a considerable foreign element: important borrowings from Spanish — some dating from the first period (imported in the 14th and 15th centuries by Spanish-speaking Jewish émigrés from Spain), and some from the second period (the Jews of Algeria, particularly of Algiers and Constantine, had continuous intercourse with the Jews of Leghorn), these last coinciding chronologically with the Spanish contribution of the second period; borrowings from Turkish, common to both the Jewish and the Muslim dialects; a few Berber loan words; and finally considerable borrowings from Hebrew, especially of words appertaining to the intellectual or religious life. It should be emphasised that the Jews of Algeria write their Judaeo-Arabic in a special cursive Hebrew, and not in Arabic characters. But their more rapid Europeanization, stimulated by the progressive dislocation of communities and the break-down of the division into quarters, is leading to the substitution of French for the traditional dialect among the younger generation, and also of the latin script for the Hebrew cursive.

Muslim dialects. The Muslim urban populations present great human, and therefore, linguistic, variety. Some of them preserved the use of the Arabic of the first stratum, such as is found in Tlemcen, Nédroma, Cherchell, Dellys, D͟jid͟jelli, and Collo. On the other hand, at Ténès, Miliana, Médéa, Blida, Bougie, Mila, Philippeville, and Constantine, it is only discovered among the older generation, and seems doomed to early extinction, if, indeed, it has not already disappeared. The old cities everywhere bear the marks of the external influences to which they have been subjected in the course of centuries, and to which they are still subject; that of the rural populations and that of the Bedouin. The populations of certain towns are replenished by the contributions of their surrounding rural areas, as for instance in the cases of Nédroma, D͟jid͟jelli and Collo, where the dialect tends to conform to that of the surrounding villagers. In other cases, the townsmen have borrowed the language of the neighbouring Bedouin collective, or sedentary Bedouin, groups; for instance, in Tlemcen, Ténès, Blida, Miliana, Médéa, Mila, Philippeville, and Constantine. Although, on the whole, the language of these old centres has remained urban, there are others where the Bedouin dialect is almost completely dominant: for instance, in Oran, Mostaganam, Mascara, Mazouna, and Bône (and similarly, in the extreme east of the Mag͟hrib, at Tripoli and Beng͟hāzī). The case of Algiers and its environs, and that of Bougie, are more complex still. Algiers and the Faḥṣ form a melting-pot for urban elements, for old-established rural sedentary population, for newly-arrived rural elements, and for Bedouin who, after a period of acclimatization in the Chélif and the Mitīd͟ja, flock to a city life which, although of a proletarian nature, attracts them; Kabylia, moreover, disgorges its emigrants there in an unending stream. The Kabylian element, indeed, has so far taken possession of Bougie as to render this ancient capital and mediaeval centre of Arab culture, a Berber-speaking city.

Phonetically, the urban Muslim dialects have on the whole the same characteristics as those of the village dialects and the Jewish dialects. Only the ancients in Ténès, Cherchell, Dellys and Constantine have preserved the interdentals. In Médéa, Blida and Algiers both the fricative and the occlusive pronunciation are heard together. *T* is everywhere converted to the affricate *ts*. The voiced sibilant is variously pronounced: *d͟j*, with an initial dental, in Tlemcen, Ténès, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida, Algiers, Dellys, Mila, and Constantine: elsewhere as *ž*. The exaggerated rolling of *r* could be said to be a typically urban "articulatory disease": its presence in the Jewish dialects has already been noted: it is common in Constantine, D͟jid͟jelli, Cherchell, Tlemcen and Nédroma (and similarly at Tunis and Fez.) The change of *ḳ* to ʾ, a simple glottal check, exists at Tlemcen; at D͟jid͟jelli, a back *k* is substituted for it; but in all the other towns, it remains *ḳ*. Ibn K͟haldūn based the essential difference between the dialects of the sedentary peoples and the dialects of the Bedouin of the Mag͟hrib on the contrast between the unvoiced *ḳ* voiced *g*, in the back velar. This distinction still exists; but the flow of nomadic elements into the cities has introduced *g* there; this has occurred at Tenes, Miliana, Médéa, Algiers itself, Mila and Constantine (where the two sounds, in the same words, are sometimes heard from the same mouth). Elsewhere, the presence of a *g* in a word stamps it as a loan word from Bedouin dialects. Everywhere the aspirate *h* is a weak consonant, liable to become mute; thus in Tlemcen *ṛām* is heard from *ṛāhum* "here they are!", and at Nédroma, *ma-ʿandā-s͟h* for *ma-ʿandhā-s͟h* "she has not".

The morphological forms contain both similar and dissimilar elements. Among the former should be noted reconstruction of defective verbs, for instance of *k͟hdā* "to take" and of *klā* "to eat"; the general use of the plural quadriliteral form *ṣnādeḳ* "coffers" and the diminutive *mfīteḥ* "small key", and of the triliteral diminutive *ṭfeyyel* "small child"; the frequent use (except at Constantine, Mila, Philippeville) of a sort of curious adjectival diminutive *kbīber* "somewhat large" from *kbīr*, *kḥīḥel* "blackish" from *kḥel*, already vouched for in al-Andalus; the pronunciation *u* or *o* of the pronominal affix of the 3rd person sing. masc., after a consonant. The feminine *ah* is peculiar to Cherchell; elsewhere it is invariably *ha*, for the 3rd person pronominal affix: *ah* is doubtless an importation from al-Andalus, and there is evidence of other such importations in the Cherchell dialect. In the 2nd and 3rd persons plural of the independent pronoun, the Cherchell dialect is also distinctive, using the forms *entūmān*, *hūmān*, while elsewhere the forms always used are *entum*, *hum*, or *entūma*, *hūma*. Although Nédroma, Mostaganem, Ténès, Bougie and D͟jid͟jelli make no distinction between the genders of the 2nd person sing. of pronouns or verbs, *enta* "thou"

(m. and f.), *ḍrabt* "thou hast struck" (m. and f.), Miliana, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida, Algiers and Dellys differentiate between them, *enta* "thou" (m), *enti* "thou" (f.), *ḍrabt* "thou (m.) hast struck", *ḍrabti* "thou (f.) hast struck"; differentiation of gender again disappears in the eastern dialects, in Collo, Mila, Philippeville and Constantine, but the feminine form *enti*, *ḍrabti*, is extended to both genders; in Tunis the form is confined to the independent pronoun. The syllabic treatment of the persons of the plural, in the first form of sound verbs, produces a remarkable variety of forms: for "they strike" *yeḍḍarbu* is the form used at Tlemcen, Nédroma, Mostaganem, Ténès, Miliana, Cherchell, Médéa, Blida, Algiers, Dellys and Collo; but *iḍarbu* is used at Bougie, Djidjelli, Philippeville, and occasionally in the suburds of Algiers, and *yeḍarbu* (with the stress on the first syllable) at Mila and Constantine. The attachment of personal affixes with an initial vowel to feminine nouns of the form *faʿla(t)* poses the same problem of syllabic economy, to which according to dialect, the same solution is reached; for "my neck" *rakkebti*, *rkebti* and *rakebti*. *Ḍarbet* + *u* "she has struck him", is pronounced throughout western and central urban Algeria *ḍarbātu*; in the Faḥṣ of Algiers it is sometimes *ḍrabtu*; throughout the east, *ḍarbettu* (as in the cities of Tunisia). In all the cities, the plural of nouns of colour admits of a prolongation of the vowel *u*, which is known in the village dialects: e.g. *ḥūmor* "red" (even expanded to *ḥūmrin* in Nédroma and Djidjelli,) except in Dellys, where *ḥmūra* is used, and in Collo, Mila, Constantine, and Philippeville, where the only form current is *ḥmor*, the form used in the urban and rural dialects of Tunisia. To indicate the possessive relationship, the urban dialects only use the method of direct connexion (*iḍāfa*) to a limited extent; more often they have recourse to an analytical method, the governing word being linked to the governed by prepositions of dialectal origin, namely *di* (*eddi*), (*dyāl*, in use from Tlemcen to Djidjelli, or the rival *mrāʿ* (*ntāʿ* from Tlemcen to Dellys), which prevails in Constantine. Collo often uses the relative *elli* as a particle of connexion: *en-nās elli-d-dowwār* "the people of the *douar*".

Every urban dialect possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, but the points of difference are becoming progressively less, only what is common to all being retained, and these dialects are gradually merging into a sort of *koine* of the towns. The constant growth of relations between urban centre and urban centre inspires the desire, conscious or unconscious, to eliminate dialectal peculiarities, and to produce a language which will be understood everywhere, which will avoid ambiguities, and which will not occasion surprise or be the target for mirth. This tendency towards uniformity is perhaps strengthened by a certain concern for purism awakened by listening to wireless broadcasts, which are heard in many homes and in a still greater number of shops, and in every café and meeting-place. Feminine society, which has always constituted an important factor in linguistic conservatism, is being profoundly influenced by the radio, which brings into the home a "universal Arabic" and effects its general adoption, and also by urban life, which affords ever greater freedom, and provides women with more and more opportunities for contact with the outside world. It seems that the time is not far off when the urban Muslim dialects of Algeria will have the featureless appearance of uniformity, and will no longer preserve traces of their original characteristics except those fossilized in songs, proverbs, and a few ready-made expressions.

(B) Bedouin dialects. In so far as they are known (and knowledge of them is only approximate and incomplete), the Bedouin dialects of Algeria present the appearance of a composite and heterogeneous mass. The isoglosses which some have attempted to trace form a complex picture; the interpretation of this picture, if it seeks to take an overall view, ignores the diversity of the material and glosses over numerous contradictions.

The following are the identifying marks of a Bedouin dialect. (a) Phonetic. A fairly general retention of the interdentals *th*, *dh*, *ḏh*; an occlusive pronunciation of the unvoiced dental *t*, except in certain oasis dialects in which it is affricated (as at Beni Abbès in southern Oran, or Touggourt in southern Constantine); the voicing of the back velar, *g*, *ḳ*, only appearing in loan words and especially in the vocabulary of law and religion; an occasional preservation of short vowels, often complicated by a change in quality attributable to the influence of adjacent consonants or, sometimes, to that of stress. (b) Morphological. A certain conservatism which preserves in the verbal and nominal forms traces of the ancient tongue; differentiation of gender in the second person singular of verbs and of the independent pronoun: *ḏhrabt* "thou (m) hast struck", *ḏhrabti* "thou (f.) hast struck", *enta* "thou (m), *enti* "thou (f.); a fairly widespread use of the dual, going beyond the limited use for nouns of measure and nouns denoting parts of the body which occur in pairs. (c) In syntax and vocabulary. A restricted use of the indefinite article *wāḥd-el*, the use of the undefined noun often being sufficient to indicate a state of indefiniteness; the frequent expression of the possessive relationship by the old method of direct connexion; the use of a vocabulary more exclusively Arabic than that of the sedentary populations.

This group of characteristic forms constitutes a common basis of the Bedouin dialects. They possess other peculiarities, but either they do not all possess them or they are not alone in possessing them: for instance the preservation of the diphthongs *ey*, *ow* or their contraction to *ē*, *ō*, the sedentary dialects usually resolving them fully, to *ī*, *ū*: the use of the form *īd*, not *yedd* "hand", and of the preposition *mtāʿ* (*ntāʿ*) "of", to the exclusion of *eddi*, *di*, *dyāl*; the use of the plural form *ṣnādig* (not *ṣnādeg*) "coffers" and of the diminutive *mfītiḥ* (not *mfiteḥ*) "small key", for quadriliterals, and of the dimutives *ṭufeyl*, *ṭfēl*, *ṭfīl* (not *ṭfeyyel*) "small child" for triliterals with a short vowel; the existence of a plural form for triliterals with a doubled medial consonant and short vowel, *sherref* from *shāref* "old, tough", and of a plural *mfaʿʿla* from *mafʿūl*, e.g. *mghabbna* from *maghbūn* "deceived, afflicted"; the preservation, in the numerals from 11-19, of the ʿ of *ʿashar*, e.g. *khumsṭāʿāsh* "fifteen" (especially in southern Oran), the sedentary dialects habitually having *khumsṭash* etc.

In order to attempt a provisional draft classification of the Bedouin group, only a limited number of those dialectal features which may properly be called distinctive will be selected, some phonetic, other morphological (but not distinctions of vocabulary, an enumeration of which would lead us too far afield):

(1) The pronunciation of the voiced sibilant: *ž* is the pronunciation of the Bedouin dialects of eastern Algeria. The line of demarcation *dj/ž* passes

to the east of Philippeville, Constantine and Ouled Rahmoun, curves south of Barika, keeps to the south of Hodna and veering north, reaches the neighbourhood of Mansoura des Bibans. It is also identical with that of the high plains and the Saharan regions of the centre and west of Algeria: the line of demarcation *dj*/*ž* passes to north of Aïn Bessem in the direction of Champlain, leaves Médéa, the Djerbel and the Ouarsenis to the south and, at the altitude of Teniet el-Hadd, crosses the Sersou, proceeds to the south of Trézel and north of Frenda and Saïda, and swings north towards Mercier-Lacombe, Saint Denis du Sig and the approaches of Tlemcen. *Dj* therefore represents the pronunciation of the regions of Constantine, Saint Arnaud, Sétif, Bord Bou Arreridj, Barika, Msila and the Hodna; of the Algerian Sahel, Mitīdja, the valley of the Chélif, Dahra, the plateau of Mostaganem, the mountains of Mascara and the plain of Macta; constituting a more northerly Bedouin group.

(2) The change of the velar fricative *gh* to the occlusive back velar *ḳ*. This characterises the Saharan Bedouin dialects (with the exception of certain oasis dialects), but also extends over a considerable area to the north towards the high Algerian plains: the line of demarcation *gh*/*ḳ* commences south of Aïn Sefra, passes to the east of Mecheria, turns back towards the Khreider, follows the Chergui *chott*, leaves Trézel to the west, crosses the Sersou, passes to the south of Teniet el-Hadd, Berrouaghia and Aïn Bessem, passes over the Hodna at the altitude of Msila, skirts Barika, El Kantara and Biskra, and plunges southwards, leaving Mraïer, Djemaa and Touggourt to the East.

(3) The pronunciation *ah* after a consonant of the 3rd person sing. masc. personal affix. This is characteristic of the Bedouin dialects of (i) Oran. The line of demarcation *ah*/*u* commences at Mostaganem, goes down towards Uzès-le-Duc, leaves Tiaret and Trézel to the east, follows the eastern prong of the Chergui *chott*, and passes approximately half-way between Géryville and Aflou: the Ouled Sidi Cheikh use *ah*, but the Douï Menia and the sedentary peoples of the Saoura use *u*; the Bedouin outskirts of Tlemcen and the region which lies towards Aïn Temouchent and Oran also uses *ah*. (ii) Eastern Constantine, comprising: to the north, the inhabitants of mountains of the Collo region, which are a continuation of the Kroumirs and Mogods of Tunisia; to the south, the nomads of western Souf and of the Saharan zone which skirts southern Tunisia (the *ah* frequently being curtailed to *a*); this form is found among a considerable proportion of the Bedouin of Tunisia, and throughout Libya; all the rest of Algeria, both north and south, uses the forms *u*, *o*.

(4) The structure of the 3rd person feminine of the perfect of sound verbs, when followed by a personal affix with an initial vowel, e.g. *ḏhaṛbet* + *k* "she has struck thee": (i) *ḏhaṛbātek* is the pronunciation of north-eastern Constantine, as far as a line which starts to the east of Philippeville, reaches Jammapes and the Khroub, turns westwards, touches Chateau-dun-du-Rumel, and proceeds in the direction of Périgotville; of the region situated to the south of this line, namely the high plains of Sétif as far as Bordj Bou Arreridj, and also of the eastern Sahara as far as the outskirts of Biskra and Touggourt; of the Algerian Tell where the voicid sibilant is pronounced as *dj*; and finally of north and west Oran, following a line which passes south of Ammi-Moussa, swings southwards between Tiaret and Frenda, follows the Chergui *chott* and again swerves south, leaving Mechéria and Aïn Sefra to the east: (ii) *ḏhaṛbettek* is the pronunciation of the Constantine region, of Ferdjioua, and of the environs of Fedj-Mzala as far as Guergour; (iii) *ḏhaṛebtek* (with the stress on the first syllable) extends south of a line joining Bordj-Bou-Arreridj and Colbert throughout the Hodna, south-west Constantine and the central Sahara; it is the pronunciation of all the Algerian nomads (including Teniet al-Hadd) who pronounce the voiced sibilant as *ž*; and it is also the pronunciation which prevails in eastern and southern Oran.

(5) The syllabic structure of the imperfect of sound verbs, first form, in the plural: *yeḏhṛab* + *u* "they have struck"; and that of the triliteral noun *faʿla(t)* with a suffix commencing with a vowel: *raḳba(t)* + *i* "my neck"; (i) *yeḏhaṛbu*, *raḳebti* (with the stress on the first syllable) is found throughout the Constantine region except in El-Kantara, on the high Algerian plains and in the whole of the east, central and west Sahara; the dialects of the south-east have a clearly-defined tendency to prolongate the vowel receiving the stress; (ii) *yeḏhḏhaṛbu*, *raḳḳebti*, with doubling of the medial and stress of the second syllable, is prevalent in El-Kantara and the region of Philippeville; these are the forms in use in the north of Algeria, wherever the voiced sibilant is *dj*, including Teniet el-Hadd; they are also used throughout north and west Oran; the dividing-line *yeḏhḏhaṛbu*/*yeḏhaṛbu* passes between Tiaret and El-Ousseukh, follows the northern edge of the Chegui *chott*, and swings south, leaving Mechéria to the west and Aïn Sefra to the east.

(6) The conjugation of defective verbs (imperfect and imperfect *a*): *mshā* - *yemshī* "to go" and *nsā* - *yensā* "to forget": (i) northern Constantine, from the Tunisian frontier as far as a line which drops rapidly from Bône towards Ain Beïda, and the eastern Sahara as far as Sidi Okba and El-Oued, use the forms *mshā* (*mshē*) - *mshet* - *mshū* - *yemshī* - *yemshū*; *nsā* (*nsē*) - *nset* - *nsū* - *yensā* - *tensī* - *yensū*; (ii) central Constantine, from the northern boundary delineated above as far as the outskirts of Biskra and Mdoukal, along a line which follows the Hodna depression and rises again towards Mansoura des Bibans as far as Kabylia, has forms which are completely resolved: *msha* - *mshāt* - *mshāw* - *yemshī* - *yemshīw* -; *nsa* - *nsāt* - *nsāw* - *yensā* - *tensā* - *yensāw*, analogous to those of the sedentary dialects; (iii) throughout Bedouin Algeria, from the Sahara to the sea, and in a large part of Oran, bounded on the east by a line which, starting from the outskirts of Oran itself, passes to the south of Saint Denis-du-Sig and to the north of Cacherou, leaves Frenda to the east and proceeds southwards, passing between Aflou and Géryville, the conjugation of verbs with imperfect *i* and imperfect *a* is characterised by a peculiar usage: *yemshi* - *yemshū* on the one hand, *yensa* - *tensay* - *yensāw* on the other; this usage is found again in western Oran, from a line running east of Tlemcen, passing east of the Homeyan, and curving westwards north of Aïn Sefra; (iv) central Oran, comprising the regions of Aïn Temouchent, Sidi bel-Abbès, Mascara, Saïda, Méchéna, Géryville, Aïn Sefra and Ouled Sidi Sheikh, has the forms *yemshu*, *tensī*, *yensū*.

By drawing up a table of all the different characteristics, there emerge, despite the overlapping and contradictions which blur the boundaries and split up geographical areas, four, or perhaps five distinct basic groups:

(i) The Bedouin dialects of eastern Constantine, the region of La Calle and Souf (Cantineau's group

B): the pronunciations are *ž*, *gh*, *ah*, *dharbâtek*, *yedharbu*, *rakebti*, *mshet* - *mshū* - *yemshu*, *nset* - *nsū* - *tensī* - *yensū*. The final *y* vowel tends to become *i* (*imāla*); diphthongs are generally reduced to *ē*, *ō*.

(ii) The Bedouin dialects of central and western Oran (Cantineau's group D): the pronunciations are *ž*, *gh*, *ah*, *dharebtek*, *yedhdharbu*, *rakkebti*, *yemshu*, *tensī* - *yensū*; diphthongs are either correctly preserved *ey*, *ow*, or reduced to *ē*, *ō*.

(iii) The Bedouin dialects of central and Saharan Algeria (Cantineau's group A): the pronunciations are *ž*, *ḳ* for *gh*, *u*, *dharebtek*, *yedharbu*, *rakebti*; diphthongs are either correctly preserved or reduced to *ē*, *ō*.

(iv) The Bedouin dialects of the Tell and of the Algerian-Oran Sahel (Cantineau's group B): the pronunciations are *dj*, *gh*, *u* (*o*), *dharbâtek*, *yedhdharbu*, *rakkebti*; diphthongs are sometimes preserved sometimes reduced to *ī*, *ū*, and final *u* is pronounced *o*.

These two last groups have the same conjugation of the defective verb: *mshā* - *mshāt* - *mshāw* - *yemshū*; *nsā* - *nsāt* - *nsāw* - *tensāy* - *yensāw*.

(v) The dialects of the high plains of Constantine, covering the north of Hodna and the belt which extends roughly from Bordj Bou Arreridj to the valley of the Seybouse, occupies an intermediary position between groups i, iii and iv, and the sedentary dialects (Cantineau's group C): the pronunciations are *dj*, *gh*, *u*, *dharbettek*, *yedharbu*, *rakebti*; the diphthongs are reduced to *ī* and *ū*, and the conjugation of the defective verb is completely restored, as in the urban and village dialects; these dialects can be regarded as a complementary group, if not as an independent one: they are the dialects of the old Zīrid state of the Ḳalʿa, a centre of sedentary peoples buried beneath the mass of the Bedouin.

It cannot be pretended that any interpretation of this classification can be other than a hazardous and debatable undertaking. Having due regard to the delicacy of the task, it may be hazarded that group i is connected with the Tunisian group which W. Marçais considers Sulaymite; following him let us call it group S. Group ii is probably an extension of the eastern Moroccan group, which G. S. Colin considers Maʿḳilian; let us call it group M. Group iii comprises the most truly Sahara Bedouin elements, at once the most imposing and the most united, including the Chaamba, the Larbaa, the Ouled Naïl, the Arab Cheraga; the dialectal area of these nomads extends over a wide area of the north—more to the east than to the west—covering the nomad's pasture grounds and the grazing lands of the high plains. The northern part of their domain forms a large zone of transition shared with group iv. They are grouped in the valley of the Chélif, and stretch as far as the environs of Relizane and Mostaganem in the west, and into Mittidja and as far as Kabylia in the east. Let us call group iii H^1 and group iv H^2, conjecturing a vast implantation there of Hilālī Arabic, the Arab element (perhaps that of the Athbedj and the Zoghba) intermixed with a Zenāta element. The proportion of Arabicised Berbers is doubtless more considerable in the north of the high plains and along the Tell Atlas. Group v, an extremely complex group, is inserted like a wedge between the still Berber-speaking groups of Kabylia and the Chaouia region; it to is perhaps consonant with an implantation of Hilālī Arabic (Riyāḥ?) in the formerly ʿAdjīsa and Kutāma territories; let us call it H^3.

We do not profess to define the precise disposition of the zones of transition between the various groups, or to determine the possible preponderance in them of one type of dialect as opposed to another. It is, however, suggested that group H^1 succeeded, in the course of centuries, in spreading further afield, to the detriment of groups H^2 and H^3, as a result of the political superiority enjoyed by those forming that group: it was a case of warlike pastoral nomads, imbued with the spirit of conquest, confronting people who were at the same time small agriculturalists and semi-nomadic, semi-settled. In the same way group H^3 must have impinged strongly on the territories of the settled regions of western Constantine: hence the presence of sedentary dialectal forms emerging from the superimposed Bedouin dialect as surviving witnesses to a group of dialects which have been superseded. On the other hands, more recently we see that not only is Bedouin linguistic expansion being checked, owing to the decline of the pastoral life, to its geographical limitation and even, at many points, to its disappearance, but that the sedentary dialectal elements are gaining ground, especially in the northern areas.

Although any forecast must be risky, one is inclined to believe that the social changes whose effects are daily experienced by the Arabic-speaking peoples of Algeria can divert the spoken idiom into new channels. In the land in which they live, the towns, few in number, enclosed with walls whose gates were closed at nightfall, have remained, for thousands of years, alien intruders in a rural and pastoral, composite and inorganic world. The towns of modern Algeria, whether legacies of the past or recent creations, some of them populous centres, all of them centres of economic activity, exercise a magnetic influence on many a district of the former Regency, even the most distant, to which they represent labour markets and a source of livelihood; and, one might add, melting-pots in which is being produced a *koine* of Algerian Arabic which is capable of causing the extinction of the old regional dialects.

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(2) *The Berber dialects* [see BERBER].

ALGIERS [see AL-DJAZĀʾIR].

ALGOL [see NUDJŪM].

ALGOMAIZA [see NUDJŪM].

ALGORITHMUS is the old name for the process of reckoning with Arabic numerals. In mediaeval treatises the word is spelt in various ways: e.g. *Algorismus*, *Alchoarismus*, *Alkauresmus*, etc., corruptions of the *nisba* of the oldest known writer on Arabic arithmetic: Muḥammed b. Mūsa al-Khwārizmī [*q.v.*]. His book was translated into Latin in the 12th century by an unknown author, and the only known copy at Cambridge has been edited by B. Boncompagni (*Trattati d'aritmetica* i, Rome 1857). It opens with the words: "dixit Algorithmi", the word is here correctly given in the form of an Arabic *nisba*, i.e. as a proper name; it is strange that it should afterwards have come to mean the new process of reckoning with Arabic figures, as contrasted

with the system of counting by the Greco-Roman abacus. Of the numerous attempts to explain the word it is enough to mention a derivation from a philosopher Algus, and a supposed origin from the Arabic article *al* combined with the Greek ἀριθμός, hence the form "Algarithmus". The right explanation was given by M. Reinaud in his *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, 303-4, in the year 1849, before the Cambridge manuscript had been edited, but the false acceptation prevailed, and Algorithm (or Algorism) is still used in the sense of "system of numeration, arithmetic".

(H. SUTER)

ALHABOR [see NUDJŪM].

ALHAIOT [see NUDJŪM].

ALHAMA [see AL-ḤAMMA].

ALHAMBRA [see GHARNĀṬA].

ALHUCEMAS [see AL-KHUZĀMĀ].

ʿĀLĪ, MUṢṬAFĀ B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-MAWLĀ ČELEBI, one of the most outstanding representatives of Turkish literature of the 16th century. Born at Gallipoli in 948/1541, from the age of 10 he studied under Surūrī, great expert in Persian language and literature, and then under the Arab poet Muḥyi 'l-Dīn. In 965/1557 he presented to the heir-apparent Selīm his work entitled *Mihr u-Māh*, a step which determined his future career (see Dozy, *Cat. cod. or. bibl. Acad. Lugd. Batavae*, ii, 128). He became a member of the circle of his fellow-citizen Muṣṭafā, tutor to the prince, and was for a long time attached to this important figure as a private secretary. Selīm II, on his accession, confirmed him in this post, and about the same time he made the acquaintance of Nishāndjī, through whom he acquired knowledge of numerous events. In 976/1568 he accompanied Muṣṭafā to Egypt, but this visit was abruptly terminated by the latter's dismissal. In 1570, Muṣṭafā was placed in command of the army charged with the conquest of Cyprus, and ʿĀlī, as his secretary, witnessed the achievements of the Ottoman fleet and army. During the following years he lived in Rumelia, and in 980/1572 he compiled the *Heft Madjlis* or *Heft Dastān* (MS Lāleli, Istanbul, no. 2114; printed edition in the collections of the *Iḳdām*) in which he described, in a pompous style, the end of the reign of Suleymān I and the accession of Selīm II. About the same time he compiled a collection of poetry in Turkish, consisting mainly of *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. He also produced a Persian *dīwān* (see Flügel, *Die arab., pers., und türk. Hss. der K.K. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i, 651). ʿĀlī is, however, only ranked as a second-rate poet, as his poetry shows little feeling or sensibility. In 1577, he was again Muṣṭafā's secretary when the latter was placed in command of an expedition to Persia; he was the author of numerous victory proclamations sent from the Caucasus. He took advantage of his stay in those areas to collect a mass of information on the customs and legends of the populations of the Caucasus, and especially those of Gīlān, Shīrwān and Georgia. After the dismissal of Muṣṭafā, ʿĀlī returned to Istanbul; the sudden death of his protector placed him in a difficult position, but did not interfere with his literary activity. He dedicated to the Sultan his *Mirʾāt al-ʿAwālim* which gives an account of the miracles of the Creation and the Prophets (MSS: İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, nos. 17397-96; Esad Efendi Kütüphanesi, no. 2407; cf. Flügel, loc. cit., ii, 94; Pertsch, *Verz. d. türk. Hss.... zu Berlin*, nos. 36, 558). Soon afterwards he completed the *Nuṣrat-nāme*, which deals with the expedition to Iran (Esad Ef. Kütüp., no. 2433; Rieu, *Cat. of the Turk. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 61). The ceremony of the circumcision of the heir-apparent Meḥmed, one of the most magnificent ceremonies which took place in the Ottoman Empire, was the occasion of a descriptive work which gained him an introduction to the prince: *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥubūr der Madjālis al-Sūr* (Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüp., no. 4318).

In 995/1586 he compiled the *Manāḳib-i Hunerwerān*, in which he collected important material on some hundreds of calligraphists, miniaturists, illuminators and bookbinders (see Flügel, loc. cit., ii, 386; edited by İbnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl, Istanbul 1926). The *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, the Turkish translation of an Arabic work, dates from the same period (Flügel, ibid., ii, 90; İst. Üniv. Kütüp., nos. 2378-2386). Interested in mysticism and pantheism, he gave in the *Ḥilyat al-Ridjāl* (Rieu, loc. cit., p. 19; Pertsch, *Die türk. Hss. ... zu Gotha*, 75; Ist. Üniv. Kütüp., nos. 1329, 404) detailed information on the saints, their hierarchy and their influence; he also composed a *dīwān* entitled *Lāʾiḥāt al-Ḥaḳīḳāt* (Rieu, loc. cit., 261; İst. Univ. Kütüp., nos. 651, 1963). Appointed *kātib* of the Janissaries, then *defter emini*, he applied himself to tracing the course of history down to his own times; he wished, however, to produce his work at Cairo, then the greatest book centre of the Muslim world. Meḥmed III who, on his accession, accorded him privileged treatment, appointed him *defterdār* of Egypt, but the hostility of certain *wazīrs* caused him to lose this post. From 1000-1007/1592-9 he wrote his great work, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, in four parts (printed at Istanbul between 1277/1861 and 1285/1869 in 5 vols., covering the period up to the reign of Meḥmed II; no printed edition of the remaining 150 years exists). In the first part, he recounts the ancient legends concerning the prophets; in the second, he treats of Muḥammad and Islam. He was so convinced of the important role played by his nation in the development of Islam that he entitled the third part "The Turko-Tatar chapter". The fourth part is devoted to the formation of the states and to Ottoman history. A geographical dictionary is appended to the work. The *Kunh al-Akhbār* is among the most important Ottoman historical works. Although the information given by ʿĀlī on the pre-Islamic period is of no great value, on the subject of Ottoman history, especially that of the 16th century, he is extremely valuable. His passion for truth even leads him to criticise the actions of certain sultans, and in general he speaks favourably of non-Muslims. His style, poetical to begin with, becomes more simple as he proceeds.

Later he wrote a historical summary of the Muslim World, entitled *Fuṣūl al-Ḥall wa 'l-ʿAḳd Uṣūl al-Khardj wa 'l-Naḳd*, which is one of the most popular works in Turkish (see, e.g., the MS in Nuruosmaniye Kütüp., no. 3399). As a reward for his literary activities he was appointed *pasha* of Djidda; in 1008/1600 he wrote his last work, *Ḥālāt al-Ḳāhira min al-ʿĀdāt al-Ṭāhira* (MSS: Esad Ef. Kütüp., no. 2407; Cairo, *Bibl. Khédiv., Cat. des ouvr. turcs*, 197), a short but significant work. He died the same year.

ʿĀlī is a particularly attractive character: although, in the circles in which he moved, violence and intrigue seem to have the rule, he showed himself always to be loyal, kindly and upright. His integrity and seriousness explain why he failed to win the goodwill of the rough and unpolished men of that period; even the Grand Vizier Siyāwush Pasha, a remarkable man, viewed him with contempt. On the other hand, every writer of the period was his friend.

Bibliography: His life and works have been described by J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. osman. Reiches*, iv, 308, 651 ff.; idem, *Gesch. d. osman. Dichtkunst*, iii, 115 ff.; by Meḥmed Ṭāhir b. Rifʿat, *Müwerrikhīn-i ʿOthmāniyyeden ʿĀlī we-Kātib Čelebi'nin Terdjüme-i Ḥālleri*, Salonica 1322/1906; and by Ibnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl, op. cit. Cf. also *Cat. cod. or. bibl. Acad Lugd. Bat.*, 1873, v. 57; Flügel, loc. cit., ii, 94; *JA*, 1869, 76, 90 ff. (K. SÜSSHIEM-R. MANTRAN)

ʿALĪ B. AL-**ʿABBĀS** AL-MADJŪSĪ, medieval medical writer, commonly known to the West as Haly Abbas. He was born in al-Ahwāz from old Persian stock, as his title al-Madjūsī shows. He probably moved to Shīrāz at an early date, for he made his medical studies under a physician of that city, Abū Māhir Mūsā b. Sayyār, and dedicated his magnum opus to its ruler, ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Buwayhid. This book he named the *Kāmil al-Ṣināʿa* or *K. al-Malikī*; the medieval Latin translators named it the *Liber Regius*. It derives its title from the dedication to ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The exact date of ʿAlī's death is not known. It occurred between 982 and 995 A.D.

The *Kāmil al-Ṣināʿa*, upon which the importance of ʿAli b. ʿAbbās depends, was deliberately written to fall mid-way between the lengthy *al-Ḥāwī* and the brief *al-Manṣūrī*, both works of al-Rāzī. It was immediately recognised as a master-piece and was adopted as the chief textbook of medicine for students. Some hundred years later it was overshadowed by the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. But it remained sufficiently popular to be translated into Latin in full by Stephan of Antioch in 1127 and this translation to be printed in Venice on 1492 and in Lyons in 1523. The surgical section of the book had already been translated by Constantine the African in the 11th century and was used by the School of Salerno. (Printed in *Constantini Africani Operum Reliquia*, 1539.) The Arabic text was reproduced in Cairo, Būlāḳ 1294/1877, and in 1903 the anatomical section was translated into French (P. de Koning, *Trois traités d'anatomie arabe*, Leiden 1903, 90-427).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳiftī (Lippert), 232; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 236; Brockelmann, i, 273, S i, 423; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, i; E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, 53 ff.; D. Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, London 1926, 74; C. Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, Cambridge 1951, 155. (C. ELGOOD)

ʿALĪ B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** B. AL-**ʿABBĀS** was the ancestor of the ʿAbbāsids. According to Muslim tradition, ʿAlī was born in the year 40/661, the very same night in which the caliph ʿAlī was assassinated; but there are also other statements concerning the year of his birth. His mother was called Zurʿa bint Mishraḥ. His grandfather al-ʿAbbās was the uncle of the Prophet, and on account of his high birth and his personal gifts ʿAlī attained to great distinction. He was looked upon as the handsomest and most pious Ḳurayshite of his time, and received the surname of "al-Sadjdjād" (he who prostrates himself often) because of his constant praying. His piety did not prevent him from plotting secretly against the Umayyads, and was therefore banished from the capital by the caliph al-Walīd I. He went to live in the province of al-Sharāt on the border between Arabia and Palestine. Here he died in 117/735-6 or 118 in the village of Ḥumayma. This place remained the headquarters of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda, after ʿAlī's son Muḥammed, the father of the future caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, had been recognised as the head of the ʿAbbāsids.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 229 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī (Houtsma), ii, 314 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 16 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 16 ff.; Ibn Khallikān (transl. by de Slane), ii, 216 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 333; ii, 18; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 444. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ʿALĪ B. **ABĪ ṬĀLIB**, cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and fourth caliph, was one of the first to believe in Muḥammad's mission. Whether he was the second after Khadīdja, or the third after Khadīdja and Abū Bakr, was much disputed between Shīʿites and Sunnīs. He was at that time aged 10 or 11 at most, and Muḥammad had taken him into his own household to relieve the boy's father Abū Ṭālib, who had fallen into poverty. One narrative, which is open to criticism on several counts, represents ʿAlī as having occupied the Prophet's bed on the night when the latter left Mecca for Medina, so that the conspirators, on entering the house in order to kill Muḥammad, were surprised to discover his young cousin sleeping there. After restoring to their owners the objects which Muḥammad was holding on trust, ʿAlī rejoined the Prophet at Ḳubā. Some months later, he married Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima [*q.v.*], and of their marriage were born al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn [*qq.v.*]. During the lifetime of Fāṭima ʿAlī took no other wife.

Military exploits. In Muḥammad's lifetime ʿAlī took part in almost all the expeditions, often as standard-bearer, twice only as commander (at Fadak in 6/628, and in al-Yaman in 10/632). He always displayed a courage, which later on became legendary; at Badr he killed a large number of Ḳurayshites; at Khaybar he used a heavy door as a shield, and the victory of the Muslims over the Jews was due to his ardour; at Ḥunayn (8/630) he was one of those who stoutly defended the Prophet. After the Prophet's death, he took no part in any military expedition, for reasons unknown. ʿUmar is said to have prevented the Ḳurayshites from going out to the provinces, but ʿUthmān removed all obstacles to their movements. It is possible that ʿAlī himself had no wish to absent himself from Medina; perhaps it was simply his state of health which kept him from fighting, although several feats are attributed to him at the battles of the "Camel" and Ṣiffīn, in 36/656 and 37/657, when he was already sixty years old.

In addition, ʿAlī performed several other functions for the Prophet. He was one of his secretaries, and on occasion was charged with missions which might be called diplomatic; on two occasions he was deputed to destroy idols. He executed with his own hand enemies condemned to death by the Prophet, and with al-Zubayr supervised the massacre of the Banū Ḳurayẓa (5/627). In 9/631 he read to the assembled pilgrims at Minā the first seven verses of the sūra *Barāʾa* (ix).

Dispute with Abū Bakr. During the election of Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] as Muḥammad's successor, ʿAlī, with Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and several other Companions, remained apart in the Prophet's house to watch over his body and prepared for its burial. Although solicited to do so by al-ʿAbbās and also, it is said, by Abū Sufyān, he made no effort to keep the control of the Community in the hands of the Hāshimites. When those persons who had at first abstained from recognizing Abū Bakr gradually accepted his election, ʿAlī maintained his refusal for six months. His position was complicated by a

question of inheritance; Fāṭima had asserted a claim to the lands held by her father, which Abū Bakr firmly rejected on the ground of Muḥammad's saying that "Prophets have no heirs". Whether ʿAlī really hoped to succeed Muḥammad is doubtful. The Arabs as a rule chose as their chiefs men of mature age (in 11/633 ʿAlī was a little over thirty) and showed no inclination to legitimism. The S̲h̲īʿites, by inventing or interpreting in the light of their beliefs certain words said to have used by Muḥammad concerning ʿAlī (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. ʿAlī), have always maintained that the Prophet intended to transmit the succession to his son-in-law and cousin, but it is certain, in any case, that in his last illness he did not express this desire.

Relations with ʿUmar. According to the Muslim authors, ʿAlī was a valued counsellor of the caliphs who preceded him; but although it is probable that he was asked for advice on legal matters in view of his excellent knowledge of the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, it is doubtful whether his advice was accepted by ʿUmar on political questions. In regard to the famous *dīwān*, at least, ʿAlī held a view entirely opposed to that of the caliph, for on being questioned on this subject by ʿUmar he recommended the distribution of the entire revenue without holding anything in reserve (al-Balād̲h̲urī, ap. Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 40, § 275). During the lifetime of ʿUmar (and of ʿUt̲h̲mān), ʿAlī held no office, either military or political, except the lieutenancy of Medina during ʿUmar's journey to Palestine and Syria (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2404, 2522); for this reason he alone was absent from the meeting at D̲j̲ābiya [*q.v.*] at which the military commanders and leading personages convoked by ʿUmar gave approval to measures of the greatest importance on the regulation of the conquests and the *dīwān*. Further evidence of ʿAlī's lack of complete agreement with the policies of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is contained in the received tradition relating to the *s̲h̲ūrā* [see ʿUT̲H̲MĀN B. ʿAFFĀN], according to which ʿAlī, on being asked by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf whether he engaged himself to follow, together with the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, the work (*fiʿl*, *sīra*) of the preceding caliphs, gave an evasive answer.

The Opposition to ʿUt̲h̲mān. During the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān, ʿAlī, with other Companions (notably Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr), frequently accused him of deviating from the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* of Muḥammad, particularly in the application of the *ḥudūd* [see AL-HURMUZĀN]. ʿAlī insisted upon the duty of applying the divine Law; he was among those who demanded that the legal punishment for drinking should be inflicted on al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, viceroy of Kūfa, and in some accounts is said to have carried out the whipping with his own hand. With ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf he reproached ʿUt̲h̲mān with introducing *bidaʿ*, such as making four *rakʿas* at ʿArafāt and Minā in place of two (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. ʿAlī). But on political questions also he ranged himself with ʿUt̲h̲mān's opponents and was recognized by them as their chief, or one of their chiefs, at least morally. E.g. (1) when Abū D̲h̲arr al-G̲h̲ifārī [*q.v.*], who preached against the misdeeds of the powerful, was exiled from Medina, ʿAlī with his sons went to salute him on his departure in spite of ʿUt̲h̲mān's prohibition, and provoked thereby a violent dispute with ʿUt̲h̲mān. (2) When the rebels who came from Egypt to Medina opened negotiations with ʿUt̲h̲mān, ʿAlī was their intermediary, or one of their intermediaries (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2969). (3) When they returned later on to Medina and besieged "the House," they asked ʿAlī to put himself at their head (idem, i, 2965); although he refused, nevertheless by his attitude he encouraged the rebels during the siege, and there are reasons for suspecting him to have been in agreement with them in demanding the caliph's abdication, at the same time that any participation by him in the bloody conclusion of the conflict is to be excluded. (4) After his election as caliph, his partisans included those persons who are known to have been hostile to the government on economic questions, such as al-As̲h̲tar [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Kawwāʾ, Ṣaʿṣaʿa and others (al-Masʿūdī, iv, 261; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2916, 2908, etc.). His own programme in face of the various financial demands put forward by the *muḳātila* (division of the surplus of the revenues, distribution of the domanial lands, etc.) is not known. It is recorded only that on becoming caliph he distributed the entire sums which he found in the *bayt al-māl* of Medina, Baṣra and Kūfa, and the whole of the provisions collected in the *bayt al ṭaʿām* (cf. also *Annali*, 40 A.H., §§ 276-80), an action which is to be regarded not simply as a demagogic gesture but as the consequence of the view that he had previously expressed to ʿUmar. He is said also to have wished to distribute the Sawād (i.e. the domanial lands in al-ʿIrāḳ), but to have refrained through fear of legal disputes (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 265 f.).

Apart from this, there is no statement which authorizes us to regard him as an extremist; on the contrary, he was hostile to the Sabaʾiyya, the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], and when they exalted him beyond measure he rid himself of them; he tried to cut himself loose from the *nuffār*, the besiegers of "the House" (of ʿUt̲h̲mān) and their adherents, as soon as circumstances allowed him to do so (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3163-5, 3182). By his extreme attachment to Islam ʿAlī was driven to attach an absolute superiority in merit to priority of conversion and to services rendered to Islam in its early days, over other claims such as nobility of birth and political or administrative ability. In his conflict with the government he continually appealed to the duty of applying the Ḳurʾān and following the *sunna* of the Prophet, which in his view were being neglected. Whether by this policy, or because, aiming to defend the right of the Hās̲h̲imid house to the caliphate, he was bound to oppose the principle which extended this right to the whole of Muḥammad's tribe, he set the Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ against him, although himself of Ḳuray̲s̲h̲; in return he had the support of most of the Anṣār, of the other non-Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ite Arabs who had been amongst the Old Believers, of the *muḳātila* in the provinces, and the depressed classes in general (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xi, 31).

Election of ʿAlī and early measures. When ʿUt̲h̲mān was killed the Umayyads fled from Medina and the opposition remained masters of the situation. Since ʿAlī was the person for whom they had most respect, he was invited to succeed to the caliphate. The traditions on the manner and circumstances of his election (the most commonly accepted date is 18 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 35/17 June 656) are contradictory in regard to his willingness to accept it. His partisans on the other hand were ready to employ violence against those who refused to recognize him (including Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr); nevertheless there were some who would not yield and who left Medina, e.g. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, al-Mug̲h̲īra b. S̲h̲uʿba, Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, Usāma b. Zayd.

Muʿāwiya was therefore able to maintain that the election was invalid because made by a minority; to this ʿAlī replied that the election of the caliph was a right of those persons (Anṣār, Muhād̲j̲irūn, or Badr-combatants) who were present in Medina at the relevant time. What is certain is that ʿAlī allowed himself to be nominated also by the rebels who had ʿUt̲h̲mān's blood on their hands. This was an error, in that it exposed him to accusations of complicity in their crime, although some traditions represent him as vainly endeavouring to rid himself of the most factious of his partisans. In spite of counsels by Ibn ʿAbbās to go slowly, ʿAlī at once took some of the measures demanded by the opposition from ʿUt̲h̲mān: he removed the governors appointed by the latter and wherever possible replaced them by governors of his own party, and satisfied the populace by distributions of money, made with a laudable equity. The report of ʿUt̲h̲mān's murder and of ʿAlī's protection of those guilty of it had in the meantime provoked strong reactions in Mecca, Syria and Egypt. Muʿāwiya, governor of Syria and cousin of ʿUt̲h̲mān, accused ʿAlī of complicity with the murderers and refused to pay homage to him. ʿAlī hastily collected troops to force him to obedience, but another serious rebellion compelled him to delay action in Syria, while Muʿāwiya for his part maintained a prudent waiting policy.

Rebellion of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. Although ʿĀʾis̲h̲a had supported the opposition against ʿUt̲h̲mān, she had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca during the siege of "the House". On her way back she learned of the events in Medina, and in consternation, especially at the news of ʿAlī's election, returned to Mecca and engaged in active propaganda against the new caliph. Four months later she was joined by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and shortly afterwards ʿAlī learned that all three, with several hundred troops, were marching to al-ʿIrāḳ by sidetracks. He immediately set out in pursuit, but could not overtake them. The rebels expected to find in al-ʿIrāḳ the forces and the resources which they needed. ʿAlī was absolutely compelled to prevent them from seizing this province, since Syria obeyed only Muʿāwiya, Egypt was in anarchy, and the loss of al-ʿIrāḳ would have involved also the loss of the eastern provinces dependent on it.

The three insurgents proclaimed that the *ḥudūd* must be re-established for all alike, and that a "reform" (*iṣlāḥ*) must be put into effect (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3093, 3131, 3132). Since these influential leaders were in part responsible for the fate of ʿUt̲h̲mān, the reasons for their rising to demand vengeance for his murder, and the meaning which they attached to *iṣlāḥ*, are obscure. Social and economic motives, inspired by fear of the possible influence of the extremists on ʿAlī, seem to provide a more convincing explanation than personal feelings for their action, and especially ~~for the effect~~ which it produced. The moderates amongst those opposed to ʿUt̲h̲mān had no doubt desired a change of policy, but not one so radical as that now foreshadowed.

While the insurgents occupied Baṣra, and there massacred many of the *nuffār*, ʿAlī sent his supporters to Kūfa to invite its population to take his part, and when he had collected an adequate force he marched towards Baṣra. Since both parties aimed at a peaceful settlement of the dispute, an agreement was negotiated, according to which ʿAlī should disengage himself from the *nuffār* (while guaranteeing their lives), but this was not the conclusion of the affair which the extremists of his party meant to reach. A brawl provoked by them developed into a battle, which became famous in Muslim annals as the "Battle of the Camel" (15 D̲j̲umādā II 36/9 Dec. 656) [see AL-D̲J̲AMAL], and in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr lost their lives, while ʿĀʾis̲h̲a was peremptorily ordered by ʿAlī to return to Medina under escort.

Conflict with Muʿāwiya. Following on this success, ʿAlī had hopes of regaining the allegiance of the governor of Syria by opening negotiations with him, but in vain. Muʿāwiya demanded the surrender of the murderers of ʿUt̲h̲mān in virtue of a verse of the Ḳurʾān (xvii, 32/35) which forbids the slaying of any person save for just cause (*illā bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*), at the same time according the right of vengeance in the case of anyone slain unjustly (*maẓlūm^an^*) to his *walī*, i.e. his near relative. Muʿāwiya maintained that ʿUt̲h̲mān had been killed unjustly; consequently, he proposed to exercise the right accorded by God. In the meantime, he would hold to his refusal to pay homage to ʿAlī. The sources pass vaguely over the thesis maintained by ʿAlī in rejecting Muʿāwiya's demand, except for the explicit statement in the *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minkarī (570): since ʿUt̲h̲mān was killed by the people, who were outraged by his arbitrary actions, the murderers should not be liable to the *lex talionis*. In reality the struggle had much deeper causes; what was at issue was the pre-eminence of Syria or of al-ʿIrāḳ, and probably also two different conceptions of the policy to be followed in the government of the Muslim State.

ʿAlī, finding that Muʿāwiya was not to be won over, passed to the offensive; the two armies, each some tens of thousands strong, faced one another on the plain of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*]. After some skirmishing, interrupted by a truce in Muḥarram 37/June-July 657 and some parleys, battle was joined; there was a week of combats between horsemen and foot-soldiers, followed by a violent conflict (the "night of clamour", *laylat al-harir*, 10 Ṣafar 37/28 July 657). Muʿāwiya's star seemed to be sinking, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ advised him to have his soldiers hoist copies of the Ḳurʾān on their lances. This gesture, famous in Muslim history, did not imply surrender; by this means Muʿāwiya invited the combatants to resolve the question by consultation of the Ḳurʾān. Weary of fighting—the number of the killed is swollen in the sources to 70,000 or even more—the two armies laid down their arms. ʿAlī was forced by his partisans to submit the difference to arbitration, as proposed by Muʿāwiya, and further to choose the arbitrator for his side from among the "neutrals" So sure were his followers that they were in the right! In these decisions the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*], of whom many were in his army (though they were represented in Muʿāwiya's army also), played a large part.

Appointment and task of the arbitrators (*taḥkīm*). A convention was drawn up at Ṣiffīn itself (Ṣafar 37/657), by the terms of which the two arbitrators, Abū Mūsā al-As̲h̲ʿarī [*q.v.*] for ʿAlī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] for Muʿāwiya, would announce their decision at a place halfway between Syria and al-ʿIrāḳ in the presence of witnesses chosen by themselves; the date fixed for the meeting was Ramaḍān, but the arbitrators might advance it or postpone it until the end of the year 37. In the two versions of the convention which have come down to us the points to be examined by the arbitrators are not defined; all that is said is that they were to consult the Ḳurʾān "from the first to the last sūra" and, in default of clear indications in the sacred Book, the *sunna* of the Prophet, excluding what

might give rise to divergences. L. Veccia Vaglieri (see the art. cited in the Bibliography) has shown that their task was to determine whether the acts of which ʿUt̲h̲mān was accused were or were not *aḥdāt̲h̲*, arbitrary actions at odds with the divine Law. If the caliph were guilty, his murder could be regarded as an act of justice; but if he had committed no errors, the conclusion must be that he had been killed unjustly (*maẓlūm^an^*), and in consequence Muʿāwiya was justified in claiming the right of vengeance. But this was not all, for a decision in favour of Muʿāwiya would inevitably involve, for ʿAlī, the loss of the caliphate.

Protests against the arbitration. While awaiting the verdict, the armies returned to their bases. But already at Ṣiffīn certain individuals had protested against recourse to arbitration with the cry *lā ḥukm^a^ illā li'llāh*, literally "No decision save God's". The phrase implied that it was absolutely improper to apply to men for a decision since, for the case in dispute, there existed a divine ordinance in the Ḳurʾānic verse xlix, 8/9: "*If two parties of the Believers fight with one another, make peace between them, but if one rebels* (bag̲h̲at) *against the other, then fight against that one which rebels* (allatī tabg̲h̲ī), *until it returns to obedience to God . . .*". In fighting against his opponents ʿAlī had appealed to this verse, since in his view the "rebellious party" had been, firstly, that of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and now that of Muʿāwiya. The dissidents maintained, very logically, that it was his duty to continue to fight against Muʿāwiya, as no new fact had intervened to alter the situation.

During the return to Kūfa, those had first raised the cry *lā ḥukm^a^ illā li'llāh* (hence called *al-muḥakkima al-ūlā*) persuaded many other partisans of ʿAlī that the arbitration was a sin against God, by substituting the judgment of men for His prescription. A group of some thousands proclaimed their repentance and stopped at Ḥarūrāʾ, near Kūfa (whence their name of Ḥarūrites [*q.v.*]). The caliph, on a personal visit to their camp, succeeded in reconciling the dissidents, all or in part, evidently by making concessions to them. After his return to Kūfa, however, he denied from the *minbar* the reports which asserted his intention of infringing the convention of Ṣiffīn. When it was learned that he had sent Abū Mūsā to the meeting with ʿAmr, a group of dissidents, 3,000 or 4,000, secretly left Kūfa, and some hundreds more left Baṣra. The rallying-point chosen by these dissidents, called K̲h̲awārid̲j̲ (K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites [*q.v.*]), was al-Nahrawān, on the canal of the same deriving from the Tigris.

The arbitration (*ḥukūma*). Muʿāwiya, with his escort, was the first to arrive at the meeting-place of the arbitrators (Ramaḍān 37/Feb. 658). ʿAlī, excusing himself on the ground of the troubles caused by the dissidents, did no more than send Abū Mūsā with the escort and his cousin Ibn ʿAbbās as his representative. The sources give vague or contradictory statements on the place and date of the meeting, some placing it at Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal (now al-D̲j̲ōf), approximately halfway between Syria and al-ʿIrāḳ, as stipulated in the convention, others at Ad̲h̲ruḥ, between Maʿān and Petra. There are many grounds (see the art. cited above) for believing that a first meeting in the presence of six persons only was held at Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal, and a second meeting (see below) at Ad̲h̲ruḥ in S̲h̲aʿbān 38. At the former, the arbitrators must have reached an agreement on the result of their investigations, and this result was that ʿUt̲h̲mān had committed no breach of his trust, since only on this ground can the later events be explained. A passage in *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (618 f.) explains why their verdict is known to us only indirectly: as a measure of precaution, "the two men agreed at Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal to say nothing". But though the verdict was not promulgated, it is certain that it became known to both parties; the Syrians, perhaps in the enthusiasm of the moment, took the *bayʿa* to Muʿāwiya (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 37/April 658: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 199), while ʿAlī publicly protested against both arbitrators, proclaimed that their sentence was contrary to the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, and that he was therefore under no obligation to submit to it. Thereupon he assembled his forces and set out to engage Muʿāwiya in battle again. On reaching al-Anbār, he turned aside towards al-Nahrawān, in the conviction that it was necessary first of all to destroy this centre of insurgence. Muʿāwiya, in the same month in which ʿAlī was engaged with the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites, took possession of Egypt (Ṣafar 38).

Battle of al-Nahrawān. ʿAlī first tried to re-enlist the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites in his forces by a declaration that he would take the field again against Muʿāwiya, but without effect. The dissidents demanded that he should confess himself guilty of an act of impiety (*kufr*), which he indignantly refused to do. After promising the *amān* to those who should submit—and there were some—he attacked the rebels (9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658). It was a massacre rather than a battle, and it seems that ʿAlī was the first to regret it. This action, condemned by contemporary opinion,—for many sincere believers, of well-known piety, had fallen on the field—had very grievous consequences for him; the defections, which had already begun, increased, and he was forced to return to Kūfa and to give up the campaign against Muʿāwiya.

Conference of Ad̲h̲ruḥ. The situation was completely changed after these events. Henceforward the opposing parties were no longer a caliph and a rebel governor, but two rivals for the supreme office in the State. While Muʿāwiya had gained ground, ʿAlī was struggling in a morass of difficulties: he had been disqualified in the eyes of the Muslim community by the verdict of the arbitrators, and he had lost many of his supporters by his refusal to submit to their decision after consenting to the *taḥkīm*, by the massacre of the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites, and in general by his vacillating policy. This was the position when the arbitrators and many eminent persons (with the exclusion of ʿAlī and also, it would seem, of his representatives) met at Ad̲h̲ruḥ in S̲h̲aʿbān 38/January 659. In this conference the meetings attended only by the arbitrators and certain personages must be distinguished from the final plenary session. In the former the verdict of the arbitrators was promulgated (several sources assert that Abū Mūsā recognized that ʿUt̲h̲mān had been killed unjustly), and the selection of a new caliph was discussed. The information given in the sources is rather discordant, except as regards the final scene. It can be gathered that ʿAmr maintained the cause of Muʿāwiya against Abū Mūsā's preference for ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who for his part refused to stand for election in default of unanimity; Abū Mūsā then proposed, and ʿAmr agreed, to declare both ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya deposed and to remit the choice to a committee. In the public discourses that followed, Abū Mūsā observed this agreement, possibly adding some counsels in which he alluded to his preference for the son of ʿUmar; ʿAmr in his

turn declared ʿAlī deposed and confirmed Muʿāwiya. Several modern historians have adjudged this scene entirely improbable, but this negative attitude towards traditions which are nevertheless explicit and fairly concordant on this point is due to an inadequate appreciation of the preceding events explained above. In the light of these the final scene at Adhruḥ can readily be accepted. The unexpected declaration of ʿAmr seems to have been a strictly personal proposal on his part, which, as a man charged with a grave responsibility, he believed himself entitled, if not in duty bound, to advance. But this declaration, which obviously contravened the agreement previously reached (since Abū Mūsā reacted to it with indignation), was generally judged in later times as a treacherous trick, and was certainly a disloyal act. It is worthy of notice that even in the plenary assembly no voice was raised on behalf of ʿAlī; the clash which followed ʿAmr's declaration was a reaction against the Umayyads, not in favour of ʿAlī. In any case the conference had entirely negative results, for the participants separated without taking any decision on the caliphate.

Last years, death and burial of ʿAlī. ʿAlī continued to be regarded as caliph by his partisans, though their numbers were daily diminishing, and Muʿāwiya by his. In 39/659 the situation was still uncertain. ʿAlī, confined to Kūfa, remained passive even when Muʿāwiya made small expeditions into the heart of al-ʿIrāḳ and of Arabia. In Khurāsān and the East Arab rule was thrown off [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. SAMURA], but a rising in Fārs was skilfully put down by Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], as governor for ʿAlī. In 40/660 ʿAlī enjoyed no authority in the two Holy Cities, and could not stop an attack by Muʿāwiya on al-Yaman. Finally, a Khāridjite, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam al-Murādī [see IBN MULDJAM], in revenge for the men slain at al-Nahrawān, struck ʿAlī with a poisoned sword before the door of the mosque of Kūfa. He died about two days later, being then 62 or 63 years of age. A questionable tradition asserts that Ibn Muldjam was only one of a group of fanatics who plotted to rid Islam of the three persons regarded as responsible for the civil war, and that Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr were to have been assassinated at the same time.

ʿAlī's burial place was kept secret, evidently for fear lest his body should be exhumed and profaned. It was not until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd that it was announced that his tomb had been identified at a spot some miles from Kūfa, where a sanctuary subsequently arose; a town, al-Nadjaf [*q.v.*], grew up there, surrounded by an immense cemetery, due to the aspiration of pious Shīʿites to be buried in the vicinity of their Imāms.

Personal details. In person, ʿAlī is represented as bald, affected by ophthalmia, stout, short-legged and broad-shouldered, with a hairy body and a long white beard covering his chest. In manner he was rough and brusque, apt to give offence and unsociable. He had two nicknames: *Ḥaydara*, "lion", and *Abū Turāb*, "dustman", a name probably given to him contemptuously by his enemies, but which was afterwards interpreted as an honorific by invented episodes (see Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 1898, 30). He had fourteen sons and nineteen daughters by nine wives and several concubines; of his sons, only three, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, played a historical role, and five in all left descendants. He was reputed to have a profound knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, of which he was one of the best "readers" (Suyūṭī, *Itḳān* (Sprenger), 169, 171; the statement that he compiled a recension is to be rejected: *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 8-11). Many political discourses, sermons, letters and wise sayings (*ḥikam*) have been ascribed to him; these can be read in *Nahdj al-Balāgha*, a collection of the 5th/11th century, which includes here and there old historical texts and passages of *adab* [see AL-SHARĪF AL-RAḌĪ]. On the *dīwān* (in which some poems are perhaps authentic) and the prose works attributed to him, see Brockelmann, i, 43 f., S I, 73 f. His gifts as an orator were doubtless remarkable, but the same cannot be said of his poetic art (H. Lammens, *A propos de ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 1930, 1-11).

Personality. The personality of ʿAlī is difficult to define, since the historian finds no sure guide either in his actions or his discourses, or in the data supplied by the sources. His own will was paralysed or modified by events and the constraint of his partisans. His discourses are obscure in form, and it is not easy to distinguish the genuine from the forged. Since the conflicts in which he was involved were perpetuated for centuries, the sources are sometimes tendentious, and, though less idealizing or hostile than has been asserted, more often reticent. The hostile judgment of Lammens (especially in *Fāṭima* and *Moʿâwia Ier*), sometimes obtained by forcing the texts, is to be rejected. The milder presentation of Caetani which, while exposing the weaknesses of ʿAlī, gives due weight to the pressure of circumstances upon him, remains vague in its general lines. Neither Lammens nor Caetani has brought out the religiosity of ʿAlī and its reflections in his policy. There is an abundance of notices on his austerity, his rigorous observance of religious rites, his detachment from worldly goods, his scruples in regard to booty and retaliation; and there is no reason to suppose all these details invented or exaggerated, since all his actions were dominated by this religious spirit. Without attempting to decide whether his devotion to Islam was always wholly unmixed with other motives, this aspect of his personality cannot be disregarded for the understanding that it affords of his psychology. He engaged in warfare against "erring" Muslims as a matter of duty, in order "to sustain the Faith and to make the right way (*al-hudā*) triumphant" (al-Balādhurī in Caet., 40 A.H., § 235, *d*, etc.). After his victory at "the Camel", he tried to relieve the distresses of the vanquished by preventing the enslavement of their women and children, in face of the protests of a group of his partisans; when battles ended, he showed his grief, wept for the dead, and even prayed over his enemies. Even the apparent ambiguity of his attitude towards the Ḥarūrites can be explained by his fear of disobeying God; though persuaded by them that the arbitration was a sin, he recognized also that to infringe the convention of Ṣiffīn was equally a sin, and in this painful dilemma chose to allow the arbitration to proceed. Obedience to the divine Law was the keynote of his conduct, but his ideas were governed by an excessive rigorism, and it was perhaps for this reason that his enemies described him as *maḥdūd*, "narrow-minded". Imprisoned in his strict conformism, he could not adapt himself to the necessities of a situation which was very different from that of Muḥammad's time; thus he lacked that political flexibility which was, on the other hand, one of the pre-eminent qualities of Muʿāwiya. His programme, rather than uncertain, was utopian;

probably he himself discovered the impossibility of realizing it when the power came into his hands, and this may have contributed, along with the external events, to his discouragement in his last years. Caetani observed that the half-divine aureole which soon encircled the figure of ʿAlī was derived not only from his relationship with the Prophet, but also from the personal impression which he left on his contemporaries; but he did not indicate the qualities which gave rise to the legend. If it is recognized that his was a profoundly religious spirit, and that he supported by his authority a programme of social and economic reforms, at the same time placing them on a religious basis, this question also may find its solution. [For S͟hīʿite doctrines and legends concerning ʿAlī see s͟hīʿa.]

Bibliography: The basic historical sources, with many additional texts *adab*, *ḥadīt͟h* and other works, are translated or summarized in Caetani, *Annali* (of which vols. ix and x (1926) are devoted to the caliphate of ʿAlī). Further materials in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳārī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1365 (the lith. ed. Ṭehran 1301 and abridged ed. Bayrūt 1340 are much inferior), and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ an-Nāḍira fi Manāḳib al-ʿAs͟hara*, Cairo 1327, ii, 153-249. Studies: A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, i, 308-34; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, Berlin 1901 (*A. K. G. W. Göttingen*); id. *Arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 25-71; id. *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 113-146; H. Lammens, *Études sur le Règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, Paris 1908, index; id. Ad͟hroḥ in *EI*[1]; G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califfato di ʿAlī secondo il* Kitāb Ansāb al-Ašrāf *di al-Balāḏurī*, *RSO*, 1913, 427-507; W. Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis bei den Historikern der Sunna*, Basel 1907; F. Buhl, Ṣiffīn in *EI*[1]; idem, *ʿAlī som Praetendent og Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921; F. Gabrieli, *Sulle origini del movimento Ḫariǧita*, *Rend. Lin.*, 1941, fasc. vi, 110-7; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, *AIUON* 1952, 1-94; id. *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto ʿAlī Muʿāwiya e la successione khārigita*, *AIUON*, 1953, 1-98; Muḥ. Kafāfī, *The Rise of Kharijism according to Abū Saʿīd Muhammad . . . al-Qalhati*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xiv, 1952, 29-48; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-Fitna al-Kubrā*, vol. ii, *ʿAlī*, Cairo 1954 (contains some suggestive ideas). (L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ʿALĪ b. al-D̲J̲AHM b. Badr b. al-D̲j̲ahm al-Sāmī, Arab poet, of Banū Sāma b. Luʾayy, a tribe from Baḥrayn, whose claim to descent from Ḳurays͟h was disputed. His father al-D̲j̲ahm moved from K͟hurāsān to Bag͟hdād and was appointed to various offices under al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāt͟hiḳ; the poet's brothers also were prominent in official and literary circles. ʿAlī was born probably c. 188/804, and received his education in Bag͟hdād. Under al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) he held *maẓālim* jurisdiction in Ḥulwān, but, perhaps because of his support of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in opposition to the Muʿtazila, did not become prominent as a court poet until the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). For some time he enjoyed, as a *nadim*, the intimacy of that caliph, but fell from favour owing to his freedom of speech and the jealousy of his rivals. After a year's imprisonment he was sent to K͟hurāsān, and suffered further punishment there before being released, when he returned to lead a disorganized life in Bag͟hdād. After the murder of al-Mutawakkil (which he lamented with fiery denunciation of all those involved) he set out to join the volunteer *g͟hāzī* troops on the Syrian borders, and was killed on the way by a raiding party of Kalb, in 249/863.

Only a selection from his *diwān* has been preserved (ed. K͟halīl Mardam Beg, Damascus 1949). It shows him to have been a gifted poet, whose verse is above all the simple expression of his own emotions, whether in praise or satire, in patient acceptance of adversity or reckless adventure. It is noteworthy also as displaying the attitudes of the K͟hurāsānian Arab supporters of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in opposition to S͟hīʿite and other unorthodox views. He was in friendly relations with Abū Tammām [*q v.*], who made him the subject of two poems, but was on the contrary coarsely satirized by al-Buḥturī (Istanbul 1300, ii, 99, 107) for his hostility to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

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ʿALĪ b. **G͟HĀNIYA** [see g͟hāniya, banū].

ʿALĪ b. **ḤAMMŪD** [see ḥammūdids].

ʿALĪ b. **al-ḤASAN** b. **al-MUSLIMA** [see Ibn al-muslima].

ʿALĪ B. **ḤUSAYN** [see sīdī raʾīs].

ʿALĪ b. **ḤUSAYN ZAYN al-ʿĀBIDĪN** [see zayn al-ʿābidīn].

ʿALĪ b. **ʿĪSĀ** b. Dāʾūd b. al-D̲j̲arrāḥ, ʿAbbāsid vizier, b. 245/859 into a family of Persian origin settled at Dayr Ḳunnā on the Tigris below Bag͟hdād, who had probably turned Christian before their adoption of Islam. Many of his relatives, including his father and grandfather, were officials in the ʿAbbāsid administration, and he himself seems to have received his first secretarial employment at the age of nineteen or twenty. In 278/892, on the formation of the *diwān al-dār* by Aḥmad b. al-Furāt, both ʿAlī and his uncle Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd were employed in that department as secretaries under Aḥmad's brother ʿAlī, and some seven years later, when independent departments for the Western and Eastern provinces were created, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and his uncle were appointed to manage them respectively. During the later years of al-Muʿtaḍid's caliphate, a feud developed between members of the family of al-D̲j̲arrāḥ and the brothers Aḥmad and ʿAlī b. al-Furāt, and this came to a head on the death of al-Muktafī in 295/908, when, after the latter's brother al-Muḳtadir had succeeded as caliph largely owing to the exertions of Ibn al-Furāt, the Banu 'l-D̲j̲arrāḥ engineered a conspiracy to depose him in favour of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was given control of the *diwāns* in the short-lived government of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and was consequently fined and banished to Mecca on the restoration of al-Muḳtadir.

In Mecca, during the first vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt, ʿAlī was kept under surveillance until Ibn al-Furāt's fall in 299/912. In 300/913 he was recalled at the suggestion of the general Muʾnis [*q.v.*], to succeed al-K͟hāḳānī as vizier. His first term in office lasted exactly four years, and was marked by strenuous efforts on his part to rehabilitate the state finances. Although he succeeded in augmenting the revenues, his reduction of expenditure earned him the dislike of the court, including the irresponsible and extravagant caliph. During his first year as

vizier he despatched an embassy to the Ḳarāmiṭa, which secured the release of the ʿAbbāsid prisoners of war; and since for some ten years, whether or not partly as a result of this approach (which was repeated in 303/915-6), the Ḳarāmiṭa remained quiescent, this action later gave ʿAlī's enemies a pretext for alleging that he was in league with the sectaries. The economy in military expenditure on this front was, however, offset by the cost of expeditions against the Fāṭimids in Egypt (301/914) and other rebels in ʿIrāḳ (303/916); ʿAlī found himself unable to pay certain troops at the capital, who mutinied; and in the next year Ibn al-Furāt, by promising plentiful supplies of money to the caliph and his mother, and engaging the influence of the powerful *ḳahramāna* Umm Mūsā, whom ʿAlī had offended, was reappointed vizier. Although ʿAlī was fined, imprisoned, and impeached (though unsuccessfully) for complicity in the rebellion of Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, which broke out shortly before his dismissal, the caliph began, little more than a year later, to consult him on whom to appoint in his rival's place; and early in 306/July 918 Ibn al-Furāt was dismissed and Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās made vizier. Shortly afterwards, on Ḥāmid's proving quite incompetent, ʿAlī was induced to accept office as his deputy, and it was not long before he exercised all real power. An attempt by Ḥāmid to regain his influence by undertaking to raise extra revenue from the Sawād, al-Ahwāz, and Iṣfahān, produced a sharp rise in the price of grain at Baghdād, followed in 308/920-1 by prolonged popular riots. ʿAlī thenceforward managed affairs on his own, but refused the office of vizier in the following year. He again incurred unpopularity by his measures of economy, which was rendered more than ever necessary by heavy expenditure on expeditions for the second expulsion of the Fāṭimids from Egypt and the defeat of Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj, and in 311/923 Ibn al-Furāt was reappointed vizier for the third time.

ʿAlī, once more arrested and questioned on his management of the finances and his relations with the Ḳarāmiṭa (who raided Baṣra four days after his dismissal), was cleared on the second charge but forced into signing a bond for 300,000 *dīnārs*, and subsequently tortured, by Ibn al-Furāt's son al-Muḥassin. He was nevertheless helped to pay off his fine and again allowed to retire under surveillance to Mecca, whence, after more than one attempt on his life by his guardian, he was exiled to Ṣanʿāʾ, remaining there until the summer of the following year, when, on the execution of Ibn al-Furāt, he was appointed Overseer of Egypt and Syria. Three years later, at the end of 314/beginning of 927, he was recalled and reappointed to the vizierate.

His second term of office lasted little more than a year. The ʿAbbāsid government was by now hopelessly insolvent; the Byzantines were tempted by its evident weakness to advance into Muslim territory and took Sumaysāṭ (Samosata); and the Ḳarāmiṭa, after taking Kūfa and defeating Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj, advanced on Baghdād and came near to taking it too. ʿAlī was forced to apply to the caliph and his mother for funds for the defence of the city and to raise the pay of the mutinous soldiery; and though, when he sought to resign in consequent despair over the finances, al-Muḳtadir refused to allow him to do so, he was dismissed shortly afterwards and imprisoned.

On al-Muḳtadir's second deposition nine nonths later, ʿAlī was released; and on the caliph's restoration (ʿAlī's partisan Muʾnis then becoming all-powerful) he was appointed to deal with *maẓālim* and subsequently, in 318/930, made head of the *dīwāns* and general adviser first to his cousin Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad and then to the latter's successor in the vizierate, al-Kalwādhī. Towards the end of 319/931, however, on the appointment of his second cousin and enemy al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, he was again exiled, this time to his native Dayr Ḳunnā, though he was soon allowed to return to the capital. During the reign of al-Ḳāhir he held a minor fiscal office for some months; and after the accession of al-Rāḍī he was once more arrested, fined, and momentarily exiled to al-Ṣāfiya (near Dayr Ḳunnā), at the instance of Ibn Muḳla, who, however, at the end of 323/935, was obliged to enlist his help in negotiating peace with al-Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Haydjāʾ the Ḥamdānid (afterwards Nāṣir al-Dawla), with whom ʿAlī had been accused of intriguing.

In the summer of 325/936, ʿAlī, having as usual declined the vizierate for himself, acted as general assistant to his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān for three months. In 328/940, on the accession of al-Muttaḳī, he was against appointed to deal with *maẓālim*, and a few months later he again acted as assistant to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, though for little more than a week. These were his last employments; and apart from expressing the view, which was acted on, that the Christian relic known as the "Image of Edessa" should be handed over to the Byzantines in exchange for an undertaking to refrain from attacking that city in 332/944, he played no further part in public affairs. Six months after the arrival of the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla in Baghdād, he died at the age of eighty-nine (29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 334/1 Aug. 946).

Comparatively little is known of ʿAlī's private life. He had two sons, probably by different wives: Ibrāhīm, who became secretary to the caliph al-Muṭīʿ in 347/958-9 and died in 350/961; and ʿĪsā, b. 302/914-5, who likewise became secretary to al-Ṭāʾiʿ, earned some repute as a traditionist and student of the "Greek" sciences, and died in 391/1001. ʿAlī's ascetic tendencies in religion seem to have been intensified by an attraction to ṣūfism. He is known to have been a friend of the ṣūfī al-Shiblī; and his dealings with al-Ḥallādj, whom, when the latter was accused of heresy in 301/913, he examined, but declined to try when he was further accused in 306/918, suggest that there existed a secret sympathy between them. Some of ʿAlī's letters to al-Muḳtadir's Ṣābian physician, Sinān b. Thābit, are quoted by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa; according to the latter also the philosopher al-Rāzī addressed a medical treatise to ʿAlī, who displayed much interest in the improvement of public health, himself founding a hospital in the Ḥarbiyya quarter of the capital. Other foundations of his were at least one mosque on his private estates, a well (called after him al-Djarrāḥiyya) at Mecca, and another well and an aqueduct at Ṣanʿāʾ. He was also the author of three, possibly four, books, none of which appear to be extant.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, ed. Heyworth Dunne and transl. Canard, indices; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, index; ʿArīb, index; Kindī, *Wulāt*, index; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, i, 203-7; Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda*, Cairo 1903, i, 50, ii, 14; idem, *Nishwār*, index; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, index; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, index; *Fihrist*, 9, 31, 34, 82, 128-9, 136, 235, 298, 327; Hamadhānī, *Takmila*, MS Paris 1469, fols. 12r, 56r, 51, 89r, 99r-101r; Ibn

al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1357, index; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, v, vi, indices; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 4619, fols. 15v-16v, 56v, 59v, 62v, 63, 67r, 76r, 77, 81v, 82v-83r, 85v, 88r, 96v, 116v, 129r, 132r-136v, 137v, 138r, 139; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii, 544 ff.; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain*, 77, 79, 80, 88, 89, 90, 112, 139; L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, index; H. Bowen, *The Life and Times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge 1928 (where other references are given).

(H. Bowen)

ʿALĪ B. ʿĪSĀ was the best known oculist (*kaḥḥāl*) of the Arabs. His work, the *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn*, deserves the greater claim to our attention from the point of view of the history of civilization in that it is the oldest Arabic work on ophthalmology, that is complete and survives in the original. The name of the author is also recorded in the inverted form: ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī. Preference is to be given to the first form as follows from a reference in Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa (*ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, i, 240) and from quotations in later authors as al-Ghāfiḳī, Khalīfa b. Abi ʾl-Maḥāsin and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The uncertainty as to the form of the name is due to confusion with the court physician of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, who lived some 150 years earlier (*Fihrist*, i, 297, 19; Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, i, 203), and also wrote medical treatises.

ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's life falls in the first half of the 5th/11th century; for (according to Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, *l.c.*) he was a pupil of Abu ʾl-Faradj b. al-Ṭayyib, the commentator on Galen, at Baghdad, who died in the third decade of the 5th/11th century (according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 223). ʿAlī, who, like his above mentioned teacher, professed the Christian religion, seems likewise to have practised at Baghdād. We know nothing of the external details of his life. As a physician he was full of foresight and prudence and of kindly feeling. This is evidenced by many a counsel given to the ophthalmic surgeon in the interests of the patient.

His *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn* (promptuary for oculists),—sometimes also designated *Risāla* (epistle), on account of the introductory words—is a very detailed treatise. According to the Preface the first Book treats of the anatomy of the eye, the second of diseases externally visible and their treatment (diseases of the lid, of the corners of the eyes, of the conjunctiva, cornea, uvea, cataract and its operation), the third of hidden diseases and their treatment (visual illusions, diseases of the albumen, crystalline lense, spirit of vision, long-sightedness, short-sightedness, blindness during the day, and during the night, diseases of the vitreous humour, of the retina, of the visual nerve, of the choroid, of the sclerotic, squinting and weak sight). After a chapter on the preservation of health, the work closes with an alphabetical treatment of 141 simple remedies and their particular action on the eye.—We cannot judge to what extent the work can lay claim to originality, since the older Arabic works on the subject are not preserved. ʿAlī himself observes in his Preface: "I have searched the works of the Ancients throughout, and merely added the little of my own thereto, which I have learned publicly from the teachers of our own time and which I have acquired in the practice of this science". He mentions the work of Ḥunayn together with Galen as his principal sources. In addition he cites in the *Tadhkira* the Alexandrians, Dioscorides, Hippocrates, Oreibasius and Paulus.

The comprehensiveness of his work laid the foundation of his fame [cf. ʿAMMĀR]; it has been considerably used by later Arab oculists—until the present day—both for the practical and theoretical portions (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *l.c.*: "the physicians of this branch work at all times in accordance with this") and has frequently been quoted whole chapters at a time. A commentary on it, written by Dāniyāl b. Shaʿya, is mentioned by Khalīfa b. Abi ʾl-Maḥāsin [*q.v.*] in the introduction to his ophthalmological work. This commentary is not preserved; on the other hand a large number of manuscripts of the *Tadhkira* itself have come down to us. Even in the Middle Ages it was translated into Hebrew and twice into Latin (*Tractatus de oculis Jesu b. Hali*, Venice 1497, 1499, 1500; edited once more by Pansier with a second translation, made from the Hebrew version, under the title *Epistola Ihesu filii Haly de cognitione infirmitatum oculorum sive Memoriale oculariorum quod compilavit Ali b. Issa*, Paris 1903). That the great importance of the *Tadhkira* in the history of medicine has been entirely unrecognized is due to the barbarous character of the Latin translation and the fact that whole sentences are frequently omitted therein. So the continuity is destroyed and the sense made unrecognizable.

A German translation of the *Manual for oculists* based on the Arabic manuscripts is contained in vol. i of *Die arabischen Augenärzte nach den Quellen bearbeitet* by J. Hirschberg, J. Lippert and E. Mittwoch, Leipzig 1904.

Bibliography: cf. the introduction of the last-named work; Brockelmann, I, 635, S I, 884.

(E. Mittwoch)

ʿALĪ B. MAHDĪ [see MAHDIDS].

ʿALĪ B. MAʿṢŪM [see ʿALĪ KHĀN].

ʿALĪ B. MAYMŪN B. ABĪ BAKR AL-IDRĪSĪ AL-MAGHRIBĪ Moroccan mystic of Berber (though pretended ʿAlid) origin, born about 854/1450. In his youth he is said to have been the *amīr* of a *ḳabīla* of the Banū Rāshid in the Djabal Ghumāra, but to have relinquished that position because he was unable to enforce among his people the prohibition on wine-drinking. In 901/1495-6 he left Fez, visited Damascus, Mecca, Aleppo, and Brusa, and finally settled at Damascus where he died in 917/1511.

His mysticism was of a moderate character; in his *Bayān Ghurbat al-Islām bi-Wāsiṭat Ṣinfay al-Mutafaḳḳiha wa ʾl-Mutafaḳḳira min Ahl Miṣr wa ʾl-Shām wa-mā yalīhā min Bilād al-Aʿdjām*, he inveighed against the religious and social abuses which he had noticed in the East (cf. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1874, 293 ff.). He wrote this work at an advanced age (he commenced it on 19 Muḥarram 916). On his mystical writings, among which an apology for Ibn ʿArabī calls for special comment, see Brockelmann, II, 124; S II, 152. See also Tāshköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* (in the margin of Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299), i, 540.

(C. Brockelmann)

ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD [see ṢULAYḤIDS].

ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ZANDJĪ, known as ṢĀḤIB AL-ZANDJ, was the leader of the Zandj [*q.v.*], the rebel negro slaves who for fifteen years (255-270/868-83) terrorised southern ʿIrāḳ and the adjoining territories. He was born in Warzanīn, a village near Rayy, and is said by some authorities to have been of Arab origin, being descended from ʿAbd al-Ḳays on his father's side and from Asad on his mother's. His name is generally given as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. According to Ibn al-Djawzī (*al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1357, v, 2, 69) his real name was

Bihbūdh. Al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, 332; translation, 330) states that he was known as Al-Burḳuʿī (the veiled one). He himself claimed to be an ʿAlid, and gave his pedigree as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (al-Bīrūnī, loc. cit.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 31; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1742- who gives a slightly different pedigree. On an ʿAlid of this name, whose father died in prison under Al-Mustaʿīn, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 404 and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*², Cairo 1949, 672 and 689). After a first attempt to win support in Baḥrayn, where he is said to have had family connexions, he sought to exploit the disturbed state of Baṣra in order to establish himself there. He failed, however, and only escaped imprisonment by fleeing to Baghdād. Not long afterwards new disturbances in Baṣra favoured his return. This time he sought for support among the negro slaves working in gangs on the salt-flats east of Baṣra. After a period of preparation he openly declared himself on 26 Ramaḍān 255/5 September 869. Though claiming to be an ʿAlid, and using the title of Mahdī, he did not adopt the Shīʿite doctrine, but instead professed the equalitarian creed of the Khāridjites. After a long period of military successes, including the temporary captures of Ubulla, Ahwāz, Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, the Zandj armies were at last overcome by a major expeditionary force mounted by the regent Muwaffaḳ, and besieged in their capital al-Mukhtāra. The Zandj leader refused the offer of a free pardon and a state pension, and after the final assault on 2 Ṣafar 270/11 August 883, his head was taken on a pole to Baghdād.

Bibliography: The fullest account is that of Ṭabarī, iii, 1742-1787; 1835-2103). Further details will also be found in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, as well as in Yaʿḳūbī, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī etc. For studies on the Zandj revolt see T. Noeldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, London-Edinburgh 1892, 146-175; Fayṣal al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, Baghdād 1954; and ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Dūrī, *Darāsāt fi 'l-ʿUsūr al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muta'akhkhira*, Baghdād 1945, 75-106. On the coins of the Zandj see P. Casanova in *Revue Numismatique*, 1893, 510-6, and J. Walker, in *JRAS*, 1933, 651-6.

(B. LEWIS)

ʿALĪ B. RABBAN AL-ṬABARĪ [see AL-ṬABARĪ].

ʿALĪ B. SHAMS AL-DĪN was the author of a history of Gīlān entitled *Ta'rīkh-i khānī*, and covering the years 880-920 (1475-1514). According to the introduction, the book would appear to have been written by Sultan Aḥmad Khān, but ʿAlī seems to be the real author. The work has been edited by B. Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südl. Küstenländer des kaspischen Meeres*, vol. ii. Cf. the preface of this volume, 15 f.

ʿALĪ B. YŪSUF B. TĀSHUFĪN, Almoravid amīr and second sovereign of the Tāshufīnid dynasty, who ruled over a large part of the Maghrib and of southern Spain from 500/1106 to 537/1143.

The reign of ʿAlī, who succeeded his father Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn at the moment when Almoravid power was at its greatest on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, was marked by a series of events of which hitherto the main facts were known, but the exact course of which was not always clear, owing to a lack of detailed sources old enough to be reliable. To-day, there is available on the one hand the volume of the *Naẓm al-Djumān* of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, and the "Memoirs" of the companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, al-Baydhaḳ, on the disintegration of Almoravid power before the onslaught of the Almohad rising, and on the other the unpublished fragments of the *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn ʿIdhārī on the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, fragments which were to a large extent borrowed from the work of the historian Ibn al-Ṣayrafī [*q.v.*], the contemporary of the Almoravids. This information derived from the chronicles of the 8th/14th century has only a supplementary value; sometimes it must even be regarded with caution or even rejected, on account of its lack of objectivity and of its pro-Almohadism. This is particularly the case with the *al-Muʿdjib* of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, hitherto considered an essential source for the Almoravid period, which despite some picturesque and probably accurate accounts of the court at Marrakush, must be used with great care.

The reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf lasted for 37 years, despite the difficulties which faced him from the beginning—difficulties which soon appeared to be of little consequence compared with the danger occasioned by the rising in the Atlantic mountain region and the preaching of *tawḥid* by Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]. The first danger which ʿAlī had to face, from the time of his accession and in the years following, arose from disputes between members of his own family and the chiefs of the *murābiṭ* movement, who belonged to two related, but not solidary clans, namely the Lamtūna, the clan of the ruling branch, and the Massūfa. Under the Almoravid régime, in which fraternal relationship on the father's side was of less importance than uterine kinship, and in which legitimate Tāshufīnid amirs were only designated by the name of their mother (Ibn ʿĀ'isha, Ibn Gannūma etc.), disputes over precedence and conspiracies against the reigning prince were, as was the case a few decades earlier at the Ṣinhādjī courts of the Zīrids of Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus, mainly the work of the royal princesses (*ummahāt*), with the aid of their immediate kin and *mawālī*, in favour of their own sons.

Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn had seen this danger so clearly that he was careful not to designate as his successor one of his sons by a Ṣinhādjian wife, not even his eldest son, Abu' l-Ṭāhir Tamīm, offspring of his marriage at Aghmāt to the influential Ifrīḳiyan Zaynab, who predeceased him by ten years. His choice fell on ʿAlī, born at Ceuta of his union with a Christian captive from Spain, in 477/1084, two years before the battle of al-Zallāḳa. This young man of 23 years was enthroned without opposition at Marrakush on the death of his father, 1 Muḥarram 500/2 September 1106, with the apparently disinterested support of his elder brother Tamīm. But he was obliged inmediately to bring to his senses a son of his brother Abū Bakr b. Yūsuf, Yaḥyā, who was in command at Fez and who submitted without delay. Relying on the judgement of his Andalusian advisers, who had belonged to his father's entourage, ʿAlī embarked on a policy of the pendulum which he was obliged to follow throughout his reign, namely, constantly to move, like pawns on a chessboard, the majority of the Almoravid *amirs*, including his brother, who held provincial governorships in the chief towns of Maghrib and Andalusia. The Almoravid governors received threatening letters of recall to the ruler's side, were dismissed or restored to favour, and were in addition assisted in their duties by administrative inspectors (*mushrif*) and secretaries of chancery, who were almost all Andalusians; such is the record of the greater part of the annals of his reign. It will not be recalled here in detail, but this

lack of continuity in the tenure of the important military and regional commands already shows that the structure inherited by ʿAlī b. Yūsuf from his father was not resting securely on its foundations.

On the other hand, the fortunes of war for long smiled on the Almoravid sovereign in his *d̲j̲ihād* expeditions against the Christians of Spain, led by himself or by one of his generals. The aged Alfonso VI had never abandoned the hope of revenging his defeat at al-Zallāḳa; but he suffered a further humiliation in S̲h̲awwāl 501/end of May 1108, when Tamīm, the elder brother of ʿAlī, defeated under the walls of the fortress of Uclés (*Ukli̲d̲j̲*) the Castilian troops of Count Garcia Ordoñez, accompanied by the infant Sancho, the son of Alfonso VI and Mora Zaida, the step-daughter of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād. The Christian general and the infant were overtaken and killed a few days later at Belinchón, not far from Uclés. Alfonso VI, aged and broken by this blow, had nothing to wait for but death, which overtook him barely a year later, on 30 June 1109. The throne of Castille was occupied until 1126 by his daughter Urraca. Meanwhile, the young kingdom of Portugal was becoming organised, and, in Aragon, Alfonso the Warrior aimed at the capture of Saragossa, which the Almoravids had finally taken from the Hūdids in 503/1110; Alfonso added it to his own dominions nine years later, in 512/1118.

All the chroniclers mention the four successive crossings of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf to al-Andalus; the first voyage, in the year of his accession, took him no further than Algeciras; the second was a *d̲j̲ihād* expedition in the summer of 503/1109, which led to the temporary occupation of Talavera, on the Tagus; the third, also inspired by the motive of holy war, was marked by a resounding success—the capture of Coïmbra in Ṣafar 511/June 1117, after a siege of twenty days. On his fourth crossing, in 515/1121, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf did not go beyond Cordova. But the operations of the Almoravid generals against Spanish Christendom continued without respite, both in Aragon and in New Castille. One of the last notable victories of the reign was that of Fraga, in the region of Lérida: this town, besieged by Alfonso the Warrior, was relieved by the Almoravid general Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. G̲h̲āniya, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the King of Aragon, 23 Ramaḍān 528/17 July 1134.

ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, despite some undeniably good qualities, was far from possessing the stature of his father Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn. Although he spent the greater part of his reign in Morocco itself, he seems to have devoted his special attention to Spain and to have reserved the majority of his military forces for the *d̲j̲ihād* against Christendom, only retaining, for the security of his capital and to guard the Moroccan mountain region, light forces, mainly composed of Christian mercenaries, under the command of the celebrated Catalan Reverter (al-Rubertayr). This policy brought about the downfall of his kingdom. From the moment when the history of the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf became identical with that of the return of Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] to Morocco, the preaching of *tawḥīd* and the first military ventures of the Almohad chiefs, the game was lost, in default of strong and immediate measures against the rebel movement. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf was gradually forced to face the facts: he had been unable adequately to strengthen the structure bequeathed to him by his father, and had allowed ever larger cracks to appear in it. Soon it collapsed, but the son of Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn was not himself present at this dramatic climax; he died on 8 Rad̲j̲ab 537/38 January 1143, exactly five years before the capture of Marrakus̲h̲ by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, leaving his son Tās̲h̲ufīn to succeed him on his tottering throne.

Despite these ultimate misfortunes, the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf must be considered one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the Muslim West. The pro-Almohad historians (followed by Dozy) have tried in vain to disparage the Almoravids; to-day it must be admitted that the first third of the 6th/12th century coincided with a positive renaissance of Spanish civilisation, both in al-Andalūs and the Mag̲h̲rib. The sovereign's literary circle was of the same quality as during the era of the *ṭawāʾif*. Cordova once more became the intellectual and social capital of the kingdom. Ibn Ḳuzmān gives us an attractive picture of it in his *zad̲j̲als*, and at Sevilla, the *muḥtasib* Ibn ʿAbdūn gives us information on the urban economy and the part played in it by the representatives of Almoravid authority.

At the same time, however, the hand of Mālikism in its most intransigeant form continued to retard the wheels of society. The *faḳīhs*, almost all of whom were natives of al-Andalus, were in a dominating position both at Marrākus̲h̲ and at Cordova. They promulgated *autos-da-fé*, and burned the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-G̲h̲azzālī in the parvis of the great mosque of Cordova as early as 503/1109. They fulminated against the laxity of morals and against innovations, in the knowledge that the sovereign would lend them an attentive ear. But the other Almoravid nobles and their wives paid no heed to their sermons. A steadily widening rift developed between the Lamtūnian aristocracy and the population of the towns. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf did not possess the necessary energy to seal it up in time.

Bibliographie: Of the Arabic sources, the most important (*Naẓm al-D̲j̲umān* of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān and *Bayān* of Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī) still unpublished are to be published by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almoravide*; see also the same, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, index. For details of the other sources, belonging to later historiography, and assessed at the beginning of the article (ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, *al-Ḥulal al-Maws̲h̲iyya*, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, Ibn K̲h̲allikān, Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, al-Nuwayrī, al-Nāṣirī, etc.), see the bibliography of the article AL-MURĀBIṬŪN. Cf. also the short work, now out-of-date, of F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa 1899; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Reflexions sur l'empire almoravide au début du XIIe siècle*, *Islam d'Occident*, i, Paris 1948, 239-56. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ʿALĪ b. ṢĀLIḤ [see WĀSIʿ ʿALĪSI].

ʿALĪ AKBAR K̲H̲IṬĀʾĪ, author of a description of China in Persian (*K̲h̲iṭāy-nāma*), which was finished in 922/1516, and originally intended for the sultan Selīm, but later dedicated to Sulaymān. The book is not a travel-book, but a systematic description in twenty chapters, based partly on observations by the author himself, partly on information collected by him in China. The work was translated into Turkish in the reign of Murād III, probably in 990/1582 (lith. Istanbul 1270/1854); the translation served as the basis for the studies of Fleischer and Zenker.

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de Chatay-name, Mélanges Orientaux, Paris 1883, 31 ff.; P. Kahle, *Eine islamische Quelle über China um* 1500, *AO*, 1934, 91-110; *IA*, s.v. (by A. Zeki Velidi Toğan).

ʿALĪ AMĪRĪ, Turkish historian, b. in 1274/1857 at Diyâr Bakr, d. at Istanbul 23 December 1923 (1342). An official of the financial administration, he was primarily interested in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and he took advantage of his appointment to different towns to transcribe Arabic and Turkish inscriptions, to study local history and above all to seek out old documents and historical and poetical manuscripts. In this way he built up a library of unpublished and rare manuscripts, which later enriched the National Library of Istanbul. He published the review *Taʾrīkh we-Edebiyyāt*, edited the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, and was a member of various learned societies. He wrote historical and literary works, but is principally known as an editor of texts. He also helped to classify the archives of the Sublime Porte at Istanbul, and gave his name to one of the catalogues: *Ali Emiri tasnifi*.

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(R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ ʿAZĪZ Efendi, **GIRIDLI**, Turkish diplomat and writer, d. 19 Djumādā I 1213/29 Oct. 1798. He was born in Crete, where his father Taḥmisdji Meḥmed Efendi was *defterdār*. Son of a wealthy father, he lived a carefree life until circumstances constrained him to enter the service of the state (*muḥaṣṣil* of Chios, ca. 1792-93 in Belgrad). In 1211/1796-97, he was appointed ambassador to Prussia, arrived in Berlin early in June, 1797, and died there in the following year. Of his achievements as a diplomat little is known; he owes his fame to his writings. ʿAlī Efendi, who knew Persian, French, and even some German, is an interesting forerunner of the 19th century Turkish movement of Westernization and self-interpretation. In his treatise *Wāridāt* (unpublished, MSS in Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, nos. T 3383, T 3470, T 1698, and Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Şer'iyye 1154/23) ʿAlī Efendi defends the irrationalism of mystic religiousness (he himself was the disciple of a certain Sheykh Kerīm Ibrāhīm of Abana near Sinob) with arguments tinged with 18th century rationalism. He accepts the vacillation of the God-searching soul between faith and scepticism, and offers the story of his own salvation, modestly admitting its inapplicability to others. An exposé of the ideas of mysticism, and, especially, of the superhuman powers of the sheykh, is also found in ʿAlī Efendi's famous book of fairy tales, the *Mukhayyelāt-i Ledün-i Ilāhī* (written in 1211/1797-98, printed in Istanbul, 1268, 1284, 1290), based mainly on Petis de la Croix's *Les Mille et un jours* (first printed in 1710-12), but handling its material freely and adding many new stories of various character. This book, which was very popular in the 19th century, may be regarded as the first modern educational novel in Turkish; beside fantastic tales, it contains also stories depicting life in 18th century Istanbul with charming realism. ʿAlī Efendi has also left poems, mostly in the ṣūfī tradition. Finally, he is supposed to have written a (now lost) opus containing his discussions with European philosophers.

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(A. Tietze)

ALĪ BABA [see alf layla wa-layla].

ʿALĪ BEY, a Caucasian by birth, was for nearly 20 years the chief personage in Egypt. He had been brought there at an early age, and had been offered as a gift to Ibrāhīm Katkhudā, who was the real master of the country from 1156 to 68/1743-54. Before his death, the latter conferred on ʿAlī the rank of *bey*, and made him a member of that curious council of "Powers", whose turbulent authority grew in proportion as the Pasha nominated by the Porte became a shadowy and passive spectator. This Ottoman governor, in order to survive, concerned himself with preserving an apparent neutrality in face of the sanguinary conflicts between the *beys*, a neutrality which he abandoned in order to hasten to the aid of the victor.

ʿAlī distinguished himself at the beginning of his career by the successful defence of a pilgrim caravan against Arab tribes. Appointed *bey*, he was plunged into an atmosphere of intrigue; each character in the drama was obliged to have recourse to murder, and was himself shadowed by assassins. At first, ʿAlī Bey maintained an attitude of prudent watchfulness, confining his activities to enriching himself by every means, and was thus able to collect a substantial number of *mamlūks*. This policy bore fruit when, from the year 1177/1763, his peers recognised him as their leader. In the course of the following year he conferred the rank of *bey* on his *mamlūk* Muḥammad Abu 'l-Dhahab [*q.v.*], the man who was destined to overthrow him. This rise to power, not achieved without setbacks and disputes, was abruptly checked: ʿAlī Bey, forced to take refuge in Syria, established relations with ʿUmar al-Ẓāhir, the ruler of Acre. Through the good offices of the latter, ʿAlī Bey returned to Egypt, with the support of the Porte, and again assumed his prerogatives as *shaykh al-balad*.

Two years later, ʿAlī Bey had to flee again, but he returned to the capital at the head of an armed force in 1181/1767. A new Ottoman governor was obliged to confirm ʿAlī Bey as *shaykh al-balad*; however, alarmed by the latter's independent attitude, he tried to provoke a rising against him. It was a failure, and the Pasha was forced to resign (1182/1768). From then on, ʿAlī Bey did not trouble to conceal his ambitious designs, and he refused to tolerate the presence of an officer who had any influence. He showed his hostility to the Porte and reduced the number of his Janissaries. Nevertheless he did not throw off the mask completely, and did not refuse the Sultan's request to send a contingent for the war against Russia. He was then denounced at the Porte as a traitor, and accused of having mobilised these troops to aid the Russians: a firman was issued at Constantinople condemning him to death.

Informed of this, ʿAlī Bey replied with an arrogant declaration of independence. From then on, ʿAlī Bey became entangled in a diabolical web and was

forced to keep his forces in the field without respite. First, he subdued the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, and intervened at Mecca to instal there a pretender to the sharīfate who had sought his protection. The expedition was under the command of his right hand man, Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhabab.

Conscious of his power, ʿAlī Bey struck coinage in his own name: the coins still bore the sultan's name, but the initials of the master of Egypt were inserted under a date which no longer represented the date of the sultan's accession.

He then proceeded to invade Syria with a huge army, again under the command of Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab. Negotiations with the Russians were set on foot but there was no time for them to yield results. The whole of Syria was speedily conquered, but events took an unexpected turn when Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab, after his victorious entry into Damascus, led his army back to Egypt to seize possession of it from his master. ʿAlī Bey decided to flee from Cairo in Muḥarram 1186/April 1772, and took refuge once more with the Pasha of Acre. He set about raising another army, with the help of some Russian equipment, and, after a series of successful skirmishes, confronted his rival at Ṣāliḥiyya, in the eastern part of the Delta. His army was defeated, and ʿAlī Bey, mortally wounded on the field of battle, died a few days later, 15 Ṣafar 1187/8 May 1773.

It is difficult accurately to assess the autonomy of ʿAlī Bey. As already noticed, the form of his coins was unusual, although ʿAlī Bey had declared that the Ottomans had seized control of the country by force, aided by the treachery of the population. A document dated at the beginning of 1186 A.H., shortly before his final departure from Cairo, supplies evidence that he had not dared to proclaim himself officially sovereign of Egypt. It consists of a long inscription carved on the drum of the cupola of the tomb of al-Shāfiʿī; it makes no reference to the Ottoman Power, but does not mention ʿAlī Bey either, merely stating that the order to restore this tomb was given by the "powerful master of Egypt, who has increased the prestige of this country by his authority".

From a perusal of al-Djabartī, one gets the impression that ʿAlī Bey was in many respects a repulsive character, but the morals of the time and the environment must be taken into consideration, and one could express agreement with a contemporary judgment: "He was an extraordinary man, who only lacked a different education and a larger stage to have astonished the world".

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ʿALĪ BEY b. ʿUthmān al-**ʿABBĀSĪ**, pseudonym of the Spanish traveller Domingo Badia y Leblich (Leyblich), b. 1766, d. 1818 in Syria, author of *Voyages d'Ali-Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et en Asie pendant les années* 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 *et* 1807, 3 vols. and Atlas, Paris 1814; *Travels of Ali Bey ... between the years* 1803 *and* 1807, 2 vols., London 1816.

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ʿALĪ ČELEBI [see wāsiʿ ʿalīsi].

ʿALĪ EFENDI [see ʿalī].

ʿALĪ b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-**HAMADĀNĪ**, ṣūfī saint and the apostle of Kashmīr, born in Hamadān of a notable family of *sayyids* (claiming descent from ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, grandson of the *imām* Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), on 12 Radjab 714/22 Oct. 1314. His chain of initiation went back through two links to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī, and through him to Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā. He led the itinerant life of a *darwīsh* and is said to have visited all parts of the Muslim world. He arrived for the first time in the valley of Kashmīr in 774/1372, during the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn, accompanied by 700 *sayyids*; he remained for four months and then left for the Ḥidjāz. He came to Kashmīr for the second time in 781/1379, during the reign of Ḳutb al-Dīn, and remained for two years and a half. For the third time he visited Kashmīr in 785/1383, but left it after less than a year for Turkistān. He died however, after having passed through Pakhlī, near Kūnār, on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 786/18 Jan. 1385; his body was carried to Khuttalān, where his mausoleum is still extant in modern Kulāb (cf. Sufi, *Kashir*, i, 116 ff.). The *khānḳā-yi Shāh-i Hamadān* in Srinagar, reputedly built on the site where the saint performed his prayer, is a well-frequented place of pilgrimage (cf. R. Ch. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, 77 ff.). This *khānḳā* and the mosque in Tral, built by ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad (774/1372-854/1450), during the reign of Sikandar, were centres of Islamic propaganda in Kashmīr. A favourite pupil of ʿAlī was Isḥāḳ Khuttalānī, who was in his turn the spiritual master of Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, founder of the Nūrbakhshiyya.

The best known of his works are the *Awrād-i Fatḥiyya*, a collection of prayers in Arabic, and the *Dhakhīrat al-Mulūk*, on political ethics (Lahore 1323; lith. Amritsar) cf. also H. Ethé in *Gr. I Ph.*, ii, 349). His teachings have received as yet little attention; for a preliminary study (more especially of his theory of dreams) and a translation of his *Risāla-yi Manāmiyya*, see F. Meier, *Die Welt der Urbilder bei Ali Hamadani*, *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xviii, 1950, 115 ff.

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ʿALĪ ILĀHĪ ("deifiers of ʿAlī"), a vague and popular designation of sects connected with, and issued from, Shīʿa extremism (*ghulāt*, [*q.v.*]). In Persia and Kurdistān it covers chiefly the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] and Ḳizil-bash [*q.v.*], but may occasionally refer to such smaller communities as Ṣarli, Shabbak [*qq.v.*] etc. (Ed.)

ʿALĪ KHĀN b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maʿṣūm b. Ibrāhīm Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī, author of biographical works and a book of travels, b. 15 Djumādā I 1052/12 August 1642 in Medina; he was a descendant of Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. His father was since 1055/1644 in the service of the prince Shāhinshāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ḳuṭb Shāh. ʿAli joined him in Ḥaydarābād in 1068/1657. His father died in 1083/1672, a year after the death

of his patron, Shāhinshāh ʿAbd Allāh, and ʿAli himself incurred the displeasure of the ruler, Abu 'l-Ḥasan. He succeeded, however, in escaping to the court of Awrangzīb, who made him *khān* and *dīwān* at Burhānpūr. He went on the pilgrimage, and visited Baghdād, Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ. In Shirāz he taught at the Manṣūriyya *madrasa* and died in that town in 1117/1705 or 1120/1708.

In 1074/1663 he wrote a description of his journey from Mecca to Ḥaydarābād, entitled *Sulwat al-Gharīb wa-Uswat al-Arīb*. He is best known for his work on the poets of the 11th century A. H., which he wrote in 1082/1671 as a supplement to al-Khafādjī's *Rayḥāna* : *Sulāfat al-ʿAṣr fī Maḥāsin Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, Cairo 1324, 1334. As a supplement to the commentary on his own *Badīʿiyya* he gives biographies of writers on rhetoric, and also wrote, in addition to various treatises and poems, a biographical collection of Imāmī Shīʿīs.

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ʿALĪ KHĀN [see MAHDĪ ʿALĪ KHĀN].

ʿALĪ KÜČÜK [see BEGTEGINIDS].

ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-**ḲŪSHDJĪ**, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN, astronomer and mathematician, b. in Samarḳand, d. in Istanbul, on 5 Shaʿbān 879/19 Dec. 1474. He received his surname from his father, who served as the falconer (*ḳushdji*) of Ulugh Beg. He studied mathematics and astronomy in his native city under the *amīr* Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*], who was at the same time an able astronomer, and Ḳaḍī-zāde-i Rūmī, one of the rectors of the celebrated *madrasa* in Samarḳand which was especially favoured by the *amīr*. ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī succeeded Ḳāḍī-zāde as director of the renowned observatory of Samarḳand, and took part in the compilation of the *Zīdj Gurkānī*, the principal author of which was the *amīr* himself (cf. its preface). ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī is said to have left secretly for Kirmān, in order to perfect himself in his studies, and on his return to have presented his patron with his *Ḥall Ashkāl al-Ḳamar*.

After the murder of Ulugh Beg, ʿAlī al-Ḳūshdjī, left Samarḳand and stayed in Tabrīz with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan. He was sent by this ruler on an embassy to the Ottoman sultan Muḥammad II; he went back to Tabrīz to accomplish his political mission, but subsequently returned to Istanbul to establish himself there definitely. He was appointed as professor of sciences in the *madrasa* of the Aya Sofiya and greatly influenced the development of the sciences in Turkey.

He composed in Kirmān a commentary, dedicated to Abū Saʿīd Khān, on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Tadjrid al-Kalām*; he also wrote on grammar and rhetoric. His main works are the *Risāla fi 'l-Hayʾa*, *Risāla fi 'l-Ḥisāb*, and a commentary on Ulugh Beg's *Zīdj*. (The *Risāla al-Fatḥiyya* and the *Risāla Muḥammadiyya* are Arabic translations of the *Risāla fi 'l-Hayʾa* and the *Risāla fi 'l-Ḥisāb*).

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(A. ADNAN ADIVAR)

ʿALĪ MARDĀN, honorific title given to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by the Shīʿites, being an abbreviation of ʿAlī *shāh-i mardān*, "ʿAlī, King of mankind".

ʿALĪ MARDĀN, a Khaldjī adventurer who acquired power in Bengal, centring upon the capital Lakhanawaṭī, in the first decade of the 7th/13th century. Appointed to the *iqṭāʿ* of Narān-go-e by Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, he took advantage of the latter's defeat by the Hindu Rai of Kāmrup, says Minhādj al-Sirādj, to murder his master at Dīwkot on a sick bed. This occurred in 602/1205-6. ʿAlī Mardān, however, was later imprisoned by Muḥammad Shirān, putting him in the charge of the *koṭwāl* of Narān-go-e. ʿAlī Mardān, in collusion with the *koṭwāl*, managed to escape to the court of Ḳutb al-Dīn Aybak and accompanied him to Ghaznīn where he became a captive of Tādj al-Dīn Yilduz when the latter recaptured Ghaznīn from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (605/1208-9). After about a year ʿAlī Mardān escaped and presented himself again before Aybak at Lahore. He was treated with favour and was assigned the territory of Lakhanawaṭī. According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣiri*, ʿAlī Mardān proceeded to Dīwkot, assumed power there and brought the whole of Lakhanawaṭī under his sway. On the death of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak in 607/1210, ʿAlī Mardān had the *khuṭba* read in his own name and was styled Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. He brought the Khaldjī nobles of Lakhanawaṭī under control and overawed neighbouring Hindu chiefs. His overbearing behaviour caused discontent among the Khaldjī nobles and under the leadership of Malik Husayn al-Dīn ʿIwāz, they conspired against him and slew him. ʿAlī Mardān ruled for something over two years, the probable date of his death being 610/1213.

Bibliography: Minhādj al-Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣiri*, trans. Raverty, i, 572-80; Sir Jadunath Sarkar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, ii, Dacca 1948; *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 50 ff.

(P. HARDY)

ʿALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN, a Bakhtiyārī chief who rose to prominence in the troubled period following the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1747. In 1163/1750 he captured Iṣfahān, and, in conjunction with Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], placed Ismaʿīl, a grandson of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, on the throne. ʿAlī Mardān's oppressive measures led to an open breach with Karīm Khān, who, fearing for his life, attacked and defeated him. ʿAlī Mardān Khān fled, and was subsequently assassinated by Muḥammad Khān who, according to Mirzā Ṣādiḳ, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Gītī-gushā*, was a relative of Karīm Khān.

This ʿAlī Mardān Khān is not to be confused with his contemporaries and namesakes (a) the *wālī* of Luristān, a Faylī Lur who was wounded at Gulnābād in 1722 and later vainly endeavoured to relieve Iṣfahān, and (b) ʿAlī Mardān Khān Shāmlū, whom Nādir Shāh sent as ambassador to Delhi and Constantinople.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Ṣādik, *Tāʾrīkh-i Gītī-gushā* (quoted by Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 116-8); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ-yi Nāṣirī*, Teheran 1853/6, ix, 7-9; Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 477, 478 (this authority's reference to ʿAlī Mardān's earlier career, iv, 278 is inaccurate); O. Mann (ed.), *Muǧmil et-Târîkh-i baʿdnâdirîje*, 7, 8. (L. LOCKHART)

ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD SHĪRĀZĪ [see BĀBĪ].

ʿALI PASHA ʿARABADJI, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Okhri between 1620 and 1622, died at Rhodes 16 Shaʿbān 1104/21 April 1693. Af first *imām* to various eminent people, then *ketkhudā*, he became *agha* of the Janissaries in 1101/1689, and later *wazīr* and *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the imperial stirrup. Through the support of the *ḳāḍi 'l-ʿasker* Yaḥyā Efendi and the Shaykh al-Islām Abū Saʿīd-zāde Feyḍ Allāh Efendi, he succeeded Köprülü-zāde Muṣṭafā Pasha, killed at Szalankamen as Grand Vizier, on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1102/30 August 1691. Showing no desire to place himself at the head of the army against the Austrians, ʿAlī Pasha succeeded in disarming his opponents either by bribery or by dismissal. As a result of this policy he incurred the hostility of the sultan, who eventually dismissed him (28 March 1692), and replaced him by Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Pasha. ʿAlī Pasha ʿArabadjī was exiled to Rhodes, but as he represented a possible source of trouble and conspiracy, his enemies obtained his death warrant, and shortly afterwards he was executed at Rhodes. His cognomen is derived from the fact that he sent off one of the officials whom he had dismissed in an ox-cart.

Bibliography: Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 166 ff.; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā*, 118 ff.; Fīndīḳlīlī Meḥmed Agha, *Silāḥdār Taʾrīkhi*, ii, 596-634; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu).

(R. MANTRAN)

ʿALĪ PASHA ČANDĀRLI-ZĀDE (d. 1407), son of Čandārlī Khalīl Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, was, like his father, *ḳāḍī*, then *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker*, and finally Grand Vizier, and also combined the functions of *wazīr*, that is to say head of the administration and finance, and of army commander, perhaps after the death of his father in 1387. After having directed a campaign in Anatolia against the Ḳaramānid ʿAlī Bey, he conducted the skilful operations in Bulgaria which led to the capture of several fortresses (Pravad, Tīrnova, Shehirköyü etc.) before the battle of Kossova (20 June 1389), in which he played a decisive part. Murād I was killed in the battle, and was succeeded by Yīldīrīm Bāyazīd I, who appointed ʿAlī Pasha Grand Vizier. ʿAlī Pasha accompanied the Sultan in the campaigns in Greece and Bosnia, and played an important part at the siege of Constantinople, commenced in 1391, but abandoned as the result of the invasion of eastern Anatolia by Tīmūr. After the battle of Anḳara (1402) in which Bāyazīd I was taken prisoner, ʿAlī Pasha saved the heir apparent Sulaymān and took him first to Brusa and then to Adrianople. Up to the time of his death in Radjab 809/January 1407, ʿAlī Pasha remained Grand Vizier to Sulaymān Čelebi, and his skilful diplomacy secured for the latter mastery over the Ottoman territory from Anḳara to the Aegean Sea; deprived of his *wazīr*, Sulaymān Čelebī succumbed to the attacks of Meḥmed Čelebi, later Meḥmed I (1410).

ʿAlī Pasha Čandārlī-zāde, like his father, made a contribution to the organisation of the Ottoman administration, notably by codifying the functions of the *ḳāḍīs*, by creating the corps of the *ič-oghlān*—pages from whom numerous imperial officials were recruited, and by making the *wazīrs* persons of influence and respect. The chroniclers have criticised his predilection for the pleasures of life—a taste which he communicated to Bāyazīd I, and have stated that he was not loved either by the people or by government personnel. ʿAlī Pasha was buried at Iznik (Nicaea) in his father's tomb. At Brusa, a quarter, a mosque and a convent bear his name.

Bibliography: Āshīḳ Pasha-zāde; *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, 70, 71, 76, 77; Meḥmed Neshrī, *Djihān-nümā*, Ankara 1949, i, 220 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, 138 ff.; Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, 171-2, 199-200, 234; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, l. 5, 262-77; l. 6, 316-20, 341; l. 8, 105, 125, 135-40; F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vezirfamilie von Čandarlīzade*, *Isl.*, 1929, 60-115, *IA*, s.v. (by I. H. Uzunçarsīlī).

(R. MANTRAN)

ʿALĪ PASHA ČORLULU, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born about 1670, the son of a peasant or barber of Čorlu, he was adopted for his good looks and intelligence by a courtier of Aḥmed II and placed as a probationer in the Ghalaṭa Sarāyī, whence he entered the Palace service, rising by way of the *seferli oda* to be *silāḥdār* under Muṣṭafā II. As *silāḥdār* he greatly enhanced the importance of his office, whose occupant thenceforward replaced the Dār al-Saʿāde Aghasī as intermediary between the sultan and the Grand Vizier and the Bāb al-Saʿāde Aghasī as controller of the *ič-oghlans*, and composed a *niẓām-nāme* re-defining the whole hierarchy of the *enderūn*. At the onset of the revolution of 1703 he was ousted from this position by the influence of the Shaykh al-Islām Feyḍ Allāh and the Grand Vizier Rāmī Meḥmed and given the rank of *wazīr*. But on the accession of Aḥmed III he was made a *ḳubbe wazīri* and continued as such, except for a short interval during 1704, when he was appointed *wālī* of Tripoli in Syria, until his elevation to the Grand Vizierate in May 1710.

Čorlulu was the first competent Grand Vizier of the reign, and for four years he enjoyed great favour with the sultan, becoming a *damad* in 1708 by marrying Emīne Sulṭān, a daughter of Muṣṭafā II. He devoted himself in particular to the redress of abuses in the standing and feudal armies, the reduction of state expenditure, and the improvement of the Arsenal and the fleet. But he was so far determined that the Porte should not be involved in war that he neglected not only the opportunity provided by the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession for a possible recovery of the Morea from Venice, but also that provided by the invasion of the Ukraine by Charles XII of Sweden, which might, if assisted by Ottoman forces, have obviated the threat offered to the Ottoman Empire by the designs of Peter the Great. He was criticized by his enemies on both counts; and after Charles's defeat at Poltava and his flight into Ottoman territory, the king himself refused to accept presents sent to him by Čorlulu or to deal with him, on the ground that he had been led to expect assistance from the Crimean Tatars that had not been forthcoming. This was perhaps due to a misunderstanding; but it was fatal to Čorlulu. Aḥmed lost confidence in him, and he was accordingly dismissed in June 1710 and banished, whilst on his way to assume the governorship of Keffe in the Crimea, to Mitylene, where he was executed in December of the following year at the age of about forty.

Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha was the founder of a number of fine monuments, notably two *djāmiʿ* mosques at Istanbul, at the Čarshī Ḳapī (where he is buried) and the Tersāne, and a school and fountain at his native Čorlu.

Bibliography: ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wüzerā*, ii, 10 f.; Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭā, *Enderūn Taʾrīkhi*, i, 160 f., 285, ii, 76-83; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, passim; A. N. Kurat, *Isveç Kīralī Karl* (etc.), index; idem, *Prut Seferi ve Barīşī*, index; Hammer-Purgstall, vii, 116 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (by R. E. Koçu).

(H. BOWEN)

ʿALĪ PASHA DĀMĀD (1667-1716), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Sölöz near Nicaea in 1079/1667, he entered the Seraglio of Ahmed II, and filled successively the posts of *kātib*, *rikābdār*, *čuḳadār* and *silāḥdār*; he exercised great influence over Sultan Aḥmed III, who came to the throne in 1703, and who made him *wazīr* and gave him his daughter Fāṭima in marriage (Rabīʿ I 1121/May 1709); he had a hand in the appointment and dismissal of *wazīrs*, including Köprülü-zāde Nuʿmān Pasha and Baltadji Meḥmed Pasha. The Grand Vizier Khodja Ibrāhīm Pasha was condemned to death for attempting to assassinate Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha, and the latter then became Grand Vizier (Rabīʿ II 1125/April 1713). One of his first acts was to sign with Russia the peace of Adrianople, which fixed the frontier between the two countries between the Samara and the Orel (5 June 1713). Wishing to erase the treaty of Karlovitz, he undertook the Morean campaign, for which the motive was the attacks by Venetians and Montenegrins against Turkish vessels; in 1715, Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha occupied Napoli de Romania, Argos, Coron, Modon, Malvasia, and, in Crete, La Suda and Spina Longa. At the same time he had to suppress the revolts of ʿOthmān-oghlū Naṣūḥ Pasha in Syria, of the bandit ʿAbbās in Anatolia, and of Ḳaytas Bey in Egypt.

In 1716, he initiated an expedition against Corfu, but Venice and Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance which forced him to send his troops to Belgrade. The Austrian army, led by Prince Eugène, met the Ottomans at Peterwardein on 16 Shaʿbān 1128/5 August 1716; Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha was mortally wounded by a bullet in the forehead during the battle, when the Turkish troops had already begun to retreat. He was buried in the garden of the mosque of Sulaymān I at Belgrade; 70 years later, when he captured this town, the Austrian general Landon transferred the tomb to the forest of Hadersdorf at Vienna. While the campaign against Austria was in progress, Turkish forces were disembarked at Corfu, but the news of the death of the Grand Vizier resulted in the evacuation of the Turkish troops from the island (July-August 1716).

Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha was at once a fine military leader and a great statesman; he displayed a shrewd political sense, suppressed a number of abuses, restricted and controlled the expenses of the Seraglio, prohibited the system of giving presents, regulated the movements of government personnel and restored to their former state estates which had been converted into *malikāne*. He patronised men of letters, especially the historian Rāshid, and displayed great interest in science and poetry. He reopened the school for *ičoghlans* at Galatasarāy, which had become a *madrasa*. He built a mosque at Sölöz and repaired the Čīnarlī mosque at Ayvansarāy.

Bibliography: Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, iii and iv, passim; Farāidī-zāde Meḥmed Saʿīd, *Gulshen -i Maʿārif*, ii; Muṣṭafā Pasha, *Natāʾidj al-Wuḳūʿāt*, iii, 22-6; Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭā', *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 85-100. iii, 208, v, 25-38; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xiii, ch. 63; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Cavid Baysun). (R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ PASHA GÜZELDJE ("the handsome"), (d. 1620) Ottoman Grand Admiral and Grand Vizier. Born at Istanköy (Cos), he was successively *bey* of Damiette, and *beylerbeyi* of the Yaman (1602), Tunis, Morea and Cyprus. In November 1617, he succeeded Khalīl Pasha as *ḳapudan-ĭ deryā*; in August 1618, a storm off the Dalmatian Coast caused the loss of eleven vessels of his fleet; dismissed at the accession of Muṣṭafā I, he again became *ḳapudan-ĭ deryā* shortly afterwards. On 16 Muḥarram 1029/23 December 1619, he succeeded Öküz Meḥmed Pasha as Grand Vizier following intrigues among the intimates of Sultan ʿOthmān II, who loaded him with gifts. He became notorious for his confiscation of property and extortion of money, in which he spared neither Muslim nor Christian; the Venetian dragoman Borissi, being unable to pay the 100,000 thalers demanded, was strangled; the Greek Skarlati, provider of the *odjaḳ* to the Janissaries, was forced to pay an enormous sum; the Greek patriarch obtained his release by paying 30,000 ducats on top of the 100,000 demanded. ʿAlī Pasha was trying to incite the Sultan to a campaign against Poland, when he died of calculus (15 Rabīʿ I, 1030/8 March 1621). He was buried at Beshiktash, near the tomb of Yaḥyā Efendi. He also received the cognomen of Čelebi ("the elegant").

Bibliography: Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 371-5; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 153-86; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Biḥār*, 105 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, viii, l. 44, 251-3 and 263-72; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu).

(R. Mantran)

ʿALĪ PASHA ḤAKĪM-OGHLU, Grand Vizier under the Ottoman sultans Maḥmūd I and ʿOthmān III. His father, Nūḥ Efendi, the physician of Muṣṭafā II, was a Venetian renegade. ʿAlī Pasha was born on 15 Shaʿbān 1100/4 June 1689; brought up in the seraglio, he held various administrative posts at Istanbul, and then in the provinces; in 1722 he was appointed as governor of Adana and subdued the tribes of Cilicia; in 1724 he became governor of Aleppo, and in the same year distinguished himself at the siege and capture of Tabrīz. Appointed *wazīr* in 1725, he was successively *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia, *ser-ʿasker* of the East, governor of Sīwās, and governor of Diyārbakir. In 1730, again *ser-ʿasker* of the East, he defeated Shāh Ṭahmāsp III at Ḳuridjān (13 Rabīʿ I 1144/15 September 1731), and captured Hamadān, Urmiya and Tabrīz. He became Grand Vizier soon after the peace called after Aḥmed Pasha, 15 Ramaḍān 1144/12 March 1732. His first term of office as *wazīr* was marked by wise administration and currency reform. In the field of foreign affairs, the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador, urged the Grand Vizier to conclude an alliance with France against Austria, but the conditions put forward by ʿAlī Pasha (and suggested by Aḥmed Pasha Bonneval) prevented the conclusion of the treaty. Dismissed on the resumption of hostilities with Persia (22 Ṣafar 1148/14 July 1735) ʿAlī Pasha was exiled to Mytilene, then appointed governor of Bosnia, where he held the Austrians in check for three years, successfully defended Trawnik, and, on 4 August 1737, defeated Marshal Hildburghausen near Banjaluka. In 1740 he was sent to Egypt, where he suppressed a *mamlūk* revolt; in 1741 he was made *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia, and on 15 Ṣafar 1155/21 April 1742 he became Grand Vizier for the second time. The following year he was dismissed for wishing to lead in person the eastern expedition against Nādir Shāh of Persia. Governor of Bosnia in 1744, then of Aleppo (1745), he was nominated commander-in-chief of the eastern army, but in the meantime peace was signed with Nādir Shāh (1746). Governor of Bosnia, then of Trebizond, he was made Grand Vizier by ʿOthmān III on his accession 4 Djumādā I 1168/16 February

1755; this third term of office as Grand Vizier only lasted 53 days; the *silihdār* Bïyïklï ʿAlī Āghā succeeded in securing his dismissal and his exile to Cyprus; but in the course of the year he was appointed Governor of Egypt, and in 1756 *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia. Recalled in 1757, he retired to Kütahya, where he died 9 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 1171/14 August 1758. He was buried in the tomb adjoining the mosque which he was responsible for building at Istanbul (1732-4). He was reputed to be a learned, shrewd and liberal man, but quick-tempered and extremely severe in his dealings with officials guilty of extortion.

Bibliography: Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 50 ff.; Küčük Čelebī-zāde ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, 301, 403. 566, 598; Dilāwer-zāde ʿÖmer, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, suppl. i, 42-51; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xiv, xv, xvi, passim; Comte de Bonneval, *Mémoires*, ii, passim; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu). (R. MANTRAN)

ʿALĪ PASHA KHĀDIM, Ottoman Grand Vizier. At first *aḳ aghasï*, then *beylerbeyi* of Ḳaramān and subsequently of Rumelia, he distinguished himself in the course of a campaign in Wallachia (1485); *wazīr* in 1486, he defeated the Mamlūks of Egypt at the battle of Āghāčayïr in Cilicia (1942), took the fortresses of Coron and Modon (1500), and was appointed Grand Vizier the following year in succession to Mesīḥ Pasha. Dismissed in 1503, he again became Grand Vizier in 1506 and remained in office until his death. He strove to secure the succession of the *shāh-zāde* Aḥmed, second son of Sultan Bāyazīd II, against the *shāh-zāde* Ḳorḳud, whom he defeated in 914/1508; he also defeated prince Selīm, who had rebelled against his father, at Čorlu (1511). He died while engaged in suppressing the revolt of Ḳara Bïyïk-oghlū, at Gökčay, between Sīwās and Kayseri (1511): he was the first Grand Vizier to die on the field of battle; his death shattered the hopes of the *shāh-zāde* Aḥmed. A skilful and upright statesman, esteemed by Sulṭān Bāyazīd II and by the people, ʿAlī Pasha was in addition the patron of men of letters and of science, notably of the poet Mesīḥī and the historian Idrīs Bitlīsī. He built at Istanbul the mosque known as ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pasha (1496), together with the adjoining *medrese*, school and *ʿimāret*; he was also responsible for a *ḥammām* at Ḳaragümrük and a mosque at Yassïören, and it was he who converted the monastery church of Saint Savior in Chora into a mosque, known as *Ḳaʿriyye Djāmiʿ*.

Bibliography: ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 223-9; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, i, 20; Meḥmed Ḥemdemi Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 299 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de L'Empire* Ottoman, iv, l. 20, 14, 19, 24-6, 69, 95-114; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu). (R. MANTRAN)

ʿALĪ PASHA MUBĀRAK, Egyptian statesman and man of letters. Born in 1239/1823 in Birinbāl (Daḳahliyya province) he gained admission to the recently founded government schools of Ḳaṣr al-ʿAynī and of Abū Zaʿbal, and studied at the polytechnic (*muhandis-khāne*) of Būlāḳ. In 1260/1844 he was sent to France as a member of the "Mission égyptienne" and was trained as an officer and military engineer. On his return to Egypt in 1266/1849-50, he won the favour of ʿAbbās I and began a distinguished career first in the topographical department of the Ministry of War, then as Director of the military training college al-Mafrūza. During the Crimean War he held appointments in Istanbul, in the Crimea and in Gümüshkhāne. Under Saʿīd he resigned, but under Ismāʿīl he occupied one after another almost all the ministerial posts and other offices of state. Everywhere he introduced reforms, though often acting with well-meant zeal rather than with thorough understanding. To him is due the establishment of printing-offices and the printing of textbooks, especially technical ones, the construction of a barrage in the Nile, near Cairo (*al-ḳanāṭir al-khayriyya*) which was, however, not very successful, of railways and irrigation-works, the foundation of the Dār al-ʿUlūm, a teachers' training college on the model of the "École normale supérieure" and of the Khedivial Library (1870). In matters of education he obtained the advice and cooperation of the Swiss educationalist Ed. Dor Bey (d. 1880). During his last tenure of office as Minister of Education in the government of Riyāḍ Pasha (from 1888 onwards), the defects of his administration became more and more apparent, and he had to resign, following, the intervention of Sir Alfred (later Lord) Milner, in 1891. He died in Cairo on Djumādā I 1311/14 Nov. 1893.

His publications are concerned with education, engineering, etc.; during his last period of office he published a reader for schools. His principal work, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda al-Tawfīḳiyya*, Būlāḳ 1306/1888-9, in 20 parts, compiled with the help of numerous assistants, is intended to be a modern counterpart of al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. It contains descriptions of Cairo (i-vi) and Alexandria (vii) with biographies of the famous men buried in these cities; descriptions of the other principal places of Egypt, with biographies (viii-xvii); descriptions of the Nilometer (xviii), of canals and dams (xix) and of the coinage (xx). Part xi, s.v. Birinbāl, contains his autobiography. His sources for the biographies are al-Sakhāwī, al-Shaʿrānī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Muḥibbī and al-Djabartī; for the historical and archaeological part he also uses European works, including the writings of de Sacy and Quatremère. It is a useful compilation but must be used with caution.

Bibliography: K. Vollers, in *ZDMG*, 1893, 720 ff.; I. Goldziher, in *WZKM*, 1890, 347 ff.; L. Cheikho, *La litt. arabe au 19e siècle*, ii, 87, Dj. Zaydān, *Tarādjim Mashāhīr al-Shark*, ii, 34 ff.; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, index; Brockelmann, II, 634, S II, 733. (K. VOLLERS *)

ʿALĪ PASHA MUḤAMMAD AMĪN, Ottoman Grand Vizier, born in Istanbul in February 1815, his father being a shopkeeper of the Egyptian Market. At the age of fourteen he obtained his first government post in the secretariat of the Imperial *dīwān* and, whether because of his short stature, or of his ability, acquired the nickname ʿĀlī. In 1833, having already learnt some French, he was appointed to the translation department of the *dīwān*, and three years later was sent with a mission, first to Vienna, where he remained some eighteen months, and then, in 1837, to St Petersburg. On his return he was appointed Interpreter to the *dīwān*; in the following year he accompanied Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*] to London as Counsellor, on the latter's appointment as Ambassador; and in 1839, on the accession of ʿAbd al-Medjīd, they returned together to Istanbul.

In 1840, ʿĀlī first deputized for the Counsellor to the Ministry of Foreign affairs and then replaced him. In 1841 he was appointed Ambassador in London. Returning in 1844, he was made a member of the *medjlis-i wālā*; and in 1845 he deputized for Shekīb Efendi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, until his replacement by Reshīd Pasha.

During Re<u>sh</u>īd Pā<u>sh</u>ā's tenure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ʿĀlī, who then again became Counsellor of that department, was also appointed *beylikči* of the *dīwān*; and when in 1846 Re<u>sh</u>īd was made Grand Vizier for the first time ʿAlī replaced him as Foreign Minister. In April 1848, after ʿĀlī had been raised to the rank of vizier, both Re<u>sh</u>īd and he were simultaneously dismissed, but were restored four months later and remained in office until 1852, when, on Re<u>sh</u>īd's again being dismissed, ʿĀlī succeeded him as Grand Vizier, with Fuʾād Pa<u>sh</u>a as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His first Grand Vizierate, however, lasted only two months; and it was not until November 1854, after the outbreak of the Crimean War, when Re<u>sh</u>īd again became Grand Vizier, that ʿĀlī returned to high office, as Foreign Minister. In the interval he had been appointed first *wālī* of Izmīr (January-July 1853) and then *wālī* of <u>Kh</u>üdāwendigār (April-November 1854), also assuming whilst in the latter post, the presidency of the newly formed High Council of the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. He continued to hold this position while Foreign Minister, as which, in March 1855, at the conclusion of the war, he was appointed a delegate to the preliminary peace conference in Vienna. Then, in the same year, on Re<u>sh</u>īd's resigning the Grand Vizierate, ʿĀlī again replaced him in that office, so that it fell to him in February 1856 to draw up and promulgate the famous *<u>kh</u>aṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of that year and in the following month to sign the Treaty of Paris as first Ottoman delegate. Within the next two years, however, the disputes of the western Powers over the affairs of the Principalities led first to ʿĀlī's resignation and replacement by Re<u>sh</u>īd Pā<u>sh</u>ā in November 1856 and then, in August 1857, to Re<u>sh</u>īd's dismissal and replacement by Muṣṭafā Nāʾilī Pa<u>sh</u>a, with ʿĀlī as Foreign Minister. ʿĀlī retained this post under Re<u>sh</u>īd during the latter's last tenure of the Grand Vizierate, and on Re<u>sh</u>īd's death in January 1858, replaced him in that office for the third time.

In 1859 ʿĀlī was again dismissed for having suggested a cut in palace expenditure as one remedy for the financial crisis that then faced the Ottoman government. But after deputizing first for the Grand Vizier Ḳïbrïslï Meḥmed Emīn Pa<u>sh</u>a during the latter's tour of Rumelia in the summer of 1860 and then for Fuʾād Pā<u>sh</u>ā as Foreign Minister during his absence in Syria, in July 1861 ʿĀlī was once more first appointed Foreign Minister himself and then, after the accession of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Grand Vizier for the fourth time. Two months later, in November 1861, although the new sultan, finding him too deliberate in action, dismissed him in favour of Fuʾād, ʿĀlī returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover he continued in that office under successive Grand Viziers until February 1867, when, on the resignation of Müter<u>dj</u>im Rü<u>sh</u>dü Pa<u>sh</u>a, he took his place. On this occasion he remained Grand Vizier (it was his fifth term) for as long as four years, until his death.

ʿĀlī was more or less self-educated, poverty having obliged him, in order that he might earn his living, to forgo the receipt of an *i<u>dj</u>āzet* from the Bāyazīd *medrese*, where he began the study of Arabic, later continued with Aḥmed <u>Dj</u>ewdet Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*]. But he was of a high natural intelligence; though shy and reserved, he was notably witty; he acquired a mastery of French; and from the date of the Paris peace conference he enjoyed a European reputation as an outstanding diplomatist of perfect manners and rare integrity. Among his countrymen he became unpopular. He was in fact secretive, solemn, and overbearing, and was regarded as vindictive. During his final Grand Vizirate ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz would have been glad to get rid of him, but recognized ʿĀlī's standing in Europe to be such that he could not afford to; and ʿĀlī profited by this security to insist on his correct treatment by the sultan, on his right to have all governmental matters of importance to be referred to him, and on the immunity of ministers and officials from banishment (in the bad old way) except after due trial.

Both ʿĀlī and Fūʾād owed all their official training and advancement to Re<u>sh</u>īd Paʾ<u>sh</u>a. But when in 1852 ʿĀlī took Re<u>sh</u>īd's place as Grand Vizier, the latter was hurt; and from that time on a coolness, which was exacerbated by calumniators, and even a certain rivalry, developed between ʿĀlī and Fuʾād on the one hand and Re<u>sh</u>īd on the other, although ʿĀlī was not thereby prevented from serving under Re<u>sh</u>īd on two further occasions. All three were regarded as pillars of the *tanẓīmāt* movement. But whereas it was in part Re<u>sh</u>īd's object to educate the Ottoman public in self-government, ʿĀlī was of an authoritarian temperament and after Re<u>sh</u>īd's death was bent rather on the firm establishment of the rule of law and the consequent limitation of the sultans' autocracy. The maintenance of the Empire now depending on the goodwill of the Powers, it was above all his constant concern to forestall their complaints and intervention. But by devoting too little attention to the internal reforms by the promise of which their favour had been gained, he contributed to its decline. However, in 1868, during his last Grand Vizierate, the *me<u>dj</u>lis-i wālā* was replaced by a Council of State (*<u>sh</u>ūrā-yï devlet*) on the one hand and a High Court of Justice (*dīwān-ï aḥkām-ï ʿadliyye*) on the other, with the aim of separating the judicial from the executive powers of the government; soon after an Imperial School (*mekteb-i sulṭānī*) was opened in the <u>Gh</u>alaṭa Sarāyi, where the instruction, on European lines, was in French and the pupils were non-Muslim as well as Muslim; and in 1869 a Ministry of the Interior was created. During the same period education was also promoted by an increase in the number of the Rü<u>sh</u>diyye schools; the army and navy were overhauled; the fleet was enlarged; and an agreement was concluded for the construction of railways in Rūmeli.

ʿĀlī's most notable actions at this time were his agreement to the evacuation of the Serbian fortresses by Ottoman troops (1876); his visit to Crete curing the insurrection, as a result of which he formulated the *niẓām-nāme* under which it was governed for the next thirty years (1868); his success in causing the Powers to oblige the Greek government to desist from aiding the Cretan rebels; his restraint of the <u>Kh</u>idīw Ismāʿīl from exercising powers beyond those already conceded to him; and his opposition to the formation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which was consequently delayed till 1870, and to the absorption by Rome of the Armenian Catholic Church.

Owing to his lack of interest in the movement for an Ottoman constitution, ʿĀlī was savagely attacked during the last years of his life by its most ardent advocates, the refugee Yeni O<u>th</u>manlïlar (Jeunes Turcs), most of whom, however, recognized after his death, that they had done him an injustice; and he was further successively distressed by the death in 1869 of Fuʾād Pasha, after which he made himself responsible for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as

well as the Grand Vizierate; by the defeat in 1870 of France, on whom he had long particularly lent; and by the consequent denunciation by Russia of the Black-Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. Exhausted by overwork and these calamities, he fell sick in the summer of 1871, and died after a three months' illness on 7th September, aged fifty-six, at his seaside villa at Bebek on the Bosphorus.

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ʿALĪ PASHA RIẒWĀN BEGOWIČ [see RIẒWĀN BEGOWIČ].

ʿALĪ PASHA SEMIZ, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Brazza in Herzegovina, he was carried off at an early age during a *dewshirme* operation to be brought up at Istanbul; in 953/1546 he became *agha* of the Janissaries, and later *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia. Appointed governor of Egypt in 1549, he took part in Sulaymān I's Persian campaign, and succeeded Rustam Pasha as Grand Vizier in Shawwāl 968/July 1561, a post which he held until his death in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 972/June 1565. Immediately after his appointment, he negotiated with the Austrian ambassador Busbecq a peace treaty which was signed at Prague 1 June 1562. But the peace policy of ʿAlī Pasha was wrecked by the new Emperor Maximilian II; on the death of the Grand Vizier, Sultan Sulaymān I had to undertake a fresh campaign against Austria. An intelligent and shrewd man, ʿAlī Pasha was famous for his corpulence (hence his cognomen Semiz, "the fat") and his wit.

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ʿALĪ PASHA SÜRMELI, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Dimetoka, he entered the financial administration and was eventually appointed *defterdār* in 1688; he was dismissed the following year, but in 1103/1691 was again *defterdār* and *wazīr*. Successively governor of Cyprus and Tripoli in Syria, he became Grand Vizier on 16 Radjab 1105/ 13 March 1694 in the place of Bozoḳlu Muṣṭafā Pasha, and conducted the Hungarian campaign, during which he unsuccessfully besieged Peterwardein. Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II, on his accession, retained ʿAlī Pasha in his post, but forced him to undertake a new campaign against Hungary; a revolt of the Janissaries led to his dismissal on 18 Ramaḍān 1106/22 April 1695; condemned at first to exile, ʿAlī Pasha was later executed on 4 Shawwāl 1106/18 May 1695. He instituted the practice whereby the Council of Ministers met four days a week, and changed the Egyptian crown lands, let at fixed perpetual rents, into fiefs on a life tenure. He was extraordinarily extravagant, and loved luxury; he owed his cognomen to his habit of using cosmetics.

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ʿALĪ PASHA TEPEDELENLI, governor of Yanya (Jannina). Born probably in 1744 of a family descended from a Mewlewī *derwish* of Kütahya who migrated to Rumelia. His grandfather and father had in turn held the *mutesellimlik* of Tepedelen in the Epirus; but being left fatherless as a child ʿAlī was brought up by his bold and ambitious mother, a native of Konitza, in an atmosphere of constant warfare between rival chieftains of the region.

After attaching himself in turn to the Warden of the Passes (*derbend bashbughu*) and the *mutaṣarrif* of Delwine (Delvino), of whom he facilitated the murder after marrying his daughter, in 1874 he was himself made *mutaṣarrif* of Delwine with the rank of *mīr-i mīrān*, and shortly afterwards, though only temporarily, that of Yanya as well. In the following year he was transferred to Tirḥala (Trikala); in 1786 he was appointed Warden of the Passes in addition; and after the outbreak of war in 1787, having meanwhile exchanged Tirḥala for Yanya, he fought with distinction on the Austrian front and afterwards took part in the suppression of a rising in Serbia. Although in 1790 he incurred the displeasure of the Porte so far as to be dismissed from the Wardenship, in view of his further prowess in the war, his conduct in continually adding without warrant to the territory under his control was overlooked; and in 1792, after the restoration of peace, he and his son Welī al-Dīn were appointed joint Wardens for the specific purpose of preventing the passage of Albanians into Rumelia, where their employment for the suppression of outlaw bands had only added to the prevailing disorder. Shortly afterwards ʿAlī Pasha's influence was increased by the appointment, as a reward for his efforts to overcome the rebel Paswan-oghlu, of another son, Mukhtār, to the *sandjaḳ* of Eghriboz (Negropont) and Ḳarlī-ili.

One of ʿAlī Pasha's main concerns during and after the war of 1787-92, which had encouraged the Orthodox inhabitants of Suli to rebel against Ottoman rule, was to reduce them to obedience, though he was unable to do so finally before 1802. In the meantime, after the transference of the Ionian Islands and the "four districts" of Preveze (Prevesa), Parga, Voniče (Vonitza) and Butrinto from Venetian to French sovereignty by the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797, ʿAlī Pasha not only sent a contingent to assist the conquest by Russo-Ottoman forces of Corfu, but also occupied Butrinto and, after several successes against the French, took possession of Preveze and Voniče as well. By the settlement of 1802 the "four districts" were to be incorporated in the *sandjaḳ* of Yanya. But it was not until 1819 that the incorporation of Parga, after various vicissitudes, was in fact effected.

In April 1802 ʿAlī Pasha was appointed *wālī* of Rumelia. The Albanian irregulars employed to suppress the brigandage and revolts that were again rife in the province at this time had themselves mutinied at Edirne; and it was thought that ʿAlī Pasha was alone capable of pacifying them and overcoming the general disorder. However, his success in inducing many of the outlaws to return to their homes so far provoked the hostility of the many Rumelian *aʿyān* whose interest it was to resist any thorough pacification, that in 1803 his appointment was revoked. He was then given the *sandjaḳ* of Tirḥala in addition to Yanya; but it was sought to counterbalance his influence in Albania

by replacing him in Rumelia by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, the *mutaṣarrif* of Is̲h̲ḳodra (Scutari), whose authority among the Ghegs of the north was little less than ʿAlī's own among the Tosks of the south.

After the resumption of the European war in 1803 close relations were established between ʿAlī and the French, who supplied him with weapons, munitions, and even gunners. But after Tilsit in 1807, when the Ionian Islands were relinquished by Russia to the French, the latter then proposed regaining the "four districts", occupied Parga, and instigated a revolt of the Greeks of Tirḥala against ʿAlī's authority, which, however, was suppressed by his son Muk̲h̲tār.

In 1810, after first marrying two of his sons and a nephew to daughters of the *mutaṣarrif* of Awlonya, and then contriving that the latter should be attacked in his capital, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was able to appropriate this *sand̲j̲aḳ* as well, under the pretext of flying to the relief of a relatieve. Maḥmūd II was enraged by this episode, but powerless to refuse the appointment of Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a to Awlonya in place of the dispossessed governor. No less unwelcome to the Porte were ʿAlī's acquisition of Ergiri (Argyrocastron) in the following year, and still more his invasion of the Gheg country, where, after overcoming some local resistance, he was able to add the fortresses of Tirana and Peklin (Pekinje) and the *sand̲j̲aḳs* of Ok̲h̲rī and Elbaṣan to his dominions.

In the face of repeated protests from Istanbul ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a sought to excuse this high-handed conduct, and in the war with Russia resumed in 1809 sent a considerable force to the sultan's aid under the command of Muk̲h̲tār and Welī Pas̲h̲as. He also assisted the British forces in their occupation of the Ionian Islands; and in view of these services and his advanced age no attempt was made by the Porte to unseat him before 1820. Then, however, owing in the first place to his falling out with the all-powerful *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* Ḥālet Efendi, and the latter's wish to divert Maḥmūd from his intention of abolishing the Janissaries; in the second place to the intrigues of certain Phanariot Greeks, who saw that he constituted an obstacle to the already projected insurrection in the Morea; and finally to the attempted assassination, contrived by ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, of Pas̲h̲o Ismāʿīl Bey, a former *kāk̲h̲ya* of Welī Pas̲h̲a in Istanbul, in April 1820 he was dismissed from his Wardenship of the Passes and ordered to withdraw his troops from all regions outside the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Yanya, while Welī Pas̲h̲a was deprived of his governorship of Tirḥala. Since there was little doubt that force would be needed to secure his obedience, all the governors of adjacent provinces had previously been warned to hold themselves in readiness to apply it; K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, recently made governor of the Morea, was appointed to command all the troops engaged in operations against him; and a flotilla was ordered to the Albanian coast. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a responded by concluding an agreement for mutual aid with the Greek rebel leaders and seeking to provoke revolts also in the Aegean islands, Serbia, and the Principalities; on which the Porte in turn deprived him of his vizirate, dismissed him from Yanya, and ordered him and his whole family to reside at Tepedelen.

ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was in fact deprived of all his acquisitions except Yanya itself, in the well stocked citadel of which he was then besieged, while three of his sons and a grandson, the governors of districts formerly in his control, surrendered. Owing to his provocation of a mutiny by the Albanians of the besieging force, a rising of the Suliotes, and the outbreak of the Greek revolt, it was not until the siege had continued for two years that ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a could be induced to give in. He then did so on condition that his life should be spared, retiring with a few supporters to a neighbouring monastery. But K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a's guarantee was repudiated by Ḥālet Efendi, whose purposes it suited that the trouble at Yanya should continue. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, on learning that his execution had been ordered, decided to fight. He was accordingly attacked and died from a shot wound on 24 January 1822.

Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a attained some celebrity in Europe owing to his being visited by various writers, notably Lord Byron, and to his efforts to enlist help from both the French and the British in the prosecution of his ambitions. He was brave, bold, and clever, but treacherous and wholly self-seeking. Having acquired great riches, he maintained a semi-royal state. surrounded by a strange entourage of European officers, Greek doctors, poets, *derwīs̲h̲es*, astrologers, and the leaders of brigand bands. Of all the contemporary Muslim rebels against the Ottoman power he contrived to do it most harm, by facilitating the beginning of the Greek revolt.

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ʿALĪ AL-RIḌĀ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. D̲j̲aʿfar eighth Imām of the Twelver S̲h̲īʿa, was born in Medina in 148/765 (al-Ṣafadī) or, according to other and probably better informed authorities, in 151/768 or 153/770 (al-Nawbak̲h̲tī, Ibn K̲h̲allikān, Mīrk̲h̲ʷānd). He died in Ṭūs in 203/818; the sources agree on the year, but differ as to the day and month (end of Ṣafar—al-Ṭabarī, al-Ṣafadī; 21 Ramaḍān—al-Ṣafadī; 13 D̲h̲ū 'l-Ḳaʿda or 5 D̲h̲ū 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a—Ibn K̲h̲allikān). His father was the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, his mother a Nubian *umm walad* whose name is variously given (S̲h̲ahd or Nad̲j̲iyya—al-Nawbak̲h̲tī; Sukayna—Ibn K̲h̲allikān; K̲h̲ayzurān—Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī). For the greater part of his life he played no political role, but was known only for his piety and learning. He related traditions from his father and from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Arṭāh, and gave *fatwās* in the mosque of the Prophet in Medina. His first appearance on the political stage was in 201/816, when the Caliph al-Maʾmūn summoned him to Marw and appointed him as heir to the Caliphate, giving him the title of al-Riḍā. The sources agree that ʿAlī al-Riḍā was reluctant to accept this nomination, ceding only to the insistance of the Caliph. The ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid princes and dignitaries, led by Al-Maʾmūn's son al-ʿAbbās, took the *bayʿa* to the new heir, who was dressed in green.

By the Caliph's order, green flags and green uniforms replaced the ʿAbbāsid black all over the empire. It is unlikely that the green colour was at this early date specifically associated with the house of ʿAlī, and the precise significance of the change of colour is uncertain (cf. Weil, ii, 216, n. 3; Gabrieli, 37 n. 4). The full text of the document of appointment is preserved (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ix, 362-6; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, Paris Ms. Ar. 5903, f. 149 r-151 r; translation in Gabrieli 38-45). It shows that al-Maʾmūn carefully avoided the larger question of principle as between the claims of the houses of ʿAbbās and of ʿAlī, and simply appointed ʿAlī al-Riḍā as the person best fitted by his personal qualities—that is to say, on Sunnī rather than Shīʿī grounds. Nor does the document make any allusion to the delicate question of the succession after ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

The appointment aroused vigorous and conflicting reactions. The various ʿAbbāsid governors, with the exception of Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar in Baṣra, loyally carried out their orders, and exacted the oath of allegiance to the new heir. The Shīʿites were of course jubilant, though by no means won over by this partial recognition of their claims. In ʿIrāḳ however this step, added to the effective transfer of the imperial capital from Baghdād to Marw, aroused the fury of the inhabitants, who rose in revolt against the Caliph. They were joined by the garrison and the ʿAbbāsid princes in Baghdād, one of whom they elected as Caliph. The hatred of the ʿIrāḳīs was especially directed against the brothers Ibn Sahl, to whose activities they attributed all their troubles. It seems to have been the disinterested ʿAlī al-Riḍā himself who revealed to the Caliph the real meaning of the revolt in ʿIrāḳ. Al-Maʾmūn, realising the position at last, made a gradual change of policy. In 203/818 he set out for Baghdād, arriving there in the following year. On the way both Faḍl b. Sahl and ʿAlī al-Riḍā died—the former murdered in Sarakhs, the latter after a brief illness in Ṭūs. The Shīʿite historians attribute his death to poison, administered in a pomegranate given to him by ʿAlī b. Hishām (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 551), or in a drink of pomegranate juice prepared by a courtier and handed to him by the Caliph himself (*Maḳātil*, 566-7). Al-Ṭabarī makes no allusion to the possibility of murder. The Caliph mourned him publicly, and recited the last prayers. He was buried by the tomb of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and his sanctuary (*mashhad*) has given its name to the town, supplanting the older name of Ṭūs. In Shīʿite works he is credited with many miracles.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1029 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 3, 61; Yaʿḳūbī (Houtsma), ii, 550 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 249; Ibn Khallikān, no. 434; Ṣafadī, MS. B. M. Or. 6587, fol. 214 v-215 v.; Djahshiyārī (Cairo), 312-3; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, MS. Paris Ar. 1505, fol. 40 v.; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1930, ii, 174-5; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, iii, 18-23; Balʿamī, tr. Zotenberg, iv, 508 ff., 515 ff., 518. Shīʿite works: Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, (Ritter), 73 ff.; *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1949, 561-572; for Shīʿite hagiographical accounts of the life and sayings of ʿAlī al-Riḍā, see Ibn Babūya al-Ḳummī, *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, (Brockelmann, I, 187, S I, 321), lith. Tehran, 1275, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nuʿmān al-Ḥārithī al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd b. al-Muʿallim, *Al-Irshād fī Maʿrifat Ḥudjadj Allāh ʿala 'l-ʿIbād* (Brockelmann, S I, 322). Modern authors: F. Gabrieli, *Al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidi*, Leipzig 1929, 35 ff.; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Caliphen*, ii, 216 ff.; J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, London 1953, 80-4.

(B. LEWIS)

ʿALĪ RIḌĀ-I ʿABBĀSĪ, calligraphist in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, who wrote out inscriptions for some of the great mosques of Iṣfahān (Masdjid-i Shāh, Masdjid-i Luṭf Allāh) as well as for the dome over the tomb of the shrine of ʿAlī al-Riḍā and the shrine of Khwādja Rabīʿ in Mashhad. He was also appreciated as a copyist of manuscripts, several of which in his handwriting are still preserved. Some miniatures are also attributed to him, but he is not to be confounded with Riḍā-i ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: I. Hubbard, *ʿAlī Riẓā-i ʿAbbāsī, calligrapher and painter*, *Ars Islamica*, 1937, 282-91; Th. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 146; *Survey of Persian Art*, 1739, 1891.

ʿALĪ SHĒR ḲĀNIʿ [see ḲĀNIʿ].

ʿALĪ SHĪR NAVĀʾĪ [see NAVĀʾĪ].

ʿALĪ TEGĪN [see ḲARAKHĀNIDS].

ʿALĪ WĀSIʿ [see WĀSIʿ ʿALĪSI].

ʿALĪ WERDĪ KHĀN, bearing the title of Mahābat Djang, was the governor of Bengal (1740-56) under the later Mughal emperors of India. Being the son of a Turkoman of the name of Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī, he started his career as the governor of Bihar, and after defeating the previous governor of Bengal, Sarfarāz Khān, entered Murshidābād [*q.v.*] on 12 May 1740, as viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. For most of the time, he was engaged in ceaseless and fruitless warfare against the Marāṭhās, who finally succeeded in taking Orissa from him. He died on 9 April 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson, Sirādj al-Dawla Mīrzā Maḥmūd, who proved to be the last Mughal governor of Bengal; for Clive's victory at Plassey on 23 June, 1757, established the supremacy of the British in that part of India.

Bibliography: *The Cambridge History of India*, iv, index, s.v. ʿAlī Vardī Khān.

(SH. INAYATULLAH)

ALICANTE [see LAḲANT].

ALIDADA [see ASṬURLĀB].

ʿALIDS, descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who had eighteen sons (according to most works on ʿAlid genealogy, but fourteen according to another version given by al-Ṭabarī and eleven according to al-Masʿūdī), and seventeen daughters. His sons were as follows:

By Fāṭima; al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and al-Muḥsin (or Muḥassin). The third does not appear in all sources.

By Khawla; Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.

By Umm al-Banīn; ʿAbbās the elder, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUthmān the elder, Djaʿfar the elder.

By al-Ṣahbāʾ, called Umm Ḥabīb; ʿUmar.

By Laylā bint Masʿūd; Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿUbayd Allāh.

By Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays; Yaḥyā, ʿAwn, Muḥammad the younger (according to al-Ṭabarī).

By Umāma bint Abi'l-ʿĀṣ; Muḥammad the younger (the second, according to al-Ṭabarī).

By other mothers; Djaʿfar the younger, ʿAbbās the younger, ʿUmar the younger, ʿUthmān the younger, Muḥammad the younger (according to Akhū Muḥsin, or the second, according to the *Maḳātil*).

Five of these sons left issue, viz. al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, ʿUmar and ʿAbbās. (*Ittiʿāẓ*, 7).

It was to al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*], al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], and, for a time, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib
al-Ḥasan
al-Ḥusayn
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya
Zayd
Ḥassan
ʿAli Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
Abū Hāshim
ʿAlī
Ḥasan
Yaḥyā
Muḥammad
ʿAbdallah
Dāʾūd
Ibrāhīm
Djaʿfar
Muḥammad
Ḥasan
Muḥammad al-Bāḳir
Zayd
ʿUmar
Ḥusayn
Ḥasan
Djaʿfar
Muḥammad
Mūsā
Yaḥyā
Ibrāhīm
Idrīs
ʿĪsā
Sulaymān
Sulaymān
ʿAlī
ʿUbayd Allāh
ʿAlī
Ḥusayn Ṣāḥib Fakhkh
Yaḥyā
Idrīs
Ḥasan
Zaydids of Ṭabaristān
ʿAli
Ibrāhīm
ʿAbd Allāh
Ismāʿīl
Ḥasan
ʿAlī
Ḥusayn al-Ukhayḍir
Yūsuf
Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā
Ḥasan
Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ
Muḥammad
Ḳāsim al-Rassī
Sharīfs of Sūs
Sharīfs of Morocco
Idrīsids of Morocco Ḥammūdids of Spain
Sulaymānids of the Maghrib
Imāms of Yemen
Ismāʿīl
ʿAbd Allāh
Mūsā al-Kāẓim
Isḥāḳ
Muḥammad al-Dībādj
Muḥammad
Banū al-Ukhayḍir
Hidden Imāms
ʿAlī al-Riḍā
Aḥmad
Fāṭimid Caliphs
Muḥammad al-Djawād
Sulaymānids of Yemen and Mecca
Mūsā
Ṣāliḥ
Sulaymān
Imāms of Alamūt
ʿAli al-Hādī
Mūsā
Banū Ḳatāda of Mecca and Banū Fulayta
Banū Ṣāliḥ of Ghāna
Sulaymānid Sharīfs
Muḥammad
Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī
Djaʿfar
Muḥammad al-Mahdī

their descendants that the loyalties of the different groups of the S̲h̲īʿa [*q.v.*] were given. The claims made by the S̲h̲īʿa on behalf of the ʿAlids were broadly of two kinds. For the extremist S̲h̲īʿa the ʿAlid Imāms were the spiritual as well as the religious and political heirs of the Prophet, whose spiritual inspiration they retained or resumed. For the moderate S̲h̲īʿa they were the legitimate heirs of the Prophet as heads of the *Umma* of Islam, with a better claim to the succession than that of the reigning Caliphs, whom the S̲h̲īʿa regarded as usurpers. The early ʿAlids, with the possible exception of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and the more probable exception of his son Abū Hās̲h̲im, seem consistently to have refused to have any dealings with the extremists, or countenance their ideas (e.g. *Ag̲h̲ānī*², vii, 24 and viii, 33). On the other hand they seem to have acquiesced—if somewhat passively—in the political claims made on their behalf by the moderate S̲h̲īʿa. The numerous traditions in which ʿAlids reject and denounce the claims of their own supporters (e.g. Ibn Saʿd, v, 77, 158, 235, 238) are almost certainly due to Sunnī propaganda, and a more accurate reflection of the political views and claims of the house of ʿAlī will be found in the letter written by the Ḥasanid pretender Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] to the Caliph Manṣūr in 145/762 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 209 ff.), and in the verses of such pro-ʿAlid poets as Kumayt and Kut̲h̲ayyir. Muḥammad's letter is also interesting in that the writer claims pure Arab descent on both sides, without admixture of foreign or slave blood—thus accepting the aristocratic Umayyad principle of succession, (which had excluded sons of slave mothers like Maslama) and rejecting the Islamic rule followed by the Ḥusaynids (several of whose Imāms had slave mothers), and, later, by the ʿAbbāsids. In the early period the claims of the ʿAlids were based on descent from ʿAlī the Prophet's kinsman rather than from Fāṭima his daughter, since according to the ideas of the time kinship with the Prophet in the male line was more important than descent from him in the female line. (Thus in the revealing speech attributed to ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn, he speaks of himself only as "cousin of the Prophet", *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 355). Claims based on kinship could thus be advanced on behalf of descendants of ʿAlī by wives other than Fāṭima, and even of collateral descendants of Abū Ṭālib (see AHL AL-BAYT). Only after the usurpation of ʿAlid claims by their ʿAbbāsid cousins was stress laid on direct descent from the Prophet via Fāṭima. In the development of this new claim, the sixth Imām D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ seems to have played a role of some importance.

After the abortive rising of al-Ḥusayn and the massacre of Karbalāʾ in 61/680, when most of the ʿAlids were killed, the ʿAlid pretenders remained politically inactive, giving recognition and sometimes even help to the ruling house (examples in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 3, 409, 420, 1338; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 298 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, v, 83, 159; Buhl, 369). They preferred to reside in Mecca or Medina, far from the main political centres, and while maintaining their claims did little to advance them. Such action as they took may be qualified as litigious rather than rebellious, concerned with their estates rather than their political rights (cf. I. Hrbek, *Muḥammads Nachlass und die ʿAliden*, *Arch. Or.*, 1950, 43-9). In the tradition this passivity is naturally given a religious colouring, and appears as the prototype of the characteristic S̲h̲īʿa practice of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*].

Towards the middle of the 8th century growing discontent brought new opportunities to the ʿAlids. In ca. 122/740 Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] led the first ʿAlid bid for power since Karbalāʾ. After his death, closely followed by that of his son Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] in ca. 125-6/743-4, the ʿAlid bolt was shot, and both the cause and the opportunity were taken over by the ʿAbbāsids. The first major expression of ʿAlid anger and disappointment at the ʿAbbāsid victory was the revolt of the Ḥasanid brothers Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*qq.v.*], in Medina and Baṣra respectively. Both movements were choked in blood, and the Caliph Manṣūr adopted a policy of violent repression towards the ʿAlids, great numbers of whom were arrested and put to death (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 445-6; *Murūd̲j̲*, vii, 404; *Maḳātil*, 178 ff.). Al-Mahdī dealt more kindly with the ʿAlids, as part of a general policy of appeasement, but when this failed to gain ʿAlid good will, it was abandoned by al-Hādī, whose harsh actions drove the ʿAlids to open revolt. The rising of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], known as Ṣāḥib Fak̲h̲k̲h̲ (after the place of his death), in 169/786 was soon suppressed, (Ṭabarī, iii, 551-9; *Maḳātil* 431 ff.), but Idrīs [*q.v.*], a brother of the ill-fated Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, escaped to Morocco where he founded the first ʿAlid dynasty. Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd eased the severities of al-Hādī, but after the revolt of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] in 176/792-3 he resumed the strict surveillance of the ʿAlids, and the Ḥusaynid Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] died in prison. Meanwhile, in 175/791, some Zaydids (of the line of Zayd b. Ḥasan) took refuge in Daylam, where in 250/864 they were able to establish the first of a series of local dynasties. Al-Maʾmūn on his accession faced the pro-ʿAlid revolts of Abu 'l-Sarāya [*q.v.*] in association with the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, called Ibn Ṭabāṭabā [*q.v.*] in Mesopotamia in 199/814, and of Muhammad b. D̲j̲aʿfar, [*q.v.*] known as Muḥammad al-Dībād̲j̲, in Mecca in 200/815-6. His subsequent nomination of the Ḥusaynid ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] as his heir and his adoption of a pro-ʿAlid policy brought some alleviation, but did not save him from a further ʿAlid rising, that of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad in the Yemen in 207/822-3. Under al-Maʾmūn's successors relations between ʿAbbāsids and ʿAlids again deteriorated, reaching their lowest point with the insults and persecutions of al-Mutawakkil. Al-Muntaṣir is reported to have treated the ʿAlids with consideration, but the revolts continued. Most of them were suppressed, some few resulted in the appearance of local dynasties of ʿAlid stock, in such remote places as Morocco, Yemen, and the Caspian provinces of Persia.

Most of the rebels and pretenders of the early ʿAbbāsid period came from the line of al-Ḥasan, that of al-Ḥusayn preferring a life of tranquil piety. It was however the latter that came to have the greatest influence. After the death in 148/765 of D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], the sixth Imām in the line of Ḥusayn, the succession was disputed between his sons Ismāʿīl and Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*]. Ismāʿīl, whose claims were accepted by the sect known as Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], sired a line of Imāms from whom came the Fāṭimid Caliphs (some authorities however doubt the authenticity of their pedigree). Mūsā's line ended with the disappearance of the 12th Imām, known as Muḥammad al-Mahdī ca. 260/873-4. After this the aspirations of their followers [see ITHNĀ ʿAS̲H̲ARIYYA] became eschatological rather than political, since they could offer no real alternative to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, which was therefore accepted even by S̲h̲īʿite dynasties such as the Būyids.

Many dynasties claimed to be of ʿAlid descent. They may be grouped as follows:

1) Ḥasanids:
   a) N.W. Africa—Idrīsids [*q.v.*], Sulaymānids [*q.v.*], Sharīfs (Saʿdids [*q. v.*], Filālīs, [see ʿALAWIDS]).
   b) Yemen—Sulaymānids, Banū Ukhayḍir, Rassids [*qq.v.*].
   c) Mecca—Sulaymānids, Banū Ukhayḍir, Banū Fulayta, Banū Ḳatāda [see MAKKA].
   d) N. Persia—Zaydids, ʿAlids.
   e) Ghāna—Banū Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*].
   f) Āmul—Ḥasanids.
   g) Cordova and Malaga—Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*].

2) Ḥusaynids:
   a) Ifrīḳiya and Egypt—Fāṭimids [*q.v.*].
   b) Medina—Banū Muhannā [*q.v.*].

3) Unknown: Mecca and Medina—Banū Mūsā.

Bibliography: Genealogies of the descendants of ʿAlī were compiled from an early date. One of them was that of the 10th century ʿAlid genealogist Akhū Muḥsin, who wrote a "complete account" of all the progeny of ʿAlī, in an attempt to disprove the legitimacy of the Fāṭimids. This work is lost, but is preserved in excerpts in Maḳrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, (Shayyāl), Cairo, 1948, 4 ff. and in Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, Vol. vi, MS Sarāy, Aḥmed III, no. 2932, 5 ff. where the source is named. A parallel account of the descendants of ʿAlī will be found in the *Siḥāḥ al-Akhbār* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī (9th/15th century), Cairo 1306. Slightly different versions are given by Ṭabarī (i, 3471 ff., followed by Ibn al-Athīr iii, 333-4), and by Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 298 and *Murūdj*, v, 148). Among later works on ʿAlid genealogy mention may be made of the *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ... b. Muhannā, Bombay, 1318. Biographies of ʿAlids will be found in Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī's martyrology, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*², Cairo 1949, (cf. *Murūdj*, vii, 404, where martyred ʿAlids are listed), as well as in general works such as the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Saʿd and the *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* of Balādhurī (the ʿAlids appear in vol. 10). On the role of the ʿAlids in the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods see Fr. Buhl, *Alidernes Stilling til de Shiʿitiske Bevaegelser under Umajjaderne, Oversigt over det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1910, no. 5, 355 ff.; F. Gabrieli, *Al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidi*, Leipzig 1929; Ḥ. I. Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*², Cairo 1948, ii, 113 ff.; ʿA. ʿA. al-Dūrī, *Al-ʿAṣr al-ʿAbbāsī al-Awwal*, Baghdad 1945. Genealogical tables of the descendants of ʿAlī, showing the interrelation of ʿAlid dynasties, will be found in Zambaur, ii, A-E. On the status and organisation of persons descended from the Prophet in later times see SAYYID and SHARĪF.

(B. LEWIS)

ALIF [see HIDJĀʾ].

ALIGARH, town (27° 53′ N., 78° 4′ E.) and district in the Meerut (Mīrat) division of Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces). In 1941 the district (1946 sq. miles = 5024.5 sq. km.) had 1, 372, 641 inhabitants (186, 381 Muslims) and the town 112, 655 (51, 712 Muslims). The town was at first called Koil (Kol) and the citadel, built in 1542, was named Aligaṛh (high fort) when Nadjaf Khān restored it in 1776; previously it had been called Ramgaṛh, occasionally Sābitgaṛh after one Sābit Khān or Muḥammadgaṛh.

Koil, which was certainly an old town, was captured towards the end of the 12th century by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybeg and was usually subject to Delhi, being a fief of Balban's eldest son c. 1270. It was ruled from Djawnpur in 1393 and was independent for a time from 1447. In 1785 Mahrattas of the Scindhia family captured it but were driven out by Lord Lake in 1803. It was often described by Muslim writers, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 6).

Modern Aligarh owes its place to its university. In 1871 (Sir) Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] began to collect funds, some Hindus contributing, for a boys' school to be run more or less on English lines. In 1875 the high school was started and three years later it was raised to a second grade college. The institution then became a school and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. Sir Sayyid kept the management in his own hands during his lifetime and had excellent helpers in the first principals, Th. Beck and (Sir) Theodore Morison. Finance was a trouble and there was opposition to this breach with traditional Muslim education. Entrance to the college was never restricted to Muslims and the language of instruction was English except in religious subjects. After the founder's death the management was put in the hands of Muslim trustees. In 1904 353 boys were in the school, 269 students in the college and 36 students of law; of the total 76 were Hindus. In 1909 there were eight teachers of European origin and for some years the professor of Arabic was a European. Later the number of teachers who were not Indians was much reduced. In 1920 the college was created a university and an intermediate college was established for the first two years of the university course, following the recommendations of the Calcutta Commission. At the same time the non-cooperation movement caused trouble, resulting in the foundation of the National University; this was active for two years or so and existed in name for some time longer. Aligarh University continued to develop; in 1929 teachers of Yūnānī (Unani) medicine appeared on the staff; in 1932 the intermediate college was absorbed in the university and new laboratories opened; in 1934 a college of Yūnānī medicine was started and in 1938 an institute of technology and electrical engineering and a Yūnānī hospital were opened. Women were admitted to some degrees in the same year and later further concessions were made to them. In 1945 an agricultural college was opened and in 1947 the staff is found grouped in four faculties, arts, science, engineering and technology, and theology. The separation of Pakistan from India caused a great upheaval and many of the staff left but their places were filled, the university survived and still flourishes. Aligarh has always upheld the Muslim ideal of opening the road to education to the needy; it is to be feared that the pursuit of this ideal may clash with the purpose of a university. In the year 1946-7 there were 5896 students of whom 775 were graduates and 501 first degrees were given in the faculties of arts, science, commerce and engineering; in the following year the numbers were 4285, 1186 and 365.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, v, 208-19; Th. Morison, *History of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh*, Allahabad 1903, summarised in *RMM*, i, 380 ff.

(A. S. TRITTON)

ʿĀLIM [see ʿULAMĀʾ].

ʿĀLIMA, in the Egyptian dialect of Arabic *ʿālme*, *ʿālime*, plural *ʿawālim*, literally "a learned,

expert woman", the name of a class of Egyptian female singers forming a sort of guild, according to the sources of the 18th and 19th centuries. They were engaged to perform in harems at celebrations of marriages or births, during Ramaḍān and on other occasions. Their art included the improvisation of poems of the *mawāl* [*q.v.*] type, singing and dancing. They withdrew from Cairo during the French expedition. Well-informed travellers were careful to distinguish them from the *ghawāzī* (sing. *ghāziyye*) who sang and danced primarily in the streets, making a speciality of lascivious dances and often becoming prostitutes (the most accurate descriptions are those of Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*[2], Paris 1786, i, 149 ff., and Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte*[2], Paris 1826, xiv, 169-82; useful information is contained in Sonnini, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte*, Paris, year vii, ii 372 ff.; Chabrol in *Descr. de l'Égypte*[2], Paris 1826, xviii, 1, 173 ff., 212 ff., 330; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836-7, i, 226, 261; ii, 65 ff., 270 ff., Laerty-Hadji (Baron Taylor), *L'Égypte*[2], Paris 1856, 263-5. The Arabic word as recorded by the travellers appears in French, from the time of Savary (*loc. cit.*; cf. *Journal encyclopédique*, 1787, ii, 519 ff.), in the form *almé*, later *almée*, and in English (first recorded in 1814 by Byron, *Corsair*, ii, 8) as *alma* or *almah*. But Baedeker, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1877, i, 25-6 states that *ʿawālim* of the better class only survived in the harems of the most eminent houses; a debased type was frequently to be seen in the streets accompanied by one or two, usually blind, musicians. Travellers regularly confused the *ʿālmas* with the *ghawāzī*, who were however expelled from Cairo to Upper Egypt in 1834 by Muḥammad ʿAlī. The latter were found in large numbers at Ḳene, Esne, Luḳṣor (Baedeker, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1891, ii, 81 ff., 258). Flaubert in 1850 associated with them there, and refers to them as *almées* (*Voy. en Orient*, Paris 1949, 63 ff.). Most of the *ʿawālim* and *ghawāzī* held an annual reunion at Ṭanṭā on the occasion of the *mawlid* of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī (Baedeker, *loc. cit.*, i, 25, 245; cf., referring to the year 1865, A. Rhone, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, Paris 1877, 172-8, and, as late as 1933, the parade of prostitutes, in J. W. Mc Pherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 286.

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ALINDJAḲ or ALINDJA (in Armenian Erndjak, a district of the province Siunikʿ), now ruins within the Nakhičewān territory of the Azerbaydjan Soviet Socialist Republic. The river Alindja flows into the Araxes near Old Djulfa. The ancient fortress Alindjaḳ stood some 20 km. above its estuary on the right bank of the river, on the top of an extremely steep mountain (near the village Khānaḳā). The fortress played a considerable role at the Tīmūrid and Turkman period.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *Caucasica*, *JA*, 1930, 93-4, 112. (V. MINORSKY)

ALĪSAʿ (or ALYASAʿ) B. UKHṬŪB (or YAKHTŪB), the biblical prophet Elisha. The Ḳurʾān mentions him twice (vi, 86 and xxxviii, 46, second Meccan period) together with other apostles of Allāh, without special comment. The Arabs have considered the first syllable as the article (discussion of variant readings in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vii, 156 ff.). Muslim tradition identifies Alīsaʿ with the son of the widow who sustained Elijah during the famine (I Kings xvii, 9 ff.). This son, a paralytic, was cured by Ilyās (Elijah) and became his disciple, his companion and, eventually, his successor. Because of his parentage, some authors call him Ibn al-ʿAdjūz (son of the old woman), but others, including al-Ṭabarī (loc. cit. and *Annals*, i, 535) give this sobriquet to Ḥazḳīl (Ezekiel). In traditional Muslim chronology, Alīsaʿ is placed much earlier in date than Ṭālūt (Saul), and it is he who is said to have been evoked by the witch of Endor. His identification with one of the guardians of the Ark of the Covenant is a further detail derived from the history of Samuel. Some identify him with al-Khiḍr [*q.v.*], or even with Dhu 'l-Kifl [*q.v.*], who is generally regarded as his successor.

Bibliography: In addition to the references quoted in the article, see Ṭabarī, i, 542 ff., 559; Kisāʾī (Eisenberg), 248-50; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, Cairo 1370/1951, 259-61; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 152.

(M. SELIGSOHN-G. VAJDA)

ALJAMÍA, Spanish transcription of the Arabic *al-ʿadjamiyya* ("non-Arabic"), a term used by the Muslims of al-Andalus to denote the Romance dialects of their neighbours in the north of the Iberian peninsula—dialects soon coloured with Arabisms which, for the most part, were introduced from the 9th century by Mozarab emigrants who had settled in the Christian countries neighbouring the kingdom of Cordova. The Romance language, the use of which in al-Andalus by all classes of society, especially by the rural classes, alongside Spanish Arabic, has been established, was also called *al-ʿadjamiyya*. It was only in the latter Middle Ages that the Spanish equivalent of this term, *aljamía*, acquired the particular meaning which is attributed to it to-day, namely: a Hispanic Romance language (Portuguese, Galician, Castilian, Aragonese or Catalan, depending on the district) written, not in Latin, but in Arabic characters. The literature in *aljamía* which has been preserved is therefore termed *aljamiada*.

This *aljamiada* literature, of which there exists a number of manuscripts, has been the subject of numerous studies in Spain itself, especially towards the end of the 19th century. It comprises in general works of a religious or legal nature in addition to poetical compositions, usually didactic in tone, and a few works of fiction in prose. In considering this literature, a distinction must be made between the works written in Spain itself, before the expulsion of the Moors by Philip III in 1609, and those, more numerous, written after that date, in particular by the Moorish communities established in Tunisia [see MORISCOS]. In the first group, the most important work, which apparently dates back to the 14th century, is the anonymous "Poem of Yūsuf"; R. Menéndez Pidal, who has edited and commented on this poem (*Poema de Yuçuf: materiales para su estudio*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, VIII, Madrid 1902; new edition, Granada 1952), thinks it is the work of an Aragonese Morisco. It consists of a version in Spanish verse of Ḳurʾān, xii (*Sūrat Yūsuf*), embellished with elements borrowed from the Muslim "legends of the prophets". In the second group, the poetical compositions of another Aragonese Morisco, Muḥammad Rabaḍān, a native of Rueda de Jalón, deserve special mention; composed about 1603, they consist of strophic poems which narrate,

following in general Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the various episodes of the *sīra* of the Prophet. About the same period (beginning of the 17th century), an account of a pilgrimage to Arabia was composed, also in rhymed strophes, by a Morisco known as Alhichante (*al-ḥādjdj*) of Puey Monzón. An anti-Christian polemical poem composed in 1627 by Juan Pérez, a Morisco from Alcalá de Henares, who had emigrated to Tunisia, and whose original name was Ibrāhīm Taybilī, must also be mentioned.

Dating from the same period are the Muslim apologetics written in *aljamiado*, for instance that composed in 1615 by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAlī Pérez. To this literature also belong some novelistic prose narratives concerning the Prophet or one of his Companions (for instance Tamīm al-Dārī). Others recount biblical episodes or are biographies of more or less legendary characters (especially Alexander *Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn*).

Finally attention must be drawn to the discovery of private letters written in *aljamía*; the most characteristic—writte hardly later than the capture of Granada in 1492 by the Catholic Kings—has recently been published in facsimile by I. de Las Cagigas *Una Carta aljamiada granadina*, in *Arabica*, 1954, 271-5. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

Bibliography: Manuscripts: There are scattered MSS at Paris, Algiers, Aix-en-Provence, Uppsala, the British Museum, Cambridge, the Escorial. For the few MSS at Toledo see A. González Palencia, *Noticia y Extractos de MSS árabes y aljamiados*, in *Miscelanea de Estudios y Textos Árabes*, Madrid 1915. The three main collections are: (1) that of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (see F. Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de MSS arabes*, etc., Madrid 1889); (2) the "manuscritos de la Junta" now at the Escuela de Estudios Arabes, Madrid. This is particularly interesting as preserving almost intact a large hoard of MSS found at Almonacid in 1884 (see J. Ribera and M. Asin, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, Madrid 1912, which also includes a description of MSS at Saragossa). (3) For the Gayangos collection at the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, the only description is in E. Saavedra, *Índice de la Literatura Aljamiada*, appendix to his *Discurso*, in *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, vi, Madrid 1878, still a fundamental work, but made before the discovery at Almonacid. On the spelling of the texts, see J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Sibilants*, Boston 1900. Published works in *aljamía*: P. Gil, J. Ribera and M. M. Sánchez, *Colección de textos aljamiados*, Saragossa 1888; H. Morf, *Poema de José*, in *Gratulationsschrift der Universität Bern an die Universität Zürich*, Leipzig 1883; K. V. Zetterstéen, in *MO*, 1921, 1-174; R. Menéndez Pidal, and I. de Las Cagigas, see above. In accurate transliteration: J. Cantineau, in *JA*, 1927, 9-17; J. N. Lincoln, in *American Geographical Riview*, 1939, 483 ff.; idem, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1937, 631 ff.; A. R. Nykl, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature*, in *Revue Hispanique*, lxxvii; M.J. Müller, in *SBBayr. Ak.*, 1860, 201 ff.; M. Schmitz, in *Romanische Forschungen*, 1901, 315 ff.; D. Lopes, *Textos em aljamia portuguesa*, Lisbon 1897. In free transliteration: F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas Moriscas*, 3 vols., Madrid 1885-6; idem, *Leyendas de José y de Alejandro Magno*, Saragossa 1888; *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana*, in *Revista Histórica*, no. xxii, Barcelona 1876; M. de Pano y Ruate, *Las Coplas del Peregrino de Puey Monçón*, Saragossa 1897; P. Longás, *Vida Religiosa de los Moriscos*, Madrid 1915; J. Sánchez Pérez, *Partición de Herencias entre los Musulmanes del Rito Malequí*, Madrid 1914. Works written in Latin characters: ʿĪsā b. Djābir, *Suma de los principales mandamientos*, ed. P. de Gayangos, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, v, Madrid 1853; H. E. J. Stanley, *The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan*, in *JRAS*, 1867-72. Studies: J. Ribera, *Disertaciones y Opúsculos* I, Madrid 1928, 493 ff.; P. Gil, in *Homenaje Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 537-49; R. Basset, in *GSAI*, 1893, 3-81; J. Oliver Asín, *Un morisco de Túnez, admirador de Lope*, in *And.*, 1933, 413-8; J. Morgan, *Mahometism fully explained*, London 1723-5; A. González Palencia, *Hist. de la literatura arábigo-española*[2], Barcelona 1945, 303-9.

(L. P. HARVEY)

ʿALḲAMA B. ʿABADA AL-TAMĪMĪ, surnamed al-Faḥl, early Arab poet, was active in the first half of the 6th century. His poetry relates to the combats which took place between the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids; as the spokesman of his tribe he is reported to have obtained, by reciting a *ḳaṣīda* (no. 2, ed. W. Ahlwardt, *The Diwan of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870), the release of his brother Shaʾs and the other Tamīmites whom the Ghassānid king, al-Ḥārith b. Djabala (*ca.* 529-569), had taken prisoner. Arab tradition connects ʿAlḳama with Imruʾ al-Ḳays (d. *ca.* 540), with whom he is supposed to have fought and won a literary contest as a result of which Imruʾ al-Ḳays divorced and ʿAlḳama married the umpire Djundab. The style of their work would bear out the suggestion of some sort of artistic association such as the anecdote implies. The oft-remarked similarities between ʿAlḳama, 1 (Ahlwardt), and Imruʾ al-Ḳays, 4 (Ahlwardt), indicate a certain confusion of the two literary personalities on the part of the *ruwāt*. Already Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*, 68 ff., noted that in all likelihood ʿAlḳama's is the older ode. ʿAlḳama shares with Imruʾ al-Ḳays a predilection for the longer and more tranquil meters. Stylistic and thematic kinship justifies the grouping of the two poets together as representatives of a distinct "school". A certain enrichment of the techniques of description may possibly be traced to ʿAlḳama. The poems Ahlwardt, 8 and 12, are spurious, so the chronological conclusions which Nöldeke (*Die Ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's Abh. Akad. d. Wissensch.* Berlin 1887, 36) and, following him, Brockelmann (I, 48) have based on them must be dismissed. The Arab critics include ʿAlḳama among the *fuḥūl* or powerful poets (literally "stallions").

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* of ʿAlḳama was first published, together with a German translation, by A. Socin, Leipzig 1867, then the text alone, by Ahlwardt in the edition mentioned above; text with commentary by al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, by Mohammed Ben Cheneb (Algiers 1925); further references: *Aghānī*, vii, 127-8; xxi, 171-5; de Slane, *Le Diwan d'Amro 'l-kais*, Paris 1837, 80; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, ii, 314; G. E. von Grunebaum, in *Orientalia*, 1939, 328-45. (G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM)

AL-**ʿALḲAMĪ** is, on the authority of the geographers Ḳudāma and al-Masʿūdī, the name used in the 3rd-4th/3th-10th centuries for the western branch of the Euphrates, between its bifurcation at or near the modern Hindiyya Barrage (44° 16' E, 36° 40' N) and its loss in the medieval Great Swamp. The proportion of Euphrates water using this or the eastern (al-Sūrāʾ, or modern Ḥilla) channel, has

varied from period to period thoroughout medieval and modern times: the western branch has finally been dominant, and the eastern merely a controlled canal, since the early 20th century; but al-ʿAlḳamī, using a bed not necessarily identical with the modern "Hindiyya river", probably represented the main stream. It passed by the important towns of al-Ḳanṭara (on both banks) and Kūfa (right bank). The name of the vizier Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī [*q.v.*] was taken from the river.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 74; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, 311; cf. also AL-FURĀT. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

ALKANNA [see AL-ḤINNĀʾ].

ALḲĀṢ MĪRZĀ (or ALḲĀS, ALḲĀSP), second son of Shāh Ismaʿīl I of the Ṣafawī dynasty, and younger brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. Born Tabrīz 921/1515-6, he fought a successful action at Astarābād against the Uzbegs in 939/1532-3. In 945/1538-9 he subdued Shirwān, and was made governor of that province by Ṭahmāsp. He rebelled soon afterwards, but was granted a conditional pardon through the intercession of his mother Khān Begī Khānum. At the instance of Ṭahmāsp, he fought an inconclusive campaign against the Circassians, but again rebelled, minting his own coinage and including his name in the *khuṭba*. In 953/1546-7 Ṭahmāsp launched his second Georgian expedition, and from Gandja dispatched 5000 men against Alḳāṣ. Alḳāṣ, worsted in several engagements, fled to Constantinople via the Ḳipčāḳ plain and the Crimea (954/1547-8).

He incited Sulaymān I to send another expedition against Persia, and in 955/1548-9 he was sent ahead of the main Ottoman army which advanced on Tabrīz via Sīwās and Erzerum. The success of Ṭahmāsp's policy of laying waste the countryside obliged Sulaymān to retire from Tabrīz after only five days. Alkāṣ accompanied Sulaymān at the capture of the fortress of Wān, and interceded for the garrison. But he had fallen in Sulaymān's estimation because his presence in Persia had not evoked the support promised, and Sulaymān willingly agreed that Alḳāṣ should leave Baghdād and raid Persia with a force of irregulars (he refused to allow him any Janissaries). Alḳāṣ marched to Hamadān, where he destroyed the palace of his brother Bahrām and captured his son Badīʿ-al-Zamān Mīrzā, and thence to Ḳum, Kāshān and Iṣfahān. Then, instead of complying with Sulaymān's order to rejoin him, he went on to Shūshtar, and sent a conciliatory letter to Ṭahmāsp. (Dhū'l-Ḥidjdja 955/January 1549). Proceeding towards Baghdād, he was opposed by Muḥammad Pasha, Governor of Baghdād, and fled to Ardalān, where he was handed over to Ṭahmāsp by Surkhāb Beg, the ruler of Ardalān, on condition that his life was spared. According to Ṭahmāsp's own account, Alḳāṣ was imprisoned at Alamūt, where he was killed a few days later, ostensibly as the result of a private feud, but probably with Ṭahmāsp's connivance.

Bibliography: *Tadhkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, ed. Phillott, Calcutta 1912 (P. Horn, *Denkwürdigkeiten Schâh Tahmâsp des I.*, 38, 64 ff., 134); Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1931; Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, St. Petersburg 1873; Pečewī, 267 ff.; Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, vi, 7 ff.; Sir John Malcolm. *History of Persia*, London 1815, i, 509-10, 505 note. (R. M. SAVORY)

ALLĀH, God the Unique one, the Creator and Lord of the Judgment, polarizes the thought of Islam; He is the sole reason for its existence.

Allāh was known to the pre-Islamic Arabs; he was one of the Meccan deities, possibly the supreme deity and certainly a creator-god (cf. Ḳurʾān, xiii, 16; xxix, 61, 63; xxxi, 25; xxxix, 38; xliii, 87). He was already known, by antonomasia, as *the* God, *al-Ilāh* (the most likely etymology; another suggestion is the Aramaic *Alāhā*).—For *Allāh* before Islam, as shown by archaeological sources and the Ḳurʾān, see ILĀH.

But the vague notion of supreme (not sole) divinity, which *Allāh* seems to have connoted in Meccan religion, was to become both universal and transcendental; it was to be turned, by the Ḳurʾānic preaching, into the affirmation of the Living God, the Exalted One.

I. ALLĀH IN THE ḲURʾĀN.

A Muslim tradition tells us that sūra xcvi was the first to "come down" to the Prophet Muḥammad; so the mission entrusted to him was from the first the preaching of the Word of *Allāh* ("Preach!", xcvi, 1 and 3). *Allāh*, as is said to Muḥammad in this first sūra, is *thy Lord* (*rabbuka*, xcvi, 1), Creator of man, the Very Generous, "Who teaches man that which he knew not" (xcvi, 3). The great Ḳurʿānic leit-motiv, *bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, "in the name of God, the merciful Benefactor" cf. R. Blachère's translation), opens the announcement of the imparted message and is repeated at the head of each sūra. It may be that it contains a reference to the *Raḥmān* of pre-Islamic south Arabia, and that *Raḥmān* should be taken as a divine proper name. The fact remains that the root RḤM came to connote, in the course of the Islamic centuries, precisely the concept of benefaction, of clemency, of mercy, and that the expression *raḥmat Allāh*, "God's mercy", was to become, in the spiritual writers, as it were an evocation of the mysterious profundities of divinity in its relations with man.—Hence, from the beginning of Muḥammad's preaching, the affirmation of God, *Allāh*, as benefactor, creator, bountiful, imparting instruction to men through a messenger, of whom He was, in a special way, the Lord.

(A) *The great themes.*

From a historical point of view, we shall accept the distinctions generally admitted to exist (with some differences as to detail, see Nöldeke, Grimme, Blachère) between the three Meccan periods and the Medinan period, distinctions which roughly agree with some Muslim traditions (cf. ḲURʾĀN). But although these various periods give us a multiplicity of perspectives and new flashes of illumination, there is strictly speaking no progressive revelation of *Allāh*. The Ḳurʾān is not a theological exposition of the existence, nature and attributes of God. Muslim faith has always regarded the text of the Ḳurʾān as God's Word made manifest to man, in which God says what He wishes about Himself. God is "the benefactor Who teaches the Preaching" (lv, 1-2), which is addressed to "the pious who believe in the Mystery (*ghayb*)" (ii, 2-3). God remains mysterious, unapproachable (xlii, 50-51). He is declared in His transcendent perfections and in His dealings with the world; and every action of the Almighty (*afʿāluhū taʿālā*) is the restatement of the inscrutable mystery, for "the sight cannot perceive Him, while He can perceive the sight" (vi, 103).

Without a risk of breaking the very rhythm of sūras and verses, it is not easy to pick out, still less easy to classify, the themes concerning God. Three seem to us to predominate, but they must be taken as a whole.

1. *God of creation, judgment and retribution.* He is "creator (*khālik*) of all things" (xiii, 16). He is the absolute originator (*badīʿ*). He creates what He wishes (xlii, 49; v, 17) by His command (*amr*), by the *kun* ("Be!") which causes existence (e.g. xxxvi, 82; ii, 117). He is the bestower of all good, the supreme judge (*ḥākim*) and "the justest judge" (xcv, 8).

The oldest sūras proclaim God's unlimited sovereignty (*rubūbiyya*) over His creation, particularly His human creation, and His attributes of sovereign judge and king (*mālik*). The final shock is given to minds and hearts by the news of the Judgment (*yawm al-dīn*; see all sūra lxvi) and the imminence of the Hour (liii, 56-57; liv, 1, etc.), which is known to God alone (e.g. lxxix, 42-44; xliii, 85). The manner of this preaching may vary, but never its essential contents. For variations of theme relate less to God in Himself than to relations between God and the community of believers, depending on obstacles encountered or successive organisations. Thus, for example, the dichotomy of the Elect and the Damned (lxxxiv) at the end of the first Meccan period, and the Medinan leit-motiv of the "hypocrites" (*munāfiḳūn*) "whom God will mock" (ii, 15).—The Meccan sūras of the first two periods stress the eschatological advent of the Hour; in them, God appears essentially as the sovereign judge, having jurisdiction because He is the omnipotent creator of man (cf. lxxxii, 17-19, which follows logically on lxxxii, 6-8; lxxx, 18-22; xcv, 4-8, etc.). The theme of retribution is resumed however in the Medinan sūras (xxxiii, 63; xxiv, 25-26, etc.). Here and there perspective doubtless changes. At Mecca there is blunt teaching, intended to bring about an admission of faith in the mystery of God, the Judge and Creator, by means of the rhythmic rapping-out of asseverations. At Medina the same mystery is as it were recalled; presented to the heart's recollection (*dhikr*), as a witness to the eschatological value of daily life itself, urging the Muslim, whether he be "believer" or "hypocrite", to be constantly mindful of the Hour, in his every action; therefore urging the "hypocrite" to the "return", to conversion.

The same variations and resumptions of a single theme recur in the presentation of the divine management of human history. The Medinese sūras relate in minute detail the story of Adam, proceed to the history of the prophets, from Noah to Jesus, and state what God's will is of the community of believers. But there it appears as a sequence of discontinuous interventions of the immutable decree (*ḳadar*) of God, which, as the Meccan preaching had already said, encompasses all things, both in and out of time. For God is "the King of life and death" (xcii, 13; a theme constantly reverted to later, e.g. xv, 23; ii, 258, etc.). From the very first sūras Noah is evoked (liii, 52), and Abraham and Moses (lxxx, 19; liii, 36-37), and the tribes of Thamūd (xci, 11 and 14; liii, 51, etc.). In the second Meccan period, God's plans for the Nations, for Thamūd and ʿĀd, are mingled with intimations of the Judgment (cf. lxix and lxxix); to the second and third Meccan periods belong the most fully developed accounts of the history of the prophets. Mixed with the theme of the judgment of peoples, that of the judgment of every individual human being is constantly stated.

2. *God, Unique and One in Himself.* In all of the earliest sūras, God is ***thy*** Lord. Subsequently He is called Creator, Benefactor, Help, Judge. He is the Most High (lxxx, 1). He is given these names by virtue of those attributes of His godhead which have some connection with man. The particular attribute of His godhead in which the faith of Islam was to have its focus is first stated as an answer to man's errors and impieties: God the One.

Sūra lii, 39 and 43, contains a condemnation of the Meccans who have been accustomed to ascribe partners and daughters to Allāh. For Allāh is ***wāḥid***, sole divinity. "Your God is One" (xxxvii, 4), the believers are told. The assertion is constantly repeated throughout the Book, constantly restated in the Medinan period (e.g. ii, 163). It is the very core of the preaching concerning God: "It has been revealed to me only that your God is One God", Muḥammad says again and again (e.g. xli, 6, etc.).

But in a verse of the first Meccan period is found what is perhaps a stronger affirmation that Allāh is One in Himself. In relation to man, sole divinity, *wāḥid*; in Himself, One in His nature of deity, ***aḥad*** (cxii, 1).—Sole and One, the two Names come together in the Unity, the ***tawḥīd***, and its absolute transcendence. Such is the meaning of the "witness" of Islam, the *shahāda*. As early as that 73rd sūra, which, according to the traditions, gave rise to the conversion of ʿUmar, the assertion appears: "There is no divinity—save Him (*huwa*)" (lxxiii, 9). The second Meccan period declares: ***innanī Anā Allāh— lā ilāh illā Anā***, "I, I am God—there is no divinity save Me" (xx, 14), and that the mystery of this divine "I" is the Real (*ḥaḳḳ*, xx, 114; xviii, 44).—Lastly, the short sūra cxii, of uncertain date (referred by some to the Medinan period), is known as the sūra of Unity (*tawḥīd*) *par excellence*: God Alone, the Master, not begetting and not begotten; without equal: an assertion of the unity of the divine nature as such, its intrinsic mystery unfathomed (cf. xxiii, 91).

3. *God omnipotent and merciful.* The twofold aspect of the mystery of God in relation to His creation: Lord of the worlds (lxxxiv, 29; a very frequent expression) in His unquestioned omnipotence and His forgiving benevolence, is found in all periods of the Ḳurʾān alike, with varying shades of expression and emphasis.

The quality of omnipotence is the first enunciated. He is "the Lord of Easts and Wests" (lxx, 49; cf. lxxiii, 9); but it is precisely this which encourages the believer to see in Him a protector, a surety (***wakīl***, lxxiii, 9) and to exalt that power of mercy and forgiveness on which the text is so insistent. The names ***raḥmān***, ***raḥīm***, ***ghafūr***, ***ghaffār***, benefactor, merciful, forgiving, everforgiving, are among those which occur most frequently. What is first brought into notice is, on the one hand, the inscrutable omnipotence of God and, on the other hand, the total and trusting committal of oneself which is demanded by night, by way of response to this omnipotence, of all who devote themselves to the Lord. A text of the Medinan period (v, 3) makes the "committal to God" (*islām*) into the religion itself, but already in the eschatological sūras of the first period, the believer is exhorted to entrust himself to the gracious bounty (*niʿma*, xciii, 11) of the Lord. God is the refuge and the guide (xciii, 6-7); the whole of sūra lv (of the second Meccan period, according to Grimme; with later additions, according to Bell) proclaims the wrath of the Merciful, Lord of majesty (*djalāl*) and generosity (*ikrām*), against those who reject His benefactions.

(B) *The Signs and Names of Allāh.*

Thus God, through His prophets, is continually revealing to man the unexpressed mystery of His

ineffability, in which man is asked to believe, and His explicit sovereignty over all creation, and the transcendental perfections by which it is made known. For He is at the same time "the First and the Last, the Manifest (*ẓāhir*) and the Hidden (*bāṭin*)" (lvii 3).

In the first place, man, since he has received a revelation about them, must be able to recognize the "signs of the universe", which are "signs of God" (*āyāt Allāh*). So wonderful indeed are the "unfailing" (lxvii, 3-4) order and harmony of the world, that man is in danger of worshipping them. But he must recognize that there is nothing imperishable in this order and harmony. As happened to the prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham); man's reason, guided by God, must grasp, in the perishable and the mutable, the incontrovertible evidence for the necessary and transcendent existence of the Creator. "To reflect", "to reason about the signs of the universe", is therefore a religious duty for man's reason, imposed on it by the Ḳur'ān (ii, 118, 164; iii, 190; vi, 99; xiii, 2-3; xxiv, 43-54, etc.). The Ḳur'ān also teaches it that God alone abides. "All perishes, save His Face" (xxviii, 88; cf. xxxix, 68; lv, 26-27, etc.). At the declared eschatological Hour, God, creator and therefore master of life and death, will annihilate all things, subsequently re-creating everything at the great Gathering (*ḥas͟hr*, 1, 44; lix, 2). The wonderful order and harmony of the present cosmos are presented as an invitation to prostrate oneself before the Power Which creates and annihilates (xxxii, 15; xli, 37).

God's perfections, which cause His transcendence to blaze forth in relation to this order of the world, are the same as those which God reveals. They are essentially the Names (*asmā'*) which He gives to Himself. "He has the most beautiful Names" (vii, 180; xvii, 110; xx, 8). Muslim piety has carefully picked out from the text of the Ḳur'ān, supplemented by tradition, the 99 "most beautiful Names" and has never ceased to memorize them and meditate on them. Without wishing to give here an exhaustive analysis of them (see complete list under AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ), we may say that the following are the main themes which emerge (we shall confine ourselves to a single reference for each, generally the oldest):

God is One and Unique (cf. above), the Living, the Self-subsisting (*al-ḥayy al-ḳayyūm*, xx, 111), the Real, the Truth (*al-ḥaḳḳ*, xx, 114, frequent), the Sublime (*al-ʿaẓīm*, lxix, 33, frequent), the High and Great (*al-ʿalī al-kabīr*, xxxi, 30), Light and "Light on Light" (*nur, nūr ʿalā nūr*, xxiv, 35), the Sage (*al-ḥakīm*, lxxvi, 30, frequent), the Omnipotent (*al-ʿazīz*, lxxxv, 8, frequent; *ḳadīr*, lxvii, 1, frequent), absolute Creator (*badīʿ*, vi, 101), creating the world (*k͟hāliḳ*, xl, 62), Who does not cease to create (*k͟hallāḳ*, xxxvi, 81), Who is unlike all creation ("Naught is like unto Him" *laysa ka-mit͟hlihī s͟hay'*, xlii, 11), the Hearing, the Clearsighted, the Omniscient (*al-samīʿ, al-baṣīr, al-ʿalīm*, e.g. xlii, 11-12, frequent), the Witness (*s͟hāhid*, lxxxv, 9, frequent), the Bountiful (*al-wahhāb*, li, 58), the Benefactor (*al-raḥmān*, lxxviii, 37, very frequent), the Surety (*al-walī*, xlv, 19), the Protector (*al-wakīl*, lxxiii, 9, frequent), the Generous (*al-karīm*, xliv, 49), the Merciful (*al-raḥīm*, lii, 28, very frequent), the Forgiver (*g͟hafūr*, lxxvi, 20, frequent) Who is ever forgiving (*g͟haffār*, xx, 84), the Compassionate (*al-ra'ūf*, iii, 30), the Benevolent (*al-wadūd*, lxxxv, 14), the "Best of Judges" (*k͟hayr al-ḥākimīn*, x, 109), Who punishes in all strictness and rewards in all fairness and forbearance.

A good many of these terms occur again and again. Stress may be laid on one or other of them, now in the Meccan period, now in the Medinan, but nearly all are at least recalled in sūras of both periods. Often the text proceeds by fulgurating affirmations, "with no hollow", "facing" the believer, like God Himself (*ṣamad*, cxii, 2); often too by allusive parables, which insist and "prove" by the literal veracity with which their parabolic mode of expression is then invested.

A single example: the divine omniscience extends to the smallest action of the smallest created thing. These are the words employed: "No leaf falls but He knows it; there is no seed in the darknesses of the earth, no green shoot or dry but it is inscribed in the perspicuous Book" (vi, 59). Or again: "No female conceives or brings forth without His knowledge" (xxxv, 11). The mind is thus powerfully disposed to recognize the full presence of God in every human deed, in every act of the human heart. He is the creator of every act, whatever it be (xxxvii, 96); He is, in a special way, close to the man He has created (cf. xxxiv, 50); He knows "that which his soul suggests to him"; He is "closer to him than his jugular vein" (1, 16).

(C) *Two groups of verses.*

Some remarks on two groups of verses which, in the course of the centuries, were to give rise to numerous controversies:

1. *Retribution and the divine decree.* God's sovereign omnipotence becomes explicit in His wishes for the world. It is affirmed in his efficacious decree (*ḳadar*), and man, like all creatures, belongs to Him. But at the same time it is affirmed as the omnipotence of the just Judge, the equitable Rewarder, and man must know that every one of his acts will carry its own weight,—of recompense for the good, of punishment for the bad (e.g. ii, 286).

It has been too often and too readily stated that the Ḳur'ān contains a mass of "contradictory" verses. The truth is that there is no contradiction at all, but contrasted and complementary affirmations, with the aim of producing the required attitude towards God in the heart of man.

The divine omnipotence is indeed monolithic. "God has no account to render", as Muslim tradition repeatedly says. But here we must be careful of the Ḳur'ānic manner of preaching. The Ḳur'ān poses neither the theological problem of predestination (it does not *pose* any *problem*), nor the philosophical problem of the nature of human freedom: it evokes the mystery of the relations between creature and Creator. Nor does it pose the problem of the nature of evil. "It is God Who has created you and all that you have done" (xxxvii, 96), an affirmation frequently applied later to every human act. Nevertheless, "every good which comes to you comes from God, every ill which comes to you comes from you" (iv, 79). There is nothing here to demand an acceptance of the positive nature of evil.

The verses of the Ḳur'ān tirelessly proclaim that nothing escapes God, His will and His power, and equally that God is the Bringer of retribution. In a way, the idea of retribution is even dominant. Reward is promised to the just, and punishment to "him who turns away" (xcii, 16). The damned are those "who refuse the help" of God (cvii, 7). —In his Index, R. Blachère (iii, 1223) notices between two and three hundred passages which promise retribution in the measure of one's works. On the Day of Judgment, every soul will be judged

by what it has acquired (xl, 17): "whoever has done an atom's weight of good shall see it; whoever has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it' (xcix, 7-8). The necessity of "doing good", of "ordering what is right" (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf*) and "forbidding what is wrong" (*al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) is one of the first commands; the very first, one might say, since the pre-eminently good act is the declaration of faith in the One, the sincere *islām*. This command is not addressed only to each man, but, in precise terms, to the community of believers as such (iii, 104, 110, etc.). On the temporal plane of the fulfilment of the divine decrees in the contingent world, man is recompensed according to his works and his deserts.

But on the intemporal plane of the immutable decrees, a shift of perspective occurs. Nothing can have any effect on God's Will (*irāda*) or on His Command (*amr*). The elect are the chosen of God. "He bestows His favour on whomsoever He wishes" (iii, 73-74; v, 54; lvii, 21; lxii, 4); it is He "Who brings low and raises up" (iii, 25). And the great affirmation: "He turns astray whom He wishes, and guides whom He wishes" (xiv, 4; xvi, 93; xxxv, 8; vi, 39, 125),—and he whom God sends astray can have neither surety nor guide (xvii, 97; xviii, 17; xxxix, 29, 37; vii, 186; xiii, 33). Twice there occurs this image of specifically Semitic construction, so close to Isaiah vi, 9-10: "We have placed veils over their hearts, that they may not understand, and a dullness into their ears" (Ḳurʾān, xviii, 57); and "he whom God, knowingly, has sent astray, whose hearing and whose heart He has sealed, and on whose eyes He has set a blindfold..." (xlv, 23).

The first of these two texts (xviii, 57) in fact throws into sharp relief the divine action which seals hearing and heart, and the wrongness of the one who has turned away from the signs of the Lord. The second (xlv, 23), closes with a summons to reform. Verse xlv, 19, states that the wrongdoers are left to themselves ("they have no patrons but themselves"), while God is the patron of the righteous: thus according with iv, 79, quoted above.

The responsibility of man, the omnipotence and the peremptory decree of God: these two lines of thought combine in the ultimate affirmation of the Judgment. This way of access to the mystery was one which presented itself most forcefully to Muslim speculation in later ages.

2. *Anthropomorphic verses.* The other group of verses is one whose picturesque style, if taken absolutely literally, would seem to ascribe human attributes or acts to God. These are the *mutas̲h̲ābih*, "ambiguous", verses, as distinct from the *muḥkam* verses, whose sense is clearly established.—Thus: God dwells on His throne (xx, 5; lvii, 4, etc.); He "comes" (movement in place, lxxxix, 22); the hand of God (xlviii, 10; li, 47); His face (e.g. lv, 27); His eyes (xi, 37; lii, 48; liv, 14) etc. Our reason for noting these texts is that they were later the object of exegetic and theological dispute.

(D) *Conclusion.*

The Ḳurʾānic preaching about God is entirely centred on its affirmations of Oneness and Unity, of transcendence and subsistence, of absolute perfections. The forbidding inaccessibility of the divine nature is resolutely maintained; God, omniscient and "near", can be known only by His Word, by the Names, the attributes and acts of His paramount Sovereignty, which He Himself reveals.

It is indeed in His Sovereignty over every creature that Allāh is manifested. The attributes of omniscience and omnipotence relate to God's outward-directed knowledge and power. The declaration of Oneness pertains to the oneness of the divine nature, the godhead as such. God in Himself remains the unexpressed mystery, *g̲h̲ayb*.

For Islam, the name *Allāh* is indeed, as Macdonald said (EI[1]), the proper name of God; in that it expresses the sole and incommunicable godhead.

Ought one to describe the God of this preaching as a personal God? This question has no place emong the problems of Muslim theologians. It is weightily posed by the speculations of western students of Islam (cf. Macdonald's article, quoted above, in which he speaks of the "overwhelming personality" of Allāh): God, personal because living, creating, acting on the world, speaking to men. But never will Islam say that Allāh is *s̲h̲akh̲ṣ* or *s̲h̲akh̲ṣī*. They shrink from the assertion made by western scholars; indeed, they take positive exception to it. There is a twofold misunderstanding here. (a) *Vocabulary. S̲h̲akh̲ṣ* has not undergone, in philosophical Arabic, the same shift as the Greek ὑπόστασις or the Latin *persona*. *S̲h̲akh̲ṣ* always connotes the individual silhouette. There is no better term for the concept of "person"; moreover, it is well suited to the created person, but suggests a limiting individualization. (b) The very *concept* as applied to God: generally, the Muslim will feel loth to trammel with it the inaccessibility of the divine nature.

But the misunderstanding disappears if we make it plain that "personal God" implies, in the Indo-European languages, an absolute perfection: God, subsisting in Himself, incommunicable in His purpose of godhead. God, personal because perfect and the source of perfection, infinitely distinct from every creature, and the object of faith and worship. Now this is precisely what the Ḳurʾān teaches. If it leaves God's inmost Life in its own mystery, it is so as to insist on the Word communicated to man through the prophets, and on the inner attitude demanded of the believer.—God, sovereign Judge, just and terrible (*d̲j̲abbār*, lix, 23), is also, by the same token, protecting, beneficent, merciful. Faced with the incommunicable mystery, the Ḳurʾān demands of the believer, in respect of Allāh, reverent fear (*taḳwā*, ix, 109) and, at the same time, piety (*birr*), the act of which is the same as the act of reverent fear (ii, 189), gratitude (*s̲h̲ukr*; in the verbal form: "you may perchance be grateful", as the Book aften says, especially in the Medinan period), confidence (*tawakkul*; frequently in the verbal form: "have confidence in God", e.g. iv, 81).

The "God-fearing" of the Ḳurʾān bow down before the inscrutable omnipotence. For the damned alone, i.e., "those who have rebelled" (lxxix, 37), this fear becomes dread of punishment (cf. lxxv 25). The chosen "those who believe in the Mystery, perform the prayer, and give [in alms] of their goods" (ii, 3), those "who seek after His Face", to use the beautiful expression so often employed (e.g. xcii, 20), find in Him their protector (*wakīl*) and guide (*hādī*); they find with Him the supreme Refuge (*maʾāb*, e.g. iii, 14; lxxviii, 39).

II. THE DEVELOPMENT IN TRADITION AND KALĀM.

*In section iii we shall sketch the most notable attitudes of the Muslim schools concerning God. For the moment, we seek to devote ourselves to the body of problems and the axiology of Sunnite theology.

The traditional science which deals with divine matters is the *ʿilm al-kalām* or *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*, roughly "theology" or "defensive apology" (see below

for certain criticisms raised in Islam against its legitimacy). We shall take it in its established form, assuming a knowledge of its historical origins, the influences it underwent, the formation of the various schools (see KALĀM). A reminder: 1) under the Umayyads: the Murdji'ites, Ḳadarites, Djabbārites; 2) the Muʿtazilites, originally political (1st/7th century), then doctrinal (2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries), who triumphed under Maʾmūn but were subsequently regarded as "heterodox" for centuries; 3) from the 4th/10th century onward, the official Ashʿarite and Ḥanafite-Māturīdite lines.—The conclusions vary with the diverse attitudes towards the relation of reason (*ʿaḳl*) and the Law (*sharʿ*), or of reason (*ʿaḳl*) and tradition (*naḳl*, *taḳlīd*), or of rational (*ʿaḳlī*) and authoritarian (*samʿī*) proofs.

The *ʿilm al-kalām* came to sustain itself by means of two other "religious sciences": 1) the science of *ḥadīth* provided texts regarded as authoritative proofs, which took up one theme or another of the Ḳurʾānic teaching, in a picturesque, even mythical, manner (cf. the six "authentic" collections, *ṣaḥīḥ*, particularly the *kitāb al-tawḥīd* of Bukhārī's *corpus*). Numerous traditions relate, on the one hand, to God's mercy and forgiveness (e.g. "My mercy outweighs My wrath or takes precedence of it", Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 169, 175); on the other hand, to His absolute kingship ("I am the King; where are the kings of the earth?", id., 167, 181); on the one hand, to human responsibility (texts in Bukhārī or Muslim, chap. *Ḳadar*), on the other hand, to the preordaining decree (e.g. these oft-quoted ḥadīths: "All the hearts of mankind are like one single heart between two of the fingers of the Merciful", and: "These for heaven, and I care not; those for hell, and I care not"). Many *ḥadīths* had great influence on the formation of current notions and the popular attitude concerning God.

2) The science of *tafsīr*, or exegetic interpretation, played a leading part in the use and understanding of those Ḳurʾānic verses which speak of God, particularly the anthropomorphic passages.

Ḥadīth and *tafsīr* were employed in various ways by the schools of *kalām*.

If we refer to the problems of the *kalām* (which is, in its essentials, of Muʿtazilite origin), we find two great principles directly concerning God: 1) the principle of *tawḥīd* or divine unity; 2) the principle of *ʿadl*, of the justice of God in connection with the requital of human actions. As against the "free-thinkers" of their day, the Muʿtazilites had presented themselves as "the people of unity and justice", *ahl al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*. These problems continued to inspire later schools. Only their titles changed. The great classic manuals of the Ashʿarites and Māturīdites (e.g. *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* of Djurdjānī, *Maḳāṣid* of Taftāzānī, etc.) called the first principle *wudjūd Allāh wa ṣifātuhu* ("the existence and attributes of God"), and the second *afʿāluhu taʿālā* ("the actions of the Exalted One"). Here are the main questions raised in connection with both.

(A) *Tawḥīd*.

1. *The Existence of God* (*wudjūd Allāh*).

All schools agree in quoting those Ḳurʾānic verses (cf. above) which bid the reason to "reflect on the signs of the universe", and to rise thereby to the affirmation of the Creator. But: (a) according to the Muʿtazilites, there is involved in this an obligation inherent in the nature of reason, prior to the promulgation of the Law; (b) according to the Māturīdites, reason should, by rights, have been able to attain to the knowledge of its Creator, but was actually brought to it by the promulgation of the Law; (c) for the Ashʿarites, the employment of the reason and of reasoning in order to rise to God is a purely legal (revealed) obligation. Cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, Cairo 1325/1907, i, 251 ff. In other words: if the Law had not laid down the obligation, human reason could never have attained to the existence of God (cf. al-Ghazzālī, *al-Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo, n.d., 77-8). The affirmation of the existence of God, for the Ashʿarite school as a whole, is therefore the result of a rational (*ʿaḳlī*) argument, prescribed by an argument of authority (here, *sharʿī*).

Whatever the nature of this obligation, the schools are as one with regard to the rational argument itself. What is involved is a proof of the existence of God *a novitate mundi*, linked with the entirely contingent and perishable character of the world, as the Ḳurʾān teaches and reason can convince itself. For the *kalām*, the temporal beginning and end of the world are demonstrable truths. There is then an inference (*istidlāl*) which proceeds, with no universal middle term, from this utter inadequacy of the created to the necessary (*wādjib*) existence of the Creator, Who alone exists from all eternity and alone is self-subsisting (truths taught by the Ḳurʾān and also accessible to the reason, *ʿaḳliyyāt*). This inference, in the early days of the *kalām* (Muʿtazilites as well as Ashʿarites) was set out as a piece of reasoning in two terms. Among the later *mutakallimūn*, more directly imbued with the Aristotelian logic, it frequently took the shape of a syllogistic deduction (both forms are found in al-Djuwaynī). The argument is given in all the manuals as a "decisive" (*ḳaṭʿī*) proof. Only rarely, under influences proceeding from the *falsafa*, does it take the form of the proof *a contingentia mundi* in the strict sense. The world is *muḥdath*, and in the treatises of *kalām* this term stays very close to its etymological sense of "begun" in time (see the works of Wensinck and S. de Beaurecueil, cited in the bibliography, on the proofs of the existence of God).

2. *The Attributes of God* (*ṣifāt Allāh*).

(a) *Relations between essence and attributes*. This was one of the most controversial topics. Some old traditionists held fast to the letter of the texts and set themselves against all research that might be called rational. Their opponents, exaggerating the rigidity of the position they were attacking, called them *mudjassima* ("corporealists", who give bodily attributes to God), or again, contemptuously, *ḥashwiyya*. They accused them of *tashbīh*: comparing God to the created.

In their anxiety to purify the concept of *tawḥīd*, the Muʿtazilites extolled, on the contrary, *tanzīh*, "withdrawal", the *via remotionis* which they applied with extreme rigour: one must deny God every created thing, as the Ḳurʾān commands. The Djahmites, disciples of the Djabbārite Djahm b. Ṣafwān, had practically denied the existence of the attributes, God being known only as an inscrutable omnipotence. The Muʿtazilite *tanzīh*, on the other hand, took the theistic standpoint of a ruling God. They recognized the divine attributes of knowledge, power, speech, etc., but asserted that they were "identical with the essence", a distinction which was, for them, hardly more than nominal.

The "orthodox" schools likewise practised *tanzīh*, i.e., they denied God any resemblance to anything:

He is neither body nor substance (*djawhar*, in the sense of bounded substance) nor accidents, nor is He localized, etc. (It must be noted that the Karrāmites had recognized God as substance, by which they understood self-existent).—The Ashʿarite reform, in the name of the "golden mean", held itself equally aloof from the Muʿtazilite tendency to prove everything rationally, and from the literalism of the *mudjassima*. This was the famous principle *bilā kayf wa lā tashbīh*, "without 'how' or comparison". It accused the Muʿtazilite *tanzīh* of amounting to the same as *taʿṭīl*, divesting the attributes of all reality and making of God no more than an empty concept. The Ashʿarites, for their part, while recognizing the entire reality of the attributes, since the Ḳurʾān informs us of them, yet affirmed that this reality can in no way compromise the perfect divine Unity. Simultaneously opposing Muʿtazilites and *falāsifa*, and following al-Ghazzālī, they later arrived at this approximation: "the attributes subsist in the divine essence; they are not God and are nothing other than He".

A kindred solution was advanced by certain Ashʿarites who remained faithful to the conceptualist theory of "modes" (*aḥwāl*) of the Muʿtazilite Abū Hāshim: e.g. al-Djuwaynī (5th/11th century); on this point the so-called "modern" school (6th-7th/12th-13th century) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Djurdjānī, etc. was at variance with him. The "mode" (*ḥāl*) is an attribute which is attached to an existing thing but is itself qualified neither by existence nor by non-existence: that is how the relation between the divine essence and the attributes is to be understood.

This difficult theological problem was served by a philosophical instrument which went on striving to improve itself, and making progress, though not without occasionally stumbling. Thus, at the beginning of the Ḥanafite-Māturīdite line, we find in the *Fiḳh Akbar II* (text of the time of Ashʿarī), that God is a "thing" (*shayʾ*). Much though this statement might later be ridiculed by some of the *mutakallimūn*, influenced by Greek thought, as used by the ancients it is clearly to be taken in the sense of "existing reality": "Allāh is thing, not as other things but in the sense of positive existence" (*Fiḳh Akbar II*, Art. 4; cf. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 190). It was in this same sense that the term "body" or "bodily substance" (*djism*) was used in speaking of God; this practice of certain Karrāmites and Ḥanbalites was noted by Macdonald (EI[1]).

The Māturīdites on the whole preferred not to distinguish God's attributes from Himself but to say: "God is knowing and has a knowledge which is attributed to Him in the sense of eternity", etc., thus laying stress on the divine Names (the Knowing, Willing, Powerful, Speaking, etc.).

(*b*) *List of attributes*. The guiding principle was to affirm no attribute not expressly indicated in the Ḳurʾān: the principle of *tafwīḍ*, "leaving it to God" to elucidate through scripture. The majority of the doctors of *kalām*, however, considered that it was not being false to the text to pass from the present participle, for example, to the noun, in accordance with the laws of language. Thus there evolved, in the course of the centuries, a list of attributes, enumerated in no particular order, to begin with (so in the *Ibāna* of al-Ashʿarī), and then, especially from al-Djuwaynī onward, sorted out and classified.

The order adopted, indeed the appellations themselves, vary with the different schools (cf. ṢIFA). To adhere to one commonly-held view, we offer the following list: 1) attribute of essence (*ṣifat al-dhāt*): *wudjūd*, existence; in the case of God, not distinguished from essence; 2) "essential" (*dhātī* or *nafsī*) attributes, sometimes divided into (a) "negative" attributes which emphasize the divine transcendance: eternity (*ḳidam*), permanence (*baḳāʾ*), dissimilarity to the created (*al-mukhālafa li ʾl-ḥawādith*), self-subsistence (*ḳiyām bi ʾl-nafsi*),—and (b) *maʿānī* attributes, "adding a concept to the essence": power (*ḳudra*), will (*irāda*), knowledge (*ʿilm*), life (*ḥayāt*), speech (*kalām*), hearing (*samʿ*), sight (*baṣar*), perception (*idrāk*: some denied that this was an attribute); 3) attributes of "qualification" (*maʿnawiyya*), the *maʿānī* attributes taken verbally: having power, willing, knowing ...; 4) attributes of action (*ṣifāt al-afʿāl*), designating not an intrinsic quality but a "possibility" of God, which God may or may not do: visibility (*ruʾyat Allāh*), creation (*khalḳ*), actual creation of the contingent world (the Māturīdite *takwīn*), command (*amr*), decree and predetermination (*ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ*), whose relations with the divine knowledge and will vary according to the school, consent (*riḍā*: especially in Māturīdism), etc.

The Ashʿarites and Māturīdites agree in taking the *maʿānī* attributes as eternal, even if their object is contingent; against the Muʿtazilites who maintained, for example (school of Baṣra), that God has a "contingent" knowledge, with a beginning, of free human acts. On the other hand, Ashʿarites and Māturīdites diverge over the "eternal" or "begun" character of the attributes of action: the Māturīdites generally regard them as eternal.

All but four of the attributes depend on the *ʿaḳliyyāt*: they are taught by the Ḳurʾān but human reason can "prove" them. The other four, visibility, speech, hearing and sight ("perception" is sometimes included), depend on the *samʿiyyāt* and are knowable only because they have been revealed.

(c) *Two controversial attributes*. The "vision of God" (attribute of visibility") and Speech were hotly debated.

The vision of God (*ruʾyat Allāh*) is understood as being through the eyesight, *bi ʾl-abṣār*. The pious traditionists accepted it absolutely, interpreting in this sense Ḳurʾān, lxxv, 22-23, and numerous *ḥadīths*. The Muʿtazilites denied it no less absolutely, interpreting the Ḳurʾānic text by a philological *taʾwīl* (cf. below). Ashʿarites and Ḥanafite-Māturīdites upheld the vision of God, but emphasizing the *bilā kayf*: every man will see God with his eyesight on the Day of Judgment, the elect will see Him (transiently) in Paradise,—but they will not see Him as one sees an object spatially situated and limited, and it is impossible to specify the manner of this vision (*Ibāna*, Cairo 1348 h., 14, *Fiḳh Akbar II*, 17).

The "traditional" (*samʿī*) attribute of Speech is of major importance, since by means of it God manifests Himself to men. The Muʿtazilites, precisely because of this manifestation in time, made of it a contingent "created" Speech (whence the thesis of the created, *makhlūḳ*, Ḳurʾān). The Ḳurʾān *is* the Speech of God, but the latter is contingent. The Ashʿarites, taking up that great affirmation which had earned Ibn Ḥanbal imprisonment and flogging, saw in it essential (*nafsī*) Speech, subsisting by the very existence of God. Hence the thesis of the "uncreated Ḳurʾān" (*ghayr makhlūḳ*, *Ibāna*, 20-22). But the school distinguished between it and its "created" expression: the Book and its recitation by human lips. In the 8/14th century, Ibn Taymiyya, meditating on and reviving the faith of the "pious ancients" (*salaf*), found Muʿtazilites and Ashʿarites equally

wanting: he reaffirmed the essential Speech of God, which expresses Him and subsists in Him, and declared that this Speech, in its mystery, *is* Torah, Gospel, Ḳur'ān (*Fatāwā*, Cairo 1329 h., v, 265-7).

3. *Mutas͟hābih Verses.*

The veneration of the Ḳur'ānic text, coupled with the inscrutable mystery of the One God, soon confronted Muslim thought with the case of the "ambiguous" anthropomorphic (*mutas͟hābih*) verses, which apparently liken God to the created. Are they to be accepted in pure faith, or should they be interpreted (*ta'wīl*) by exegesis (*tafsīr*)?

(a) The ancient traditionists took these verses at their face value. But it would be idle to bring against them an unqualified accusation of "corporealism", as their opponents did. The As͟hʿarites themselves declared valid the attitude of the "ancients" who, eschewing all *ta'wīl* or interpretation, took refuge in the *tafwīḍ* or committal to God. God sits on His Throne (*istiwā'*), descends towards the earth, has eyes, has a hand, because the text says so. But no one knows the acceptation given by God to these terms: this attitude was attributed to Mālik b. Anas in particular. It is hardly necessary to add that an attitude like this became "corporealist" only insofar as it tried to conceptualize itself and to justify itself discursively, but not insofar as it interiorizes itself in adherence to faith.

(b) But the Muʿtazilite schools, for their part, wished to justify dialectically the Muslim notion of God, in face of the Greek-inspired "God of the philosophers". On the one hand the emphasis placed on the Oneness of God, on the other their confidence in the rational criterion (*mīzān ʿaḳlī*), led the Muʿtazilites to an extensive use of *ta'wīl*. Their representative in *ta'wīl* was al-Zamak͟hs͟harī, who adopted for his own purposes the philological method of al-Ṭabarī. In this way "shining countenances, looking at their Lord" became, as al-D͟jubbā'ī suggested, "beautiful countenances, aspiring to the bounty of their Lord": the vision of God could be denied without contradicting the Ḳur'ān.—Recourse was had to figures of speech, as well as to philology. The *mīt͟hāḳ*, the covenant granted by God to the race of Adam in pre-eternity (vii, 172) was regarded as a metaphor (*mad͟jāz*), as were all the anthropomorphic passages.

(c) The first As͟hʿarites reacted against this use of reason in *tafsīr*. For them, the anthropomorphic terms, including the sitting on the throne and the motion in space, are just the expression of actions and attributes which are consistent with the divine Majestry but of which we can know neither the nature nor the manner, and which have nothing in common with the corresponding human actions or attributes. This was the *bilā kayf* attitude, often confused with that of the "ancients" and advanced by the master, al-As͟hʿarī himself.

(d) Later, under an influence picked up from the Muʿtazilites and especially from the *falāsifa* opposition, another attitude, known as that of the "moderns", was admitted into the *kalām*. *Ta'wīl* was permitted. Thus al-D͟juwaynī, Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, etc. The "hand" of God was interpreted as "the protection extended over mankind", His "eyes" denote "the intensity of His providence and watchfulness", etc. (al-Rāzī, *Kitāb Asās al-Taḳdīs*), Cairo 1327 h., 149). A metaphorical interpretation, into which allegory may creep, if need be, and which comes very close to the Muʿtazilite legacy, with the following differences: 1) the attitude of the "ancients" is regarded as valid (cf. *Asās al-Taḳdīs*, last chapter); 2) only the specifically anthropomorphic passages are accepted as metaphors; where the "apparent" (*ẓāhir*) sense would lead to a real impossibility: this was the position which Ṭabarī had already taken up. But the vision of God, and the metahistorical fact of the covenant, were maintained in their strict sense, in conformity with the As͟hʿarite dogmatic.

(B) *The actions of God* (*afʿāluhu taʿālā*).

(The problem of justice and retribution).

The Ḳur'ān teaches the two great truths of divine omnipotence and human responsibility, good works rewarded, acts of "disobedience" punished. Muslim thinkers strove tirelessly to find the solution to this apparent conflict. This was the subject of the first controversies, as early as Damascus, between D͟jabarites, Ḳadarites and Murd͟ji'ites. The great schools of *kalām* inherited it from them.

1. The Muʿtazilites affirm human freedom: man acts by a power (*ḳudra*) which God has once and for all created in him. God knows these free actions; He does not create them. The school of Baṣra insisted that He knows them only from the moment of their production, by an attribute of knowledge which in this respect is contingent, "begun".—But these actions are rewarded or punished by God in all fairness. He is the just Judge, incapable of not acting for a purpose, with a fixed aim in view. There is a deliberate order in the universe (the wonderful order of which the Ḳur'ān speaks), an objective order: and therefore there are intermediate aims subordinated to a final aim. There are secondary causes (*asbāb*) which act efficaciously on their effects, and there is a good and an evil (literally beautiful, ugly, *ḥasan*, *ḳabīḥ*) in the nature of things, prior to the elucidation brought by the revealed Law (*s͟harʿ*). God is bound to do the best (*aṣlaḥ*). He does not want evil and does not order it; His will (*irāda*) and His command (*amr*) are identical. Evil is created by man, just as he creates the moral denominations of his acts, since he creates (*k͟halaḳa*) all his actions, good and bad.—The two Muʿtazilite groups, of Baṣra and Kūfa, parted company over the concept of the "best" which God always accomplishes, and over its extension.

2. The As͟hʿarite school revolted against this attempt at "justifying" God. God "does not come within the grasp of the intellect". He is the just Judge *because* He does what He wishes. "No obligation for God". What He does is the best, not because He is so obliged, but because He does it. Moral good and evil have no existence prior to the positive divine Law. "If God were to reverse the decision, and to declare good (*ḥasan*) what He has declared bad (*ḳabīḥ*), and bad what He has declared good, there would be no impediment" (al-D͟jurd͟jānī, *S͟harḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 182).—Al-G͟hazzālī and al-Rāzī, it is true, recognize a "rational" (*ʿaḳlī*) meaning in the "beautiful good" and the "ugly-evil": only on the plane of being, for al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 147; *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, Cairo 1353 h,, 249); on the plane of the sensible qualities inherent in things, for al-G͟hazzālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 67).

And God, as the Ḳur'ān says, "guides whom He wishes, turns astray whom He wishes". Everything is fixed by His predetermination (*ḳaḍā'*), according to His eternal Will (*irāda*), encompassing in its generality the totality of things,—while His decree (*ḳadar*), existentialized by His command (*amr*), is

an "attribute of contingent action", particularizing in time the things that are "begun", as they pass from non-being to being. As al-Djurdjānī says (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, 1845, 181), "*ḳadar* is the relation of the essential Will to things in their individual realization"; and again: "*Ḳadar*: the passing of possible from non-being into being, one by one, in conformity with *ḳaḍāʾ*. *Ḳaḍāʾ* is of the order of pre-eternity (*azal*), *ḳadar* depends on the present order of things" (ibid.). It follows that one must distinguish between *irāda* and *amr*; it is the latter which is directly linked with man's obedience. God wishes the impiety of the infidel and creates it in him, yet commands him to believe.

For man's "free" action, his *ikhtiyār*, is only a special case of more general principles. God is the creator of human acts, whatever they be. The text "God is creator of all that you do" is interpreted in the sense of a creation *ex nihilo*. True, man has a feeling of his own responsibility. This means that God sets down to his merit or demerit the actions he performs, as the Ḳurʾān expressly states, and that He rewards or punishes him, as promised. Man receives the "acquisition", the attribution of his acts (*kasb*, *iktisāb*: cf. Ḳurʾān, ii, 281; lii, 21, etc.). At the end of the last century, Bādjūrī found this formula necessary: "man is a bound being, in the shape of a free being" (*Ḥāshiya ʿala ʾl-Djawhara*, Cairo 1352/1934, 62). On the empirical level, man must therefore continue to act as though he were free. But he must know that everything comes to him from God. If he acts well, it is because God in His Mercy has so decreed; if he acts badly, it is because God has so willed in His justice.

This negation of ontological liberty accords with the negation of the efficacy of the second causes (*asbāb*): as against the "reprehensible innovation" (*bidʿa*) of the Muʿtazilite thesis (efficacy of the *asbāb*, according to a "power" created by God), and against the absolute determinism of the causes ("cause" here rendered by *ʿilla*) taught in the *falsafa*, a thesis tainted with *kufr* (impiety). (Cf. al-Sanūsī, *Muḳaddimāt*, Algiers 1908, 108-109; al-Bādjūrī, op. cit., 58).—For the Ashʿarites, there is nothing efficacious about the second causes, because there is no conservation in being, on the part of God. There are discontinuous series of instantaneous creations, temporal existentializations of the eternal *ḳaḍāʾ*. At every instant (*waḳf*), God creates and re-creates the world and the impermanent whole, extrinsically unified, which is man, and every act of man. The world of "free" acts, as well as the cosmos in its entirety, is a discontinuous sequence of inscrutable divine decrees. The "causes" are but the channels, the tokens, of this divine Will, and the "laws" are a "custom of God" (*sunnat Allāh*; the expression is still found in Muhammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, Cairo 1353, 7). It is a custom which God can always modify: as He does, for example, when He decides to give proof, by miracles (*muʿdjizāt*), of the mission of His prophets.

For most of the Ashʿarites, though by no means all, there is an atomistic cosmology corresponding to the discontinuous view of things. Everything is but a concourse of atoms (*nuḳṭa*, *dharr*), connected, disconnected, reunited, by divine decree. If it is true that al-Bāḳillānī (4th/10th century) declared atomism to be "coessential" (Massignon) with the Ḳurʾānic dogmas, it would, in our opinion, be going too far to see in this the pre-eminently characteristic aspect of Ashʿarism, still more of all "orthodox" Muslim theology. This physico-theological atomism is actually of Muʿtazilite origin (Abu 'l-Hudhayl; cf. studies by Horten and S. Pines), and matched well then with the *ḳudra*, the "power" which man was recognized as having over his acts. An impressive line of Ashʿarites, al-Bāḳillānī al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī (with some modifications), the "frozen conservatism" of such men as al-Sanūsī, al-Laḳānī and al-Bādjūrī, remained faithful to the occasionalist atomism as being the most favoured explanation of the divine omnipotence over the world. But another line, influenced to some small extent by the disputed theses of the *falsafa*, passed over it in silence (al-Ghazzālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) or greatly modified it (al-Shahrastānī), although still affirming the usual theses on God's *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar* and the simple human *iktisāb*.

3. Some Māturīdites (Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī) were atomists. But we wish to lay particular emphasis on the more directly psychological aspect in which the Ḥanafite-Māturīdite school as a whole regarded the relations between the divine decree and human freedom. From the first, *ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ* were no longer related to the divine Will, but to the divine Knowledge;—and, counter to the Ashʿarites, it was *ḳadar* that was to be eternal, while *ḳaḍāʾ* was connected with existentialization in time. *Ḳadar* was therefore an eternal foreknowledge whereby God knows, from all eternity, the beautiful (good), ugly (bad) or harmful qualities of His creatures, while *ḳaḍāʾ* was God's existentialization of these same things, created with wisdom and perfection (cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-Farāʾiḍ*, 2nd ed., Cairo n.d., 28-30; and al-Bādjūrī, *Djawhara*, 66).

For the majority of the Māturīdites, there exists in things a "rational" good (beautiful) and evil (ugly), on the plane of being, not directly on the moral plane (a thesis already noted in connection with the Ashʿarite al-Rāzī). On the moral plane, it is God Who directly creates the basis (*aṣl*) of man's "free" actions, but it is man's power which makes their qualification (*ṣifa*) good or bad. (It should be noted that al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, 227, and al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 147 ascribe this thesis, whose tenor is Māturīdite, to al-Bāḳillānī). All that happens is willed by God; but only the good depends on His consent (*riḍā*). God is not bound to be just, as the Muʿtazilites say; His action is not just because He wishes it, as the Ashʿarites say: He is above all justice by reason of His knowledge and wisdom. He is unable not to be just.

4. We have no need to follow here the abundant efforts of the doctors of the *kalām* to strengthen their arguments and to resolve the objections that were constantly cropping up. Those who were not satisfied with the Ashʿarite theory of *kasb*, of acts imposed from outside, undertook more recondite analyses: thus we have the theory (common to Ashʿarites and Māturīdites) of *istiṭāʿa* [*q.v*] or "capacity" [for an act], created by God previously or simultaneously (cf. al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. Luciani, 1938, 122/196, 125/201; al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 18, etc.); the theory of *tawlīd* or *tawallud* [*q.v.*], which explains the "generation" of the transitive act by the divine occasionalism; and the theory of *tawfīḳ* [*q.v.*] or "facilitation" of acts, especially of good acts, faith and obedience, which is created in man by the divine favour (*luṭf*), and its (positive) opposite, *khidhlān* or divine "abandonment" ("creation in man of the power to disobey", according to a definition by the Māturīdite al-Taftāzānī, *Maḳāṣid*, Istanbul ed., 118), etc.

We can see that these efforts of minute analysis, applied to problems of great complexity, may well have looked like disheartening intellectual games, to those who wished to remain true to the sense of mystery of the "pious ancestors", and who refused to "prove dogma" (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, I, 34-35) as the later Ashʿarites aspired to doing. The *kalām* had its greatest opponents (apart from the *falāsifa* opposition) in the Ḥanbalite and Ẓāhirite systems of thought, which were wedded to tradition and mistrustful of the use of reason in matters of faith. Al-Ghazzālī too was very severe with the *kalām*, on occasion. Yet it is sometimes among these opponents that we find the most pertinent bases of analysis of the relations between the free act and the divine omnipotence.

Thus Ibn Ḥazm (4th-5th/10th-11th century) the Ẓāhirite, who denied any criteriological capacity to the reason (one can speak of Ibn Ḥazm's "nominalism", but it is a nominalism centred on the effective value of language and its internal laws), and who meant to hold fast to the precise declarations of the scriptures: he rejected the Ashʿarite *kasb*, since the texts, he said (*Fiṣal*, Cairo 1347 h., iii, 48) allow neither a "creation" by man of his acts (Muʿtazilite) nor an "acquisition" conferred by God (Ashʿarite); but his whole refutation, highly discursive, of the opposing theories (id., 51-52) is pertinently developed; while a valuable personal solution is outlined in connection with *istiṭāʿa* (id., 21-26 and 31).

Al-Ghazzālī, not indeed the Ghazzālī of the *Iḳtiṣād*, who confines himself to presenting or rather to improving the theses of the Ashʿarites, minimizing, moreover, the scope of the *kalām* (7-8), but the al-Ghazzālī of the *Tahāfut* and, above all, of the *Iḥyā'* (Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 219) carries out an extremely shrewd psychological analysis on the subject of "choice" and the relations of intellect and will in the free act. He defends an irrational concept of freedom and maintains that God alone, Who acts without motive (*ghayr gharaḍ*) is totally free, with a freedom conceived as a free human choice raised to the power of infinity. What the *mutakallimūn* called *kasb* is an "intermediate stage" (*Iḥyā'*, iv, 220) which is not at all a participation in the divine freedom. Man acts of necessity, in the sense that everything which happens in him comes not from him but from Another; he acts by free choice, in the sense that he is the place (*maḥall*) of the free act, which operates inevitably in him after the decision of the intellect, this last being only a matter of form. And al-Ghazzālī propounds this formula, which it would be well not to interpret loosely: "Man is forced into free choice" (*ibid.*).

This concern with analysis was to dwindle to vanishing point in the later manuals, which, from the 15th century onward, hardly did more than repeat the formulas of the past. At the end of the 19th century, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, wishing to free himself from the dialectic of the *kalām*, confined himself to saying: "As for seeking further, for wishing to reconcile God's omniscience and will, which are proved [by the Ḳur'ān and rational arguments], with the free activity of man, which is shown to us by the evidence [sensory, psychological]; that means seeking to penetrate the secrets of the divine decree. We are forbidden to plunge into this abyss and to concern ourselves with that which reason is scarcely capable of attaining" (*Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, 61).

III. VARIOUS MUSLIM ATTITUDES TO GOD.

Some pointers, chosen from the most characteristic:

1. *Ismāʿīlī Theology*. There is much that could be said about the "schismatic" theologies, of Khāridjite Islam on the one hand, of Shīʿite on the other. We shall confine ourselves to the Ismāʿīlī system, which had so many cultural contacts with the Sunnite majority. Integrated in it there is a twofold line of influence: Muʿtazilite (which continued to act on the Shīʿa after the condemnation of the Muʿtazilites in the time of Mutawakkil) and Neoplatonic (consequently, a certain influence from *falsafa*).

We know hardly anything of the very first phase of development or of its efforts to fix in an original direction such Muslim notions as *kun*, *ḳadar*, etc. Not until Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nasafī (4th/10th century) do we find these primitive conceptions given a new setting in a largely Neoplatonic, emanationist system. Speculation was pursued, and enriched by various trends, with Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, al-Kirmānī (in whom S.M. Stern has found a probable influence of Fārābī: theory of the ten Intellects). Through the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Ismāʿīlism was to influence many *falāsifa* and even Sunnite theologians, up to the time of the conflict waged by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in favour of Ibn Sīnā.

The emphasis is on the inscrutable mystery of God. A whole "negative theology" developed. No name or attribute can be attached to God in His essence. The perfect *tawḥīd* does not even attribute existence (Persian: *hasti*) to Him, and the Ḳur'ānic Names signify only that those who bear them come from Him (cf. Idrīs al-Ḳarsī, 8/14th century). The Command (*amr*), the Speech or Word (*kalima*), the Act of Creation (*ibdāʿ*), the Absolute Knowledge (*ʿilm maḥḍ*) are hypostatized. God is neither eternal nor existing at present. What is eternal is His Command and His Speech; what exists at present is the creation, which emanated from Him at His Command (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 395, quoted by G. Vajda, *Juda b. Nissim ibn Malka*, Paris 1954, iii, chap. 1). God remains, absolutely, the Unknowable (Nāṣir-i Khusraw). The *tashbīh-taʿṭīl* dilemma is absorbed into a *via negationis*, which refers the affirmation of the attributes to the Word or the Command, or to the First or Universal Intellect.—Al-Kirmānī identifies the First Intellect with the Word, and makes the *ibdāʿ* (Act of Creation) one of its attributes.

The emanationist system of al-Nasafī and his successors set up, in fact, the intermediary of the Universal Intellect, from which the world is produced by way of successive emanations. The echoes are heard in the *Fuṣūṣ fi 'l-Ḥikma* (which, after the researches of S. Pines, REI, 1951, 121-124, is to be ascribed not to al-Farābī but to Ibn Sīnā), and as far as al-Ghazzālī: the *muṭā'* of the *Mishkāt al-Anwār*.

Ismāʿīlī religious feeling attached itself to a group of Gnostic hypostases. The Will (*irāda*), Volition (*mashī'a*) and Command (*amr*) are sometimes "spiritual grades" above the First Intellect; most often, Will, Command and Speech are identified with one another, and the Universal or First Intellect is itself, as the "manifestation" of God, unknowable and ineffable, operated by His Command. These speculations were rooted in an allegorical *ta'wīl* ("hidden", *bāṭin*, meaning of Ḳur'ānic verses) and throve readily on Iranian myths. They were later interiorized by certain Shīʿite, and even Sunnite, Ṣūfīs.

2. *Falsafa.* It was in *falsafa* that the term *ilāhiyyāt* (taken up by *kalām*) gained currency as denoting the whole mass of questions concerning God. The body of problems was no longer that of the *kalām.* It came from Greece, particularly from Aristotle, but was pervaded, at least in eastern *falsafa* (especially al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā) by a considerable Neoplatonic inspiration (the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle*). Ḳur'ānic influence had some effect on this body of problems (e.g. the problem of the divine knowledge of individuals), but the Ḳur'ān had ceased to be the chief source. We do not therefore need to set out the questions in detail, as we did in the case of the *kalām.* We shall note merely that Ibn Sīnā demonstrates the existence of God by the proof *a contingentia mundi* in the strict sense (not overlooking the proof by the "idea of being", *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, 146). The more flexible philosophic instrument of the *falāsifa* enabled them to affirm the attributes, distinct from the divine essence, by a simple, reasonable (*ma'ānī*) distinction but with a basis in reality.

The Greek contribution led to an emphasis on the necessary acts of the divine essence. God is the Thought which thinks itself (cf. Aristotle), He is the supreme Good (cf. Plato), which necessarily loves itself. He is the Intelligence, exercising intellection on itself; He is Love and the object of love for Himself: *'aḳl, 'āḳil, ma'ḳūl, 'ishḳ, 'āshiḳ, ma'shūḳ* (cf. *Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1938, 243, 245; corresponding passages of the *Shifā'*, etc.). We should mention here an esoteric trend, still imperfectly known, which seems to take up several themes of the Isma'īlī *via negationis* (intermediaries: *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, al-Tawḥīdī; and, at an earlier date, the Isma'īlī tendency, pointed out by S. Pines, of certain recensions of the *Theology of Aristotle*; see *REI*, 1954, 7 ff.).

The *falāsifa* do not provide us with treatises on *'adl* or *af'āluhu ta'ālā.* Contrary to the *kalām*, they affirm (and set out to prove) the production of the world by way of necessary and deliberate emanation (cf. Ismā'īlism), and its temporal eternity: world without beginning or end, "possible" (*mumkin*) in itself, necessary by Another (*ab alio*); contingent in the order of essence, determined in the order of existence. Providence (*'ināya*) is the law of emanation itself, necessarily willed by the eternal thought of God.

The second causes cannot fail to act on their effects. There is no longer any problem of human freedom as against divine omnipotence (cf. *Nadjāt*, 302).

Whatever solution may be adopted as regards the personal survival of the soul, the Active Intellect (*'aḳl fa''āl*) appears as an intermediary between God and man, both in the order of knowledge and in the order of emanation. There is a hierarchy of discrete intellects, up to the First Caused; embracing these, there is the Universal Intellect. For Ibn Sīnā, there is a corresponding hierarchy of Souls, rejected by Ibn Rushd; the latter seems to have been the only one of the *falāsifa* to come back, by way of philosophy, to the divine knowledge of the individual in its very individuality, so forcefully taught by the Ḳur'ān.

What is at stake is the whole attitude of faith with regard to God. Certainly the *falāsifa* were Muslims and remained Muslims. But even though their theses might be amended, and reconciled with the affirmations of the Ḳur'ān, the God they proclaim is exactly the God attained through reason, and, at the highest, through the flash of intellectual intuition. They set out to prove (their notion of prophecy comes into it: a simple privileged moment of the universal determinism) that the God of reason and the God of the Ḳur'ān coincide in every respect. But it is not a question of a verity of faith corroborating reason on its own plane. They treat philosophy on the one hand, the Law on the other, as two sources of equal value; the point at issue is to show that they agree. They attain this end with the help of a rational *ta'wīl*, philosophical and at the same time allegorical. God is, first and foremost, the necessary Being, *al-wādjib al-wudjūd.*

The God of the great *falāsifa* is a lofty concept of Being, necessary and perfect, supreme Intelligence and supreme Love, producing the world by a mode of necessary and deliberate emanation: in short, an object not so much of faith as of philosophic experience and rich intellectual intuition. The seriousness with which they pursued their researches and reasonings (notwithstanding certain setbacks) led to the integration of real riches into Muslim culture; their analyses sometimes influenced religious thought itself. But here we find ourselves on a different plane from the inscrutable mystery of the Living God, which the Ḳur'ān presents for the adoration of the faithful.

3. *Kalām.* We return now to the schools of Sunnite *kalām.* The *falāsifa* no doubt despised the dialectic of the *mutakallimūn*, those people "who have broken the religious Law into pieces", as Ibn Rushd put it (*Faṣl al-Maḳāl*, ed. and tr. Gauthier, Algiers 1942, 29). Their subtleties and debates are often confused, their philosophic arguments questionable. But when they thus set out to defend the dogmas against "those who doubt", it is certainly the God of faith that is involved. The Mu'tazilites, just as much as the Ash'arites, are "men of religion first and philosophers second" (Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, Cairo 1362/1943, iii, 204).

The inner attitudes of the two *kalām*'s were nevertheless different. True, the Mu'tazilites took as their starting-point the Ḳur'ān and the sovereign Justice of Allāh. But their idea of *'aḳl* as a criterion of the Law, and later the impact of the "foreign sciences", led them to fix the sum total of faith on an idea of God as being "justified" in the eyes of human reason. They meant to serve and to purify the affirmation of the transcendent Existence, but their drastic *tanzīh* reached the pitch of attenuating the very notion of divine attributes; the Ash'arites were not wrong in accusing them of that. Thereafter the mystery of the divine Oneness, the *tawḥīd*, is as it were encircled by a human concept; expressed negatively, no doubt, but directly attainable on a discursive level. We find something corresponding to this in taṣawwuf, in the experience of Djunayd. In correlation, and, at the same time, as a counterpart, the *'adl*, the divine Justice, was in a way "humanized"; there was a touch of the idea of a just human judge, raised to the power of infinity.

In its origins, the Ash'arite reaction was by no means a pure renunciation on the part of the faithful of every elaboration of the data of faith. The "conversion" of al-Ash'arī was presented as a return to the inner attitude of the "ancients" and a profession of loyalty to Ibn Ḥanbal (*Ibāna*, 9). Yet the Ash'arites accepted the challenge to dialectical combat. This led them far afield; it led them to refine unceasingly, but also to complicate unceasingly, a body of problems which never came to an end, as a result of the multiplicity of objections and the rise of opposing schools. Amid the welter of arguments, it sometimes

becomes difficult to trace that complete resignation, in the nakedness of faith, to the One God, Creator and Judge, which we find in the sūras of the Ḳur'ān. The negation of human freedom in its ontological reality turned many lines of thought towards a divine voluntarism, conceptualized as such. This became still more marked after the 15th century, when the Ash'arite (or Māturīdite) *kalām*, instead of regenerating itself to keep pace with its contemporary opponents, as its primarily apologetic function would seem to demand, congealed in rather stereotyped manuals. This risk of sclerosis was no doubt one of the main considerations leading to the semi-agnosticism of Muḥammad 'Abduh.

There, we believe, lies the explanation of the half-contempt for the *kalām* (a half-contempt which sometimes grows to violent opposition), which is shown alike by the successors of the "pious ancients", notably represented by the ḥanbalite trend, and the mystics of the *taṣawwuf*.

4. *The taṣawwuf*. We cannot hope to analyse here the theological bases of the diverse Ṣūfī schools or attitudes, with all their fine distinctions (for the first centuries, see L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, and *Lexique technique*, 2nd ed. Paris 1954). The important thing to note is that we are no longer dealing with a rational endeavour towards the necessary Being, as in *falsafa*, nor, as in *kalām*, with a discursive endeavour to find "decisive" or formal arguments for the Ḳur'ānic doctrine about God. What is involved here is a spiritual experience, a life with God, soon to be understood as an experience of oneness, an inner realization of the *tawḥīd*.

There were some Ṣūfīs (al-Ḥallādj, al-Tirmidhī) who rethought for themselves the dogmatic bases of their era; some (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) who could, by stretching a point, be called "semi-Mu'tazilite"; others (Ibn Karrām) who gave their name to a theological school; some were linked to the Ḥanbalite way of thought; there were many Shī'ite Ṣūfīs; and there were many Sunnite Ṣūfīs who in no way challenged the regular conclusions of the Ash'arite *kalām* (al-Makkī, the al-Ghazzālī of the *Iḥyā'*, many Shādhilīs, etc.). Finally, a great many, especially from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries onward, permitted themselves to be influenced by an existential monism of Neoplatonic tendencies.—From the point of view which concerns us, we shall confine ourselves to picking out two main lines of Ṣūfism, according to a distinction insisted on by L. Massignon:

(a) *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, the oneness of Witness, of which al-Ḥallādj was the exponent. It seems also to have inspired every mystic of Ḥanbalite influence. The union with God is achieved in God's bearing witness to Himself and to His mystery of Unity, in the mystic's heart. The divine transcendence and its absolute Oneness in relation to all creation remain the central object of the act of faith. But the meeting with God is brought about by love ("in His Essence, love, *'ishḳ*, is the Essence of the essence", said Ḥallādj); by love, the dialogue is established between the faithful heart and God, until the supreme "I", which consummates the dialogue in unity, without destroying it. It is well known how much the official Islām of the 3rd/9th century opposed this union of love (which claimed the support of Ḳur'ān, iii, 29 and v, 59), this oneness of the Witness in the duality of natures.

Two intermediate stages. The al-Ghazzālī of the *Iḥyā'* (5th/11th century), who gave the *taṣawwuf* citizen-rights among the recognized religious sciences: uniting, not without some eclecticism, the dogmatic values of developed Ash'arism and the spiritual values of the love of God (*maḥabba*), of dependence and trust (*tawakkul*), and of the diverse ascetico-mystic virtues. Another and more important intermediate stage is that of the *ishrāḳ* movement and its emanationism, which is by no means purely monist. The great figure of the master of the *ishrāḳ*, al-Suhrawardī of Aleppo (6th/12th century), so well studied by H. Corbin, illustrates a quest for unity which leads to identity in the order of knowledge; but the outer garb of Iranian myth permits him, on a plane of lofty poetic intuition, to leave the Witness its transcendence.

(b) *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, the oneness of Existence.—This came to dominate later Ṣūfism, since Ibn 'Arabī (6th/12th-7th/13th century). Ibn Taymiyya saw (and condemned) in it the influence of Ibn Sīnā (discrimination to modify and to complete, not to reject). One may say that the Ghazzālī of the minor works of the last period, so deeply imbued with *falsafa*, even with Ismā'īlism, was the forerunner of it. In it, the Neoplatonic monism of the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle* meets the Ash'arite tendency which, the better to affirm the One God, denied the creature all real ontological density. In contrast with God, "sole Being and sole Agent", the created world is but impermanence. The illusory empirical existence, says the mystic, must obliterate itself (*fanā'*) in the only Existence which subsists (*baḳā'*),—that of God. Interpreting Ḳur'ān, xvii, 85, the Ṣūfī partisans of the monism of the Being said that the human spirit, the *rūḥ*, is a direct emanation from the divine Command (*amr*), and is therefore an emanation from God Himself. Cf. already the Ghazzālian text (ascription discussed by W. Montgomery Watt, *Authenticity of works attributed to al-Ghazzālī*, *JRAS* 1952, 1 and 2) the *Risāla Laduniyya* (Cairo 1353/1934, 25). Following some quite different references, we have here something like an echo of the "trace of the One in us" of Plotinus, even indeed—all question of historical channels aside—of the Indian "Thou art That". The supreme mystical experience is then an experience of unity (*ittiḥād*), understood as identification. It readily justifies its chosen course by an allegorical and gnostic *ta'wīl* of the scriptural texts.

The *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, for reasons partly doctrinal, partly historical, never aroused among the *fuḳahā'* and the *mutakallimūn* the opposition encountered in the 3rd/9th century by the *waḥdat al-shuhūd*. One cannot however forget how powerfully the latter might lead the *tawakkul*—the total dependence of the believer upon God, sovereign Judge and sovereign Unity—to spiritual experience in the strict sense of the term.

5) *The "pious ancients"*. The adherence to faith of many Ṣūfīs of the first centuries was in complete accordance with that of the "pious ancients". In the first centuries, Ṣūfī and traditionist circles often overlapped.—There was no question of a school, in spite of the fact that these people frequently set themselves in the Ḥanbalite tradition; it was a question of an inner attitude. This reference to the "ancients" (*salaf*) must be understood as a choice, much more than a chronological distinction: we find it as much in the 14th century, with Ibn Taymiyya, as at the beginning of the hijrī era; we find it again, systematized and with a predominantly anti-Ṣūfī note, among the Wahhābites and neo-Wahhābites, among the modern Salafiyya and their contemporary disciples (including, in some measure, the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*).

This tendency raised itself many a time against the quibbles and subtleties of the *kalām*, against an excessive confidence in rational or dialectical proofs. In his *Dhamm al-Kalām*, al-Anṣārī claimed for the Muslim the right not to seek for explanation (*tafsīr*) of the divine attributes, not to proceed down the "blind alley" of the Ashʿarites, glossing texts and distinguishing between the attribute and its *kayf*, its "mode of being" (cf. quotation from al-Anṣārī in Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā*, v, 275-78). The very personality of the mystic al-Anṣārī would suffice to show us that a tendency that is truly loyal to the "pious ancients" has no grounds for condemning *taṣawwuf* wholesale, as it often does nowadays; too easily confusing the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* with the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, and the latter with the deviations of the "brotherhoods".

What remains affirmed is the faith in God Most High, Who speaks to men by His prophets and apostles, revealing no more of Himself than the "most beautiful Names" whereby He indicates and conceals Himself (*ḥidjāb al-ism*): a faith which does not require God to be explicit about Himself, while it holds fast (to His Word) and resigns itself (to Him),—in a unique act which bears witness both to the divine omnipotence and to the responsibility of the "slaves". The inner attitude of the believer is rightly then a total and confident surrender of the self, in the night, to God, to Whom one puts no questions, but Whom one knows, according to His Word, to be the just Judge and supreme Help.

It appears that this inner attitude which has been summed up is the most characteristic mark of the Muslim faith in God; that this, first and foremost, is what the Muslim has in his heart when he pronounces the name *Allāh*.—No enumeration is needed here. In every age there have been "free-thinkers", "doubters and deniers". In every age, intellectual researches on the *ilāhiyyāt*, and the discursive expression of them, have abounded in Islām. Contemporary thought seems harried on all sides by the diverse trends of the modern philosophies, as it was formerly by Greek or Iranian thought. It may be that a new *kalām* will be called into being, a new "defensive apology", that will carry out an extensive re-examination of the questions and problems of its treatises on *wudjūd Allāh* and *afʿāluhu taʿālā*, in the varying light of the idealism, pragmatism, dialectical atheism or existentialism of the moment. But maybe it will be able to avoid the mishaps that befell the ancient *kalām* only by going beyond the "contradictory" appearances of the problems posed,—by a vital recourse to God, One, Living, Master of the worlds and of the retribution of mankind, *Allāh al-wāḥid, al-ḥayy, mālik al-ʿālamīn, mālik yawm al-dīn*, whereby many sincere believers and "bearers of the Ḳurʾān" have always endeavoured to live.

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(L. GARDET)

ALLĀH AKBAR [see TAKBĪR].

ALLĀHĀBĀD (ILĀHĀBĀD), an important town in the State of Uttar Pradesh and the seat of the State High Court, is situated on the confluence of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā. Population in 1951: town: 366, 127, including 90, 829 Muslims; district: 2,048,250, including 12.8 % Muslims.

History: One of the most ancient towns in India, it was known as Prayāg and regarded as sacred by the Hindus. When the Ghūrid Turks occupied Banāras in 1194, the town came under the Sultanate of Delhi, but presumably continued under the administration of autonomous Hindu *rādjās*, the nearest important military centre of the Sultanate being located at Kaṛā [*q.v.*] about 45 miles to the west. With the overthrow of the independent Sharḳī Kingdom of Djawnpūr in the 16th century and the subsequent rise of the Afghāns, the usefulness of the ferry across Prayāg to Djhūsī began to be appreciated. In June 1567, Akbar crossed the Gangā at Prayāg after defeating Khān-i Zamān, the rebel Governor of Djawnpūr. In 1574, he again passed through the town on his way to Bengal. Realising its strategic importance he decided to make it a military centre. From a small township, it became a big city and was given by Akbar the name of Ilāhbās (being changed to Ilāhābād through popular usage). In 1579-80, when Akbar reorganised the administrative divisions of the empire, it became the capital of the *ṣūba* (province) of the name, thus

superseding both Kaṛā and Djawnpūr in importance. Most of the Indian writers and European travellers visiting India during the 17th and 18th centuries testify to its importance. In 1736 the Mahrattās conquered it. After 1750 it changed hands several times, till the British garrisoned the citadel in 1798 and the town in 1801.

Monuments: The citadel built by Akbar (with Asōka's pillar and its famous inscription). and the Khusraw Bāgh, with the tombs of Prince Khusraw, his mother and his sister, are the chief monuments of the Mughal period.

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ALLĀHUMMA is an old Arabic formula of invocation: "Allāh!", for which also Lahumma is found (cf. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik d. class. Arab.*, 6). Whether, as Wellhausen supposes in his *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 224, it was originally meant for the god Allāh, higher than and different from the old Arabian gods, is rather doubtful, because every god might be invoked as "the God" (just as "the Lord". It was used in praying, offering, concluding a treaty and blessing or cursing (see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen z. arab. Philol.*, i, 35 ff.; cf. also the expression *Allāhuma ḥayyi* = much good may it do you, al-Akhṭal iii, 7). The phrase *bi'smika 'llāhumma*, said to have been introduced by Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (according to a statement in *Aghānī*, iii, 187) and used as an introduction in written treaties, has been replaced by others by Muḥammed as being a heathen expression (Ibn Hishām, i, 747; Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarb.*, iv, 104, 128). The simple Allāhumma (Lāhumma), on the other hand, was retained as inoffensive (e.g. Ḳurʾān, iii, 26; xxxix, 46; *subḥānaka 'llāhumma*, x, 10), and in the same way *allāhumma naʿam* = "certainly!", being in fact the answer on being conjured to tell the truth (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1723). For the peculiar formula *allāhumma minka wa-ilayka* (or *laka*) used at the family-offering, cf. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1894, 95 f.

(Fr. Buhl)

al-ʿ**ALLĀḲĪ**, name of a wādī in Lower Nubia between the Nile and the shore of the Red Sea, 62 miles south of Aswān.

In the Middle Ages, this small valley resembled a large populous and flourishing town, because it was a gold mining area, using black slave labour. "The nuggets of gold", wrote al-Yaʿḳūbī, "appear in the form of sulphide of arsenic, and are made into bars". Al-Idrīsī gives more curious information. The prospectors, he tells us, took up their positions at night in order to see the gold dust glistening in the darkness and to mark the sites so that they could be recognised the next day. The prospectors then proceeded to collect and transport the auriferous sand and to wash it in tubs of water to extract the metal, which was then blended with mercury and smelted.

These gold mines, exploited in early times, were abandoned at the end of the Middle Ages. The old workings can still be seen. Gold mining has recently been resumed in the area (Umm Gharayāt).

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ʿ**ALLĀMĪ** [see abū 'l-faḍl].

ALLĀN [see alān].

ALMA ATA (formerly Vernyi), town, capital of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ḳazakhistān since 1929 and administrative centre of the *oblast* (province) of the same name. Established in 1854 on the site of a Ḳazakh settlement called Almaty, in 1867 it became the administrative centre of the Russian military governorate of Semirechia. By 1871 it had been largely rebuilt on Russian lines and had become a thriving trade centre with a mixed population of 12,000 composed of Ḳazakhs, Dungans, Uyghurs, Tatars, Russians and Chinese. The population rose to 45,000 in 1926 and to 230,000 in 1939. Among the many educational and cultural establishments in the city are the Academy of Sciences, 50 schools, 4 theatres and 13 cinemas.

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ALMA-DAGH [see elma-dagh].

ALMADA [see al-maʿdin].

ALMADEN [see al-maʿdin].

ALMAGEST [see baṭlamiyūs].

ALMALÎGH, capital of a Muslim kingdom in the upper Ili [*q.v.*] valley, founded in the 7th/13th century by Ūzār (Djuwaynī, i, 57) or Būzār (Djamāl Ḳarshī, in W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russ. ed., i, 135 f.), who is said to have previously been a brigand and horse-thief. According to Djamāl, he assumed the title of Toghrîl Khān as ruler. Almalîgh is first mentioned as the capital of this kingdom, and later as a great and wealthy commercial city. We owe our information about its site mainly to the Chinese (Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, i, 69 f., ii, 33 ff. and index); it lay south of Lake Sayram and the Talki pass, north of the Ili, probably northwest of the modern Kuldja.

Like other rulers of these regions, the king of Almalîgh had dealings with Čingiz Khān, (whose hunting-ground was near Almalîgh: Djuwaynī, i, 21). He was surprised and killed while hunting by Küčlük, the governor of the kingdom of the Ḳara Khitāy [*q.v.*]; but Küčlük failed to capture the town of Almalîgh. Ūzār's son and successor Suḳnāḳ (or Sughnāk) Tigin married a granddaughter of Čingiz Khān (a daughter of Djuči). On his death (851/1253-4 cf. Djuwaynī, i, 58; 648/1250-1 in Djamāl Ḳarshī, he was succeeded by his son whose name (Dānish) mand Tigin) like the names of the other rulers of this line are given only by Djamāl Ḳarshī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 140 f.). Almalîgh in his time (beginning of the 8th/14th century) was still ruled by this dynasty. How long this line continued to reign is not known. The silver and copper coins struck at Almalîgh in the 7th/13th century apparently belong to them. After Čingiz Khān's death the territory of Almalîgh was under the suzerainty of Čaghatay, cf. B. Spuler, *Mongolen in Iran*, 277, note 2. The whole province (to which belonged also the old Ḳuz Ordu = Balāsāghūn) was called in the 13th-14th centuries Îl Arghū (cf. also the *nisba* Ilarghawi in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 138-40). Near Almalîgh was situated the "hord" of Čaghatay and his successors, such as Ergene Khātūn and Tarmashîrîn (Djuwaynī, ii, 241, 243, 272 f.; iii, 97; Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay, 50; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 41, 49 f.

As a great commercial city on the main route through Central Asia to China, Almalîgh is frequently mentioned by European travellers and missionaries (see I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient etc.*, Göteborg 1906,

17 f.: Almalech). In 1339 some Franciscan friars were murdered in the town (cf. A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 510-1; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, ii, 72, iv, 244-8, 310-1). Here was the seat of a Roman Catholic missionary bishop and, probably, of the Nestorian metropolitan (cf. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, 38; Barthold, *Očerk istorii Semiryečya*, Vyerniy 1898, 64-7; V. Rondalez, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1951, 1-17; S. Dauvillier, in *Mélanges F. Cavallera*, Toulouse 1948, 305-7).

Like the towns on the Čū [*q.v.*], the Talas and elsewhere, Almaligh was completely ruined by the constant civil wars and other fighting in the 8th/14th century (cf. Bābur, ed. Beveridge, 1; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, 364). Muḥammad Ḥaydar mentions the ruins of the tomb with the tomb of Tughluḳ Tīmūr Khān (d. 764/1362-3; cf. DUGHLAT); these ruins (at present called Alimtu) lie between the Khorgos, the boundary river between the Soviet Union and China and the village of Mazār and have been fully described by N. Pantusov, *Kaufmanskiy Sbornik*, Moscow 1910, 161 ff. Inscriptions from graves of Nestorian Christians have also been found there (see especially P. Kokovtsov, in *Zap.*, xvi, 190 ff.).

A. N. Bernstamm (*Pamyatniki stariny almaatinskoy oblasti po materialam ekspeditsii 1939g.*, *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk Kazakh. SSR*, Archeol. series, i, Alma Ata 1948, 79-91) identifies Almalīgh with a town (also called Alimtu = Chinese A-li-tʿu) near the modern Alma Ata; but in reality this is another, different, town having the same name (as an appellative, "apple town"); it is mentioned in 1390 in connection with Tīmūr's campaign against Mughulistān (Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, i, 466 ff.; cf. F. Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timur-bec*, ii, 66 ff.).

(W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER and O. PRITSAK])

ALMANAC [see ANWĀʾ; TAʾRĪKH].

ALMANZOR [see AL-MANṢŪR].

ALMĀS—frequently regarded as a noun defined by the article (*al-mās*; correctly *al-Almās* according to Ibn al-Athīr, in *LA*, viii, 97: the *'l* belongs to the root as in *Ilyās*), a corrupt form from the Greek ἀδάμας (l.c.: "*wa-laysat bi-ʿarabiyya*"),—the diamond. According to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Aḥdjār* which, on the basis of cognate Greek sources, agrees in the main with the statements of Pliny, the diamond cuts every solid except lead, by which it is itself destroyed. On the frontier of Khurāsān is a deep valley in which the diamonds lie guarded by poisonous snakes whose looks alone are enough to kill. Alexander the Great procured some of them by a trick: he had mirrors made in which the snakes saw themselves and died; then he had the flesh of sheep thrown down into the ravine so that the diamonds stuck to it and were brought up by vultures who seized the pieces of flesh. This story, already found in Epiphanius *De XII gemmis*, is generally known in the East (*Arabian Nights*). Al-Bīrūnī ridicules this story and asks why the snakes did not die when looking at one another, but only when seeing themselves in the mirrors. He takes the opportunity to make fun of other stories about the diamond, and also of stories recounting the death of people who looked at certain animals and stones. On the other hand, he has many valuable notices on the qualities, mining and use of the diamond. He also tells of a piece which Muʿizz al Dawla Aḥmad b. Būya presented to his brother Rukn al-Dawla al-Ḥasan weighing 3 *mithḳāl* (12, 75 or even 14, 16 g). But al-Dimashḳī knows of no diamonds heavier than 1 *mithḳāl*. The sources differ widely about the places where diamonds are found. —Al-Tīfāshī and al-Ḳazwīnī relate that the pieces obtained through smashing the stone are all triagonal (observation of the octagonal scissure?), and the former also says that the diamond attracts little feathers.—It is generally mentioned as being used for cutting and piercing other stones. Aristotle is said to have used it for destroying stones in the bladder. The powder of it must not touch the teeth; applied externally it is a good cure for colic and stomach-ache.

Bibliography: J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenf.), i, 236-7; Tīfāshī, *Azhār al-Afkār*, transl. by Reineri Biscia, 2nd ed., 53-4; Clément-Mullet, in *JA*, 6th series, xi, 127-8; Bīrūnī, *al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, 1355, 92-102; Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-Dhakhāʾir fī Aḥwāl al-Djawāhir*, 1939, 20-25 (with many valuable remarks by the editor, P. Anastase-Marie de St.-Élie, transl. by E. Wiedemann, *SB Phys. Med. Soz. Erlangen*, vol. 44, 218 f.); Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*, 1318, 15 f. (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, 233 f.); J. Ruska, *Der Diamant in der Medizin*, *Festschr. f. Herm. Baas*, 1908; B. Laufer, *The Diamond*, 1915; *al-Machriq*, vi, 865-78.

(J. RUSKA-M. PLESSNER)

ALMEE [see ʿĀLIMA].

ALMERIA [see AL-MARIYYA].

ALMICANTARAT [see MUḲANṬARĀT].

ALMODOVAR [see AL-MUDAWWAR].

ALMOGÁVARES, or Almugávares, a name, apparently derived from the Arabic *al-mughāwir* "one who makes hostile incursions", which was given at the end of the Middle Ages to certain contingents of mercenaries levied from among the mountaineers of Aragon, a tough, sober but undisciplined race. Zurita (*Anales*, iv, 24) gives a picturesque description of them. These were the troops, fighting on foot, in the service of the Kings of Aragon and Castille, who cut to pieces the French army of Philip III the Bold during his campaign of 1285, at Roussillon, and who later, under the name of the Grande Compagnie Catalane, made daring raids in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Bibliography: Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden, 1869, 172, s.v.; R. Fawtier in *Hist. du moyen âge* of G. Glotz, vi/1, Paris 1940, 188-9, 283; P. Aguado Bleye, *Manual de historia de España*[4], i, Madrid 1947, 908-9.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ALMOHADS [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

ALMORAVIDS [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

ALMUÑECAR [see AL-MUNAKKAB].

ALP (T.), «hero», a figure which played a great role in the warlike ancient Turkish society; synonyms: *batur* (*bahādur* [*q.v.*], *sökmen*, *čapar* [*qq.v.*]). (Turkish heroic tradition survived in an Islamicized form and appears in Anatolia in the stories of Dede Ḳorkud [*q.v.*] as well as in the poetry of ʿAshiḳ Pasha and the history of Yazīdjīoghlu; cf. Fuad Köprülü, *Bibl.*). The word *alp*, used since ancient times among the various Turkish peoples either as an element in compound proper names or as a title, occurs frequently in proper names also of the Islamic period (cf. the various persons called Alp Tigin, the Saldjūḳ *amirs* Alp Ḳush, Alp Aghadjl, Alp Argu, the Saldjūḳid Alp Arslan, etc.). Another form is Alpī (cf. the Artuḳids Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAlī Alpī, ʿImād al-Dīn Alpī); the word *alpaghu* (*yilpaghu*,

alpaghut, alpawut), found in various dialects and as the name of a tribe under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and the Ṣafawids, seems also to be related.

As a title, *alp* was used by Saldjūk *amīrs*, and together with other old Turkish titles such as *inandj, kutlugh, bilge*, was adopted by the rulers of the states which succeeded the Saldjūḳ empire. *Alp* alone is found in an inscription of Aḳ Sunḳur of Aleppo; in the inscriptions of the Syrian and Mesopotamian *atabegs* and of the Artuḳids occur the titles *alp ḳutlugh, alp inandj ḳutlugh, alp ghāzī* (cf. *RCEA*, nos. 2764, 3021, 3072, 3085, 3111-2, 3122, 3146; Van Berchem, *Amida*, 76, 92, 104, 120, 122; idem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diarbekr*, Berlin 1910, 148 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 284: *alp ghāzī* as title of Zengi; and the dedication of a translation of Dioscorides, in MS Mashhad, Cat. no. 27, to a prince with the title of *alp inandj ḳutlugh*).

Under the Ghūrids we find Nāṣir al-Dīn Alp Ghāzī as governor of Harāt (cf. also Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī, Calcutta 1846, 121; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, 159, 321; *Taʾrikh-i Sistan*, ed. Bahār, 388; Muḥammad b. Ḳays, *al-Muʿdjam fi Maʿayīr Ashʿār al-ʿAdjam*, 346). In Rūmiyya we find in 564/1168 a *ṣāḥib-i kabīr* Alp Djamāl al-Dīn (see Sachau-Ethé, *Cat. Pers.* MS *MSS of the Bodl. Libr.*, i, 1424). A Turkish chieftain near Djand in the 12th century bore the title of *alp direk* (Djuwaynī, ii, 40 f.); for an Anatolian Saldjūḳ prince with that of *alp ilek* see *Bell.*, 1937, 288. In India we find *alp khān* (Barnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 240, 527; Firishta, *Taʾrikh*, i, 176, 238; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh*, 219).

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, 92; Z. Gombocz, *Árpádkori etc.*, 43 ff.; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyyātında Ilk Mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 272 ff.; idem, *Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1935, index; idem, in *IA*, s.v. (O. PRITSAK)

ALP ARSLAN ʿADUD AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUḤAMMAD B. DĀʾŪD ČAGHRIBEG, celebrated Saldjūḳ sultan, the second of the dynasty (455/1063-465/1073). Born probably in 421/1030, at an early age he led the armies of his father Čaghribeg with great success, especially against the Ghaznawids, and in 450/1058 he saved his uncle, the sultan Ṭughrilbeg, from the revolt of Ibrāhīm Inal in Persia. Two or three years later he succeeded Čaghribeg, who had been ill for a long time, and at the end of 453/1063 he succeeded Ṭughrilbeg, who died childless; he thus brought under his authority all the Saldjūḳid territories. He rid himself without difficulty of his half-brother Sulaymān, who had probably been adopted by Ṭughrilbeg; the vizier al-Kundurī payed with his life for the indiscretion of having at first supported him. Alp Arslan was recognized by the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim and invested with all his predecessor's prerogatives; he enforced the submission of his uncle Yabghū at Harāt, and defeated Ḳutlumush, a cousin of Čaghribeg and Ṭughrilbeg, who had been in revolt for some years in the mountains south of the Caspian, and who met an accidental death in this battle. He created difficulties for his elder brother Kawurt of Kirmān, who aspired at least to a share in the succession, by supporting against him the Kurdish chief Faḍlūya; later (in 457/1065, 459/1067 and 461/1069) he took direct action against him, and brought Fārs firmly under his control by suppressing Faḍlūya, who had come to terms with Kawurt. The latter was allowed to retain Kirmān, but as a subordinate. A demonstration of force in Ḳarakhānid territory and up to the Aral Sea (457/1065) reinforced the authority which his father had previously exercised there. As regards the Ghaznawids, he kept the peace concluded during the last years of Čaghribeg's rule.

His fame in the eyes of posterity rests on his activities on the western front. Like his predecessor Ṭughrilbeg and his successor Malikshāh, he had the ambition to march on Egypt to destroy the stronghold of Fāṭimid heresy. But he realised the necessity of maintaining his ascendancy over the Turkomans, who constituted the military strength of the dynasty, and who were primarily interested in the richly-rewarding campaigns of a holy war (*ghazwa*) on the Christian territories beyond Ādharbāydjān, where they where concentrated. Shortly after his accession, therefore, Alp Arslan conducted a series of campaigns against the Byzantines and their Armenian and Georgian neighbours, while independent bands of Turkomans raided more deeply into their territories; these campaigns also had the effect of increasing his prestige in certain autochthonous Muslim circles. In 456/1064 he captured Ānī and Ḳars, and extracted a pledge of submission from the tiny Georgian kingdom. A further expedition against Georgia, in which the Shaddādid prince of Arrān took part, became necessary in 460/1068. The main advantages accruing from these campaigns were that the security of the Ādharbāydjān frontiers was ensured, and that the Turkomans had free access to the pasture lands on the Aras. It is difficult to assess to what extent the peregrinations of the Turkomans, who simultaneously penetrated to the heart of Byzantine Asia Minor and permeated Muslim Diyār Bakr and Diyār Muḍar, were directed by Alp Aslan; the Turkomans opened the way for him, but withdrew after having gained their booty. Moreover, their activities provoked a Byzantine counterattack against the Syrian and Armenian borders of the Muslim world (1068-9), following which terms were negotiated between the two empires.

Alp Arslan then considered himself sufficiently secure against the Byzantines to listen to an appeal from rebels in Egypt and to undertake the anti-Fāṭimid expedition to support orthodoxy and the caliph. He occupied en route Ardjīsh and Mantzikert held by the Byzantines, attacked Edessa, and pushed on without delay to secure the submission of the Mirdāsid Maḥmūd at Aleppo, who attempted to save himself by a last-minute recognition of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. The sultan's intention was to advance into Southern Syria, where various Turkoman groups had preceded him, when he heard that the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenes, at the head of a formidable force, was threatening his rear in Armenia, and he had to return with all possible speed. He nevertheless succeeded in regrouping sufficient forces to give battle to the Byzantine army at Mantzikert in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 463/August 1071. The diversity of the Byzantine forces in both their composition and morale, combined with their lack of manoeuvrability, made them no match for the agile Turks who, though far fewer in number, were inspired by the fervour of holy war. By evening, the Byzantine army had been annihilated and, for the first time in history, a Byzantine Emperor was taken prisoner by a Muslim ruler. Alp Arslan's object was not to destroy the Byzantine empire; he contented himself with frontier adjustments, promises of tribute, and an alliance—a settlement which the downfall of Romanus Diogenes rendered impermanent. In fact, however, the battle

of Mantzikert laid open Asia Minor to Turkish conquest. In later years there was no princely family in Asia Minor but wished to boast an ancestor present on that glorious day.

Alp Arslan himself met an unworthy end not long after his triumph. At the other extremity of his empire, relations with the Ḳarakhānids, despite marriage alliances, were again strained. At the beginning of 465/end of 1072 he invaded their territory. In the course of a quarrel with a prisoner, the latter mortally wounded him. He died in the prime of life, at the end of Rabīʿ I/beginning of January 1073. He had nominated his son Malikshāh his heir.

In the eyes of orthodox Muslims, Alp Arslan was a leader of men and a commander capable of enforcing strict discipline, generous, just, devout, with an aversion for informers. Christians, remembering massacres such as that at Ānī, ascribed to him a reputation for brutality, in contrast to his son Malikshāh, who was regarded by them in a more favourable light. Space does not permit here an account of his administration, which was essentially the achievement of his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and which is discussed in the article on the latter and in the general article on the Saldjūḳids. To Alp Arslan belongs the credit for singling out the Khurasānī who rose rapidly to fame and who became, under Malikshāh, the real head of the State. The influence of his new vizier may have led to the execution of al-Kundurī. Even at the height of his power, Alp Arslan appears to have deliberately refrained from setting foot in Baghdād, in order to avoid being involved in embarrassing and futile disputes with the Caliph and the Arabs of ʿIrāḳ such as had complicated the last years of Ṭughrilbeg. On the other hand, he energetically enforced in ʿIrāḳ the rights of the Sultanate. He saw no objection to the continued existence on his frontiers of dependent principalities, such as those of the ʿUḳaylids of Mawṣil and the Shaddādids of Arrān. The close watch which he kept, for example, on Hazārasp of Baṣra shows that he would tolerate no defection from that source, too. It is in this light, and in the light of respect for family traditions inherited from a tribal organization, that one must consider the distribution by Alp Arslan among the more important princes of his family of various apanages in the original domains of the dynasty in Khurāsān.

Culturally, the reign of Alp Arslan does not seem to have been of great importance, either from the traditional Islamic, or from the Turkish, point of view. It may be of some interest to mention that the *Malik-nāma*, an anonymous attempt to reconstruct the historical origins of the dynasty, was composed for Alp Arslan (cf. Cahen, in *Oriens*, 1949).

Bibliography: A more comprehensive list of sources will be found under SALDJŪḲIDS. The principal chronicles are those of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (in al-Bundārī's version, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii), the anonymous *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya* (ed. M. Iqbal, Lahore 1933), the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* of Rawandī, ed. M. Iqbal, 1921, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr and, a much-neglected work, the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī (of which the relevant section will shortly be published). In other categories, the chief works are the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balkhī and the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk. The Byzantine, Syriac, Armenian and Georgian sources should not be forgotten. Later Persian historical works should be distrusted. There is no good comprehensive modern work either on Alp Arslan or on the Saldjūḳids. For their activities in the east, see the masterly account of V. Barthold, *Turkestan*; for their activities in the west see general guidance in E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, 1948; and V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge 1953. A provisional survey of Saldjūḳid history has been contributed by Cl. Cahen to *History of the Crusades* Philadelphia 1955, 135-176.
(CL. CAHEN)

ALP TAKÎN (ALP TIGIN), the founder of the Ghaznawid power. Like the majority of the praetorians of his time, he was a Turkish slave, purchased and enrolled in the Sāmānid body guard, who progressively rose to the rank of *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb* (commander-in-chief of the guard). In this capacity he wielded the real power during the reign of the young Sāmānid ʿAbd al-Malik I; the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿamī owed his appointment to him, and did not dare to take any action "without the knowledge and advice" of Alp Takīn. In order to remove him from the capital, the sovereign invested him (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 349/Jan.-Feb. 961) with the post of Governor of Khurāsān, the highest military office in the empire. Dismissed from this post by Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, of whose elevation to the throne he had disapproved, Alp Takīn withdrew to Balkh; in Rabīʿ I, 351/April-May 962 he defeated an army sent against him by the Sāmānid ruler, and retired to Ghazna where, after overthrowing the local dynasty, he set up an independent empire. The records disagree as to the date of his death; according to some, he died before 352/963. His learned son Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (on whom see Ibn Ḥawḳal, 13, 14) could only maintain his position, in face of a revolt by the former ruler of Ghazna, with Sāmānid aid. Thus the Ghaznawid kingdom only existed at first as a Sāmānid vassal state. Abū Isḥāḳ died childless, and the leaders of the army, on which the new state was based, selected as his successor first the commander of guard Bilgā Takīn (Tigin) (355-64/966/974), who left a reputation for integrity, and then Pirī Takīn (Tigin). During the latter's reign a final revolt by the supporters of the former dynasty was crushed. But the victor, Subuk Takīn, the son-in-law and former chief officer of Alp Takīn, was raised to power by the troops (Shaʿbān 366/April 977), and became the founder of the Ghaznawid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

Bibliography: A concise but comprehensive history of Alp Takīn and his immediate successors, with references to all the sources, is contained in Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, ch. i. The chief sources are Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, and Djuzdjānī, *Tabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*. Niẓām al-Mulk's account in the *Siyāsat-nāma* (Schefer), 95-101, is an idealized version designed to place Alp Takīn and Subuk Takīn in a more favourable light. On the effect on the frontiers of Sīstān of the foundation of the new kingdom of Ghazna, see now, in addition to Muḥammad Nāẓim's sources, the anonymous *Tarīkh-i Sīstān* published by Bahār, Teheran 1314, 326 ff.
(W. BARTHOLD-[CL. CAHEN])

ALPAMÎSH, One of the most famous Turkish epics (*dāstān*) of Central Asia, inspired by two classical themes, (1) the quest for the betrothed and the rivalry of the suitors; (2) the return of the husband on the day of his wife's remarriage (theme of the

return of Ulysses). The Özbek hero Alpamīsh of the Kungrat tribe repairs to Ḳalmīḳ territory in search of his fiancée and cousin Barčin. Alpamīsh triumphs over his Ḳalmīḳ rivals, marries Barčin and brings her back to his tribe. The second part is the account of a further expedition on the part of Alpamīsh to Ḳalmīḳ territory to rescue his wife's father. Alpamīsh is captured and held prisoner for seven years by the Ḳalmīḳ Khān, and is finally aided to escape by the Khān's daughter; he returns to his native land the very day on which his wife is about to marry—against her will—the son of a slave who has usurped his authority. Alpamīsh kills the usurper and regains his position as head of the tribe.

It is difficult to determine accurately the date of the composition of Alpamīsh, although it cannot be before the beginning of the 16th century, or later than the end of the 17th. In the *dāstān*, the Kungrat tribe lives a nomadic existence around Lake Baysun north of Tirmidh (now the Surkhān Daryā district of southern Özbekistān). The Kungrat only moved into this area with the armies of Shaybānī Khān, about 1500. Moreover, in the three versions, Özbek, Ḳazaḳ and Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Alpamīsh and the Kungrat are called Özbek, which postulates an origin later than the Shaybānid conquests. On the other hand, the main theme of the epic, the struggle of the Muslim Turkish nomads against the "infidel" Ḳalmīḳs, places it between the 16th and the 17th centuries, the period when the Ḳalmīḳs of the Oyrat Empire were making a series of bloody raids in Central Asia.

Žirmunskiy and Zarifov believe that they can detect, beneath the existing versions of Alpamīsh, an older version, now lost, dating back to the 11th-12th century, a period when the ancestors of the Kungrat were nomads near the Aral Sea (analogy with the Oghuz poem Bamsi-Bayrek) or to still earlier times when they dwelt in the fringes of the Altai (analogy with the Mongol poem *Khān Kharangui*).

All the Central Asian versions of *Alpamīsh* are in verse, the prose passages serving only to mark the divisions between the various episodes of the poem. The versification is simplified. The repetition of the same rhyme divides the verses into stanzas of different length (2, 4, and up to 10 and 15 verses). This simple poetic form is perfectly suited to the way in which the poem is transmitted, whether recited by a *bakhshī* ("bard"), or chanted by a *shāʿir* ("minstrel") with accompaniment on the *ḳobuz* (two-string violin).

Several versions of *Alpamīsh* exist: Özbek, Ḳazaḳ, and Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, which correspond fairly closely to one another, but have occasional but obvious differences of detail. The best and the most popular is the Özbek version of the *bakhshī* Fāḍil (Fazyl) Yuldash (born in 1873 at Ḳīshlāḳ Layk in the district of Bulungur near Samarḳand), the text of which was published for the first time by Ḥāmid ʿAlīmdjan at Tāshkent in 1939, in a slightly abridged form, under the title "Yuldash oghly Fazyl: *Alpamysh*". The first part of this work in an abridged form has been translated into Russian verse by V. V. Deržavin and A. S. Kočetov, and the second, *in extenso*, by L. M. Pen'kovskiy. These two translations, based on ʿAlīmdjan's text and with a preface by V. M. Žirmunskiy, were published at Tāshkent in 1944 under the title: "Fazyl Yuldash: *Alpamysh*". Finally, in 1949, L. N. Pen'kovskiy published at Tāshkent the first complete translation of the Yuldash version, with the title *Alpamysh, uzbekskiy epos*. There are other Özbek versions, by other *bakhshīs*, which are still unpublished, and which differ in certain details.

The Ḳazaḳ version (2nd part only) was published by Shaykh ul-Islāmov at Ḳazān in 1896, and the complete text was edited by Divaev at Tāshkent in 1922, and re-edited some years later at Alma-Ata in 1933. It appears under the title *Alpamys Batyr* in the anthology *Batyrlar Žyry*, Alma-Ata 1939, 249-96.

The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ version (1st part only, with Russian translation) is based on the text of Djiya Murād Bek Muḥammedov, *bakhshī* of Törkül (A. Divaev, *Alpamys-Batyr, Etnografičeskie materyaly*, fasc. vii in *Sbornik materyalov dlya statistiki Syr-Daryinskoy oblasti*, ix, Tashkent 1901). The complete Ḳaraḳalpaḳ version was published in Moscow in 1937 and again in 1941 at Törtkül and Tāshkent, under the title "Aimbet uly Ḳally: *Alpamys*."

In addition there exist two prose versions, Bashkir and Altai, which are radically different from the central Asian versions. The Bashkir version, *Alpamysh hem Barsyn Kh'yluu*, was published by N. Dimitriev, with Russian translation by A. G. Bessonov, in *Bashkirskie Narodnye Skazski*, fasc. 19, Ufa 1941.

The text of the apparently earlier Altai version *Alyp-Manash*, established by N. U. Ulagashev, appears in *Altay Bučay* (the Oyrat national epic), published by A. Koptelev, Novosihirsk 1941, 79-126.

The longest version, that of Fazyl Yuldash, comprises 14,000 stanzas; the Ḳazaḳ and Ḳaraḳalpaḳ versions are shorter and comprise 2,500 and 3,000 stanzas respectively.

Bibliography: V. M. Žirmunskiy and Kh. T. Zarifov: *Uzbekskiy Narodniy Geroičeskiy Epos*, Moscow 1947; *Antologiya Uzbekskoy Poezii*. edited by M. Aibek, etc., Moscow 1950.

(A. BENNIGSEN and H. CARRÈRE D'ENCAUSSE)

ALPHABET [see AL-HIDJAʾ, ḤURŪF-].

ALPHARAS [see NUDJŪM].

ALPUENTE [see AL-BUNT].

ALPUJARRAS [see AL-BUSHARRĀT].

ALRUCCABA [see RUKBA].

ALSH, now Eloche, a small town in the Spanish Levant (*Sharḳ al-Andalūs*) 12 m. S-W of Alicante, noted for its palm groves, which still exist to-day, and which were described by Muslim authors such as Ibn Saʿīd and al-Ḳazwīnī.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al Ḥimyarī, *Péninsule ibérique*, no. 26, text, 31, trans., 39; H. Pérès, *Le palmier en Espagne musulmane*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1938, 225-39; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 283-4.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ALTAI, mighty, ca. 1000 miles long mountain system in eastern Central Asia, stretching from the Saisan Sea in the southwest to the upper Selenga and the upper Orkhon, with the sources of the Obʾ, the Irtīsh and the Yenissei. Here, and in the adjacent country to the north-east as far as the present-day Mongolia, was the oldest home of the Turks and the Mongols and their ancestors. The Turks had here for a long time after their "refuge" in the Ötükän [*q.v.*] mountains. The oldest Turkish designation for the southern Altai, as it appears in the inscriptions of the Orkhon, is Altin-yīsh ("gold mountains"), in Chinese Kin-shan (same meaning). The name of Ektag, however, mentioned by the Greeks (probably Aḳ Tagh, "white mountain"), seems to refer to the Tʿien-shan (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kieu occidentaux*, 236 f.). It is uncertain whether the modern name, which appears for the first time in the Kalmuck period, is connected with the Mongol *altan*, "gold"; the local population explains it by a false etymology as *alti ay*, "six month".

Bibliography: Cotta, *Der Altai*, Leipzig 1871; J. Granö, *Les formes du reliefs dans l'Altaï russe*, Helsongfors 1917; P. Fickeler, *Der Altai*, 1925; *Bol'šaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*², ii, 136-51. For its role in Turkish civilization, cf. A. von Gabain, *Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken*, *Isl.*, 1949, 30-62 and TURK.

(B. SPULER)

ALTAIANS is the name of a Turkish tribe in the Altai mountains, partly professing, more or less nominally, Orthodox Christianity, partly Shamanistic; though Islam is not to be found amongst them, they had some contact, though possibly not an immediate one, with Islamic civilization (as attested by loan words such as *kuday*, "God"; *shaytan*, "the devil"). (Cf. for them G. Teich and H. Rübel, *Völker ... der UdSSR*, Leipzig 1943, 28-43, 137 f., 142; W. Radloff, *Proben aus der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, i; idem, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 250 ff.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*², 141 f.).

The name Altais has been substituted since about 1874, and more especially in the 20th century, following a proposal of M. A. Castrén, for the term Turanian [*q.v.*], coined by F. Max Müller, as the designation of the assumed community of the Turkish-Mongolian peoples; the even wider concept of Ural-Altaians comprises also the Samoyeds, Finno-Ugrians and Tunguses. (Cf. e.g. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, Wiesbaden, since 1952; J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie*, Wiesbaden 1953, with bibliography; W. K. Matthews, Languages of the *URRS*, Cambridge 1951). These peoples, however, with the exception of the Turks [*q.v.*], are not touched by Islam.

Bibliography: M. A. Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaischen Völker*, St. Petersburg 1857; the partly fanciful works of H. Winkler, the last being *Die altaischen Völker und ihre Sprachenwelt*, Leipzig 1921; O. Donner, *Die uralaltaischen Sprachen, Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen*, i/1, 1901, 128; M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1924, 153-243; P. *Melioranskiy* in Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy Slovar'*, xxxiv /A 862 f.; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Fuad Köprülü); O. Pritsak, *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker*, *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher*, 1953-4. Maps: A. Hermann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 66-7; *Völkerkarte der Sowjet-Union, Europ. Teil*², Berlin 1941. (B. SPULER)

ALTAIR [see NUDJŪM].

ALTAMISH [see ILTUTMISH].

ʿALTH, or AL-ʿALTH, town, to the north of Baghdād, between ʿUkbarā and Sāmarra, on the eastern bank of the old course of the Tigris. As the course of the Tigris has changed (cf. DIDJLA), ʿAlth is today on the western bank, on al-Shuṭayṭa. The extensive ruins of the town are known as ʿAlth up to the present day; they lie about $4^1/_2$ m. N.W. of the modern town of Balad. The town is already mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 20) under the name of Altha. According to the medieval geographers the northern limit of the Sawād or al-ʿIrāḳ was formed by ʿAlth on the eastern, Ḥarba on the western side of the Tigris. The town was a *waḳf* for the benefit of the descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Yāḳūt) and some di tinguished traditionists of the 6th and 7th centuries A. H. came from it. A stone dam was built over the Tigris near ʿAlth, but no trace of it remains. Near ʿAlth lay the convent called Dayr al-ʿAlth or Dayr al-ʿAdhārā, described, among others, by the poet Djaḥdha al-Barmakī.

Bibliography: Maḳdisī, 123; Yāḳūt, iii, 711, ii, 679; Shābustī, *Diyārāt* (G. Awad), 62-3; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid*, ii, 275; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, i, 258 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, 181; *TA*, i, 634; A. Sousa, *Rayy Sāmarra*, Baghdad 1948, 183-4, 218; J. F. Jones, *Memoirs*, Bombay 1857, 257; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach d. arab. Geographen*, ii, 224 f.; Le Strange, 50; M. Wagner, in *Nachr. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissensch.* 1902, 256.

(G. AWAD)

ALTÎ PARMAK ("the man with six toes"), MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Turkish scholar and translator. He was born in Üsküp, where he studied and joined the ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* of the Bayramiyya [*q.v.*], became a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) and teacher in Istanbul and later in Cairo, where he died in 1033/1623-24. (1) His main work is the *Dalāʾil-i Nubuwwat-i Muḥammadī wa-Shamāʾil-i Futuwwat-i Aḥmadī*, a translation of the Persian *Maʿāridj al-Nubuwwa* by Muʿīn al-Dīn b. Sharaf al-Dīn Farāhī, known as Mullā Miskīn (d. 907/1501-02); there are numerous manuscripts in Istanbul, Cairo and elsewhere, and printed editions of Istanbul 1257 and Būlāḳ 1271 (see Storey, i, 188; Brockelmann, S II, 661). For a detailed account of the contents of this work, see Flügel, *Handschr. Wien*, ii, no. 1231. (2) He also translated from the Persian the *Nigāristān*, not the work of Djāmī (as in Brockelmann, ii, 590), but that of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī (d. 975/1567-68; cf. Storey, i, 114); the translation bears the title *Nuzhat-i Djahān wa- Nādirat-i Dawarān*, and exists in several manuscripts in Istanbul. (3) A further work of his is the translation of the *Kitāb-i sittīn, Djāmiʿ Laṭāʾif al-Basātīn*, a mystical interpretation, in sixty "sessions", of sūra xii by Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd Ṭūsī, an author of uncertain date (cf. Storey, i, 29, no. 10); a manuscript exists in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul. (4) Finally, there is his translation of a "commentary on an extract on rhetoric" (*Sharḥ Talkhīs al-Maʿānī*), with the title *Kāshif al-ʿUlūm wa-Fātiḥ al-Funūn*, preserved in a manuscript of the ʿUmumī Library in Istanbul; this is presumably identical with his translation of the *Muṭawwal* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, no. 3541) by al-Taftāzānī (cf. Brockelmann, i, 354).

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, iv, 174; Brusalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿUthmānlî Müʾellifleri*, i, 212 f. (J. SCHACHT)

ALTI SHAHR, or ALTA SHAHR (the word "six" is always written *alta* in Chinese Turkistān), "six towns", a name for part of Chinese Turkistān (Sin-kiang) comprising the towns of Kuča, Aḳ Su, Uč Turfān (or Ush Turfān), Kāshghar, Yārkand and Khotan. It appears to have been first used in the 18th century (cf. M. Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, i, 226, 278). Yangi Ḥiṣār, between Kāshghar and Yārkand, is sometimes added as the seventh town (though it also frequently counted as one of the six, in which case either Kuča or Uč Turfān is omitted). On account of this the country is often called in modern sources Djiti (or Yiti) Shahr, "seven towns"; cf. e.g. *Taʾrikh-i Amāniyye*, written in 1321/1903 and printed by N. Pantasow, Kazan 1905. [See the articles on each of the towns and TURKISTĀN.]

(W. BARTHOLD *)

ALTILIK [see SIKKA].

ALTÎN or ALTUN (T.), Gold, also used of gold coins. The word is often met with in Turkish proper names of persons and places, e.g. Altîn Köprü, Altîntash (Altuntash). See also SIKKA.

ALTÎN (Altūn) **KÖPRÜ**, a town of ʿIrāḳ, built picturesquely on a small rocky island in the Lesser Zāb river (44° 8' E., 35° 42' N.)—and in modern times overflowing on to both banks—serves as a *nāḥiya* headquarters in the *ḳaḍā* of Kirkūk in the *liwā* (province) of that name, formerly in the *wilāyet* of Mosul. The Zāb here forms the boundary between Kirkūk and the Irbīl *liwās*. Known locally in Arabic simply as al-Ḳanṭara, the Turkish name ("Golden Bridge") is variously explained; some believe it to commemorate a Turkish or Kurdish lady of that name, others that it refers to the rich caravan-tolls of earlier days, since the place lies on the agelong Baghdād-Mosul highway; while others understand it as an abbreviation of Altin-Sū-Köprü, or the "Bridge of the Altin-Sū". But it is at least equally probable that the river name (now rarely used) itself merely reflects the town name.

The place, no more than an obscure and unrecorded village in medieval times, gained importance in and since the 11th/16th century, after the erection of the two bridges by (it is said) Sulṭān Murād IV and a period of settled administration. It was visited and has been described by many European travellers; and, now reckoned as healthy as well as highly picturesque, has in late years been greatly improved in cleanliness, amenities, and communications. The famous stone-built bridges, of which the southern contained an almost impractically high central arch, were destroyed by the Turks in 1918 and later replaced by modern steel structures. The Kirkūk-Irbīl branch of ʿIrāḳ Railways crosses the Zāb immediately upstream.

The inhabitants of Altîn Köprü, some 3500, are mixed Kurdish, Turkoman and Arab; this applies also to the thirty villages within the *nāḥiya*. Many of the latter lie within the area of the rich and extensive Kirkūk oilfield (discovered in 1346/1927, and in full development since 1353/1934); oilfield operations give employment to many of the inhabitants. Their other main occupations are those of agriculture (partly rain-fed, partly aided by modern-type irrigation), of services and supplies connected with road transport, of the characteristic *kellek* (skin-supported raft) traffic on the Zāb, and of wholesale and retail trade.

Bibliography: Turkish period, V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 855; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, and many travellers' records, such as Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreib. nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 340; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1801, ii, 372; Rousseau, *Descriptian du Pachali de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 85; C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon*, London 1839, ii, 10-2; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii, 319; Czernik, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, no. 44 (1875), 47; see also K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 637-9; E. Reclus, *Norw. géogr.* univ., ix, 431; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Martyrer*, 1880, 258, 263. For the 20th century, S. H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953. (S. H. Longrigg)

ALTÎN ORDU, modern Turkish imitation of the Russian term "Zolotaya Orda", "Golden Horde" [see bātūids].

ALTÎNTASH (also Altuntash, local pronunciation Altindesh), village in Anatolia, 39° 5' N, 30° 10' E, and a *nāḥiye* in the *wilāyet* and the *ḳaḍā* of Kütahya (though the capital of the *nāḥiye* is not in the village, but in the village of Kürdköyü, a little to the west), on the small stream in the area of the sources of the Porsuk, somewhat to the west of the Afyōn Ḳara Ḥiṣār—Kütahya road. The village contains a *türbe* of the 19th century and a modern mosque incorporating older fragments. It stands on the site of an older and larger mosque, the building inscription of which (by the Rūm Saldjūḳ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād) is said to be in the museum of Aḳ Shehir. The inscription which is now above the porch refers to the building of a bridge and bears the date of 666/1267-8; the place has two small old bridges.

In the neighbouring Čakarsaz (called by the inhabitants Čakîrsaz) there is an early Ottoman *khān* (three naves with five girders) with a remarkable porch, into which there are also built antique fragments.

Altintash was a stage on the highway from Brusa (and Usküdar) via Kütahya to Afyōn Ḳara Ḥisar and Ḳonya, forming the stage probably together with Čakarsaz.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Konia*, Paris 1897, 87, 254; ʿAli Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyenin Taʾrīkh we-Djoghrāfyā Lughāti*, 26; Fr. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, ii, index. (Fr. Taeschner)

ALTŪNTĀSH al-Ḥādjib, Abū Saʿīd (his alleged second name Hārūn which occurs in a single passage of Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 294, is probably due to an error of the author or of a copyist), Turkish slave, later general of the Ghaznawid Sebuk Tegīn and his two successors and governor of Khwārizm. Already under Sebuk Tegīn he attained the highest rank in the bodyguard, that of a "great *ḥādjib*"; under Maḥmūd he commanded the right wing in the great battle against the Ḳarakhānids (22 Rabīʿ II 398/4 Jan. 1008, and in 401/1010-1 he is mentioned as governor of Harāt. After the conquest of khwārizm in 408/1017 he was appointed governor of the province with the title of Khwārizmshāh and maintained himself in this office until his death in 423/1032. Altūntāsh seems to have administered the advanced border-province with energy and foresight and to have effectively guarded it against the neighbouring Turkish tribes. As, however, by this means he established his own rule even more than that of the sultans, his measures were always regarded with suspicion both by Maḥmūd and Masʿūd, and it is said that both of them made attempts to remove the troublesome governor by treachery. In the spring of 423/1032 Altūntāsh undertook, by order of the sultan Masʿūd a campaign against ʿAlī Tegīn (cf. ḳarakhānids) and received a mortal wound in the battle of Dabūsiyya. He was succeeded as governor by his son Hārūn, but Masʿūd bestowed the title of Khwārizmshāh on his own son Saʿīd and Hārūn administered the country only as Saʿīd's representative. In Ramaḍān 425/August 1034 Hārūn proclaimed himself independent, but was killed the very next year at the instigation of the Ghaznawids. His brother and successor Ismāʿīl Khandān ruled the country till 432/1041, when he was ousted, by order of the Ghaznawids, by Shāh Malik, the prince of Djand. Thus the dynasty founded by Altūntāsh came to an end.

Bibliography: ʿUtbī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Yamīnī*, 403-6; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 73 ff.; Bayhaḳī (Morley), 59 ff., 91 ff., 389 ff., 419 ff., 499 ff., 834 ff.; the dates in Ibn al-Athīr (cf. index) are to be rectified according to these authorities. Cf. also the anecdotes, which are probably derived from the lost portions of Bayhaḳī's great work, in Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma* (Schefer), 206

and ʿAwfī (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., i, 89; cf. M. Nizámu 'd-din, *Introduction to the Jawámiʿul-Hikáyát*, index). Barthold, *Turkestan*, 275-9; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 56-60; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 115, 120. (W. BARTHOLD)

ALUDEL [see AL-ʿUTHĀL].

ʿALŪK [see AL-DJINN].

AL-**ĀLŪSĪ**, name of a family which included a large number of savants of Baghdād in the 19th and both centuries. The name is derived from Ālūs, a place situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, between Abū Kamāl and Ramādī; according to family tradition, the ancestors of the Ālūsī (whose descent is traced back to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn) fled there to escape from the Mongol conqueror Hūlāgū; their descendants only returned to Baghdād in the 11th/17th century. Among the numerous representatives of this family who have added lustre to the cultural and political history of ʿIrāk are:

(1) ʿABD ALLĀH ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, forefather of the family (d. 1246/1830).

(2) ABU'L THANĀʾ MAḤMŪD SHIHĀB AL-DĪN (1217-70/1802-54), son of the preceding; he was *muftī* of Baghdād for several years, but was also an outstanding professor, thinker and polemist. Among his numerous works are: *Rūḥ al-Maʿānī* (commentary on the Ḳurʾān, Būlāḳ 1301-10/1883-1892, 9 vols.); commentaries on grammar and prosody and attempts at *maḳāmāt*; his doctrinal arguments are contained in *al-Risāla al-Lāhūriyya* (ed. 1301/1883) and *al-Adjwiba al-ʿIrāḳiyya ʿan al-Asʾila al-Īrāniyya* (Istanbul 1317). The account of his voyage to Istanbul in 1267-9/1851-2, after his dismissal from his post as *muftī*, provided the material for there works: *Nashwat al-Shamūl fi 'l-Dhahāb ilā Islāmbūl*, *Nashwat al-Mudām fi 'l-ʿAwd ilā Dār al-Salām*, and *Gharāʾib al-Ightirāb wa-Nuzhat al-Albāb*, published at Baghdād, the first two in 1291-3/1874-6, the third in 1327/1909.

(3) ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, brother of the preceding, (d. 1284/1867); a *khaṭīb* at Baghdād, he was called "the Ibn al-Djawzī of his age and the Ibn Nubāta of his generation".

(4) ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD, brother of the preceding, (1232-1324/1816-1906); professor and *wāʿiẓ*, author of some verse and a *Nathr al-Laʾālī ʿalā Naẓm al-Amālī*.

(5) ʿABD ALLĀH BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN, elder brother of (2) (1248-91/1832-74); *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra, author of a small treatise on grammar, two texts on logic and a commentary on a treatise on mysticism.

(6) ʿABD AL-BĀḲĪ SAʿD AL-DĪN, brother of the preceding (1250-93/1834-76); *ḳāḍī* of Kirkūk in 1292/1875; he wrote mainly commentaries on or adaptations of manuals on grammer or scansion, and a guide to the pilgrimage, *Awḍaḥ Manhadj ilā Maʿrifat Manāsik al-Ḥadjdj* (lith. Cairo 1277).

(7) NUʿMĀN KHAYR AL-DĪN ABU' L-BARAKĀT, brother of the preceding (1252-1317/1836-39), professor and *wāʿiẓ*; author of a defence of Ibn Taymiyya, *Djalāʾ al-ʿAynayn fi 'l-Muḥākama bayn al-Aḥmadayn*, which caused a great sensation. He wrote two other polemical works, *al-Djawāb al-Faṣīḥ* (against the Christians), and *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmān fi Radd Shaḳāshiḳ Ibn Sulaymān*; his sermons and exhortations were collected in his *Ghāliyat al-Mawāʿiẓ*, a work of great length which exists in several editions.

(8) MUḤAMMAD ḤAMĪD, brother of the preceding (1262/1846-1290/1873-4).

(9) AḤMAD SHĀKIR, brother of the preceding (1264/1848-1330/1911-2), *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra.

(10) MAḤMUD SHUKRĪ, known also as MAḤMŪD ĀLŪSĪ-ZĀDA, son of (5) (29 Ramaḍān 1273/14 May 1857/3 Shawwāl 1342/8 May 1924); the best known of his family, a fact which is partly due to the zeal of Muḥammad Bahdjat al-Atharī in publishing his works. He wrote some 50 works on history, *fiḳh*, biography, lexicography, rhetoric and dogmatic controversy; on history, the most noteworthy are the *Bulūgh al-Arab fi Maʿrifat Aḥwāl al-ʿArab* (printed in 1313/1896), a history on the Arabs of the *djāhiliyya* compiled in answer to a question raised at the 8th Oriental Congress (1889), and *Taʾrīkh Nadjd* (Cairo 1343); on biography, *al-Misk al-Adhfar* (Baghdād 1348/1930) on the savants of Baghdād in 12th-13th centuries; on dialectology, *Amthāl al-ʿAwāmm fī Madīnat al-Salām*; on controversy, a series of violent polemics against Shīʿism, against the Rifāʿiyya Order, in support of the neo-Ḥanbalite law reform, etc., notably the *Ghāyāt al-Amāni*, published under a pseudonym (Cairo 1327). He was one of the most vigorous representatives of modern Islam, striving by means of the written and spoken word and by his example to combat *bidʿa*, and he may be regarded as one of the leaders of the Salafiyya movement.

(11) ʿALĀʾ AL-DIN ʿALĪ, son of (7) (d. 1340/1921); a professor; his only work is a manual on grammar in verse; a collection of biographies was never completed.

(12) MUḤAMMAD DARWĪSH, son of (9) (d. after 1340/1922); professor and preacher; he wrote several unpublished works.

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ʿALWA, name of a Nubian people and kingdom. The kingdom was adjacent to that of Maḳurra [*q.v.*] a little below the confluence of the White Nile and the Atbara and stretched southward well beyond the confluence of the White and Blue Nile; its capital was Sōba, near the modern Kharṭūm. The Christian kingdom preserved its independence even after the fall of the kingdom of the Maḳurra and only disappeared in the beginning of the 10th/16th century under the pressure of Arab tribes allied to the Fundj. [See also NŪBA, and AL-NĪL.]

Bibliogrphy: Ibn al-Faḳīh, 78; Yaʿḳūbī, 335; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 31; Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī, in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (transl. by G. Troupeau, in *Arabica*, 1954, 284); Yāḳūt, iv, 820; Dimashḳī, *Nukhba*, 296; J. Marquart, *Die Benin Sammlung*, Leiden 1913, index; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 72-5; U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, Rome 1938, index; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951; 25 ff.; P. L. Shinnie, *Excavations at Soba*, Khartoum 1955. (S. M. STERN)

ALWĀḤ [see LAWḤ].

ALWAND [see AK KOYUNLU].

ALWAND KŪH or KŪH-I ALWAND (ELWEND), is an isolated mountain-group lying to the south of Hamadhān, and rising to a height of 11,717 feet. To the north and north-east the Alwand Kūh drops steeply off to the plain; to the north-west it is united to the Kūh-i Dāʾim al-Barf, a mountain-mass of almost equal height, which is joined to the Kūh-i Almu Ḳulakh by lower mountain-chains. The latter forms the north-western extremity of the entire Alwand system. The core of the real Alwand consists of granite, judging from the geological formation; only at the base is there to be found isolated red clay of salt formation. Wild rocky precipices, bare cliffs and gorges alternate with fertile mountain pasturages; up to nearly 7,500 feet the southern slopes are clad with groves of walnuts, mulberries and fruit trees. The Alwand Kūh is noted for its abundant water-supply. Mustawfī observes (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, Bombay 1311, 152) that in addition to the spring which rises on the highest peak, no fewer than 42 streams flow from this central portion of the mountain chain, some of which are tributaries of the Tigris, others turning eastwards, flow to the interior of Iran. As the result of the plentiful irrigation by the Alwand streams the plain of Hamadhān has always been considered as the most highly favoured region of Irān. Hamadhān itself, the old Ekbatana, which is built in terraces along the foot of the mountain was a favourite summer residence for the Achaemenid kings on account of its cool, lofty position (1860 metres). Two cuneiform inscriptions dating from Darius I and Xerxes I still remain as vestiges of ancient Persian times at a place named Gandj Namah (= treasure-house) on the slope of the Alwand Kūh at a height of 7,000 feet.

Oriental writers relate many legends but few facts concerning the Alwand Kūh. (They mention a source on the summit of the mountain as one of the sources of paradise—probably following old beliefs concerning the locality; cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 146, 170-3.) Al-Ḳazwīnī (682 = 1283) gives the best account; he names it Kūh Arwand. Yāḳūt also uses the form Arwand, whereas other Arabic writers employ the later term Alwand (Mustawfī: Alwand Kūh). The Old Persian name Aruanda (Avesta and Pāzend: Arwand) appears in Greek writers (Polybius, Ptolemy, Diodorus) in the form Ορόντης. In Old Armenian the word is found as the name of persons in the form Erwand (Arwand); cf. H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897, i, 40, and in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1904, 426. The "white mountains" mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions are probably to be identified with the Alwand Kūh; cf. Streck in *ZA*, 1900, 371. Perhaps moreover, the "cedar-mountain" of the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh epic refers to the Alwand Kūh, as Jensen has conjectured in Schrader's *Keilinschriftl. Biblioth.*, vi/1, Berlin 1900, 573.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 225; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenf.), ii, 236, 311; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s. v. *Arwand*; Le Strange, 22, 195; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 48, 82-98; H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, Berlin 1878, 69; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 168 f.; Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, 103, 104-143 ff.; Justi. in *Gr I Ph*, ii, 427 (on the places of worship of old Persian deities on the Alwand); C. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Ottoman, l'Egypte et en Perse*, Paris 1801, iii, 163; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* Leipzig 1861, ii, 252; *Mitteilungen der K. K. Geogr. Ger. Wien* 1883, 72 f.; A. F. Stahl, in *Petermann's Geograph. Mitteilungen*, 1907, 205 (geological observations) und also 1909, 6. Map: Iran series, 1/4 inch Sheet no. 1-39, G (Hamadān) June 1942. (M. STRECK-D. N. WILBER)

ALWĀR (ULWUR in English spelling) was a "native" state in the east of Radjputāna, India, lying between 27° 3' and 28° 13' north and 76° 7' and 77° 13' east with an area of 3, 141 square miles and a population of 861, 993 (1951 census). The languages spoken are mainly Hindi and Mewāti; about one fourth of the inhabitants is Muslim.

The founder of the modern state of Alwār was Pratap Singh, 1740-1791, who, between 1771 and 1776, succeeded in carving out a principality which was recognised by the Mughal Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II, and later, in 1811, by the British.

After the lapse of British paramountcy Alwār joined the Matsya Union with Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli; the Maharaja of Alwār become Uparpramukh of the new state. On the 15th May, 1949, Alwār and the other component states of the Matsya Union merged with the Union of Radjasthān.

The town of Alwār has some Islamic monuments, such as the mausolea of Bakhtāwar Singh (the adopted son and successor of Pratap Singh) and of Fatiḥ Djang (see Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*).

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AMA [see ʿABD].

AL-AʿMĀ AL-TUṬĪLĪ, "the blind man of Tudela", ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS (or ABŪ DJAʿFAR) AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. HURAYRA AL-ʿUTBĪ (or AL-ḲAYSĪ), Hispano-Arabic poet, b. in Tudela, but brought up in Seville; d. 525/1130-1. MSS of his *dīwān*, containing classical poetry, are to be found in London and Cairo (see Brockelmann, I, 320, S I, 480), but he is mainly famous as one of the great masters of *muwashshaḥ* poetry. His *muwashshaḥs* are preserved, apart from occasional quotations in general works, in such special anthologies of the genre as Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dār al-Ṭirāz* (ed. Rikaby, nos. 1, 30, 34), Ibn Bushrā's *ʿUddat al-Djalīs*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Djaysh al-Tawshīḥ* (ch. ii), and al-Ṣafadī's *Tawshīʿ al-Tawshīḥ* (nos. 14a, 16a; for the last two, cf. S. M. Stern, in *Arabica*, 1955, 150 ff.); cf. MUWASHSHAḤ.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, MS Oxford 749, fol. 167 v ff.; Ibn Khāḳān, *Kalāʾid al-ʿIkyān*, 271-8; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, MS Oxford 664, fol. 73 ff.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 139 (= 162), 235, 275, 336, 360, 652; Ibn Saʿīd, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 392; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index, s.v. L'Aveugle de Tudèle. (S. M. STERN)

ʿAMĀDIYA, a town in Kurdistān, at about 100 klm. north of Mosul in the basin of the Gāra river (a right tributary of the Great Zāb). The town stands on a hill and is dominated by the citadel built on a steep rock. The water supplying the citadel comes from cisterns hewn in the rock. The stronghold is situated at a point which, in the east, controls communications with valleys of the left affluents of the Zāb (Shamdīnān, Rū-Kučük, Rawānduz) and, in the west, those within the Khābūr basin. The climate of ʿAmādiya is hot and unhealthy.

According to Ibn al-Athīr the fortress received its name from ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī who built it in 537/1142 on the spot where a more ancient castle stood called Āshib (*al-Kāmil*, ix, 60) or al-Shaʿbāniyya (*Taʾrīkh al-Atābakiyya, Recueil des Hist. des croisades*,

ii/2, 114-5). Less probable is its attribution to the Būyid ʿImād al-Dawla (d. in 338/949, see *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 105.) The original form of the name is, therefore, ʿImādiyya, but the modern pronunciation is ʿAmādiya.

ʿAmādiya had Kurdish princes of the Bahdīnān family, originary of a place called Tārūn (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 222) in the territory of the Shams al-Dīnān (Shamdīnān). Sharaf al-Dīn, i, 106-15, traces their arrival back to circa 600/1203. In its heyday the principality comprised a number of adjoining territories (ʿAḳr Shūsh, Dahūk and even Zakho). The later Bahdīnān shifted between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans and were finally incoporated by the latter, under whom ʿAmādiya was reckoned now to the wilāyat of Wān and now to that of Mawṣil. Since the settlement of the Mosul question in 1926 ʿAmādiya has formed part of ʿIrāḳ.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 717; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 717-20, 727; xi, 590 ff.; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 430; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 203, 219 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Bohtan* (= *Mitteil. der Berliner Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1897-1898), 10, note 2; 62, note 1, 107; (M. Rousseau), *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 198 and elsewhere (see index, 235); H. A. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains* 1854, i, 157-62; Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mossul und Urmia*, iii, 275 ff.; Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, 1875, 529; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 795; Le Strange, 92 f.; Sir A. Wilson, *Mesopotamia* 1917-20, London 1930, index.

(M. Streck-[V. Minorsky])

ʿAMAL (A.). 1. *ʿAmal*, performance, action, is usually discussed by the speculative theologians and philosophers only in connection with belief [see ʿILM, IMĀN] or with *ʿilm* and *naẓar*. From Hellenistic tradition was known the definition of philosophy as the "knowledge of the nature of things and the doing of good" (cf. *Mafātīḥ*, ed. van Vloten, 131 f.). Many Muslim thinkers have emphasised the necessity or at least the desirability of this combination (cf. Goldziher, *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Nafs*, 54*-60*). But it is the intellectualism of the Greek philosophy, in ethics also, that explains how nine tenths of the philosophers and mystics influenced by it represented action if not of less importance than at least as dependent on knowledge. Plato placed wisdom (σοφία) as first of his cardinal virtues, the Stoics and Neo-Platonists followed him. Aristotle also esteemed theoretical (dianoetic) virtue higher than ethical. This is the doctrine of the so-called "Theology of Aristotle", that the soul of man is elevated, not through actions but by cognition, to perceive and enjoy the intellectual world.

Different opinions on the relation between knowledge and action are given by al-Tawḥīdī in his *Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1929, 262 sff. We shall here confine ourselves to the predominantly intellectual conception and take as an example the *Fuṣūṣ*, attributed to al-Fārābī, *Philosophische Abhandlungen*, 72 ff. [Arabic] ed. Dieterici; in reality by Ibn Sīnā, where we find the psychological and metaphysical basis of the author's teaching. He distinguishes three practical faculties of the soul, which are only briefly mentioned and two theoretical, which are discussed more fully. The activity of the vegetable and animal soul is practical as is that of the soul of man, i.e. the reasoning soul, in so far as the latter chooses not only the useful but also the beautiful and prepares itself for the goals placed before it in this life. The theoretical faculties are of a higher rank. Beginning with sensual perception (animal soul) theoretical reason advances beyond the material world and rises to the intellectual sphere. Practical reason is only servile, theoretical however is independent (cf. al-Fārābī's *Musterstaat*, [Arabic] ed. Dieterici, 47).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the philosophers following Aristotle divided sciences into theoretical (*naẓariyya*) and practical (*ʿamaliyya*). The latter are ethics, economics and politics.

Bibliography: A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, s. index, s.v. *Works*; and Tj. de Boer, *Ethics and Morality* (*Muslim*), in Hastings' *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*.

(Tj. de Boer)

2. *ʿAmal* (and the pl. *aʿmāl*), "that which is practised" and, following the usage of Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, "the works". It is opposed complementarily to *naẓar* [*q.v.*], speculative knowledge, and must be distinguished from *fiʿl* [*q.v.*] (pl. *afʿāl*), acts. *ʿAmal* signifies the moral action in its practical context and, secondarily, the practical domain of "acting". In the terminology of *falsafa*, *al-ʿilm al-ʿamalī* is practical knowledge, which comprises, according to the list given by al-Khwārizmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*), ethics, domestic economy and politics, thereby reproducing an Aristotelian distinction. This then is a notion which applies to the "foreign sciences". It was used and developed in *falsafa*, particularly in distinguishing the "practical" and the "theoretical intellect". Concurrently, the idea of *ʿamal ṣāliḥ*, a morally good action, synonymous with *maʿrūf*, became current in Islam. But the *Risāla al-Laduniyya* (a text usually attributed to al-Ghazzālī) introduced the distinction between speculative knowledge (here *ʿilmī*) and practical knowledge (*ʿamalī*) as regards revealed knowledge (*ʿilm sharʿī*) itself, and it is canon law (*fiḳh*) which is called an *ʿamalī* science. When works on *kalām* consider the nature of faith (*īmān*) and its relationships to Islām, the "external works" required by the Law are commonly termed *aʿmāl*. Ibn Ḥazm does the same. (*Afʿāl*, on the other hand, is commonly used in order to describe the human acts when discussing the question of free will.) Al-Ghazzālī, especially in the *Iḥyāʾ*, when speaking of the faith, follows the usage of *kalām* with regard to the meaning of the term *ʿamal* and its plural *aʿmāl*. He considers as permissible the following definition: *īmān* is equivalent to the sum of inward assent (*taṣdīḳ*), verbal confession (*ḳawl*) and works (*aʿmāl*).

Bibliography: *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1342, 79) *al-Risāla al-Laduniyya*, Cairo 1353/1934, 31; *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1353, i, 103 ff.; see also the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm and the treatises of *kalām*, chap, on *al-asmāʾ wa'l-aḥkām*.

(L. Gardet)

3. *ʿAmal*, "judicial practice". The problem of "jurisprudence" as a source of law has arisen at every period and in every province of Islām. But Morocco has provided the best facilities for studying it, since the discovery there by L. Milliot in 1917 of an *ʿamal* which has regulative force.

In Andalusia, despite controversy, there prevailed a tendency to require judges to follow "practice of Cordova". Jurisprudence entered into compendia of "formularies" (*wathāʾiḳ*), "responsa" (*fatāwā*) and even "regulations" (*ḳawānīn*). Part of this material was incorporated in a late manual, the *Tuḥfa* of Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 829/1426), which was destined to have

a great success in Morocco, where the evolution was determined by local conditions.

At Fez, the jurisdiction of the *ḳāḍīs* was combined with the action of municipal authorities, and had to take into consideration special customs. The resultant of this complicated procedure, once set down in writing, was precisely the *ʿamal*, which found a recognised place in the system from the end of the 9th/15th century. A short guide to procedure, the *Lāmiyya* of ʿAlī al-Zaḳḳāḳ (d. Shawwāl 912/Feb.-March 1507), expressed already the technical aspect of the problem. *Fiḳh* is above all an "art" in the service of orthodoxy and of urban economy. At the same time, it reflects the difficulties met with in the existence of unusual practices, or even what we should call customary laws. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī (960 — Ṣafar 1025/1552 — Feb.-March 1611) expounds a Mālikī *ʿamal*. Al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī (6 Shawwāl 488 — 14 Rabīʿ II, 1052/14 Nov. 1588 — 12 July 1642) sanctions the evidence of the *lafīf*, "unsifted" witnesses, which emanates neither from "virtuous men" [cf. ʿADL] nor from professionals, but from the "man in the street", and relies therefore on the inherent integrity of the "group" (*djamāʿa*). This innovation, which was not unconnected with conditions in rural areas, provoked controversy. Similarly the *ṣafḳa* which, by sanctioning the validity of a sale concluded by a joint owner, demonstrated the solidarity of the rural family, was the subject of a work by Maḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra (15 Ramaḍān 999 — 3 Djumādā II, 1072/7 July 1591 — 24 January 1662).

In the second half of the 11th/17th century, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (17 Djumādā II 1040-16 Djumādā I 1095/21 Jan. 1631-20 April 1695) collected together several hundred rules in a mnemonic poem called *al-ʿAmal al-Fāsī*. This work, which acquired at least three commentaries, has given its name to a whole class of literature. There is also a "general practice" (*ʿamal muṭlaḳ*), and especially a Southern practice which, being based on an irregular local system, has great documentary value. An important part in its formulation was played by the *ḳāḍī* ʿĪsā al-Suktānī (d. 1062/1652) and by the jurists originating from the old intellectual centres in the Sūs and influenced by the spiritual movement which developed round the *zāwiyas*, such as Dilāʾ and particularly Tamggrūt.

Under the title of "opinions" (*adjwiba*), "judgements" (*aḥkām*) or "precedents" (*nawāzil*), each doctor reproduced and, on occasion, revised the contributions of his predecessors. The lack of criticism of the sources, and the tendency to cover expedient solutions by the cloak of doctrinal pretexts, make it difficult to trace the evolution of ideas, as well as of this voluminous branch of legal literature as a whole. Nevertheless, European scholarship, justly impressed by the continuity and by the practical value of this literature, is inclined to regard it as tending to the creation of a positive law. This thesis has been propounded in a masterly fashion by L. Milliot. On its part, Moroccan exegesis reduces *ʿamal* to a purely technical plane; when local customs require it, the *ḳāḍī* has the right to prefer the "isolated" or "anomalous" opinion (*shādhdh*) to the "predominant" opinion (*mashhūr*). This right, limited by numerous conditions and differentiations, is therefore apt to produce only temporary and isolated solutions. In fact, *ʿamal* is virtually a pragmatic law. But it remains subject to doctrinal criticism which can at any moment revoke it. It is nevertheless of considerable interest to historians, to whom it offers factual information, too often neglected by the chroniclers, and a many-sided documentation on the development of Moroccan law.

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(J. BERQUE)

4. *ʿAmal* as a legal and economic term, denotes the labour, as opposed to capital; as such, it occurs in the discussion of a number of contracts, e.g. *idjāra* (hire), *muḍāraba* (or *ḳirāḍ*, sleeping partnership), *musāḳāt* and *muzāraʿa* (agricultural partnerships); [*qq.v.*]. It also denotes the performance of an act or a duty (opp. *niyya*, "intention"); hence Suyūṭī's [*q.v.*] *ʿAmal al-Yawm wa'l-Layla* ("Acts to be performed every day and night"; Brockelmann, II, 190, no. 113), and its Shīʿite counterpart, *Aʿmāl al-Yawm w'al-Layla w'al-Usbūʿ w'al-Shuhūr w'al-Sana* ("Acts to be performed every day and night, week, month and year") by Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī (Brockelmann, S, II, 795, no. 16), and the tradition *al-aʿmāl bil-niyyāt*, "acts are valid according to the intention" (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 45, *Vorlesungen*², 41). (Ed.)

AMĀLĪ [see TADRĪS].

ʿAMĀLĪḲ (or ʿAMĀLIḲA), the Amalekites of the Bible. Not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, this ancient people is connected by Muslim literary tradition to the genealogical table in Genesis x, either to Shem (through Lud-Lāwudh or Arpakhshad), or to Ham. They take the place of the Philistines (the people of Djālūt-Goliath) and of the Midianites (Balaam persuaded them to incite the Israelites to debauchery), and the Pharaohs are alleged to be of their race. On the other hand, in the mythical pre-Islamic history of Arabia and in the legendary cycle of the Yamanite migrations, they are listed among the first tribes speaking the Arabic tongue, with Ṭasm, Djadīs and Thamūd. At the time of Hūd, they lived in the Ḥidjāz, but the same prophet is supposed to have preached to them in Babel. Ishmael's first wife, who was repudiated, was an Amalekite. Their moral corruption merited their destruction. The evil deeds of King ʿAmlūḳ belong to the folklore concerning *jus primae noctis*. Joshua fought against them, and the establishment of Jewish tribes at Yathrib is said to be an unforeseen result of the war of extermination waged on them by Jushua's order, but not fully carried out. David also made war on them. Reference is also made to an Amalekite settlement in the Yamāma. Even the confused memories of the Palmyrene empire of Odenathus and Zenobia have been associated with the Amalekites. Nöldeke has clearly shown that apart from the confused biblical references, there is no historical basis to these accounts.

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AMĀN, safety, protection, safe conduct, quarter; *mustaʾmin*, the person who has received an *amān*. The term does not occur in the Ḳurʾān; it is derived from sūra ix, 6: "If a Polytheist asks you for *djiwār* (see below), give it to him so that he may hear Allāh's words, then let him go to his place of safety (*maʾman*)" (cf. also sūra xvi, 112). In Muḥammad's letters to the Arab tribes, *amān* (or *amana*) occurs as a synonym of *ʿahd* [*q.v.*], *dhimma* [*q.v.*] and *djiwār*. The institution of *amān* continues, in fact, the pre-Islamic Arab institution of *djiwār* by which a stranger, who was in principle outlawed outside his own group, received for his life and property the protection of a member of a group to which he did not belong, and therefore the protection of the group as a whole (cf. E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, 60 ff.). All this goes back to Semitic antiquity (cf. the Hebrew *gēr*). Muḥammad replaced tribal by religious solidarity, and stated in the so-called Constitution of Medina (year 1 or 2 A. H.): "The *dhimma* of Allāh is one and indivisible, and a *djiwār* given by the lowest (of the Believers) engages all" (Ibn Hishām, 342). Similar sayings are reported from the Prophet in traditions (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *dhimma*, *djār*). The opening passage of sūra ix, of which the verse quoted above forms part, details the scope of the pacts of security, called *ʿahd*, between the Believers and the Polytheists (cf. Blachère, *Le Coran*, trad., ii, 1076). The relevant letters, whether genuine or not, from the Prophet, the first Caliphs and their commanders (cf. M. Hamidullah, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane*, Paris 1935, with bibliography) are almost exclusively concerned with the granting of permanent security, which is acquired either by conversion to Islam or by political submission to the Islamic state (cf. AHL AL-DHIMMA); at least one reference to safe conducts for foreign travellers exists (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 37), but *amān* in its later technical meaning was not, as yet, distinguished from the general concept of *dhimma*. This distinction was made when the religious law of Islam was elaborated.

Amān, in Islamic religious law, is a safe conduct or pledge of security by which a *ḥarbī* or "enemy alien", i.e. a non-Muslim belonging to the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*], becomes protected by the sanctions of the law in his life and property for a limited period. Every free Muslim, man or woman, who is of age, and according to most doctrines even a slave, is qualified to give a valid *amān*, either to an individual or to a restricted number of *ḥarbīs*. The *imām* alone is qualified to give an *amān* to undetermined groups, such as the population of a whole city or territory, or to all traders. An *amān*, properly given, is valid whether the fundamental state of war exists between the Muslims and the community to which the *ḥarbī* in question belongs, or whether it has for the time being been suspended by treaty or truce. It can be given verbally in any language, or by an intelligible sign. The *mustaʾmin* has the right to go, with his property, to his "place of safety", where he is not exposed to immediate attacks by the Muslims, when his *amān* expires (or earlier), or at the latest one lunar year (according to the Shāfiʿīs: four months) after the grant of the *amān*, unless he prefers to stay in Islamic territory under the status of the *ahl al-dhimma*. Diplomatic envoys who are known or can identify themselves as such, automatically enjoy *amān*; but that is not true of traders or of shipwrecked persons. During his stay in Islamic territory, the *mustaʾmin* is, generally speaking, assimilated to the *dhimmī* as far as civil law is concerned; as regards criminal law, the doctrine hesitates, with many variants on details, between subjecting him to the *ḥadd* punishments applicable to the *dhimmī* or making him only civilly responsible; in any case, if the *mustaʾmin* acts against the interest of the Muslims or otherwise misbehaves, the *imām* may terminate his *amān* and deport him to his "place of safety". The corresponding safe conduct given by the *ḥarbīs* to a Muslim in their territory, is not called *amān* but *idhn* (permission).

In practice, letters of *amān* for individuals are attested from the late Umayyad period (104-108/723-726) onwards. The oldest grants of *amān* proper, given to whole groups for the purpose of travel or trade, are contained in the treaties between the Muslim administrators of Egypt and the Nubians and the Bedja, of 31/651-2 and 104-116/722-734 respectively. Formularies of a later period are found in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, xiii, 321 ff. (summarized in Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 170 f.). Al-Ḳalḳashandī mentions, too, the issue of letters of *amān* by the Muslim political authorities to Muslims and gives examples, mostly from the later period. These are free pardons issued to rebels, and they are, strictly speaking, superfluous or even incompatible with religious law. They were, nevertheless, issued frequently, and the historians provide numerous examples of this kind of *amān*, which was on occasion unscrupulously broken, from the early ʿAbbāsid period onwards. The institution of the regular *amān*, on the other hand, made not only diplomatic relations (cf. M. Canard, *Deux épisodes des relations diplomatiques arabe-byzantines au Xᵉ siècle*, in *B Et. Or.*, xiii, 51-69) but trade between the Islamic and the Christian world down to the middle of the 6th/12th century possible, and letters of *amān* were regularly granted to traders and pilgrims. It has been suggested that the Islamic doctrine of *amān* was elaborated, on an old Arabian and Islamic basis, under the influence of the corresponding rules of Roman Byzantine law. From the end of the 6th/12th century onwards, coinciding with the increase in trade across the Mediterranean, the institution of *amān* was in practice superseded by state treaties between Christian and Islamic powers, which gave the strangers more security and rights. There are natural similarities in details, even the term *amān* is sometimes used in the Arabic versions of the treaties, and the Muslim scholars, when called upon to give *fatwās* on questions arising out of them, naturally thought only in terms of *amān* (cf. A. S. Atiya, *An Unpublished XVIth Century Fatwā*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens* [*P. Kahle Festschrift*], Leiden 1935, 55-68). Nevertheless, these treaties, which later gave rise to the Capitulations [cf. IMTIYĀZ], did not develop out of the Islamic concept of *amān*, but represent a type of treaty which had already come into being between the trading cities of Italy and the Byzantine Empire and the states of the Crusaders (cf. R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, Paris 1940, 430-40).

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(J. SCHACHT)

AMĀN, MĪR, (commonly spelt in English Mir Amman, an Indian writer, born at Delhi, who was active at the beginning of the 19th century at the Fort William College, Calcutta. His fame as a graceful writer of Urdu prose rests almost entirely on *Bāgh o-Bahār*, which is an adaptation of the story of the four Dervishes, entitled *Ḳiṣṣa Çahār Darwīsh* in its Persian original. It was completed in 1217/1802; and thanks to its plain and perspicuous style, has been widely used as a text-book by Western students of Urdu, and has in consequence been repeatedly printed in India. It has also been translated into English by L. F. Smith under the title of *The Tale of the Four Durwesh*, Calcutta 1813. Other translations are due to Duncan Forbes, Hollings and Eastwick. There is also a French translation by Garcin de Tassy: *Bag o Behar, Le jardin et le printemps, poème hindoustani traduite en français*, Paris 1878. Another less known work of Mīr Amman is *Gandj-i Khūbī*, which is a free translation into Urdu of *Akhlaḳ-i Muḥsinī*, an ethical treatise by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kashifī. The date of its composition is posterior to that of *Bagh o-Bahār*. He was stimulated to this literary activity by the Director of the Fort William College, Dr. J. B. Gilchrist (d. 1841). The writings of Mīr Amān are generally reckoned among those early works which have powerfully contributed to the development of a simple, natural and direct style in Urdu literature.

Mīr Amān occasionally wrote poetry under the poetical name of Luṭf; but he did not excel in it and his *ghazals* seem to have been lost.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

AMĀN ALLĀH [see AFGHĀNISTĀN].

AMĀNAT, the poetical name of SAYYID ĀGHĀ ḤASAN (1231-75/1815-58), a poet of Muslim India, in whom the artificiality and conventionality of the Lucknow school of Urdu poetry reached its culminating point. He began by composing *marthiyas* or elegies on the tragic death of Ḥusayn the son of ʿAlī; but soon turned to the *ghazal*. His poetical compositions have been preserved in two collections, viz., *Guldasta-i Amānat*, compiled in 1269/1853, and his *Dīwān*, also known as *Khazā'in al-Faṣāḥa*, collected in 1278 A. H. and published for the first time at Lucknow in 1285 A. H. He also wrote two *wāsokhts*, the second of which is longer (307 stanzas) and of a better literary quality. In the last days of his life, he became inordinately fond of composing

riddles and enigmas, which seem to have afforded him some sort of mental diversion. He is, however, chiefly remembered for his *Indar Sabhā*, a musical comedy, completed in 1270/1853 and published the next year, along with *Sharḥ Indar Sabhā*, lithographed on the margin. It took the Indian public by storm and became the prototype of many similar plays, written by various authors in subsequent years. In the *Sharḥ*, he reproduces the whole story and also describes the action scene by scene, for those unable to see the play on the stage.

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AMANUS [see ELMA DAGH].

ʿAMĀRA (47° 13′ E, 31° 50′ N), until 1333/1914 the capital of the Turkish *sandjaḳ* of that name in southern ʿIrāḳ, has been since 1340/1921 the headquarter town of a *liwā* of the ʿIrāḳ kingdom, containing also the dependent *ḳaḍās* of ʿAlī al-Gharbī and Ḳalʿa Ṣāliḥ. Pleasantly situated on the Tigris left bank thirty miles from the nearest Persian hills, and potentially rich from the great flood-canals, the abundant crops of rice and dates, and the sheep-breeding of its half marshy and half corn-land territory, ʿAmāra was founded only in 1279/1862 as a Turkish military post to control the ever warring Banū Lām and Āl Bū Muḥammad tribes. It grew rapidly as a local market and entrepôt, as a centre for the civil administration, as a refuelling station for the river steamers, and as from 1308/1890 as a headquarters for administering the great estates acquired for Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The town's main population elements were, and are, Shīʿī and (fewer) Sunnī Muslim Arabs, with communities of Chaldaean Christians, of resident Lurs and Persians, of the "Sabaean" silversmiths, and, until 1370/1950, of Jews. Under the British occupation and Mandate (1334/1915 to 1351/1932) and the ʿIrāḳ Government the town has expanded and acquired modern buildings, communications and public services; but the particularly difficult problems presented by this district in tribal administration and land-tenure remain largely unsolved.

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AMARKOT, town situated 25° 22′ N and 69° 71′ E, in the Tharparkar district of West Pakistan (population in 1951: 5,142, including 1,957 Muslims), was, according to tradition, founded by a branch of the Sūmra Rādjpūts who embraced Islam during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (694/1294-716/1316). The Sūmras lost the town in 624/1226 to the Soda Rādjpūts, who were expelled in 731/1330 by the Sūmras. In 843/1439 the Sodas again came into power. In 949/1542, Humāyūn, after his defeat by Shīr Shāh, sought refuge in Amarkot with the Soda prince, variously named Bīr Sāl, Prasād or Parsiyā. Akbar was born in Amarkot on 5 Radjab 949/23 Nov. 1542. In 999/1590, when ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān conquered Sind, Amarkot became part of the Mughal Empire, but in 1008/1599 Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān, an Arghūn prince, drove out the Mughal commander. In 1149/1736 Nūr Muḥammad Kalhorā, the ruler of Sind, expelled the last Soda chief and took possession of the town. In 1152/1739 Nādir Shāh, on his way back to Persia after the sack of Delhi, forced Nūr Muḥammad into submission. Later one of the Kalhorās sold the fort to the chief of Djodhpūr from whom it was captured by the Tālpūrs in 1228/1813, after which it lost its strategic importance. It passed into British possession with the conquest of Sind in 1843. The old fort in which Akbar was born was demolished by Nūr Muḥammad in 1746, and it was he who built the present fort. The birth-place of Akbar, about half-a-mile to the north-west of the town, is marked by a stone-slab erected in 1898.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of Sind*, B, vi, 34; *Imp. Gaz. of India*, xxiv, 117-8; Gulbadan Begum, *Humāyūn-nāma*, 58; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, i, 182; *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, 177; Djawhar Āftābačī, *Tadhkirat al-Wāḳiʿāt*, Urdu tr. Muʿīn al-Ḥaḳḳ (1955), 74-5; Erskine, *Hist. of India under Baber and Humayun*, ii, 250; ʿAli Shēr Ḳāniʿ, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, iii, 36, 109; *Journal of the Sind Hist. Society*, ii, iv; Goldsmid, *Historical Memoir on Shikarpur*, 17-8; H. T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit*, 30, *Taʾrīkh Rīgistān* (in Sindhi), Karachi 1956, 69 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 13; J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājastʾhān*[2], London 1914, ii, 253; D. Seton, *History of the Caloras*. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

AL-**AʿMASH**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD SULAYMĀN B. MIHRĀN, traditionist and Ḳurʾān "reader". Born in 60/679-680, or 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 681, of a Persian father, he lived at al-Kūfa and died probably in Rabīʿ I 148/May 765. He received traditions from al-Zuhrī and Anas b. Mālik, and his instructors in *ḳirāʾa*, were: Mudjāhid, al-Nakhaʿī, Yaḥyā b. Waththāb, ʿĀṣim; Ḥamza was his disciple. His "reading", which followed the tradition of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy, appeared in the list of "the fourteen".

A great admirer of ʿAlī, he is supposed to have furnished the poet al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*] with the material for the eulogies which he composed in honour of that Caliph.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 214, 230, 239; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, index; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 765; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif*, 91; A. Jeffery, *Materials*, Leiden 1937, 314 ff.; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 123, 127. (C. BROCKELMANN-[CH. PELLAT])

AMASYA, town in northern Anatolia and capital of a *wilāyet*. It preserves the name of Amaseia, under which it was known in antiquity (for its ancient history see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.; F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii-iii; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, index). In 712 it was for a short time occupied by the Arabs (cf. Brooks, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 193).

In the 11th century Amasya came under the dominion of the Dānishmandids, and was annexed with the rest of their territories by the Rūm Saldjūḳ Ḳılıdj Arslan II. At the division of his kingdom among his sons (588/1193) Amasya fell to Niẓām al-Dīn Arghūn Shāh (Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, 5), but was seized by his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān. Subsequently it was under Mongol governors, though it came for some time into the hands of Tādj al-Dīn Altıntash, the son of the last Saldjūḳ sultan, Masʿūd II. In 742/1341 it was occupied by Hābil-oghlu, and

then passed under the rule of Eretna and his successors. The *amīr* Ḥādjdjī Shādgeldi seized Amasya from ʿAlī Bey Eretna-oghlu (Astarābādī, *Bazm u-Razm*, 100 ff., 137-40). Subsequently strife broke out between Shādgeldi and his confederate Malik Aḥmad on the one side, and Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn on the other, for the possession of the town (ibidem, 225, 235 ff.). After Shādgeldi's death, his son Aḥmad managed, with the help of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I, to hold Amasya against Burhān al-Dīn; finally it fell into the hands of Bāyezīd. After the latter's capture by Tīmūr, his son, Meḥmed Čelebi, succeeded in escaping to Amasya, from which town he started on his campaign against his brothers. Under Ottoman rule Amasya enjoyed the special favour of the ruling house. Bāyezīd II when crown-prince was the governor of the town; Sulaymān I often stayed in it, and received there the Austrian ambassador, Busbecq. Amasya, which had been a cultural centre already in the Saldjūḳ period, became one of the main seats of learning in Anatolia. In the 17th century it was described by Ewliyā Čelebi and Kātib Čelebi. By the end of the 19th century Amasya, lying on the Samsūn-Sīwās-Kharpūt road, became an important centre of transit traffic; the Samsūn-Sīwās railway was completed in 1930. At the end of the 19th century the town had 25,000-30,000 inhabitants (some of them Armenians), in 1940 13,732 (500 non-Turks); the whole *wilāyet* in 1950 had 163,494 inhabitants. Its economy is based on fruit, silk and textiles.

Amasya is situated on the main arm of the Yeshil Irmaḳ (called Tozanlî or Tokat Suyu), above the confluence of the Tersakan Čay, 400 m. above sea-level, in a narrow and rocky gorge, running from east to west; the gorge widens above and below the town, where its renowned orchards are to be found. The mountain on the right, southern, side of the river is called Farhād Dagh (local legend makes Farhād the founder of Amasya), while that on the opposite side contains the tombs of the kings of antiquity and the fortress. The most populous quarters and the greater part of the old buildings are on the southern side, which suffered greatly from a fire in 1915. The two sides are joined by five bridges.

The fortress, of Hellenistic origin, was restored in the Byzantine, Saldjūḳ and Ottoman periods and is described by Ewliyā Čelebi; now it is in ruins. In the fortress are the ruins of a *medrese* built by Kara Meḥmed Agha (890/1485) and of a school added by his son Muṣṭafā Pasha (917/1511); also ruins of an ʿimāret, a Khalwetī *tekkiye* and two baths. The mosque called Burmalî Mināre was originally a Saldjūḳ foundation; the inscription over the gate bears the name of Kaykhusraw II and the date 634-44/1237-47, but it was repeatedly restored and is now derelict. The same is true of the Gök Medrese, also belonging to the Saldjūḳ period; it was built, together with the adjoining *türbe*, by Sayf al-Dīn Turumtāy, governor of Amasya, in 665/1266-7. Of the Ottoman mosques, those of Bāyezīd Pasha (812/1419), of Yürgüč Pasha (834/1430), of Sultan Bāyezīd (891/1486), of Meḥmed Pasha (891/1486), and the Pazar Djāmiʿi (unknown date) deserve mention. There are, furthermore, a lunatic asylum (708/1308), the *tekkiye* of Pir Ilyās (815/1412), the *medreses* of Ḳapî Aghasi (894/1488) and of Küčük Agha; the *türbes* of Khalīfet Ghāzi (622/1225), of Turumtāy (677/1278), one attributed to Sultan Masʿūd, those of Shādgeldi (783/1381), of „Shehzāde", and of various Ottoman princes: finally the ruins of the palace built for some Ottoman princes (Beyler Sarāyî). The monuments of the town have suffered from the earthquakes of 1734, 1825 and 1939.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (Reinaud), ii, 138; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 292; Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 183 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, 625 f.; W. J. Haton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt*, 1860; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineur*, 603 ff.; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix/1, 154 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 741 ff.; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, 199 ff.; Hüseyin Husameddin, *Amasya tarihi*, Istanbul 1330-2, 1927-35; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, ii, Paris 1934; *IA*, s.v. (by B. Darkot and M. H. Yinanç).

(Fr. Taeschner)

AMAZĪGH [see berbers].

AMBĀLA, town in East Pandjāb, India, situated 30° 21' N and 76° 52' E, 125 miles from Delhi on the way to Sirhind. The town consists of the old town and the cantonments, four miles away. The population in 1951 was 146,728. Though the neighbourhood of Ambāla played an important role in early Indian history, the town itself is first mentioned in the *Safar-nāma-i Ḳāḍī Taḳī Muttaḳī* (Bidjnawr 1909, 2 ff.), according to which it was occupied by the Muslims at the time of the second invasion of India by Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām in 587/1192. Iltutmish (608-33/1211-36) is reported to have appointed a *ḳāḍī* here. In 781/1379 Fīruz Tughluḳ occupied the town together with Sāmāna and Shāhābād. Bābur camped here on his march to Pānīpat for the decisive battle of 933/1526. In 956/1545 Ambāla was the scene of a severe engagement between the Niyāzī insurgents from the Pandjāb and the Pathān troops under Islām Shāh Sūr. During the Mughal period the town was a dependency of Sirhind and was a favourite camping ground of the Mughal sovereigns on their way to Lahore or Kashmīr (the place of the camp is still known as Bādshāhī Bāgh). It was also a centre of cultural activity. Two of its learned men (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and Nūr Muḥammad) are mentioned in the *Maktūbāt* of Aḥmad Sirhindī (i, no. 284, ii, nos. 56, 63, 94, iii, no. 317). A number of *madrasas* flourished here in the days of Shāhdjahān. Ṣādiḳ Muṭṭalibī, the compiler of the *Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, a collection of Awrangzīb's letters, was a native of Ambāla. In 1122/1710 the town was captured by the Sikhs under Banda Bayrāgī. During the anarchy which followed the rout of the Marathās at the hands of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1175/1761 and the decline of the Mughal empire, it was occupied in 1763 by the Sikh adventurer Sangat Singh. On his death it passed into the hands of his brother-in-law, Dhiyān Singh, who leased it to Gurbakhsh Singh Kabka; on the latter's death in 1198/1783 his widow, Māʾī Dayā Kawr, succeeded him. She was ousted in 1808 by Randjīt Singh, but re-instated by the British a year later. On her death in 1823 the town passed into the possession of the East India Company. During the Mutiny the town remained quiet. In it took place in 1864 the "Ambāla Trials", as an aftermath of the Ambeyla campaign against the followers of Aḥmad Brēlwī. The town is a rail-head, an important military and air base, and has a busy grain market; it is famous for its „durries", or cotton carpets. It has a mosque of the Pathān period and some pillars erected by Shīr Shāh Sūr; also the shrines of Ḥaydar Shāh Lakhkhī and Sāʾīn Tawakkul Shāh, and the congregational mosque, an imitation of the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, deserve mention.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of the Ambala District*, 1892-3; *Imp. Gaz. of India*, 276, 287; Muḥammad

Ṣāliḥ Kanboh, *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 625, iii, 18; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bād**sh**āh-nāma* (Bibl. Ind.), index; **Sh**ams Sirā**dj** ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz**sh**āhī* (Bibl. Ind.), index; *Memoirs of Babur*, transl. Leyden and Erskine, 302; I**sh**wari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, Calcutta 1955, 181, 187; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihlī*, Allāhābād 1932, 248; Lepel Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, 100; W. L. McGregor, *A History of the Sikhs*, 159; S. M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Calcutta 1891, 328-9, 334, 368 ff.; H. R. Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, Lahore 1944, 297; W. Irwine, *Later Mughals*, i, 98; W. W. Hunter, *Our Indian Mussulmans*[2], Calcutta 1945, 76.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AMBASSADOR [see elči, rasūl].

AMBON, the central island of the South Moluccas, Indonesia. Nearly one half (ca. 25,000) of the population is Muslim, especially in the northern part. Already before the arrival of the Portuguese (1512 A.D.), Islam had been introduced in Hitu, a supply station for the East Javanese spice trade, and in some other villages; according to local tradition, this was done by chiefs who had traveled to East Java, Pasai and Mecca. After the turbulent times of the 16th and 17th centuries the Muslims have remained a stationary, neglected but prosperous community, where the original language and much of the old costumes are preserved.

Bibliography: F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Dordrecht 1724, vols. ii, iii; H. Kraemer, *Mededeelingen over den Islam op Ambon en Haroekoe*, Djåwå 1927, 77-88; F. D. Holleman, *Het adatgrondenrecht van Ambon en de Oeliassers*, Delft 1923; *Adatrechtbundel*, 1922, 60-64; 1925, 354-371; 1928, 201-208; 1933, 438-459.

(J. Noorduyn)

AMBRA [see ʿanbar].

ĀMEDDJI (t.), an official of the central administration of the Ottoman Empire; before the *tanẓīmāt*, he was directly subordinate to the *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb*; he made copies of reports written by the latter, and also drafted reports on minor matters; in short, he performed all the clerical duties connected with the office of *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb*. Moreover, he was present at meetings between the *Reʾīs Efendi* and ambassadors, and kept official minutes of the proceedings. He, like the *Beylikdji*, held the title of *Khʷādjagānlïḳ*. The name and origin of this office derives from the Persian word *āmad* meaning "has come, has been obtained", an endorsement on documents acknowledging receipt of the dues payable to the *Reʾīs ül-Küttāb* by newly installed military personnel for their *tïmārs* and *ziʿāmets*. The person making this endorsement was called the *Āmeddji*, and the administrative bureau where the formalities connected with these documents were completed, *Āmedī*. The terms *Āmedī Kātibi* (secretary to the *Āmedī*), and *Āmedī Ḳalemi* (the *Āmedī* department), were also used.

This office seems to have come into being later than the 17th century. After the *tanẓīmāt*, the office of *Āmeddji* increased in importance and was also known as *Āmedī-i Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*: its function was to make copies of the documents sent to the *ṣadāret* by other ministries and administrative departments which required the sanction of the Pādi**sh**āh, after resolutions of the Council of Ministers or the *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam*; in the case of documents which did not require this formality, its duty was to correct them, register them and send them to the Head Chamberlain; and, on the other hand, to register imperia decrees communicated to the *ṣadāret*. The *Āmeddji* supervised the secretaries whose duty it was to keep the minutes of the Council of Ministers. He was one of the five principal officials of the Sublime Porte; this department was more important and more distinguished than the other departments of the *ṣadāret*. After the proclamation of the Second Constitution, the name *Āmedī-i Dīvān-i Hümāyūn* was changed to Secretariat of the Council and Interpreters' Department, under one official, but later (1912) it was restored. — See also my article in *I.A.* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

AMÉNOKAL, the current spelling of the Berber *amənūkal*, meaning "any political leader not subordinate to anyone else"; it is applied to foreign rulers, to highranking European leaders, and to the male members of certain noble families; in some regions of the Sahara, the title of *amənūkal* is given to the chiefs of small tribal groups, but in the Ahaggar [*q.v.*], it is only conferred on the overlord of a confederation of noble or subject tribes. The *amənūkal* must be selected from among the Ihaggarən nobles, and his nomination is submitted for approval to an assembly of the nobles and the chiefs of the subject tribes; political succession is, in principle, transmitted, according to rules deriving from the matriarchal regime, to the eldest brother of the preceding *amenūkal*, to the eldest son of his maternal aunt or to the eldest son of his eldest sister, but these rules are not always strictly observed. The *amənūkal* has as a sign of rank a drum (*əṭṭebəl*, see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict.*, iv, 1922-5), and receives tribute from subject tribal groups. His principal role was that of war leader, but in normal times, he applies the criminal law, settles disputes and concerns himself with relations with neighbouring tribes; he is always assisted by the assembly of notables which ratifies his decisions, and can dismiss him.

Bibliography: Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord*, Paris 1864, 397; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*, Algiers 1908, 107; E. F. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara*, Paris 1910, 191; Seligman, *Les races de l'Afrique*, Paris 1935, 128; F. Nicolas, *Notes sur la société et l'état des Touareg du Dinnik*, *IFAN*, i, 586; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 154-6; G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes berbères du Maghreb*[2], Tangier-Fez 1938, 489-92; Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, Paris 1952, 1213-4.

(Ch. Pellat)

AMGHAR, Berber word corresponding to the Arabic **sh**ay**kh** [*q.v.*], and meaning "an elder (by virtue of age or authority)". Among the Touareg, it applies to chief of a tribal group who acts as an intermediary between the *aménokal* [*q.v.*] and his tribe (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1952, iii, 1237; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 157-8), or even to the chief of a confederation (cf. H. Bissuel, *Les Touaregs de l'Ouest* Algiers 1888, 23). In Kabylia (see A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*[2], Paris 1893, ii, 9) and among the Imazi**gh**ən of Morocco (see G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes berbères du Maghreb*[2], Tangier-Fez 1938, 187-90), the *am**gh**ar* is both the president elected by the *djamāʿa* [*q.v.*] and its executive agent among the tribe or tribal groups which compose it. In the **Sh**lūḥ group in Morocco, the chief elected by the *djamāʿa* has the title of *mḳəddəm* (*muḳaddam*), and the *am**gh**ar* is more particularly the temporal ruler who owes his authority to force and not to regular election (R.

Montagne, *La vie sociale et politique des Berbères* Paris 1931, 78 ff., 94 ff.; G. Surdon, *op. cit.*, 307).

(CH. PELLAT)

ĀMID [see DIYĀR BAKR].

ʿAMĪD (Ar.), title of high officials of the Sāmānid-Ghaznawid administration, which the Saldjūḳids, the inheritors of their institutions and personnel, extended throughout their empire. The word, properly speaking, does not denote a function, but the rank of the class of officials from whom the civil governors, *ʿāmil* (as opposed to the military governors, *sallār*, *shiḥna*), were recruited; thus Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, MS Paris 1503, 193v: "one of the *ʿumadā*" is appointed governor; the same author, supplemented by Ibn al-Athīr, enables one to follow with considerable accuracy the career of the *ʿumadāʾ* of Baghdād at the time of the Great Saldjūḳs. Some people continued to be known by the title of *ʿamīd* after ceasing to be governor: for instance the *ʿAmīd-Khurāsān* Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Nasawī, a celebrated personage under the rule of the Great Saldjūḳs; and (according to Ibn Khallikān) the cultured *wazīr* of the Būyids Ibn al-ʿAmīd derived his usual name from his father's title.

On the other hand Barthold, *Turkestan* 229, has established that the title *ʿamīd al-mulk* was held under the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids by the *ṣāḥib al-barīd*; this is supported by various passages, also in the *Dumyat al-Ḳasr* of Bākharzī; it is possible that the great *wazīr* of Tughril-Beg, ʿAmīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī, began his career in this way. Their former title of *ʿamīd* was perhaps also kept by *wazīrs*; the famous Djayhānī is perhaps a case in point (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Kratchkovsky, 197b).

Under the Būyids, the word *ʿamīd* is found in compound titles like *ʿamīd al-dawla*, *ʿamīd al-dīn*, *ʿamīd al-djuyūsh*.

In the 6th/12th century the title still sometimes occurs, even at Baghdād, but it was becoming a rarity at a period when the prerogatives of the civil authorities were being curtailed by the military governors. It does not occur under the Mongols.

It does not seem to have spread to other Muslim countries, which only possessed *laḳabs* with *ʿimād*, *ʿumda*.

Bibliography: All the Arab and Persian chronicles and the collections of letters and poetical anthologies of eastern Persia during the pre-Saldjūḳid period and of the Saldjūḳid empire, and Lane. (CL. CAHEN)

ʿAMĪD AL-DĪN AL-ABZĀRĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ, ASʿAD B. NAṢR, minister and poet, hailing from Abzār, south of Shīrāz. He was in the service of Saʿd b. Zangī, *atabeg* of Fārs; was sent by his master as an ambassador to Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh, refused the offers which were made to him, succeeded Rukn al-Dīn Salāḥ Kirmānī as minister and held his position until the death of Saʿd. Saʿd's son and successor, Abū Bakr, had him arrested on the charge of having held a correspondence with the ruler of Khwārizm and of having acted as a spy for him. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Ushkunwān, near Iṣṭakhr and died there at the end of five or six months (Djumādā I or II 624/April June 1227, after having dictated to his son Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad an Arabic poem of 111 verses (*al-ḳaṣīda al-*Ushkunwāniyya) in which he deplored his misfortunes and which achieved celebrity as a collection of rhetorical figures.

Bibliography: Mīrkhwānd, iv, 174 (= W. Morley, *Hist. of the Atabeks*, 28); Khwāndamīr, ii, 4, 129; Waṣṣāf, 156; Cl. Huart, *L'ode arabe d'Ochkonwân*, *Revue sémitique*, 1893; Brockelmann, I, 298, ii, 667, S I, 456. (CL. HUART)

AL-ĀMIDĪ, ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ʿALĪ B. MUḤ. AL-TAGHLABĪ SAYF AL-DĪN), Arab theologian, born at Āmid in 551/1156-7; at first a Ḥanbalite, he later, at Baghdād, entered the ranks of the Shāfiʿites; he embarked on a study of philosophy which he continued in Syria, became a teacher at the *madrasa* of al-Ḳarāfa al-Ṣughrā adjoining the mausoleum of al-Shāfiʿī in Cairo, and in 592/1195-6 became professor at the Djāmiʿ al-Ẓāfirī. His intellectual powers and his knowledge of the "rational sciences" (*ʿaḳliyya*) gave him a brilliant reputation, but caused him to be accused of heresy and to flee to Ḥamāt, where he placed himself at the service of the Ayyūbid sovereign al-Malik al-Manṣūr (615/1218-9); on the death of the latter he was summoned to Damascus by al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam who conferred on him the chair of the *madrasa* al-ʿAzīziyya (617 1220-1); he was dismissed from this post after 629/1229 by al-Malik al-Ashraf, for having taught philosophy. He died at Damascus in Ṣafar 631/ November 1233.

His numerous works relate to theology (*Abkār al-Afkār*, in MS, a refutation of philosophers, Muʿtazilites, Sabeans, Manicheans); the sources of the law (*Iḥkām al-Ḥukkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, dedicated to al-Muʿaẓẓam, Cairo 1347, summarized in the *Muntahā al-Suʾūl*, Cairo, n.d.); the art of controversy (*al-Djadal*, in MS); and philosophy (*Daḳāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī 'l-Manṭiḳ*, in MS, *Kashf al-tamwīhāt*, in MS, dedicated to al-Manṣūr and aimed at Ibn Sīnāʾ).

Bibliography: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 129-30; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, ii, 455, no. 405; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 174; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 240-1; al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, Damascus 1948-51, i, 362, 389, 393 and ii, 4, 129; Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 393/494, *S*, i, 678; *Mash*. 1954, 169-81.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-ʿAMĪDĪ, RUKN AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤĀMID MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤ. AL-SAMARḲANDĪ, Ḥanafī lawyer, d. on 9 Djumādā II 615/3 Sept. 1218 in Bukhārā. His chief merit lies in the art of dialectics, which he treated in his *al-Irshād* and his *al-Ṭarīḳa al-ʿAmīdiyya fi'l-Khilāf wa'l-Djadal* (in MS).

His name is connected with the translation of an Indian work on Yoga, called *Amṛtakuṇḍa*. Of this work there exists an Arabic translation, under the title of *Mirʾāt al-Maʿānī li-Idrāk al-ʿĀlam al-Insānī*, the various MSS of which offer a slightly divergent text. It was published on the basis of five MSS (which are not all those extant) by Yusuf Husain, in *JA*, 1928, 291 ff. Persian and Turkish versions also exist. (Cf. also M. de Guignes, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, ancienne série, xxvi, 791; J. Gildemeister, *Script. ar. de rebus indicis*, 115; W. Pertsch, in *Festgruss an Roth*, 1893, 208-12). In the preface a story is told of a certain Bahučara Brahman Yogi, who came from Kamrup (modern Assam) to Lakhnawti under the governorship of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mardān (ca. 605/1208) and was converted to Islam by Rukn al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī; Rukn al-Dīn in his turn learned from him the practices of the Yoga, and according to the version in some of the MSS, translated the book into Persian and then into Arabic. The account, which is moreover coupled with another, different one, does not, however, throw full light on the true history of the translation of the work and more especially on al-ʿAmīdī's share in it.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 575; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-Tarādjim* (Flügel), 171; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, i, 280; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, svv. *Irshād*, *al-Ṭarīḳa*, *Mirʾāt al-Maʿānī*; Brockelmann, I, 568, S I, 785. (S. M. Stern)

ʿĀMIL (a.) signifies tax-collector, agent, prefect.

ʿĀMIL (pl. *ʿummāl*), active, agent. As the verbal adjective corresponding to *ʿamal* (see ʿAMAL, section 1), *ʿāmil* denotes the Muslim who performs the works demanded by his faith, and is often used in conjunction with the term *ʿālim* (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*, [*q.v.*]) as an epithet of pious scholars. As a technical term, *ʿāmil* denotes (1) the active partner in a society of *muḍāraba* [*q.v.*] or *ḳirāḍ*; (2) the government agent or official, particularly the collector of taxes. In this last meaning, it occurs already in Ḳurʾān, ix, 60, though not yet as a technical term.

The Prophet appointed representatives among the tribes or in the areas under his authority in order to collect the *ṣadaḳāt* [see ZAKĀT] from Muslims and the tribute from non-Muslims; some of them had political and military duties (M. Hamidullah, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane*, Cairo 1941, 63, 212; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1758, 1999-2008; Kattānī, *al-Tarātīb al-Idāriyya*, i, 243; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1302, 46 f.). The *ʿāmil* of Khaybar was sent to receive the Muslims' share of the crop (al-Kattānī, i, 245).

Under the Caliphs of Medina, *ʿāmil* generally meant a provincial governor or administrater (al-(Ṭabarī, i, 2665 f., 2933 f., 2936, 2944; Hamidullah, 224). Among ʿUmar's *ʿummāl* in ʿIrāḳ are mentioned the governor, the ḳāḍī who was also the keeper of the provincial treasury, and two assessors of *kharādj* (Abū Yūsuf, 20 f.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 29). The commander of the fleet in Syria under ʿUthmān is called *ʿāmil* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3058). The collectors of *kharādj* and *djizya* [*qq.v*] and administrative officers in the districts (*kūra*), whose main function was the collection of taxes, were also called *ʿummāl* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3058, 3082-3087; Abū Yūsuf, 59).

In the Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid periods, *ʿāmil* continued to be used both of the higher and the lower ranks in the hierarchy of government officials. Under the Umayyads, *ʿāmil* could mean the governor of a province or his lieutenant (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1481; al-Balādhurī, v, 273; al-Kindī, *Governors*, 63, 65 f.). When finances were separated from other administrative matters, *ʿāmil* tended to be used more especially of the director of finances in the capital of a province, such as Egypt (al-Kindī, 73-75, 84), ʿIrāḳ (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1305) or Khurāsān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1256, 1458). These *ʿummāl* were appointed either by the governors or by the Caliph (al-Kindī, 70-75; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1305, 1356). Tax collectors in the districts, too, were called *ʿummāl*, as appears from the papyri (A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, iii, 12 f., 121 ff., 137). ʿUmar ii complained of the grave injustices committed by the *ʿummāl* in Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1366). In Khurāsān, these *ʿummāl* were usually non-Muslims (ibid. 1740), in other provinces they were recruited both from Muslims and non-Muslims (Zaki Hasan, *Les Tulunides*, 213, 248). Occasionally the *ʿāmil was* appointed by the people (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1481: *ʿāmil al-ḥadar*). There is a mention of an *ʿāmil maʿūna* or chief of the local police (al-Tabarī, iii, 1740).

Under the early ʿAbbāsids, *ʿāmil* could still mean the governor of a province (al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1357, 134, 139, 151; al-Balādhurī, v, 402). For Egypt, the *ʿāmil kharādj* was usually appointed by the central government in Baghdād (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 15), though full powers were occasionally given to the governor (al-Kindī, 120, 125). More commonly, however, the term is used of tax collectors in the districts; we hear of an *ʿāmil kūra* (*Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, ed. Kurd ʿAlī, iii, 403), of *ʿummāl* al-*Sawād* [see SAWĀD] (al-Djahshiyārī, 134), of *ʿummāl kharādj* (ibid., 93, 233), of *ʿummāl* of a governor and *ʿummāl* of cities (al-Kindī, 194, 200; *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, iii, 86).

By the 4th (10th) century, *ʿāmil* had normally come to mean a finance officer. The *amīr* of a province had beside him an *ʿāmil* (al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 156), and when the *amīr* and the *ʿāmil* worked together, their power on the province was practically unlimited (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 165 f.). The local *ʿummāl* (*ʿāmil kūrā*, *ʿāmil ṭassūdj*, *ʿāmil nāḥiya*) were responsible for encouraging agriculture, for keeping irrigation works in order, for collecting revenue, and for submitting balance sheets of their areas (al-Ṣābī, 71, 193, 313, 318; Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 27 f., ii, 23; al-Ṣābī, *Letters*, ed. Arslan, 211). There are also references to *ʿummāl* appointed for specific duties, not all of them purely financial, such as the *ʿāmil maʿāwin*, in charge of the police (Miskawayh, i, 139; combined with *kharādj*, ii, 29), the *ʿāmil masāliḥ*, in charge of the fortified frontier posts (ii, 48), or the *ʿāmil djahbadha*, in charge of the financial administration (Ḳummī, *Taʾrīkh*, 149). Occasionally, a chief *ʿāmil* was represented at the seat of the central government by a *nāʾib* (Miskawayh, i, 324).

The full development of the system of *ʿummāl* is presupposed by the writers on the constitutional law of Islam (*al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*), such as al-Māwardī and Abū Yaʿlā. They distinguish *ʿummāl* (governors) of provinces with full and with limited powers, and *ʿummāl* appointed for specific duties. The *ʿāmil* of a province is appointed by the Caliph, by the *wazīr* or by the governor, and the governor or the *ʿāmil* can appoint *ʿummāl* for the districts.

The same system prevailed under the independent dynasties, with variations in details. Under the Ṭūlūnids and Ikhshīdids in Egypt, most of the tax collectors were Copts (Zaki Hasan, *Les Tulunides*, 213, 248; Kāshif, *The Ikhshidids*, 136 f.). Mention is made of the *ʿāmil al-maʿūna*, the chief of police (Ibn al-Dāya, *al-Mukāfaʾa*, ed. A. Amīn and al-Djārim, 70 f.). The *ʿummāl* of the Fāṭimids in Egypt were supervised by *nāẓirs* and *mushrifs* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 179; *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 77 f.). The same is true of the *ʿummāl* of the Ayyūbids (Ibn al-Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Suryāl ʿAṭiyya, 303). Under the Mamlūks, the local *ʿummāl* or *ʿummāl al-bilād* were landlords of villages or local farmers (A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism*, 45 n. 1, 47 n. 1). For the Sāmānids, see Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, Berlin 1951, 51; for the Ghaznawids, Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, 48; for the Saldjūḳids, Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, 28; Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 121; for the Ilkhānids, the Djalāʾirids and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, ii, 33; V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, ix, 950; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, 102 f.; for the Tīmūrids, Khʷāndmīr, *Dastūr*, 179; for the Ṣafawids, Minorsky, *Tadhkirat*, fol. 75*b*-76*a*, 82*a*-*b*; Lambton, 116.

In Muslim India, *ʿāmil* at first denoted a governor in charge of the general administration, then came to mean a collector of taxes in a small district (Moreland, *Agrarian System of India*, 270; Lybyer, *Ottoman Government*, 294).

The Ottomans used *ʿāmil* of a tax farmer; later, the term was little used, except occasionally for a

subordinate tax collector in the provinces (Mantran and Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans* 20).

Muslim North Africa and Spain continued the Umayyad usage, and *ʿāmil* meant a governor or administrative officer, responsible for general administration and finance. This continued until the end of the Umayyad Caliphate (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, passim; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, i, 92).

Bibliography: the sources mentioned in the text, and Dozy, *Supplement*, s.v.; A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*; F. Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v. (particularly useful for the later period).

(A. A. Duri)

ʿĀMIL (A.; pl. *ʿawāmil*), derived from *ʿamila fī* (= to act upon), signifies as a grammatical term a regens, or to express it in the way of the Arabic grammarians a word, which, by the syntactical influence which it exercises on a word that follows, causes a grammatical alteration of the last syllable of the latter, i. e. a change of case or mood. Two kinds of regentia are distinguished, one which can be recognized externally (*lafẓī*) and one which is only to be supposed logically, but which is not expressed (*maʿnawī*).

The *ʿāmil lafẓī* again is of two kinds: (1) the case where it concerns a whole series of mutually dependant words, which can be treated analogously according to the same rule (as for example in the *iḍāfa* construction); (2) the case in which each regens requires special treatment (e. g. *bi*, *lam*); these two sub-divisions are named *ʿāmil ḳiyāsī* and *ʿāmil samāʿī* respectively. It makes no difference whether the regens is expressed as in *ḳāma Zayd*, or whether it must be supplied grammatically from the sentence as a form of the verb, as in *Zayd fi 'l-dār*. Indeed the absence of a regens is a very frequent occurrence in Arabic grammar (cp. al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, index s. v. *iḍmār ʿāmil*). This case must be distinguished from the complete absence of the regens in the case of the *ʿāmil maʿnawī*, for in this second kind it is impossible to supply the *ʿāmil* grammatically, although it can be done logically; grammarians usually cite as an example the subject of the nominal sentence, whose *ʿamil* cannot possibly be supplied.

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Dict. of techn. terms*, 1045; Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt* (Flügel), 150; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾa* (ed. Erpenius).

(G. Weil)

ʿĀMILA, an old tribe in North-Western Arabia. The reports concerning their past (al-Ṭabarī, i, 685; *Aghānī*², xi, 155) are unworthy of belief. In the later genealogic system the ʿĀmila are reckoned as belonging to the South-Arabian Kahlān [cf. DJUDHĀM]. At the time of the Muslim invasion we find them settled S. E. of the Dead Sea; they are mentioned among the Syro-Arabian tribes which joined Heraclius (al-Balādhurī, 59; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2347); but do not appear again in the history of the conquest. Shortly afterwards we find them established in Upper Galilee, which is named after them Djabal ʿĀmila (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 327; al-Maḳdisī, 162; al-Hamdānī, 129, 132). They play a very unimportant part and are almost completely absorbed by the Banū Djudhām. ʿAdī b. al-Riḳāʿ, the poet of al-Walīd I, was their chief pride; he celebrated the Djudhāmite Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ, as the *sayyid* of his tribe (*Aghānī*, viii, 179, 182); and thereby gives a further proof of their small importance. Ibn Durayd (*Ishtiḳāḳ*, 224-5; cf. *ʿIkd*, ii, 86) finds few notable men among them; satire rarely deals with them (e. g. Ḥuṭayʾa, lx). After the 5th/11th the ʿĀmila seem to have spread S. of the Lebanon, in the present district of Bilād al-Shaḳīf which is still called Djabal ʿĀmila (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, 228; al-Dimashḳī, 221).

According to Yāḳūt, iv, 291, they also occupied a part of the country of the Ismāʿīlīs, a day's journey to the S. of Aleppo, which he says was named after them ʿĀmila Mountain. This isolated reference (cf. *JA*, 1855, i, 48) is the more surprising in that the corresponding text of the *Marāṣid* gives ʿĀmira instead of ʿĀmila. To avoid the difficulty, G. le Strange (*Palestine*, 75) supposes an emigration towards the N. during the crusades, but without giving references. The Arabic historians of this period are ignorant of this change of place, and continue to use the synonymy ʿĀmila-Djalīl (*Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. or.*, ii, 88 for *Khalīl* read *Djalīl*; iii, 491, 543). The application to the ʿĀmila of the passage from the Ḳurʾān, lxxxviii, 3, by the poet Djarīr is only a sneer of the Tamīmite who was jealous of the favours enjoyed by Ibn al-Riḳāʿ. The Djabal ʿĀmil(a) in the Lebanon was, and is, an important Shīʿite centre, and several eminent Shīʿite authors bear the *nisba* al-ʿĀmilī. [For further details see MUTAWĀLĪ.]

(H. Lammens-[W. Caskel])

AL-**ʿĀMILI**, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bahāʾ al-Dīn, with the *takhalluṣ* of Bahāʾī, born in 953/1547, died 1030/1621; author of several works in Arabic and Persian, on a variety of subjects. Originating from Djabal ʿĀmila in Syria, he migrated to Persia, and eventually obtained an honoured place at the court of Shāh ʿAbbās. The best-known of his works is the anthology *al-Kashkūl* ("the beggar's bowl"), frequently printed in the East; he also wrote an exposition of Shīʿite *fiḳh* (in Persian), under the title of *Djāmiʿ-i ʿAbbāsī*, and was the author of various works on astronomy and mathematics. As a Persian poet, he distinguished himself by a *mathnawī* called *Nān u-Ḥalwā* which, according to Éthé, formed a sort of introduction to the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. A second *mathnawī* entitled *Shīr u-Shakar*, is less known.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣāt al-Āthār*, iii, 440-1; I. Goldziher in *SBAK. Wien phil.-hist. Cl.*, lxxviii, 458-9; Brockelmann, II, 414 S II, 595; Éthé, in the Gr. I. Ph., 301.

AL-**ʿĀMILĪ**, AL-**ḤURR** [see AL-ḤURR AL-ʿĀMILĪ].

AMĪN, "safe", "secure"; in this and the more frequent form *āmīn* (rarely *āmmīn*, rejected by grammarians) it is used like *āmēn* and (Syriac) *amīn* with Jews and Christians as a confirmation or corroboration of prayers, in the meaning "answer Thou" or "so be it", see examples in al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 577 note 6; Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Nashr*, ii, Cairo 1345, 442 f., 447. Its efficacy is enhanced at especially pious prayers, e.g. those said at the Kaʿba or those said for the welfare of other Muslims, when also the angels are said to say *amīn*. Especially it is said after *sūra* i, without being part of the *sūra*. According to a *ḥadīth* the prophet learned it from Gabriel when he ended that *sūra*, and Bilāl asked the prophet not to forestall him with it. At the *ṣalāt* the *imām* says it loudly or, according to others, faintly after the *fātiḥa*, and the congregation repeats it. It is called God's seal (*ṭābaʿ* or *khātam*) on the believers, because it prevents evil.

Bibliography: *LA*, *s.v.*; *tafsīr* to *sūra* i by Zamakhsharī and Bayḍāwī; Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices* de la tradition Musulmane, *s.v.*; Goldziher in *RSOI*, 1907, 207-9.

(J. Pedersen)

AMĪN (Ar. pl. *umanā*), "trustworthy, in whom one can place one's trust", whence al-Amīn, with the article, as an epithet of Muḥammad in his youth. As a noun, it means "he to whom something is entrusted, overseer, administrator": e.g. *Amīn al-Waḥy*, "he who is entrusted with the revelation", i.e. the angel Gabriel. The word also frequently occurs in titles, e.g. Amīn al-Dawla (e.g. Ibn al-Tilmīdh others), Amīn al-Dīn (c.g. Yāḳūt), Amīn al-Mulk, Amīn al-Salṭana.

In addition to these general and undefined uses of the word *amīn*, there are other more technical uses, of importance in the history of Muslim institutions. Thus *amīn* is used to denote the holders of various positions "of trust". particularly those whose functions entail econimic or financial responsibility. In legal works the word denotes "legal representatives"; under the early ʿAbbāsids the *amīn al-ḥukm* was the officer in charge of the administration of the effects of orphan minors (Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, i, 384). In a wider connotation the word applied to treasurers, customs officers, stewards of estates etc. (see Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānin al-Dawāwīn* (Atiya), ch. 3, regarding Egypt, and for the West, Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. de l'Espagne Musulmane*, iii, 40, 52; Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, index, and in particular 299 n. 3; etc.).

The most important technical meaning of the word *amīn* is "head of a trade guild". In this sense the word often has the plural *amīnāt* (Le Tourneau *loc. cit.*). But the use of the word *amīn* in this sense seems to have been always limited to the various countries of the Muslim west; the east, in pre-Ottoman times, preferred in general the term *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*], and, in modern times, has employed a variety of terms. For general information on the heads of trade guilds, and for the bibliography, see ʿARĪF, ṢINF. For the Ottoman period, see EMĪN. (CL. CAHEN)

AL-**AMĪN**, MUḤAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid Caliph, reigned 193-8/809-13. Born in Shawwāl 170/April 787, of Hārūn al-Rashīd and Zubayda, niece of al-Manṣūr, he was thus of pure Hāshimite stock both on his father's and his mother's side; hence he was given priority in the order of succession over his brother ʿAbd Allāh (the future al-Maʾmūn), who was born six months before him but of a slave mother. In fact, the first *bayʿa* as heir to the throne was accorded to him by al-Rashīd in 175/792, when he was barely five years old, and it was not until 183/799 that al-Maʾmūn was designated second successor. The whole question of the double succession was settled with due solemnity by al-Rashīd in 186/802, in the "Meccan documents", designed to eliminate all uncertainty and all conflict between the two heirs: in the first of these documents, al-Amīn acknowledged al-Maʾmūn's right of immediate succession to himself, and his virtually absolute sovereignty over the eastern half of the empire; in the second document, al-Maʾmūn took cognizance of these rights, and declared in his turn his loyalty and obedience to his brother as caliph, whether or not the latter had respected his obligations. The system of obligations and counter-obligations by these documents shows clearly that al-Rashīd recognized the delicacy of the situation created by the double nomination and by the latent conflict between the two brothers (profoundly different both in character and interests), and tried to preserve a precarious equilibrium between them by these juridical and religious formulas.

When al-Rashīd died at Ṭūs, on 3 Djumādā II 193/24 March 809, al-Amīn was recognized as caliph at Baghdād and throughout the empire, while al Maʾmūn hastened to return to his fief of Khurāsān. The following year (194/810) al-Amīn, by suddenly introducing the name of his own son Mūsā in the Friday Prayer after that of al-Maʾmūn, took a step which, without formally violating the Meccan agreement, revealed his intention of setting it aside, by placing alongside his brother a later successor who suited him better. There followed a brisk exchange of diplomatic correspondence between the two brothers (supported respectively by the *wazīr* al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, and by the future *wazīr* al-Faḍl b. Sahl), the text of which has been preserved by al-Ṭabarī, and which assumed the form of political manoeuvring or a "cold war" between Baghdad and Marw preceding the armed conflict. Al-Amīn tried to entice his brother to Court, to persuade him to give up his right to the control of several important areas of Khurāsān, and to obtain his consent to a modification in the order of succession. The respectful and prudent, but firm, resistance of al-Maʾmūn induced him to precipitate matters and, at the beginning of 195/end of 810, he formally violated the Meccan documents and substituted the name of his own son for that of al-Maʾmūn (and of the third brother al-Ḳāsim, the future al-Muʿtaṣim), as direct heir to the throne. To smash the resistance of al-Maʾmūn, who was declared a rebel, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān was despatched at the head of an army, an act which marked the commencement of open hostilities between ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān (Djumādā II 195/March 811).

The war was conducted for al-Maʾmūn by his redoubtable general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*]: in the first clash near al-Rayy, the latter defeated and killed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, and then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djabala al-Abnāwī who was sent against him with a second army. The whole province of al-Djibāl fell rapidly into the hands of the Khurasānī troops, against whom al-Amīn vainly flung contingents levied from among the Syrian Arabs. The attempt to use this Arab element as a weapon against the Persian element, which supported al-Maʾmūn en bloc, failed completely, while in Syria grave disorders occurred, and in Baghdād itself, as the result of a coup effected by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, al-Amīn was temporarily declared deposed and al-Maʾmūn was recognized as caliph; but the attempt failed (Radjab 196/March 812) and al-Amīn, restored to the throne, had to face the Khurasānī armies which were then approaching the capital. Baghdād was invested in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 196/August 812 by two corps under the command of Harthama b. Aʿyan and Ṭāhir, who had meanwhile completed the conquest of Khūzistān; throughout the remainder of the empire (ʿIrāḳ, Mesopotamia, Arabia) al-Amīn's authority waned; he was declared deposed (*makhlūʿ*) and replaced by his brother. Despite this, the desperate defence of the capital lasted for more than a year, during which there grouped themselves around the Caliph the most turbulent social elements of the metropolis (known as "the naked", *ʿurāt*), who in the course of bloody fighting barred the path of the besiegers. The position was not clarified until Muḥarram 198/September 813, when all resistance was overcome and al-Amīn requested Harthama for a safe-conduct. But while he was making his way towards that former loyal general of his father, who had promised him his life, he was intercepted by Ṭāhir's men, who feared that their prey might escape, and was captured and put to death (night of 24 of 25 Muḥarram 198/24-5 September 813). It

appears that al-Maʾmūn was not directly responsible for the murder of his brother which, however, was not unwelcome to him and which left him *de facto* and *de jure* the sole ruler of the empire.

The war between the two brothers has been viewed by some as an aspect of the conflict between Arabism and Iranism at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty; in fact, it was primarily a dynastic dispute, although admittedly there were certain ethnic factors in the origin of the two rival brothers and in the deployment of the forces on which they relied for their support; but although Khurāsān and Persia in general supported the al-Maʾmūn bloc, it cannot be asserted that al-Amīn was the conscious champion of Arabism, or that the Arabs were solidly behind him. He had the superficiality and indolence of the hedonist, ignorant of the complexities of political intrigue, and was concerned solely to secure supreme power for himself and his descendants; the policy necessary for the achievement of this aim, conducted, incidentally, without much serious consideration, was less his own work than that of his minister and counsellor al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ [*q.v.*], who is depicted by the sources as his evil genius and who, in the hour of danger, abandoned him to his fate in order to secure a pardon for himself from the victor. The loyalty and obstinate resistance of Baghdād during the siege was not due so much to legitimist and dynastic ideals as to the excessive liberality of the Caliph and to the belligerent instincts of the dregs of the city, who regarded the situation as an opportunity for licence and booty. Thus al-Amīn had no one actually at his side except a small group of courtiers and poets, companions of his debauches, like Abū Nuwās, who remained faithfully at his side until the end and who sincerely lamented his death in his elegies. His memory, in Muslim historiography, is associated with that of the Umayyad Caliphs Yazīd I and Walīd II, who were also libertines and hedonists, but who possessed political and artistic abilities altogether lacking in the frivolous ʿAbbāsid. During the four years of his reign (or three years if the year of the siege is not counted), there is no outstanding administrative or political measure with the exception of the cold (and later hot) war designed to eliminate his brother who, far superior in intellect and political acumen, in the end justly supplanted him.

Bibliography: The chief source is Ṭabarī, iii, 603-974 (summarized in Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 152-207); other sources are Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 493 ff., 524-38; Dīnawarī, 388-96; *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum* (de Goeje), 320-344; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 291-97; more anecdotal, but valuable for the siege of Baghdād, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 415-87. Western works, apart from general histories of the caliphate, include F. Gabrieli, *Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī*, in *Rend. Lin.*, 1927, 191-220, idem, *La successione di Hārūn al-Rašīd e la guerra fra al-Amīn e al-Maʾmūn*, in *RSO*, 1928, 341-97.

(F. GABRIELI)

AMĪNA, a legendary wife of Solomon. He one day entrusted to her the ring, on which his dominion and his wisdom depended. She gave it to a demon who had assumed the form of Solomon, and it only returned to the king after many adventures.

Bibliography: Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 222 ff.

ĀMINA, Muḥammad's mother. Her father was Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf of the clan of Zuhra of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, and her mother Barra bint ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā of the clan of ʿAbd al-Dār. It is said that she was the ward of her uncle Wuhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf, and that on the day he betrothed her to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib he also betrothed his own daughter Hāla to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 58). If this report is correct it may be an example of some forgotten marriage-custom. Āmina seems to have remained with her own family and to have been visited there by ʿAbd Allāh, who is usually said to have died before Muḥammad's birth. So long as Āmina lived, Muḥammad was under her charge, and hence presumably lived with her family (except when sent to a wet-nurse in a nomadic tribe). Āmina's death when Muḥammad was six is said to have taken place at al-Abwāʾ, between Mecca and Medina, as she returned from a visit to Muḥammad's kinsmen there. Though this visit to Medina is mysterious, there are no strong reasons for rejecting the above details. The same is not true of the stories connected with her pregnancy, such as her alleged statement that she saw a light going from her, which lit up the palaces of Buṣra (Bostra) in Syria.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 70, 100-2, 107; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 60 f., 73 f.; Ṭabarī, i, 980, 1078-81; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 119 f., 150, 156 f.).

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AMĪR, commander, governor, prince. The term seems to be basically Islamic (Naḳāʾiḍ, 7, 964; Ibn Durayd, Djamhara, iii, 437. In the Ḳurʾān, only the expression *ulu ʾl-amr* is found (sūra iv, 59, 83), but *amīr* occurs often in traditions (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v.).

The sources for the early period frequently use the terms *ʿāmil* [*q.v.*] and *amīr* as synonyms (cf. Hamidullah, Documents, 36, 38 and 39, 83). In the reports on the meeting of the *saḳīfa*, *amīr* is used for the head of the Muslim community (Ṭabarī I, 1840, 1841; Ibn Saʿd, II, 3, 126, 129). During the caliphate of Medina, the commanders of armies, and occasionally of divisions of an army were called *amīrs* (or *amīr al-djaysh* or *amīr al-djund*), and so were the governors who were initially the conquering generals (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 1881-4, 2013, 2054, 2532, 2593, 2606, 2634, 2637, 2645, 2662, 2775, 2864, 3057; Kindī, *governors*, 12,13, 31, 32, 300, 302, 305; Hamidullah, 207, 257).

The Umayyads began to distinguish between administrative and financial duties. Yet during most of this period, *amīrs* had full powers, administrative and financial, and felt that their authority in their province was equal to that of the caliph (Ṭabarī, *annales*, II, 75; Kindī, *governors*, 35; Masʿūdī, Murūdj, V, 308-312). The local population in the Eastern provinces saw the *amīr* as a *Katkhudā* (Lord) (Tabarī, II, 1636) or *Shāh* (King) (Ṭabarī, II, 300).

The *amīr* organizes the army and appoints *ʿarīfs* who keep the register of their units, maintain discipline, distribute pay and report incidents. He conducts expeditions personally or through his lieutenants, and concludes agreements. He leads prayers, builds mosques and sees to the establishment of Islam in conquered territories. The administration of justice is usually in his hands and, with a few exceptions, *amīrs* appoint Ḳāḍīs. The amīr maintains peace and order through the prefect of police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) whom he appoints. He usually has a chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) and a bodyguard. He appoints a postmaster (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*) to report on his subordinates and generally on matters of interest. Representatives (*ʿāmils* or *amīrs*) in

important sub-provinces are appointed with the approval of the Caliph and at times directly by him (Ṭabarī, II, 1140, 1501, 1504).

The *amīr* supervises the mint and strikes silver coins, usually with his name on them. Some *amīrs* were famous for their good dirhams. But the type of currency, its weights and minting places are at times regulated by the caliph.

The *amīr* with full powers is responsible for financial policy. He issues instructions about the time and methods of levying taxes, the measures used and the amounts required. An *amīr* could revise the system of taxation and revise the rates of pay of the troops. The *amīr* pays his troops and officials, provides funds for public works such as the construction and repair of bridges, canals, roads, public buildings and fortresses, and sends the balance of the revenue to Damascus.

The powers of the amīr are greatly reduced, however, when the caliph appoints an *ʿāmil* for the *kharādj*. Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, *ʿāmil* of Egypt under Hishām, could even have the amīr changed (Kindī, 72, 76; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, 178).

The amir takes the *bayʿa* or oath of allegiance in his province for the caliph or to the heir designate. He may lead a delegation from his province to convey their views to the caliph or to offer their homage. He tries to influence public opinion in his province through tribal chiefs, poets, quṣṣāṣ, or money and threats (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/ii, 101, 116-7; Pedersen, in *Mélanges Goldziher*, I, 232).

When the *amīr* leaves his province or capital, he appoints a *khalīfa* to represent him (Kindī, 13, 35, 49, 62, 65; Ṭabarī, II, 1140).

Amīrs receive salaries and administrative allowances (*ʿamāla*). Some *amīrs* looked for other sources of wealth such as trade, appropriation of part of the revenue, speculation on the sale of crops taken in taxation, and presents. Some *amīrs* amassed great wealth, and the caliphs tried to bring them to account; this degenerated to a system of torturous investigation at the end of the appointment under the later Umayyads.

The caliph, especially in difficult times, takes the views of the Arabs of the province into consideration when appointing an *amīr* (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 146; Djahshiyārī, 57). A new caliph usually appoints new *amīrs*, especially in the later Umayyad period.

Umayyad administrative traditions were carried by the ʿAbbāsids, but were gradually modified by new tendencies. The ʿAbbāsids created a bureaucracy to replace the tribal aristocracy and stressed centralization.

Amīrs were frequently members of the ʿAbbāsid family, but generally they were members of the bureaucracy, and whereas they were generally Arabs under the Umayyads, many were now Persians and later Turks. The *aṣḥāb al-barīd* now played a prominent role and were expected to report regularly on the actions of the *amīr* and the affairs of the province. The Ḳāḍī, too, became practically independent of the *amīr* since he was appointed directly by the caliph. The *amīr*'s term of office is generally short.

A new official, the *ṣāḥib al-naẓar fi 'l-maẓālim*, is appointed to consider complaints about injustices of the government officials, including the *amīrs*.

Most *amīrs* in the early ʿAbbāsid period continued to be responsible both for civil and financial administration, but soon it become customary to appoint a finance officer (*ʿāmil*) together with the *amīr* (Kindī, 185, 192, 213).

The *amīr* was primarily concerned with maintaining order and ensuring the collection of taxes. *Amīrs* occasionally increased taxes, abolished them or exempted people from paying arrears. Local discontent with the *amīr*, especially when it lead to trouble, was at times investigated and could lead to his dismissal (Djahshiyārī, 99-100; Kindī, 192; *Ṭabarī*, III, 716-721).

New developments took place before the end of the first ʿAbbāsid period. Maʾmūn appointed his brother Abū Isḥāḳ *amīr* of Egypt, but he stayed at the capital and sent two representatives, one for *kharādj* and the other for *ṣalāt*. Absentee *amīrs* in Egypt followed until the rise of the Ṭūlūnids (Kindī, 185 ff.).

Another development was the appearance of *amīrs* who, appointed by the caliph, were given a free hand in their province against payment of tribute. Such *amīrs* established dynasties and limited their relations with the caliph to receiving his *ʿahd* (decree of appointment), reciting his name in the *khuṭba* and striking coins in his name. This was the case of the Aghlabids and the Ṭāhirids. Others shared with the caliph the attributes of sovereignty by adding their own names to his in the *khuṭba* and on gold coins, for instance the Ṭūlūnids, the Ikhshīdids, the Sāmānids and the Ḥamdānids.

We further notice the rise of *amīrs* who conquered their territories by force and then sought the *ʿahd* of the caliph, in order to acquire a legitimate basis of their authority. Such were the Ṣaffārids and the Ghaznawids. These amirs were practically independent. The Buwayhids, *amīrs* by conquest, went even further. They conquered Baghdad, usurped all authority from the caliph and made him their pensioner, appointed *wazīrs*, and interfered with the succession to the caliphate. Only the fact that the Caliph was still considered the source of all political authority by the people prevented the Buwayhids from overthrowing the ʿAbbāsids and made them seek the *ʿahd* from them.

The Umayyads in Spain called themselves *amīrs* until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir assumed the title of caliph. Their governors and the governors of the Fāṭimids were called not *amīr* but *wālī*.

Al-Māwardī (d. 422/1031) reflects the full development of the institution. After distinguishing *amīrs* with full powers from *amīrs* with limited powers, he deals with the amīrate acquired by force (*imārat al-istīlāʾ*); he admits this as lawful in order to avoid rebellion and division, on condition that the *ʿahd* given requires the *amīr* to follow the *sharīʿa* (cf. Gibb in Isl. Cult., 1937).

On the other hand, during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries the traditional bureaucratic administration collapsed and was replaced by the rule of the military. This influenced the status of the amīrate, and under the *Saldjūḳs*, the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, the title *amīr* was given to military officers of all ranks (also to the smaller Saldjūḳ princes). Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 733/1333) reflects this development when he states that in his days *amīrs* were commanders who were given fiefs in order to maintain their troops, and that their primary duties were military (Isl. III, 367).

Bibliography: the main literary source for the ancient period is Ṭabarī, *Annales*, supplemented by the other historians, in particular Balādhurī, Ibn ʿAkd al-Ḥakam, Kindī Maḳrīzī and Ḳalḳashandī; the primary archaeological sources are the coins and (for Egypt under the Umayyads) the papyri. See also A. A. Dūrī, *al-Nuẓum al-islāmiyya*, and the references given in the text. (A. A. Duri)

AL-ĀMIR BI-AḤKĀM ALLĀH ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-MANṢŪR, the tenth Fāṭimid caliph, b. 13 Muḥarram 490/31 Dec. 1096. He was proclaimed caliph as a mere child of five by the vizier al-Afḍal on the death of his father al-Mustaʿlī (14 Ṣafar 495/8 Dec. 1101). For the next twenty years the government was in the hands of al-Afḍal [*q.v.*]. In 515/1121 al-Afḍal was assassinated by Nizārī emissaries, but the caliph was accused of complicity. Al-Maʾmūn b. al-Baṭāʾiḥī [*q.v.*] was made vizier, but was in his turn imprisoned on 4 Ramaḍān 519/1125 (and executed three years later). No new vizier was appointed, but the Christian chief collector of revenue, Abū Nadjāḥ b. Ḳannāʾ, exercised great influence until his arrest and execution in 523/1129-30.

During al-Afḍal's vizierate a certain activity was shown against the crusaders and various expeditions were undertaken, under the command of Saʿd al-Dawla al-Ṭawāshī (495/1101); Sharaf al-Maʿālī, al-Afḍal's son (496/1102); Tādj al-ʿAdjam and Ibn Ḳādūs (497/1103); Djamāl al-Mulk (498/1104); Sanāʾ al-Mulk al-Ḥusayn, another son of al-Afḍal (499/1105); and later under that of al-Aʿazz (505/1112) and Masʿūd (506/1113). (The main base in Palestine was ʿAsḳalān). Nevertheless, the greater part of Palestine and the Syrian coast fell into the hand of the crusaders; Ṭarṭūs, 495/1102; ʿAkkā, 497/1103; Ṭarāblus, 502/1109 [cf. ʿAMMĀRIDS]; Ṣaydā, 504/1111; Ṣūr, 518/1124). Egypt itself was invaded in 511/1117 by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who took Faramā and reached Tinnīs; he was, however, forced to retreat because of his illness and died on the way.

A noteworthy event was the invasion by the Luwāta in 517/1123, who reached as far as Alexandria, but were repelled by al-Maʾmūn.

During the reign of al-Āmir the Nizārī schism, which caused the Fāṭimids to lose the support of the greater part of the Ismāʿīlī "diaspora", threatened Egypt itself. Al-Maʾmūn had to take police measures in order to prevent the infiltration of their agents, and a great public demonstration was held in Cairo (Shawwāl 516/1122) in order to publicize the falsity of the Nizārī claims and the legality of the Mustaʿlian line. A document issued on this occasion has been preserved under the title of *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya* (ed. A. A. A. Fyzee, Oxford 1938).

In 524/1130 a heir, named al-Ṭayyib, was born to al-Āmir; his fate, however, is shrouded in obscurity. On 2 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 524/8 Oct. 1130 the caliph was assassinated by Nizārīs and a period of *coups d'état* followed [cf. AL-AFḌAL KUTAYFĀT, AL-ḤĀFIẒ].

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(S. M. STERN)

ʿĀMIR, the name of a South Arabian tribe [see DJAʿDA].

BANŪ **ʿĀMIR** (BENI AMOR), a camel- and cattle-owning nomadic tribe, pop. approx. 60,000, in Western Eritrea and the adjacent area of the Sudan. The tribe is divided into 17 sections, some speaking Bedja (a hamitic language) others Tigrē (a semitic one), though there is a firm tradition of common descent, traced in considerable detail to the ancestor ʿĀmir, some 10 generations ago. This applies only to the small ruling caste (*nabtāb*), not to the heterogeneous and much more numerous serf population (called *hedareb* or *tigrē*), which seems to have come under Banī ʿĀmir domination at different times, either through conquest or voluntary submission. A few serf groups are subject only to the Paramount Chief, while the large majority live in hereditary bondage to particular *nabtāb* families, tributary to them and charged with all the menial tasks, especially herding and milking. The masters, in turn, are bound to protect their serfs and care for their welfare. Though tempered by personal loyalties, the caste division is kept rigid by the prohibition of intermarriage and by certain taboos imposed on the serfs. Formerly there was also a class of slaves, who were the absolute property of their masters.

The whole tribe is Muslim, though the purity of the belief and adherence to observances vary widely not only individually but among the sections. Their political unity is a tenuous one, resting on a loose federation not infrequently threatened by secession. Tribal government is in the hands of a paramount chief (*diglāl*) and a council of headmen (*sherfaf*) elected by the different sections. Formerly elective, the chief's office became hereditary in 1829, and since 1897 separate chiefs, though close kin, have been ruling over the Eritrean and Sudanese branches of the tribe.

The relations of the tribe with neighbouring groups were, and still are, marked by frequent raids and blood feuds. Though internal conflicts were not infrequent they never followed class lines. The modern political and economic changes, however, which seriously weakened *nabtāb* prestige, also caused the serfs to show signs of restiveness, visible in sporadic acts of lawlessness and 'passive resistance'.

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(S. F. NADEL)

ʿĀMIR I. (al-Malik al-Ẓāfir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) founded in Yemen the dynasty of the Banū Ṭāhir, after the fall of that of the Rasūlids about the year 855/1451 in conjunction with his brother ʿAlī (al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Shams al-Dīn). He lost his life during an unsuccessful attempt to capture the town of Ṣanʿāʾ in 870/1466.

Bibliography: see the following art.

ʿĀMIR II. (b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, al-Malik al-Ẓāfir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), was the last prince of the house of the Banū Ṭāhir; he ruled in Yemen 894/1488-923/1517. Already in 922/1516, the Egyptian admiral Ḥusayn occupied the capital of Yemen, Zabīd, because ʿĀmir refused to supply the fleet sent out against the Portuguese with provisions. Ḥusayn left his brother Barsbay behind in the city; and in the following year ʿĀmir, who had taken flight together with his brother ʿAbd al-Malik, fell in a battle with Barsbay. As in the interval the Mamlūk dynasty had been overthrown by Selīm, the Ottoman Sultan, Yemen also fell into the power of the Ottomans.

Bibliography: Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, in *Notices et Extraits*, iv, 421; C. Th. Johannsen, *Historia Jemanae*, 1828, 186 f., 229 f.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, v, 398 f.; Zambaur 121, O. Löfgren, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden*, index; Khalīl Edhem, *Düwel-i Islāmiyye*, 133 f.

ʿĀMIR b. ʿABD al-ḲAYS (later ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿANBARĪ, *tābiʿī* and ascetic of Baṣra. His way of life attracted the attention of the agent of ʿUthmān, Ḥumrān b. Abān, who denounced him to the Caliph; ʿĀmir was interrogated by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir and exiled to Damascus where he died, probably during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya. His way of life seems to have consisted of various kinds of abstinence (he despised wealth and women) and pious works, and it is possible that the measures taken against him were dictated by the desire to prevent the advocacy of celibacy at a time when Islam needed fighting men; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 194, states on the other hand that his puritanism led to his being suspected of Khāridjism, even though these events happened between 29-35/650-6. In the eyes of posterity, ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays is not only an eloquent man whose sayings have been preserved, but Ṣūfism, which includes him among the "eight" principal *zuhhād*, still recognizes him as a forerunner and attributes to him a number of miracles.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 308, ii, 370, iii, 184; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 57-8; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/1, 73-80; Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, index; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 87-95, no. 163; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 6284; Massignon, *Essai*, index; Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, 96.

(Ch. Pellat)

ʿĀMIR b. ṢAʿṢAʿA, a large group of tribes in Western Central Arabia. It is mentioned first in a South Arabian inscription of Abraha in 547 or 544-45 (G. Ryckmans, No. 506, in *Le Muséon*, 1953; J. Ryckmans, ibid., 339-42; Caskel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, 1954, 27-31). Judging by that inscription and by the later area of the ʿĀmir, their original area began to the west of the Turaba oasis and extended towards the east, past Ranya, to the upland south of the Riyāḍ-Mecca road. Here it ended at about the 44th degree of longitude, but the north-western borderline can not be ascertained. From this area the tribe of Kilāb (b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir) advanced to the north and northwest into that territory in which the *ḥimā* Ḍariyya [*q.v.*] was later founded, and into the adjacent southern district as far as Siyy to the west; the tribe of Kaʿb (b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir) advanced to the east and northeast into the southern Ṭuwayḳ. Only the Hilāl (b. ʿĀmir) never left their territory, Ḥarrat Banī Hilāl = Ḥarrat al-Nawāṣif. Earlier inhabitants of the *Ḥimā*, such as a part of the Muḥārib, the Ghanī and the Numayr (who are counted among the ʿĀmir in later genealogies, cf. however ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, xiii, 1) became more or less dependent on the Kilāb, whilst the Kaʿb assimilated the little-known inhabitants of the Ṭuwayḳ oases, and later on settled there themselves, particularly the sub-tribes of Djaʿda and Ḥarīsh. Of the sub-tribes of the Kilāb, the Ḍibāb migrated between the centre of the *Ḥimā* and their old villages near Turaba, the ʿAbd Allāh along what is today known as ʿArḳ al-Subayʿ, the Abū Bakr migrated from the southern *Ḥimā* in a south-easterly direction to Karish = Ḳarsh on the Riyāḍ-Mecca road, and the ʿAmr from the south-eastern *Ḥimā* to Damkh, whence both turned to the southwest into the above mentioned upland. The sub-tribes of Kaʿb also migrated between their old and their new areas: the Ḳushayr north of the Wādī Birk (= Birḳ)-Surra towards the road, the ʿAdjlān went there along that Wādī, the ʿUḳayl migrated from the Wādī Dawāsir-Wādī Ranya northwards to the upland, but they also went south in the direction of Nadjrān. Thus the two areas of migration touched along a considerable stretch. This fact and also the fact their migrating areas were large, explains the remarkable solidarity of the Kaʿb and the Kilāb, while their internal unity, as usual, left much to be desired. The Kilāb had the Ribāb and Tamīm as neighbours in the east, the Asad in the northeast and tribes of the Ghaṭafān in the north and northwest. There was a latent state of war with all these, whilst relationships with the Sulaym, and especially the Hawāzin, in the south-west were amicable. To the south, Kilāb and Kaʿb had a feud with the tribes on the border, especially with the Khathʿam, but also with South Arabian tribes like the Murād, Ṣudāʾ and Djuʿfī (of Saʿd al-ʿAshīra) which had been bedouinized for some time and were pressing towards the north. They did, however, live in peace with the Bal-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb and their satellites Nahd and Djarm in the Nadjrān region, until that peace was broken by ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl's marauding expeditions. Noteworthy among the "days" of ʿĀmir are the battle of Shiʿb Djabala (on the eastern border of the *Ḥimā*), where they repulsed an army of Asad, Dhubyān and Dārim-Tamīm ca. 580).

The house of Djaʿfar (rather a family than a subtribe before the times of Islam) had some vague authority over the Kilāb. It held this position thanks to a pact with the ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir (b. Rabīʿa, according to the later genealogy a "brother" of the Kilāb and Kaʿb), without always being a match for the Abū Bakr, the strongest Kilāb tribe.

The ʿĀmir, as Ḥums [*q.v.*], were on good terms with the inhabitants of Mecca. Nevertheless, the relations with the rising community of the Muslims in Medina were peaceful, since both were opposed to the Ghaṭafān. These relations were not seriously threatened—not even by the incident of Biʾr Maʿūna —until the prophet demanded not only the political, but also the religious, union of the tribes. In 629, a gang of marauding Muslims penetrated as far as Siyy; soon afterwards, the head of the older line of the Djaʿfar, ʿAlḳama b. ʿUlātha, embraced Islam. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, however, his opponent, remained unregenerate. After Muḥammad's victory over the Hawāzin near Ḥunayn (8/630), the ʿĀmir effected their union without further friction. There was hardly any fighting against the ʿĀmir in the *ridda*.

The part played in the wars of conquest by the ʿĀmir was not considerable. Yet the ʿUḳayl reached Spain with the Syrian armies, and the Djaʿda and Ḳushayr reached Persia with those of Kūfa and Baṣra. Other groups followed after the conquests.

Some ʿĀmir settled in Northern Syria and others on the far side of the Euphrates. There they settled on the land, whilst those on this side of the Euphrates slowly reverted to a nomad existence. Here we meet of the old units of ʿĀmir: Kilāb, Ḳus̲h̲ayr, ʿAd̲j̲lān, ʿUḳayl, as well as Numayr. The Kilāb remained on the Syrian side. From them sprang the Mirdāsid [*q.v.*] dynasty. The Numayr and ʿUḳayl, however, went over to the D̲j̲azīra between 940 and 955. Some decades later, their leaders attained political power there [cf. NUMAYRIDS, ʿUKAYLIDS].

There was little immediate change amongst those ʿĀmir who had stayed in Arabia. Through the establishing of the *Ḥimā*, the existing dissensions between the D̲j̲aʿfar on the one side and the Ḍibāb and Abū Bakr on the other grew worse, while the ʿUḳayl temporarily occupied areas near Bīs̲h̲a and Tat̲h̲līt̲h̲ which had been left empty after emigration. Larger displacements did not occur until after the first ʿAbbāsids. The Ḳus̲h̲ayr advanced into the steppes to the northwest until the Numayr stopped them. The Kilāb were also concerned, in the Central Arabian risings shortly before the middle of the 9th century (defeated 846). After the annihilation of the Numayr (847), the Kilāb began to advance from the west, and the ʿUḳayl from the south, into areas which had been swamped by the former for so long. The expeditions of the East-Arabian Ḳarmaṭians started a new wave of migrations: in the east, the K̲h̲afād̲j̲a [*q.v.*]—ʿUḳayl and later the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], reached ʿIrāḳ, the ʿUḳayl in the west reached Palestine, and the Kilāb Transjordania.

There were no important poets among the Kilāb before the last quarter of the 6th century (Labīd, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl); among the Kaʿb until shortly before the *hid̲j̲ra* (al-Nābig̲h̲a al-Djaʿdī). Of the poets of early Islam Ṭahmān must be mentioned among the Kilāb, Ibn Muḳbil al-ʿAd̲j̲lānī and Muzāḥim al-ʿUḳaylī among the Kaʿb.

Bibliography: The *diwāns* of the poets mentioned above [cf. articles on each]; *Naḳāʾiḍ D̲j̲arīr wa'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, passim; Wāḳidi, transl. Wellhausen, 308; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, 115, 142-6; the Arabic Geographers; Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, i, 58 f., 222-7, 281, ii, 174, iii, 12-8, 127-32, 208 ff. [Cf. also HILĀL, ḲUS̲H̲AYR, NUMAYR, ʿUḲAYL.]

(W. CASKEL)

ʿĀMIR B. AL-ṬUFAYL, ancient Arab hero and poet, sprung from the Mālik, the younger line of the D̲j̲aʿfar b. Kilāb, belonging to ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. In the nineties and past the threshold of the 7th century he took part in many marauding expeditions, sometimes leading his own men. After the death of his father, who appears to have fallen in the south fighting against the K̲h̲at̲h̲ʿam, he took over the conduct of the war until the loss of an eye at the battle of Fayf al-Rīḥ (against the K̲h̲at̲h̲ʿam, ca. 614) rendered him unsuited for this post. In the beginning he suffered some setbacks, and he himself lost eight or nine of his relatives. In one battle other tribes of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa must have suffered grievously, for bitter reproaches were made to him from their side. The unfortunate result of Fayf al-Rīḥ was not his fault; nevertheless the D̲j̲aʿfar held him responsible for the loss of men and horses. It is possible that this dissension formed the basis for the legal contest, or the struggle for precedence, which brook out a short time after between ʿĀmir and the head of the older line, ʿAlḳama b. ʿUlāt̲h̲a. Though the arbiter gave no verdict, ʿĀmir recovered his good reputation through this suit; the poet al-Aʿs̲h̲ā seems to have provided essential help in accomplishing this. After the death of his uncle ʿĀmir Abū Barāʾ (ca. 4-5/624-5), he became, formally, the head of the D̲j̲aʿfar, the mightiest Bedouin leader of Central Arabia, as before he had been the greatest warrior.

Legend connects ʿĀmir several times with the Prophet and depicts him as his bitterest Bedouin opponent. He is supposed to have attacked Muslim missionaries treacherously at Biʾr Maʿūna and have organised a plot to assassinate the Prophet. This is true to the extent that he did not submit to the sovereignty of Medina and died a heathen, probably shortly before the taking of Mecca. The accusation of treachery goes back to an exchange of *hid̲j̲āʾ* between the poets of Medina and those of the D̲j̲aʿfar (the verses of whom have been lost or suppressed). In this ʿĀmir was accused of occasioning the catastrophe of Maʿūna by breaking the covenant of protection. It is true that there was an engagement of protection entered into by his uncle, only that ʿĀmir could not fulfil it among the Sulaym, who had killed the "holy band", in reality a pillaging expedition; cf. Lyall, *Diwāns*, 84-91.

The fragmentary impression left by the *diwān* of ʿĀmir is caused not only by the unsatisfactory tradition. ʿĀmir appears really to have cultivated only the small forms of *fak̲h̲r* and *hid̲j̲āʾ*. In the case of no. 29 he created a perfect work of art through expansion of a framework which also occurs elsewhere; no. 11 is moving through its humanity, the complaint about the loss of his eye. In no. 16 he shows himself, uplifted by a recently won victory, equal to the hurtful scorn of al-Nābig̲h̲a.

Bibliography: *The Diwāns of ʿAbīd Ibn al-Abraṣ and ʿĀmir Ibn aṭ-Ṭufail*, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, 1913; Aʿs̲h̲ā (Geyer), nos. 18,19; Labīd (Brockelmann), nos. 45, 51; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Lyall), no. 5; *Ag̲h̲ānī*[2], xv, 50-4, 132; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, i, 482 f., 484 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, iii, *ayyām*, nos. 15, 16; *Mufaḍḍaliyyat*, 30-4, 704 ff.; *Naḳāʾiḍ* (Bevan), 469-72 and index. (The prose texts have no independent historical value and can serve only in helping to understand the poems.)

(W. CASKEL)

AMĪR ĀK̲H̲ŪR, in Persian MĪR ĀK̲H̲ŪR, "high equerry", one of the highest officials in the court of Oriental princes. Under the Mamlūks the *amīr āk̲h̲ūr* was the supervisor of the royal stables. He was generally an *amīr* of a thousand and had under his orders three *amīrs* of fourty. In the Circassian period he occupied the fourth place among the grand *amīrs*, cf. A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, etc.*, London 1939, 30; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army*, *BSOAS*, 1954, 63, 68.

(D. AYALON)

AMĪR ʿALĪ, SAYYID (1849-1928), Indian jurist and writer, descended from a Shīʿite family which had come from K̲h̲urāsān with Nādir S̲h̲āh and remained in India, finding service with successively the Mug̲h̲al and Āwad̲h̲ courts and finally the East India Company. He was educated at the Muḥsiniyya ("Hooghly") College near Calcutta, where he learned Arabic and also came into close contact with the English and their literature, as well as studying their law (see his *Memoirs*, in *IC*, 1931-2). He was in England in 1869-73, being called to the Bar in 1873, and settled there permanently with his English wife (née Isabelle Ida Konstam) on retirement from the Bengal High Court in 1904. His activities were significant in many fields: as a professor of

Islamic Law, at the Bar, on the Bench, in social service, government administration, politics, and as a writer. Some of his works became, and have remained, standard authorities for Anglo-Mohammedan Law. In 1883 he became one of the three Indian members (and the only Muslim) on the Viceroy's Council, and in 1909 he was appointed the first Indian member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. In the field of social service he sponsored a juvenile reformatory in ʿAlīpur (Calcutta), and in London he was a protagonist in the British Red Crescent Society.

On the political front he founded in 1877 a "National Mahommedan [*sic*] Association", which presently was a nation-wide organization with 34 branches from Madras to Karachi; its programme was "primarily to promote good feeling and fellowship between the Indian races and creeds, at the same time to protect and safeguard Mahommedan interests and help their political training" (*Memoirs*, 1932, 10). Amīr ʿAlī sensed, expressed and fostered a nascent political self-consciousness in Indian Islām, disagreeing with the then conviction of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [see AḤMAD KHĀN] as to the adequacy of modern (western) education for the Indian-Muslim community as a guarantee of its position in the country. After moving to England he was instrumental in setting up the London branch of the Muslim League (speech in *IC*, 1932, 335 ff.); his loyalty to and real affection for Britain led him, however, to resign in 1913 when the League joined with the Indian National Congress in talk of "Home Rule." He was involved in negotiations in London over the projects for political reforms in India. After the First World War he came into prominence as London champion of the *khilāfat* movement; a letter to ʿIṣmet Pasha signed by him and the Agha Khān, being published in Istanbul before reaching the government in Ankara, roused drastic opposition in Turkey, where the *khilāfa* was presently abolished altogether.

It is, however, as a writer that his basic contribution was made. While a student at the Inner Temple, he wrote in answer to a western account of Islam a study of Muḥammad's life and message, which was published in London (1873). This became the basis of a developing work which he subsequently kept revising and republishing throughout his life, under the eventual title of *The Spirit of Islam* (editions in 1891, 1922, 1953). This liberal modernist interpretation of Islam was favourably received and has remained influential in the West; its influence in the Muslim world, not least outside of India, has also been marked, and it has been translated into Turkish.

His other major book (apart from legal works), *A Short History of the Saracens* (London 1899; 10th repr. (revised) 1951; also in Urdu transl.), also contributed to a new attitude towards the Islamic past on the part of many, both western and Muslim. These two books, and the other smaller presentations on Islam which he proferred, were supplemented by a steady stream of articles, both in India and especially in Britain (chiefly in the *Nineteenth Century*), in which he pleaded the cause of Islam before the bar of world opinion. His historical significance lies in considerable part in his role in the creation of favourable appreciation of Islam in the West, and perhaps also in awakening or facilitating such a favourable appreciation of Islam among westernized Muslims.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article; Bibliography of Amīr ʿAlī's writings, by W. C. Smith, *Islamic Review*, London; *Eminent Mussulmans*, Madras c. 1922, 145-76; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islām in India*², London 1947, index; H. R. A. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947, index. (W. CANTWELL SMITH)

AMĪR DĀD, "*amīr* of justice", minister of justice during the Saldjūḳ rule, especially in Asia Minor; other *amīrs* bore this name as a fixed title (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, index s.v.).

AMĪR AL-ḤĀDJDJ, leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca. In 9/630, after which date non-Muslims were excluded from the *ḥadjdj*, the Prophet nominated Abū Bakr to conduct the pilgrimage and to prevent pagans from taking part in it. In 10/631 he presided over it himself. Thereafter this duty belonged directly to the caliphs, who either undertook it themselves or nominated an official to act in their place (e.g. the Governor of Mecca or Medina, a high official etc.). When the authority of the Caliph was disputed, there were sometimes several rival leaders of pilgrimages to the Holy Places (e.g. in 68/688 there were four, of whom one was ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr). Great importance was attached to the function of presiding at the ceremonies, which entailed authority over all the assembled pilgrims (*ḥadjdja bi 'l-nās*). When this president came from the seat of the caliphate, the sources sometimes underlined his role as leader of a particular caravan, for example by calling him *amīr al-ḥādjdj al-ʿIrāḳī*. Under the shadowy ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Cairo (after 660/1262) the office became secularized and nominations were made by the Mamlūk sultans. The *amīr al-ḥādjdj al-Miṣrī*, usually a commander of a thousand appointed annually, claimed pre-eminence at the Holy Places. The title of *amīr al-ḥādjdj* was sometimes used for the leaders of other caravans (Damascus, ʿIrāḳ). Each of these had absolute authority over his own pilgrims (supply organization, travel arrangements, protection of merchants, the sick and the poor, police duties, application of Ḳurʾānic penalties). He was assisted by a specialized staff, and took any measures necessary to avoid attack by Bedouin. The Mamlūk sultans of Cairo used their *amīr al-ḥādjdj* to support their policy of establishing gradual control over the Ḥidjāz, symbolized by the *maḥmal* [*q.v.*], and to distribute gifts or *ṣurre* [*q.v.*]. The Ottoman sultans did the same after 923/1517, but their *amīr al-ḥādjdj* (Cairo, Damascus and, for a short period, Yemen), were appointed for a period of years until recalled. In Egypt under the Ottomans, up to the end of the 18th century, one of the principal *beys* held the post. The discharge of their duties necessitated heavy expenditure, a large part of which was met by the sultans; but as a result of the fact they received many gifts; that the effects of those who died on the way without heirs legally reverted to them, and that they carried on trade on their own account, the holders of this office could make a handsome profit. It was a great honour to be required to fill the post. Ibn Saʿūd, who ruled the Hidjāz from 1924-5, prohibited any practice which recalled former Egyptian or Ottoman control of the Holy Places. The military escorts and the *maḥmal* which formerly accompanied the *amīr al-ḥādjdj* could no longer appear in Saʿūdī Arabia. The *amīr al-ḥādjdj* had now only a diplomatic role, andt he ministries of their respective countries dealt with the material organization of the pilgrimages. In 1954, Egypt abolished the title of *amīr al-ḥādjdj*, replacing it by *raʾīs baʿthat al-ḥadjdj* (Head of the Pilgrimage Mission).

Bibliography: J. Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de La Mecque*, Cairo 1953 and references quoted. (J. JOMIER)

AMĪR ḤAMZA [see ḤAMZA B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALʾB].

AL-**AMĪR** AL-**KABĪR**, "great *amīr*", title which had originally been granted in the Mamlūk kingdom to "all those who had seniority in service and in years" Consequently there was a whole group of *amīrs* of which every individual was called *al-amīr al-kabīr*. In the days of Shaykhūn al-ʿUmarī (752/1352) the title became reserved for the commander-in-chief (*atābak al-ʿasākir*) of the kingdom. From that date onward it became the most common title of the commander-in-chief beside that of his rank.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *CIA*, *L'Égypte*, 276, 290, 452, 593; Makrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, transl. Quatremère, i, 3; Poliak and Ayalon, as quoted in AMĪR ĀKHŪR.

(D. AYALON)

AMĪR KHĀN, 1768-1834, the famous Paṭhān predatory chief and associate of Djaswant Rāo Holkar, was born at Sambhal in the Murādābād district of Rohilkhand. As a young man he and his adherents were employed by various *zamindārs* and Marātha officials as *sihbandi* troops for the collection of the revenues. He rapidly developed into a leader of banditti and as such was successively employed by the rulers of Bhopāl, Indore and Djaypūr. In 1798 he received the title of *nawāb* from Djaswant Rāo Holkar. The following year he plundered Saugor and the surrounding country. In 1809, in combination with the Pindāris, he planned to attack Berar but his designs were frustrated by Lord Minto's despatch of troops to that area. By the year 1817 the strength of his army had increased to 8,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 200 guns. In the same year, realizing the strength of the British, he concluded a treaty with Lord Hastings, the governor-general, by which, provided he disbanded his army, he was guaranteed in the possession of his territories. He thus became the founder of the state of Tonk [*q.v.*] which, since 1948, has been merged into the Union of Rādjāstān.

Bibliography: Busawun Lal, *Memoirs of the Puthan Soldier of Fortune the Nuwab Ameer-ood-Dowlah Mohummud Ameer Khan* compiled in Persian, translated into English by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta 1832; J. Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, London 1823; M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, Bombay 1930; H. T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings*, 1825; *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* (ed. C. U. Aitchison, 1909) Vol. iii, No. xcix. (C. COLIN DAVIES)

AMĪR KHUSRAW DIHLAWĪ, the great Indo-Persian poet, was born in 651/1253 at Paṭiyālī in the district of Etah, Uttar Pradesh, India. His father, Sayf al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was a Turk who had entered India in the time of Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish under whom he took service as an army officer. His mother was a daughter of ʿImād al-Mulk, muster master of the kingdom. Amīr Khusraw, according to his own statements, early showed great promise as a poet. From the age of eight when his father died, Amīr Khusraw was cared for by his maternal grandfather. After the latter's death, Amīr Khusraw took service with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kishlū Khān, nephew of Sultan Balban and then with Nāsir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān, son of the sultan, when he was appointed governor of Sāmāna. After accompanying Bughrā Khān to Bengal, Amīr Khusraw returned to Dihlī and accepted the patronage of the sultan's eldest son, Muḥammad Ḳāʾān Malik and accompanied him to Multān. In 683/1284 Muḥammad was killed in battle with the Mongols and Amīr Khusraw himself was captured only to escape soon after. He returned to Dihlī and attached himself to Malik ʿAlī Sardjāndār Ḥātam Khān and went with him to Oudh when Sulṭān Muizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād went to meet his father Bughrā Khān in 686/1287. Ḥātam Khān was appointed governor of Oudh and Amīr Khusraw remained with him for two years before seeking permission to return to Dehlī, where he accepted the patronage of the Sultan.

In the reign of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī 689/1290-695/1295, Amīr Khusraw was given a royal pension of twelve hundred tankahs annually and, according to Barnī, was a great favourite of the Sultān. But on the murder of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī the poet transferred his allegiance to his assassin ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaljī who confirmed him in his pension but proved an exacting patron. ʿAlā al-Dīn Khaldjī's reign, 695/1295 to 715/1315, saw Amīr Khusraw's most prolific period. Amīr Khusraw also enjoyed favour under Sultans Ḳutb al-Dīn Mubarak Shāh 716/1316-720/1320 and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, 720/1320-725/1325.

During his lifetime, Amīr Khusraw became a disciple of the Čishtī saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā of Ghiyāthpūr and when the poet died in 725/1325, a few months after the accession of Sultan Muḥammad Tughluḳ, he was buried at the foot of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā's grave.

The following works of Amīr Khusraw are extant. (1) Five *dīwāns*, viz., (a) *Tuḥfat al-Ṣighār*, poems of adolescence collected about 671/1272; (b) *Wasaṭ al-Ḥayāt*, poems of middle life collected originally about 683/1284; (c) *Ghurrat al-Kamāl*, poems of maturity collected originally about 693/1293; (d) *Baḳiyya Naḳiyya*, collected about 716/1316; (e) *Nihāyat al-Kamāl*, collected about 725/1325.

(2) The *Khamsa*, viz., (a) *Maṭlaʿ al-Anwār*, 698/1298; (b) *Shīrīn u-Khusraw*, 698/1298; (c) *Āʾina-i Sikandarī*, 699/1299; (d) *Hasht Bihisht*, 701/1301; (e) *Madjnūn u-Laylā*, 698/1298.

(3) The *Ghazaliyyāt*, or lyrical poems.

(4) The Prose Works, viz., (a) *Khazāʾin al-Futūḥ*, the victories of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī; (b) *Afḍal al-Fawāʾid*, a collection of the sayings of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā presented to the saint in 719/1319; (c) *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī*, completed in 719/1319, specimens of elegant prose composition.

(5) The historical poems, viz., (a) *Ḳirān al-Saʿdayn*, completed in 688/1289, a *mathnawī* on the meeting of Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād and his father Nāṣir al-Din Bughrā Khān on the banks of the Sardjū in Oudh.; (b) *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*, a *mathnawī* on four victories of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī, completed in 690/1291 and forming part of the *Ghurrat al-Kamāl*. (c) *Duwal Rānī Khiḍr Khān* or *ʿAshīḳa*, a *mathnawī* completed in 715/1316 on the love story of Khiḍr Khān, son of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, and Devaldi, the daughter of Rādja Karn of Nahrwāla, with a later continuation telling of Khiḍr Khān's estrangement from his father, his confinement in the fortress of Gwalior, his blinding and eventual murder at the instigation of Malik Kāfūr; (d) *Nuh Sipihr*, a *mathnawī* describing the glories of Sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī's time, completed in 718/1218; (e) *Tughluḳ-nāma*, a *mathnawī* on the victory of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ over Khusraw Khān in 720/1320.

Amīr Khusraw and the History of his Times. The works of Amīr Khusraw provide the fullest single expression extant of medieval Indo-Muslim civilisation. They reveal, as perhaps does no other surviving body of Indo-Persian literature of the time, the religious, ethical, cultural and aesthetic ideas of courtly, educated and wealthy Indian Muslims of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

Amīr Khusraw was not an historian. No more in his "historical poems" than in his *dīwāns* and *ghazals* does he attempt a critical account of the human past. Amīr Khusraw wrote to please his patrons by appealing to their imaginations, emotions and to their vanity as courtly educated Muslims. For Amīr Khusraw the life of man in history is a pageant of stereotyped formal action by god-like sulṭāns and great men, who personify Muslim ideals of conduct.

Bibliography: Storey, Section II, Fasciculus 3.M. History of India, London 1939; Muḥammad Wahid Mirza, *Life and Times of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935. (P. Hardy)

AMĪR MADJLIS, master of audiences or ceremonies, one of the highest dignitaries of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor (see SALDJŪḲ). In the Mamlūk kingdom the *amīr madjlis* had charge of the physicians, oculists and the like. The sources do not elucidate the connection between the rank of *amīr madjlis* and this particular task, which seems to be of no special importance. Altho \ the rank of *amīr madjlis* was in the early Mamluk period superior to that of *amīr silāḥ* [*q.v.*], neither of them was of great significance at that time. In the Circassian period the *amīr madjlis*, though inferior to the *amīr silāḥ*, was third in importance amongst the highest *amīrs* of the kingdom.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks* (transl. Quatremère), ii/1, 97; M. van Berchem, *CIA*, *L'Égypte*, 274, 585; M. Gaudefroi-Demombynes, *La Syrie etc.*, p. lvii; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 69, 101 etc.; D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 59, 69. (D. Ayalon)

AMĪR AL-MUʾMINĪN, "Commander of the Believers" (the translation "Prince of the Believers" is neither philologically nor historically correct), title adopted by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his election as caliph. *Amīr*, as a term designating a person invested with command (*amr*), and more especially military command, is in this general sense compounded with *al-muʾminīn* to designate the leaders of various Muslim expeditions both in the lifetime of the Prophet and after, e.g. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], the commander of the Muslim army against the Persians at Ḳādisiyya. Its adoption as a title by ʿUmar may more probably, however, be connected with the Ḳurʾānic verse "Obey God and obey the Apostle and those invested with command (*uli ʾl-amr*) among you" (iv, 58/62). From this time until the end of the Caliphate as an institution, *amīr al-muʾminīn* was employed exclusively as the protocollary title of a caliph, and among the Sunnīs its adoption by a ruler implied a claim to the office of caliph [see KHALĪFA], whether in its universal significance (as by the Umayyads, ʿAbbāsids, and the Shīʿite Fāṭimids) or as implying independent Islamic authority (as by the Umayyads in al-Andalus from 316/928 [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN III], the Muʾminids in the Maghrib [see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, *Hesp.*, 1941, 1 ff.], and several of the minor dynasties in al-Andalus before and after the Muwaḥḥid conquest). The Muʾminid caliphate was claimed from 650/1253 by the Ḥafṣid *amīrs* of Ifrīḳiya, and was after the extinction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate at Baghdād in 656/1258 fleetingly recognized as the universal caliphate by the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt, until their establishment of the new line of ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Cairo [see ʿABBĀSIDS]. In the Maghrib itself the Ḥafṣid claim was contested by the Marīnids in Morocco, who also adopted the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn* in the 8th/14th century, and were followed by all the succeeding dynasties in Morocco.

By the political jurists the title *amīr al-muʾminīn* was interpreted in a general sense, without special reference to command in the Holy War, except in so far as the proclamation of *djihād* remained a prerogative of the caliphate. In other Muslim circles, however, especially among the Zaydīs (see below), its association with active prosecution of the *djihād* still survived. In this sense it was occasionally employed by the early Ottoman sultans (see H. A. R. Gibb, in *Bibl.*); but it was never formally adopted by their successors as implying a claim to the universal caliphate, even after the occupation of Egypt by Salīm I in 922/1517. In the same sense it was assumed by various leaders of Muslim armies in West Africa [see AḤMAD AL-SHAYKH and AḤMAD LOBBO], and is still employed as the style of their successors in N. Nigeria.

Among the Shīʿa, the Imāmīs in general limit the title to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib exclusively; the Ismāʿīlīs apply it to such of the Fāṭimid caliphs as each sect recognizes; while the Zaydīs regard it as legimately claimed by any ʿAlid who seeks to establish his claim by force of arms (hence its present use by the Imāms of al-Yaman). Among the Khawāridj the title was rarely used, except by the Rustamids [*q.v.*] of Tāhart.

Very occasionally the term is applied in a figurative sense to outstanding scholars; e.g. the traditionist Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj is described as *amīr al-muʾminīn fi ʾl-riwāya* (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, vii, 144), and the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī as *amīr al-muʾminīn fi ʾl-naḥw*(Makkarī, *Analectes*, 826).

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Titres califiennes d'Occident*, *JA* 1907/i, 245-335; E. Tyan, *Institutions de Droit public musulman. I. Le Califat*, Paris 1954, esp. 198 ff.; H. A. R. Gibb, *Some Considerations etc.*, *Archives d'Histoire et de Droit oriental*, iii, Wetteren 1948, 401-10. See also general works under KHALĪFA. (H. A. R. Gibb)

AMĪR AL-MUSLIMĪN, i.e. lord of the Muslims, a title which the Almoravids first assumed, in contra-distinction to *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* [*q.v.*]. The latter title was born by the independant dynasties; the Almoravids, however, recognized the supremacy of the ʿAbbāsids and did not wish to arrogate to themselves this title of the Caliphs. So they established a kind of sub-caliphate with a title of their own. Afterwards the African and Spanish princes bore either the one or the other of these titles, according as they sought after the independent caliphate or recognized any supremacy.

Bibliography: M. van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'Occident* (*Journ. As.*, series 10, ix, 245-335). (A. J. Wensinck)

AMĪR SILĀḤ, grand master of the armour. In the Mamlūk kingdom he was in charge of the armour-bearers (*silāḥdāriyya*) and supervised the arsenal (*silāḥkhāna*). It was his duty to bear the sultan's arms in public ceremonies and to convey them to him in battle and other occasions. In the early Mamluk period the office of *amīr silāḥ* was not

very high (cf. AMĪR MADJLIS); under the Circassians it was the second office among the highest *amīrs* of the kingdom. The *amīr silāḥ* had the right of sitting as the *raʾs al-maysara* in the sultan's presence.

Bibliography: L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, index; D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 60, 68, 69. (D. AYALON)

AMĪR AL-UMARĀʾ, chief Emīr, commander-in-chief of the army. As the name shews this dignity was originally confined to the military command. But the pretorians continued to become more powerful, and already the first bearer of the title, the eunuch Mūnis, soon became the real ruler, for it was to him that the weak and incapable Caliph al-Muḳtadir owed his rescue on the occasion of the conspiracy on behalf of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz in 296 (908). After the appointment of Muḥammed b. Rāʾiḳ the governor of Wāsiṭ in 324 (Nov. 936) as Amīr al-Umarāʾ by the Caliph al-Rāḍī, this desperate ruler could not but hand over to him the entire civil authority, and his name was even mentioned in the public prayers together with that of the Caliph. So the Emīrs became in reality virtua rulers, while the Caliphs sank more and more to mere shadows of their former power.

This title is very rarely met with in Mamlūk sources. According to one source it was synonymous with *baklarbakī*, a title given to the *atābak al-ʿasākir*. It seems, however, that other *amīrs* also bore the same title. Cf. D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 59.

In Ottoman usage *amīr al-umarāʾ* and its equivalent *mīr-i mīrān* are common synonyms for *beylerbeyi* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornb.), viii, 10 *et seq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 543 *et seq.*; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 532 *et seq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline* and fall (3rd ed.), 568; Defrémery, *Mémoire relatif aux Emirs al Oméra*. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN *)

AMĪRGHANIYYA [see MIRGHĀNIYYA].

ʿĀMIRĪ (not Amīrī, as often implied in literature), territory of the ʿĀmir, a sub-tribe of the Djaʿda, forming one of the "nine cantons" in the Western Aden Protectorate, with some 27,000 inhabitants (Brit. Agency, 1946). The sultan (*amīr*) resides at Ḍāliʿ (Dhala), a small town on the south-eastern slope of Djabal Djiḥāf, about 10 miles south of Ḳaʿtaba and the border of Yaman. According to von Maltzan the name Shāfil was applied not only to the country and the capital (Bilād Shāfil) but also to the reigning sultan, a *mamlūk* of the Zaydī Imāms of Yaman who had made himself independent and created fairly good order in the district. A treaty with the British was signed in 1904 and supplemented in 1944 by an adviser agreement with the Government of Aden, which gives instructions to the tribal guards of the *amīr*. Ḍāliʿ has a permanent military landing ground for aicraft. A sub-grade school has an average of 50 pupils.

Bibliography: v. Maltzan, *Reise*, 353 ff. (with full details); Abdullah Mansûr (Wyman Bury), *The land of Uz*, 1911, 17 ff.; and the references given in ʿALAWĪ. (O. LÖFGREN)

ʿĀMIRIDS, the descendants (and clients of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿAmir [*q.v.*], in the first place his sons ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*qq.v.*]. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Manṣūr, a son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, founded the dynasty of the ʿĀmirids in Valencia, where he ruled 412-53/1021-61. He was succeeded by his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], 453-7/1061-5. After a ten years' interval under al-Maʾmūn of Toledo, ʿAbd al-Malik's brother, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ruled in Valencia 468-78/1075-85. In this last year the city was wrested from Abū Bakr's son, the *ḳāḍī* ʿUthmān b. Abī Bakr, and fell into the power of al-Ḳādir, who had been dethroned in Toledo. [For further details, see BALANSIYA.] — To the former clients of the house belong Muhārak and Muẓaffar, who ruled Valencia for a short time from 401/1010-1 onwards, and Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmiri [*q.v.*], who became the ruler of Denia and the Balearic Islands. (C. F. SEYBOLD *)

AL-ʿAMḲ, large alluvial plain of northern Syria, situated N-E of Antioch and framed in the tectonic depression which separates the Elma Dagh, or Amanus, from the Kurd Dagh, and which stretches as far as the lower spurs of the Taurus. With a mean elevation of 260 ft. above sea level, it is largely covered by a lake fringed with marshes, called Buḥayrat Anṭākiyya ("the lake of Antioch") or Buḥayrat Yaghrā, and in Turkish Aḳ Deniz; fed from the north by the ʿAfrīn [*q.v.*] and the Ḳara Su, streams which are violent when in spate, the lake discharges its waters in the direction of the Orontes which, before receiving this outlet, the Küčük ʿĀsī, follows the depression without discharging its waters into it; it flows several metres above the depression and is separated from it by an alluvial or rocky shelf. The marsh, which varies in size with the season, lends itself to the raising of buffalo and to fishing (eels and silurus; hence the alternative name Buḥayrat al-Sillawr, which appears in the "Casal Sellorie" of the Crusaders), while the perpetually flooded areas bordering the marsh are reserved for the extensive cultivation of cereals.

About the 9th century before Christ, Assyrian inscriptions point to a kingdom centred on the plain of Antioch, the lake being perhaps of less consequence than now, named ʿUnki; the toponym *ʿamḳ*, Semitic in origin and vouched for by the Aramaic stele of King Zakir, derives from a common noun which still has the meaning in Arabic of "depression", or more exactly, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih (97), "any prairie surrounded by mountains"; this explains the title *ʿamḳ* Tīzīn formerly given by historians to this country, as distinct from the *ʿamḳ* Marʿash [*q.v.*] further north.

As a corridor region commanding the approaches to Antioch, the plain of the ʿAmḳ, under the name of Amykès Pedion, was the site of important battles in the Hellenistic era. After the Muslim conquest, it became part of the disputed zone between the Arabs and the Byzantines, to whom it was given by the treaty of 359/969. Guarded by various forts which cut it off from the Syrian hinterland (Artāḥ, ʿImm, Ḥārim, Tīzīn), it was, like Antioch, momentarily reoccupied by the Muslims; the latter had to cede it to the Crusaders, and it was only finally recovered by Nūr al-Dīn in 543/1149 after the battle fought near Yaghrā, a place situated north of the lake where the sultan Ḳayt-bāy later camped during his famous tour of inspection of the Syrian territories. During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, the ʿAmḳ formed part of the province of Aleppo, and was crossed by the routes from Antioch to Aleppo (via Djisr al-Ḥadīd, south of the lake) and from Antioch to Marʿash, and by the post road Ayas-Baghrās-Aleppo, which passed to the north of the marsh after crossing the Amanus by the Baylān pass [see BAGHRĀS].

The numerous projects under the French mandate, designed to increase the value of the plain and to drain the lake, all failed to provide a satisfactory solution. The return to Turkey in 1939 of the *sandjak* of Alexandretta, which included the ʿAmḳ, deprived

the plain of its position as a corridor region, which was one of the main reasons for the interest displayed in it, and explains its present neglected state.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 161-2, Ṭabarī, ii, 2016; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda* (Dahan), ii, 292; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89 and *Hist. Or. Cr.*, ii, 164; Yāḳūt, i, 316, 514, 516, 727; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 41-2, 49, 261; Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1996, *Suppl.* i, 72; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 60, 71-2 (wrongly makes a distinction between the lake of Antioch and that of Yaghrā), 391; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index (particularly 425 and 435-9); M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1951, 229, 831 ff.; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index (particularly 133-8); M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 22; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. Archéol. or.*, iii, 255; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux*, Paris 1941, 96; J. Weulersse, *L'Oronte*, Tours 1940, 77-80. (D. Sourdel)

AL-ʿĀMMA WA'L-KHĀṢṢA [see AL-KHĀṢṢA].

ʿAMMĀN, capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Population (1953) approximately 108, 304 plus a small floating population, chiefly refugees from Palestine of about 30,000.

The site has been occupied since earliest prehistoric times. The Citadel Hill (Djabal al-Ḳalʿa) is undoubtedly the site of the ancient city often referred to in the Old Testament as Rabbath Ammon, "Rabba of Ammon". Of this ancient city little now remains save some tombs on the hill sides, and a short stretch of Iron Age city wall, perhaps 9th or 8th. century B.C. The early Israelites (c. 1300 B.C.) failed to secure control of either the city or the district until the determined assault of David in the 11th century B.C. During this attack occurred the episode of Uriah the Hittite, whose name was still traditionally associated with the site in the 10th century A.D. (al-Maḳdisī, 175). Under Solomon ʿAmmān regained its independence. In common with the rest of the country it became a vassal of Assyria during the 8th. and 7th. centuries B.C., but maintained a precarious independence during the Babylonian period. When Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-227 B.C.) conquered the town he renamed it Philadelphia, by which name it was known in Roman and Byzantine times. The Seleucid King Antiochus III captured it about 218 B.C. In the first century B.C. ʿAmmān joined the league of the Decapolis, and the Nabateans occupied the city for a short time, but were driven out by Herod the Great about 30 B.C. From him the Romans took over and rebuilt it on the standard Roman provincial plan, with theaters, temples, Forum, Nymphaeum and a main street with columns. Some of these monuments still exist. In Byzantine times ʿAmmān was the seat of the Bishopric of Philadelphia and Petra, one of the sees of Palestina Tertia under Bosra. This title is still held by the Greek Catholic Bishop. (For details of ancient history, see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Philadelphia.)

Excavation on the Citadel on the site of the present Museum have shown that it was still flourishing when it was captured by the Arab general Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in 14/635, almost immediately after the fall of Damascus, and on the Citadel at least there were some fine private houses of the Umayyad period. These are of some importance archaeologically, as only the palaces of the Ommayad Caliphs have so far been excavated, and they give us the first evidence of how the ordinary man lived in this period. There is also a square Ghassānid or Umayyad building on the Citadel.

In common with the rest of Jordan, a decline apparently set in with the removal of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdād. Ibn al Faḳīh, 105, writing in 292/903, mentions ʿAmmān as belonging to Damascus. Al-Maḳdisī, writing some 80 years later (375/985) gives a rather full account of the city as it then was (175; quoted by Yāḳūt, iii, 760). Al-Maḳdisī puts the town in the district of Filasṭīn and calls it the capital of the Balḳā' district (156; cf. also 180, 184).

Yāḳūt, iii, 710, in 622/1225 refers to it as the city of Dakiyanus or the Emperor Decius, and connects the legend of Lot and his daughters with ʿAmmān. He still calls it one of the fruitful towns of Filasṭīn and capital of the Balḳa. But al-Dimashḳi, 213, writing about 699/1300, assigns it to the Kingdom of Karak and says that only ruins remain. Abu 'l-Fidā', 247, writing a mere 20 years later says "it is very ancient town, and was ruined before the days of Islam".

It is difficult to account for this sudden drop in the town's fortunes, for no historical or natural catastrophe has been recorded from this period. Thereafter writers are silent on the subject of ʿAmmān, and when the first western travellers started to penetrate east of the Jordan in the early 19th century, it was no more than a very small village. In 1295/1878 a group of Circassians were settled there by the Turkish authorities, but it remained a mere handful of houses for many more years.

The first systematic exploration of the town and its environs was that made by Major Conder and his party in 1881, when the ruins of the mosque with a square minaret, perhaps the one mentioned by the al-Maḳdisī, were still standing. They were still there when the much fuller survey of Butler was carried out in 1907, but he considers the main wall to have been either Roman or Byzantine. Exactly when it was destroyed cannot be ascertained probably soon after the first World War.

In 1340/1921 ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] made it the capital of Transjordan, and it has grown steadily ever since. Its greatest period of prosperity came during and immediately after World War II since the end of which the city has increased in size at least 50%. It is now the capital and administrative centre for the Kingdom on both sides of the Jordan, and contains the Royal Palace, Houses of Parliament and head offices of all the Ministries. Some fine Government buildings, including a Museum, and Schools have been erected during the last few years, but in the early days of its growth many monuments of the past have disappeared.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, 126; Brünow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, ii, 216; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels among Arab Tribes*, 68-9; H. C. Butler, *Publications of the Princetown University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div. II, Sec. A, Pt. I, 34 ff.; Major Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 19 ff.; idem, *Heth and Moab*, 152 ff.; Laborde, *Voyage de le Syrie*, 1837, 99 ff., pl. LXXXII; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*; *Letters of Lord Lindsay*, ii, 1839, 108 ff.; A. S. Marmardji, *Buldāniyyat Filasṭīn al-ʿArabiyya*, 1948; S. Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 1881, 399 ff.; Puchstein, in *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen, Instituts*, 1902, 108; Saller and Bagatti, *Town of Nebo*, 225; J. Strzygowski, in

Jahrbuch der Königlich Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen, 1904; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, iii; H. B. Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 535; M. van Berchem, in *Journal des Savants*, 1903, 476; *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, i, 7 ff.; *Bolletina de Arte*, Dec. 1934; *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestina*, i, xi, xii, xiv; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zaraklī *ʿĀmān fi ʿAmmān*, Cairo 1925. (G. LANKESTER HARDING)

AMMAN, MIR [see AMĀN, MĪR].

ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ, a family of ḳāḍīs who governed the principality of Tripoli (in Syria) for forty years preceding the capture of the town by the Crusaders in 502/1109.

The first ruler of the family, Amīn al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, who had been *ḳāḍī* of the town, declared himself independent after the death of the Fāṭimid governor, Mukhtār al-Dawla b. Bazzāl in 462/1070. He made the town an important intellectual centre and founded a rich library.

On his death in 464/1072 his two nephews quarreled about the succession. Djalāl al-Mulk ʿAlī b. Muḥammad succeeded in evicting his brother. The authority of Djalāl al-Mulk must have been considerable, as he maintained himself for almost thirty years. In 473/1081 he took Djabala from the Byzantines. He manoeuvred as well as he could between the Fāṭimids and the Saldjūḳids, as Ibn al-Ḳalānisī has pointed out: "The towns on the sea, Tyre and Tripoli, were in the hands of their *ḳāḍīs* who were their independent rulers. Not satisfied with renouncing the authority of the *amīr* of the armies Badr al-Djamālī, they tried to obtain the good will of the Turks by diplomacy and presents".

The last ruler, Fakhr al-Mulk ʿAmmār (brother of the preceding), succeeded in 49/1099, and for some years withstood the attacks of the Crusader Raymund of St. Gilles and his successor. In 501, however, he decided to leave the town in order to seek help against the Franks. The inhabitants, however, faithful to the Fāṭimid dynasty, called in the Egyptians, but in spite of the great efforts made by the Fāṭimids, their fleet arrived in Tyre eight days after the fall of Tripoli. Fakhr al-Mulk passed first into the service of the Saldjūḳids, then of the princes of Mosul, and finally that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and died in 512/1118-9.

A fragmentary inscription by Djalāl al-Mulk is extant, in which his name figures alone. One can therefore conclude that the Banū ʿAmmār had detached themselves from the Fāṭimids and that this action drove them towards the caliphate of Baghdād; they proceeded, however, with caution, as their subjects showed ʿAlid sympathies.

Bibliography: M. Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Syrie du Nord*, 39 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, *arabic text* and translations of Gibb and Le Tourneau, index; Wiet, *Inscription d'un prince de Tripoli*, *Mémorial Henri Basset*, ii, 279, 84; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, iii, 785; *A History of the Crusades*, Univ. of Pennsylvania, i, 660. (G. WIET)

ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ (or BANŪ THĀBIT, dynasty which ruled in Tripoli (of the West) 727/1327-803/1400. Its founder, Thābit b. ʿAmmār, a Huwwāra Berber, died after a rule of a few months, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad. During the reign of Muḥammad's son, Thābit, the Genoese surprised and plundered Tripoli (756/1355); Thābit was killed by the neighbouring Arab chiefs with whom he was seeking refuge. In 771/1370 or 772/1371 Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad expelled from Tripoli the governor of the Banu Makkī of Ḳābis (Gabès). Abū Bakr died in 792/1392 and was followed by his nephew ʿAlī b. ʿAmmār. In 800/1397-8 the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris succeeded in arresting ʿAlī whom he replaced by two members of the same family, Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr and his brother ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. On 6 Radjab 803/31 May 1401 Abū Fāris captured Tripoli, imprisoned the brothers and brought to an end the dominion of the ʿAmmārids.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 196 ff.; Munadjdjimbashi, ii, 595; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, i, 150, 173, 191, 205-7, 212-3, ii, 106 (with further references). (G. WIET)

ʿAMMĀR B. **YĀSIR** B. ʿĀMIR B. MĀLIK, ABU 'L-YAḲẒĀN, a Companion of the Prophet, later a partisan of ʿAlī. His father, a *mawlā* of the Makhzūmite Abū Ḥudhayfa, had married one of his master's slaves, Sumayya, who was manumitted, but Yāsir and his family remained with Abū Ḥudhayfa. They were early converts to Islām, and suffered severe tortures. ʿAmmār is said eventually to have emigrated to Abyssinia; after the *hidjra* he returned to Medina. He took part in the early campaigns, and fought at Badr, at Uḥud, and, in general, in all the battles of Muhammad, who at the time of the *muʾākhāt* between the Muhādjirūn and the Anṣār, paired him with Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān. Under Abū Bakr, he lost an ear at the battle of Yamāma; in 21/641 he was made governor of Kūfa by ʿUmar; in this capacity he took part in the conquest of Khūzistān. He was from the first a partisan of ʿAlī; from 35/656 onwards, ʿAlī placed exceptional confidence in him. Before the Battle of the Camel (see AL-DJAMAL), he helped to rally the population of Kūfa to ʿAlī, and he was one of those who led the Prophet's widow ʿĀʾisha prisoner to Baṣra. He lost his life at Ṣiffīn (37/657) at an extremely advanced age. Several centuries later, his tomb near Ṣiffīn was still pointed out.

ʿAmmār was considered to have an excellent knowledge of the Traditions of the Prophet, and in addition owed his renown to his great piety and to his devotion to Islām. Later, writers hostile to the Umayyads did not fail to glorify him by inventing *hadīths* in his favour, and by discovering in the Ḳurʾān allusions referring to him (ii, 207; iii, 62; vi, 52, 122; xvi, 43, 108, 111; xxviii, 4, 61; xxix, 1; xxxix, 12); a notable prophecy attributed to Muḥammad concerns the death of ʿAmmār at the hands of the "rebel band", which he condemns to Hell.

ʿAmmār had a son, Muḥammad, also famous for his knowledge of *ḥadīth*, and a daughter, Umm al-Ḥakam.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 176 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 48, 111-2, 239, 252; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 485-7; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5704; Djāḥiẓ, *ʿUthmāniyya* (ed. by Pellat, in preparation), index. (H. RECKENDORF *)

ʿAMMĀR AL-**MAWṢILĪ,** ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿAMMĀR B. ʿALĪ, one of the most famous, and certainly the most original of Arab oculists. He lived first in ʿIrāḳ, then in Egypt; he travelled widely, as he himself informs us in his book, and on his travels, which took him to Khurāsān in one direction, to Palestine and Egypt in the other, he practised his profession and performed operations. His work on ophthalmology was composed in Egypt, in the reign of al-Ḥākim (996/1020); thus he was a contemporary

of the more famous, but less original, oculist ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. If ʿAlī's *Tadhkira* became for the Arabs the standard work on ophthalmology and overshadowed ʿAmmār's work, the reason lies in the greater completeness of the former. ʿAmmār's book has a strictly logical arrangement and is extremely succinct, as even the title shows: *al-Muntakhab fi ʿIlādj al-ʿAyn*. After a preface containing an account of its compilation, the book deals first with the anatomy of the eye, then with diseases of the eyelid, the corner of the eye, the conjunctiva, the cornea, the pupil, the albumen, and the visual nerves. The descriptions of the diseases and of their treatment are in general very clear, and often, especially when he describes operations which he performed himself, of a dramatic vividness. This is more especially the case in the six cases of operation for cataract described by ʿAmmār; in effect, his most significant achievement was the radical operation for soft cataract by suction through a hollow metal tube invented by him. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn of Ḥamāt (end of 7th/13th century) has borrowed that part of ʿAmmār's book almost verbatim in his *Nūr al-ʿUyūn*. At an earlier date al-Ghāfiḳī (6th/12th century) made considerable use of ʿAmmār's book in his medical work *al-Murshid*.

The Arabic original is preserved in MSS of the Escurial. There is a Hebrew translation of a slightly different version by Nathan ha-Meathi (13th century). The Latin *tractatus de oculis Canamusali* is, however, a forgery. German transl. by J. Hirschberg, J. Lippert and E. Mittwoch, *Die arabischen Augenärzte nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, Leipzig 1905, ii.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 89; J. Hirschberg, etc., op. cit., introduction; Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen d. Mittelalters*, 667; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the Hist. of Science*, i, 729; Brockelmann, S I, 425.

(E. MITTWOCH*)

ʿAMMĀRIYYA, Algerian religious order deriving its name from Ammār Bū Senna, born about 1712; his tomb is situated at Bū Ḥammām in the province of Constantine, which is also the site of the parent foundation (*zāwiya*) of the order. Actually, the order was only founded in 1822 by al-Ḥādjdj Mubārak (Embārek) al-Maghribī al-Bukhārī. According to Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 356-7, the order comprised, at the end of the 19th century, 26 *zāwiyas* and 6,435 adherents.

ʿAMMŪRIYA, Arabic form of the name of the famous stronghold of Amorium (Syriac Amūrīn) in Phrygia, situated on the great Byzantine military road from Constantinople to Cilicia, S-E of Dorylaeum, S-W of Ankara, and S. of the Upper Sangarios (Saḳarya). The site of the town for long remained unknown. Its ruins were discovered by the English traveller Hamilton about 7½ m. E. of Emirdağ (formerly ʿAzīziyye) near the village of Hamza Hacīlī and Hisar, at a place which, he said, was called by the inhabitants Hergan Kale. The name Hergan Kale is unknown to-day, and the ruins are called Asar (or, according to Murray's guide Asar Kale). The name Hergan Kale was also recorded by Texier, and was reproduced along with that of Asar Kale on Kiepert's map (scale 1 : 400,000, sheet B III Angora). The name Amorium, according to Ramsay, survived in the name of the plain which stretches to the east: Ḥadjdjī ʿUmar (Haciömer) - owa.

Amorium, fortified by Zenon (474-91) — al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 331, says that it was built by Anastasius (491-518) — was on several occasions threatened, besieged or captured by the Arabs. Muʿāwiya reached it in 25/646; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd forced it to capitulate in 46/666; it was occupied in 49/669 in the course of Yazīd's expedition against Constantinople, but was retaken by Andreas, the general of Constans. In 89/708, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik defeated a Byzantine army before Amorium. In 98/716, at the time of Maslama's expedition against Constantinople, it was beseiged by one of his lieutenants, and relieved by the future emperor Leo the Isaurian. Leo subsequently made it a formidable stronghold, which successfully resisted al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥtaba in 162/779, in the reign of al-Mahdī, then in 181/797, in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It only fell in 223/838 to the powerful forces of al-Muʿtaṣim, whose Turkish troops besieged it for twelve days, and who finally took it only as the result of treachery.

The capture of Amorium was the subject of a famous poem of Abū Tammām. Forty-two of the prisoners taken to Sāmarrā were executed there on 6 March 845. Their martyrdom is celebrated in the *Acta XLII martyrum Amoriensium*. The town destroyed by al-Muʿtaṣim was rebuilt, but was again burnt down in 319/931 by Thamal, *amīr* of Ṭarsūs. Thereafter it does not seem to have played a part in history, although in the 12th and 14th centuries it was still an important place, according to the geographers al-Idrīsī and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī.

Bibliography: W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, i, 1842, 448 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, 1849, 471; W. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, 1890, 230-1; Pauly-Wissowa, 1894, p. 1876; Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor*, 1895, 16; Le Strange, 137-9, 153; Yāḳūt, i, 391, 568, 928; ii, 805, 864; iii, 264, 692, 730; iv, 95; v, 25. — For the Arab expeditions, see E. Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor*, 641-750, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 182-208; idem, *The campaign of 716-18 from Arabic sources*, ibid., 1899, 19-33; idem, *Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the Early Abbasids*, *English Historical Review*, 1900, 728-47, 1901, 84-92; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaiiden*, *NGW* Gött., Phil.-hist. Klasse 1901, 414 ff.; A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Fr. ed., I, *La dynastie d'Amorium* 1935, 144-74, Arabic trans., *al-ʿArab wa 'l-Rūm*, Cairo s.d., 130-57; Fr. ed., ii, *La dynastie macédonienne*, 2nd part, *Extraits des sources arabes* 1950, 152, 238; Russian ed., 232-3.

(M. CANARD)

AMORIUM [see ʿAMMŪRIYA].

AMR, a term which occurs in many verses of the Ḳurʾān in the sense of command, viz. of God. (A paper by J. M. S. Baljon, *The amr of god in the Koran*, is to appear in *Acta Orientalia*.) These Ḳurʾānic passages formed the point of departure for speculations of theologians and philosophers, in which the Muslim element is often so contaminated, with doctrines of Hellenistic origin, that it loses all distinctive character. Nevertheless, the term itself does not seem to have an exact parallel in the relevant Greek terminology, so that it seems that the various theological notions about the divine command were originally conceived by Muslims.

This conclusion supports the hypothesis according to which the longer version of the *Theology of Aristotle*, the one which forms the basis of the Latin translation and of which the Arabic original has been discovered by Borisov, was elaborated in a

Muslim environment. In effect, there are in that version passages dealing with the theory of the *amr*. On the other hand, the fact that the doctrine as it appears in that version seems to be identical with the teaching of certain Ismāʿīlī theologians, is suggestive: it is very probable that the Ismāʿīlī authors and the author of the longer version of the *Theology* used a common source, which cannot, however, be identified.

According to the longer version of the *Theology*, the *amr* is one of the designations of the word (*kalima*) of God; also called His will, which is an intermediary between the Creator and the first intelligence and the immediate cause of the latter. In a certain sense it can be qualified as the cause of causes. It also can be called "nothing" (*laysa*), as it transcends movement and rest. Intellect, which is the first created thing, is so intimately united with the word that it is identical with it.

This theory recurs in an identical, or almost identical, form among the Ismāʿīliyya, for instance in the *Khʷān-i Ikhwān* attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Other writings which go under the name of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, however, show doctrinal divergences. The *Zād al-Musāfirīn* does not regard as correct the thesis expounded in the *Khʷān-i Ikhwān* according to which the *amr* is identical with the *ibdāʿ*, the creative act of God; and the *Gushāʾish wa-Rahāʾish* calls the *amr*, which in the *Khʷān-i Ikhwān* is qualified as "non-being", "the first being".

Another Ismāʿīlī author, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, seems to have regarded the *amr* as an influx (this seems to be the meaning which ought to be attributed, in this context, to the term *mādda*) coming from God and united to the intellect. In his view, the *amr* is not a principle superior to the intellect; in common with other Ismāʿīlī theologians, he considers it identical with the divine will.

In the *Rawḍat al-Taslīm*, or *Taṣawwurāt* (ed. W. Ivanow, 54 f., cf. 29), an Ismāʿīlī work attributed to Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the doctrine of the divine *amr* is connected with the notion that at the psychic level the ascension marked by the stages of the sense-perception, estimation (*wahm*), soul (*nafs*) and intellect, ends in the *amr*.

There is a certain similarity between these Ismāʿīlī doctrines and the concept of *amr* found in the theological dialogue commonly called *Kuzari*, by the Jewish thinker Judah Halewi. On the one hand he seems to postulate, or at least to consider as admissible, the identity of the *amr* with the will (ed. Hirschfeld, 76), on the other, he calls divine *amr* the power which is given to the prophet as an inherent faculty and which is superior to the intellect (e.g. 42 ff.).

On the basis of Ḳurʾān, vii, 53, *amr* is sometimes opposed to *khalḳ*: the first term then designates the creation of the spiritual substances, or these substances themselves, while the second refers to the creation of the material substances, or the material substances themselves (cf. ʿĀLAM; for the contrast between *amr* and *khalḳ* according to Ibn Ḥanbal, see Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Hallaj*, ii, 627, n. 2). This idea recurs in some Ismāʿīlī writings, such as the *Taṣawwurāt* (55), where it interferes with the concept of *amr* in the sense explained above; in texts related to Ismāʿīlism, such as the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (cf. Goldziher, in *REJ*, 1905, 38 n. 4); and in the "dispute of the Ṣābians and the Ḥanīfiyya". This last is found in the *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* of al-Shahrastani (ed. Ahmad Fahmī Muḥammad, Cairo 1948, ii, 118), a Sunnī author; nevertheless, in the discourse of the representative of the Ḥanīfiyya one finds notions current among the Ismāʿīlīs, but put in a form which avoids giving offence to Sunnī orthodoxy. In the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikmatayn* attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. Corbin, 154) the "world of the *amr*" is the Ismāʿīlī hierarchy, while the "world of the *khalḳ*" is the physical world.

Another theme, often treated by the Ṣūfīs, is the contradiction, assumed by some as possible, between the *amr*, God's command to perform an action, and the divine will which prevents it.

Bibliography: A. Borisov, *Ob iskhodnoy tochke volyuntarisma Solomona Ibn Gabirolya*, *Bulletin de l'Académie de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1933, 755-68; H. Corbin, in his ed. of the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikmatayn*, Étude Préliminaire, 75; I. Goldziher, *Le amr ilâhî (hâʿinyân ha-elôhî) chez Juda Halévi*, *REJ*, 1905, 32-41; L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallâj*, ii, 624 ff.; S. Pines, *Nathanael ben Al-Fayyûmî et la théologie ismaélienne*, *Bulletin des Etudes Historiques Juives*, Cairo 1946, 7 ff.; idem, *La longue recension de la "Théologie d'Aristote" dans ses rapports avec la doctrine ismaélienne*, *REI*, 1954; J. M. S. Balyon, Jr., *Amr in the Koran*, *AO*, xxii. On the concept of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, see MUʿTAZILA. (S. PINES)

ʿAMR B. ʿADĪ B. NAṢR B. RABĪʿA, first Lakhmid King of al-Ḥīra. His father ʿAdī employed a ruse (which frequently appears in Arab legend, cf. the story of ʿAbbāsa bint al-Mahdī) to win the hand of Raḳāsh, sister of Djadhīma al-Abrash [*q.v.*], whose favourite he was; ʿAmr, the offspring of this union, succeeded in winning the favour of Djadhīma, but was then carried off by the *djinn*, was considered lost, and was finally restored to his uncle. After al-Zabbāʾ (identified with Zenobia, queen of Palmyra) had seduced and killed Djadhīma, ʿAmr succeeded the latter on the Lakhmid throne and established his capital at al-Ḥīra; then, with the aid of the sage Ḳuṣayr, he succeeded, by means of a stratagem related at length in the historical sources, in avenging his uncle's death and in killing al-Zabbāʾ. Such is the account of the Arabic sources, and it is difficult to doubt the existence of ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, who lived in the 3rd century A.D. (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 35, gives the dates of his reigns as 268-88, but the historians credit him with a reign of 118 years); moreover, his name appears in the inscription of al-Namāra. On the other hand, the fact that he is mentioned in the commentary on numerous proverbs proves that, as the historical reality of this personage and of the events involving Zenobia became blurred, legend made use of his name to fix the time of events displaced from their historical sequence, and of stories invented to explain proverbs which had become unintelligible; thus, in representing him as the conqueror of Zenobia, legend attributes to him the role played by Aurelian who, in 270-3, seized possession of the Kingdom of Palmyra.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², i, 302, v, 279, vi, 209; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* Cairo 1353/1934, 202; Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 183 ff.; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 205; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb*, 505; Maydānī, Cairo 1352, i, 243-7, ii, 83-5, 145; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 18-40; G. Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, Berlin, 1899, index. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿAMR B. AL-AHTAM (SINĀN) B. SUMAYY AL TAMĪMĪ AL-MINḲARĪ, an eminent Tamīmite famous for his poetic and oratorical talent, and also for his physical beauty which earned him the surname of al-Mukaḥḥal ("anointed with collyrium").

Born a few years before the *hidjra*, he made his way to Medina in 9/630 with a delegation from his tribe; in 11/632, he was a follower of the prophetess Sadjāḥi [*q.v.*], but he was converted to Islam and took part in the wars of conquest; he conveyed the news of the capture of Rashahr to ʿUmar in verse; he is said to have died in 57/676. His poems, some of which have come down to us, are superficially brilliant rather than profound; according to tradition his eloquence provoked the famous comment by the Prophet: *inna min al-bayān la-siḥr^an^*.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 401-3; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, (Lyall), 245-54, 830-7; *Aghānī*[1], iv, 8-10, xii, 44, xxi, 174; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 387; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 476; Ṭabarī, i, 1711-16, 1919; *Ḥamāsa* (Freytag), i, 722; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, Cairo 1286, iv, 87 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5770; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, Alexandria 1290, 77 ff.; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 262. (A. J. Wensinck-Ch. Pellat)

ʿAMR B. AL-**ʿĀṢ** (al-ʿĀṣī) AL-SAHMĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad of Ḳurayshite birth. The part which he played in Islāmic history begins with his conversion in the year 8/629-630. At that time he must already have been of middle age, for at his death which took place circa 42/663 he was over ninety years old. He passed for one of the most wily politicians of his time, and we must endorse this verdict. The more clear-sighted inhabitants of Mekka already foresaw shortly after the unsuccessful siege of Medīna that this fact was the turning-point in Muḥammad's career. It is not strange therefore that men like Khālid b. al-Walīd, ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ went over to Islām even before the capture of Mecca. Not much importance is to be attached to the story of their conversion. That of ʿAmr is said to have taken place in Abyssinia under the influence of the Christian Negus! — Muḥammad at once made use of his newly-gained assistance: after a few small expeditions he sent ʿAmr to ʿUmān, where he entered into negotiations with the two brothers who ruled there, Djayfar and ʿAbbād b. Djulanda, and they accepted Islām. He was not to see the Prophet again. The news of the latter's death reached him in ʿUmān, and occasioned his return to Medīna. But he did not remain there long. Probably in the year 12/633 Abū Bakr sent him with an army into Palestine. The accounts of the conquest of this country [see FILASṬĪN] are known to be somewhat confused (cf. also Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, A. H. 12); but this is certain, that in this undertaking ʿAmr played a most prominent part. The subjection of the country west of the Jordan especially was his achievement, and he was also present at the battles of Adjnādayn and the Yarmūk as at the capture of Damascus.

Yet his real fame is due to his conquest of Egypt. According to some sources he betook himself there with his troops on his own responsibility. It is more probable, however, that ʿUmar was informed of the matter (cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. p. 93) or even that it was undertaken under his orders. It is certain that re-inforcements were soon sent out to him, under al-Zubayr. For the history of the conquest cf. the article MIṢR; only the following need be mentioned here: In the summer of 19/640 the Greeks were defeated at Heliopolis. In 20/641 Babylon was occupied by the Arabs, in 21/642 Alexandria lay in their power [see MUḲAWḲIS]. But not only the conquest of Egypt was the work of the genius of ʿAmr; he also regulated the government of the country, administration of justice and the imposition of taxes. He founded Fusṭāṭ, which was later called Miṣr and in the 4th/10th century al-Ḳāhira.

We can understand, that ʿAmr felt himself wronged, when the Caliph ʿUthmān recalled him in favour of ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, shortly after his accession to the throne. He retired in disgust from active life, occasionally giving utterance to his mortification. When circumstances became threatening for ʿUthmān, ʿAmr was wise enough not to commit himself as a partisan of his enemies; but he secretly incited ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr against him. From his estates of al-Sabʿ (Beer-Shebaʿ) and ʿAdjlān he awaited the developement of events with the greatest anxiety. Yet it was not till after the Battle of the Camel (see AL-DJAMAL), when only the two opponents ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya survived, that he once more came to the front, associating himself with Muʿāwiya. At the battle of Ṣiffīn he commanded the Syrian cavalry. When the battle turned in favour of ʿAlī, he conceived the clever device of placing leaves of the Ḳurʾān on the lances. The ruse was successful and the battle remained undecided. A court of arbitration was agreed upon, which was to consist of Abū Mūsā 'l-Ashʿarī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Before the day appointed came, ʿAmr rendered Muʿāwiya the important service of occupying Egypt for him. It was an easy task to dispose of the youthful ʿAlid governor, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr: he defeated him (early in 38/658) and put him to death.

In the same year (*Shaʿbān*) ʿAmr proceeded to Adhruḥ [*q.v.*] to the court of arbitration (according to al-Wāḳidī's chronology in Ṭabarī, i. 3407). Here again he gave a brilliant proof of his political talent. He succeeded in conducting matters so far that Abū Mūsā declared both ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya unworthy of the highest office. ʿAlī lost thereby his title of Caliph, Muʿāwiya however, who had only fought for "ʿUthmān's blood", lost nothing. Until his death [see above] ʿAmr remained Governor of Egypt. On 15 Ramaḍān 40/22 January 661 he escaped by mere chance assassination at the hands of Zādawaih, one of the three Khāridjites who are said to have chosen the three leaders, ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya, and ʿAmr, as the victims of their fanaticism. ʿAmr felt unwell on that day and left the leadership of the *Ṣalāt* to Khāridja b. Ḥudhāfa. So the latter was mortally wounded. "I meant ʿAmr, but God meant Khāridja", the assassin is reported to have said after accomplishing his deed.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii. 1 *et seq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba* (Cairo, 1286), iv, 115; Nawawī (ed. Wüstenf.), 478 *et seq.*; Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ibn Saʿd iii[a]. 21; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten* (*Abh. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xx); Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 51 *et seq.* 89 *et seq.*; Yaʿḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), see Index; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, see Index; Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt* (London, 1902); S. Lane Poole, *A History of Egypt* (London 1901) vi. (A. J. Wensinck)

ʿAMR B. **HIND**, son of the Lakhmid prince al-Mundhir and of the Kindite woman Hind; after the death of his father, he became "king" of al-Ḥīra (554-570 A.D.). He was a warlike and cruel prince; the story of how he sent the poets al-Mutalammis and Ṭarafa to the governor of Baḥrayn with letters

containing their own death warrants, is well-known. The severity of his character earned him the surname of Muḍarriṭ al-Ḥidjāra ("he who makes the stones emit sounds"). He was also called Muḥarriḳ ("burner"); in explanation of this surname, the Arabs recount that in order to avenge the death of one of his brothers, he had ten Ḥanẓalites seized and burnt. However, as several other Lakhmids were also called Muḥarriḳ, this surname could well be the name of an ancient idol (see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 46 ff.). He was assassinated while dining by the poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*], because the latter's mother had been offended by the mother of ʿAmr b. Hind.

Bibliography: G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥîra*, 94 ff.; Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 107 ff.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, ii, 115 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, (de Goeje), index, idem, *Maʿārif*, (Wüstenfeld), 318-9; *Aghānī*, ix, 178 ff.; xxi, 186-207; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 97-8; Ṭabarī, i, 900; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, Alexandria 1290, 240 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 239-40; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, (Gottwald), i, 109-10; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 404 ff.

(A. J. Wensinck)

ʿAMR b. ḲAMĪʾA b. Dhirrīḥ (Dharīḥ) b. Saʿd al-Ḍubaʿī, pre-Islamic Arab poet of the Bakrite tribe of Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba. The only biographical details we possess concern his disputes with his uncle Marthad b. Saʿd, whose wife had tried to seduce him, and his journey to Byzantium with Imru 'l-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn Ḳutayba (*Shiʿr*, 45), he lived in the entourage of Ḥudjr, father of Imru 'l-Ḳays, but according to the *Aghānī* (xvi, 165-6), the two poets met when ʿAmr had already reached an advanced age, and ʿAmr died in Byzantine territory (between 530-540 A.D.), thereby gaining the soubriquet of ʿAmr al-Ḍāʾiʿ. His poems, collected by the philologists of the 2nd/8th century, have often been quoted by critics who appreciate their delicacy and simplicity; they have been edited and translated into English by Ch. Lyall, *The Poems of ʿAmr son of Qamīʾah*, Cambridge 1919.

As he is commonly called Ibn Ḳamīʾa, he must not be confounded with others possessing the same *maʿrifa*, notably ʿAbd Allāh (or Maʿmar) b. Ḳamīʾa, father of Djamīl al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*], and the poet Rabīʿa b. Ḳamīʾa al-Ṣaʿbī (see Āmidī, *Mukhtalif*, 168).

Bibliography: Among the sources quoted in the edition of the *dīwān*, the following can be mentioned: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 222-3; *Aghānī*, xvi, 163-6; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ii, 247-50; Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, 293-7. See also: G. Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, Berlin 1899, 76-7; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 71-3; Brockelmann, S I, 58. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿAMR b. KULTHŪM, pre-Islamic *sayyid* and poet; through his mother he was the grandson of the *sayyid* and poet al-Muhalhil [*q.v.*]. While still a youth he became chief of his tribe, the Djusham branch of the Taghlib [*q.v.*] of the Middle Euphrates. What we know of his life is confined to a few traditions (*khabar*); one describes the circumstances of his assassination of the King of al-Ḥīra, ʿAmr b. Hind, about 568 A.D.; another serves as a commentary on some epigrams against another ruler of that town, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (580-602 A.D.). To his Taghlibite fellow-tribesman at the end of the 1st/8th century, ʿAmr. b. Kulthūm seemed a man weighty in years (he was included among the *muʿammarūn*!) surrounded by an aura of prestige derived from his resistance to the domination of the kings of al-Ḥīra, and from his being an incarnation of the virtues of the *djāhiliyya*. Above all, they proudly attributed to him a poem celebrating their deeds in their conflict with the Bakr. Inserted several generations later in the anthology of the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*], this poem, in so far as it is not a pastiche, bears the mark of a later hand; see Ṭ. Ḥusayn. In addition to this poem, there are several fragments attributed to ʿAmr, forming a small *dīwān* edited by Krenkow in *Machr.*, 1922, 591-611. These pieces, all of pre-Islamic inspiration, are notable for their impetuosity of style and simplicity of language.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 117-20; *Aghānī*[3], xi, 42-5, 52-60 (reproduced by Cheikho, *Poètes Chrétiens* 197-220 and followed by Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1847, ii, 363-5, 373-84; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam* (Krenkow), 202, Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 100; Nöldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaḳāt*, Vienna 1899, i; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-Adab al-Djāhilī*, Cairo 1345/1927, 236-41. Translations of the *Muʿallaḳa* by Kosegarten 1819, Caussin de Perceval 1847; see Brockelmann, S I, 52. (R. Blachère)

ʿAMR b. al-LAYTH, Persian general, brother and successor of Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ṣaffārid [*q.v.*] dynasty in Sidjistān. Said to have been a mule-driver in his youth, and later on a mason, he was associated with his brother's campaigns and in 259/873 captured for Yaʿḳūb the Ṭāhirid capital Naysābūr. After Yaʿḳūb's defeat at Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl and subsequent death (Shawwāl 265/June 879), ʿAmr was elected by the army as his successor. He made his submission to the caliph, and was invested with the provinces of the former Ṭāhirid principality in Eastern Persia and Sind, together with Fārs, and the command of the *shurṭa* in Baghdād and Sāmarrā (Ṣafar 266/Oct. 879). He reoccupied Fārs in 268/881-2, but obtained effective control of Khurāsān only in 280/893, after a long struggle with Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī (d. 268/882) and Rāfiʿ b. Harthama. In the interval, he was twice dismissed from the command of the *shurṭa* and formally divested of his provinces (in 271/885, after a severe defeat by the caliph's forces under Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, and again in 276/890), and also lost Fārs in 274/887. Confirmed for the third time as governor of Khurāsān and Sidjistān in 279/893, he finally reestablished his control of the former in 283/896, after a transient reoccupation by Rāfiʿ b. Harthama. Thereafter, at his own request (arising out of his ambition to restore in his own favour the former Ṭāhirid suzerainty over the Sāmānid family in Transoxiana) he was granted the *tawliya* of *Mā warāʾ al-Nahr*, in 285/898. His attempt to enforce his rights of suzerainty was, however, cut short when in Rabīʿ II, 287/April 900 the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] defeated his forces and captured him at Balkh. ʿAmr was sent to Baghdād and after remaining in captivity there for over a year was executed on 8 Djumādā I, 289/20 April 902. For his organization of government and the general significance of his campaigns in the history of Persia, see the art. ṣaffārids.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1930-2208 passim; Masʿūdī, viii, 46, 125, 144, 180, 193, 200 sqq.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, London 1928, 14-19; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, Teheran 1314, 233-69 and index; Narshakhī, *History of Bukhārā* (trans. R. N. Frye), Cambridge Mass. 1954, index; Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld), no. 838 (Cairo) no. 799; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (Berlin 1887, 187-217 (Eng.

trans., *Sketches from Eastern History*, London-Edinburgh 1892, 176-206); W. Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 216-225; ibid., *Zur Geschichte der Saffariden*, *Festschrift Nöldeke* I, Giessen 1906, 177-191; B. Spuler, *Iran in Früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 69-81 and index. (W. BARTHOLD*)

ʿAMR B. LUḤAYY, the legendary founder of polytheism in Arabia and the ancestor of the Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*] at Mecca. The Kaʿba being, according to the Ḳurʾān (iii, 96/0), "the first sanctuary appointed for mankind", it was necessary to believe that polytheism was a later corruption. Neither the Djurhum, Ismāʿīl's relatives, nor the Prophet's tribe, the Ḳuraysh, were likely to be responsible for it. So the blame was laid on ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the leader of the Khuzāʿa, who was said to have expelled the Djurhum from Mecca. He was said to have "changed the religion of Abraham" by introducing the idols either from Hīt in Mesopotamia or from Maʾāb in the Balḳāʾ and placing them around the Kaʿba. Others maintained that he fetched the five idols of Noah's contemporaries (mentioned in Ḳurʾan, lxxi, 23) from Djidda and distributed them amongst the Arabs over whom by dint of his wealth und liberality he was believed to have an absolute command. He was also accused of setting free certain camels in honour of the idols, a superstition denounced in Ḳurʾān, v, 103/2 as an invention of the unbelievers. He was made responsible for the divination by arrows, for the pagan *talbiya*, in short for everything heathen. It was even told, that the Prophet had seen him in hell and that he closely resembled in appearance to one of Muhammad's followers (showing that appearances are deceiving). The Prophet is also made to decide the dispute about the genealogy of Khuzāʿa by stating that "ʿAmr b. Luḥayy b. Ḳamaʿa b. Khindif is the father of Khuzāʿa" in contradistinction to the prevailing opinion of the genealogists that the Khuzāʿa are of Yamanite origin and that ʿAmr's father Luḥayy was Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir al-Azdī. These differences and the fact that ʿAmr's name does not occur in any ancient poem, point to the conclusion that even if he be a historical personality, no reliable information about him exists.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 50 f.; Ibn Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, 8 (and Nyberg, *Bemerkungen zum Buch der Götzenbilder*, *Skrifter utg. af Svenska Instit. i Rom*, 1939, 355; Azraḳī (Index); Yaʿḳūbī i, 263, 295; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 276; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 114 f.; iv, 416; Shahrastānī, ii, 430 f.; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, i, 61 f.; Yāḳūt, index.—Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, § 9; Muslim, *Djanna*, § 50, 51; *Kusūf*, § 3, 9; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vi, 213; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 72. (J. W. FÜCK)

ʿAMR B. MAʿDĪKARIB B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ZUBAYDĪ, ABŪ THAWR, famous Arab warrior and *mukhaḍram* poet. Born of a noble Yamanite family, he is depicted as a fighter of uncommon strength who, armed with his legendary sword al-Ṣamṣāma, took part in many battles during the *djāhiliyya*. In 10/631, he went to Medina and was converted to Islam, without, however, making any radical change in his way of life; on the death of the Prophet, he apostatised and took part in the rebellion of al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī [*q.v.*]; taken prisoner in the course of the suppression of the *ridda* by Abū Bakr, he was freed by the caliph and fought at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636) and with distinction at that of al-Ḳādisiyya (probably 16/637). The sources differ regarding the date of his death; some, relying on the legends which grew up about his exceptional longevity, place his death in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya; but it is more likely that he lost his life either at al-Ḳādisiyya or at the battle of Nihāwand (21/641), as stated by the most reliable authorities.

His poetry, devoted to fighting, seems to have been characterised by its brevity and clarity of expression, but only a few examples of it have come down to us.

Bibliography: Verses and appreciation can be found in: Abkaryūs, *Rawḍat al-Adab* 239-43; F. E. Bustānī, *al-Madjānī al-Ḥaditha*, i, Beirut 1946, 309-314; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* (de Goeje), 219-22; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 245; Ibn Hishām, index; Aghānī, index (especially xiv, 25-41); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 208-9, Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ii, 445; Āmidī, *Mukhtalif*, 156; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5970; see also: C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura* (= *Scritti*, vi) 48 (Fr. Trans. 76-7); O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 117. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿAMR B. MASʿADA B. SAʿĪD B. ṢŪL, secretary of al-Maʾmūn, was of Turkish origin, and was a relative of Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]. His father had been secretary of chancellery under al-Manṣūr. He himself served the Barmakides, and was later for many years one of al-Maʾmūn's chief assistants, in charge of the Chancellery and also of various financial posts which seem to have brought him substantial profits, but he never received the title of *wazīr*. He accompanied the Caliph to Damascus and on his expedition into Byzantine territory, and died at Adana in 217/832. He was noted for his epistolary talent, and the Arab authors have preserved several specimens of his work.

Bibliography: Ibn Ṭayfūr, index; Yaʿḳūbī, index, Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, index and D. Sourdel, in *Mélanges Massignon*; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, (Schwally), particularly 473-76; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 352; *Aghānī*, Tables; Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, Cairo 1938, i, 74-5, 105, ii, 25-6, 38-45; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 88-91; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 145-8, Muḥ. Kurd ʿAlī, in *MMIA*, 1927, 193-218. (D. SOURDEL)

ʿAMR B. SAʿĪD B. AL-ʿĀṢ B. UMAYYA AL-UMAWĪ, known as **AL-ASHDAK,** Umayyad governor and general. Governor of Mecca when Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya came to the throne (60/680), he was the same year appointed governor of Medina. On Yazīd's orders, he sent an army to Mecca to subdue the anti-Caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and entrusted the command to a brother of the latter, ʿAmr; but ʿAmr was taken prisoner and, with his brother's consent, flogged to death by his personal enemies. At the end of the following year, al-Ashdaḳ was dismissed. Later he went with the Caliph Marwān on his Egyptian expedition and, when Musʿab b. al-Zubayr invaded Palestine in an attempt to reconquer Syria during the Caliph's absence, Marwān sent against him al-Ashdaḳ, who forced him to withdraw. At the time of the conference after the death of Yazīd, ʿAmr had been mentioned as a possible eventual successor to Marwān; he was the Caliph's nephew through his mother, and was also related to him on his father's side; since he was also well liked in Syria, he could have become a source of danger; but when Marwān had consolidated his position he enforced the *bayʿa* in favour of his two sons ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. When ʿAbd al-Malik came to the throne, he entertained fears of ʿAmr which were not entirely without foundation; in fact, in 69/689, when the Caliph undertook a campaign against ʿIrāḳ, al-Ashdaḳ took advantage of his absence to assert his

right to the caliphate and to stir up a dangerous revolt at Damascus; ʿAbd al-Malik had to return, and ʿAmr only submitted after receiving a promise safeguarding his life and liberty. The Caliph, however, soon decided to remove this potential threat; he had al-As̲h̲daḳ brought to the palace where, according to tradition, he was killed by ʿAbd al-Malik himself (70/689-90).

Bibliography: Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-As̲h̲rāf*, iv/B, index; Ibn Saʿd, v, 176-7; Yaʿḳūbī. ii, 81 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 1779 ff.; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ii, 318 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, v, 198 ff.; 206, 233 ff.; ix, 58, *Aghānī*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, 231; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 108, 118; Buhl, *Die Krisis der Umajjadenherrschaft im Jahre* 684, in *ZA*, xxvii, 50-64. (K. V. Zettersteén*)

ʿAMR B. ʿUBAYD B. BĀB, one of the first of the Muʿtazila, with the *kunya*, Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān. His grandfather Bāb was captured by Muslims at Kābul. He himself was born at Bal̲kh̲ in 80/699 and was a *mawlā* of a branch of Tamīm. His father apparently moved to Baṣra, and ʿAmr seems for a time to have been a member of the school of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, though al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ also speaks of him as a pupil of al-Faḍl b. ʿĪsā al-Raḳās̲h̲ī. He also had some connexion with Yazīd III. He gained a great reputation as an ascetic, and was known at the court of al-Manṣūr, to whom he apparently spoke fearlessly on religious and moral questions, while refusing all reward. For his strength of character al-Manṣūr respected him highly, and on his death composed a eulogy of him in verse. He died in or about 144/761.

There is some obscurity about his precise relationship to Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and their respective parts in founding the Muʿtazila. The story of how Wāṣil went apart (*iʿtazala*) from the circle of al-Ḥasan is also told of ʿAmr both with al-Ḥasan and with his pupil Ḳatāda; and the early writer Ibn Ḳutayba (d. about 270/884) knows of ʿAmr but not of Wāṣil. Bis̲h̲r b. al-Muʿtamir (d. 210/825) speaks of his own party as followers of ʿAmr and some opponents as followers of D̲j̲ahm (*Intiṣār*, 134). ʿAmr's views are usually said to be similar to Wāṣil's, apart from a slight difference in attitude towards the parties at the battle of the Camel; and Wāṣil had married ʿAmr's sister. So there was doubtless some relation between them, but it is possible that ʿAmr did more than Wāṣil, who died thirteen years earlier, to create the later Muʿtazila, especially as Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl al-ʿAllāf was ʿAmr's pupil (*Intiṣār*, 67).

Bibliography: K̲h̲ayyāṭ, *Intiṣār* (Nyberg), 67; 97 f., 134, 206; As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 16, 148, 222 f.; Nawbak̲h̲tī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 11; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 243, 301; al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, *Munya*, 18, 22-24; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Cairo, 1345/1926), i, 202, 245; Bag̲h̲dādī, *Farḳ*, 15, 98-101, 224, 306; S̲h̲ahrastānī, *Milal*, 17, 33 f.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murud̲j̲ al-D̲h̲ahab*, vi, 208-12, 223; vii, 234-36; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, no. 514; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London, 1947, 50, 60-62 with further references. (W. Montgomery Watt)

AMRITSAR, capital of a district in the Pand̲j̲āb (India). Pop. (1951). town-325,747, district-1,367,047, of whom 4,585 Muslims. The population of the Muslims in the district declined sharply after Partition. It was founded by the fourth *guru* of the Sikhs [*q.v.*], Rām Dās (1574-81), upon a site granted by the emperor Akbar, where he excavated the holy tank from which the town derives its name (*amrita saras*, «pool of immortality»; initially it was called *guru ka chak* or *chak guru* and Rāmdāspura). The next *guru*, *Ardjun* (1581-1606) completed the *Harmandir* (in English, the «Golden Temple»), the chief worshipping place of the Sikhs. In 1762, Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī destroyed the temple and the tank, but it was quickly rebuilt by the Sikhs. With the establishment of independent Sikh power after 1764, the importance of the town increased, and the Sikh rulers, especially Rand̲j̲īt Singh, endowed the temple heavily. The town passed under British rule in 1849. For about two centuries the town has been important for its entrepôt trade.

Bibliography: Imperial Gazetteer v/319 ff.; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii/487; H. R. Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Pundjab*; Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*; Gurmukh Singh, *A brief History of the Harimanda or Golden Temple of Amritsar* (1894); Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash* (1830, in Gurmukhi). Cf. also *Bibliogr.* under SIKHS. (Nurul Hasan)

ʿAMS [see NUṢAYRĪS].

ĀMŪ DARYĀ, the river Oxus.

Names. The river was known in antiquity as Ὦξος (also Ὦξος, Latin Oxus); length 2494-2540 kms. The present Iranian designation is traceable to the town of Āmul [*q.v.*], later Āmū, where the route from K̲h̲urāsān to Transoxania crossed the river as long ago as the early Islamic period. The Greek name is, according to W. Geiger and J. Markwart (*Wehrot*, 3, 89) derived from the Iranian root *wak̲h̲s̲h̲*, "to increase"; a derivation from the homonymous root meaning "to sprinkle" is also possible. (Cf. the name of the Wak̲h̲s̲h̲āb, a tributary of the Āmū Daryā). In Sāsānian times the river was called Weh-rōd̲h̲ or Beh-rōd̲h̲ (Markwart, *Wehrot*, 16, 35). The Arabs and Islamicised Persians for a long time called it, especially in learned works, D̲j̲ayḥūn (used by Gardīzī in the 11th century as an appellative for a river in general); this name derives from the Biblical Gihon, one of the rivers of Paradise. In Chinese it is known as Kui-s̲h̲ui, Wu-hu or Po-tsu. The region north of the Āmū Daryā is called by the Muslims Mā warāʾ al-Nahr [*q.v.*], "land on the other side of the river", Transoxania.

The upper course of the river. The Āmū Daryā rises from several rapid head-waters. The most southerly of these, the Pand̲j̲ (rising from the Wak̲h̲k̲h̲āb—in the Middle Ages D̲j̲aryāb, cf. Markwart, *Wehrot*, 52; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 65—and the Pāmir Daryā), has its source in the Pāmir. After following initially a course from East to West, it turns North near Is̲h̲kās̲h̲im and receives on the right (E.) the G̲h̲ūnd and the Aḳ Ṣu [*q.v.*], and flows from there once more westwards. There follow as tributaries on the right bank the Yāzgulām and the Wančāb, and lastly the Kūlāb Daryā. All these rivers as well as those to be named later are fed by several headwaters and tributaries.

The most important and highest tributary of the Pand̲j̲ on the right bank is the Wak̲h̲s̲h̲āb (also known as Ḳızıl Ṣu or Surk̲h̲āb), which is regarded as the upper course of the Āmū Daryā in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of ʿAlī Yazdī (1424-5, ed. M. Ilāhdād, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 179 ff.). On the other hand the inhabitants of today, as well as the mediaeval geographers, consider the Pand̲j̲ as the upper course proper; modern geography favours the Aḳ Ṣu.

The area of the source of the Āmū Daryā began to become known from the 19th century onwards (cf. the map in A. Schultz, *Landeskundliche Forschungen im Pamir*, Hamburg 1916, 24-5; details in PĀMIR). The Arabic geographers did not entirely grasp the true state of affairs; moreover, the inter-

pretation of the names of the headwaters given by them is controversial. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 296 (= Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 475), names five headwaters of the Āmū Daryā; the co-ordination of these names with the designations in use today proposed by W. Barthold, with which, in general, V. Minorsky associates himself, appears the most plausible. (See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68 ff.; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 208, 360; different identifications were proposed by Marquart *Ērānšahr*, 233 f., and *Wehrot*, 53, and Le Strange, 435). The area of confluence of these streams was known in the 13th century as Ārhan (in the *Ẓafar-nāma* Arhang), in al-Bīrūnī Ḥu(b)sāra. Al-Maḳdisī, 22, counts as sixth headwater the Kawādhiyān river. The Kūkča and the Kunduz river are other left-hand tributaries mentioned by the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1590; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 33; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 324, Ibn Rusta, 93; Minorsky *Ḥudūd*, 353 f.). From the right enter the Kāfirnihān (260 kms.; in the Middle Ages Rāmidh, in Ibn Rusta, 93, Zāmil, today the name of one of its headwaters) and the Surkhān (200 kms.; in the Middle Ages and in the 14th century Čaghān Rūdh). It is from the mouth of the Kāfirnihān at Pandjāb (Aywadj of today; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72) that some geographers consider the Oxus proper to begin. The last (right-hand) tributary before the mouth (1175 km. distant) is the Surkhān Daryā, as the Shīrābād and Kālif rivers do not, under normal circumstances reach the Āmū Daryā, and the Zarafshān [*q.v.*] too loses its waters and does not join the Oxus. Similarly numerous rivers on the left-hand side run out in the sand before reaching the Āmū Daryā. The (lower) Murghāb did not in Islamic times reach it; it remains doubtful how far Greek sources, which indicate that this did occur in their time, are correct (Ptolemy, vi, 10 [cf. MURGHĀB]); the Harī Rūdh [*q.v.*], Arius, ran out in the sands of the Ḳara Ḳum (Strabo, xi, 58; Ptolemy, vi, 17, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 623 f.).

In the upper region of the Āmū Darya lie the districts of Wakhān (on the Pandj), then Badakhshān (on both sides) and Shughnān with Ghārān (Gharān) S. and S.E. of the junction of the Pandj with the upper Murghāb, further N. Darwāz. Between the Āmū Daryā and the Wakhsh lies Ghuttalān. The Wakhsh flows through the Pāmir region (the name Fāmir occurs already in al-Yaʿḳūbī, *al-Buldān*, 290 and al-Dimashḳī) and then touches Žasht (thus correctly in Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 35) and Kumīdh. Between the Wakhsh and Kāfirnihān lay in maedieval times Wāshdjird (the Fayḍābād of today) and Ḳuwādhiyān (the Ḳabādiyān of today). The Surkhān valley contained the province of Čaghāniyān (Arabic Ṣaghāniyān). On the left bank lay, W. from Badakhshān, the province of Ṭukhāristān (approximately up to Balkh). At this point the Āmū Daryā enters the desert tract between the Ḳara Ḳum of the present day (on the left) and the Ḳizil Ḳum (on the right) where it loses a considerable proportion of its waters through evaporation. It skirts the ancient Sogdia and finally reaches Khʷārizm.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the Amīrates of Bukhāra and Khīwa lay here, while towards the S, since the frontier adjustment of 1886-93, the Amu Darya forms the N. frontier of Afghānistān for 1100 kms. from the Pāmir Daryā past Kalʿa-yi Pandj to Bosaga below Kālif. Since 1924 the Āmū Daryā forms the southern boundary of Tādjikistān and, since the latest revision of provincial frontiers (1936) in the Soviet Union, in its lower course approximately separates Uzbekistān (with Ḳara-ḳalpaḳia which embraces the whole delta) from Turkmenistān.

Historical maps for the mediaeval period in Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 339; Le Strange, maps ix and x; *Atlas Istorii SSSR*, i, Moscow 1949, 6, 12, 26; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 24, 32, 49, 60; for later times cf. *Atlas Istorii SSSR*, ii, Moscow 1949, 15, 17 right bottom, 18; Burhān al-Dīn Khān Kushkekī, *Kattagan i Badakhshan*, transl. from Persian into Russian by A. A. Semenov, Tashkent 1926; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, 66 (distribution of nationalities); *Westermanns Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, iii, Brunswick 1953, 134, 135.

The following were places of particular importance on the Āmū Daryā in the Middle Ages: Tirmidh, Kālif, Zamm (Karkhī; left), opposite to which lies Akhshīkath, Āmul (Čardjūy; left), opposite to which is Firabr, finally various towns of Khʷārizm. [Cf. the articles].

The water of the Āmū Daryā rises in its middle course, which is 3570-5700 ms. broad and 1, 5-8 ms. deep, in April-May, and becomes low again in July. It frequently floods the areas on its banks, particularly to the right, hence from time to time a more luxuriant growth of bushes and vegetation is produced there. The river is in this neighbourhood not directly tapped for irrigation; nevertheless there ran along its left bank in the Middle Ages a strip used for agricultural purposes; from the 14th century on it apparently began to turn into a steppe (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 81 f.).

The lower course and its changes. From the middle course onwards, somewhat beyond Kālif, the course of the Āmū Daryā shifted in various directions in prehistoric or even in historical times. According to Ptolemy the course of the Āmū Daryā in the area between Kālif and Zamm (Karkhī) turned in approximately a W. direction (as opposed to the NW direction of the present day) and ran into the region of the Ḳara Ḳum desert. Al-Bīrūnī too assumed such a course for the river in a previous epoch (cf. A. Z. V. Togan, *Biruni's Picture*). In actual fact it is possible to trace a former bed which branches off at Karkhī, goes between Repetek and Üč Hādjdjī and finds its continuation in the (former) Unguz river bed. Between 1928 and 1940 for instance the Āmū Daryā showed a tendency to flow S. in this vicinity, so that from the geological point of view a similar course is not out of the question. The theory of a bed in Unguz (in spite of the molluscs which al-Bīrūnī reports having found there) requires further geological research before further conclusions can be drawn from the extremely uncertain reports of the old geographers. Al-Bīrūnī's account is that the Āmū Daryā/Unguz flowed into a great desert lake but did not reach the Caspian. On the other hand Strabo (xi, 50) reports a discharge into the Caspian Sea. The culture of Khʷārizm, however, which has ten centuries' history behind it, and which would have been impossible without irrigation from the Āmū Daryā, is a sure indication that in that time the Unguz cannot have been the sole lower course of the Āmū Daryā.

Al-Bīrūnī supposes that as a result of obstructions of the riverbed, the Āmū Daryā later, instead of flowing into the Unguz, squeezed through the narrow river-gorge (360 m.) between the Düldül Atlaghān and the Tüye Moyun (at the present day Pitnyak, 384 kms. from its mouth); it is called Dahān-i Shīr = Fam al-Asad, "lion's mouth"). But geological research here too indicates that this break-through must have come about already in prehistoric times. Below this pass there branch off the large side canals which render possible the oasis culture of Khʷārizm.

The Arabic geographers of the 10th century give Ṭāhiriyya, S. of the river-gorge, as the southern limit of this area of irrigation. In the 11th century Dargh̲ān, further NW (N. of the gorge) was generally regarded as the limit (Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 859). The S. boundary of the K̲h̲ānate of K̲h̲īwa was first fixed further S. (S. of Pitnyak) after the Russian conquest of 1873.

Opposite the present-day Sadwar (three *farsak̲h̲s* on the other side of the gorge) there branch off to the right the Gawk̲h̲ʷāra, and after five more *farsak̲h̲s* the Kirya canal. They extended, respectively, N. to the Sulṭān Uways Dag̲h̲ī chain and E. from it to the same latitude and formed the basis of the rich cultural development during and preceding the Islamic era on the lower right bank of the Āmū Daryā N. of the present-day Dörtkül (Turtkul), the capital of the province of Ḳaraḳalpaḳia. (Cf. Tolstov, in *Bibl.*, and K̲h̲ʷārizm).

Further NW and N. the main bed of the Āmū Daryā has repeatedly shifted in historical times and does so even at the present day. The question has been thoroughly debated whether the Āmū Daryā had in earlier times a different lower course. De Goeje quoted historical sources to the effect that this river has always in historical times emptied itself—albeit in separate main branches—into the Aral Sea. W. Barthold opposed this view and supposed that the Mongols by piercing a main dam with the object of conquering the town of (Old) Urgand̲j̲ [*q.v.*] in 1221, diverted the river towards the W., so that it flowed into the depression and the sea and marsh tracts of the Sarī Ḳamīs̲h̲ and finally into the Caspian along the eastern edge of the Čiñ (Čink) ridge and further through the Özboy (Russian Uzboy) until the end of the 16th century. Barthold quotes in support of his thesis statements by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (213 transl., 206; 117, transl. 170), Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (see W. Barthold, *Aral*, 48 f.), and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿas̲h̲ī. The latter (ed. B. Dorn, *Mohammed. Sources etc.*, i, St. Petersburg 1850, 436, transl. 436) speaks of a fleet which travelled up on the D̲j̲ayḥūn from the mouth of the Özboy in the Caspian. K̲h̲ʷāndamīr (iii, 244-6) reports that the sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara travelled from Ag̲h̲riča (the Balk̲h̲ān mountains) to Ad̲h̲aḳ (now Aḳ Ḳalʿa) and crossed the Āmū Daryā "after seven days". But most of this evidence is subject to doubt, and K̲h̲ʷāndamīr himself in his geographical appendix definitely makes the Āmū Daryā flow into the Aral Sea. Everything considered, the evidence adduced by de Goeje seems to have more weight than that relied on by Barthold.

Barthold's views, however, found widespread support among historians and Le Strange, A. Herrmann and A. Zeki Velidī Togan (*Biruni's Picture*; recapitulated in *IA*, i, 423-6) contended that the Āmū Daryā flew into the Caspian even at an earlier period.

Barthold, and following him Togan, viewed the 16th century as the time of the shifting back of the mouth of the Āmū Daryā to the Aral Sea. Both refer in this connection to the reports of the English traveller Anthony Jenkinson in 1558 (in R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations etc.*, i, London 1927, 449) and of the Ottoman traveller Sayfī in 990/1582 (Barthold, *Aral*, 71; idem, *Oroshenie*, 93) as well as to Abu 'l-G̲h̲āzī (b. 1603), who dates a shifting of the Āmū Daryā 30 years before his birth (thus ca. 1573). The K̲h̲ʷārizmian writer Āgihī and the chronicle of K̲h̲īwa by Muʾnis (19th century) place this event in the year 1578 (Barthold, *Aral*, 69-74). Thus the discharge of the Āmū Daryā into the Aral Sea is unequivocally established for the period following the 16th century.

Although the question of the course of the lower Āmū Daryā seemed to be settled to the satisfaction of the historians by the theory that the Özboy up till the 16th century formed the lower bed of the river (cf. A. Herrmann, *Gibt es noch ein Oxus-Problem?*, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1930, 286 ff.), yet geographers and geologists have always rejected this view (see A. S. Keś, I. P. Gerasimov and K. K. Markov, and S. P. Tolstov, in *Bibliogr.*). At the present state of geological research, it appears that a temporary diversion of the Āmū Daryā into the Sarī Ḳamis̲h̲ has been established; on the other hand, the Özboy was clearly not the river-bed of the Āmū Daryā on its way to the Caspian in historical times.

Shifting of the channels of the Āmū Daryā in the delta proper is not a matter of doubt either in historical times or at present. The early Islamic capital of K̲h̲ʷārizm, Kāt̲h̲ [*q.v.*] gradually decayed owing to shifting of the bed of the river. The interpretation of the reports of the 10th century geographers is, however, uncertain. They speak of a series of lakes (K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ān); according to Ibn Rusta, 92, these were on the edge of the Siyāh Kūh (Čin), but according to al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 303, and Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 480, on the Aral Sea; al-Maḳdisī, 288, 343 f., gives no details. (Cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 152; idem, *Oroshenie*, 84; idem, *Aral*, 22). The town of (Old) Urgand̲j̲ lay after the Mongol conquest "on the right bank of the river" (i.e. the Daryālik). The breaking off of the connection to the Sarī Ḳamis̲h̲ in the 16th century may be accepted as a fact: possibly the resumed intensive irrigation took away the necessary water. At all events (Old) Urgand̲j̲ lost its water-supply and was replaced by the towns of Wazīr (since ca. 1450, ruined in the 17th century, ruins near the present day fortress of Dēw Ḳalʿa) and (New) Urgand̲j̲. Finally the emergence of K̲h̲īwa as capital of the province is to be attributed to these shiftings. The delta "island" (Aral) now took on importance. From here a new system of canals going to the left was constructed in the 19th century, and (Old) Urgand̲j̲ was once again enabled to regain some kind of existence.

For the settlement and the population in the area of the mouth of the Āmū Daryā, cf. K̲H̲ʷĀRIZM, K̲H̲ĪWA, ALĀN, PEČENEG, OG̲H̲UZ, TURKMEN, UZBEK, ḲARAḲALPAḲ, SART.

In the delta and in the lower reaches of the Āmū Daryā occurs a covering of ice, which on the average holds from the end of December to the end of March, and which caused astonishment to the Arab geographers and travellers (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 450 f., iii, 1 f.). It nearly cost Yāḳūt his life in 1219 during his flight from the Mongols. In particularly severe winters it is up to 12 in. thick. The upper reaches also frequently freeze over in the mountainous regions.

In recent times there have been various projects for the diversion of the Āmū Daryā into the Caspian. In 1716 Peter the Great commissioned Prince Alexander Bekovič-Čerkasskiy (actually Dewlet Kizden Mīrzā, cf. Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsikl. Slovar*, iii, 356 f.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsikl.*², iv, 406, with references) to investigate the possibilities of establishing a waterway almost right up to the frontiers of India. In 1873 the project was once more explored and pronounced basically feasible. It appeared that the way from Čard̲j̲ūy through

the Unguz was the most suitable, since it would thus not be necessary to await the protracted fulling up of the Sarî Ḳamîsh depression (cf. A. I. Glučovskiy, *Propusk vod r. Amu-Dar'i po staromu yeya ruslu v Kaspiyskoe More*, St. Petersburg 1893). After an extensive flood in 1952 the Soviet Government is said to have tackled anew in 1953 the project for a diversion of the powerful and incalculable Āmū Daryā through a part of the Özboy. It is planned to have power-stations at Tashiz and Ṭash, on the old course of the river. The main portion of the water however would be led off by a canal 1100 kms. long into the lower Özboy, and would fall into the Caspian at Kîzîl Suw (Krasnovodsk). Two barrages with large lakes are to produce further electricity and in addition ensure the irrigation of 1.3 million hectares of land for cottongrowing. In order to provide for the settlements thus brought into being two fresh-water canals are to be constructed. It is impossible to ascertain how far this project has actually been put into effect, or when if ever its completion is to be expected.

Bibliography: General: For the pre-Islamic period cf. A. Herrmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/2 (1942), 2006-7. W. Barthold, in *EI*[1], s.v.; A. Zeki Velidî Togan, in *IA*, s.v. (the information given by these two scholars has been used in the text); *Entsiklop. Slovar'* of Brockhaus-Efron, i (1890), 676 f., xxxiv (1902), 610, 742 (Uzboy, Unguz); *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], ii (1950), 304-6 (with a map of the river area).—Geographical: F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1922; *Trudy karakumskoy ekspeditsii*, Leningrad 1934, iv; W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 110 f.; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, 364-408 (cf. index),—Geographical-geological examination of the river-bed, etc.: *Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Ob.-va po obshčey geogr.*, iv (R. E. Lenz), ix, xvii (A. V. von Kaulbars), xiv (Zubov), xx (V. A. Obruchev, *Zakaspiyskaya nizmennost'*), xxxiii (A. Konshin, *Raz'yasnenie voprosa o drevnem tečenii Amu-Dar'i*); *Trudy Amu-Dar'inskoy ekspeditsii*, ii-iv, St. Petersburg 1877-81; A. I. Tkhorževskiy, *Amu-Dar'ya meždu g. Kerki i Aral'skim Morem*, St. Petersburg 1916; L. A. Molčanov, *Proiskhoždenie presnovodnykh ozer Uzboya, Izv. Gos. Gidrolog. Instituta*, 1929, 43-57; A. S. Keś, *Ruslo Uzboy i ego genezis, Trudy instituta geografii Ak. Nauk SSSR*, 1939; I. P. Gerasimov and K. K. Markov, *Četvertičnava geologiya*, Moscow 1939; iidem, *Lednikovyy period na territorii SSSR*, Moscow-Leningrad 1939.—General historical geography: W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen 1882 (especially 10-30); W. Barthold, *Turkestan* (especially 64-82, 142-55); idem, *Istoriya Orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901; *Ḥudūd al-ʿAlam*, index (also maps); A. Z. V. Togan, *Bīrūnis Picture of the World*, New Delhi 1940; S. P. Tolstov, *Drevniy Khoresm*, Moscow 1948; idem, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1948 (German transl. by O. Mehlitz, *Auf den Spuren der alt-chorezmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953)—cf. for the last two works S. P. Tolstow, *Die Arbeitsergebnisse der sowjetischen Expedition zur Erforschung des alten Choresm, Sowjetwissenschaft*, Geisteswiss. Abt., 1950, 105-30 and B. Spuler, *Chwārizms (Chorasmiens) Kultur nach S. P. Tolstovs Forschungen, Historia*, 1950, 601-15; S. P. Tolstow, *Die archäol. Forschungen der Choresm-Expedition vom Jahre 1952, Sowjetwissenschaft*, Geisteswiss. Abt., 1954, 267-80.—The upper course of the Oxus: J. Wood, *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*[2], London 1872 (with historical geographical introduction by H. Yule); J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938 (especially 52 ff.; cf. also index).—The Oxus-Özboy problem: M. J. de Goeje, *Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leiden 1875; Barthold, *Svěděniya ob aral'skom more i nizovyakh Amudar'i*, Tashkent 1902 (in German: *Nachrichten über den Aralsee und den unteren Lauf des Amudarja*, Leipzig 1910); V. Lokhtin, *Rěka Amu-Dar'ya i eya drevnee soyedinenie s Kaspiyskim Morem*, St. Petersburg 1879; Le Strange, 433-45, 455-58 and index; D. D. Bukinič, *Starye rusla Oksa i amu-dar'inskaya problema*, Moscow 1906; A. Herrmann, *Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebietes* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F. xv/4), Berlin 1914; F. Koláček, *Etait l'Ouzboï pendant les temps historiques un ancien lit de l'Amou-Daria?, Spisy vydávané přírodovědeskou fakultetou Masarykovy University*, 1927 (with map); W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, 491-3.

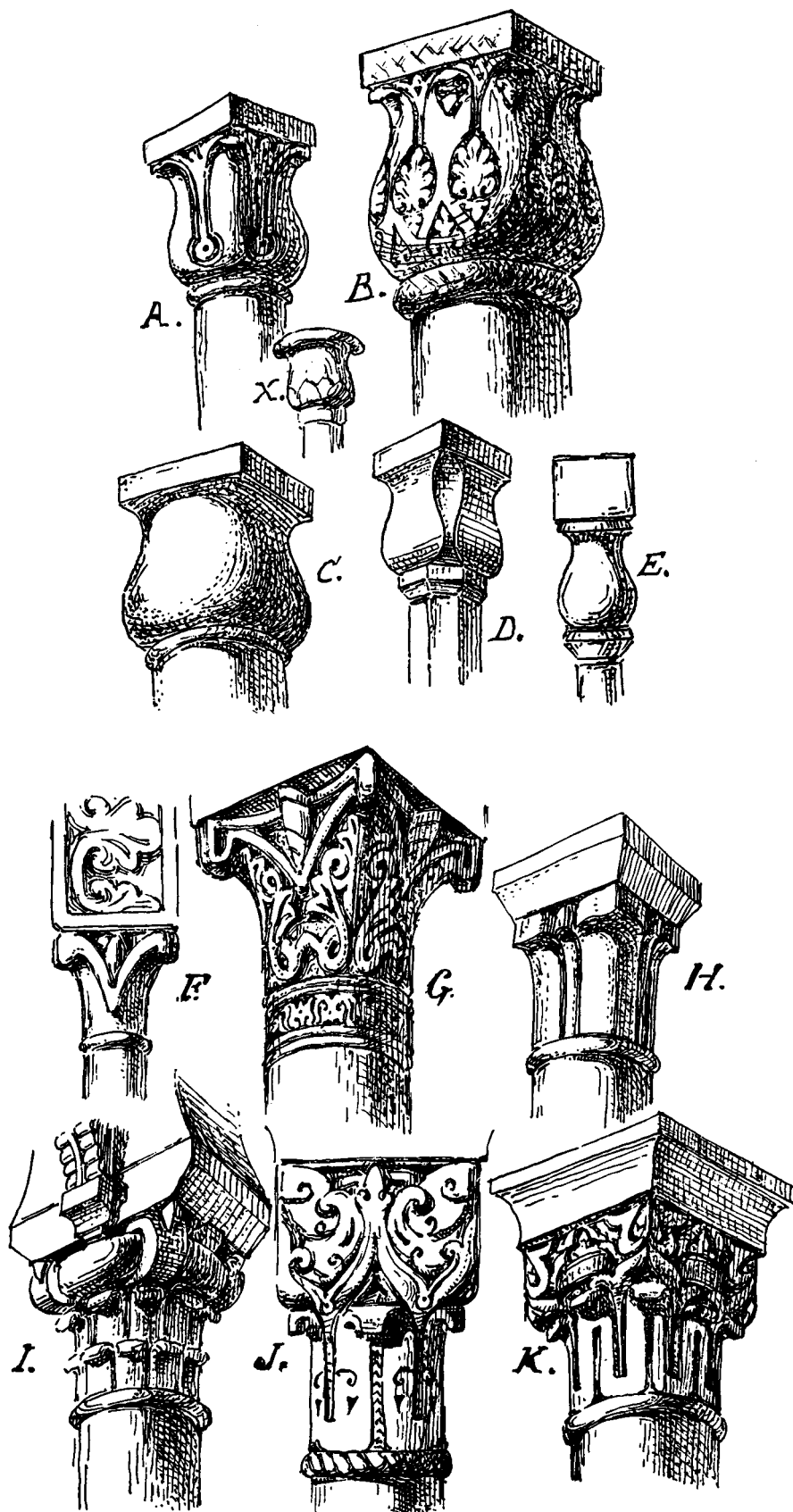
(B. Spuler, shortened by the Editors).

ʿAMŪD (Ar.) (tent pole, hence a monolithic column and capital; less commonly, a constructed pillar).

The use of the column and the capital in Muslim art, and in particular in religious architecture, is connected with the adoption by the builders of mosques of the oratory with multiple aisles and of the court surrounded by galleries. The column, like this type of oratory and peristyle, appears to be a Hellenistic legacy, especially since in Syria, Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and Spain the columns of the early mosques are constructed of used materials. However, after a period of more or less faithful imitation of earlier models, types which are characteristically Muslim emerge, with a more simple outline. The shaft of the column is no longer slightly convex, and its diameter is equal throughout its length, the plan being circular or polygonal. The capital assumes various forms which can be classified in two main groups, both perhaps derived from the Corinthian capital, but each possessing a distinctly localized development and descent.

The first group consists of capitals whose campanula or lyre-shaped outline (Herzfeld) has perhaps been contaminated by the lotus-bud capital of ancient Egypt. This capital appears in the 3rd/9th century in the ʿAbbāsid monuments of Sāmarrā and Raḳḳa (*A*). It passes, with many other elements, into the Ṭūlūnid architecture at Cairo (end of 3rd/9th century) (*B*), and is preserved in Egypt under the Burdjī (*C*) and Circassian (*D*) Mamlūks. The base has a similar, though inversed, outline. This bell-shaped capital is also found in Persia, whose brick and tile architecture admits of few real columns. It crowns the small imitation columns of the faience *miḥrābs* (*E*).

The general outline of the second group of capitals is rather that of the Corinthian corbel; it appears as a simplified form of the latter, by eliminating the vigorous reliefs of the Corinthian and its local variants, and predominates in western Islam. In the 3rd/9th century, al-Ḳayrawān possessed small capitals related to Coptic models, with four smooth leaves joined at the bottom and curving inwards at the point like a hook (*F*). From them derived, in

A.
B.
X.
C.
D.
E.
F.
G.
H.
I.
J.
K.

the same region, the Fāṭimid capitals of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, with a limb of flowing floral designs surmounting shafts decorated with whorls or inscriptions in scroll form (*G*), and, from the 7th/13th century onwards, the Tunisian capitals (*H*). About the same period, the monuments of the Umayyads of Spain were ornamented with capitals copied from the two classical models: Corinthian and Composite (*I*), rounded off, as in the Great Mosque at Cordova, or scored with deep grooves as at Madīnat al-Zahrā (2nd half of the 4th/10th century). These were the prototypes of the many beautiful variants offered by the Aljaferia of Saragossa (5th/11th century) and the Almohad mosques of Tīnmāl (*J*) and Marrākush (6th/12th century). In the 7th/13th century there emerged the Hispano-Morisco capital with a cylindrical lower portion and a paralleliped upper portion (*K*), which is recognizably a development from the Corinthian corbel which is both logical and in harmony with the Islamic plastic ideal. Various types can be found in the mosques and *madrasas* of North Africa and in the Alhambra at Granada. The latter has also some capitals in the shape of stalactites, probably an imitation of Persian originals. (G. MARÇAIS)

ĀMUL, name of two towns: (1) A town in the south-west corner of the east Māzandarān plain; it stands on the west bank of the Harhāz river, 12 miles south of the Caspian Sea, in the district which, according to the Classical writers, was the home of the Μάρδοι (ʾΑμάρδοι) (Āmul may be the Modern Persian form of the (hypothetical) Old Persian Amardha). Ibn Isfandiyār (*Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, Teheran 1941, 62 f.) states that Āmul was founded by Āmula, daugther of a Daylamite chieftain and wife of King Fīrūz of Balkh, while Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 159) maintains that King Ṭahmūrath was the founder, but these are mere legends. In the Sāsānid era, the district of Āmul, together with Gēlān (the modern Gīlān), formed a Nestorian episcopal see (*ZDMG*, xliii, 407); the town is also entioned several times in the *Shāh-nāma*. In Muslim times Āmul became an important industrial and trading centre. The great historian al-Ṭabarī and the famous jurist Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī were born there. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (134, 135) described Āmul as a great town and the capital of Ṭabaristān. It was then very prosperous, and many merchants and scholars resided there. It had a number of industries, and the surrounding disctrict produced large quantities of fruit of various kinds. Writing at much the same time, Ibn Ḥawḳal stated that Āmul was larger than Ḳazwīn.

Āmul was sacked by Masʿūd, the son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in 426/1035-36, and again by Tīmūr some 350 years later. Sir Thomas Herbert, who visited Āmul in 1628, described it as being "fruitfull and blessed", and as having "three thousand houses and those not builded in the meanest fashion" (*A Relation of a Journey begun in* 1610, London 1632, 106-7). Āmul has been devastated by earthquakes and floods several times; despite these disasters, it is still a considerable town (modern Āmul, however, stands a little to the east of the old town, the site of which is marked by extensive ruins).

Its houses of burnt brick, with their red-tiled roofs, give Āmul a picturesque apperance. It is connected with its suburb on the east bank of the Harhāz by a fine twelve-arched bridge. It is linked by roads with the small port of Maḥmūdābād on the Caspian, with Bārbul (Barfurūsh) to the East, and with Čālūs and Rasht to the west. In 1941 Āmul had a population of 14, 166 (but the number of inhabitants undergoes seasonal variations, as many retire to the mountains in summer to escape from the heat and the mosquitoes).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 68; Le Strange, 370; Sir W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1819, 296-316; B. Dorn, *Auszüge aus muhammed. Schriftstellern betreffend die Gesch. und Geogr. der südl. Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, St. Petersburg 1858, 382; F. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1871, i, 70; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 235, 237; Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv. Amardoi and Amarusa; H. L. Rabino, *Mazandaran and Astarabad*, London 1928, 33-40. (L. LOCKHART)

(2) A town situated at 39° 5′ N. Lat. and 63° 41′ east of Greenwich, 3 miles from the left bank of the Oxus (Āmū Daryā). In the Arabic Middle Ages, Āmul belonged to the large province of Khurāsān; it is now (under the name of Čārdjū or Čardjūy) in the Turkmen S. S. R. Although surrounded on all sides by desert, Āmul was once of great importance for the caravan trade, as the meeting place of the roads connecting Khurāsān with Transoxiana and Khīwa. The Sāmānid Ismaʿīl routed the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. Bashīr and his army near Āmul in 287/900. The town is frequently mentioned in the sources dealing with the Mongol invasion and Tīmūr's campaigns. The name Āmul (like that of Āmul no. 1) may be connected with the Μάρδοι (Αμάρδοι), more especially with an eastern branch (cf. Pliny, vi, 47). In order to distinguish the town from Āmul no. 1, definitions were sometimes added to the name, as Yāḳūt points out, and it was called either Āmul Zamm (cf. *e.g.* al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 410 and 420), *i.e.* the Āmul near Zamm (the modern Kerki, 125 miles to the south-east), or Āmul Djayḥūn, *i.e.* the Āmul on the Djayḥūn (Oxus), or Āmul al-Shaṭṭ, *i.e.* the Āmul on the river. Yet another name of the town, which occurs already in the Middle Ages, is Āmūya (cp. especially al-Balādhurī, 410; Yāḳūt, i, 365) or Āmū (Yāḳūt, i, 70); this last is perhaps merely a dialectical form of Āmul, from which the later medieval name of the Oxus, Āmū Daryā ('river of Āmu') may have been derived (thus Barthold, cf. ĀMŪ DARYĀ); it seems more likely, however, that Āmūya may be derived from Āmū, an ancient local name of the Oxus. The modern name, Čārdjūy, "the four streams", refers to the important ford over the Oxus near by. Čārdjūy is now connected by rail with Marw and Krasnovodsk to the west, and with Bukhārā, Samarḳand and Tashkent to the north-east; the railway crosses the Oxus by a long bridge go the north-east of the town.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 69, 70, 365; Le Strange, 403 f., 434; Marquart, *Ērānšahr n. d. Geogr. d. Pseudo Moses-Xorenacʿi*, Berlin 1901, 136, 311; id. *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Eran*, Leipzig 1895, ii, 57. (M. STRECK*)

The town appears to have received its present name of Čārdjūy in the time of the Tīmūrids; in his account of the events of 903/1477-8, Bābur (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 58) mentions the passage of the river at Čārdjū (*Čārdjū güzari*). In 910/1504 the fortress of Čārdjū (in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Shaybānī-nāma* (Melioranski), 197: *Čārdjū ḳalʿasī*, in Banāʾī's Persian *Shaybānī-nāma*, quoted by Samoilovič, *Zap. Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshc.*, xix, 173: *Ḳalʿa-yi Čahār-djūy*) had to surrender to the Uzbegs.

During the period of Uzbeg domination, as in the Middle Ages, the most important passage of the

Oxus was at Čārdjūy; boats were always kept in readiness for this purpose; bridges of boats were occasionally built for the passage of large armies, as, for example, for Nādir Shāh's army in 1153/1740. Čārdjūy, is, however as far as is known, nowhere mentioned in any authority as a large town in this period, still less as the residence of a prince or governor of importance. (Cf. Burnes, *Travels*, iii, 7 ff. [visited the town in 1832]; more reliable than J. Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, 1844, 162 ff.; Mushketow, *Turkestan*, St. Petersburg 1886, 606 ff. [visit of 1879]).

In 1884, the Turkmens of Marw had to submit to the Russians; the old caravan route was replaced by a railway which reached the Āmū Daryā in 1886. The importance of Čārdjūy, as a result, rapidly increased; the town, which was the residence of a *beg* of Bukhara, had before the Revolution about 15,000 inhabitants.

10 miles from Old Čārdjūy near the Āmū Daryā railway station, on ground ceded by the *amīr* of Bukhārā to the Russian Government, a new town arose which was the seat of a Russian military commandant and which had a population in 1914 of 4-5,000. In 1901 a railway bridge was built across the Āmū Daryā thus ensuring railway communication between Čārdjūy-Bukhārā and Tāshkent.

Under the Soviet regime new Čārdjūy has become an important administrative and, since 1924 industrial centre. In 1926, its population increased to 13,959, of whom 8,069 were Russians, 846 Armenians, 525 Uzbeks and only 458 Turkmens; in 1933 it rose to 54,500, the Turkmens always forming a small minority. In 1955 it was the second town of the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistān, and for a time (before 1930) there was a proposal to make it the capital of the Republic. Since 21 Nov. 1939 New Čārdjūy has been the chief town of the *oblast'* of the same name. It is a modern town designed on a rectilinear plan, and the town-planning scheme visualises an eventual population of about 200,000. It is the home of numerous industries, and an important centre of communications—rail (Krasnovodsk-Tāshkent and Čārdjūy-Kungrat lines); road (the Čārdjūy-Khīwa motor road); and river, the Āmū Daryā being navigable from Termez (Tirmidh) to the Aral Sea.

Old Čārdjūy (now Kaganovičesk) is now a small workers' town situated 5 miles from the outskirts of Čārdjūy, and has retained its character as an ancient indigenous town. In 1931 its population was only 2,042, mainly Turkmens of the Salor tribe, and Uzbeks.

The district (*oblast'*) of Čārdjūy, created on 21 Nov. 1939, has a total area of 36,000 sq.m. and is situated in Eastern Turkmenistān. The oasis of Čārdjūy, which stretches between the Āmū Daryā and the Ḳara Ḳum desert, forms the centre of this disctrict; it is a rich agricultural area (cultivation of silk, horticulture, cotton plantations, vine-growing, breeding of *ḳaraḳul* sheep). (A. Bennigsen)

AMULETS [see ḤAMĀʾIL].

ʿAMŪR (Djabal), a mountain massif in southern Algeria. The mountains of the ʿAmūr, named after a section of the people who live there form part of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria, together with the mountains of the Ḳṣūr and the Ouled Nail which form a continuation to the S-W and N-E. Nearly all over 3,900 ft., they rise slightly above the high steppes of Oran (3,275-3,900 ft.), and drop sharply down to the Saharan foothills (2,975-3,275 ft.). Between the ranges, which run S-W to N-E, stretch large synclinal watercourses with flat beds, with the occasional contrast of deep valleys which form scarped plateaus such as that of El-Gāʿda. The altitude gives the region cold winters, temperate summers and a relatively heavy rainfall. Thus the mountains of the ʿAmūr, are still covered with forests, especially in the north-western ranges (4920-5575 ft.) and on El-Gāʿda (3935-4590 ft.) : these forests are mainly of juniper. Mediterranean flora mingles with that of the steppe, such as alfa, which prevails on the southern slopes.

Inhabited from very early times, as is witnessed by the rock carvings and graves scattered over the massif, the Djabal ʿAmūr was for long ignored by the historians. The earliest inhabitants mentioned are the Rashīd Berbers who have given their name to the massif. They were to some extent superseded, in the course of the 8th/14th century, by the Arabicised nomads of the Sahara, the ʿAmūr, perhaps partly of Hilālian origin, who settled in this mountain massif. and the name Djabal ʿAmūr was substituted for that of Djabal Rashīd.

Numerous traces of villages (*ḳṣūr*) point to the early existence of agricultural life on a wider scale than to-day. The Djabal ʿAmūr is primarily a pastoral mountain region; flocks of sheep and goats move from the north to the south of the massif and along its fringes, and the inhabitants live in tents often carried on the back of oxen. The ʿAmūr make excellent knotted carpets. Aflou, the administrative and economic centre, has developed at the expense of the four surviving *ḳṣūr*.

Bibliography: Derrien, *Le Djebel Amour* (*Bull. de la Soc. de geog. d'Oran*, 1895); Cauvet, *Le Djebel Amour* (*Bull. de la Soc. de géog. d'Alger*, 1935); L. Golvin, *Les Tapis algériens*, Algiers 1953; J. Despois, *Pasteurs et villageois du Djebel Amour* (in preparation). (G. Yver-[J. Despois])

ʿAMWĀS or ʿAmawās, the ancient Emmaus, still marked by a large village, was situated in the plain of Judæa at the foot of the mountains, some 19 miles from Jerusalem, and commanding one of the principal approach routes to the latter. The site of a victory won by Judas Maccabaeus in 166 B.C., it was fortified by the Seleucid general in 160 B.C. and became under Caesar the chief tow of a toparchy, only to decline to the size of a small market-town after being burnt by Varus in 4 B.C. Its strategic importance, however, led to its being selected by Vespasian as the site of a fortified camp, and it had again grown to the size of a small city when it obtained from Elagabalus in 221 A.D. the title of Nicopolis, its Christian colony embellished it with a basilica which, as excavations have discovered, was rebuilt successively by the Byzantines and the Crusaders.

The conquest of the area by the Arabs, which according to the sources occurred in 13/634 after the victory of Adjnādayn, or in 17/638 after that of the Yarmūḳ, marked its final decline; it was chiefly known as the source of the notorious "ʿAmwās plague" which left its tragic record in contemporary annals and which claimed 25,000 victims including the famous chiefs Abū ʿUbayda, Muʿādh b. Djabal and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. Its position as administrative capital was taken over by Ludd, and then by Ramla, founded in Umayyad times; the Arab geographers confined themselves to mentioning the small town, which played no part even during the period of the Crusades, when it experienced the same fortunes as Jerusalem down to the temporary

retrocession to the Franks under the treaty of Jaffa between al-Malik al-Kāmil and Frederick II.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, i, 172; Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 138; Ṭabarī, I, 2516-20; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ii, 388-9; Maḳdisī, 176; Bakrī, *Muʿd͟jam* (Wüstenfeld), ii, 669; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Damascus 1953, 34; Yāḳūt, iii, 729; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 209, *Annali*, iii, A.H. 13, 206, 17, 141; iv, A.H. 18, 4 and 47; G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 393; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 150-1; Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, Paris 1932; F. M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, Paris 1952, i, 136-9, 167, 411-13; ii, 6, 187-9, 393-406; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1934-6, iii, 308. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ĀNA [see sikka].

ʿĀNA—in the Middle Ages also ʿĀnāt, and in Turkish official usage ʿAna—is a town of modern ʿIrāḳ situated on the Euphrates right bank (41° 58′ E, 34° 28′ N.), some 245 kilometers southeast of Dayr al-Zūr and 148 north-west of Hīt. The river, not here navigable by steamers (in spite of attempts a century ago), is used by *s͟hak͟htūrs* (wooden rafts), downstream only; and the traditional caravan-road from central ʿIrāḳ to northen Syria, passing through ʿĀna—a main element in its early importance—is little used since the appearance of trans-desert motor traffic. The town is flanked to the west by the tribal area of the ʿAniza sections in the Syrian desert, and to the east by the S͟hammar D͟jarbaʿ in the D͟jazīra, while the river banks are the area of the settled cultivating and sheep-breeding Dulaym. It is, under the ʿIrāḳ Government, the headquarters of a *ḳaḍā* in the *liwā* of Dulaym (headquarters, Ramādī), and contains the additional *nāḥiyas* of al-Ḳāʾim, Djubba, and Ḥadīt͟ha. The townspeople, practically all Sunnī Arabs—with small Jewish communities till 1369-70/1949-50—were for centuries at bitter enmity with those of Rāwa, immediately across the river: the feud was composed in 1340/1921.

ʿĀna, utilising the thin strip of land between the river and the line of low cliffs to the west, has the singular form of great length—some 7 miles—and extreme narrowness. The buildings lie within a dense date-belt, irrigated by water wheels (*nāʿūr*, pl. *nawāʿir*): there is also cultivation, and dwellings, on the mid-stream islands in the river. The town is reckoned as healthy and picturesque.

The women of ʿĀna are famed for their beauty, and for their weaving of cotton-cloth and woollen mats and cloaks: the men, whom lack of space for expansion forces largely to emigrate, are known for their skill as Euphrates boatmen, and in earlier days for their monopoly of water-carrying in Bag͟hdād. The educational standard, with eight schools in 1946, is relatively high.

The modern ʿĀna is the heir of a history disappearing into remote antiquity. Its name, recorded in cuneiform inscriptions as Anat or K͟hanat, was identical with the Greek Anatho (Ἀνάθω) (see Pauly-Wissowa, i, 2069, Suppl. i, 77; M. Streck, in ZA, xix, 25; idem, in *Klio*, vi, 197; *ZDMG*, lxi, 701) and occupation (probably with minor variations of site) has apparently been continuous, as a centre of cultivation, trading-post, and at times military headquarters; the islands, and sites on high ground west of the town, have at various periods been fortified as strong points or places of refuge. In ʿAbbāsid times ʿĀna belonged to D͟jazīra province, lying close to the frontier of al-ʿIrāḳ; it was known to travellers as a prosperous town with extensive date and fruit gardens and a reputation for wine-making. Its wine is already praised by the old poets; cf. S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 157; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 98, 248. The caliph al-Ḳāʾim took refuge here in 450/1058 from the contemporary Daylamī ruler of ʿIrāḳ. In early modern times, 8th/14th to 11th/17th centuries, it was the headquarters of tribal rulers, who about 1750 were replaced by first a rudimentary and later (after about 1267/1850) an organised Turkish administration; under the latter ʿĀna was the headquarters of a *ḳaḍā* grouped directly under the *wilāyet* of Baghdād. The town and district were occupied by the British in 1337/1918, and became part of the Kingdom of ʿIrāḳ, with their present administrative grouping, in 1340/1921.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 106, (with full references to Arab geographers); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894 iii, 145; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 141, 143 ff., xi, 717-26; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. un.*, ix, 450; M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxiii, 2, 122; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925: ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *al-ʿIrāḳ, Ḳadīman wa-Ḥadīt͟han*, Sidon 1948, 239 ff. (S. H. Longrigg)

ANADOLU, Anatolia, Asia Minor.

(i) — The name.
(ii) — Physical geography.
(iii) — Historical geography of Turkish Anatolia.
1. The conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, first phase, and the state of the Sald͟jūḳs of Rūm.
2. The conquest of Anatolia, second phase, and the beginnings of the Ottoman empire.
3. The political divisions of Anatolia.
4. Population.
5. Communications.
6. Economy.

(i) THE NAME

Anadolu (Arabic spelling أناطولي, Anaṭōlī i.e. Greek Ἀνατολή in Byzantine pronunciation), Anatolia, Asia Minor, the mountainous peninsula—including its base—proceeding from the southern part of the Asiatic continent towards Europe (Balkan peninsula) —known as Asia Minor (Μικρὰ Ἀσία) in antiquity—is situated between 36° and 42° N and 26° and 45° E. Together with the Balkan peninsula it has formed a bridge between Central Europe and Western Asia throughout its history. Arab geographers in the Middle Ages, and Turks until far into Ottoman times, called the country Bilād al-Rūm (country of the Rhomaeans).

The name Ἀνατολή ("rising" of the sun) is used first and foremost as a geographical term by the Byzantines, as "Orient" or "Levant", to denote all that lies east of Constantinople, i.e. especially Asia Minor and Egypt. A prefecture "per Orientem" (ἔπαρχος τῆς Ἀνατολῆς) appears, however, in the reorganization of the administration by Diocletian and Constantine as one of the four large sections of the empire; it consists of the five dioceses of Aegyptus, Oriens (Ἀνατολή in the stricter sense), Pontus, Asiana and Thracia, that is to say, the Middle East, Thrace, Egypt and Libya. The administrative term Ἀνατολή disappears with the introduction of the division into themes (at the beginning of the first half of the 7th century); the name Ἀνατολικόν or θέμα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν is now applied to the theme (administrative area) around Amorium and Iconium. This considerably smaller administrative unit is called al-Nāṭolūs, or some-

thing similar, (explained as *al-mashrik*, "the east") by Ibn Khurradādhbih (107, transl. 79); al-Nāṭolīk (explained as *al-mashrikī*, "the eastern") by Ḳudāma, (ed. de Goeje, 258, transl., 198); cf. H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themen-Verfassung*, Leipzig 1899, 83; F. W. Brooks, *Arabic Lists of Byzantine Themes, Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, 67-77). The name of the theme Anatolikon disappears again with the Turkish conquest. The general geographical term Anaṭōlī reappears, however, and gradually becomes Anadolu with the Turks. To begin with, this meant only western Anatolia. The large Ottoman province (*eyālet* or *wilāyet*) of this name embraced the area of the former western Anatolian Turkish principalities [see next article]. The term Anadolu as name of a province disappeared at the time of the reorganisation of the provinces during the *tanẓīmāt* (middle of the 19th century). From then on "Anatolia", used geographically, came to mean the whole peninsula (roughly as far as the line Trebizond (Trabzon) Erzindjan-Biredjik-Alexandretta) which today forms the main part of the area of the Turkish republic. "Anadolu", as it is used today in Turkish, is the whole Asiatic part of modern Turkey, including those areas which geographically belong to upper Mesopotamia: al-Djazīra (Diyārbakr), Kurdistān (Van and Bitlis), as well as to Armenia (Kars). It is in this sense that the term is used in the present article (the islands in the Aegean Sea are not taken into account). In 1950 the overall area of Turkey was stated to be 767,119 sq. km. Of these, Thrace has 23,485 sq. km. and Anatolia 743,634 sq. km. The number of inhabitants in the whole of Turkey was 20,934,670 in 1950; of these, 1,626,229 lived in the European part of Turkey, and 19,308,441 lived in Anatolia.

[For pre-Turkish Anatolia, see RŪM].

(F. TAESCHNER)

(ii) PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

General survey of the nature of the country. Anatolia consists of a spacious high plateau, ringed by longitudinal and even higher mountain ranges to the north and south. The central plateau contains Central Anatolia. The northern part of this ring may best be collectively called the northern Anatolian border mountains; the southern section is formed by the Taurus system. Central Anatolia is ringed off by hills to the east and west as well, where the northern and southern ranges come into contact. Thus there is the mountainous ridge of western Anatolia, with the Aegean coastlands lying beyond it. In the east, there are the chains of mountains of the upper Euphrates region and—as a sort of outpost of Anatolia—the high plateau of Mount Ararat.

As might be expected from the geographical position, the winter temperatures along the coast of Anatolia are mild, ranging from an average of over 5° C. on the Black Sea coast to over 8° C. on the southern coast during January. A large part of the country lies within the reach of the system of low atmospheric pressure which moves from west to east and influences the weather in western and central Europe throughout the year. Hence humidity in Anatolia is comparatively high during the winter. In summer, the coastal areas become oppressively hot, with average temperatures for July and August of 22° in the north and over 27° C. in the south. Northern winds prevail and bring a dryness, typical of the mediterranean climate, to the west and south coast in summer, whilst, coming from the sea, they bring rainfall even in summer to the northern coast. On the south and west coast, natural vegetation is largely of the evergreen variety common in mediterranean countries. In many places it has been made into arable land, whilst the rest has deteriorated into shrubs and sparse grazing ground. More luxuriant vegetation appears along the northern coast, which is more humid in the summer and where plants which need more water grow in woods, bushes and cultivated fields.

The border mountains naturally have colder —in parts extremely cold—winters, their summers are less hot, and the humidity is higher than along the coast. The sides of the mountains are naturally wooded. In the case of the western, southern, and eastern rims, these woods consist largely of "dry forest", particularly oak and coniferous trees. Many of them had to be sacrificed in the drive for arable and grazing land. In the northern mountain chains nearer the coast, "damp forest" prevails, in which the beech and the pine play a large part in the higher regions. "Dry forest" replaces "damp forest" even in northern Anatolia on the inner mountain ranges, owing to the decreased humidity. "Damp forest" has great resilience and is therefore less threatened by human activity.

The central Anatolian plateau—ringed by its border mountains—is cold in winter, with average temperatures for January below freezing point, whilst it is very hot in the summer, the July/August average reaching 24° C. Since there is considerably less rainfall here than there is in the coastal areas and their mountains, it is a steppe. Despite erroneous information on some maps, there are no stretches of desert in central Anatolia. Even in the driest districts it is possible to grow barley and wheat without artificial irrigation, relying solely on natural rainfall, with moderate success.

There are steppes on the southern edge of the eastern Taurus where Anatolia and Mesopotamia meet. Although they are not much above sea level, they are a long way from the sea, and as a result winters are less mild and less humid than along the mediterranean coast, and summers very hot and dry.

The Northern Anatolian border mountains. The range of north Anatolian border mountains (often known as the Pontic Mountains in Europe) consists of comparatively straight parallel mountain ranges from 1200 m. to 1500 m. in height, often rising to over 2000 m. These are fairly broad and some have plateaux. To the east, in the so-called Zigana mountains (called after the Zigana pass south of Trabzon) there is a long stretch over 3000 m. in height, and here one finds alpine formations. The mountains are made up largely of slate, sandstone, marl, volcanic stone, and crystalline substances. In the west one can trace—through the mountains south of the Sea of Marmara—a relation to the inner Dinaric mountain ranges of the Balkan peninsula. In the east, the southern Caucasus mountains form the link with the northern Iranian mountain ranges.

On the plateaux of the naturally wooded northern Anatolian mountain ranges, especially in the middle part, woodland has been turned into arable land up to a height of 1500 m. Growing of grain and raising of sheep and goats (in the east also cattle) form its economic basis. The long spacious valleys between the ridges, where hot summers and the presence of water make agriculture possible, are the main areas of settlement. Of these the most important is the row of basins of Bolu-Gerede-Čerkesh-Ilgaz-Tosya

in the eastern part of the ancient Bithynia, the basin area of Safranbolu-Ḳastamonu-Boyabat, the centre of the ancient Paphlagonia, and, in the regions of the ancient Pontus, the basins on the upper Yes̲h̲il Irmaḳ (Iris) around Amasya, Zile and Toḳat, and in the east, the Kelkit-Čoruh furrow which is over 500 km. long.

On the north coast, mountains rise steeply out of the Black Sea; there are few bays. The coastal strip is very narrow and much cut up by valleys; it is densely populated, especially in the east, and maize, beans, and particularly hazelnuts are grown around Giresun [*q.v.*] (Cerasus), Ṭarabzun [*q.v.*] (Trapezus, Trebizond, modern Trabzon), and Rize [*q.v.*] The only larger flats are in the deltas of the rivers Yes̲h̲il Irmaḳ [*q.v.*] (Iris) and the Ḳîzîl Irmaḳ [*q.v.*] (Halys), but these are partly swamp. The more fertile soil produces excellent tobacco. The peninsula of Kod̲j̲a-eli [*q.v.*] and the Thracian peninsula are flat, and the plains of Adapazarî [*q.v.*] on the lower Saḳarya (Sangarius) are very fertile.

A part from the Bosporus, there is only one harbour which is protected against the north-westerly gales of the Black Sea, and that is Sinob [*q.v.*] which, however, because of its unfavourable hinterland, is at present of little importance. Samsun [*q.v.*] (Amisus) has the best access—both rail and road—to central Anatolia. The coal-mining and industrial areas of Zonguldaḳ [*q.v.*] and Eregli [*q.v.*] (Heraclea Pontica) are now being greatly developed. In the past, the silver, lead, and copper mines in the Zigana mountains were of some importance (Gümüs̲h̲-k̲h̲āne [*q.v.*], Murgul near Borčka, and others).

The subsidence of land which has created the Aegean between Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula, has also affected the northern Anatolian mountain ranges in the Marmara region. As a result, there are hilly districts and plains around the Sea of Marmara (the basin of which is only deep in parts). These have a very favourable mediterranean climate. Silkworm is cultivated near Bursa [*q.v.*] (Brusa), and wine produced around Tekir Dag̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (Rodosto). Owing to its unique geographical position, the city of Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul [*q.v.*] grew up and retained its importance for thousands of years. Situated on the bridge between Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula, the most important times of the city were naturally those in which it played the rôle of the natural capital of an empire stretching over both areas. Yet even today, it is Turkey's gate to the world and her principal import harbour. The straits here are obviously not a borderline of continents or cultures. Such a boundary might rather be found in the sparcely populated steppes and heather regions in eastern Thrace.

The Taurus (Toros) System. On the whole, the Taurus system in southern Anatolia is considerably higher than the northern Anatolian border ranges. For long stretches, the mountain chains and broad waves of elevations rise to more than 2000 m. and at times to more than 3000 m. To the south-east of Lake Van (Wān) there are even heights up to 4176 m. in the ice-covered D̲j̲ilo Dag̲h̲. Limestone predominates in these mountains. The mountain ranges are often strongly bow-shaped, thereby making clear sections. To the west of the Gulf of Antalya (Adalia, Attalia) the mighty ranges of limestone mountains of the Western Taurus—the highest of which are sometimes referred to as Lycian Taurus—point outwards in a S and SW direction towards the sea and towards Rhodes, Crete and the outer fringes of the Dinaric Mountains of the Balkan peninsula. Between the Gulf of Antalya and the Adana plain stretches the mighty arc of the Central Taurus. The name Cilician Taurus, which often occurs, refers to its better known eastern wing. The Taurus system continues in two parallel chains to the east of the Gulf of Alexandretta. An outer chain stretches from the Amanus Mountains to the chains south of Lake Van by way of the chains south of Malatya and south of the Murād River. An inner chain—the western section of which is sometimes called Anti-Taurus (a name given with little justification)—runs from the ridges of the upper Seyhan region north of Adana to the Urmiya area by way of the chains south of the upper Euphrates (Ḳara Su) and the upper Aras (Araxes). Between these two there are a number of basins, those of Elbistan, of Malatya-Elaziğ (Elaziz, K̲h̲arpūt), of Čapakčur, Mus̲h̲ and Van. This whole mountain sytem is best called the Eastern Taurus. (In earlier works, nomenclature varied: in addition to Anti-Taurus, other names for parts of the system were employed, such as Armenian Taurus and Kurdish Taurus, without determining the precise use of each). The above-mentioned row of basins separates the chains of the inner from those of the outer Taurus. Thus, seen as a whole, the eastern Taurus system (with these two ranges) describes an arc towards the north, and its southern end merges into the southern Iranian border ranges.

There are considerable longitudinal basins between the mountain ranges in the Western and the western part of the Central Taurus. Several of them contain lakes, the famous lakes of the old districts of Pisidia and Isauria. These basins are the main centres of habitation. In some places there are valuable special cultures, as for instance near Isparta [*q.v.*] and Burdur [*q.v.*]. The limestone mountains are thinly populated because of the scarcity of water. Grazing ground of a poor quality—used by goats and sheep in summer—has largely replaced the former "dry forest". Habitation in the Central Taurus, which is really one large massif, is restricted to the few narrow valleys. Here, too, the higher regions serve chiefly as grazing ground (*yayla*) for sheep and goats in summer. The eastern Taurus, which, as we have seen, stretches out more broadly, has a larger area in its basins which could be inhabited, but at present they are only thinly populated. As far as rainfall—which decreases with the distance from the mountains—permits agriculture exclusively based on rain water, habitation is also possible in the as yet thinly populated southern foothills of the eastern Taurus. It is possible in the vicinity of the ancient centres of Diyarbakîr (Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*] Diyarbekir, Āmid), Urfa [see AL-RUHĀ] (Edessa), Gaziantep (ʿAynṭāb [*q.v.*]), Ḥalab [*q.v.*] (Aleppo), but not much further to the south. The most propitious area of these eastern foothills is the Hatay [*q.v.*] in the west around Anṭāḳiya [*q.v.*] (Antioch), where the nearby Mediterranean makes the growing of citrus fruits and other mediterranean crops possible.

On the whole, the coastal strip of the Taurus offers only a narrow stretch of alluvial land and few hills which invite habitation. These few make possible the cultivation of mediterranean plants, and in parts of citrus plants. There is, however, danger from malaria. Generally we find limestone mountains (with little water) rising at a small distance from the sea. The only really large arable area is the Adana [*q.v.*] plain—in which also Ṭarsūs [*q.v.*] lies—the Cilician plain of antiquity, formed by deposits from the rivers Sayḥān [*q.v.*] (Saros) and D̲j̲ayḥān [*q.v.*] (Pyramos). In recent years cotton growing in this

area has increased considerably. The tufaceous limestone plain of Antalya [*q.v.*] with sheer drops of 30 m. to the sea, is less favourable.

Anatolia's southern coast—in as much as it is a longitudinal one—has no protected landing places for larger ships. Iskandarūn [*q.v.*] (Alexandretta) and Mersīn [*q.v.*] have some importance as harbours of the Adana plain and the Hatay and as the harbours for shipping the chromium ore of the eastern Taurus. This part is played more to the west by the small harbour of Fetḥiyye for the western Taurus.

Aegean Anatolia (Ege region). The areas between the two bordering mountain systems show less relief. There are several distinguishable units. In the west, there is Aegean Anatolia, in modern Turkish called the "Ege region", between the southern Marmara mountains in the north, and the western Taurus in the south, which corresponds roughly to the area of Ionian colonisation of the ancient Greeks. Here the broad valleys of the Bakîr Čay (Caicus), Gediz (Hermus), the greater and lesser Menderes (Kayster, Maeander), penetrate to a depth of 200 km. into the peninsula, in an area of crystalline rocks (called Lydian-Carian rock by Philippson) between the mountain peaks running from west to east at heights between 1000 m. and 2000 m. Thanks to these valleys, the mediterranean climate can penetrate deeply into the country. This area is densely populated. Tobacco, olives, figs, and grapes —largely dried for raisins—are grown here. More recently, cotton growing has gained some importance.

The coast, running at right angles to the mountain ranges, has many bays, coves and good natural harbours. The larger rivers, however, carry a great deal of sediment and gradually fill in the bays. Ephesus and Miletus, which were harbours in antiquity, are today several kilometres inland, and the otherwise excellent harbour of Izmir (Smyrna) is only saved from being filled up by diversion of the river Gediz Čay. Izmir [*q.v.*] is linked by railway to all the above mentioned valleys, and has thus become the economical centre of the region and the principal harbour for exporting the agricultural produce of Turkey. Bergama [*q.v.*] (Pergamum), Manisa [*q.v.*] (Magnesia), Tire [*q.v.*] Aydîn [*q.v.*] (Güzel Ḥiṣār) and Denizli [*q.v.*] are local centres of this area.

The Western Anatolian Ridge. Where in the east the valleys of Aegean Anatolia come to an end, a huge ridge rises between the re-entrant angle of the Taurus system on the one hand, and the southern border chains of the sea of Marmara on the other hand, in the area around Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār-Kütahya-Ushaḳ. This is formed by huge plateaux which reach a height of 1200 m. to 1500 m. Massive ranges rise above these which frequently exceed 2000 m. There is a gradual decline in height to 1100 m towards the northeast and the upper Saḳarya (Sangarius). This large rise is the western Anatolian ridge. The plateaux consist largely of flat tertiary deposits of clay and sand which had once risen and were later cut into by the valleys we see today. They are steppes. Only the higher mountains reach the natural tree-line, but most of the woods have been cut down.

The growing of grain and the raising of sheep and goats form the livelihood of the scanty population. Several roads and railways lead to the inland plateau on the one hand and branch off near Afyun Ḳara Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] (Afyonkarahisar) to the basins in the western Taurus, to the lowlands of the Ege region and to the Sea of Marmara on the other.

Central Anatolia. The inland plateau of central Anatolia comprises large stretches of flat country at a height of 800 m. to 1200 m. These were formed by recent sedimentation in the bottoms of the landlocked basins of Ḳonya (Iconium), such as the Tuz Gölü ("salt lake"), a huge flat salt pan at a height of 900 m. often erroneously marked down as Tuz Čölü ("salt desert") on our maps. They also exist on the upper Saḳarya and in certain places on the Ḳîzîl Îrmaḳ. There are also other broad plateaux of horizontal new tertiary deposits, and flat plains over creased subsoil.

Mountains of considerable height are, however, also found in central Anatolia. They rise from 500 m. to 1500 m. above the surrounding plateaux. There are some gigantic recent volcanoes which are, however, not active at present, such as the Erdjiyas Dagh [*q.v.*] (3916 m.), the Argaeus of antiquity, near Ḳayseri, and the Ḥasan Dagh (3258 m.) near Nigde.

The mountains are of vital importance to human existence. In dry central Anatolia, surrounded by high mountains, the lowest areas are the driest, while the high mountains catch the rain. Hence the most favourable regions for settlement are, on the one hand, on the highest plateaus, such as for instance in the area of the bend of the Ḳîzîl Îrmaḳ, in the Cappadocia of antiquity, and on the other hand at the foot of the surrounding mountains, where fast rivulets come forth. Most of the important towns are in the latter of these two positions, such as Anḳara [*q.v.*] (Ancyra, Angora), Eski Shehir [*q.v.*], Ḳonya [*q.v.*] (Iconium), Nigde [*q.v.*] Ḳayseri [*q.v.*] (Caesarea), and Sivas [*q.v.*] (Sebastia). All these have—or had—land that can easily be irrigated. There is little population in the steppes, where the basis of livelihood is the growing of wheat and barley and the raising of sheep and angora goats, although thanks to recent mechanisation the cultivated areas have been increased and improved; there is least of all in the particularly dry basin of the Tuz Gölü and of Ḳonya, the Lycaonia of antiquity, with a great deal of "Artemisian steppe".

Traffic is easier through the central plateau than through the mountainous borders. For this reason this plateau, which has always been the centre of Anatolia, has become even more important since the capital shifted to Ankara and the road and rail network of Turkey was extended.

The upper Euphrates area and the Ararat highlands. Geographically, the eastern limit of Anatolia is to be found on the upper Euphrates, where the mountain chains of the northern Anatolian border mountains and the eastern Taurus are joined by the rising of new mountains between the two systems. In this region of mighty chains of high mountains, where peaks generally exceed an altitude of 2500 m. (often 3000 m.), the scanty population is found only in the valleys, more especially in the longitudinal ones. Along these, too, run the roads from Anatolia to Ādharbaydjān and Iran. The rôle of the towns of Erzindjān [*q.v.*] and Erzurum [*q.v.*] (Erzerum) has always been to guard these roads.

The eastern Taurus on the one hand, and the northern Anatolian border mountains on the other, divide again east of the meridian of Erzurum, thus forming a highland which, at 1500 m. to 1700 m., is an even higher basin than that of Central Anatolia. There are considerable volcanic deposits of recent formation over a creased basis. Huge recent (at present inactive) volcanoes, such as Ararat (Aghrî-dagh [*q.v.*]) (5172 m.), Alagöz Dagh (4094 m.),

Sübḥān Dagh (4434 m.) rise above the highlands, and in places, such as at lake Van, have led to a damming up of basins.

This rough highland with low winter temperatures is used chiefly for grazing, since somewhat more favourable conditions for agriculture and habitation exist only in the comparatively small basins. It is generally known as Armenia. Historical events have resulted in the fact that there have been no Armenians living there for a generation. The scanty population speaks either Turkish or Kurdish. Thus it seems appropriate to give this eastern border region of Turkey—which is actually outside the geographical Anatolia—the name of the Ararat Highlands. This name would be neutral, yet geographically characteristic.

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(H. Louis)

(iii) HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF TURKISH ANATOLIA

(1) *The conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, first phase, and the state of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm.*

The main part of Anatolia remained untouched by the conquests of the Muslim Arabs. The boundaries of the Byzantine empire remained: in the north-east, the Christian states of Armenia and Georgia; to the south of these, Ḳālīḳalā (formerly Theodosiopolis, then Arzan al-Rūm, Erzurum) and —at times—Kamākh were the furthest outposts of the empire of the caliphs; thence the Taurus, the "land of the passes" (*bilād al-durūb*), formed the boundary as far as the Mediterranean. Although frequent raids into Byzantine territory were made, the Arabs never occupied the land. These border regions, comprising the outermost parts of Northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, were the "military area of the protecting fortresses" (*djund al-ʿawāṣim*, or simply *al-ʿawāṣim*, [*q.v.*]); Manbidj or Antāḳiya (Antioch) was the capital of this region, whilst the armed fortresses of the "Syrian marches" (*thughūr al-Shaʾm*) with Ṭarsūs as its centre, and the "Mesopotamian marches" (*thughūr al-Djazira*) with Malaṭiya (Melitene) as their centre, formed the outer border. In the changing fortunes of the war between Byzantines and Arabs, these border areas suffered greatly, but they remained, on the whole, in the possession of the Arabs. Not until the conquests of the great emperors Nicephorus II Phocas (963-69), John Tzimiskes (969-76), and Basil II (976-1025) did these areas return to Byzantine ownership. At the time of the death of the last of these three, the whole of the territory of Turkey as we know it today, with the exception of Amida (Diyār Bakr) and its surroundings, was Byzantine (compare E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935). Then, however, the rivalries between the military nobility and the nobility of civil servants began in Byzantium. These, particularly when the latter were in power, led to a weakening along the borders.

The Turkish conquerors of the house of Saldjūḳ found the Byzantine borders in one of these weak periods, when, after conquering the whole of the Middle East, they sent their Turkish warriors against the frontier, in order to fight the holy war (*djihād*). They did, in fact, achieve several breaks through into Byzantine Anatolia (456/1064 conquest of Ānī in the Byzantine-Armenian border area, laying waste Cilicia and storming Caesarea (Ḳaysariyya). After the death of emperor Constantine X Ducas, a champion of the civilian nobility (May 1067), Romanus IV Diogenes, a member of the military nobility, was raised to the throne on the battlefield (1 Jan. 1068) because of the desperate position which had arisen. To begin with, he fought the Turks successfully, so that the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan was obliged to go against him in person. The numerically superior Byzantine army was routed by Alp Arslan near Mantzikert (Malāzgird) in the vicinity of Lake Van, (463/19 August 1071) because of lack of discipline among the mercenaries and treachery by the opponents of the emperor. The emperor was captured, but he was freed by the sultan after a lenient treaty had been concluded. The defeat, however, caused a revolution in Constantinople, which brought the opposing party to power. Romanus IV lost his throne and was blinded. He died soon afterwards (summer 1072).

With the fall of the Emperor Romanus, the treaties between him and Alp Arslan became void, and the Turks renewed the holy war against Byzantium. This was fought not by regular Saldjūḳ troops, but by individual leaders, the most successful of whom was Malik Dānishmand [*q.v.*] Aḥmad Ghāzī who operated in north-eastern Anatolia. Bands of Turkish warriors roamed the countryside and interrupted communications between towns, paralysing Byzantine administration. Eventually the successor of Alp Arslan, sultan Malikshāh (since 465/1072), despatched a member of the house of Saldjūḳ, Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumish, to lead the Turkish cavalry in Anatolia in the war being waged against Byzantium. His task was facilitated by the existing confusion over the succession to the throne in Byzantium. Emperor Michael VII Ducas and—after his abdication (1078)—Nicephorus III Botaniates, obtained Sulaymān's assistance to gain their aims. On their

part, they had to recognise his rights to those parts of the country which the Turks had occupied, and to hand over the recently conquered cities of Cyzicus and Nicaea (1081). Sulaymān established his headquarters in Nicaea (Turkish Iẓnik). The Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, who began his reign in 1081, confirmed Sulaymān's rights to settle his Turkish troops in the occupied territory, whilst nominally retaining Byzantine suzerainty. In actual fact, Sulaymān ruled over practically the whole of Anatolia through his troops which roamed the country. Byzantine administration was virtually superseded.

After his successes in Anatolia, Sulaymān turned to the east, to extend his rule in this direction. He did succeed in capturing Antioch (Anṭāḳiya), which was still Byzantine, but met with heavy opposition from the Saldjūḳ *amirs*, especially from Tutush, the brother of Malikshāh, when advancing towards Aleppo. He was beaten and fell in battle (1086).

In the meantime, Turkish bands fighting the holy war in Ādharbaydjān had conquered the Christian kingdom of the Bagratids in Armenia (473/1080). Following this, the Bagratid Ruben and his faithful followers founded a new state in Cilicia, known as the kingdom of "Lesser Armenia". It survived until the 14th century (1375) under his successors, the Rubenids. [See sīs.]

After the death of Sulaymān, Anatolia was left to its own devices for some time. Other Turkish leaders settled in the country together with their troops and founded dominions there: the aforementioned Malik Dānishmand Aḥmad Ghāzī in the north-east, with Sebastia (Sivas) as headquarters; the *amir* Mengüdjek [*q.v.*] Ghāzī with Tephrike (Divrigi) and Erzindjān; and in the west, in Smyrna, a certain *amir* called Tzachas by the Byzantines. Only after the death of sultan Malikshāh (1092) did his successor, Barkiyāruḳ, permit the son of Sulaymān, Ḳílídj Arslan, to return to Anatolia, but he found it difficult to establish himself among the Turkish princes. Tzachas, who was advancing against Constantinople by sea, was repelled with Byzantine aid.

At the beginning of the first crusade, the allied Byzantines and crusaders gained a victory over the Turks under Ḳílídj Arslan and Malik Dānishmand (or his son, Ghāzī Gümüshtegin) near Nicaea. The Turkish headquarters at Nicaea was besieged and taken on 20 June 1097. On 1 July 1097, the victory of the crusaders near Dorylaeum, near the Eskishehir of today, decided the fate of western Anatolia and opened the way for the crusaders through the rest of the Turkish territories. They reached Antioch, which was taken after a long siege (3 June 1098). Here the principality of Antioch, the first crusader state, was founded under the suzerainty of Byzantium. The county of Edessa (today Urfa), in Mesopotamia, was founded in the same year. After these successes by the crusaders, the Emperor Alexius found little difficulty in driving the Turks from western Anatolia and in re-incorporating this area into the Byzantine empire. He also re-inforced the border—running straight through the middle of Anatolia—against the region remaining under Turkish occupation. This, for the time being, checked the Turkish conquests.

After this set-back, the area of Turkish conquest remained limited to central Anatolia for over a century. The whole of the west (roughly from Dorylaeum), and the Black Sea and Mediterranean coasts remained in Byzantine possession, Cilicia became the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, and the regions of Antioch and Edessa formed the afore-mentioned crusader states. Āmid (Diyār Bakr) was the seat of the *atabeg* dynasty of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*]. Later (1144), Edessa was conquered by the *atabeg* Zengī of Mosul; later still (1268), Antioch was taken by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars. Ḳílídj Arslan had to share the centre of the country, occupied by Turks, with Malik Dānishmand, or his son, and Mengüdjek. The former retained the steppe in Central Anatolia, with Ḳonya—the Iconium of antiquity—as his capital; the latter retained the mountainous north-east with Sivas and Erzindjān respectively. There was a heated quarrel over some places, especially Melitene (Malaṭya), which Ḳílídj Arslan eventually managed to decide in his own favour (1104 or 1106). Ḳílídj Arslan failed, however, in his attempt to make conquests further to the east, in Mesopotamia (Mosul). He was beaten by the confederated Saldjūḳ *amirs* on the banks of the Khābūr, and died during the retreat (9 Shawwāl 500/3 June 1107). Concerning events at this period, see also Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, *Byzantion*, 1946, 5-67).

Thus the Rūm Saldjūḳ state [see SALDJŪḲ] or the Sultanate of Iconium, as the crusaders called it, was a rather limited territory in the poorest part of Anatolia. The Rūm Saldjūḳs under Masʿūd I retained this area and, having beaten the crusaders of the second crusade in the second battle near Dorylaeum (26 Oct. 1147), forced them to continue their way through Byzantine instead of Turkish territory. The Rūm Saldjūḳ state was considerably extended when Ḳílídj Arslan II succeeded in incorporating the Dānishmandid state (1174), which he secured against the claims of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus by the victory in the Phrygian mountain passes, near Myriocephalon (pass of Čardaḳ, 17 Sept. 1176), in which he surrounded and routed the Byzantine army. The aged Sultan Ḳílídj Arslan II was involved in the disputes which arose after he had divided his land among his sons. Owing to this, the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa was able to take the route through Turkish Anatolia and even capture its capital Ḳonya (18 May 1190), but this had no lasting consequences, particularly as the emperor himself was drowned not long afterwards (10 June 1190) in the river Saleph (Calycadnus in antiquity, Göksu today).

The crusaders of the so-called fourth crusade conquered Constantinople (1204) and erected a Latin Empire there, at the instigation of the Doge Enrico Dandolo of Venice; the Byzantines, under Theodore Lascaris, founded a Greek Counter-Empire in western Anatolia with Nicaea for its capital; and the brothers David and Alexis, of the imperial house of the Comneni, had, with the help of Queen Thamar of Georgia, formed the empire of the so-called "Great Comneni" in Trebizond. The Rūm Saldjūḳ sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I, the youngest son of Ḳílídj Arslan II, succeeded in conquering Attalia (Adaliya, Anṭāliya), thereby gaining access to the Mediterranean for his kingdom (1207). He was not, however, successful in advancing further into western Anatolia. He was beaten by Theodor Laskaris near Honas, in 1210, and fell in battle (possibly in single combat with his adversary). Theodor Laskaris and his successors protected the eastern border of their Nicaean empire with a strong system of fortifications which, for the time being, made it impossible for the Turks to advance in that region. In 1214, Kaykhusraw's son and successor

ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus I, forced the emperor of Trebizond to cede Sinope (Sinob), and so the Rūm Saldjūḳ Kingdom also gained access to the Black Sea. This extension meant traffic with the outside world. Connections were made with the Italian trading republics, trade flourished and brought undreamed-of prosperity to the country. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād, the brother and successor of Kaykāwus, and the greatest of the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultans, extended the frontier of his empire on the mediterranean and took the fort of Galonoros (καλὸν ὄρος), which he expanded into a sizable harbour town, to which he gave the name ʿAlāʾiyya (now Alaya or Alanya), and where he had his winter residence. In the east, in upper Mesopotamia, he also won territory from the Artuḳids of Āmid and Ḥisn Kayfā and forced them to recognise his supremacy. In 625/1228, he annexed the Mengüdjek principality of Erzindjān, and in the east he also made further conquests (Erzerum 1230, Akhlāṭ 1231, Kharpūt 1234). Under his rule, Rūm Saldjūḳ culture and power reached their peak. His son and successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (acc. 634/1237) succeeded in incorporating Āmid into his empire, and at that time the eastern borders of the Rūm Saldjūḳ kingdom were roughly those of Turkey today.

(2) *The conquest of Anatolia, second phase, and the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire.*

Two things in the middle of the 13th century brought about a change of conditions. The first of these was the Mongol invasion of the Middle East, which also affected Anatolia. Although the Rūm Saldjūḳ army was defeated by the Mongols under Baydju Noyon near Köse Dagh in eastern Anatolia (6 Muḥarram 641/26 June 1243), there was no actual conquest of the Rūm Saldjūḳ Kingdom, but the Mongols advanced as far as Ḳaysariyya and did much plundering. The Kingdom grew more and more into the role of a vassal state of the Mongols, first of Bātū, the conqueror of eastern Europe, then of the Mongol rulers of Persia, the Ilkhāns. A new stream of Turkmens came to Anatolia with the Mongols, partly as their followers, partly because they had been driven by them from their original homes. They increased the partly-nomad Turkmen element already present in Anatolia, and played an important part. Those of most immediate importance were the hordes led by Ḳaraman [*q.v.*] b. Nūra Ṣūfī (thus probably a member of a *darwish* family). He founded a state on the border of Lycaonia and Cilicia around Ermenik (the ancient Germanicopolis) in the Taurus foothills. In 1277, Ḳaraman's son, Muḥammad Beg, tried to gain the dominion over the Rūm Saldjūk kingdom by means of a pretender by name of Djimrī, and he conquered Ḳonya for his protégé. But the town was re-taken by a Mongol retaliatory expedition, and Muḥammad Beg had to retreat into the mountains with his Turkmens. Djimrī escaped to the north-west, but he was beaten by Saldjūḳ troops on the Saḳarya (Muḥarram 676/June 1277), taken prisoner, and executed.

The other important event was the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines under the Emperor Michael VII Palaeologus, and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. The power of the empire was, however, past. The emperors of the house of Palaeologus were increasingly engaged in the Balkan peninsula, and they had to ward off the covetousness of the Latins. The remaining strength of the empire was taken up with this. The emperors were unable to devote the necessary attention to conditions in Anatolia, and allowed the defensive system—built up by the Lascarids—to fall into decay. This made it easy for the Turkmen hordes which were pouring into Anatolia to pursue the holy war and to gain a hold on the western parts. These, with their greater fertility as compared with the inner region, had already tempted them. The Palaeologi were thus forced progressively to surrender their Anatolian territories, and the Turks—especially in the open country—met with hardly any resistance. By about 1300 most of western Anatolia was in Turkish hands, and there was now hardly a district in which there were no Turks among the non-Turkish inhabitants. Eventually, only a few fortresses (such as Prusa, Nicaea and Nicomedia in Bithynia; Sardes, Philadelphia and Magnesia in Lydia) and some ports (such as Smyrna and Phocaea on the Aegean and Heraclia on the Black Sea) remained in Byzantine possession, as isolated Byzantine possessions in Turkish territory.

The Turkish hordes generally operated independently of each other under their leaders who founded principalities (amīrates) in the conquered districts. We know little about their early history, although one gathers that there were quite a number of such small semi-nomadic states, of which some were of only ephemeral importance. By about 1300, a small number of principalities had emerged. The most powerful of these was, to begin with, Germiyān [*q.v.*] in Phrygia, with Kütāhiya (the ancient Cotyaeum) as its capital. According to al-ʿUmarī, the Turkish *amīrs* of western Anatolia paid tribute to the Germiyān at some periods, and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa they were feared by them. Temporarily they extended their power into central Anatolia, in 1300 as far as Ankara (according to an inscription). Incidentally, they do not seem to have been Turkmens originally, but possibly Yazīdī Kurds (compare Cahen, *Notes sur l'histoire des Turcomans d'Asie Mineure au XIII*ᵉ *siècle* in *JA*, 1951, 335-54; concerning the origin of the Germiyān, especially 349 ff.). A whole circle of principalities grew up around Germiyān and some of the founders of these seem to have come from Germiyān. The second greatest of these western Anatolian principalities at that time, was Djāndār [*q.v.*] in Paphlagonia, with Ḳasṭamoni (Castra Comneni, today Kastamonu) as its capital, and the harbour town of Sinob (Sinop, Sinope) also belonging to it. To the west of it, in northern Phrygia (around Eskishehir-Dorylaeum), was the principality of ʿOthmān with Sögüd as its centre. After the conquest of some fortresses there, it soon expanded as far as the Sea of Marmara. Still further west, in Mysia, was Ḳarasī [*q.v.*] with Balikesri (Palaeocastro) and Berghama (Pergamum), which included the coastal area of the Sea of Marmara as far as the Hellespont (Dardanelles). Next to this, in the Aegean coastal region, were Ṣarukhān [*q.v.*] in northern Lydia, with Maghnisa (Magnesia, now Manisa); Aydīn [*q.v.*] in southern Lydia and the hinterland of Smyrna with Tire; and Menteshe [*q.v.*] in Caria, with Milas (Mylasa) and Mughla. Lastly, in furthest south-western Anatolia, were Tekke [*q.v.*] in Lycia and Pamphylia with Adalia (Antalya), and Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] in Pisidia with Isbarta.

At about the same time, the Rūm Saldjūḳ state ceased to exist. For some time past, the importance of the reigning sultans had been replaced by that of the Mongol governors who resided in Sivas. After the death of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād III (707/1307 or 708/1308), the last of the shadow sultans, the empire simply became a province of

the Mongol Ilkhān Empire of Persia. By exploiting this condition, the Ḳaramans [*q.v.*] tried to extend their territory from their Taurus foothills; they succeeded in conquering the town of Laranda (now Karaman), which they made their capital. They did not, however, succeed in taking Ḳonya, as this was held by the Ilkhān governor Čōpān and his son Temürtash. The latter actually extended the domain of the Ilkhān Empire by conquests in the west, where he fought with the Turkish petty princes. In the twenties, unrest in the Ilkhān Empire spread to Anatolia (Temürtash fled to Egypt in 728/1328). The conquered territories were lost, and the Ḳaramans succeeded in capturing Ḳonya; but they kept Laranda as their capital. During the course of the 14th century, the Ḳaramans extended their rule westwards in southern Anatolia, and thereby came into contact with the Turkish states which were developing in western Anatolia.

With the continuing decay of the Ilkhān Empire, the Mongol governors declared themselves independent as *amīrs* (or sultans) of Rūm, and sought the support of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt. In 1375 the latter brought the kingdom of Lesser Armenia to an end, and a Turkmen dynasty, named Ramaḍān [*q.v.*], founded a new state in its Cilician territory soon afterwards, with Adana as capital, under Egyptian supremacy. Another family of Turkmens, the Dulghadir (Arabicised as Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*]) settled in the Eastern Taurus area including Elbistan, also under Egyptian supremacy.

In the west, the principality of Ghāzī ʿOthmān, and his descendants, the Ottomans [see ʿUTHMĀNLĪ], extended more and more at the expense of the remaining Byzantine territory. After northern Phrygia and the territory as far as the Sea of Marmara had become Ottoman, the towns of Prusa (Brusa, Bursa, 6 April 1326), Nicaea (Iznik, 2 March 1331) and Nicomedia (Iznikomid, now Izmit, 1337) fell into the hands of Orkhan, the son of ʿOthmān. Brusa became his capital. Turning quarrels over the succession in the neighbouring principality of Ḳarasī to his advantage, Orkhan annexed its territory (736/1336). Thus the whole southern coast of the Sea of Marmara became Ottoman territory, including the access to the Dardanelles. Acquisitions in Anatolia—usually peaceful ones—coincided with the conquests on the Balkan peninsula under Murād I. Soon after his accession (761/1360), he gained Ankara, which was nominally under the Mongol governors—and later under their successors the amīrs of Rūm (Sivas)—but governed in actual fact by the heads of the guilds forming the *akhī* [*q.v.*] union and practically independent. Some time later, he obtained the principality of Ḥamīd (783/1381), thereby extending Ottoman territory considerably to the east and south. Murād's son and successor Bāyezīd I simply annexed all Anatolian Turkmen principalities shortly after his accession (792/1389), including Ḳaraman and the territory of the Mongol governors. This, however, resulted in an attack by Tīmūr, and Bāyezīd I was beaten in the battle near Ankara (19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 804/20 July 1402). Tīmūr reinstated the deposed Anatolian rulers, and, apart from the original Ottoman territory, only the original Mongol territory in the northeast of Anatolia remained in Ottoman hands. From there, Meḥemmed I unified the empire once more, and under Murād II the western Anatolian principalities gradually merged with the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans' only remaining rival was Ḳaraman. Murād's son, Meḥemmed II, completed the rounding off of Ottoman territory in Anatolia after having given it a natural centre by conquering Constantinople (29 May 1453). He put an end to the empire of Trebizond in 1461, and to the principality of Ḳaraman in 1467, incorporating both into the Ottoman Empire. The attempt of the Turkmen ruler Uzun Ḥasan, of the House of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, to force Meḥemmed to cede the annexed provinces failed with the loss of the battle of Terdjān (east of Erzindjān, 878/1473). Ottoman rule in Anatolia was completed in the east when Meḥemmed's grandson, Selīm I (921/1515) incorporated the principality of Dulghadir into the empire and conquered Diyar Bakr, and when he reduced the principality of the Ramaḍānoghullarī (in Cilicia) to vassalage and gained the allegiance of the Sunnite Kurdish chieftains. In the north-east, his rule was further extended into the Caucasian foothills by campaigns of the Ottoman Sultans and their generals against Persia. These were generally directed towards the north-east (Süleymān, 940/1534, 955-56/1548-49, the *ser-ʿasker* Muṣṭafā Pasha, 986/1578, against Georgia, and Murād IV, 1045/1634, against Erivan). The whole of Anatolia henceforth remained undisputedly in Ottoman possession and has been taken over by the Turkish Republic in our day.

The only change in more recent years has been the transfer of the districts (*sandjaḳs*) of Kars, Ardahān and Batum which went to Russia in accordance with the Berlin Treaty of 13 July 1878, which in this respect confirmed the peace of San Stefano (3 March 1878). But the peace of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) returned this territory to Turkey. This was finally ratified (with the exception of the town of Batum and a small hinterland, today known as Adjaristān) by the USSR in the Treaty of Moscow (16 March 1921), and by the—then still nominally independent—Soviet Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān in the Treaty of Ḳarṣ (13 Oct. 1921) (cf. G. Jäschke, *Geschichte der russisch-türkischen Kaukasusgrenze*, *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 1953, 198-206). In the Franco-Turkish Treaty of 23 June 1939, Syria ceded the *sandjaḳ* of Iskandarūn to Turkey, and it was incorporated into her territory as the (63rd) *wilāyet* of Hatay.

(3) *Political division of Anatolia.*

The earlier Ottoman organisation. The Ottoman Empire extended so quickly that it soon became necessary to divide it up into political regions. In the beginning these were simply districts of the feudal cavalry, "standards" (*sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*] or *liwāʾ*) which were under a district commander of the "standard" (*sandjaḳ begi* or *mīr-liwāʾ*). Under Orkhan, the second Ottoman ruler, there were already four of these. (1) Sultan-üyügi [*q.v.*] which incorporated the original territory of the Ottomans around Eskishehir and Sögüd; (2) Khudāwendkār (eli) "the ruler's (land)", administered by the ruler himself, with Brusa and Iznik; (3) Ḳodja-eli [*q.v.*] the feudal tenure which Orkhan had bestowed upon his general Aḳče Ḳodja, the Bithynian peninsula with Izmid; and (4) Ḳarasī-eli [*q.v.*] the former principality of Ḳarasī, with Balikesri and Berghama. Under Murād I, when the empire extended still further after the conquests in the Balkan peninsula and further regions of Anatolia, Ottoman territories were united into one province on each side of the straits (*eyālet*, later *wilāyet*), each under a *pasha* with the title of *beglerbegi* (later *wālī*). Thus, to begin with, there were two provinces, with the names of Anatolia (Anaṭōlī, later pronounced

Anadolu) and Rumelia (Rūm-eli). Each of these was subdivided into districts of the feudal militia (*sandjak* or *liwā'*). When the Turkish principalities in Anatolia became part of the Ottoman Empire, they were made into such *sandjaks*, but retained their original names. The gradual growth of the empire is thus shown in its political divisions. Later on, when the Ottomans penetrated further to the east, under Bāyezīd I and particularly under Meḥemmed II and Selīm I, newly acquired areas no longer became *sandjaks* of the *eyālet* of Anadolu, but became provinces in their own right. Independent of this division into provinces and *sandjaks* was a separate division into judicial districts (*ḳaḍā*), each of which was under a judge (*ḳāḍī*). Furthermore, there were domains (*ḥükūmet*) ruled by local dynasties, direct vassals to the Sublime Porte. This whole system was finally fixed by the laws of Sultan Süleymān I Ḳānūnī. According to this, (cf. the printed edition of Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* ii, 249 ff. and P. A. v. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den muslimischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, 62 ff.), there were the following *eyālets* in Anatolia: (1) Adana (601, also mentioned as *sandjak* of Aleppo); (2) Anadolu (630; cf. also ANADOLU the following art.); (3) part of Čildir (408, later Akhiska in Transcaucasia); (4) Diyār Bakr (436); (5) Arzan-i Rūm (Erzerum, 422); (6) Ḳaramān (Ḳonya, 614); (7) Ḳarṣ (407); (8) Dhulḳadriyya (Mar'ash, 598); (9) Raḳḳa (Urfa, 443); (10) Sīwās (also simply called Rūm 622); (11) Ṭirabzon (Ṭarabzon, 429); (12) Wān (411); (13) from the *eyālet* of Ḥalab (Aleppo) the *sandjaks* Anṭāḳiya (595, the modern Hatay), Bīre (Biredjik, 597) and Kilis (598); (14) the western Anatolian *sandjaks* Bīghā (667), Ḳarasī (661) and Sughla (Izmir, 667), and the areas of Ičel (Selefke) and Alaya with the island of Ḳubrus (Cyprus) on the south coast, which were under the Ḳapudān Pasha. [See individual articles for each of the preceding.]

Basically, this division was adhered to until the beginning of the 19th century, although, at times of weak central governments, some local *pashas* rose and attempted to extend their rule beyond their original provinces. Such governors who acquired independent power and founded dynasties were known as "Princes of the Valleys" (*dere begi* [*q.v.*]). They were no longer civil servants, but vassals of the Sublime Porte, and—reluctantly—recognised as such, contributed troops to the sultan. Because they had an interest in the prosperity of their regions, their rule was generally a beneficial one, whilst the governors sent from the Porte changed frequently, and their main interest was to amass wealth for themselves as quickly as possible. The 18th century in particular saw the development of several such dominions in Anatolia, e.g. that of the Ḳara 'Othman in the Aegean region, and that of the Čapan (or Čapar) in the area of the middle Ḳizil Irmaḳ (Halys).

Tanẓīmāt. In the course of his reforms, Maḥmūd II abolished the dominions of the *derebeys*. During the subsequent times of reform (*tanẓīmāt*), a new division of the empire on European lines was made by the law of 7 Djumādā II 1281/8 Nov. 1864. Now there were provinces (*wilāyet*), administrative areas (*sandjak*) and districts (*ḳaḍā*); many of the old *sandjaks*, especially those of the *eyālet* of Anadolu—later (1875) also those of the *eyālet* of Erzerum—were raised to the status of *wilāyets* and then subdivided into smaller *sandjaks*. Some other *eyālets* of smaller size were assigned to a *wilāyet* as *sandjaks*. After some vacillation, Anatolia consisted of the following *wilāyets* (according to Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890): (1) Adana; (2) Anḳara, (3) Aydin (Smyrna/Izmir); (4) Bitlīs; (5) Diyār Bakr; (6) Erzerūm; (7) the *sandjaks* of Mar'ash and Urfa of the *wilāyet* of Ḥalab (Aleppo), as well as some *ḳaḍās*; (8) some *ḳaḍās* and *nāḥiyes* of the *wilāyet* of Istanbul; (9) Ḳasṭamūnī; (10) Khudāwendigār (Brusa); (11) Ḳonya; (12) Ma'mūret al-'Azīz (Kharpūt, since 1880); (13) Sīwās; (14) Ṭirābizōn; (15) Van; and the two independent *sandjaks*; (16) Bīghā; (17) Izmīd. [Articles on each of the preceding.] This division was kept—with some alterations—until after the First World War.

Under the Turkish Republic, the *wilāyets* were abolished, and *sandjaks* were raised to *wilāyets*. These were called *il* in the course of the language reform. Their number varied. On 20 October 1935, there were only 57 *wilāyets*, at the end of 1935, a further 5 were formed (from the districts, *ḳaḍā*, now *ilče*, of the neighbouring *wilāyets*); in 1939, Hatay was added (ceded by the French mandate of Syria, see above) as the 63rd. (The 63 provinces of January 1st 1940 with their districts at that time are enumerated by G. Jäschke, *Türkei*, Berlin 1941, 22-4). In 1953 Uşak was added as the 64th *wilāyet*. On January 4th 1954 the overall area of the Turkish state consisted of 64 provinces (of which only 4 are in the European part of Turkey, the other 60 in Anatolia) and 523 districts. Of the Anatolian provinces, however, Çanakkale is partly on European ground; the province of Istanbul, on the other hand, is mainly in Europe.

Geographically the provinces are grouped into the following 8 zones (*bölge*) (the names in the modern spelling): (1) the Black Sea Coast: the provinces of Trabzon, Ordu, Rize, Zonguldak, Giresun, Samsun, Sinob, Kastamonu, Bolu, Çoruh; (2) the coast of the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea: the Asiatic parts of the provinces of Istanbul (districts Üsküdar, Kadiköy, Beykoz, Adalar, Kartal, Şile, Yalova) and Çanakkale (districts Çanakkale, Ayvacik, Biğa, Bayramiç, Bozcaada, Ezine, Lapseki, Yenice), and the provinces Izmir, Kocaeli (Izmit), Aydin, Balikesir, Bursa, Manisa, Muğla; (3) the Mediterranean coast, the provinces of Hatay (Iskenderun), Seyhan (Adana), Içel (Selefke), Antalya; (4) European Turkey: the European provinces of Istanbul, (districts Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Sariyer, Fatih, Eyüp, Eminönü, Bakirköy, Çatalca, Silivri) and Çanakkale (districts Eceabat, Gelibolu, Imroz), and the provinces Kirklareli, Tekirdağ, Edirne; (5) western Anatolia: the provinces of Denizli, Bilecik, Kütahya, Afyonkarahisar, Isparta, Burdur, Eskişehir—and since 1953—Uşak; (6) central Anatolia, the provinces Tokat, Çorum, Amasya, Kayseri, Malatya, Ankara, Çankiri, Yozgat, Sivas, Maraş, Niğde, Kirşehir, Konya; (7) south-eastern Anatolia: the provinces Gaziantep, Mardin, Urfa; (8) eastern Anatolia: the provinces Kars, Elaziğ, Diyarbakir, Gümüşane, Erzurum, Erzincan, Siirt, Bitlis, Tunceli, Ağri Muş, Bingöl, Van, Hakâri.

(4) *Population*.

Turks and non-Turks. At the time of the Turkish conquest of Anatolia, it had already been Hellenised. The Hellenisation of the various old-Anatolian peoples (begun in Greek and Roman times) was completed during the course of Christianisation. Now, remnants of the old peoples (for example the Lazes), remain only in the mountains, especially those near the Caucasian foothills. Such areas are at the same time refuges in which ancient

religious communities, such as the Paulicians, survived as sects. By the time the Turks came, Anatolia was, however, on the whole Greek speaking and mainly adhered to the Byzantine Orthodox Church. Only the Armenians in the east, who were Monophysites (Gregorians), remained ecclesiastically apart from the Greeks and were not Hellenised. Being merchants, Armenians had probably spread towards the west as far as the capital, even in pre-Turkish times.

A new central-Asiatic race with a new religion, Islam, came to Anatolia with the Turks. In the beginning it may well have been a minority, compared with the Greeks, but, since it consisted of the ruling classes in the Turkish occupied territories, it succeeded in spreading. The reason for this was probably that many members of the old population, who had lost contact with their spiritual centre in Constantinople, felt this spiritual isolation, turned to Islam and were thereby assimilated to the Turks. Initially, this process was a very slow one. In any case, at the time when Marco Polo travelled through Anatolia in 1272, the inhabitants do not appear to have been Turkicised (cf. E. Oberhummer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig-Berlin 1917, 42). On the other hand, the documents of the Patriarchate of Constantinople prove clearly, as A. Wächter. (*Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1903) shows, that, especially in the 14th century, when increased numbers of Turks occupied Anatolia, the Orthodox Christianity gradually receded, and with it the land gradually lost its Greek character. This may be due, on the one hand, to emigration from the Turkish occupied areas, but on the other hand also to assimilation to the Turks. Here one must distinguish, however, between the regions with long established Greek inhabitants, such as the western Anatolian coastal regions, which held on to Greek culture and Christianity with great tenacity (as also did those areas which had been under Greek rule for a long time, like Trebizond), and the central Anatolian regions with their only superficially Hellenised and Christianised population (especially in northeastern Anatolia, where the Persian Mongols, the Ilkhāns—who themselves had only taken to Islam since Ghāzān—ruled for some time with the true ardour of renegades). Christianity in Anatolia was hard hit by Tīmūr, who—as everywhere else he appeared—let the Christian population feel his hardness and cruelty with a special severity.

The position of the Christians improved when Meḥemmed II granted the Greek Orthodox Church a secure position in the Ottoman state for political reasons after the conquest of Constantinople, and made it into a pillar of his empire side by side with Sunnite Islam. Thus the Christian communities, Greek [see RŪM] as well as Armenian [see ARMAN] in Anatolia were freed from their spiritual isolation, and hold their own until this day. The so-called system of the *millets* [*q.v.*] according to which non-Muslim religious communities within the Ottoman Empire enjoyed considerable autonomy, saved these from further shrinking. In this manner, a *modus vivendi* evolved during the flowering of this empire which did justice to both Muslims and non-Muslims. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a positive revival of Anatolian Hellenism, and Armenians were still referred to as "The faithful nation" (i.e. faithful to the state) (*millet-i ṣādiḳa*) in the 19th century. On the whole, linguistic and religious areas were identical, except in central Anatolia (in Ḳonya and Ḳayseri), where the Greeks adopted Turkish as the language of social intercourse and of the house (partly in Greek script), whilst the Armenians by and large accepted Turkish as the language of social intercourse (partly in Armenian script), whilst retaining Armenian—their ecclesiastical language—as the language spoken at home.

Apart from Turkish inhabitants, either city dwellers or peasants, there are—or were—nomad and semi-nomad elements as well as migrating shepherds in Anatolia, who belonged to Islam but were of differing languages and races: Turks, Kurds and Circassians. In the case of Turks (so-called Yürüks and Turkmens [*qq.v.*]), their origin is debatable: they may be Turkmens who kept to their nomadic way of life, or remnants of races of varying origin which became Turkicised. By religion they are mostly ʿAlawites, i.e. they confess to Shīʿism of some type or have at least Shīʿite leanings. The Kurds [*q.v.*] who are for the most part Sunnite Muslims, have a closed area of settlement in the south-eastern provinces. The Circassians (Čerkes [*q.v.*]), lastly, had mostly immigrated from the Caucasus at the time whem Russo-Christian rule spread over the Caucasus. Apart from these, one frequently meets returned Muslim emigrants (*muhādjirūn*) all over Turkey especially from the Balkan countries, who preferred to leave a country with a Christian government and to seek a new home in Turkey which belongs to the *dār al-islām*. Those people are, however, not nomads but are assimilated by the town or country area in which they settle.

The comparatively amicable relations between Muslims and non-Muslims deteriorated when the western powers began to meddle in the affairs of Turkey in the 19th century. On the grounds of the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja (1774), Russia claimed the protectorate over the Christian Orthodox inhabitants of Turkey, and awakened anti-Turkish feelings in them. Coming from western Europe, nationalism gained ground amongst the Christian part of the population. The Turkish reaction to this was a dislike for these Christians which soon became hatred. The Armenians felt this most strongly, since they, as neighbours of Russia, were particularly under the suspicion of being in Russian service. The insistance on effecting the reforms laid down in the Berlin Treaty (1878) led to bloody clashes with the Kurds in the years 1894-96. In the First World War, following an invasion by the Russian Caucasus army into the Van region, during which —according to Turkish opinion—the Armenian population behaved disloyally, the whole population was forcibly moved to Mesopotamia, and many of them perished. The remainder emigrated after the war. There was a war against the Greeks in 1919, when, supported by Great Britain, they occupied Smyrna and advanced as far as the Sakarya in 1921. The Turks under Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha beat the Greek army which retreated from Anatolia, and the greater part of the Greek population retreated with it. The remainder was exchanged by treaty (30 January 1923) for the Muslim inhabitants of Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace and the Greeks in Istanbul). Through this action Anatolia became a 90% Turkish and 99% Muslim country. With the exception of the Arabs living on the Syrian border, the small non-Turkish Muslim pockets will hardly be able to withstand Turkish influence indefinitely. One may also expect a gradual Turkicisation through military service and the influence of the schools among the Kurds, who have no cultural tradition of their own.

End of the 19th century. The statistics on p. 472 show the population of Anatolia during the last decade of the last century according to their religions, as given in the work of V. Cuinet (see Bibl.) on the basis of the imperial and provincial *sāl-nāmes*. As there was no official census in Turkey at that time, the numbers are largely based on estimates and only to a small extent on actual figures. Additional inaccuracies come from the fact that the principle on which these statistics were based was not consistent throughout the various *wilāyets*. For some of them we have detailed figures (in certain cases, even separate data for men and women), in others only summary ones. Thus, for example, the fact that Shīʿites and Yazīdīs are mentioned separately only in some *wilāyets*, does not necessarily mean that there were none in some others. The statistics may, nevertheless, serve to give at least a rough picture of the composition of the population of Anatolia before the First World War.

Abbreviations:
w = *wilāyet*, s = *sandjak*, k = *kaḍā*,
n = *nāḥiye*, i.s. = independent *sandjak*.

In the case of the administrative areas belonging to the *wilāyets* of Istanbul and Ḥalab (Aleppo), Ist. and Ḥal. respectively is added in brackets.

The proportion prevailing there (1 : 4) might also prove right for the other *wilāyets*.

Concerning the races, the statistics show clearly that at that time the Armenians (Gregorian, Catholic and Protestant Armenians together 1,142,775) were concentrated in some eastern *wilāyets* (Erzerum, Bitlīs and Sivas, to a lesser extent also in Van, Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz, Diyār Bakr and Adana), although even there they were a minority in comparison with the Muslim part of the population (Turks and Kurds). In the case of the Greeks, one must add to the Orthodox (1,042,612 — 25,890 Syrian Orthodox = 1,016,722 Greek Orthodox) the Uniates (16,811), who were included under Catholics in these statistics; their total was thus 1,033,533. They were concentrated in the districts belonging to the *wilāyet* of Istanbul, and in the *wilāyets* of Khudāwendigār, Aydīn (Izmir) and Trabzon, to a lesser extent in Sivas, Ḳonya, and Adana. They, also, were a minority everywhere compared with the Muslims (and in Sivas and Adana also as compared with the Armenians). It is more difficult to arrive at the racial composition of those elements of the population which are described as Muslims, because the statistics generally give merely a total figure. Only for some eastern *wilāyets* are the races for the Sunnite Muslims given as follows:

	Turks	Kurds	Arabs	Circassians	Total
w. Adana	93,200	39,600	12,000	13,200	158,000
w. Diyārbakr	310,644	—	8,000	10,000	328,644
Anat. districts of *w*. Ḥalab	177,048	119,588	123,536	4,500	424,672
w. Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz	267,616	54,650	—	—	322,366
w. Van	30,500	210,000	—	500	241,000
	879,008	424,138	143,536	27,500	

If one adds up the members of non-Islamic religions, then the composition of the population —according to religions—appears as follows for the time of Cuinet (actual figures and percentages):

Muslims	9,676,714 :	78.9 %
Non-Muslims	2,577,745 :	21.1 %
Total	12,254,459 :	100.00 %

Of the non-Muslims, 2,410,272 were Christians of various denominations.

These statistics show some peculiarities which need explanation. Particularly obvious is the high number of "Copts" (2,867), but only a very small number of these are actual Copts (i.e. Christian Egyptians); by Copts (Ḳibṭī), the Turks usually mean the non-Muslim gipsies. These "Copts" should therefore be added to the number of gipsies (2,867 + 37,752 = 40,619). The Column "foreigners' includes not only real "foreigners", (*edjnebī*) but also immigrated Ottoman citizens (*yabandjī*), whose home is not in the *wilāyet* in question. The two categories are mentioned separately only for the *wilāyet* of Erzerum (1,220 *edjnebī* + 4,986 *yabandjī* = 6,206).

One can only surmise to which race the occasionally separately mentioned members of Muslim sects (usually Shīʿites) belonged (total number 533,677). In Van and Bitlīs they are given as Yazīdīs (5,400 + 3,863 = 9,263), and in the case of Diyār Bakr it is stated that the figure 6,000 for members of different sects also includes Yazīdīs. We may assume that these were on the whole Kurds. Of the others, by far the greater part probably consisted of Shīʿite Turks, in Arab areas probably also Nuṣayrī Arabs. If one deducts the figures for Shīʿites and Yazīdīs as well as those of Arabs, Kurds and Circassians there remains the figure 8,537,863 for supposedly Sunnite Turks, which still contains small elements of Shīʿites, non-Turkish Sunnites, and also Lazes, and emigrants from former Ottoman provinces which had come under Christian rule (*muhādjir*). To the number of Arabs a considerable number of Christians of various denominations should be added as follows:

	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian United	Chald. United	United Maronites	Total
w. Adana	20,900	—	—	4,539	25,439
w. Diyārbakr.	4,990	—	—	—	4,990
w. Bitlīs	—	—	2,600	—	2,600
Anat. distr. of *w*. Halab	—	13,687	9,865	—	23,552
w. Van	—	—	6,002	—	6,002
Total	25,890	13,687	18,467	4,539	62,583

With the addition of the total of the non-Uniate Jacobites, Chaldaeans and Nestorians (168,706) one arrives at the total of 231,289 for Christian Arabs of differing denominations; of these, however, some Chaldaeans and Nestorians, as well as Uniate

	Muslims (* Shīʿites and Yazīdīs)	Greek and Syr. Orthodox	Armen. Gregorian	Armen. Catholic	Armen. Protest.	Other Catholics (Uniate and Latin)	Non-Uniate Jacobites Chaldaeans and Nestorians	Jews	«Copts»	Gypsies	Others (Foreigners)	Total
k. Adalar (Ist.)	2,990	5,010	1,300	300	—	903	—	—	—	—	—	10,503
w. Adana	158,000 *56,000	67,100	69,300	11,550	16,600	4,539	—	—	—	16,050	4,400	403,539
w. Anḳara	768,119	34,009	83,063	8,784	2,451	—	—	478	—	997	—	892,901
ḳ. Anṭākya (Ḥal.)	46,000	1,000	2,084	2,500	—	6,500	4,500	266	—	—	—	62,850
w. Aydïn (Izmir)	1,093,334	208,283	14,103	737	265	1,177	—	22,516	—	—	56,062	1,396,477
ḳ. ʿAyntāb (Ḥal.)	65,085	4,000	2,046	2,000	—	6,500	5,906	857	—	—	594	86,988
ḳ. Beyḳoz (Ist.)	5,444	2,150	1,900	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,494
i.s. Bïghā	106,583	17,585	1,636	—	60	92	—	2,988	—	—	494	129,438
w. Bitlïs	254,000 *3,863	210	125,600	3,840	1,950	2,600	6,190	—	372	—	—	398,625
w. Diyār Bakr	328,644 *6,000	14,240	57,890	10,170	11,069	206	38,974	1,269	—	3,000	—	471,462
w. Erzerum	500,782	3,725	120,273	12,022	2,672	—	—	6	16	—	6,206	645,702
ḳ. Gebze (Ist.)	14,000	5,100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150	19,250
w. Khudāwendigār (Brusa)	1,296,593	230,711	85,354	3,033	604	—	—	3,225	—	—	7,319	1,626,839
k. Iskenderūn (Ḥal.)	12,500	1,000	1,142	1,500	—	4,146	3,000	42	—	—	—	23,330
i.s. Izmid	129,715	40,795	46,308	390	1,937	—	—	2,500	—	1,115	—	222,760
n. Ḳādïköy (Ist.)	9,374	8,137	10,480	200	100	—	—	450	—	290	3,180	32,211
n. Ḳanlïdja (Ist.)	16,796	3,387	4,080	—	—	—	—	120	—	—	800	25,183
ḳ. Kartal (Ist.)	10,870	5,000	2,200	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	18,300
w. Kastamoni	992,679	21,507	2,617	30	—	—	—	—	2,079	—	—	1,018,912
ḳ. Kilis (Hal.)	73,520	1,000	1,547	1,300	—	2,774	3,000	747	—	—	—	83,888
w. Ḳonya	989,200	73,000	9,700	—	—	—	—	600	400	15,000	100	1,088,000
w. Maʿmūret al-ʿAzïz (Kharpūt)	322,366 *182,580	650	61,983	1,675	6,060	—	—	—	—	—	—	575,314
s. Marʿash (Ḥal.)	134,438	5,505	1,850	2,463	7,806	18,505	8,918	368	—	—	—	179,853
w. Sivas	559,680 *279,834	76,068	129,523	10,477	30,433	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,086,015
k. Shile (Ist.)	15,750	3,200	800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19,750
w. Ṭirabzon	806,700	193,000	44,100	2,300	800	400	—	400	—	—	—	1,047,700
s. Urfa (Ḥal.)	122,665	5,060	2,000	2,437	2,000	2,738	6,218	367	—	—	—	143,485
n. Üsküdar (Ist.)	71,210	12,180	15,800	250	250	—	—	5,100	—	700	200	105,690
w. Van	241,000 *5,400	—	79,000	708	290	6,002	92,000	5,000	—	600	—	430,000
Total	9,676,714 (9,143,037 + *533,677)	1,042,612	977,679	19,749	85,347	56,179	168,706	47,299	2,867	37,752	79,555	12,254,459

Chaldaeans have to be added to the Kurds. In these statistics, one may assume that the 2,675 Catholics not contained in the number of the Uniates were largely Latins, i.e. occidentals (missionaries etc.) with or without Ottoman nationality, who had not been included under the heading "foreigners".

Thus, for the time of Cuinet we have roughly the following picture of the ethnic composition of Anatolia:

	Sunnites	Shīʿites	Yazīdīs	Christians	Jews	unknown and foreigners	Total
Turks	8,547,863	462,414 ?	—	—	—	—	9,010,277
Kurds	424,138	?	9,263 ?	?	—	—	433,401
Arabs	143,536	62,000 ?	—	231,289 ?	—	—	436,825
Circassians	27,500	—	—	—	—	—	27,500
Greeks	—	—	—	1,033,533	—	—	1,033,533
Armenians	—	—	—	1,142,775	—	—	1,142,775
Jews	—	—	—	—	47,299	—	47,299
Gipsies	—	—	—	—	—	40,619	40,619
Unknown and foreigners	—	—	—	2,675	—	79,555	82,230
Total	9,143,037	524,414	9,263	2,410,272	47,299	120,174	12,254,459

H. Louis, *Die Bevölkerungskarte der Türkei*, Berlin 1940, bases his work on the publication of the census in Turkey in 1935. It can be seen from the map that the three most densely populated areas in Anatolia are the following: 1) the western Anatolian coastal strips together with the river valleys, leading into the interior, especially that of the Maeander (Büyük Menderes Čay), 2) the coastal area of the Black Sea, 3) Cilicia, the new *sandjak* of Hatay, and the plain towards the Euphrates, which, geographically, belongs to northern Syria; compared with this, the centre with its steppes and the mountainous north-east show the lowest density of population. The distribution is caused by the nature of the country, and has probably always been roughly the same—at least since the Middle Ages—and should remain so at any rate in the near future.

The figures for several official censuses for the Turkish Republic are already available: namely, those of 1927, 1935, 1940, 1945, and 1950, but the last of these is given as only "provisional" (*muvakkat*). The particular figures can be found in the individual articles on the capitals of the various *ils* (*wilāyets*) enumerated above, ch. 3, last paragraph.

The total for 1945 is 18,790,174 and 20,934,670 for 1950: 1,496,612 and 17,293,562 in European Turkey and Anatolia respectively in 1945; 1,598,255 and 19,336,415 in European Turkey and Anatolia respectively in 1950.

Definite figures for some towns exist for 1950. According to these, there are 5 towns of over 100,000 inhabitants: Istanbul (1,000,022), Ankara (286,781), Izmir (230,508), Adana (117,799), and Bursa (100,007); and the following 6 towns between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants: Eskişehir (88,459), Gaziantep (72,743), Kayseri (65,489), Konya (64,509), Erzurum (54,360), Sivas (52,269).

There are also figures for the distribution of the town and the country population for 1945 and 1950. The percentage rate, worked out for the purpose of this article, is:

	1945	1950
in towns:	4,687,102 : 25.06 %	5,267,695 : 25.16 %
in the country	14,103,072 : 74.94 %	15,666,975 : 74.84 %
	18,790,174 : 100.00 %	20,934,975 : 100.00 %

At Turkey's overall area of 767,119 sq. km., this produces a density of population of 24.49 per sq. km. in 1945 and 27 in 1950. The official percentage of town and country population (both as a whole and according to individual *wilāyets*) is only available for 1935. According to this, there were then 23.5% of the population in towns and 76.5% in the country. With these figures, one must bear in mind that according to the law of 1930, every place with a municipal government (*belediye teşkilatı*) counts as a town. Such a body is to be set up both in all places of more than 2,000 inhabitants and also (irrespective of this minimum figure) in all *ḳaḍā* centres, of which some have hardly 500 inhabitants. If judged by western standards, the proportion would alter in favour of the country population.

Figures for religious and linguistic divisions are only available for 1945 (*21 Ekim 1945 Genel Nüfus Sayimi, Recensement général de la population du 21 Octobre 1945, Türkiye Nüfusu, Population de la Turquie*, vol. 65, Ankara 1950). According to these, Turkey can be divided up linguistically as follows:

people with		
Turkish as mother-tongue	16,598,037 :	88.34%
a non-Turkish language as mother-tongue	2,192,006 :	11.66%
Unknown	131 :	
Total	18,790,174 :	100.00%

According to religions:

Islam	18,497,801 :	98.45%
non-Islamic religion	292,152 :	1.55%
unknown denomination	221 :	
Total	18,790,174 :	100.00%

Of the non-Muslims there were:

Christians.	202,044 :	69.16%
Jews	76,965 :	26.34%
Without religion	561 :	0.19%
Other denominations	12,582 :	4.31%
Total	292,152 :	100.00%

These rough statistics, when compared with those at the end of the last century as given by Cuinet, clearly show an enormous change which was caused by the events during and shortly after the First World War.

More detailed information can be gained from the following division into both categories which is reproduced here in shortened form.

mentioned under "other denominations"—with the exception of a few foreigners of unusual religious denominations—are largely Kurds (probably of extreme Shīʿite sects or Yazīdīs) who either do not count themselves members of Islam or are not recognised as such by the Sunnites and Moderate Shīʿites. Those giving Georgian as their mother-tongue are Lazes, and not real Georgians—who are

Language	Muslims	Catholics	Orthodox	Protestants	Gregorians	Christians of unknown denomination	Jews	Without religion	Others	Unknown	Total
Turkish	16,546,681	4,955	10,705	1,099	17,581	3,847	11,836	298	1,017	18	16,598,037
Kurdish	1,469,570	22	57	14	43	16	23	9	5,208	3	1,476,562
Arabic	235,668	964	7,071	657	92	617	1,027	1	1,517	3	247,204
Greek	9,898	4,546	73,083	6	177	460	290	2	80	3	88,680
Circassian	66,681	1	5	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	66,691
Armenian	3,396	2,295	2,880	979	42,019	4,301	124	40	136	9	56,179
Yiddish	602	22	57	14	43	16	50,216	5	42	2	51,019
Laz	46,979	2	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	46,987
Georgian	39,870	21	23	—	—	1	159	—	—	2	40,076
Other languages: Albanian, Bosnian, Judaeo-Spanish, Tartar etc.	78,447	11,214	19,951	2,342	305	10,712	13,286	196	4,582	181	118,608
Unknown	47	8	4	2	—	70	—	—	—	—	131
Total	18,497,801	21,950	103,839	5,213	60,260	10,782	76,965	561	12,582	221	18,790,174

With regard to the totals of the division into languages, the following facts stand out from the figures given for individual *wilāyets*, (the numbers are again given in round figures). The Kurdish speaking people live together densely in the south-eastern *wilāyets*, and form the large majority in the *wilāyets* of Ağrı (80,000), Bingöl (42,000), Bitlīs (43,000), Diyar Bakr (180,000), Hakâri (30,000), Mardin (155,000), Muş (53,000), Siirt (100,000), and Van (78,000). In Tunceli (48,000) and Urfa (123,000) they have a slight majority over the Turks (43,000 and 103,000), and in Elaziğ (82,000), Kars (66,000), and Malatya (141,000), they form a large minority. The Arabic speaking people are everywhere in the minority compared with the Kurds; 60,000 in Mardin compared with 155,000 Kurds, but in the majority compared with the Turks (15,000); 40,000 in Urfa compared with 123,000 Kurds and 105,000 Turks; 100,000 in Hatay, where the largest number of Arabs live, compared with 150,000 Turks. The smallest number of Turks is found in the *wilāyets* of Mardin and Siirt (in each ca. 15,000) and in Hakari (4,000). Greeks, Armenians and Jews (including ca. 10,000 who speak Judaeo-Spanish) live almost exclusively in Istanbul. There are also some 7000 Greeks in Çanakkale and some 12,000 Jews in Izmir; there are only extremely small groups elsewhere. Other small racial groups, such as the Circassians (most of these in the *wilāyet* of Kayseri), Lazes, and Georgians (both of these especially in the eastern Black Sea provinces), form a very small minority in all these places in comparison with the Turks.

The division into religions is also very informative. Above all, it is worth noting that all those religious groups which have Turkish as their mother-tongue have increased. In the case of Islam, no distinction is made between Sunnites and Shīʿites. But those

Christians—as can be seen clearly from the fact that most of them give Islam as their religion. The relatively high figure for Catholics and Protestants under "other languages" obviously refers to foreigners. The number of Jews under "other languages" includes the 10,866 who speak Judaeo-Spanish. The Gipsies, who in Cuinet's statistics were given with the rather large figure of 40,000, have disappeared altogether from the new statistics. As they do not speak a different language from that of the people amongst whom they live, nor profess a different religion, one may assume that they are present, unrecognised, in the various groups of the statistics.

(5) *Development of Communications.*

Being a thinly populated peninsula with steppes in the centre and few usable harbours, Anatolia has little traffic. Long distance traffic from Istanbul to the east mostly tries to bypass Anatolia, preferring to the difficult overland roads the easier sea routes to Trabzon on the Black Sea, or to Ayas at the mouth of the Djeyhān in the Middle Ages, to Payas in the Gulf of Issus under the Ottomans, and to Iskenderun (Alexandretta) in recent times. Throughout the ages the main caravan tracks led from these harbours to the interior of Asia. Traffic inside Anatolia was generally only of local importance. There were always through-roads, usually leading to or from Istanbul (which was regarded as the undisputed metropolis even at times when Anatolia did not regard it as its political capital).

Three types of such roads can be distinguished in Turkish times: (1) Military roads; (2) Caravan routes; (3) Postal routes. All three types follow the nature of the country and circumvent the interior steppes, passing through adjoining regions, but keeping to the inside of the border-mountains. They prefer the edges of the steppe where animals

can graze and where the towns are situated. The routes follow roughly the same lines, though they do not coincide altogether.

The main Military road (on which the armies of the sultans moved in the 16th and 17th centuries against Persia and Caucasia) described a large arc south of the central Anatolian steppe from Üsküdar via Izmid, Eski**sh**ehir, Aḳ**sh**ehir, to Ḳonya and from there via Eregli, Nigde, Ḳayseri to Sivas, then via Erzin**dj**ān and Erzurum to the east. When Selīm I marched against Syria, he too went to Ḳayseri and only from there through the Anti-Taurus to Elbistān and Marʿa**sh**. The route from Eregli through the Cilician Gate (Gülek Bo**gh**azl) to Adana and further into Syria was usually avoided, particularly for difficult transports, and especially because the Gülek Bo**gh**azl is easy to block. In 1638, for instance, Murād IV sent the artillery he needed for the capture of Ba**gh**dād by sea as far as Payas, only transporting it overland from there onwards with the aid of buffaloes. The northern Caravan route (to be mentioned below) was used for small detachments only. The reports of the Imperial armies often give the sites of the camps on the main Military road, but these are frequently at a considerable distance from the inhabited places along the route.

The most important of the Caravan routes is the one leading diagonally across from Üsküdar via Gebze, then, after crossing the Gulf of Izmid from Dil to Iznik, following roughly the Military route via Eski**sh**ehir to Ḳonya and Eregli, then through the Cilician Gute (Gülek Bo**gh**azl) to Adana and thence to Syria or Mesopotamia. The route via Antāḳiya to Syria is, at the same time, the route which pilgrims took (via Damascus) to Mecca and Medina, the holy places of Islam, and it is often mentioned in this capacity. There is also a northern caravan route of some importance which goes from Üsküdar to Amasya via Izmid, Bolī and Ṭosya (or, bypassing Amasya, via Niksar), and thence to Erzin**dj**ān and Erzerum and further to the east; alternately, from Amasya via Ṭoḳat, Sivas and Malaṭya to Diyārbakr and further to Mosul and Ba**gh**dād; from Üsküdar onwards this route is called Ba**gh**dād Yolu. An older variant of this—used by Busbecq in 1555—follows the diagonal route as far as Eski**sh**ehir and then goes on to Amasya via Ankara. Lastly, the north-south route which bypasses the central Anatolian steppe to the east is of some importance. In Sal**dj**ūḳ times, this route branched off at Ḳonya, the capital, and went right across the steppe, past the beautiful Sulṭān **Kh**ān and Aḳsarāy to Ḳayseri and on to Sivas, where it connected with the northern route as well as with those leading to the east (Erzin**dj**ān and Erzerum). In Ḳaraman and Ottoman times it went from places at the foot of the Taurus, Laranda (Ḳaraman), or Uluḳl**sh**la via Nigde to Ḳayseri. In western Anatolia, only roads leading from Izmir seem to have had some local importance and little is reported of them.

Postal routes, like the caravan routes, were divided into three "arms" (*ḳol*, for this term, which is also used as a technical term in administrative language, cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1942; H. W. Duda, *Balkantürkische Studien*, Vienna 1949, 98 ff. note 8). In the 17th century, according to the *Djihān-nümā*, the middle one of these "arms" embraced the entire length of the diagonal route together with its offshoots as far as Damascus; the right one, the whole west Anatolian network, and the left, the northern caravan route with its extension as far as Ba**gh**dād. According to reports of postal routes in the 19th century, the diagonal route forms the right arm together with the western Anatolian network, the northern caravan route the central one, whilst the left one does not leave the central one until Ṭoḳat, whence it embraces the eastern network to Erzerum. (Concerning the development of road and route-nets in Anatolia prior to the 19th century, cf. F. Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach Osmanischen Quellen*, Leipzig 1924; idem, *Die Verkehrslage und das Wegenetz Anatoliens im Wandel der Zeiten*, *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, 1926, 202-6).

The word "roads" can be applied to these routes only in a limited sense, as roads were not built with foundations; except where Roman roads could still be employed, they are simply much used and well-trodden tracks, along which caravanserais, wells, and bridges have been erected by benefactors for the comfort of the travellers.

This tripartite route-system has been gradually falling into disuse with the expansion of railways in the 19th and 20th centuries, though the railway follows roughly the track of the old routes—at least in the case of the diagonal road.

The building of railways naturally did not replace the building of roads, which also has been encouraged (to a certain extent) since the *tanẓīmāt* period. (For the means devised to finance the building of the roads: corvée and road-tax, "*yol parasī*", see G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, IV, Oxford 1906, 245 ff., "Routes et Prestations").

The history of railway building in Anatolia began with the granting of a concession to a British company for a railway from Smyrna (Izmir) to Aydln in 1856, and the line was opened 10 years later. In the last decades of the Ottoman Empire the following sections were opened in Anatolia:

(1) British Company: Smyrna (Izmir)—Aydln 1866,—Dinar 1889 (with branchlines to Ödemiş, Tire, Söke, Denizli and Čivril)—Egirdir 1912; (2) Franco-Belgian Company (British until 1893): Smyrna (Izmir)—Manisa—Kasaba 1866,—Ala**sh**ehir 1873 (?),—Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār 1897; Manisa—Soma 1890,—Ballkesir—Bandlrma 1912; (3) Narrow Gauge Railway Mudanya-Brusa (Bursa) 1875, rebuilt by a Franco-Belgian Company in 1892 (not in use now); (4) German Company (since 1888) Anatolian Railway: Ḥaydar Pa**sh**a—Izmid 1873 (with a branchline to Adapazar)—Eski**sh**ehir—Ankara 1892; Eski**sh**ehir—Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār (with a branchline from Alayunt to Kütahya)—Ḳonya 1896; Ba**gh**dād Railway: Ḳonya—Bulgurlu 1904; Toprakkale—Iskenderun 1913; Bulgurlu—Adana—Toprakkale—Aleppo (Ḥaleb)—Nuṣaybīn 1918 (with a branchline to Mardīn); (5) British Company: Mersin—Adana 1886 (1906 taken over by the Ba**gh**dād Railway Company).

Thus the railways consisted—with the exception of the short stretches which linked Adana and Brusa with their harbours—on the one hand of a network based on Smyrna (Izmir) and opening up the rich agricultural districts of western Anatolia, on the other hand of a diagonal line, with a branch to Ankara, which linked the capital to the far-distant Arab provinces of Mesopotamia, ʿIrāḳ and Syria. Plans for a railway system in the Black Sea area and in north-eastern Anatolia broke down because of Russian opposition.

Existing railways were nationalised at the beginning of the Turkish Republic in 1920 ("Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Demiryollarī"), and the system has since been extended and based on Ankara as

its centre. This extension began as early as 1922 with a narrow-gauge railway Ankara—Irmak—Yahşl Han 1925—Yerköy and in the Kayseri direction 1925. This was later extended in wide gauge.

There are the following lines: (1) Ankara-Kayseri 1927,—Sivas 1930,—Erzincan 1938,—Erzurum 1939, —Horasan 1950;—Sarlkamlş under construction. Here it will link up with the broad gauge railways which the Russians built in 1896: Gümrü (Alexandropol, now Leninakan) via Kars to Sarlkamlş. The line was continued in narrow gauge from there to Mamahatun via Erzerum during the First World War. (2) Ilica (in the Gulf of Edremit)—Edremit—Palamutluk (narrow gauge) 1924 (unused since 1953); (3) Fevzipaşa (on the Adana—Aleppo line)—Malatya 1931,—Diyarbekir (Diyarbaklr) 1935 (with a branchline to Elazlğ),—Kurtalan 1944; (4) Samsun —Çarşamba (narrow gauge) 1926 (no longer in use); Samsun—Amasya—Sivas 1932; (5) Kütahya—Balikesir 1932; (6) Kayseri—Uluklşla (more specifically: Bogazköptü—Kardeşgediği) 1933 (since then through-trains to Syria and Iraq—the Taurus Express—go via Ankara and no longer via Konya); (7) Irmak—Filyos 1935,—Zonguldak 1937,—Kozlu 1943,—Eregli planned, under construction as far as Çamll; (8) Afyon Karahisar—Karakuyu (near Dinar), Baladiz (near Eğirdir)—Burdur, and Bozanönü (also near Egirdir)—Isparta 1936; (9) Çetinkaya (on the Sivas—Erzincan line)—Malatya 1937; (10) Elazlğ—Genç 1947, — Muş under construction — Tavan (on Lake Van) planned; (11) Köprüağrl (near Fevzipaşa)—Maraş 1948; (12) Narll (near Fevzipaşa)—Gazianteb 1953,—Karkamlş formerly D̲j̲arābulus (on the Euphrates, on the Aleppo—Nusaybin line) under construction. (Cf. G. Jäschke, *Geschichte und Bedeutung der türkischen Eisenbahnen*, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, 1942, 559-566; concerning the Bag̲h̲dād railway in particular, cf. H. Bode, *Der Kampf um die Baghdadbahn* 1903-1914, Breslau 1941; R. Hüber, *Die Baghdadbahn*, Berlin 1943.)

The increased use of motor-transport and the consequent decrease in rail-transport, has already resulted in the closing of local lines (Mudanya—Brusa, Ilica—Edremid—Palamutlu) and threatens to outdo rail-transport in Turkey. As a result there has been a fresh emphasis on road construction (Mukbil Gökdogan, *Strassenbau und Verkehrspolitik in der Türkei*, Stuttgart 1938). In recent years the road network in Turkey has been greatly expanded —partly with American aid—and there are now numerous bus lines (cf. R. W. Kerwin, *The Turkish Roads Programme*, *The Middle East Journal*, 1950).

Since the Anatolian rivers are not navigable, there is no real inland shipping (except in the case of the greater rivers just above their months, and the use of rafts of inflated skins (*kelek* [*q.v.*]) on the Tigris). Nor are there any artificial waterways. The project of linking the Saband̲j̲a lake with the Ḳarya on the one side and the Gulf of Izmit on the other by canal has been considered twice (999/1590-91 and 1064/1653), but on neither occasion did it get past the preliminary stages [see SABAND̲J̲A].

Conditions for sea shipping are not very favourable either: the north and south coasts have few natural harbours, and the many bays along the west coast are of little use because the river estuaries are silted up by the rivers (cf. above, ii, "Aegean Anatolia"). Apart from Smyrna (Izmir [*q.v.*]), the most important harbour, there are a few—admittedly unimportant—harbours along the west coast, such as Foča [*q.v.*] (Phocaea; in ancient times and in the Middle Ages it was a considerable rival of the port of Smyrna, because it jutted further out into the sea), Bodrum (Halicarnassus), and Fethiye (Makri), which are only of importance for coastal shipping. In recent times only Smyrna has had any importance as an overseas harbour, though Foča also held a similar position in the Middle Ages.

Unlike the ports on the western coast which can be easily reached by the river valleys from the centre of Anatolia, the few ports on the north and south coasts are difficult to reach. On the north coast, Sinob (Sinope) [*q.v.*]—rather inaccessible because of its mountainous hinterland—and Samsun [*q.v.*] (Amisos) are of some importance, particularly in traffic with the Crimea which lies opposite. Samsun, situated in the plain between the mouths of the rivers Ḳlzll Irmaḳ (Halys) and Yes̲h̲il Irmaḳ (Iris), has grown more important than Sinob, particularly in the 19th century. On the south coast, the ports of Antalya [*q.v.*] (Adalya, the ancient Attaleia and Satalia of the Crusaders) and Alanya [*q.v.*] (ʿAlāʾiyya, Galonoros in Byzantine times, the Candelor of the European merchants in the Middle Ages) have been of importance ever since the Middle Ages. More recently, the harbour of Mersina (now Mersin [*q.v.*]) has also been of importance since it was built in 1832. The only points for landing which would link up with traffic across the continent were actually those at the "base" of the Anatolian peninsula i.e. Ṭarabzun [*q.v.*] (Trebizond) on the Black Sea, and one on the Mediterranean (in the Middle Ages Ayas [*q.v.*], Laiazzo of the crusaders, Payas in Ottoman times, now Iskenderun, Alexandretta); caravans from Trebizond went to Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān and Persia, and from the above-mentioned Mediterranean ports to northern Syria (Aleppo), Mesopotamia (Mosul) and ʿIrāḳ (Bag̲h̲dād).

(6) *Economy*.

Anatolia has always been an agricultural country and it has largely remained one in spite of the considerable incipient industrialisation. In the centre—wherever the land is fit for more than grazing—the main crop is grain, whilst fruit and vegetables are cultivated in the coastal areas and near rivers where gardens can be watered with the aid of water-wheels. Fruit-growing is characteristic particularly of the districts on the Black Sea (apples from Amasya are famous throughout the country, and Cerasus, now Giresun, is supposed to be the original home of the cherry), hazelnuts are grown in many areas. Along the Aegean Sea (with its Mediterranean vegetation) figs, olives, melons (watermelon, *karpuz* and sweet melon, *kavun*), and mulberry trees and vines are grown. The woods in the Black Sea area (especially the "Wood Sea", *ag̲h̲ač denizi*, of former times near Saband̲j̲a) were extensive enough to meet not only the local demands for timber for building, wood for burning and charcoal but also part of the need of the capital, which got the remainder of its supply from woods on the European side.

The steppes in the centre of the country are most propitious for the raising of cattle. Various types of sheep and goats are found here, including Angora goats whose wool (*tiftik*) is in great demand (mohair). Anatolian horses have been famous since the Middle Ages. The ʿAzlziyye stud farm in Phrygia used to breed the horses for the Ottoman cavalry. The growing of silkworms is a speciality of north-west Anatolia thanks to the cultivation of the mulberry tree there. Brusa is the centre for this and for the silkspinning industry.

The silver mines of Gümüsh-khāne between Trabzon and Erzurum, and those of Gümüsh Ḥādjdji Köy near Amasya, must be mentioned as the oldest; here, too, were the mints for silver coins. Copper was found in Küre (between Inebolu and Ḳasṭamonu) and in Ergani Maʿden (near Diyārbakr). Near Eskishehir is the only area in the world where "Meerschaum" is found. This was in great demand in the 19th century for pipes (*lüle*) and similar articles, but since "Meerschaum" is no longer in fashion now, production is much reduced.

Arts and crafts have been playing a considerable part, especially ceramics (introduced from Persia as early as the Saldjūḳ period). Magnificent examples of Rūm Saldjūḳ ceramics are found especially in buildings in Ḳonya. The golden age of Ottoman ceramics began when Selīm I brought craftsmen back from Tabrīz during his Persian campain (1514), and settled them in Istanbul and Izniḳ. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Izniḳ was the centre for the production of the classical Ottoman pottery with blue and green as the main colours, contrasting effectively with the interspersal bright "Bolus-red". The tiles produced in Izniḳ adorn mosques and *türbes* in Istanbul, as well as the Topḳapî Sarāy. Of vessels, the plates (known as "Rhodes plates" to the trade) are the best known and most exported product of the potteries. In later years (under Aḥmed III) potteries were founded in the Teḳfūr Sarāy in Istanbul and in Kütahya (concerning Turkish Fayence manufacture in Izniḳ and other places, cf. K. Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941, 109 ff., and the list of sources by R. Anhegger, ibid., 165 ff.). [Cf. also KHAZAF]·

Besides pottery, textile goods form a characteristic part of Anatolia's produce, particularly rugs. The Turks brought this skill from the east and developed it (mainly in ʿUshaḳ, Ḳula, Gördez and others) partly in the Persian tradition, partly in a more popular style. The rugs best known in Europe are those made in the 19th century, which are loosely knotted, with long threads and known as "Smyrna" rugs after their harbour of export, although they were actually made in the ʿUshaḳ area. The Anatolian silk industry was also of great renown; the centre for which was in Brusa. Its products, of which the brocades with inwoven gold and silver threads are of an especially high artistic quality, were chiefly woven for the court and for higher society. (Concerning Turkish textile production cf. Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri*, Istanbul 1946-51; idem, *Turkish Textiles and Velvets*, Ankara 1950). Lastly, coarser weaving (*kilim*) of rugs and mats must be mentioned; such mats cover the mosque floors in winter. [Cf. also BISĀṬ, NASĪDJĪ].

Trades in towns were organised into guilds. These guilds (*eṣnāf*, from the singular *ṣinf* [*q.v.*]) which were "fraternities" somewhat similar in character to a darwīsh order, maintained and guarded traditions, quality and integrity. In cases of accident, their members were protected against loss by the spirit of comradeship, and the resultant esprit de corps gave them a power to which—at times—even the government had to yield. The guilds were supervised by the clerk of the market (*muḥtesib*), who, in turn, was subordinate to the Ḳādī—an institution belonging to the sharīʿa. (Concerning Turkish guilds cf. Osman Nuri, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, I, Istanbul 1922, chap. *Eṣnāf*, 479-768; Taeschner, *Die Zünfte in der Türkei, Leipziger Vierteljahrsschrift für Südosteuropa*, 1941, 172-88; and ṢINF; concerning economy in early Ottoman times in general, cf. Afet Inan, *Aperçu général sur l'Histoire économique de l'Empire Turc-Ottoman*, Istanbul 1941.)

The ancient guilds began to disintegrate in the 19th century when state reform (*tanẓīmāt*) opened the way to commercial reforms on western European lines and to a western legal code (partly by direct adoption of European legal codes). Finally the guilds were formally dissolved on 13 Febr. 1325 M./26 Febr. 1910 (the *Gedik* on 16 Febr. 1328 M./ 1 March 1913). Modern organisations (grouped into trade unions in 1943) took their place. Improvements were made in agriculture, as for instance the irrigation to bring water to the Ḳonya plain carried out by the Baghdād Railway (1907-1913), and new cultivations (e.g. cotton in the Cilician plain) were introduced.

Attempts to bring Anatolia into line economically with European countries have been particularly marked since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Cf. (amongst others): Orhan Conker and Emile Witmeur, *Redressement économique et industrialisation de la Nouvelle Turquie*, Paris 1937; Ahmed Oguz, *Die Wirtschaftslenkung in der Türkei*, Berlin 1940; Schewket Raschid, *Die türkische Landwirtschaft als Grundlage der türk. Volkswirtschaft*, Berlin-Leipzig 1932; M. Thornburg, G. Spry, G. Soule, *Turkey. An Economical Appraisal*, New York 1949; *The Economy of Turkey. An Analysis and Recommendations of a Development Program*. Baltimore 1951.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb Rudjār* or *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ* (K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, iv, Stuttgart 1927, plates 35, 45, 55; *Edrisii Geographia Arabice*, Rome 1592, fol. 113r-114v, 139r-142r, 153v-154v; P. Amédée Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Paris 1836-40, II, 129, 305, 391); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān* and al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, s.v. al-Rūm; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840; French translation by Reinaud, Paris 1848, continued by St. Guyard, Paris 1883); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Arabic text with French translation: *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, by Defrémery and Saguinetti, ii, Paris 1877, 254-354; French translation with annotations by Defrémery in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Dec. 1850-April 1851; English translation by H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, London 1953, 123-66); al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār* (F. Taeschner, *Al-ʿUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien*, Leipzig 1929; incomplete translation by Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, Paris 1838, 151-384); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, (*The geographical part of Nuzhat al-qulub*, ed. by G. le Strange, Leyden-London 1915, English translation 1919); G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 127-58; F. Taeschner, *Ein altosmanischer Bericht über das vorosmanische Konstantinopel*, in *Annali Ist. Univ. Or. Napoli*, N.S. I, Rome 1940, 181-9. Muḥammad ʿĀshiḳ's *Manāẓir al-ʿAwālim* (1006/ 1598) brings to an end the geographical literature of the mediaeval type. In the geographical section, he begins with a Turkish translation of what older authors—al-Idrīsī, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ and others—have said; in the case of places which he himself has visited, this is followed by an account of what he has seen. These reports, which are interspersed throughout the work, are of the greatest importance and would merit an edition, especially since they were used as a basis for later works.

Those original works by Ottoman writers which have survived are more revealing than any of the

above-mentioned ones: Pīrī Rēīs, *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, Istanbul 1935, Facsimile edition, from p. 746; Kātib Čelebi (or Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *Djihān-nümā*, of which there are two recensions (cf. Taeschner, *Zur Geschichte des Djihānnumā, MSOS*, 1926, ii, 99-111; idem, *Das Hauptwerk der geographischen Literatur der Osmanen, Kātib Čelebis Gihānnumā, Imago Mundi* 1935, 44-7). The former exists only as an unfinished fragment in a series of manuscripts of which the Viennese one, Mxt. 389 (Cat. Flügel, ii, No. 1282) is the most important because it seems to have been the working copy of the great scholar. Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Dimashḳī (d. 1102/1691) continued Kātib Čelebi's work and wrote a description of Anatolia, a manuscript of which is in London (Brit. Mus., Or. 1038). Ibrāhīm Mutafarriḳa printed the *Djihān-nümā* (10 Muḥ. 1145/23rd July 1732; an inaccurate translation into Latin by Matth. Norberg, *Gihan Numa, Geographia Orientalis*, 2 vols. Lund 1818; French translation by Armain, *Déscription de l'Asie Mineure*, in Louis Vivien de Saint Martin, *Histoire des découvertes géographiques*, iii, Paris 1846, 637 ff.), in which he completed the part left unfinished by Kātib Čelebi from the work of Abū Bakr (p. 422 ff., Norberg, i, 618 ff.) Thus this book—which is one of the incunabula of Turkish printing—became a geographical description of Asia. Of Anatolia, however, (Norberg, i, 589 ff.) only the parts on the *eyālet* of Van (p. 411) are actually by Kātib Čelebi, everything else, i.e. the description of the *eyālets* Ḳarṣ (inserted, p. 407), Erzerum (422), Ṭirabzon (429), Diyārbakr (436; from here onwards Norberg, ii), Cilicia (Ičel, 610) Ḳaraman (614), Sivas (622), and Anadolu (631), is by Abū Bakr.

Further sources of information on Anatolia in Ottoman times are the few reports of travellers in Turkish and in Arabic: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme* (i-vi, badly edited in Istanbul 1314-6, vii and viii slightly better in 1928, ix and x (in Latin script) in 1935 and 1938; the first two volumes were rather inadequately translated into English from a bad manuscript by Joseph von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, London 1834, 1846 and 1850), which we have only as a rough sketch. Those parts of the work which relate to Anatolia (vols ii-v) are brought together in Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i, Leipzig 1924, 37-39, 44. Further, there are the travel guides for pilgrims going to Mecca, such as Muḥammad Adīb's work of 1193/1779 (printed in Istanbul 1232/1817, French translation by Bianchi, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque*, Paris 1825, in which the date of writing is erroneously given as 1093/1682, cf. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*, i, 82).

To complete the picture given by the above-mentioned Oriental travel accounts, there are those by Europeans (the older ones listed by L. Vivien de Saint-Martin in *Histoire des découvertes Géographiques*, iii, 743-808: vi, Bibliographie; the more recent by Selčuk Trak, *Türkiyeye ait Coğrafi eserler genel bibliografyasî*, i, Ankara 1942, 30-9).

A wealth of information may be expected from documents kept in Turkish archives, but research into these is only in its beginning (Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Türkiyede Imperatorluk devirlerinin nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri ve Hakana mahsus defterler*, Istanbul 1941, and *XV ve XVIinci asîrlarda Osmanlî Imperatorluğunda zirat ekonominin hukukî ve malî esaslarî, Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943).

Finally, the official handbooks (*Dewlet-i ʿAliyye-i ʿOthmāniyye Sāl-nāmesi*) which are available for the 68 years from 1263 H/1847 to 1334 Māliyye/1918 and the *Sāl-nāmes* of the individual *wilāyets* may be used as sources of information for the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. (The imperial and provincial *Sāl-nāmes* of that time, together with other sources, are exploited in the important work by V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris i/ii, 1892, iii/iv, 1894). Under the Turkish Republic, a similar series was started (*Türkiye Djümhūriyeti Dewlet Sāl-namesi*), but only 5 volumes have appeared so far (i, 1926; ii, 1927; iii, 1928; iv, 1929; v, 1930), and they do not contain nearly as much material as the earlier *sal-nāmes* of Ottoman times.

Lastly, the lists of place-names may serve as sources for the most recent period, for instance: *Son teşkilat-i mülkiyede Köylerimizin adlarî*, Istanbul 1928; *Idare Taksimatî*, 1942, Istanbul 1942; *Türkiye'de Meskun Yerler Kîlavuzu*, 2 vols., Ankara 1946 and 1950.

Key to the map of Anatolia in the 17th century.

This map is based on the *Bevölkerungskarte der Türkei*, 1 : 4,000,000, by H. Louis, 1938. The entries are mainly taken from the *Djihān-nümā* of Kātib Čelebi, and therefore reflect conditions in Anatolia in the 17th century. The map shows the approximate limits of the *eyālets* (within the present-day boundary of Turkey) as red broken lines, and in some cases those of the *liwās* (or *sandjaḳs*), within the *eyālets*, as red dotted lines. It further shows the more important roads indicated by Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi and other sources, the main communication routes as double red lines, other routes as single red lines. The names of towns (in red) and of mountain peaks (in black, with heights in metres) are abbreviated, and the following list explains these abbreviations; first comes the name as it appears in the *Djihān-numā* and in the other sources of the 17th century, then, in brackets, the antique or Byzantine name (if known), the modern name (if different from the old one), the administrative district (except in the case of towns which have gained importance only later and therefore do not occur in the ancient sources; these have been put in brackets on the map), and finally the reference to the squares of the map. The names of the capitals of *eyālets* are printed in small capitals, those of the capitals of *liwās* in italics. General abbreviations : B. = Büyük; Ç. = Çay, Çayî; D. = Dağ, Dağî; E. = Eyālet; G. = Göl, Gölü; I. = Irmaḳ; L. = Liwa; N. = Nehir, Nehri. For practical reasons, the transliteration has been based on modern Turkish orthography.

A D = Ağrî Dağî (Ararat: L 3)
AD = Adana (E. Adana: F 4)
Adc = Adilcevaz (E. Van: K 3)
(Adp) = Adapazar (D 2)
A Dy = Amid/Diyārbekr (Diyarbakîr; E. Diyārbekr: I 4)
A E = Akşehir (Enderes: L. Karahisar-i şarki: H 2)
Ah = Ahiska (K 2)
Ahl = Ahlat (E. Van : K 3)
Ak = Antakya (Antiocheia; L. Antakya : G 4)
Akh = Afyon Karahisarî (L. Karahisar-i Ṣāḥib : D 3)
Aks = Aksaray (E. Karaman : E 3)
Al = Alaya (ʿAlāʾīya, Alanya, Kalonoros; L. Içel : E 4)
Ala D = Ala Dağ (F 4)
Alş = Alasehir (Philadelphia; L. Aydîn : C 3)

Am = Amasya (Amaseia; E. Sivas : F 2)
Amr = Amasra (Amastris; L. Bolu : E 2)
Ank = Ankara (Ankyra, Angora; L. Ankara : E 3)
Anl = Antalya (Attaleia, Adalya : L. Tekke : D 4)
Ard = Ardahan (E. Cıldır : K 2)
As = Ayas (E. Adana : F 4)
Aş = Akşehir (Philomelion; E. Karaman : D 3)
Atb = ʿAyntāb (Gaziantep; E. Marʿaş : G 4)
Atş = Altıntaş (L. Germiyan : D 3)
Av = Artvin (E. Çıldır : I 2)
Ay = Ayaş (L. Ankara : E 2)
Ays = Ayasoluk (Ephesos, Hagios Theologos, Selçuk; L. Aydın : B 4)
Bb = Bayburt (E. Erzerum : I 2)
Bb D = Binboğa Dağı (G 3)
Bd = Bodrum (Halikarnassos; L. Menteşe : B 4)
Bdr = Burdur (L. Hamid : D 4)
Be = Benderegli (Heraclea Pontica, Eregli; S. Bolu : D 2)
Bg = Biğa (L. Biğa : B 2)
Bir = Bire (Birecik; L. Bire : H 4)
Bk = Balikesri (Balikesir; L. Karası : B 3)
Bl = Bolu (L. Bolu : D 2)
Blk = Bilecik (L. Sultan Üyügi : C 2)
Boz D = Boz Dağı (Tmolos : C 3)
Bp = Beypazar (L. Ankara : D 2)
Br = Bursa (Prusa, Brussa; L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Brg = Bergama (Pergamon; L. Karası : B 3)
Bs = Bitlis (E. Van : K 3)
Bş = Beyşehir (E. Karaman : D 4)
Bt = Batum (I 2)
Buz D = Buz Dağı (H 3)
Bv = Bolvadın (L. Karahisar-i Sahib : D 3)
By = Bayezid (Doğu Bayazit; E. Kars : L 3)
Çav = Çay (L. Karahisar-i Sahib : D 3)
Çk = Çerkeş (L. Kânkırı : E 2)
Çʟ = Çıldır (E. Çıldır : K 2)
Çln = Çaldıran (E. Van : K 3)
Çm = Çorum (E. Sivas : F 2)
Çmk = Çölemerik (E. Van : K 4)
Çrl = Çorlu (Tzurullon : B 2)
Dg = Divrigi (Tephrike; E. Sivas : H 3)
Dn = Denizli (L. Germiyan : C 4)
Dv = Develi-Karahisar (Develi; E. Karaman : F 3)
Dz = Düzce (L. Bolu : D 2)
Ec = Erciş (E. Van : K 3)
Ed = Edirne (Adrianopolis : B 2)
Edr = Edremit (L. Karası : B 3)
Egn = Ergani (E. Diyarbekr : H 3)
Egr = Egirdir (L. Hamid : D 4)
Ek = Ermenek (L. Içel : E 4)
Elb = Elbistan (E. Marʿaş : G 3)
El D = Elma Dağı (E 3)
Elm = Elmalı (L. Tekke : C 4)
Eᴍ = Erzerum (Arzan al-Rūm, Erzurum; E. Erzerum : I 3)
En = Erzincan (E. Erzerum : H 3)
Er = Ereğli (Herakleia; E. Karaman : F 4)
Er D = Erciyas Dağı (Argaios : F 3)
Eş = Eskişehir (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 3)
Fç = Foça (Phokaia; L. Saruhan : B 3)
Fn = Finike (L. Tekke : D 4)
Gbz = Geğbüze (Dakibyza, Gebze; L. Kocaeli : C 2)
G D = Geyik Dağı (E 4)
Gds = Gördes (L. Saruhan : C 3)
Gh = Gümüşhane (Gümüşane; E. Erzerum : H 2)
Gh A = Güzelhisar-Aydın (Aydın; L. Aydın : B 4)
Gk = Gülek kalesi (E. Adana : F 4)
Gl = Gemlik (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Glb = Gelibolu (Gallipoli, Kalliopolis : B 2)
Gn = Gönen (L. Biğa : B 2)
Gnk = Göynük (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 2)
Gr = Gerede (L. Bolu : E 2)
Grs = Giresun (Kerasûs; E. Trabzon : H 2)
Grü = Gümrü (Alexandropol, Leninakan : K 2)
Gy = Geyve (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 2)
Gz = Gediz (L. Germiyan : C 3)
H B = Haci Bektaş (E. Karaman : F 3)
H D = Hasan Dağı (F 3)
H H = Hekim Hanı (E. Sivas : F 3)
Ḥ K = Ḥişn Kēf (Ḥişn Kayfā, Hasankeyf; E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
Hk = Hersek (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Hʟ = Ḥaleb (Aleppo : G 4)
H M = Ḥişn-i Manşūr (Hüsnümansur, Adıyaman; E. Marʿaş : H 4)
Ḥm = Ḥamā (G 5)
Hns = Hınıs (E. Erzerum : I 3)
Ḫoy = Ḫoy (L 3)
Hp = Harput (Ḫartbirt, Elazığ; E. Diyarbekr : H 3)
Ḥr = Ḥarrān (Karrhai; E. Rakka : H 4)
Hrs = Horasan (E. Erzerum : K 2)
Ḥş = Ḥimş (Emesa, Höms : G 5)
Hsk = Hasankale (Pasinler; E. Erzerum : I 2)
Ib = Inebolu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
I D = Ilgaz Dağı (E 2)
Ig = Ilgün (E. Karaman : D 3)
Im = Iznikomid (Nikomedeia, Izmit; L. Kocaeli : C 2)
In = Iznık (Nikaia; L. Kocaeli : C 2)
Iö = Inöñü (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 3)
Ir = Izmir (Smyrna; L. Suğla : B 3)
Is = Iskelib (E. Sivas : F 2)
Isk = Iskenderun (Alexandreia, Alexandretta; L. Antakya : G 4)
Isp = Isparta (L. Hamid : D 4)
Ka = Kuş adası (Scala nuova; L. Aydın : B 4)
Kb = Karabuñar (Karapınar; E. Karaman: E 4)
Kc = Kalecik (L. Kânkırı : E 2)
K D = Kohu Dağı (C 4)
Kg = Kığı (E. Erzerum : I 3)
Kgl = Kangal (E. Sivas : G 3)
K H = Kadın Hanı (E. Karaman : E 3)
Kh = Kemah (E. Erzerum : H 3)
Khş = Karahisar-i şarki (Şabin Karahisar; L. Karahisar-i şarki : H 2)
Kk = Keskin (E. Sivas : E 3)
Kkl = Kırkkilise (Kırklareli : B 2)
Kkr = Kânkırı (Çankırı; L. Kângırı : E 2)
Kl = Kula (L. Germiyan : C 3)
Klh = Koyluhisar (L. Karahisar-i şarku : G 2)
Kls = Kilis (L. Kilis : G 4)
Klt = Kelkit (E. Erzerum : H 2)
Km = Kastamonu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
Kmt = Kirmasti (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Kɴ = Konya (Ikonion; E. Karaman : E 4)
Kr = Küre (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
K S = Kalʿe-i Sultaniye (Çanak Kalesi; L. Biğa : B 2)
Ks = Kars (E. Kars : K 2)
Ksr = Kaysariye (Kaisareia, Kayseri; E. Karaman : F 3)
Kꜱᴛ = Kostantiniye (Konstantinopolis, İstanbul : C 2)
Kş = Kırşehir (E. Karaman : F 3)
Kş D = Keşiş Dağı (Ulu Dağ, Olympus of Bithynia: C 2)
Kş D = Keşiş Dağı (H 3)
Kᴛ = Kütahya (Kotyaion; E. Anadolu, L. Germiyan : C 3)

Kzm = Kağîzman (E. Kars : K 2)
Lb = Lüleburgaz (B 2)
Ld = Laranda (Karaman; E. Karaman : E 4)
Lf = Lefke (Leukai, Osmaneli; L. Sultan Üyügi : C 2)
Lt = Latakiye (Laodikeia : G 5)
Mb = Membiç (G 4)
Mc = Mucur (E. Karman : F 3)
M D = Mededsiz Dağî (F 4)
Md = Mudurnu (L. Bolu : D 2)
Mdn = Mudanya (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Mf = Meyāfāriķīn (Silvan; E. Diyārbekr : I 3)
Mg = Muğla (L. Menteşe : C 4)
Mgn = Mağnisa (Magnesia, Manisa; L. Saruhan : B 3)
Mhç = Mihaliç (Karacabey; L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Mk = Makri (Fethiye; L. Menteşe : C 4)
Ml = Milas (L. Menteşe : B 4)
Mlk = Malkara (B 2)
Mlt = Malatya (Melitene; E. Marʿaş : H 3)
Mlz = Malazgird (E. Van : K 3)
M N = Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān (G 5)
Mr = Marʿaş (Maraş; E. Marʿaş : G 4)
Mrd = Mardin (E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
(Ms) = Mersin (F 4)
Msl = Mosul (K 4)
Mss = Misis (Mopsuestia; E. Adana : F 4)
Muş = Muş (E. Van : I 3)
Mv = Manavgat (L. Içel : D 4)
Mz = Merzifun (E. Sivas : F 2)
Nb = Nusaybīn (Nisibis; E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
Ngd = Niğde (E. Karaman : F 4)
Ns = Niksar (Neokaisareia; L. Karahisar-i şarki : G 2)
(Nv) = Nevşehir (F 3)
Oc = Osmancîk (E. Sivas : F 2)
Or = Ordu (E. Trabzon : G 2)
Ps = Payas (Baiai; E. Adana : G 4)
Ra = Raʾs ul-ʿayn (E. Rakka : I 4)
R U = Rohā/Urfa (Edessa; E. Rakka : H 4)
Rv = Revan (Erivan : L 2)
Rz = Rize (E. Trabzon : I 2)
Sb = Sabanca (Sapanca; L. Kocaeli : D 2)
Sc = Sürüç (E. Rakka: H 4)
S D = Sultan Dağî (D 3)
Sf = Selefke (Seleukeia; Silifke; L. Içel : E 4)
S G = Seydi Gazi (Nakoleia; L. Sultān Üyügi : D 3)
Sg = Söğüt (L. Sultan Üyügi : D 3)
Sh = Sivrihisar (L. Ankara : D 3)
Sis = Sis (E. Adana : F 4)
Sk = Siverek (E. Diyārbekr : H 4)
Sp = Sinop (L. Kastamonu : F 1)
Ss = Samsun (Amisos; E. Sivas : G 2)
Ssl = Susîğîrlîğî (Susurluk; L. Karasî : C 3)
St = Siʿirt (Siirt; E. Diyārbekr : I 4)
Sv = Sivas (Sebasteia; E. Sivas : G 3)
Şk = Şarkîşla (E. Sivas : F 3)
Şl = Şile (L. Kocaeli : C 2)
Tc = Tercan (Mamahatun; E. Erzerum : I 3)
T D = Tekeli Dağî (G 2)
Td = Tadmur (Palmyra : H 5)
Tf = Tefeni (L. Hamid : D 4)
Tfl = Tiflis (L 2)
Th = Turhal (E. Sivas : G 2)
Tk = Tokat (E. Sivas : G 2)
Tkd = Tekirdağ (Rhaidestos, Rodosto : B 2)
Tr = Tire (L. Aydîn : B 3)
Trb = Trabzon (Trapezûs; E. Trabzon : H 2)
Trş = Tarābulus-i Şām (Tripolis : G 5)
Ts = Tosya (L. Kânkîrî : F 2)
Tss = Tarsus (Tarsos; E. Adana : F 4)
Tş = Tavşanlî (L. Germiyan : C 3)
Tt = Tortum (E. Erzerum : I 2)
Tv = Tatvan (E. Van : K 3)
Ub = Uluburlu (L. Hamid : D 3)
Uk = Ulukîşla (E. Karaman : F 4)
Ur = Urmiya (L 4)
Uş = Uşak (L. Germiyan : C 3)
Üsk = Üsküdar (Skutari; C 2)
Vst = Vostan (E. Van : K 3)
Y D = Yîldîz Dağî (G 2)
Yş = Yenişehir (L. Hudavendigâr : C 2)
Yv = Yalovaç (L. Hamid : D 3)
(Yz) = Yozgat (F 3)
Zb = Zafranbolu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)
(Zg) = Zonguldak (D 2)
Zl = Zile (E. Sivas : F 2)
Zr = Zara (E. Sivas : G 3)

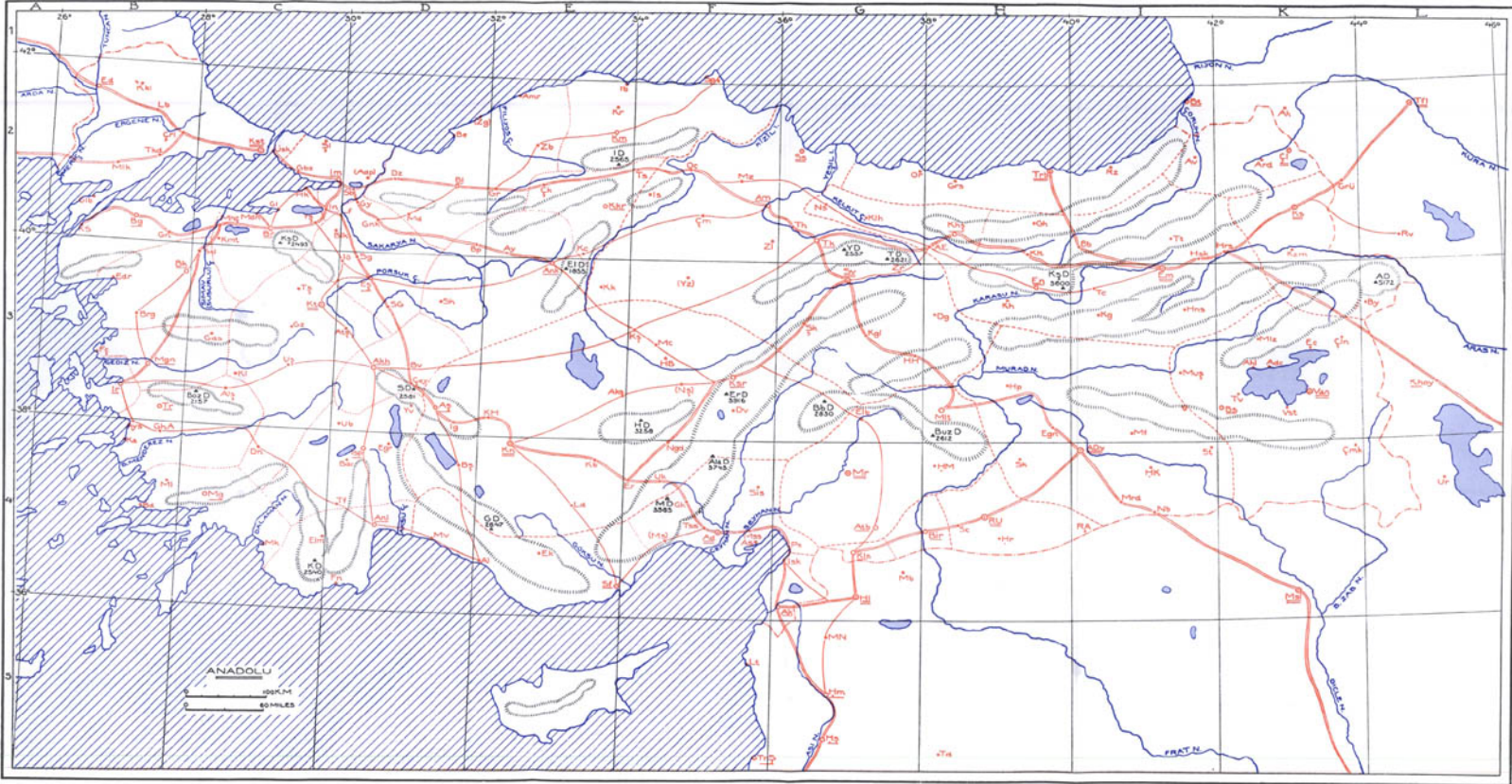
(F. Taeschner)

ANADOLU. In the time between the 15th and the 18th century, this was the name applied to the province (*eyālet*) comprising the western half of Anatolia [cf. preceding article] and embracing largely the western Anatolian Turkish principalities. At the beginning, Ankara was the capital and the seat of the governor (*beglerbeg*), later it was Kütahya. The *eyālet* of Anadolu contained the following military districts (*sandjaķ* or *liwā*) which were partly former principalities (in the order given by Katib Čelebi in *Djihān-nümā*): 1) Germiyān with Kütāhya as its capital; 2) Ṣarukhan with Maghnisa (now Manisa); 3) Aydîn with Tire; 4) Menteshe with Mughla; 5) Tekke with Anṭāliya; 6) Ḥamîd with Isbarta: 7) Ķaraḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib with the capital of the same name (later Afyūn Ķara Ḥiṣār); 8) Sulṭān Üyügi (often in the corrupted form of Sulṭān Öni) with Eskishehir; 9) Anķara with the capital of the same name (also called Engüri); 10) Kānķîrî with the capital of the same name (now Çankîrî); 11) Ķasṭamoni with the capital of the same name (now Ķastamonu); 12) Bolî with the capital of the same name (now Bolu); 13) Khudāwendigār with Brusa (Bursa); 14) Kodja-eli with Iznikomîd (later Izmid, Izmit). In addition there were the following *sandjaķs* which were under the Ķapudan Pasha: 1) Ķarasî with Balikesri; 2) Bîghā with the capital of the same name and Ķalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye (or Čanak Kalʿesi); 3) Sughla with Izmir. [Cf. individual articles on each of the preceding].

When other *eyālets* besides Anadolu were formed in the Asiatic part of Turkey, the term Anadolu was loosely applied to the whole Asiatic half of the empire, inasmuch as there was in addition to the "Military Judge" (*ķāḍi ʿasker*, pronounced *kazasker*) of Rumelia as highest judge in the European part of the empire, also such a one for the Asiatic half. The latter had to accompany the Pādishāh on his campaigns into Asia. Besides the "accountant" (*defterdār*), i.e. the Minister of Finance, in Rumelia there was also one in Anatolia whose post, however, became a mere sinecure in comparison with the former.

The law of 7 Djumādā 1281/5 Nov. 1864, concerning *wilāyets*, dissolved the exessively large *eyālet* of Anadolu, raised the *sandjaķs* of Khudāwendigār, Aydîn, Anķara and Ķasṭamonî to the status of *wilayets*, and assigned the remaining *sandjaķs* to these.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-nümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 630 ff. For further bibliography cf. Anadolu, preceding article.

(F. Taeschner)

ANATOLIA IN THE XVII[TH] CENTURY

ANADOLU ḤIṢĀRI, a fortress (also known as Güzeldje Ḥiṣār, Yenidje, Yeni, or Akča Ḥiṣār) at the narrowest part of the Bosporus, built by Bāyezīd I in 797/1395 in order to cut off communications between Byzantium and the Black Sea (cf. ʿĀshīkpasha-zāde, ed. Giese, Leipzig 1928, 61, 121, 131; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, Leipzig 1951, 90; Bihishtī, *Taʾrīkh*; Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 64; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 148; Münedjdjim-bashī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār*, Istanbul 1285, 310). Some improvements were made by Meḥemmed II during the erection of Rūmeli Ḥiṣārī [*q.v.*] in 856/1452 (hence he is wrongly named as the founder of Anadolu Ḥiṣārī cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, i, 664). Anadolu Hiṣārī played an important role before the battle of Varna, during the passage of Murād I's army from the Anatolian to the European shore (cf. Neshrī, loc. cit.; Saʿd al-Dīn, 379; Münedjdjim-bashī, 358; Luṭfī Pasha, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 117). After the conquest of Istanbul, the fortress lost its military importance, and when further changes in political power made it necessary to protect the Bosporus again, Murād IV built fortifications at Rūmeli Kavaghī and Anadolu Kavaghī in order to repel the incursions of the Cossacks. The fortress is described by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, loc. cit.); after a long period of neglect, it was thoroughly restored in 1928. The sub-district called Anadolu Ḥiṣārī (already mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi), has about 5000 inhabitants (including Kanlīdja and Čubuklu). The rivulets Gök-su and Küčük Su, known as the Sweet Waters of Europe, were formerly one of the most popular places for excursions from Istanbul, often mentioned in literature. Here, between the fortress and Kanlīdja, stands the "maison de plaisance", the only surviving part of a villa built by ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha towards 1695, and one of the few remaining examples of early Ottoman civil architecture.

Bibliography: S. Toy, *The Castles on the Bosporus*, Oxford 1930, 225 ff.; H. Högg, *Türken-Burgen am Bosporus und Hellespont*, Dresden 1932, 9 ff.; A. Gabriel, *Châteaux Turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943, 9 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (R. Anhegger)

ANĀHĪD [see zuhara].

ʿANĀḲ, name given by the Arabs to the daughter of Adam, the twin sister of Seth, wife of Cain and mother of ʿŪdj [*q.v.*]; see Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ* (Pellat) index.—In zoology, *ʿanāḳ* denotes a kind of lynx, the caracal (from the Turkish *ḳara ḳulaḳ* "black-ear", Persian *siyāh gūsh*) found in much of Asia and Africa, which is thought to walk in front of the lion and, by its cry, to announce the latter's approach.—In astronomy, *ʿAnāḳ al-Banāt* is the ζ of the Great Bear, and *ʿAnāḳ al-Arḍ*, γ Andromedae; see A. Benhamouda, *Les Noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, ix, 1951, 84, 97. (Ed.)

ANAMUR, small town and harbour on the southern coast of Anatolia, 36° 6′ N, 32° 10′ E, capital of a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Ičel, with 2734 inhabitants (1945; the *ḳaḍa* has 23,725 inhabitants). It is situated in a plain formed by the mouth of a little river, ca. 5 km. from the promontory of Anamur Burnu which forms the southernmost point of Anatolia. The town is called in medieval portulans Stallimuri, Stalemura, etc. On the coast, at the foot and on the slopes of the Anamur Burnu lie the extensive ruins of the late antique and early Christian town of Anemurium or Anemorium.

At the east end of the plain of Anamur, close to the shore, lies Maʿmūriyye Ḳalʿesi, a well-preserved medieval fortress, which was made use of and repaired by the Ottomans; this is recorded by an inscription from 874/1469-70. Inside there is a small mosque.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 81 f.; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, Vienna 1891, 59. (F. Taeschner)

ʿĀNĀNIYYA, Jewish sect of the adepts of ʿĀnān b. David (*c.* 760 A.D.), rather incorrectly considered to be the founder of the Karaite schismatic faction; his schism was only one of many which affected Rabbinical Judaism during the 8th-9th centuries. The Muslim authors seem to have taken most of their information about ʿĀnān and his sect from Karaite sources, especially Ḳirḳisānī, but they have only used a small part of the mass of information supplied by him. The author of the *al-Badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh* represents ʿĀnān as a sort of Muʿtazilite, who professes the divine unity and justice and rejects anthropomorphism. The ʿĀnāniyya of Ibn Ḥazm are in fact the Karaites. Al-Bīrūnī is interested in their particular views regarding the calendar. Al-Shahrastānī, in addition to briefly mentioning their calendar and their prohibitions concerning food (M. Badran has rejected the correct reading into the footnote) comments on their favourable attitude to the person of Jesus. The later Muslim sources throw no fresh light on the subject. No Muslim author mentions the alleged meeting between ʿĀnān and Abū Ḥanīfa in the prisons of al-Manṣūr. Although *ḳiyās* is recognized as a source of the law both by the Karaites and by the Ḥanafīs, there is nothing to suggest that the latter influenced the former.

Bibliography: Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Ḳirḳisānī, *al-Anwār wa 'l-Marāḳib*, ed. L. Nemoy, New York 1939-45, index, s.vv. Anan and Ananites; *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, ed. and trans. by Cl. Huart, iv, Paris 1907, text 34-6, trans. 32-5; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317, i, 99 (1347, 82); Bīrūnī, *Āthār* = *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. and trans. by E. Sachau, text 58-9, cf. 284, trans. 68-9, cf. 278; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 167-8, ed. M. Badran, 503-5. The most recent statement of the problems concerning ʿĀnān and the origins of Karaism is contained in the articles of Leon Nemoy: *Anan ben David. A re-appraisal of the historical data*, *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, Budapest 1947, 239-48; idem, *Yivo-Bleter*, 1949, 95-112; *JQR*, 1950, 307-15: the essentials of the earlier bibliography will be found there. (G. Vajda)

ANAPA, a former fortress on the Black Sea, situated on the Bugur river 40 km. S. W. of the Kuban estuary. Built by French engineers for Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I in 1781, it was unsuccessfully attacked by the Russians in 1787 and 1790, but stormed by Gen. Gudovich in 1791. Returned to Turkey by the treaty of Yassy (1791), it was in 1808 taken by the Russians but returned to Turkey in 1812. In 1828 it was blockaded by Admiral Greig and Prince Menshikov and ceded to Russia by the treaty of Adrianople of 1829 (article 4). In 1846 a town was built at Anapa. During the Crimean war it was first blown up by the Russians, then reoccupied in 1856. In 1860 the inhabitants of Anapa were transferred to Temruk. In recent decades Anapa was used as a beach and rest home for children. It was destroyed by enemy action in 1942-3, and is now restored.

Bibliography: Novitsky, *Anapa*, *Zap. Kavk. Otd. Imp. Geogr. Obš.*, 1853, ii, 14-43; P. P. Semenov, *Geogr. Slovar Ross. imperii*, i, 96; Russian and Soviet Encyclopaedias. (V. Minorsky)

ANAS b. MĀLIK Abū Ḥamza, one of the most prolific traditionists. After the *hidjra* his mother gave him to the prophet as servant; according to his own statement he was then ten years of age. He was present at Badr, but took no part in the battle, and is therefore not counted among the combatants. He remained in Muḥammad's service up to the time of the Prophet's death; later he took part in the wars of conquest. He also played small parts in the civil wars. In the year 65/684 he officiated as *imām* of the *ṣalāt* at Baṣra on behalf of the rival caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath revolted, al-Ḥadjdjādj charged Anas with being a partisan of the rebel just as he had formerly taken the part of the enemies of the Umayyads, ʿAlī and Ibn al-Zubayr; and although Anas was highly respected as a Companion of the Prophet, al-Ḥadjdjādj had no scruples in putting round his neck a cord with his seal (72/691). It is said however that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik apologised for al-Ḥadjdjādj's disrespectful act. Anas died at Baṣra at a very advanced age, which is variously given as from 97 to 107 years, the dates most frequently mentioned are 91-93/709-711.

Traditions attributed to Anas are found, collected together, in the *Musnad* of al-Ṭayālisī (Ḥaydarābād 1321, Nos. 1959-2150) and in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (Cairo 1313, iii, 98-292). Al-Dhahabī states that al-Bukhārī and Muslim record between them 278 traditions from Anas, of which 80 occur in al-Bukhārī alone, 70 in Muslim alone, and 128 are common to both. It is not surprising that many traditions were attributed to the servant of the Prophet; but while they may contain some genuine material, it is likely that they are mainly attributions of a later age; so Anas should not be blamed for all the strange statements given currency on his authority.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaḳāt*, vii, 10 ff.; Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1361, no. 1579; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 157; Nawawī, *Biographical Dictionary*, 165 ff.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 127 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (Cairo 1358/1939), no. 277; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i, 276 ff.; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 553 b; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (Wüstenfeld), index; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i, 587 f.; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, 350 (quoted by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd., § 26, note 1). (A. J. Wensinck-J. Robson)

ANATOLIA [see anadolu].

ANATOMY [see tashrīḥ].

ʿANAZA, short spear or staff (*LA*, vii, 251), usually synonymous with *ḥarba*. In the Muslim ritual the *ʿanaza* first appears in the year 2/624. When Muḥammad first celebrated the *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, Bilāl carried a spear (reputedly the gift of al-Zubayr, who had received it from the Nadjāshī) before him on his way to the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*]; during the service this spear was planted in the ground and served as *sutra* and *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]. The same was done on the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*. This custom or carrying a spear or staff on ceremonial occasions was observed and expanded by the early caliphs. It became the rule for the preacher to hold in his hand, or to lean upon, a staff (*ḳaḍīb*), sword or bow when he ascends the pulpit at the Friday service. All these are symbols expressing the same idea as the *ʿanaza*, essentially that of authority (cf. the spear of Marduk). Among the ancient Arabs staff and pulpit were attributes of judge and orator.

The word survives as an architectural term in the Maghrib, where it signifies an external *miḥrāb* for those praying in the court of the mosque; see *Ḳirṭās* (Tornberg), 30, 31, 32, 37 (inscript. dated 524 H.; cf. *RCIA*, no. 3031); E. Pauty, in *Hesp.*, 1923, 515-6.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, i, 107, 135-6, 241; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 167 ff.; Samhūdī, Būlāḳ 1285, 187 = Wüstenfeld transl. 127-8; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *sutra*; idem, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 141 ff.; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 84, 87-8; Schwarzlose, *Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 212 ff.; G. C. Miles, *Miḥrāb and ʿanazah*, *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, N.Y. 1952, 156-171 (early iconographical representation, full references). (G. C. Miles)

ʿANAZA, a very ancient, but still existing, Arab tribe. The classical genealogical scheme ʿAnaza b. Rabīʿa (Wüstenfeld, Tab. A 6) has in recent times been changed in the same way as in the case of other tribes such as the Banū ʿAṭiyya in Northern Ḥidjāz and Wāʾil, the ancestor of the Bakr and Taghlib, is taken to be their tribal ancestor; in the most recent genealogies Ḳuraysh appears above Wāʾil. Whether or not the Rabīʿa groups are inter-related, as implied in the genealogy, they were in any case connected by neighbourly and other ties in their home, the Yamāma. The ʿAnaza were living in the Ṭuwayḳ to the south of the Wādī Nisāḥ; there, in Haddār, a remnant of them, the Banu Hizzān, remain to this day. Sections in al-Aflādj have disappeared and ʿAnaza villages south of Ṭāʾif were destroyed by the plague in about 1200. The Banū ʿOtba/ʿOtūb, to which the ruling houses of Kuwayt and Baḥrayn belong, also come from Haddār.

Accompanying some migrating Bakr, ʿAnaza elements reached as far as the Euphrates in the second half of the 6th century, and like them, eventually stayed there. As allies of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, whose area was to the south of Baṣra, they took part in the East Arabian *ridda*. It is not known how and when they, and the ʿAnaza who had remained behind, went over to Islam. It is said that they had previously worshipped the god Suʿayr/Saʿīr, and, together with the "Rabīʿa", Muḥarriḳ, whose image stood in Salmān, to the south of Ḥīra.

Some ʿAnaza settled in Kūfa, others migrated together with a group of Shaybān (Bakr) to the region of Mosul, where they can be traced up to the second half of the 9th century. The ancestors of the present-day ʿAnaza appear in the Ḥarra of Khaybar in the 12th century. We do not know exactly whence they came: perhaps from the Ṭuwayḳ, perhaps from the area between ʿAyn al-Tamr and al-Anbār (Ibn Saʿīd quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, i, 14). This new emigration must be connected with the movements of the Eastern Arabian Ḳarmaṭians which completely changed the face of Bedouin Arabia. In the 16th century they extended as far as the Ḳasīm in the east, to Djafr ʿAnaza (= Wāḳiṣa ?) east of al-ʿUlā in the north. Later they occupy that oasis itself and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. The tribal division we find today begins to be recognisable as early as 1700: the Djelās (Ruwala) roamed to the south of the Ḥarrat Khaybar from Medina via Ḥanakiyya to Samīrā, the Sbaʿa in the Wādī 'l-Ruma, as far as the Ḳasīm; the ʿAmārāt in the Shammar mountains and in Eastern Arabia. The Fadʿān may have been to the north of the Ḥarra

where we find today the Wald Sulaymān, who are closely connected with them. The Wald ʿAlī were to the west of Khaybar, and their close relatives, the Ḥesene, were most probably there too.

The new migration of the ʿAnaza, the first stage of which lasts for over a century (ending with the arrival of the Djelās (Ruwalā) in Syria in the second half of the 18th century), began before 1700. In 1703 there is mention of them in Maʿān, in 1705 on the Euphrates. This migration achieved its aims because the power of the *amīrs* of the Mawālī in the north of the Syrian desert had been waning since the end of the 17th century, and because the tribe of Ghaziyya was about to vacate the hinterland of Karbalāʾ and go over the Euphrates. The second stage of immigration into Syria and Mesopotamia began about 1800 and was due to the Wahhābīs: the ʿAnaza were partly on their side (ʿAmārāt), and partly fled from their tax-collectors. In the 19th century the history of the ʿAnaza is governed by their relations with the Turkish authorities and the house of Rashīd, the Shammar *amīrs* of Ḥāyil. At the turn of the 20th century the Ruwalā and their hereditary *shaykhs*, the Shaʿlān, play an important part (the oasis of Djōf was in the possession of the Shaʿlān from 1909 to 1922). In the first World War, the ʿAmārāt joined the English after the fall of Baghdād (11 March 17). The Ruwalā did not take part in allied operations until September 1918. Their *shaykh*, al-Nūrī b. Shaʿlān, entered Damascus with the British and Arab troops in October 1918. In the post-war troubles the ʿAnaza frequently changed sides. The political reorganisation in the Middle East distributed the ʿAnaza over Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Transjordan and Saudi-Arabia. The Fadʿān, Sbaʿa and Ruwalā are regarded as Syrian, the ʿAmārāt (with the exception of those who stay permanently in the Nadjd), are regarded as ʿIrāḳī citizens, although they periodically leave the territory of that state during their migrations.

There have always been two opposing groups within the ʿAnaza: the Ḍanā Muslim (Ḥesene, Wald ʿAlī, Djelās/Ruwalā) and the Bishr (Fadʿān, Sbaʿa and ʿAmārāt). The last flare-up of this old animosity was quelled by the French in 1929. The Shammar, especially since the ʿAnaza's advance to the north, and the inhabitants of the Ṣafā and the Ḥawrān, particularly the Druzes, are the hereditary enemies of the ʿAnaza. This is the reason why the ʿAnaza sided with the government in all Druze risings.

The ʿAnaza's modern grazing areas are as follows. The Fadʿān: in summer the area east of Aleppo and Ḥamā, especially to the east of the Euphrates; in winter the Syrian desert (al-Bishrī—al-Ḳaʿara, at times as far as al-Rōḍa). The Sbaʿa: in summer to the east and northeast of Ḥamā; in winter in the Syrian desert to the south of the Syria-ʿIrāḳ border. The ʿAmārāt: in summer in the Djazīra, southeast of the Khābūr, mostly on ʿIrāḳī territory, in winter in the south-eastern Syrian desert (al-Wudyān). The Ḥesene: in summer to the east of Ḥoms; in winter in the Syrian desert close to the Syria-ʿIrāḳ border. The Wald ʿAlī: in summer to the northeast of Damascus and in the Ḥawrān plain; in winter in the heart of the Syrian desert as far as Djōf and Taymāʾ. Of the sections which remained in Arabia, the Fuḳarāʾ and the Wald ʿAlī (both Ḍanā Muslim) have their tents between the Ḥarra of al-ʿUwayriḍ and that of Khaybar; the Wald Sulaymān (Bishr) migrate between the Ḥarra of Khaybar and the southern border of the Nufūd as far as Bēḍā Nathīl (to the southwest of Ḥāyil), where a *hudjra* settlement of the *ikhwān* was founded in the twenties.

The northern ʿAnaza are camel breeders. Sheep breeding is the main occupation of the Ḥesene and the Wald ʿAlī (since 1900), and since 1920 the Fadʿān and Ruwalā have also increasingly taken to this. The Ḥesene and Wald ʿAlī—also, more recently, the Sbaʿā—have for some time been farming the land. In former times the ʿAnaza had a right to part of the harvest of Khaybar; the tribes living there have retained that right. In Ottoman times the ʿAnaza had a right to the *ṣurra*, a payment for protecting the pilgrims' caravan in their area. If this was not, or only partly, paid, then they reimbursed themselves by plundering the *ḥadjdj* (as e.g. in 1700, 1703, 1757). A further source of income was the tolls raised from the caravans, and the *khuwwa* (protection money) collected from the settled population. The more prominent families among whom the office of shaykh is held, have considerable property in land, some of which dates back to donations of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. In the Djazīra this is partly cultivated, following American methods, in partnership with town-dwellers.

Bibliography: Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, in collaboration with E. Bräunlich and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, i, Leipzig 1939, 62-130, 305, (Mawālī); ii, Leipzig 1943, 342-51; iii (compiled and edited by W. Caskel), Wiesbaden 1952, 351, 412 (Ghaziyya), with full bibliography; A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1925; Aḥmad, Waṣfī Zakariyyā: *ʿAshāʾir al-Shaʾm*, Damascus 1945-47. ʿAbbās al-Azzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn Iḥtilālayn*, Baghdad 1935-49, index s.v. ʿAnaza. Ashkenazi, *The Anazah Tribes*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, New Mexico, 1948, 222-39. [See also RUWALĀ.] (E. GRÄF)

ANBADUḲLĪS, the Arabic form of the name of Empedocles (often corrupted into Abīduḳlīs, etc.). Some authentic information about his doctrines came down to the Muslims by way of such channels as the works of Aristotle, the doxography of Ps.-Plutarch (e.g. i, 3, cf. ed. Badawī; also quoted in Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, introduction; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ*, i, 139, ii, 75), etc. The authentic Empedocles, however, plays no role in Islamic philosophy; on the other hand, his figure was appropriated by late Neoplatonic circles, and treatises in which Neoplatonic speculations were put into his mouth were translated into Arabic. The main representative of this literature is the *Book of the Five Substances*, the Arabic translation of which is lost, but parts of which are preserved in excerpts from a Hebrew translation made from the Arabic (see D. Kaufmann, *Studien über Salomon b. Gabirol*, Budapest 1899, 1 ff.). It seems that the quotations in Ps.-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, 285, 289, 293-4, are from some closely related source (289 = ed. Kaufmann, § 13). Various Neoplatonic ideas are attributed to Empedocles in Ammonius, *Ārāʾ al-Falāsifa* (MS Aya Sofiya 2450: see fols. 109v ff., 130r), in which Neoplatonic doctrines are distributed among a number of ancient Greek philosophers. This work, quoted in al-Bīrūnī, *India*, 41-2, transl. 85 (the passage from Empedocles = MS Aya Sofiya, fol. 130r), was also the main source of al-Shahrastānī's account of the ancient philosophers and also of that of Empedocles (*al-Milal*, 230 ff.). In addition, however, al-Shahrastānī reproduces another text by "Empedocles" (262 l. 1-263 l. 18) from some other source. Al-Shahrazūrī, in his *Rawḍat* al-Afrāḥ, though mainly basing himself on al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, also has some additional passages (extracts in Asín Palacios).

According to Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī Ibn Masarra was acquainted with books by Empedocles; for a discussion of his alleged indebtedness to Ps.-Empedoclean doctrines, see IBN MASARRA.

In the biographical literature Empedocles is counted as the first of the five great philosophers Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) and is deemed to have been a contemporary of David and to have derived his philosophy from Luḳmān; see al-ʿĀmirī, *al-Abad ʿala 'l-Amad*, quoted in the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, introduction; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, 21 (who follows al-ʿĀmirī or a common source); Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 15-6 and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 36-7 (both of whom follow Ṣāʿid); al-Shahrastānī, loc. cit. (who uses the *Ṣiwān*).

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Philosophie, § 4; idem, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, index; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, index; M. Asín Palacios, *Ibn Masarra y su escuela*, chs. iv-v (= *Obras escogidas*, i, 53 ff.); a monograph on the Ps.-Empedoclean writings is being prepared by S. M. Stern. (S. M. STERN)

ʿANBAR (A.), ambergris (*ambre gris, ambra grisea*, to distinguish it from *ambre jaune* = *amber*), a substance of sweet musk-like smell, easily fusible and burning with a bright flame; highly valued in the East as a perfume and as a medicine. It is found floating on the water in tropical seas, (spec. gravity 0.78-0.93), or on the shore, sometimes in large lumps. Ambergris probably is a morbid secretion of the gall-bladder of the sperm-whale in whose intestines it is found. Ḳazwīnī mentions it amongst the oily minerals, together with mercury, sulphur, asphalt, mineral tar and naphtha, and states, in addition to various marvellous theories of its origin, that it is secreted by an animal and found in the body of salt-water fish. There is, he says, no difference of opinion as to its originating in the sea; the 'sea of Zandj' especially (i.e. the part of the Indian Ocean stretching along the east coast of Africa) washes it ashore at certain times in big lumps, mostly of the size of a head, the largest lumps weighing 1000 *mithḳāl* (4-5 kg).—He states further, that it strengthens the brain, the senses and the heart in a wonderful way; it increases the mental substance, and is of the greatest use to old men owing to its subtle warming effect.—The fullest account of the medicinal effects of ambergris are found in Ibn al-Bayṭār, the most detailed account of its origin, of the various commercial varieties and their provenance in the Encyclopaedia of al-Nuwayrī who follows Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿḳūb (*i.e.* al-Yaʿḳūbī) and al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Sīrāfī (*i.e.* Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan al-Sīrāfī, the continuator of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*; both sources are known to him through the *Djayb* (or *Ṭīb*) *al-ʿArūs wa-Rayḥān al-Nufūs by* the physician Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī (*GAL*, I, 237). There is an interesting reference to varieties called 'fish-ambergris' and 'beak-ambergris': the former also called 'swallowed ambergris' (*al-mablūʿ*) is said to be got from the belly of a large fish called *bāl* or *ʿanbar* which swallows the ambergris floating on the sea and dies in consequence; the body is cast ashore and, bursting open, gives forth the ambergris which it contains. The 'beak-ambergris' (*al-manāḳirī*) contains the claws and beak of a bird which alights on the lumps and being unable to get away perishes on them. This fable is obviously founded on the fact (pointed out by Dr. Swediaur) that ambergris frequently contains the hard mandibles (beaks) of a cuttle-fish which serves as food to the spermwhale. Al-Dimashḳī specifies various kinds with regard to their commercial value.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, vii, 366 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* i, 333 ff.; 366; al-Muḳaddasī, 101 (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *SB Phys. Med. Soz. Erlangen*, vol. 44, 253 f.); Idrīsī, transl. by Jaubert, i, 64; Ibn al-Bayṭār, 1291, III, 134 f. (transl. by Leclerc, *Notices et Extraits*, xxv[a], 469 ff.); Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenf.), i, 245; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, Būlāḳ 1284, ii, 186; Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*, 1318, 19 (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, vol. 45, 38 ff.); Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, xii, 1937, 16-22 (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, xlviii 16 ff.); G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân etc.*, 1922, 132-3.—On *bāl* cp. Ḳazwīnī, i, 131; Damīrī, i, 141. (J. RUSKA-M. PLESSNER)

ʿANBAR, BANU 'L- [see TAMĪM].

AL-ANBĀR, town on the left bank of the Euphrates, 43° 43' E, 33° 22.5' N. Arab geographers give the distance from Baghdād to al-Anbār on the mail route as twelve (Yāḳūt: ten) *farsakhs* (cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, i, 8); as measured by Musil (p. 248) it is 62 km. = 38 m.

Al-Anbār lies on the north-western projection of the Sawād on a cultivable plain near the desert, near the first navigable canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris (the Nahr ʿĪsā), and controlled an important crossing on the Euphrates (cf. Musil, 267-9, 307; Le Strange, in *JRAS*, 1895, 66). The town is pre-Sāsānid. Maricq identifies it with MŠYK or Maskin, but Arab authors (al-Balādhurī, 249-50; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7; Ḳudāma, 235) distinguish between the two. The suggestion that al-Anbār is of Babylonian origin (Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible lands*, Philadelphia 1903, 298) needs confirmation by excavations, though the head of an ancient canal and the remains of an ancient settlement (Tell Aswad, ca. 3000 B.C.) can be seen north of the plain.

Al-Anbār's strategic importance as the head of the irrigation system of the Sawād and the western gate (from the side of the Roman Empire) to the capital led Shāpūr I (241-72 A.D.) to rebuild it and turn it into a garrison town with a double line of fortifications and a citadel. He named it Pērōz Shāpūr ("victorious Shāpūr") to commemorate his victory over Gordian IV in 243 A.D. (Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 12; Maricq, 47; cf. al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ*, 94; Ḥamza, 49; al-Dīnawarī, 51). Other authors erroneously referred the name to Shāpūr II (al-Ṭabarī, i, 839; Yāḳūt, i, 367, ii, 919; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 37). The official name appears as Pirisabora in Ammianus Marcellinus, as Βηρσαβῶρα in Zosimus; it is also used in Syriac and by the Jews. The Arabs retained the name Fīrūz Shāpūr for the surrounding district (*ṭassūdj*) belonging to the province (*astān*) of al-ʿAlī (Le Strange, *Lands*, 56-66; Streck, i, 16, 19). The name Anbār (storehouse" or "granary" in Persian) came into use by the 6th century A.D. and is due to the storehouses of the citadel (Maricq, 115-6; cf. al-Balādhurī, 296; Yāḳūt, i, 368, 749).

The town was an extensive and populous one, the second in ʿIrāḳ (Ammianus, xxiv, 2). It was the seat of a Jacobean and a Nestorian bishop (cf. I. Guidi, in *ZDMG*, xliii, 413), and was an important Jewish centre (Musil, 356; Maricq, 114; Newman, *Jews in Babylonia*, 14). Its garrison was Persian, while its population contained an Arab element (al-Ṭabarī, i, 749, 2095). The tower played a considerable part in the Emperor Julian's campaign against Persia

Al-Anbār was taken as early as 12/634 by Khālid,

who expelled the Persian garrison and concluded a treaty with the inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, 245; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2059; Musil, 295, 308-9). The third mosque in ʿIrāḳ was built in al-Anbār by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ (al-Balādhurī, 289-90). When asked by ʿUmar to found a garrison town (*dār hidjra*) in ʿIrāḳ, Saʿd first thought of al-Anbār, but changed his mind because of the fever and the flees infesting the town (al-Dīnawarī, 131; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2360). Al-Ḥadjdjādj cleared the canal of al-Anbār (al-Balādhurī, 274-5, 333).

In 134/752 Abu 'l-ʿAbbās moved his seat to al-Anbār and built a city at half a *farsakh* (ca. 2.5 km.) above the town for his Khurāsānī troops, with a great palace in the centre (al-Baladhurī 287; al-Dīnawarī, 273; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 80); he died and was buried there (al-Yaʿḳūbi, i, 434; al-Balādhurī, 283; cf. al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ*, iv, 97). Al-Manṣūr resided in the town before the foundation of Baghdād (145/762). Al-Rashīd stayed twice (180/799 and 187/803) at al-Anbār, the population of which partly consisted of descendants of the Khurāsānīs (al-Dīnawarī 38; al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 510; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 678). Judging by its *kharādj*, al-Anbār was still prosperous in the early decades of the 3rd/9th century (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 8, 42; Ḳudāma, 237). As the caliphate weakened, al-Anbār was exposed to the raids of the bedouins, who attacked the town in 269 and the district in 286 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2048, 2189). Its capture and devastation by Abū Ṭāhir the Ḳarmatian in 315/927 accelerated the process of decay (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, 382). In 319/929 the bedouins caused much damage (ʿArīb, 158). Al-Istakhrī (73) describes the town as a modest but populous town, in which the remnants of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās' buildings could still be seen. Ibn Ḥawḳal (227) states that al-Anbār was declining and al-Maḳdisī (123) says that the number of the inhabitants was small. The population was mainly engaged in agriculture, but as the the town was lying on both the land and river route to Syria (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, transl. Wiet, 250; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 166; Le Strange, in *JRAS*, 1895, 14, 71; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 154), it had some commercial importance, and there were boat-builders in the town. An anecdote in Ibn al-Sāʿī (597/1200, p. 19-20) shows that the town was divided into quarters with a *shaykh* responsible for each. In 1262 the Mongol commander Kerboka plundered al-Anbār and slew many of the inhabitants (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk* (Quatremère), i/5, 171-3). Under the Mongols al-Anbār remained an administrative centre. Djuwaynī dug a canal from near al-Anbār to Nadjaf. Reference is still made to al-Anbār during the first half of the 8th/14th century (al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿIrāḳ*, i, 204, 337, 548) as the centre of a district; it was surrounded by a wall of sun-dried bricks (part of which is visible at the north end of the ruins).

The ruins of al-Anbār are situated five km. north-west of al-Fallūdja (cf. Musil, 296; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 13); they extend from NW to SE and have a circumference of irregular shape of about six km. The ruins have kept the name Anbār (cf. Musil, 174; Obermeyer, 219; Ward, in *Hebraica*, ii, Chicago 1885, 83 ff.). The remains of a square fortified building, built of Parthian sun-dried bricks, are to be seen in the NE corner. The mosque lies ca. one km. SW from the former and belongs to early Islamic architecture: it is rectangular, with one line of columns on three sides and five lines on the side facing the *ḳibla*.

The Nahr al-Ḳarma or al-Saḳlāwiyya, which leaves the Euphrates to the west of these ruins, cannot (at any rate in the earlier part of its course) be identical with the Nahr ʿĪsā (see Herzfeld, 13; Le Strange, *JRAS*, 1895, 70), as the latter was excavated under the ʿAbbāsids and branched off one *farsakh* below al-Anbār. It is more probable that Nahr al-Saḳlāwiyya is identical with the pre-Islamic Nahr al-Rufayl, and flows partly in the bed of a ancient canal (cf. Musil, 268; Maricq, 116; Suhrāb, 123; map of the Iraqi Directorate of Survey, 1934, 1: 50,000). It seems that this canal lost its importance in Islamic times.

Bibliography: Chesney, *The expedition for the survey of the river Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, ii, 438; Bewsher, in *JGS*, 1867, 174; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 145 f., 147 f.; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 83, 88 f.; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, 57; Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1780-95, xx, 1950; Le Strange, 25, 65; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927; A. Maricq and E. Honigmann, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae divi Saporis*, Brussles 1953, 116-7. (M. STRECK-[A. A. DURI])

AL-**ANBĀRĪ, ABŪ BAKR** MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḲĀSIM (properly IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ), traditionist and philologian, son of Abū Muḥammad [cf. AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMAD]; b. 11 Radjab 231/3 Jan. 885, d. Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 328/Oct. 940. He was a disciple of his father and of Thaʿlab, lectured in his father's lifetime in the same mosque, and was famous for his phenomenal memory and his abstemiousness.

The following of his works are extant: *al-Aḍdād*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1881; *al-Zāhir*; *al-Īḍāḥ fi 'l-Waḳf wa 'l-Ibtidaʾ*; on the passages in the Ḳurʾān where *tāʾ* is written instead of *hāʾ*, probably an extract from *al-Hāʾāt fi Kitāb Allāh*; *Mukhtaṣar fi Dhikr al-Alifāt*; *al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-Muʾannath*. Of his commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt* (for MSS see Brockelmann, S I, 35) the following portions were published by O. Rescher: Ṭarafa, Istanbul 1329/1911; ʿAntara, in *RSO*, iv-v; Zuhayr, in *MO*, 1913, 137-95. Ibn al-Athīr in the preface to the *Nihāya* mentions al-Anbārī's *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* among his sources.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 75; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 111-2; Azharī, in *MO*, 1920, 27; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 181-6; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 330-42; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 73-7; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, iii, 201-8; Ibn Khallikān, no. 653; G. Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen der Araber*, 168-72; Brockelmann, I, 122, S I, 182.

(C. BROCKELMANN*)

AL-**ANBĀRĪ, ABU 'L-BARAKĀT** ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤ. B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. ABĪ SAʿĪD KAMĀL AL-DĪN (properly IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ), Arabic philologian, b. Rabīʿ II 513/July 1119, studied philology at the Niẓāmiyya in Badjdād under al-Djawālīḳī and Ibn al-Shadjarī and himself became a professor for this subject in the same *madrasa*; subsequently, however, he retired from public life in order to devote himself entirely to his studies and pious exercises. He died on 9 Shaʿbān 577/19 Dec. 1181. He wrote a biographical history of philology, from the beginning to his own time, under the title of *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ fi Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabāʾ*, lith. Cairo 1294. His easy manual of grammar, *Asrār al-ʿArabiyya*, has been edited by C. F. Seybold, Leiden 1886, his great collection of differences between the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa, *al-Inṣāf fi Masāʾil al-Khilāf bayn al-Naḥwiyyin al-Baṣriyyin wa 'l-Kufiyyin* by G. Weil, Leiden 1913. Other treatises by him are extant in MS. A dictionary by him, *al-Zahūr*, is quoted by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii, 352; *al-Waḳf wa 'l-Ibtidāʾ* by al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, 158.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, ii, 169-71; Ibn Khallikān, 469; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 262; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 248; Brockelmann, I, 334, S I 494. (C. BROCKELMANN*)

AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. MUḤ. B. BASHSHĀR, traditionist and philologian, d. 304/916 or 305/917. He wrote a commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* which was revised by his son, Muḥammad: *The Mufaḍḍaliyāt ... according to the recension and with the commentary of Abū M. al-Q. b. M. al-Anbārī*, ed. Ch. J. Lyall, Oxford 1918-21.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 75; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 144; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xii, 440-1; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 196-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, iii, 28; A. Haffner, in *WZKM*, xiii, 344 ff.; F. Kern, in *MSOS*, xi/2, 262 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 37. (ED.)

AL-ANBĪḲ, in medieval Latin Alembic, is the name for that part of the distilling apparatus which is also called "head" or "cap". The word was borrowed from Greek ἄμβιξ. *Al-anbīḳ* occurs as early as the 10th century in a translation of Dioscorides, in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* and in al-Rāzī. The *anbīḳ* is often referred to as "one of the apparatuses used in distilling rose-water".

The complete distilling apparatus consists of three parts: the "cucurbit" (*ḳarʿa*), the "head" or "cap" (*anbīḳ*) and the "receiver" (*ḳābila*). Modern retorts have the "cap" and the "cucurbit" made into one.—Illustrations of distilling apparatuses in Arabian manuscripts are to be found in al-Dimishḳī's *Cosmography* (Mehren) 194 ff. Whereas usually however the cucurbit is surmounted by the cap, here it is placed in front of it. In the former case the cap has the shape of a cupping-glass, as it is represented in the *Mafātīḥ* (ed. van Vloten, 257). The *anbīḳ* is described by Ibn al-ʿAwwām (transl. Clément Mullet, ii, 344) where he explains how rose-water is distilled. But in this description the name does not always refer to the entire "cap", but often to the additional faucet-pipe only, which fits onto it (that is, if the text is not corrupt). The *anbīḳ* is also called the *ra's* (head) of the cucurbit.

The *anbīḳ* is mentioned in the various lists of chemical apparatuses, amongst others in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, in the *Kitāb al-Asrār* of al-Rāzī, where different kinds are enumerated and described, and in a text written in Karshūnī, which has been published by Berthelot and shows close similarity to al-Rāzī's account.

Special kinds of *anbīḳ* are the blind *anbīḳ*, which has no additional faucet and is consequently closed, the *anbīḳ* with a beak, and others of various shapes. In Ibn al-ʿAwwām the appendix is also called *dhanāb* (as Cl. Mullet prefers to read it) or *dhabāb* as the text has it and as Dozy would like to retain, because he combines the additional faucet with a worm-pipe used in condensing (but no illustrations of the latter can be found).

As the Arabian alchemists mainly depend on the Greek alchemists, the illustrations which are found in the works of the ancients can be turned to account. Some also occur in the Latin translations of works which are attributed to Geber.

Bibliography: E. Wiedemann, in *ZDMG*, xxxii, 575; idem, in Diergart, *Beitr. aus d. Gesch. d. Chemie*, 1908, 234; M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, ii, lxiv, 66, 105 ff.; J. Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch der Geheimnisse* (1937), index s.v.; A. Siggel, *Arab.-deutsches Wörterbuch der Stoffe*, 1950, 95. (E. WIEDEMANN-[M. PLESSNER])

AL-ANDALUS, or DJAZĪRAT AL-ANDALUS, geographical term which, in the Islamic world up to the end of the Middle Ages, denoted the Iberian peninsula, that is, modern Spain and Portugal.

(i) Toponymic significance of the term al-Andalus; (ii) Geographical survey; (iii) Outline of its historical geography; (iv) Population of al-Andalus; (v) Development; (vi) Survey of the history of al-Andalus; Appendix: The *Andalus* in North Africa; (vii) Islam in al-Andalus; (viii) Andalusian literature and culture; (ix) Andalusian art; (x) Spanish Arabic.

(i) TOPONYMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM AL-ANDALUS

The name al-Andalus is hypothetically connected with that of the Vandals (al-Andalīsh), who named Baetica "Vandalicia" when they crossed the Iberian Peninsula before their invasion of North Africa; al-Andalus is mentioned as early as 98/716 on a bilingual *dīnār*, the Latin inscription giving as its equivalent the term "Spania". The latter term, or its doublet "Hispania", were the only ones by the earliest Spanish Latin chroniclers to denote the Iberian Peninsula as a whole, that is, the two Spains, Christian and Muslim. On the other hand, the use of the term al-Andalus by Arab writers appears always to have been confined to Muslim Spain, whatever its territorial extent, which was progressively reduced in size by the Christian Reconquest (the Spanish equivalent "Reconquista" will always be used in this article). Even when Islamic power in the Peninsula was restricted to the tiny Naṣrid principality of Granada, the term al-Andalus was used to denote the territory of this small Kingdom alone. On the other hand, there had been in existence for some time in the Muslim chroniclers the names (in Arabic form) of Ishbāniya (Hispania, España) and the Christian principalities formed as a result of the Reconquista: Liyūn (Leon), Ḳashtālla or Ḳashtīla (Castilla, Castile), Burtuḳāl (Portugal), Arāghūn (Aragon), Nabārra (Navarre).

From the name al-Andalus—the form al-Andulus is sometimes found, especially in Ibn Ḳuzmān—derive the ethnic form *andalusī* and the collective form *ahl al-Andalus*. This term is retained in modern usage to denote the geographical area formed by the Sub-Mediterranean region (littoral zones and highlands) corresponding, from East to West, from the modern province of Almeria to that of Huelva, to the natural region of Andalusia (Span. Andalucía), the inhabitants of which are called Anduluces (sing. Andaluz).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 71-3; idem, *Esp. mus. Xe siècle*, 5-6; Ch. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Paris 1955, 56, 57 and note 1.

(ii) GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

1. Physical situation. S-W of Europe, the Iberian Peninsula forms a massive promontory almost pentagonal in shape, joined to the continent by the range of the Pyrenees, and washed on the remaining sides by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It is situated between 43° 27′ 25″ and 35° 59′ 30″ N, and 9° 30′ and 3° 19′ E. Its surface area is about 229,000 sq. m., modern Portugal constituting less than a fifth of this total (modern Spain has an area of 195,000 sq. m.).

The situation of the peninsula at the western end of the Mediterranean basin, with a large Atlantic seaboard, explains many episodes in its history.

Cut off by the barrier of the Pyrenees from the rest of the continent of Europe, it is only separated from Africa by the narrow Straits of Gibraltar, bounded to the N. and S. by the bridgeheads of Tarifa and Ceuta. It has as a result acquired an insular character, which has for long isolated the Iberian bloc from trans-Pyrenean influences, while leaving it open from earliest times to Oriental influences via the classical Mediterranean approach route.

The Spanish Peninsula has one of the most broken terrains in Europa. A general examination of its structure reveals that it consists basically of a large central plateau which constitutes at least half of the total area, the Meseta, with a mean altitude of 1,965 ft., comprising the two Castiles, Old (Castilla la Vieja) and New (Castilla la Nueva), and the Estramadura. The Meseta is bounded by high mountain escarpments; to the North, the Cantabrian range; to the North-East and East, the range of the Iberian Mts., to the South, the successive tiers of the Sierra Morena (Subbaetic range); to the West, the high table-lands of Galicia and Portugal. The plateau possesses three deep lateral depressions; those of the Ebro, the Gualdaquivir and the lower Tagus. To the South, the upheaval of the "Penibaetic system" has thrown up a mountain mass which comprises the greater part of Upper Andalusia and forms a confused series of ranges (Span. *sierra*, "saw"; Ar. *al-shārrāt*), of which the highest is the Sierra Nevada (highest point; the Mulhacén, 11,420 ft.).

As a result of this tortuous orographic formation, the mean ground elevation of the Peninsula is not less than 2,160 ft. The additional fact that the proportion of lowlands, of an altitude of less than 1,645 ft., is only 40%, shows the difficulties which have always been encountered, over the greater part of the country, in exploiting a soil which, because of the inadequate rainfall and the meagre supply from the rivers, is generally arid.

2. Climate.—The Peninsula has a dry, generally temperate, climate, despite extreme variations of temperature in the high and mean altitude regions, which escape the moderating influence of the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. Here the winters are severe and the summers torrid. The sub-littoral zones are an exception, especially the largely exposed depression of maritime Andalusia.

As regards rainfall, a distinction must be drawn between dry Spain and wet Spain. The latter comprises, starting from the western prong of the Pyrenees, the Basque country, the Cantabrian coast and nearly all modern Portugal. Dry Spain, which covers nearly 2/3 of the Peninsula, has an essentially erratic rainfall, varying from the annual average of 23 ins. to less than 15 ins. In many cases, the beneficial effects of the rain are nullified by evaporation, wherever it is not possible, as in the Levant (the region of Valencia and Murcia), to remedy this state of affairs by the irrigation of parched lands.

The North and North-West of the Peninsula, and in general all the Atlantic seaboard, enjoy, as a result of the humidity and prevalence of clouds which are features of the region, comparatively mild weather. Similarly, in the Mediterranean zone, from Catalonia and Levante to the Andalusian coast, the winters are mild, with a characteristically high sunshine record and clear, bright atmospheric conditions.

3. Hydrography. The physical formation and climate of the country, and the frequently impermeable nature of the soil, explain the Peninsula's water shortage and the irregularity of the supply from its rivers, which are nearly always dry during the dog-days, when evaporation is at its highest. These rivers have the same characteristics as North African *wādīs*; they are either almost completely dry, or else sudden spates transform them into torrents, with the disastrous concomitant effects of erosion and removal by alluvion.

The rivers which flow towards the north and west are in general coastal rivers of no great length, the chief one being the Miño (Portuguese Minho), which forms the northern frontier of Portugal and discharges its waters into the Atlantic. Three other rivers, which have an extremely irregular supply of water and which drain the waters of the Meseta, also flow towards the Atlantic; the Duero (Port. Douro), the Tagus (Span. Tajo, Port. Tejo), and the Guadiana, whose estuary forms the southern frontier between Spain and Portugal. The most important river of the Peninsula is the Guadalquivir which, rising in one of the mountain groups in the South-East of the Meseta, is swelled by several tributaries, the most important being the Genil, which issues from the Sierra Nevada and is fed in summer by the melting snows from that massif. The Guadalquivir is the only river in the Peninsula whose lower course is navigable (over the last 75 miles). Several *wādīs* of a torrential nature reach the Levantine coast; they issue from the edge of the Meseta and provide, by means of dams, rather uncertain reserves of water for irrigation. The chief of these are the Segura and the Jucar, to-day used for the improvement of the *huerta* of Valencia.

The Ebro, which rises in the Basque country, is fed by the southern slopes of the Pyrenees (Aragón, Segra) and, after a difficult course, during which the gentleness of the gradients gradually reduces the volume of its waters in its lower reaches, turns towards the Mediterranean, into which it discharges after crossing an alluvial delta of considerable size.

4. General characteristics. The subsoil of the Peninsula is especially rich in metalliferous strata: lead, silver, iron, copper, manganese, marble. It is also rich in the natural salts, saltpetre, magnesium and silicates. The vegetation varies completely between dry Spain and wet Spain. In the former, three types of vegetation, more often associated with the Mediterranean zone, predominate: the forests (non-deciduous trees, various kinds of pines and holm oaks or cork-trees), the foothills (Span. *monte bajo*), and the steppe (scrub, esparto). In wet Spain, on the other hand, the countryside is green all the year round, owing to the presence of forests and natural prairies.

As a result of this natural variety Spain is a country of the greatest possible contrast. It is a commonplace to state that it is frequently possible to pass almost without transition from a river valley (*vega*), with its luxuriant vegetation, to the steppe burnt by the sun and the wind.

Bibliography: Geography manuals; in particular, M. Sorre, *La Péninsule ibérique*, vol. vii of the *Géographie universelle* by Vidal de Lablache and Gallois.

(iii) Outline of the historical geography of al-Andalus

1. Descriptions of al-Andalus. The works of the Arab geographers, both eastern and western, which have come down to us constitute the essential part of our knowledge of al-Andalus in the Middle Ages, its development and the exploitation of its

natural resources. First, there are the Road Books (*masālik*) published by De Goeje in *BGA*, which only devote a limited amount of space to Spain: the oldest, those of Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn al-Faḳīh and Ibn Rusta, contain such brief descriptions that one assumes that up to the 4th/10th century al-Andalus was a province of Islam little known to the eastern world. From the time of the restoration of the Marwānid Caliphate at Cordova, the geographical documentation on al-Andalus becomes systematised, although still not elaborated in great detail. The expositions on al-Andalus by al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 322/934) concern agriculture and commerce, and describe fourteen itineraries in the interior of the Peninsula. His contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal had the advantage of having himself visited Spain and of having brought his documentation up to date by the interrogation of informants en route; the picture of al-Andalus revealed by the pen of this pro-Fāṭimid writer, is too often partial, but it is nevertheless the first rational description, at once full and coherent, of the Cordovan Kingdom, which has come down to us. Equally worthy of attention is the account of the Palestinian al-Muḳaddasī (end of 10th century) who, although he had not himself visited the Peninsula, makes important statements, apparently based on good authority, concerning in particular the intellectual life, the language, the metrology and the trade of the country.

From the time of the Caliphate, and in the centuries following, all the descriptions of al-Andalus, written primarily in the West, were indebted to the description which the celebrated Cordovan chronicler of oriental origin Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) placed at the head of his great history of al-Andalus, now lost, and which was used as a source for quotation, usually without acknowledgement, particularly by the compiler Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*. The "Description" of al-Rāzī is only known to us in a Castilian version, published in 1852 by P. de Gayangos and derived from a Portuguese version executed about the beginning of the 14th century at the order of King Denis of Portugal (1279-1325); the author of the present article has translated it into French and attempted to reconstruct the original Arabic (in *And.*, 1953, 51-108).

It is thus clear that the plan of the "Description" of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, though on the whole only sketched in outline, has served as a framework for most later descriptions; among the latter pride of place must be given to the description of the Andalusian Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), which unfortunately is lost, but which can be largely reconstructed from the notices on al-Andalus in the *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār* of the Maghribī compiler of the 7th/14th century Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, who has also made use of material from al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī. To this list must be added, in addition to the collections of *ʿadjāʾib* relative to al-Andalus contained in the works of al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Dimashḳī, the notices, sometimes of considerable length, collected by the Maghrībī al-Maḳḳarī (17th century) in the first volume of his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*.

Bibliography: General survey in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 233-9. The descriptions of Spain appearing in the *BGA*, are: Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Rusta (French trans. by G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 217-221), al-Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, v, 37-46; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *BGA*, ii, 74-9, to be studied in the new edition of J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, i, 108-17; al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 215-48 (French trans. by Ch. Pellat, Algiers, 1950). On the geographical literature of al-Andalus, the most complete work, despite many imperfections, is that of J. Alemany Bolufer, *Le Geografia de la Peninsula ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921 (extract from the *Rev. del Centro de Est. hist. de Granada y su reino*). Cf. also al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ* (Dozy and de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Éspagne*, Leiden 1866, text 165-214, Fr. trans. 197-266); E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au moyen âge d'après le Kitab al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, Leiden 1938.

2. Physical geography of al-Andalus according to Muslim geographical tradition.—According to al-Rāzī, al-Andalus forms the extremity of the fourth clime towards the West. It is a country mainly watered by numerous rivers and sweet water springs. The geographers, after this declaration, usually launch into panegyrics and devote much space to *laudes Hispaniae* rather in the manner of Isidore of Seville.

Al-Andalus is triangular in shape. Each of the angles of this triangle corresponds to a place famous in the traditions of Hispanic legend. On the angle at the apex, in the South-West, rises the temple of Cadiz, *Ṣanam Ḳādis* [*q.v.*]; the second angle is situated on the latitude of the Balearic Islands between Narbonne and Bordeaux (*sic*); the third, in the North-West, corresponds to the Torre de Hercules, near Corunna. These ideas are also partly illustrated by the maps of the Road Books, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Idrīsī. Al-Rāzī has clearly grasped one of the characteristics of the physical structure of the Peninsula: in his opinion, a distinction must be made between western Spain and eastern Spain, taking into account the differences in the direction of the winds, the rainfall and the course of the rivers. In western Spain, the rivers flow towards the Atlantic and rain in brought by the westerly winds. The opposite is true of eastern Spain, where easterly winds prevail and the rivers flow eastwards.

Other landmarks are often given to mark some of the points of the "triangle" formed by al-Andalus: Cape St. Vincent, at the south-western extremity of Portugal, in Arabic the "Church of the Crow" (Kanīsat al-Ghurāb); the Temple of Venus, at the opposite extremity, Haykal al-Zahra (Port-Vendres).

On approaching al-Andalus from continental Europe, Gaul (*Ghālish*) or the "Great Land" (*al-Arḍ al-Kabīra*), one must cross the range of the Pyrenees by one or other of the passes (*abwāb*) or "gates" (*burtāt*) in order to reach the land of the Gascons (al-Bashkūnish) or that of the Franks (al-Ifrandj). From there, it is possible to reach the shores of the Atlantic, called the "Sea of Darkness" (*Baḥr al-Ẓulumāt*) or the "green sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar*) or the "Surrounding Sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*). In this dangerous ocean a number of intrepid mariners carried on coastal trade from the land of the Blacks and the Canary Islands, the "Fortunate Islands" (*al-Khālidāt*), as far as the confines of Great Britain (Briṭāniya). The Mediterranean is known as the "Great Sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Kabīr*), the "Middle Sea" (*al-Baḥr al-Mutawassiṭ*) or even the "Tyrrhenian Sea" (*Baḥr Tīrān*).

In the opinion of al-Rāzī, there are only three mountain ranges in Spain, which traverse the Peninsula from one sea to the other, and none of which is crossed by a river. The first of these ranges is the Sierra Morena, called Mountains of Cordova (Djibāl Ḳurṭuba), which rises from the Mediterranean coast of Levante and terminates in Algarve, on the Atlantic. The second is the Pyrenean range,

between Narbonne and Galicia. The third cuts Spain obliquely, from Tortosa to Lisbon. It corresponds to the transverse range called al-Shārrāt, according to al-Idrīsī. However, the geographer is obliged to mention in addition the Sierra Nevada (Djabal Shulayr, "Mons Solarius") and the Serrania of Malaga (Djabal Rayyo) which extends as far as Algeciras.

The chief river of al-Andalus is the "Great River" (*al-Wādi 'l-Kabīr*), Guadalquivir, also known as al-Nahr al-Aʿẓam and Nahr Ḳurṭuba "River of Cordova". It is sometimes referred to by its ancient name of Nahr Bīṭī ("Baetis"). It is 310 miles in length. It is the river of Baetica, the richest part of the Peninsula, and waters Cordova and Seville. Its chief tributaries are the Genil (Wādī Sindjīl or Shanīl), which flows through Granada, Loja and Ecija; the Guadajoz (Wādī Shūsh); the Guadalimar (al-Wādi 'l-Aḥmar), thus named because of the reddish colour of its waters; and the Guadalbullón (Wādī Bullūn).

The Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) has a total length of 320 miles and rises not far from the source of the Guadalquivir. It runs underground for part of its course, and re-emerges in the Calatrava region. It discharges into the Atlantic at Ocsonoba.

The Tagus (Wādī Tādjū) rises in the mountains of Toledo and, after a course of 580 miles, flows into the Atlantic at Lisbon. Further north still is the Duero (Wādī Duwayro), 780 miles long, which is fed by several tributaries and flows into the Atlantic at Oporto (Burtuḳāl). Another important river, also flowing into the Atlantic, is the Miño (Portuguese Minho), Nahr Mīnyo, which crosses Galicia from East to West and is 300 miles long.

Of the rivers which flow towards the Mediterranean, al-Rāzī only mentions the Segura (Wādī Shaḳūra) which rises near the sources of the Guadalquivir and the Ebro (Río Ebro = Wādī Ibro); the latter rises at Fontibre, in Upper Castile and eventually reaches the sea not far from Tortosa, a distance of 204 miles. The Ebro has numerous tributaries, including the Río Gallego (Nahr Djillīḳ), which comes down from the mountains of Cerdagne (Djibāl al-Sīrṭāniyyīn).

3. Urban toponymy and territorial divisions of al-Andalus. Al-Andalus is notable, at all periods of its Muslim history, for the number of its urban centres, and provides a contrast with the relative poverty of North Africa, as regards population centres of equal importance. Nearly all the towns of Roman Spain survived the Arab invasion and continued to prosper. On the other hand, the new towns founded by the conquerors were not numerous and were almost always built for strategic reasons or as coastal bases intended to neutralise the aggressive ambitions of the Fāṭimids in the western Mediterranean, for instance, Murcia (Mursiya) which replaced the old town of Ello, and Almeria (al-Mariyya), which was at first simply a coastal observation post before being developed in the 10th century as an arsenal and naval station. In most cases, the old Latin place-names survived virtually intact, for instance, Corduba/Ḳurṭuba, Hispali/Ishbīliya, Caesaraugusta/Saraḳusṭa, Valentia/Balansiya, or else assumed a diminutive form, as *Toletum*, Toledo becoming Toletula/Ṭulayṭula. Certain place-names of historical interest had their origin in puns, Ocili becoming Madīnat Sālim/Medinaceli, which gave rise to the mythical existence of a pseudo-founder named Sālim. Towns with a descriptive Arabic name were the exception: e.g. the "Green Island", al-Djazīra al-Khaḍrāʾ (Algeciras). Some places bore the name of the Arab or Berber tribe which had populated them after the conquest: Baliy (Poley), Ghāfiḳ north of Cordova, Miknāsa (Mequinenza) in Aragon. In Levante, as evidence of a more profound Arab influence, many place-names were the names of "stages" coupled with an Arab forename: e.g. Manzil ʿAṭāʾ (Mislata) and Manzil Naṣr (Masanasa), in the suburbs of Valencia. Many place-names of the Valencia region were formed like names of tribes, with *Beni* plus the name of the eponymous ancestor (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 326-8).

At the time when Aḥmad al-Rāzī wrote his description of al-Andalus, Muslim Spain was already separated from Christian Spain by a boundary line, a sort of no man's land, flanked along its periphery by three Marches (thughūr): *al-aʿlā, al-awsaṭ, al-adnā*. Already many regions of the Peninsula, long since evacuated under the pressure of the first manifestations of the Reconquista, had been finally severed from al-Andalus; the Hispanic March in the East, the Basque country in the centre, the Cantabrian coast in the West. The famous expedition led against Santiago de Compostela (Shant Yāḳūb) by the ʿĀmirid al-Manṣūr was no more than a spectacular raid without lasting effect. During the period of the Caliphate, therefore, Islam definitively lost part of Spain and did not seek to recover it. The provincial organisation of al-Andalus, however, remained unchanged.

This organisation dated from the 8th century, and was therefore prior to the Marwānid restoration. It was based on the provincial districts (*kūra*), which had a chief town, a governor and a garrison. The lists of *kūras* under the Caliphate differ widely; al-Muḳaddasī gives an incomplete list of only 18 names. Yāḳūt enumerates 41, a figure approached by al-Rāzī, who describes successively 37. Later, al-Idrīsī introduced a division not into *kūras*, but into "climes" (*iḳlīm*), with no administrative significance and putting forward many names which must be firmly rejected as apocryphal. By utilising the information given by al-Rāzī, who follows a concentric order round the capital, and al-Bakrī, the principal features of each of the main *kūras* of the provincial organisation under the Caliphate can easily be determined. The *kūras* usually had the same name as their chief town, apart from a few exceptions noted below: the most important *kūra* was that of Cordova, bounded to the north by that of the Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ (Llano de los Pedroches, "plateau of the oaks"), whose chief place was Ghāfiḳ (doubtless the modern Belalcazar: cf. F. Hernandez, in *And.*, 1944, 71-109). On the other side of the fluvial plain of Cordova (al-Ḳanbāniya, modern la Campiña), to the south of the Guadalquivir, lay the small *kūras* of Cabra (Ḳabra) and Ecija (Istidjdja). Further west were the rich districts of Carmona (Ḳarmūna), Seville (Ishbīliya) and Niebla (Labla). The *kūra* of Ocsonoba (Ukhshūnuba), with Silves (Shilb) as its chief town, corresponded to Algärve (Gharb al-Andalus, i.e., the southern border of modern Portugal on the Atlantic. North of this district lay that of Beja (Bādja). The southernmost part of al-Andalus was divided into four *kūras*: Meron (Mawrūr), Sidona (Shadhūna), chief town Calsena (Ḳalshāna), Algeciras and Tacaronna (Tākurunnā), chief town Ronda (Runda). Further east, the *kūra* of Malaga (Mālaḳa), which was called Rayyo, had as its first chief town Archidona (Urdjudhūna); it was adjacent to the *kūra* of Elvira (Ilbīra, formerly Iliberris), a

little to the west of modern Granada (Gharnāṭa). The *kūra* of Elvira adjoined those of Jaén (Djayyān) and Pechina (Badjdjāna), the chief town of which was transferred to Almeria under al-Ḥakam II.

The Levante seaboard (Shark al-Andalus) on the Mediterranean was divided from South to North into three large *kūras*: Tudmīr, the old kingdom of prince Theodemir the Goth, with Murcia as its chief town, Játiva (Shāṭiba) and Valencia (Balansiya), which extended as far as the delta of the Ebro. Inland, beyond the Sierra Morena, the region of Toledo constituted a *kūra*, extended eastwads by the *kūra* of Santaver (Shantabariyya), with Uclés (Uklīdj) as its chief town. It is probable that, under the Caliphate, the Balearic Islands (al-Djazā'ir al-Sharkiyya) constituted a separate provincial district. In the western half of al-Andalus, the same applied to regions which had recently been pacified, such as Merida (Mārida), Badajoz (Baṭalyaws), Santarem (Shantarīn), Lisbon (al-Ushbūna) and perhaps Coïmbra (Kulumriyya).

Nine of these *kūras*, called *mudjannada*, still enjoyed under the Caliphate a privileged position, because their territories had been granted as fiefs in 125/742 by the Governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī to the Syrian *djunds* brought to Spain by the general Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*]: these were the districts of Elvira, fief of the Damascus *djund*; Rayyo, fief of the al-Urdunn *djund*; Sidona, fief of the Filasṭīn *djund*; Niebla and Seville, fief of the Ḥimṣ *djund*; Jaén, fief of the Kinnasrin *djund*; Beja, Ocsonoba, and also Murcia, fief of the *djund* of Egypt.

A certain number of outlying districts are mentioned by al-Rāzī in the territory of the Upper Marches: Tarragona (Ṭarrākūna), adjacent to Lerida (Lārida); Barbitāniya (Boltaña), with its stronghold of Barbastro (Barbashtro); Huesca (Washka); Tudela (*Tuṭīla*), with the fortified towns of Tarazona (Ṭarasūna); Arnedo (Arnūṭ); Calahorra (Kalahurra); and Najera (Nādjira).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne" d'Ahmad al-Razi*, in *And.*, xviii, 1953, passim *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, chap. vii (4) and xiii. See also separate articles on the various towns.

(iv) Population of al-Andalus

The complete absence of reliable statistics, and the silence of the geographers, precludes any computation, even a relative one, of the size of the population of al-Andalus at the period of its greatest geographical expansion, i.e. at the end of the 10th century. If one agrees with the conjectural estimate that the population was about ten millions during the Visigoth period on the eve of the Conquest, it must, in view of the small number of Muslim emigrants of other races, have remained roughly the same, with probably a higher proportion of urban dwellers and villagers than rural elements. On the other hand, more weight can be attached to the hypothesis that the distribution of the population over the various regions of the Peninsula was always dictated by physical environment, and that the density of the population in any particular area depended on the altitude and the nature of the country, the climate, the fertility of the soil and the possibility of irrigating it. It is not going too far to conjecture that those regions of al-Andalus which to-day have the smallest numbers of inhabitants already displayed the same characteristic at the time of the Caliphate of Cordova.

Among the components of the Muslim population of al-Andalus, a distinction must be drawn between the mass of neo-Muslims, i.e. Spaniards who became Muslims after the Conquest as the result of more or less spontaneous conversions, and the elements of other races. Among the latter, who settled in the country in the wake of successive, though numerically small, waves of immigrants, the Berber element seems to have been the most important; the Berbers do not seem to have come from all parts of Barbary, but from the regions of the Maghrib nearest to al-Andalus, the Moroccan Djabal and Rīf. These Berbers, who came from the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, when political or economic circumstances did not force them to return with all speed to their country of origin, were thrust back towards the uplands by the Arab emigrants who formed the aristocracy so that the latter might enjoy exclusive rights over the most fertile tracts of Andalusian soil. From certain information given by authors such as Ibn Ḥazm, in particular in his *Djamhara*, it might be supposed that the Berber colonies only occupied in a sporadic fashion certain territories of the coastal zone, and that they were obliged to settle in the Meseta. Once they were established, presumably these Berbers of al-Andalus rapidly became arabicised, even to the extent of ceasing to use their original dialects. It was not until the end of the 10th century that the influx of further contingents, justified by the large-scale recruitment of Berber mercenaries in central and eastern Maghrib, introduced into al-Andalus a mass of North Africans, who precipitated the ruin of the structure of the Caliphate and congregated in ethnical groups, which formed the following century the Berber *ṭā'ifa* opposed to the Andalusian *ṭā'ifa*.

The Arab element in al-Andalus was never more than a minority. The majority entered the country either at the time of the Conquest or in the course of the following years, and were later reinforced by contingents of Syrian *djundīs* and by the emigrants who flocked from Asia at the time of the Marwānid restoration in Spain. The Arabs originally probably only numbered a few thousand before inter-marriage with the native women and the system of *walā'* produced an impressive number of people who, rightly or wrongly, claimed an Arab origin. At all events, it is a fact that the Arabs represented an especially turbulent and aggressive element in the early centuries of the history of al-Andalus, and that although they despised work on the land, they nevertheless retained for themselves the best land, and left to crop-sharing colonists the task of farming the land and paying them their due share of the crops.

A third alien element in Andalusian society, which should be alluded to here although it formed only a relatively small proportion of the population, was the Negroes and Slavs. The Negroes (*ʿabīd*) of the Sudan, brought to Spain by traders specialising in the slave trade, eventually not only constituted a steadily increasing guard of mercenaries, but intermixed with the rest of the urban populations as the result of the marriage of Negro women, who were specially prized, and sought after also for their domestic virtues. The Slavs (Ṣakāliba [*q.v.*]), on the other hand, who were the product of captures in continental Europe from Germany to the Slav countries, or were captured in the course of *ṣā'ifas* on the borders of al-Andalus, eventually, during the second period of the Caliphate, constituted, especially at Cordova, a numerous and active group which weighed heavily in the economy of the Cordovan

GHĀLĪSH
DJABAL AL-BURTĀT
ASHTŪRĪSH
AL BASHKŪNISH
DJILLĪKIYYA
KASHTALLA
ALABA WA'L-KILĀʿ
BILĀD AL-IFRANDJ
CORUÑA
Shant Yākub
LUGO
OVIEDO
SANTANDER
VIZCAYA
GUIPÚZCOA
ALAVA
BANBALŪNA
PAMPLONA
Arbūna
Karkashūna
Haykal al-Zahrā'
Djarunda
GERONA
BARCELONA
BARSHILŪNA
LÉRIDA
LĀRIDA
ORENSE
LEÓN
LIYŪN
BURGOS
BURGHUSH
PALENCIA
LOGROÑO
Tuṭīla
WASHKA
HUESCA
SARAKUSTA
ZARAGOZA
Wādī Minyo
PONTEVEDRA
ENTRE DOURO E MINHO
ZAMORA
Sammūra
VALLADOLID
SORIA
TRAS-OS-MONTES
BURTUKĀL
Shant Mānkas
SEGOVIA
Kalʿat Ayyūb
Wādī Ibro
TARRAGONA
ṬARRĀKŪNA
TURṬŪSHA
TERUEL
GUADALAJARA
Wādī Duwayro
Shalamanka
SALAMANCA
DJIBĀL TULAYṬULA
MADRID
Wādī l-hidjāra
Madjrīt
ĀVILA
BEIRA
KULUMRIYYA
Sahlat Banī Razīn
Tirwāl
CASTELLON DE LA PLANA
AL-ANDALUS
MINŪRIKA
MAYŪRIKA
BAḤR AL-ZULUMĀT
Kūriyya
Talabayra
TOLEDO
TULAYṬULA
Ūklīdj
Kūnka
al-Būnt
CUENCA
Wādī Tādjo
CÁCERES
VALENCIA
SHARḲ
BALANSIYYA
AL-MUTAWASSIṬ
AL-SHARKIYYA
SHANTARĪN
ESTREMADURA
Djazīrat Shukr
Wādī Shukr
YĀBISA
AL-DJAZĀ'IR
AL-USHBŪNA
BATALYAWS
MĀRIDA
Kalʿat Rabāḥ
al-Basīt
Djandjāla
Shāṭiba
DĀNIYYA
al-Maʿdin
ALENTEJO
Wādī Ānā
BADAJOZ
CIUDAD REAL
ALBACETE
FAḤṢ AL-BALLŪṬ
Shakūra
Alsh
Lakant
ALICANTE
Ūryūla
Kusṭanṭīna
Ubbadha
DJIBĀL KURṬUBA
TUDMĪR
MURSIYYA
CÓRDOBA
Wādī l-Kabīr
Bayyāsa
JAÉN
MURCIA
AL-BAḤR
GHARB AL-ANDALUS
Mārtula
AL-SHARAF
KURṬUBA
al-Mudawwar
DJAYYĀN
Lawraka
HUELVA
Karmūna
Istidjdja
Basṭa
Kartādjannat al-halfā'
ALGARVE
LABLA
SHILB
WALBA
ISHBĪLIYA
SEVILLA
Lawsha
Wādī Sindjil
Mawrūr
ILBĪRA
GHARNĀṬA
Bayra
BAḤR AL-RŪM
Kanīsat al-ghurāb
UKHSHŪNUBA
GRANADA
ALMERÍA
AL-MARIYYA
Sharīsh
TĀKURUNNĀ
RAYYO
al-Ḥamma
Bubashtro
al-Bushārrāt
Kādis
Runda
MÁLAGA
MĀLAKA
Kalshāna
CÁDIZ
al-Djazīra al-khaḍrā'
Djabal Ṭārik
Tarīf
al-Zukāk
SABTA
Ṭandja
AL-ʿIDWA
NON-MUSLIM TERRITORY
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 km
0 50 100 150 miles

AL-ANDALUS

state and contributed in no small measure to its rapid collapse.

The Berber, Arab and other Muslim foreign elements, important though they were, were numerically far inferior to the much more important group of the Spanish neo-Muslims, who were known in al-Andalus by the generic terms *musālima* or, more especially, *muwalladūn*. These were Spaniards who, during or after the Conquest, had adopted Islam in order to enjoy a better personal status than that of *dhimmī*. The complete and rapid arabicisation of all these converts to Islam, to which in the vast majority of cases they displayed a deep and sincere attachment, is a remarkable phenomenon. In a short time the *muwallads* became assimilated into Muslim society and enabled the rulers of the country, by the rational use of their services, to make good the lack of emigrants of old Muslim stock. Many *muwallads*, soon fused in the melting-pot of Andalusian society, lost even the memory of their Spanish (Iberian or Gothic) origin, although they often bore Romance names. The co-existence within Islam of elements of population of such diverse origin, led to their gradual fusion, a process which was aided by the adoption of an identical way and rhythm of life and by the bilingualism which, at least in everyday life, placed Spanish Arabic and the Romance tongue (*al-ʿadjamiyya*) on the same footing.

The Muslim population of al-Andalus, which was so composite in origin, but which gradually became relatively homogeneous, was divided in the 10th century into a certain number of social classes, in the same way as the rest of the Islamic world: *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma*. The former comprised the great noble families who were often hereditary grantees, while the middle class, composed of merchants and small land owners, soon became a sort of urban bourgeoisie, though without charters or immunities. In contrast, the plebs or *ʿāmma*, in the towns and particularly in the country, constituted an obscure mass subjected to severe vexation by authority. As there is virtually no information on the agrarian law which was in force in al-Andalus, one is compelled to postulate the existence, undoubtedly necessary, of a rural proletariat, composed of day-labourers tied to the soil and leading a particularly wretched existence, mostly unable to escape their servile condition.

The tributaries (*muʿāhidūn*) in Andalusian society formed an important part of the population and comprised both Christians and Jews. The former, usually grouped under the general name of Mozárabes, all belonged to that part of the Spanish population which, at the time of the Conquest, had refused to renounce its faith in order to adopt that of the conquerors. In the large towns at least, notably in Cordova, Seville and Toledo, the Mozarab communities were organised under the protection and control of the Muslim central authority, with a leader responsible to that authority, the *comes* (*ḳūmis*), sometimes also called *defensor* or *protector*. He exercised over his community the powers of a police magistrate, and had the duty and responsibility of collecting the taxes; he was assisted by a special judge, *censor* or *ḳāḍi 'l-ʿadjam*, who settled disputes between the Mozarabs. The territory of al-Andalus, up to the end of the 11th century, remained divided into the same ecclesiastical districts as at the time of the Visigoths, namely, three metropolitan provinces (Toledo, Lusitania and Baetica), each with an archbishopric and several dioceses. The details have been preserved for us by al-Bakrī in what he calls "Constantine's partition". The names have been preserved of some very rare church dignitaries of al-Andalus under the Caliphate. The Mozarab community about which we possess the most information, though not numerically the most important, is that of Cordova.

We have even less information as to the numbers and activities of the Jewish communities in the towns of al-Andalus, each of which had a Jewish quarter (*ḥārat* or *madīnat al-Yahūd*, Span. *Judería*). At the same time, in the 11th century, and especially in the Zīrid Kingdom of Granada, the part played by Jewish excise officials and treasurers, the importance of the Banu 'l-Naghrallā family, the pogrom unleashed in Granada following the murder of the Crown Prince Buluggīn b. Bādīs b. Ḥabūs b. Zīrī, and the importance accorded in the economy of the small state of Granada to the large Jewish community which formed the bulk of the population in the town of Lucena (*al-Yussāna*), give rise to the belief that the Jews of al-Andalus, at all stages of the Reconquista, in the service of Muslims or Christians, played an active part in the country as counsellors and ambassadors, and that they controlled the main commercial channels between al-Andalus and continental Europe on the one hand, and the Muslim East on the other. In this connection, much may be expected from the study of the documents obtained in particular from the Geniza of Cairo.

Bibliography: The material given above in outline will be found in greater detail, with references, in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 163-232. See also, idem, *Esp. mus. Xe siècle*, 18-39 and passim; F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1897-1903; F. de las Cagigas, *Les Mozárabes*, Madrid 1947-49; H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vols. 5-7, Leipzig 1871-3; idem, *Les Juifs d'Espagne*, trans. into French by Stenne, Paris 1872; J. Amador de los Rios, *Historia social, politica y religiosa de los Judios de España y Portugal*, Madrid 1875.

(v) The development of al-Andalus

It is primarily the geographers who have given us more or less detailed information on the manner in which the soil of al-Andalus was cultivated and its vegetable and mineral resources exploited. We also possess a fairly extensive technical literature, formed by agronomic works of various periods, notably those of al-Ṭighnarī, Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Baṣṣāl, Ibn Luyūn and Ibn al-ʿAwwām. Mention must also be made of the "Cordovan Calendar of the year 961", published in 1873 by Dozy, at the same time as a definitely later version, and attributed to the Cordovan chronicler ʿArīb b. Saʿd [*q.v.*]. Unfortunately, this technical literature gives us practically no information on the methods of cultivation and on contracts of lease, questions on which certain juridical works give us information which is too vague for complete reliance to be placed on it.

1. Agriculture. As to-day in Spain, there was a distinction between dry land (Span. *secano* = Ar. *baʿl*) and irrigated land (Span. *regadío* = Ar. *saḳy*), the former being reserved for the cultivation of cereals. Owing to the poor quality of the soil and unfavourable climatic conditions, the cultivation of cereals was quite inadequate to provide the population with wheat and other bread grains; consequently al-Andalus, at certain periods of famine, had to rely on imports of North African wheat. Some varieties of Andalusian wheat (Toledo) were especi-

ally renowned. Millers used either horse-driven mills (*ṭāḥūna*) or water-mills (*raḥā*).

Vast stretches of country, especially in Andalusia and the Aljarafe region, were covered with olive-trees, and the olive oil industry was always extremely active there. Extraction methods were primitive, but the quantities of oil produced were sometimes in excess of local needs, and the surplus was exported to the rest of the Islamic world.

The cultivation of the vine, like other forms of dry cultivation, seems to have been extensively practised. Raisins were used for cooking, and above all the consumption of wine was virtually tolerated and its sale regulated.

It was, however, in the sphere of crops needing suitable irrigation that the Andalusians soon achieved an unchallenged supremacy, although it is not possible to attribute to them the invention of the system of irrigation which they used, in particular in the East of al-Andalus, and which still exists without substantial modification. The simplest form of irrigation was that practised with the aid of a network of irrigation channels (*sāḳiya*, Span. *acequia*) which criss-crossed the littoral plains of the Murcia and Valencia regions, and in which the flow of water depended entirely on differences of level. Water rights were fixed by custom according to a code, patriarchal in character, which is also still in use to-day. On the higher ground and in the valleys of rivers such as the Guadiana, Tagus and Ebro, irrigation could only be carried on with the aid of pumping machines, named, according to their type and function, *naʿūra* (Span. and Fr. *noria*) or *sāniya* (Span. *aceña*). This irrigation was used for the cultivation of vegetables and trees. The geographers vie with one another in their praises of the fruits of al-Andalus: cherries, apples and pears, almonds and pomegranates, and above all figs, of which numerous varieties were known in Spain. In some unusually sheltered coastal strips it was possible to grow crops of a sub-tropical nature: sugar-cane, bananas. The palm-groves of Elche (*Als͟h* [*q.v.*]) were one of the sights of the country.

Finally, the cultivation of aromatic herbs and plants used for making cloth was also carried on on a considerable scale; saffron, safflower, cumin, coriander, madder and henna, on the one hand, flax and cotton on the other. Silk cultivation flourished, mainly between Granada and the Mediterranean.

The geographers, in their descriptions, have devoted little space to the rearing of saddle- and draught-animals or animals for meat. Horses were bred in the grass-lands of the lower Guadalquivir, and Andalusian mules were already celebrated by the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal. Cattle, sheep and goats were reared everywhere, making use of the meagre pasture available. Apiculture, for the production of honey, was also practised.

The forest region of al-Andalus was exploited for the needs of the towns, notably charcoal. Pines, numerous on the edge of the Meseta, were felled for use as joists or ships' masts. The great steppe-like expanses of the south-east furnished an abundance of dwarf palms and esparto, used in basket-making and domestic purposes.

2. Mineral exploitation. The richness of the subsoil of al-Andalus justified mineral exploitation from earliest times, and the process continued during the Muslim era. Apart from gold, extracted from the gold-bearing sand of certain rivers, veins of silver and iron were mined north of Cordova, and deposits of cinnabar were exploited at Almaden and Ovejo. Copper was produced from pyrite mines of the Huelva region. Alum, sulphate of iron, lead and galena were also extracted. Muslim Spain was also renowned for its marble and precious stones. Like the Romans before them, the Andalusians made use of many thermal springs, nearly all of which still retain their old name of Alhama (Ar. *al-ḥāmma*).

The exploitation of the rock-salt mines and the salt-deposits on the coast at Cadiz, Almeria and Alicante was a flourishing industry. Fishing was carried on, especially with string-nets and tunny-nets (Ar. *al-maḍraba*): sardines and tunny were caught in large quantities.

Bibliography: The preceding is developed at length in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 233-98; see also idem, *Esp. mus. Xe siècle*, 157-94. Cf., for the period 11th to 13th century, C. E. Dubler, *Über das Wirtschaftsleben auf der iberischen Halbinsel vom XI. zum XIII. Jahrhundert*, Geneva-Zürich 1943; A. Carbonel T.-F., *La mineria y la metalurgia entre los Musulmanes en España*, Cordova 1929.

(vi) General survey of the history of al-Andalus

It is only possible to give here a brief outline of the development of the history of al-Andalus during the seven centuries of Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. For greater clarity, this outline will be divided into a number of chronological compartments, which will allow the presentation of a chronologically connected account without the necessity in most cases of going into events in greater detail.

1. The conquest of al-Andalus.
2. The history of al-Andalus up to the Marwānid restoration.
3. The Marwānid Kingdom of Cordova.
4. The Caliphate and the ʿĀmirid dictatorship.
5. The collapse of the Marwānid Caliphate and the partition of the Kingdom of al-Andalus.
6. The Kingdoms of the *ṭāʾifas* up to the battle of al-Zallāḳa.
7. Spain under the Almoravids.
8. Spain under the Almohads and the progress of the Reconquista.
9. The Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada and the conclusion of the Reconquista.

1. The conquest of al-Andalus. Of all the conquests undertaken by the Arabs in the first century of Islam, the conquest of al-Andalus is most remarkable for the speed and despatch with which it was accomplished. The accounts which have reached us of successive stages culminating in the extension of Muslim power over the whole of the Iberian Peninsula are particularly brief and unreliable; legend rapidly obscured historical reality with a veil which is nearly always impenetrable. It is clear that at the opportune moment the Arabs profited by the decayed state of the Visigoth Kingdom of Spain to turn their attention to it, and that they had the effective co-operation of many of the Spaniards themselves, desirous of throwing off a yoke which had become insupportable to them, to aid them in conquering it. The opportunity was tempting, at a moment when Arab power had just established itself firmly in North Morocco, and when the post of Governor of Ifrīḳiya and the Mag͟hrib was in the hands of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*]. To the latter, and to his lieutenant, the *mawlā*

Tārik b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], belonged the glory of the conquest of al-Andalus.

It seems certain that Mūsā b. Nuṣayr himself took the decision to try to occupy new territories on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar before referring the matter to the Caliph at Damascus; Mūsā took this step as a result of promises of support which he had received from the exarch of the town of Septem (Ceuta), which had remained a Byzantine possession despite the recent fall of Carthage into Muslim hands. This dignitary, Count Julian, facilitated the first Muslim landing, which was merely a raid led by the Berber officer Ṭarīf on the island of Tarifa (Djazīrat Ṭarīf) in Ramaḍān 91/July 710. The success of Ṭarīf's raid encouraged Ṭārik, the lieutenant of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, to place on a war footing an assault force of 7,000 men, which, with the aid of Count Julian's flotilla, established itself on Andalusian soil in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar (Djabal Ṭārik) in Radjab or Shaʿbān 92 April-May 711.

The decisive battle between the Muslim assault force and the regular troops of the Visigoth king, Roderic, which occurred a few weeks later, on 28 Ramaḍān 92/19 July 711, at Wādī Lago (Rio Barbate), ended in disaster for the Visigoths, who wavered and fled, while Ṭārik decided to advance further. The cities of the Gothic kingdom fell one after another: Cordova was taken by the freedman Mughīth at the beginning of 93/Oct. 711 and Toledo fell without resistance. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, anxious not to leave to Ṭārik alone all the prestige of the conquest, entered Spain shortly afterwards, in Ramaḍān 93/June 712, with a force of 18,000 men, mainly Arabs, and captured successively Seville and Merida (Shawwāl 94/June-July 713). Mūsā effected a junction with Ṭārik at Toledo and from there marched to occupy Saragossa. At that moment he received the order of the Caliph al-Walīd to return to Syria with Ṭārik. They both left Spain, which was almost completely conquered, never to return.

2. The history of al-Andalus up to the Marwānid restoration. The departure of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr to the East inaugurates a period during which a number of governors (*wālī*) succeeded one another as rulers of the newly-conquered territory with powers delegated by the central authority at Damascus, or simply as delegates of the nominal governor at al-Kayrawān. It is an extremely obscure period during which the rivalry of the Arab clans re-awoke in Spain, resulting in the greatest political confusion, and only marked by various fruitless attempts to extend Muslim power towards Gaulish territory (capture of Barcelona, Gerona and Narbonne), a raid against the Narbonnaise and Toulouse (100-2/719-721), and, in 725, an expedition to the valley of the Rhône as far as Burgundy. The last expedition of any size, led by the governor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfikī, who was killed in action, ended in the defeat of the Muslims by the Duke of the Franks Charles Martel, at *Balāṭ al-Shuhadā'*, a battle more commonly known as the Battle of Poitiers (Ramaḍān 114/October 732).

List of the governors of al-Andalus responsible to the Caliphs of Damascus

1. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], succeeded his father on the latter's death on 94/712-3. Assassinated in Radjab 97/March 716.
2. Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī (97/716), for six months.
3. al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thakafī [*q.v.*] (97-100/716-719).
4. al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī (Ramaḍān 100-Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 102/719-721).
5. ʿAnbasa b. Suḥaym al-Kalbī (102-107/721-726).
6. ʿUdhra b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fihrī (107/726).
7. Yaḥyā b. Salāma al-Kalbī (107-110/726-728).
8. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Aḥwaṣ al-Kaysī (110/728).
9. ʿUthmān b. Abī Nisʿa al-Khathʿamī (110-111/728-729).
10. al-Haytham b. ʿUbayd al-Kilābī (111/729-730).
11. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashdjaʿī (111-112/730).
12. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfikī ([*q.v.*], 112-114/730-732).
13. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Kaṭan al-Fihri [*q.v.*] (114-116/732-734).
14. ʿUkba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Salūlī (116-123/734-741).
15. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Kaṭan (for the second time) to 123/741.
16. Baldj b. Bishr al-Kushayrī [*q.v.*] (123-124/741-742).
17. Thaʿlaba B. Salama al-ʿĀmilī (124-125/742-743).
18. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Ḥusām b. Ḍirār al-Kalbī (125-127/743-745).
19. Thawāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmī (127-129/745-746).
20. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī (129/746-138/756, date of the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I.

Bibliography: (For 1 and 2): Sources and bibliography listed in detail in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, p. 8, note 2, *Ibid.*, 1-89, contains a detailed account of the conquest and the period of the governors. Cf. also Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 1-83; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasion de los Arabes en Espana*, Madrid 1892.

3. The Marwānid Kingdom of Cordova. (138-300/756-912). The circumstances attending the arrival in Spain of the Marwānid pretender ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, which enabled him to rally to his cause a large number of clients and partisans of his family and eventually defeated the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī near Cordova, where he was proclaimed *amīr* of al-Andalus on 10 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 138/15 May 756, are narrated in the article on this prince [see ʿAbd al-Raḥman I].

List of amīrs of al-Andalus up to the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III

1. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, born 113/731, *amīr* of al Andalus 138/756 to 172/788.
2. Hishām I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, born 139/757, *amīr* 172/788 to his death, 3 Ṣafar 180/17 April 796.
3. al-Ḥakam I b. Hishām I, born 154/770, *amīr* 180/796 to his death, 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 206/21 May 822.
4. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II b. al-Ḥakam I, born 176/792, *amīr* 206/822 to his death, 3 Rabīʿ II 238/22 September 852.
5. Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, born 207/823, *amīr* 238/852 to his death, 28 Ṣafar 273/4 August 886.
6. al-Mukdhir b. Muḥammad I, born 229/844, amīr 273/886 to his death, 15 Ṣafar 275/29 June 888.
7. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad I, brother of the latter, born 229/844, *amīr* from 275/888 to his death, 1 Rabīʿ I 300/16 Oct. 912.

Among the noteworthy features of this period of the Marwānid amīrate of al-Andalus, which lasted more than a century and a half, are the introduction

of the Mālikī *madhhab* into Spain during the peaceful reign of Hishām I, and the efforts of the *amirs* throughout almost the entire period to deal with the revolts instigated in the Marches by the Berbers, the Arabs and the *muwallads*, and to wage a holy war on the frontiers of the Kingdom. The attempts made against al-Ḥakam I (in particular the famous "revolt of the Suburb") on several occasions placed him in a dangerous position. Moreover the Reconquista, as a result of the aggressive spirit of the first Asturio-Leonese princes and the Franks of the Spanish March, gradually gained ground (final recapture of Barcelona).

The internal crisis was relieved for a time by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*], who fought simultaneously against the Franks, the Gascons and the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] of the Ebro valley, crushed the Mozarab revolt at Cordova (850-9), and threw back into the sea the Norsemen (*Urdumāniyyūn* or *Madjūs*) who had landed on the coast of Seville. This great ruler, who broke with the "Syrian tradition" introduced into Spain by his great-grandfather ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, organized the state of the ʿAbbāsid model.

His work was continued by his son Muḥammad I, at the end of whose reign, however, occurred the renewed insurrection of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. al-Djillikī [*q.v.*] and the rising of the whole of southern Andalusia under ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], whose revolt continued during the following reigns; further, during the reign of the amir ʿAbd Allāh, serious fighting broke out between Arabs and *muwallads* in the Elvira and Seville regions.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 91-396, with details of sources and bibliography. Dozy's history, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], vol. ii, is now out of date.

4. The Caliphate and the ʿĀmirid dictatorship. On the long and fruitful reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, the restoration of the Cordovan Caliphate, and home and foreign policy, see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN III, and Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 1-164.

His reign of fifty years represented not only the high-water mark of Marwānid rule in the Peninsula, but also the most flourishing period in the Muslim history of al-Andalus. On the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 22 Ramaḍān 350/4 November 961, he was succeeded by his son al-Ḥakam II, who was already nearly fifty years old, and who reigned until his own death on 3 Ṣafar 366/1, October 976. The latter's reign was also a successful and prosperous one. Cordova, in the words of the Saxon poetess Hroswitha, was the "ornament of the world", and at the same time, under the stimulus of a prince like al-Ḥakam II, who was a man of letters and a bibliophile, one of the most active centres of philological, literary and juridical culture in the entire Muslim world at that time, Christian Spain requested his arbitration, and the Reconquista seemed finally to be checked.

When he died, al-Ḥakam II only left as his successor a young son unfit to rule, Hishām II, born in 354/965 of the union of the Caliph with the Gascon *umm walad* Ṣubḥ. Once the palace intrigues were frustrated, the way was clear for a man of ambition and energy, who soon seized the reins of power and directed the destinies of the Caliphate with a dictatorial hand: the celebrated "major-domo" Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir, the future al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. The stages in the brilliant career of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, which speedily led him to the highest honours, will not be recounted in detail here. But this highly-talented politician showed himself also to be a general and a strategist who was both able and successful in his undertakings. He mounted successive attacks in the *djihād* against the Christian kingdoms to the North, inflicted on them severe defeats and even succeeded in capturing and destroying the famous sanctuary of Saint James of Compostela (Santiago, *Shant Yāḳub*) in the course of his campaign of 387/997 against Galicia. Al-Manṣūr died at Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim), on his return from a final campaign to North Castile, on 27 Ramaḍān 392/9 August 1002. He left Muslim Spain intact and, following ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, had even been able to extend Andalusian political influence over the whole of western Barbary.

One of al-Manṣūr's most skilful archievements was to respect throughout his life the external trappings of the Caliphate and to keep intact certain of its prerogatives on behalf of his nominal master Hishām II. The latter bequeathed the same powers of "major-domo" or *ḥādjib* to the favourite son of al-Manṣūr, ʿAbd al-Malik, who succeeded his father and adopted the honorific surname of al-Muẓaffar. He remained in power until his death in 399/1008 see ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ABĪ ʿĀMIR for the details of the history of his "septennate". The death of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿĀmir and his replacement by his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ushered in a period of disastrous disorders in the Spanish Caliphate which soon brought about its downfall.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 1-290.

5. The collapse of the Marwānid Caliphate and the partition of the Kingdom of al-Andalus. The military policy of al-Manṣūr had resulted in the introduction into Muslim Spain of a large number of mercenaries of North African Berber origin who, after his death and that of his successor, formed a centre of agitation against the Andalusians themselves and against the powerful Slav bloc. The train was fired by the insane desire of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo to have himself designated heir-presumptive to the throne by the Caliph Hishām II (Rabīʿ I 399/November 1008). This designation was extremely badly-received at Cordova and, following a plot against him, the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* was executed by the supporters of the Marwānid pretender Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār near Cordova on 3 Radjab 399/3 March 1009 [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABĪ ʿĀMIR].

From then on, the Kingdom of Cordova went through a period which was fatal to its destinies: pretenders and counter-pretenders, supported by the Berbers or by the enemies of the Berbers, hastened the ultimate downfall of the Caliphate.

List of the last Caliphs of Cordova

1. Hishām II b. al-Ḥakam II al-Muʾayyad biʾllāh (366-399/976-1009: 400-403/1010-1013).
2. Muḥammad II b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Mahdī (399-1009).
3. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Mustaʿīn (399/1009; 403/1013).
4. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Murtaḍā (408/1018).
5. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Mustaẓhir (414/1023-24).
6. Muḥammad III b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Mustakfī (414-416/1024-1025).
7. Hishām III b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Muʿtadd (420-422/1029-1031).

Ḥammūdid Caliphs

1. ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd (407-408/1016-1018).
2. al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd (408-413/1018-1023).

The Andalusian, Slav and Berber "factions" (*ṭāʾifa*, pl. *ṭawāʾif*) did not wait for the collapse of the Cordovan caliphate before splitting up the territory of al-Andalus into a multitude of small states, most of which had only an ephemeral existence and among which emerged only a few large political blocs, the Kingdoms of the ʿAbbādids of Seville, the Afṭasids of Badajoz, the Zīrids of Granada, the Dhu 'l-Nūnids of Toledo and the Hūdids of Saragossa.

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 291-341 (and bibliography quoted on p. 291, note 1); and see ḤAMMŪDIDS. For 3-5 see UMAYYADS.

6. The Kingdoms of the *ṭāʾifas* up to the battle of al-Zallāḳa. The history of Spain in the 11th century is characterized by the vigorous efforts of the Reconquista, stimulated by energetic and enterprising Christian monarchs who were more and more conscious of the necessity of re-establishing national unity at the expense of Islam. The internal history of the Kingdoms created by the dismemberment of the Spanish Caliphate is particularly dull and devoid of interest. As portrayed by the chroniclers, it presents a picture of constant turmoil—opposing interests, rivalries and perpetual disputes, through which it is not always possible to trace a guiding thread. The ethnic groups, to which belonged the dynasties which outlived those which were rapidly absorbed by their more powerful rivals, joined issue with one another. Andalusians fought against Berbers, and Slavs fought against both. Before long there was no hope of restoring the Caliphate, and the increasing weakness of each of these states only whetted the appetite of the Christian monarchs, who levied heavy tribute from them: this policy was followed particularly by King Alfonso VI, who succeeded, by skilful diplomacy, in effecting the peaceful occupation of Toledo (1085) and in making himself the arbiter in disputes between the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*.

The danger became so great that, whether they wished to or not, the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* were forced to seek help from the Almoravids. The turning-point came with the intervention of North African troops led by the *amir* Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, who defeated the forces of Alfonso VI at Sagrajas (al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]) on 22 Radjab 479/2 November 1086. This victory was not followed up, and Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, soon wearying of the spectacle of the disunion of the Andalusian kings and their compromises with the Christian monarch, dethroned them one after the other and simply annexed the greater part of al-Andalus to his dominions. From that moment, Muslim Spain was only the vassal of the Maghrib.

Bibliography: See the usually accurate lists given by A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas: estudio historico-numismatico de los Musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hégira (XI de J. C.)*, Madrid 1926. See also Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], vol. iii; A. Gonzales Palencia, *Hist. de la Esp. mus.*, 54-69; and ʿABBĀDIDS, AFṬASIDS, DHU'L-NŪNIDS, HŪDIDS, ZĪRIDS etc.; for a list of the dynasties of the *ṭawāʾif* cf. MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF.

7. Al-Andalus under the Almoravids. The Almoravid occupation of Muslim Spain was completed by the recapture of Valencia (495/1102), which had fallen into the hands of the Cid Campeador Rodrigo Díaz in 478/1085, and by the surrender of the Hūdid capital of Saragossa on the death of al-Mustaʿīn (503/1110). Al-Andalus then experienced, despite the domination of society by the *faḳīhs*, several decades of prosperity, marked by the indisputable successes of Almoravid arms (victory of Uclés in 502/1108) which, however, were unable to recapture Toledo. Saragossa itself fell in 512/1118 into the hands of Alfonso the Warrior. Christian pressure on al-Andalus increased, and achieved the greater success because the son and successor of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, ʿAlī, threatened in Morocco itself by the Almohads, soon became incapable of offering serious resistance to the manifestations of revolt which were appearing on all sides. The time was ripe for another change of masters in al-Andalus. [See AL-MURĀBIṬŪN].

Bibliography: R. Menendez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, definitive edition, Madrid 1947, F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en Espana*, Saragossa 1899.

8. Al-Andalus under the Almohads, and the progress of the Reconquista. After a period of thirty years, in the middle of the 12th century, during which certain movements took shape to weave a new pattern of "Kingdoms of *ṭāʾifas*", al-Andalus submitted to the authority of the Muʾminid dynasty of Morocco. The Almohads maintained for nearly a century an increasingly precarious grasp on those parts of the Peninsula which still belonged to Islam. The Reconquista won back more territory each year. In Catalonia, Ramón Berenguer IV occupied successively Tortosa and Lerida, but the chief architect of the Reconquista was King Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), who gained possession of Silves, Evora, and Cuenca. The Muslim victory at Alarces (*al-Arak*), won by the Almohad Caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, 8 Shaʿbān 591/18 July 1195, had no lasting effect. Less than fifteen years later, the Christian coalition, comprising troops from Castile, Leon, Navarre and Aragon, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa (*al-ʿIḳāb*), 15 Ṣafar 609/17 July 1212, which was followed by the fall of Ubeda and Baeza. The capture of Cordova occurred less than a quarter of a century later, followed by the capture of Valencia by Jacques I of Aragon (636/1238) and of Seville by Ferdinand III (646/1248).

Bibliography: See AL-ARAK, AL-ʿIḲĀB, ISHBĪLIYA, BALANSIYA, ḲURṬUBA, MUʾMINIDS.

9. The Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada and the conclusion of the Reconquista. For a further two and a half centuries the "Kingdom of Granada", despite successive amputations, continued to be the only territory on the Iberian Peninsula still under the authority of a Muslim ruler; bounded by the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to Almeria, this Kingdom did not extend inland beyond the mountain massifs of the Serranía de Ronda and the Sierra d'Elvira. The ancestor and founder of the Naṣrid dynasty (or Banu 'l-Aḥmar), Muḥammad I al-Ghālib biʾllāh, took possession of Granada in 635/1237-8 and organized the fortress called al-Ḥamrāʾ, the Alhambra, as a royal palace; at the same time, he agreed to become the tribute-paying vassal of the King of Castile, Ferdinand I, and then of his successor Alfonso X. Henceforth the policy of kings of Granada was to try to achieve a precarious balance in their alliances concluded either with the Christians, or with the Mārinids of Morocco, who intervened militarily on Andalusian territory and occupied certain points such as Ṭarīfa. Moroccan co-operation was gradually proved to be illusory:

the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan suffered a grave defeat on the Rio Salado (741/1340). Granada still retained some of the prestige of a capital by virtue of its monuments and literary gatherings, in which men like Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb were conspicuous. In the following century, with the advent of the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, the Christian offensive became co-ordinated and was conducted on a wider scale. Loja fell in 1486, Vélez-Malaga, Malaga and Almeria the following year, Baza in 1489, and Granada eventually surrendered to the Catholic monarchs on 2 Rabīʿ I 897/3 January 1492.

Bibliography: See NAṢRIDS. See also, on the fate of Spanish Muslims, whether converted to Christianity of not, after the conclusion of the Reconquista, MORISCOS. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

Appendix: the "Andalus" in North Africa

As a generic term *al-Andalus* is especially well known in the North African context where it denotes that element of the Islamic population which derives its origins from Spain. Generally speaking, the Andalusian element only appears in relief from about the end of the 15th century, but here we have to do with nothing more than the culmination of a long historical trend.

In the course of Hispano-Islamic history emigration to the Maghrib not infrequently served the inhabitants of al-Andalus as a means of escape from internal crisis. Andalusian commercial and external interests also played a great part in bringing Hispano-Islamic elements to the littoral of the Western and Central Maghrib.

From about the middle of the 12th century, when Muslim disasters in Western Andalusia sent a stream of emigrants to Ḳaṣr al-Kutāma (al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr), the advance of the Reconquista was to prove an increasingly important, though by no means the sole cause of emigration to North Africa. With the protracted disintegration of Islamic Spain emigration progressed sporadically until the 15th century when the critical events which foreshadowed the fall of Granada marked the beginning of what was to prove a veritable diaspora, of which North Africa experienced appreciable effects. By the end of the 16th century the number of Andalusian expatriates on Maghribī soil was such that they could be accounted an important minority of its population.

The advent of the 17th century brought new developments and it is not long before we see the outcome of the general expulsion of the Moriscos. From their ports of disembarkation large numbers are said to have made for Fez and Tlemsen, but of these a great proportion suffered death or spoliation at the hands of the Arab tribes. Many others succeeded in joining their compatriots at Algiers, and in Tunisia, where a policy of immigration was actively encouraged by ʿUthmān Dāy, the influx was considerable.

Of the Andalusians thus established in 17th century Tunisia a fairly detailed picture can be drawn. Their case is somewhat different from that of their 13th century precursors who are best known for their great political role in the Ḥafṣid state. Appearing as a highly organised and exclusive community under a supreme head (*shaykh al-Andalus*), they seem in their village communities to have enjoyed certain legal rights together with a large measure of independence in local government. The monopoly of a highly successful and well organised *shāshiya* industry enabled them so to modify the economic system that the *amīn al-shawwāsha* became *de jure amīn* of commerce, presiding over a commercial tribunal to which all corporations were subject and whose members were, with only two exceptions, recruited from the Andalusian *shawwāsha*. In the agricultural field Andalusian skill, fostered by the enlightened ʿUthmān Dāy, was turned to the exploitation of the fertile north, where the Moriscos ably applied their knowledge of irrigation and the techniques of husbandry to arboriculture and market gardening. During the 16th and 17th centuries the production and traffic of raw silk as well as the manufacture of stuffs, fabrics and embroidered goods were great specialities of the exiles. At Algiers, for instance, the silk industry was very much in their hands and contributed much to the wealth of the city. Much, on the other hand, that they might have contributed to the Maghrib was lost. In Morocco, for instance, the Saʿdids sought mainly to exploit them as a military force. For the rest, their occupation with piracy, and the slave trade must have accounted for the disappearance of traditional skills. Their traces, however, still survive in many spheres and many North Africans proudly proclaim their Andalusian origin which is in many cases apparent from their patronymics.

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(vii) ISLAM IN AL-ANDALUS

Al-Andalus was always a stronghold of Mālikism and a centre of orthodoxy from the beginning of the 9th century, when the *madhhab* of Medina was adopted and supplanted that of al-Awzāʿī. During the Marwānid period, as the new *madhhab* had the official support of the rulers of the country, there was no possibility of the implantation of other rites, and all Khāridjī or Shīʿī tendencies were suppressed in their early stages; the Andalusians could only direct their legal and theological activity towards the elaboration of manuals of *furūʿ*, and to a permanent attachment to the method of *taḳlīd*. In the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, however, there is apparent an infiltration, admittedly slight, of the Shāfiʿī and Ẓāhirī schools, the latter represented in Spain by the *ḳāḍī* Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355/966) until it found its "standard-bearer" in the person of the famous Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]. Similarly, there is apparent at certain periods a certain spread of Muʿtazilism, which corresponded to a revival of ascetic tendencies, whose principal representative was the Cordovan philosopher Ibn Masarra [*q.v.*] (d. 319/931).

The representatives of Andalusian Mālikism whose names and sometimes works have come down to us are legion. Nearly all of them have received biographical notices in the collections printed in the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*. After the fall of the Caliphate, jurisprudence was held in even greater esteem than before, and the social class of the *faḳīhs* frequently formed the most influential and active section of the population, especially under the Almoravids. From a doctrinal point of view, al-Andalus was scarcely affected by Almohad propaganda, and Mālikism reigned supreme up to the end.

Bibliography: General survey in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 453-88. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

(viii) ANDALUSIAN LITERATURE AND CULTURE

See ʿARABIYYA, B, *Appendix*.

(ix) ANDALUSIAN ART

The Iberian Peninsula, by virtue of its geographical position, which encloses the western end of the Mediterranean, and by reason of its predominantly Mediterranean characteristics, has been since ancient times an area favourable to the germination of Oriental influences. Possession of a common religion and a common language, the two factors, says Sarton, which constitute the strongest bond between peoples, strengthened relations between the two regions, relations which benefited also by the religious obligation of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Artistic trends and forms reached the Iberian Peninsula from the Orient over a period of eight centuries; some of these were developed to a greater degree and extent than in their country of origin. In Hispanic art there are echoes of the art of Byzantium and its cultural zones, of Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and Ifrīḳiya. In Syria as on Iberian soil, the art of the Middle Ages was modelled on the pattern of the art of Imperial Rome. The coincidence of certain forms in the works of these two countries points sometimes to their common origin and not to a direct relationship between the two. But, whereas in the eastern Mediterranean, civilisation developed without interruption from the first centuries of the Christian era and during the first centuries of Islam, the Iberian Peninsula, and the West as a whole, experienced grave crises and a considerable decline in its standard of civilisation.

We do not know many details of the transition from Visigothic Spain, whose lack of homogeneity and decadence are shown by its feeble resistance to the invaders, to Spain under Islamic domination. In the artistic sphere, works and remains of this obscure period and of the subsequent Islamic periods are lacking, with the result that in many cases the gaps must be filled by guesswork.

The art of al-Andalus developed with an original and distinctive character of its own. During the period of contact with the Orient, between the 2nd/8th and 9th/15th centuries, certain monuments of incomparable beauty, perfection and originality, such as have been preserved in no other Muslim country, were built there: the mosque at Cordova, unique both for its complex and skilful construction and for the richness of its decoration; the palaces of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, whose art and magnificence have never been surpassed; the Aljaferia of Saragossa, a palace of extraordinary originality and decorative profusion, the reconstruction of which is being undertaken at the present time; the Giralda tower, a monumental minaret which is one of the most beautiful in the Islamic world; and, finally, a huge palace, the Alhambra of Granada, wonderfully preserved despite its extreme fragility, in which architecture and the natural beauties of water and vegetation have combined to create one of the most inspiring scenes in the world.

Architecture

Umayyads. In default of older buildings, the study of Islamic architecture in al-Andalus must start from the oldest part of the Cordova mosque, built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I between 168 and 170/784-6, i.e. three-quarters of a century after the invasion and conquest of the Peninsula. By the time of the death of this *amīr*, only the finishing touches remained, and these were executed by his son Hishām (172-180/788-96).

This early oratory occupies the N.-W. portion of the building, which is still preserved to-day. The mosque is rectangular, with stone walls, divided into eleven aisles running North to South, perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall, the central aisle being larger than the others. The aisles are separated by marble columns deriving from Roman or Visigothic buildings. On the capitals rest square impost blocks, which in their turn carry rectangular stone piers, the overhang being supported transversely by means of corbels and terminating above in an impost. The piers are linked longitudinally by two ranges of arches; the lower arches, horseshoe-shaped, are suspended and support nothing; above, a second range consisting of semi-circular arches, springs from the imposts and supports the walls. By this method of construction it was possible to erect a huge building on slender columns, making the maximum use of the interior space and, for the faithful, ensuring a good view of the *imām* leading the prayer. Owing to the fact that the width of the supports was

increased in proportion to their height, it was possible to support the roofs and to place rain-water gutters in the thickness of the walls.

The method of construction with double superimposed arches, which gives the Cordova mosque an original beauty and a unique character in mediaeval architecture, is not found in any other mosque. In the other hypostyle mosques, the arches separating the aisles are supported by means of wooden beams which give them the appearance of temporary constructions. It is astonishing to find in Cordova in the second half of the 8th century such a perfect structure, in view of the apparent lack of architectural ability which is suggested by the use of columns originating from earlier buildings.

Repeated attempts have been made to establish the origin of these forms. The system of double arches could be inspired by Roman architectural works, for example aqueducts. Stone was used as constructional material in Syrian architecture, but also in Visigothic architecture in Spain. The arrangement of the ashlars alternately as stretchers or as parpens is frequently found in Roman buildings of the East and the West, which have inherited it from Greek buildings. Visigothic architecture made more general the use of the horseshoe arch, specimens of which are found in Roman and eastern Islamic architecture, although fewer than in the Peninsula. The alternate use of stone and brick in the voussoirs of the arches was frequent in Roman architecture, from which it passed into Byzantine architecture. The originality of the mosque of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I resides in the plan and general arrangement of the building, with its numerous parallel aisles, the central aisle being larger, as in the eastern mosques, and perhaps also in the wall buttresses and probably in the stepped crenellations which crown them.

The growth of the population of Cordova, in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), necessitated the enlargement of the mosque. By demolishing the *miḥrāb* and piercing the *ḳibla* wall, the aisles were extended southwards. The portion added follows the lines of the earlier work, but, among a large number of capitals originating from earlier buildings, there are eleven which were finely cut for the purpose and were inspired by classical models, and four, from the *miḥrāb*, which were later transferred to that of al-Ḥakam II. The latter are not inferior to the finest Roman capitals, and are evidence of the existence of a workshop of selected artisans. These works were commenced in 218/833; the first prayer before the new *miḥrāb* took place in 234/848, but the work was incomplete at the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. His son and successor Muḥammad I completed them in 241/855, a date which appears in an inscription on the St. Stephen door, whose bevelled decorations, inspired without doubt by Roman mosaic motifs, are of the Byzantine type.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300-50/912-61), left in the Great Mosque a memorial of his long and glorious reign, by constructing in 340/951 a new and monumental minaret, of square section like the Syrian minarets.

In 326/936, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, proclaimed caliph, began the construction of the royal city of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, at the foot of the Sierra, less than five miles from Cordova. The work proceeded until 365/976, a period of forty years during which the grandeur and power of the Andalusian caliphate reached their zenith, as is witnessed by the disfigured ruins of the palaces of this city, the seat of the court and officialdom, and by the enlargement of the Cordova mosque on the initiative of al-Ḥakam II.

The portions of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ until now brought to light are the ruins of stone buildings-dwellings, offices and reception halls, the last-named situated at the end of *patios* and consisting of several parallel aisles, separated by horseshoe arches on columns, following a basilica-type arrangement common in the East. For its decoration, the two caliphs, fired by the ambition to construct buildings of exceptional spendour and richness, imported materials and skilled craftsmen from the other end of the Mediterranean. The roofs and ceilings have gone—Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ was sacked and burnt several times during the early years of the 11th century and later served as a quarry up to a recent date—but there remains part of the stone and marble surfaces of the walls of many of the rooms, numerous columns and capitals of the same materials, and pavements of stone, marble and brick. The richly decorated surface of these buildings was entrusted to workshops of skilled craftsmen, some of whom came from the eastern Mediterranean; they possessed different training and different techniques for the working of stone and marble, but were especially familiar with the general characteristics of two-dimensional reliefs with vegetal motifs (there are a few simple geometrical motifs, of Byzantine origin), the majority far-removed from the vine and the acanthus motifs which derive from them. A magnificent hall, discovered in 1944, and at present in course of reconstruction because among its ruins were found many reliefs from the decorated surfaces of the inner walls, was decorated from 342 to 345/953-7.

The same craftsmen from the palaces of al-Zahrāʾ worked on the enlargement of the Great Mosque at Cordova; this work, initiated by al-Ḥakam II, was put in hand in 350/961, and the principal part was completed in 355/966. Workers in mosaic, requested from the emperor of Byzantium, had a hand in its decoration. An Oriental influence is also noticeable in the four vaults of intersecting arches in the extension, although no comparable example of an earlier date has yet been discovered in the East. The increase in the height of the walls of some bays in order to form vaulted lanterns probably comes from the mosques of Ifrīḳiya of the 9th century, although the vaults of the latter are of Byzantine origin. The arches, intersecting equally, but in plan and not in space, form an open lattice-work which, by an ingenious and skilful constructional technique, supports the cupolas. Some of the arches are cusped and ʿAbbāsid in origin; there are also a number of broken arches. The former were, from then on, combined with intersecting arches, one of the favourite themes of Hispano-Muslim art, used purely as decoration—following a process common to all Islamic art, but in al-Andalus carried to its ultimate conclusion.

In this extension, which dates from the reign of al-Ḥakam II, and which in fact constitutes a new mosque contiguous to the original, decorative forms of an incredible richness blend with a magnificent blaze of colour to cover the walls and the vaults, composed of vivid mosaics, with arabesques (*atauríque, al-tawriḳ*), the majority of cut stone, with the background painted red and inscriptions in other kinds of blue, and veined marble in the columns and pedestals. The mosque of al-Ḥakam II, like the hall of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III at al-Zahrāʾ, illustrates an art utilising its resources to the full, at its peak,

which, without parallel in the contemporary West, is an expression of the grandeur of the Cordovan caliphate.

The third and final enlargement of the Great Mosque was due to the initiative of the powerful al-Manṣūr, the minister of Hishām II, and was carried out between 377-80/987-90. It maintained the unity of the whole by repeating once more, as regards the engaged piers and the arches, the construction of the originals, without any novel feature, and inferior in richness and style. The doorways reveal a process of unification of the great variety of decorative techniques displayed at Madīnat al-Zahrā', but the result is heavy and monotonous.

Few traces remain of the work executed during the period of the *ṭā'ifas* in the 5th/11th century. In the mosques, on the evidence of the texts and such traces as remain, the division into aisles perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall by means of horseshoe arches on columns, is repeated. The princes of the *ṭā'ifas* built palaces rather than religious edifices. They could not rival their predecessors, rulers of a unified Spain, in power or wealth but they tried to imitate, at least in appearance, their splendid residences. In place of the solid stone walls of Madīnat al-Zahrā' they erected walls of clay and brick. The surfaces of stone and marble covered with arabesques (*ataurique*) were replaced by decoration in plaster, and the columns of marble, as in the Alcazaba of Malaga, by wooden columns. The polychromy conceals the poverty of the interior under an ephemeral display of richness and luxury. The reduction in grandeur and solidity, and the lack of architectural greatness, were compensated for not only by the more agreeable and picturesque aspect of the 5th/11th century buildings, but also by the introduction of running water in the halls and patios, and by the use of plants in the patios, doubtless as a result of an Oriental influence, perhaps via Ifrīḳiya.

The decorative art which sought to conceal the structural poverty of these palaces was a direct successor of the art of the caliphate but with an evolution towards the baroque, essentially Hispanic, by the transformation of the architectural elements of Cordova and Madīnat al-Zahrā' into other purely decorative elements, consisting of involved and complex designs and profuse ornamentation.

A work which is highly characteristic of the art of the *ṭā'ifas* is the palace built in the immediate vicinity of Saragossa by al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd (441-74/1049-81).

The 6th/12th century, i.e., the period of Almoravid and Almohad domination in al-Andalus, was one of the most fruitful periods of Western Islamic art, and at the same time one of the periods in which there occurred the greatest assimilation of forms originating from the eastern Mediterranean.

The Almoravids, Berber nomads from Africa, without a cultural tradition, remained on the fringe of the artistic trend. But the political union of Muslim Spain and Barbary for a period of just over a century (the 6th/12th and the first years of the 7th/13th), at first under the Almoravids and then under the Almohads, resulted in the spread of Andalusian art across the Straits of Gibraltar, into regions with a mainly rural civilization and without large urban centres. [Cf. AL-MURĀBIṬŪN (section on art)].

The construction of the Almoravid mosques shows changes as compared with the earlier Hispanic mosques, probably as the result of Mesopotamian influence. In place of the columns which had hitherto separated the aisles, they built brick pillars; this resulted in increased stability, enabling them to do away with the wooden tie-beams, but also in a loss of space and in reduced visibility. Compared with a hypostyle oratory, an oratory with brick pillars always seems heavy and monotonous.

No Almoravid mosque has been preserved in al-Andalus. The Great Mosques of Tlemcen and Algiers, originally devoid of decoration, were built probably in the last years of the 5th/11th century, before Andalusian influence reached the African shore. This occurred during the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (500-37/1106-43), during which the mosque at Tlemcen was enriched with splendid and profuse Hispanic decoration, which covers the surface of the *miḥrāb* as well as the walls and the cupola of the bay which precedes it. This decoration, according to an inscription in cursive letters which forms part of it, was completed in 530/1136. About 529/1135, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf enlarged the al-Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque at Fez, still closed to non-Muslims, in which there are intersecting arches obviously of Cordovan origin, and vaults formed by stalactites (called *mocárabes* in Spanish), originating from Persia or ʿIrāḳ, which span some of the bays. Its amazing perfection shows that this was not one of the first experiments with these imported elements.

The most characteristic Almoravid work of the decorative style is the Ḳubbat al-Barūdiyyīn of Marrākush, built probably between 514 and 526/1120-1130. The central portion of this small rectangular building is covered by a small cupola of curved brick. Within, eight arches intersect, in a fashion similar to those of the cupola which covers the bay before the *miḥrāb* in the mosque at Cordova. The arches are mixtilinear in the Marrakush specimen, composed of cusps, curves and right-angles, and the surfaces contained between their springings are covered, like almost all the others, with delicate plaster arabesques, around large scallops. This is a Hispanic work of extraordinary richness and unusual imagination; it expresses in an eloquent manner the anti-classical tendency to fragmentation and decorative excess which breaks out periodically in the course of the history of Spanish art.

The Almohads who, like their predecessors, lacked a cultural tradition, and were governed by their fundamental asceticism which condemned all luxury and all excess, as befitted a movement purporting to restore the purity of early Islam, influenced artistic evolution by placing severe restrictions on ornamentation, which was reduced to basic essentials, with precise and well-defined lines, on large, plain backgrounds. [Cf. AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN, section on art]. As no Almohad oratory has survived in Spain, we do not know whether these characteristics extended to them also; the remains of the Great Mosque at Seville, completed during the reign of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (572-94/1176-98), lead one to suppose that they displayed richer decoration than those preserved in the Maghrib.

The Almohads influenced artistic evolution in other respects as well. Inspired hy the memory of the past greatness of the Cordovan caliphate, as witnessed by its buildings, they built huge, symmetrical and well-planned mosques, solid, tall minarets, and great city gates, veritable triumphal archways in honour of the dynasty.

In the remainder of the Almoravid and Almohad palaces there appear two types of patios which later reached an extraordinary pitch of development in the art of Granada: the court with two transverse

pathways forming four squares of vegetation, with projecting pavilions on the shorter sides (El Castillejo, in the Vega of Murcia), and the type with a portico on one or two of its sides (the Yeso, in the Alcazar of Seville).

Almohad military architecture uses, in al-Andalus, arrangements deriving from Byzantine architecture and as yet unknown in the West. For instance, the bent gates (walls of Badajoz, Seville and Niebla); the barbicans; the polygonal towers (Cáceres, Badajoz, Seville) and the *albarranas* or towers outside the walls (Cáceres, Badajoz, Écija). With the stalactites, there arrived from the Orient cursive epigraphy (plaster decorations of the Mauror at Granada, and of the Castillejo at Murcia), and glazed or varnished ceramics used for exterior architectural decoration, of which the first example known in Spain is in the Torre del Oro at Seville (617/1220-21).

After the collapse of the Almohad empire, the last foothold of Islam in Spain was the tiny Kingdom of Granada, established a little before the middle of the 7th/13th century. The universally famous palace of the Alhambra at Granada, and nearly all the other buildings remaining from this final period, are not earlier than the 8th/14th century.

Naṣrid [see NAṢRIDS] or Granadan art, is a brilliant final phase of Islam in the Peninsula, which maintained its position partly on the fringes of official dynastic Almohad art, enriched by the legacy of the latter and by a few importations from the East, without forgetting the changes wrought by the inexorable march of time. It also represented, in its decorative aspect, the revival of the national tradition of dense, flat and fine ornamentation, after the brief Almohad deviation; the extent to which the latter spread through Spain is not known.

The craftsmen of Granada adorned the last days of a moribund civilisation with the most exquisite examples of what human genius and art can produce in the decorative field. With poor and fragile materials, they created large, strong, plain masses and severe, purely architectural volumes, like the Tower of Comares and the Gate of Justice, in the Alhambra, compositions as serene, harmonious and original as the patio of the Alberca, and cleverly planned interiors, such as those which are arranged in echelon from the Lions' Court to the platform of Daraja, in the royal palace at Granada. At the same time they constructed fortifications which are more important than the Hispano-Almohad ones which have been preserved, and Granada was enriched by public buildings, houses and palaces embellished with exquisite art. From modest residences to the royal palaces which surrounded the city, every building had its patios, fountains, cisterns, pavements of brilliant coloured tiles, plaster decoration and skilfully-assembled wooden roofs.

It is in the royal palace of the Alhambra, miraculously preserved despite its great fragility, that the art of Granada acquires its characteristics of magnificence and grandeur. The patios of the Alberca and of the Lions, built in the middle of the 8th/14th century, are the development are the development respectively of the types with porticos built on the shorter sides and with two transverse pathways of the Almoravid era. The stalactites in the Alhambra form complex vaults, cover the extrados of the arches, serve as imposts and cover the surface of some capitals. Above the socles of the glittering *alicatados* (*al-lukāṭ*)—mosaics of coloured tiles—the walls of the rooms are covered, as if hung with carpets, with plaster panels in which vegetal motifs—leaves divided into small leaflets, in Almoravid tradition, and others smooth, derived from Almohad decoration—are combined with complex geometrical outlines and inscriptions in Kufic and cursive. There is a tremendous wealth of ornamentation in the Alhambra, but the paucity of relief and the orderly arrangement on the walls within the panels obviate any sense of superabundance disorder. The whole is harmonious, light, and pleasant to look at.

At the time when these palaces were being built, Granada was being enriched by the construction of a series of important public buildings: a *funduḳ*, the "Alhondiga nueva"; a *madrasa* completed in 750/1349; a *māristān* or lunatic asylum (767-8/1365-7). These three buildings—only the first is preserved—conform to foreign plans, but their form represents the local style.

In the first half of the 9th/15th century, which coincided with the final political decadence, the art of Granada, failing to receive new contributions from the eastern Mediterranean, and exhausted by amazing but sterile refinements and subtleties, owing to self-repetition and dwelling exclusively in the past, became an empty formula. In a petrified form, it still survived in the Maghrib for several centuries, almost up to the present day.

Industrial Arts

Trade, mainly in the hands of the Jews and Syrians, distributed throughout al-Andalus many products of the decorative and industrial arts of the Orient, a number of which were easily transported. During the reigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and his son Hishām I, a taste for refined luxury and ostentation prevailed at Cordova, under the influence of Baghdād and Byzantium. There rapidly developed in al-Andalus the manufacture of textiles, jewelry, productions in ivory and ceramics, furniture, etc., imitations of imported work, in order to satisfy the demands of a large clientele in Muslim territory and the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula and north of the Pyrenees. The copy was sometimes so faithful that it is difficult to say whether certain articles emanated from countries at the other end of the Mediterranean, or whether they were made in al-Andalus. In the case of various bronze works in the Fāṭimid style, it is impossible to say definitely whether they were made in Egypt or Spain. It is only after a most careful scrutiny that one can say whether certain fabrics had their origin in the workshops of the ʿAbbāsids or al-Andalus.

The activity of the Hispanic workshops did not slacken in the 5th/11th century, but only in the following one, when the austerity of the first Almohad caliphs imposed a check, particularly on the royal workshops. In the Kingdom of Granada, in contrast, in spite of its smallness, the industrial arts reached a magnificent and final peak of development. In addition to satisfying the needs of an extravagant court, the export of its products helped to support a large population, which was obliged to pay a heavy tribute to the King of Castile.

Religious furniture in al-Andalus, commencing at least from the 4th/10th century, was of extraordinary richness and perfection. "The most skilful craftsmen", wrote an 8th/14th century historian, "agree that the *minbars* of the mosque at Cordova and of the Kutubiyya at Marrākush are the finest in existence; Orientals, to judge from their works, are not experts in wood-carving". According to al-Idrīsī, the *minbar* of the Great Mosque at Cordova is without equal in the world; it was made in the reign

of al-Ḥakam II. It is described as an incomparable example of the cabinet-maker's art, with inlays of ivory and fine woods.

The *minbar* of the Kutubiyya was made at Cordova between 534/1139 and 538/1143. It is covered with a delicate ornamentation of geometric interlacing figures in marquetry, consisting of small pieces of rich woods of various colours, bordered by fine lamellae of ivory; exquisite wood-carving fill the spaces between the traceries.

One of the greatest artistic glories of the caliphate was the caskets and jars of ivory (*ʿādj*, [*q.v.*]), whose antecedents must be sought in the sphere of Byzantine culture. They were in the court workshops during the 4th/10th century and the first half of the 5th/11th, Arabesques are the predominant feature of their ornamentation, although there is no lack of representations of animals and human beings, whose Mesopotamian origins go back to eras well before Islam.

Ceramics also achieved a singular development in al-Andalus [cf. KHAZAF]. During the period of the caliphate were manufactured what are known as "ceramics of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ", or of "Medina Elvira", because numerous examples have been found in the ruins of these two cities. On a white background, the decoration consisted of patterns in green (oxide of copper) outlined in dark brown (manganese). These ceramics are of Byzantine origin, but they developed independently in al-Andalus.

From ʿIrāḳ and Iran came the immensely rich gold faience. There is evidence of its manufacture in al-Andalus from the 5th/11th century; it may be earlier still. This luxury technique reached its greatest development and perfection in the 8th/14th century, with productions which were exceptional for their shape and richness, such as the superb vases of Malaga, the pride of those museums and collections which possess the rare specimens which have been preserved. Some have only decoration in gold; in others, gold ornamentation is combined with blue. From the 4th/10th century, we have fragments of ceramics with the colours separated by thin outline plates (*cuerda seca*), which appear to be of Spanish manufacture; on the other hand, engraved pottery, without glazing, only appeared, it seems, in the 6th/12th century.

Several specimens of the famous "baldachins", imported from Baghdād, which mark the peak of mediaeval silk-manufacture, are preserved in Spain. *Sirico* (Syrian) and *Grecisco* (Byzantine) fabrics, mentioned in numerous documents of Christian Spain of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, are evidence that the rich fabrics emanating from the Orient reached Spain.

At Seville and Cordova, there were in the 4th/10th century workshops producing *ṭirāz*, i.e., silken fabrics and brocades designed for ceremonial robes. Fabrics and robes were among the best-appreciated gifts. At the time of the Almoravids, the looms of Almeria were famous. During that period, the Byzantino-Sasanid tradition of decoration was still in force; it consisted of tangential circles with representations of animals arranged symmetrically inside, following the technique and the style of the ʿAbbāsid capital. The Almohad sovereigns suppressed the *ṭirāz*. The circle then disappeared from silks, and was replaced by geometric designs, traceries of straight and curved lines, rhombi, star-shaped polygons, etc.; from the 7th/13th century, decoration by means of multiple parallel bands bearing inscriptive and geometric elements, finally prevailed. The silks of Granada are of this type.

We have already alluded to the bronzes of the caliphate—lamps, chandeliers, *ḳandīls*, waterspouts in the form of animals, mortars, perfume-burners, etc.—and to the difficulty of establishing their place of origin because of their resemblance to the Fāṭimid bronzes. The perfection of the artistic metal-working technique in the 6th/12th century is illustrated by the plaques of engraved and chased bronze which cover the wooden leaves of the door of the patio of the Great Mosque at Seville, and its magnificent door-knockers, of cast and chased bronze, which remain on the very spot where they were made.

Museums and collections have preserved specimens of repousse silver bracelets dating back to the period of the caliphate. The technique of *repoussage* is less commonly found in gold jewelry, in which there is a predominance of filigree-work and wire threads forming settings filled with precious-stones or pieces of glass, a technique which survived until the last days of the Kingdom of Granada. Several swords are of this type, such as that of Boabdil in the Military Museum at Madrid, a masterpiece of the goldsmith's craft, of consummate elegance, whose hilt, of silvergilt and ivory, has a decoration of filigreework and polychrome enamels set in frames.

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(L. TORRES BALBÁS)

(x) SPANISH ARABIC

I. Of all post-classical Arabic dialects, the Arabic spoken in the Iberian Peninsula is the best known, as regards the mediaeval period.

As early as the 4th/10th century, the philologist al-Zubaydī al-Ishbīlī wrote a treatise on the errors of speech of the common people in al-Andalus. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Ḳuzmān [q.v.] wrote some *zadjals* [*q.v.*] full of linguistic and sociological interest, the majority of which have been preserved. In the 7th/13th century, the mystic al-Shushtarī [*q.v.*] also composed *zadjals* of which numerous collections are known. Unfortunately, the nature of the subjects dealt with in these dialect poems means that they are of less interest than those of the preceding poet.

In the middle of the 13th century, too, the reconquest of the Kingdom of Valencia by the Christians and the requirements of religious propaganda among the Muslim population, resulted in the production of a copious anonymous *Vocabulista*, Arabic-Latin and Latin-Arabic, which has been published. At the end of the 9th/15th century, the reconquest of the Kingdom of Granada led Br. Pedro de Alcala to compile in his turn an *Arte* and a *Vocabulista*, giving the Arabic in Roman transcription; the latter work is particularly valuable, but the prose texts of the *Arte* are often incorrect.

These are only the essential sources. Many secondary sources exist: minor composers of *zadjals*; several *khardjas* of *muwashshaḥs* [*q.v.*]. As regards

prose, there are documents in archives, private correspondence, account sheets, etc. Finally, as regards vocabulary, the authors of technical works written in classical Arabic point out numerous dialectal names: historians, geographers, doctors, botanists, agronomists, works on *ḥisba*, etc.

There is reason to suppose that Spanish Arabic must have ceased to be a living language towards the end of the 10th/16th century, the date of its extinction probably varying in different provinces. At all events, the Moriscos who, driven out of Spain, reached Tunisia and Morocco about 1610, seem to have no longer spoken Arabic, but Spanish. The Arabic-speaking period, in the Iberian Peninsula, would therefore have lasted for about eight centuries. This long period of time, combined with the division of the country into separate physical and political units, as well as the heterogeneous character of the Arab population, ought, it would seem, to have favoured the formation of separate Arabic dialects, as had occurred within the Romance linguistic framework: this does not seem to have happened. It is true that the documents we possess are disparate, both in time and space, thus precluding any worthwhile comparison. At the most, one can try to distinguish between the dialects of the South (Seville, Cordova, Granada), those of the East (Valencia, Murcia) and those of the Marches (Aragon). In the case of Toledo, we only possess notarial documents, drawn up in an extremely debased form of the classical language.

To sum up, as far as we are able to tell, Spanish Arabic seems to have preserved a high degree of homogeneity. But one must not forget that our only documentation relates to the urban dialects. It is possible that the rural dialects, spoken by people who moved about less than the inhabitants of towns, may have been more differentiated.

Although Spanish Arabic became extinct towards the end of the 10th/16th century, as a spoken language, it survived in the poems which still served as 'words' to the "Andalusian" airs that were played and sung by the inhabitants of the towns, from Tunisia to Morocco.

II. General characteristics: (In what follows, the origin of certain linguistic facts will be denoted as follows: Q = Ibn Ḳuzmān; V = *Vocabulista* of Valencia; G = *Vocabulista* of Granada).

A. *Phonetics. Consonants*

As in all post-classical dialects, the lateral *Ḏ* (ض) is represented, phonetically, by *Ḏ* (ظ) and, exceptionally, by *Ḍ*. The interdentals: *t*, *d*, *ḍ* are preserved, at least until late 15th century Granadan. ج appears to have been, originally, an affricate: *ǧ* = *dž*. In Q and V it does not assimilate the definite article. In G, it does assimilate, which can correspond either to a pronunciation *ž*, or to a weakening of the first occlusive element. As regards *ḳāf*, there is evidence of a "weak" Spanish pronunciation, but we do not know exactly what this "weakness" consists of. Apart from the consonants of classical Arabic, Spanish Arabic has the following, usually in Romance loan-words (or developments from the substratum): *p* and *č*, written respectively in Arabic پ and چ. *G* (Old Romance or Ibero-Visigoth), transliterated by غ; this creates a problem for Romance scholars. There is a noticeable tendency, especially marked in G, for the final-*n* after *ay* to disappear: *ay* "where?", *bay* "between", *s͟haharay* "two months".

Vowels.

Short Vowels. We must wait for the transliteration of *G* into Roman characters in order to have an idea of the nuances of the short vowel system: a/e, i/e, u/o, governed by the nature of the preceding or following consonants. This is largely the position in present-day Mag͟hribī.

Up to the end of the 15th century, short vowels in open syllables are relatively stable. The only short vowel threatened with elimination is that occurring in the second of two *internal* open syllables: *yat(a)kallam* "he speaks", *yat(a)k͟hāṣamu* "they quarrel with one another", *dak͟h(a)lat* "she enters". Of the short vowels, that of the quality *a* is the most dominant. In nouns, it is that of *segol* whatever the nature of the preceding stressed vowel. It is also that of the first syllable of nouns of instrument of the classical type *mifʿal*, and that of the last syllable of the diminutives = C^1uC^2ayya C^3 and $C^1uC^2aiC^3aC^4$. In verbs, the quality *a* appears at the beginning of the imperative of I: *aktub*! "write!", and at the beginning of the imperfect of the forms V, VI, VII, VIII and X. By analogy with the vocalisation of the perfect, this quality also appears in the imperfect of all derived forms (except, sometimes, III) and in both forms of the quadriliterals. Many vowels (short and always unstressed), seem to separate consonantal groups which are difficult to pronounce. Such a group may be initial (a process known to classical Arabic): *ufrunṭāl* "frontal" or final: *katábti-lak* "I have written to you". In addition, in poetry, a disjunctive vowel freely appears after a word ending in CVC and followed by another word beginning with a consonant. It can be internal, as in the case of nouns of the type, $R^1vR^2R^3$, in which $R^3$is either *R*, *L*, *N*, *M*, or *B*, or ʾ. E.g. *ʿaḳal* "intellect", *ʿid͟jal* "veal", *s͟hog͟hal* "work", *raṭab* "smooth and supple", *ḥumar* "red", *Aben-Zuhar* "Ibn Zuhr".

Long Vowels. In nouns, the sequence *ā-ū* tends to become *ai-ū*. The vowel *ā*, not supported by a strong (back) consonant tends to become palatalised. The stage most readily reached is *ē*; the Arabic letter *alif* is also regularly used in *aljamiado* to transliterate the Romance vowel *e*. In G., this last pronunciation is reserved for the *ā* of bookish vocabulary. In the words (not verbs) belonging to popular vocabulary, the palatalisation reaches the maximum degree: *ī*, hence *bīb* "door" written بيب, with a *yāʾ*.

Diphthongs: The classical diphthongs *ai*, *au* are preserved in their correct form, except in a few link-words: *kif*, *kaf*, *kayfa*; *lis las*, *laysa*.

Accent: This is only known to us as regards of the 15th century—the result of the notations of P. de Alcala, which have been assembled and studied by A. Steiger. Several Granadan scripts in Arabic characters show that, under the influence of stress accent, short vowels in open syllables become prolonged.

B. *Morphology*

The Verb: There are no 2nd persons feminine. In the perfect tense, the suffix of the 2nd person plural is—*tum*. In the imperfect, the 1st persons are of the pattern *naktub*—*naktabu*. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the perfect, the "doubled" verbs in the 1st form follow the classical conjugation: *ḥalalt* "I have opened". In the case of verbs with R^3 weak, the imperfect plural is of the pattern *yamsu* "they set out", *yaltaḳu* "they meet". In the derived forms including the IInd, the form of the imperfect is in—*a*—,

like that of the perfect. The use of the passive with vowel-change is well attested, but only in the Ist form; it is sometimes imitated by the VIIth. While the majority of the real settled dialects created an indicative present, Spanish Arabic evolved a contingent tense, which also functions as an unfulfilled conditional (after a protasis with *lau*) and as an optative. It is formed by the imperfect preceded by *kan* (G. = *kin*), which is constant and of which the final *-n* is normally assimilated by the preformatives *t-* and *y-*. The patterns of the perfect, for forms V and VI, are *atfaᶜᶜal, atfāᶜal*, derived secondarily from the imperfects *yat(a)faᶜᶜal, yat(a)fāᶜal*. On the same basis, we have *atfaᶜlal* for the IInd form of the quadriliteral. Note that, in these forms, the formative *t* is assimilated, not only by the dental occlusives, but also by the sibilants (*s, z, ṣ*) and the fricatives (*ṣ, ġ*). In a nominal clause, various negative copulas derived from the classical *laysa*; *las*; *lis*; *is*; *is* G. are used. Finally the use of *-shi*, to reinforce an interrogative or a negative, appears to be unknown.

Substantives: A real indefinite article is found: *waḥd-al-faras* "a (certain) horse". The dual is clearly obsolescent. It is only used for parts of the body occurring in pairs, and for words expressing measure. The plurals *afᶜul* and *afᶜila* are those ordinarily used. The type *mafāᶜil* is only used for singulars with second vowel long. The diminutive of triliteral words without medial or final long vowel is of the type fuᶜayyal: *kulayyab* "small dog (m.)", but *kulaiba* "small dog (f.)". In the construct state, the ending *-a* becomes *-at-*.

Numerals: For "2", we find *zaudj* followed by a plural. From 11 to 19 the numerals in their free state retain the ending *-ar*.

Qualifiers: Note, in Granadan, a diminutive of the type *fuᶜaiᶜal* for qualifying adjectives of the patterns *kabīr* and *aḥmar*.

Personal Pronouns: 2nd pers. sing.: *ant, att, at*. The third person has the abridged forms: *hu, hi, hum*, which perform the function principally of copulas in a nominal clause. On the other hand, there are the expanded forms: *huwat, hiyat, humat* (emphatic forms). For the 1st person of the plural, there are many variant forms: *nuḥan, niḥin, niḥinat* V.; *aḥan, ḥan, ḥenat* G. The reflexives are of the form *ana annassi* "myself", perhaps for *la-nafsi*. We find traces of a suffix *-ah* for the 3rd pers. fem. (after a consonant).

Relatives: The most usual is *alladhī*, indeclinable. Sometimes, from Q. onwards, we find it appearing as *addi*. In G., there occurs a mysterious form *allé*. Between an undefined noun and the adjective or clause (nominal or verbal) which qualifies it, there occurs an indeclinable conjunctive particle: *-an-*. This may possibly have some connexion with an old *tanwin* with a highly-developed usage: *laḥyat-an baydha* "a white beard", *ᶜaynayn-an sūd* "black eyes", *hawādjib-an riḳāḳ* "eyebrows", *kilmat-an fīha ḳāf* "a word containing a *ḳāf*, *kiṭṭ-an madhā-li* "a cat which I have lost", *waḳt-an tudhkar* at the moment when your name is mentioned".

C. *Prepositions*

The word *matāᶜ/mitāᶜ* is used as a preposition to introduce, analytically, the determinative complement (noun or pronoun) when direct connexion (*iḍāfa*) would be awkward. Between two nouns, the shortened form *mata/mité* (written متى) is found. The preposition *maᶜ-* is used to express a meaning corresponding to our verb "to have"; before personal suffixes with an initial vowel, it becomes *māᶜ-*: *māᶜu ḳiṭāᶜ* "he has money". The preposition *dh* which one meets fairly frequently in Toledan texts, is merely the transcription of the Romance *de*.

Grammatical link-words: The following should be noted: *ashḥāl*? "how much?", *baḥāl* "as", *dhāba* "now", *ḥurma f-ash* "for what reason?", *makkaī*, "at all events, at least", *yaddā* "also, equally" (the classical *ayḍan*), *niᶜma, saraf, akdās* "very, many" *shuway* "a little", *fawāt* "late", *ikkān* "if" (for *inkān*), *yā-ᶜalā* .... "would to God that ...." (*utinam*).

D. *Vocabulary*

Attention will only be drawn to the following: *duḳām* "mouth"; *udjdi* "face"; plur. *ḳiṭāᶜ* "coins, minted silver"; *wild* "father"; *muḳārib* "poor, bad"; *akḥal* "black".

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(G. S. COLIN)

ANDARĀB "between the waters", a frequent toponymic in Iranian countries.

(1) A district in northern Afg͟hānistān watered by the river Andarāb and its tributary Kāsān, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī 279 (Andarāba). Its present centre is Banū, see Burhān Kūsk͟hakī, *Ḳattag͟hān wa-Badak͟hs͟hān*, Russian transl., Tashkent 1926, 28-34. The K͟hāwak pass connects it with the silver-mines of Pand͟jhīr (Pand͟js͟hīr). The mint of Andarāb was used by several dynasties, and especially by the local Abū Dāwūdids (coins 264-310/877-922), see R. Vasmer in *Wien. Num. Zeit.*, 1924, 48-63. The rulers of Andarāb bore the title of *shahrsalēr*. See *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 109, 341; Le Strange, 427.

(2) A town (Andarāba) near Marw in which Sultan Sand͟jar had a castle built, see Barthold, *Istoriya oros͟heniya Turkestana*, 1914, 63.

(3) A place in Arrān, at one day's march from Bardaʿa, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī 182, probably identical with the present-day Lambarān on the K͟hačēn river, which flows to the south of the Terter.

(4) According to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 223, a place on the river of Ardabīl (now Balīk͟hlī-su), where it flows north of Mt. Sawalān above its junction with the Ahar river. (V. Minorsky)

ANDARŪN [see enderūn].

ANDI. The term "Andi peoples" embraces eight small Ibero-Caucasian Muslim peoples, some 50,000 in number, ethnically akin to but linguistically distinct from the Awar [*q.v.*]. They live in the basin of the Koysu of Andi, which runs from north to south across the mountainous western portion of the Soviet Autonomous Republic of Dāg͟histān [*q.v.*].

The group comprises: (1) the Andi proper, numbering 8,986 in 1933, about 10,000 in 1954; (2) Ak͟hwak͟h (or Ačwado); 4,610 in 1933; (3) Bagulal (or Kvanada), 3,637 in 1933; (4) Botlik͟h, 1,864 in 1933; (5) Godoberi, 1,500 in 1946; (6) Čamalal, 5,101 in 1933, about 7,000 in 1954; (7) Karata (or Kirdī-Kalal), 6,235 in 1939; (6) Tindi (or Tindal, Ideri), 4,777 in 1933.

The Andi peoples were converted to Islam by the Awar between the 13th and the 15th centuries, and are, like them, Sunnīs of the S͟hāfiʿite school. Each Andi people has its own language, belonging to the Awar-Ando-Dido group of the Dāg͟histān branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages, differing both from the language of the neighbouring people and from Awar; only the following peoples are able to understand the language of each other: Karata-Ak͟hwak͟h, Bagulal-Tindi, and Godoberi-Botlik͟h. No language of the Andi group is fixed by writing, the Andi using Awar, or less commonly Russian, as the language of administration and of education. Bilingualism (Awar and the local tongue) is general. On the eve of the 1918 Revolution Andi still had a pre-feudal system, and had never formed or belonged to a principality (despite the attempts of the Awar K͟hānate to subdue the Botlik͟h and the Ak͟hwak͟h in the 17th-18th centuries). They formed clans or "free societies", some of which combined as "federations". Each clan was governed by the assembly (*d͟jamāʿa*) of the *uzden* (free peasants). Women had more freedom than among the other Dāg͟histān peoples (absence of the *čadra* and of polygamy). Before 1918, the economy of the Andi was linked with Čečnya, which imposed its authority on them [see čečen], and with Central Causasia. To-day, especially since the suppression of the Soviet Republic of Čečeno-Ingus͟hen in 1945, they incline politically and culturally towards the Awar, and constitute with the latter, the Dido [*q.v.*], and the Arči [*q.v.*], a single "Awar nation". The economy of the Andi peoples is still of the traditional type—based on sheep-breeding on the seasonal migration system, cultivation on the terrace system, and the existence of a skilled body of artisans. The *aul* of Botlik͟h is an important market in the mountainous part of Dāg͟histān.

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(H. Carrère d'Encausse)

ANDID͟JĀN, town in Farg͟hāna, 40 43° north, 72 25° east, on the left of the upper Jaxartes (Sīr Daryā). In the 4th/10th century the town—then known as Anduk(g)ān—was under the rule of the Ḳarluḳs and later under their Ḳarak͟hānid rulers; in the 11th century it was under the Sald͟jūḳs (Yāḳūt, Cairo ed., i, 347). In the 12th century the town is mentioned as the centre of Farg͟hāna (cf. *Zap. Imp. Russk. geogr. ob-va xxix*, 72). Apparently the town suffered greatly from the Mongol raids and had to be rebuilt towards the end of the 13th century under the Čag͟hatay K͟hāns Kaydū and Duwā (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 246). Since then the place has been inhabited almost exclusively by Turks whose separate tribes apparently settled in different quarters of the town (Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 221 following "the Anonym of Iskandar"). Their language became the model for the whole of Farg͟hāna. It was used by ʿAlī S͟hīr Nawāʾī (according to the *Bābur-nāma*, Kazan 1857, 3). Andid͟jān remained the capital of Farg͟hāna and the centre of trade with Kās͟hg͟har throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. In the 15th century it became the capital of the K͟hānate of K͟hūḳand [*q.v.*] and continued to be an important market for agricultural products.

In 1875, when the Khanate was subjected, it was conquered by the Russians (Russian form of the name: Andižan). At that time it had 30,620 inhabitants who lived largely by agriculture and horticulture. Since then, petroleum fields and iron mines have been opened in the district. On the 17th and 18th of May 1898 a national-religious rising under the *īs͟hān* [*q.v.*] Madalī from Miñ Tepe (in the Margilān district) which Soviet historians attribute entirely to social motives, was put down after much bloodshed. (cf. such Soviet literature as *Revolyutsiya v Sredney Azii*, i, Tas͟hkent 1928, in which: Sang-zāda: *K 30-letiyu Andižanskogo vosstaniya 1898 g.*; E. G. Fëdorov, *Očerki natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dviženiya v Sredney Azii*, Tas͟hkent 1925; K. Ramzin, *Revolyuciya v Sredney Azii v obrazakh i kartinakh*, Moscow 1928). In 1902 the town lost 4500 inhabitants (there were 49,682 in 1900) in an earthquake (F. N. Černyšëv, etc., *Andižanskoe zemletryasenie 1902 g.*,

St. Petersburg 1914). After the suppression of the Basmači [*q.v.*] rising (since 1916) Andidjān became part of the Soviet Republic Uzbekistān in 1924 (number of inhabitants in 1939: 83,700; partly Russian) and it is now the centre of a separate district (since 6 March 1941; 3,800 sqkm.) and the centre of an important cotton-growing area. Since 1937/38 there have been petroleum finds in the area (comp. W. Leimbach: *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 340 f., with map). Today the town has a teachers' training college, an agricultural college a training college for women, an Uzbek theatre, a regional museum etc.

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ANDJUMAN, a Persian word already in frequent use in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi (5th/11th century) in the sense of "meeting, assembly, army". In modern times, it denoted primarily religious or confessional associations; then, at the beginning of the 20th century, at the time of the establishment of the parliamentary régime in Irān, political groups. One of the most celebrated of these groups was the *andjuman-i millī* ("national club") of Tabrīz, founded 1 Ramaḍān 1324/17 December 1906, by the leaders of the constitutional movement; other groups, moved by the same liberal tendencies, were then organised in the principal provincial towns [see IRĀN]. Later, other *andjumans* were set up by Persians in Istanbul and Bombay, and in India by the inhabitants of those parts. To-day, the term is applied primarily to learned or professional societies: the *andjuman-i adabī-i Īrān* ("Persian Literary Society" preceded the foundation of the Farhangistān-i Īrān ("Iranian Academy") in 1355/1936; since 1346/1926, the *andjuman-i āthār-i millī* ("Committee for National Monuments") has published scholarly editions of old texts (notably the works in Persian attributed to Avicenna). More recently, this term is also used for local associations, for example *andjuman-i Khurāsānīhā* ("Association of the People of Khurāsān resident in Tehran").

Bibliography: *As. Fr. B.*, May 1908, 175-6; *RMM* (National Club of Tabriz), May 1907, 1-9; August, 116-7; January 1908, 85, 161; March, 597; May, 167; Sept. 745; Oct. 291; Nov. 534; Women's Club: August 1905, 145; May 1907, 311, 379; Nov. 569; Muslim Associations of India: Nov. 1906, 77-8; Nov.-Dec. 1907, 579; Jan. 1908, 172; March 600). (H. MASSÉ)

The term is also used in Turkey, where it is pronounced *Endjümen*. In 1267/1851 the first modern academy of letters and sciences in the Middle East was created in Istanbul, under the name of *Endjümen-i Dānish*. Inspired by Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*], it was modelled on the French Academy, with forty Turkish members and a number of corresponding members, including such European orientalists as Hammer, Bianchi, and Redhouse. Its programme included the encouragement of the letters and sciences in Turkey and the advancement of the Turkish language. The Academy was first mooted at the Council of Education (*Medjlis-i Maʿārif*) in 1261/1845, and was formally authorised by an *irāde* of 27 Radjab 1267/26 May 1851. It was publicly inaugurated on 19 Ramaḍān 1267-18 July 1851, with a speech by Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, indicating the part the academy was to play in the renovation of Turkey. Its work was however impeded by the political instability of the time, and it petered out in 1279/1862 without having accomplished much more than the sponsorship of a few books, which included the Ottoman Grammar of Djewdet and Fuʾād Pashas, part of the history of Djewdet Pasha and his Turkish translation of the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn. After the revolution of 1908 a number of learned societies appeared, the most important of which was the Ottoman Historical Society (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*), founded in 1911.

The term *Endjümen* was also used in Turkey for various parliamentary and administrative committees, for the standing provincial and municipal committees, and for certain educational committees operating under the Ministry of Education. Such were the *Endjümen-i Teftīsh we-Muʿāyene*, (established 1299/1882, and the provincial and local educational committees (*Maʿārif Endjümeni*) established in 1328/1910 to initiate and supervise elementary education.—The word was also used for certain clubs founded on the European model, the first of which appears to have been the *Endjümen-i Ülfet*, founded in Istanbul in 1287/1870. In recent yars it has been replaced in most contexts by words of Western or Turkish origin.

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In India and Pakistan there have been and are several *andjumans* in different fields; the two most important, influential, and enduring are:

(1) The *Andjuman-i Taraḳḳi-i Urdū* which was founded in 1913 within the scientific section of the *Mohammadan Educational Conference* (itself established by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān) with Sir Thomas Arnold and Muḥammad Shiblī Nuʿmānī as its first president and secretary respectively. Its aims were to defend the Urdū language against Hindī as the *lingua franca* of India, and to develop and enrich it. Under its impulse and auspices books were written in Urdū and various others were translated from the English. In 1912 the *Andjuman* moved its headquarters from Aligarh to Awrangābād (Deccan) since when it ha been under the able and zealous secretaryship of Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ. In its new seat, where it was supported by the Ḥaydarābād State, the *Andjuman* showed vigorous activity not only in writing and editing Urdū works and classics but also in translating from the English (some translations were also made from the French, Arabic and Persian), works on history, philosophy, science and others of general interest. The *Andjuman*, thus, supplemented the work of the ʿUthmāniyya University (established 1918) which, in pursuance of its programme of giving all instruction in Urdū, concentrated on translating texts rather than general

works. But, besides issuing a learned quarterly called "Urdū" (which still continues) and another entitled "Science", and attempting to find means of improving Urdū script and print, perhaps the most important pioneering work has been the publication of the lists of translations of scientific, philosophical and professional technical terms and the issuing of English-Urdū and Urdū-English Dictionaries, modelled on the Oxford Concise Dictionary of English. In 1936, the *Andjuman* moved to Delhi and in 1948 to Karachi, where an Urdū College has been established giving all instruction (including modern science) in Urdū and hoping to become a University.

(2) The *Andjuman-i Ḥimāyat-i Islām* of Lahore, founded in 1884 under Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's inspiration of spreading Western education among Muslims and working for their social welfare, established in 1912 the Islāmiyya College at Lahore (and since the creation of Pakistan, has acquired another, a formerly Hindu College), where, like Aligarh, Western education was given along with the compulsory instruction of Islamic theology. The *Andjuman* has played, through its institutions and its leaders, an important role in the awakening of the Muslims of the Panjāb. Besides High Schools for boys and girls, the *Andjuman* runs an Islāmiyya College for Women, an Industrial School, a Ṭibbiyya College and Dispensary (on traditional lines but with some blend of modern medicine), an orphanage etc., and had a missionary school (Ishāʿat-i Islām College). It also issues a weekly paper called *Ḥimāyat-i Islām* and has its own press.

Bibliography: For (1) see a detailed account in *Oriente Moderno*, 1955, 331-43 and 536-48 by A. Bausani, also *Taʾrīkh-i Adab-i Urdū* by Rām Babū Saksena (Urdū translation by Muḥammad ʿAsfarī, Nawalkishore, Lucknow 1929, 392-4). For (2) see *Pakistan* by Dr. Gamāl-Eddine Heyworth-Dunne, Cairo 1952, 38.

(F. Rahman)

ANDKHŪY, in Yāḳūt, i, 372, Andakhūdh, also written Addakhūd and al-Nakhūd, name of a town in Afghānistan situated in the northwestern province of Mazār-i Sharīf. Located on the steppes sloping north some 50 kilometers to the Amū Daryā (Oxus) river, this town of about 25,000 people is on the perennial Andkhūy river and along the motor road which joins Harāt, Mazār-i Sharīf and Kābūl. Its modern fame is as a leading center of the *ḳaraḳul* (lambskin) trade. The single structure of architectural interest and considerable antiquity is the domed shrine of Bābā Walī Ṣāhib, a local Moslem saint whose proper name may have been Bābā Shukr Allāh Abdāl.

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(D. N. Wilber)

ANEIZA [see ʿUnayza].

ANFĀ the old name of Casablanca (Ar. al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ, dial.: Ḍār l-Bēḍa), often written as Anafe in the Portuguese chronicles. The word, according to E. Laoust (*REI*, 1939) is a variant of the Berber *afa* «summit, hillock», which induces one to place the early site on the hill now occupied by the residential quarter called «upper Anfa». Marmol attributes the foundation to the Carthaginians, Leo to the Romans, but neither theory is supported by any text or archaeological remains. Al-Zayyānī ascribes it to the Zānāta *amīrs*, and places it at the end of the 1st/7th century, but does not quote his sources. Al-Idrīsī mentions the port, already busy with the export of cereals. Nothing is known of the part played by the town during the episode of the Baraghwāṭā. Under the Marīnids, it figures as the capital of the province of Tāmasnā; it had fortifications, a governor, and a *ḳāḍī*; Abu 'l-Ḥasan built a *madrasa* there. In the anarchy which accompanied the decline of the dynasty, the town became virtually independent, and formed a small corsair republic. The Portuguese decided to terminate the activities of the corsairs, and in 1468 or 1469, during the reign of Alfonso V, an expedition led by the *infante* D. Fernando captured Anfā, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants. The Portuguese destroyed the town, razed the ramparts and re-embarked. Several authors state that they returned in 1515 and occupied the town until the middle of the 18th century. This is a legend, probably having its origin in the plan actually conceived by the Portuguese in 1515 of reoccupying Anfā and building there a stronghold when they had completed that of al-Maʿmūra. Their setback at the latter place forced them to abandon their plan. Anfā remained deserted and in ruins until its reconstruction by the sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, in the 18th century, when it assumed the name of al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ [*q.v.*].

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(A. Adam)

ANGELS [see Malāʾika].

ANGORA [see Anḳara].

ANHALWĀRA, in Arabic and Persian literature nahrwāla, modern Paṭan (pop., 1951 census, 43,044), situated 20° 51′ N, 72° 11′ E on the left bank of the Saraswatī in the Miḥsāna district of Bombay State, was the headquarters city of the Muslim *wilāyat* of Gudjarāt from 699/1299 to 816-817/1413-1414 when Aḥmad Shāh, grandson of Muẓaffar Khān, the first of the independent ṣulṭāns of Gudjarāt, made Aḥmadābād his capital.

History. Hindu and Jain tradition ascribes the foundation of Anhalwāra to the Cāvaḍā ruler Vanarāja in either 128/746 or 148/765 (see K. M. Munshī, *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, II, Bombay, 1944). Capital of the Chaulukya-Solānkī dynasty from the beginning of the 4th/middle of the 10th century, Anhalwāra was abandoned to Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn by Bhīmadeva in 416/1025, but Maḥmūd, intent upon Somnāth, paused there only to replenish his supplies. Although Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak plundered the city in 593/1196-7, the definitive Muslim conquest by the forces of the ṣulṭān of Dihlī did not occur until 699/1299, when Anhalwāra, ruled then by the Chaulukya-Vāghelās, was sacked by Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, generals of Ṣulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī. (See K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljīs*, Allahābād, 1950, on the date of this conquest). For a century Anhalwāra remained within Dihlī's area of paramountcy. Under the descendants of the wālī Muẓaffar Khān, who formally proclaimed himself independent in 810/1407, Anhalwāra sank to a *djāgīr*; after Akbar's conquest of

Gudjarāt in 980/1572, it became the centre of the *sarkār* of Paṭṭan in the *ṣūba* of Gudjarāt. (See Āʾīn-i-Akbarī, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1877).

Buildings. The Muslim remains at Anhalwāra date from the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The Ādīna or Djāmiʿ Masdjid, built of white marble c. 705/1305, was destroyed by the Mahrattas in the 12th/18th century and was used as a quarry for the modern town walls. The Gumada und Shaykh Djodh masdjids still stand, but the most magnificent Muslim construction now at Anhalwāra is the Khān Sarowar, "a really noble sheet of water", 1228 by 1273 feet, given its present form by Akbar's foster brother Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka between 997/1589 and 1002/1594.

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(P. HARDY)

ĀNĪ, ancient Armenian capital, whose ruins lie on the right bank of the Arpa-Čay (called by the Armenians Akhuryan) at about 20 miles from the point where that river joins the Araxes. A suggestion has been made that the town may owe its name to a temple of the Iranian goddess Anāhita (the Greek Anaïtis). The site was inhabited in the pre-Christian period, for pagan tombs have been found in the immediate vicinity of the town. As a fortress Ānī is mentioned as early as the 5th century A.D. Its foundation was conditioned by its position between the ravine of Tsalkotzadzor, through which a stream coming from the hills of Aladja flows towards the Arpa-Čay, and the steep bank of that river. In the ensuing centuries the princely house of the Kamsarakan (connected with the Arshakids) had a castle at Ānī, and the foundations of this building erected of stone blocks without mortar right on the rock, have been discovered. The oldest portion of the structure seems to be a little church which may have been built before the 7th century castle, and later used by the Kamsarakan as a house-chapel.

From the 8th century onward the district of Ānī, like the rest of Armenia, was under the suzerainty of the caliphs. During this period the dynasty of the Bagratids succeeded in gradually consolidating their possessions and establishing direct relations with the caliphs. In A.D. 887 the Bagratid Ashot, "prince of the princes of Armenia and Georgia", was proclaimed king by the nobles of his country and confirmed in this dignity by the caliph. The son of this first king, Smbat (called by Arabic authors Sanbāṭ b. Ashūṭ), was crucified in the year 914 by the governor Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, whose act is stigmatised as tyranny and rebellion against God and His Prophet" by Ibn Ḥawḳal, 252. Even under Smbat the kingdom of the Bagratids is said to have included the whole region from Dwin (Arab. Dabīl) to Bardhaʿa reaching southwards as far as the frontiers of Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra; thus al-Iṣṭakhrī, 188, 194). The son of the murdered king, "the Iron" Ashot, succeeded, partly with Byzantine assistance, in reconquering his kingdom; as ruler of Armenia he bore the Persian title *shāhānshāh* (king of kings) which had already been conferred on his predecessor and rival, Ashot, son of Shapuh, by Sabuk, the successor of Yūsuf.

In the first half of the 9th century the Bagratid Ashot Msaker ('the meat-eater') bought the district of Ānī from the Kamsarakan; but only under Ashot III (961-77) did Ānī become the royal capital. The wall which is still extant was built by Smbat II (977-89); the site of an older wall erected in 964 has been fixed by the excavations of 1893, and a comparison of the areas enclosed by the two walls indicates the rapid growth of the population. At a later period, town life overstepped the comparatively narrow space within the walls. The Bagratids built several bridges over the Arpa-Čay thus enabling the trade between Trebizond and Persia to take the shorter route through Ānī instead of passing through Dwin. The zenith of the Bagratids and their capital was reached under Gagik I (990-1020); from 993 onwards Ānī was the residence of the Catholicos of Armenia. As numerous inscriptions prove, Gagik retained the Persian title of *shāhānshāh* which also appears in an Armenian form (*arkʿayitz arkʿai*); he was also styled "king of the Armenians and Georgians". The remains of a church erected by Gagik in 1001 were excavated in 1905 and 1906; among them was found a statue of the king, with the model of the temple in his hand, and wearing a Muslim turban; the same headgear is also found in a relief portrait of his predecessor Smbat II, preserved in the monastery of Halbat.

Under Gagik's successors the kingdom rapidly decayed and in 1044 it became a part of the Byzantine empire but the growth of the town of Ānī was further encouraged by the Byzantine governors (*catapans*): an Armenian inscription ascribes to the catapan Aaron the erection of a magnificent aqueduct conducting water from the hills of Aladja to the town.

The Greek rule was ended by the sultan Alp Arslan who conquered and destroyed Ānī in the year 1064; according to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27, the town possessed at that time 500 churches. In 1072, a year after the defeat of the emperor Romanos Diogenes, the sultan sold Ānī to the Muslim dynasty of the Shaddādids [*q.v.*], and down to the end of the 12th century the town remained (apart from a few interruptions) the residence of a branch of that family. At that period the town had two mosques, one of which collapsed during the second half of the 16th century; the other, which had survived, was used (since 1907) as a museum for the objects discovered during the excavations. There are also Christian buildings belonging to the same period; the Shaddādids acted as beneficent rulers even towards their Christian subjects, and being related by marriage with the Bagratids, they were recognised by the Christian population as native and lawful kings. The walls of the town were repaired and furnished with some towers during their rule.

Ānī was for the first time conquered by the Georgians in 1124, under David II, who laid the foundation of the power of the Georgian kings; the town was given as a fief to the Armenian family of the Zakʿarids, (in Georgian: *Mkhargrdzeli* = Longimani), who extended the walls of the town so as to reach the steep banks of the Arpa-Čay. The Armenian tradition ignores the fact that the Georgian rulers (like their Greek predecessors) favoured the Greek-Orthodox tendency, which accordingly predominated in the architecture of the period. There was no religious persecution of Muslims during this period, just as there had been no persecution of Christians under the Shaddādids; a Muslim contemporary, whose gloss is found in Ibn Ḥawḳal, 242, confirms that the Georgian king protected Islam against all injury, and made no distinction between Muslim and Georgian. Probably in connection with the

foundation of the Trebizond Empire (1204), Ānī became an important centre of international trade; see A. Manandian, *O torgovle i gorodakh Armenii*[2], Erevan 1954, 278.

Ānī was besieged unsuccessfully by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 1226, and conquered by the Mongols in 1239; but even after this conquest the town remained for a time in the possession of the Zakʿarids; an inscription on the main gate shows that at a later period it was considered the 'private domain' (*khāṣṣ-indjū*) of the Mongol rulers of Persia; but it never regained its former importance. According to tradition, Ānī was finally destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1319; but both inscriptions and coins of a later date have been found. A variety of copper coins struck at Ānī by the Īlkhān Sulaymān (1339-1344) is called by the Turks "monkey-coin" (*maymūn sikkesi*), the coins bearing the image of a hairy figure. Coins bearing the name of Ānī were struck as late as the 14th century by the Djalāʾir, and even in the 15th century by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, though actually the mint must have stood outside the town, perhaps in the fortress of Maghazberd (less than 2 miles from Ānī). The excavations have shown that, after the decay of the palaces and churches, a rude and miserable population had built their dwellings on the ruins. At the time of Ker Porter's visit (November 1817) it was possible to distinguish these houses and their separate rooms, as well as the streets of the later period, which are but 12-14 feet wide. Later the name of Ānī was preserved only by a Muslim settlement standing near the ruins. After the war of 1877-8 Ānī was incorporated in Russia, but restored to Turkey by the treaty of 1921. It is now in the *ḳaḍā* of Arpaçay in the *wilāyet* of Kars, and has a population of ca. 350.

Bibliography: Accounts of the history of Ānī are chiefly found in Armenian sources, especially in Stephan Asolik, a contemporary of king Gagik I. The Arabic and Persian accounts are extremely scanty, and the town is not mentioned by the Arabic geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries; Yāḳūt, i, 70, gives Ānī a single line; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat* 93, states merely that the district has a cold climate and produces much corn and little fruit. The only Islamic source containing firsthand material on Ānī in the 6th/12th century is al-Fāriḳī's *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriḳīn*, Br. Mus., Or. 5803 and Or. 6310; see also the didactic chronicle by the local scholar Burhān al-Dīn Anawī (*Anīs al-Ḳulūb*, written in Persian in 608/1211, and described by F. Köprülü in *Bell.*, 1943, 379-521). Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27 (not quite accurate). See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* 1953, 79-106.

The ruins were first visited in 1693 by Gemelli-Carreri (*Collection de tous les voyages faits autour du monde*, ii, Paris 1788, 94) and described at length in 1817 by Ker Porter (*Travels*, i, London 1821, 172-5). In 1839 plans of the town were sketched by Texier (*Voyages en Arménie*, Paris 1842, *Atlas*, plate no. 14) and in 1844 by Abich (cf. M. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, St. Petersburg 1851, *Atlas*, plate no. 23 and Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, St. Petersburg 1860, *Atlas*, plate no. 30). The Christian monuments were described by Muravyev, *Gruziya i Armeniya*, St. Petersburg 1848; for the Muslim inscriptions see Khanykov (in 1848), cf. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i, 70 ff. and M. Brosset, *Rapports etc.*, 3-*e rapport*, 121-50); the *Album* compiled by Kästner (1850) contains pictures of architectural monuments on 36 leaves, and a collection of Armenian, Arabic, Persian and Georgian inscriptions on 11 leaves (cp. Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, 10-63). Among Armenian writers Nerses Sarkisyan and Sarkis Djalalyantz collected Armenian inscriptions, and their material was used in Alishan's historical work on the history of the town (Venice 1855, in Armenian, cp. Brosset in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iv, 392-412), now obsolete.

Russian excavations began in 1892 and were carried on systematically by Prof. N. Y. Marr in 1904-1917. Their results were published in numerous reports in Russian periodicals and in a special series (*Aniyskaya seriya*) containing guide books and studies by Marr, J. Orbeli, Barthold etc. In more detail see N. Marr, *Ani. Kniznaya istoriya goroda i raskopki*, Moscow 1934, and the architectural studies by Tʿoros Tʿoramanian (in Armenian), Erevan 1942-4. V. and I. Kratchkovsky, *Iz arabskoy epigrafiki v Ani*, in the presentation volume to N. Y. Marr, Moscow 1935, 671-93. (W. Barthold-[V. Minorsky])

ANIMALS [see ḤAYAWĀN[.

ANĪS, the pen-name of Mīr Babar ʿAlī, Urdu poet of Lucknow, India, who was noted chiefly as a writer of *marthiyas* or elegies on the tragic fate of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and other martyrs of Karbalā. He was born at Fyzabad (Fayḍābād) in 1216/1801 or 1217/1802; but, in his early manhood, migrated to Lucknow, where he enjoyed the patronage of the Shīʿite rulers of Oudh and their nobles. When the kingdom of Oudh was annexed by the British in 1856, he left Lucknow and visited many other places like Patna, Benares, Allahabad and Hyderabad-Deccan; but ultimately returned to his favourite city in his old age and died there in 1291/1874.

The chief merits of his poetry lie in the beauty and appropriateness of his diction, the perfection of his art, his remarkable powers of description, his successful delineation of character and the striking use of rhetorical figures. The emotional effect of his *marthiyas* was heightened by the forceful and dramatic manner in which he recited them in the presence of large audiences. In his special branch of poetry, Anīs had a serious rival in the person of his contemporary Dabīr [*q.v.*]. Each poet had thousands of enthusiastic partisans, who maintained that he was superior to his rival. The citizens of Lucknow were thus divided into two camps, the Anīsites and the Dabīrites, each extolling the qualities of its own favourite poet. Opinion is still divided on their relative merits; but there is general agreement that they share the honour of raising the Urdu *marthiya* to its greatest heights and that their cultivation of the poetic art undoubtedly contributed to the refinement and enrichment of the Urdu language.

The works of Anīs were published under the title, *Marāthī Anīs*, in four volumes at Lucknow in 1876, and have been reissued several times since then. There is another edition in three volumes by S. ʿAlī Ḥaydar Ṭabāṭabāʾī (Badāyūn 1921-30). A good idea of his writings may also be obtained from *Wāḳiʿāt-i Karbalā*, a volume of selections so arranged by S. Manẓūr ʿAlī Kākawrawī as to make a single connected story (2nd ed., Lucknow 1342).

Bibliography: R. B. Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1940, 126-130, 131-33; T. G. Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature* No. 152, Calcutta 1932; M. Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, Lahore c. 1880; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Muwā-*

zana-i Anīs o-Dabīr, Agra 1906; S. Naẓīr al-Ḥasan Fawḳ, *al-Mīzān*, Aligarh, n.d.; Amdjad ʿAlī Ashharī, *Ḥayāt-i Anīs*, Agra 1907; Mīr Mahdī Ḥasan Aḥsan, *Wāḳiʾāt Anīs*, Lucknow 1908; L. Srī Rām, *Khumkhāna-i Jāwīd*, vol. i, Delhi 1325; S. Masʿūd Ḥasan Riḍawī, *Rūḥ-i Anīs*, Allahabad 1931; Amīr Aḥmad ʿAlawī, *Yādgār-i Anīs*, Lucknow 1353; S. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Gul-i Raʿnā*, Azamgarh 1370; Abu ʾl-Layth Siddīḳī, *Lakhnaw kā Dabistān-i Shāʿirī*, Aligarh 1944; S. Muḥammad ʿAbbās, ed., *Rubāʿiyyāt Mīr Anīs*, Lucknow 1948. (Sh. Inayatullah)

ʿANḲĀʾ (often followed by *mughrib* as an epithet or in *iḍāfa*) a fabulous bird approximating to the phoenix, which was also located by the Greeks in the deserts of Arabia. The belief in this creature is of long-standing among the Arabs, who connect it with the Aṣḥāb al-Rass [*q.v.*], but it received its confirmation in a *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn ʿAbbās (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 19 ff.), which states that, created by God, the *ʿanḳāʾ*, in the beginning endowed with all perfections, had become a plague; one of the prophets of the "Interval" (*fatra*), either Khālid b. Sinān or Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān, is credited with having put an end to the havoc wrought by this species of bird. After Islam, the *ʿanḳāʾ* was definitely assimilated with the *sīmurgh*, which plays some part in Iranian mythology, and probably with the Indian *garuda*, the mount of Vishnu; thus a Shīʿite group, the Shumayṭiyya (see al-Shahrastānī, in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, ii, 3), adopted it and included it among the attributes of the Hidden Imām. Some authors give precise descriptions of this bird, although recognizing that it is extinct, but others claim that the Fāṭimids possessed specimens of it in their zoological gardens; there is no doubt that it is a type of heron.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², vii, 102 ff. and index; idem, *Tarbīʿ* (Pellat), index; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 356-7; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ii, 190-1; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 210; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 419-20; Damīrī, s.v. (Ch. Pellat)

ʿANKABŪT (A.), the spider. Al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī mention several species, the most dangerous of which is the poisonous tarantula, *al-Rutailāʾ* or *al-Ruthailāʾ*. Al-Damīrī also describes a fieldspider of reddish colour with fine hair on its body; at the head it has four claws with which it bites; it digs a nest in the ground, and seizes its prey by night. The weaving spiders make their webs according to mathematical rules; according to some the male spins the warp and the female the woof; according to others the female only is capable of making a web; as material they use spittle. When the web is finished the spider sits down in a corner waiting for a fly to enter the web, and pounces on it at once. Others suspend themselves on threads, others sit motionless on the ground and catch their prey at a jump; after rendering it helpless by entangling it in their web they carry it off to their lair and suck its blood. According to al-Djāḥiz the spiders young are among the most wonderful of existing things because they are able to spin without being taught. The spider lays eggs out of which come small worms which, after three days, change into spiders; the act of copulation lasts a very long time, Damīrī describes how the male approaches the female.—Spiders webs are applied to external wounds to stay the flow of blood; they are also used for polishing cornished silver. The spiders themselves when pounded, are said to be a good remedy against mucous fever etc.—According to the tradition a spider once saved Muḥammad from a great danger. When during the Hidjra he and Abū Bakr had sought refuge in a cave the Ḳuraish who pursued him found a spider web in its opening. They therefore gave up the search thinking that no one could have entered the cave a short time previously. This and similar legends are founded on the fact that the spider makes its web with extraordinary rapidity.—*Sūrat al-ʿAnkabūt* is the title of sūra 29. See also asṭurlāb.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 439; Damīrī, Cairo 1298, vi, 132 ff. (J. Ruska)

ANḲARA (Greek and Latin Ancyra, modern Greek Angora; known as Anḳira, Anḳūriyya and also as Ḳalʿat al-Salāsil, "fortress of the chains", to the Arab geographers; in Turkish times formerly Engüriye, Engüri, Engürü, forms which also occasionally appeared on coinage), town in the district of Galatia, in central Anatolia, capital of the Turkish Republic (at the same time of a *wilāyet*); 38° 55′ N, 32° 55′ E; 835 m. above sea level. It is situated near the northern edge of the central Anatolian steppe where three small rivers meet: the Bent Deresi or Hatip Suyu, the Incesu (Indje Su) and the Čubuḳ Suyu, which subsequently flow into the Saḳārya under the name of Anḳara [formerly Engürü] Suyu (or Čayl). It is at the foot and on the slopes of a mountain which lies north to south and rises towards the north, being crowned at its summit by an extensive castle. This summit is 978 m. above sea level and 110 m. above the valley of the neighbouring Hatip Deresi. The other side of the valley is flanked by a second hill, called Hlzlrllk (Khlḍlrllḳ).

Anḳara has probably always been a centre for the caravans going through Anatolia in all directions, and thus also a political centre. The old town—dating back to prehistoric times—was situated on the plateau of the castle hill; it gradually spread over the slope outside the fortifications and even to the western side of the plain at its foot. The original layout of the castle itself may well date back to the prehistoric period. In its present form it dates back to Byzantine days, and it was frequently extended and restored in Saldjūḳ times. Its walls contain many ancient remains. There are three distinct parts: the "outer castle" (Dlsh Ḳalʿe) which can be reached by the Ḥiṣār Ḳaplsl, whose walls encircle the castle to the south and to the west; the "inner castle" (Ič Ḳalʿe), a fairly regular rectangle; and, on the crest of the mountain to the north, the citadel, called Aḳ Ḳalʿe ("white castle").

Ancyra, at one time the capital of the Galatian tribe of the Tectosages, and later within the sphere of power of the Pontic King Mithridates, was finally incorporated into the Roman Empire in the year 25 B.C. It was then embellished with the buildings required by a Roman town. Of those which survive, the one deserving most mention is the temple of Roma and Augustus, erected on older foundations. On its walls we find the most famous of all antique inscriptions: the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, an account (in Latin and in Greek) given by the Emperor Augustus of his reign. In Christian times the temple was converted into a church; in Muslim times, the building was the seat of a Dervish saint, Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī, whose *türbe* and mosque stand beside the ruined temple. A column (Bilḳīs Minăresi) erected by Emperor Julian (or Jovian?) should also be mentioned. The foundations of a large Roman bath have recently been discovered on the road towards the north (to Čanklrl).

In the year A.D. 51 Ancyra was visited by St. Paul, who founded one of the oldest Christian communities there—to which he addressed his *Epistle to the Galatians*. Christianity survived in this town until the First World War.

In A.D. 620 Ancyra was taken by the Persian King Khusraw II Parwīz on his campaign against Asia Minor. After his defeat near Niniveh A.D. 627 he had to withdraw from the country—hence also from Ancyra. Subsequently Ancyra—capital of the Bukellarion theme—frequently suffered at the hands of Arab raiders. As early as 654, the Arabs held the town for a short space of time. In 806, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd besieged and plundered the town; as did his son, the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, in 838. In 871 the town was plundered by the Paulicians of Thephrike (Diwrigi), and in 931 it was threatened by the Arabs of Ṭarsūs.

Ancyra came under Turkish supremacy after the Emperor Romanus IV was defeated by the Saldjūḳ Sultan Alp Arslan, near Malāzgerd, in 1071 (the exact date is not known—the city was still Byzantine in 1073). During the First Crusade, however, it was re-conquered for the Byzantine Emperor by Raymond of Toulouse in 1101. Soon afterwards (it is not known exactly when), the city reverted to the Turks: first the Saldjūḳs; then, in 1127, the Dānishmendids; and finally, after the death of the Dānishmendid Malik Muḥammad Ghāzī (1143), back to the Saldjūḳs. When the Rūm Saldjūḳ empire was divided up under Ḳılıdj Arslan II (1190), Anḳara went to his son Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Masʿūd. In 1204, however, it was taken from him by his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh, who re-unified the Rūm Saldjūḳ empire. The oldest dateable work of Rūm Saldjūḳ art is of the time of Prince Masʿūd (Safar 594/Dec. 1197-Jan. 1198), a wooden *minbar* in the so-called ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque in the fortress of Anḳara.

After the death of the Sultan Kaykhusraw I in 1210, his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḳayḳobād—revolting against his elder brother, the Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I—obtained the fortress of Anḳara. After a year's siege, however, the city had to surrender to the other brother and Kayḳobād was imprisoned in Malaṭya, whence he returned only after the death of Kayḳāwūs (in 1219) to succeed to the throne. His reign (1219-37) introduced the Golden Age of the Rūm Saldjūḳ Empire. It is commemorated by the "White Bridge" (Aḳ Köprü) over the Čubuḳ Suyu, of 619/1222, an hour's journey to the north-east of Anḳara. This bridge connects Anḳara with Beypazar and the west. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty whether the beautiful bridge over the Ḳızıl Irmaḳ near Köprüköy (to the south-east of Anḳara) on the road to Ḳırshehir and Ḳayseri, the Çeşnigir Köprüsü, is of the same period. It bears no inscription but its name may well refer to the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Ayna Čāshnegīr who is repeatedly mentioned by Ibn Bībī, e.g. in connection with the handing over of Anḳara to Kaykāwūs I (Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, index).

The large so-called Arslan-Khāne mosque, outside the gate to the fortress (which may be regarded as the main Friday Mosque for the area of the city lying outside the fortress), dates from the late Saldjūḳ period, when the empire had sunk to the position of a protectorate of the Mongol Ilkhān Empire of Iran. It is a mosque with wooden pillars and with open beam work, containing a beautiful wooden *minbar* which was donated by two brothers belonging to the Akhīs in the year 689/1290. It also contains a *miḥrāb* with beautiful faience facing. The Ḳızılbey Djāmiʿ is of roughly the same period. Its *minbar* bears an inscription of 699/1299-1300 mentioning a certain *amīr* Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAlī Shīr as donor. He was possibly a member of the Turkmen dynasty of the Germiyan-oghlu. Towards the end of the 13th century the Saldjūḳ rule appears to have been merely nominal, whilst other rulers made their influence felt in Anḳara, such as the Germiyanid Yaʿḳūb and the members of the Akhī fraternity [*q.v.*].

In the beginning of the 14th century, after the collapse of the empire of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Anḳara belonged to that part of Anatolia which was incorporated into the Mongol Ilkhān empire of Iran. There are coins made in Anḳara for the Ilkhāns from the year 703/1304 to 742/1342. There is also a Persian inscription of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd (over the entrance to the fortress) dated 730/1330, in which the taxes payable by the population are recorded (cf. W. Hinz, in *Bell.*, 1949, 745 ff.). The Ilkhān rule extended over the area towards the west, beyond Anḳara, as far as Siwri-ḥisār. After the collapse of the Ilkhān Empire, Anḳara belonged to the territory of the *amīr* (after 1341, Sultan) Eretna of Sīwās, and his descendants. It may be assumed, however, that the rule over Anḳara of both the Ilkhāns and the Eretnids, was merely one of military occupation and tax collection, whilst the actual government remained in the hands of rich merchants and craftsmen of the city who were able to exercise considerable influence through the Akhī organisation. Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 751/1350) appears to have been the most prominent personality. He made donations to the main mosque in Anḳara, the Arslan-Khāne mosque, and he lies buried in a *türbe* beside this mosque. In the inscription on his wooden sarcophagus (now in the ethnographical museum in Anḳara), he calls himself *akhī muʿaẓẓam*.

According to John Cantacuzenus (ed. Bonn, iii, 284), Anḳara is supposed to have been occupied for the first time by the Ottomans in 1354 under Süleymān, the son of Orkhan, but the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of this. This occupation, if it occured, can only have been a temporary one. It was not until the beginning of the reign of Murād I (762/1361) that Anḳara became Ottoman. The early chronicler Neshrī (ed. Taeschner, i, 52, ii, 80 (57) reports that Anḳara was at that time in the hands of the Akhīs, and that they handed it over to Murād Beg. Murād's rule in Anḳara in the year 763/1361-2 is proved by an inscription in the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque in the fortress. In the early days of Ottoman rule, the wealthy Akhī families seem to have retained some influence in Anḳara, as we can gather from inscriptions in the mosques they built (such as that of a certain Akhī Yaʿḳūb of 794/1391 and a certain Akhī Evran of 816/1433). Later on there is no mention of them.

On July 20th 1402, there took place, on the Čubuḳ Owasī, north of Anḳara, the battle in which Tīmūr defeated Bāyezīd I and took him prisoner. During the time of the subsequent fights between Bāyezīd's sons, Anḳara belonged to the area of Meḥmed Čelebi. On various occasions he had to defend the city against his brothers, in 1404 against ʿĪsā Čelebi, in 1406 against the *amīr* Süleymān. During the quarrels between Sultan Bāyezīd II and his brother Djem, the governor of Anḳara decided in favour of Djem in 1482, until Bāyezīd succeeded in conquering the city. During the reign of Aḥmed I, Anḳara became the centre of a revolt led by a native of the town, a robber chieftain by name of Ḳalender-

oghlu. This revolt spread over most of Anatolia (1607) until it was put down by the Grand Vizier Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha in 1608.

The most prominent figure in Ottoman Anḳara is Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī [*q.v.*] (753/1352 to 833/1429-30), the founder of the darwīsh order of the Bayrāmiyya. His *türbe* and the mosque belonging to it (an attractive building with a tiled roof and a flat wooden ceiling inside, built in the beginning of the 15th century) are close up against the ruins of the temple of Augustus.

There are a number of small and medium sized mosques of Ottoman times in Anḳara. Amongst these some are worthy of special mention, such as the ʿImāret Djāmiʿ (built in 831/1427-28 by a certain Ḳaradja Beg, perhaps the one killed in the battle of Varna in 848/1445) in the style of an ancient Ottoman mosque on a ⊥ shaped plan, and the mosque of Djenābī Aḥmed Pasha, also called Yeni or Kurshunlu Djāmiʿ. This was built in 973/1565-66 by Sinān, the greatest of Ottoman architects. It has one dome, and beside it stands the *türbe* of its founder (d. 969/1561-62; concerning mosque and *türbe* see Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu and A. Saim Ülgen, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 1942, 213-22; E. Egli, *Sinan, Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Stuttgart [1954], 86-8). Other ancient buildings of Ottoman times which deserve a mention here, are the *khān* (Kurshunlu Khān, *waḳfiyye* of 1159-1746; see A. Galanti, ii, 133) and the *bedistān* beside it, which are halfway up the fortress hill. Both these were in ruins until recently, when they were restored for use as a museum of antiquities.

In Ottoman times, Anḳara was the capital of a *sandjaḳ* (*liwā*) of the *eyālet* of Anadolu. In the beginning it was at the same time the capital of the *eyālet*, until Kūtāhiya took over this function. Under the re-organisation of the internal government in the *tanẓīmat* times (law of 7 Djumādā II 1281/7 Nov. 1864), Anḳara became the capital of a *wilāyet* with the *sandjaḳ*s of Anḳara, Yozgad, Ḳïrshehir and Ḳayseri. The *sandjaḳ* of Anḳara had the following *ḳaḍā*s: Anḳara, Ayash, Bala, Zir, Beypazar, Djïbuḳābād, Haymana, Sifriḥiṣār, Mihalïcdjïḳ, Nallïhan, Yabanābād.

Anḳara is famous under the name by which it was formerly known in Europe, Angora, as the home of the beautiful white long-haired goats, which are bred all over central Anatolia. Their silky hair (mohair, Turk. *tiftik*) is a commodity in great demand.. The long-haired Angora ("Persian") cats and rabbits also enjoy considerable fame.

Since 1892, the town has been connected by railway with Ḥaydarpasha, opposite Istanbul. Before the First World War it was a small town; Cuinet gives 27,825 inhabitants for the time round about 1890, with a Christian minority of ca. 10%. Other reports about the number of inhabitants of Anḳara agree with this. The figure 70,000, given by Sāmī Bey Frāsherī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, i, 439, is undoubtedly exaggerated.

After the meeting of the National Congress at Sīwās in June 1919, that town remained for some months the centre of the revolutionary government. The seat of the government was moved to Anḳara in October, and Muṣṭafā Kemāl entered it on 27 Dec. 1919. On 13 Oct. 1923, by a decision of the Great National Assembly, Anḳara was declared the capital of Turkey. (Cf. Gazi Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk*, i, 240, 372; G. Jäschke, in *WI*, 1924, 262 ff.). In view of its increased importance and growing population Anḳara underwent great and rapid changes after 1925. The town plan was designed by H. Jansen. The most important suburb, on a spur of the Elmā Dagh, is Čanḳaya. The mausoleum of Atatürk, a work of the Turkish architect Emīn Onan, stands on a hill in the SW. Anḳara is the seat of a University and of other educational institutions. According to the preliminary returns for the census of 1955 Anḳara had 453,151 inhabitants.

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(F. TAESCHNER)

ANNA [see SIKKA].

AL-ʿ**ANNĀBA**, the present town of Bône, on the Algerian coast, east of Algiers. It is not known when it received the name of al-ʿAnnāba or, according to Leo Africanus, *Bilād al-ʿUnnāb*, "city of the jujubes", a reference to the fruit grown there. The early Arab geographers call it Būna, derived from its ancient name Hippona and testifying to its long history. It was successively a Phoenician settlement, a Punic city, a possession of the Numidian kings, and a Roman city named Hippo Regius, it played a major role during the Christian era when Saint Augustine was bishop there (395-430). Captured by the Vandals (430), retaken by the Byzantines, it became a Muslim possession at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century.

The urban centre has occupied various sites in the course of the centuries. Al-Bakrī is the most precise on the question. He distinguishes three settlements: the town made famous by "Agushtīn, the doctor of the Christian religion", situated on an eminence, very probably that on which the basilica of Saint Augustine stands to-day. At its foot, stretches "the city of Sibus", also called Madīnat Zāwī, from the name of the Zīrid prince who had received it as his portion (?). This site of the old town, which is in the process of being uncovered by excavation, and of the first Muslim city which in the 5th/11th century was flourishing, must gradually have been abandoned, as being too exposed to raids from oversea, and disappeared under the silt of the Seybouse. Finally, three miles from Madīnat Zāwī, rose New Bône, *Būna al-Ḥaditha*, in a more secure position and, after 450/1058, encircled by a rampart. This is the present Muslim quarter, which occupies the height overlooking the port and the European city. Since 425/1053 it has possessed a Great Mosque, certain

features of which recall the Great Mosques at al-Ḳayrawān and Tunis, and which later received the name of the holy man Sīdī Abū Marwān (died 505/1111).

Like al-Bid̲j̲aya, Bône was a base for active piracy, and was for this reason attacked by the Pisans and Genoese (1034). Roger II of Sicily captured it in 1153 and installed a Ḥammādid prince there. In 1160, it was taken by the Almohads. In the middle of the 13th century, it was annexed to the Ḥafṣid dominions; but, frequently independent of Tunis, it was furnished with governors, from al-Bid̲j̲aya or Constantine. In 1533, it appealed to K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn, the ruler of Algiers, and was occupied by a Turkish garrison, which remained there until 1830.

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ʿANNĀZIDS (Banū ʿAnnāz), a dynasty (c. 381-511/991-1117) in the frontier region between ʿIrāḳ and Iran, which was one of the manifestations of the period "between the Arabs and the Turks" when, in the wake of the westward expansion of the Būyids, numerous principalities of Iranian origin sprang up in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and Kurdistān.

As the rise of the Banū ʿAnnāz was based on the S̲h̲ād̲h̲and̲j̲ān Kurds, the dynasty should be considered as Kurdish, although the Arabic names and titles of the majority of the rulers indicate the Arab links of the ruling family. The organisation of the Banū ʿAnnāz was typically semi-nomadic, in that it combined clans living in tents with strongholds serving as treasuries and refuges in time of danger. The characteristic feature of the Banū ʿAnnāz dominion was the unusual flexibility of the organisation, now expanding and now shrinking. The existence of several rival branches of the family contributed even more to the vagueness of their territories and the constant displacement of their little-known centres.

There were two periods in the history of the ʿAnnāzids. At first the external centres between which the family shifted were Bag̲h̲dād, with its branch of the Būyids issued from ʿAḍud al-Dawla, and Rayy, with its branch of descendants of Rukn al-Dawla. In the immediate west the Shād̲h̲and̲j̲ān were constantly involved in the tribal affairs of the Arabs Banū ʿUḳayl and Banū Mazyad. In the east, they were separated from Rayy by the dominions of the Kurdish Ḥasanwayhids. In the second period, the appearance of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and their Turkish (G̲h̲uzz) tribes completely disorganised the life of the Banū ʿAnnāz who leaned now on the newcomers, now on the Būyid epigons, or fended for themselves in various tribal combinations.

The founder of the dynasty was (1) Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAnnāz who ruled in Ḥulwān (at the foot of the pass leading up to the Iranian plateau). The fact that Hilāl b. Muḥassin (*Eclipse*, iii, 422) calls him *ḥād̲j̲ib* and *nad̲j̲īb* suggests that he was attached to the administration of Bahāʾ al-Dawla (379-403/989-1013) and through that channel established himself in Ḥulwān where he ruled 20 years (381-401/991-1010). In 387/997 he temporarily seized Daḳūḳā from the ʿUḳayl. In 392/1002 he joined the commander Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. Hurmuz in the campaign against the Banū Mazyad. Later in the year he entered the service of ʿAmīd al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲. In 389/999 he destroyed the family of Zahmān b. Hindī, lord of K̲h̲āniḳin. In 397/1006 Badr b. Hasanūya temporarily dislodged him from Ḥulwān and he retired to Bag̲h̲dād, though according to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 157, he died in Ḥulwān.

(2) His son Ḥusām al-Dīn Abu 'l-S̲h̲awk Fāris (401-37) succeeded him in the principal fief (Ḥulwān), but at the same time his brothers became autonomous: Muhalhil b. Muḥammad in Shahrazūr [*q.v.*], and Surk̲h̲āb in Bandanīd̲j̲īn (Mandalī), on the border of the southern Kurdish tribes and the Lurs [*q.v.*]. This division led to a number of complications. In 405/1014 the Būyid S̲h̲ams al-Dawla (of Hamadān) clashed with the Ḥasanwayhid Hilāl b. Badr who was killed and his son Ṭāhir captured. During S̲h̲ams al-Dawla's absence in Rayy Abu 'l-S̲h̲awk occupied Kirmāns̲h̲āh (Ḳarmīsīn). S̲h̲ams al-Dawla returned to Hamadān and released Ṭāhir (in 405/1015) who rapidly defeated the ʿAnnāzids. Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to him and gave him his daughter, but then suddenly attacked and killed him. S̲h̲ams al-Dawla himself marched against Abu 'l-S̲h̲awk but in the battle fought near Kirmāns̲h̲āh (and witnessed by Avicenna, see his autobiography in Ibn Usaybīʿa, ii, 4), lost the day (*c.* 406/1015).

The Būyids of Rayy were succeeded (in 398/1007) by their maternal relative the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. By that time Abu'l-S̲h̲awk had already expanded up to Daynawar (and Shābūr-k̲h̲ast?), which ʿAlāʾ al-Daula now occupied. In the struggle between the western Būyids Abū Kālid̲j̲ār and D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla, Abu 'l-S̲h̲awk (420/1020) helped the latter but insisted on the reconciliation of the rivals. In the same year parties of G̲h̲uzz occupied Mawṣil and Abu'l-S̲h̲awk was ready to assist D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla, but the Arabs lost the day. In 428/1037 Abu 'l-S̲h̲awk sided with Abū Kālid̲j̲ār who was besieging D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla. In 460/1039 he again occupied Kirmāns̲h̲āh and the castles K̲h̲ūland̲j̲ān and Aranba (probably K̲h̲alind̲j̲e and Aranga near Kangāwar?) which belonged to the Ḳūhī Kurds (i.e. the Kurds of the Ḥasanwayhid federation).

In 431/1040 a war broke out in the region of Daynavar between his son Abu'l-Fatḥ and Muhalhil, who took Abu'l-Fatḥ prisoner. Abu'l-S̲h̲awk marched against his brother (in S̲h̲ahrazūr). But Muhalhil appealed to the Kakūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla who arrived and annexed Kirmāns̲h̲āh and Daynawar (432/1040). When his other brother, Surk̲h̲āb, made a pact with the D̲j̲āwānī (now D̲j̲āf) Kurds, Abu 'l-Shauk turned for help to D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla. Meanwhile ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla pushed on to Mard̲j̲ (Kerind?) and Abu 'l-S̲h̲awk took refuge in the castle of Sīrwān (on the Diyālā?). Finally ʿAlā al-dawla contented himself with Daynawar and then suddenly died in 433/Sept. 1041. In 434/1042 Abu 'l-S̲h̲awk again attacked Muhalhil who fled to Snda (perhaps Senne?). Abu 'l-Fatḥ had died in captivity and the brothers made peace.

In 435/1043 D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla died and at the same time a new enemy threatened the ʿAnnāzids. In 437/1045 Tug̲h̲ril sent his half-brother Ibrāhīm Yinal to the west, and Abu 'l-Shawk fortified himself in the castle of Sīrwān (see above), while the G̲h̲uzz devastated his dominions. He died in Ramaḍān 437/April 1046.

The Kurds rallied now round (3) Muhalhil who hastened to reoccupy Kirmān<u>sh</u>āh and Daynawar (438/1047), whence he ousted Badr b. Hilāl appointed by Ibrāhīm Yinal. It is possible that Muhalhil relied on some local tribes of <u>Sh</u>ahrazūr, for his nephew (4) Saʿdī (Suʿdā) b. Abi ʾl-<u>Sh</u>awk felt disappointed by his uncle's neglect of himself and the Shā<u>dh</u>an<u>dj</u>ān. He went to join Ibrāhīm Yinal (438/Sept. 1046), who reinforced his Shā<u>dh</u>an<u>dj</u>ān by a troop of Ghuzz. In Ḥulwān Saʿdī read the *khuṭba* for Ibrāhīm. He also occupied Bandanī<u>dj</u>īn, and his uncle Sur<u>kh</u>āb sought refuge in Diz-i Dēlōya (cf. the name of the Kurdish tribe Dēlō between Sharabān and Khaniḳīn), but then defeated and captured Saʿdī and his ally, the chief of the <u>Dj</u>āwān tribe. Soon, however, the Lurs, who were Sur<u>kh</u>āb's subjects, extradited their master to Ibrāhīm who had one of his eyes blinded. By that time, Saʿdī had been liberated by a rebel son of Sur<u>kh</u>āb. As Saʿdī was not too favourably received by Ibrāhīm, he returned to Daskara (near <u>Sh</u>ahrabān) and sought the help of Ba<u>gh</u>dād.

Ibrāhīm appointed a relation of his to occupy Sur<u>kh</u>āb's dominions and remitted Surkhāb to him to facilitate the surrender (<u>Dj</u>umādā II 439/Dec. 1047), but the envoy was defeated by Saʿdī's ally Abū ʾl-Fatḥ b. Warrām (*Warām < Bahrām?) <u>Dj</u>āwānī. Then the <u>Gh</u>uzz defeated Saʿdī and spread on the left bank of the Tigris. Saʿdī sought refuge among the Banū Mazyad Arabs and Ibrāhīm captured the last important castle of the ʿAnnāzids, Ḳalʿat al-Sīrwān (see above). Muhalhil had also to flee from <u>Sh</u>ahrazūr (439/1047). During the siege of Tīrānshāh (Tirhān?) by the <u>Gh</u>uzz, plague broke out among them and in 440/1048 Ibrāhīm Yinal recalled them to Māhīda<u>sh</u>t (west of Kirmānshāh).

Muhalhil re-occupied <u>Sh</u>ahrazūr but in 442/1050 he felt obliged to pay homage to Tu<u>gh</u>ril-bek, who received him kindly and re-instated the ʿAnnāzids: Muhalhil in Sīrwān, Daḳūḳā, <u>Sh</u>ahrazūr and Ṣāmghān (Zimkān? a left affluent of the Diyālā); Sur<u>kh</u>āb in Diž-i Māhkī (cf. the Kurds Māhkī in north-western Luristān) and Saʿdī in the two Rāwands (near Nihāwand). In 444/March 1053 Saʿdī was placed in command of Tu<u>gh</u>ril's van and advanced to Nuʿmāniya, clashed with his uncle Muhalhil and made him prisoner.

Meanwhile Baghdad was occupied by al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. Muhalhil's son (5) Badr went to ask Tu<u>gh</u>ril to intervene for the liberation of his father. Tu<u>gh</u>ril offered to exchange Muhalhil for one of Saʿdī's sons kept by him as a hostage. Saʿdī disliked the offer and suddenly revolted against Tughril and sided with al-Malik al-Raḥīm, the Būyid. He was defeated by Tughril's generals and Badr. Muhalhil must have died at that time. Badr proceeded to <u>Sh</u>ahrazūr, while Saʿdī remained in the castle of Raw<u>sh</u>an-Ḳubā<u>dh</u> (on the right bank of the Diyālā?), and even in 446/1054 the <u>Gh</u>uzz were unable to dislodge him.

After the occupation of Ba<u>gh</u>dād by Tu<u>gh</u>ril (447/18 December 1055) the sources are silent on the ʿAnnāzids but some survivors of the dynasty can be traced even at a considerably later time. Under 495/1101, Ibn al-A<u>th</u>ir, x, 238, reports on the attack of Ḳarabuli (a Sal<u>gh</u>ur Turkman) on (6) Surkhāb b. Badr. The commanders in <u>Kh</u>uftī<u>dh</u>agān (Yāḳūt, ii, 456, <u>Kh</u>uftiyān Sur<u>kh</u>āb, which G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 1880, 264, identifies with Koysan<u>dj</u>aḳ?), seized his treasure, out of which they sent a present to Sultan Bark-yaruḳ. The Turkmans occupied Sur<u>kh</u>āb's dominions, except Daḳūḳā and <u>Sh</u>ahrazūr. <u>Kh</u>uftī<u>dh</u>a<u>gh</u>ān was also restored to Sur<u>kh</u>āb, who died in 500/1106 and was succeeded by his son (7) Abū Manṣūr. On this occasion Ibn al-Athīr, x, 305, mentions Sur<u>kh</u>āb's great wealth and great number of horsemen adding that (up to that date) the family had ruled for 130 years. Nothing is known of Abū Manṣūr but from the *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i Guzīda*, 547 (clearer in the *Sharafnāma*, 32-4) we learn that in the second half of the 6th/12th century under the Af<u>sh</u>ār ruler of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān called <u>Sh</u>ūhla (read: *<u>Sh</u>umla? [cf. AF<u>SH</u>ĀR]) there existed a ruler in Luristan called (8) Sur<u>kh</u>āb b. ʿAnnāz (misspelt: *ʿAyyār*). After *<u>Sh</u>umla's death (in 570/1174, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 280) the founder of the dynasty of Lesser Lur [*q.v.*] <u>Kh</u>ur<u>sh</u>īd (Silūrzī) curtailed Sur<u>kh</u>āb's possessions, until the latter contented himself with being a mere *shiḥna* on his behalf in Mānrūd (near the Mungerre range in Central Luristān). Finally the whole of Mānrūd was incorporated by <u>Kh</u>ur<u>sh</u>īd. This Sur<u>kh</u>āb was undoubtedly a descendant of Sur<u>kh</u>āb, lord of Bandanī<u>dj</u>īn and Māhkī, and with him the last scion of the ʿAnnāzids must have diasppeared.

Bibliography: Hilāl b. Muḥassin, in Margoliouth, *The Eclipse*, iii; *Mu<u>dj</u>mal al-Tawārī<u>kh</u>* (written in 520/1126), Teheran, 1318/1938; this book adds some interesting details to our principal source Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, ix-x, who repeats some of Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī's data in *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād, viii-ix, but is much more explicit. <u>Sh</u>araf-<u>Kh</u>ān, *<u>Sh</u>araf-nāma* (Veliaminof-Zernof), 22-3; Müne<u>dj</u>-<u>dj</u>im-ba<u>sh</u>i, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-A<u>kh</u>bār*, Turk. translation, ii, 503; C. Huart, *Les Banoû-ʿAnnâz*, *Syria*, 1921, 265-79, and 1922, 66-79 (based mainly on Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, ix). See also Bergmann, *Beiträge z. muh. Numismatik*, in *WNZ*, 1873, 25. An undated coin struck by Ḥusām al-Dawla Abu ʾl-<u>Sh</u>awk (or one of his vassals?) under the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (422-67) belongs to the American Numismatic Society (information by G. C. Miles). (V. MINORSKY)

ANNIYYA, an abstract term formed from the conjunct particle *ʾan* or *ʾanna*, "that", is the literal translation of the Aristotelian term τὸ ὅτι and means therefore the fact that a thing is, its "thatness" (the particle *ʾanna* is used also substantively and *al-ʾanna* has the same meaning as *al-ʾanniyya*). The principal passage where Aristotle employs this term is in *Anal. Post.* II. 1 and the important distinction he makes there between the fact that a thing is (τὸ ὅτι) and the question what it is (τὸ τί ἐστιν) is the fundamental source of the later discussions about *existentia* and *essentia*. Indeed, the most pregnant sense in which the term *ʾanniyya* is used by the Muslim philosophers is the meaning of *existentia*, i.e. the existence in reality of a particular individual in opposition to its *essentia*, its intrinsic nature, its "whatness", *māhiyya*, *quidditas* in the Latin translations. When, for instance, <u>Gh</u>azālī in his *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* expounds the general doctrine of the Muslim philosophers that in God existence and essence are unified, he uses the terms *ʾanniyya* and *māhiyya*. Since, however, in philosophy existence and non-existential being are often confused—in Greek philosophy the terms ὄν and εἶναι serve to express both meanings and Aristotle himself uses (*Met.* VII 17. 1041ᵃ 15) τὸ ὅτι and τὸ εἶναι as synonyms (the Arabic translation of these terms here, in the edition of Bouyges p. 1006.9, is *al-ʾanna* and *al-ʾanniyya*)—we find the term *al-ʾanniyya* used also for non-existential being. For instance in a passage in Aristotle's Metaphysics IX 10.1051ᵇ 23 the non-existential being of truth and falsehood is rendered

by *ʾanniyya* (the Greek has ὑπάρχειν) and Averroës in his comment on this passage explains the term by *māhiyya*.

A special feature of the pseudo-Aristotelian neoplatonic treatises the "Theology of Aristotle" and the *liber de causis* in which ὄν and εἶναι are constantly translated by *ʾanniyya*, is the introduction of Plotinus' five intelligible categories (cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* VI, 2); the category ὄν (being) is translated here by *ʾanniyya*, whereas the category ταὐτότης (identity) is rendered by *huwiyya*. But in other translations e.g. the translation of Aristotle's Metaphysics ὄν is often translated by *huwiyya* (e.g. in Book V. 7, where a definition of ὄν is given) and we find the terms, *ʾanniyya*, *wudjūd* and *huwiyya* often used interchangeably.

It may be remarked that the fanciful derivation of *ʾanniyya* from *ʾanā*, ego, given by some Persian mystics and which has been adopted also by some modern European scholars, cannot be maintained, if only for grammatical reasons. The correct derivations from *ʾanā*: *ʾanāniyy^un^* and *ʾanāʾiyy^un^* are both found in later Arabic philosophy for instance in Shīrāzī (17th Century).

Bibliography: We do not possess a satisfactory lexicon of Arabic philosophical terms. However, the examples given by Bouyges in the accurate indexes to his edition of Aristotle's Metaphysics with Averroës' Commentary may be studied with profit. Although the term is frequently used by Avicenna, it is found neither in Ghazālī's *Tahāfut* nor in Averroës' *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

AL-**ANṢĀR**, 'the helpers', the usual designation of those men of Medina who supported Muḥammad, in distinction from the Muhādjirūn or 'emigrants' i.e. his Meccan followers. After the general conversion of the Arabs to Islam the old name of al-Aws and al-Khazradj jointly, Banū Ḳayla, fell out of use and was replaced by Anṣār, the individual being known as an Anṣārī (cf. Ḳurʾān, ix, 100/101, 117/118). In this way the early services of the men of Medina to the cause of Islam were honourably commemorated. *Anṣār* is presumably the plural of *naṣir*, but the latter is never used as a technical term. The verb *naṣara* has the connotation of helping a person wronged against his enemy. This is sufficient to explain why the Muslims of Medina were called *al-Anṣār* (sometimes *anṣār al-nabī*, "the helpers of the Prophet"), but the choice of the name may have been influenced by the resemblance to Naṣārā, "Christians"; e.g. Ḳurʾān, lxi, 14, "Be helpers of God as ʿĪsā b. Maryam said to the disciples, Who are my helpers towards God?" (cf. iii, 52/45).

Muḥammad's first effective contacts with Medina were at the pilgrimage of 620 A.D. with six men of the Khazradj. As the reconciliation of the Aws and the Khazradj, however, was part of his aim, he seems to have insisted on the Aws being represented at the negotiations; and in the traditional accounts of "the first and second ʿAḳaba" [*q.v.*] about a sixth of those who pledged themselves to Muḥammad were men of the Aws. Medina had suffered so much from the feuds of the two tribes [see AL-AWS, AL-KHAZRADJ, AL-MADĪNA], that the ready acceptance of Muḥammad's claims must have been partly due to the hope that he would be able to restore and maintain peace. While there is much obscurity about the details, it is clear that most of the inhabitants of Medina, apart from the Jews, had entered into the agreement with him. The chief exceptions were four clans of the Aws, called Khaṭma, Wāʾil, Wāḳif and Umayya b. Zayd, and part of a fifth, ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, all of which had close relations with the Jews. These non-Muslims are to be distinguished from the Munāfiḳūn or 'hypocrites', since the latter were parties to the agreement with Muḥammad who afterwards disapproved of him. Despite these defections, the Aws were important among the Anṣār, and indeed the leading Anṣārī, until his death in 5/627, was Saʿd b. Muʿādh, chief of the clan of ʿAbd al-Ashhal of the Aws.

The following table shows the number of men of the various clans present at "the first ʿAḳaba" (A 1), "the second ʿAḳaba" (A 2), and the battle of Badr (B). The last column (W) gives the number of women of the clan who are given notices in Ibn Saʿd, viii; this may be taken as a rough indication of the total strength of the clan

Clan	A1	A2	B	W
ʿAbd al-Ashhal	1	3	15	35
Ẓafar	—	—	5	23
Ḥāritha	—	3	3	23
ʿAmr b. ʿAwf	1	5	40	28
Aws Manāt (Khaṭma)	—	—	—	12
al-Aws (total)	2	11	63	121
al-Nadjdjār	3	11	56	83
al-Ḥārith	—	7	19	30
Banu 'l-Ḥublā, al-Ḳawāḳila	3	6	25	21
Sāʿida	—	2	9	12
Salima	2	29	43	54
Zurayḳ	2	4	16	16
Bayāḍa	—	3	7	12
al-Khazradj (total)	10	62	175	228

These figures suggest that a leading part in the approach to Muḥammad was played by clans like al-Nadjdjār and Salima, which had many members but had produced no great leaders in war. The two chief men of Medina at this time, Saʿd b. Muʿādh and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy were not at al-ʿAḳaba, and their clans (ʿAbd al-Ashhal and Banu 'l-Ḥublā) seem to be relatively badly represented.

It is disputed in the primary sources whether the Anṣār took part in any of the first small Muslim expeditions. They constituted, however, about three quarters of the Muslim force at Badr. Of the leaders Saʿd b. Muʿādh was the most zealous in the cause of Islam; not merely ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, but Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr (a rival of Saʿd b. Muʿādh for the chieftaincy of ʿAbd al-Ashhal) and Saʿd b. ʿUbāda were absent from Badr. At least until the siege of Medina in 5/627 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy was trying to prevent the growth of Muḥammad's power; but the others threw in their lot with Muḥammad after Badr. At the meeting to deal with "the affair of the lie (*ifk*)" against ʿĀʾisha's chastity, it was clear that the first man among the Khazradj was now Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. Indeed, shortly afterwards, on the death of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, he was recognized as the leader of the Anṣār as a whole. These continued to be one of the main foundations of Muḥammad's power, though about the time of the expedition to Tabūk in 9/630 a small section became disaffected.

Throughout Muḥammad's residence at Medina the old feuds were slowly being forgotten, and the

Anṣār were coming to feel themselves a unity, especially in contrast to the Muhādjirūn or "emigrants", with whom they rarely intermarried. The cleavage between the Aws and the Khazradj was a factor of occasional importance as late as the meeting after Muḥammad's death at which Abū Bakr was made caliph; but nothing is heard of it subsequently. After the wars of conquest the Anṣār, despite their honourable position in the new Islamic nobility, declined in influence. They mostly opposed ʿUthmān and supported ʿAlī. Later they constituted a "pious opposition" to the Umayyads and took the side of the ʿAbbāsids. Before the ʿAbbāsids came to power, however, the Anṣār had largely become merged with members of Ḳuraysh and other tribes who had settled in Medina.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2; Caetani, *Annali*, i, ii/1; F. Buhl, *Muhammed*, Leipzig, 1930; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ʿANSĀRA, the name of a festival. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Tādj al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1312) derives the word from the Arabic root *ʿṣr*. For more than three-quarters of a century, Dozy, on the one hand, and Eguilaz y Yancas on the other, have attributed it to the Hebrew *ʿaṣārā* (*ʿaṣereth*) "an assembly of the people to celebrate religious festivals, especially Pentecost". Among the Copts, it is still the name for Pentecost (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii, 365). In Spain, existing in the forms *alhanzaro*, *alhanzara*, *alhansara*, it is the feast of St. John, among both Christians and Muslims (Cf. Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, 135-7; Eguilaz y Yancas, *Glosario*, 187-8). In the Maghrib, *ʿanṣara* (with the variants *ʿanṣra*, *ʿanṣla*, *ʿansāra*, *ʿansereth*, depending on the district) denotes the festival of the summer solstice, celebrated on the 24th June in the Julian calendar, or the 5th-6th July in the Gregorian. Though known throughout Morocco, and almost everywhere in Algeria, it is not known, it appears, in Tunisia. The magico-religious character of the acts which make up its popular ritual is not in doubt: (a) fire rites intended perhaps to give greater strength to the sun at the time of the solstice; the burning of braziers full of plants, of hives, or of huts, thus producing copious smoke which is supposed to have the virtue of purification and fecundation; (b) water rites, ablutions, sprinklings, the mingling of water with the ashes of the ritual brazier, by virtue of which the fructifying humidity is besought to combine itself with warmth, at the beginning of a new period of the solar cycle. It is reasonable to accept as clearly established the relationship between the rites of the *ʿanṣra* of the Maghrib and those of the Middle Eastern *nawrūz* [*q.v.*], and also the transference of the popular practices of the *ʿanṣra* to another festival, that of *ʿāshūrāʾ* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire de mots espagnols dérivés de l'arabe*, 135-7, with a summary of the information provided by the early European travellers to the Maghrib; Eguilaz y Yancas, *Glosario de palabras espanolas de origen oriental*, 187-8, with numerous references to Spanish sources; Destaing, *Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Beni Snous*, *R.Afr.*, 1907, with an abstract of the principal Arab authors who have referred to the *ʿanṣara* (Maḳrīzī, Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, Sūsī, Madjāwī, Warzīzī, Būnī); Westermarck, *Midsummer customs in Morocco*, in *Folklore*, 1905; idem, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, ii, 182-207; E. Doutté, *Marrakech*, 377-82; idem, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 505 ff.; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 152 ff., and 392; A. Bel, *Feux et rites du solstice d'été en Berbérie*, *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 48-83; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 205; E. Laoust, *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'anti-Atlas*, *Hespéris* 1921.

(PH. MARÇAIS)

AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ, ABŪ ISMĀʿĪL ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤ. B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤ. B. AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. DJAʿFAR B. MANṢŪR B. MATT AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ AL-ḤANBALĪ, born at Kuhandiz, the citadel of Harāt, on 2 Shaʿbān 396/4 May 1005. An infant prodigy, he was at a very early age the pupil of Abū Manṣūr al-Azdī, of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Djārūdī and of Yaḥyā b. ʿAmmār, who instructed him in *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*. Although commencing under Shāfiʿī teachers, he soon adopted Ḥanbalism with enthusiasm, because of its devotion to the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. In 417/1026, he went to continue his studies to Nishāpūr, where he frequented the disciples of al-Aṣamm, and then to Ṭūs and Bisṭām. In 423/1031, he made the pilgrimage, breaking his journey at Baghdād in order to attend the lectures of Abū Muḥammad al-Khallāl; on his return he met Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Khirḳānī, who had a decisive influence on his mystical career, on which he had first embarked under the guidance of his own father Abū Manṣūr, the *murīd* of the *sharīf* al-ʿAḳīlī of Balkh. He finally settled at Harāt, and divided his time between teaching his disciples and polemics against the theologians; as a result of the latter activity he was threatened with death on five occasions, and was thrice exiled. He died, honoured with the title of Shaykh al-Islām, in the city of his birth, on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 481/8 March 1089.

His biographers are unanimous in praising his piety, the breadth of his knowledge in all branches of the religious sciences, and the indomitable fervour of his devotion to the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna, and the school of Ibn Ḥanbal, which led him to be accused by his enemies of bigoted fanaticism and anthropomorphism.

His works are the exact expression of the varied aspects of his rich personality: in the field of mysticism, he bared his soul in the *Munādjāt* and other writings in *sadjʿ* or in verse, which are considered to be among the masterpieces of Persian literature; the *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*, a valuable spiritual guide, impresses by its originality, its conciseness and its masterly psychological analyses (the number of the commentators on this work alone places it in an eminent position in the history of Ṣūfism). The *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, forming a link between al-Sulamī's work and the *Nafaḥāt* of Djāmī, is valuable both as a biographical document and as evidence of the dialect spoken at Harāt in the 5th/11th century. Finally, the *Dhamm al-Kalām wa-Ahlih* is a principal source for the history of the struggle against rational theology in Islam.

Among his chief disciples, the following are worthy of note: Abu 'l-Waḳt ʿAbd al-Awwal al-Sidjzī, Muʾtamin al-Sādjī and, above all, Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī, the inheritor of his ideas.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 924-6; Brockelmann, I 433, S I 774; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, 1935, 89-100 (his extant works, and more especially the MSS of them preserved in Istanbul); Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1350, 400; Ibn Radjab al-Baghdādī, *Ṭabaḳat al-Ḥanābila* (Laoust), no. 27; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, (Lees), 316; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, MS Brit. Mus. Or.

50 P 27524, 176 b; idem, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād, 375; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo, iii, 117. On the *musadjdjaʿāt*, see Browne, ii, 264; *Munādjāt*, ed. Kaviani, Berlin 1924; *Ilāhī-nāma*, ed. and trans., in *BIFAO*, xlvii. On the language of the *Ṭabaḳāt*, see Ivanow, in *JRAS*, 1923, 1-34, 337-82. On the *Manāzil*, see comm. by Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Madāridj al-Sālikīn*, Cairo 1956, the collection *Anṣāriyyāt* at *IFAO*, several articles in *MIDEO*, Cairo, and the edition of *K. ṣad maydān*, in *Mél. Islam.*, *IFAO*, 1954. (S. DE BEAURECUEIL)

AL-**ANṬĀKĪ**, DĀʾŪD B. ʿUMAR AL-ḌARĪR, Arab physician born at Antioch, son of the *raʾīs* of Ḳaryat Sīdī Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār, undertook, though blind, long journeys which led him also into Asia Minor. There he learnt Greek, on the advice of a Persian physician who had cured him of a malady from which he had long suffered, in order to be able to study the sources of medical science in the original texts. Later, he lived at Damascus and Cairo, and died in 1008/1599 at Mecca, after less than a year's stay there.

His chief work is a large, exhaustive medical hand-book in which he followed Ibn al-Bayṭār, named *Tadhkirat Ūli 'l-Albāb wa 'l-Djāmiʿ li 'l-ʿAdjab al-ʿUdjāb*, Cairo 1308-9/1890-1 (in the margin: the *Dhayl* of a pupil and the work *al-Nuzha al-Mubhidja fī Tashḥīdh al-Adhhān wa Taʿdīl al-Amzidja*, on therapeutics); see Leclerc, in *Notices et Extraits*, XXIII, 13; recent study by Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Salām. As the Art of Love was then considered as an appendix of medicine, he also edited the work of Muḥammad al-Sarrādj (d. 500/1106) on love, under the title *Tazyīn al-Aswāḳ bi-Tafṣīl* (*Tartīb*) *Ashwāḳ al-ʿUshshāḳ*, Būlāḳ 1281/1864, 1291/1874, Cairo 1279/1862, 1302/1884, 1305/1887, 1308/1390; see Kosegarten, *Chrestom. arab.*, 22; A. V. Kremer, *Ideen*, 408; Goldziher, in *SBAK Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., lxxviii, 513 ff., no. 7. In addition to a few short monographs, he also wrote a work on the philosophers' stone, *Risāla fi 'l-Ṭāʾir wa'l-Uḳāb* (de Slane, *Cat. d. mss. de la Bibl. Nat.*, no. 2625, 8) and another on the use of astrology in medicine, *Unmūdhadj fī ʿIlm al-Falak* (ibid., no. 2357, 7).

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, ii, 140-149; Leclerq, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii, 304; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arab. Aerzte und Naturforscher*, no. 275; Brockelmann, II, 364; S II 491; Hasan ʿAbd al-Salām, *Dhakhīrat al-ʿAṭṭār aw Tadhkirat Dāʾūd fī Dawʾ al-ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1366/1947.

(C. BROCKELMANN-[J. VERNET])

AL-**ANṬĀKĪ** (Abu 'l-Faradj), Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā, Arab physician and historian, a Melkite Christian, and close relative of Eutychius of Alexandria (Saʿīd b. Baṭrīḳ). He was born probably about 980 A.D., and spent the first 35-40 years of his life in Egypt. After the persecutions perpetrated against the Christians of Egypt by the Caliph al-Ḥākim, the latter, in an access of goodwill, in 404/1013-14 allowed the Christians to leave Egypt, and in 405/1014-15 Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd settled on Byzantine soil at Antioch, where he lived from then on. There, in 455/1063, he met the physician Ibn Baṭlān. He lived to an advanced age, and did not die until 458/1066.

Yaḥyā is mainly known as a historian and author of a sequel (*Dhayl*) to the Chronicle of Eutychius from 326/938. After publishing the first edition of this work about 397/1006-7, he modified it, on the basis of fresh historical sources, shortly before 405/1014-5. At Antioch, he had at his disposal new works, and he again revised his history and gradually completed it by an account of contemporary events, neglecting no opportunity to obtain material for this purpose. Although none of the manuscripts of his work which we possess goes beyond 425/1034, it is probable that his history continued beyond that date and that he brought it down to 455 and perhaps even to 458. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd does not describe events year by year, but arranges his material under the reigns of the caliphs (first the ʿAbbāsids, then the Fāṭimids) and under countries. He displays special interest in Egypt, Syria and the Byzantine Empire, and a moderate interest in Baghdād, but only mentions North Africa in connection with the early Fāṭimids. He used not only the Muslim sources, but also the Greek and local Christian sources with which he became acquainted at Antioch. His work abounds in chronological information, in most cases both the *hidjrī* and the Seleucid dates being given, the latter being taken from the sources and converted, perhaps by himself, into the *hidjrī* dates. Yaḥyā's work is very important for the history of Syria—Mesopotamia and Byzantium in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries; it is equally important for Fāṭimid Egypt and naturally for the life of Christian circles and ecclesiastical affairs. The problem of his sources and the relationship between his history and the Arab chronicles of the same period is difficult to solve.

Bibliography: This will be found in the notice on the author in the French edition of A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii, *La dynastie macédonienne*, 2nd part, *Extraits des sources arabes*, by M. Canard, Brussels 1950; in this use was made of the fundamental study by V. Rosen in his work *The Emperor Basil the Bulgar-Slayer, Extracts from the Chronicle of Yaḥyā of Antioch* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1883, a brief summary of which had been given by A. Vasiliev in the Russian edition of *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii, St. Petersburg 1902, 58-9. The only complete edition is that of L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux and H. Zayyat, *CSCO*, *Script. ar.*, 3rd Series, bol. 7, Paris 1909; the ed. and transl. by Vasiliev (*Patrologia orientalis*, xviii, 1924, and xxiii, 1932) stops at the year 404; cf. also G. Graf, *Gesch. der christl. arab. Litteratur*, ii, 49-51. (M. CANARD)

ANṬĀKIYA, Arabicised form of ANTIOCHEIA, town in northern Syria, situated on the Orontes (ʿĀṣī) river, 14 m. from the Mediterranean coast. Founded about 300 B.C. by Seleucus I, and occupied by Pompey in 64 B.C., it became the largest and most important Roman city in Asia and capital of the Asian provinces of the Roman empire. Its gradual decay dates from the foundation of the Sāsānid empire, which diminished its political and economic influence in the Tigris-Euphrates basin and made it the object of repeated Persian attacks. It was occupied and pillaged for the first time in 258 and 260 by Shāpūr I, who removed many of its inhabitants to Djundē-Shāpūr [*q.v.*] in Susiana (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 827), and from 266 to 272 it was subject to Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. Nevertheless, despite endemic internal conflicts and disastrous earthquakes (to which the region has always been liable), it maintained its prosperity until its siege and destruction by Khusraw I (Anūsharwān) in 540, and a further deportation of its inhabitants to the Persian empire (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Ges. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leipzig 1879 165, 239; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach*

d. arab. Geographen, ii, 1901, 266 ff.). Rebuilt by Justinian within a much reduced but strongly fortified perimeter (which remained that of the city throughout the mediaeval period), it was again sacked by Persian armies in 602 and 611, and was occupied by the Arabs in 16/637-8.

Under the early caliphates Antioch is seldom mentioned. It was the headquarters of the frontier military organisation called al-ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*], and appears to have remained an active centre of intellectual life. With the rest of N. Syria, it was annexed by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] in 265/878, remaining in the possession of his successors until 285/898, and occupied by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in 333/944. Recaptured in 358/969 by the Byzantine general Michael Burtzes, it was governed by Byzantine dukes until 477/1084, when it fell by treachery to the Saldjūḳid Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumish [*q.v.*]. His possession of the city was disputed by the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*]; Sulaymān defeated the latter (who fell in the battle) near Antioch in Ṣafar 478/June 1085, but was himself defeated and killed by his kinsman Tutush in the following year. This conflict brought about the intervention of the Saldjūḳid sultan Malikshāh, who gave Antioch in fief to the Turkish amīr Yāghisiyān. It was from this governor that the city was captured by the Crusaders in Djumādā II, 491/2 June, 1098; and, after their defeat of a siege by the governor of Mosul, Karbughā, it remained in their hands until recaptured and destroyed by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*] on 4 Ramaḍān, 666/ 19 May, 1268. During this period it was ruled by the Norman dynasty descended from Bohemond, whose principality waxed and waned with the changing fortunes of the Crusading forces, but whose capital was never seriously challenged except for a brief moment by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in 584/1188.

Antioch remained thereafter a minor dependency of the Mamlūk *niyāba* and later Ottoman pashalïḳ of Aleppo. After the first World War it was occupied by French troops in February 1919 and attached to the French mandated territory of Syria. When a separate régime was established for the Sandjāḳ of Alexandretta (later called Republic of Hatay) in 1938, Antioch was selected as its capital, but the Sandjāḳ was ceded by France to the Turkish Republic on 23 June, 1939 (see M. Khadduri, *The Alexandretta Dispute, American Journal of International Law*, 1945, 406-425).

The extant remains of the Byzantine and mediaeval city are relatively small, the inhabitants having been permitted to use the remains of the walls to rebuild their homes after a severe earthquake in 1872. It has no Muslim monuments of importance except the sanctuary below Mt. Silpius, the former citadel, called by the name of Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār ("the Carpenter") [*q.v.*], identified by Muslim tradition with the unnamed believer referred to in Ḳurʾān, xxxvi, 12 ff. In 1931, the population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Anṭākiya numbered about 99,347 (36,500 Turkmens, 32,602 ʿAlawīs, 21,926 Arabs, 8,319 Armenians).

Bibliography: There is an extensive literature on the Byzantine period; see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Antiocheia; *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vols. i-iv, Princeton 1934-0; on its ecclesiastical rôle: R. Devresse, *Le Patriarchat d'Antioche ... jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1945. For the Islamic period: (a) Geography: the data of the Arabic geographers collected in G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Naẓm al-Djawhar, Corpus scr. chr. or.*, ser. II, ii, vii, (1906-10) and *Dhayl, Patr. or.*, xviii, 5 and xxiii, 3 (1924, 1931); A. von Kremer, *Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1852; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 226 f., 282 f.; iii, 406-10; iv, 55, 91; viii, 68-70: anon. Arabic work (cod. vat. arab. 286), ed. and trans. I. Guidi in *Rendiconti ... Lincei*, Rome 1897 (corrections by D. S. Margoliouth, *JRAS*, 1898, 157-69), utilised also by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145, 595 ff. See also R. Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, index; (b) History: bibliographies of the articles referred to in the text; A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ed. fr. by H. Grégoire etc., i-iii, Brussels 1935; E. S. Bouchier, *A short history of Antioch*, Oxford 1921; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923; (c) Travel literature: R. Pococke, *A Description of the East &c.*, London 1743-45, ii, 188-93; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Amsterdam 1774, iii, 15-18; J. Russegger, *Reisen in Europa, Asien, u. Afrika*, Stuttgart 1841, i, 363-73; T. Chesney, *Expedition ... to the rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, i, 425 ff.; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1867, ii, 366 ff.; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 462 ff. See also V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 193-7; P. Jacquot, *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*, Beirut 1931, vol. ii; J. Weulersse, *Antioche, Essai de géographie urbaine, B.E.O.*, 1934, 27-79.

(M. Streck-H. A. R. Gibb)

ANTALYA (the form Anṭāliya occurs already with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 258, and the Arab geographers; Turkish formerly also Adalya, Greek Attaleia, in mediaeval western sources Satalia), *town* and harbour on the south coast of Anatolia in the innermost bend of the bay of Antalya, on a fertile plain, 36° 55′ N, 30° 42′ E; capital of a *wilāyet* with the *ḳaḍās* of Antalya, Akseki, Alanya, Elmalï, Finike, Gündoğmuş, Kash, Korkuteli, Manavgat, Serik; in 1945 the number of inhabitants was 25,037 (the *ḳaḍā* 56,935; the *wilāyet* 278,178); in pre-*tanẓīmāt* times the capital of the *sandjaḳ* of Teke in the *eyālet* of Anadolu, after the *tanẓīmāt*, capital of a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Konya. The town is 50 m. above sea level and surrounded by three city walls lapped by the river Düden Su. These walls date back to Roman times.

Antalya was conquered on 3 Shaʿbān 601/5 March 1207 by the Rūm Saldjūḳ Sultan Kaykhusraw I. When the Rūm Saldjūḳ empire collapsed, Antalya was occupied by the Turkomans under rulers of the house of Teke (an offshoot of the house of Ḥamīd) [see TEKE-OGHLU]. In 792/1390, the principality of the Teke was appropriated by the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I, but it was re-established after Tīmūr had defeated him at Ankara in 1402. In 826/1423 it finally came under Ottoman rule, and the principality of Teke became an Ottoman *sandjaḳ* of the same name.

The Ulu Djāmiʿ (adapted from a Christian basilica) in Antalya dates from Saldjūḳ times, the Yïwlï Minaresi of 774/1373, which stands isolated and may well have been a lighthouse in the past, dates from the time of the princes of Teke, and the mosques of Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha and Meḥmed Pasha (beside the Yïwlï Minaresi) date from Ottoman times.

Antalya is a famous and favourite holiday resort because of its mild sub-tropical climate, its fertile surroundings (producing citrus fruit and sub-

tropical plants such as bananas) and because of its beautiful countryside. There are many waterfalls, and the Lycian mountain ranges on the western shores of the bay rise to a height of 2000 m. like a backcloth. The mountains are inhabited by a primitive population of Shīʿite religion, called the Takhtadjīs "woodcutters") [*q.v.*].

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(F. TAESCHNER)

SĪRAT ʿANTAR, the romance of ʿAntar, rightly considered the model of the Arabic romance of chivalry. This *sīra* surveys five hundred years of Arab history and includes a wealth of older traditions. The story in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of how ʿAntar, the son of a slave-girl, was adopted into the tribe of Banū ʿAbs for saving them at a time of great crisis bears the stamp of a flourishing but already legendary tradition. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* far transcends the unconscious development of a legend. By a bold stroke ʿAntar, the solitary hero, is raised to be the representative of all that is Arab, ʿAntar the pagan is made the champion of Islām. The romance thus comes to reflect the vicissitudes of the Arabs and Islām through half a millennium; the tribal feuds of the old Arabs; the wars against Ethiopian rule in Arabia; the subjection of Arabia and especially of ʿIrāḳ to Persian suzerainty; the victories of the rising Islām over Persia; the remarkable historical position of the Jews in Arabia down to the seventh century; the conquests from Christianity by the Arabs, especially in Syria; the continuous wars of the Persian and later of the Muslim East against Byzantium; the victorious advance of Islām in North Africa and in Europe; the influence of the Crusades is also undeniable. The contacts between East and West are numerous. The romance is written in smooth rhymed prose into which have been interwoven some 10,000 verses. The editions printed in the East since 1286 A.H. divide the *Sīra* into 32 little volumes, none of which, like the separate nights of the 1001 *Nights*, ever ends at the conclusion of a tale.

Contents. The romance brings us through numerous legendary stories from early times down to the period when King Zuhayr is ruling over the Banū ʿAbs. The ʿAbsī hero Shaddād on a raid captures the negro slave-girl Zabība (not till the xviiith book do we get the denouement that she is a king's daughter, who had been carried off from the Sūdān), who becomes the mother of ʿAntar. As an infant, ʿAntar tears the strongest swaddling clothes, when two years old pulls down the tent, at four slays a large dog, at nine a wolf and as a young shepherd a lion. Soon he comes to the rescue of his oppressed tribe, for which he is acknowledged by his father and adopted into his tribe. He seeks ʿAbla, his uncle's daughter, in marriage; the latter promises her to him in an hour of need; but after ʿAntar has averted the danger, he imposes the most dangerous conditions to be carried out before the marriage. ʿAntar fulfils them all but is only allowed to marry ʿAbla after ten volumes of wonderful exploits. The area of his exploits widens continually. In his own tribe ʿAntar has first to overcome the resistance of his father, then the hostility of ʿAbla's relatives, to win over his rivals including the poet ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, to put an end to the feuds of the Banū Ziyād, Rabīʿ and ʿUmāra. In the feuds between the sister-tribes of ʿAbs and Fadhāra, ʿAntar proves himself the saviour of the Banū ʿAbs; outside of his tribe, he fights and overthrows the strongest heroes and makes them his friends; such are Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, Muʿammar, Hāniʾ b. Masʿūd, the victor over the Persians at Dhū Ḳār, ʿAmr b. Maʿdikarib, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, ʿAmr b. Wudd, the knight of the Ḥarām, Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam, the pattern of Arab chivalry and many others. He hangs up his *muʿallaḳa* in the Ḥaram of Mecca after defeating the other *muʿallaḳa*-poets in a competition, overcoming all his rivals in duels and passing an examination in Arab synonyms set by Amru 'l-Ḳais. From Mecca he goes to Khaybar and destroys the town of the Jews. But ʿAntar is also taken beyond the bounds of Arabia. The *Sīra* does not lack reasons for this. ʿAbla's father demands *aṣāfīr*-camels as a bridal gift, which are only bred by Mundhir, King of Ḥīra. This takes ʿAntar to ʿIrāḳ. From there he is summoned to Persia to fight the Greek champion Badramūṭ. Next we find him in constant association with the kings of ʿIrāḳ, Mundhir, Nuʿmān, Aswad, ʿAmr b. Hind, Iyās b. Ḳābiṣa and their viziers, notably ʿAmr b. Buḳayla. He also has constant dealings with the Shāhs, Khusraw Anosharwān, Khudāwand (no shāh of this name is found in Sāsānian history), Kawādh (probably Kawādh Shiroe) sometimes as a dreaded opponent, sometimes as a most welcome ally. The son of the king of Syria woos the promised bride of a friend of ʿAntar. The latter goes to Syria, kills his friend's rival, defeats King Ḥārith al-Wahhāb (Aretas), but becomes his friend and after the death of Aretas at the request of the princess Ḥalīma becomes guardian of the new king ʿAmr b. Ḥārith, who is still a minor, and as such ruler of Syria. Here ʿAntar comes into contact with the Franks, sometimes as an enemy and sometimes as their ally against the Persians. Syria is under Byzantine suzerainty. For the services which ʿAntar renders the Christians here, he is invited to Constantinople and entertained and honoured. Laylamān, the king of the Franks, objects to this and demands that the emperor should hand over ʿAntar to him. ʿAntar along with Heraclius, the emperor's son, then leads the Byzantine army into the land of the Franks, subjects them to the emperor, reaches Spain, defeats King Santiago, pursues his victorious march through his provinces in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt. When he returns from these conquests on behalf of Byzantium to Constantinople, an equestrian statue of him is erected out of gratitude; the statues of his two brothers, who had accompanied him to Byzantium, are placed at the side of his. Shortly before his death, ʿAntar comes to Rome. The king of Rome, Balḳām b. Markas is hard

pressed by Bohemund; ʿAntar kills Bohemund and liberates Rome. On a campaign of reprisal against the Sūdānese, ʿAntar goes from kingdom to kingdom deeper into Africa till he reaches the land of the Negus. Here he discovers in the Negus the grandfather of his mother Zabība. Even more fantastic are the campaigns against Hind-Sind, against the Christian king Laylamān in the land of Bayḍā, in the land of the demons. ʿAntar's death is brought about by Wizr b. Djābir called Asad al-Rahīṣ. ʿAntar had repeatedly defeated him and taken him prisoner but always set him free again. Wizr feels humiliated by this magnanimity and continually renews his attack. Finally ʿAntar blinds him. Though blinded, Wizr learns to shoot birds and gazelles with bow and arrow from their sound. ʿAntar is struck by one of his poisoned arrows, but Wizr dies before ʿAntar under the delusion that he has missed. While dying, and indeed when dead, still sitting on his steed Abdjar, ʿAntar still wards the enemy off from his people. ʿAntar's marriage with ʿAbla was childless but from his secret marriages and love-affairs, several children were born including two Christians, and indeed Crusaders, Ghadanfar, Coeur-de-Lion, son of ʿAntar and the sister of the king of Rome whom ʿAntar had married in Rome and left in Constantinople, and Djufrān (i.e. Geoffroi, Godfrey), the son of ʿAntar and a Frankish princess. ʿAntar's children avenge and lament the death of their heroic father. Ghadanfar and Djufrān then return to Europe. ʿAbs becomes a convert to Islām.

Analysis. The following are the main elements that have contributed to the growth of the *Sīra*: 1. Arab paganism; 2. Islām; 3. Persian history and epic; 4. The Crusades. 1. To Arab paganism it owes the chivalrous and knightly Bedouin spirit of the work, the majority of the characters in it, who often have historical features, the feuds between the sister tribes of ʿAbs and Fadhāra; in connextion with the race between Dāḥis and Ghabra, the most powerful of the Akhbār al-ʿArab, like king Zuhayr's marriage with Tumāḍir, Zuhayr's death, Mālik b. Zuhayr's death, Ḥārith and Lubna, Djaida and Khālid, anecdotes of Ḥātim Ṭayyī, the splendid figure of Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam etc. 2. To Islām belong the introduction with a long midrash of Abraham, repeated legends of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, the conclusion of the work which forms a transition to Islām; the tendency of the book, to make ʿAntar really prepare the way for Islām; ʿAntar's victorious campaigns through Arabia, Persia, Syria, North Africa and Spain are modelled on the conquests of Islām. Certain details give the *Sīra* a slightly Shīʿite colouring. 3. Persian influence is found in the knowledge of Persian history and the Persian epic, in places of the Persian language, in the conception of kingship by grace of God, in the knowledge of Persian court life and ceremonial (throne, crowns, imperial carpet), court-hunts (falcons, cheetahs), pigeon-post, Persian offices and ranks (vizier, mōbedān mōbed, marzpān, pehlewān, eyes and ears of the Shāh) even the *sahāridja* (gentleman-carvers). 4. Christianity and the Crusades. The *Sīra* knows of Christians in the Syria of the Sāsānians, in Byzantium and among the Franks. The Franks appear as Crusaders (the romance even mentions the cross worn on the breast), fighting for Shiloe and Jerusalem. Djufrān (Godfrey) besieges Damascus and sends troops against Antioch. The *Sīra* mentions the cross, the dress of the priests and friars, the girdle of the order (which in the *Sīra* is the most important symbol of Christianity next to the cross), the crozier, the bell (clapper), incense, holy water, prayers for the dead, unction, sacrament and of holy-days, Christmas, Palm-Sunday, is aware that among the Franks the clergy are first in Church and state, that marriages between cousins are illegal, seems also to know of excommunication and describes a Spanish place of pilgrimage and day of pilgrimage. The Christians swear by Jesus, Mary, the Gospels, John the Baptist (Māri Ḥanna al-Maʿmadān, Yukhna), by Luke (Lūḳa), Thomas (Mar Tōma) and Simon. The Emperor Radjīm rules in Byzantium and his son is called Heraclius; Balḳām b. Markas is king of Rome. The Christian rulers of North Africa have names which end with the *-s*, common in Greek and Latin, e. g. Martos, Kardus, Hermes, Ibn al-ʿUrnūs, Kindaryas b. Kirmās, Sindaris, Theodoros. The king of Spain is called Santiago; of the names of Frankish kings and princes that of Bohemund alone is certain. The names of his brothers Mūbert, Sūbert, Kūbert and that of the prince "Shūbert of the Sea" show what is perhaps the commonest ending in personal names in Old French. ʿAntar's son by the Frankish princess is called Djufrān, which conceals the old French form (Jofroi, Jefroi, Geffroi) of the name of Godfrey of Bouillon. As the romance of ʿAntar knows nothing of Europe, but a good deal about Europeans, the author must have become acquainted with them outside of Europe, of course at the period of the Crusades; Bohemund is slain by ʿAntar. Godfrey is the son of ʿAntar, who comes as a Crusader to Asia, learns his paternity there, avenges the death of his father and then returns to Europe. Even the name "Tafur" of the king of the beggars in the army of Peter of Armenia, seems to be preserved in the *Sīra*: "Ḍāfūr" is the name of the usurper who drives the infant prince ʿAmr from the throne of Syria but is overthrown by ʿAntar. In regard to intelligent sympathy with and toleration of Christianity, the picture we get from the *Sīrat ʿAntar* is far in advance of that which the mediaeval Christian epic reveals of Islām, where the Muslims are made to worship idols, like Apollo, Cahu, Gomelin, Jupiter, Margot, Malquedant, Tervagant etc. The romance of ʿAntar regards the Crusades not without sympathy and admiration. It is true that Crusaders are mentioned, who go to the Holy Land to seek plunder and to escape punishment; but the Franks are fighting for God the Father, for the Son and for the spread of religion.

Folk-lore and literary parallels. There is remarkably little folk-lore in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* but it includes several noteworthy features: a splendid witches' kitchen, fine examples of allegorical speech, of omens, life-token. Most of the agreements with other narrative poetry may be regarded as commonplaces of the epic; the strength and growth of the hero, his exploits, the killing of a lion, ***muʿammarūn*** (longevity is as common in the ʿAntar as in the ***Shāh-nāma***), dreams, visions, Amazons, fights between father and son, the Gudrun motif of the bride's fidelity, the motif of the stupid man. There are very few borrowings: Nuʿmān's lucky and unlucky day, Khusraw's bell of justice (the motif of the legend of the Emperor Charles and the snake), a flight to heaven in a box borne by eagles, several African traditions (probably taken from geographical works on Africa). There are also links with

European legends. The marvellous signs at the birth of Charlemagne (in Pseudo-Turpin) resemble those recorded in our romance at the birth of Muḥammad, but Pseudo-Turpin undoubtedly borrowed from an older source. Artificial birds made of metal, which sing in various tunes by means of bells and organ pipes are described in French and German epics and also in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*. But here we have to deal with the historical marvel of the Chrysotriklinium in Constantinople, and with a similar thing in the Ctesiphon of the Sāsānids and also in the capital of the Tatar Khāns. Some coincidences are very striking. Ḥārith al-Ẓālim beats his sword Dhu 'l-Ḥiyāt against a rock, so that it may not fall into the enemy's hands; the rock is broken but the sword is uninjured, just as is the case with Roland's Durandal. ʿAntar instructs his son Ghadbān, who wishes to slay Khusraw and seize the power for himself, on the subject of kingship by God's grace just as Girard de Viane does his nephew Aimeri who wants to kill Charlemagne. ʿAntar's horse Abdjar takes flight to the desert after ʿAntar's death, so that he may not serve another master, just as Renaud de Montauban's Baiart escapes to the forests of the Ardennes. Very remarkable is the parallel between the duel between Roland and Oliver and that of ʿAntar and Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam; the sword of the one combatant breaks in two and his magnanimous opponent gets him another; the duellists are reconciled and become brothers-in-law. But such poetical developments have their origin in a similar chivalrous outlook, the relations of the knight to his sword, to his horse, to his overlord and to his opponent.

Chivalry in the Sīrat ʿAntar. The *Sīra* is rightly recognised to be a romance of chivalry. In the pagan period among the Arabs the ideal of masculine virtue was *muruwwa*, *futuwwa*; alongside of this we have more frequently in the *Sīrat ʿAntar furusīya* along with *farāsa* and *tafarrasa*. The knight is called *fāris*. ʿAntar is called "a father of knights", *Abu 'l-Fawāris*, sometimes *Abu 'l-Fursān*, *ʿAlā 'l-Fursān*, *Fāris al-Fursān*, *Afrasu*. Not everyone who rides a horse is a knight. The knight's qualities are courage, fidelity, love of truth, protection of widows, orphans, and the poor (ʿAntar arranges special meals for them), magnanimity, reverence for women (ʿAntar begins and ends his heroic career protecting women; he swears by ʿAbla, by ʿAbla's eye, conquers in ʿAbla's name), liberality, especially to poets. The knights are also poets, especially poets of the Ḥidjāz, who are found in hundreds in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*. The *Sīra* also knows the institutions of chivalry. We meet pages and squires, not only the *sahāridja* of Ctesiphon; ʿAntar himself trains several thousand squires. The *Sīra* even describes tournaments on a great scale, in the Ḥidjāz, in Ḥīra, in Ctesiphon, the most splendid in Byzantium where ʿAntar's lance strikes the ring 476 times. These tourneys have many features in common with those of Europe, fighting with blunted weapons, tilting at the ring, decorating and beflagging the lists, the presence of ladies and girls. These agreements have been explained in the most diverse ways. On the one hand Delécluze saw in ʿAntar the model of the European knight, in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, the source from which Europe had obtained all its ideas of chivalry, while on the other hand Reinaud simply found European ideas, customs and institutions imitated in the *Sīra* (*JA*, 1833, i. 102-105). In this some have seen the starting point for the study of the question of the origin of the *Sīrat ʿAntar*.

Origin. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* itself frequently and readily talks about itself and its origin. It professes to have been composed by al-Aṣmaʿī in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at his court in Baghdād; Aṣmaʿī lived for 670 years, of which 400 were in the Djāhilīya; he was personally acquainted with ʿAntar and his contemporaries, concluded the composition in the year 473/1080 and recorded traditions from the mouths of ʿAntar, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭālib, Ḥātim Ṭayyī, Amru 'l-Ḳais, Ḥāniʾ b. Musʿūd, Ḥāzim of Mecca, ʿUbayda, ʿAmr b. Wudd, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl. In fact we have a regular romance regarding the origin of the romance. The repeatedly mentioned *rāwī*, *nāḳil*, *muṣannif*, *ṣāḥib al-ibārat*, Aṣmaʿī and other authorities have the same significance for the *Sīrat ʿAntar* as the Dihḳāns, Pehlewi books and the hoary authorities in Firdawsī, or as the chronicles of St. Denis for the French epic. It is simply fiction when the *Sīrat ʿAntar* tells us that it exists in two versions, one for the Ḥidjāz and the other for ʿIrāḳ. The invention of a Ḥidjāz recension is intended to encourage the belief that Aṣmaʿī collected from ʿAntar and his companions in the Ḥidjāz the information, which was utilised in the romance. The Ḥidjāz as the home of the romance is a pure invention. On the other hand ʿIrāḳ may really have made a considerable contribution to the composition of the *Sīrat ʿAntar*. For the date of origin of the *Sīrat ʿAntar* we have the following clues: 1. In a religious dialogue between a monk and a Muslim (*Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem um* 800 *A.D. aus dem Arabischen übersetzt* von K. Vollers, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxix, 49) the monk mentions the exploits of ʿAntar. 2. About the middle of the xiith century the former Jew Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, a convert to Islām, describes his career and mentions that in his youth he was fond of long tales like that of ʿAntar (*MGWJ*, 1898, xlii, 127, 418). 3. The evidence contained in the book itself. The appearance of Bohemund, Djufrān (Godfrey of Bouillon), perhaps also of the king of the beggars, Tafur, brings us to the period after the first Crusade, that is at the earliest in the first half of the xiith century. The composition of histories of ʿAntar must therefore have already been begun in the viiith century—on the evidence of the religious dialogue above mentioned. According to Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā a book of ʿAntar of considerable size was actually in existence in the middle of the xiith century and if Bohemund and Djufrān already appeared in it, it must have been completed at the beginning of the xiith century. At the same time the meddāḥs may have continued to add a great deal to it and in particular continued its islāmisation. The midrash of Abraham which is quite an inorganic addition and the legends of Muḥammad and ʿAlī could belong to any period. An original ʿAntar can be reconstructed with philological probability. In vol. xxxi., the dying ʿAntar reviews his heroic career in his swan-song. He proudly recalls his victories in Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Persia, and Syria. But he makes no mention of Byzantium or Spain, of Fez, Tunis, or Barka, of Egypt, or Hind-Sind, of the Sūdān or Ethiopia. This original ʿAntar may have arisen in ʿIrāḳ (under Persian influence or perhaps in emulation of Persian epic poetry). The swan-song makes

no mention of children, and knows of only one love of ʿAntar's. This original ʿAntar therefore should be called ʿAntar and ʿAbla. Following a genealogical stimulus, the later epic made royal ancestors be found in the Sūdān and royal descendants in Arabia, Byzantium, Rome, and the land of the Franks. The Crusades next found an echo and a reaction in the ʿAntar story. The Crusaders came from the land of the Franks via Byzantium to Syria. ʿAntar goes in a kind of reversed crusade from Syria via Byzantium to the land of the Franks and brings about the victory, if not yet of Islām, at least of Arab ideals and culture over European Christianity. The whole geographical area and historical range of the novel is filled with the exploits of ʿAntar.

The romance of ʿAntar seems to be first mentioned in Europe in 1777 in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (*JA*, 1834, xiii. 256); it was first introduced to European scholarship in 1819 by Hammer-Purgstall and to comparative literature in 1851 by Dunlop-Liebrecht (*Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, xiii-xvi). The study of the problem of scholarship raised by the *Sīrat ʿAntar* was begun by Goldziher (mainly in his Hungarian works). The *Sīrat ʿAntar* was for long a favourite subject of study in France. In the *Journal Asiatique* the work was often discussed and partly translated. Lamartine went into raptures of admiration and enthusiasm for ʿAntar (*Voyages en Orient*: *Vie des grands hommes* I. *Premières Méditations Poétiques*, Première Préface). Taine places ʿAntar beside the greatest epic heroes —Siegfried, Roland, the Cid, Rustam, Odysseus and Achilles (*Philosophie de l'Art*, ii, 297). These tributes are not unmerited. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* unfolds before us the ever changing, glowing panorama of a particularly attractive period with an extravagant power of imagination, a skill in narration which never palls throughout the 32 volumes, and a poetical style of inexhaustible richness.

Bibliography: A very full collection of references to the manuscripts, editions, translations of and treatises on the *Sīrat ʿAntar* is given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, etc., iii; *Louqmâne et les fabulistes. Barlaam ʿAntar et les Romans de chevalerie*, Lüttich-Leipzig 1898, 113-126. Cf. also: I. Goldziher, *Der arabische Held ʿAntar in der geographischen Nomenclatur* (*Globus*, 1893, lxiv., no. 4, 65-67); do., *Ein orientalischer Ritterroman, Pester Lloyd*, Mai 18, 1918; B. Heller, *Der arabische ʿAntarroman, Ungarische Rundschau*, v. 83-107; do., *Az arab Antarregény*, Budapest 1918; do., *Der arabische ʿAntarroman, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte*, Hanover 1925.

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ʿANTARA, "the valiant" (see *LA*, vi, 283, which also gives the meaning "blue-bottle"); the word is probably derived from the root *ʿtr* which expresses the idea of violence. Several warrior-poets of Pre-Islam bore this name; see Āmidī, 151-2.

"Antara b. Shaddād, warrior-poet of the 6th century A.D., belonged to the ʿAbs tribe of central Arabia (see GHAṬAFĀN). The short notice by al-Iṣfahānī, in the *Aghānī*, suggests that by the 4th/10th century responsible people tended to dismiss exaggerated popular accounts which had already made ʿAntara a hero of fiction. Restricted to positive facts, the biography of this man is extremely sketchy. Born of an Arab father and a black slave, ʿAntara, in his youth, lived in slavery as a shepherd; in the course of the conflicts between the ʿAbs and their Central Arabian neighbours, he had opportunity to display his prowess; in the "War of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrāʾ" especially between the ʿAbs and the Dhubyān, then the Tamīm, he seems to have particularly distinguished himself (see Cheikho, 805 f. and the scholia on *Dīwān* nos. 13 ff.; see also *Dīwān* nos. 12 and 26, diatribes against other poets). It is probable that ʿAntara was emancipated as a result of these exploits and that, at an advanced age, he fell in a raid against the Ṭayyiʾ (see the *Aghānī* for the different versions of his death). Legend soon clothed this bare outline, under the influence of ʿAbs particularism and Kharidjite equalitarianism. ʿAntara provided proof that a person of mixed race could, in the pre-Islamic era, achieve the status of a pure-blooded Arab. The embellishments were concerned with a limited number of themes: the valiant achievements of the hero, his passion for his cousin ʿAbla, his vain efforts to overcome her scorn and to be worthy of this heartless beauty. These developments eventually resulted in the composition of a celebrated epic entitled *Sīrat ʿAntar* (see the preceding article). As is frequently the case, fragments and poems form the sub-stratum of the biographical legend. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the collection of these poetic works was undertaken by the scholars of Baṣra, notably by al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*]; in a recension with commentary by the Spaniard al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083), there are 27 poems and fragments: one of these, the *Ḳasīda* in *mīm* also appears in the *Muʿallaḳāt* anthology; numerous fragments, often of considerable lengtb, attributed to ʿAntara, and appearing in various works, have been assembled by Cheikho, 816-82 (without exact references). On the whole, these last texts appear to be clumsy pastiches; see for example the fragments given by Cheikho, 812, 820, 829, 855; scholars—or forgers—have too often been led to attribute to ʿAntara any poem containing the name of ʿAbla (see Cheikho, 846, 848-9 where a poet addresses himself to ʿAbla and celebrates his exploits against the Persians); many of the items attributed to ʿAntara are dubious (see Cheikho, 853 and *Agh*[3], 235); the *Muʿallaḳa*, suspect on account of its length, is composed to begin with of elements in juxtaposition. Taken as a whole, the poems and fragments placed under the name of ʿAntara which do not betray too obviously the forger's hand are generally short; poems introduced by a *nasīb* are rare (see *Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, nos. 13, 21; and Cheikho, 817, poem in *bāʾ*). With the exception of a threnody (*Dīwān*, no. 24) and a few fragments of invective like *Dīwān* no. 11, the majority of the poems celebrate the poet's valour, his exploits, and the claim which these give him to the love of ʿAbla. Those which have some chance of not being clumsy forgeries are distinguished by their simplicity of language and style.

Bibliography: Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Shāir, 128; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje, 130-4; *Aghānī*[3], viii, 237-46 (taken up again by Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, Beirut 1890, i, 794-882, who reproduces in an expurgated form the *Dīwān* (ed. Ahlwardt) and numerous poetic texts); Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1847, ii, 441ff., 514-21; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Iḳd*, ed. ʿUryān, *Index*; Āmidī *Muʾtalif*, 151, Nöldeke, *Fünf Muʿallaqāt*, ii, 1-49; Thorbecke, *Antarah*, Leipzig 1867 followed by Derenbourg, *Le Poète antéislamique Antar*, in *Opuscules d'un Arabisant*, Paris 1905, 3-9; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*

über die Ächtheit der alten arab. Gedichte, Greifswald 1872, 50-7; Nallino, *La Littérature arabe*, trans. Pellat, Paris 1950, 44-5; Iskender Agha, *Munyat al-Nafsi fi Ash*ʿ*ār* ʿ*Antara al-*ʿ*Absi*, Beirut 1864. The *Diwān* has been edited by Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870, 33-52 + additions, 178ff.; other editions at Cairo, 1315 and at Beirut, 1888, 1901, upon which see Brockelmann, S I, 45. (R. Blachère)

ʿANTARĪ (a.), noun derived from ʿAntar [*q.v.*], denoting in Egypt: 1) a story-teller who narrates the *Sīrat* ʿ*Antar*; 2) a short garment worn under the *ḳafṭān*. The latter usage, assimilated by popular etymology to ʿAntarī, derives from the Turkish Entari, a word of Greek origin.

Bibliography: Dozy, Suppl. ii, 180 and references quoted. (Ed.)

ANṬARṬŪS [see ṬARṬŪS].

ANTEMURU, tribe of south-eastern Madagascar, comprising 85,000 sedentary agriculturalists living in the low river valleys, from the Matatana in the south to the Namurana in the north, and eking out their livelihood by fishing. Of their number, 25,000 members of certain clans claim to come from Emaka, a region which they liken to Mecca. According to their written traditions, some *silamu* "Muslims", accompanied by *kafiri* "pagans", passing through the Comores and the north-east of Madagascar, settled, during the 7th/13th century, near their present territory. They found there, and assimilated, other groups of the same origins.

It seems likely that an Indonesian community was augmented by an influx of groups which had in varying degree been Islamicised, and came probably from the east coast of Africa, which had been penetrated by the descendants of immigrants from the Persian Gulf. The prestige of these "Islamicised" elements was such that the Indonesian dynasties and some clans ascribed to themselves an Arab origin.

It is possible to distinguish two successive waves of immigrants; the earlier introduced divination based on geomancy, while the Antalaotra of the more recent influx introduced writing in Arabic characters and paper-making. The Islamicised elements introduced in addition : plants (the vine, pomegranate, hemp, the copal-tree), the game of chess, a few prayers, a period of comparative fasting, some words of Arabic origin, and above all a calendar.

Since the 10th/16th century, the fame of the Antemuru magicians has extended their influence throughout Madagascar. Isolated from the Muslim world, they look upon writing not as a vehicle of communication, but as a means of preserving their magico-religious secrets. The development of the occult sciences has represented a corresponding decline of the Islamic tradition. The astrological calendar has supplanted the Muslim lunar calendar; prayers, their meaning not understood, have become magic formulas. This decadence is most marked in the tribe which dwells to the north of the Antemuru, namely the 12,000 Antambaok or Antambahwaka.

Since the beginning of the 19th century the over-population of Temuru territory has led to a temporary exodus to the north-west of Madagascar. There, they live with the Cormorian Muslims. This has given rise since 1913, and especially between 1926 and 1939, to an Islamic revival among some of the 2,000 literates belonging to the clans of the Antalaotra group.

After 1924, the development of coffee-planting, which created new resources, checked the migration to the north-west. Relations with true Muslims again came to an end. The Islamic revival, opposed by the Christians as well as by the traditionalist magicians, declined, despite several attempts by Pākistānī Khodjas to make converts.

Bibliography: Flacourt *Histoire de la grande île de Madagascar*, Paris 1661, republished in the Grandidier collection *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, Paris 1913; G. Ferrand, *Les musulmans à Madagascar et aux Îles Comores* i and ii, Paris-Algiers 1891-93; E. F. Gautier, *Madagascar*, Paris 1902; G. Ferrand, *La légende de Raminia*, in *JA*, 1902; idem, *Un texte arabico-malgache du XVIe siècle*, in *Recueil de l'Ecole sup. des lettres*, Algiers 1905; idem, *Un chapitre d'astrologie arabico-malgache* in *JA*, 1905; idem, *Un texte arabico-malgache ancien*, Algiers 1905; idem, *Textes magiques malgaches*, in *Revue de l'Histoire des religions*, 1907; E. F. Gautier and Froidevaux, *Un manuscrit arabico-malgache sur les campagnes de La Case dans l'Imoro de* 1659 *à* 1663, Paris 1907; G. Ferrand, *Un vocabulaire malgache arabe*, in *Mémoires de la société de linguistique*, 1908-9; A. and G. Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, I, Paris 1908, III, Paris 1917; G. Ferrand, *Les voyages des Javanais à Madagascar*, in *JA* 1910; G. Mondain, *L'histoire des tribus de l'Imoro au XVIIe siècle d'après un manuscrit historique arabico-malgache*, Paris-Algiers 1910; Ardant du Picq, *Le samantsy, jeu d'echec des Ṭanala de l'Ikongo* in *Bull. de l'Acad. malgache*, 1912; G. H. Julien, *Pages arabico-malgaches* in *Annales de l'Acad. des sciences coloniales*, iii, Paris 1929, vi, Paris 1933; Perrier de la Bathie, *Les plantes introduites à Madagascar*, Toulouse 1933; J. P. Rombaka, *tantaran-drazana antaimoro-anteony* (in Malagazi), Antananarivo 1933; H. Berthier, *Notes et impressions sur les moeurs et coutumes du peuple malgache*, Antananarivo 1933; F. Kasanga, *tantaran'ny Antemoro Anakara teto Imerina* (in Malagazi), Antananarivo 1956. (J. Faublée)

ANTIOCH [see ANṬĀKIYA].

ANṬŪN FARAḤ [see FARAḤ].

ANŪSHARWĀN, Arabic form of the surname of Chosroës I (al-Ṭabarī, I, 862) [see KISRĀ], in Pahlawi *anoshagh-ruvān*, in Pazand *anosh-ruān* "possessed of an immortal soul", then in Persian Nūshīravān (Nūshīrvān), which is popularly explained as *nūshin-ravān* "possessed of sweet soul" (*Burhān-i Ḳāṭi*ʿ). Several persons in Islam bore this name (Zambaur mentions four), particularly a son of Manūčihr and of a daughter of Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī, who was *amīr* of Djurdjān from 420/1029 to 434/1042 (Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 262), and Anūsharwān b. Khālid b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī (see the following art.).

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, chapter VIII; Zambaur, index, s.v. (H. Massé)

ANŪSHIRWĀN b. KHĀLID b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Naṣr, was treasurer and ʿ*āriḍ al-djaysh* to the Saldjūḳ sultan, Muḥammad b. Malikshāh. After being succeeded by Shams al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk as ʿ*āriḍ al-djaysh* he went to Baghdād. He was imprisoned during the reign of Maḥmūd b. Malikshāh for a short period but subsequently appointed *wazīr* by Maḥmūd (521/1127-522/1128). From 526/1132-528/1134 he was *wazīr* to the caliph, al-Mustarshid. In 529/1134 he became *wazīr* to Masʿūd b. Muḥammad and held office until 530/1135-6. He died in Baghdād in 533/1138-9 according to Ibn al-Athīr, but according to the *Tadjārib al-Salaf* of Hindū Shāh b. Sandjar in 532/1137-8. He composed a work in Persian on the

events of his time, entitled *Futūr Zamān al-Ṣudūr wa Ṣudūr Zamān al-Futūr*, which was later translated into Arabic by ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Al-Bundārī's abridged version of this translation has been edited by Houtsma (*Recueil de textes relat. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, ii). Hadjdjī Khalīfa mentions another work by him, entitled *Nafthat al-Maṣdūr*, but this is probably the same as the *Futūr Zamān al-Ṣudūr* mentioned above (see Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Maḳāla-i Taʾrīkhī wa Intiḳādī*, Tehran, 1308 solar). Anūshirwān was praised by various contemporary poets. It was he who encouraged al-Ḥarīrī to compose his *maḳāmas*.

Bibliography: *Recueil de textes relat. à l'hist. des Seldjoucides*, ii; Ibn al-Athīr, x, xi; Sibt b. al-Djawzī; Hindū Shāh b. Sandjar, *Tadjārib al-Salaf*. (A. K. S. Lambton)

ANWĀʾ (A.), a system of computation among the early Arabs. The singular *nawʾ*, connected with the root *nāʾa* "to rise with difficulty, to lean, to support a load with difficulty" (cf. Ḳurʾān, xxviii, 76), denotes the acronychal setting of a star or constellation and heliacal rising of its opposite (*raḳīb*); by extension, it is applied to a period of time and, in the language of the later Middle Ages and the modern era, it has come to mean "cloud, rain, storm, tempest" (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; Beaussier, s.v.; H. Wehr, *Arab. Wörterbuch*, s.v.), on account of the pluvial role ascribed to the stars contemplated. In the plural, *anwāʾ* denotes the whole system based on the acronychal setting and helical rising of a series of stars or constellations; it also appears in the title of a number of works which constitute a separate class of their own.

1. The system of the *anwāʾ*.—To estimate the passage of time, the early Arabs possessed a primitive system—perhaps already influenced by the "Calendar of the Pleiades" (cf. J. Henninger, *Sternkunde*, 114 and references quoted)—which can be summarized as follows:—(a) on the one hand, the acronychal setting of a series of stars or constellations marked the beginning of periods called *nawʾ*, but within which the duration of the *nawʾ* proper was from 1-7 days. The stars themselves were responsible for rain and were invoked during the *istisḳāʾ* [*q.v.*]; knowledge of these *anwāʾ* enabled Bedouin trained in this science to foresee the state of the weather during a given period; (b) on the other hand, the helical rising of the same series of stars or constellations, at six monthly intervals, marked out the solar year by fixing a number of periods probably about 28. Such maxims as have survived suggest that this was the very basis of the calendar.

Some time before Islam (cf. Ḳurʾān x, 5; xxxvi, 39) the Arabs learnt from the Indians to distinguish the "stations" or "mansions" (*manzila*), pl. *manāzil* [*q.v.*]) of the moon, numbering 28. Perceiving that the list of these mansions corresponded *grosso modo* with their own list of *anwāʾ*, they proceeded to combine the two ideas and to adjust their *anwāʾ* to make them coincide with the *manāzil*, by dividing the solar zodiac into 28 equal parts of approx. 12° 50'; thus the 28 *anwāʾ* identified with the 28 *manāzil* (see list in the article MANĀZIL) are determined by 28 stars or constellations constituting 14 pairs (the acronychal setting of the one corresponding to the heliacal rising of the other) and marking the beginning of 27 periods of 13 days and one of 14. These modifications, the date of which cannot be fixed accurately, were definitely completed after Islam, the passage from one system to the other being favoured by the development of astronomy, and by the anathema hurled by the Prophet against the *anwāʾ*, which are not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. The old system, however, still survived, on the one hand empirically among the Bedouin tribes (cf. for example the *nūwa*, pl. *nwāwi* of the Marāzīg of southern Tunisia in G. Boris, *Documents linguistiques* ..., Paris 1951, 208-11), on the other hand traditionally, and with complete identification of the *anwāʾ* with the mansions, in the specialised works which have perpetuated it among certain rural populations (see Ed. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 177, and *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, London 1930, 313-17).

2. The *anwāʾ* in Arabic Literature.—As might be expected, it was the lexicographers who first assembled Bedouin ideas on the subject of the *anwāʾ* and published them in lexicographical works of which we shall consider only those entitled *K. al-Anwāʾ*, leaving aside the *K. al-Azmina* and others which fall into the same category. The following are the principal writers mentioned as being authors of works entitled *K. al-Anwāʾ*, none of which has as yet come into our possession: Ibn Kunāsa (d. 207/822), Muʾarridj (d. 195/810-11), al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. about 245/859), al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 233/846), al-Shaybānī (d. about 245/859), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898). On the other hand, we have the *K. al-Anwāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba (d. about 276/889) which has recently (1957) been printed at Ḥaydarābād, and we have fragments of that of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. after 282/895); the works of al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927), al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), the *ḳāḍī* Wakīʿ (d. 330/941) and others are also lost. Basically these works contain an explanation of the system of the *anwāʾ*, a list of the mansions (i.e. the modified *anwāʾ*), a table of the dates of the rising and setting of the stars which determine them, the system of the winds and the rains, etc.; the explanation is accompanied by maxims and poetry, usually with a commentary.

From the 3rd/9th century, however, astronomers in their turn showed interest in the *anwāʾ*: al-Ḥasan b. Sahl b. Nawbakht, Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (d. 272/885-6), Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 289/902), and Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. 300/912-3), wrote *K. al-Anwāʾ* while al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) devoted to this subject a chapter of his *Āthār* and reproduced in part (243-75) the *K. al-Anwāʾ* of Sinān b. Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 331/943), which is an almanac.

One would expect, indeed, to see Arab authors producing almanacs on the lines of those which they found in conquered territories, and, although we only have the almanac of Sinān for ʿIrāḳ, it is probable that Egyptian authors composed them at an early stage, as is proved by certain chapters of Ibn al-Mammātī and al-Maḳrīzī, and by the names of the Coptic months which appear in the calenders produced in Spain. For the latter country, we in fact possess an almanac published by Dozy under the title of *Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961* (Leiden 1873) and still entitled *K. al-Anwāʾ*, as is that of the mathematician of Marrākush, Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321) which has been published by H. P. J. Renaud (Paris 1948); other *K. al-Anwāʾ*, now lost, are attributed to al-Gharbāl (d. 403/1012-13) and al-Khaṭīb al-Umawī al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 602/1205-6). These calendars are solar and, under each day, the author gives information on the *anwāʾ*, the length of the day and night, agricultural practices, etc., with, in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, notification of

the Christian festivals. The modern popular calendars (*raʿdiyya, taḳwīm* etc.) are a final re-incarnation of the *K. al-Anwāʾ*.

Bibliography: Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. and trans. C. A. Nallino, Milan 1903 ff., index; Farghānī, *K. fi 'l-Ḥarakāt al-Samawiyya wa-Djawāmiʿ al-Nudjūm*, ed. and trans. J. Golius (Elementa astronomica), Amsterdam 1669; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, *K. al-Ṣuwar al-Samāʾiyya*, Ḥaydarābād; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣas*, ix, 9ff.; Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orient. Völker*, ed. C. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878; Ibn Mādjid, *K. al-Fawāʾid fī Uṣūl ʿIlm al-Baḥr wa 'l-Ḳawāʿid*, ed. G. Ferrand, Paris 1921-23; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v, 53-4; *LA*, s.v. *nāʾa*; Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-Amkina*, Ḥaydarābād 1332; Reinaud, *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux* (vol. i of the *Géographie d'Aboulféda*), Paris 1848, clxxxiii ff.; G. Ferrand, *Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*, Paris 1928; Motylinsky, *Les Mansions lunaires des Arabes*, Algiers 1899; J. Henninger, *Über Sternkunde und Sternkult in Nord- und Zentralarabien*, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1954, 82-117; Ch. Pellat, *Dictons rimés*, anwāʾ *et mansions lunaires chez les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, 1955/i, 17-41. (CH. PELLAT)

ANWARĪ, the *takhalluṣ* of AWḤAD AL-DĪN MUḤ. B. MUḤ. (? or ʿALĪ B. MAḤMŪD) KHĀWARĀNĪ, proclaimed in a well-known *bayt* to be master of the Persian *ḳaṣīda*. Of his life little is known for certain except that he became one of the court poets of the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar (d. 1157) at some period towards the end of the prince's life and that he was writing *ḳaṣīdas* in 540/1145—two of them being thus dated—when he must still have been quite young. He was born in the district of Khāwarān in Khūrāsān and received part of his education at the Manṣuriyya *madrasa* in Ṭūs. Either while he was there or subsequently his studies embraced astrology, his skill in which brought him renown, though it also, if legend can be trusted, led to his downfall. This was in 581/1185, when an extraordinary conjunction of the planets failed to produce the upheaval of the elements which he had foretold. He died a few years afterwards, probably in 585/1189 or in 587/1191, being buried at Balkh (thus Dawlatshāh) or at Tabrīz, in the Poets' Cemetery alongside Khāḳānī and Ẓahīr-i Fāryābī (cf. Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 78), the former seeming more probable. His literary powers are considerable, as shown in his famous lament over the ruin caused by the Ghuzz tribesmen in Khurāsān, and his exercises in irony and ridicule make pungent reading. He shows little of self-criticism, being satisfied that he is an adept in astrology and superior to his contemporaries in logic, music, theology, mathematics and all other intellectual pursuits. It appears that his patrons after Sandjar failed to value his services as highly as he did himself; at any rate he considered their rewards inadequate. Either that fact or jealousy of his rivals caused him to renounce the writing of eulogies and of *ghazals*, although it is difficult to decide at what point in his career this took place. His satires doubtless brought him enemies and declining fortunes led to persistent complaint against capricious Fate. In style and language he is sometimes obscure, so that Dawlatshāh declares that he needs a commentary. That obscurity, and a change in literary taste, may be reasons for his comparative neglect in recent times.

Bibliography: Browne, ii, 365 ff., incidentally epitomising V. Zhukovski's Russian monograph, *Alī Awḥad al-Dīn Anwarī*; *Materials for a Biography* etc., St. Petersburg 1883; Dawlatshāh (Browne), 83-86; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb* (Browne), ii, 125-138; *Dīwān*, Tabrīz 1266/1850; *Kulliyyāt*, Lucknow 1880 and 1889 (both deficient).

(R. LEVY)

ANWARĪ, AL-ḤĀDJDJ SAʿDULLAH [see ENWERĪ].

ANWĀR-I SUHAYLĪ, title of the Persian version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Kāshifī [*q.v.*].

APAMEA [see AFĀMIYA].

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA [see BALĪNŪS].

AL-**ʿĀRA**, a place on the S. shore of Yaman, W. of ʿAdan, on Ṣubayḥī territory, between ʿUmayra (Khor Omeira) and Suḳyā (Sukayya). Ibn al-Mudjāwir (ca. 600/1200) makes it the starting point of several routes. Al-Shardjī (d. 893/1488) still calls this headquarter of the Banū Mushammir "a big village" (cf. Abū Makhrama *Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan*, ii, 91 f., in the biography of Saʿīd b. Muḥ. Mushammir). Since then, with the diminishing caravan trade, there has been a steady decline. The place is still on the map of von Maltzan (ca. two miles from the coast), but nowadays the name seems to survive only in Biʾr ʿĀra and Rās ʿĀra, which is the utmost Southern point of Arabia, the Promontorium Ammonii of the ancients.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, 52, 74, 79; ʿUmāra (Kay) 8/11; Maḳdisī, 85; Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, 194; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, 101 ff.; Sprenger, *Alte Geogr. Arabiens*, 72; *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot*, 1932, 130.

(O. LÖFGREN)

AL-**ʿARAB**, the Arabs.

(i) The ancient history of the Arabs.
(ii) The expansion of the Arabs; general, and the "fertile crescent";
(iii) The expansion of the Arabs: Iran in early Islamic times; Appendix: The Arabs in Central Asia.
(iv) The expansion of the Arabs: Egypt.
(v) The expansion of the Arabs: North Africa.

(See also AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT, as well as ʿARABIYYA and the articles on the several Arab countries).

(i) THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ARABS

(For the ethnic origins of the Arabs cf. AL-ʿARAB (DJAZĪRAT AL-), section on Ethnography, cf. also para ii, below).

The early history of the Arabs is still obscure; their origin and the events governing their early years are equally unknown to us. Probably we would know a good deal more about them, if Uranius' five books of Ἀραβικά, which constituted a special monograph on the Arabs, had been preserved. What we know about them is derived chiefly from the Assyrian records, the classical writers, and, as far as the history of the last three centuries before Islam is concerned, from Muslim tradition and some pre-islamic Nabataean and Arabic inscriptions.

Possibly "the Aramaean Bedouins", who in 880 B.C. interfered in the affairs of Bet-Zamāni on the upper Euphrates and helped to overthrow the local vassal of the Assyrian king Assur Naṣirpal, were predecessors of the Arabs. Their anti-Assyrian policy was subsequently followed by the Arabs, who first appear in the light of history in 854 B.C.: Gindibu, the Arab with 1000 camel troops from Aribi territory, joined Bir-ʾidri of Damascus (the biblical Benhadad II) against Salmanassar III at the battle of Ḳarḳar in which, it is said the Asyrian king was successful. Perhaps the camp of Gindibu

was situated somewhere south-east of Damascus. Certainly the bedouin element of the Arabian Peninsula—for which Aram, ʿEber, and Khabiru are probably synonyms—was to be found originally in the area which extended between Syria and Mesopotamia and which, including Syria, was the oldest centre of the Semites.

If the hypothesis, presented by F. Hommel (*Ethnologie*, 550), that the land of Magan corresponds to Arabic Maʿān and forms the starting point for the foundation of the South-Arabian kingdom of Maʿīn, were established—though it would be difficult to prove it—the South-Arabian tribe of the Minaeans must have detached themselves from Arab nomads settled in this country, which had already been included in the Babylonian Empire by Naram-Sin (2320 to 2284 B.C.). The traditional pro-Babylonian policy of the Arabs would, therefore, be understandable because of their old political and cultural relations with Babylonia.

The geographical position of the land of Aribi between Syria and Mesopotamia, and the rôle of the Arabs in the traffic on the commercial routes leading from the Persian Gulf to Syria, from Syria to Egypt and Southern Arabia, and along the Wādī Dawāsir through the highlands of Nadjd to Maʿīn, influenced historical events in the Near East. The struggle for the possession of these important high roads characterises the course of history during the last two millennia B.C. and the Roman period.

Already in 738 B.C., during the reign of Tiglat-Pilesar III (745 to 726 B.C.), who had occupied Gaza, the terminal point of the "incense" road from Southern Arabia to the Mediterranean Sea, Zabibē, the queen of the Aribi region, sent tribute to the Assyrian king. She probably ruled the oasis of Adumu (Dūmat al-Djandal) and was high priestess of the Ḳedar tribe, to which the oasis paid tribute. In 734 B.C. Tiglat appointed the Arab Idibaʾil as his representative in the land of Muṣri (Midian and Northern Hidjaz), through which the "incense" road passed, and in 732 B.C. he subdued another queen of Aribi, Samsī—who had apparently joined a coalition of the king of Damascus and several Arab tribes, among them Masʾa (Massa in Genesis xxv, 13 f.), Tema (Taymāʾ), Khayappa (ʿEfa, a Midianite tribe in the territory of Ḥesma, east of Taymāʾ), the Badana (south-east of the oasis of el-ʿElāʾ-Daydān) and Sabʾa (the Sabaeans)—conquered two of her cities and besieged her camp, so that she sent white camels as a tribute; the aforementioned Arab tribes were also compelled to pay tribute, and Idibaʾil (the Adbeʾēl of Genesis xxv, 13), who resided near Gaza, was forced to recognise Assyrian suzerainty. In order to be sure of the loyalty of queen Samsī's land, Tiglat-Pilesar III appointed a resident at her court. As the cities subdued by the Assyrian king were situated on the caravan road in southern Ḥawrān and northern Ḥidjāz, it is obvious that the object of the struggle was the possession of the northern part of the caravan road from Mārib to Gaza (Ghazza). Nevertheless his success in subduing these people was neither complete nor lasting, for in 715 B.C. king Sargon II (722 to 705 B.C.) again defeated the Khayappa as well as the Tamūdi (Thamūd, west of the oasis of Taymāʾ) and the Marsimani (south of al-ʿAḳaba), and Samsī, queen of Aribi, and the Sabaeans are again recorded as paying tribute. In 703 B.C. the Arabs (Yatiʾe was then queen of Aribi) helped the Babylonian king Marduk-apal-iddina against Sennacherib, king of Assyria (705 to 681 B.C.); but the Arab troops were taken prisoner by the Assyrians, and Sennacherib seems to have possessed considerable influence over the Arabs, as Herodotus (ii, 141) calls him "king of the Arabs and Assyrians" (F. Hommel, *Ethnologie*, 574). In 689 B.C., after the defeat of Babylon, Sennacherib attacked the camps of the Arab clans subject to queen Teʾelkhunu, routed them and pursued them into the inner desert around Adummatu (Dūmat al-Djandal). The settlers of this large oasis were dependent upon the Ḳedar tribe which had control over Northern Arabia (the Palmyrene). The queen and priestess of Adummatu, Teʾelkhunu, and her lieutenant Khazaʾil, king of Aribi, had taken refuge here; the latter, after a dispute with the queen, fled into the inner desert, but was pardoned by Assarhaddon, Sennacherib's successor, who recognised him as chief of all the Ḳedar. Khazaʾil died in 675 B.C., and his son Uaiteʾ (Yataʾ) succeeded him, paying a heavy tribute to the Assyrian king, who had sent back Teʾelkhunu's daughter Tabuʾa to Khazaʾil as queen and priestess. In 676 B.C. Assarhaddon made an expedition against the Bāzu (Būz) and Khazu (Khazō) in the depression of the Wādī Sirḥān. When Shamash-shum-ukīn, the king of Babylon, revolted against Assurbanipal, the Ḳedar under Uaiteʾ began hostilities against him and plundered the western borders of the country between Ḥamāʾ and Edom, but were driven back to the desert; when they again plundered the Assyrian provinces, they were forced to flee to Ḥawrān, while king Uaiteʾ, expelled by his own subjects, who were enraged by the devastation of their lands during the campaign, was captured and brought to Niniveh. The Nabayati and the Ḳedar, settled in the Palmyrene and south of Damascus, and the Ḥarar in the southern Sirḥān valley were also subdued by Assyrian forces coming from Damascus, while an auxiliary detachment, which fought in Babylon on the side of the Babylonian king, was completely destroyed after the capture of that capital. Aribi and the tribes of the Nabayati and Ḳedar again recognized Assyrian suzerainty. About 580 B.C. the Ḳedar are mentioned as having been subdued by Babylon.

Strenuous efforts had been made during the Assyrian period to restore order in Arabia, but as a whole this was an impossible task. The utmost that could be achieved, was the protection of the important trade routes and the punishment of razzias, undertaken by the independent or rebellious tribes. If the title of "kings" reappears frequently in the Assyrian records, this title scarcely meant more than a local chief or shaykh, and it is much later before a really kinglike power is exercised by these Arabian chiefs. So "the kings of Arabia and all the kings of the Arabs, who live in the desert", of whom Jeremiah xxv, 23 f. foretells the ruin, are the nomad chiefs. The kings of Arabia are the chiefs of the settlements, e.g. the inhabitants of the oasis of Būz in the depression of Wādī Sirḥān. Some of these settlements are occupied by the Neo-Babylonian kings, e.g. Taymāʾ, which was occupied by Nabonid (552 to 545 B.C.). Some years later (539 B.C.) Arab warriors helped King Cyrus II to take Babylonia (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, vii, 4, 16; v, 13).

When the Near East was annexed to the Achaemenid Empire, the Arabs again furnished camel troops to the Great King of Persia, e.g. to Xerxes (Herodotus, vii, 86), but sometimes the Arabs also joined the kings of Asia Minor in their struggle against Persia; for instance their king Aragdes (or Maragdes, Khāridja?) was a confederate of Croesus

(Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, ii, 1, 5). The "King of the Arabs" mentioned in Herodotus (iii, 4) may be a king of the Liḥyānites (the Laianitai of Agatharchides; the latter had occupied the Northern Ḥidjāz, i.e. the colony of the Minaeans known as Muṣrān ("border-land") in the land of Midian, with the centre of Agra-Hegra, between 500 and 300 B.C., and were followed by the Nabataeans.

When Alexander the Great had conquered the Achaemenid Empire, he also subdued Arabia according to Livy (xlv 9) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii, 62). The Arabs now had to supply clothes and arms to the Greek army, and they participated in military actions, e.g. in the defence of Gaza (Arrian, *Anabasis*, ii, 25, 4, Curtius Rufus, *Memorabilia*, iv, 6, 30) and in the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) on the side of Antiochus III. Although the western part of Arabia was occupied by Ptolemy after the death of Alexander, the majority of the Arabs joined Antiochus (Polybius, v, 71); presumably these Arabs are the predecessors of the Nabataeans. Arab colonies, established at the foot of the Lebanon and in Syria, mainly served the traffic on the great commercial route Petra-Damascus-Mesopotamia (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 142; Strabo, xvi, 749, 755, 756), as nomad Arabs (Ἄραβες Σκηνῖται) were also settled by Tigranes with this end in view (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 21; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 142). In the Mithridatian war Arabs fought along side the Romans, but in the Syrian war they harassed the Roman army under Pompey and were defeated by him. Arabs served with Cassius (53 B.C.) and Crassus against the Parthians. The Roman policy of winning over Arabs as confederates and auxiliaries against their own kindred in the Arabian-Syrian desert and against the Parthians was continued and extended by the Eastern Roman Emperors. The Arabian-Syrian border-land was under the rule of the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] as phylarchs, as was the border-land of the Euphrates in Southern Babylonia (al-Ḥīra) which remained under the rule of the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] until 602 A.D.

In the meantime Arabs had even infiltrated in the 4th century A.D. into Southern Arabia apparently in connection with camel-breeding and traffic on the "incense" road. They are mentioned in the Sabaean inscriptions as Aʿrāb and form a notable part of the population, along with the ancestral sedentary population. Their importance is emphasised by the mention of these Aʿrāb in the title and style of the Sabaean ruler. But this political position did not prevent their kindred in North-West Arabia from entering into warlike disputes with the South Arabian kings. King Amr al-Ḳays b. ʿAmr besieged Nadjrān, which belonged to the king Shammar Yurʿish, and it may have been this Amr al-Kays who put an end to the prevailing influence of South Arabia in the region of ʿAsīr and Southern Ḥidjāz.

At the beginning of the fourth century, the aforementioned Amr al-Ḳays b. ʿAmr, who succeeded in gaining power over the tribes of Asad and Nizār and called himself "king of all the Arabs", put a detachment of Arab cavalry at the disposal of the Romans. This fact is clearly stated in the Nabataean inscription of al-Namāra dated 328 A.D.

From the end of the fourth century A.D. for about a hundred years the princes of the family of Dadjāʿima, the leaders of the tribe of Banū Ṣāliḥ, were vassals of the Byzantine Empire on the Syrian border, and held territories there which were gradually yielded to the Ghassānids in the second half of the fifth century A.D. Unfortunately we do not learn very much about them from Arabic sources.

About the middle of the 4th century A.D., the tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*], which after a long struggle with Ḥaḍramūt, to which it was inferior, had to leave the Yaman, and migrated to the country of Maʿadd, where it settled at Ghamr Dhī Kinda in the south-western corner of Nadjd, two days journey from Makka. Although the leaders of Kinda, as kings of the tribes of Rabīʿa and Muḍar, may have possessed a certain influence on the Bedouin tribes in Nadjd from the time when they settled there, the real kingdom of Kinda, governing a coalition of Arabian tribes in close connection with the Ḥimyarite Power in the Yaman, actually begins with Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār. Yamanī tradition says that he was made king of Maʿadd, when Tubbaʿ ibn Karib invaded al-ʿIrāḳ, but possibly the attacks, directed against Persia or its vassals in al-Ḥīra, were made by the Kindites supported by the Ḥimyarites. It is further said that Ḥudjr made military expeditions with the tribes of Rabīʿa to al-Baḥrayn and at the head of the Banū Bakr attacked the frontiers of the Lakhmids, depriving them of their possessions in the country of Bakr, so that Ḥudjr is called "King of the Arabs in Nadjd and of the border-lands of al-ʿIrāḳ". His dominion probably comprised most of Central Arabia including al-Yamāma, and he died after a long and successful reign; he was buried in Baṭn ʿĀḳil on the road between Makka and al-Baṣra south of the Wādī al-Rumma. After his death about 478 A.D., the tribe of Rabīʿa denied ʿAmr al-Maḳṣūr, son of Ḥudjr, the dominions of his father; we find the tribe of Rabīʿa now under the guidance of Kulayb Wāʾil, leader of the Banū Taghlib, and at war with the Ḥimyarites, who supported ʿAmr b. Ḥudjr. Kulayb as well as ʿAmr were killed in these struggles about the last decade of the fifth century (*c.* 490 A.D.). With al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAmr the dynasty of Kinda attained its greatest power. He is known to the Byzantine historians as Arethas, chief of the Saracens, and concluded an alliance with the Romans, directed against Persia and the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra. In the struggles and expeditions against the latter, the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib played the most important rôle (about 503 A.D.).

At any rate al-Ḥārith succeeded in uniting the tribes of the Nadjd into a great kingdom and made invasions into Roman as well as Persian territory. The statement that al-Ḥārith subjugated Syria and the Ghassānid kings may be an exaggeration. The peace of 502 A.D. put an end to the war against the Romans, and in the following year (503 A.D.) al-Ḥārith's troops attacked al-Ḥīra, doubtless with the consent and help of the Romans. Al-Ḥārith became master of all the Arabs in al-ʿIrāḳ (503-506 A.D.), and the Lakhmid al-Mundhir, who got no assistance at all from his suzerain, the Persian king Ḳubādh, submitted to al-Ḥārith and married his daughter Hind. However, the domination of the Lakhmid country was not complete; according to a South Arabian tradition, by an agreement between Ḳubādh and al-Ḥārith, the Euphrates or the canal al-Ṣarā near the Tigris not far from Baghdād was fixed as the northern boundary of al-Ḥārith's territory, and it is said, that, after King Anūshirwān had restored al-Mundhir to power in al-Ḥīra, al-Ḥārith kept what was on the other side of "the river of al-Sawād" until 527-28 A.D. So the Kindite interregnum in al-Ḥīra may have lasted some time between the years 525 to 528 A.D., when the Persian Empire was weakened by the Mazdakite movement. It seems, that al-Ḥārith for some period even ruled

over al-ʿIrāḳ as far as ʿUmān, possibly as a feofee of the Persian king Ḳubādh. After the fall of the Mazdakites al-Ḥārith had to flee; he lost all his property and 48 members of his family were put to death by al-Mundhir. He nevertheless could again approach the Romans and was even appointed as a phylarch of the Arabs, on the side of East-Roman Empire. In 528 A.D., the date of his death, he is mentioned in this position by Byzantine sources. With his death the second climax of the Kindite power in Arabia came to an end. Al-Ḥārith had divided his dominion, comprising all Nadjd, great parts of al-Ḥidjāz, al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma, between his sons, who had been placed as chiefs over the tribes of Maʿadd. His eldest son Ḥudjr, who had a certain supremacy over the whole kingdom of Kinda, was killed in a rebellion of the tribe of Asad. Between Shuraḥbīl and Salama, ruling the tribes of Rabīʿa and Tamīm and possessing the eastern half of the kingdom of Kinda, a discord arose concerning the division of power after their father's death, and Shuraḥbīl was killed in the battle of al-Kulāb (a well between al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra) a few years after 530 A.D.; it is highly probable that this dissension was caused or nourished by the intrigues of al-Mundhir, whom the Banū Taghlib as well as the Bakr joined after the expulsion of the victorious Salama. Maʿdikarib, the chief of the Ḳays-ʿAylān, went mad, or fell in the battle of Uwāra, and the fifth son of Ḥudjr, ʿAbdallāh, who ruled over the Rabīʿa tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, in al-Baḥrayn, is not mentioned further. So the kingdom of the family of Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār broke down, and the Kinda, or considerable parts of them, migrated to Ḥaḍramūt, where they settled about 543 A.D. according to a Sabaean inscription at the dam of Mārib. Ḥudjr's son, the famous poet Imraʾ al-Ḳays, tried in vain to regain the power of his father with the help of the Byzantine Emperor, and died in Anḳara perhaps before the year 554 A.D. A cousin of Imraʾ al-Ḳays, Ḳays ibn Salama, chief of the Kinda and Maʿadd, is possibly identical with Kaisos (Κάϊσος), who received from the Emperor the governorship of Palestine and defeated the Lakhmid al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān, who died in 554 A.D.

The disputes and struggles between the nomad tribes in Arabia are listed under the well known "Ayyām al-ʿArab", and an expedition to Khaybar in 567 A.D. is referred to in the Arabic inscription of Ḥarrān (dated 568 A.D.). That there existed "kings" of individual tribes along with those mentioned here is proved by a Nabataean inscription found in Umm al-Djimāl and dating from about 250 A.D., in which a king of Tanūkh is mentioned.

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(ii) THE EXPANSION OF THE ARABS: GENERAL, AND THE "FERTILE CRESCENT"

If the expansion of the Arabs is regarded as a continuous process certain permanent features can be detected: the expansion consists usually in the emigration of large or small nomadic groups, rarely in that of groups with permanent habitations; it may be military, by means of service in foreign armies or in their own army which has set out for conquest; or through the founding of trading colonies. Apart from this last case, the extent of emigration depends partly on particular coincidences, partly on a recurrent, but incalculable, factor, the increase in the pressure of population in Arabia. This is brought about by the decline of cultivation (in South Arabia also of industry) and of the caravan trade (in Islamic times also of the pilgrim traffic); there is a corresponding increase in the nomadic population. The expansion was preceded by the immigration into the central parts of the peninsula, which had been sparsely occupied by an earlier population. It was facilitated by the taming of the camel in the second (?) half of the second millennium B.C. Nor is it likely that the occupation of South Arabia took place earlier, to judge from the philological, ethnological and archeological evidence. The forerunners of these immigrants into South Arabia were presumably traders who followed the ancient trade routes into the land of incense and myrrh. A little later the Arabs begun to expand in the North, at first in the direction of Sinai and Transjordan. The evidence of the inscriptions shows that in 853 they were present in the north of the Syrian desert, shortly afterwards on both edges of the Fertile Crescent; they were camel-breeders, oasis-dwellers, traders. This formed the chief objective of the Arab expansion. It did not, however, remain the only one, as the emigration of the Sabaeans into Ethiopia (about 400?) shows. It depended on the strength of the various states of the Fertile Crescent whether this immigration could be canalised in the form of colonisation, and, on the borders, of semi-nomadic life, or whether it led to the flooding of the cultivated land by nomads. In the 1st century B.C. the nomads (Scenites) on the near side of the Euphrates crossed the border of the arable land as far as the line Apamaea-Thapsacus, while in the Djazīra they roved as far as the border of the arable

land to the south of the Khābūr and the Sindjār. We cannot here examine exceptional developments, like that of the trading state of the Nabataeans which expanded in the same century, in the north to the Ḥawrān, in the south to N.-W. Arabia.

The incorporation of the Syrian part of the Nabataean kingdom in 105 A.D., and the abandonment of the Roman sphere of interest in N.-W. Arabia some sixty years later, shook the security of these countries. It is, however, impossible to discern what were the consequences of the incursions of the "Saracens" in the west and of the Ṭayyiʾ settled in the central mountain ridges of North Arabia (al-Djabal). Different is the case of the entry of two tribes into the steppe lying between the Lower Euphrates and the sandy desert, which was perhaps originated by Ardashīr I, the first Sāsānid (d. 241). They were the Tanūkh and Asad (2), who came from East Arabia; and they were followed by Nizār from Middle and Western Arabia. The Nizār, with the exception of Iyād, were absorbed by the population of the Euphrates frontiers; the Tanūkh and the Asad, on the other hand, continued their wanderings, the Tanūkh, for the most part, to Northern Syria and the Asad to the south of the Ḥawrān. Since the 4th century these countries saw also the arrival of tribes from West Arabia. In the meantime, the recession in the incense trade (from the 3rd century ?) and its extinction (at the latest in the 5th century) had led to the bedouinisation of part of the population of South Arabia. Groups of such tribes, taking part in military expeditions of the Ḥimyārite kings, reached the district of Nadjrān and also Central Arabia (e.g. Kinda). All through the 6th century we can observe an advance into the north, sped forward initially by the campaigns of the kings of Kinda; its path lay along the northerly ʿĀriḍ = Ṭuwayḳ to the steppe on the lower Euphrates (Bakr, Tamīm), from Bīsha to the Wādī al-Ruma (ʿĀmir), from the country north of Medina in the direction of Palmyra (Bahrāʾ, Kalb). The Taghlib, dwelling formerly on the lower Euphrates, moved upstream and settled at the beginning of Islam in the Djazīra to the north of the Sindjār.

The expansion at the beginning of the Islam came about in the first place through enlistment in the armies and auxiliary troops which were sent by Medina to the Euphrates, to Transjordania and to Southern Palestine and after that conquered al-ʿIrāḳ, Syria and al-Djazīra; later through participation in the campaigns which led, across the Persian Gulf or from the garrison cities of Kūfa and Baṣra, to Iran, from Damascus to Egypt, North Africa and Spain. It occurred further through the displacement of tribes from Transjordania to Palestine (in the north ʿĀmila and Djudhām, in the south Lakhm); the emigration of parts of Balī and Djuhayna from the Ḥidjāz to Egypt; through continuous infiltration of families and groups into the garrison towns and the Djazīra; and through resettlement of the people of Kūfa and Baṣra in Khurāsān. With the enrolment of 400 families of the Sulaym and other West Arabian Ḳaysites as colonists for Lower Egypt, followed spontaneously by three times their number, the first period of expansion in Islamic times ends. The curtain between the Fertile Crescent and Arabia falls again.

It took a considerable time before the loss which the population of Arabia incurred by the emigration during and after the campaigns of conquests was made good again. The first new movement led from the Djabal towards the north-east: before the middle of the 9th century the Asad (1) began to advance along the pilgrims' road of Kūfa, and Ṭayyiʾ followed close on their heels. In the second half of the 10th century, quarrels under the Buwayhids allowed the Asad to penetrate into the cultivated land; a part of them wandered on to Khūzistān, where already before Islam a small Arab island (Tamīm) had been formed. In the meanwhile the campaigns of the Ḳarmaṭians of East Arabia into ʿIrāḳ (311-25/923-37), Syria and Egypt (353-68/964-78/9), had driven new waves of migration to the north: Khafādja (ʿUḳayl) moved out of East Arabia into the steppe on the lower Euphrates, followed in the 11th century by Muntafiḳ (also of ʿUḳayl). Their place in East Arabia was filled by tribes which immigrated from ʿUmān; part of these too later moved to ʿIrāḳ. Some Ṭayyiʾ settled in southern Transjordania, and subsequently acquired the overlordship over the older immigrants of the same tribe in Palestine. The stream of tribes from South Palestine to Egypt, which began in early Islamic times, began again in the middle of the 11th century (originated by orders of the government), until in the late Middle Ages it was brought to a halt by a movement in the opposite direction. Since the end of the 12th century there is a trickle of Djudhām from Northern Ḥidjāz over Sinai to Egypt and particularly to Transjordania, until in the 17th century this source dries up. They are followed by Balī. Finally since the end of the 15th century groups of the pariah tribe of Hutaym penetrate into the same districts from the territory east of Khaybar. Meanwhile a new expansion had begun in the Djabal. Around 1200 the Ghaziyya (Ṭayyiʾ) appeared in the north between Transjordania and ʿIrāḳ, the Banu Lām (also of Ṭayyiʾ) in the south between Medina and the Ḳasīm. Since the 15th century Ghaziyya camped on the Euphrates, but did not cross it for good till around 1800. The Banū Lām penetrated at the end of the 15th century to the northern frontier of the Ḥidjaz, but were repelled by the Ottomans, and following their ancient route turned in the middle of the 16th century to the east, and on to the lower Tigris and Khūzistān.

The last great emigration, that of Shammar and ʿAnaza, commenced in the same district. At the end of the 17th century the Shammar came from the Djabal to the frontier of ʿIrāḳ. ʿAnaza (whose territory had been till that time from Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ to the Ḳasīm) penetrated at the same time, accompanied by the Banū Ṣakhr, as far as Transjordania. In the 18th century ʿAnaza, coming from S.-W. and S.-E., occupied the Syrian desert. Into the midst of this movement burst the campaigns of the Wahhābīs. In the nineties the Shammar-Djarbā left their homeland occupied by the Wahhābīs and went to the Euphrates. At the beginning of 1802 they crossed it with the agreement of the government and soon pushed on into the Djazīra up to the edge of the mountains of Asia Minor. Other parts of ʿAnaza reached the Syrian Desert together with the troops of the Wahhābīs or in the course of flight from their tax-collectors.

As the result of the progress of agriculture in North Arabia since 1911 and the exploitation of the oil resources in the last two decades, the expansion of the Arabs has ended for the moment.

Some features of the expansion must still be mentioned, which it was not possible to fit into this article: the settlement on the Iranian coast of the

Persian Gulf (which had pre-Islamic antecedents); the foundation of trading colonies on the coasts and the islands of the Indian Ocean from the early to the late Middle Ages: Malabar, Madagascar, East Africa (Peta-Kilwa, with antecedents in the ancient South Arabian period); the more recent colonial policy of ʿUmān; the continuous emigration from Ḥaḍramawt, which in the 19th century was principally, but not exclusively, directed towards Indonesia (mercenaries in Ḥaydarābād); and infiltration into Upper Egypt across the Red Sea. (W. CASKEL)

(iii) THE EXPANSION OF THE ARABS: IRAN IN EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES

The Arab conquest of Iran brought a part of the Arab people to that country. There appear to be two separate developments in settlement. (1) The immigration from the opposite Arab coast to the south coast of Iran along the Persian Gulf. The Arabs also spread in a south-easterly direction along the coast from the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris. Apparently Arab settlements could be found here already in pre-Islamic times (see A. Christensen: *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 87, 128). The number of Arabs increased considerably here in early Islamic times; there is, for example, explicit mention as settlers of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays from the coast of ʿUmān (al-Balā̲dh̲urī, 386, 392; al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 142; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (Būlāḳ), iii, 49). From then on Arab settlements remained along the coast and at some places inland (e.g. Māhān, in the district of Bardsīr, 985 A.D.: al-Maḳdisī, iii, 462) until at least the times of the Mongols (B. Spuler: *Die Mongolen in Iran*, [2]Leipzig 1955, 142, 149 f., 164). It seems reasonable to suppose that there is a connection between those settlements and the ones of today, in view of the continued migration of Arabs across the Persian Gulf and from Baṣra. (2) There was a second influx of Arab settlers into Iran from Mesopotamia. In the 7th century Arab colonies were formed in several towns such as Kās̲h̲ān, Hamadān and Iṣfahān; Ḳumm became a predominantly Arab (and S̲h̲īʿite) town, and remained so for a considerable time (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 314, 403, 410, 426; Nars̲h̲ak̲h̲ī (Schefer), 52; Ibn al-At̲h̲ir (Būlāḳ), v, 15; E. G. Browne, *Account of a rare ms. hist. of Iṣfahān*, Hertford 1901, 27 [offprint from *JRAS*, 1901]; B. Spuler: *Iran* [see *Bibl.*] 179). The number of Arab settlers in Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 328, 331; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2805 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 353; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 446; *Aghānī*[1], xi, 59) was apparently much smaller.

K̲h̲urāsān, however, remained the main goal throughout all these migrations. The actual settlement was partly made by large groups: there are reports of 25,000 from Baṣra and an equal number from Kūfa, who arrived in 52/672; a further batch reached the country in 683. On the basis of this number of men capable of bearing arms (50,000) and in view of the strictness of recruiting, J. Wellhausen (cf. *Bibl.*) estimates the number of Arab settlers in the beginning of the 8th century at 200,000. They did not live only in the towns—where in some cases quarters were put at their disposal after the conquest—but were scattered all over the country, as for example in the oasis of Marw, where they acquired possessions and adapted themselves to the *dihḳāns'* way of living. The geographical contours of K̲h̲urāsān suited the Arabs very well: they could easily travel across the large plains and the steppes, although they were somewhat more awkward than the natives both at crossing rivers and in the mountains (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 182).

The main body of Arabs in K̲h̲urāsān had come from Baṣra. Of the tribes settled there, the Ḳays (especially in the 8th century: al-Ṭabarī, ii 1929) were in the majority in the west, while the Tamīm and Bakr were mixed together in the east and in Sīstān; thus the outcome of inter-tribal feuds was varied. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (Būlāḳ, v, 6) states their numbers for 715 as follows: Baṣrans 9,000, Bakr 7,000, Tamīm 10,000, ʿAbd al-Ḳays 4,000, Azd 10,000, Kūfans 7,000 (= 47,000 which tallies almost exactly with the above mentioned number for Kūfans and Baṣrans); in addition altogether 7,000 *mawālī* of these tribes. (In this list the people from Baṣra and from Kūfa must stand for elements from the two towns which could not be reckoned among the tribes mentioned). The tribal divisions valid in Baṣra were taken over into K̲h̲urāsān. On the one side were the Rabīʿa (= Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays) and the Yamanite Azd (who had arrived later), and on the other the Tamīm and Ḳays (collectively known as "Muḍar"), who were very pround of their descent [cf. articles on these]. The bloody battle between these began in connexion with the great civil war for the Caliphate in 683; a static war raged outside Harāt for one year, 64-5/684-5 between Bakr and Tamīm (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 490-6), which eventually came to an end because of internal dissensions among the Tamīm. Inspite of the fact that a neutral Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ite became governor in 74/693-4, fighting continued until 81/700 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 859-62). The attitude of the governor often made the difference between victory and defeat, and his attitude, in turn, depended to a great extent on the party divisions in the west (Syria and Mesopotamia). In 85-6/704-5, the ascendancy of the Azd and Rabīʿa was temporarily checked by a change of governors. Ḳutayba b. Muslim, the conqueror of Transoxania, who was not linked to either of the powerful groups by descent, tried to remain neutral. It was thanks to him that the Arabs had the chance of spreading to Samarḳand, Buk̲h̲ārā and K̲h̲ʷārizm, often moving into specially cleared quarters (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 410, 421 f.; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 156; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (Būlāḳ), iii, 194; Nars̲h̲ak̲h̲ī, 52). After his death the Azd resumed power under Yazīd II, until the Tamīm took over in 720. The misrule of the latter and of the Ḳays brought Umayyad rule in K̲h̲urāsān into such disrepute that even the open-minded governor Naṣr b. Sayyār could not find a way to settle the disputes of the opposing groups after 744. The ʿAbbāsid revolution, caused largely by the behaviour of the Arabs, passed them by. Its victory in 748-50 brought about new conditions for the Arabs in the east.

A few of the Arabs had, of course, entered into friendly relations with the Iranians soon after the conquest of K̲h̲urāsān. Some of the *marzbāns* and *dihḳāns* had come quickly to terms with the Arab rule and the Arabs frequently took part in the cultural life of the Iranians (especially the celebrations of the *nawrūz* and the *mihragān*, as, similarly, they had also done in Egypt on the occasion of Coptic festivities). There were mixed marriages (mentioned expressly only where more prominent persons were concerned, yet even more likely to have taken place among the ordinary people) and the descendants of such unions in Iran were undoubtedly inclined to attach themselves to, and disappear among, the islamicised Iranians. In addition, there were cases of Arabs (as, for instance, Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲āzim in Tirmid̲h̲) who quarrelled with the government and joined forces politically with the natives. Furthermore, since the time of ʿUmar II

717-20, there was a growing religious consciousness among some Arabs (such as Ḥārith b. Suraydj) which demanded—with increasing insistance—equal treatment for the Iranian Muslims (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 280). Hence the many attempts to come to a reasonable solution of the question of the personal and land taxes where converted Iranians were concerned. In any case, one has the impression that the tribal feeling was more and more superseded by a new, predominantly religious, grouping from round about 720 onwards, when a new process of assimilation began which became important for the general feeling of pan-Arab unity. From this time onwards, political events can no longer be explained as deriving their main spring from tribal feuds.

Because of this, Umayyad politics, which had been built up on the tribal structure, were doomed, and the future belonged to the ʿAbbāsid movement (and also to that of the ʿAlids connected with the former in the beginning) which worked on a different basis. The collaboration between the Arabs, who often took a leading part in the ʿAbbāsid movement, on the one hand, and the Iranians on the other, went smoothly—at least until the fall of the Umayyads (nor was there much friction on a national basis subsequently). Hence the victory of the years 746-50: at that time, however, the greater part of Arabs in Abū Muslim's army spoke Persian (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 51, 64 f.).

There were, however, Arabs, who took no part in this process of assimilation. The greater part of these were pushed out of Khurāsān in the course of the ʿAbbāsid campaign. The remaining settlers, towards whom the Iranians showed no more animosity, were politically (i.e. as Arabs) of little importance. Tribal warfare now ceased completely, although some tribes are still mentioned in the 10th century (cf. the authorities quoted below). Assimilation continued, however, without interruption so that many Arabs eventually merged completely with the Iranians: more quickly, certainly, where they lived in isolation on their estates (as for instance in the oasis of Marw). One must also take into account a further distribution of the Arab element all over the country during the ʿAbbasid period, and further immigration from the west. Consequently there were places which had a partly Arab population as late as the 11th and 12th century, though the gradual decrease in their numbers is already recognisable in the 10th century. Detailed statements regarding this are rather rare: compare for Iṣfahān: al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 274, for various places in Khurāsān, ibid., 294; al-Iṣṭakhrī 322/323, Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 499; al-Maḳdisī, 292, 303; for Kāshān: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 133, and ibid. 104, 108, 216 (Djūzdjān); al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tria opuscula*, (van Vloten), 40; *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 102, xvii, 69; Djuwaynī, ii, 46, (read *manzilgāh-i ʿArab*); S. A. Volin, *K istorii sredneaziatskikh arabov*, (in the *Trudy vtoroy sessii assotsiatsii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1941), 124; B. Spuler, *Iran*, 250. The family histories in Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fars-nāma*, xix f. = 116 f., and Ḳummī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm* (Tihrānī), 266-305 (family of al-Ashʿarī) are most illuminating for the gradual assimilation of Arab families of civil servants into the Persian people.

Bibliography: A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients, Vienna* 1875-7 (especially ii, 143); J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, especially 247-352; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; idem *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 111 f., 126; P. Schwarz, *Iran*, viii, 1181-5 (Adharbaydjān) B. Spuler: *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 20-45, 247 50, 335 f. and index. (B. SPULER)

APPENDIX: ARABS IN CENTRAL ASIA AT THE PRESENT DAY

The origin of the Arabs living at the present day in Central Asia, and apparently also in Afghān Turkistān (where they speak Persian: *The Imperial Gazeteer of India*, V, Oxford 1908, 68; without definite mention of places) can not (or not yet) be fixed with certainty. According to their own tradition, they were brought there by Tīmūr, and they mention the Andkhuy [*q.v.*] district in Afghānistān and the nearby Aḳča (in the privonce of Mazār-i Sharīf) as the site of their original settlement, and Ḳarshī, Bukhārā and Ḥiṣār as places through which they had passed. There is, however, no mention of Tīmūr re-settling Arabs, in the sources concerning his life, nor can his son-in-law, Mīr Ḥaydar, who is frequently mentioned in the oral tradition, be identified. On the other hand there is proof that inhabitants of Marw were transplanted to Bukhārā, and those of Balkh, Shaburghān and Andkhuy into the Zarafshān valley in the year 1513 (ʿUbayd Allāh, *Zubdat al-Āthār*, in the *Zap. Vostočnago Otdĕleniya*, XV, 202 f.). We know, furthermore, that migration of "Arabs" was still possible in the first half of the 16th century between (Persian) ʿIrāk on the one side, and the areas of Bukhārā, Samarḳand and the valley of the Kashka Daryā on the other (ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwarīd: *Tarassul*, quoted by Volin 121-3; cf. also H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 94 f., 177, with facsimile 38b-39a [without the factual part of the document]).

Thus it appears that the Arabs living in Central Asia today are not the immediate descendants of the immigrants of early Islamic times [see above iii], although one must allow for the possibility of an association with these settlers, who had already been Iranised in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the 16th century, the Central Asian Arabs were under a *mīr hazār* who collected taxes for the government; they were generally known as nomads (*aʿrāb*) (in addition to the above mentioned document cf. also an *inshā*-collection of Samarḳand of ca. 1530, published by Volin 117-20). In the 17th and 18th centuries there is no information concerning these Arabs, but there is mention of them in the beginning of the 19th century, especially in various travel reports (quoted by Volin). Here we must distinguish two concepts:

(1) A close group marked by strict endogamy, who are, however, in their physical appearance hardly different from their Iranian neighbours; they call themselves "Arabs" but accepted the language of the country they live in. There is a group of Tādjīk and a group of Uzbek-speaking "Arabs" in the Samarḳand area. Travellers mention similar groups of "Arabs" in Turkmenistān, Khīwa, Farghāna and mountain Tādjīkistān. In the 19th century their number was assessed at between 50 and 60,000; Vinnikov (see *Bibl.*), 9, sticks to these numbers (in spite of the result of the census) in 1926. In the 19th century these "Arabs" were still under a *mīr hazār*, but by this time he no longer exercised any fiscal function. The figure mentioned in a Soviet census of 1926 is 28,978, that of 1939, 21,793. According to this it would appear that these groups of "Arabs" who already spoke the language of their area, were absorbed more and more into their Uzbek or Tādjīk surroundings. Their economic situation is also like that of their neighbours. As

survivals of the matriarchal system, however, we still find the institution of the "avunculate" (a special connection between the nephew and his maternal uncle and the marriage of first cousins), in which at least one third of these "Arabs" lived before the revolution. (Compare M. O. Kosven, *Avunkulat* in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1948, no. i).

(2) From these self-styled "Arabs" (obviously in a historical sense), we must distinguish groups which still speak Arabic. According to the above mentioned documents, it appears that this distinction goes back as far as the 16th century. This would mean that the seltlement of these Arabs must have taken place some generations earlier, otherwise there could have been (in the case of nomads) no possibility of a partial linguistic assimilation. The Soviet census of 1926 gives the figure 4,655 for these Arabs, who can be divided into the dialectally different tribes of Saʿnōnī and Saʿbōnī. They live largely in Uzbekistān (2,170) and in Tādjīkistān (2,274). In 1939, Arab speaking inhabitants of Uzbekistan numbered about 1,750. It would appear that the Russian census of 1897, mentioning 1696 Arabs, had only the Arab speaking ones in mind; yet some doubt about this figure must remain, in view of the numbers mentioned in later years. Apparently this group, too, is in the process of being assimilated by its surroundings.

The language of these Arabs has developed from a Mesopotamian dialect but has (like Maltese) developed into an independent branch of Arabic, and has split in two. The Central Asian Arabic language developed *p* and *č* even in pure Arabic words, on the other hand it lost the *th*, *dh* and partly the *hamza*. *F* often disappeared, and *ḳ* often became *g*; the *ā* usually became *å*, the *u* in the personal suffix *uh* (*u*): *ü*. Stress vacillates; assimilation, inversion, and elision are frequent. The 2nd and 3rd person fem. pl. retain their endings (as in the bedouin dialects). One of the two dialects developed the prefix *mi-* in the imperfect tense (would this correspond to Iranian, or to Syrian and Egyptian Arabic?). A *durativus praesentis* developed under the influence of Turkish. As in the Caucasian languages (e.g. Old Georgian), the direct object is taken up again by a personal suffix in the verb (cf. also the Syrian development). "*Kāna*" is often used as an auxiliary verb (originally with a pluperfect meaning). The infinitive ends regularly in either *-aḥān* or *-ān*. The nūnation of the nouns is almost completely absent; plurals end in *-īn*/*-āt* (this also frequently in the case of masculine nouns), while broken plurals are rare. Arabic numerals have been replaced by Tādjīk ones almost completely. *Status Constructus* is retained, but word combinations of the Indo-Germanic type are frequent (*Ḥaṭab mibīh*, "wood-seller"). Usual word order: subject, object, predicate. Vocabulary largely Semitic, leaning to ʿIrāḳī and occasionally to peninsular Arabic.

Bibliography: (a) Historical: M. S. Andreev, in the *Izvestiya Turkest. otdela. Russk. geogr. ob-va*, 1924, 126-37; N. Burykina and M. Izmaylova, *Nekotorye dannye po yazyku arabov kishlaka Džugary Bukharskogo okruga i kishlaka Džeynau Kashkadar'inskogo okruga Uzbekskoy SSR*, *Zap. Kollegii Vostokovedov*, 1931, 527-49; S. L. Volin, *K istorii sredneaziatskikh arabov*, *Trudy vtoroy sessii assotsiatsii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1941, 111-26; I. N. Vinnikov, *Araby v SSSR*, *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1940, no. iv, 3-22; D. N. Logofet, *Bukharskoe khanstvo pod russkim protektoratom*, i, 1910; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], ii, 598. (b) Language: Burykina and Izmaylova as above; G. V. Cʿeretʿeli, *K kharakteristike yazyka sredneaziatskikh arabov*, *Trudy vtoroy sessii assotsiatsii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1941, 133-48; idem, *Materialy dlya izučeniya arabskikh dialektov Sredney Azii*, *Zap. Instituta Vostokvedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1939, 254-83. (Not seen: Zarubin: *Spisok narodnostey SSSR*, Leningrad 1927; N. B. Arkhipov, *Sredne-aziatskie respubliki*[2], Leningrad 1930).

(B. Spuler)

(iv) EXPANSION OF THE ARABS IN EGYPT

At the end of the year 18/639, an Arab army appeared on the Syro-Egyptian frontier and commenced the conquest of Egypt. On 20 Rabīʿ II 20/9 April 641, a treaty was signed which wrested Egyptian territory or, more precisely the autochthonous population, from Byzantine domination. Alexandria still held out, and only surrendered eighteen months later. Viewed as a whole, the operations give the impression of an advance carried out no doubt with enthusiasm, but also of a carefully planned offensive. Certain papyri of this period assume particular importance. We possess requisition orders for the billeting and provisioning of Arab troops, and we learn that the expenses incurred by the villages were remitted from the taxes for the following year. From information supplied by the same documents, we see advancing into the country a well-equipped army: armoured cavalry and infantry, accompanied by a flotilla for operations in Upper Egypt. Teams of blacksmiths and armourers were formed for the repair of weapons. This information is based on Greek texts, some of which are indeed accompanied by an Arabic translation, but if the initiation of similar measures was the duty of the Coptic civil administrators, it is a fact that the Arab military leaders were fully aware of them. All this indicates training and discipline, and we may suppose that Bedouin elements did not form the major part of the Arab army. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ relied in the main on a first contigent of Yemenite origin, nearly all from the ʿAkk tribe, and it is apparent from the names of the districts of Fusṭāṭ that the majority of the groups were Yemenite. On the other hand, contingents of the Djudhām and Lakhm tribes, who had formed part of the population of the Ghassānid Kingdom and had remained neutral at the battle of the Yarmūk, had joined the army of Egypt. The largest figure recorded of the numbers of the Arab warriors is 15,000 men; this seems to be a maximum figure, but not an impossible one.

After the conquest the Arabs remained in their tribal groups: in this connexion, the names of the districts of Fusṭāṭ are again revealing. It may be questioned whether, in the beginning, the Arabs thought of anything but exploitation of the country by the military, who formed a *de facto* aristocracy which did not admit to its ranks any native of the country or mix with the inhabitants since it was forbidden to acquire land. The army of occupation was distributed between Fusṭāṭ, Alexandria, and various posts scattered along the Mediterranean coast, on the desert frontiers of the Delta, and on the Nubian borders. We lack any critical basis on which to form an estimate of the numbers of these garrisons, which were heavily reinforced, since in 43/663 12,000 men were needed in Alexandria alone. With a view to increasing their cohesion, these elements were organised in tribes. The members of each tribe were divided into sections of seven or ten,

under the control of a syndic, who received their pay, and also administered orphans' pensions under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī*. Every morning an official visited the tribes and registered new births.

In 109/727, the Comptroller of Finance in Egypt installed an important part of the Ḳays tribe in the region of Bilbais: the figure 3,000, which we are given, seems to include women and children. These Ḳaysites who, as camel-drivers, participated in the traffic on the Fusṭāṭ-Ḳulzum route, were probably liable to military service, since they were registered on the pay-rolls. These reinforcements had been to some extent necessitated by the first revolt of the Copts, which occurred in 107-725. When the Christian historian of the Alexandrian patriarchate is describing this, he writes "One tribe was situated in the eastern desert of Egypt, between Bilbais and Ḳulzum on the coast; these were Muslims, who were known as Arabs". This mode of expression seems to postulate that the indigenous Muslims, doubtless a minority of the whole population, were at that time more numerous than the Arabs.

These Arabs preserved for more than two centuries the memory of their tribe of origin, and in the majority of the funeral steles, in the cemeteries at Aswān and Fusṭāṭ, the name of the deceased is habitually followed by the ethnic appellation indicating the tribe. It was the Arab title of nobility, and Coptic converts were, in the beginning, second-class Muslims. Some of the latter aspired further, and a judicial scandal which took place in 194-5/810-2 proves that the Arab tribes were still strong enough to appeal to Baghdād against the judgement of a *ḳāḍī* of dubious integrity which conferred on Copts the status of pure-bred Arabs. We observe that in the course of the 3rd/9th century surnames relating to tribes give way gradually to surnames of geographical significance; here, too the funeral steles are documents of the greatest value, and furnish us with toponymic surnames.

The Muslims of Fusṭāṭ, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, must have been mainly autochthonous elements, installed in all types of sedentary employment, in government service or in trade; the Arabs, occupied in suppressing revolts in the Delta in the course of the preceding century, were then struck off the military rolls as a result of the influx of Khurāsānīs, and later of Turks, and had probably resumed in the country side the principal occupation of their ancestors, the raising of live-stock. At all events, from then on they are not mentioned in the towns. Descendants of former soldiers, moreover, acquired land: we find the proof of this in the fact that the government claimed from them the *kharādj*, or land tax. They thus became mingled with the indigenous population, which, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, was mainly Muslim; on the other hand, the Arabic language was used to an increasing extent by the Copts. The majority of the army, of Turkish stock, could not have made any distinction between the truly autochthonous elements and the descendants of Arab immigrants.

Finally, in 219/834, groups of the Lakhm and Djudhām tribes rebelled in the Delta: they were easily dispersed, and no further mention is made of their rights. The Arabs re-appear, even frequently, in the history of Egypt: they remained organised in tribes, some of which retained their nomad habits. They were mobilised as reserve troops in times of crisis, for example at the time of the landing by the Crusaders at Damietta. Later governments were obliged periodically to exercise their authority against them, either to collect taxes, or to suppress banditry. In general, these interventions were bloody affairs, and were virtually punitive expeditions.

The most significant events were set in train by the temporary migration, in the 5th/11th century, of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym before their destructive onslaught on North Africa. It should not be forgotten that a group of Bedouin from the Arabian Peninsula tried to resist the advance of French troops in Upper Egypt in 1799.

Recent censuses have been vague in the extreme: it is estimated that the Bedouin scattered among the deserts of Egypt number about 50,000.

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(V) EXPANSION OF THE ARABS IN NORTH AFRICA

It is extremely difficult to enumerate the Arab elements which, from the year 27/647 onwards, entered North Africa. Wec an only accept with the usual reservations the first number of 20,000, representing the fighting men from the Ḥidjāz, furnished by the tribes and grouped round their chiefs, reinforced by contingents taken from the army of Egypt. The first expeditions were nothing more than long-distance raids, without any intention of settling in the country. This ambition appears with ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, who founded al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] in 50/670. The death of this chief and the occupation of al-Ḳayrawān by the Berbers led to the despatch of fresh contingents. From then on, every serious failure on the part of the invaders, every Berber rising, every new phase in the arduous task of conquest, occasioned the arrival of reinforcements. Under the Umayyads, elements derived from the *djund*, detached from the Syrian garrisons, and constituting regiments which already had an individual character, took the place of the fighting men recruited in Arabia. Under the ʿAbbāsids, the Khurāsān militia joined forces with the Syrians, or relieved them. All these elements, living in groups as in the East, were distributed among the towns of the conquered territory. As is well known, their haughtiness as conquerors, their demands and their lack of discipline were a source of the gravest embarrassment to the governors of Ifrīḳiya, and the Aghlabid amirs, obliged to subdue them with great bloodshed, found them employment in Sicily.

Along with the fighting men intended to effect the first occupation of the country, the Arab world sent civilian elements. Apart from the governors and their entourage, kinsmen and clients, there were men of a religious character, who, from the time of the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99-101/717-20), undertook the methodical conversion of the Berbers. There were also merchants hoping to prosper in fresh territory reputedly rich in resources.

These Arab immigrants constituted exclusively urban elements. The towns, where they formed a considerable proportion of the population, were centres of arabisation. By virtue of the prestige enjoyed by the conquerors, through the education given in the Ḳurʾānic schools and the mosques, and through economic relations and mutual contact in

the markets, the Arabic language spread simultaneously with Islam in the cities and their environs. Al-Ḳayrawān played an important part in this process, but the other garrisons of Ifrīḳiya and its western marches were also able to spread their influence over a limited area.

The Arab immigration of which the Hilāli invasion was the first phase was very different from the Muslim conquest and its consequences, both as regards those who took part in it and their role in the history of Barbary. The initial cause of this disaster was as follows:—in the middle of the 5th/11th century, the amir al-Muʿizz of the Banū Zīrī [see ZĪRIDS] branch of the Ṣanhādja, which governed Ifrīḳiya in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, broke with his suzerain in Cairo, and the latter, on the advice of his minister al-Yāzūrī, despatched against the rebel kingdom the Arab nomads then encamped east of the Nile, recognising in advance their title to any towns and rural districts which they could conquer.

The Banū Hilāl [see HILĀL], who formed the first wave of this "westward movement" (*taghrib*), and also the Banū Sulaym, who came on the scene later, were connected through their common ancestor Manṣūr b. Ḳays with the powerful line of Muḍar. Both had previously dwelt in Nadjd, and groups of the two families continued to live there. Brought late within the pale of Islam, they had migrated in considerable numbers to Upper Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert. Their independent nature revealed itself immediately after the death of the Prophet. The Umayyads, and the ʿAbbāsids even more, had to punish their plundering activities conducted in particular at the expense of Meccan pilgrims. In the 4th/10th century they took part in the Carmathian revolt. The Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz crushed the movement (368/978) and forced the Arabs who had supported it to transfer themselves to Upper Egypt. It was from there that they set out to conquer Ifrīḳiya.

At the moment when their first bands, which could have numbered barely a million, reached the Zīrid kingdom of al-Ḳayrawān and caused its downfall, the most powerful of the Banū Hilāl were the Riyāḥ, who occupied the plains of Tunisia. Further east, the kingdom of the Ḥammādids [*q.v.*] and the Zāb]*q.v.*] received the Athbedj. This Arab expansion, whose limits in the 6th/12th century are described by Idrīsī, caused the exodus of Ḥammādids from the Ḳalʿa to al-Bijāya and drove the Zanāta nomads towards the plains of Oran.

The arrival of fresh bands led subsequently to an extension of the territory and to alterations in the distribution of the Arabs. The most important of these waves of immigrants was, starting from the end of the 12th century, that of the Banū Sulaym, who came from Tripolitania. At first allied to the Armenian adventurer Ḳaraḳūsh, then to the Banū Ghāniya who attempted to revive Almoravid power, they placed themselves at the service of the Ḥafṣids, the Almohad governors of Ifrīḳiya, who assured the fortunes of this great tribe. Thus Ifrīḳiya, the first domain of the Banū Hilāl, remained, with the Sulaym, the region where the Arabs were the most numerous and most powerful. But no part of North Africa escaped what was considered by Ibn Khaldūn to be an irreparable disaster. The quest by new arrivals for lands as yet unoccupied and for sedentary populations to exploit, the repulse of the weak by the strong, the advance of certain tribes, such as the Maʿḳil of Southern Morocco, from the western boundaries of the desert, were the quasi-normal causes of their "westward movement". To these must be added the mass transfers effected by the Maghribī rulers within their own territories of Arab contingents on whose collaboration they rashly counted. For example the transfer in 583/1187 of the tribes of Ifrīḳiya by the Almohad al-Manṣur who, wishing to use them in Spain, granted them the sub-atlantic plains of Morocco which were then uninhabited.

The whole economy of Barbary was overthrown by this expansion. With their North African territory, where they lived during the summer, these pastoral nomads combined the corresponding Saharan territories, where they migrated in autumn with their families and where they found new pasturages for their camels. At the two extremities of the annual migration, they possessed a source of income: by right of protection they claimed taxes in kind from the people of the oases, cultivators of date-palms; on the sedentary population of the north they levied imposts which the rulers had assigned to them in the form of *iḳtāʿ* [*q.v.*], or as part of the tax (*djibāya*) for whose collection they were responsible.

Intimately associated with Berber life, these eastern Bedouin naturally played a large part in the propagation of the Arabic language, and it has been thought possible still to recognise in dialect characteristics which seem to mark the difference between the contributions of the great tribes, Hilāl, Sulaym, and Maʿḳil. Simultaneously, however, with arabisation of the Berbers, one must take into account the berberisation of the Arabs, the progressive tendency towards a sedentary form of existence, and the adoption of the way of life of the autochthones by groups of immigrants who had become irremedially impoverished.

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DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿ**ARAB**, "the Island of the Arabs", the name given by the Arabs to the Arabian Peninsula.

(i) Preliminary remarks.
(ii) Physical structure and principal geographical features.
(iii) Climate, drainage, and water resources.
(iv) Political divisions.
(v) Flora and fauna.
(vi) Ethnography.
(vii) History:
  1. Pre-Islamic.
  2. Islamic Middle Ages.
  3. The making of modern Arabia—from the 10th/16th century to the present.

(i) PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Although the Peninsula may not be the original cradle of the Arab people, they have lived there for thousands of years and regard it in a very special sense as their homeland. For students of Islam, Western Arabia occupies a unique position as the land in which the Prophet Muḥammad was born, lived, and died. It was there that the inspiration of Allāh descended upon the Prophet, and to this Holy Land come many thousands of Muslims every year from all parts of the Islamic world to make the pilgrimage to the Kaʿba, the House of Allāh in Mecca (Makka), and to visit the Prophet's tomb in Medina (al-Madīna al-Munawwara).

The Peninsula has the shape of a rough quadrilateral with a length of c. 2200 km. from north-west to south-east and a breadth of c. 1200 km. The symmetry of the quadrilateral is marred by the bulge of Oman (ʿUmān) on the eastern side reaching out close to the Iranian coast. On the west, south, and east the Peninsula is clearly defined by the Red Sea (al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar), the Gulf of Aden (Khalīdj ʿAdan), the Arabian Sea (Baḥr al-ʿArab), the Gulf of Oman, and the Persian Gulf (al-Khalīdj al-Fārisī). In the north, the Arabs themselves have often disagreed as to where Arabia ends and Syria (in the broad sense) begins. A vast steppe unrolls northwards from the Great Nafūd with no natural feature suitable as a limit for the Peninsula. For the purposes of this article the Peninsula is considered as extending only to the borders separating Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt from Jordan and ʿIrāḳ, even though these borders represent little more than artificial political concepts. This definition places the northernmost point of the Peninsula at ʿUnāza, a low mesa in the desert farther north than either Jerusalem or ʿAmmān. From ʿUnāza the borders between Saudi Arabia and Jordan, not yet fully agreed upon, reach the sea near the head of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, while the borders between Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt on the one hand and ʿIrāḳ on the other run to the head of the Persian Gulf south of al-Baṣra. Along these eastern borders lie two small neutral zones, in one of which Saudi Arabia and ʿIrāḳ and in the other Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt share undivided half interests.

It is impossible to make a reasonably reliable estimate of the size of Arabia's population. All figures found in reference works are highly suspect, as none is based on proper statistics or sufficient familiarity with the whole Peninsula. In view of the extensive areas inhabited solely by scattered nomads and the relatively light density of population in most of the settled areas, one may doubt whether the total approaches 10,000,000, and it may well fall several millions short of this figure. The most densely populated country is the Yaman (al-Yaman). In Saudi Arabia the main concentrations are in a few cities of al-Ḥidjāz, the well watered mountains and plains of ʿAsīr and its Tihāma, some of the valleys of Nadjd, and the eastern oases of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḳaṭīf. Ḥaḍramawt and Oman both contain many towns and Bedouin tribes.

Present state of knowledge. The inhabitants of Arabia have naturally always known much about the land, but each man's knowledge is restricted to a certain region, being detailed and particularistic rather than general and comprehensive. No single work in Arabic gives a full and accurate description of Arabia. The best volume in the language is still *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab* by al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945-46), which, though rich in information, fails to provide a coherent panoramic view of the whole Peninsula.

The serious scientific exploration of Arabia began with Carsten Niebuhr and the Danish expedition of 1762. While travellers of different nationalities pressed on with the penetration of the interior during the 19th century, British officers of the Indian Government undertook technical surveys of the surrounding seas and stretches of the coast. Technical surveying in the interior had to wait for the 20th century, when it began with an investigation of the southern border of the Yaman and preliminary studies for the Ḥidjāz Railway. In recent years oil companies have surveyed large parts of Eastern Arabia, using the highly refined methods of modern geological and geophysical exploration, besides engaging in extensive reconnaissance in other regions.

By 1374/1955 travellers—both Western and Arab—had visited virtually all of the remoter places, so that none of the old major mysteries regarding the surface of the land had been left unsolved. Travellers' reports, however, are often incomplete and sometimes inaccurate, and much remains to be done in checking and correlating those now available. A number of important reports remain unpublished or buried in archives.

Recent years have also seen the introduction of aerial photography as an indispensable procedure in mapmaking. By 1954 a good part of the Peninsula had been photographed for cartographic purposes, and some of the results had already been transferred to maps. Aerial photographs, however, are of maximum value only if supported by ground control, i.e., the establishment of fixed points on the ground whose relationship to the photographs is precisely determined. For much of Arabia such control is still lacking.

The general outlines and main features of the map of Arabia have now been delineated with a fair degree—and in a few instances a high degree—of reliability, but years of study lie ahead before all the details can be filled in. Surveys done in the earlier days, such as those of the Persian Gulf, are now being redone in the interests of greater thoroughness and accuracy. Errors of the past, many of which have become established on maps, are being corrected, but the process is long drawn out.

Arabian governments are now making available information about their countries in a growing body of official publications, and modern Arab authors keep producing books and articles dealing with different parts of the Peninsula. Interest in such diverse things as oil and South Arabian antiquities has called forth a flood of material by Western authors, part of which is sound but much of which is superficial, misleading, or flagrantly contradictory to fact. Arabic sources likewise are often unreliable, so that the student of Arabia must constantly be on the lookout for pitfalls along his path.

(ii) PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

Lying between Asia and Africa, Arabia is of such size and individuality of character as almost to justify its classification as a sub-continent. Usually considered an appendage of Asia, it also joins Africa through Sinai, which, though politically a part of Egypt, is closer to Arabia in both physical environment and the nature of its human life. Before the development of rift valleys provided a bed for the Red Sea, Western Arabia formed a part of the African land mass, and the southern half of Western Arabia still has a greater affinity in many ways with

Somalia-Ethiopia than with Northern Arabia or the rest of Asia. Northern Arabia, on the other hand, merges imperceptibly with Arab Asia through the Syrian steppe, and the Oman bulge contains a mountainous area closely resembling the ranges of Iran.

Geomorphologically the Peninsula consists of two main provinces: the ancient Arabian Shield of igneous and metamorphic rocks in the west, and the more recent sedimentary areas sloping away from the Shield to the north-east, east, and south-east into the vast basin consisting of Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf, and the eastern part of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. The Arabian Shield is actually only the eastern part of the Arabian-Nubian Shield, an immense mass of basement rocks—greenstones, schists, granite, gneiss, &c.—which have thrust upwards to form bare and forbidding mountains, with the whole mass split into two by the rift valleys running southwards from the Dead Sea and along the course of the Red Sea. The older igneous rocks of the Arabian part represent primarily plutonic activity of the more remote past, while more recent volcanoes have blanketed the surrounding ground with fields of lava (*ḥarra*, pl. *ḥirār*) often imposing in extent. Regions of igneous and metamorphic rocks may be rich in minerals and precious stones, but only insignificant quantities of these have so far been found in Arabia.

To the north and south the eastern limit of the Arabian Shield lies not far inland from the Red Sea. Between these two extremities the limit sweeps around in a rough bulge reaching as far east as the vicinity of al-Dawādimī, less than 200 km. west of the western wall of Ṭuwayḳ. The geomorphologically confused mountains of the Yaman, though composed of similar rocks, are physiographically highly different from the remainder of the Shield. Volcanic areas occur in the Yaman as well as in the mountains fringing the southern coast and those of the Oman bulge.

Valleys drop sharply westwards to the coast plain of Tihāma from the high mountains paralleling the Red Sea. The gentler eastward slope to the Persian Gulf is interrupted by cuestas in Nadjd such as Ṭuwayḳ and al-ʿArama, whose steep escarpments face westwards and whose backs then resume the downward trend. From the highlands of Ḥaḍramawt and Ẓufār the slope southwards to the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea is short, while a longer slope runs northwards to al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. The Oman bulge has a short descent north-eastwards to the Gulf of Oman and a much longer descent south-westwards to the same sand sea, though the mountains here, unlike those elsewhere near the coast, are steep on both sides, forming a hogback range.

The sedimentary province consists predominantly of limestone, along with an abundance of sandstone and shale. These rocks are products of sediments left behind by seas that in the distant past spread out as far west as the Shield. The sedimentary deposits reach a depth of over several kilometers in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf. Organic matter from the plants and animals that lived in the old seas is the source of the enormous accumulations of petroleum discovered in Eastern Arabia during the 20th century.

Islands. The islands, islets, and coral reefs (*shaʿb*, pl. *shiʿbān*) off the Arabian coast increase in number as one proceeds southwards down the Red Sea. The Farasān Bank parallels the coast for nearly 500 km., its southern part including the Farasān [*q.v.*] Archipelago, where the largest islands on the eastern side of the Red Sea are found. Kamarān [*q.v.*] Island lies close to the coast of the Yaman. West of Kamarān the volcanic peak of Djabal al-Ṭayr in the fairway of the sea is reported to have been in eruption as late as the early 19th century. Also in the fairway is al-Zuḳur, the highest island in the Red Sea (nearly 700 m.). The island of Perim [*q.v.*] (Mayyūn) in the straits of Bāb al-Mandab, the entrance to the Red Sea, stands nearer Arabia than Africa.

The island of Suḳuṭrā [*q.v.*], c. 110 km. long and nearly 400 km. distant from the mainland on the southern side of the entrance to the Gulf of Aden, must for both political and ethnographic reasons be regarded as belonging to the Peninsula. The Kuria Muria Islands stand off the mainland in a large bay east of Raʾs Naws. The Arabic name for the group, Khūriyā Mūriyā [*q.v.*], is seldom used today, the more familiar names being al-Ḥallāniyya, al-Ḥāsikiyya, and al-Sawdāʾ, which belong to individual islands. Separated from Oman by a narrow channel is Maṣīra, the only island of considerable size lying along the whole southern coast. The Arabian side of the Gulf of Oman is also almost entirely devoid of islands worthy of the name; one encounters only rocky islets standing alone, such as al-Faḥl north-west of Muscat, or in clusters, such as al-Daymāniyyāt a little farther towards the west.

The mountains of Oman end abruptly at the Strait of Hormuz, the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and some of the peaks detached from the main range form inhospitable islands, the northern tip of one of which is Raʾs Musandam. Abū Mūsā, an island in the Persian Gulf north-west of the port of al-Shāriḳa, has deposits of iron oxide which are worked commercially. Close to the southernmost shore of the Gulf are a number of sandy islands, the largest of which is Muḳayshiṭ (shown on most charts as Abā al-Abyaḍ, the name of its northern part). In the western half of the embayment between the Trucial Coast and the Ḳaṭar Peninsula are islands presumed to be salt domes rising above the sea, among which are Ṣīr Banī Yās [*q.v.*], Dalmāʾ, Zarakkūh, Dās, and Ḥālūl. The main island of Baḥrain (al-Baḥrayn) has a scattering of attendant islets and a dependency of fair size, Ḥawār, which almost touches Ḳaṭar. Tārūt, Abū ʿAlī, and other islands hug the coast of Saudi Arabia, while al-ʿArabiyya [*q.v.*] and al-Fārisiyya [*q.v.*] lie out near the middle of the Gulf.

The Great Pearl Banks (*hayr*, pl. *hayarāt*) stretch along nearly the entire length of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, with the richer banks in the central portion. The term *shaʿb* is not used for a reef in this Gulf, its place being taken by *fasht* (pl. *fushūt*), *nadjwa*, and *ḳufʿa*. A *ḥidd* (pl. *ḥudūd*) is a sand bank, a *ḥāla* (pl. *ḥuwal*) is a low sandy islet which may be covered at high tide, and a *ḳaṣṣār* is a projecting rock. *Ruḳḳ* is the common word for a shoal, while an area of deep water—15 fathoms (*bāʿ*, pl. *abwāʿ* or *bīʿān*, the Arab fathom being a little less than the English fathom of 6 feet) or more—is called a *ghubba* (pl. *ghabīb*). The Persian Gulf is a shallow sea, with few depths greater than 90 m., in contrast to the Red Sea, the depth of which in places is in excess of 2,000 m.

Bays and Coasts. The coasts of the Peninsula on the three sides facing the sea are relatively unmarked by major bendings or indentations; no other great land mass on the surface of the globe provides such a paucity of shelter for ships. The Red Sea has few bays on the Arabian side, but many narrow inlets of the type called *sharm*, which penetrate

some distance inland and then broaden out into lagoons in which small sailing vessels can anchor. The one good natural harbour along the southern coast is Aden. Between Raʾs Fartak and Raʾs al-Ḥadd there are four large bays, here called *ghubba* (cf. the use of this term in the Persian Gulf mentioned above), but all are so open to the sea that they give no protection. Muscat on the Gulf of Oman offers a hill-encircled bay large enough for steamers of medium size. Excellent harbours exist in the cliff-walled inlets in the vicinity of Musandam, but they are so hot and inaccessible from the interior that good use has never been made of them. The Persian Gulf has a proportionally larger number of bays, here called *dawḥa*, but their waters are almost without exception extremely shallow. Inlets in the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf go by the name of *khawr*, a term also used here for a submarine valley. One of the best examples of these inlets is Khawr al-ʿUdayd, which pierces the coast on the eastern side of the base of the Ḳaṭar Peninsula.

Mountains, Plateaux, and Plains. The chain or chains of mountains paralleling the coast of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba and the Red Sea are known collectively as al-Sarāt [*q.v.*], though use of this name is not particularly widespread. In many places a lower range lies close to the coast and is separated by a plateau from a higher range farther inland. The average height of al-Sarāt is considerably below 2,000 m. Between the region of Madyan and Mecca only the famous crags of Raḍwā [*q.v.*] west of Medina and a few other mountains reach noteworthy heights. Southeast of Mecca several peaks go up to over 2,500 m., and thence the chain rises to its greatest heights in southern ʿAsīr and the Yaman (Ḥaḍūr Shuʿayb west of Ṣanʿāʾ, c. 3,760 m.). The more precipitous western slopes are generally the higher, but many bold features are also met with along the inner eastern slopes. The range of Ḥaḍn east of Mecca, the historic boundary between al-Ḥidjāz and Nadjd, appears to have lost this distinction in the popular mind, though the dividing line is considered to be along the eastern slopes or among the foothills of al-Sarāt. Passes across al-Sarāt, called *ʿaḳaba* in ʿAsīr and *naḳīl* in the Yaman, are few and far between, and are usually difficult of transit. Notable gaps in the chain are those leading through to Medina and Mecca.

Interspersed among the mountains and occurring frequently along their eastern slopes are plateaux, among the most fertile of which are those in ʿAsīr and those surrounding Ṣanʿāʾ and Dhamār in the Yaman. The plateaux are often capped with a bed of lava, and in places the lava has spilled down the western slopes to reach the verge of the Red Sea.

The highlands of the Yaman present a steep face towards the south, the eastern stretch of which is al-Kawr, called after its indigenous tribes Kawr al-ʿAwādhil in the west and Kawr al-ʿAwāliḳ in the east. Northeast of Kawr al-ʿAwāliḳ is the highly dissected limestone plateau of al-Djawl which is split in twain by the eastward-trending channel of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. The southern part of al-Djawl reaches heights of nearly 2,000 m., while the higher elevations of the northern part do not greatly exceed 1,000 m. The cliffs along the edges of al-Djawl are often awe-inspiring in their sheerness.

Farther east in the region of Ẓufār are the mountains of the tribe of al-Ḳarā with peaks well over 1,500 m. in height. The growth of trees and grasses on the range is so thick that the residents often call it the Black Mountain. North-eastwards of Raʾs Naws the mountains paralleling the coast begin to dwindle in size and number, and the coast from Raʾs Ṣawḳira to Raʾs al-Ḥadd has generally lowlying country behind it.

Mountains reappear again overlooking the Arabian shore of the Gulf of Oman, along which the range of al-Ḥadjar runs from Raʾs al-Ḥadd to Raʾs Musandam. The towering peaks of al-Ḥadjar are in the central portion, in the vicinity of Djabal al-Akhḍar, the highest exceeding 3,000 m. by a bare margin. Northwest of Djabal al-Akhḍar the mountains called al-Kawr form a part of the main range, while Djabal Ḥafīt rears its formidable hogbacked ridge in the open country west of the northern half of the range.

In the interior the range of al-Ṭubayḳ lies in the borderland between Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Just south of the Great Nafūd the parallel ranges of Adjaʾ [*q.v.*] and Salmā are together known as Djabal Shammar. The hills of al-Nīr lie in the central bulge of the Arabian Shield, near its eastern edge.

East of the Shield a series of roughly parallel cuestas curve around from north to south, following the contour of the crystalline bulge. The most striking of these is Ṭuwayḳ [*q.v.*], the backbone of Nadjd, with a length of c. 1,000 km. from Khashm Djazra to Khashm Khaṭma, where the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī encompass its southern end. Just east of the sands of al-Dahnāʾ is the low rocky plateau of al-Ṣummān (classical al-Ṣammān [*q.v.*]).

Mesas, buttes, and ridges often rise singly or in groups above the plateaus and plains. The Bedouins use the term *djabal* for rocky hillocks as well as massive mountains, and other terms in common use are *ḍilʿ* (pl. *ḍulūʿ* or *ḍilʿān*, a general synonym for *djabal*, not necessarily a rib-shaped hill), *ḥazm* (usually lower than a *djabal*), *abraḳ* (pl. *burḳān*, whence the name of the great oil field of Kuwayt, al-Burḳān), and *barḳāʾ* (pl. *burḳ*), the last two being applied to hills whose sides are mottled with patches of sand. The promontories jutting out from the inland escarpments are called *khashm* (pl. *khushūm*), the word for nose.

Within the northern border of Arabia lies the southernmost portion of al-Ḥamād, a stony plain stretching on northwards into the steppe, and south-east thereof is al-Ḥadjara, another stony plain. Among the major *ḥadabas*—plains with a mantle of gravel—are al-Dibdiba in the north-eastern corner of the Peninsula and Abū Baḥr and Raydā south of the southern end of al-Dahnāʾ. The plain of al-Djalada south-west of Raydā is completely ringed about by the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. Other plains are found along the southern and eastern edges of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, all sloping towards the basin occupied by the sands.

The coast plains in the west and south are confined within a fairly narrow space nearly everywhere by the mountains crowding down towards the sea. Tihāma [*q.v.*], the general name for the coast plain along the Red Sea, is sometimes subdivided into Tihāmat al-Ḥidjāz, Tihāmat ʿAsīr, and Tihāmat al-Yaman. On the Gulf of Oman no more than faint traces of plains exist between Raʾs al-Ḥadd and Muscat, but between Muscat and Shināṣ the plain broadens out into al-Bāṭina [*q.v.*], one of the great date-producing districts of Arabia. Salt pans are particularly common along the southern shore of the Persian Gulf, and much of the low ground in this region is covered with sand.

Sandy Deserts. Dunes may be star-shaped, dome-shaped, or crescent-shaped (the crescentic or

barchane dune = *muḥawwī*, pl. *maḥāwī*). Dunes bare of vegetation are called *ṭuʿūs* (sing. *ṭiʿs*, probably from classical *diʿṣ*), with the term *naḳā* (pl. *niḳyān*) being used for the larger ones. Masses of sand may form long single or parallel veins (*ʿirḳ*, pl. *ʿurūḳ*) or more complex arrangements underlying which an orderly pattern can often be discerned. Wide expanses of ground are covered with relatively thin sheets of drift sand. Barchane dunes occur in sizes ranging from c. 1 m. to c. 200 m. in height, and the largest are several km. or more in length. Almost all of the dunes consist of pure sand, with no core of rock or other substances. The colour and composition of the sand itself vary from place to place, with the predominant colour in the interior approaching red.

A sandy area is generally called a *nafūd* (pl. pauc. *nafāʾid*, pl. abund. *nifd*) in the north and a *ramla* (pl. *rimāl*) in the south. The term *ʿirḳ* may be applied to a whole area containing a number of *ʿurūḳ*, e.g., ʿIrḳ al-Maẓhūr embraces seven major veins. As frequently happens with the Arabs, these common nouns are transformed into proper names applied to the most noteworthy examples of their categories: the northern desert known to Westerners as the Great Nafūd is called by the Arabs simply al-Nafūd, the whole southern desert known to Westerners as al-Rubʿ al-Khālī is ordinarily referred to simply as al-Ramla, while al-ʿUrayḳ is a sandy area south of Ḳaṭar.

Almost all of the principal sandy deserts lie in the sedimentary province, where they curve around the central bulge of the crystalline Shield in the same fashion as the cuestas, along the western bases of which many of them lie. The two largest are the Great Nafūd [*q.v.*], with an area estimated at c. 70,000 km²., and al-Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*], with an area estimated at over 500,000 km²., making the latter the largest continuous body of sand in the world. These two are connected by the long thin arc of al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*] lying east of Ṭuwayḳ and al-ʿArama. A similar arc runs west of Ṭuwayḳ between the two main sandy deserts, but its continuity is broken in several places. This lesser arc begins with ʿIrḳ al-Maẓhūr, which leaves the Great Nafūd south of the point of departure of al-Dahnāʾ and merges into three parallel fingers of sand, which from east to west are Nafūd al-Thuwayrāt, Nafūd al-Sirr, and al-Shuḳayyiḳa. The southern extension of al-Thuwayrāt is named Nafūd al-Balādīn after the towns of the district of al-Washm lining its southwestern edge. Almost connected with al-Sirr is Nafūd Ḳunayfidha, the south-eastern end of which nestles under the western wall of Ṭuwayḳ. South of Ḳunayfidha occurs a major interruption in the arc, after which the sands reappear in ʿIrḳ al-Daḥy, which ends north of Wādī al-Dawāsir. The principal direction in which the sands migrate is southwards; in other words, they are slowly but steadily forsaking the Great Nafūd and working their way along the two arcs towards al-Rubʿ al-Khālī.

Although on the map al-Rubʿ al-Khālī appears to have two long arms extending northwards, the western of these, al-Djāfūra, is regarded by the Arabs as constituting a separate desert cut off from al-Rubʿ al-Khālī by the low ground of al-Djawb (Djawb Yabrīn). The eastern of the two arms, also regarded as a separate region, penetrates deep into the hinterland of the Trucial Coast.

Ramlat al-Sabʿatayn south of the south-western corner of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī lies outside the system just described. Perhaps the largest accumulation of sand on the Arabian Shield is ʿIrḳ Subayʿ in the southern part of the central bulge.

Various geographical features associated with drainage and water resources are discussed in the following section.

(iii) CLIMATE, DRAINAGE, AND WATER RESOURCES

The Tropic of Cancer bisects Arabia, passing between Medina and Mecca, between the districts of al-Khardj and al-Aflādj, and between Muscat and Raʾs al-Ḥadd, so that most of the land enjoys a generally temperate climate. Even in the south, where the tip of the Peninsula approaches 12° N. lat., much of the country is sufficiently elevated to avoid the rigours of tropical heat. Only the lowlands along parts of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Arabian Sea have a semitropical rather than a temperate environment.

Meteorological records, though improved in recent years, are still too scanty to provide a completely detailed picture of Arabian weather. The summer heat (*ḳayẓ*) is intense throughout the Peninsula, reaching over 50° C. in the hottest places. The dryness of much of the interior makes the heat tolerable there, but along the coasts and in some of the southern highlands the humidity in summer is high and debilitating. Fogs and dews are common in the humid regions, but over Inner Arabia the sun shines the year round, obscured only by an occasional sandstorm or even rarer shower. Although not the happiest on earth, the Arabian climate has often been damned more violently than it deserves. Many days in fall and spring are fresh or mild. The winters are invigoratingly cool, with bitter cold occurring only at the higher altitudes, where snow crowns some of the peaks, and in the far north, where the winds are biting.

The winds vary greatly in different parts, being subject in particular to the influence of the surrounding seas. In Eastern Arabia the wind tends to blow from the same quarter, but on occasion it suddenly shifts halfway round the full circle, the prevailing *shamāl* from c. NNW yielding to the *kaws* from c. SE. Winds whipping up into sandstorms may subside quickly or go on for days. In Nadjd the wind may box the compass, with drastic changes sometimes taking place every half hour. The monsoons of the Indian Ocean reaching parts of Southern Arabia profoundly affect the character of the country and the life of the people there.

Most of Arabia has been made and kept a desert by the scarcity of rainfall. In portions of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī no rain at all may fall for ten years on end, and in many other parts of the Peninsula the annual fall seldom if ever exceeds 150 mm. When rain does fall over the desert, it may come as a torrential downpour, providing enough moisture to carpet the ground with wild flowers. Periods of drought sometimes last for several years, bringing misery and even death to the people and causing some to migrate abroad. Higher areas tend to catch more rain than lower areas nearby: heavy winter rains may fall on the plateaus and plains in the north while the depression of Wādī al-Sirḥān remains completely dry. Only the areas where the monsoons blow receive fairly ample rains.

Although Arabia contains no large perennial rivers, in the monsoon zone water may be found throughout the year in some stretches of the valleys (called *ghayl* in the south-west). A few of the valleys descending to the sea blend their fresh water with the salt, but most of them dissipate it throughout

their alluvial fans on the coast plains. In the dry zone rainwater from the higher areas occasionally comes down in spate through the stream channels (*wādī*, pl. *widyān*, or *s̲h̲aʿib*, pl. *s̲h̲iʿbān*), which otherwise contain only a few pools or none at all. These flash floods (*sayl*, pl. *suyūl*) sometimes cause great damage, and much of their precious water may flow away unused. Other floods come in sheets over flat surfaces such as gravel plains or the fans at channel mouths. Part of the water that seeps underground is recovered by man through wells and springs.

Although the courses of some valleys can be traced for considerable distances, bodies of sand lying athwart them in places tend to prevent through drainage. A characteristic feature of the Arabian drainage system is the local enclosed basin, varying in size from very large to very small. Wādī al-Sirḥān is not a true *wādī* but a depression c. 300 km. long and 50-70 km. broad into which many *wādīs* on both sides empty their *sayls*. Types of smaller basins are the *k̲h̲abrāʾ*, a hollow with an impervious bottom holding water for a while after rain, and the *rawḍa* (called *fayḍa* in the north), whose bottom does not hold water, so that wild vegetation may be fairly abundant there. Another type of basin is the salt pan or saline flat (*sabk̲h̲a*, pron. *ṣabk̲h̲a*), which occurs with great frequency along the coasts and also in the interior, where it is fully enclosed.

The eastern tributaries of Wādī al-Ḥamḍ, which runs down to the Red Sea, originate in Ḥarrat K̲h̲aybar. A short distance farther east are the headwaters of Wādī al-Rumah (al-Rumma in al-Hamdānī), which through its extension al-Bāṭin runs to the Persian Gulf basin in the vicinity of al-Baṣra, though the connecting link between al-Rumah and al-Bāṭin is choked with sands of al-Dahnāʾ. The small area in Ḥarrat K̲h̲aybar between the sources of al-Ḥamḍ and those of al-Rumah is the one place in the whole Peninsula from which an easy slope to the seas on both sides can clearly be discerned.

Descending from the eastern slope of al-Sarāt, the three large valleys of Ranya, Bīs̲h̲a [*q.v.*], and Tat̲h̲līt̲h̲ converge on the upper reaches of Wādī al-Dawāsir [*q.v.*], which receives their waters in times of exceptional floods only to lose them again as it fans out against the sands of al-Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī after piercing through the wall of Ṭuwayḳ. Ḥabawnā (Ḥabawnan in al-Hamdānī) and Nad̲j̲rān [*q.v.*] are valleys coursing eastwards to the sands which lie south of the southern end of Ṭuwayḳ. From the highlands of the Yaman the valley of al-K̲h̲ārid [*q.v.*] flows down into the basin of al-D̲j̲awf [*q.v.*] (D̲j̲awf Ibn Nāṣir), the home of the ancient Minaeans.

The mountains of the Yaman send water southwards towards the coast in the vicinity of Aden through Tuban, Banā, and other valleys. Water from Banā is used for an extensive development of agriculture at Abyan. The southern outriders of al-D̲j̲awl give rise to Wādī Mayfaʿa and Wādī Ḥad̲j̲ar. Ḥad̲j̲ar is the one truly perennial river in Arabia, but its total length probably does not exceed 100 km. Its water, part of which comes from the hot springs of al-Ṣidāra in the uplands, supports cultivation in the area of Mayfaʿ at the river delta (not to be confused with Wādī Mayfaʿa to the west).

Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], the principal artery of a great drainage system, is fed by valleys coming from both the southern and the northern parts of al-D̲j̲awl, those from the south being far more thickly settled than those from the north. Just beyond the town of Tarīm the Valley of Ḥaḍramawt assumes the name of al-Masīla, which it bears for the remainder of its course to the sea.

Samāʾil, one of the valleys flung out by the range of al-Ḥad̲j̲ar towards the Gulf of Oman, provides passage for the main road from the coast to Inner Oman. The chief valleys of al-Bāṭina are named after the tribes inhabiting their banks, al-Maʿāwil and others. Going up Wādī al-D̲j̲izy and Wādī al-Ḳawr, one comes to passes leading over the mountains to the Trucial Coast.

In the region east of al-Dahnāʾ between al-Bāṭin and al-Sahbāʾ the insufficiency of surface water has militated against the formation of true *wādīs* of any size. Wādī al-Miyāh northwest of al-Ḳaṭīf is a basin rather than a stream channel, deriving its name from the numerous wells and springs found within its confines. Other large basins are al-Farūḳ south of Wādī al-Miyāh and al-S̲h̲aḳḳ southwest of the city of Kuwayt.

In the far north a series of valleys known as al-Widyān (Widyān ʿAnaza) runs north-eastwards towards the Euphrates; among these are Tubal, ʿArʿar, and al-K̲h̲urr. In Nad̲j̲d a number of valleys between al-Rumah and Wādī al-Dawāsir cut through Ṭuwayḳ; al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*] is the northernmost of these. Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], rising on the crest of Ṭuwayḳ rather than making a gap in the escarpment, twists down to the basin of al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ where several important valleys empty into al-Sahbāʾ [*q.v.*], the course of which can be traced across al-Dahnāʾ and al-D̲j̲āfūra into the Persian Gulf basin. The valley of Birk cleaves through the wall of Ṭuwayḳ via a picturesque gorge and turns northwards under the name of al-ʿAḳīmī to follow a course towards al-Sahbāʾ.

Arabia contains no large permanent lakes. Deep pools occur in places, with the most unusual ones being those in the districts of al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ and al-Aflād̲j̲. In oases such as al-Ḥasā big ponds may be formed by the run-off from irrigation. Dry lakes in the north may be filled with water over an area of 10 or more km². after a rain.

The thousands of wells (*biʾr*, pron. *bīr*, pl. *abyār*, or *ḳalīb*, pl. *ḳulbān*) in the desert, some of them even in the central portions of al-Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī, make possible the nomadic life of the Bedouins. The deepest is reported to descend c. 170 m. into the earth, and depths in excess of 70 m. are not uncommon. The wells may be steyned or unsteyned; they may be frequently visited or seldom seen by man. Other watering places are spots in the sand or in valley bottoms where exiguous water is secured by digging down a meter or more. Blowing sand rapidly fills in these shallow holes, so that finding them may tax even the navigational skill of Bedouins bred in the wild. The water in some of the desert wells is too salty for humans (such a well is called a *k̲h̲awr*, pl. *k̲h̲īrān*), but camels drink it and furnish milk to sustain their masters.

Around most of the flowing springs (*ʿayn*, pl. *ʿuyūn*) oasis settlements or towns have grown up. Other communities draw their water only from dug wells, while sometimes tanks and cisterns are used to catch rainwater. The larger oases consist of several or more villages or towns grouped close together, each with its own belt of date groves. The oasis name may apply to the whole group, which may cover tens or hundreds of square kilometers, rather than to any single community within its confines, e.g., al-Ḥasā with its chief towns al-Hufhūf and al-Mubarraz, and Bīs̲h̲a with al-Raws̲h̲an and Nimrān.

Various methods of irrigation are used wherever there is sufficient water. Terracing is much practised in the south with water being led from enclosure to enclosure. In some regions an old system of underground aqueducts (*faladj*, pl. *aflādj*) similar to the *ḳanāts* of Iran is common, while in others it is not known. In large oases such as al-Ḥasā and in Tihāma the rules governing the distribution of water for irrigation are elaborate and firmly fixed by custom. The building of dams, once an art in which the Arabs excelled, has been neglected in more recent times, but now, with a growing population and higher standards of life demanding an expansion of agriculture, it is being revived.

(iv) POLITICAL DIVISIONS

Political divisions in Arabia are often ill defined. Few international boundaries have been agreed upon by the parties concerned, and none has been properly demarcated throughout its full length. A rapid survey of the main political divisions as they existed in 1374/1954-5 will furnish examples of the truth of these statements.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies the whole northern half of the Peninsula—with the exception of the small states of Kuwayt, Baḥrayn, and Ḳaṭar, and parts of Oman—and a good share of the southern half as well. Stretching from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, it incorporates the large regions of al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*], ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], and Nadjd [*q.v.*], and also most if not all of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. Saudi Arabia and the Yaman agreed in 1354/1936 upon a boundary running from the Red Sea coast to a point short of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, but no serious attempt has since been made to extend the line southwards from this point over a gap between 100 and 200 km. in breadth. No land boundaries have been fixed between Saudi Arabia and any of the following states, all of which may be assumed to have territories abutting on the Kingdom: the Aden Protectorate, the Sultanate of Muscat, the Imamate of Oman, the Amirate of Abū Ẓabī (the southernmost of the Trucial States), and the Amirate of Ḳaṭar. The boundary between Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt and the boundaries of their neutral zone have been agreed upon in a general way. [See further SAʿŪDIYYA, AL-AFLĀDJ, AL-ʿĀRIḌ, AL-ḤASĀ, AL-YAMĀMA.]

The Mutawakkilite Kingdom of the Yaman lies along the Red Sea between Saudi Arabia and the Aden hinterland. The British and Yamanite Governments have a not entirely satisfactory working arrangement regarding the boundary between the Yaman and the Aden Protectorate, and the joint commission provided for in the Agreement of 1370/1951 to demarcate boundary locations and to recommend solutions to disputes arising from conflicting positions has not yet been constituted. [See further AL-YAMAN.]

The British Crown Colony of Aden, the only possession of a Western power on the Arabian mainland, occupies a tiny area c. 160 km. east of the south-western tip of the Peninsula. Perim Island forms a part on the Colony, and Kamarān is subject to its administration. The Governor of Aden Colony is also Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Aden Protectorate, which runs c. 1200 km. along the southern coast from Bāb al-Mandab to Raʾs Ḍarbat ʿAlī and reaches inland an undetermined distance. [See further ʿADAN, ḤAḌRAMAWT.]

The Sultanate of Muscat (Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*]) provides an outstanding example of the peculiarities of the political scene in Arabia. The ruler, who styles himself Sultan of Muscat and Oman, lays claim to virtually all the territory east of the eastern edge of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, a space roughly 1200 km. long and 500 km. broad. Within this space, however, the Sultan administers only three relatively small areas, the remaining areas coming under the Imam of Oman or other independent chieftains. The Sultan's foothold on the southern coast—Ẓufār, which abuts on the Eastern Aden Protectorate—is separated from the main base of his power—the towns of Muscat and Maṭraḥ and the coast of the Gulf of Oman, including al-Bāṭina—by nearly 1,000 km. of coastline with its hinterland. Again, his domains on the coast of the Gulf of Oman are interrupted in the north by territories belonging to the Trucial States around Kalbā and al-Fudjayra before the third centre of his authority appears near Raʾs Musandam. The Sultan is of the line of Āl Bū Saʿīd, an Ibāḍī dynasty which first came into power c. 1157/c. 1744. Unlike his neighbours on both sides, the Sultan is not formally under British protection, though he does have special ties with the British Government.

Another Ibāḍī ruler, the Imam of Oman, whose authority rests more firmly on a religious foundation than does that of the Sultan, directs the destinies of the interior region occupied by the Ibāḍī community. No clear dividing line exists between the territories of the Imamate and the Sultanate; those of the Imam reach the crests of the main mountain range of al-Ḥadjar throughout much of its length, and a few of his governors (*wālīs*) are established on the seaward slopes. The Imam, whose theocratic realm is a continuation of the Khāridjī state founded in Oman c. 133/c. 750, has his capital at Nazwā, and his two principal lieutenants reside at Tanūf in Inner Oman and al-Ḳābil in the district of al-Sharḳiya. Of all the major rulers in Arabia, the Imam, who maintains no formal diplomatic relations with any other power, is the most self-sufficient and the least known to the outside world. [See further ʿUMĀN.]

The Trucial Coast (Sāḥil ʿUmān or simply al-Sāḥil) is the southern shore of the Persian Gulf running southwestwards and then westwards for an undetermined distance towards Ḳaṭar. When the Arabs living there in the early 19th century were preying vigorously on shipping in the Gulf, the region was known as the Pirate Coast; after the British forcibly stopped the marauding and imposed a maritime truce on the rulers of the ports, it came to be called the Trucial Coast. The Trucial States, all of which are in special treaty relations with the British Government, are regarded as being under that government's protection, though without having the formal status of protectorates. [See further BAḤR FĀRIS.]

The Sultan of Muscat claims a part of the oasis of al-Buraymī, but Saudi Arabia challenges this claim on the basis of its own connexions with the place. Saudi Arabia likewise challenges the claim of the Trucial State Abū Ẓabī to al-Djiwāʾ. Saudi Arabia claims an outlet to the Persian Gulf on the coast between Abū Ẓabī and Ḳaṭar, but the British Government, which by treaty controls the foreign relations of these two states, disputes this claim. In 1373/1954 the two parties agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration.

The Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*] Peninsula, jutting northwards into the Persian Gulf about halfway between its mouth and its head, is the seat of an Amirate under the rule of Āl Thānī, a dynasty of recent origin, with its capital in the port of al-Dawḥa. The boundary

between the Amirate and Saudi Arabia in the vicinity of the base of the peninsula has not been agreed upon, and the Amir of Baḥrayn claims a piece of territory around al-Zubāra in the northwestern part of the peninsula.

The archipelago of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] between Ḳaṭar and the Saudi Arabian mainland constitutes an Amirate under the rule of Āl Khalīfa, a family from Nadjd which established itself in the islands in 1197/1783 and has ruled there ever since, with its capital in the port of al-Manāma on the main island. British interests in the Persian Gulf come under the supervision of a Political Resident with headquarters in al-Manāma. Also subject to his administration are the Kuria Muria islands, which belong to Great Britain.

On the Arabian mainland at the head of the Persian Gulf is the small roughly triangular Amirate of Kuwayt, partially separated from Saudi Arabia by a neutral zone and bounded on the north and west by ʿIrāḳ. Āl Ṣabāḥ, a family related to Āl Khalīfa of Baḥrayn, has ruled Kuwayt for over two centuries [see KUWAYT].

Ḳaṭar, Baḥrayn, and Kuwayt have all granted the British Government by treaty the right to conduct their foreign affairs and have agreed not to enter into relations with other powers without the consent of that government. Questions dealing with water boundaries and the appurtenance of a number of islands in the Persian Gulf remain to be settled between Baḥrayn and Kuwayt on one hand and Saudi Arabia on the other.

(V) FLORA AND FAUNA

Throughout most of the Peninsula a sharp contrast exists between the untilled stretches of desert and the green patches of cultivation in the oases. In places, particularly along the margins of the Peninsula where rain falls more frequently or where stream channels bring sufficient water down from the highlands, cultivation is more widespread, sometimes climbing the heights in skilfully built terraces and sometimes carpeting the narrow plains between the mountains and the sea. Arabia, however, boasts no endless prairies or pampas tamed by the plough, nor does it boast any rich belt of forests—the best it can offer are the juniper woods of High ʿAsīr.

The plant beyond compare in the oases is the date palm (*nakhla* [*q.v.*]), so much in a class by itself that the Arab tends to think of it as a thing apart from all other trees. Not only is the date the most important staple food, but the branches and bark of the palm are also used in building huts, in making baskets and mats, and for a myriad other purposes. The date palm does not flourish at the highest altitudes, so that the villagers there depend on grains. In Ẓufār and a few other spots coconut palms grow in place of or alongside the date, which is also replaced on occasion by the *dawm* palm (gingerbread tree).

Wheat, barley, and the millets are the chief grains. Alfalfa (lucerne = *ḳatt* or *ḳaḍb* or *barsīm*) is a common crop raised in the shade of the date palms, and cotton, rice, and tobacco are cultivated on a small scale.

On high terraces in the Yaman and ʿAsīr grows the coffee which made Mocha a goal for Western traders after the Portuguese found the way around Africa to India. Introduced only about five centuries ago into Arabia, coffee gave its Arabic name (*ḳahwa* [*q.v.*]) to the world, but the world now goes to Brazil for its everyday bean, the bean of the Yaman having become an exotic luxury. On many terraces coffee has yielded place to the more profitable *ḳāt* [*q.v.*], whose slightly narcotic leaves are chewed by people of all classes in the Yaman and other parts of the south.

Frankincense (*lubān*) [*q.v.*] and other aromatics, exported to the West over two thousand years ago by the Incense Road from South Arabia to the Mediterranean, still grow in the south, especially in the land of Mahra, but as articles of commerce they are now of virtually no value. Of greater use today is indigo, much favored as a dye in the south (the tree is called *ḥawīr* and the dye *nīl* [*q.v.*]). Other common dyes are the yellowish *wars* and the reddish henna.

Among the larger trees are tamarisks—sometimes planted in a row as a wind break or to stop the advance of drifting sand—acacias, mimosas, and carobs. The jujube (*Zizyphus spina christi* = *sidr* [*q.v.*] in the north, *ʿilb* in the south) bears an edible fruit, called *dawm* (a homonym of the name of the palm) by the Bedouins and *kunār* by the townsmen. The aloe and the euphorbia often grow to a considerable height, and some varieties of euphorbia closely resemble cactus.

Arid though Arabia is, it is not without flowers and fruits. For roses and pomegranates al-Ṭāʾif is famed, al-Khardj for watermelons (*djiḥḥ* in Nadjd, *ḥabḥab* in al-Ḥidjāz, and *dibshī* in the north), and al-Buraymī for mangoes (*anbā* or *hanb*). Figs, grapes, peaches, bananas, and other fruits sometimes vary the monotonous diet of the townsman, but the Bedouin seldom savours anything more than his milk and dates.

In the cool season the Bedouins roam far afield, sometimes going for months without resort to water wells—the forage supports the camels, whose milk supports their masters. The most sought after plants for forage are the annuals (*ʿushb*, pron. *ʿishb*)—grasses, wild flowers, and herbs which spring up green after a rain, especially in the *rabīʿ*, the season of plenty following the first and best rains (*wasmī*). The sands provide favorable soil for the growth of such annuals and so are reckoned by the nomads as among the most attractive types of desert terrain. Perennial shrubs and bushes (*shadjar*) eaten by camels are *naṣī*, *ḥādhdh*, and *sabaṭ* (pron. *ṣabaṭ*), as well as others too numerous to mention. From time to time camels hanker after bushes of the category called *ḥamḍ*, a prime source of the salt needed by their system. Among the many plants falling in this category are *rawtha*, *rimth*, *ʿarād*, *ʿudjrum*, *sūwād*, *shinān*, *ghaḍā*, and *ḥādhdh* (not *ḥādh* as in classical Arabic). Dry bushes are also essential to the Bedouins for firewood (*ḥaṭab*), among the best for this purpose being *ʿabl*, *ghaḍā*, and *rimth*. Burning with a fragrant scent, these woods help to make the ceremony of brewing coffee for a guest at the open door of the tent one of the chief pleasures of life. The Bedouin likes truffles (*faḳʿ*) and eats other desert plants, though by preference and philosophy there is little of the vegetarian in his being. Twigs of the *arāk* (pron. *rāk*) are in common use as a toothbrush (*miswāk*), and senna (*sanā*) is chewed as a purgative.

Vegetation would be more abundant in the deserts were it not for the migrating dunes, some of which move 20 m. in a year. In many places, however, bushes have taken root and fixed the sand, a hummock of which is built up around each bush. An area of such hummocks may extend for many kilometers, making very rough country known as *ʿafdja*. Less difficult types of sandy terrain with vegetation are called *marbakh* or *dikāka* (pl. *dikāk*, cf. class.

dakk, pl. *dikāk*; and *dakdak* = flat surface, sandy plain).

Among animals the camel occupies a place analogous to that of the date palm among plants. The vast majority of Bedouins in Arabia depend on the camel above all other material possessions. The tribes which herd sheep rather than camels range over the steppes north of Arabia, close to the great rivers of Mesopotamia, and do not pass beyond the territory of Kuwayt in their southward migrations. Milk is the camel's most precious product, but its meat, hide, and wool are also put to good use, its dung (*dimn*) is collected to be burned as fuel, and the tail of a dead camel makes a strong rope. Camels are sometimes harnessed for ploughing or drawing water from wells, and the nomads sell part of their stock to secure money for clothing and other necessities. In time of great thirst a Bedouin may slaughter a camel to drink the water stored in its stomach (*karsh*) and the urine in its bladder (*mibwāl*).

The general term for camels is *ibil* [*q.v.*] (often pronounced *bil*), with *bawsh* being common in the south. A riding camel is a *dhalūl* (pl. *djaysh*); the plural *rikāb* is used for both those that are ridden and those that are not. The most highly desired camels are the thoroughbreds (*aṣāʾil*), whose pedigree has been controlled and recorded over a number of generations. Many of these are from the breeds of Oman (ʿUmāniyyāt), among which the Bawāṭin of al-Bāṭina are particularly well known, though these have the disadvantage of wanting to drink every day and of not being adapted to rough country. The camels of the sands tend to be smaller and lighter in color than those raised in the mountains of the Yaman. Among the multitudinous names in the special vocabulary reserved for camels are ones describing beasts which graze on certain plants, e.g. *hawārim* (fem. sing. *hārim*) from the *harm* bush, and *awārik* (fem. sing. *ārika*) from the *arāk* tree. Along the coasts camels are often fed on dried sardines.

Along with camels, most of the nomads keep sheep and goats (*ghanam*), though not in great flocks like those of the northern steppes. Sheep and goats are valued for their milk, fleece, and skins. Sheep are in demand as the *pièce de résistance* of the Arab banquet; even royalty can offer nothing more appetising than a young lamb (*ṭali*, pl. *ṭulyān*) basted in a pot with *samn* and served on a platter heaped high with rice. *Samn*, clarified butter for cooking and greasing made from the milk of the ewe (*naʿdja*) or she-goat (*ʿanz*), is considered superior to *djabāb* from the milk of the she-camel (*nāḳa*) or *wadak* from the fat of camels, sheep, or cattle.

The Arabian horse, the ancestor of the Western thoroughbred and once the pride of the Peninsula, is a disappearing strain. Few Bedouins now own horses, and the export of stock to India, Egypt, and the West, formerly an important item in the Arabian economy, has dwindled away to insignificance. An occasional man of rank still maintains a stud, but even this is likely to be neglected. The speed of the motor car has captured the Arab's fancy; cars are now used in place of horses for hunting and as cavalry in some of the Arabian military forces.

Fine breeds of donkeys are raised, particularly the large white ones of Baḥrayn and al-Ḥasā. Donkeys are used for riding, drawing water, and as pack animals in the mountains, where their surefootedness makes them more reliable than camels. Cattle, which in most places are not numerous, are usually of the small humped variety, except in Suḳuṭrā, where the humpless kind is found.

The gazelle (*ẓaby*), which in days past used to speed across the plains in great herds, is rapidly being thinned out by rifles in the hands of hunters hurtling by in trucks or cars. The three common types are the *riʾm* (pron. *rīm*), the *ʿifrī* (cf. class. *yaʿfūr*), and the *idm*; the term *ghazāl* is used only for the newly born kid. The swift greyhound (*salūḳī*) of the Bedouins can on rare occasions outrun even the gazelle. Of the oryx (*wuḍayḥī* in the south, *baḳar waḥsh* in the north), a larger antelope, small numbers survive in the remoter parts of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī but none or almost none is now left in the Great Nafūd. The ibex or mountain goat (*waʿl* or *badan*) also seeks refuge in distant retreats on higher cliffs. Other large wild beasts are the hyena (*ḍabʿ*), jackal (*wāwī*), wolf (*dhiʾb*, pron. *dhib*, pl. *dhiyāba*), and cheetah (*nimr*). The lion has long been extinct in Arabia. In the mountains of the south baboons are common, often chattering along in troops; they are fond of raiding the millet fields. Smaller animals are the fox (*thaʿlab* or *thaʿl* or *ḥuṣnī*), the ratel (*ẓarinbān*, class. *ẓaribān*), the cony or hyrax (*wabr*), and the hare (*arnab*). The hedgehog (*ḳunfudh*) with its short quills is much commoner than the unrelated long-quilled porcupine (*nīṣ*). The jerboa (*djarbūʿ*, cf. class. *yarbūʿ*) hops about the desert on its long hind legs, resembling a miniature kangaroo; its cousin the *djirdhī* (cf. class. *djuradh*), on the other hand, runs on all fours.

Snakes live in the sands and rocks, though seldom seen because of their nocturnal habits. Some are poisonous, including the horned viper, as well as a species of Arabian cobra (= Egyptian asp) and a large snake called the *yaym* (cf. class. *aym*), which the Bedouins say has the power of flying or leaping over a considerable distance. According to popular report, perhaps the most deadly of all is the *bathn*, a small innocent-appearing snake living in the sands. The striped seasnakes of the Persian Gulf are poisonous, but they rarely if ever bite human beings. The two large lizards are the *ḍabb* and the Arabian or desert monitor (*waral*), the first of which is eaten by all the Bedouins with relish, while the second is ordinarily shunned. Among the smaller lizards of the sands are the fierce-looking *ṭuḥayḥī* and the slippery sand-swimming skink (*dammūsa*).

The ostrich appears to have become extinct in Arabia during the past few years. Fragments of ostrich eggshells are often found in the desert, and the word *naʿām* and other terms relating to ostriches occur frequently in place names. Trained falcons, often called simply *ṭuyūr*, are much used in the chase, their chief game among other birds being the lesser bustard (*ḥubārā*). Species of the sand grouse such as the *ḳaṭā* and the *ghaṭāṭ* are too fast for trained falcons, though they can be overtaken by the wild variety. The presence of wild falcons is attested to by the number of high places called *maṣḳara* = nesting-place of the falcon (*ṣaḳr*). Among the larger birds of the desert are the eagle, the vulture (*nasr*), and the owl, while the flamingo, the egret, and the pelican are found along the coasts. Smaller birds are commoner in the cultivated regions, among them being the cuckoo, the thrush, the swallow, the wagtail, the Syrian nightingale (*bulbul*), and the hoopoe (*hudhud*). The bifasciated lark (*umm sālim*) is ubiquitous in the desert, and the courser (*daradj*) nearly so. The pigeons of the Great Mosque in Mecca are famous throughout Islam.

The seas embracing the Peninsula are rich in fish, many of which, such as the king mackerel (*kanʿad*) and the grouper (*hāmūr*) of the Persian Gulf, are tasty and nutritious, but are not eaten as much by

the Arabs as might be expected. Whales occasionally enter the Persian Gulf from the Indian Ocean. Both sharks and sardines are caught in great numbers off the southern coast, and the Persian Gulf produces delicious shrimps.

The most disastrous plague visited upon Arabia by living creatures is that of the locusts (*djarād*). The solitary mitigating aspect of a locust invasion is that a number of the invaders themselves are eaten by the people they afflict. Minor plagues by comparison are those of flies, camel ticks, and similar vermin, which are no worse in Arabia than in many other countries, even though the Bedouin may describe his life as all *raml wa-ḳaml* (sand and lice). A more agreeable insect, even in spite of its sting, is the bee, kept for its honey.

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(vi) Ethnography

In the study of the ethnography of the Peninsula an array of formidable problems remain unsolved. Who were the first inhabitants? Did they arise from the soil or did they come from abroad ?If immigrants, what was their original home? What was the environment in which they lived—did it differ greatly from the Arabia of today? What intrusive elements intermingled with the earliest dwellers as time went by? Who were the first people to deserve the name of Arab, and where did they come from?

A measure of progress has been made in the attempt to elicit answers to these and similar questions, but far more work must be done before any of the more likely hypotheses can achieve the status of historical fact. Much more needs to be known about the geology and geography of the Peninsula, many promising archaeological sites need to be excavated, and an exhaustive investigation must be made of the various segments of the present population and their history. Moreover, the solution of Arabian problems may well depend to a considerable degree on the success of work relating to other areas. The problem of the identity of the Arabs, for example, dovetails inextricably into the broader problem of the identity of the Semites, the host of people speaking languages of the family to which Arabic belongs.

Space does not permit a review of the numerous hypotheses receiving serious consideration with respect to the early history of man in Arabia. Suffice it to say that available evidence indicates that the highlanders of the Yaman may form the least adulterated large group anywhere in the world now representing what anthropologists call the Mediterranean race. East of the territory of these highlanders a Veddoid strain is said to appear, particularly among the tribe of Mahra and other tribes in the south speaking their own Semitic languages, which are distinct from Arabic. This Veddoid strain and other data suggest an ancient connection with lands farther east, perhaps India or Ceylon. The Bedouin of the north, to most Westerners the classic Arab type, is also basically Mediterranean, though not quite as characteristically so as the mountaineer of the Yaman. All along the coasts and with less frequency in the interior, other strains occur, sometimes in easily recognisable forms and at other times lying so far below the surface as almost to defy identification.

The unraveling of these mysteries is the concern of the archaeologist and the anthropologist [cf. also

BADW]. More important for the student of Islam is the concept the Arab—especially the Muslim Arab—has had, and in many cases still has, of his ethnographical development, a concept so prevalent and tenaciously held that it merits the careful consideration of the anthropologist as well.

The seeds of the Arab's own concept go far back into his past; how far can not be determined because of the relative lateness of the sources available, though the basic particulars of the concept had developed before the appearance of Islam. In weighing data pertaining to pre-Islamic times, however, one must use caution, bearing in mind the fact that most of the existing sources were recorded not only long after the event but also subsequent to the introduction of Islam with its new ways of looking at many aspects of life, so that the complete genuineness of these data may often be open to question. Furthermore, various refinements of the Arab concept were still being made in the time of the Prophet, and other refinements came even later. Finally, Islam with its doctrine of the brotherhood of Muslims and the equality of Arab and non-Arab presented a fundamental challenge to the validity of the Arab concept as a guiding principle for the life of the community.

Muslim genealogists have worked out an elaborate and ingenious system for the illustration and application of the Arab concept. Although this system has weaknesses—obscurities in the early stages, obvious gaps, unexplained riddles, inconsistencies, and contradictions—on the whole it hangs together well. Most important, its primary theses—the core of the Arab concept—have been by no means the exclusive property of scholars; they have belonged to the people, and their influence on the politics and social life of Arabia has been penetrating and pervasive.

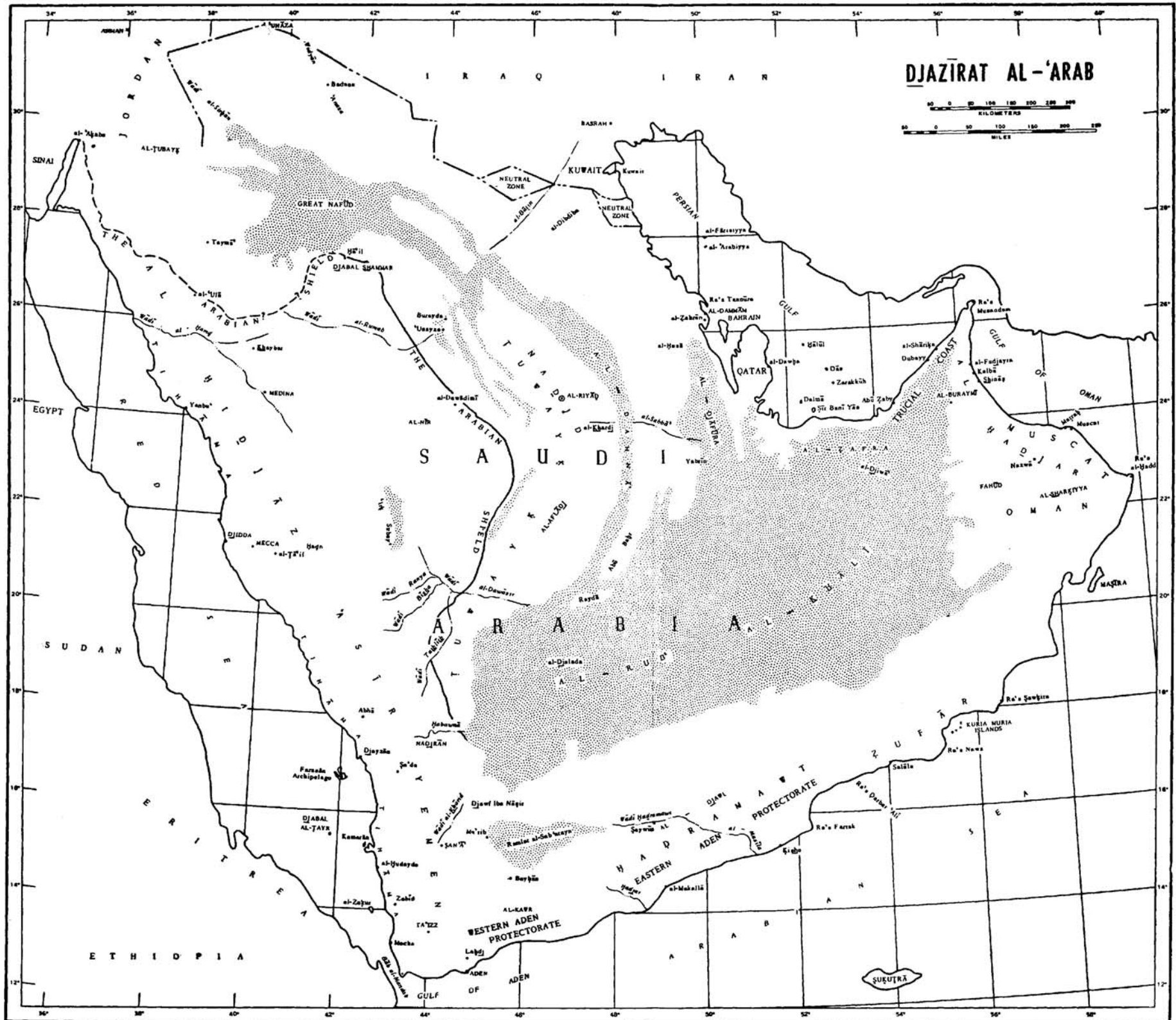
According to the Arab concept, the Arabs constitute a race, not simply a community of people speaking the same language. This race is made up of innumerable men and women each descending in a direct line from one or the other of two ancestors, who probably were not closely related (the connection between these two eponyms is one of the major unresolved aspects of the system). Greater homogeneity could have been attained only by insisting on the descent of all Arabs from a single ancestor. That the Arabs recognized in their clear and undisputed tradition the duality of their origin is a significant fact, and its effect on the history of the Arabs and Islam has been far-reaching.

The system of the genealogists begins with a nod at those whom the Arabs regarded as the original inhabitants of the Peninsula, tribes such as ʿĀd, Thamūd, Iram, Djurhum, Ṭasm, and Djadīs [*qq.v.*], all of which are believed to have disappeared before the beginning of Islam. Some of these, such as ʿĀd and Iram, may well have been entirely legendary, while the historicity of others, such as Thamūd, is not in doubt. Nothing certain is known about the identity of these tribes, though they are generally reckoned to have been Arabs, the Lost Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-bāʾida*). Sometimes they are even called the True Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba*), though this has little meaning, as in the Arab concept they are mainly a historical curiosity and an example of the terrible fate visited on people who heeded not their prophets. Although in later times there were men who claimed descent from these ancients or even tribes reputed to have sprung from them, the conclusion of the genealogist Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) was that "on the face of the earth there is no one whose descent from them is verified" (ed. Lévi-Provençal, 8).

Disposing of the autochthons in this fashion, the Arab concept concentrates on the two great ancestors—Ḳaḥṭān and ʿAdnān [*qq.v.*]—and the two great divisions of the Arab race they fathered. As all men go back to Adam, these two must have been at least remotely related. The question of a closer relationship depends on whether Ḳaḥṭān was a descendant of Ismāʿīl, who was recognised as an ancestor of ʿAdnān. One opinion commonly held opposes such a descent for Ḳaḥṭān, whose presumed line from Noah's son Shem (Sām b. Nūḥ) is separately traced. Ḳaḥṭān's offspring are generally denominated the True Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba* or *al-ʿarbāʾ*) and ʿAdnān's the Arabised Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-mutaʿarriba* or *al-mustaʿriba*), though the uncertainty of this classification is revealed by the existence of other versions, one of which brackets the Lost Arabs with Ḳaḥṭān as the True Arabs, while another reserves the title of True Arabs for the Lost Arabs, designating the people of Ḳaḥṭān as *mutaʿarriba* and those of ʿAdnān as *mustaʿriba*. In any event, Ḳaḥṭān clearly comes out closer than ʿAdnān to genuine Arabness.

The descendants of Ḳaḥṭān are the Southern Arabs, Ḳabāʾil al-Yaman, whose origin is traditionally assigned to the south-western corner of the Peninsula, while the descendants of ʿAdnān are the Northern Arabs, held to have made their first appearance in the northern half of the Peninsula. Whether this traditional division has a basis in truth is open to question. Certain data, for example, suggest that Sabaʾ came from the north into the Yaman, though in the scheme of the Arab genealogists Sabaʾ is the great-grandson of Ḳaḥṭān and the father of Ḥimyar and Kahlān, the eponyms of the two main branches of the Southern Arabs.

The peoples of the ancient South Arabian states—Sabaeans, Minaeans [*qq.v.*], and others—were regarded as descendants of Ḥimyar, so that Ḥimyar in Arabic became the comprehensive term embracing the civilisation of these states. Few of those recognised without qualification as descendants of Ḥimyar played an important role during the Islamic period, the centre of the stage having by then been occupied by the sons of Kahlān, among whom were numbered Ṭayyiʾ, Madhḥidj, Hamdān, and al-Azd. Among the subdivisions of al-Azd were al-Aws and al-Khazradj, residents of Medina who rose to fame in Islam as the Prophet's Anṣār. Lakhm, Ghassān, Kinda, and other tribes of Kahlān became solidly established in the north and centre long before the beginning of Islam, so that a tribal map of Arabia in the 6th and early 7th centuries reveals a curious patchwork in which the ranges of many Arabs of Southern descent lie north of those belonging to Arabs of Northern descent.

ʿAdnān, the putative progenitor of the Northern Arabs, appears to have been even more of a misty figure than Ḳaḥṭān, so that the Northern Arabs in popular practice often trace their descent back no further than ʿAdnān's son Maʿadd or even his grandson Nizār. Muḍar and Rabīʿa, sons of Nizār, were the eponyms of the two main branches of the Northern Arabs, the descendants of a third son, Iyād, having largely sunk out of sight by the time of Islam. Ḳays ʿAylān, one of the two major divisions of Muḍar, was of such importance that the term Ḳaysī was often used for all Northern Arabs. This division embraced Hawāzin and Sulaym, and Hawāzin alone included such notable tribes as Thaḳīf and the whole group of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa

(Kushayr, ʿUkayl, Djaʿda, Kilāb, and Hilāl). Khindif, the other major division of Muḍar, numbered in its ranks Hudhayl and Tamīm and above all Kināna, the tribe of which Kuraysh formed a subdivision. Although the Northern Arabs by origin lacked the same identification with Arabdom that their Southern cousins enjoyed, the fact that the Seal of the Prophets came from the Northern tribe of Kuraysh has redeemed their prestige under Islam in ample measure.

From Rabīʿa sprang the tribes of ʿAnaza, ʿAbd al-Kays, al-Namir, Taghlib, and the strong group of Bakr b. Wāʾil, one of whose members was Ḥanīfa. Well before Islam the original groups of Muḍar and Rabīʿa dissolved, early folk of Muḍar moving to the territory on the Euphrates called after them Diyār Muḍar and early folk of Rabīʿa to the territory on the Tigris called Diyār Rabīʿa. Many of their offshoots, however, remained behind in the Peninsula: Hudhayl in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif; Sulaym in the mountains between Mecca and Medina; Tamīm and Ḥanīfa and various members of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa in the center; and ʿAbd al-Kays in the east.

An attitude of hostility between Kaḥṭān and ʿAdnān, which went far back into the past, was enhanced by the rivalry that developed between the Anṣār of Medina and Kuraysh of Mecca, so that it became a factor of extraordinary significance in the history of the early Islamic dynasties, the effect of which extended as far afield as Spain. The struggle between South and North finally faded away into an affair of dwindling consequence with the eclipse of the Arab element in the Islamic world. Only in one section of the Peninsula—ʿUmān—has the ancient hostility endured down to the present as a vital force. For centuries the Northerners were known in ʿUmān as Nizārīs, and the Southerners as Yamanīs. As the result of a civil war there in the early 18th century, the Northerners came to be called Ghāfirīs and the Southerners Hināwīs, a distinction which still carries weight.

A major anomaly in the system appears in the case of Kuḍāʿa. A number of tribes—Bahrāʾ, Djuhayna, Balī, Tanūkh, Kalb, and others—recognised a common ancestor named Kuḍāʿa, but agreement was lacking as to whether he was a Southerner or a Northerner. Some said he was a son of ʿAdnān, while others said he was a grandson or later descendant of Ḥimyar. The genealogists also resorted to the device of declaring that all the Arabs were descended from three men—Kaḥṭān, ʿAdnān, and Kuḍāʿa—but without the suggestion that Kuḍāʿa represented a third element, neither Southerner nor Northerner. In the conflicts between the Southerners and the Northerners during the early period of Islam, the tribes of Kuḍāʿa tended to side with the Southerners; genealogy was used for political purposes, the attribution to Kuḍāʿa of a descent from Kaḥṭān through Ḥimyar prevailed, and the tribe of Kalb of Kuḍāʿa advanced to the fore as champions of the Southern Arabs in the days of the Umayyads.

In studying the history of Arabia from ʿAbbāsid times to the present, one encounters great difficulty in determining the links between the tribes of a thousand years ago and the tribes of today. Oppenheim, Bräunlich, and Caskel in their work *Die Beduinen* have made the most ambitious attempt so far with respect to the tribes of northern and central Arabia, but much remains to be done in spite of the laudable degree of success they have achieved. Information on the tribes during the time when the government of Islam was in or near Arabia is fairly abundant, and the same is true of the last two centuries or so, but for hundreds of years in between their story remains for the most part concealed from view. Great migrations took place of which only trifling records have been recovered. Elements broke off from one tribe to join another, or whole tribes reshuffled themselves into new groupings. Popular tradition among the Bedouins has preserved some recollection of the changes, but this tradition is often far from trustworthy. In the 4th/10th century al-Hamdānī remarked on the tendency of tribes bearing a given name to associate themselves with stronger or more renowned tribes of the same name, and this tendency still holds true. In the time of the Caliph Abū Bakr the appearance of the false prophet Musaylima among Ḥanīfa brought this tribe into disrepute; descendants of Ḥanīfa in Nadjd today prefer to name as their ancestor Rabīʿa, from whom Ḥanīfa sprang, but so many other tribes have been named Rabīʿa and popular knowledge of the traditional genealogical system is so scant that the result is often complete confusion. The modern tribe of al-Dawāsir has a tradition that its ancestor was named ʿUmar; the ordinary Dawsarī today glibly identifies him as ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb without knowing who ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was. The modern tribe of Banī Ghāfir in al-Bāṭina of ʿUmān provides an example of the often unstable status of the tribes; although the Northern Arabs of ʿUmān are now called Ghāfirīs after this tribe, the tribe itself is notorious for the way in which it has shifted its allegiance back and forth between the Northerners and the Southerners.

Some of the great tribes of the present, such as Tamīm in the centre and Hamdān in the southwest, apparently represent in a generally faithful manner the ancient entities which bore these names, though many members of each have in the course of time broken away and lost their identity, while outsiders have attached themselves to this tribe or that and become completely absorbed into the community. The modern tribe of Kaḥṭān may be the residue of one or more segments of the original nation of Southern Arabs, or the connexion may be even more tenuous than this, despite the fact that the Bedouins of Arabia still associate this tribe with the father of all Southerners. To follow the vicissitudes of the tribe of Kuraysh since the beginning of Islam, one would have to investigate—among other things—the history and current status of the many thousands of real and reputed *sayyid*s and *sharīf*s scattered not only throughout Arabia, but from one end of the Islamic world to the other.

Members of one modern tribe may tenaciously insist on their homogeneity in descent from a single ancestor, while members of another tribe readily admit that they are a confederation of diverse elements. The tribes of al-ʿUdjmān and Āl Murra, which migrated from the vicinity of Nadjrān to Eastern Arabia about two centuries ago, maintain that they share a common descent from Hamdān of the Southern Arabs through Yām. Their physical characteristics, their speech, and other facets of their life and history lend credence to this claim. On the other hand, large tribes such as ʿUtayba and Muṭayr in Inner Arabia are closely knit composites the original components of which probably first coalesced not more than five or six centuries ago. These confederations may be transitory, e.g., the confederation of Nuʿaym in ʿUmān appears at present to be in the process of breaking down into its two

main constituents, Āl Bū Khuraybān and Āl Bū Shāmis, with the old name of Nuʿaym frequently being applied to Āl Bū Khuraybān alone, while other members of Nuʿaym, living c. 500 km. to the west, are no longer in close contact with the main body.

Despite all the genealogical vagaries and uncertainties, it is impressive how much importance is attached by most of the Arabs of Arabia to purity of descent. Mankind is divided into those whose race is universally recognised as purely Arab (*aṣīl*) and those of a lower category whose blood is mixed or impure (*ghayr aṣīl*). The Bedouin who knows his immediate forebears through no more than six or eight generations is still profoundly convinced of his own nobility; his membership in a tribe of acknowledged purity of descent is sufficient guarantee that the line further back is without taint. Purity of blood is preserved by strict rules governing marriage, which among the Bedouins at least are seldom violated. The distinction between pure and impure, strongest among the Bedouins, is carried over to a considerable extent into the oases and towns, particularly those away from the coasts, where many of the townspeople keep alive their sense of affiliation with one tribe or another. Other townspeople are grouped together in Nadjd under the appellation of Banī Khaḍīr, a generic term for those whose origin can not be traced back to a specific tribe.

In the desert a few nomadic tribes by general consent bear the stigma of non-Arab descent. Among these is the tribe of al-Ṣulaba [*q.v.*] in the north, the physical characteristics of whose members, as well as the popular traditions regarding them, suggest an origin hidden in an unusual aura of mystery, though there is no foundation for the oft-repeated legend that they are the offspring of wandering Crusaders. Others of this category in the north are Hutaym and al-Sharārāt. The tribe of al-ʿAwāzim in the east has succeeded in rising somewhat above its inferior status as a result of its prowess in battle during the past forty years in the ranks of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Saudi Arabia.

Along the coasts, in the seaports, and in towns not far inland are found the greatest infusions of foreign or nondescript racial elements. In some cases these are well defined types from abroad, such as Somalis and Indians along the southern coast and on the Red Sea; banians or Indian merchants are also numerous in the ports of the Sultanate of Muscat and on the Persian Gulf. In other cases people of obscure origin are classified primarily on the basis of their occupations, such as the servants in Southern Arabia called Ṣibyān and Akhdām. Because many Muslims from distant lands desire to live and die on hallowed ground, Mecca contains a strikingly heterogeneous population, in which the so-called Javanese and Bukhāran colonies (made up respectively of settlers from Indonesia and Central Asia) are among the largest. Certain foreign elements, such as the Abyssinians from the west and the Persians from the east, have a history in Arabia going back two millennia or more, yet they have never immigrated in great force and few are the places where the majority of the population has not retained its basic Arab character, at least in such important aspects as language and religion. Other foreign elements, such as some of the Baluchis settled in the interior of ʿUmān, have become so thoroughly Arabised that they are now considered by their Arab neighbors as *aṣīl*.

Racial matters in Arabia are often intermingled with religious considerations. Descendants of the Prophet, who usually bear the title of *sharīf* in al-Ḥidjāz and *sayyid* in the Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, sometimes form a privileged caste in the community, while at other times they lead the life of simple nomads in the desert. The numerous *sayyid*s of Ḥaḍramawt, who enjoy exceptional prestige, all claim descent from a small group of families who emigrated from ʿIrāḳ to Ḥaḍramawt in the first half of the 4th/10th century. In ʿUmān the title *sayyid* is popularly accorded to the Sultan of Muscat, who does not claim descent from the Prophet, and in Nadjd the incidence of *sharīfs* is remarkably low. In Eastern Arabia most of the *sayyid*s are found among the Shīʿites, a fact which prompts the Sunnite Bedouins to question the authenticity of their descent. The Jews, whose history in Arabia goes back well into the pre-Islamic period, may have been in the beginning Israelites who moved southwards or Arabs converted to the Judaic religion or a combination of the two. Once fairly numerous in the south-west, almost all of the Jews have departed within the last few years for Israel.

Slavery as an institution sanctioned by Islam flourished in the Peninsula until very recent times, though now it appears to be slowly dying out. The great majority of the slaves came from Central Africa, and Negro blood is found even in villages of al-Aflādj in the heart of Arabia. Like other Islamic lands, Arabia has remained uncursed by a colour bar, and emancipated slaves have on occasion attained positions of influence in society. Another Negro element exists in the so-called Takārina, who come halfway across Africa, often on foot, to make the pilgrimage; some of these stay on to eke out a living in the Holy Land, where their huts stand in the outskirts of Djidda.

Although migrations of persons and tribes from place to place within the Peninsula and from the Peninsula to the fertile lands farther north have been common throughout the centuries, only a relatively small proportion of the Arabs of Arabia have shown a fondness for crossing the seas to settle in foreign lands. Chief among these have been the people of ʿUmān, who since ancient times have moved down along the coast of East Africa and into southern islands such as Zanzibar, and the people of Ḥaḍramawt, many of whom have more recently established themselves in the Indonesian Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and India, where they have been influential in the domains of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. Arabs of Eastern Arabia have moved across the Persian Gulf to occupy much of the Iranian coast, and seafarers from the Yaman have founded tiny colonies in such distant spots as Cardiff in Wales.

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(vii) HISTORY

1. — *Pre-Islamic*

Arabia before the First Millennium B.C. — The Arabian Peninsula has as yet no history earlier than the first millennium B.C., though future investigations will certainly bring many new facts to light. Excavations have been few and limited in extent, and even the surface in many regions has not been scrutinised by trained searchers.

Scattered finds indicate that the Peninsula was inhabited in both Palaeolithic and Neolithic times, but nothing is known about who the people were or where they came from. The problem of the site of the original home of the Semites is still a matter of speculation. The Semitic nomads who began filtering into the Fertile Crescent from the adjacent deserts in the fourth millennium B.C. relied chiefly on the donkey, a beast not as well adapted as the camel to wide ranging in waterless tracts.

The cuneiform inscriptions of Mesopotamia contain numerous references to Magan, Melukhkha, and Dilmun, places which may have lain in Arabia, though much of the geography of the time remains vague. The Egyptian records relating to Punt are similarly imprecise. Egypt's connections with Sinai and the Red Sea are very ancient, and the availability of frankincense in Southern Arabia led to indirect or even direct intercourse at an early period.

A development of vast importance in the later history of Arabia and the Islamic world occurred, probably in the early second millennium B.C., with the devising of a system of alphabetic writing from which later Semitic alphabets, including South Arabic and North Arabic, derived. Tribal migrations about which little is yet known took place inside Arabia; in this millennium many of the "sons of Ḳaḥṭān" may have gone south to their new homes. The last centuries of this millennium were a time of change, with the Iron Age beginning in the Near East and the Semitic Aramaeans entering the Fertile Crescent in strength. The domestication of the camel appears to have been achieved during this period in Arabia, the first contribution of the Peninsula to the material progress of mankind.

Arabia during the First Millennium B.C. — The tenth chapter of Genesis, believed to belong to about the 10th century B.C., mentions Joktan and Hazarmaveth, who may be identified with Ḳaḥṭān and Ḥaḍramawt. In the same century Solomon sent vessels into the Red Sea from the port of Ezion-geber, while his caravans traded with Northern Arabia. The location of Ophir, from which Solomon received gold and other products, continues to be a mystery. From the 9th century on, Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions make frequent mention of the Aribi, camel-owning inhabitants of Northern Arabia who paid tribute to the masters of Mesopotamia.

In recent years knowledge of the ancient civilisation of Southern Arabia has expanded tremendously. So many new inscriptions and other traces are coming to hand that current conclusions must often be regarded as tentative. An intensive review of the chronology is in progress, with the general tendency favoring a downward revision of dates. Available information suggests that organised states came into being in Southern Arabia during the second half of the first millennium B.C.

The four chief states—Sabaʾ of the Sabaeans, Maʿīn of the Minaeans, Ḳatabān, and Ḥaḍramawt—throve on agriculture and commerce. The Mārib dam in Sabaʾ was the most imposing structure in an elaborate system of irrigation. For centuries the Southern Arabian merchants monopolised the frankincense trade and controlled traffic between India and the West, sending their goods by overland routes which traversed Arabia from south to north. Colonies were established in Northern Arabia, and evidence of business activity has been found in Egypt, the Aegaean, and the Persian Gulf region. Strong Graeco-Roman influence on Southern Arabian culture is shown by archaeological discoveries. Southern Arabians migrated to Abyssinia, to which they gave its name, and their influence reached along the eastern coast of Africa.

Many impressive buildings in Southern Arabia were temples dedicated to pagan deities. The earlier rulers of Sabaʾ, who bore the title of Mukarrib, combined the functions of prince and priest; later they gave way to the more secular rule of kings. [For details see AL-YAMAN.]

In the north, Aramaean influence was strong in the oasis of Taymāʾ, briefly the capital of the Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nabonidus (regn. B.C. 556-539). Dedan, near modern al-ʿUlā, became the center of a culture now called Liḥyānitic, using an

alphabet derived from South Arabic. Thamūd, mentioned as a tribe in an Assyrian inscription of the 8th century B. C., held Egra (al-Ḥidjr or Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ) just north of Dedan. The recent finding of widely dispersed Thamūdic inscriptions has raised new questions regarding the spread of this derivative of the South Arabic script and those who used it.

After the Persian capture of Babylon in B. C. 539, a short-lived satrapy called Arabāyā was created in Northern Arabia. Darius I (regn. 521-485), who sought to stimulate trade via the Persian Gulf, sent out Scylax of Caryanda, who sailed from India to the northern end of the Red Sea. The world's knowledge of Arabia increased through Alexander's expeditions and the reconnaissance of the Persian Gulf carried out by Nearchus the Cretan. Alexander died in 323 just as he was planning the circumnavigation of the Peninsula and the subjugation of its peoples. Not long afterwards the Greek naturalist Theophrastus wrote an account of Southern Arabia and its products.

The Ptolemies of Egypt, who often pursued a forward policy in the Red Sea, threatened the trade monopoly held by the Arabs, while the Seleucids of Syria promoted the use of the northern routes from India. The establishment of the Parthian state in the mid-3rd century B. C. weakened the Seleucids, but Antiochus III was still strong enough to conduct an expedition in 205-204 against Gerrha on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf.

Late in the millennium the Nabataeans, a people of Arab stock with their capital at Petra, began playing a considerable role in the affairs of Syria, and Arabs appeared as rulers in various places in the Fertile Crescent, such as Charax Spasini at the head of the Persian Gulf. Arab vassal chiefs enjoyed a large measure of autonomy under Parthian rule, and the immigration of Arabs into Mesopotamia went steadily on.

Towards the end of the 2nd century B. C. Eudoxus of Cyzicus sailed from Egypt to India, and in time Westerners learned the secret of using the south-west and north-east monsoons for voyaging across open water. The growing competition of the West seriously undermined the commercial dominance of the Southern Arabians, in whose homeland radical changes were taking place. An important event near the close of the 2nd century, later taken as the starting point of the "Sabaean era", has been plausibly connected with the assumption of royal power in Sabaʾ by the mountain tribe of Hamdān. Both the kingdoms of Maʿīn and Ḳatabān came to an end in the 1st century B. C., and the Ḳatabānian capital Timnaʿ in Bayḥān was destroyed. Rome, which had made a client state of Petra in B. C. 60, coveted the wealth of Arabia Felix. Augustus sent the Prefect of Egypt, Aelius Gallus, supported by Nabataeans from Petra, on a long march in B. C. 24 towards the incense country, but the expedition, finding the deserts inhospitable and its Arab allies treacherous, did not get beyond Sabaʾ. [For details see AL-YAMAN.]

Arabia during the First Six Christian Centuries. — About A. D. 50 an unknown author wrote in Greek the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, an invaluable account of trade in the Red Sea and along the southern coast of Arabia. The King of Ḥaḍramawt in his capital Shabwa controlled the whole territory from Bayḥān in the west to Ẓufār in the east, while the "King of Sabaʾ and of Dhū Raydān" (a recently assumed title) sat in Ẓafār in the mountains of the Yaman, where the power of Ḥimyar was growing.

In A. D. 105 or 106 the Roman province of Arabia was created in the old Nabataean domain, stretching from Ayla (al-ʿAḳaba) in the south to al-Namāra in the northeast, with its capital first at Petra and later at Bostra. Merchants were encouraged to trade via the Red Sea through the port of Ayla, and Bedouin raids were warded off by the building of a limes along the desert borders. Roman knowledge of the Peninsula in the mid-2nd century was summarized by the geographer Claudius Ptolemy.

Ardashīr I, the first Sāsānid (d. A. D. 241), is said to have founded a city in Eastern Arabia and to have induced the tribe of al-Azd to settle in ʿUmān. Sāsānid authority on one flank of Northern Arabia and Roman authority on the other were challenged by the Arab rulers of Palmyra, but the Roman Emperor Aurelian defeated Queen Zenobia and captured her desert stronghold in 272.

Something of the old glory of Sabaʾ and Dhū Raydān was regained by Shammar (or Shāmir) Yuharʿish, who signified his triumphs about the end of the 3rd century by adding the names of Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat to his royal title. His reign was followed by a relapse into weakness, during which Nadjrān on the northern border was besieged by the Lakhmid Marʾ (= Imruʾ) al-Ḳays, extravagantly described as "King of all the Arabs" in the oldest North Arabic inscription known (al-Namāra 328). Later Kings of Sabaʾ made their title even longer by appending "and of their Arabs in the mountains and the lowlands".

One of the most obscure periods in Arabian history fell in the 4th and 5th centuries. The decline and impoverishment of the Roman Empire affected the Peninsula, where urban civilisation waned and the simpler ways of nomadism attracted more adherents. Christianity with its promise of a better life in the hereafter made headway in Arabia as elsewhere. The Arabs proved particularly susceptible to the doctrines of Nestorianism, coming from Mesopotamia, and Monophysitism, coming from Egypt and Abyssinia. The Abyssinians occupied the Yaman for a brief period in the 4th century, with ʿĒzānā, the first Christian King of Aksum, proclaiming himself ruler of Ḥimyar, Raydān, Sabaʾ, etc. Shāpūr II (regn. 310-79), called Dhū 'l-Aktāf by the Arabs, subjugated Eastern Arabia; the Sāsānid yoke was later removed, only to be reimposed shortly before the dawn of Islam. Judaism also made a successful appeal in Arabia, among its reputed converts being the King of Sabaʾ in the early 5th century, Abkarib Asʿad, known to Arab tradition as Tubbaʿ Asʿad Kāmil, and one of its centres being the oasis of Yathrib (later Medina).

Both the Sāsānids and the Byzantine successors of Rome found it necessary to protect their territories from the unruly folk of Arabia by relying on buffer states ruled by Arab princes, the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] standing guard on the edge of Mesopotamia and the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] shielding Syria. The two client states, like their suzerains, often came into conflict. In the first half of the 6th century al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, the greatest of the Ghassānids, proved stronger than al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, the most famous of the Lakhmids. In the late 5th century the chief of the Southern Arab tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*], Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār, assumed the leadership of a confederacy of tribes in Central Arabia, but this loosely knit Kingdom of Kinda lasted only about half a century before it was overthrown by al-Mundhir the Lakhmid.

In the 6th century Southern Arabia lay open to

attack by the Christian Kings of Aksum and the Sāsānid Khusraw I Anūshirwān (regn. A. D. 531-79). Persecution of the Christians of Nadjrān by the Judaising Arab Dhū Nuwās [q.v.] led to a new Abyssinian occupation of the Yaman c. 521. The Abyssinian Abraha [q.v.] as ruler of the Yaman carried out the last repair of the dam of Mārib before its final abandonment, marched into the heart of Nadjd on a campaign against the Arabs of Maʿadd, clients of the Lakhmids, and, according to Islamic tradition, undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Mecca in the Year of the Elephant (c. 570). Under Khusraw the Persians evicted the Abyssinians, and the Yaman was Persian territory at the rise of Islam.

Mecca, a town of some antiquity on the main route paralleling the Red Sea, achieved greater prominence and prosperity in the late 6th century, aided by foreign domination of the Yaman and chaotic conditions along the northern routes resulting from the long drawn out wars between Persia and Byzantium. The Meccan merchants of Ḳuraysh showed astuteness and industry in profiting from their participation in international trade.

The last centuries of this period gave birth to the form of Arabic now called classical, the dialectal sources and the exact process of the development of which remain uncertain. Used by the poets of the *djāhiliyya*, many of whom were Bedouins and some Christians or Jews by faith, this language became the instrument of expression for the supreme masterpiece of Islam, the Ḳurʾān, and the great works of Arabic literature in succeeding ages (see ʿARABIYYA).

2. — *Islamic Middle Ages*

Muḥammad and the Rise of Islam (A. D. c. 570-632). — About A. D. 570 Muḥammad [q.v.] b. ʿAbd Allāh of Ḳuraysh was born in Mecca, then a principal centre of pagan worship. Only traditional accounts survive of Muḥammad's early years, during which he became well acquainted with the tribal structure of both urban and nomadic life and saw something of the world outside Arabia while accompanying merchant caravans to Syria. About 610 he received his first revelation; two or three years later he began preaching in public, after which the nature of Islam was elaborated upon in a series of revelations during the rest of his career as God's Messenger and Prophet.

The men in authority in Mecca did not welcome Muḥammad's message. A small body of Muslims went into exile in Christian Abyssinia; later the whole Muslim community migrated northwards from Mecca to Yathrib, an event taken afterwards as having marked the beginning of the Islamic era (A. H. 1/A. D. 622). During the ten years Muḥammad maintained his capital at Medina, he erected a state guided in all its functions by the precepts of Islam. Two revolutionary concepts emerged which transformed the face of Arabia. The Ḳurʾān, as emphasised by the divine revelations of which it consisted, was Arabic, a standard under which all Arabs could unite. Arabia had never before known an entity larger than relatively petty states or independent tribes and tribal confederations, usually at loggerheads with each other if not openly at war. At the same time, the Ḳurʾān and Islam were not limited to the Arabs: the Ḳurʾān is a revelation to all men, and under Islam the noblest man is the most Godfearing, not the one of highest lineage. This universal appeal opened the way for Islam to go far beyond the borders of Arabia.

Muḥammad's efforts during the Medinan period were devoted in large measure to settling affairs with Mecca, which was finally incorporated in the Islamic state in 8/630. Before this a fair number of tribes had been won over to Islam, but the great flood of applications to join Islam from tribes all over the Peninsula did not come until 9/630-1, the Year of the Delegations. Muḥammad died in 11/632, before there had been time to anchor the Ḳurʾānic religion in the hearts of all who had taken the name of Muslim. Neither had there been time to carry Islam abroad, though a halting attempt had been made in that direction, and the moment was indeed ripe for shattering the fragile shells of Byzantine and Sāsānid defences in the Fertile Crescent.

The First Three Caliphs (11-35/632-56). — Soon after Abū Bakr (regn. 11-13/632-4) succeeded Muḥammad as head of the Islamic state, many tribes reasserted their independence, with prophets in several cases preaching doctrines contrary to Islam. Abū Bakr reacted vigorously, dispatching Muslim columns to Central Arabia, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, and the Yaman. When Ḥaḍramawt, which held out the longest, was subdued, the Arabian Peninsula for the first and last time in history was effectively united throughout its length and breadth.

The other great achievement of Abū Bakr's brief rule was the inauguration of the grand programme of Muslim conquests outside Arabia. After invading ʿIrāḳ Khālid b. al-Walīd marched across the Syrian Desert in 13/634 to participate in a victory over the Byzantines.

The conquests started by Abū Bakr were carried forward with verve during the rule of ʿUmar (13-23/634-44). ʿIrāḳ was taken from the Sāsānids, and Arabs from both the Northern and the Southern tribes peopled the newly founded military settlements of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. After a decisive victory over the Byzantines at al-Yarmūk and the capture of Jerusalem, ʿUmar came to visit this holy city, the first journey of a Caliph beyond the confines of Arabia. Islam next advanced into Egypt, the occupation of which brought about stronger economic and cultural ties with Western Arabia. Although ʿUmar is reputed to have ordered the expulsion of all Christians and Jews from the Peninsula, numbers of them lived on there for a long time to come.

In the days of ʿUthmān (regn. 23-35/644-56) of the House of Umayya, wealth and luxury abounded in Medina and Mecca, into which poured booty from the lands recently subdued. ʿUthmān had no ear for the voice of Abū Dharr decrying the decay of the stern and frugal virtues of earlier Islam. Even more dangerous to the future of Arabia and Islam was the rift developing between the most powerful figures in the state, which led to the murder of ʿUthmān in Medina.

The Struggle over the Caliphate (35-73/656-692). — The rift in high circles widened into a chasm when ʿAlī, Muḥammad's son-in-law and cousin, came to the fore as Caliph on the death of ʿUthmān. Muḥammad's wife ʿĀʾisha and his Companions al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa rose in opposition to ʿAlī, who left Medina to march against them in 36/656. In the Battle of the Camel ʿAlī overthrew his rivals and won ʿIrāḳ, only to find himself faced with a more formidable adversary in ʿUthmān's Umayyad kinsman Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria. When ʿAlī fixed his capital at al-Kūfa in order to marshal strength against Muʿāwiya, Medina lost

the preeminence it had held since the Prophet's migration.

ʿAlī's tactics against Muʿāwiya so exacerbated the extremists among his own followers that they turned against him as the Khawāridj. Despite the crushing victory ʿAlī gained over these seceders at al-Nahrawān in 38/659, their party survived, Arabia long providing a fertile field for its propaganda. Muʿāwiya was proclaimed rival Caliph in Jesuralem, and his forces clashed with ʿAlī's in Western Arabia from Medina to Nadjrān and the Yaman. When a Khāridjī assassinated ʿAlī in 40/661, the ʿAlids set up his son al-Ḥasan as Caliph in al-Kūfa, but he soon renounced his claims in favor of Muʿāwiya, who thus temporarily reunited the community of Islam.

For the rest of Muʿāwiya's life no serious rising took place against the new Syrian Caliphate, but resentment was stirred up by his advocacy of hereditary succession. After the accession of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (regn. 60-4/680-3), ʿAlī's second son al-Ḥusayn left Mecca to rally support in ʿIrāḳ, only to fall a martyr at Karbalāʾ in 61/680. His death cleared the field for a stronger candidate, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the foremost representative of the sons of the Prophet's Companions. Yazīd's army defeated the rebellious Medinans in the battle of Ḥarrat Wāḳim and laid siege to Mecca, Ibn al-Zubayr's stronghold, where the Kaʿba caught fire, but Yazīd's death brought a pause in the hostilities. Ibn al-Zubayr won recognition as Caliph in nearly every quarter of Islam; in fact, had he proceeded to Syria immediately, he might well have destroyed the Umayyad power forever. While Ibn al-Zubayr lingered on in Mecca, ʿAbd al-Malik (regn. 65-86/685-705) of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads gradually regained ground outside Arabia. The Khawāridj, who had at first leagued themselves with Ibn al-Zubayr, turned against him, the Khāridjī Nadjda b. ʿĀmir of Banū Ḥanīfa making himself master of much of Arabia, only to be overthrown by another Khāridjī, Abū Fudayk. ʿAbd al-Malik gave al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf command of an army which captured Mecca in 73/692 after a long siege. Ibn al-Zubayr fell in the struggle, leaving the Holy Land of Islam in the hands of the Umayyads. Another Umayyad army marched to Eastern Arabia and put an end to Abū Fudayk.

Arabia under the Umayyads (73-132/692-750). — The Umayyads of Syria regularly appointed governors for Medina and Mecca, and exercised a measure of control, often shadowy, over other parts of Arabia. Powerful Umayyad governors of al-Baṣra such as al-Ḥadjdjādj and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab made their word law in the Persian Gulf and along its Arabian shore.

The Umayyad Caliphs honoured the sanctity of the Holy Cities in Arabia and lavished large sums on their shrines, even while favouring at times the claim of Jerusalem, which was easier of access, to an equal or higher rank. During much of this period Western Arabia was at peace, enjoying a prosperity such as it was not to know among the dissensions of later ages. The Umayyads developed the irrigation system, and many personages of Islam lived in their days of retirement on estates near Medina, Mecca, or al-Ṭāʾif. The Holy Cities became renowned not only for Islamic learning but also for indulgent living, poetry, and singing.

The intense rivalry in Umayyad politics between the Northern Arabs and the Southern Arabs had its repercussions in Arabia, where Kalb, the principal tribe among the Southerners, owned land in Wādī al-Ḳurā near Medina.

Towards the end of the Umayyad period an alliance of Khawāridj was formed under the leadership of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ of Kinda and Abū Ḥamza of al-Azd. Abū Ḥamza took Mecca, won a victory at Ḳudayd in 130/747, and then entered Medina, while Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ supported him from their base in Ḥaḍramawt and the Yaman. Despite the waning might of the Umayyads, Marwān II summoned sufficient strength to overcome these Khāridjī chiefs, but only after they had contributed to his final undoing. Mecca was also used by the ʿAbbāsids as a centre for their plot aiming at the supersession of the Syrian Caliphs.

Arabia under the Early ʿAbbāsids (132-266/750-879). — The ʿAbbāsid transfer of the Caliphate to ʿIrāḳ enhanced the importance of the Persian Gulf as a seaway for trade reaching out to China and East Africa. Wares bound to and from the ʿAbbāsid capital passed through al-Baṣra, while in the Gulf itself Sīrāf on the Persian side in the 3rd/9th century became the busiest port.

ʿAbbāsid authority in Arabia kept its strength for not much over a century, during which time governors were sent to the Holy cities and the Yaman, and on occasion to the central and eastern regions. The earlier Caliphs, notably al-Mahdī and Hārūn, and their wives, notably Zubayda, were diligent in making the pilgrimage and encouraging their subjects to do so by improving communications and the amenities of the route.

A sect of the Khawāridj known as the Ibāḍiyya set up its own Imamate in ʿUmān under al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd of al-Azd, but an ʿAbbāsid expedition under Khāzim b. Khuzayma defeated and killed al-Djulandā in 134/752. Soon afterwards this Imamate was revived to endure with few interruptions for the next four centuries. ʿUmān, however, was an out of the way region, and the Khawāridj on the whole gave the ʿAbbāsids little trouble. [Cf. ʿUMĀN.]

Taking the place of the Khawāridj as a thorn in the Caliphs' flesh were the ʿAlids [*q.v.*], both Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids. Through skilful propaganda the ʿAbbāsids in their campaign against the Umayyads had forestalled the ʿAlids and usurped the leadership they regarded as rightfully theirs. For this the ʿAlids never forgave them, and one after another they contested the ʿAbbāsid title to rule. Even though the ʿAbbāsids themselves came from a Meccan ancestor close to the Prophet, the ʿAlids almost invariably found ready followers in Arabia; in the Holy Cities their rallying cry inspired the hope of regaining the place lost to Damascus and Baghdad.

The first ʿAlid pretender in Arabia was the Ḥasanid Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who appeared as the Mahdī in Medina and had his claim to the Caliphate certified by no less a scholar than Mālik b. Anas, but all to no avail when he fell in 145/762 before the troops of al-Manṣūr.

A major split took place among the ʿAlids following the death of their sixth Imam, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, c. 148/765. The main body, giving loyalty to Djaʿfar's son Mūsā al-Kāẓim and five of his descendants, came to be known as the Twelvers. Others, the Seveners, advocated the cause of Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar and his son Muḥammad, for which they worked, often in secret, in the movement of Ismāʿīlism. As time went by the Ismāʿīlīs in particular tended to attract to their side the discontented and oppressed elements of society, enemies of the ruling classes.

Another Ḥasanid pretender, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, met a martyr's death fighting against an ʿAbbāsid army at Fakhkh near Mecca in 169/786. The ʿAlid cause, however, made progress in the Yaman, where it received the support of the great jurist al-Shāfiʿī, who finally won a pardon after being delivered as a prisoner to Hārūn's presence.

The end of the 2nd century H. saw a new upsurge of ʿAlid strength in Western Arabia: in Mecca the Ḥusaynid al-Ḥusayn al-Afṭas put forward Muḥammad al-Dībādj, a son of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, while the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. Sulaymān established himself in Medina. These pretenders did not hold their ground against the ʿAbbāsids, but greater success was achieved by Ibrāhīm al-Djazzār, a grandson of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in the Yaman. Yielding to the tide of pro-ʿAlid sentiment, the Abbāsid Caliph al-Maʾmūn designated ʿAlī al-Riḍā, the eighth Imam of the Twelvers, as his heir apparent and substituted ʿAlid green for ʿAbbāsid black as the royal colour, but this change evaporated with ʿAlī's death in 203/818.

To cope with the ʿAlid threat in the Yaman, al-Maʾmūn appointed as his governor there one Muḥammad, who claimed descent from Muʿāwiya's lieutenant Ziyād b. Abīh. Refounding the city of Zabīd in 204/820 and carving out a domain for himself, Muḥammad established the dynasty of the Ziyādids [*q.v.*], which, while according nominal allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids, was actually the first of the numerous independent dynasties to spring up in Arabia as the Caliphate disintegrated.

Although not a strong Caliph, al-Wāthiḳ (regn. 227-232/842-847) executed a vigorous policy in Arabia. When Bedouins of Sulaym made the region around the Holy Cities unsafe with their depredations, al-Wāthiḳ dispatched the Turkish general Bughā the Elder to bring the culprits to heel. For the next two years Bughā campaigned against other tribes, climaxing his operations in 232/847 with a hard won victory over Numayr at Baṭn al-Sirr deep in the interior, after which a man of Udākh in Nadjd was appointed governor of al-Yamāma, Eastern Arabia, and the pilgrim route to Mecca.

Following the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the career of the ʿAbbāsids both at home and in Arabia took a turn for the worse. The dynasty of the Yaʿfurids [*q.v.*], claiming descent from the ancient Tubbaʿs of Ḥimyar, arose in the highlands of the Yaman with Ṣanʿāʾ as capital. Ḥaḍramawt secured its independence, and local rulers set themselves up in the east, where ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—either a genuine Ḥusaynid, as he gave himself out to be, or a member of ʿAbd al-Ḳays—began an agitation among the nomadic tribes. Another Ḥasanid revolt in Mecca, inaugurated by Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Ukhayḍir, led to the establishment under Ismāʿīl's brother Muḥammad of a new state in al-Yamāma, where these Ukhayḍirids maintained themselves until submerged by the onrush of Ḳarmaṭianism.

Another blow was dealt the ʿAbbāsid empire by the recalcitrant governor of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who by occupying Syria broke down the control once exercised over the tribes of the Syrian Desert. The most direct menace to the empire, however, came from the agitator in Eastern Arabia, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who transferred his activities to Southern ʿIrāḳ, where he stirred up the Zandj, the negro slaves laboring in the salt marshes, in a massive insurrection (255-70/863-83) extending as far as the Holy Cities.

Ismāʿīlīs and Ḳarmaṭians in Arabia (266-567/879-1171). — At this juncture in ʿAbbāsid affairs the rapidly spreading movement of Ismāʿīlism (see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA) took full advantage of its opportunities. Ismāʿīlī missionaries carried out a well laid plan of penetration, with the Persian Gulf coast and the Yaman as the principal foci for their activity in Arabia. As these two parts of Arabia remained relatively isolated from each other, the connexion between later developments in them was slight.

Ismāʿīlism was first introduced into the Yaman by Ibn Ḥawshab (Manṣūr al-Yaman) and ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl in 266/879-80. Collaborating closely, these two won many followers, and ʿAlī occupied both Ṣanʿāʾ and Zabīd for brief periods. The Ziyādids and the Yaʿfurids fought the Ismāʿīlīs, and a new opponent arose against them in 280/893 with the arrival in the Yaman of the first Zaydī Imam, al-Hādī Yaḥyā, a grandson of the Ḥasanid al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī (d. 246/860), who had fashioned legal foundations for a Zaydī government closer to Sunnism than to the extreme Shīʿism of the Ismāʿīlīs. The two Ismāʿīlī leaders eventually fell out, and by 303/915 both were dead, but their doctrines did not die with them.

Ismāʿīlism appeared c. 286/899 in Eastern Arabia, where under Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan al-Djannābī and his son Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān a strong state was organised. The name Ḳarmaṭian, the origin and meaning of which are still in doubt, remains the popular designation for this particular aspect of Ismāʿīlism, though its application is not restricted to this region. The ʿAbbāsids were too feeble to prevent these Ḳarmaṭians from sacking al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, and in 317/930 they entered Mecca and carried off the Black Stone to their new capital al-Aḥsāʾ (al-Ḥasā). With the conquest of ʿUmān soon thereafter the Ḳarmaṭians held the greater part of Arabia. These disturbances prompted the Ḥusaynid Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, the most famous ancestor of the *sayyids* of Southern Arabia, to leave al-Baṣra on a migration ending in Ḥaḍramawt, where Ibāḍīs from ʿUmān then held the upper hand.

New threats to the ʿAbbāsids came from the Būyids of Iran and the Ikhshīdids of Egypt, who reached out at times to Mecca, though neither got a lasting foothold there. The Būyids, who by taking Baghdād in 334/945 assumed *de facto* authority over the ʿAbbāsid realm, also brought ʿUmān within their sphere.

Abū Ṭāhir died in 332/944, and the Ḳarmaṭians at the behest of the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids of North Africa restored the Black Stone to Mecca in 339/950-1. Under al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam, a nephew of Abū Ṭāhir, the Ḳarmaṭians joined the Fāṭimids in a pincer movement on Syria and Egypt, the former exerting pressure from the east as the latter advanced from the west. However, after the Fāṭimids occupied Egypt in 358/969, the Ḳarmaṭians broke with them and sided with the Būyids in resisting their designs on Syria. Damascus was captured by al-Ḥasan in 360/971, but he was repulsed on two expeditions against Egypt before reaching the newly founded Fāṭimid city of Cairo.

Following the death of al-Ḥasan, the Ḳarmaṭian government was placed in the hands of a Council of six *sayyids*. The Fāṭimids won a military victory over the Ḳarmaṭians, but had to pay a large sum to induce them to return to al-Aḥsāʾ. The Ḳarmaṭians lost ʿUmān in 375/985-6, were checked by the Būyids in ʿIrāḳ and defeated in their own territory by a chief of al-Muntafiḳ, who plundered al-Ḳaṭīf. [Cf. also ḲARMAṬIANS.]

About the mid-4th/10th century the Sharīfate of Mecca [for which see MAKKA], destined to last a thousand years, was established by a family of Ḥasanids known as the Mūsāwids. The most prominent member of this family was Abū al-Futūḥ al-Ḥasan, who in 402/1011-2 tried to make himself Caliph, only to be thwarted by the Fāṭimids, liege lords of the *sharīfs*. Contemporary with the early Mūsāwids were Ḥusaynids descended from al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar, a younger brother of the fifth Shīʿite Imam, who began ruling as *amīrs* of Medina. This line, which lasted until the 9th/15th century, came later to be known as the House of Muhannā.

An offshoot of Ismāʿīlism was the Druze movement, which had its origins during the reign of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim. The Druze al-Muḳtanā sent a letter to the Ḳarmaṭian *sayyids* of Eastern Arabia, proposing that they combine forces on the basis that they shared a common doctrine, but nothing concrete came of this.

Early in the 5th/11th century the Maʿnids [*q.v.*] came to power in Aden and Ḥaḍramawt, and the Ziyādids in the Yaman gave way before the Nadjāḥids [*q.v.*], originally their own Abyssinian slaves. Ismāʿīlism in the Yaman enjoyed a revival under the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*], rulers sprung from the tribe of Yām who held Ṣanʿāʾ as nominal vassals of the Fāṭimids, while the Zaydī Imams kept their base at Ṣaʿda.

In 443/1051 Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Aḥsāʾ, where he found the Council of Six still in control. The details of his eyewitness account of the Ḳarmaṭian state in its later days are unfortunately not supported by corroborating testimony.

The Shīʿism of the Būyids, Ḳarmaṭians, and Fāṭimids aroused a Sunnite reaction championed by the Saldjūḳ Turks, whose leader Ṭughril took Baghdad in 447/1055. A Saldjūḳ of Kirmān, Ḳāwurd Ḳarā Arslān, brought ʿUmān under his sway. About this time Sīrāf was yielding its place as the chief port of the Persian Gulf to the island of Ḳays, the rulers of which made themselves also lords of ʿUmān, where in the mid-5th/11th century a break came in the line of Ibāḍī Imams. For the next three and a half centuries records survive of only one Imam.

The Ṣulayhids of the Yaman seized Aden from the Maʿnids and also expanded northwards, the authority of the Mūsāwid *sharīfs* over Mecca having faded away. In 455/1063 the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad installed an agnate branch of *sharīfs*, the Hāshimids, in Mecca. Under Malik Shāh in Baghdād the Saldjūḳs reached the zenith of their power, and thanks to him the shadowy ʿAbbāsid of the day had lipservice paid to him in the Holy Cities as the Caliph of Islam. Malik Shāh and his minister Niẓām al-Mulk concerned themselves with the affairs of the pilgrimage, spending freely to put them to rights.

About 470/1077-8 the Ḳarmaṭians of al-Aḥsāʾ met their final defeat at the hands of a native dynasty, the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*] of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays. There is no trace of Ḳarmaṭianism left today among the Arabian people. The Shīʿites of al-Ḳaṭīf and modern al-Ḥasā, sometimes described as the remnants of the Ḳarmaṭians, are in fact orthodox Djaʿfarīs of the Twelver persuasion or Shaykhīs.

In 461/1068-9 Aden was granted as a dowry to a remarkable woman of the Ṣulayḥid house, Sayyida bint Aḥmad, upon her marriage to al-Mukarram Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī, and soon afterwards the government of the town was transferred from the Maʿnids to the Zurayʿids [*q.v.*], who like the Ṣulayḥids were Ismāʿīlīs of the stock of Yām. The Zurayʿids ruled Aden for nearly a century, gradually acquiring a larger measure of independence. Under Sayyida, into whose hands al-Mukarram placed the authority of the state so that she was recognized by the Fāṭimid Imam as Suzerain of the Kings of the Yaman, the Ṣulayḥids enjoyed their last days of real dominion. Her death in 532/1137-8 marked the effective end of the dynasty, the succeeding representatives of which were a feckless lot.

Upon the death of the Fāṭimid Imam of Egypt al-Mustanṣir in 487/1094, two parties arose among the Ismāʿīlīs which have persisted to the present day. From the party supporting al-Mustanṣir's eldest son Nizār descended the Ismāʿīlī Assassins of Alamūt and the Khōdjas, the head of many of whom is now the Āghā Khān. The party favoring al-Mustanṣir's youngest son al-Mustaʿlī Aḥmad, allied with the Ṣulayḥids through Queen Sayyida, was strong in the Yaman.

The rule of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, one of the greatest of the earlier Zaydī Imams, ran from 532 to 566/1137-71, during which time he held Ṣaʿda, Nadjrān, and al-Djawf, occupied Ṣanʿāʾ and Zabīd, and made his influence felt as far north as Khaybar and Yanbuʿ.

Like the Ṣulayḥids, the Nadjāḥids also produced a queen to rule during the dynasty's declining years, ʿAlam, originally a slave girl, whose death in 545/1150-1 was followed about a decade later by the ephemeral sway of the Mahdids [*q.v.*], who called themselves Ḥimyarites and were accused of being Khawāridj.

The Fāṭimids of Egypt succumbed to the Ayyūbids in 567/1171, and a plot to restore them was nipped in the bud in 569/1174 by Saladin, who executed the poet and historian ʿUmāra b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakamī of the Yaman. The center of the Mustaʿlian party was transferred from Egypt to the Yaman, where it stayed until the 10th/16th century, when it shifted to India, after which a split divided the party into the Dāʾūdīs of India and the Sulaymānīs of Southern Arabia [see BOHORĀ]. Extensive secular dominion in Arabia eluded the grasp of the Ismāʿīlīs until the reign of the Sulaymānī Makramids [*q.v.*] of Nadjrān in the 12th/18th century.

Arabia in the Later Middle Ages (567-end of 9th Century/1171-end of 15th Century). — The advent of the Ayyūbids meant the triumph of Sunnism over Shīʿism in Arabia as well as in Egypt. Saladin, recognized as sovereign in Mecca, sent his brother Tūrān Shāh to depose the third and last Mahdid and occupy the Yaman in 569/1173. During the half century or so of Ayyūbid rule there members of collateral branches of the dynasty sat on this southern throne. Ḥaḍramawt was conquered, but did not become an integral part of the Ayyūbid domains. Closer home the Ayyūbids had their hands full with the Crusaders from the West, one of the boldest of whom, Renaud de Châtillon, raided Taymāʾ, sent his men cruising against the Muslims in the Red Sea, and even thought of attacking Medina.

About 598/1200 the Ḥasanid Ḳatāda b. Idrīs moved from Yanbuʿ to Mecca, where he founded the dynasty of all the later *sharīfs*. Endeavoring to build a strong independent state in al-Ḥidjāz, he found the rivalries of the day too great to overcome. Ḳatāda died in 617/1220-1, and soon afterwards al-Malik al-Masʿūd Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbid in the Yaman, took Mecca and appointed the founder of the Rasūlids, who claimed descent from the Ghassānids, his governor there.

On the other side of the Peninsula the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, Abū Bakr b. Saʿd, the patron of the poet Saʿdī of Shīrāz, annexed islands in the Persian Gulf and set foot on the mainland at al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Ḥasā. The local dynasty of the ʿUyūnids gave way before the Salghurid pressure and that of the tribe of ʿĀmir of ʿUḳayl, which supplied a new dynasty in the ʿUṣfūrids [*q.v.*].

Succeeding the Ayyūbids, the Rasūlids [*q.v.*] reigned in Taʿizz and Zabīd from 625 to 850/1228-1446 as the most illustrious house in mediaeval Yaman. Islamic architecture reached one of its higher points, and scholars received the stimulus of royal approbation, some of the Rasūlid Sultans themselves being authors of note. Embassies came to the court from China and other distant lands. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī (regn. 626-47/1229-50) ruled from Mecca to Ḥaḍramawt, and after Hūlāgū executed the last ʿAbbāsid in Baghdad in 656/1258 ʿUmar's son Yūsuf styled himself Caliph of Islam, but full enjoyment of such rank lay beyond the capabilities of the Rasūlid state.

Baybars, the first great Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, assumed nominal overlordship of the Holy Cities, leaving Meccan affairs in charge of the *sharīf* Abū Numayy I Muḥammad (regn. 652-701/1254-1301), who strengthened the foundations of Ḳatādan rule. Bedouins of Āl Mirā and other tribes roamed through the Syrian Desert, exacting large fees from pilgrim caravans and penetrating into Nadjd on their raids. In Damascus the religious reformer Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) laid the theological basis for the Wahhābī movement of the 12th/18th century.

About the beginning of the 8th/14th century the port of Hormuz on the Persian mainland at the entrance to the Persian Gulf was moved to a nearby island, after which it grew apace and in time surpassed its rival the island of Ḳays in attracting to its warehouses the merchandise of the East.

Political disturbances in Mecca during the reign of the *sharīf* ʿAdjlān b. Rumaytha (746-77/1345-75) provoked interference by the Mamlūks of Egypt, who took the Rasūlid Sultan of the Yaman prisoner in a battle at ʿArafa in 751/1351. Rasūlid fortunes were temporarily recouped by Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl (regn. 803-27/1400-24), who held the Red Sea coast as far north as Ḥaly, but after his death the state swiftly disintegrated. The later Rasūlids carried on a lively competition with merchants in Egypt for Indian trade via the Red Sea.

In the early years of the 9th/15th century the Ibāḍī community of ʿUmān returned to its old practice of electing Imams, who succeeded one another in a series lasting over 150 years. About the same time the House of Kathīr under ʿAlī b. ʿUmar set out on its long course through the tortured politics of Ḥaḍramawt and Ẓufār, while Ḥaḍramī missionaries carried the gospel of Islam into Somaliland.

In the mid-9th/15th century Māniʿ b. Rabīʿa al-Muraydī, the ancestor of Āl Saʿūd, migrated from the vicinity of al-Ḳaṭīf to Nadjd, where he settled in Wādī Ḥanīfa. In the latter half of the century Adjwad Āl Zāmil of the Djabrid branch of the ʿUṣfūrids ruled as lord of al-Ḳaṭīf and Baḥrayn, making his name a byword for generosity in Eastern Arabia. Mecca prospered under the *sharīf* Muḥammad b. Barakāt and the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳāʾitbāy, who erected many buildings there, while the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in Zabīd and Aden supplanted the Rasūlids in the south.

3. — *The Making of Modern Arabia (from the 10th/16th century to the present).*

In the late 9th/15th century Portuguese explorers made their way from the Mediterranean down the Red Sea, and in 903/1498 Vasco da Gama, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, was guided to India by an Arab pilot, probably the Nadjdī Aḥmad b. Mādjid. Portuguese vessels soon appeared in the Red Sea, and under Afonso de Albuquerque the invaders seized Arabian ports on the Gulf of ʿUmān and the great mart of Hormuz. Pedro, Afonso's nephew, toured the Persian Gulf in 920/1514, but Afonso died the following year without having achieved his ambitions of reducing Aden and launching an expedition against Mecca.

About 912/1506-7 a new line of Zaydī Imāms was inaugurated by Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā, and from then onwards the Zaydīs tended to fix their capital, if possible, at Ṣanʿāʾ. Coffee appears to have been introduced into the Yaman from Abyssinia about this time, and the use of *ḳāt* and tobacco spread among the people.

Badr Abū Ṭuwayriḳ of Āl Kathīr (regn. 922-76/1516-68), whose authority in his palmier days reached from the land of al-ʿAwāliḳ through Ḥaḍramawt to Sayḥūt, did not hesitate to offer fealty to the Ottoman Sultan. Before Badr died he lost all his territories and suffered long imprisonment at the hands of his Ḥaḍramī enemies.

Salīm I, the Ottoman conqueror of Egypt in 923/1517, assumed the high title of Servant of the Holy Cities, and the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) fenced other regions within the empire. The Portuguese in alliance with the King of Hormuz attacked Baḥrayn, where Muḳrin, the uncle and successor of Adjwad the Djabrid, lost his life defending the island in 927/1521. Reacting to the aggressive policy of the Portuguese, the Turks bestirred themselves in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Sulaymān at Baghdād in 941/1534 received the homage of the Arab chiefs of al-Ḳaṭīf and Baḥrayn, and later his troops pressed up into the mountains of the Yaman. Aden and Muscat were occupied briefly, and an Ottoman governor was installed in al-Ḥasā.

For a period of some sixty years after c. 968/1560 there were no Ibāḍī Imams in ʿUmān, where the secular Nabhānid [*q.v.*] princes in their mountain fastnesses reached the climax of their power.

The slow receding of the Ottoman tide from the highwater mark reached under Sulaymān was observable in Arabia as elsewhere. The diversion of trade from the overland routes to the sea route round Africa contributed to the serious economic depression which beset the Near East during the early modern age. Besides the Austrians and other foes in Europe, the Turks had to face the Ṣafawids, the strongest of whom, Shāh ʿAbbās I, pursued an expansionist policy in the Persian Gulf, where he subjected Baḥrayn in 1011/1602. In the Yaman the Zaydī Imams kept alive resistance to the Turks, and al-Muʾayyad Muḥammad succeeded in expelling them completely in 1045/1635.

The formation of the East India Company in 1009/1600 was the prelude to a burst of activity by English traders in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Allying themselves with the Persians, the newcomers drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz in 1031/1622. Once the Portuguese monopoly had been broken, the English found themselves involved in competition with the Dutch, who secured commercial

preeminence during the second half of the 11th/17th century.

After the election of Nāṣir b. Murshid of the Yaʿrubids of al-Azd c. 1034/1624 as Ibāḍī Imām, this Imāmate remained in his family for more than a century. The Yaʿrubids in their early days drove the Portuguese out of Muscat and all other *pieds-à-terre*, and in their later days extended their authority overseas to Mombasa, Pemba, and Kilwa in East Africa.

Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the third and last Pasha of the House of Afrāsiyāb, under whom al-Baṣra in the early 11th/17th century had become virtually independent of Ottoman rule, incited Āl Ḥumayd of the tribe of Banū Khālid to overthrow the Ottoman governor of al-Ḥasā in 1074/1663-4. These Bedouin chiefs kept the oases and grazing grounds of Eastern Arabia subject to their will until the Wahhābīs advanced to the Persian Gulf in the early 13th century H.

In Ḥaḍramawt the Zaydīs of the Yaman encouraged the spread of their version of Islam at the expense of Shāfiʿism. About 1070/1660 Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, a nephew of the reigning Zaydī Imam, led into the main valley of Ḥaḍramawt a terrifying force known as the Night Flood (*sayl al-layl*) which undermined the position of the House of Kathīr, but Zaydism failed to secure a permanent triumph over Shāfiʿism in this region.

In the 12th/18th century a new era began in Arabia with the spread of the reforming movement inspired by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Nadjd. In a sense this also marked the beginning of the modern history of the whole Near East. Placing the unity of God above all else and demanding that the popular faith be cleansed of innovations, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's call reverberated throughout the Islamic world from West Africa to the East Indies and moved the spirits of the modernists of the Salafiyya in Muslim countries closer than Arabia to the encroaching lands of the West. As an Arab movement opposed to the remote and vitiated rule of the Ottomans, Wahhābism [*q.v.*] influenced the nationalistic tendencies developing among the Arabs in the 19th and 20th centuries. Within Arabia political unity supplanted petty particularism, and orderly Islamic government functioned as it seldom had before.

Soon after first preaching in public in 1153/1741, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb concluded a basic alliance with Muḥammad b. Saʿūd, ruler of the insignificant town of al-Dirʿiyya. When Muḥammad died, his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz carried on, and by 1202/1788 all Nadjd had accepted the doctrines and sway of the reformers, who had withstood three expeditions directed against them by the Ismāʿīlī Makramids of Nadjrān, then a power in their corner of Arabia. [Cf. also SAʿŪDIDS.]

In 1156/1743 the Yaʿrubid line of Imams died out in ʿUmān while the Persians were trying to establish themselves there. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd of Āl Bū Saʿīd expelled the invaders from the Bāṭina coast and won election as Imam. After Aḥmad's death the electors chose his son, but he proved such an obscure figure that even the date of his death is unknown. Later rulers of Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] made Muscat their capital and gave up the title of *imām*, calling themselves at first simply *sayyid* (though they claimed no descent from the Prophet) and afterwards *sulṭān*. The Persians also held suzerainty over Baḥrayn for about thirty years until the occupation of the islands by Āl Khalīfa in 1197/1783, since which date no part of Arabia has been subject to Persian dominion.

The rapidly expanding puritan state of Nadjd came into conflict with the *sharīf*s of Mecca in a war lasting fifteen years (1205-1220/1791-1806), with the Saʿūdīs occupying Mecca for the first time in 1218/1803. Shortly after the death of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1206/1792) Saʿūdī authority flowed eastwards to the Persian Gulf, along which it extended to ʿUmān. In the south the reformers reached the Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, while in the north their forces threatened to overrun Syria and Iraq. The Ottoman government, unable itself to dam the flood, turned in desperation to the new Viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī.

In the 13th/19th century foreign intervention in Arabia, both Muslim and Western, became more effective and extensive than ever before. Muḥammad ʿAlī annihilated the first Saʿūdī state when his army captured al-Dirʿiyya in 1233/1818. The British, at first welcoming and then fearing the advent of the Egyptians, carried out military actions against the Persian Gulf Arabs and in Inner ʿUmān and occupied Aden in 1254/1839, after which their influence gradually advanced along the southern and eastern coasts and penetrated into the hinterland.

Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, the most famous ruler of Āl Bū Saʿīd (regn. 1221-1273/1806-1856), wielded little or no authority in Inner ʿUmān, where he was hard pressed by the Saʿūdīs, to whom he often paid tribute. In the latter part of his reign he devoted most of his attention to his East African possessions, but five years after his death the British established Zanzibar as a Sultanate independent of Muscat. The only Ibāḍī Imam elected during the century, ʿAzzān b. Ḳays, failed to win recognition by the British and was overthrown in 1287/1871 after two years of rule. The Sultans who followed him depended upon British support for the maintenance of their position in Muscat in the face of the hostile Ibāḍī tribes of the interior.

During the century internecine warfare was common in Ḥaḍramawt, where much power rested in the hands of mercenaries imported from the mountains behind Aden, particularly of the tribe Yāfiʿ. In 1283/1867 the Ḳuʿayṭīs of this tribe occupied al-Shiḥr and fourteen years later acquired full possession of al-Mukallā.

Proving resilient in recovering from disastrous blows struck by Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces, the Saʿūdī state rebuilt its strength under Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh, who fixed his capital at al-Riyāḍ, and later his son Fayṣal, though al-Ḥidjāz was not occupied again. Civil war between Fayṣal's sons after his death in 1282/1865 caused another decline in Saʿūdī fortunes, facilitating the reimposition of Ottoman sovereignty over part of Eastern Arabia and the rise of Āl Rashīd [*q.v.*] of Ḥāʾil to dominance in Nadjd, where al-Riyāḍ itself was made subject. The Ottomans also reestablished themselves in the highlands of the Yaman with headquarters at Ṣanʿāʾ, but they failed to crush the resistance of the Zaydī Imams. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1286/1869, making communications between Istanbul and Djidda easier and faster, helped the Turks to exercise more control in al-Ḥidjāz.

Āl Saʿūd, thrice crushed to earth, rose once more under the leadership of Faysal's grandson ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who took al-Riyāḍ from its Rashīdī governor in 1319/1902. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fought for twenty years before finally overcoming Āl Rashīd in the north. In 1331/1913 he drove the Turks out of al-Ḥasā and then lent the British sympathetic support during the First World War. Although the Ḥidjāz Railway from Damascus to Medina had been inaugurated in

1326/1908, the Turks had to yield Mecca when *sharīf* al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, encouraged by the British, proclaimed the Arab Revolt in 1334/1916. The end of the war brought the end of Ottoman sovereignty in Arabia, the Zaydī Imam al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad becoming fully independent in the Yaman.

In 1331/1913 a new Ibāḍī Imam was elected in Inner ʿUmān in opposition to the Sultan of Muscat. Two years later the British intervened to forestall the capture of Muscat by the Imam's army. Through British mediation a treaty was concluded at al-Sīb in 1339/1920 providing that the people of ʿUmān and the Sultan's government should abstain from interference in each other's internal affairs, but in 1373-4/1954-5 the Sultan's forces, trained and led by British officers, occupied points not held before, hemming the Imamate in on all sides.

Although homage was paid to *sharīf* al-Ḥusayn as King of the Arabs and later as Caliph of Islam, successor of the Ottomans, he was defeated by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd when war broke out between the two. Following the conquest of al-Ḥidjāz, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz annexed the territories of the minor dynasties of Āl ʿĀʾiḍ and the Idrīsids in ʿAsīr and its Tihāma, received the title of King of Saudi Arabia in 1351/1932, and defeated Imam Yaḥyā of the Yaman in a brief war in 1353-4/1934, as a result of which Nadjrān was recognized as belonging to Saudi Arabia.

Killed in an abortive insurrection in 1367/1948, Imam Yaḥyā was succeeded by his son Aḥmad. Dying in 1373/1953, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was succeeded by his son Saʿūd. Thus passed from the scene two monarchs who did far more than simply bequeath their names to the realms they wrought and guided for half a century.

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ARABA. I. — The Turkish word *araba* (*arba*, *abra*), meaning "wagon" or "cart", is as old as the 14th cent. A.D., but it does not look like a pure Turkish word; neither does it have an obvious Arabic or Persian etymology. In Osmanli the usual spelling was *ʿaraba* with an *ʿayn*; and although Sāmī Frasheri in his *Ḳāmūs-i-Turkī* (Istanbul 1318), in an effort to prove the purely Turkish nature of the word, described this spelling as a "shocking solecism", it is in fact the more correct. The etymology of the word was correctly explained in the (18th cent.) *Sanglakh* of Mīrzā Mahdī Khān (folio 36 v. of the Gibb Memorial Trust MS.) in the following words: "*arāba*, which rhymes with *kharāba*, is a corruption (*muḥarraf*) of *ʿarrāda*, also called *ʿadjala*, in Arabic". *ʿArrāda* means "a ballista, a military siege weapon". Admittedly a ballista is not a wagon, but the word came to mean "a gun, a mobile gun, a carriage carrying a gun", from which the transition to "wagon, cart" was an easy one. The transitional stage is seen in the Emperor Babur's *Memoirs* (Gibb Memorial

Series, i, fol. 336 v., l. 7), where the phrase *ḍarbu-djanlïk arabalarï* ("culverin carts" in Beveridge's translation) occurs. There is at present no direct evidence of the date of the transition from *ʿarrāda* to *araba*, but the guess may be hazarded that the word was adopted as a technical term in the Mongol army during the invasion of Persia early in the 13th cent. and that the change took place there. It had certainly taken place before the 14th cent., since there is no trace of *ʿarrāda* in Turkish at that date and *araba* occurs in both the Italian and the German sections of the Codex Cumanicus (early 14th cent., with a late 13th cent. substratum); on the other hand there is no trace of either word in such 11th cent. authorities as Kāshgharī's *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* or the *Kutadhghu Bilig*. It is interesting to note that *araba*, in one form or another, occurs in practically every modern Turkish dialect, except apparently Yakut and Čuvash, which corroborates the general belief that these dialects had broken away from "common Turkish" before the 13th cent., and establishes the less generally accepted fact that the other peripheral dialects in Siberia, Chinese Turkestan and Europe had not yet broken away by that date. (G. L. M. CLAUSON)

II. — It appears that the plains and steppes of Central Asia, inhabited by the Turco-Mongols, were the centre where, about the beginning of the Christian era, a type of vehicle with two wheels and with shafts (carts), earlier developed in China, was furnished with a yoke of modern type relying on traction by the shoulders (A. G. Haudricourt and M. Jean-Brunhes Delamarre, *L'homme et la charrue*, Paris 1955, 173 ff.). From there the use of this vehicle spread in both directions, towards China and towards Europe. These carts play an important part in the history of the peoples of the Steppe, particularly in the period of the Mongol empire.

The word *ʿaraba* appears in the 8th/14th century in the *Codex Comanicus*, where it is glossed by *currus*, and in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The latter describes, in the Crimea, a vehicle called by the inhabitants *ʿaraba*, which had four wheels, carried a *yurt*, was pulled by two or more horses, by oxen or by camels, and controlled by a driver mounted on one of the animals. He travelled from Sarā to Khʷārizm on an *ʿaraba* pulled by camels (ii, 361-2; 385; 389, 451 etc.; iii, 1 ff.). This is therefore a different vehicle, at least in the first case, from those of Central Asia, and is of a type (waggon) which probably had a pole (with old-fashioned yoke; traction by the neck), invented in the Danube region of Europe or in the Ukraine in pre-historic era, and perpetuated among the Tatars of the same region under the same name (P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs* ..., Leipzig, 1799-1801, i, 144 s. and pl. 6). In the 14th century also, *ʿarabas* appeared in the Mamlūk Empire as a "Turkish custom" (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. M. Ziyāda, ii 1, Cairo 1941, 232, concerning an event in 721/1321). The word, in the form *ʾaraba* or *ʿaraba*, considered to be Ottoman by Ibn Iyās (*Die Chronik* ...., ed. P. Kahle, etc., v = *Bibl. Islamica*, v 5, Istanbul-Leipzig 1932, 131; trans. by W. H. Salmon, London 1921, 100 ff.), was introduced into Arabic and denoted wooden vehicles, on wheels, pulled by camels, horses, mules or oxen, used to transport people and principally, it seems, articles, and possessing an astonishing turn of speed (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, *apud* Habīb Zayyāt, article quoted below). The Mamlūk army sent against Selīm I included one hundred wooden *ʿarabas*, each carrying a culverin and pulled by two oxen (Ibn Iyās, *loc. cit*).

In Central Asia, where wheeled transport lost its importance after the 15th century as a result of the economic decline of the nomad world, the word *araba*, *arba* denotes chiefly a vehicle with two extremely large spoked wheels (diameter from 2 m. to 2 m. 30 cm.), with a reed floor which acts to some extent as a shock absorber; the vehicle is often covered with a sort of hood, decorated in varying degree, and is pulled by a horse between two shafts (sometimes by an ox or camel). Often one of the wheels is fixed to the axle while the other revolves on it, a factor which facilitates turning. It is considered to be extremely practical because its height from the ground enables it easily to cross fords, canals, and rivers in spate (the best description, with excellent photographs, is to be found in O. Olufsen, *The Emir of Bokhara and his Country*, Copenhagen 1911, 351-3; on the wood used in its construction, see *Aziatskaya Rossija*, St. Petersburg 1914, ii, 402, with a good photo of a Sart *ʿaraba*, i, 166; cf. A. Woeikof, *Le Turkestan russe*, Paris 1914, 139-40 and pl. IXa). When heavy loads are carried, the number of horses is increased (F. Grenard, *Géographie universelle*, viii, 326). There are two distinct types of *ʿaraba*: the *ʿaraba* of Khʷārizm and Kāshghar, in which the driver sits in the vehicle and steers with reins, and the common *ʿaraba* of Turkistān, called the Khoḳand, in which the driver sits on the horse's withers, his feet resting on the end of the shafts, and steers with a short bridle (A. D. Kalmykov, *Protokoly zasedanii i soobshčenija členov Turkestanskago kruzhka arkheologii*, xiii, 1908, Tashkent, 1909, 41). At Touva, the *ʿaraba* is described as having four wheels (A. A. Palʾmbakh, *Russko-tuvinskii slovar*, Moscow 1953, 25), and in Kirghiz the word is so common that a locomotive is termed "fire *ʿaraba*" (*ot araba*) (K. K. Yudahin, *Kırgız sözlügü*, tr. A. Taymaş, Ankara 1945, 39).

The word has infiltrated into the Slav and Balkan languages: Rumanian *(h)araba*; Russian *arba*; Ukrainian *harba*; Bulgarian, Serbian *araba* (K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europ. Wörter orient. Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, no. 90). The word has also been borrowed by Iranian: Persian *ärabe*, Tādjīk *aroba*.

In Ottoman Turkish, the word, usually written *ʿaraba* in Arabic characters, is the generic term for all types of carriage. In Ottoman Istanbul, people always went about the town on horseback. This was also the normal mode of travel for the sultans when they left their residences. When they were indisposed, however, and on various other occasions they travelled by *ʿaraba*. Sulaymān the Magnificent, an invalid at the time of his departure for his last campaign, passed through Istanbul on horseback, but had to transfer to an *ʿaraba* in the plain of Dāʾūd Pāshā and never left this vehicle (with four wheels and a pole), the driver remaining seated on one of the two horses even during the sultan's conferences with his viziers (Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 439; illustration based on a MS. in the article in *Cumhuriyet* quoted in the bibl.), etc. etc. The *ʿarabas* of the sultans, princes and important personnages were highly decorated (*ibid.*, v, 413; cf. the vehicle of the *sulṭān wālide* depicted in F. Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben, ein Türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jhrdt.*, Hanover 1925, pl. 28). They were especially used in royal marriage processions. In 1048/1638, the guild of *ʿaraba*-makers at Istanbul numbered 40 members and possessed 15 shops (Ewliyā Čelebi, I, 628; tr. Hammer, I, 231).

In the 18th century, the drivers' corporation at Istanbul was organised on regular lines. The profusion of vehicles was at its height at the beginning of the 18th century during the "tulip epoch" (*lāle dewri*) (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Lāle dewri*[2], Istanbul 1331, 47). Later the sumptuary laws restricted this luxury, and the vogue of the *ʿaraba* declined (Ahmed Refik, *Hicri on ikinci asırda Istanbul hayati*, Istanbul 1930, 175, no. 210).

Apart from these luxury vehicles, the rural type of *ʿaraba* drawn by oxen (*ot ʿarabasi*) circulated in the streets of the capital. It was a disgrace for a high personage to ride in one, and the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (1102-3/1691-2) was surnamed *ʿArabad̲j̲ī* because he inflicted this ignominious treatment on his political enemies, a treatment to which he himself was in the end subjected (Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 566 ff.).

Up to the beginning of the 19th century, the right to use *ʿarabas* in Istanbul was restricted to very important functionaries (*S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām*, Grand Vizier; D̲j̲ewdet, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, x, Istanbul 1309, 185 ff.). At this period the importation of European carriages was in its initial stages. The number of vehicles increased, and they were increasingly adapted to conform to European fashions. In 1852 Théophile Gautier wrote: "Paris and Vienna send the masterpieces of their coach-builders to Constantinople, from whose streets the *talikas* with their brightly-painted and gilded coachwork, the typical *arabas* (carriages with shafts used by ladies for their drives in company and properly called *ḳočū*) pulled by huge grey oxen, will soon completely disappear" (*Constantinople*, Paris 1853, 318). But in 1863 Emmanuel Scherer, living at Ḥamīdiyye, a suburb of Istanbul, built coupés, victorias, omnibuses and every kind of carriage to order (*Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, no. 193, 3 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1280/26 April 1864). Standing-places for *ʿarabas* were provided at many points. Their number, combined with the narrowness of the streets, caused congestion. The *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* of 19 November 1909 complains about this, and demands that the constitutional régime should no longer tolerate the inconvenience caused by the arrogance of the pashas and the beys.

ʿArabas made their appearance in Turkish literature with the exile to Kes̲h̲ān of ʿIzzet Molla in 1238/1823; his celebrated poem *Miḥnet-kes̲h̲ān* was composed in the *ʿaraba* which conveyed him there, the author conversing with his reflection in the mirrors which decorated its interior (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 308, 314). In his novel *ʿAraba sewdāsi* (1895), Red̲j̲āʾīzāde Maḥmūd Ekrem describes a snob with a passionate love of carriages. To-day the rural four-wheeled vehicles are divided into *yaylı* "with (double) springs", and *yarım yaylı* "semi-sprung", that is to say with a single spring for each axle-tree (cf. *Inönü Ansiklopedisi*, iii, Ankara 1949, 194-6); they are framed by wooden uprights, covered by a semi-circular tilt; as they are not provided with seats, a mattress is used to sit on. Freight vehicles (*yük arabası*) are often unsprung (but some are "semi-sprung"; this category in particular is subject to decoration in various styles. The *ṭāliḳa* (sometimes written *taʿlīḳa* by false Arabic etymology, but in fact from the Slav word *taliga*, *telega*, etc., itself derived from the Mongol *tārgān*) provided greater amenities for the comfort of passengers. This carriage, widely used in the 19th century and still in use, especially on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus, is a sort of open fiacre; it has no door, but a footboard, surmounted by a small platform; the equally comfortable "long carriage" (*uzun ʿaraba*), a sort of benched carriage, is also open, with a door to the rear, and is equipped with curtains and two benches placed lengthwise inside.

Bibliography: See the article ʿAD̲J̲ALA above. In addition, *Arabalar* (in the supplement to the journal *Cumhuriyet*, 17 şubat 1955 = *Asırlar Boyunca Istanbul*, 97-100); M. Rodinson, *Araba*, in *JA* (printing). (M. RODINSON)

ʿARABA, (WĀDĪ ʿARABA), is the southern extension of the Jordan fault, which includes the deep depression of the Dead Sea. The term ʿAraba in the Old Testament refers also to the Jordan Valley. From approximately three to five miles in width, the Wādī ʿAraba extends for about 110 miles between the south end of the Dead Sea and the north end of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, which is the east arm of the Red Sea. Along much of its length are numerous ancient copper mining and smelting sites. They were probably worked by the Ḳenites and were intensively exploited in King Solomon's times. There are also extensive haematite deposits in the Wādī ʿAraba.

The route of the Exodus led in part through the Wadī ʿAraba. The few springs in the Wadī ʿAraba attracted settlements as early as Middle Bronze I (21st-19th centuries B.C.), Iron II (10th-6th centuries B.C.) and particularly in Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine times. Near the centre of the north shore of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, at the south end of the Wadī ʿAraba, is Tell el-K̲h̲eleyife, which has been identified with Solomon's port-city and industrial center of Ezion-geber: Elath. The Nabataean to Byzantine site of Ayla [*q.v.*] is situated near the east side of this shore, with the modern village of ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] immediately east of it, and the modern Israeli town of Elath is located on the west side of the shore.

Bibliography: A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, ii; N. Glueck; *The Other Side of the Jordan*; idem, *The River Jordan*; idem, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, I-IV. (N. GLUECK)

ARABESQUE. For a long time this term was used in literature devoted to art to designate several kinds of typical Islamic ornament: geometric, vegetal, calligraphic and even figural. In the first edition of the *EI*, E. Herzfeld still took into account this wider interpretation of the arabesque, which however was already antiquated since the time when A. Riegl had defined in his *Stilfragen* its distinctive character as being a particular, and exclusively Islamic, form of denaturalised vegetal ornament consisting of shoots or split or bifurcated leaves on inorganic tendrils. The leaves may be flat or curved, pointed or round or rolled, smooth or rough, feathered or pierced, but never isolated and always joined to the stalk for which it serves as an adjunct or a terminal. The stalk itself may be undulating, spiral or interlaced, going through the leaf or issuing again from it, but always intimately connected with it. To quote Herzfeld's definition: stalk and leaf are completely grown into each other, the leaves forming additions growing from the main stalk.

The principles which regulate the arabesque are reciprocal repetition, the formation of palmette or calice forms by pairs of split leaves, the insertion of geometric interlacings, medallions or cartouche compartments. In every instance, two aesthetic rules are scrupulously observed: the rhythmical alternation of movement always rendered with harmonious effect, and the desire to fill the entire surface with ornament. By its balanced and serene

Fig. 1. Mosque of ʿAmr in Fusṭāṭ ca. 800 (after E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra*, fig. 49a)

Fig. 2. Mosque of Sīdī ʿUḳba in al-Ḳayrawān (after G. Marçais, *Coupole et Plafonds de la Grande Mosquée de Kaironan*, Paris 1925)

Fig. 3. From a Ḳurʾān, Granada 15th century (in the Islamische Abteilung, Berlin Museum)
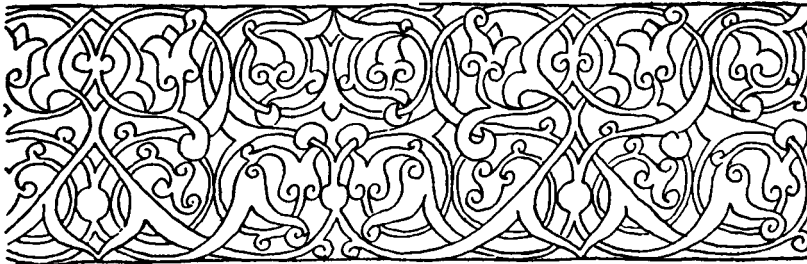
Fig. 4. Wood-carving, Egypt 13th century (after Bourgoin, *Précis de l'Art arabe*, Paris 1892, iii, pl. 88)

convolution, the arabesque avoids the dynamic excitement, the restless whirling and violent twisting of the nordic ornament with which it otherwise has much in common. The effect of contrast is obtained by
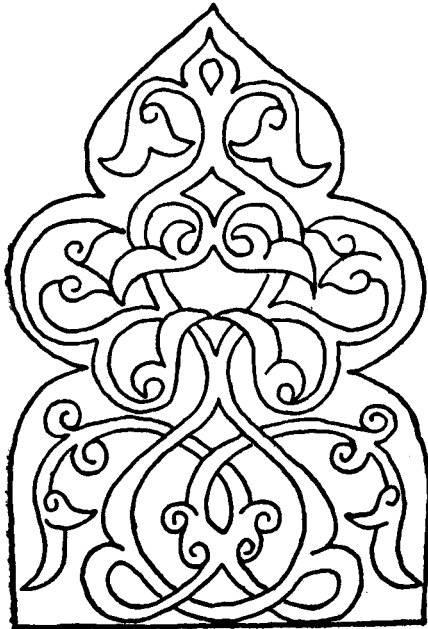
Fig. 5. Fayence mosaic in the *türbe* of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, Ḳonya, 13th century (after F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, fig. 185)

differences in density, the stalk sometimes nearly disappearing beneath an abundance of foliage, at other times vigorously dominating the pattern.

The denaturalised vegetal ornament conforming to the rules described above is termed "arabesque"
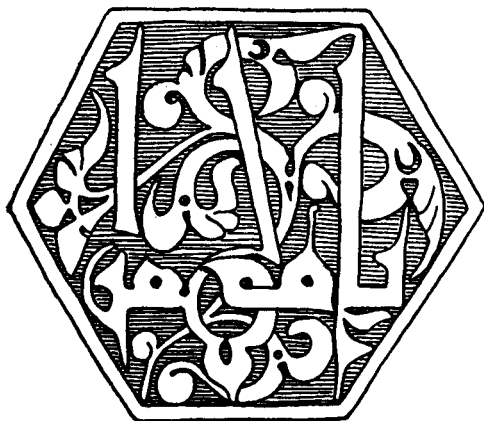
Fig. 6. Stucco tile, Persia 12th century (in Islamische Abteilung, Berlin)

with good reason, because its invention was certainly the outcome of a particular Arab attitude and parallel developments occur in Arabic poetry and music. The Arabic term *tawrīḳ* [*q.v.*] clearly implies that the description was restricted to foliage; it is preserved in *ataurique*, a term commonly used by Spanish authors to designate the genuine arabesque as understood by Riegl.

Fig. 7. Wood carving, Egypt 11th century (in Arab Museum, Cairo)

The arabesque may be combined with every kind of geometric decoration. In epigraphy, it may form a background to the calligraphy, or the letters
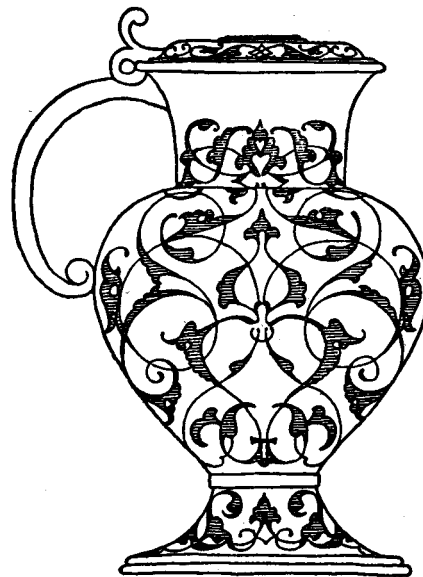
Fig. 8. H. Holbein the Younger, 1537 (after Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich*, Berlin 1920, fig. 72)

may terminate in arabesques, or letters and arabesque may be interwoven. Animals may be drawn in the form of arabesques, which may also be combined

with human figures; the animals and the human figures may then be rendered more, or less, recognizable. Sometimes, an Islamic "grotesque" decoration occurs in which masks and protomes of animals are combined with an arabesque scheme. It seems unnecessary to emphasise that the arabesque never has any symbolic significance but is merely one ornament from a large stock which includes other vegetal forms such as palmettes, rosettes and naturalistic flowers, and abstract forms such as cloud-bands. At certain periods, however, it played a predominant role.

The arabesque has its prototype in certain acanthus, vine leaf and cornucopia forms of late antiquity which tend to progress in undulations or with bifurcations. It is not yet completely developed in the Umayyad period, acquires its typical shape in the 9th century under the ʿAbbāsids and in Islamic Spain and appears fully developed in the 11th century under the Saldjūḳs, Fāṭimids and Moors. From then on it occurs throughout the Islamic world in countless variations, so that it is impossible to classify the various forms according to a chronological order or according to national or dynastic predilections. Persian, Turkish and Indian artists understood the language of the arabesque quite as well as Arabic-speaking artists, and through the centuries they competed one against the other in creating ever more varieties and combinations. Its use is not restricted to any one material, but is used in architectural decoration as well as carved or painted decoration, in pottery and glass and metalwork, and above all in book illumination.

In Hispano-Mauresque art of the 12th century and later the arabesque predominates almost to the exclusion of other ornamental forms, and from Islamic Spain it found its way in the late 15th century to the Christian countries. Known as ***moresque*** it became fashionable in the first half of the 16th century and was introduced into Italy by Francesco Pellegrino, into France by the unknown master G. J., and into Germany by Hans Holbein and Peter Flettner. Like them, other artists tried to imitate, with more or less understanding, the particular character of the arabesque, principally in their pattern-books for jewellers and armourers (e.g. the *Livre de moresques*, Paris 1546).

[See also ORNAMENT].

Bibliography: A. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, Berlin 1893; E. Kühnel, *Die Arabeske*, Wiesbaden 1949.

(E. KÜHNEL)

ʿARABFAḲIH, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, chronicler of 16th century Muslim Ethiopia. He personally took part in the war between the imām Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, lord of Harar, and the Negus Lebna Denghel; but, when he wrote his chronicle, he had already left Ethiopia for Djizān in Arabia. His (Harari) surname ʿArab-Faḳīh "the Arab doctor" can be explained either as the sobriquet of an Ethiopian who was particularly well-versed in the Arabic language and *fiḳh*, or as the local *laḳab* of an Arab who emigrated at first to Ethiopia (and who later returned to his native country). His chronicle bears the title (in the colophon) of *Tuḥfat al-Zamān*, but it is given in the MSS. as *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* ("Conquests of Ethiopia"). The narrative closes with the events of the year 1537; but the colophon describes the work as the "First Part". A second part, however, has never been found, and it is quite possible that the author was never able to complete his work as planned.

The *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, of which we possess only a few MSS., all recent, is also quoted and to a large extent summarised in the (Arabic) Chronicle of Gujarat (*Ẓafar al-Wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-Ālihi*) by al-Ulugh-Khānī, also an Arab writer, who emigrated to Muslim India during the second half of the 16th century.

Bibliography: René Basset, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie* (Arabic text and French translation) 2 vols., Paris 1897; E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, 2 vols., London 1910-28.

(E. CERULLI)

ʿARĀBĪ PASHA [see ʿURĀBĪ PASHA].

ARABIAN NIGHTS [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA].

ARABIC WRITING [see KHAṬṬ].

ʿARABISTĀN, 'the Arab country', a term much in use until recently to denote the Persian province of Khūzistān; the latter name was revived during the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Fur further particulars see KHŪZISTĀN. Following Persian usage, ʿArabistān denotes occasionally the Arabian peninsula. In Ottoman administrative documents from the 16th century it is occasionally applied to the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire, more especially to Syria. (ED.)

ʿARABIYYA. ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

A. The Arabic Language (al-ʿArabiyya).

(i) Pre-classical Arabic.

(1) The position of Arabic among the Semitic languages; (2) Old Arabic ("Proto-Arabic"); (3) Early Arabic (3rd-6th centuries A.D.).

(ii) The Literary Language.

(1) Classical Arabic; (2) Early Middle Arabic; (3) Middle Arabic; (4) Modern Arabic.

(iii) The Vernaculars.

(1) General survey; (2) The Eastern dialects; (3) The Western Dialects.

B. Arabic Literature.

Al-ʿarabiyya, sc. *lugha*, also *lisān al-ʿarab*, is: (1) The Arabic language in all its forms. This use is pre-Islamic, as is shown by the appearance of *lāshōn ʿărābhī* in third-century Hebrew sources, *arabica lingua* in St. Jerome's *Praefatio in Danielem*; this probably is also the sense of *lisān ʿarabī* (*mubīn*) in Ḳurʾān, xvi, 103 (105); xxvi, 195; xlvi, 12 (11). (2) Technically, the Classical Arabic language (Cl. Ar.) of early poetry, Ḳurʾān, etc., and the Literary Arabic of Islamic literature. This may be distinguished from *ʿarabiyya* in the wider sense as *al-ʿarabiyya al-faṣīḥa* or *al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā*, from *faṣuḥa* "to be clear, pure" (cf. Assyr. *piṣū* "pure, bright", Aram. *paṣṣīḥ* "bright, radiant"); it means "clear", i.e. "(universally) intelligible" Arabic, not "pure Arabic", as is shown by *afṣaḥa* (*al-kalāma*) "to speak clearly" (*LA*, iii, 377), cf. also *aʿraba* "to speak clearly, intelligibly" and "to use correct Arabic".

Cl. Ar. is the chief literary dialect of Arabic, though not the only written one (cf. Old Arabic and some modern colloquials, notably Maltese). The other forms of Arabic known to us belong to three distinct stages: 1) Old Arabic, also called Proto-Arabic (though this term would better be reserved for the hypothetical common ancestor of all Arabic dialects), German *altnordarabisch.* 2) The Early Dialects (*lughāt*). 3) The Colloquials (medieval *lughat al-ʿāmma*, modern *al-lugha al-ʿāmmiyya* or *al-dāridja*, or *lahadjāt*).

(i) Pre-classical Arabic

(1) The Position of Arabic among the Semitic Languages

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family, which is part of a wider Hamito-Semitic family

including, inter alia, also Ancient Egyptian. Within that family, it belongs to the South-Semitic or South-West-Semitic branch, which includes two further sub-groups: (a) South-Arabian (comprising ancient Sabaean, Minaean, Ḳatabanian, Ḥaḍramitic, etc. in Yaman and Southern Ḥaḍramawt and modern Mehri, Shkhauri etc. in Northern Ḥaḍramawt and the language of the island of Soḳoṭra); contrary to a widespread assumption, ancient South-Arabian is a language-group quite different from Arabic; (b) Ethiopian (comprising ancient Ethiopic or Geʿez, modern Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Harari, Gurage, etc.); it is not yet quite clear whether Ethiopian originally derived from some form of South-Arabian (cf. E. Ullendorff, *Sem. Languages of Ethiopia*, 1955). The common traits of the S.-Sem. branch (partly obscured in the modern forms) are: almost complete preservation of the proto-Sem. sound system, except for *p* becoming *f* and *sh* coalescing with *s* (Arabic ش is proto-Sem. *ś*); plural of nouns formed by internal vowel changes; *fāʿala* and *istafʿala* patterns in the verb. S.-Ar. and Eth., however, have some features in common with Accadian which Arabic does not share (W. Leslau, in *JAOS*, 1944, 53-8).

On the other hand Arabic shares with North-West Semitic (Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic) certain traits not found in S.-Ar. and Eth.: the pl. masc. suffix *-ī*ⁿ/ₘ*a*, the internal passive (W. Christian, in *WZKM*, 1927, 263; for S.-Ar. see M. Höfner, *Altsüdarab. Gramm.*, 82), and the *puʿayl* diminutive (F. Praetorius, in *ZDMG*, 1903, 524-9), see also I. al-Yasin, *Lexical Relation between Ugaritic and Arabic*, 1952. Some forms of Arabic had closer connection with N.W.-Sem.: Old Arabic had, like Hebrew, a definite article *ha-* with doubling of the following consonant (as in Αμμασιχος); names like Αβισιλα (3rd cent. B.C.) and Αβινουν (3rd cent. A.D.) show that *ab* had the construct *abī* in all cases, as in Hebrew. Among the Early Dialects, the Ṭayyiʾ rel. pron. *dhū* corresponds to poetical Hebrew *zū*, while the *dhī* of other Western dialects has its equivalent in older Aramaic; the W. dialects also sounded long *a* as *ō*, like Canaanite and W.-Syriac, and changed *iya* to *ā*, like Hebrew. The Eastern dialects, on the other hand, had *i*-prefixes with the *a*-imperfect, like Canaanite and W.-Syriac (cf. C. Rabin, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1950, 22-6).

Arabic as a whole thus stands between S.-Sem. and N.W.-Sem., having contacts with both. There existed perhaps dialects intermediate between N.W.-Sem. and Arabic: this has been claimed for the local dialect which influenced the Hebrew book of Job (cf. B. Moritz, in *ZATW* 1926, 81-93; Foster, in *Am. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1932, 21-45).

(2) Old Arabic ("Proto-Arabic")

The oldest record of Arabic are some 40 proper names in Assyrian accounts of fighting against the Aribi (Arubu, Urbi, cf. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 95) during the years 853-626 B.C., collected by T. Weiss-Rosmarin, in *JSOR*, 1932, 1-37, and F. Hommel, *Ethnologie u. Geogr. d. alten Orients*, 1926, 578-89. Almost all can be identified as Arabic: the view of Landsberger and Bauer (in *ZA*, 1927, 97-8) that the Aribi were Aramaeans has as little foundation as that of B. Moritz (*Or. Studies ... Paul Haupt*, 1926, 184-211) that the Arammu mentioned in texts of the same period were Arabs. The Gambulu were closely allied with the Aribi (Assurbanipal's Rassam Prism iii, 65); among their chiefs (Sargon's Annals 254-5) were Hamdanu, Zabidu, and Ḥazaʾilu, as well as some bearing Aramaic names. Most had Assyrian names, however, showing that some of these tribes had undergone the influence of the higher culture.

Assyrian influence also marks the earliest texts written by Arabs, in the 8th-7th cent. B.C., in a North-Arabian script close to the Dedanite, but in the Accadian language, except for the mixed form *yzbl*, which is Accadian *izbil* "he carried" with West-Semitic *y*-prefix. These include two short inscriptions found at Ur (Burrows, in *JRAS* 1927, 795-806) and some seal cylinders (W. F. Albright, in *Bull. Am. School f. Or. Res.*, no. 128, 39-45). Albright identified the group from which these texts originated as the Chaldaeans.

The Dedanite inscriptions at al-ʿUlā are probably only slightly later (H. Grimme, *Buch u. Schrift*, iv, 19-28; id., in *OLZ*, 1932, 753-8). At the same locality, but later, are the Liḥyānite inscriptions. The latest are about 150 A.D., and show Early Arabic features. About this time (see, however, Boneschi, in *RSO*, 1951, 1-15) "Masʿūd king of Liḥyān" put up inscriptions in archaic Nabataean Aramaic.

Bibliography: Texts: Jaussen & Savignac, *Mission archéol. en Arabie*, 1904-14, ii, 363-534. Grammar: Winnett, *Study of the Lihy. and Thamudic Inscr.*, 1937; id., in *Mus.*, 1938, 299-310; W. Caskel, *Liyhan u. Lihyanisch*, 1954.

Grave inscriptions in Lihyanic script exist in al-Ḥaṣā (G. Ryckmans, in *Mus.* 1937, 239; Cornwall, in *GJ*, 1946, 43-4; Winnett, *Bull. Am. School for Or. Res.*, no. 102, 4-6); S. Smith (in *BSOS* 1954, 442) thinks they emanate from the people of al-Ḥīra.

Thamūdic is represented by graffiti in northern Hidjāz, Sinai, Transjordan, southern Palestine (3,000 in A. v.d. Branden, *Inscriptions thamoudéennes*, 1924; 524 in Harding & Littmann, *Some Th. Inscr. from ... Jordan*, 1952), Asir (9,000 discovered by G. Ryckmans in 1952), and Egypt (Kensdale, in *Mus.*, 1952, 285-90). For grammar see v. d. Branden, op. cit.; E. Littmann, *Thamūd u. Ṣafā*, 1943; id., in *ZDMG* 1950, 168-80. The latest Thamūdic texts occur in conjunction with Early Ar.: one line on the stele of Ḥedjrā of 267 A.D. (in Nabataean script), some graffiti on the temple of Ramm in Sinai, ca. 300 A.D., next to the oldest graffiti in Arabic script. The language hardly changed during the 600 years of its use; this suggests some literary tradition.

Ṣafātene or Safaitic graffiti are found in the Ṣafā, Ḥarra, and Ledjā east of Damascus (for texts outside that area, see E. Littmann, in *Mélanges Dussaud*, 1939, 661-71; G. Ryckmans, *ib.*, 507-20). Around al-Namāra there are some graffiti intermediate between Ṣafātene and Thamūdic. Historical allusions provide dates as far as the 3rd cent. A.D. (G. Ryckmans, in *Comptes Rend. Ac. Inscr.* 1942, 127-36; M. Rodinson, in *Sumer*, 1946, 137-55), according to Winnett (in *JAOS*, 1953, 41) even until 614 A.D. One Thamūdic text may be Christian (E. Littmann, in *MW*, 1950, 16-8; against this v. d. Branden, in *Mus.*, 1950, 47-51).

Bibliography: Texts: 396 in M. de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale: Inscr. Sémit.*, 1868-77; 904 in Dussaud & Macler, *Mission dans ... Syrie moyenne*, 1903; 136 in E. Littmann, *Public. Amer. Arch. Exp.* iv, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 1904; 390 in H. Grimme, *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Saf.-arab. Religion*, 1929; 1302 in E. Littmann, *Safaitic Inscr. = Syria, Publ. of the Princeton Archeol. Exp.* iv, C, 1943, with best sketch of grammar, cf. also id., *Thamūd u. Ṣafā*; 5380 in *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, v/1, 1950. See also R. Dussaud, *Arabes en Syrie avant*

l'Islam, 1907; id., *Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, 1955.

For further bibliography, cf. G. Ryckmans, in *Revue Biblique*, 1932, 89-95; idem, in *Med. Kon. Vlaamsche Acad.*, 1941, 12-13; idem, in *Mus.*, 1948, 137-213.

Since graffiti mostly consist of names, our knowledge of all these idioms is scanty. It is probable that the method of elucidating them by reference to the Arabic lexicon makes them appear more similar to Cl. Ar. than they really were. The transliteration of the Aribi names shows that *ʿayn* was sounded weakly, *d̲j̲īm* was like Accadian *g*, *ḳāf* like *k*, *t̲h̲āʾ* like *t*, and *fāʾ* like *p*. Greek transliterations of names from the Safatene area show a vowel-system reminiscent of Hebrew or Colloquial Arabic, e.g. Οσεδου = *Usayd*. Spellings like *bny* = بنى and *ngy* = نجا suggest that all defective verbs ended in *-iya*, as in Hebrew.

While all these peoples wrote their own languages in varieties of a script closely related to Old S.-Arabian, the Nabataeans (100 B.C.-4th cent. A.D.) and the Palmyrenians (1st-3rd cent. A.D. used local varieties of Imperial Aramaic (the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenian empire) and Aramaic script, but their names show that the Nabataeans were wholly Arab, and at Palmyra there was an important Arab element (cf. Goldmann, *Palmyr. Personennamen*, 1937). In Palmyrenian, Arabic words are few (J. Cantineau, *Gr. du Palm. épigr.*, 1935, 150-1; even fewer in F. Rosenthal, *Sprache d. palmyr. Inschr.*, 1937, 94-6). Nabataean has many Arabisms; their number increases sharply in later texts (Cantineau, *op. cit.*, ii, 171-80; id., *AIEO*, 1934, 77-97; see also F. Rosenthal, *Aramaistische Forschung*, 1939, 89-92). This Arabic substrate—which was probably different in various regions—includes Thamudic *ʾṣdḳ* "legitimate heir"; in contrast to the epigraphic Old Arabic dialects it had the *al-* article (*S̲h̲yʿ ʾlḳwm* against Safat. *S̲h̲yʿ hḳwm*, name of a god; *ʾlhgrw* = *ḥgrā*); long *a* was sounded *ô* as in the Early Western Dialects.

A source of Old Arabic hardly tapped is the study of the personal names, thousands of which are known. These show a striking continuity from the Aribi to present-day bedouins and form a common stock in various Old Arabic idioms (instructive diagram in Harding & Littmann, *op. cit.*, 50). They preserve obsolete forms into Cl. Ar., as in *Udad* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2360) = Αυδαδου, Safat. *ʾdd* (i.e. *Ôdadu*), which in Cl. Ar. would be **Awadd*, and give valuable information on the vocabulary of Old Arabic.

Bibliography: G. Ryckmans, *Noms propres sud-sémitiques*, 1934; Wuthnow, *Semit. Menschennamen i. d. griech. Inschr. u. Papyri d. Vorderen Orients*, 1930; Gratzl, *Arab. Frauennamen*, 1906; Bräu, *Altnordar. kultische Personennamen*, *WZKM*, 1925, 31-59, 85-115.

Another valuable source for reconstructing the phonetic history of Arabic is the geographical names preserved in texts in Accadian (cf. under Aribi above), Hebrew (J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, 1934; idem, in *Haverford Symposium on Archeol. and Bible*, 1938, 188-201), and Greek and Latin (A. Sprenger, *Alte Geogr. Arabiens*, 1875; Glaser, *Skizze* etc., 1889-90; A. Musil, *Topographical Itineraries*, ii, Appendix 3; cf. on all the material F. Hommel, *Ethnologie* etc., 538-634). O. Blau, *Altarab. Sprachstudien*, *ZDMG*, 1871, 525-92, is methodically unsatisfactory.

Possibly Old Arabic was the dialect of D̲j̲urhum, from which Abū ʿUbayd (d. 223/838) gives ca. 30 words in his monograph on dialect words in the Ḳurʾān (cf. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 7; ed. by S. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲ad as a work of Ismaʿīl b. ʿAmr al-Muḳriʾ, Cairo 1946). The D̲j̲urhum, of course, belong to the *ʿArab al-ʿāriba* [*q.v.*] or *al-bāʾida*, from whom, according to the Arab historians, the *ʿArab al-mustaʿriba*, the tribes making up the bulk of the population in the 6th cent. A.D., took over the country and the language. More specifically we learn that the Ṭayyiʾ adopted the language of the Ṣuḥār (Yāḳūt, i, 127). We must ask (1) whether the *ʿĀriba* tribes were identical with the known speakers of Old Arabic, 2) what language the *mustaʿriba* tribes spoke before they adopted Arabic. To neither question have we any answer. The matter is further bound up with the cleavage between Eastern and Western Early dialects: on the whole the latter appear to have been somewhat closer to Old Arabic, but it is likely that the real successor of Old Arabic were the Ḳuḍāʿa dialects, spoken over the same area as the former, our knowledge of which is practically nil; on the other hand we possess practically no epigraphic material from those areas where either the Eastern or the Western dialects were spoken, and the speech of those regions during the Old Arabic period may have been quite different from the Old Ar. dialects perpetuated by inscriptions.

(3) Early Arabic (3rd-6th centuries A.D.)

Following precedents in the nomenclature of English and German, we may give this name to the period from the 3rd to the 6th cent. A.D., when over a large part of Arabia dialects quite distinct from Old Arabic, but approaching Cl. Ar. were spoken, and during which Cl. Ar. itself must have evolved.

Outside evidence for this period is scarce, but we possess a number of quotations in contemporary Jewish sources (partly coll. by A. Cohen, in *JQR*, 1912/13, 221-33), including even sentences, e.g. מבעד לצמתך = *mabʿad li-dammatika* "make room for thy throng" (*Midrash Rabba* on Canticles, iv, 1).

This is the period during which hundreds of Aramaic loan-words entered the language through Christian and Jewish contacts (S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 1886); their phonological study throws some light on the Arabic of the period. Thus there is an older layer where Aram. *s̲h̲* = س, and a younger one where it = ش, due no doubt to a sound-change in Arabic (D. H. Müller, *Acts VII Or. Congr.*, 1888, 229-48; Brockelmann, *Grundr. Vergl. Gr.*, i, 129-30). Other words penetrated during this period from South-Arabian (H. Grimme, in *ZA*, 1912, 158-68; cf. also F. Krenkow, in *WZKM*, 1931, 127-8) and Ethiopic (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 31-66; but see Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 109, on *tābūt* and *mis̲h̲kāt*) — owing to our restricted knowledge of S.-Ar., the two sources cannot always be clearly distinguished. Some Persian loan-words, found in the Ḳurʾān and poetry, entered during this period, though the great influx of Persian words took place in the first Islamic centuries (A. Siddiqi, *Studien über d. pers. Fremdwörter*, 1919). Greek words entered mainly via Aramaic, Latin words via Greek and Aramaic: thus *ḳinṭār* < Syr. *ḳanṭīrā* < Lat. *centenarius*; *mandīl* < Syr. *mandīlā* < Gk. μανδήλη (with typical late Gk. soundchange) < Lat. *mantele*. Some military terms, e.g. *ṣirāṭ* < *strata* or *ḳaṣr* < *castra* (cf., however, Palest. Jew. Aram. *ḳaṣrā*) may have come directly from Latin.

Bibliography: Djawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab* (Sachau), 1867; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 23-30; A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 1938; A. Salonen, *Alte Substrat- und Kulturwörter im Arab.*, 1950 (= *St. Or. Soc. Or. Fennica*, xvii, 2).

It must be assumed that these words originally entered some specific dialect area in contact with the culture in question and then spread into Cl. Ar. We hear of foreign words used only at Medina (Rabin, *op. cit.*, 96; Fück, *Arabiya*, 10.

Arab philological literature preserves much material about the Early Dialects of Nadjd (Tamīm, Asad, Bakr, Ṭayyiʾ, Ḳays), Ḥidjāz and the highland area of the South-west (Hudhayl, Azd, Yaman), very little about those of other areas. The information seems to have been gathered during the 2nd-3rd Islamic centuries—when these dialects were probably rapidly disintegrating—partly from tribesmen in the *amṣār*; it is distorted by the scholastic approach and by the use made of it for elucidating difficulties in texts which had nothing to do with the dialects cited. Interest in the dialects for their own sake developed only late, and many data are preserved only in late works whose sources we cannot check.

A sharp cleavage clearly emerges between an Eastern group centred on the Persian Gulf, and a Western one, including besides the south-western and Ḥidjāz dialects also that of Ṭayyiʾ. Within the latter the characteristic features are most clearly marked in Yaman and Ṭayyiʾ, while Hudhayl and Ḥidjāz show evidence of Eastern influence. The differences are in rhythm (vowel-elisions and assimilations in the East), phonetics (e.g. West distinguished *ā*—sounded *ō*—and *ē*, while in the East both coalesced into one *ā*, sounded *ǣ*; *hamza* was strongly sounded in East and even became *ʿayn*, but was completely elided in the West,) grammar (e.g. Eastern *alladhī*: Western *dhū*, *dhī*; E. passive *ḳūla*: W. *ḳīla*; E. imper. *ruddu/i*: W. *urdud*), syntax (e.g. the "Ḥidjāzī *mā*"; E. *djāʾa(ti) 'r-ridjālu*: W. *djāʾū 'r-ridjālu*) and vocabulary.

It cannot be determined whether this cleavage had but recently developed or was old-inherited; the possibility must be taken into account that the inhabitants of Arabia had come from different parts of the Semitic world and that the common "Arabic" features were produced by mutual influence or by a common substrate after their settlement in Arabia.

The dialects of Yaman hold a special place: owing to the lexica of Ibn Durayd and Nashwān b. Saʿīd information is plentiful, and can be evaluated because the modern colloquial here continues the ancient dialect (cf. data in C. de Landberg, *Daṯina*, 1905-13; idem, *Glossaire Daṯinois*, 1920-47). The dialect of "Ḥimyar" as described by the philologists was an archaic Western Arabic idiom strongly influenced by South-Arabian. We possess some rhymes and sayings in it, as well as a number of "inscriptions" (*Musnads*) forged by Nashwān and al-Hamdānī in the belief that the South-Arabian kings of ancient Ḥimyar and Saba spoke the language of the 7th-cent. A.D. "Ḥimyar".

Bibliography: Older literature (to be used with caution): G. W. Freytag, *Einführung* etc., 1861, 65-125; P. Anastase Marie, in *Mash.*, vi, 529-36; Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī, in *Acts VII Or. Congr.*, 1888, ii, 69-104; K. Vollers, *Volkssprache*, 1906. Modern research begins with Sarauw, *Die altarab. Dialektspaltung*, *ZA*, 1908, 31-49; H. Kofler, *Reste altarab. Dialekte*, *WZKM*, 1940, 61-130, 233-62; 1941, 52-88, 247-74; 1942, 15-30, 234-56; I. Anīs, *Al-Lahadjāt al-ʿArabiyya*, ca. 1946; E. Littmann, *B. Fac. Ar.*, 1948, 1-56; C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 1951; K. Petráček, *ArO*, 1954, 460-6.

To the Early Arabic period belong two inscriptions in Nabataean characters but practically pure Arabic language: One is at *Ḥigrā* (Arabic *al-Ḥidjr*, now *Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ*), northern Ḥidjāz, dated 267 A.D. (M. Lidzbarski, in *ZA*, 1909, 194-7; Jaussen & Savignac, in *Rev. Biblique*, 1908, 241-50; Chabot, in *Comptes Rend. Ac. Inscr.*, 1908 269-72; I. Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, ii, 38), with a line in Thamūdic; the other the inscription of Imraʾ al-Ḳays "king of all Arabs" at al-Namāra, dated 328 A.D. (R. Dussaud, in *Rév. Archéol.*, 1902, 409-21; id., *Mission ... Syrie Moyenne*, 314; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, 34; (*Rép. Epigr. Sém.*, no. 483; Cantineau, ii, 49). M. Hartmann (*OLZ* 1906, 573; *Arab. Frage* i, 1908, 501; now also Dussaud, *Pénétration* etc., 64 sqq.) thought Imraʾ al-Ḳays to have been a king of al-Ḥīra, but the language of the inscription is shown to be a Western dialect by the pronouns *ty* fem. sg. demonstr. and *dhū* relat.

(ii) The literary language

(1) Classical Arabic

The oldest texts in Arabic script are three graffiti on the wall of the temple of Ramm in Sinai, dating from ca. 300 A.D. (H. Grimme, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1935, 270; 1936, 90-5). Christian inscriptions, accompanied by Greek versions, are at Zabad, dated 512 A.D. (E. Sachau, in *Mitth. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1881, 169-90; id., in *ZDMG*, 1882, 345-52), and at Ḥarrān in the Ledjā dated 568 A.D. (Schröder, in *ZDMG*, 1884, 34; Dussaud, *Mission... Syrie Moyenne*, 324; Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, ii, 50; on both inscrr. E. Littmann, in *RSO* 1911/12, 193-8). The text of an inscription on the church of Hind at al-Ḥīra, about 560 A.D., is recorded by Muslim historians (al-Bakrī, 364; G. Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, 1899, 24). An undated graffito is at Umm al-Djimāl (E. Littmann, in *ZS*, 1929, 197-204). All four inscriptions in N. Abbott, *Rise of the North-Arabian Script*, 1939, plate I.

The Christian character of the dated inscriptions suggests that the Arabic script was invented by Christian missionaries, as were so many Eastern alphabets. Abbott (op. cit. 5) localises its invention, with much probability, at Ḥīra or Anbār.

It is probable that at least partial Bible translations into Arabic existed before Islam. Stylistic reminiscences of the Old and New Testaments are found in the Ḳurʾān (W. Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit d. Ḳ. v. Judentum u. Christentum*, 1922; T. Andrae, *Ursprung d. Islams u. d. Christentum*, 1926; A. Mingana, *Bull. J. Rylands Library*, 1927, 77-89; Ahrens, in *ZDMG*, 1930, 15-68, 148-90). A. Baumstark claimed pre-Islamic date for the text of some Arabic Bible MSS (*Islamica*, 1931, 562-75; *BZ* 1929/30, 350-9; *OC*, 1934, 55-66; against this Graf, *Gesch. d. Chr.-Arab. Lit.*, i, 142-6). There also is a fragment of the Psalms in Arabic in Greek characters (Violet, in *OLZ*, 1901, 384-403). Examination of this and of two of Baumstark's texts (B. Levin, *Griech.-Arab. Evang. Uebers.*, 1938) shows a language slightly deviating from Cl. Ar. towards the colloquials. This is typical for Chr.-Arab. literature (Graf, *Sprachgebrauch d. älteren Chr.-Arab. Liter.*, 1905), for early papyri and for the language of scientific writing; it may be early colloquial influence, but also a Cl. Ar. not yet standardised by grammarians.

The Arabian Jews are less likely to have participated in the literary formation of Cl. Ar., since

at that period written translations of the O.T. were not being made by Jews (though a Jewish translation is mentioned Bu**kh**ārī iii, 198). The Jewish traditions in Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (J. W. Hirschberg, *Jüd. u. Chr. Lehren im vor- u. frühislam. Arabien*, 1939) and in the Ḳur'ān (cf., e.g., Torrey, *Jewish Foundations of Islam*, 1933; A. Katsh, *Judaism in Islam*, 1954), show all signs of oral transmission. Jews, however, used Cl. Ar. before Islam, as e.g Samawʿal b. ʿĀdiyā' (cf. also I. Guidi, *Arabie antéisl.*, 1921, 145-6; Hirschberg, *Dīwān des as-S. b. 'Ā.*, 1931, Introd.), and are said to have taught the Muslims to write at Medina (Balā**dh**urī, *Futūḥ*, 473).

Wellhausen (*Reste arab. Heidentums*², 1927, 232) plausibly suggested that Cl. Ar. was developed by Christians at al-Ḥīra. Muslim tradition names among the first persons who wrote Arabic Zayd b. Ḥamād (ca. 500 A.D.) and his son, the poet ʿAdī, both Christians of Ḥīra (*Aghānī*³, ii, 100-2). ʿAdī's language was not considered fully *faṣīḥ*, which may be taken as meaning that Cl. Ar. was still in course of evolution. Al-Mufaḍḍal (*apud* al-Marzubānī, *Muwa**sh**shaḥ*, Cairo 1343, 73) says that ʿAdī drew on many tribal dialects, a procedure alleged by other scholars to account for the excellence of the Ḳuray**sh** dialect. This statement gains in substance if we recall that nowadays the poetry of settled Arabs is often couched in bedouin dialects, and that the oldest genuine bits of poetry, those connected with the War of Bāsūs, come from the Euphrates region. The court of Ḥīra remained a centre for bedouin poets: this helped in developing and unifying the language of poetry; its written use at Al-Ḥīra also furthered its standardisation.

As to the origins of that poetical language itself, earlier Muslim tradition sought it in various tribes, while later scholars, no doubt for theological reasons, identified it with the dialect of Ḳuray**sh**. This view was accepted by Grimme (*Mohammed*, 1904, 23), Ṭaha Ḥusayn (*Al-Adab al-Djāhilī*, 1927), and Dhorme (*Langues et écritures sémit.*, 1930, 53). Most western scholars agree in seeking its home among the bedouins of Nadjd—as did in practice the Muslim philologists of the 2nd-4th centuries who would only accept Nadjdī bedouins as authoritative informants. Some believe it to have been originally the language of one definite tribe, others a compromise between various dialects; others again think it acquired some purely artificial characteristics. An important feature is its archaic character, both in phonetics (it lacks the contractions typical for the Eastern Dialects) and in syntax, where it keeps alive constructions lost in early prose (Bloch, *Vers und Sprache im Altarab.*, 1946). It is beyond doubt, however, that in the late 6th cent. A.D. it was a purely literary dialect, distinct from all spoken idioms and super-tribal. It is today often referred to as the "poetical *koinē*". Its continuity was assured by the professional reciters, or *rāwīs*. The language was practically uniform throughout Arabia: even allegedly local features like the *dhū Ṭā'iyya* and *mā Ḥidjāziyya* occur in poetry from outside those regions. There may have been differences in the choice of words: Prof. F. Krenkow, in a letter to the present writer, suggested that northern poets used *asad* for "lion", southern ones *layth*. The main differences, as in the case of other standard languages, were no doubt in pronunciation; it is interesting that Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī of ʿAbd al-Ḳays chose from thirty men an ʿAbḳasī as the one with the best pronunciation (al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 11) and the Ḥidjāzī ʿU**th**mān thought a Hu**dh**alī the best person to dictate to a scribe (*Gesch. d. Qor.*, iii, 2). It is, however, likely that some regionalisms and archaisms in the poems were eliminated by editors, for it is not rare to find that a verse is quoted by a grammarian for some peculiarity which is absent in the *dīwān* of the poet, the verse being slightly recast.

Bibliography: K. Vollers, in *ZA*, 1897, 125-39; I. Guidi, *Una somiglianza fra la storia dell' arabo e del latino*, *Miscellanea linguist. ... G. Ascoli*, Torino 1901, 321-6; id., *Arabie antéisl.*, 1921, 41-4; A. Fischer, in *Verhandl. d. Philologentags zu Halle*, 1903, 154; Nöldeke, *Beitr. z. Sem. Sprachwiss.*, 1904, 1-14; C. de Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, 1905; C. Brockelmann, *Grundr. d. vergl. Gramm.*, i, 23; M. Hartmann, in *OLZ*, 1909, 19-28; R. Geyer, in *GGA*, 1909, 10-56; Nallino, in *Hilāl*, Oct. 1917 = *Scritti*, vi, 181-90; J. H. Kramers, *Taal van den Koran*, 1940; H. Fleisch, *Introd. à l'étude des langues sém.*, 1947, 96-104; H. Birkeland, *Språk og religion hos Jøder og Arabere*, 1949; J. Fück, *Arabiya*, 1950, 5; R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arabe*, i, 1952, ch. iii; W. Caskel, in *ZDMG* 1953, *28*-*36* = *Amer. Anthrop. Assoc. Memoir*, no. 76, 1954; C. Brockelmann, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik*, iii/2/3, 1954, 214-7; Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 1951, ch. iii; idem, in *Stud. Isl.*, 1955, 19-37.

Our sources for the investigation of Cl. Ar. proper are: (1) pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry; (2) the Ḳur'ān; (3) the official correspondence of Muḥammad and the first caliphs, as recorded by historians, and the early papyri; (4) the Ḥadī**th**; (5) the prose portions of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab.*

Utilisation of pre-Islamic poetry for the study of Arabic would, of course, be pointless if we were to reject all these poems as forged, as did A. Mingana (*Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ii, 1920, 125) and D. S. Margoliouth (in *JRAS*, 1925, 415-49)—Ṭaha Ḥusayn, who in *al-Adab al-Djāhilī* rejects most of them, admits at least those by Ḥidjāzīs as genuine—, though even then the language of the earlier Islamic poets would still be evidence of a bedouin tradition distinct from the Ḳur'ān.

In assessing the language of the Ḳur'ān, we must distinguish between the consonantal skeleton, unaltered since the revision under ʿU**th**mān, and the vowels, inserted considerably later. The genuine Ḳur'ān spelling (*Gesch. d. Qor.*, iii, 19-57)—unfortunately "corrected" in the Flügel edition—differs in some respects from the current orthography; the difference was already felt in the time of Mālik b. Anas (al-Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, *nawʿ*, 76/2). Some of these peculiarities are no doubt pure spelling archaisms (e.g. the omission of *alif* when = *ā*), others probably represent grammatical deviations (P. Schwarz, in *ZA*, 1915/6, 46-59), not always amenable to interpretation, e.g. تقتل for *tataḳattalu*, which some Readers pronounce *taḳḳattalu*, others *taḳattalu*. The diacritic points and vowels differ according to the *ḳirā'āt* [*q.v.*]. Readers differ not only in interpreting the polysemous consonantal outline, but also in grammar and pronunciation. Some readings agree, or are said by commentators to agree, with Early Dialects (cf. Ḥammūda, *al-Ḳirā'āt wa 'l-Lahadjāt*, 1948), others resemble the colloquials.

In 1906 K. Vollers (*Volkssprache u. Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*) asserted that these colloquial readings represented the townsman's speech of Muḥammad, while the *faṣāḥa* of the official, "canonical" reading systems was the result of a

revision in accordance with bedouin language. This theory found little acceptance; it has partly been revived by P. Kahle (in *Goldziher Memorial Volume*, i, 1948, 163-82, etc.) who sees in a saying of al-Farrāʾ promising reward to those reciting the Ḳ. with *iʿrāb* support for Vollers' view that the original Ḳurʾān had no *iʿrāb*. Fück (*Arabiya*, 2-3) cites verses which would have been ambiguous without *iʿrāb*; the dialect variants prove that Readers sometimes did not have command of Cl. Ar. or were slovenly. There is thus no proof for a revision by adding *iʿrāb*, though we know of another revision: the introduction of the *hamza* into a spelling based on its absence. We learn, however, that the *hamza* sign was added later than the vowels and at first written in a different colour (al-Dānī, *al-Nuḳaṭ* (Pretzl), (133-4) and there was opposition to it (*TA*, iii, 553), while we hear of no hesitation with regard to *iʿrāb*.

As far as we can see, the language of the Ḳurʾān stands somewhere between the poetical standard *koinē* and the Ḥidjāzī dialect. A slightly different mixture of the same elements marks the style of the Meccan poet ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (P. Schwarz, *Diwan des U. b. A.R.*, iv, 1909). Either their command of the ʿArabiyya was not perfect, or Muhammad used Meccan dialect, but was influenced by the Cl. Ar. used by the *kāhins* or soothsayers (Brockelmann, in *Handb. d. Orient.*, iii/2/3, 216)—not of the poets whom he detested—, or there existed already before Muḥammad a Meccan variety of Cl. Ar., used perhaps in writing (*e.g.*, commercial accounts and letters) and public speaking. The differences from the poetical language may be partly due to the needs of prose expression; here, too, some of the developments may well antedate Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Sprache d. Korans*, in *Neue Beiträge*, 1-30, trsl. by G. H. Bousquet as *Remarques critiques sur le style et la syntaxe du Coran*, 1953; G. Bergsträsser, *Verneinungs- u. Fragepartikeln im K.*, 1914; T. Sabbagh, *La métaphore dans le K.*, 1943; Zayat, *Les néologismes arabes au début de l'Islam*; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 1947, 156-81; G. E. v. Grunebaum, in *WZKM*, 1937, 29-50.

The language of Ḥadīth, especially in dialogue, often deviates from Cl. Ar., mostly in the direction of colloquial Arabic, but sometimes in that of the Ḥidjāzī dialect. In traditions invented about 100 AH such features may show, at best, that at that time a more "popular" variety of Cl. Ar. existed (cf. our remarks above on Christian Arabic), but in fact the earliest recordings of traditions, in Ibn Wahb and Mālik, are much freer from these peculiarities: unless we assume that they corrected the style of the texts they noted down, we must admit the likelihood that these stylistic artifices were introduced later in order to create "atmosphere". The value of Ḥ. for linguistic research is thus a complex problem.

The language of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, which were handed down by philologists, shows only few aberrant features (W. Caskel, in *Islamica*, 1931, 43).

Cl. Ar. had an extremely rich vocabulary, due partly to the bedouin's power of observation and partly to poetic exuberance; some of the wealth may be due to dialect mixture. It was not rich in forms or constructions, but sufficiently flexible to survive the adaptation to the needs of a highly urbanised and articulate culture without a disruption of its structure.

Already in Pre-Islamic Arabia, the *koinē* had to be learnt, and the men who preserved and taught it, the *rāwīs*, were ready when the need arose for non-Arabs to acquire it under the Umayyads and Abbasids. Abu 'l-Aswad ad-Duʾalī and Khalīl b. Aḥmad belonged to that class, but they were soon joined by men who had inherited the habits of thinking taught in the Hellenistic Schools of Rhetoric, and who systematised the traditional lore of the *rāwīs* and applied the science thus created not only to poetry but also to the Ḳurʾān, harmonising wherever the texts "deviated" from the rules. Before turning into the Literary Arabic of the Islamic period, Cl. Ar. thus underwent a process of sifting and systematisation, with subsequent refurbishing of the old sources, poetry and Ḳurʾān, according to the new stricter standards.

Bibliography: (see J. Fück, *Arab. Studien, in Europa vom 12. bis . . . 19. Jahrh.*, *Beiträge zur Arabistik*, Leipzig 1944, 85-253).

The history of the European study of Arabic is at first one of increasingly effective utilisation of the Arab philologists' work. The first grammars, by Postel (1538) and Erpenius (1613), were based on late school manuals. The first systematically to use older and more advanced Arabic works was S. de Sacy (1810). C. P. Caspari (1848) was based on Zamakhsharī; in the 3rd edition of W. Wright's translation (1896 and reprints) this base is much enlarged. D. Vernier (1891-2) utilized Sībawayh; M. S. Howell (1880-1911) digested all Arab grammarians. In lexicography, the evolution goes from Raphelengius (1613) and Giggeius (1632, based on the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī), via Golius (1653, based on the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī) to E. W. Lane's gigantic translation and rearrangement of the *TA* (1883-93; parts 6-8, ed. by S. Lane Poole, are less useful) and the practical dictionaries of Belot and Hava, based on *LA*.

In its second stage, European scholarship attempted to improve on the achievements of the Arabs by direct reference to texts and independent analysis. In grammar, the process begins with H. L. Fleischer's notes on S. de Sacy (*Kleinere Schriften* i-ii, 1886-8); further of special importance Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Gramm. d. klassischen Arabisch, SBAk. Wien*, 1897, ii; H. Reckendorf, *Syntaktische Verhältnisse d. Arab.*, 1895-8; id., *Arabische Syntax*, 1921; C. Brockelmann, *Grundr. d. vergl. Gramm.* ii, 1913; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachère, *Gramm. de l'Arabe Classique*, 1937. In lexicography, the principal fault of the Arab works is that—apart from some specialist vocabularies and al-Fayyūmī's *Miṣbāḥ al-Munir*—they largely neglect the post-classical accretions to the language. Texts were utilised already by G. W. Freytag (1830-7) and A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski (1860). In spite of the *Supplément* of R. Dozy (1881), the *Additions* of E. Fagnan (1923), the glossaries added to the Leiden Ṭabarī edn. (1901) and vols. iv, v, viii of the *BGA*, etc., the vocabulary of medieval Arabic is still far from fully recorded. I. Krachkovsky, Neustadt and Shusser (1947), and H. Wehr (1952) deal with modern Arabic. Yet even for Cl. Ar. there is still much work to be done. Some gaps are closed by glossaries with editions of poems, e.g. that of A. Müller to Nöldeke's *Delectus* etc. (1890), A. A. Bevan to C. J. Lyall's edn. of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (ii, 1924), and those added by Ch. Lyall to *ʿAbīd and ʿĀmir b. Ṭufail* (1913) and F. Krenkow to *Ṭufail and Ṭirimmāḥ* (1927). The Hebrew University of

Jerusalem has prepared a card-index concordance to Pre-Islamic poetry. Publication is planned at Cairo of the lexicon of A. Fischer; the edition by J. Kraemer of Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch* (incorporating collections by Bevan and others) began in 1952. No scientific dictionary exists as yet for the Ḳur'ān, those by F. Dieterici (1881) and Penrice (1873) being unsatisfactory.

(C. RABIN)

(2) Early Middle Arabic

The Arabic literary language has been academically standardised since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Its grammar, syntax, vocabulary and literary usages were clearly defined after systematic and laborious research. Since that time and down to the present it has had a continuous and uninterrupted existence. Although every Arabic-speaking country has developed its own colloquial language for everyday life, they have all continued to use the standard literary language for purposes of writing.

The scholars of the early centuries of Islam—who were responsible for that remarkable achievement of linguistic standardisation—made their starting point the historically authentic text of the Ḳur'ān which described itself as a "Clear Arabic Book", and which was recorded, put together, and officially circulated in the 1st/7th century. Collections of the traditions, epistles and speeches of the Prophet; sayings and speeches of the Caliphs and the famous orators of the early Islamic period, and anthologies of Arabic poetry were also used as references and textual examples of the literary language. But the greatest efforts of the scholars in the 2nd/8th, 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries were directed towards the collecting, reviving and verifying what was still kept in the memories of rāwīs and bedouins of pre-Islamic literature. The poetry as well as proverbs and speeches of the last hundred and fifty years of the *dj̲āhiliyya* period were collected, studied and commented upon, and were used as explanations of Ḳur'ānic usages and as proofs of linguistic and literary correctness.

The assumption on which this work of reconstruction and standardisation was built was the identity of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic literary language. This assumption is borne out by many historical and literary data. The Ḳur'ān claimed to have spoken to the Arabs in their own tongue as was God's way with every Divine mission ("We have never sent any messenger except in his people's tongue"; xiv, 4). When the Arabs heard the Ḳur'ān they understood it, appreciated its literary excellences, and were greatly struck by its superior eloquence (Ibn His̲h̲ām, Cairo 1914, I, 201, 216-7).

Many references could be quoted to strengthen the claim to authenticity of what was retrieved of the *dj̲āhiliyya* poetry, and the identity of its construction, style and language with the text of the Ḳur'ān and the manner of composition of post-Islamic poetry. The second fact upon which historical references are agreed is that the *dj̲āhiliyya* poetry as it has been collected and handed down to us was recited and appreciated all over Arabia. The poetic language heard in the courts of the Lak̲h̲mids in al-Ḥīra and the G̲h̲assānids in Syria was the same as that heard and applauded in Nad̲j̲d and Hid̲j̲āz.

Claims for priority in evolving the literary language were advanced for different tribes. A statement often quoted in Islamic books advances the theory that pre-Islamic poetry began in Rabī'a with Muhalhil; then shifted to Ḳays where the two Nābig̲h̲as and Zuhayr flourished, and finally reached Tamīm where it remained till the days of Islam (*al-Muzhir*, II, 476, 477). Light on the subject may be sought in the many attempts at explaining the tradition "The Ḳur'ān was revealed in seven *aḥruf* (tongues or languages)". According to Ibn 'Abbās those were the seven dialects of Upper Hawāzin and Lower Tamīm. This may be taken to mean that these seven dialects, being the clearest and the most eloquent, contributed largely to the formation of the literary language (al-Suyūṭi, *al-Itḳān*[2], Cairo 1935, 47). Al-Ṭabari raises the question as to whether the Ḳur'ān was revealed in all or some only of the Arab dialects, and uses the tradition referred to above to argue that the Ḳur'ān was revealed in some only (seven) as the Arab dialects were too numerous to count. (*Tafsīr*, Cairo 1323, I, 15).

The second stage in the development and spread of literary Arabic begins with the rise of Islam. The new religion chose to make its challenge to the poetically-minded Arabs through a literary composition. The new Holy Book, by its excellence, proved to the Arabs as miraculous as the turning of a stick into a snake, or the healing of the sick was to former peoples. The whole revolution in the life, belief and practical philosophy of the Arabs was embodied in the chapters of this new Book. From the beginning of its revelation it was being learnt by heart by the Muslims and recorded in writing by the special scribes employed by the Prophet (al-D̲j̲ahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā' wa 'l-Kuttāb*, ed. Saḳḳā and others, Cairo 1938).

The general practice was that a Muslim would learn a few verses (ten for example) and would not exceed them until he knew their meaning and followed their precepts in practical life (al-Ṭabarī, *D̲j̲āmi' al-Bayān*, I, 27, 28). It was not long before a group of companions (e.g. Ibn 'Abbās. Ibn Mas'ūd, 'Ikrima, and 'Alī) became specialists in the interpretation of the Ḳur'ānic text. Thus a new branch of literary and linguistic learning started which became later an important factor in the standardisation of literary Arabic. But there was another important aspect of Ḳur'ānic reading which had some bearing on the development of literary Arabic, namely the variants which caused concern to many a faithful believer.

The danger of this variation in the reading of the Ḳur'ānic text was removed only by the preparation of standard copies at the command of the third Caliph, 'Ut̲h̲mān (see ḲUR'ĀN).

Thus the first and foremost Islamic literary work in the Arabic language became the most authentic model for literary usage. Wherever the Islamic faith went in its rapid spread, it carried with it this religious and literary constitution. Every believer learnt part -or all, of it by heart, and was influenced in his literary activities by its diction and modes of expression.

Many of the variant readings of the Ḳur'ān, however, were preserved to us through the *Ḳirā'āt* literature and have proved valuable in the reconstruction of Arabic dialects.

The Ḳur'ān had, yet, another aspect in which it influenced the course of the literary language, namely its miraculous unsurpassable excellence. The literary Arab celebrities admitted impotence before its challenge, and Muslims down the ages looked up to it as their literary guide and linguistic authority. The study of the secrets of Ḳur'ānic eloquence (*i'dj̲āz*) has given Arabic literary criticism a special approach and a wealth of material (see M. Khala-

fallah, *Qur'ānic Studies as an Important Factor in the Development of Arabic Literary Criticism, Faculty of Arts' Bulletin*, Alexandria 1953).

During the Prophet's life-time and some time after, poetical activities among the Arabs gave way to the propagation of the new faith by word and by sword. Some devout Muslims found better occupation in learning the Ḳur'ān and pondering on the beauty of its style, others joined the invading Muslim armies in Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Persia. The art of public speaking, for a period, took the place of the art of poetry. The literary language now was turning more and more into a language of religious guidance, moral uplifting and legislation for the new order. New shades of meaning and literary usages began to develop within the framework of the pre-Islamic literary language. "The Arabs in their *d̲j̲āhiliyya* days", says Ibn Fāris, "had inherited from their ancestors a heritage of dialects, literature, rituals and sacrificial practices. But when Islam came conditions changed, religious beliefs were discarded, practices abolished, some linguistic terms were shifted from one usage to another, because of matters added, commandments imposed, and rules established". (Examples of these changes are given by as-Suyūṭi, Ibn K̲h̲ālawayh, al-T̲h̲aʿālibī and Ibn Durayd, see, *al-Muzhir*, i, 294, 295, 296, 298, 301, 302).

Thus the second stage in the development of the Arabic literary language has brought in new important factors, religious and social, and introduced many necessary linguistic changes. But that was not all. The scene was considerably widening and shifting. The Arabs were no longer contained in their Peninsula, but were spreading out with the rapidly sweeping conquests of Islam. Wherever they went they carried with them not only their new Arabic Holy Book with its polished and appealing language, but they carried also their tribal linguistic characteristics, and their traditionally inherited literature (poetry, proverbs, narratives, and oratorial speeches) which they stored in their memories.

These conquests were an important factor in the process of Arab linguistic unification. Several of the big invading armies were composed of mixtures of tribes, many of whom were accompanied by their women and children. Thus a good deal of intermixing and intermarriage between the tribes took place in the conquered cities. Newly established settlements—such as *al-Kūfa*—had in them elements from North as well as from South-Arabia, and from Ḥid̲j̲āz as well as from Nad̲j̲d.

The Arabs were now passing from the tribal stage to the stage of cities and countries. Their social units were no longer tribal, but urban, as in Baṣra or Kūfa, and regional, as in Syria or Egypt. This new regrouping of the Arabs must have reduced considerably the differences of the dialects, and reinforced the unifying processes already begun in pre-Islamic times.

With those conquests, Arabic was now spreading to new non-Arab territories. Its fortunes in the different units of the vast Islamic empire were varied. In some countries like Syria and Egypt it became—and is still at the present time—the national language of the country. In others like Persia it remained for a few centuries the language of culture, but with time it gave way to the native Persian language. The story of this spread in its early stages, and the emergence of the colloquial languages in the Arabic-speaking countries is a long and interesting one. (See, S. Fayṣal, *al-Mud̲j̲tamaʿāt al-Islamiyya*, Cairo 1952, Vol. II). The spread and establishment of Arabic in some countries as a national language was aided by various factors. In Syria Arab elements had already settled, Arabic poetry had been welcomed at the G̲h̲assānids' courts, and many of the inhabitants spoke Aramaic, a kindred language. In ʿIrāḳ, too, Arab tribes had already settled from pre-Islamic times, and an Arab state had established itself in al-Ḥīra. In those regions of ʿIrāḳ where Persian was prevalent, the long-established neighbourhood of Arabs and Persians paved the way for the conquering language. Some Persian kings—such as Bahrām Gūr—are said to have been brought up in the Arabic courts and to have composed Arabic poetry. H. C. Woolner (in *Language in History and Politics*) states that Persian was influenced in the seventh century A.D. by a strong Aramaic current which prepared the way for the spread of Arabic. Another form of that influence came through Syriac which occupied an important position as a cultural medium in Persia.

In Egypt, Greek had been, since Ptolemaic times, the language of culture, politics, administration, and later of the Church, while Coptic was the vehicle for daily intercourse among the population. Yet the adoption of classical Arabic as a state language, and of colloquial Arabic as a conversational medium among the Egyptians was accomplished within a century after the conquest. Authorities state that Coptic disappeared almost completely after that period from most parts of Egypt, and could only be found among the scholars who specialised in studying it (A. Amīn, *Fad̲j̲r al-Islām*[3], 259). When Islam entered North Africa it found three languages there; Latin, which was the language of administration and culture; a mixed language composed of Greek, Latin and semitic elements which was bequeathed by Carthage; and Berber in the interior of the country. Arabic became the dominant language in the cities through the spread of the new religion and the arrival of wave after wave of Arab settlers. The Berber language, however resisted the spread of Arabic in its strongholds in the interior.

These conquests, then acted as carriers of Arabic both as a literary and as a colloquial language in many different lands. As many Arabs migrated to these new territories, taking their language with them, so did great numbers of non-Arabs migrate in the opposite direction; many as slaves and clients (*mawālī*), and they settled in the big Arab centres of Mecca, Medina, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. They naturally adopted Arabic as their medium of intercourse, and some of them mastered literary Arabic and became famous writers and poets. Some of the Persian *mawālī* found in the two capitals of Ḥid̲j̲āz a fertile soil for their music and singing. Thus a movement of interaction between Arabs and non-Arabs was taking place all through the Islamic empire during the 1st/7th century. This movement produced a great civilisation which became known as Arab-Islamic civilisation. The contribution of the conquered races to this civilisation consisted in culture, learning, and administration, while the purely Arabian contribution lay in the linguistic and the religious fields. The ancient Aramaic and Iranian cultures, under the aegis of the Caliphate, were woven into a new pattern and expressed through the medium of the Arabic tongue. Arabic was thus invigorated by new elements of ideas and images, stimulated with fresh conceptions of excellence and eloquence, and enriched even with a new vocabulary. Persian, in particular, was responsible for the introduction

of new terms in the fields of luxury, ornaments, handicrafts, fine arts, government administration, and public registers (A. Amin, *Fadjr al-Islam*, Section iii). (M. Khalafallah)

(3) Middle Arabic

The creation of an Arabic Empire stretching at the height of its power from the Pyrenees and the Atlantic to the shores of the Sīr Daryā and the Indus had far-reaching consequences on the development of the Arabic language. Arabic, hitherto spoken in Arabia proper and its immediate neighbourhood, went with the Muslim armies to the farthest ends of the far-flung empire. Life in camp and on expedition brought men of different tribes into close contact and the vicinity of the tribal quarters (*khiṭaṭ*) in the great cities soon led to a levelling of their dialects. In addition to these dialects, some forms of interdialectal speech were in existence, notably the language of oratory used by the tribal spokesman (*khaṭīb*) in his harangues, and the poetical language, both of which had been cultivated in pre-Islamic days and were now enriched by the language of the Ḳurʾān. The poetical language was characterised by certain peculiarities of metre and rhyme, vocabulary and phraseology, figures of speech and imagery inherited from the ancient bards, but otherwise it was presumably still close to the language of everyday conversation; verses were still improvised on the spur of the moment, nor did their understanding require any sort of education on the part of their hearers.

It is only in the latter half of the first century that we find new linguistic traits in the love-poetry of the Ḥidjāz. These poets, whose surroundings gave them leisure to reflect upon their emotional experiences, felt the conventions of bedouin poetry inadequate for their purposes and began to use the conversational style of the new aristocracy, which was modified by the Ḥidjāzī dialect as well as by the exigencies of settled city-life (see Paul. Schwarz, *Der Diwan des ʿUmar b. abī Rabīʿa*, iv, 1909, 94-172).

In the new provinces—except perhaps Syria—the Arabs were considerably outnumbered by the indigenous population who continued to use their mother-tongues, but had in their dealings with government to adapt themselves to the idiom of the conquerors, though at the beginning they used some sort of makeshift language. Then there were those non-Muslims who had been taken prisoner and were brought into the houses and harems of their Arab masters. They quickly adopted Arabic and as a rule embraced Islam. Many of them or their descendants were freed from bondage and played as freedmen (*mawālī*) an important rôle in the economic life of the empire, especially in the cities where they formed the bulk of the population. They spoke Arabic with many alterations, due partly to the influence of the language of their forebears, partly to the dialect of their Arab patrons and neighbours, and last but not least to the rapid changes in their economic and social environment. These widely differing idioms were the forerunners of the Middle-Arabic local dialects, which were spoken by the lower classes in the towns of the various provinces. They were characterised by a simplified pronunciation; the glottal stop was dropped; *ḳ*, voiced in bedouin speech became voiceless; emphatic and non-emphatic sounds and also *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ* were confused; in the areas where Aramaic was formerly dominant, the interdental spirants were replaced by the corresponding occlusives. But the most telling feature of Middle Arabic was the weakening and loss of the short final vowels and along with it the abandonment of the desinential inflexion (*iʿrāb*), which had momentous consequences for the structure of the language (J. Cantineau, *Bulletin de la société linguistique*, 1952, 112). The old system of inflexion fell into disuse; cases, status, moods were no longer distinguished. Their functions had to be taken over by word order, periphrastic expressions, and other means common in languages of an analytical type. Middle-Arabic was also adopted by the Christians of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia and by the oriental Jews, and from the 2nd/8th century onwards used by them for literary purposes, whilst with the Arab Muslims the classical language remained the proper medium for literary activities. In this appreciation of the language of the Ḳurʾān and of the ancient Arabic poetry they were followed by the *mawālī*, who from the first tried to conform to the higher standards of Arabic and were already in the 1st/7th century contributing to Arabic poetry (e.g. Ziyād al-Aʿdjam). By the end of the 1st/7th century the *mawālī* felt the necessity for some sort of training in the classical language, thus giving an impetus to the beginnings of grammatical studies, whilst the Arabs grew apprehensive of unidiomatic speech and realized the necessity for preserving the purity of their language.

Once taken up by the *mawālī*, the classical language survived the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty and continued to be the medium of Islamic culture throughout the Muslim world, not only in those provinces where Arabic was dominant or gaining ground but even in countries where it was never to gain a firm footing. In the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa the rules of the "*ʿarabiyya*" were standardised according to the idioms of those bedouins who were credited with the purest language. This standard language was used at court and in good society, and to master it was one of the first accomplishments of a man of letters or learning. Its application to literary purposes shows a great variety of types. All narratives referring to Arabic and bedouin life (e.g. the *amthāl al-ʿArab*, *ayyām al-ʿArab*, but also the *maghāzī* and the *sīra*) preserved to some extent the uncouth originality and artless naïveté of the old language. In the literature of *ḥadīth* (traditions) and *fiḳh* (jurisprudence) the social and economic changes left their marks on the vocabulary, phraseology, and even morphology. Of a quite different type is the language of the secular prose-writers of the early ʿAbbāsid period (e.g. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ). Here the changes in Muslim society brought about by the ascendancy of the non-Arab races, the pre-Islamic heritage and the revival of Oriental Hellenism, took full effect. It is polished, lucid, flexible and well adapted to the expression of thought in a precise manner; its vocabulary, though lacking the exuberant abundance of the bedouin language (as witnessed e.g. by the *urdjūza*-poetry), is rich and expressive, and its grammatical structure free from the cumbersome overgrowth of nominal and verbal forms so conspicuous in the bedouin language. The same simplicity and smoothness is found also in the verses of the so-called "modern" (*muḥdath*) poets of the same period (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya), although in poetry as a rule the imitation of the old patterns has always been closest.

On the language of every-day life and the dialects spoken by the different strata of Muslim society during this period very little is known. How complicated the linguistic situation had grown by the

end of the 2nd/8th century we can gather from occasional remarks of al-Djāḥiẓ (165-255) not only about the correct language of true bedouins, its gradual corruption through the vicinity of towns and intercourse with the peasantry, about the patois of the lower orders, the cant of pedlars, the argot of beggars, the technical terms of trades and professions, but also about mispronunciation and faulty speech on the one hand and euphemism and mannerism on the other.

These divergent tendencies soon affected the written language. The translators and scientists who made the legacy of Greek philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and other sciences accessible to the Muslim world, enriched the vocabulary considerably by innumerable technical terms. But they were often Christians (e.g. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ) or Jews, and had neither a good grounding in Arabic grammar nor any aptitude for literary perfection and accomplished style. Their translations, therefore, show as a rule some Middle Arabic features (see G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913, 28-53).

The decline of the ʿAbbāsid power and the ascendancy of the Turkish soldiery in the course of the 3rd/9th century led to a general lowering of the standards of education; even the court-language no longer preserved its former purity but became marred by vulgarisms. About the year 300/912 the classical language ceased to be used in the conversation of good society, in the law-courts and colleges, and froze into a literary idiom; to stick to the rules of the *iʿrāb* was considered a sign of pedantry and affectation. At the same time the former enthusiasm for the bedouins began to wane, and their language—the dialects of which had in the meantime undergone many changes—was no longer looked upon as the best representative of Arabic speech. The classical language was spoken only on solemn occasions, otherwise its use was restricted to the domain of literature. Here its application was mainly a problem of style. Henceforward the term *ʿarabiyya* meant an unalterable system of words, phrases, grammatical forms and syntactical structures, which was strictly regulated by the rules of grammarians and lexicographers and could not—at least theoretically—be improved upon. In applying this artistic language to his theme—which in its turn he had to select from a limited number of topics (*maʿānī*)—an author had a choice between different styles, differing in the employment of rhyme, rhythm, figures of speech and other embellishments. But once he had chosen his theme and its style he was committed to the traditional patterns (see G. E. von Grunebaum, *The Aesthetic Foundation of Arabic Literature*, *Comparative Literature*, 1952, 323-40). It is for this reason that a writer had not only to possess a thorough knowledge of the intricacies of Arabic grammar and lexicography, but had also to study and learn by heart the best pieces of classical prose and poetry (though the question as to what authors were of classical rank was often hotly debated). In these circumstances the *ʿarabiyya* was bound to become a learned medium and its study was cultivated by Arabs and non-Arabs alike. The non-Arab races contributed even some of the best prose-writers (e.g. al-Khʷārazmī, and Badīʿ al-Zamān) and philologists (e.g. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī). High literature was the privilege of an élite and required sometimes a commentary either by the author (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī) or by his admirers (e.g. al-Mutanabbī) in order that it might be understood by the hearers. Occasionally vulgarisms were used for artistic purposes (in *muwashshaḥ*, *zadjal*) and even the argot of the beggars and swindlers was made use of by Abū Dulaf in his *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Sāsāniyya*; but on the whole the vocabulary of high literature was choice and exquisite.

These high standards, however, were required in high poetry and ornate prose only. In the other branches of literature there is a great variety in language and style. Often it is only the preface which is written in rhymed prose and in choice wording, whilst the bulk of the book betrays the Middle-Arabic character of the author's speech. In books written for practical purposes the technical terms of the subject had to be used. If the author had no proper knowledge of the grammar, faulty speech was unavoidable; the worst example is perhaps the *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* by Buzurg b. Shahriyār al-Rāmhurmuzī written after 342/953 (*Le Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, éd. par P. A. van der Lith et L. M. Devic, Leiden 1883-6). It is full of vulgarisms (see de Goeje's remarks in van der Lith's edition, 205), some of which are common in Middle-Arabic whilst others are probably due to the author's non-Arab mother-tongue and his profession.

These disrupting tendencies were fostered by the disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid empire. Already in 375/985 al-Maḳdisī could in his description of the Muslim world attempt to characterise each country by the peculiarities of its language. It appears from his account that in his days in all Arabic-speaking countries the conversational language of the upper classes had suffered considerably under the inroads of local dialects and that the most correct Arabic was heard in the Eastern (Iranian) countries where much attention was paid to the study of grammar.

Already in the days of al-Maḳdisī the increasing independence of the Sāmānid dynasty led to the revival of New-Persian literature, which had momentous consequences on the position of Arabic as the Islamic language in the Eastern regions. Outside the Arabic-speaking world, Arabic was in the dominions of the Saldjūḳs gradually superseded by New-Persian not only as the language of court, society, diplomacy and administration, but also in poetry, belles-lettres and other branches of secular —and later on even religious—literature. At the same time the rise of independent dynasties in the Arabic-speaking countries gave a new impetus to the development of the dialects spoken in their dominions and increased the already existing tension between literary language and colloquial. Thus the picture of the Arabic language as reflected in the literature of the Saldjūḳ period (5th/11th-7th/13th centuries) is of a bewildering complexity. There are masterpieces of ornate prose, written in a faultless style like the Maḳāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), which could be appreciated only by a small group of connoisseurs. In high poetry the imitation of the time-honoured patterns continued, but some poets succeeded in modernising the poetical diction by adapting it to the conversational style of their contemporaries, e.g. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr (d. 656/1253). Others even made use of the local dialects, e.g. Ibn Ḳuzmān (d. 555/1160) and Ibn Dāniyāl (c. 693/1294). Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188) composed verses in the conventional fashion, but his famous memoirs are written in an unpretentious style which savours of the dialect of Syria. Some grammarians grew lenient in admitting expressions which were formerly excluded from correct speech,

whilst others, like Ibn Yaʿīsh (d. 643/1245) (see G. Jahn in the preface to his edition, i, 10-12) wrote in a slovenly style, without regard for the rules of grammar they were expounding. In ordinary prose, offences against grammar are rather the rule than the exception, as witnessed by the works of Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) (see Wüstenfeld in vol. v, 58-65 of his edition) and al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283) (see Wüstenfeld in vol. ii, ix of his edition). Works written outside the Arabic-speaking countries sometimes betray the fact that their authors had not a full command over the language; Persian (and later Turkish) writers e.g. Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 690/1291) (see Löfgren, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, ii/2, 21) were apt to disregard the differences of gender, the concord of gender and number, and the rules concerning the article. There are further works of a popular character, such as the epic romances (e.g. the *Sīrat ʿAntar, Sīrat Banī Hilāl*), the *Maghāzī*-legends (e.g. by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, c. 693/1294) and the mystic poems of the religious orders; they were destined for the edification and entertainment of the middle and lower classes and were therefore written in a rather vulgar language and style. Similar vulgarisms are found in the writings of the Druzes (see de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe* ii, 236, n. 9, etc.) and the religious poetry of the Yazīdīs (see R. Frank, *Scheich ʿAdi*, 107 ff.). Naturally the writers of other denominations, as e.g. the Christians, the Jews (see J. Friedlaender, *Der Sprachgebrauch der Maimonides*, i, Frankfurt a.M. 1902) and the Samaritans (see Abu 'l-Fatḥ, *Annales Samaritani*, ed. E. Vilmar 1865) had no part in the literary traditions of the Arabs, though men like Maimonides were otherwise deeply imbued with Islamic culture. But many more inquiries into the language of individual authors will have to be made before the development of literary Arabic in these centuries can be elucidated. For these studies a perusal of autographs or at least of contemporary manuscripts will be necessary, for our editions are as likely as not "corrected" by oriental printers (see August Müller in the preface to his Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Königsberg 1884, VII-VIII) or European editors (see S. L. Skoss in the preface to his edition of al-Fāsī, *Djāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ*, i, 1936, CXL-CXLIII).

After the devastation of the Asiatic countries caused by the invasions of the Mongols, there began a new period in the history of literary Arabic. Egypt rose into prominence and became under the Mamlūks (648-923/1250-1517) the centre of Islamic culture and of Arabic literature. The literary language during these centuries was post-classical. Prose-writers like Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270; see August Müller, *Über Text und Sprachgebrauch in Ibn abī Uṣaibiʿas Geschichte der Ärzte, Sitz.-Ber. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1884, 853-977) represent the colloquial as it was then spoken in good society. Later authors such as Ibn Iyās (c. 930/1524; see P. Kahle in the preface to his edition, vol. iv, 1931, 26-8) and Ibn Ṭūlūn (c. 955/1548; see R. Hartmann, *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn*, 1926, 103) are even more influenced by the local dialect, especially in vocabulary. Others, such as the Amīr Bektāsh al-Fākhirī (c. 741/1341; see K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden 1919, 1-33) show by their style that Turkish was their mother-tongue. In poetry the dialect was sometimes utilised e.g. by Ibn Sūdūn (d. 868/1464) in his humorous and satirical poems.

The great changes which took place in the world from the end of the 9th/15th century deeply affected literary Arabic. After the capture of Granada in 897/1492 and the expulsion of the Moors the Arabic language vanished from the Iberian peninsula. In the Maghrib, where the classical language had always stood in sharp contrast to the local dialects, there sprang from the latter a new poetical language, the so-called *malḥūn*, which since the 10th/16th century has enjoyed an ever-increasing popularity in Morocco. The other Arabic-speaking countries were sooner or later conquered by the Ottoman Sultans who were not primarily concerned with the cultivation of the Arabic language and literature. Even in Egypt, hitherto the mainstay of Arabic culture, literary activity sank to its lowest ebb. Literary Arabic was the prerogative of an élite. The dialect was occasionally utilised for literary purposes (e.g. by al-Shirbīnī, c. 1098/1687, in his *Hazz al-ḳuḥūf*). Already in the 10th/16th century poems were composed in the vernacular (see M. U. Bouriant, *Chansons populaires arabes*, Paris 1893, and Fuad Hasanain Ali, *Ägyptische Volkslieder*, i, 1939). In Syria, the Maronite archbishop of Aleppo, Germanus Farḥāt [*q.v.*] (d. 1145/1732) did much to revive the study of Arabic grammar, lexicology and rhetoric amongst his countrymen. Outside the Arabic countries Arabic continued to be used by scholars, more especially in theology, jurisprudence and kindred subjects; but though its sphere comprised by now parts of North and East Africa, Zanzibar, Malaya, and the Indonesien Archipelago, yet it was less influential than in the preceding period. This period of stagnation and decay lasted till the beginning of the 13th/19th century.

Bibliography: References are already given in the article. Many observations on the classical and postclassical usage are found in the prefaces to editions of Arabic texts, in grammars and dictionaries and especially in H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i-iii, Leipzig 1885-8; Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch*, Wien 1896; see also J. Fück, *Arabiya, Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte*, Berlin 1950 (Arabic translation by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadjdjār, Cairo 1951; French translation by C. Denizeau, 1955). (J. W. FÜCK)

(4) Modern written Arabic

The intrusion of Europe into the range of vision of the Arab world begins with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798. The adoption of innumerable elements of Western civilisation had far-reaching effects on the written language. This began already with Muhammed ʿAlī's programme of reform which set out deliberately to take over Western achievements and was focussed on France, which everywhere remained the model until after the first World War. As a result of the sending of student missions to study in France, the formation of schools on European lines and the foundation of an Arabic press, and, above all, of the translation of numerous European books, the necessity of finding expressions for a host of foreign ideas was felt first in Egypt and then too in other countries—foreign ideas for which at first only foreign words were available. Even the works of early translators in Egypt, of whom the most notable was al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873; cf. Brockelmann, II 481, S II 731, W. Braune in *MSOS* XXXVI 2, 119-125, J. Heyworth-Dunne in *BSOS* IX 961-7, X 399-415) already contain, side by side with numerous foreign words taken over indiscriminately, pure Arabic neologisms to express Western concepts.

But a real counter-movement against the excessive use of foreign words did not begin until the second half of the 19th century. The question of how to meet the ever-growing need for new expressions in Arabic became one of the major problems of intellectual life. The impact of Europe in itself awoke among the Arabs, after an interval of centuries, reconsideration of their own linguistic and literary tradition. The revival of the old philological learning was facilitated by the printing of many old literary works and especially of native dictionaries and grammars. The dogma that the ʿArabiyya as the oldest literary form of the language was better and more "correct" than any later forms and that it must therefore be the highest authority for linguistic correctness at the present day too became the guiding idea for the whole language movement, even if there were voices in opposition. Thus the old purism was revived again, and with it the tendency artificially to control the development of the language, with recourse wherever possible to the old model language. This movement started in the Syrian-Lebanese area. Outstanding among the earlier language critics was Ibrāhīm al-Yāzid̲j̲ī (1847-1906; Brockelmann, S II 766), who criticised the language of the journalists of his time in *Lug̲h̲at al-D̲j̲arāʾid* (published in book form, Cairo 1319). The inevitable modernisation and expansion of the vocabulary of the ʿArabiyya ought, according to the wishes of the purists, to be carried out by drawing to the greatest possible extent on the wealth of words, roots and forms in the ʿArabiyya. The question of how to proceed in detail and how far European words should be employed has been actively discussed again and again. In innumerable essays in nearly all periodicals and in many separate publications right up to the present moment, immense quantities of neologisms have been proposed, although it must be said that only a small percentage pass into general usage. Extending far beyond the circle of professional philologists, this movement has also affected large circles of the general educated public. The struggle with technical terms (*muṣṭalaḥāt*) is a difficult problem for every specialist in any technical or scientific branch and gives many of them the impetus themselves to become linguistically creative and to publish their own technical terms. The literature on this subject written in Arabic is very vast and scattered, and cannot be treated here more than generally. There are large collections of the terminology for many special fields (Aḥmed ʿĪsā, *Muʿd̲j̲am Asmāʾ al-Nabāt*, Cairo 1930; Amīn al-Maʿlūf, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932; Muṣṭafā al-S̲h̲ihābī, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-Alfāẓ al-Zirāʿiyya*, Damascus 1943; M. Ashraf, *English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology and allied Sciences*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1929—to mention only a few). But such works do not confine themselves to listing expressions which are already in current use; they also introduce suggestions of their own; they cannot therefore be considered as descriptive scientific material but are contributions to the establishment of terminology. The idea of co-ordinating these efforts and of establishing language academies for the standardisation of vocabulary dates from the 80's of the last century (cf. Braune l.c. 133). After several unsuccessful attempts, a scientific academy (*al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*) was founded in Damascus in 1919, which also devoted itself to the reform of the language and published many contributions to the language problem in its review, which first appeared in 1921. In 1932 the Egyptian *Royal Academy of the Arabic Language* (now *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Lug̲h̲a al-ʿArabiyya*) came into existence. Apart from the study of the old language and literature its main concern is the regulation and expansion of the modern vocabulary. In its review (*Mad̲j̲allat Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Lug̲h̲a al-ʿArabiyya*, Vol. I-VII, 1934-1953) and since 1942 in a sequence of special publications, the use of a great many *muṣṭalaḥāt* has been recommended, so far without the anticipated and desired effect being achieved. The official principles on which the Academy works can also be gathered from the minutes of meetings (*Maḥāḍir*, since 1936). Even in Irāḳ, where formerly the review *Lug̲h̲at al-ʿArab* (Vol. I-IX, 1911-1931) of P. Anastase al-Karmalī was the leading organ of the purist trend, an Academy was formed in 1947 (*al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*) which, *inter alia*, is also concerned with the problems of terminology. The real difficulty, however, with all these official attempts at creating standard terminologies for technical and scientific fields lies not so much in coining new expressions, as in securing their general use among the specialists concerned. Although the possibility of popularising newly-coined technical terms in specialist circles has often been overestimated, the practical effect of the purist movement on actual language usage cannot be denied. In many individual cases one can observe how artificially created words have quickly entered into the general stock of words of journalists and writers. The efforts of the purists however are concentrated almost entirely on the isolated word, that is, on the extrinsic elements of the language.

Turning to the linguistic facts, the striking feature is the infiltration of English and French phraseology, translated into Arabic (so-called loan translation or "calques") and the change in the inner form. In particular the language of daily communication (press and radio) and of writers with little or no classical education has a distinct European touch. Phraseology and style are far more difficult to check than terminology. This development is therefore inevitable and must be accepted as a fact. In the field of *belles lettres*, on the other hand, we find in many cases a strong attachment to tradition. Authors with a classical education are still today able to keep close to the ideal of the ʿArabiyya in their style; they sometimes make use of uncommon words and phrases of the old literature and especially of the Ḳurʾān as artistic stylistic devices. But no-one can completely escape the influence of European phraseology.

Grammar, on the other hand, which can be defined in rules and which is much more subject to conscious control, gives quite a different picture. The written language has remained untouched by the sound-change, and the morphology has remained constant from the earliest times till the present day; the same is true of the syntax at least in its basic features. Here the conservative attachment to the ʿArabiyya has proved itself astonishingly effective.

In vocabulary a considerable basic stock has remained alive since the earliest times. Post-classical words, including those from the later Middle Ages, form a further element of the modern vocabulary. A host of generally accepted expressions are available to express ideas which come from Europe, most of which are in full accordance with the above-mentioned wishes of the purists. Forgotten words of the ʿArabiyya have been revived and are used without formal alteration but with meanings more or less modified (e.g. *ḳiṭār* = train of camels drawn up one

behind the other > railway train); words of the ʿArabiyya still in use have been given a new additional meaning (e.g. *bark* = lightning > telegraph); sometimes the change of meaning is made by analogy with the foreign word, which served as model (e.g. *ṣundūḳ* = box > cash-box, cash office, after the French "caisse"). Moreover a large number of completely new nouns formed from old roots with the help of the Arabic nominal forms (most frequent: *mafʿal, -a, mifʿal, -a, faʿʿāl, -a*) have passed into general usage (e.g. *matḥaf* = museum, *naffātha* = jet-plane); likewise verbal nouns and participial forms are used for new expressions (e.g. *idhāʿa* = broadcasting, *muḥarrik* = motor). The *nisba*-ending is widely employed in the formation of new words (e.g. *ishtirākī* = socialist, *ishtirākiyya* = socialism); by the expansion of its use many new adjectives have been derived from nouns, and with them European compounds can easily be reproduced (e.g. *al-barīd al-djawwī* = airmail); genuine compound forms are still confined to those with the negation *lā* (e.g. *lā-silkī* = wireless). Until the first World War the majority of foreign words were borrowed from French, others from Italian. English became an influence after the first World War, especially in Egypt and Irāḳ. The decrease of foreign words in Arabic is a considerable achievement of purist efforts. Words of Turkish origin have disappeared almost entirely in the last decades. We may consider as loan-words such as correspond to an Arabic nominal form or can easily be assimilated to it, and for which broken plurals are formed (e.g. *bank-bunūk, film-aflām, duktūr-dakātira*) and such as are assimilated through the addition of the ending *-iyya* which serves as abstract ending (*dīmūḳrāṭiyya* = democracy).

The numerous accepted new words are still not sufficient. Very specialised scientific and technical details to the present day still cannot be expressed in Arabic in a form understood by all concerned. The anarchy in the field of specialised terminology even within one country is far from being at an end. The situation is aggravated by the fact that Greek and Latin technical terms which so often help specialists towards an international understanding even on complicated matters, are translated into Arabic. There are often several terms in circulation for the same thing; on the other hand cases occur where the same term means different things to different authors. Nevertheless the standardisation of technical terminology which is the basic problem of present-day Arabic has undoubtedly made considerable progress and thus we can also expect further favourable developments in the future.

The fact that there exists a basically uniform written language in all Arabic countries from Irāḳ to Morocco is of great value, ideal and practical, to the Arabic peoples. It is the symbol of their old cultural unity and their political union in the present day. Thus we can conclude that there is no reason to anticipate that the written language will anywhere be replaced by a local dialect and forced out of practical use.

Bibliography: W. Braune, in *MSOS* xxxvi, 2, 130-40; H. Wehr, ibid. xxxvii, 2, 1-64 and *ZDMG* xcvii, 16-46; D. V. Semyonov, *Sintaksis sovremennogo arabskogo yazyka*, Moscow-Leningrad 1941; Brockelmann, S III 5-7; J. Fück, *ʿArabīya* xiv; R. B. Winder and F. J. Ziadeh, *An Introduction to Modern Arabic*, Princeton 1955; Ch. Pellat, *Introduction à l'arabe moderne*, Paris 1956.—Dictionaries and most important contributions to lexicography: Ch. K. Baranov, *Arabsko-Russkiy Slovar'*, Moscow-Leningrad 1940-6 (with Preface by I. Kratchkovskiy with further references); L. Bercher, *Lexique Arabe-Français*, 2nd ed., Algiers 1944 (Supplement); M. Brill, D. Neustadt and P. Schusser, *The basic word list of the Arabic Daily Newspaper*, Jerusalem 1940; Elias, *Modern Dictionary Arabic-English* 4th ed., Cairo 1947; D. Neustadt and P. Schusser, *Millōn ʿArabī-ʿIbrī*, Jerusalem 1947; Ch. Pellat, *L'arabe vivant*, Paris 1952; H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1952, 1956. (H. WEHR)

(iii) The Vernaculars

(1) General survey

AREA IN WHICH ARABIC IS USED

Arabic is spoken to-day by about 60 million people ranging from Hither Asia to North Africa, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean; these regions are: Arabia with the Fertile Crescent up to the Persian and Turkish frontiers; Egypt and most of the Sudan (from the Nile to the Chad); Tripolitania; Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; Mauritania, French West Sudan, and the northern Sahara. In addition to this continuous geographical area, there exist isolated pockets; in Africa: Djibuti and Zanzibar; in Europe: Malta (formerly with the Balearic Is., Sicily, Pantellaria up to the 18th century), Spain (up to the 15th century [see AL-ANDALUS]). Finally, attention should be drawn to the Syro-Lebanese diaspora in North and South America and French West Africa.

Within the limits of the geographical area mentioned above, Arabic has found itself in contact with a series of foreign languages which it has tended to supplant, although some have still retained great vitality side by side with Arabic (e.g. Berber), but it is characteristic that Arabic has only succeeded in replacing indigenous languages when the latter have possessed structural features akin to its own; this has been the case in Egypt, where Coptic ceased to be spoken in the Middle Ages, while the Indo-European sphere has successfully resisted it, despite the implantation of Islam.

ORIGIN

The Arabic spoken to-day is derived basically from old dialects of Central and Northern Arabia. To the limited extent to which one can form an idea of them, these dialects, although differentiated, do not seem to have presented any essential points of difference, because the classical philologists, who remain the most important source, only note variations in pronunciation and vocabulary, while the structure of the languages seems to have been homogeneous. The same philologists, using *faṣāḥa* [*q.v.*] as their criterion, divided the old dialects into three main groups: those of the Ḥidjāz, considered the purest, those of the Nadjd, and finally those of the neighbouring tribes, considered to be contaminated to a greater extent by other Semitic or by non-Semitic languages. This distinction, always a fine one, is no longer tenable to-day, because the dialects concerned have developed markedly. Of all the classifications worthy of consideration, the most convenient, although it is based on a geographical division rather than on linguistic criteria (which are: the formation of the 1st person s. and pl. of the imperfect of the verb, and the treatment of short vowels in open syllables), consists of distinguishing two major groups, the

first (see below, section II) comprising the Eastern dialects, east of a line running approximately from Sollum to Chad, the second being formed by the Maghribī dialects, situated geographically west of the above line.

The dialect of the Ḥidjāz, and more particularly that of the Ḳuraysh of Mecca, is known to have been one of the pre-Islamic Arabic dialects; it was elevated to the status of a literary language, not, however, without some interference with the pre-Islamic poetic *koine*. But the old dialects remained none the less alive, not only in their own country, but also outside the Arabian Peninsula, because they were spread abroad by the Arabs in the territories which they conquered. Organised in their traditional groups, the Arab conquerors preserved for some time their own tongue, but dialectal peculiarities tended to become less marked as the result of the blending of tribes within the fighting units. It was this sort of *koine*, rather military in character, which constituted the language of the conquered or newly-founded towns, but a contrary development soon occurred, with the appearance of indigenous elements and elements from the linguistic substratum, which resulted in an ever greater differentiation between the urban dialects, although on the whole the dialects of the large cities of the Arab world still displayed common characteristics. It is therefore possible, in order to rely on a sociological rather than a geographical criterion, to distinguish on the one hand the dialects of the urban and settled populations (because the role of the large cities had aided the rapid spread of the urban dialects in concentric circles), and on the other the Bedouin dialects. The latter were the dialects of more or less homogeneous and nomadic tribes which had emigrated from the Arabian peninsula either before or after the conquests. In general, the boundaries between the two major groups defined above are not fixed absolutely, and it is even possible to discern the existence of an intermediate group of dialects which display both urban and Bedouin characteristics. The criteria which enable one to distinguish between urban and Bedouin dialects are set forth in sections II and III below, but it should be noted here that, in general, the Bedouin dialects exhibit more conservative tendencies, and greater homogeneity within the framework of the tribe. The urban dialects display pronounced evolutive tendencies; they have introduced morphological and syntactical innovations and, further, differentiated dialects quite often appear within the same urban area, not only between the following of different religions (Muslims, Jews and Christians for example), but also between the social classes and even between the sexes and different generations.

If Classical Arabic is compared, in the most general terms, with present-day dialectal Arabic, the main point to be noted is the early abandonment, by spoken Arabic, of case endings and the inflexions of the verb. Perhaps less characteristic, in the phonetic sphere, are the loss of the phoneme represented by ض and the tendency of short vowels in open syllables to disappear; further, short internal vowels, even in stressed syllables, have become weakened in the most developed dialects. Morphologically, in addition to the disappearance of terminations, one notes the almost complete disappearance of the passive with vowel change, the decreased use of the dual and the feminine plural. On the other hand the phonetic system is richer than that of classical Arabic and the vowel range greater; a present indicative *a*, in a number of dialects spoken by settled populations, was derived from the imperfect by means of various preverbs; the syntax, less synthetic, used an analytical construction simultaneously with the relationship of annexation (*iḍāfa*). Finally, as regards vocabulary, the basic vocabulary is also found in classical Arabic, with losses due to the disuse of a large number of special terms (notably those relative to Bedouin life, in the case of the settled populations), but also with gains due to loan words from foreign languages which continued to co-exist with Arabic.

DIALECTAL LITERATURE

The religious prestige of classical Arabic naturally prevented dialectal Arabic from playing the part of a literary language, at least among Muslims; further, with the exception of a certain number of proverbs and poems (see especially ZADJAL) dialectal literature is fundamentally oral; it consists of songs and poems, which treat of the same themes—epic, religious, lyric, satiric, eulogistic, erotic etc.—as classical Arabic, of tales, legends and even epics. When, exceptionally, a dialectal work of importance has been set down in writing, it has never preserved its original form, but has been transformed into more or less correct literary Arabic, which deprives us of documentary evidence which would otherwise be of great interest. The most typical example is that of the Thousand and One Nights (see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA). For the attempts made in recent years to create a dialectal literature, and for the use of colloquial Arabic in novels and plays, see *Arabic Literature* below.

Christian Arabic literature should not be overlooked (see G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlich-Arabischen Literatur* and *Der Sprachgebrauch der ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1905), nor that, in Roman script, which developed, but without great originality, at Malta, nor the Judaeo-Arabic writings. On these last, which until the present time form a vast branch of literature, see the article TUNISIA, and E. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, in *RT*, 1904; G. Vajda, *Un Recueil de textes historiques judéo-marocains*, Paris 1951; M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Litteratur der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902.

No complete work has yet been devoted to dialectal literature, but the reader is referred to the references given in Ch. Pellat, *Langue et littérature arabes*, Paris 1952, 54. For North Africa, H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Paris 1920, deals with a subject which is closely connected with Arabic dialectal literature.

Sources: — The works of modern Orientalists, who often give texts in dialectal Arabic and help to give a fixed form to popular literature, are enumerated in sections II and III below, which are specially devoted to the modern dialects. For a historical study, apart from the references of the Arab philologists and the glossaries quoted in the article AL-ANDALUS, special reference should be made to the transcriptions of Arabic texts in Coptic or Greek script (see especially the ancient psalm fragment given by Violet in *OLZ*, 1901), to the early Egyptian papyri and to the Sicilian documents edited by S. Cusa (*I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, I, Palermo 1868). (ED.)

(2) The Eastern dialects

THE ARABIAN AND NORTH ARABIAN DIALECTS

The geographical area covered by these dialects extends from Egypt to Syria in the case of the

former, and in the case of the latter, comprises on the one hand the Arabian Peninsula, and on the other the Syrian desert and ʿIrāḳ.

The non-Arab languages represented are as follows: in Egypt, the Sīwa Berber group. In Syria-Lebanon, the Aramaic dialect of Maʿlūlā, Djubbaʿdīn and Bakhʿa; the language of the Circassians living in villages in various parts of Syria: Ḳunayṭira, ʿAīn Zāt, Tell Améri, Khanāsir, Manbidj, and in Jordan Djarash; the Armenian (or Turkish) of about 200,000 Armenians (principal centres Beirut, Aleppo); the language of about 230,000 Kurds living in the region of Hassetché, Djarablūs, Djabal Akrād and certain cities, notably Beirut and Damascus. In ʿIrāḳ, these Kurds constitute a quarter of the population; in addition, there is the neo-Syriac of the Mawṣil plain. In Arabia, Kumzārī (peninsula of Masandām, in ʿUmān), a Persian dialect; the modern South Arabian languages, between the Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān: Mahrī, Ḳarawī, Harsusī, and Botaharī. In Israel, modern Hebrew.

Egyptian Arabic (nomad dialects) has penetrated into the republic of Sudan among the Nilotic and Kushitic languages, and then, with Maghribī influences, among the Negro-African languages in the region of Lake Chad. Yemenite Arabic is used as the second language in Africa among the Somalis. The Arabic of ʿUmān has found its way to Zanzibar. In Turkmenistān, Khazaristān, Tādjikistān traces have been found of Arabic nomadic dialects. Finally, in America, there is the Syro-Lebanese *diaspora*.

The eastern dialects. In Egypt, Cairo usage is well-known, that of Alexandria less well, that of the *fallāḥ*s very little, and that of the nomads and the whole of Upper Egypt hardly at all. In Palestine, a tripartite division must be carefully observed between sedentary urban-dwellers, the sedentary rural population (*fallāḥ*s), and nomads. In Syria-Lebanon, the dialects of the sedentary urban and rural populations are indeed distinguishable, but their differences are less marked; they contrast with the nomad dialects; the dialects of the large towns (Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem) are curiously similar to one another. The Mountain region of Lebanon, divided into separate districts, introduces local variations, the anti-Lebanon still more. In ʿIrāḳ, the urban and rural dialects have been submerged by the dialects of the North Arabian nomads; this has resulted in blending and compromise in varying degree between the two types of dialect, even in the large towns. Only assiduous linguistic research can show what remains of the dialects of the sedentary populations. In general, nomad dialects are linguistically dominant; thus ʿIrāḳ remains within the sphere of the North Arabian dialects. A study of the dialects of the Jews of Baghdād and Baṣra would be most useful; recent migrations have disorganised these communities. It is interesting to note the use of dialect in a literary context, in Egypt (*al-Ḥāgg Darwish*, plays for the theatre), and in the Lebanon (*Finiānūs*, *Shmūne*); see J. Lecerf, *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*, in *BEOD*, ii, 1932, 179-258; iii, 1933, 43-175.

The eastern dialects have not received equal treatment as regards actual publications. A concise bibliography will be given here, within the limits of this general outline (for convenience, ʿIrāḳ will be included here):

At least six works deal primarily with the Arabic of Cairo; the following will suffice: W. Spitta-Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Ägypten*, Leipzig 1880, xv-519 pp. in 8vo. (Texts 441-516; K. Vollers, *Lehrbuch der ägypto-arabischen Umgangssprache, mit Übungen und einem Glossar*, Cairo 1890. xi-231 pp. small 8vo. (English ed. by F. R. Burkitt, Cambridge 1895); C. A. Nallino, *L'arabo parlato in Egitto, grammatica, dialoghi e raccolta di circa 6,000 vocabuli*, Milan 1900, xxviii-386 pp. small 8vo., 2 ed. Milan 1913; D. C. Phillott and A. Powell, *Manual of Egyptian Arabic*, Cairo 1926, xxxiv-911 pp. small 8vo., In addition: Spiro-Bey, *Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1929, xvi-518 pp. in 8vo. (arranged in purely alphabetical order). For Upper Egypt there are only the *Contes arabes* ...., published by H. Dulac, *JA*, 8th series, v, 5-38 (in Arabic characters with translation but without transcription); the *Chansons populaires*, collected by G. Maspero (*Ann. Serv. Ant. Égypte*, xiv, 97-291) are inadequate for a linguistic inquiry. For the nomads of Lower Egypt a number of the *Lieder der libyschen Wüste of M. Hartmann*, Leipzig 1899; it should be used with caution.

The Sudan is hardly better known, nor is the Lake Chad area. For the former: A. Worsley, *Sudanese Grammar*, London 1925, vi-80 pp. in 8vo.; S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary* (p. 205-19, Cambridge 1935, xxiv-219 pp. in 8vo., see especially pp. xi-xxiv of the Introduction; idem, *Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary* [with transcription] 2nd ed., London 1930, xxviii-351 pp. in 12vo.). For the latter: G. J. Lethem, *Colloquial Arabic, Shuwa Dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and the region of Lake Chad*, London 1920, xv-487 pp. in 8vo. (Part III English-Arabic Vocabulary, 235-487). Lethem gives good conservative Bedouin Arabic; a form of Arabic which already shows changes (disappearance of the emphatics) is found in *Méthode pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Ouaday et à l'Est du Tchad* by H. Carbou, Paris 1911, 251 pp. (reprinted, 1954). Narrative texts: C. G. Howard, *Shuwa Arabic Stories*, with an Introduction and Vocabulary (p. 83-115), Oxford 1921, 116 pp. in 12vo.; J. R. Patterson has published the *Stories of Abu Zeid the Hilali in Shuwa Arabic*, London 1930, Arabic text with translation but without transcription.

For linguistic geography, we are indebted to G. Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina* (incl. the Lebanon and Jordan), *ZDPV*, xxxviii, 169-222, 42 maps. This *Sprachatlas* is an excellent beginning. J. Cantineau has added his *Remarques sur les parlers de sédentaires Syro-Libano-Palestiniens*, *BSL*, no. 118, 80-8, in which he proposes a classification; his article on *Le Parler des Drûz de la montagne Ḥôranaise*, *AIEO*, Algiers, iv, 157-84, in which he shows that a dialect of the sedentary population of the Lebanon is involved; his profound study of Ḥawrān, *Les parlers arabes du Ḥôrân, Notions générales, Grammaire*, Paris 1946, x-475 pp. in 8vo. (Publ. SL, lii), and an *Atlas* of 60 maps, *ibid.* 1940. Haim Blanc has studied the dialects of the Druzes in northern Galilee and on Mt. Carmel in his *Studies in North Palestinian Arabic*, Jerusalem 1953, 139 pp. in small 8vo. (Or. Notes and St. Isr. Or. Soc., No. 4), phonological and phonetic survey 22-78; texts 79-108.

For Syria-Lebanon, Palestine, the following should be mentioned: (1) General descriptive works: A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, 5 fasc., Paris 1935-54 (the last two published by H. Fleisch), 943 pp. in large 8vo. (deals exhaustively with the vocabulary of Aleppo (1900), and gives the elements

of the Lebanon, Damascus and Jerusalem). G. R. Driver, *A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine*, London 1925, x-257 pp. in 8vo. L. Bauer, *Das palästinische Arabisch, die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen, Grammatik, Übungen und Chrestomathie* p. 164-256, 3rd edition, Leipzig 1913, viii-264 pp. in 8vo., 4th edition, Leipzig 1926, and *Wörterbuch des Palästinischen Arabisch, Deutsch-Arabisch*, Leipzig and Jerusalem 1933, xvi-432 pp. in 16vo. Feghali (Mgr. Michel), *Syntaxe des parlers actuels du Liban*, Paris 1928, xxv-635 pp. in small 8vo. (PELOV). The *Grammaire du dialecte Libano-Syrien* of R. Nakhla, Beirut 1937, does not describe a fixed dialect. (2) Monographs: a) on the Lebanon: M. T. Feghali, *Le parler de Kfarʿabîda* (Lebanon-Syria), Paris 1919, xv-304 pp. in 8vo.; this type of dialect only obtains in part of the Lebanon. H. Fleisch, *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Zaḥlé (Liban)*, MUSJ, xxvii, 75-116, in part a monograph on an important dialect of the Béka. H. El-Ḥajjé, *Le Parler arabe de Tripoli (Liban)*, Paris 1954, 203 pp. in 8vo. (Text in transcription and translation pp. 176-99). b) on Syria: J. Cantineau, *Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre*, i, Grammar, x-287 pp. in 8vo., ii, Vocabulary and Texts, vii-149 pp. in 8vo., Beirut 1934 (Mém. Inst. Fr. Damas, ii), which describes a dialect of the settled population. The only works dealing with Damascus are the phonetic survey of Bergsträsser (see below), the *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe oriental (Damas musulman)* of J. Cantineau and Y. Helbaoui, Paris 1953, 124 pp. in 8vo., and the elements given by J. Oestrup in his *Contes de Damas* (Leiden 1897, 163 pp. in 8 vo.), pp. 122-155. (3) Useful texts: for Palestine, it is sufficient to mention here the *Chrestomathie* of L. Bauer; for the Lebanon, the *Contes, Légendes et Coutumes populaires du Liban et de Syrie* of M. Feghali, Arabic text, transcription, translation and notes, Paris 1935, xiii-195-87 pp. in 8vo.; for Damascus (Christian), *Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus* of G. Bergsträsser, I *Phonetik* (p. 1-50), *Prosatexte*, Hanover 1924, 111 pp. in 8vo. (*Beitr. z. sem. Phil. u. Ling.*, No. 1), Arabic text in transcription with translation); for Ḥamā, the story (in transcription, with translation) *Mḥammad il-ḥalabi*, published by E. Littmann, *ZS*, ii, 20-50.

Little is known about ʿIrāḳ: the *Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Iraq* of B. Meissner, Leipzig 1903, lviii-148 pp. in 8vo., and the *Beiträge zur Kunde des Irak-Arabischen* of F. H. Weissbach, i, *Prosatexte*, Leipzig 1908, xlvi-208 pp. in 8vo., ii, *Poetische Texte*, Leipzig 1930, 357 pp. in 8vo. (Leip. sem. St., iv, 1 and iv, 2), deal with the same dialect of the rural population of northern ʿIrāḳ; Meissner's work contains a substantial section on grammar, pp. vii-lviii, and a short vocabulary, pp. 112-48. For Mawṣil and Mārdīn, we have only the texts collected by A. Socin, *ZDMG*, xxxvi, *Der Dialekt von Mosul*, 4-12; *Der Dialekt von Mārdin*, 22-53 and 238-77, in transcription with translation, accompanied in part by the Arabic text, without study of the grammar or vocabulary. L. Massignon, in his *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Bagdad* (reprint from *Bull. IFAO*, xi, 24 pp. in 8vo.) has emphasised the linguistic complexity of Ba<u>gh</u>dad, where he has distinguished "at least seven stable indigenous groups, all of the Arabic language, but differing in dialect" (p. 2). A survey of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, which will be a particularly difficult task, is still awaited. The *Bagdadische Sprichwörter*, published by A. S. Yahuda in *Or. Studien* (collection of studies dedicated to Th. Nöldeke, Giessen 1906), pp. 399-416, deals with Jewish Ba<u>gh</u>dād. The two works: J. van Ess, *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq* (above all Baṣra), 2nd ed. Oxford 1936, and M. Y. van Wagoner, *Spoken Iraqi Arabic* (Baghdād), Ling. Soc. of America, 1949, are a medley of dialects and are not so far of use as linguistic information.

The western dialects bear a certain family likeness, and the same can be said for the eastern dialects. For the purposes of this comparison the more conservative nomad dialects (this does not exclude the facts of their own evolution), which are much less well-known, will be disregarded. We are concerned with the dialects of the settled populations of east and west. We will consider first the elements which link them (and also those which distinguish them): cf. G. S. Colin, *L'arabe vulgaire*, 150th anniversary of ELO (Paris 1948), pp. 100-1.

Phonetically: 1) The disappearance of the velarised latero-interdental phoneme represented by the old ض, replaced in general by *ḍ* (emphatic); *dh* (emphatic) among the fellahs of P. and at T.*). 2) The development of the three interdental fricatives (*dh, th, dh* emphatic) into dental occlusives (*d, t* then *ts* in M. and Alg., *ḍ* emphatic except among the fellahs of P. and at T. 3) The tendency of the short vowels to disappear in open syllables, particularly when they are not stressed (especially *i, u*). 4) The tendency to reduce the diphthongs *ay, aw* to the simple sounds *ē, ō*, (even *ī, ū* in Oc.), except in a large part of the Lebanon.

Morphologically: 1) The disappearance of the old inflexional vowels (*iʿrāb*); as a result the dialect becomes less synthetic, and makes greater use of grammatical instruments. Word order assumes importance in denoting relationship (construct state), the subject and the complement of the direct object. 2) The dual retrogressively becoming a survival without influence as such as regards grammatical concord. 3) The periphrastic expression of relationship (determinative complement of the noun), in place of the construct state, for various reasons: Eg. *betaʿ*; P., S-L. *tabaʿ*; (M. *dyāl*, Tl. *ntsāʿ*, T. *mtāʿ*). 4) The use of an indeclinable simplified relative pronoun: *elli* (similarly *dī, eddi* in M. and in several Arabic dialects (W. Marçais, *Tlemcen*, 175). 5) The formation of a new interrogative pronoun for things: Eg. *ʾe<u>sh</u>*; P., S-L *<u>sh</u>u*, *ʾey<u>sh</u>*, *ʾē<u>sh</u>* (M. *a<u>sh</u>*, *wā<u>sh</u>*; Tl. *wā<u>sh</u>*; T. *ā<u>sh</u>*, *a<u>sh</u>nūa*). 6) The abandonment of a special form for the feminine plural of personal pronouns and verbs. 7) The abandonment of the passive formed by change of vowels: *ḳatala* "he has killed", *ḳutila* "he has been killed" (except in Oman). 8) A form indicating duration: Eg. *ʿammāl*, *ʿamm*; P., S-L. *ʿam* (M. *kā*, verb expressing duration or habitual action). 9) The formation of an indicative by means of various auxiliary words prefixed to the old imperfect. 10) The conjugation of the imperfect of doubled verbs with the intercalation of a phoneme *ay* (*ē*), e.g.: L. *maddāyt* or *maddēt*. 11) The reduction of the number of types of broken plurals and still more of the types of infinitive (*maṣdar*).

The Eastern and Western dialects, over and above these common characteristics, give respectively a certain impression of unity, in so far as evolutionary tendencies have culminated, in each of the two groups, in different results. They can only be contrasted when, on both sides, the different result is identically constant. For example the method of

*) Abbreviations used: Alg. = Algeria; Eg. = Egypt; Ir. = ʿIrāḳ; L. = Lebanon; M. = Morocco; Oc. = Occidental; Or. = Oriental; P. Palestine; S. = Syria; T. = Tunis; Tl. = Tlemcen.

forming the first persons of the imperfect of the verb. The Eastern dialects have formed an indicative: imperfect with *b*- being contrasted in general with the subjunctive-jussive (without *b*-): L. *birīd yiktob* "he wishes to write". This indicative has in the 1st pers. s. a preformative *b*-: L. *bektob* "I write", *mnektob* "we write", whereas the Western dialects have a preformative *n*- and, secondarily, by analogical normalisation, a distinctive plural form in -*u* e.g.: T *niktib* "I write", *niktbu* "we write"; this is an excellent and characteristic example of contrast between the Eastern and the Western dialects; but it is not absolute: a preformative *n*- of the 1st pers. s. impf. is found in the Nadjd (Socin, *Diwan*, Part iii, 133c and 194b) and is confirmed in the Haḍramawt (de Landberg, *Arabica*, iii, 55). The loss of short vowels in open syllables, largely complete in the Western dialects, is a much less reliable indication: in fact in the Lebanon at Kfarʿabîda, all short vowels in open unstressed syllables disappear; at Palmyra, there is a fairly general disappearance of *i* and *u*, even when stressed, if they occur in an open syllable (this is one of the dialects called "differential" by J. Cantineau, *Études*, in *AIEO*, ii, 49).

The dialects also reveal a certain individuality, by comparison with the Western dialects, by virtue of the presence of grammatical characteristics which are lacking in the latter. Note for instance, in Eg., P., S-L.: 1) In the vocalisation of the simple verb, the retention of vowel contrasts reduced to a pattern *ḳatal byiḳtel* or *byiḳtol* and *ḳetel byiḳtal* (in Eg. the pattern is not quite so clear). 2) The formation of the plural of the demonstrative pronouns in a similar manner: the addition to the singular of the old demonstrative form of the pl. *ʾul* (cl. *ʾul-ā*, *ʾul-aʾi*: Eg. *da* + *ʾul* > *dōl*: P., S. *hāda* + *ʾul* > *hadōl*; L. *heyda* + *ʾul* > *heydōl*, Baʿalbek *ha* + *ʾul* > *hōl*; and other forms. These two phenomena, however, also obtain in the case of a number of North Arabian nomad dialects (Cantineau, *Études*, Ann. ii, 79 and 107) and their ʿIrāḳī extension; in addition, a form *hādhūla* occurs at T. (which seems to have been brought in by an ʿIrāḳī dialect, according to Barthélemy, *Dict.*, 876 *fin.*). 3) The frequent use of the present participle in Eg., P., S-L., as a present-perfect: *shāyef*? "do you see?" (= "have you seen and do you still see?). But ʿUmān presents similar features and in the Maghrib certain participles serve as a present-perfect.

As regards vocabulary (here ʿIrāḳ is included), a distinction must be made between: 1) The vocabulary of the dialects at the time of their formation. This consists of the Arabic basis brought by the invaders and words taken from the languages of the conquered and arabicised peoples (substratum): Coptic in Eg., Aramaic-Syriac in P., S.-L.; Syriac in ʿIrāḳ. L. only has been made the subject of study: M. Feghali, *Étude sur les emprunts syriaques dans les parlers arabes du Liban*, Paris 1918. 2) Vocabulary borrowed since the formation of the dialects. Pahlawī, Persian, Aramaic-Syriac, Greek and Latin (by various routes) have given words to literary Arabic, received through it and with it into the dialects at the time of their formation (such words form part of the Arabic basis) or received from it after their formation. The history of these borrowings from within is completely unknown to us. The loan-words proper are distributed as follows: Persian words in ʿIrāḳ; Turkish, Turkish-Persian and Turkish-Italian words, throughout the whole area from ʿIrāḳ to Egypt; Italian words in Eg., P., S.-L.; French words (recent borrowings) in Eg., P., S.-L.; English words (recent borrowings) in Eg.

The co-existence of Arabic and Aramaic-Syria in the Lebanon, and of Arabic and Coptic in Eg. has provided the occasion for a certain amount of borrowing. But how can the loan-words be distinguished from the vocabulary of the substratum?

The Turkish contribution (in its different forms) is very important at Mawṣil, Baghdād, Aleppo, and slightly less so at Damascus, in P. and in Eg. A study has been made, for Damascus, by E. Saussey, *Mélanges Inst. Fr. Damas* (Section des arabisants), i, 77-129, and for Eg., by E. Littmann in *Festschrift Tschudi* (Wiesbaden 1954), 107-27. The *Dict. Ar.-Fr.* of A. Barthélemy, deals with all the loan-words in its etymologies; there is a systematic study for Aleppo in the *Introduction*, (to appear shortly) Part 2, Section 3, B.

Greek can have given certain liturgical terms directly to the dialects; its contribution is primarily indirect through literary Arabic, Syriac and Coptic.

A peculiarity of the substratum: *baḳḳ* "mosquito" at Aleppo, "bug" in L. and Alg. (literary Arabic *baḳḳu*- = "bug"). Aleppo has retained the meaning of the Syriac *baḳḳā* "mosquito". *Daḳn* "chin, beard", in L., perpetuates two different words: the literary Arabic *dhaḳanu*- "chin" and the Syriac *daḳnā* "beard". The etymology, however, is complicated; the Syriac *daḳnā* also has the meaning of "chin".

Certain loan-words pose questions: how did the Persian *keshtebān* "thimble", which is not known in literary Arabic or in Turkish, reach S-L? How did the Pahlawī *randadj* "plane", an early loanword, of which there is no evidence in literary Arabic or Turkish (Persian *randa*), reach Aleppo, and by what route? The comparative study of vocabulary has not yet been pursued sufficiently to enable us to dwell further on this subject here.

The Arabian and North Arabian dialects. The North Arabian dialects have been studied by J. Cantineau: *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades d'Orient*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, ii, 1936, 1-118, iii, 1937, 117-237; these studies in linguistic geography have enabled him to make a classification which he considers allows at least the main points of the subject to be clearly defined. There is not space here to repeat the critical appreciation made by J. Cantineau, at the beginning of his 1st *Étude*, of the publications of G. A. Wallin, I. G. Wetzstein, A. Socin, E. Littmann, C. de Landberg (Anazeh), A. Musil (Rwala), J. J. Hess and A. de Bouchemann (complete references, Cantineau, *AIEO*, iii, 126). In addition, R. Montagne *Contes poétiques, Ghazou* (critical appreciation and references, J. Cantineau, *ibid.*). The following should also be mentioned: R. Montagne, *Sālfet Shāyeʿ Alemsāḥ gᵊedd errmāl*, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1939, 125-30; H. Charles, *Tribus moutonnières du Moyen-Euphrate ʿAgēdât*, *Inst. Fr. Damas*, *Doc. Et. Or.* viii, 1939, an ethnographical study containing several phrases, vocabulary and 14 lines of narrative. H. Charles, *Quelques travaux de femmes chez les nomades moutonniers de la région de Homs-Hama ʿEmūr and Bani Khâled*, an ethnographical and dialectal study, *BEOD*, vii-viii, 1937-38, 195-213; 3 texts of considerable length and a short passage of 6 lines, transcribed and translated. For the other regions [1]:

1) The nomads of Arabia Petraea are only known through the ethnographical study by A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908; these texts must be used judiciously.

Ḥidjāz: only the *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten* of Snouck-Hurgronje, The Hague 1886.

Yemen: S. D. F. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 1432 *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen* (Jews of Ṣanʿa), Leipzig 1934, xxiii-194 pp. in 8vo., grammatical study pp. vii-xxiii. E. Rossi, *L'arabo parlato a Ṣanʿa, grammatica, testi, lessico* [ital.-ar., 190-246], Rome 1939, vi-250 pp. in 8vo. (Pub. Is. Or.); see particularly by the same author *RSO*, xvii, 230-65 and 460-72 (a classification of the dialects, p. 472). Aden: E. V. Stace, *An English-Arabic Vocabulary for the use of the students of the Colloquial*, vii-218 pp. in 8vo., London 1893, in printed Arabic characters without transcription.

Dathînah: Count C. de Landberg, *Glossaire Dathînois*, i, xi-1038 pp., Leiden 1920; ii, vii-1039 to 1814, *ibid.* 1923; iii (published by K. V. Zetterstéen), xxxiv-1815 to 2976 pp. in 8vo.; idem, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*: ii, *Dathînah*, Leiden 1905, ix-774 to 1440; iii *Dathînah*, *ibid.* 1913, xv-1440 to 1892 pp. in 8vo.

Ḥaḍramawt: Count C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*: i, *Ḥadramoût*, *ibid.*, 1901, xvii-774 pp. in 8vo. (Glossary 517-748).

Ẓfār: N. Rhodokanakis, *Der vulgärabische Dialekt im Dofâr (Ẓfâr)* I, *Prosaische und poetische Texte*, Wien 1908, ii, *Einleitung, Glossar, Grammatik*, Wien 1911, xxxvi-219 pp. in 4vo. (*Südarabische Exp.* viii and x).

ʿUman (and Zanzibar): C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in ʿOman und Zanzibar*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1894, xxv-428 pp. in 8vo. (Lehrbücher des Seminars f. Or. Spr., Berlin); texts 297-428.

J. Cantineau, *Remarques* (*BSL*, no. 118) has indicated (p. 81-2) the main general characteristics which enable a distinction to be drawn between the dialects of the settled populations of the East and the dialects of the Arab nomads. The sole effective criterion is the unvoiced pronunciation of ق (irrespective of what might otherwise be the articulation-point): all the dialects of the settled populations, and only the dialects of the settled populations have this pronunciation; the voiced pronunciation of ق is the mark of a nomad dialect (as it is in the case of western dialects).

We owe our present knowledge of the classification of the dialects of the Arabian nomads to J. Cantineau in his *Études*, in *AIEO*, iii, 222 f. The brief summary which follows is based on him:

As regards the North-Arabian dialects, he distinguishes: dialects A (ʿAnaza), dialects B (Shammar), dialects C (Syro-Mesopotamian); ʿAnaza dialects: Ḥsäne, Rwala, Sbaʿa, Weld, ʿAli, etc.; Shammar dialects: ʿAbde, Khroṣe, Rmāl, etc.; are linguistically akin to the Shammar dialects, group Bc: in ʿIrāḳ probably the Ṭayyiʾ, in Syria and Jordan: ʿAmūr, Ṣlūt, Sardiyya, Sirḥān, in part the Banū Khālid of Jordan and the Banū Ṣakhar; Syro-Mesopotamian dialects: the population of the town of Regga and the tribes: Ḥadīdīn, Mawālī, Nʿêm of Djolān, Faḍᵉl (these last two forming a sub-group), which fall into the category of lesser nomads called *shwāya* or *rāʿye*. The case of the Djōf dialect is a separate question; the dialect of ar-Rass (Ḳasīm) is to some extent a Ba dialect.

It is difficult to demarcate, even approximately, the southern limit of the North Arabian dialects; their existence is definitely confirmed in Ḳāsīm, al-Ḥasā, and probably in the ʿĀriḍ, the Woshm and the Sdeir. Of the dialects of the Ḥidjāz very little is known, and nothing of those of ʿAsīr. The dialects of the Ḥaḍramawt and the Dathīna, known through Landberg's texts, seem to be related, distantly it is true, to the dialect of the North Arabian nomads, and it is possible that the dialects of the nomads of the Rubʿ al-Khālī are connected with the same group. On the other hand, through the efforts of C. Reinhardt, E. Rossi, H. Burchardt, and S. D. Goitein, we know that the dialects of ʿUmān and the Yemen are of a completely different type.

Bibliography: In the body of the article. Works treating of the dialects as a whole: C. de Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialects*, Leiden 1905; C. Brockelmann, *Das Arabische und seine Mundarten* in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iii, Semitistik (1954), 207-45; J. Cantineau, *La Dialectologie arabe*, in *Orbis*, iv, 1955, 149-69; this work gives additional bibliography and information on the current position as regards studies in Arabic dialectology. (H. Fleisch)

(3) The Western Dialects

The Arabic language is widely used in North Africa, but is by no means the only language in use. Berber is extensively used [see BERBERS], and the Berber language, though losing ground in some instances, can for the most part be considered to be in an extremely flourishing state and not on the retreat.

The elimination of the old autochthonous language naturally has taken place in those cases and in those countries in which the tide of Arabic spread without meeting any obstacles: first of all, in the towns which the Arab conquerors rebuilt, colonised or founded, and their environs; then in Cyrenaica and above all in Tunisia, which were reached by the first and largest waves; finally in those regions of the Maghrib, probably Zenata, where the old pastoral life prepared the way for Bedouin Arabism: the Sahara, the Saharan fringe, the high plains of Algeria and Constantine, the valleys of the Tell, and practically the whole of Orania. This Arabic tide surrounded but did not submerge the settled centres of the Saharan oases, and similarly the mountainous regions in the interior and on the coast, which were difficult of access. In Morocco, arabicisation followed the Atlantic seaboard, reached the Fez and Taza corridor, flooded the Gharb, and left almost intact the riparian massifs of the Mediterranean and the interior, the Berber mountains.—The area in which Arabic is dominant in the Maghrib is thus immense. Nearly fifteen million people there speak it. They are to be found in widely-differing regions, and following very dissimilar ways of life: all town-dwellers, nearly all the agriculturalists and semi-pastoral peoples of the plains, plateaux and steppes, a large number of villagers, several groups of the settled population of the oases, and hill peoples arabicised by the neighbouring towns. This geographic dispersion (which, unlike that of the Berber dialects, is still in progress) and the diversity of these modes of existence are the result both of the complex configuration of the country and of the historical circumstances of its arabicisation. These two aspects will not be dealt with here. It will be sufficient to emphasise that, given physical and human conditions such as these, it is not surprising to discover great dialectal variations in spoken Arabic; variations so great that it seems difficult to define the Arabic dialects as a whole by common, specific characteristics; and that it is perhaps rash to employ the term ʿMaghribī Arabicʾ. It will never-

theless be employed, if only for the convenience of this *exposé*.

C. Brockelmann, at a time when few documents on the various Arabic idioms spoken in North Africa were in our possession, said in his *Grundriss* that the Maghribī dialects were mainly of the Bedouin type. He doubtless based this on the accentuation of the verb in the 1st form, which he considered as the primitive form in all Semitic languages: *faʿala, faʿila, faʿula* culminating in *fʿal, fʿel*. This syllabic reduction, doubtless attributable to stress, can already be found in Andalusian, but it is not Maltese. And it is far from being the only example which is found in the Maghrib, on the one hand, nor is it on the other hand exclusively Bedouin. This appreciation by Brockelmann, without doubt open to dispute in principle, is clearly completely inaccurate when one compares it with the extraordinarily complex reality of the dialectal facts.

This is a phonetic characteristic which applies to the great majority of the Maghribī dialects, without being common to them all or being confined to them alone (since it is found in certain Middle East dialects): a considerable loss of vocalic content, and consequently a marked tendency towards the neutral tones of the short vowel system. Obviously such a general statement takes no account of dialectal variations. In order to try to justify it, the actual facts must be examined more closely. In all the dialects of northern Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and in all the dialects of the western Sahara, the short vowel drops out in an open syllable $v + c + v$. The articulatory effort is directed towards the end of the word and disregards the beginning: the word, from being a disyllable, becomes a monosyllable. Thus *ḍaṛab* becomes *ḍṛab* "he has hit", *faṛaḥ* becomes *fṛaḥ* "joy". Naturally the reduction also operates, and in the same sense, when the root of the word is followed by a suffix or an inflexion, or is preceded by a prefix. Thus *ḍaṛabu* becomes *ḍaṛbu* "they have hit", *taḍribuhu* becomes *teḍṛbu* or *tḍaṛbu* "thou hast hit him", *shadjara* becomes *shedjra* "tree", *maḥkama* becomes *meḥkma* or *mḥekma* "court of a *ḳāḍī*", etc. The concentration of elements is sometimes so strong that the whole vocalic element disappears, the articulation of series of consonants being made possible by a consonant with a vocalic function, with an ultra-short vocalic point. Thus *q.ṣba* "reed", *sh-kh.ṣṣk* "who is taking you?". These are the dialects of Morocco, especially the extremely degenerate dialects of the towns (for example, Fez), where this feature can be readily observed. In this evolution, which leads correctly-spoken idioms to reduce the elements of the language (thus taking the line of least resistance), it has often been noticed that the short vowels of quality *i* and *u* are most in danger. Being of small aperture, they seem to be by nature extremely vulnerable: the slightest relaxation of the organs of speech alters the nature of their original quality, if it does not cause their disappearance pure and simple. One is tempted to think that the loss of the short vowels in open syllables started with the vowels of quality *u* and *i*. This is what emerges from the position of the Syrian dialects, on which J. Cantineau has written some excellent monographs (one, in particular, devoted to Palmyra): the conjugation of sound verbs in the basic form differs according as the radical vowel is *u* or *i*, or *a*; the former have become monosyllabic, the latter have remained disyllabic. This is similarly the case in a considerable number of the dialects of Fezzan-Cyrenaica and in the extreme south of Tunisia, which constitute, from this point of view, the link between the eastern and the Maghribī dialects: some trace of the vowel *a* always remains, whether it is a well-preserved qualitative element, as in *ḍaṛab* "he has hit", *ḥalīb* "milk", or an element with a different form, as in *rubaṭ* "he has joined", *ṭubag* "basket", etc.

Morphologically, there are also traits which can be in differing degrees considered to be typically Maghribī. The most characteristic, it appears, is the presence of the sign *n*—in the first person singular of the imperfect of the verb, replacing the initial *hamza* which is general throughout Middle East dialects. This morpheme *n*—is, to the exclusion of all others, that of all the dialects, without exception, of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, the Sahara, Fezzan, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Malta. Egypt seems indeed to form the eastern limit of its use. Ch. Kuentz, during recent years, has precisely defined the extreme limits (dialects of Alexandria and of certain settled populations of the Delta). The substitution of *u*- for ʾ-, already reported by Ibn Khaldūn in the Hilālī popular songs which he collected, is recorded by Ibn Ḳuzmān for Almoravid Andalusia, and recurs in mediaeval Norman Sicily. It can be considered as a morphological innovation proper to the Muslim West; it consists in the creation of a personal sign of the singular, clearly on the analogy of the signs of the plural: *nafʿal* from *nafʿalu nafʿalū*. The purely Maghribī creation (all the dialects give evidence of this, including Maltese) of a verbal derived form *fʿāl*, originating perhaps from the old forms IX-XI, must also be accounted an innovation. It expresses a resultative meaning: *kḥāl* "he has become black", *byāḍ* "he has become white", *ʿwār* "he has become one-eyed", *ḥṛāsh* "he has become rough-skinned", *ṭwāl* "he has become tall", *smān* "he has become fat", *shāl* "he has become compliant", *zyān* "he has become handsome", etc. The presence of a long vowel *ā* between the 2nd and 3rd radical, creates a phonetic problem of conjugation which the dialects answer in different ways (L. Brunot, *Sur le thème verbal fʿāl en dialecte marocain*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Paris-Maisonneuve 1950, 55-62).—On the analogy of the derived forms with a reflexive and middle-passive significance, with a prefix *t*- (V *tfaʿʿal* originating from II *faʿʿal*, VI *tfāʿal* from III *fāʿal*), Maghribī has formed, like certain eastern dialects, a *tfʿal* (which recalls the very old *ethpeʿel*) as opposed to the 1st form *fʿal*; it uses it by preference, often to the detriment of *nfʿal*; then, carrying this further still, it arrives at a combination of *tfʿal* and *nfʿal* and produces *ntfʿal* and *tnfʿal*, for instance *entejṛaḥ* "he is wounded", *tenḥṛaḳ* "he is burnt".—The old system, for forming nouns of action corresponding to verbs of the basic form, resorted freely to the subtle interplay of contrasts of vocalic quality: *faʿl, faʿal, fuʿl, fiʿl* etc. It is the decay of the short vowel system, fairly general in the Maghrib (and the syllabic upheavals which accompany it), which has doubtless induced the dialects to display a preference, in the case of verbal nouns, for nominal forms with long vowels. Among them, there is one which recognises an unusual prolongation, which can be held to be specifically Maghribī (Malta also uses it): namely, *fʿīl*. Formerly a *maṣdar* form of limited application (verbs denoting a noise, a cry), to-day it constitutes the most frequently used *maṣdar* of verbs of action, especially those denoting material operations: *shṭīḥ* "act of dancing", *ghsīl* "act of washing", *ṭbīkh* "act of cooking", *slīkh* "act of flaying", etc. This form *fʿīl* perhaps owes its success to the analogical influence of *tefʿīl*, *maṣdar* of the 2nd form, a characteristic of

verbs of action, and of transitive action.—Just as in the case of this *maṣdar fʿil* the case of the analogical extension of the plural *fʿāli* seems to be an entirely Maghribī peculiarity. It is, as elsewhere, a plural form *fʿālil* of nouns with a weak radical, *ḳahwa* "coffee" pl. *khāwi*, *maʿnā* "sense, allusion" pl. *mʿāni*. It is widely extended to nouns with sound, not defective, roots, such as *ebra* "needle" pl. *abāri*, *ḳaṣʿa* "large bowl" pl. *ḳṣāʿi*, *meshṭa* "comb" pl. *mshāṭi*, etc.

The establishment of syntactic connexions has caused the appearance of a certain number of dialectal innovations. The most noteworthy of these in the Maghrib include: (1) the creation of a true indefinite article to express the state of the undefined noun (cl. *radjulun*). The numeral "one" is used for this purpose: *wāḥed*, made indeclinable (sometimes contracted to *waḥi*, *waḥ*, *ḥa*) is then followed by the noun, defined either by the definite article *el-*, *wāḥd-er-rājel* "a man", *wāḥd-el-mra* "a woman", *wāḥd-ed-dār* "a house", or by a determinative complement, *wāḥed-bāb-ed-dār* "a house door", *wāḥed-ṣāḥbi* "a friend of mine". Where it is prevalent, that is to say in the dialects of Morocco, Algeria and the Algero-Tunisian borders, the use of *wāḥed*, the article, does not exclude the use of *wāḥed*, the pronoun, which remains declinable, *wāḥed rājel* "someone, a man", *wāḥda mra* "someone, a woman", the only construction possible in central and northern Tunisia and in Libya. (2) The tendency to eliminate the direct annexation of the determinative complement to the noun (classical *iḍāfa*), of the type *riḥt-el-warḍ* "the perfume of roses", and to substitute for it an indirect annexation, which makes use of a copulative particle, of the type *er-riḥa mtāʿ-el-ward*. This phenomenon is found in the dialects of the Near East (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, ii, 238, 161), but there are some particles of annexation peculiar to those of the Maghrib: *d*, *di*, *dyāl* in Morocco and Algeria, *mtāʿ* or *ntāʿ* in Algeria and Tunisia, *ta* (derived from *mtāʿ*) in Malta, *jen* in Fezzan. The presence of *mtāʿ*, from the cl. *matāʿ* "goods" is already attested in the dialects of Andalusia and in the Almohad chronicle of Baydhaḳ (6th/13th cent.) and extends from the Atlantic to Egypt, where it assumes the form *betaʿ*. (3) The use of the preverb *ba*, *b*, so common in a number of eastern dialects, is also found in Cyrenaica and as far as Fezzan to mark a sense of completion, result or finality in the imperfect of the verb. In the Moroccan dialect *ta* (or *ka*) appears, preceding verbs in the same tense, in order to mark actual action in the present; the Moroccan *ka* is perhaps the same preverb which occurs in the semi-flexible form *ka-ku* (derived from *kān-ikūn*) with a clearly analogical meaning, in Algeria (eastern Kabylia). In addition to these preverbs, the Maghrib, Morocco and Libya use in their own right a presentative of the verbal idea which combines the imperative of the verb "to see", *rā*, with the personal suffixes, in the sense of "I am here, thou art here", etc., or "here I am, thou art" etc., *rāni*, *rāk*, *rāh*, *rāha* (or *rāhi*) *rāna rākum*, *rāhum*, to express the reality of a state or action, in the present or past, both before a verb (in the perfect or imperfect), *rāni jīt* "here I am, I have come", *rāh yebki*, "there he is, crying", and in a nominal clause, *rāk mriḍ* "it is thou who art ill", *rāhum l-temm* "there they are below". A negative sense is formed in a completely analogous way: *mā-rā-ni-sh* and *māni-sh* "I am not", *māk-sh* "thou art not", *māhū-sh* "he is not" etc., more often used in nominal clauses than in verbal: *māni-sh mriḍ* "I am not ill". (4) The revival of particles: it is a general linguistic fact, that the originality of the Maghribī dialects consists in the creation of a sign *-āsh* (or *-āh*), deriving from the cl. *ʾayy-shayʾ*, which is in use from one end of North Africa to the other (*-esh* in Malta, *iyyesh* in northern Constantine), in order to form, in combination with nouns or prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions: *bāsh* "from what" and "in order that, in such a way that", *lāsh* "towards which, with what object", *kifāsh* "how", *ʿalāsh* "on which" and "why", *ḳaddāsh* "of what size, how much"; the word *kayf*, *kif* is used as a preposition "like, resembling" and as a conjunction "when, granted that". (5) Recourse to the expression *ma-zāl*, *mā-zāl mā-*, conjugated or indeclinable, to render the sense "still, not yet", *ʿād* being used in Malta and elsewhere.

More than phonetic, morphological or syntactic differences, there are points of vocabulary which place the Arabic dialects of the Maghrib in the clearest, if not the deepest, contrast to those of the Middle East. Without making a systematic inquiry to determine the origin, Arabic or non-Arabic, of the Maghribī dialectal terms, the commonest will be mentioned here. The word *lāmīn* (with an agglutinate article) has the sense of "head of a corporation" only in the Maghrib; for "pears" *angāṣ* or *anjās* (*lanjāṣ*, *lanzās*), formerly Andalusian, is spreading everywhere; *berrād* is the usual term for "teapot", and *berrāda* for "water-jug"; "bosom, breast" is always *bezzūl* or *bezzūla* from Senegal to Libya, as well as in Malta, *thedi* making an appearance at Fezzan; *bākūr* is the only term for "fig blossom" in Morocco and Algeria; it was formerly Andalusian; Tunisian and Maltese have *bitḥar*, *baytar* with the same meaning; *bekkūsh* everywhere means "dumb"; the "stork" is commonly *bellārej* (*bellārenj*, *berrārej*), from the Greek πελαργός; the word for "tea" is *tāy*, *atāy*, *lātāy* in Mauretania, Morocco, and Algeria, *et-tey* in Tunisia, *shāhi*, *shāy* only appearing in southern Tunisia and Libya; "individual, person, pedestrian" is very commonly *terrās*, apparently derived from the cl. *tarrās* "*valet d'armes*, shield-bearer"; truffles are called *terfās*; *terma* is the usual word for "rump, buttocks"; "hail" is everywhere called *tabrūri*, a Berber word which is found as far as Libya, where *ḥjar* "stones" is preferred; for "to find", *jbār* is used together with, depending on the region, *lḳā*, *lgā* or *ṣāb*, with different shades of meaning ("to discover" or "to find what one is looking for"); *jarra* (or *jurra*) is the word for "trace"; the Pan-Maghribī word for 'frog" is *jrān*, where the Berber *agro* is not found as well; *jughma* is one of the most characteristic terms of the Maghrib, Mauritania and Tripolitania, in the sense of "draught (of liquid)"; for "orange" *tshīna*, *letshīna* is used in Morocco and Algeria, *burdgān* appearing in Tunisia; *tshellūḳ* (*tshellīḳ*, *shlāleg*) reappears, in varying forms, throughout North Africa, in the sense of "rag" or "piece of cloth"; for "to open" the whole of the Maghrib uses *ḥall* (which also means "to untie"), *ftaḥ* being reserved for a rarer and more literary usage; *ḥarḳūs* is the name of the "black cosmetic", from the Greek χαλκός; for "fish" the word *samak*, which is completely unknown, gives way to *ḥūt*; *khdem*, properly "to serve", is the usual word for "to work" and sometimes "to do (in general)"; *khādem*, without any morphological indication of gender, denotes a "negress"; for "knife" the whole Maghrib uses *khudmi*, formerly Andalusian; "to come upon, to befall" is usually expressed by *khlaṭ*; for "to reflect", *khammem* is used; *deshra* is the name of "rural dwellings" or even of "peasants' huts", and has a rival in *meshtā*, originally "winter dwelling" (*shtā*); *dhib* signifies, not "wolf", but "jackal";

rāshī is the usual adjective for "unstable, rotten"; *arṭab* "soft, tender", opposed to *aḥrash* "coarse, rough", follows the declension of nouns denoting colours and deformities; *zarbiyya* "carpet", which is ḳurʾānic (*Ḳurʾān*, lxxxviii, 16), has continued to exist in this sense throughout the Maghrib; to express "to hurry, to hasten", the verb *zreb* is used; *zūj* (*zūz, jūz, jūj*), properly "pair", serves for the numeral "two", either supplanting *thnīn*, or existing in competition with it—formerly an Andalusian usage, which predominates in the Saharan and eastern Maghrib, as well as at Malta; *zāyla* is the current term for "beast of burden"; *azʿar* signifies "blond"; *zwā* "to scream, to shout"; "cock" is expressed everywhere, including Malta, by *serdūk*, *dīk* being heard only in Orania and Fezzan; from the Greek σπόγγος "sponge" is derived a dialectal *shfenj* (or *sfenj*) which means exclusively "fritter", "sponge" being *neshshāfa* or *jeffāfa*; "hot" is *skhūn* and *sukhn*; *slek* means "to extricate oneself" and *sellek* "to extricate"; the cl. *sullam* always appears in the recast form *sellūm* "ladder"; "to beg" is nearly everywhere *sāsā-isāsī*; *seyyeḳ* has the particular sense of "to swill with water"; *shāreb* is the word for "lip" and *shelgūn* that for moustache"; "axe" is *shāḳūr* and "sack" *shkāra*; *ṣabb* "to pour out" is the commonest verb for "to fall (talking of rain)"; the word for shoes is *ṣebbāṭ* (formerly the Andalusian *sebbāṭ*); everywhere in the Maghrib the "minaret of a mosque" is called *ṣomʿa*; "to be cooked, ripe" is *ṭāb-iṭīb* and "to cook, make ripe", *ṭayyeb*; *ṭarf*, in addition to its universal meaning of "end, extremity", in the Maghrib also means "piece"; *ʿarsh* is fairly general in the sense of "tribe"; the word for "he-goat" is *ʿatrūs*, and that for "lamb" is frequently *ʿallūsh*; to denote "fire" the euphemism *ʿāfya* "tranquillity, peace", is used, from the root *ghshsh*, the sense "to deceive" is well-known; Maghribī derives from it a 2nd form "to cause resentment, irritation" and a 5th form "to be vexed, irritated"; from *ghnā* "chant" derives the Maghribī *ghnāwa* "song", with *y* of the 3rd radical, while the eastern dialects only recognise *ghnāwa*, with *w*; "scurvy" is expressed throughout the Maghrib by *farrās*, which means "bald" in Malta; for "chicken", *fellūs* is used, and for "tortoise", *fekrūn, fekrān*, of Berber origin; from Berber is also borrowed the word for "butterfly" *farṭaṭṭo, farṭaṭṭīn* and its variants; to "urinate (of a horse, donkey)" is *fāg*; *ḳadd* means "to suffice", *ḳdam* (*gdem*) "heel"; the word for "dried meat" is *ḳeddīd* with doubling of the medial radical; *garjuma* is the usual word for "throat"; "to belch" is *tgarraʿ*; one of the most characteristic Maghribī words is that for the "lock of hair which is allowed to grow long", *guṭṭāya*; "to cough" is *kaḥḥ*; side by side with *aswed* there occurs, sometimes with a marked difference of meaning, *akḥel* "black"; "figs" are called *karmūs* and "fig-trees" *kram*; "cliff, escarpment" is *kāf*; *lbān* means "whey", never "milk"; "sheet" is *mlaf* or *malf*; the form *mishmish* "apricots" is recast as *meshmash*; to express "late, last-born", the word in use is *mazoẓi*, taken from Berber; for the Pan-Arab *ḳder* "power" is often substituted *najjem*; *hdar* is a common verb for "to speak"; "widow" is *hajjāla*; *wujh* (*ujah*), known in its proper sense of "face", also has a particular meaning, namely "shot (of a fire-arm)"; *wellā-iwellī* means "to return", but also "to become, happen to be", etc.

Thus marked differences of vocabulary separate the Maghribī dialects from those of the Near East, either as regards the actual words employed, or their form, or in a semantic sense. Equally important and equally numerous variations, if not more so, occur among the Maghribī dialects themselves, from end to end of the vast area in which they are spoken. The terms expressing the adverb of time "now' differ according to region: 1) *dāba*, without doubt an Andalusian contribution, is known in the whole of Morocco (except the South), and, in Algeria, among the Jewish dialects of Tlemcen and Algiers. 2) From the cl. *dhā-l-waḳt* derive numerous forms, *delwoḳ, derwoḳ, delwek, drūg, dlūk, derwekh* etc. (with or without an emphatic *r*), which are in use in Mauretania, Southern Morocco, the whole of Algeria—cities, villages and countryside—(and which are also known in the East). 3) *el-ān* is the term of polished speech; it is also that of the Bedouin dialects of Algeria. 4) *es-sāʿa* (*es-sa*) is the form used in Malta. 5) *taw, tawwa* belong to the eastern zone of the Maghrib, from eastern Algeria as far as Libya. "Much" is *barsha* in Tunisia, *bezzāf* in Algeria and Morocco, *belʿa* in southern Morocco, *yāser* among the Bedouin of Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, where it is a declinable adjective, not an adverb.—"Enough, that is enough", is *kāfī* in Mauretania, *tekfī, yezzī, bārka, bārāka* from Morocco to Tunisia, but *bess* in Malta and Libya.—"There is, there is not", can always be expressed by means of the verb *kān* in a personal form or as a participle; *kān, kāyn, mā-kān-sh*; these are the forms usually spoken in Algeria and Morocco; but in Tunisia the forms *themma, mā-themmā-sh*, prevail, and in the south of Tunisia and in Libya *fī mā-fī-sh*.—"Nothing" can everywhere be rendered as *shey*; it is, in fact, so rendered in Algeria and Tunisia, by freely strengthening the negative adverb by *ḥatta, ḥatt-shey*; but this is often replaced in Tunisia and Libya by *kān-el-barka* "(nothing else) than benediction"; in Morocco and as far as Orania, *wā-lū* is used, properly "and if".—The exclamation "good, very good" is expressed by *mezyān* in Morocco and up to Tlemcen, *mlīḥ* (*amlīḥ*) in Algeria, *ṭayyeb* in Tunisia, *bāhī* in Fezzan.—To express "what, what is it?", *wāsh* is the Pan-Maghribī form, but Maltese recognises more particularly *shī*, Moroccan and Mauritanian *āsh*, Fezzanese *shen* or *esh*, Tlemcenian *asem*.—The equivalent of "how much?" is *kem* in Malta, Mauritania and in the majority of the Bedouin-type dialects; it has lost ground to *sh-ḥāl, āsh-ḥāl* (cl. *ʾayy-shay-ḥāl*), an Andalusian contribution which permeated the urban dialects of western Morocco, and then won the countryside and the rural and pastoral regions; eastern Constantine, Tunisia, and Libya prefer *ḳaddāsh, ḳoddāsh*.—"Eggs", doubtless because they represent an idea which lies under the interdict of language, are designated by various words; *deḥī* in Libya, *ʿḍām* in Tunisia, northern Constantine and the villages of Algeria, *bīḍ* in rural and pastoral Algeria and in Morocco, *awlād-jāj* in Algiers, Tlemcen, Fez, Tangier.—Apart from the word *mṭar*, which is understood nearly everywhere and is used freely in Bedouin regions, there exists *naw* which means "rain" in the majority of pastoral and rural areas, except in the western Sahara, where *shāb* seems to predominate; the word used in the towns and villages, and exclusively in Malta, is *shtā*, properly "winter".—"Grocer" is *aṭṭār* in Tunisia and Libya, *ḥwānti* in Algeria and Constantine, *ḥadrī* among the rural populations of Orania; in Morocco it is *baḳḳāl*, which was formerly Andalusian.—The verbs meaning "to sit down" are *ḳʿad* in Tunisia and the Algerian villages, *gʿad* in Tlemcen, Constantine, *jammaʿ* in the Oranian countryside, *gles* in the towns of Morocco, *gaʿmez*

in Fezzan.—"To send" is *ṣifoṭ* (*ṣāfoṭ*, *zifoṭ*, *sāfed*, etc.) in Morocco and a considerable part of Orania, *bʿaṯh* in Algeria, *seyyeb* in the South, *dezz* in Tunisia and Libya, *rsel* representing a term of educated speech.—For "to lift, remove", *rfed* is the verb of the west, Moroccan, Oranian and Algerian, and of part of Constantine; *hazz* is the word of eastern Constantine and Tunisia, *rfaʿ* that of Sūf, Tripolitania and Fezzan.—"To do" is a vague idea expressed by a variety of verbs: *ʿmal* is the most general; *dār-idīr*, essentially Bedouin, has everywhere infiltrated into the urban dialects; *sāwā* (and its metathesis *wāsā*) as well as *ʿaddel*, *sawwel* prevail in the western Maghrib, *lḳā-yelḳī* extends into the north-west of Orania, *khdem* in northern Constantine.

Whatever the difference between the dialects of the Maghrib, they remain closely akin to one another and are in varying degrees peculiarly Arabic. From the Arabic system proceeds the vast majority of the sounds of the language, the grammatical forms, the lexicographical material and the methods of presenting ideas. The dialectal variations found in the Maghrib seem, in general, scarcely more palpable than those which appear in the dialects of the Middle East. They can, to some extent, be attributed to influences alien to Arabic: 1) that of the Berber substratum which clearly gained new strength in certain regions and in certain fields of expression (those concerning the things of the material life, especially rural); but there are also areas where the memory of Berber has almost entirely disappeared from the language; 2) that of the languages of the coloured races in the northern zones bordering on the Negro lands; 3) that of the Romance language: of Latin, often transmitted through the medium of Andalusian, and also of Spanish and Italian;—4) that of Turkish, particularly in Algeria and Tunisia;—5) finally, that of French, an influence which is still exerted to-day.

The part played by inherited or loan elements, however, does not seem to be the only reason to put forward to explain the original and motley character of Maghribī. There is the diversity of the Arabic dialects, which were already differentiated when they were imported by the conqueror at various periods during the process of establishing himself in the Maghrib. There is also, and perhaps this is the most important differentiating factor, the caprice of innovations, spontaneous or conditioned, which have come into being and have spread in different directions, sometimes propagating themselves throughout vast geographical groups, sometimes confining themselves in districts divided into rigid compartments.

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B. *Arabic Literature*

(I) Early Arabian Literature.
(a) Pre-Islamic; (i) Poetry; (ii) Prose; (b) First-Century Poetry.

(II) Second-Century Literature.
(i) Poetry; (ii) Prose.

(III) Third to Fifth Centuries.
(i) Prose; (ii) Poetry.

(IV) Sixth to Twelfth Centuries.

(V) Modern Arabic Literature.
(a) To 1914; (b) Since 1914.

General Bibliography: No complete history of Arabic literature has yet been written. Many important works still exist only in manuscript, critical studies of individual poets and writers are relatively few, and several periods and regions have not yet received monographic treatment. The fullest bio-bibliographical details are to be found in C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Literatur* and *Supplementbände*. Outline surveys are given by F. Gabrieli, *Storia della Letteratura araba*, Milan (1952); H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, London 1926; R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1930; Ch. Pellat, *Langue et Littérature arabes*, Paris 1952; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arab. Literaturgeschichte*, i, ii, Stuttgart 1925; Djirdjī Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, 4 vols., Cairo 1911; Aḥmad al-Iskandarī and M. ʿInānī, *al-Wasīṭ fi 'l-Adab al-ʿArabī*, Cairo 1919 etc.; and numerous other textbooks in Arabic. Monographs on separate periods are cited in the sectional bibliographies below; those on particular writers will be found in the relevant articles.

(I) Early Arabian Literature

(a) Pre-Islamic

(i) Poetry. The history of Arabic literature begins with the emergence, towards the end of the 5th century A.D., of a school of Arabic poets in N.E. Arabia and the Euphrates border, of whose productions more or less extensive fragments have survived. The second generation of poets of this school, of whom the most outstanding was Imru' al-Ḳays, brought its technical and artistic methods to a high degree of perfection. Their odes, technically called *ḳaṣīda* (pl. *ḳaṣā'id*, coll. *ḳaṣīd*), served as standards and models for later generations of Arabian poets, whose odes were, almost without exception, cast in the same structural mould, with some variation in content and treatment of the themes. The productions of this school spread with great rapidity in Arabia and the regions of Arab settlement in Syria and Mesopotamia, and found in all parts imitators and practitioners, who in some regions gave rise to local schools. The poets of the third generation (middle of the 6th century A.D.) already represent widely diverse regions; those of the fourth (end of the 6th century), drawn from all tribes and regions, are beginning to show characteristic epigonic features. With the rise of Islam and the consequent shift in tribal interests, this type of poetry was temporarily eclipsed.

The *ḳaṣīda*, the distinctive artistic production of this poetic literature, is essentially an art-form, which has little in common with the forms of artistic poetry in other literatures. Its main theme is boasting or panegyric, led up to by a journey theme. The latter is elaborated: (i) by an elegiac-erotic prelude (*nasīb*), recalling a former attachment to a woman of another tribe, leading to or connected with the journey-theme; (ii) by description and praise of the poet's camel or horse, more especially (iii) by comparing it with a beast of the chase, developed into a finely-executed tableau of animal life in the desert. The main theme is similarly elaborated by the introduction of idealised pictures of beduin hospitality or drinking, thunderstorms, war and battle scenes, and satire of rivals. The whole poem runs from 60 to 100 lines in length, being composed throughout in the same metre ending in the same rhyming syllable [see further ḳaṣīda].

The pre-history of the *ḳaṣīda*, i.e. the origins of Arabic poetry in general, are lost in obscurity and apparently irrecoverable. The Arabic philological tradition (which constitutes almost the only source of information) itself knows nothing earlier than the rise of the *ḳaṣīd*-poets. It can scarcely be doubted that the poets of this school stood on the shoulders of a long chain of predecessors, who perfected its diverse metrical systems [see ʿarūḍ] and who laid the foundations of the special literary idiom (*ʿarabiyya* [see above, arabic language, ii (1)]) and of the artistic devices utilised by them. The hypothesis (put forward by al-Bahbīṭī, v. *Bibl.*) of an earlier production of lengthy homogenous odes, reconstructed fragments of which supplied the model for the *ḳaṣīda*, is purely speculative and improbable. The rise of the new school contemporaneously with the kingdom of Kinda [*q.v.*] in N.E. Arabia, and its relations with the princes of Ḥīra and Ghassān, suggest the possibility of a stimulus from the Fertile Crescent, but nothing has been adduced in evidence for this supposition. In any case, it seems reasonably certain that the *ḳaṣīda* constituted a new departure in Arabic poetic art, consisting of the combination of a number of existing themes of Arabic poetry into a subjectively related pattern, and that (prefiguring a characteristic often to be seen in later Arabic literature) such a pattern, one established, became normative for future generations of poets and by reason of its combination of different

subjects furnished the supreme test by which their poetic powers were judged.

The *ḳaṣīd* poets also illustrated certain linguistic and aesthetic features which were to dominate all later Arabic poetry. The chief of these is verbal concision, in which all the resources of morphology, suggestion and allusion are utilised to present a sharply focussed picture in the smallest compass of words. Metaphors are limited to a few traditional images, mainly relating to war and feasting; similes, on the other hand, are extensively used to give imaginative depth to a descriptive passage; for similar reasons, situations of time or place are often indirectly indicated by pictorial imagery, and a particular situation may be universalised by adding a phrase cast in a proverbial mould. The most fully developed sections are usually those devoted to descriptions of animals, which are vivid and realistic; by contrast, the *nasīb* briefly indicates the site of a former encampment in stereotyped terms and rarely describes the woman whom it recalls, although passages of erotic description occasionally occur as separate themes. Throughout, the poet appeals to the hearer's eye, and the imaginative response is determined by the completeness and precision of the concrete visual image; hence the importance attached by critics to the single line as evidence of poetic skill. This imaginative interplay between artist and hearer had the further effect that the range of visual images so presented was circumscribed by the communal basis and pattern of tribal life and its popular sentiments. Pre-Islamic poetry (or at least almost all of it that has survived) is tied to a limited number of themes treated in conformity with the prevailing aesthetic standards and moral values. Thus the content of the literary product was not only known in advance, but dictated to the extent that anything more than a slight deviation from what was expected was disapproved, and the whole emotional response was determined by the form. Form therefore acquired an absolute value; the content was merely the substrate by which the superior excellence of form was realised. The pursuit of formal perfection was, however, limited by the realism and sobriety of the poet's imagination. Excessive elaboration of any theme is in general avoided, except for a limited range of accepted exaggerations in boasting and panegyric, particularly in the theme of hospitality. Finally, it was a major function of the poets to preserve the collective memory of the past, so giving an element of continuity and meaning to the otherwise fleeting and insubstantial realities of the present; and in the two main themes of eulogy and satire they pressed home the moral antitheses and sanctions by which this collective existence was regulated and sustained. Thus the *ḳaṣīd*-poets, with relatively few exceptions, express, and even prescribe, a high standard of tribal morality, and noticeably avoid any reference to the humbler and ruder features of beduin life and environment. [See further under ʿABĪD B. AL-ABRAṢ, ABŪ D͟HUʿAYB, AMR B. KULT͟HŪM, ʿANTARA, AL-AʿS͟HĀ, AL-ḤĀRIT͟H B. ḤILLIZA, IMRUʾ AL-ḲAYS, LABĪD, MUʿALLAḲĀT, AL-NĀBIG͟HA, ṬARAFA, ZUHAYR.]

In addition to *ḳaṣīdas*, a considerable body of shorter poems and fragments has been transmitted, representing the more ordinary output of occasional verse on single subjects. All of these, however, date from the age of the *ḳaṣīd*-poets and, having presumably been influenced in technique by them, cannot be regarded as representative of the poetry of an earlier period. Partial exceptions are offered by war-poems in the *radjaz* metre, and by the elegy [see MART͟HIYYA], which in a few surviving examples presents some primitive features; but the later elegy approached more closely the general type of art-poetry, while retaining the characteristics required by its special function. Of the other subjects of occasional verse, the commonest is praise or boasting of courage (*ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*]), a special branch of which is formed by the poems of solitary brigands and outlaws (*ṣaʿālīk* [see AL-S͟HANFARĀ and TAʾABBAṬA S͟HARRAN]).

Peculiar significance attached to the satire (*hidjā* [*q.v.*]), in which there still survived the primitive conception of the poet (*s͟hāʿir* [*q.v.*]) as the mouthpiece of supernatural forces (see I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 1896, 1-121). It seems that the concentration of the aesthetic sensibilities of the Arabs on the apt use of words endowed the words themselves with mystical and magical power. Poetry was a source of pride and rivalry; and the poet who, by skilful ordering of vivid imagery in taut, richly-nuanced phrases, could play upon the emotions of his hearers, was not merely lauded as an artist but venerated as the protector and guarantor of the honour of the tribe and a potent weapon against its enemies. Tribal contests were fought out as much, or more, in the taunts of their respective poets (*mufāk͟hara*) as on the field of battle, and so deeply rooted was the custom that even Muḥammad, though in general hostile to the influence of the poets, himself conformed to it at Madina (see *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. T͟hābit (Hirschfeld), comm. on no. XXII). The sensitiveness of the Arabs to satire (noted by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], i, 359) did not prevent its almost universal employment against chiefs and men of note, but few of these poems have survived.

A remarkable feature is the total absence of love-poetry (apart from the conventional *nasīb*); wine-songs (*k͟hamriyya* [*q.v.*]) as such are also rare, but their existence is attested by examples contemporary with the rise of Islam [see ABŪ MIḤDJAN]; and there are no independent examples of hunting-poems (*ṭardiyya* [*q.v.*]). In the urban settlements also there were poets, whose productions differed from those of the desert poets both in texture and content, but little of these have survived except some of the drinking-songs and religious poetry of ʿAdī b. Zayd of Ḥīra, and the religious poems doubtfully ascribed to Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt of Ṭāʾif.

Transmission and authenticity. There is no certain evidence for the fixation and transmission of any pre-Islamic poetry in written form prior to the 1st century A.H. (reference by al-Farazdaḳ to a written text of Labīd: *Dīwān* (Ṣāwī), 721), although the use of Arabic script for literary purposes before the rise of Islam cannot be totally excluded [see KITĀBA]. Arabic tradition represents the transmission and survival of such poems as survived as due to the existence of professional "reciters" (*rāwi*ⁿ, pl. *ruwāt*), either of the production of particular poets or of some general body of poetry, and its fixation in written form as due to the efforts of the philologists of the 2nd/8th century to collect what could be saved of the dwindling repertoire of pre-Islamic poetry. Thus the date of written fixation was by 200 to 300 years later than the date of production. The fact itself lays the poetry so collected open to question, firstly as to the reliability of the text as finally established, and secondly (and more seriously) as to its authentic attribution to the original poet—the more so since

many Arabic philologists freely charged one another with forgery in this field. (See, on the latter point in particular, D. S. Margoliouth in *JRAS*, 1925, 417-449; and on the question in general, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-Adab al-Djāhilī*, Cairo 1927 (a logical argument based on erroneous premises), and R. Blachère, *Litt.*, i). On historico-critical and logical grounds the argument admits of no conclusion, and it will seldom be possible to prove the authenticity of any specified poem with complete certainty. On literary and stylistic grounds, on the other hand, it is no less certain that the commonly accepted nucleus of poems ascribed to the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīd*-poets (allowing for verbal modifications or rearrangement by successive generations of *rāwīs*) is a faithful reproduction of their poetic output and technique, which lies behind but is yet markedly distinct from the poetic production of the 1st/7th century.

(ii) Prose. The absence of any written Arabic prose literature in pre-Islamic Arabic is even less open to doubt (in spite of occasional arguments to the contrary, e.g. Z. Mubarak, *La Prose arabe*, Paris 1931). Parallel, however, to the cultivation of the art of poetry, there existed several forms of artistic speech which were distinguished from ordinary speech by the conscious application of aesthetic principles to their selection and polishing. One of these was the compression of a complete visual observation or social experience into a brief proverbial phrase [see MATHAL], using the same technique of concision (*īdjāz*) as was applied in poetry. Judicial decisions and maxims also were probably couched in the same style. Casual references occur to the existence of "written sheets" (*ṣuḥuf*, sing. *ṣaḥīfa*) containing proverbial phrases or *ḥikam* (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 204-5), and it is probable that judicial maxims also were occasionally committed to writing.

In oratory, the leading principle, in contrast to *īdjāz*, was elaborate expansion or "adornment" of the theme, by processes resembling in some respects those employed in poetry, together with the balancing of phrase with phrase, often emphasised by parallelism in structure, assonance, and especially end-rhyme (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]). The authenticity of the pre-Islamic discourses quoted by later anthologists is almost certainly to be rejected; probably only such fragments as were preserved by al-Djāḥiẓ in *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn* can be regarded with any confidence and accepted as evidence of style. As regards the language of oratory, there is good reason to assume that distinguished orators employed much the same idiom as that of the poets, but more freely adapted to local usage. The original language of the proverbs (except those which originated from poetic quotation) is more uncertain; although the vast majority, as transmitted by the later philologists, are in the *lughat al-fuṣḥā*, the surviving exceptions suggest that many of them were at first framed in more or less divergent local forms of speech.

A few traces have survived also of elements of folk-literature, namely the riddle and the beast-fable. How far, on the other hand, the pre-Islamic narrative materials handed down by the later collectors, especially those of the battle-days [see AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB], have preserved their original linguistic form, is more doubtful. The narrative content and the literary technique, with complementary prose and verse passages, are certainly authentic (see F. Rosenthal, *Hist. of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952, 17 ff.), but the method of narrative presentation is closely paralleled by similar materials of the 1st/7th century and may have been considerably modified before they were first written down at the end of the 2nd/8th century. Other pre-Islamic narratives, particularly those which relate to South Arabia, are still more suspect.

A third form of artistic speech in pre-Islamic Arabia was the conventional oracular style affected by the diviners [see KĀHIN], consisting of a series of obscure rhyming oaths, generally relating to celestial phenomena, followed by two or three brief rhymed phrases, often as obscure. In the history of Arabic literature, the fragmentary remains of such oracular utterances would be of little importance, had it not been that (if reliance is to be placed on the traditions related, professedly by Muḥammad himself, of the Christian preacher Ḳuṣṣ b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*]: al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 247) they were adapted by revivalist preachers at the Arab fairs to their own purposes, and through this medium came to literary fruition in the early Meccan suras of the Ḳur'ān. Otherwise, as a literary production, the Ḳur'ān stood apart from the main vehicles of conscious artistic style in Arabia, being linked to them only by adoption of the *ʿarabiyya* idiom as its medium (adapted in points of phonetic detail and vocabulary to the speech of the Ḥidjāz, following what may be assumed to have been regular oratorical practice), and the common feature of *sadjʿ*. As the oracular style was replaced by narrative and argument, the singularity of the Ḳur'ān became still more marked, since its narrative style appears to have little in common with the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣaṣ* [*q.v.*], and the argument arose out of the personal circumstances of the preacher. The prose structure of the Madinian sūras is equally distinctive, except possibly in regard to the form of some legal enactments. For its literary art in general, therefore, the Ḳur'ān discards most of the methods of conscious artistic decoration common to the literary or aesthetic productions of its time. Form is subordinated to content, and in forcing the literary idiom into the expression of new ranges of thought it depends for its effectiveness rather on the suggestive modulation of the syntactical phrase [see further ḲUR'ĀN]. In this highly personal art, the Ḳur'ān found few imitators in later Arabic prose literature, partly by reason of its special content, but also because the growing standardisation of literary usage limited the freedom of prose writers to handle syntactical structure with the same measure of originality. The Ḳur'ān thus stands by itself as a production unique in Arabic, having neither forerunners nor successors in its own style; and its literary heritage is to be found mainly in the pervasive influence of its ideas, language and rhythms in later artistic contexts.

During the 1st/7th century, however, the flexibility imparted to the *ʿarabiyya* idiom by the Ḳur'an made it an instrument ready to hand for the multifarious new tasks about to be imposed on it as a result of the Arab conquests and the new needs of administration. Although the traditions of pre-Islamic oratory still dominated among the tribal and Khāridjī orators, the influence of the Ḳur'ān is to be seen in a new style of oratory developed, probably, out of the formal *khuṭba* pronounced by the caliphs and their governors (cf., e.g., a *khuṭba* of ʿUmar I in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 80), in which more emphasis was laid on the content and less on external adornment, *sadjʿ* in particular being avoided. It was

in all probability this style which furnished the models for the first literary art of Arabic written prose, at the hands of the *kuttāb*, the secretaries of the Umayyad caliphs and governors, of which, however, there are few authentic examples until the papyrus documents of the period of Sulaymān and the chancery records of ʿUmar II at the end of the 1st century (between 715 and 720 A.D.).

(b) First-Century Poetry

The Arabic poetry of the 1st/7th century closely reflects the social and economic changes resulting from the Islamic movement and the Arab conquests, the military settlements of the Arabs outside Arabia, the growth of luxury and a money economy, the rise of an imperial government and the imposition of its authority over the tribesmen, and the emergence of religious and political parties and tribal factions. The results of these changes are most clearly seen in the transformation of the occasional poem, and the cultivation of particular themes or types by individuals or schools. The old satire (*hidjā*) loses its aura of supernatural influence and develops either into a string of indecencies or a theatrical display of mutual taunting by poets of rival groups (see below). The *ḥamāsa* poem becomes the vehicle of religious exaltation and defiance among the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*]. The most remarkable new development is the rise of the independent love-poem (*ghazal* [*q.v.*]) in the wealthy and luxurious cities of the Ḥidjāz, using a simplified linguistic structure influenced by Ḥidjāzī conversational style, and, through its close association with the rise of a new musical profession [see GHINĀʾ], metrically adapted to the needs of singing. This *ghazal* was of two kinds: one, connected more especially with Mecca [see ʿUMAR B. ABĪ RABĪʿA], realistic, urbane, and gay; the other, connected especially with Madina [see DJAMĪL and ʿUDHRA], depicting an idealising and hopeless love, with beduin protagonists. New themes of politico-religious poetry were inspired by the disasters and aspirations of the ʿAlid *shīʿa* [see AL-KUMAYT and KUTHAYYIR], and the *radjaz* poem, a simple iambic piece formerly used especially to rouse the ardour of combatants, was made into an instrument for displays of linguistic virtuosity in lengthy and consciously archaising *ḳaṣīdas* by a school of beduin poets [see AL-ʿADJDJĀDJ].

All these give evidence of the new vigour and plasticity which had been imparted to the literary arts of the Arabs by the Islamic movement and its political and social consequences. Poetry, without losing any of its artistic qualities, becomes less formal and more functional; style and content complement and harmonise with one another. The *ḳaṣīda* also, revived after a short intermission during the conquests, was shaken out of the rigid mould and obligatory canons of style which had circumscribed it in the old tribal society. During the 1st century it was cultivated almost exclusively by a group of beduin extraction in al-ʿIrāḳ and Mesopotamia, represented especially by al-Akhṭal, Djarīr, al-Farazdaḳ, and Dhu ʾl-Rumma. Al-Akhṭal, the authentic representative of the schools of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm and al-Nābigha, stands closest to the spirit of pre-Islamic poetry, both in his tribal odes and his panegyrics of the Umayyad caliphs. For the poets of al-ʿIrāḳ, on the other hand, the *ḳaṣīda*, while preserving the traditional external structure, changes both in inner content and in function. Al-Farazdaḳ in his boasting odes may celebrate the renown of his ancestors, but for him, as for Djarīr, beduin life is poor and brutish, and the *ḳaṣīda* an instrument to gain riches from the powerful and wealthy at the price of often hypocritical adulation, no longer phrased in terms of tribal virtues, but of political and religious controversy. Alternatively inter-tribal *mufākhara* is overlaid by a flood of personal taunts in slanging matches on parallel themes (*naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*]), of considerable ingenuity and virtuosity, for the delectation of the tribesmen of Kūfa and Baṣra. Both of these developments went far towards changing the original art-form of the *ḳaṣīda* into an artificial convention; and in language also the poets sought the suffrages of the rising philological schools in al-ʿIrāḳ by conscious exhibitions of luxuriant and sonorous vocabulary. This is still further developed in the special art of Dhu ʾl-Rumma, devoted mainly to descriptions of desert scenery and life, emotionalised by a *ghazal* theme.

The outstanding difference between the pre-Islamic poetry and that of the Umayyad age in general is, however, psychological. The passions of the pre-Islamic age were strong, but moved within narrow limits; and the poets held them to a high moral plane. Those of the Umayyad age were multiple and conflicting, and the poets shared in the general psychological instability and conflict of principles and parties. The emotional foundation of the *ghazal* is self-evident; but emotion enters also into the traditional themes, bringing them closer to the popular taste and giving them a sharper and coarser tone, which lowers the ethical plane, in spite of a copious sprinkling of Ḳurʾānic phraseology and pious sentiment. The political role also of much of this poetry required the poets to play to the gallery and pander to the debased taste and love of excitement of the masses, especially in their *naḳāʾiḍ*.

As regards the authenticity and transmission of Umayyad poetry, it is evident from the relatively complete state of the *dīwāns*, as compared with those of the pre-Islamic poets, that they were written down either during the poet's lifetime or immediately afterwards. Specific references are found to a written corpus of the poetry of al-Farazdaḳ, kept by a secretary (*Aghānī*, xix, 22), and also to that of Dhu ʾl-Rumma (al-*Djāḥiẓ*, *Ḥawayān*², i, 41), and to a written text of the *naḳāʾiḍ* (ed. Bevan, 430).

Bibliography (in addition to general works and works cited in the text): R. Blachère, *Litt.*, i; C.A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, vi, Rome 1948; Aḥmad Amīn, *Fadjr al-Islām*, Cairo 1928; N.M. al-Bahbītī, *Taʾrīkh al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī ḥattā ākhir al-Ḳarn al-thālith al-hidjrī*, Cairo 1950; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Taṭawwur wa ʾl-Tadjdīd fi ʾl-Shiʿr al-Umawī*, Cairo 1952; M.M. al-Baṣīr, *ʿAṣr al-Ḳurʾān*, Baghdad 1947.

(II) Second-Century Literature

(i) Poetry. The Arabic literature of the 2nd/8th century is sharply distinguished from that of the 1st/7th century by two main features. It was, with few exceptions, the literature of an urban society, concentrated for the most part in al-ʿIrāḳ; and the majority of its producers were half-Arabs or non-Arabs, converts or descendants of converts from the original Aramaean and Persian population. The resulting changes and developments in literary production are more marked in prose than in verse production, but are clearly to be seen also in the poetry of this period.

In contrast to the new prose literature, however, the transition to the early ʿAbbāsid age made no

violent breach in the tradition of Arabic poetry. Metrical systems and technique evolved within the older framework, and structural innovations met with little or no success [see ABU 'L-ʿATĀHIYA]. The permissible metres and deviations were ingeniously systematised by al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791) and strictly adhered to. In language also the poets are as precise and meticulous in their pursuit of *ʿarabiyya* as their predecessors, but begin to aim at smoothness and simplicity in place of the sonority of the beduin poets. These changes are masked to a certain extent by the continued cultivation of the *ḳaṣīda*, which now, however, even more than in the Umayyad age, acquired a ceremonial function. The poet who presented himself at the court of the caliphs or of lesser authorities was required to demonstrate his qualities by his *ḳaṣīdas* and was rewarded accordingly. Since it was by their patronage that the poet gained his livelihood, he was compelled to conform to their expectations, especially when the reward was not infrequently proportioned to the length of his ode. To these factors must be added the natural conservatism of the Arab, which tended to restrict the poet to conventional forms, and of the poets themselves, for whom (as for their critics in the rising philological schools) poetry was the guarantor of the pure tradition of Arabic linguistic art, and the *ḳaṣīda* the highest proof of the poet's mastery of it. Internally, in spite of the conventionality of its form and matter, the *ḳaṣīda* shows a development away from the old beduin themes, and both panegyric and satire are handled with considerable diversity and originality, while at the same time the newer types of poetic production affect to some extent the traditional modes of expression.

It is, however, in these newer types that the social changes and currents in the new age found their fullest expression. The first impulses came from the *ghazal* poetry of the Ḥidjāz and its musical accompaniment, both directly and through Syria, where they were combined with the (probably native Syrian) tradition of wine-songs by the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II (d. 126/744), with whom tradition connects the first representatives of the new school in al-ʿIrāḳ [see MUṬĪʿ B. IYĀS]. Their witty, uninhibited, and often scandalous verses met with a delighted reception in the new secular and pleasure seeking society of Baṣra and Baghdād, and were even, set to music, enjoyed in the private entertainments in caliph's palaces. The general intellectual effervescence resulting from the contact of Islamic society with Persian and Aramaean culture stimulated, both by attraction and by repulsion, a wide range of emotional attitudes and reactions, which were freely exposed in verse, and at the same time created a social atmosphere which, in spite of the opposition of the nascent legal and theological schools, encouraged freedom of thought and expression. Together with the new trends of urban poetry, several of the movements of the Umayyad age (notably Shīʿism) still continued to furnish themes for poetic elaboration, and the old ʿIrāḳī tradition of religious and moral verse was revived by the Muʿtazilī Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, and others. Two other lesser poets also were originators of new literary genres: ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. c. 192/807), the inventor of the court-*ghazal*, short poems on themes of chivalrous love; and Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d.c. 200/815), who first used the rhymed *radjaz* couplet (*muzdawidj*) for verse romances and didactic poems. In sum, therefore, the output of Arabic poetry in this century was enormous, and characterised for the most part by an originality, achieved not so much by breaking out along new lines as by fusing new elements with the traditional themes in such a way that the effect is almost that of a wholly new art.

Yet, for all this, the poetry of the 2nd century prefigures, if it does not itself illustrate, the decline of the true poetic art and the growth of artificiality in Arabic poetry. The freshness and sincerity of the Ḥidjāzī *ghazal* were not compensated for by wit and cynicism; and the pursuit of wit led to a straining after verbal brilliance and originality in metaphor. This was the origin of the so-called *badīʿ* [*q.v.*], the embellishment of verse by tropes and antitheses and ingenious exploitation of Arabic morphology. The earliest exponent of this "new style"—not as yet exaggerated or formalised—was the blind poet Bashshār b. Burd (d. 168/784), of Iranian extraction, and the first major Arabic poet of non-Arab origin. The elaboration of the traditional *ḳaṣīda* with *badīʿ* devices is generally ascribed to one of the poets of the next generation, Muslim b. al-Walīd, who was in consequence highly esteemed by some critics and condemned by others as "the first who corrupted poetry". There is, in contrast, little trace of these artifices in the work of his greater contemporary Abū Nuwās (d.c. 198/803), who in poetic genius, fecundity, manysidedness and command of language has few rivals in Arabic literature. Witty, gay, cynical and foul-mouthed, he was at his best in his incomparable wine-songs, most virulent and coarsest in satire and *ghazal*, versatile in panegyric, and a linguistic virtuoso in the beduin style of hunting-poems (*ṭardiyyāt*), the fashion for which he revived.

On the other hand, Abū Nuwās and the other poets of the latter half of the century exemplify a new development which was soon to affect all Arabic poetry, not generally to its advantage. Hitherto the poets had learned their art exclusively by association with, their predecessors. With the rise of the philological schools, particularly at Baṣra, they began to perfect their training by systematic instruction from and association with the philologists. The common ground of this association has already been noted above, but its effect was to imbue the poets themselves (exclusive of the purely popular poets) with a more or less philological approach to their art and the acceptance of philological criteria of poetic merit. To this, probably, is due, more than to any other cause, the increasing formalisation of Arabic poetry in later centuries, and its degeneration, in the hands of the less gifted, to an almost mechanical recapitulation of well-worn themes with a surface decoration of *badīʿ*.

Transmission. Paradoxically, the situation in regard to the texts of the early ʿAbbāsid poets is often much worse than to those of the Umayyad poets, since the philologists (who did not regard them as reliable authorities for linguistic usage) made no efforts to collect their *dīwāns*. Some have never been collected, and such *dīwāns* as survive in later MSS (including that of Abū Nuwās) are far from reliable. The authorship of single verses and even of whole poems is sometimes in question, and later collectors of *badīʿ* figures have caused much confusion by lack of care in citation and attribution (see I. Kratchkowsky, *Abu 'l-Faraj al-Waʾwā*, Petrograd 1914, Introduction, 68-96).

(ii) Prose. As already mentioned [I (a) (ii) above, ad fin.], the first essays in Arabic prose were made by the *kuttāb*, the chancery secretaries of the

Umayyad caliphs, in a style based on that of the official *khuṭbas*. In the earliest known literary productions, those of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (d. 132/750), however, in which the matter called for a logical expansion of general principles in complex detail, the adaptation of Arabic syntax to these unfamiliar demands could be met only by ingenious experiment. As in other literatures, flexibility in prose style was first acquired by the processes of translation, in this instance from the Pahlawī court-literature of Sāsānid Persia, initiated by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's disciple Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 139/757). In their existing forms, the extant works of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ have probably undergone some rehandling in subsequent decades; but it is clear that he posed the problem which was gradually solved by his successors: that of creating a smooth and palatable prose style which was capable of expressing systematic thought, within the limits of the available vocabulary. The function of this literature was didactic and ceremonial; it laid down rules of conduct for princes, court officers, secretaries and administrators of all kinds, and supplied the general knowledge required for the performance of their duties, in the form of manuals, anecdotes and romances, the whole being comprised under the general head of *adab* [*q.v.*]. Their agreeable literary style and diverting contents procured a wide popularity for these works in the new urban society, and for several decades the translations from and imitations of Persian literature held a dominant place in Arabic prose literature.

In the meantime, native forms of Arabic prose were being developed. The primitive narrative arts were organised into conscious literary styles, such as the *ḳaṣaṣ*, the combination of a number of *ḥadīths* into a connected story (exemplified in the *Sīrat al-Nabī* of Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 151/768), the *ḳiṣṣa* [*q.v.*] or anecdote, and *khabar* [*q.v.*] or narration, particularly in the romances of beduin lovers (*ʿushshāḳ*) and of the "battle-days" (*ayyām al-ʿarab* [see I (a) (ii) above]). In contrast to these narrative genres, which preserved in a greater or less degree their original Arabian structure, the rapid expansion of intellectual energies in Baṣra and Kūfa, especially in the schools of philology and law, was creating, with the help of Greek logic, a new argumentative prose which was far more flexible and close-knit than either the new narrative forms or the translations of the secretaries. At the same time, the philologists, consciously opposing the increasing degeneration and impoverishment of Arabic in the mixed society of the ʿIrāḳī cities, and with the support of Islamic religious circles, set themselves to define the correct modalities of Arabic speech and to preserve both the extensive vocabulary (*lugha*) and the pure idiomatic usage (*faṣāḥa*) of the peninsula. Thus, in opposition both to the jurists and to the secretaries, for whom the Arabic language was primarily an instrument, they reasserted—in a new context—the old Arabian insistence on the importance of form, and thereby contributed to maintain the concept of the *ʿarabiyya* as a standardised and unchanging artistic structure, which remained unaffected by the varieties and evolution of spoken Arabic. Closely related to these activities, and also in conscious opposition to the secretarial school, was their activity in searching for and preserving the memorials of the old Arabic culture, such as poems, proverbs and tribal traditions, to serve (in conjunction with the Ḳurʾān and all the materials relating to the Islamic movement) as the basis of the "Arabic humanities". Except for technical monographs, mainly on philological subjects—the most important of which are the dictionary, *K. al-ʿAyn*, of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), the grammar, *al-Kitāb*, of his pupil Sībawayh (d.c. 180/796), and the monographs of Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d.c. 216/831)—few original literary works, in the strict sense, had been produced in philological circles by the end of the century, and it was only in the 3rd/9th century that the Arabic humanities came into full fruition.

Much the same may be said of the associated field of historical studies [see TAʾRĪKH], in which, except for the rather conscious adaptation of the *ayyām*-technique in the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ, the activities of historical students were devoted mainly to the compilation of source-materials in the form of monographs on particular episodes of Arab or Islamic history [see ABŪ MIKHNAF, AL-MADĀʾINĪ, AL-WĀḲIDĪ] or on tribal genealogies [see HISHĀM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KALBĪ].

The legal schools, on the other hand, had already attained the stage of producing major works, both expository and controversial [see FIḲH]. The lead was taken by the Ḥanafī school of al-ʿIrāḳ with Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), while the school of al-Madīna produced the first important corpus of legal *ḥadīth* in *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795). As early as the next generation, al-Shāfiʿī was able to set out and defend in a series of tractates (*al-Umm*) the principles which were henceforth to govern legal reasoning in Sunnī Islam.

Finally, in regard to Ḳurʾānic studies, the practice of oral transmission still predominated, and the first collected work on exegesis appears to have been made by the above-mentioned Abū ʿUbayda.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited at the end of § I): Ch. Pellat, *Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1952; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥa 'l-Islām*, i, Cairo 1933; A. F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, Cairo 1927; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿā*, i, ii, Cairo 1925, 1926; J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.

(III) Third to Fifth Centuries

(i) Prose

By the opening of the 3rd/9th century, the philological, historical, legal and Ḳurʾānic studies just described had laid the foundations for an Arabic-Islamic prose literature, which could challenge the predominance hitherto enjoyed by the secretarial school in the field of polite letters (*adab*). The problem that remained to be solved was that of mobilisation, or how to bring these studies out of their scholastic or technical isolation into a positive relation with the public interests and social issues of the day. This problem was illuminated, rather than solved, by the genius of al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), who brought them to bear on all aspects of contemporary life in a series of tractates and epistles, written in a sonorous and witty style, of unequalled linguistic vigour and variety, but too individual to serve as a stylistic model for general literature. The final solution was found by his later contemporaries who blended the clarity of the secretarial style with the traditional art-language and the argumentative prose of the philological and legal schools into a medium capable of expressing all varieties of factual, imaginative and abstract subjects with great refine-

ment and precision, though at some cost to the wealth and vigour of the ancient idiom cultivated by the philologists. One of the first results of this "modernised" prose medium, with its superior flexibility and adaptation to social changes, was to restrict and ultimately to displace poetry from its former social function, and to relegate it more and more to a purely aesthetic role in social and literary life.

The success achieved by the writings of al-Djāḥiẓ and his successors was not due solely, however, to their command of the Arabic sciences and a more flexible linguistic instrument. The schools of Baṣra, with their rationalising tendencies, had already been attracted (especially in the theological groups of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*]) by the surviving elements of Hellenistic culture in Western Asia. Early in the 3rd/9th century the revival of Hellenistic learning received a strong impulse from the establishment by al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) of the *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] for the translation of Greek philosophical and scientific works. During the whole period treated in this section, the dominant feature of Arabic culture is the fruitful interaction of the Arabic and Greek traditions which is already illustrated in the writings of al-Djāḥiẓ, and was subsequently displayed in almost all branches of Arabic literature, both secular and religious. These internal developments were further expanded and accelerated by the vast extension of literary activities, which, hitherto all but confined to al-ʿIrāḳ, began in the 3rd century to be cultivated in a large number of centres, from Samarḳand to Ḳayrawān and al-Andalus. The material foundation of this expansion was the rapid economic development of the Islamic empire, supplemented by the introduction of paper (*waraḳ* [*q.v.*]) manufacture from the Far East in the second half of the 2nd century.

The range and extent of these new literary movements rapidly overwhelmed the Sāsānid tradition of the *kuttāb*, in spite of their rearguard movement of resistance [see SHUʿŪBIYYA] and denigration of the Arabs and their culture. A reconciliation was effected by Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889-90), who in a long series of works furnished the secretaries with compendia and extracts from all branches of Arabic learning, but incorporated in them also such elements of the Persian historical and courtly traditions as had established themselves at the court and could be harmonised with the Arabic-Islamic humanities. Henceforward, *adab*, in the strict sense, was confined to treatises and other literary works based on this widened Arabic-Islamic tradition, including both the Persian and the Hellenistic components.

Simultaneously, the widening of general intellectual interests was displayed in the cultivation of a great variety of specialist disciplines, the cumulative productions of which constitute the climax of the mediaeval Islamic culture, and for this reason cannot be entirely excluded from any general survey of Arabic literature. In the 3rd century the Hellenistic contribution was greatly expanded by the many translations of Greek works made by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā (fl. 220/835), Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873), his son Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn (d. 298/910), and other translators. Already before the middle of the century, the first independent Arabic works on philosophy were being written by Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī (d.c. 236/850), to be followed in the next century by the Turk Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and the Persian Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), to mention only the most prominent names [see FALSAFA]; on mathematics by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (fl. 230/844) and Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 288/901) [see RIYĀḌA]; on astronomy by al-Farghānī, Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (d. 272/885), and al-Battānī (d. 317/929) [see TANDJĪM]; and on medicine by Ibn Māsawayh (d. 243/859) and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d.c. 311/923) [see ṬIBB]. Although the technical literature of the sciences cannot be dealt with here, yet the importance of these studies, and of other popular works on Hellenistic origin (such as *Sirr al-Asrār*, attributed to Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīk, c. 200/815), in determining or at least influencing the intellectual climate of the period must not be underrated. In geography, in particular, they not only directly inspired the "revision" of Prolemy's geography by the above-mentioned al-Khwārizmī, but also indirectly contributed to the first road-book, by the postmaster Ibn Khurradādhbih (fl. 230/844), and in conjunction both with the older philological interest in the place-names of Arabia and with Indian materials [see SINDHIND] and old Persian concepts, stimulated the intellectual curiosity which produced the rich geographical literature of the following century [see DJUGHRĀFIYĀ].

The opposition to these hellenising tendencies was led by those 'orthodox' students of theology and law who rejected the rationalist principles of the Muʿtazila. The search for Prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]), which had developed in the 2nd century as a weapon against the pragmatic tendencies of the local schools of Law, was vigorously cultivated in the 3rd by the orthodox everywhere, partly (as in the famous "Six Books" of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāʾūd, Ibn Mādja, and al-Nasāʾī) in order to consolidate the dominant place which it had gained in the juristic sciences, but partly also (as in the more comprehensive *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, d. 241/855) against the critical attitudes of the Muʿtazila. So potent a force did the *ḥadīth* prove to be, with its appeal to simple piety and veneration for the Prophet, that in the next century the Shīʿa also, both among the Ismāʿīlīs (*Daʿāʾim al-Islām* of the ḳāḍī al-Nuʿman b. Muḥammad, d. 363/974) and in Imāmī circles (the "Four Books" of al-Kulīnī, d. 328/939, and others [see SHĪʿA]), aimed to rival the achievement of the Sunnīs by the collection and attribution of *ḥadīth*s to the Imāms.

Nevertheless, although the schools of law, thanks to the early standardisation of their methodology, seem to have been little affected by the hellenistic revival and continued to produce an extensive literature of their own, both theology and popular religion could not but be coloured by their environment. Orthodox theologians, in the schools of al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935) and al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), reconciled Greek physics with the data of the Ḳurʾān and the *Ḥadīth* by a skilful dialectic [see KALĀM], which by the end of the 5th century had established itself as the universal scholastic theology of Sunnī Islam; while Shīʿī theology, especially in the Ismāʿīlī schools, was still more strongly influenced by the neoplatonism expounded, together with the Greek sciences in general, in the popular encyclopaedia of the 4th/10th century called the *Epistles of the Sincere Brethren* [see IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ]. The literature of theological polemics also, as well as that on "comparative religion" (i.e. on the differences between the Muslim and the non-Muslim religions), is clearly aware of the general positions of

Greek philosophy and prepared on occasion to discuss them in detail. The most celebrated work in these two fields is the incisive *K. al-Faṣl* by the Andalusian Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), equally noted for his delicate anatomy of love under the title of *The Dove's Neckring*.

While popular religion was less affected by theological problems as such, it had from the first been influenced by the older religious movements in Western Asia and North Africa. By the 3rd century most of these accretions had been pruned away, except for gnosticism and Syrian mysticism (itself incorporating many Stoic and Neoplatonic elements), which were exercising an increasingly profound influence upon ascetic and pious circles, and transforming piety and asceticism into mystical ṣūfism [see TAṢAWWUF]. Already in the 3rd and 4th centuries a new ṣūfī literature was fully developed, ranging from systematic treatises (beginning with al-Muḥāsibī, d. 213/857) and *rasāʾil* (al-Djunayd, d. 297/910) to collections of aphorisms, symbolist poetry [see AL-ḤALLĀDJ], and séances by Dhu 'l-Nūn (d. 245/859) and al-Niffarī (d. 354/965).

The total result of these specialist literary activities was immensely to expand the range of mediaeval Arabic as a linguistic instrument. Not only in the technical vocabulary of the various sciences, but also as a medium for expressing fine shades of philosophical and psychological analysis, it had developed capacities far beyond the old classical language. But this must not be taken to imply that the range of literary *adab*, or even its expressiveness, was widened in an equal degree. Much of this technical and analytical vocabulary was probably little understood outside the restricted circles of specialists. No doubt (indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise), some of these wider intellectual horizons were occasionally reflected in works of polite letters. Nevertheless, the *adab* works also demonstrate very clearly the marginal position of the purely Hellenistic elements and of the special sciences dependent on them (as distinguished from the generalized influence of Hellenistic culture) in relation to the main body of Arabic and Islamic elements in the mediaeval Islamic culture. A few *udabāʾ* show in their writings an interest in metaphysical and scientific disciplines, e.g. Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899), Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) and Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) [see also AKHLĀḲ]. But such works are on the whole exceptional. The mainstream of Arabic letters after Ibn Ḳutayba runs through miscellaneous topics drawn from Arab poetry and history, politics and rhetoric, anthologies and collections of anecdotes, and popular ethics, illustrated by such writers as Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), the Andalusian Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940), Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), author of the *K. al-Aghānī*, al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994), collector of "table-talk" and anecdotal literature, and Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038 [see below]). The huge output and popularity of such works show how sharply, on the whole, the social and intellectual interests of literary circles were circumscribed, and the consequent limitation of the concept of *adab*. On a more technical level of *adab*, but essentially of the same kind, were the "sessions" (*madjālis*) and "dictations" (*āmālī*) of the professional philologists (e.g. al-Mubarrad, d. 285/998, Thaʿlab, d. 291/904, Ibn Durayd, d. 321/934, al-Ḳālī, d. 356/967), in distinction from their pedagogical works on philology proper, which included the first major dictionaries of the classical language by Ibn Durayd, al-Djawharī (d. c. 393/1002) and Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004-5).[1]

This intense absorption in literary and linguistic production was bound to produce in due course a considerable volume of technical literary criticism. Although as late as the *K. al-Aghānī* criticism seems to consist mostly of subjective judgments on the relative merits of given poets or verses, the first steps towards a more systematic criticism had already been taken by al-Djāḥiẓ and, from a different angle, by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who in his *K. al-Badīʿ* classified the figures of speech employed in the "new" poetry. Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 310/922) introduced the practice of classifying poetic "beauties" and "faults", and by the end of the 4th/10th century the *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) offers a complete critical analysis of poetry and prose in terms of structure, rhetorical devices, and figures of speech. The significant feature of most of this discussion was the insistence upon form rather than matter as the decisive criterion of quality; the declared assumption is that little if anything new can be originated in poetry, and that the only difference between one poet and another lies in his manner of expression. The balance was to some extent redressed by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), who supplemented the excessively formal analysis of his predecessors by a system of logical and psychological analysis which demanded an at least equal consideration for the "ideas" expressed. Additional point was given to the argument on literary aesthetics by its bearing on the doctrine of the incomparability (*iʿdjāz*) of the Ḳurʾān; inevitably, in spite of protests in theological circles and by al-Djurdjānī, the prevailing concentration of literary criticism upon form tended to emphasize unduly its supreme verbal qualities in terms of the current stylistic theories.

A further consequence, equally inevitable, was that rhetorical and literary prose began to be affected by the same theories and to display the same pursuit of verbal elaboration. The virtuosity of the *adīb* was displayed in "Paragraphs" (*fuṣūl*) describing scenes, persons, emotions, events, and objects, or in Epistles (*rasāʾil*) addressed to friends or colleagues on a variety of occasions. Ibn al-Muʿtazz seems to have been, if not the inventor, at least the populariser of this art, which in the 4th century swept over the whole field of Arabic letters. The secretarial class fell victim to it almost at once; in the intense competition for office every refinement of literary style was eagerly exploited. The technique of secretarial correspondence was elaborated into an art (*inshāʾ* [*q.v.*]), based upon admired models of elegant, florid, insinuating or pungent writing, and it was not long before rhyming prose (*sadjʿ*), which the best stylists had hitherto used only as occasional ornament, became inseparable from official style. By the middle of the 4th century the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd (d. 359/369-70) was composing his correspondence in *sadjʿ*; with his disciple and successor Ibn ʿAbbād, known as "the Ṣāḥib" (d. 385/995), its use had become a mania. Contemporary littérateurs, the most celebrated of whom are Abū Bakr al-Khʷārizmī (d. 383/993) and al-Hamadhānī, known by the sobriquet of Badīʿ al-Zamān (d. 398/1007), developed the new style more freely and flexibly in their *rasāʾil*, which often resemble a kind of unscanned verse rather than prose. From then onwards every writer with a reputation to make or to maintain had perforce to

follow their example; and industrious compilers like al-Thaʿālibī, in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ḥuṣrī of Ḳayrawān (d. 453/1061), in his *Zahr al-Ādāb*, were quick to compose anthologies and treasuries of the most successful verses and *fuṣūl* and the most approved metaphorical descriptions and imagery. The additional premium which this placed on wit and agility produced, it is true, not a few masterpieces of artistic invention by those who possessed a natural gift for this style, but exacted in return a heavy price. The enforced cult of rhyming prose not only contorted the style of men of natural but more ponderous genius like Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057), but by rewarding artificiality it contributed to turning Arabic writers still further away from the solid ground of real life and living issues and to sap the vitality of Arabic literature.

For the moment, however, the revival of *sadjʿ* coincided with a search for new or original methods of presenting literary themes. Badīʿ al-Zamān found a new setting (or revived a Hellenistic genre) in the popular theme of the witty vagabond, and created the dramatic anecdote or *maḳāma* [*q.v.*]. About 416/1025 the Andalusian Ibn Shuhayd in *al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-Zawābiʿ* imagined a series of interviews with the *djinnīs* who had inspired the great poets of the past. Eight years later Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī wrote his *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, in which, more daringly, he imagined a visit to heaven and hell to interview the poets themselves. These extravaganzas, however, were less appreciated by literary taste in their respective regions than the wittily allusive *risāla* of Ibn Zaydūn of Cordova (d. 463/1070), satirising his rival Ibn ʿAbdūn, and the letters in tightly-knit and decorated *sadjʿ* of Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr, prince of Ṭabaristān (d. 403/1012), collected under the title of *Kamāl al-Balāgha*. Even the *maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī seem to have found few imitators until the end of the 5th century, when they were revived by al-Ḥarīrī of Baṣra (d. 516/1122), with the same motif as that of his predecessor, but with a refinement of philological subtlety and wit equalling the most ingenious of the *rasāʾil* and a striking poetical gift in addition. It is something of a paradox that with all their formal perfection and qualities of erudition and virtuosity, al-Ḥarīrī's *maḳāmāt*, like those of al-Hamadhānī, are firmly rooted in the common life of the Islamic city, and portray its manners and its humours so realistically as to constitute one of the most precious social documents of the Islamic Middle Ages.

Historical composition, though properly distinct from *adab*, was to some extent affected by the same influences. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the continued association of history with religious studies is seen in the histories of Mecca by al-Azraḳī (d. after 217/832) and al-Fākihī (d. after 272/885), and in the biographical and genealogical works on the Companions by Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), the secretary of al-Wāḳidī, and on Ḳuraysh by al-Zubayrī (d. 233/848). It is still present in the first (and last) attempt to compile a comprehensive Universal History based on the corpus of Islamic materials (which by now incorporated the Sāsānid tradition) and significantly entitled "The History of the Prophets and Kings", by Muḥammad b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), as a complement to his Commentary on the Ḳurʾān, and also, though with a difference of emphasis, in the History of the Conquests and the "Genealogies of the Arab Nobles" of al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892). In the same century, however, the concept of history as an independent branch of study and of literary activity begins to appear in such diverse forms as the historical encyclopaedia of al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897) and the history of Baghdād by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893). By the 4th century historical writing not only flourished luxuriantly, but took in a wide range and variety of subjects: universal history (combined by the traveller al-Masʿūdī, d. 345/956, with a hellenistic curiosity about all things terrestrial and celestial), local histories of regions and cities from Central Asia to Spain, antiquarian research, memoirs on current events, histories of viziers and ḳāḍīs, biographies of individuals, biographical dictionaries of different classes and professions, even historical pseudographs and forgeries. History became an essential part of the equipment of an educated man, and as such entered into the general concept of *adab*.

It is possible, generally speaking, to draw a broad line of division between two attitudes to history among the educated classes. On the one side stand the scientific or serious historians, whose writings conform to certain standards of accuracy and veracity. By the 5th century these were mostly, though not exclusively, officials and courtiers, such as Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 448/1056) in al-ʿIrāḳ, al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029) in Egypt, and Ibn Ḥayyān al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 469/1076-7) in Spain, together with a few independent scholars, of whom the mathematician and astronomer Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) is the most outstanding. On the same side of the line stand the compilers of biographical dictionaries of scholars, notably al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071). On the other side are those for whom history is no more than a branch of *adab*, a quarry for ethical or entertaining anecdotes, or an instrument of propaganda, as in the biographies of saints, the literature of ʿAlid martyrology, and the largely forged collection of ʿAlī's letters and speeches known as *Nahdj al-Balāgha* [see AL-SHARĪF AL-RAḌĪ].

The elaboration of literary prose also, in time, invaded the field of historical writing, but only, it seems, in the composition of eulogistic dynastic annals. The example was set by Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 384/994) in his lost work *al-Tādjī* on the history of the Buwayhids, and was followed by al-ʿUtbī (d. 427/1035) in its counterpart *al-Yamīnī* on the history of the early Ghaznawids. It may be more than coincidence that these works are contemporary with the revival of the old Persian historical tradition and the Persian epic. At all events, no other examples of this style seem to be known until the later Saldjūḳ period (see § IV below).

(ii) Poetry

It has been pointed out at the beginning of the preceding section that from the 3rd century onwards poetry was displaced from its former social function by the new prose literature. Partly this was due to the adaptation of the artistic tradition of the *ʿarabiyya* to produce a vigorous prose style, which deprived poetry of its previous aesthetic monopoly. But to a far greater extent it was the result of the wide expansion of intellectual interests, with which the poets were unable to keep pace. As at the end of the pre-Islamic age, they were prisoners of their own conventions, broadened out and diversified as these conventions had been during the 1st and 2nd centuries. To a certain extent also they were the prisoners of their society. In his private verse the poet was no doubt free to amuse

himself as he pleased, but the doctrine which finally prevailed was that his major function was to "immortalise" his patron by his panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas*: a curious and remarkable revival of the tribal function of the pre-Islamic poet.

From the literary-historical angle, one of the most interesting features of 3rd century poetry is the effort made, but without substantial success, to break through these conventions in different ways. Abū Tammām "al-Ṭāʾī" (d. 231/846), a self-taught Syrian, tried to revive the weighty sonority of beduin poetry and to marry it to the *badīʿ* ornamentation of the poets of al-ʿIrāḳ; at the same time he attempted to make his verse the vehicle of a more complex structure of thought. His poetry is in consequence often strained and overloaded, or alternatively relaxed to an excessive degree, although it has found warm admirers in both mediaeval and modern times. His fellow-townsman and disciple, al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897), with a more natural gift, remained closer to the ʿIrāḳī tradition in his smoother and more polished verse. In al-ʿIrāḳ, on the other hand, Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896) attempted to create a new introspective and analytical poetry, in which each poem develops a single theme in an organic unity, and which has sometimes, but doubtfully, been genetically linked with his "Greek" origin. The originality of this poetry (though marred by an excessive sense of grievance) was appreciated, but not imitated; and the more typical and influential representative of ʿIrāḳī modernism was the ʿAbbāsid prince Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), who freely adapted traditional themes and metres to poetical *rasāʾil* and descriptive verse, corresponding to the prose *fuṣūl*. His innovations in technique and ingenuity (including a historical poem in 450 *radjaz* couplets celebrating the reign of his cousin, the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid) rest, however, on the established conventions of Arabic poetry; they revise, rather than reform, its characteristic methods and outlook.

From the 4th/10th century on, such pieces of natural description, epistles, poems on social occasions and the like constitute, together with epigrams and ceremonial *ḳaṣīdas*, the stock-in-trade of all minor poets in every part of the Muslim world, and in varying degrees of excellence. By now the use of *badīʿ* had become so universal in poetry as to be a natural constituent of the finished poetic imagination; in the *ghazal* or wine-song it might be allowed to play only a minor part, but no poem with any pretensions could be composed without it. It required, however, the genius of a greater poet to blend in just proportions the Arabian *ḳaṣīda* of the Syrian school and the smoothness and technical ingenuity of the ʿIrāḳī school. This was accomplished by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), of Kūfan origin and an admirer of Ibn al-Rūmī and Ibn al-Muʿtazz, but Syrian in his poetical apprenticeship, and the brightest ornament of the "Circle of Sayf al-Dawla". For skill in construction, felicity of language, and mastery of the lapidary phrase, al-Mutanabbī has no equal among the later *ḳaṣīd*-poets, although his chief rival in Aleppo, the Ḥamdānid prince Abū Firās (d. 357/968) may have surpassed him in the direct emotional appeal of his best poems. A greater rival was his contemporary Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī (d. 362/973), the panegyrist of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz, whose *ḳaṣīdas* (sometimes unjustly depreciated on sectarian grounds) are more faithful to the pre-Islamic models.

Little need be said of the later poets in the eastern provinces, whose production remains on the whole within the frame of subjects, conventions and techniques established in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The leading poets in al-ʿIrāk were the Shīʿites al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) and Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1037), who seem, however, to have been less appreciated in their own time than a number of writers of popular poetry (in the literary language), of which only a few fragments have survived. The most notable of 5th century poets was the Syrian Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057); a follower of al-Mutanabbī in his earlier *dīwān* (*Siḳt al-Zand*), he broke with convention in his later collection of short pieces (*Luzūm mā lam Yalzam*), the fame of which, however, probably owes less to their poetical quality and elaboration of technique than to the unorthodox freedom of the ideas which they expressed.

In the Maghrib and al-Andalus also, the mainstream of poetry, like that of Arabic letters in general, still flowed in the channels dug for it in the East, distinguished only by local colouring. As Ibn Hāniʾ took Abū Tammām and the pre-Islamic bards for his models, so Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1071) followed al-Buḥturī—but with an elegance and freshness that sometimes surpasses his model—and Ibn Darrādj (d. 421/1030), the panegyrist of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, followed al-Mutanabbī. With these may be mentioned, though of later date, the Sicilian Ibn Ḥamdīs (d. 527/1132), and among the many minor poets the ʿAbbādid prince al-Muʿtamid (d. 488/1095). During the 5th/11th century, however, a new strophic type of poetry, of local inspiration, began to be cultivated in Spanish-Arab literary circles, but did not reach its full development until the following century (see § IV below).

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(IV) Sixth to Twelfth Centuries

The beginning of the 6th/12th century witnessed the triumph of the two forces which were henceforth to dominate the intellectual life of the Arab countries: scholasticism and ṣūfism. Both of these movements were associated in the Sunnī revival under the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] which, beginning in Khurāsān in the middle of the 5th century, spread to ʿIrāḳ under the Saldjūḳ sultanate, and to Syria and Egypt under its Zankid and Ayyūbid offshoots. In the West a similar movement, led by the Berber Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d. 524/1130) on his return from Baghdād, was associated with the Muwaḥḥid (Almohad) régime in the 6th century, and their parallel development in the two halves of the Arab world was maintained by multiple contacts and interactions.

The chief material factor in the spread of scholasticism was the gradual concentration of all literary education in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], the new type of organised college introduced by the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk ([*q.v.*]; d. 485/1092) into Baghdād for the training of *ʿulāma*ʾ and administrators, and thence spread over the entire Muslim world. The formalisation of education involved also the formalisation of the disciplines taught, and contributed powerfully to the substitution of text-book and encyclopaedic compilation for original composition. This tendency is already visible in the first generation of leading scholars at the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa*: in the philologist al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109), a pupil of Abu 'l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī, whose production was confined to schoolworks and commentaries, as also was that of his successor al-Djawālīḳī (d. 539/1145); and in the Shāfiʿī theologians al-Djuwaynī Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085) and his pupil Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), whose earlier works were devoted to methodology and the scholastic defence of orthodoxy against Hellenistic philosophy and Islamic heresy. In their footsteps followed the immense majority of Sunnī theologians and jurists of the later generations, producing a vast literature of doctrinal summaries (*ʿaḳīda* [*q.v.*], pl. *ʿaḳāʾid*) (the most reputed being those of the Ḥanafī Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1132), ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī (d. 756/1355), and Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486))—works on *ḥadīth* (especially the supplement to the "Six Books" by Ibn al-Haythamī (d. 807/1405) and the comprehensive *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* of the Indian ʿAlī al-Muttaḳī (d. 975/1567)—school textbooks of law and collections of *fatwās*, as well as handbooks on special branches of it [see FIḲH]—commentaries on the Ḳurʾān or on particular sections of it [see TAFSĪR] or on the *ḳirāʾāt* [*q.v.*]—and on all of these and similar works a ponderous structure of commentary (*sharḥ*) and super-commentary (*ḥāshiya*). The Shīʿa, in turn, on the basis of the 4th and 5th century works, produced similar theological and dogmatic compends (especially by al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 726/1326, and Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī, d. 1110/1700), textbooks of law, and Ḳurʾān-commentaries.

The exceptions to this increasing stratification and narrowing down of scholastic thought are few but important. The outstanding original religious thinker and reformer, the Ḥanbalite Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), and his pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) engaged in a vigorous polemic against both the inertia of the schools and the ṣūfī cults, but with little success until the revival of his teaching by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1791) in Central Arabia. In India, an important and little-studied school of religious philosophy, founded at Djawnpur by Maḥmūd al-Djawnpurī (d. 1062/1652), remained active for several generations, and influenced the work of the religious reformer (Shāh) Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1176/1762). In law, original contributions were made to the study of legal principles by the Shāfiʿī Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) and the Ḥanafī Ibn Nudjaym al-Miṣrī (d. 970/1563). In philology also, fresh minds were occasionally brought to the study of the congealed schooltexts, as, for example, by the Andalusian Abū Ḥayyān (who, amongst other works, composed grammars of Turkish, Persian, and Ethiopic; d. 745/1344) and his Egyptian pupil Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360).

The effects of scholasticism were not, however, confined to the religious and philological sciences. It affected every branch of literary composition, not even excluding poetry, by encouraging an intellectual tendency to standardisation on the part of both writers and readers. Originality of thought, though not stifled, reaped little reward, and was less valued than the ability to refurbish familiar themes in a more pointed or elegant manner. The output was enormous, yet characterised in every field by a sameness of method and treatment which reduces any survey of the literature of this period to little more than lists of names. But there was also another factor which contributed its share to this levelling process. In the vast new territories added to the Islamic world between the 7th/13th and 9th/15th centuries, as indeed already in Persia and Central Asia, although the parallel extension of the *madrasa* system carried with it an extension of the area of Arabic scholastic studies, the medium of *belles lettres* and poetry was no longer Arabic, but Persian or Turkish. These new literatures, while drawing to a greater or less extent on the traditions of Arabic literature, not only contributed nothing to Arabic letters, but siphoned off the talents which might otherwise have rejuvenated Arabic literature or opened it up to new experiences. When it is recalled how much that had given variety and resilience to the literature of the preceding centuries was produced or initiated in the Persian provinces, the effect of their loss to Arabic letters can be readily appreciated.

At the same time, the intellectual energy and literary taste that displayed themselves in this period must not be underrated. Original works of *belles lettres* may be few, but the same vigour and freshness of mind that broke through even in the scholastic disciplines found other fields of exercise, especially in the first four centuries. It was in the continuing impulse of the Hellenistic tradition, in the immense development of historical composition, and under the growing stimulus of ṣūfism that they were most active; yet from time to time certain writers found ways and means to express their interests and personalities in works which bear an individual stamp. Amongst memoirs, there are some which throw a vivid light upon the authors and their times, especially the reminiscences of war and the chase of the Syrian Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188), the more literary narrative of ʿUmāra of al-Yaman (d. 569/1175), and the autobiography of the Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). Among the books of travel, which were stimulated more especially by the Pilgrimage, there are some which betray a lively interest in the observation of manners and customs of other countries; of the travellers from the West the most remarkable are Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d. 565/1169-70), Ibn Djubayr (d. 614/1217), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa of Tangier (d. 779/1377), and of those from the East ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr, "the shaykh of Harāt" (d. 611/1214). Memoirs and travels, it is true, succumbed in most cases to the prevailing scholasticism and ṣūfism, being reduced to little more than lists of teachers and books, or of visitations to religious personnages and shrines. But even to a few later travellers we owe interesting narratives of missions to different parts, such as those of the Moroccans Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamghrūtī (fl. 1000/1591) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayānī (d. 1249/1843), and there is even a journal of a visit of a Chaldean priest, Ilyās b. Yuḥannā, to America (1668-83).

A third and still newer branch of letters which flourished for a time was devoted to the arts of war, stimulated especially by the Crusades. During the following two or three centuries there was a

considerable output of works on military tactics and the handling of weapons, the management of horses, and the *djihād* in general.

Even in al-Andalus prose literature was largely a belated reflection of eastern models, as in the "Fürstenspiegel" *Sirādj al-Mulūk* of Ibn Abī Randaḳa al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 525/1131), the reworking by Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185) of Ibn Sīnā's philosophical romance *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān*, and Ibn Hudhayl's treatise on horsemanship *Tuḥfat al-Anfus*. Granada, however, produced in the versatile Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374) one of the last all-round masters of Arabic literary art.

In the field of *belles lettres* in general, the cult of *sadjʿ* reached its culmination in the 6th/12th century. Rhyming-prose *fuṣūl* were pressed into the service of ethics in the *Aṭwāḳ al-Dhahab* of the philologist al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143). Secretarial prose received a fresh impulse from the rich and flexible *inshāʾ* of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1199), secretary of the last Fāṭimid caliphs and of Saladin; and the examples of historical composition in *sadjʿ* set by al-Ṣābiʾ and al-ʿUtbī were followed and even surpassed by the loquacious virtuosity of ʿImād al-Dīn, known as al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), in his histories of the Saldjūḳs and of Saladin. In the next generation, the arts of rhetoric and euphuism were reduced to text-book form by the Khwārizmian al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229) in his *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, probably the most frequently and widely abstracted, glossed and commented on of all secular works in Arabic literature. But the cult of *sadjʿ* itself suffered some decline in the following centuries, except in secretarial *inshāʾ*, in works imitated from or modelled on the *maḳāmāt*, and in the introductions and dedications of books of every kind. It is on the whole sparingly used in the new type of homiletic *adab* popularised by the Ḥanbalite preacher Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), and even in the numerous later anthologies, florilegia, and similar works of literary compilation. Its reintroduction into such works seems to date from the *Rayḥānat al-Alibbāʾ* of the Egyptian stylist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659) and its continuation by Ibn Maʿṣūm (d. 1104/1692), and it continued thereafter to impose a veneer of literary artistry upon utilitarian works of various kinds.

The Hellenistic element in Arabic-Islamic culture remained active for several centuries, not only in the special fields of medicine, the sciences and philosophy, but also in combination with the branches of *madrasa* learning. Medical works based on independent study continued indeed to be written down to the time of Dāʾud al-Antāḳī (himself the the compiler of one of the most celebrated florilegia of poetry and *adab*, extracted from an earlier work by al-Sarrādj (d. 500/1106); d. 1008/1599). Mathematics, after the Persian encyclopaedist Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273), became increasingly confined to astronomy. Philosophy, also cultivated in the East by Ṭūsī and the more orthodox encyclopaedist Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), but thereafter passing into ṣūfistic metaphysics, flowered brilliantly for a time in Muslim Spain with Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1138), Ibn Ṭufayl, and the great Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198), before yielding likewise to ṣūfism with Ibn al-ʿArabī [see below] and Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 668/1269). Scientific geography, which attained one of its peaks in the world-map and descriptive text compiled by the sharīf al-Idrīsī for Roger II of Sicily in 548/1154, still survived to the time of Abu 'l-Fidā, sultan of Ḥamāh (d. 732/1331), but was already giving way to the electic literary art of cosmography, exemplified by Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283), Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327) and Sirādj al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī (d.c. 850/1446). Natural science was cultivated chiefly in the field of medical botany (notably by al-Ghāfiḳī, d. 560/1165, and Ibn al-Bayṭār, d. 646/1248), and was included, along with a variety of literary materials, in the zoological dictionary of al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405).

On a more restricted scale, the Hellenistic legacy entered into the encyclopaedic tendency, exemplified not only by Ṭūsī and al-Rāzī, but also by many lesser compilers. Encyclopaedism, it might be said, was one outlet for scholarship which found itself, consciously or unconsciously, cramped by the prevailing emphasis on religious studies and philology. It took many forms. The simplest and most compact was the alphabetical arrangement of data in a given field or fields, as in the dictionary of *nisbas* (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*) compiled by Tādj al-Dīn al-Samʿānī (d. after 551/1156), on the basis of which the Greek Yāḳūt compiled his geographical dictionary (*K. al-Buldān*). The field which offered the widest scope for this treatment was that of biography, whether general (beginning with the *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān, d. 681/1282, and followed by others, notably the voluminous *Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt* of Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1363), or limited to particular classes of savants ~~and men of letters~~: of scientists by Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaḳī (d. 565/1169-70) and ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248); of physicians by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270); of philologists by al-Ḳifṭī also and by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505); of men of letters by Yāḳūt; of jurists of the different schools, notably by Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (Shāfiʿite, d. 771/1370), Ibn Ḳutlubughā (Ḥanafite, d. 879/1474), and Ibn Farḥūn (Mālikite, d. 799/1397; supplemented by Aḥmad Bābā of Timbuktu, d. 1036/1626); of Ḳurʾān-readers by Ibn al-Djazarī (d. 833/1429-30); of the Companions of the Prophet by ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1234) and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1448); of traditionists by Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348); and many others. The already established practice of compiling dictionaries of scholars and eminent men and women associated with a particular city or region was continued on an extensive, and sometimes massive, scale, e.g. for Damascus by Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), for Aleppo by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), for Egypt by Taḳī al-Dīn al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), for al-Andalus by Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183) and Ibn al-ʿAbbār (d. 658/1260), for Granada by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, for the Ottoman empire by Ṭāshköprüzāda (d. 968/1560), in addition to many other biographical works less systematically arranged. A novel principle, introduced by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, was to organise biographical dictionaries by centuries; his dictionary of notabilities of the 8th century (*al-Durar al-Kāmina*) was followed for the 9th by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), for the 10th by Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) (supplemented with special reference to South Arabia and Gudjarāt by Ibn al-Aydarūs, d. 1038/1628), for the 11th by al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), and for the 12th by al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791). A concise summary for the first millenium, in order of years, was compiled by Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbali (d. 1089/1678). Here too may be mentioned the bibliographical encyclopaedia (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn*) made by the Turkish scholar Kātib Čelebi Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa (d. 1068/1658), and the

elaborate dictionary of technical terms (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn*) written in 1158/1745 by the Indian Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Tahanawī.

A second direction taken by encyclopaedism was to combine several branches of learning in a single work. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332) dealt in *Nihayāt al-Arab* with geography, natural science, and universal history; and the Egyptian secretary al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) combined and supplemented two works by his predecessor al-ʿUmarī (d. 748/1348) in his *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, to serve as a manual of history, geography and chancery procedure, and to supply models of *inshāʾ* for the secretaries.

More frequently, however, the encyclopaedists wrote separate works on a variety of subjects. The physician ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231), for example, wrote not only on medicine, but also on *ḥadīth* and literary subjects, as well as a remarkable "Description of Egypt". The historians in particular were fertile in many fields besides history, and the Mamlūk period in Egypt closes appropriately with the greatest polygraph in Islam, Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who in some 400 monographs presented an almost complete conspectus of the entire range of religious sciences and Arabic humanities.

In the secular sciences, the most impressive production was in the field of history. The Sunnī movement encouraged the revival of the "universal history" (often conjoined with, and even overshadowed by, necrology), begun by *al-Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), expanded in the magisterial *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1234), and continued with varying emphases by Sibṭ ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1257), al-Nuwayrī, Abu 'l-Fidā, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451). Regional and dynastic chronicles were cultivated in every province from Central Asia to West Africa, and more especially by the sequence of major historians in Mamlūk Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, d. 845/1442; Ibn Ḥadjar, d. 852/1449; Ibn Taghrībirdī, d. 874/1469; Ibn Iyās, d. 930/1524) and those of the Maghrib down to the 13th/19th century (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922). Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318), the historian of the Mongols, produced an Arabic version of his work; the history of the Berbers was exhaustively treated by Ibn Khaldūn; that of the Muslims in Spain was comprehensively summed up by al-Maḳḳarī (d. 1041/1632) in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*; that of the Muslims in India to his own time by al-Āṣafī al-Ulughkhānī (d. after 1020/1611); and the Muslim negrolands likewise produced their historians, notably al-Saʿdī of Timbuktū (d. after 1066/1656). So great a concentration upon history could scarcely fail to produce some reflection upon the principles and methods of historical writing, as in the scholastic defence of history by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497); and it was out of such roots that there sprang the bold and original theories of society put forward by Ibn Khaldūn in the justly celebrated "Prolegomena" (*Muḳaddima*) to his universal history. It is noteworthy that after the brilliant works of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī the ornate style of rhyming-prose chronicle was largely discarded in favour of plain annalistic, and is represented only by two later works of any importance in Arabic literature: a history of the Mamlūk sultans by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashḳī (d. 779/1377) and the virulent history of Tīmūr by another Damascene, Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 845/1450). On a smaller scale, but also conceived primarily as a work of *adab*, was the popular *Fürstenspiegel* and anecdotal history of the caliphs and their viziers compiled, under the title of *al-Fakhrī*, by the ʿIrāḳī Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā in 701/1301.

The growing fixation of the traditional literary arts bore with especial weight upon the secular poetry of this period. *Dīwāns* abound, but few of the more classical poets gained more than a fleeting reputation except the ʿIrāḳī Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1349), the Syrian Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), and of the lyrical poets Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr "of Egypt" (d. 656/1258). A panegyric on the Prophet, known as *al-Burda*, composed in elaborate *badīʿ* by the Egyptian al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1296), became and has remained one of the classics of religious poetry. The poetic art found more congenial expression in newer patterns of strophic poetry, related in the East to the popular *mawāl* and *dubayt*, and already partially exploited by al-Ḥarīrī. In al-Andalus the more complex strophic art of the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] was given finished form by the blind poet al-Ṭutīlī (d. 523/1129) and Ibn Baḳī (d. 540/1145-6). Although it owed something to popular poetry in its origin, the *muwashshaḥa*, as a developed literary form, retained only in its final line (*khardja*) a trace of its provincial source and was cultivated as a courtly art in Spain, becoming a highly ornate lyric with musical accompaniment. In this function it was transplanted to the East by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211), and continued to flourish there for a time, but as a formalised art which lacked the freshness and apparent spontaneity of the earlier Andalusian poets. [For the *muwashshaḥ* in ṣūfī poetry, see below.] Of the more genuinely popular poetry using the vulgar speech very little has survived, except for the *zadjal* [*q.v.*] poems of the Andalusian Ibn Ḳuzmān (d. 555/1160), the satyrical *Hazz al-Ḳuḥūf* of the Egyptian al-Shirbīnī (c. 1098/1687), and the *shiʿr malḥūn* of the Maghrib and of the Yaman. An isolated attempt made by the oculist and wit Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310) to give a place in literature to the popular shadow-play seems to have met with no success. On the other hand, the popular romances celebrating the epics of the Banū Hilāl in Arabia and Africa and the Banū Kilāb against the Greeks, and the exploits of various heroic or legendary figures (ʿAntar, Sīdī Baṭṭāl, the Yamanite Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, and the Mamlūk sultan Baybars) reached in these centuries the climax of their development, together with the miscellaneous collections of popular tales, drawn from all ages and strata, out of which the *Alf Layla wa-Layla* finally emerged in a more or less established form about the 9th/15th century.

The literary output of the ṣūfī movement in Arabic was at first small in bulk compared to the scholastic literature described above, but of much greater significance in the cultural development of Islam. The 6th century opened with the epoch-making reconciliation of *taṣawwuf* with orthodoxy in *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and the equally orthodox homilies and writings of the Ḥanbalite ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (or Gīlānī) (d. 561/1166). The ṣūfī *khānḳāh* or *zāwiya* everywhere took its place alongside the *madrasa* in the Sunnī revivalist movement, and received the same patronage from the governing classes. It was not long, however, before the ṣūfī movement began to develop its own systems of theology and metaphysics. The "oriental" platonist and illuminationist (*ishrāḳī*) doctrines were restated by Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī (executed by order of Saladin in 587/1191, and hence

known as *al-maḳtūl*), in opposition to the Aristotelian school; but another Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar (d. 632/1234) issued a more orthodox exposition of *ishrāḳī* mysticism in *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*. Both works had a deep and lasting influence in the East, but much less in the Arab world. Here the new monistic mysticism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) was founded, on a basis of neoplatonism and Moroccan ṣūfism, by the Murcian Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. in Damascus 638/1240), carried to Anatolia by this pupil al-Ḳonawī (d. 672/1273), and spread still more widely by the ordered exposition of its metaphysics in *al-Insān al-Kāmil* of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Djīlī (d. 832/1428).

The prose literature of Arabic ṣūfism down to the 10th/16th century offers little that calls for remark. Paraenetic in function, it gradually became affected by the scholasticism of the *madrasa*, especially as in course of time the *ʿulamā* themselves were increasingly drawn into the ranks of the ṣūfī orders. At a more popular level it produced a voluminous body of hagiography, more interested in the miracles of the saints than in their teachings, illustrated at one extreme by al-Shaṭṭanawfī's (d. 713/1314) *manāḳib* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (*Bahdjat al-Asrār*), at the other by the lives of the saints of the Moroccan *rīf* (*al-Maḳṣad*) by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī (d. after 722/1322). More important was its poetical output, which, though never rising to the heights of the great ṣūfī poetry of Persia, played a considerable role in stimulating and conserving the religious enthusiasm of its adepts among both the literate and the illiterate. Its chief characteristic was the adaptation of the themes of love and wine songs, whether in the ornate styles of the traditional art-poetry or in popular verse, to those of Divine Love and ecstasy. The most gifted representative of the former is the Egyptian ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), but in bulk of output he is far surpassed by Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, who displayed an astonishing virtuosity in modelling his mystical poems not only on pre-Islamic and ʿAbbāsid odes, but also in the form of *muwashshaḥas*. His most highly esteemed successors in this art were the disciple of his pupil al-Ḳōnawī, ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291), and the latter's son Shams al-Dīn, known as al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf (d. 688/1289).

The rapid desiccation of most other branches of literary activity which followed the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt at the beginning of the 10th/16th century gave an added impulse to ṣūfī activity, which almost alone displayed an element of vigour, though often expressed in extravagant and even fantastic terms, as in the writings of the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565). The outstanding figure in the Arabic literature of the Ottoman period was ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), not only for his theological and ṣūfī treatises, but also as a poet and the originator of a new kind of mystical travel-literature in rhyming prose. Almost all the later 18th-century writers of Egypt and Syria came directly or indirectly under his influence, which reached even to the Maghrib. In the East, the prevailing ṣūfī philosophy continued to follow the *ishrāḳī* school, which through the Persians Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640) and his pupil Fayḍ al-Kāshī (d. after 1090/1679) influenced both the Indian schools of ṣūfism and the founder of the reformist Shīʿite school of the Shaykhīs, Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī (d. 1242/1827). Only at the end of this period there appeared the first indications of a return to earlier orthodox ṣūfism, with the writings of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, of Indian birth but domiciled in Egypt (d. 1205/1791), and among the Shādhiliyya in the Maghrib.

Bibliography: J. Rikabi, *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyûbides*, Paris 1949; ʿA. L. Ḥamza, *al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya fī Miṣr* ..., Cairo, n.d.; G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii, iii, Vatican City 1947-9; and see also TAṢAWWUF.

(V) Modern Arabic Literature

(a) To 1914

The term "modern Arabic literature" implies a development differing from, and a degree of change greater than, a simple revival of literary activity, whether within the narrower circle of the philological arts or in the wider humanistic range of the 3rd and following centuries. Such minor local revivals had occurred from time to time, as, for example, in Aleppo under the influence of the Maronite archbishop Djarmānūs Farḥāt (1670-1732), and in Baghdād in the first half of the 12th/18th century (see al-Alūsī, *al-Misk al-Adhfar*, Baghdād 1348/1930). In the 13th/19th century also, the rise of a new literature was preluded by a sustained movement for the revival of classical Arabic and an output of literary works directly or indirectly inspired by classical models. The first object of the leaders of this movement was to rescue the Arabic language from its degeneration in the preceding centuries and to restore the heritage of classical literary art; in its purest form it is represented by Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī (1800-1871) among the Syrians, by Naṣr al-Hūrīnī (d. 1874) and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (1823-93) in Egypt, and by Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Alūsī (1857-1923) in ʿIrāḳ. All of these, and many others, were consciously ambitious to revive the classical traditions, both in their pedagogical work, and in their original productions, e.g. al-Yāzidjī's *maḳāmāt* (*Madjmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*) in the manner of al-Ḥarīrī, ʿAlī Pasha's *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya* in continuation of al-Maḳrīzī, and al-Alūsī's *adab* collection *Bulūgh al-Arab*.

Alongside these, but also fundamentally sharing their aims, was another group of writers who were led by circumstances or personal choice into closer contact with the literature and the ideas of the western world. The first major impulse in this direction was given by the needs of the military academies set up by the viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī, for translations of technical works from the French, together with the establishment of a printing press in Egypt in 1828, and others soon afterwards in Syria. The chief of the Egyptian translators was Rifāʿa Bey Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (d. 1873), whose original works included a vivid narrative of his experiences in France as *imām* of the Egyptian educational mission, and many later educational handbooks. It is questionable how widely the large body of translated technical works of this period circulated, or how far they affected the outlook of men of letters; but it seems clear that for Rifāʿa Bey and others like him the western materials which they used in their literary works were simply adjuncts embedded in the framework of the established Islamic categories or (in the case of their translations from French literature) supplements to them. The literary productions of the contemporary Lebanese scholars who were in contact with the western educational missions in Syria, and in particular Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-83), Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ (1801-87), and Nāṣīf's son Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (1847-1906), as also of the

Tunisian Muḥammad Bayram (1840-89), were to a large extent similarly motivated; but along with this all these men were also among the creators of the new Arabic periodical press and experimenting in the formation of a modern journalistic medium.

The development of the new periodical press in Egypt, at first largely under Syrian direction but soon followed by a vigorous native Egyptian production, provided the real forcing-bed of modern Arabic literature. During the last decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th, the press was the theatre in which (except for poetry) literary reputations were made and literary Arabic was adapted to modern social themes and currents of ideas. This did not exclude the widest diversity in literary styles: the strict but vigorous classicism of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905), the modernised *maḳāmāt* of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (1868-1930), the elegant neoclassicism of Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924), the functional prose of Djirdjī Zaydān (1861-1914), Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927) and Ḳāsim Amīn (1865-1908), the fiery rhetoric of Walī al-Dīn Yakun (1873-1921) and Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908), the satirical colloquialism of Yaʿḳūb Ṣannūʿ "Abū Naḍḍāra" (1839-1912) and ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm (1844-96). At the same time the Syrian press transported to America was producing a type of literary essay and Whitmanesque "prose poems" which entirely discarded the classical traditions and even sought to remodel the linguistic structure in part; its leading figures were Djibrān Khalīl Djibrān (1883-1931) and Amīn al-Rayḥānī (1877-1940).

This stylistic experimentation in the press in the treatment of modern themes was reinforced by a very extensive output of translations of European works of literature, often by the same hands. Of the translations so made few have much claim to literary distinction, except those made by al-Manfalūṭī and perhaps one or two others. But the activity in translation played a vital part in the development of modern Arabic literature. "It may be said that, just as the works of an Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ or an al-Djāḥiẓ would have been impossible without the translators of the ʿAbbāsid period, so without the translators of the 19th century modern Arabic literature could never have been called into existence" (Kratchkowsky). The translated works served not only as exercises in expanding the range of Arabic literary expression, but also as models. Not a few translators themselves tried their hands at original works of a similar kind, and many others were stimulated to original composition by them. In the former group, the most interesting are the attempts to develop a dramatic literature. The earliest of these were made by the Syrian Mārūn al-Naḳḳāsh (1817-55), inspired by Molière; he was followed by Nadjīb al-Ḥaddād (1867-99), in the style of Corneille, Hugo, A. Dumas and Shakespeare, and more successfully, by the Egyptian Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl (1828-98), who adapted Molière to Egyptian settings and speech, besides producing a remarkable adaptation in literary Arabic of *Paul et Virginie*. In spite of this, however, it cannot be said that the Arabic drama achieved much success in the 19th century. On the other hand, some progress was made with the novel, particularly in the series of historical novels written in the manner of Scott by Djirdjī Zaydān and the psychological novel *Urūshalīm al-Djadīda* by Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922). Many other original compositions also depend largely on European materials, e.g. the politico-social writings of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1849-1903), while the literature of the nascent Egyptian feminist movement, illustrated by ʿĀʾisha al-Taymūriyya (1840-1902), Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1886-1918), and Ḳāsim Amīn, betrays its original inspiration even though adapted to its own social and literary environment.

In the sphere of poetry, on the other hand, the continuing classical tradition far outweighed any literary influences from the west down to 1914. With the rise of nationalism, its range was widened by patriotic themes, developed first by Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1839-1904), then with more classical polish by Aḥmad Shawḳī (1868-1932) and more depth of social feeling by Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1871-1932). But neither the new themes, whether patriotic or social or individual, nor the techniques of western poetry affected to any marked extent the long-established structure, genres, and modes of expression of Arabic poetry (in the hands, at least, of its most competent artists). The only outstanding exceptions are found in ʿIrāḳ, where the native Arabic poetic tradition had remained more vigorous and less cramped by artifice than in Syria and Egypt in the previous centuries. In more unconventional forms and freer language Djamīl Sidḳī al-Zahāwī (1867-1936), and with more classical restraint Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945), both achieved an authentic expression of current ideas and aspiration. An isolated attempt to acclimatise Greek poetry in Arabic was made by Sulaymān al-Bustānī (1856-1925) with his translation of the *Iliad* (1904); in itself not unsuccessful as a translation, it nevertheless failed to make much impression.

(*b*) Since 1914

In contrast to the preceding period, which was on the whole a period of experiment and imitation in modern Arabic prose, the decades since 1914 have seen the beginnings of a new and original Arabic literature which to a much greater extent reflects the social and intellectual interests of the Arab peoples. A leading part in this development was taken by the "liberal" group of Egyptian writers, inspired by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who were associated with the journal *al-Djarīda* (issued from 1907, edited by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid) and its successor *al-Siyāsa* (from 1922, edited by Muḥ. Ḥusayn Haykal); but the movement itself soon extended widely beyond this circle. The principal types of production were at first the short story (followed by the novel) and the literary essay; later on these were followed by the literary drama.

The first major work of the new school was *Zaynab*, a noval of Egyptian village life, published anonymously in 1914 by M. Ḥ. Haykal (b. 1888). In spite of its merits, the technical weaknesses of the work threw a sharp light on the deficiencies of literary Arabic at that time for the adequate presentation of the novel of manners. During the decade 1920-30 these were largely surmounted by a growing output of realistic short stories of contemporary life, beginning with the sketches (*Mā Tarāhu 'l-ʿUyūn*) of the talented Muḥammad Taymūr (1891-1921), and continued with increasing skill and success by his brother Maḥmūd Taymūr (b. 1894) and by several others (ʿĪsā ʿUbayd, Shiḥāta ʿUbayd, Ṭāhir Lāshīn, etc.). The most brilliant stylist in this field was Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī (1890-1949), who eventually produced also the first successful novel of manners (*Ibrāhīm al-Kātib*, 1931). From 1930 the output of novels slowly increased, among the more notable of the earlier works being *ʿAwdat*

al-Rūḥ (by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm, 1933), *Sāra* (by ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād, 1938), and *Nidā al-Madjhūl* (by Maḥmūd Taymūr, 1939). The historical novel had already been recreated by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd with *Ibnat al-Mamlūk* (1926). The psychological novel also was successfully attempted on a smaller scale by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (b. 1889), who in his autobiographical work *al-Ayyām* (1926) endowed modern Egyptian literature with one of its masterpieces in content and literary style. Innumerable short stories have been produced also in Lebanon, Syria, ʿIrāḳ and America, with the variations in subject, style and technique which one would expect. The output of novels, on the other hand, has been more fluctuating, and is still relatively small in proportion to the total literary production.

The literary essay envisaged a different purpose. It aimed not only at the critical evaluation of both classical Arabic and modern western literature (extending sometimes even to classical Greek and Latin literature) and social criticism in general, but also at the valorisation of the Arabic cultural tradition, in the widest sense, in the circumstances of the modern world. The rapid increase in daily, weekly and monthly journals after 1920 provided endless opportunities for the publication of such essays, and the representation of all points of view. The collected essays of many writers were subsequently reissued as separate works, whose very profusion makes it difficult and invidious to single out individual names. It must suffice to mention, from among the older generation of writers, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and al-ʿAḳḳād as particularly influential thinkers and critics on the modernist wing; Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā (the editor of the reformist religious journal *al-Manār*, 1865-1935) and Farīd Wadjdī as equally influential in conservative and religious circles; Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī (1880-1937), who carried neo-classicism to the verge of preciosity; in Syria, the classicist Muḥammad Bey Kurd ʿAlī (president of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1876-1952); and of the Syro-Americans Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma (b. 1889). Out of this more or less ephemeral production there gradually arose a more developed literature of literary and social criticism, with a dominantly academic bias, but also borrowing in some hands (e.g. Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm) the technique of the novel, and even other literary media, as in the scientific travel narrative *al-Sindibād al-ʿAṣrī* by Ḥusayn Fawzī (1938). Another noteworthy later development was the application of these newer literary methods to the early history of Islam, exemplified by M. Ḥ. Haykal, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, and al-ʿAḳḳād, and in dramatic form, somewhat earlier, by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm.

The technical advance made in the presentation of the realistic narrative and novel was reflected also in dramatic literature. With few exceptions, the lead was taken by Egyptian authors, beginning again with Muḥammad Taymūr, and continued more especially by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm, who, after some experiments in literary drama on themes drawn from Islamic literature (*Ahl al-Kahf*, *Muḥammad*, *Shahrazād*), has shown himself a major dramatist on modern social themes. Together with these may be mentioned the experiments made by the poet Aḥmad Shawḳī to create a literary genre of "classical tragedy", based on traditional Arab themes, followed more recently by Maḥmūd Taymūr.

Among the technical problems confronted by the Arabic drama, and to a lesser degree by the short story and novel, the question of language constitutes a peculiar difficulty. In the purely literary drama and in historical plays generally the use of the written language needs no justification; but in the contemporary realistic drama this involves a degree of artificiality which tends to destroy the theatrical effect. Whereas, however, the popular theatre has always flourished on plays in the colloquial language, the attempts made to produce a more developed drama in colloquial speech have neither been markedly successful on the stage nor met with much approbation in literary circles. Even in the short story the introduction of colloquial speech in dialogue (attempted in their earlier works by Maḥmūd Taymūr and Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm) was felt to involve a stylistic dislocation, and has not been commonly practised. Even less consideration has been given to more ambitious attempts to produce literary works in the colloquial throughout, chiefly by Lebanese writers and poets. A definite solution of this problem is not yet in sight, but for the time being a working compromise is provided by the use of a simplified form of the literary language for dialogue both on the stage and in the novel.

At the same time, and in the opposite direction, one consequence of the vogue of the literary essay has been to mobilise more effectively the resources of classical Arabic, and to facilitate the growth of a neo-classical style in the novel and general literature since 1940. With the richer and more flexible range of vocabulary and construction thus made available, together with the more technical concentration of meaning in modern Arabic (in contrast to the conceptual looseness of the older literary language), the contemporary writer has at his disposal an instrument which can express with grace and precision all normal aspects of contemporary Arab life and thought. Beyond this range, however, neo-classical Arabic is still deficient in both the fine nuances and the contextual associations which are the product only of long use and habit. For this reason, the attempt (first made by Bishr Fāris, in his play *Mafraḳ al-Ṭarīḳ*, 1938) to create a symbolist or impressionist style in modern Arabic must be considered premature.

This applies even more especially to the poetical production of recent years. Since 1914, the situation of prose and poetry have been reversed. Whereas in prose-writing Arabic authors, after the period of translation and imitation, moved on to original compositions, Arabic poetry has moved towards the freedom of western poetry and the imitation of its techniques. On the one hand, the intensity of political aspirations and frustrations could not fail to inspire many poets in the Arab countries (particular mention may be made of the Tunisian Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shābbī, 1909-34), who have applied traditional themes and imagery to modern situations with great effect, most of the younger poets have been experimenting with the creation of a psychological poetry in new strophic and rhythmical forms, and wrestling with the traditional linguistic structure and its associations. The Syro-American poets were the first to challenge the traditional formalism, and have been followed particularly by the Lebanese poets in Brazil (Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrī and Fawzī Maʿlūf, 1899-1930), in North America (Ilyā Abū Māḍī), and in Lebanon itself (Ilyās Abū Shabaka, 1903-47, and others). The leader of the "new school" in Egypt was Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī (1892-1955), whose magazine *Apollo* for a short time (1932-3) provided a forum for the younger poets, in competition with the older "modernising" school represented by the Lebanese Khalīl Maṭrān

(1871-1949), and with greater freedom by al-ʿAḳḳād, which, though no less contemporary in subject and psychological approach, made a less violent breach with the formal and linguistic traditions of Arabic poetry. Much the same may be said also of the contemporary poetry of ʿIrāḳ, within the framework of its own tradition.

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

Appendix—Arabic Literature in Spain *).

General bibliography: Apart from the general histories of Arabic literature (see above, B), which devote one or more chapters to Muslim Spain, the work of A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española*, Barcelona, Madrid, etc., 1928, 2nd. ed. 1945 (a recast edition, with an extensive bibliography) is the only comprehensive work which exists on Arabic literature in Al-Andalus. A brief general account will be found in: Elías Terés Sadaba, *La Literatura Arábigo-española*, *apud* F. M. Pareja, *Islamología*, ii, Madrid 1954, 979 ff. Apart from a few monographs on authors (see under the names of these authors) and, fewer still, on periods, specialists have been primarily concerned with the production of short studies (such as are to be found in the journal *al-Andalus* in particular); the following, however, should be mentioned; for poetry: E. García Gómez, *Poemas arábigo-andaluces*, Madrid 1930, [2]1940, [3]1943; idem, *Poesía arábigoandaluza, breve síntesis histórica*, Madrid 1952; for history and geography: F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo biobibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898; in addition: E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Civilisation arabe en Espagne. Vue générale*, Cairo 1938, [2]Paris 1948 (Spanish translation, Buenos-Aires-Mexico 1953); Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la litt. de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, Leiden 1849, [2]1860, [3]1881.

*) Circumstances beyond our control have obliged us to insert here an article which, in a more expanded form, was originally designed to form part of the article AL-ANDALUS. [Editors' note].

1.—Down to the Almoravids (92-485/711-1092).

2.—From the Almoravids to the end of the period of Arab domination (485-897/1092-1492).

It would certainly be possible, if not desirable, in a more detailed account of the history of Arabic literature in Spain, to distinguish five or six periods corresponding to the political history of the country under Arab domination, but, for the purposes of this article, it seemed simpler to keep to a division into two long periods of four centuries each, in order to take into account two facts: first, up to the time of the Almoravids, Spain was governed by amīrs, caliphs and kings who, although defenders of Islam, did not act in the name of strict religious principles, while the Almoravids and Almohads were prisoners of an ideology; secondly and reciprocally, up to the end of the kingdoms of the *Ṭawāʾif*, profane literature, especially poetry, predominated over religious literature proper, whereas after the Almoravids, the religious sciences—and, through a shift of emphasis, science pure and simple—took precedence over profane literature. In addition, the Arabic literature of Spain seems scarcely to have experienced any sudden setbacks, despite an unusually turbulent political and military history; it appears on the contrary to have pursued a steadily upwards path until the 5th/11th century; it then altered course somewhat, and came to an abrupt end when the last Arabs were driven out of Spain.

(1) *Down to the Almoravids* (92-485/711-1092)

When the conquerors set foot on Spanish soil, at the end of the 1st/beginning of the 8th century, Arabic literature was still only represented, in the East, by the Ḳurʾān and the religious sciences, as yet in their infancy, and by a lively poetic muse. It is therefore probable that the Arab warriors, who were poets to a greater or lesser degree, respected the old tradition, but probably confined their literary activity to the composition of a few poems designed to extol their tribe, celebrate their military exploits, lament their dead, or bewail their exile from their homeland, in the same way as their fellow-Muslims sent to conquer other parts of the world (cf. C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura* = *Scritti*, vi, 51, 110-4; French trans., 81-2, 170-7). None of this has been preserved; a late notation states however that in ancient times, "the inhabitants of al-Andalus sang in the style of Christians or of Arab cameleers" (*apud* E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 30-1).

Nevertheless, the foundation of the Umayyad amirate brought about the establishment of close contact with the East, which did not fail to send religious notabilities to catechise Spain, and the rapid islamisation of a considerable part of the indigenous population required the development of juridico-religious studies. From 200/816 onwards, the substitution, encouraged by the Umayyads for political motives, of Mālikism for the *madhhab* of al-Awzāʿī [see AL-ANDALUS, vii], soon bore fruit in the formation of a school of jurists who, to a varying

but not inconsiderable degree, contributed to the propagation of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik. In his defence of Muslim Spain, Ibn Ḥazm (see *Al-Andalus* 1954/1) cites in the first place ʿĪsā b. Dīnār (m. 212/827), Ibn Ḥabīb (180-238/796-852), al-ʿUtbī (m. 255/869), Ibrāhīm b. Muzayn (m. 258/872), Mālik b. ʿAlī al-Ḳaṭanī (m. 268/882); these studies were pursued with enthusiasm by the successors of these pioneers, Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Lubāba (225-314/840-926), Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ayman (252-330/866-941), Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh (247-340/861-951), Aḥmad b. Saʿīd (284-350/897-961) and especially the great *faḳīh*, traditionist and man of letters Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (368-463/978-1070). The attempt made by Baḳī b. Makhlad (201-76/817-89), on his return from the East (his meeting there with Ibn Ḥanbal is worth special mention), to introduce into Spain the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, had little effect, but this traditionist is the author of a collection of *ḥadīths* presented in the combined form of a *muṣannaf* and a *musnad*, of a work on the Companions of the Prophet, and above all of a commentary on the Ḳurʾān which Ibn Ḥazm considers to be superior to that of al-Ṭabarī. Ẓāhirism, on the other hand, was introduced by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim (d. 272/885-6) and supported by Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355/962), before being made famous by Ibn Ḥazm (384-456/994-1064) who dominates, in nearly every sphere, the intellectual activity of the first half of the 5th/11th century, and whose *K. al-Fiṣal*, going beyond the strict limits of Islam, set forth the history of religious ideas in terms of Islamic thought. Muʿtazilism itself was not unknown; among its supporters were Khalīl Ghafla (3rd/9th century), Yaḥyā b. al-Samīna (d. 315/927), and Mūsā b. Ḥudayr (d. 320/932). Finally, philosophy appeared on the scene with the mystic Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) and his school (see Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914).

The disciplines connected with the religious sciences developed on parallel lines. From the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century, the first oriental works on grammar were introduced into Spain and a course of instruction was devoted to them, but it appears that philological and lexicographical studies received their greatest stimulus from the arrival at Cordova, in 330/941, of the ʿIrāḳī philologist Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī (288-356/901-67), whose *Amālī* are only a reflection of the knowledge which he disseminated there, because he also composed, *inter alia*, the *K. al-Nawādir* and an important work on lexicography, the *K. al-Bāriʿ*; his contemporary Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā al-Riyāḥī (d. 358/968) and Muḥ. b. ʿĀṣim (d. 382/992) are considered by Ibn Ḥazm to be the equals of the great disciples of al-Mubarrad. Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977) also devoted himself to the study of grammar, while a disciple of al-Ḳālī, Ibn al-Sayyid (d. 385/995) produced a lexicon, which was followed by that of Ibn al-Tayyānī (d. 436/1044) and above all by the masterly work of Ibn Sīda (Sīdo) (398-458/1007-66), *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*.

As regards history, the Andalusians were not averse to retracing the course of universal history, as for instance Ibn Ḥabīb, already mentioned, who did not make any clear distinction between history and legend, or ʿArīb b. Saʿd (d. 370/980), who took up again and continued the Annals of al-Ṭabarī, but they applied themselves in determined fashion to the history of Spain, in the form either of dynastic chronicles—in particular of the ʿĀmirids, but also of the Zīrids of Granada by the last king of that dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh (447-after 483/1056-after 1090) —or of biographies of jurists and traditionists (Ibn al-Faraḍī, 351-403/962-1013), of ḳāḍīs (al-Khushanī, d. 361/971), of physicians (Ibn Djuldjul, d. after 372/982), of secretaries (Sakan b. Saʿīd, d. 457/1065), or of chronicles covering the period from the conquest to the author's own times. This last genre was the particular concern of Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (274-344/888-955) and his son ʿĪsā, whose work is quoted in part in the *Akhbār Madjmūʿa* [*q.v.*], by Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya—or at all events by the editor of the book published under his name—and above all by the great historian Ibn Ḥayyān (377-469/987-1075), whose important chronicle, *al-Muḳtabis*, has been partially recovered. An apt disciple of Ibn Ḥazm—who himself also took an interest in history, preferring mainly the genealogical genre highly esteemed by the Andalusians—Ṣāʿid of Toledo (419-63/1029-69), wrote his *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, in which both the Greeks and the Romans figured. In the realm of geography, apart from al-Rāzī (Aḥmad b. Muḥ.) whose description of Spain has been partially reconstructed, the principal author is Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094).

As a result of the beneficent influence of al-Ḥakam II, a school of mathematicians and astronomers arose under the leadership of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (d. about 398/1007) and continued under Ibn al-Samḥ (370-426/980-1034) of Granada, while in the following century there flourished at Toledo al-Zarkalī and, at Saragossa, the Hūdid kings themselves. Finally, the study of medicine and botany received a powerful stimulus as a result of the arrival at Cordova, in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, of the work of Dioscorides. After Ibn Djuldjul, who has already been mentioned, and Muḥ. b. al-Hasan al-Madhhidji (d. about 420/1029), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khalaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrāwī (325-404/936-1013), known to Europe in the Middle Ages as Abulcasis, and Ibn Wāfid (388-466/988-1074) were the first of a series of great physicians and botanists who achieved fame during the era which followed.

According to customary practice when dealing with Arabic literature, it has been necessary up to this point to give an account of disciplines and *genres* which the historian of most other literatures would certainly disregard, and an attempt has been made to make a rapid list of works which for the most part bear the characteristic imprint of Islam and which differ little from similar works written in the East. The same consideration obtains when one embarks on a study of the first literary works proper, whether in prose or verse. It is nevertheless astonishing that it was not until the 4th/10th century that there appeared in Spain an *adab* work written by an Andalusian, the famous *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940), the contents of which are still specifically oriental; it is equally remarkable that this *genre* had no great success in Spain and that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih had few imitators during the first period with which we are dealing. Yet for more than a century, the country had been "ʿirāḳicised", from the time of the arrival at Cordova, at the beginning of the amirate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, of the celebrated ʿIrāḳī singer Ziryāb (173-243/789-857), who brought to Spain the fashions of the ʿAbbāsid court (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Civilisation*, 69 ff.). Baghdād was indeed still a model to be imitated, but an event of the utmost importance had occurred, of a kind which gave to the Arabic literature of Spain an orientation slightly different from that which obtained in the East. In fact, from the 3rd/9th century, the two strongly disparate ethnic elements which populated the Peninsula had,

after a long period of mutual ignorance, been gradually drawn closer together and had finally achieved a sort of fusion eminently favourable to the production of an original literature.

Our information on the Arabic poetry written during the early centuries of Muslim domination is very scanty, and the loss of the oldest collections—especially the *K. al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* of Aḥmad b. Faradj (d. 344/976)—deprives us of essential documentation. Perhaps Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl (d. 251/864), who was sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II on an embassy to Constantinople (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident*, 81 ff.), wrote poetry of merit; it is known that he favoured a minor epic form, by his use of the *urdjūza*, and this form was also employed by Tammām b. ʿĀmir (184-283/801-96) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. It is not the epic, however, but the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*] which is the most typical Spanish form. From the end of the 3rd/9th century dates the creation, attributed to a poet of Cabra named Muḳaddam b. Muʿāfā (d. at the beginning of the 4th/10th century) of this new verse-form; its fundamental characteristics were the arrangement in strophes, an arrangement virtually unknown to the Arab lyric, and the addition of an *envoi* (*khardja*) not in Arabic, but in Romance, as has recently been revealed by S. M. Stern (*Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššaḥs hispano-hébraïques* ...., in *al-And.*, 1948, 299-346): we have here a unique example of the combination of the two languages and the two systems. As long as there are manuscript collections of *muwashshaḥāt* still unpublished (see S. M. Stern, in *Arabica*, 1955/2), it would be premature to draw up a list which, if not exhaustive, would at least be fairly comprehensive, of authors of poems of this type; in any case, some of them are later than the period under review.

The importance attributed in recent years to the *khardja* can be explained on the one hand by the attraction of a novelty and, on the other, by the renewed controversy on the relationship between Spanish poetry and that of the troubadours, but it must be admitted that the *muwashshaḥāt*, however much appreciated by the Andalusians, even by Orientals, constituted no more than a minor literary category which could in no way supersede the other poetic forms esteemed in the Muslim Orient, and the necessary concomitant of the establishment of the western caliphate was an original poetic form which neither showed clearly signs of indigenous influence, nor followed too closely oriental forms. Nevertheless, oriental works were well known in Spain, from the pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas*—studied as relics of a bygone age but not imitated—to the *dīwāns* of "modern" and neo-classical poets, in particular al-Mutanabbī—who was the subject of commentaries by al-Iflīlī (352/441/963-1049), al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (410-76/1019-83), and Ibn Sīda—and it was these works which inspired Andalusian poets when Cordova, the metropolis of the Muslim West, possessed all the conditions favourable to the production of poetry of a characteristic flavour. As was to be expected, this poetry passed through various phases; somewhat official to begin with, it later became progressively independent and free, and finally blossomed in the 5th/11th century with incomparable richness.

Without going so far as to claim that the Umayyad caliphs were the centre of literary circles, one may legitimately affirm that they regularly played their part as patrons of letters by promoting Arab culture —notably by creating libraries, including the celebrated library of al-Ḥakam II—and by granting pensions to poets commissioned to sing their praises and to give, through their compositions, the customary lustre to the various solemn functions of official life; the *wazīr* of al-Ḥakam II and Hishām II, al-Muṣḥafī, (d. 372/982) is the perfect example of such poets (see E. García Gómez, *La Poésie politique sous le califat de Cordoue*, in *REI*, 1949, 5-11).

Although this type of poet did not hesitate on occasion to embark on other kinds of poetry than the political, it was under al-Manṣūr—who had ordered the burning of those books on philosophy, astronomy and other sciences which were considered to be contrary to the interests of Islam—that truly urban poetry came into being with Ibn Darrādj al-Ḳaṣtallī (347-421/958-1030), Ṣāʿid of Baghdād (d. 418/1026), al-Ramādī (d. 403 or 413/1013 or 1022). Moreover, from the end of the period of the caliphate, a literary group was established which, aristocratic in origin, but revolutionary in its ideas, was hostile to the *muwashshaḥāt genre* which was considered too popular, stoutly defended arabism without however submitting wholly to oriental influence, and proclaimed that the production of good literature depends on the genius of the authors and not on erudition or imitation. The leader of this school was Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035), who developed his ideas in a prose work of undoubted originality, the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-Zawābiʿ* (see García Gómez, *Ibn Hazm de Córdoba y El Collar de la Paloma*, Madrid 1952, 6 ff.); his natural heir was Ibn Ḥazm who, although he did not give evidence of superior poetic talent, was none the less the author of a charming analysis of ʿUdhrite love, the *Ṭawk al-Ḥamāma* which, unique of its kind, belonged henceforth to universal literature.

The momentous events which led to the fall of the caliphate and the establishment of the kingdoms of the *taifas* (*Ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*]) did not appear to have a fatal effect on the future of poetry, and it was precisely in the 5th/11th century that poetry reached its peak—a "false" peak, according to E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 65 ff. It is no mere chance that we possess, on this period, not only anthologies and *dīwān*s, but also the most important monograph which has been devoted to the literary history of Muslim Spain, *La Poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XI^e siècle*, Paris 1937, 2nd ed. 1953, by H. Pérès who, while seeking to bring out its documentary value, has at the same time painted an overall picture of the poetry of this period. Although it is possible to distinguish at each of the courts which came into being a kind of specialisation in some branch of knowledge, poetry dominates all literary activities; everywhere it reigns supreme, it opens all doors and "an extempore poem can be worth a viziership" (García Gómez). For the most part in neo-classical verse, and in the form of *ḳaṣīda*s, which is an indication of a recrudescence of oriental influence, every imaginable theme is dealt with; satires, elegies, ascetic poems, songs of love and war, panegyrics, songs of wine and passion. Every *genre* is found, and the most trivial incidents of daily life are recounted in verse; nevertheless the poets show a certain preference for descriptions, whether of nature, cities, gardens, animals or human beings.

At Cordova flourished Ibn Zaydūn (393-463/1003-70), who sang the praises of the princess Wallāda; at Seville the sovereign himself, al-Muʿtamid (d. 488/1095), whose life was "pure poetry in action" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 70), gave inspiration to a court which attracted not only

Spanish poets like Ibn ʿAmmār (d. 477/1084) and Ibn al-Labbāna (d. 507/1113) but even the Sicilian poet Ibn Ḥamdīs (447-527/1055-1132) (see S. Khalis, *La Vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*, Sorbonne thesis 1953, unpublished); at Almeria, al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 484/1091) received Ibn Sharaf (444-534/1052-1139), while at Granada flourished the celebrated Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ilbīrī (d. 454/1069), and at Badajoz Ibn ʿAbdūn (d. 529/1134).

(2) *From the Almoravids to the end of the period of Arab domination* (488-897/1092-1492)

The Almoravid conquest, which here and there brought the careers of these poets to an abrupt close, for a time reassembled the fragments of al-Andalus. It was unfavourable to the development of poetry, because the new rulers lacked the refinement and the taste of the *reyes de taifas*, and showed less interest in literature than in religion. While a wholly conventional type of poetry flourished at court, only Valencia maintained the tradition of the preceding century with the "landscape-painters" Ibn Khafādja (450-533/1058-1138) and Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ (d. 529/1135), who did not despise, respectively, erotic poems and bacchic songs. Under the Almohads, the only names of any note are those of al-Ruṣāfī (d. 572/1177) and Ibn Sahl (d. 649/1251); later, up to the fall of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-76/1313-74) and Ibn Zumruḳ (733-96/1333-93) merely maintained the tradition. Their contemporaries did not fail to note the decline of poetry and, thinking that the time had come to gather together the legacy of the past in order to save it from oblivion, they compiled anthologies: Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147) his *Dhakhīra*, al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (d. 529/1134) his *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿIḳyān* and *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*, while Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 672/1274), in extracting from his *Mughrib* the *K. Rāyāt al-Mubarrizīn*, seemed to be writing "the last testament of Arabo-Andalusian poetry" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 86).

If, however, noble or classical poetry shone with but a feeble lustre, the *muwashshaḥāt*, which the most aristocratic poets had continued to produce in the preceding century (see *Arabica*, 1955/2), again flourished with singular brilliance through the efforts of al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 520/1126), Ibn Bāḳī (d. 540/1145) and many others. In addition, the *zadjal* [*q.v.*], whose origin is attributed, perhaps erroneously to the 3rd/9th century, came truly to life with "one of the highest poetic peaks of the entire Middle Ages" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 81), Ibn Ḳuzmān (555/1159), and a host of popular poets mastered this form and kept it alive until the end of the period of Arab domination.

Prose literature, which had made such a promising beginning with Ibn Shuhayd and Ibn Ḥazm, again became orientalised with the *Sirādj al-Mulūk* of al-Ṭurṭūshī (451-520/1059-1126), the encyclopaedia of Ibn al-Shaykh al-Balawī (576-604/1132-1207), and the several imitations of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī which found their most prolific commentator in Spain in the person of al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222).

While particularly unfavourable to poetry and literature properly so-called, the Almoravid conquest was, on the other hand, an advantage to the sciences, both religious and profane, which developed to a considerable degree from then on. Space will not be devoted here to the religious disciplines which, though they had innumerable devotees, produced few noteworthy works apart from the *Tuḥfa* of Ibn ʿĀṣim (760-829/1359-1426), or to philology or lexicography, because, apart from Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (508-80/1114-85), the masters of these sciences, Ibn Mālik (605-72/1208-74) and Abū Ḥayyān (655-744/1257-1344), preferred to go and give the fruits of their knowledge to the peoples of the East.

As regards history, the biographical *genre* achieved great success, with the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (478-544/1085-1149), Ibn Bashkuwāl (493-578/1100-83), al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1202), Ibn al-Abbār (595-658/1198-1260), Ibn al-Zubayr (628-708/1231-1308); to the dynastic chronicles was added a great work by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, a continuation of the *Mushib* of al-Ḥidjārī (500-49/1106-55), the *Mughrib*, which made extensive use of earlier historians including once again Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. In the sphere of geography, the greatest name is, of course, al-Idrīsī (493-564/1100-69), while the Maghribīs, and especially Andalusians, applied themselves successfully to the *genre* of narratives of travel: Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (473-565/1080-1169), Ibn Djubayr (560-614/1145-1217), al-ʿAbdarī (7th/13th century).

The 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries were for Andalusia the golden age of science: mathematics, astronomy, medicine, pharmacology, botany. There is no need to repeat here the names of those who achieved fame in these sciences (see above, B, from the 6th to the 12th century); the names of the principal philosophers and mystics of the period under review will also be found in that section.

For *aljamiada* literature, see ALJAMÍA. On the question of the possible influence of the Arabic poetry of Spain on European works of the Middle Ages, see MUWASHSHAḤ and ZADJAL.

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AL-ʿARABIYYA, DJAZĪRAT, island in the Persian Gulf in Lat. 27° 46′ N, Long. 50° 10′ E, about 50 miles from the Saudi Arabian mainland and 60 miles from that of Iran. It is one of a five-island group—the others being Ḥarkūṣ, al-Fārisiyya, Karān, and Kurayn—on the Arabian side of the Gulf. Al-ʿArabiyya is less than a mile square and is normally uninhabited, but it is claimed by three of the Gulf states: Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt, and Iran.

(W. E. Mulligan)

ʿARABKĪR, (taken to mean ʿArabgīr, i.e. "conquest of the Arabs"), in modern Turkish orthography Arapkir, in Armenian Arabkēr, in the Byzantine sources Arabrakes, a town in eastern Anatolia, 19° 3′ north, 38° 30′ east, about 70 km. north of Malaṭya, situated on the Arapkir Su, a tributary of the Karasu, which later becomes the northern Euphrates, 1,200 m. above sea-level. Capital of a *kaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Malaṭya, with 6,684 inhabitants (1945); the *kaḍā* itself has 23,612 inhabitants.

The town is situated on a hill in a lowland which is surrounded by steeply rising walls of basalt. Because of the altitude, the climate of the town is harsh. Extensive orchards which surround the town are worthy of special mention. The town, as we find it at present, dates back only to the beginning of the 19th century, and is consequently of a modern appearance. Until then, the town had been situated at a place half an hour further to the north, which is still called Eskishehir ("old city") and still shows traces of buildings.

The town is not mentioned by any of the older Arabic geographers; it is, however, mentioned several times in the Saldjūk Chronicle of Ibn Bībī (written 680/1281, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1902). In the 11th century, the town was occupied by the Saldjūks; in the 15th century, it came under Ottoman rule. As the centre of a *sandjak*, the town belonged to the *eyālet* of Sivas, but it changed its orientation several times; since 1216/1878, it has belonged to the *wilāyet* of Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz (Kharput).

During the 19th century, the town began to flourish. Ainsworth gave the number of inhabitants as 8,000 (amongst them 6,000 Armenians) in the year 1839, whilst the British Consul General, J. Brant, who travelled a few years earlier, mentioned 6,000 houses (4,800 inhabited by Turks, 1,200 by Armenians), from which one might assume a higher total of inhabitants. Taylor mentions 35,000 inhabitants in the year 1868 and Cuinet 20,000 towards 1890 (11,000 Muslims, 8,500 Gregorian Armenians). A considerable part of them, particularly Armenian families, made its living by weaving (cotton goods from English yarn). Every year, emigrants come down from the mountains of Arapkir and Kharput to try and make their fortune in Istanbul, Diyārbakr, Damascus, Aleppo and the sea-ports. In former days one used to find a servant from Arapkir in most houses in Aleppo.

In the First World War 1914-18, the town suffered greatly, most of the houses and their famous gardens were destroyed, and trade died down. In post-war years, it recovered and began to flourish again.

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(M. Streck-[F. Taeschner])

ʿARAB SHĀHIDS [see KHWĀRIZM].

ʿARAḌ, translation of the Aristotelian term συμβεβηκός, accident is defined as that which cannot subsist by itself but only in a substance (*djawhar* [*q.v.*]) of which it is both the opposite and the complement. Thus, anything that is asserted of a subject is an accident, by which term the Muslim philosophers understand the Aristotelian categories (*maʿkūlāt*, [*q.v.*]) except that of the substance. The theologians (*mutakallimūn*) held different views on the subject (e.g., some believed that there can be substances without qualities and vice versa etc.) which cannot be described here (see e.g. *al-Ashʿarī, Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, vol. ii). Some held the doctrine of *aḥwāl* (states) [*q.v.*] which they described as qualities which are neither existent nor non-existent. An important tenet held by the *mutakallimūn* was the thesis that an accident cannot subsist in another accident.

In another sense *ʿaraḍ* is the opposite of *māhiyya* (quiddity) or *dhāt* (essence) [*q.v.*] and denotes an attribute which is not a constituent element of an essence. Two kinds of *ʿaraḍ* are distinguished: (a) that which, though it is not a part of an essence, is its necessary concomitant (*ʿaraḍ lāzim*) e.g., laughing with regard to man συμβεβηκὸς καθ' αὑτό in Aristotle, *Met.*, iv, 1; (b) that which is found in some members of a species but not in others (*ʿaraḍ lāḥiḳ* or *zāʾil*) e.g. writing with regard to man (simply συμβεβηκός, in Aristotle. An essential attribute, on the other hand, is e.g. rationality in relation to man.

Discussions on ʿaraḍ will be found in Muslim works on logic. For the views of the *mutakallimūn* see *maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī, ed. C. Ritter, ii; Dict. of Technical Terms, s.v.; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, etc. (F. Rahman)

AL-AʿRĀF (A.), plur. of *ʿurf*, "elevated place", "crest". In an eschatological judgement scene in Ḳurʾān, vii, 46 a dividing wall is spoken of which separates the dwellers in Paradise from the dwellers in Hell, and men, "who are on the *aʿrāf* and recognise each by his marks" (v. 48: "those of the *aʿrāf*"). The interpretation of this passage is disputed. Bell makes the doubtful conjecture *iʿrāf* and translates:

"(Presiding) over the recognition are men, who recognise . . .". According to T. Andrae the "Men on the elevated places" are probably the dwellers in the highest degrees of Paradise, "who are able to look down both on Hell and on Paradise". Perhaps the reference is in particular to the messengers of God, who come into action again at the Last Judgement in order to separate the good from the bad.

According to the traditional explanation "those of the elevated places" are to be supplied as subject of the sentence at the end of v. 46 (*lam yadkhulūhā*) and in v. 47. According to this they would be— at any rate provisionally—neither in Paradise nor in Hell, but in an intermediate place or condition. As a result of this explanation *al-aʿrāf* was given the meaning "Limbo" [see BARZAKH].

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(R. PARET)

ʿARAFA, or ʿARAFĀT, plain about 21 km. (13 miles) east of Mecca, on the road to Ṭāʾif, bounded on the north by a mountain-ridge of the same name. The plain is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual Pilgrimage to Mecca; these are focussed on a conical granite hill in its N.E. corner, under 200 feet in height, and detached from the main ridge; this hill also is called ʿArafa, but more commonly Djabal al-Raḥma (Hill of Mercy). On its eastern flank, broad stone steps (constructed by order of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Djawād, vizier of the atābek Zankī) lead to the top, which is surmounted by a minaret; on the sixtieth step there is a platform containing the pulpit from which the ritual *khuṭba*, the Pilgrimage address, is delivered on the afternoon of the "Day of ʿArafa" (9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja). On the top there stood formerly a *ḳubba* named after Umm Salama (Ibn Djubayr 173), which was destroyed by the Wahhābīs. The hill is also said to have been called Ilāl, but this name is more probably to be regarded as that of a shrine or perhaps of the deity worshipped on the spot in the pre-Islamic period (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*², 82-3).

The plain of ʿArafāt (about 4 miles in breadth from E. to W. and 7-8 miles in length) lies outside the *ḥaram* or sacred territory of Mecca; the pilgrim coming from Mecca emerges through a defile called Maʾzamayn and passes the pillars which delimit the *ḥaram*; to the east of these is a depression called ʿUrana, at the further edge of which is a mosque called by the names of Ibrāhīm or Namira or ʿArafa. The *mawḳif* or place of assembly extends immediately to the east of this mosque and southwards from the Djabal al-Raḥma, and is bounded on the east by the mountain-chain of Ṭāʾif. In the early centuries of Islam, a number of wells were dug in the plain and several plantations and dwellinghouses are mentioned. The aqueduct built by order of Zubayda to bring water from the region of Ṭāʾif to Mecca also runs at the base of the ridge of ʿArafa. The plain is now covered with rough herbage and normally unpopulated, and is filled with life only on the "Day of ʿArafa", when the pilgrims pitch their camp for the celebration of the prescribed *wuḳūf* or festival assembly. This begins after the midday *khuṭba* and prayer and lasts until just after sunset. For further details of the ceremonies see the art. ḤADJDJ.

The origin of the name ʿArafa is unknown. The legendary explanation is that Adam and Eve, separated after their expulsion from Paradise, met again at this spot and recognised each other (*taʿārafa*). Arabic writers mention also other etymologies of a similar kind.

Bibliography: Azraḳī and Fāsī *apud* F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 418-9; ii, 89, etc.; Maḳdisī 77; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam māʾstaʿdjam*, s.v.; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ibn Djubayr (Wright-de Goeje), 168-176; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Paris), i, 397-9; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 186; ʿAlī Bey, *Travels*, i, 67 f.; R. F. Burton, *Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, 2nd ed., ii, 214 f.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 141 f.; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjaziyya*, 186 ff.; Ibrāhīm Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, i, 335 ff.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pélérinage à la Mekke* (Paris 1923), 240-253; E. Rutter, *Holy Cities of Arabia* (London 1928), i, 156-163. Pictures of the hill and of the plain during the Pilgrimage ceremonies in ʿAlī Bey, Burckhardt, Rifʿat Bey, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, xiii-xvi.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[H. A. R. GIBB])

ARAGHŪN [see SUPPLEMENT].

AL-**ʿARĀʾISH** ("the trellises of grape vines"), in French and Spanish orthography *Larache*, town on the Moroccan seaboard situated on the Atlantic coast, about 44 m. S.-W. of Tangier and 83 m. N.-W. of Fās. Astronomical position: 35° 13′ lat. N., 8° 28′ 22″ long. W. (of Paris).

Larache covers the slopes of a hill which juts out into the sea in the form of a headland and dominates the left bank of the Wādī Lukkos at the point where this river discharges into the sea. The Muslim town is insignificant, and has no feature of interest except the *sūḳ*, quadrilateral in form, which is lined with arcades and presents a vaguely monumental appearance. As a legacy of the first Spanish occupation (1610-89), there remains a fortress called *Castillo de las Cigüeñas* (of the storks) or *Santa Maria de Europa*. To the S. and S.-W. of the Muslim town, the Spanish, who re-occupied Larache in 1911, built a European town, the centre of which in 1955 was a circular area called *Plaza de España*. The alluvial deposits of the Wādi Lukkos have formed a bar which renders the harbour inaccessible to vessels of large tonnage. The population of Larache in 1955 numbered just under 43,000, of whom (in round figures) 28,000 were Muslims, 1,300 Jews and 13,000 Europeans, almost all Spanish. In the neighbourhood of Larache potatoes and fruit trees are chiefly cultivated. Industry is of little importance, but fishing has increased to some extent (more than 230 small craft in 1953). The patron of Larache is Lallā Mennāna, whose *ḳubba* marks the beginning of the *Madīna* as one approaches it from inland.

Al-ʿArāʾish is not a very old town. Al-Idrīsī does not mention it, and the Arab authors do not mention it before the 7th/13th century. Further, it only occurs infrequently in texts. It was apparently founded by the Banū ʿArūs tribe, who gave it, on account of the abundance of vines in the neighbourhood, the name of al-ʿArīsh mtāʿ Bnī ʿArūs. The Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr built a fort at the mouth of the Wādī Lukkos, and, in 1270, Spanish Christians carried out a successful surprise attack on the place. However, as is often the case with places of secondary importance on the Moroccan coast, the history of Larache is only known with any certainty from the time that the Portuguese set foot in Morocco. In the years immediately following their occupation of Ceuta (1415), the Portuguese launched a successful attack against the town, but the results of this victory were short-lived. The occupation of

Arzila and Tangier by King Alfonso V of Portugal in 1471 led to the evacuation of Larache, which the peace treaty included in the zone of Portuguese influence and which remained depopulated for twenty years. In 1489, King John II of Portugal took advantage of this circumstance to consolidate his position in northern Morocco and to constitute a more direct threat to Fās and al-Ḳaṣr al-Kbīr, by erecting a fort named *la Graciosa* on the right bank of the Lukkos a little below the confluence of that river with the Wādī Mkhāzen. Besieged by the Moroccans, decimated by marsh-fever, ill-supplied and ill-reinforced because the river was barely navigable, the Portuguese garrison, after a long resistance, was obliged to accept an honourable surrender, which enabled it to retire unmolested. Al-ʿArāʾish was restored by Mawlāy al-Nāṣir, son of the Waṭṭāsid Sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh. Leo Africanus, who gives an account of the town at the beginning of the 16th century, informs us that large numbers of eels were caught there, that a plentiful supply of game was to be found there, and that on the banks of the Lukkos there were woods abounding in wild animals. The inhabitants made charcoal which they sent to Arzila and Tangier. But they lived in fear of the Portuguese, who continually raided the area and who attacked the port itself in 1504 (there was also an unsuccessful attack by the Spanish from Cadiz in 1546). This insecurity did not prevent the development of a certain amount of maritime trade due to the fact that al-ʿArāʾish was then the only port in northern Morocco not occupied by the Christians, and that it was one of the channels through which passed the trade of Fās, to which it was relatively near. The Portuguese maintained a commercial agent there (*feitor*); Genoese merchants visited it regularly, and a castle situated at the entrance to the harbour became known as "Genoese Castle". From then on, Larache became a pirates' lair, and piracy increased after the evacuation of Arzila by the Portuguese in 1550. The havoc wrought by the pirates on the Spanish coast led Philip III to occupy Larache in 1610, following an agreement with the Saʿdid Sultan Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaykh. The town was retaken by the Moroccans in 1689 during the reign of the ʿAlawid Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, and was repopulated by the Djabāla and the tribes of the Rif. From that date until 1911, the operations of the European powers against Larache were confined to bombardments or to more or less successful attacks from the sea. In 1765, the French Admiral Du Chaffault suffered a heavy defeat there. In 1860, during the Spanish-Moroccan war, Larache was bombarded by a Spanish squadron. During the "Moroccan crisis", Spanish troops landed at Larache on 8 June 1911, and the town remained within the Spanish zone of influence until the proclamation of the independence of Morocco in 1956.

Opposite Larache, on the other bank of the Wādī Lukkos, on the Shammish hill, there stand the ruins of the Punic town of Lixos or Lixus, where many excavations have been made.

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(G. Yver-[R. Ricard])

AL-**ARAK**, to-day Santa Maria de Alarcos, a small citadel in the district of Calatrava la Vieja, situated about seven miles S.-W. of Ciudad Real, on the summit of a mountain whose spurs descend to the Rio Guadiana. In the undulating plain which lies at its feet, between Poblete and Guadiana, was fought the famous battle between Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr and the Castilians, which ended in the rout of Alfonso VIII (see the article ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB, for details of events immediately prior to the battle).

We have little information on the details of the actual battle, because we only have at our disposal on the Muslim side accounts which are rather fanciful. The Christian sources are more objective, although briefer. It seems that the Castilians launched a surprise attack on the Almohad advance guard, commanded by the Vizier Abū Yaḥyā, grandson of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Intī [*q.v.*], but only achieved a partial success. Yaʿḳūb, with his own force, attacked the flank of the Christians who, as the struggle became prolonged, were forced, exhausted by the heat and by thirst, to take refuge in the castle of Alarcos or to flee with their King in the direction of Toledo. Moreover the Castilian Pedro Fernández de Castro, a personal enemy of Alfonso VIII, contributed with his own squadron of cavalry to the success of the Almohad ruler, on whom he lavished advice. Don Diego Lopez de Haro, the great *alférez* of Castile, took refuge with the royal standard in the castle, but was soon forced to surrender.

The Muslim chroniclers, on the subject of this battle, have absurdly exaggerated the numbers of the troops on either side, that of the Christian dead and that of the prisoners taken in the castle. At all events, the army of Alfonso VII suffered heavy losses and experienced such a severe blow that, in the years following, despite the aid of the King of Aragon, it did not dare to risk a further engagement with Yaʿḳūb when the latter penetrated into its territory. The battle of Alarcos took place under the most favourable conditions for the Almohads. Alfonso VIII was at war with Leo and Navarre. Accustomed to easy and fruitful raids into Andalusia, where his troops did not meet with serious resistance, he completely underestimated the strength of the Muslim forces and the strategic ability of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr.

Bibliography: To the references given by E. Lévi-Provençal in *La Péninsule ibérique d'après*

al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār, 18, no. 1, the following should be added: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iv, trans. Huici, 155 ff.; al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī, *Sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ḥāzim al-Karṭādjannī*, Cairo 1344, ii, 153-6; *Primera Crónica General*, ed. by R. Menéndez Pidal, i, 680; *Chronique des Rois de Castille*, ed. by Cirot, 41, app. 45; A. Huici, *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, 137 ff. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

ARAKAN, The most westerly Division of Lower Burma, lying between the Arakan Yoma range and the Bay of Bengal. Until 1199/1784, Arakan was an independent kingdom, and thereafter formed part of Burma, (under British administration from 1241/1826). From the 9th/14th to the 13th/18th century the history of Arakan was closely linked with that of Muslim Bengal.

From the 3rd/10th century Arakan was Buddhist, but in 809/1406 King Narameikhla, defeated by the Burmese, took refuge with the Muslim ruler of Bengal. He was restored to his throne, in 833/1430, by troops of the Bengal sultan, whose tributary he became. (For the identity of this sultan see Phayre, 76-7; Collis, 34-52; *History of Bengal* ii, 120-29).

If Narameikhla's connection with Bengal had been that of a tributary, that of his nephew, Basawpyu, was a conqueror's, for he took the important port of Čittagong. Lost about 918/1512 to the Tippera *rādjā*, recaptured by King Minyaza, and then in the hands of the Ḥusayn Shāhīs from 923/1517 until 946/1539, Čittagong was absorbed into the Arakan kingdom from the time of King Minbin until that of King Sandathudamma.

The naval forces of Arakan based on Čittagong, working with those of Portuguese freebooters settled in the head of the Bay, now dominated the riverine tracts of Bengal. The Noakhali and Backergunge districts were swept for plunder and slaves, (see *Travels of Father Manrique*, ed. C. E. Luard for the large numbers involved), and, indeed, for some years they were virtually Arakanese possessions. In 1034/1625 even Dhākā, the Mughal provincial capital was sacked.

In 1070/1660, Shāh Shudjāʿ, defeated in Bengal by the forces of his brother, the emperor Awrangzīb, sailed with an Arakanese flottilla which had operated in his support, and sought asylum with King Sandathudamma at Mrohaung. The Mughals offered the King large sums for his extradition, while Shudjāʿ, denied shipping in which to leave, intrigued with the many Muslims in Arakan. On 6 Djumādā II 1071/7 Feb 1661 Arakanese troops surrounded his house, and the Prince was probably killed in the struggle which followed. (See G. E. Harvey, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1922/ii, 107-15).

Awrangzīb's viceroy, Shāyista Khān, avenged the death and curbed Arakanese raids by destroying two Arakanese fleets and taking Čittagong in 1076/1666. (The Portuguese had been won over the previous year, and the Mughals were accompanied by Kamāl, son of Prince Mangat Rai, the governor of Čittagong who had fled to Dhākā in 1048/1638).

This ended the Arakanese ascendency in Eastern Bengal, though slave raiding continued far into the 12th/18th century. Moreover, in 1103/1692 Muslim soldiers of fortune, combining with the many captive Bengalis, rose in the capital and for twenty years had the mastery in Arakan. The Bengali Muslim poets Dawlat Ḳāḍī and Sayyid al-Awwal, who wrote at the courts of Kings Thirithudamma and Sandathudamma, were under the patronage of such Muslim officers and officials at the court. Descendants of these Muslim soldiers still live in the Ramri and Akyab areas, and are called Kaman (Pers. *kamān*—a bow). (Bisveswar Bhattacharya, *Bengal Past and Present* No. 65, 1927, 139-44)

The Arakanese connexion with Muslim Bengal found expression in the assumption of Muslim titles by the Buddhist kings and in the issue of coins on which appear those titles, or the *kalima*, in the Persian script.

Arakanese title	Regnal years	Muslim title	Coinage
Narameikhla	833/1430—837-8/1434		Tributary of sultan
Meng Khari	837-8/1434—863-4/1459	ʿAlī Khān	
Basawpyu	863-4/1459—887/1482	Kalima Shāh	*kalima*
Kasabadi	929-30/1523—931-2/1525	Ilyās Shāh Sulṭān	*kalima* & title
Thatasa	931/2/1525—937-8/1531	ʿAlī Shāh	*kalima* & title
Minbin	937-8/1531—960-61/1553	Zabuk Shāh	title
Minpalaung	978-9/1571—1001-02/1593	Sikandar Shāh	title
Minyazagyi	1001-02/1593—1021/1612	Salīm Shāh	title
Minhkamaung	1021/1612—1031-2/1622	Ḥusayn Shāh	title
Thirithudamma	1031-2/1622—1047-8/1638	Salīm Shāh	Persian lettering
Sandathudamma	1062-3/1652—1096-7/1685	No Muslim title or coinage	

It is clear that the Arakanese coins are modelled upon those of Bengal. Thus in Bengal the use of the *kalima* begins about the time when Narameikhla was restored by the sulṭān to the Arakan throne, and in both countries a clumsy Kūfic is used. (See Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma*, in *International Numismata Orientalia*, 1882; M. S. Collis, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1925/i, 34-52; J. W. Laidley, *J.A.S.B.* 1846 pl. IV no. 12; H. F. Blochman, *J.A.S.B.* 1873/i, 209-309).

Muslims in Arakan left their traces in the Sandihkan mosque at Mrohaung, and in the Buddermokan at Akyab and Sandoway—shrines of Badr al-Dīn Awliyā, whose most famous shrine is at Čittagong. He is the guardian saint of sailors of Arakan and Bengal. (See E. Forchhammer, *Monograph on Arakan Antiquities*, and Sir R. C. Temple, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1925, 1-31).

Bibliography: Sir A. P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, 76-81, 171-84; G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, 137-49; *History of Bengal* ii, ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dacca 1948; Sir J. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, 1933, 191-213.

(J. B. HARRISON)

ARAL, a large, slightly salty lake in west Turkistān, 46° 45′ to 43° 43′ N and 76° to 79° 27′ E, with a surface area of (1942) 66,458 sq.km.; of this 2345 sq.km. are islands. (The largest islands are the Toḳmaḳ Aṭa in front of the mouth of the Āmū Daryā, Ostrov Vozroždeniya, "Island of the Resurrection", formerly Nicholas Island, discovered in 1848, 216 sq.km.; Barsa Kelmez, "arrival without

return", 133 sq.km.; and finally Kug Aral, in the north, eastward in front of the Ḳara Tüp peninsula, 273 sq.km.) The maximum length from NE to SW is 428 km., the breadth at 45° N 284 sq.km. The average depth of the lake is 16 m., in the middle it is up to 20-25 m., in the west up to 68 m. The lake has today in the N, E and S numerous bays, and, particularly in the SE, rocky islands offshore. Only the western shore, which borders on the Üst Yurt plain partly with cliffs up to 190 m. high, has no bays. The east bank is flat and sandy.

In prehistoric times (diluvium and ice ages) the level of Lake Aral stood some 4 m. above the present waterline; hence the lake had (particularly in the bays in the NE and NW) a considerably larger extension and was besides (through the Özboy [cf. ĀMŪ DARYĀ]) connected with the Caspian Sea and through this, at the time, with the Ocean. Since the production of the present geological conditions it has no longer any outlet. (Cf. Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskiy Slovar'*[1], ii, 10-12, and *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*[2], xx, 326.) In historical times also the water-level fluctuated by several meters, and the banks altered because of this, especially in the E and NE; but there is no evidence of significant changes at this time. In fact the description of the delta of the Āmū Daryā by al-Maḳdisī, 288: two days from Mizdākhkān to the Kerder, one day and four *farsakhs* to Parategin (B(F)aratigīn) and a further day to the bank of the lake, corresponds as well with modern conditions as Ibn Ḥawkal's account (ed. Kramers, 512). He says that the place Dih-i Naw = Arabic al-Ḳarya al-Hadītha = Turkish Yeñi Kent (al-Masʿūdī: Naw Karda?), identical with the present ruins of Djankent, some 22 km. SW of the modern Kazalinsk (ill. in S. A. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der alt-choresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 254; further details, ibid., 266) is two days distant from the bank of the lake (both 10th century accounts, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 178). In the 19th-20th centuries the level fell and rose alternately: 1860-80 it fell, then the waterline rose till 1915 by 2 m; within the period 1874 to 1931 it fluctuated by 3.1 m. Accordingly its height above sea-level is given variously as 49 m. (as an average: *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*), 52 m. (Leimbach), and as its highest point in 1931: as 54 m. This changes also correspondingly the estimation of its depth. The lake, whose salt content (1.03-1.08%) is considerably lower than that of the Ocean, scarcely ever freezes up completely. Mostly only the bays in the north turn solid, or the whole northern part (as far as the Barsa Kelmez island). To this northern part (some 5500 sq.km.) the Ḳazakhs have given the special name Kičik Teñiz ("small sea"); so the main southern part is called Ulu Teñiz ("great sea").

The Āmū Daryā ([*q.v.*] concerning the possible change of its course) and the Sīr Daryā run into the Aral Sea. Of the Sīr Daryā al-ʿUmarī (1301-48) claims in his *Masālik al-Abṣār* (reproduced by W. von Tiesenhausen, *Materialy otnosyashčiesya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy*, i, 1884, 215, transl., 237), following the account of the merchant Badr al-Dīn al-Rūmī, that it changed its direction three travelling-days below Djand, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (1424-5), who disputes the existence of the Aral Sea, makes it join the Āmū Daryā. Finally in the *Bābur-nāma* the great conqueror of India (d. 1530) reports that the Sīr Daryā subsides into the sands in the west. One should not attach much weight to these accounts, of which that of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū may be regarded as legendary and that of al-ʿUmarī conveys nothing conclusive; Abu 'l-Ghāzī too knows nothing of the Sīr Daryā at one time not reaching the Aral Sea [cf. also SĪR DARYA].

It is uncertain whether the Aral Sea was known to classical antiquity. A. Hermann does not refer the reports about the Ὀξειανὴ λίμνη (palus Oxiana) to the Aral Sea; on the other hand he sees in the palus Oxia of Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, 59 the Aral Sea (Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/2, 1942, 2004-5). Also the quite general accounts of the Chinese and the λίμνη of the Byzantine ambassador Zemarchos, 568 A.D. (Menander Protector, *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, xviii, 238 f.; C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv, 229) cannot be interpreted with any certainty.

In Islamic times Ibn Rusta, 92, is the first to describe the lake, without naming it. He gives its circumference as 80 *farsakhs*; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 304, makes it 100, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 53, 300 *farsakhs*. Whether the earlier report in Ibn Khurradādhbih, 173, about the lake of Kerder (for this form instead of Kurdar cf. A. Zeki Velidî Togan in *Türkiyat Mecmuasî*, ii, 340) can be referred to the Aral Sea, is questionable. At that time the Oghuz (Ghuzz) and the Pečeneg nomadised round the lake, except on the southern bank (Khwārizm).

The Aral Sea was called by al-Iṣṭakhrī, the *Ḥudūd*, and the later geographers, Buḥayrat Khwārizm and rightly described as a closed salty lake, which lay to the right on the journey from Gurgandj (Old Urgandj) to the Pečeneg (so Gardīzī, reproduced in W. Barthold, *Otčet o komandirovkě v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 1897, 95) and so had no connexion with the Sarī Ḳamīsh [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ]. On the other hand al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 65; in more general terms also in *Murūdj*. i, 211) says that the "Lake of Djurdjāniyya" is connected with the Caspian Sea. Djurdjānī (d. 861/1476-7), following the *Djihān-nāma* (from the beginning of the 13th century), calls it also "Lake of Djand" after the city on the lower reaches of the Sīr Daryā. Finally, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū claims (in 820/1417) that the lake has vanished (and furnishes thus new proof of the fact that one must by no means blindly trust isolated accounts by Islamic geographers of the Middle Ages).

Between the 13th and 16th century no report about the Aral Sea has been handed down. Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān speaks in the *Shadjarat al-Atrāk* (Desmaisons), 338, for the first time of Aral ("island") as the place where the Āmū Daryā runs into the lake. After this "island" (which in the 18th century formed a separate state with the capital Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*] and was not re-united with Khīwa until the reign of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, 1806-26) the lake later received the name of Aral Teñizi, "Aral Sea", among the Ḳazaḳs. Following this the Russians call it Aral'skoe More, "Aral Sea" (first occurrence in 1697). Previously the Russian work *Kniga bol'shogo čerteža* (finished in 1626) called it Sinee More, "Blue Sea"—it does in fact have a deep blue colour. This name appeared in 1697 also on the Dutch map in Witsen, *Noord- en Oost-Tartarye*[1], 1687, while J. N. de l'Isle, in 1723, uses the modern name (Barthold, *Aral*, 77 f.).

The Russians erected first in 1847 a fortress Raīmskoe (the name probably derives from Raḥīm) on the right bank of the lower Sīr Darya, 60-65 km. from its mouth. Already from 1819 several expeditions had more closely explored the lake and furnished descriptions (1819 N. N. Murav'ëv; 1820-1 A. F. Negri and A. K. Baron Meyendorff; 1825-6 F. W. R. Berg; 1833-5 G. von Helmersen; 1839 V. A. Count

Perovskiy; 1840 M. M. Žemčužnikov; 1840-1 Antov; 1841 I. P. Blaramberg and D. I. Romanov; 1842-3 Danilevskiy; 1843 Schulz and Lemm; then in 1848 A. I. Butakov and A. I. Maksheyev). Between 1853 and 1883 the Russians kept a flotilla on the Aral Sea, which was stationed in the beginning in Aral'sk, then in Kazalinsk (on the lower Sīr Daryā). It was disbanded after the Aral Sea had become a Russian inland lake with the conquest of the Khānate of Khīwa in 1873. Since 1906 the lake is reached by the railway line Orenburg-Tashkent at the NE corner near Aral'sk. Otherwise the lake is still to-day situated inconveniently for traffic.—During the civil war of 1918-21 a flotilla was formed again on the Aral Sea. Since the reorganisation of territories in 1924 and 1936 the southern part of the lake belongs to the autonomous republic of Ḳarakalpakia in the framework of the Uzbek SSR, the northern part to Ḳazaḳistān. The lake is of importance for the surrounding population and altogether for the USSR principally because of its fishing industry.

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ARAR [see HARAR].

ARARAT [see DJABAL AL-ḤĀRITH].

ARAS [see AL-RASS].

ʿARBĀN, site of ruins in Mesopotamia, on the Western bank of the Khābūr, to the South of the Djabal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, situated under 36° 10′ N. Lat. and 40° 50′ E. Long. (Greenw.). The remains of the old town are hidden under several hills, after one of which the site is also called Tell ʿAdjāba. It was here that H. A. Layard found several winged bulls with human heads, products of the genuinely Mesopotamian civilization which is closely related to that of ancient Babylonia. ʿArbān is probably identical with the Gar (Sha)-dikanna of the cuneiform inscriptions. During the later Roman period the town, then called Arabana, possessed considerable military importance as the principal station on the line of frontier against the Parthians. In the Arab period ʿArbān played an important part as the centre of the Khābūr district and as place of storage for the cotton cultivated in the Khābūr valley. Geographers (cf. e.g. Yāḳūt s.v. ʿArabān) and historians refer to it frequently as a flourishing town. The date of its destruction is unknown; possibly it took place during the Mongol invasion under Timur.

Bibliography: K. Ritter, *Erdkunde* xi, 271; H. A. Layard, *Niniveh und Babylon* (German transl. by Zenker), 208 ff.; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900) ii, 19-21; id., in *Z G Erdkunde* xxxvi, (1901), 69 ff.; Streck, in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie* xviii, 190; Le Strange, 97. (M. STRECK)

ARBŪNA, the name by which the Arab historians designated the town of Narbonne. Reached by the early Muslim expeditions, it was taken in 96/715 under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, was probably then lost or abandoned, and was retaken in 100/719 by al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī. In 116/734, two years after the battle of Poitiers [see BALĀṬ AL-SHUHADĀʾ], the Duke of Provence concluded a treaty with the governor of Narbonne, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whereby the latter was allowed to occupy a certain number of places in the valley of the Rhône, in order to protect Provence against the attempts of Charles Martel and to procure a new invasion route to the north; Charles Martel reacted at once, took Avignon in 119/737 and invested Narbonne, but without success. It was not until 142/759 that the town, after a long siege, was finally taken from the Muslims by Pepin the Short. In 177/793, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Mughīth advanced as far as Narbonne, set fire to the outskirts, defeated the Duke of Toulouse not far from the city, and withdrew with considerable booty; another expedition, which was unsuccessful, took place in 226/840. Narbonne and its region still maintained relations with the Umayyad court, Jewish merchants being particularly active in this respect.

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ARCHIDONA [see URDJUDHŪNA].

ARCHITECTURE.

I. EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE

(1) *The Time of the Prophet*

Arabia, at the rise of Islam, does not appear to have possessed anything worthy of the name of architecture. Only a small proportion of the population was settled, and these lived in dwellings which were scarcely more than hovels. Those who lived in mud-brick houses were called *ahl al-madar*, and the Bedawīn, from their tents of camel's-hair cloth, *ahl al-wabar*.

The sanctuary at Mecca, in the time of Muḥammad, merely consisted of a small roofless enclosure, oblong in shape, formed by four walls a little higher than a man, built of rough stones laid dry. Within this enclosure was the sacred well of Zamzam. This little sanctuary, known as the Kaʿba, lay at the bottom of a valley surrounded by the houses of Mecca, *which came close up to it*, and we are expressly told that when ʿUmar wanted to surround it by an open space, large enough to contain the Faithful, he

had to demolish many houses (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 46).

The Kaʿba, being in a bad state, was demolished and reconstructed by the Ḳuraysh, when Muḥammad was in his thirty-fifth year, i.e. in A.D. 608. The Ḳuraysh took the wood of a ship which had been wrecked, and employed a carpenter and builder named Bāḳūm, who had been on the ship, to help them in the rebuilding. Azraḳī (Wüstenfeld's ed., *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 110, last line—112, l. 12) says that the new Kaʿba was built with a course of stone alternating with a course of wood up to the roof, there being sixteen courses of stone and fifteen of wood. The door, which had previously being at ground level, was now placed with its sill four cubits and a span from the ground. The rooı rested on six pillars (*sawārī*, pl. of *sāriya*) arranged in two rows of three each. Total height of structure-18 cubits. Azraḳī says that on the ceiling, walls and columns were pictures (*ṣuwar*) of the Prophets, trees and angels. (Cf. Creswell, in *Archaeologia*, 94, Oxford 1951, 97-102).

This curious style of architecture, of alternate courses of stone and wood, resembles the style practised in Abyssinia in early times (see Krencker, in the *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii, 168-94) and Bāḳūm is probably an abbreviation of ʿEnbāḳōm, the Abyssinian form of Habakkuk, that is to say the "carpenter and builder" employed was most probably an Abyssinian (see my *Kaʿba in A.D.* 608, in *Archaeologia*, XCIV (1951), 97-102).

When Muḥammad migrated to Madīna he built a house for himself and his family. It consisted of an enclosure about 100 cubits square of mud brick, with a portico on the south side made of palm trunks used as columns to support a roof of palm leaves and mud. Against the outer side of the east wall were built small huts (*ḥudjra*) for the Prophet's wives. All opened into the courtyard. We have the description (preserved in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, I_2, 180) of these huts, due to a man named ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd who saw then just before they were demolished by order of al-Walīd: "There were four houses of mud brick, with apartments partitioned off by palm branches, and five houses made of palm branches plastered with mud and not divided into rooms. Over the doors were curtains of black hair-cloth. Each curtain measured 3 × 3 cubits. One could reach the roof with the hand".

Such was the house of the leader of the community at Madīna. Nor did Muḥammad wish to alter these conditions; he was entirely without architectural ambitions, and Ibn Saʿd records the following saying of his: "The most unprofitable thing that eateth up the wealth of a Believer is building" (*Ṭabaḳāt*, I_2, 181, ll. 7-8; also VIII, 120, l. 1). At this time Ṭāʾif was the only town in the Ḥidjāz that possessed a wall. When Madīna was attacked in 5/627 it had no wall, so Muḥammad had a ditch dug to defend it; the idea is said to have been due to a Persian slave named Salmān, and it created a great sensation for nobody had ever heard of such a thing before. The word *khandaḳ* given to it is Persian. Madīna was first surrounded by a wall in 63/682-3; (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 305, l. 4).

(2) *The Patriarchal and Umayyad Caliphates*

The men who formed the Arab armies of conquest were mainly Bedouin, but even those who came from permanent settlements, such as Mecca and Madīna, knew nothing of art or architecture. They soon found themselves in two totally different cultural environments, one of which had been under Hellenistic influence for a thousand years, the other under Persian influence for even longer.

And not only were the cultural conditions different, the material conditions were different also. Syria was a country of splendid building materials. Syrian limestone was the best of its kind, resisting weathering and taking a beautiful amber lint on exposure, and cedar wood was plentiful, for the Lebanon had not yet been deforested. So the seventh century invaders found themselves in a country of splendid buildings — churches of cut stone, some of ashlar in courses 90 cm. high, with arcades on marble columns, gable roofs of cedar wood and large surfaces decorated with coloured glass mosaics on a glistening gold background.

In the other cultural sphere they met with buildings of brick, sometimes only of mud brick, sometimes vaulted and sometimes with flat roofs of palm trunks, palm leaves and mud.

In these early days, the Muslims, when they conquered a town in Syria, usually took one of the churches and used it as a mosque, or merely *divided* one of the churches if the town had surrendered without resistance. At Ḥimṣ, for example, they took a fourth part of the Church of St. John. How was a church converted into a mosque? One can easily guess. In Syria the *ḳibla* (direction of Mecca) is due south, whereas churches are turned towards the east. Under these circumstances it was only necessary to close the western entrance (or three entrances), pierce new entrances in the north wall and pray across the aisles. That this is exactly what happened can be verified in the Great Mosque of Ḥamā where the west front of the *Kanīsat al-ʿUẓmā* (Great Church) which was converted into a mosque in 15/636-7, now forms the west end of the sanctuary. Its three western doors have been converted into windows and it is now entered from the north.

At Jerusalem they made use of the remains of the basilical hall of Herod, ruined by the army of Titus, which ran along the south side of the Temple Enclosure. This primitive mosque was seen by Arculf about A.D. 670 (Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i, 145). In Persia, at Persepolis and Ḳazwīn, they appear to have taken *apadānas*, or hypostile audience-halls of the Persian kings, with flat roofs resting on columns with double bull-headed capitals.

But the situation was different in ʿIrāḳ, for here the Arabs founded new towns (which they did not do in Syria) so pre-existing buildings could not be employed, and they had to construct some sort of place for themselves. What manner of buildings were the first mosques of the earliest towns in Islam?

The following is a list of those Umayyad Friday mosques the essential features of which are known from literary or archaeological evidence:

1. — Baṣra, reconstructed in 45/665.
2. — Kūfa, reconstructed in 50/670.
3. — Damascus, construction begun in 87/706.
4. — Medina, reconstructed 88/706-91/710.
5. — al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, Jerusalem, built under Walīd I, 86/705-96/715.
6. — Aleppo, built under Walīd I or Sulaymān, 86/705-99/717.
7. — Fusṭāṭ, reconstructed 92/710-93/712.
8. — Ramla, completed 98/717-102/720.
9. — Buṣrā, built in 102/720-1.
10. — Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī (identified by Sauvaget as Ruṣāfa, the residence of Hishām) built in 110/728.

11. — Ḥarrān, built in 126/744-133/750.
12. — Ḥamāt, reconstructed, date uncertain.
13. — Darʿa, date uncertain (?).

At Baṣra, founded about 14/635, the first mosque (according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 341, 342 and 346-7) was simply marked out (*ikhtaṭṭa*) and the people prayed there without any building. According to another version, also given by al-Balādhurī (346 and 350), it was enclosed by a fence of reeds. At Kūfa, founded in 17/638, the first mosque was equally primitive. Its boundaries were fixed by a man who threw an arrow towards the *ḳibla*, then another towards the north, another to the west and a fourth to the east (al-Balādhurī, 275-6; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2481, ll. 12-13). A square with each side two arrow-casts in length was thus obtained. This area was not enclosed by walls but by a ditch only, and the sole architectural feature was a covered colonnade (*ẓulla*), 200 cubits long, which ran the whole length of the south side.

The columns were of marble, taken from some buildings of the Lakhmid Princes at Ḥīra, about 4 miles away. This *ẓulla* was open on all sides so that, in the words of al-Ṭabarī (i, 2494), a man praying in it could see the convent known as Dayr Hind and the gate of the town known as Bāb Djiṣr. On the *ḳibla* side and only separated from the praying place by a narrow street was built a dwelling for Saʿd the Commander-in-Chief.

The first mosque in Egypt, the Mosque of ʿAmr, built at Fusṭāṭ in the winter of 641/2, was equally primitive. It measured 50 × 30 cubits and had two doors on each side except on the *ḳibla* side. (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 247). The roof was very low and probably consisted of palm trunks resting of palm-trunk columns as in Muḥammad's house at Madīna.

The first mosques to be worthy of the name of architecture were the second Great Mosques at Baṣra (45/665) and Kūfa (50/670). Regarding the latter al-Ṭabarī (i, 2492) says that Ziyād b. Abīhī summoned "Masons of the Days of Ignorance" (i.e. non-Muslims). Then a man who had been one of the builders of Khusraw, came forward and described how columns of stone from Djabal Aḥwāz should be used to carry a roof 30 cubits high. Ibn Djubayr, who saw this mosque, says (de Goeje's ed., 211) that "the *ḳibla* side has five aisles whereas the rest have two only; the aisles are supported ou on columns like masts, ... extremely high and not surmounted by arches" (Fig. 1). It is obvious that the roofing system resembled that of an *apadāna*, or Hall of Columns of the Achaemenian kings, exactly as was the case in the first Great Mosque at Baghdād.

The Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, the oldest existing monument of Muslim architecture, was built by the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and completed in 72/691. It is an annular building and consists in its simplest analysis of wooden dome 20.44 m. in diameter, set on a high drum, pierced with sixteen windows and resting on four piers and twelve columns, placed in a circle and so arranged that three columns alternate with each pier. This circle of supports is placed in the centre of a large octagon averaging 20.60 m. a side, formed by eight walls $9^1/_2$ m. high (excluding the parapet which adds 2.60 m.) each pierced in their upper half by five windows (Plate III*a* and Fig. 2).

There is a door 2.60 m. wide and 4.30 high in each of the four sides which face the four cardinal points, and on these sides the central window above the door is consequently much reduced. The space between the circle and the octagon being too great to be conveniently spanned by single beams, an intermediate octagon, consisting of arches borne by eight piers and sixteen columns, so arranged that two columns alternate with each pier, has been placed between the two to provide the necessary support for the roof (Plate IV*a*). The two concentric ambulatories thus formed were of course used for the *ṭawwāf* or ceremonial circumambulation of the sacred object, the Rock.

The exterior was always panelled with marble for half its height, as it is to-day, but the upper part was originally covered with glass mosaic (*fusayfisā*) like the inner arcades. This was replaced by the present coating of fayence by Sultan Sulaymān in 959/1552. The vaults of the four entrance porches were also decorated with mosaic, but it has only been preserved in the eastern porch. The lintels of the four doorways are decorated on their under side with sheet metal, either copper or bronze, worked *en repoussé* and exhibiting a variety of designs, chiefly vine leaves, bunches of grapes and acanthus. The raised parts of the design are gilt, the background of the central part is painted black and the outer border bright green. The inner side of the outer wall is panelled with marble from top to bottom, likewise all the piers. The tie beams of the arches of the octagonal arcade are decorated beneath with a bronze sheathing like the door soffits (Plate III*b-c*), but their inner faces are treated like a Corinthian entablature. The arcades above are covered with glass mosaic on both faces and their soffits also (Plate IV*b*, V and VI). The arcades of the central circle are also decorated with glass mosaic on their outer faces, but their soffits and inner faces have been given a coating of marble at some unknown date, but before A.D. 1340. The drum above is also decorated with mosaic. The ceiling of the outer ambulatory is probably the work of Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 718/1318 like the present lining of the dome. The ceilling of the inner ambulatory dates from the end of the 18th century. The original dome, until it fell in 407/1016-7, was covered with sheets of lead, over which were placed 10,210 plates of brass gilt (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī, *al-ʿIḳd*, iii, 367). The harmony of its proportions and the richness of its decoration make the Dome of the Rock one of the most beautiful buildings in the world.

The Great Mosque of Damascus. Al-Walīd began the construction of the Great Mosque of Damascus immediately after his accession in 86/705. A curious situation had prevailed here since the conquest. A great sanctuary of a Syrian god existed here, consisting of a *temenos*, or sacred enclosure, measuring 100 m. from N. to S. and 150 m. from E. to W., set in an outer enclosure over 300 m. square.

At each corner of the inner enclosure, which had pilastered walls nearly 13 m. high resting on a socle of at least 4 m., was a square tower, and all round the interior ran a double colonnade. There were four axial entrances and in the centre, or a little to the west of it, was the temple, its entrance facing east. In the 4th century Christianity became the state religion and Theodosius (A.D. 379-95) converted the temple into a church (Malalas, *Chronographia*, 344-5). After the Arab conquest the *temenos* was divided between Muslims and Christians. Ibn Shākir says that they both "entered by the same doorway, placed on the south side where is now the great *miḥrāb*. Then the Christians turned to the west towards their church (i.e. the converted temple), and the Muslims to the right to reach their mosque".

Where? Opposite the traditional "*miḥrāb* of the Companions of the Prophet", i.e. under that part of the interior colonnade which was to the east of the entrance. As for the corner towers, Ibn al-Faḳīh (p. 108) says: "The minarets (*mi'dhana*) which are in the Damascus Mosque were originally watch-towers in the Greek days ... when al-Walīd turned the whole area into a mosque, he left these in their old condition". Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 90-91) says: "Then came Christianity and it became a Church; then came Islam and it became a mosque. al-Walīd built it solidly and the *sawāmi'* (the four corner towers) were not changed, they serve for the call to prayer at the present day".

This state of affairs lasted until al-Walīd, after bargaining with the Christians, demolished everything except the outer walls and the corner towers and built the present mosque. He first of all reduced the interior of the enclosure into a rectangle by building the long rooms to east and west, leaving a vestibule in front of the east and west entrances. He then built the sanctuary with three aisles running parallel to the south wall and cut through its centre by a transept about 8 m. higher. The arcades are in two tiers, the lower of large arches being 10.35 m. high, the upper, in which two small arches correspond to each one below, is nearly 5 m. high. Similar arcades form porticoes on the three sides of the court. The aisles of the sanctuary have gable roofs covered with sheets of lead, and so has the transept, but the porticoes on the three sides of the court have roofs which slope slightly inwards (Plate VII*a-b*). Over the transept was a wooden dome, very high and conspicuous.
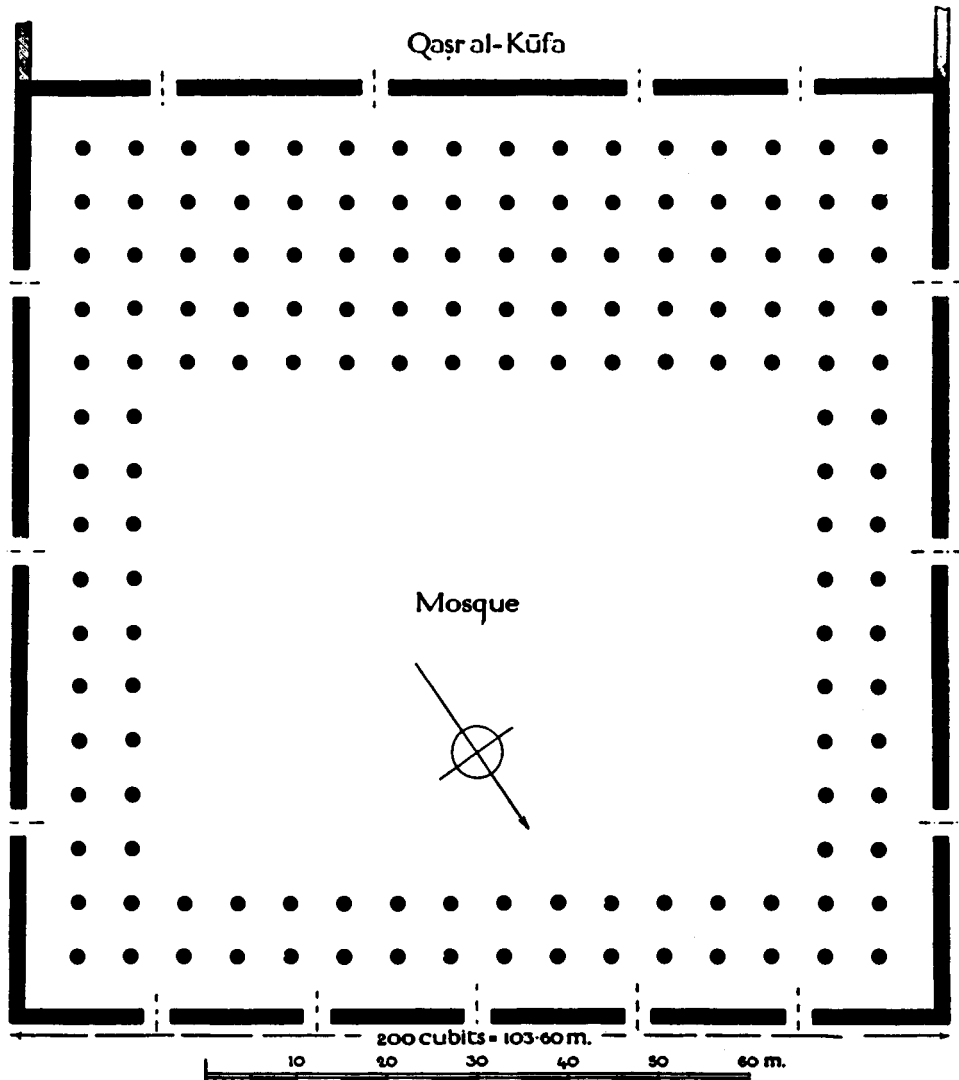
Fig. 1. Plan of Great Mosque of Kūfa.

The decoration consisted of marble panelling (some parts of the original panelling exist next the east entrance) above which ran a golden *karma* or vine-scroll frieze, and above that was glass mosaic (*fusayfisā*) right up to the ceiling. A considerable amount has survived the three fires of 1069, 1401, and 1893, and may still be seen under the west portico, where the famous panorama of the Baradā

(the river of Damascus) is over 34 m. in length and nearly 7 m. high (Plate VIII *a*). When intact the surface of the *fusayfisā* must have been greater than in any other building in existence! There were also six marble window-grilles (Plate VIII *b*) which
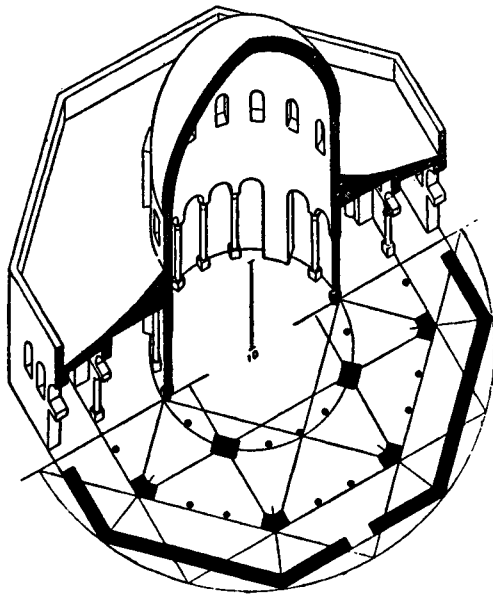
Fig. 2. Dome of the Rock.

constitute the earliest geometrical designs in Islam. The Great Mosque of Damascus was rightly regarded by mediaeval Muslims as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Another building due to al-Walīd is the audience hall and *ḥammām*, known to-day as Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra, in Transjordan. It consists of an audience hall about 10 m. square, with two slightly pointed transverse arches supporting three tunnel-vaults (Plate IX and Fig. 3). There is a vaulted recess on the side opposite the entrance, with a small vaulted room on either side of it. A door on the east side gives access to the *ḥammām*, which consists of three small rooms covered by a tunnel vault, a cross vault and a dome. The latter was the *calidarium*, and under the floor are hypocausts exactly as in a Roman bath. But most remarkable of all are the paintings which cover the walls (Plate X), mostly scenes from daily life, a hunting scene and figures symbolising History, Poetry and Philosophy with the words in Greek above their heads. The dome of the *calidarium* was painted to represent the vault of heaven, with the Great Bear, the Little Bear, the signs of the Zodiac, etc. But most important of all was the painting of the enemies of Islam defeated by the Umayyads, with their names written above them in Greek and Arabic: Ḳayṣar (the Byzantine Emperor), Rōdorīk (the Visigothic King of Spain), Chosroes, Negus (the King of Abyssinia), and two more the names of which have been obliterated. Painting, contrary to the popular idea, is not forbidden by any passage in the Ḳurʾān, and hostility to it only took proper theological form towards the end of the 8th century A.D. (see my *Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam*, in *Ars Islamica*, XI-XII, 159-66).

The Umayyad Caliphs were great builders of palaces. Their external fortified appearance, although built in the heart of their Empire, hundreds of miles from the nearest frontier, is to be explained by the route taken by the armies of the conquest. They passed a long series of Roman frontier forts, the *castra* of the Roman *limes*, which ran from the Gulf of ʿAḳaba to Damascus and thence to Palmyra. The most important of these (for which see Brünnow and von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*) are:
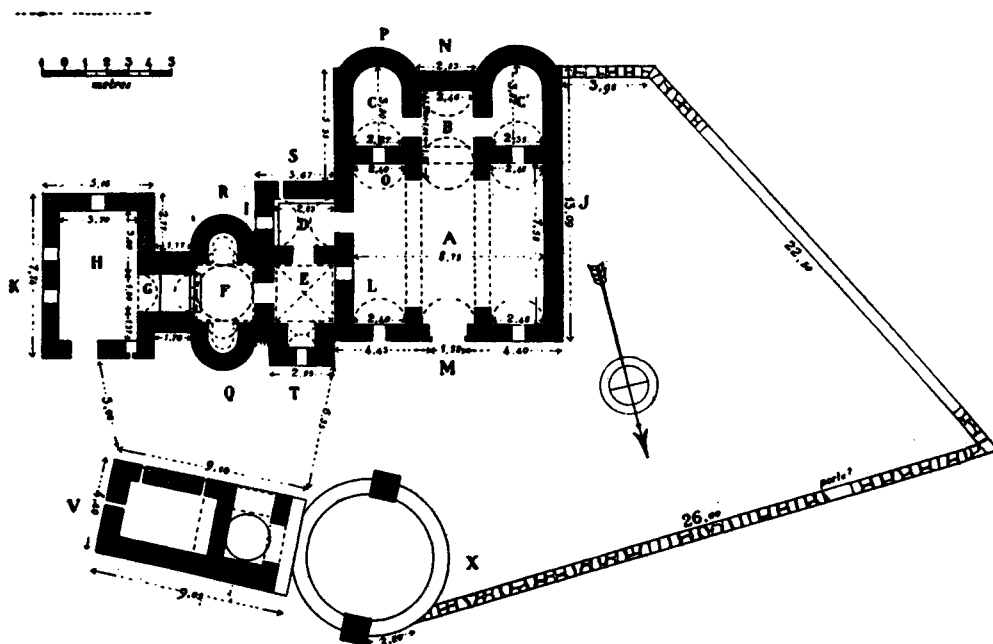
Fig. 3. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra, plan.

Udhruḥ	built by Trajan
Daʿdjanīyya	probably Trajanic
Ladjdjun	probably Trajanic
Bshayr	inscription of Diocletian (A.D. 284-304)
Dumayr	A.D. 162.

Some of these frontier forts were lived in by Umayyad princes. For example, Walīd II sometimes lived at Azraḳ, which was rebuilt in 634/1236-7, but which in his day (A.D. 744) was a Roman fort of Diocletian and Maximian. When he was attacked by conspirators he fled north to the Ḳaṣr al-Bakhrāʾ, which is the Arabic name of a Roman fort about 15 miles S.-W. of Palmyra.

Now the result of this was twofold. It not only gave the Umayyad Caliphs the necessary knowledge when they wanted to built fortresses on the Byzantine frontier, e.g. Massīsa in 83-4/702-3, al-Muthaḳḳab, Kaṭarghāsh, Mūra, Būḳā and Baghras, all in 105/724 (see al-Balādhurī, 165-7), but it affected the design of their palaces. Here is a list of them:

1. — al-Walīd's palace at Minyā on Lake Tiberias, A.D. 705/15.
2. — al-Walīd's *ḳaṣr* at Djabal Seis, A.D. 705/15.
3. — Hishām's palace of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, *c.* 727.
4. — Hishām's palace of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, 110/729.
5. — Hishām's palace at Khirbat al-Mafdjar, 4 miles N. of Jericho.
6. — Walīd II's palace of Mshattā, *c.* A.D. 744.
7. — Walīd II's palace of Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba, *c.* A.D. 744.

All these palaces, although built in the midst of Muslim territory, look externally like forts, for they are stone enclosures with round flanking towers. Nos. 1-5 are approximately 70 m. square externally, No. 7 is twice as large, 70 × 140 m. and No. 6 is four times as large, i.e. 145 m. square. Why this fortified appearance when it was not necessary? It would seem that having been in the habit of occupying forts belonging to the Roman *limes*, they came to look upon a rectangular enclosure flanked by towers as a necessary feature of a princely residence.

When Hishām about 727 A.D. built his palace, known to-day as Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, he chose a site on a small mound about 40 miles to the west of Palmyra, where there was a monastery built by the Ghassānid Arethas (= al-Ḥārith) under Justinian in A.D. 559. He incorporated the tower of this monastery, which had a door protected by a mâchicoulis (of one opening only) high above it, so that it formed a tall watch-tower at the north-west corner of his 70 m. square *ḳaṣr*. This is how the mâchicoulis first passed into Muslim architecture.

Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī has been admirably excavated by M. Daniel Schlumberger, (see *Syria*, XX, 195-238 and 324-73). The entrance was found to consist of two great stone door-posts and a lintel decorated with vine ornament, which must have been taken from Palmyra. He has also brought to light masses of stucco ornament, wall panelling, window grilles and frames, and human figures, part of which has been skilfully assembled and put together in the Museum at Damascus. Two large fresco paintings were also discovered, one representing the Caliph on horseback hunting with bow and arrow and using stirrups, which is almost the oldest known record of their use.

Two years later Hishām built another palace, known to-day as Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, together with a small walled city provided with a mosque of three aisles, cut through the centre by a transept of greater height, exactly as at Damascus (Plate XII*a* and Fig. 4).

As for the Palace Enclosure it averages nearly 67 m. a side internally and 71 m. externally with walls of stone flanked by 12 round towers, of which the total height must have been at least 14 m. There is only one entrance in the centre of the west side; it is defended by a mâchicoulis as are the four gates of the *Madīna* alongside. The walls are decorated with a string-course of brickwork at the level of the rampart walk and each tower was crowned by a room with a brick dome. The tops of the pair which flank the entrance are decorated with arched panels of stucco, acanthus leaves and also apparently vine leaves and grapes (Plate XI). The interior consisted of an open court, which must have measured about 37 × 45 m., surrounded by two tiers of rooms, the lower tunnel vaulted, the upper with flat wooden ceilings. It awaits excavation.

Another palace of Hishām at Khirbat al-Mafdjar, 4 miles north of Jericho, has also been excavated in recent years. It consists of a palace enclosure about 70 m. square with its own mosque, a large forecourt, a tank with a little open octagonal pavilion in the centre, another mosque with aisles (two) on the *ḳibla* side only, and to north a very large *ḥammām*, consisting of nine domed bays arranged three by three, with a small annexe on the north side containing the most beautiful floor mosaic ever discovered in Palestine. It consists of a fine tree executed in three shades of green, with two gazelles grazing on the left and a lion pouncing on another on the right. In Muslim palaces the staircases are generally narrow and inconspicuously tucked away, but here there are fine broad staircases which led to the upper floor. Here again masses of stucco ornament have been recovered and put together in the Palestine Museum at Jerusalem. It consists of panels decorated with geometrical ornament, window grilles, human heads and dancing girls (see the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, V, VI, VIII and X-XII).

These three palaces each had an enclosure which is Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī is about 1½ km. wide and 7 km. long, with walls of stone to the height of a metre and a half and above that at least 2 m. more of mud brick. There are half-round buttresses at intervals, first on one side of the wall and then on the other alternately. Traces of a similar wall exist at Mafdjar. Such an enclosure was called a *ḥayr*, and here is the proof. Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, p. 263) describing the foundation of Sāmarrā by the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in A.D. 836 says: "And wherever these streets of al-Ḥayr touched land granted to other people, he would order the wall [of al-Ḥayr] to be built farther back. Behind the wall were wild animals, gazelles, wild asses, deer, hares and ostriches, kept in by an enclosing wall in a fine broad open tract". And Miskawayhī (Margoliouth's text, i, 159) under the year 315/925-6, says: "This year there was a rising of the disbanded cavalry, who went out to the Oratory, plundered the palace called al-Thurayyā (the palace of the Pleiades at Baghdād), and *slaughtered the game in the Ḥayr*".

Mshattā, about 4 miles from Zīza and about 20 miles south of ʿAmmān, is the largest of all the Umayyad palaces, measuring about 145 m. each way, but it was never finished. The outer walls with their half round towers are of well dressed limestone, but all the walls of the interior are of red bricks resting of three or four courses of cut stone. The bricks are of two sizes, 21 cm. square and 28 cm. sq., and 6½ cm. thick.
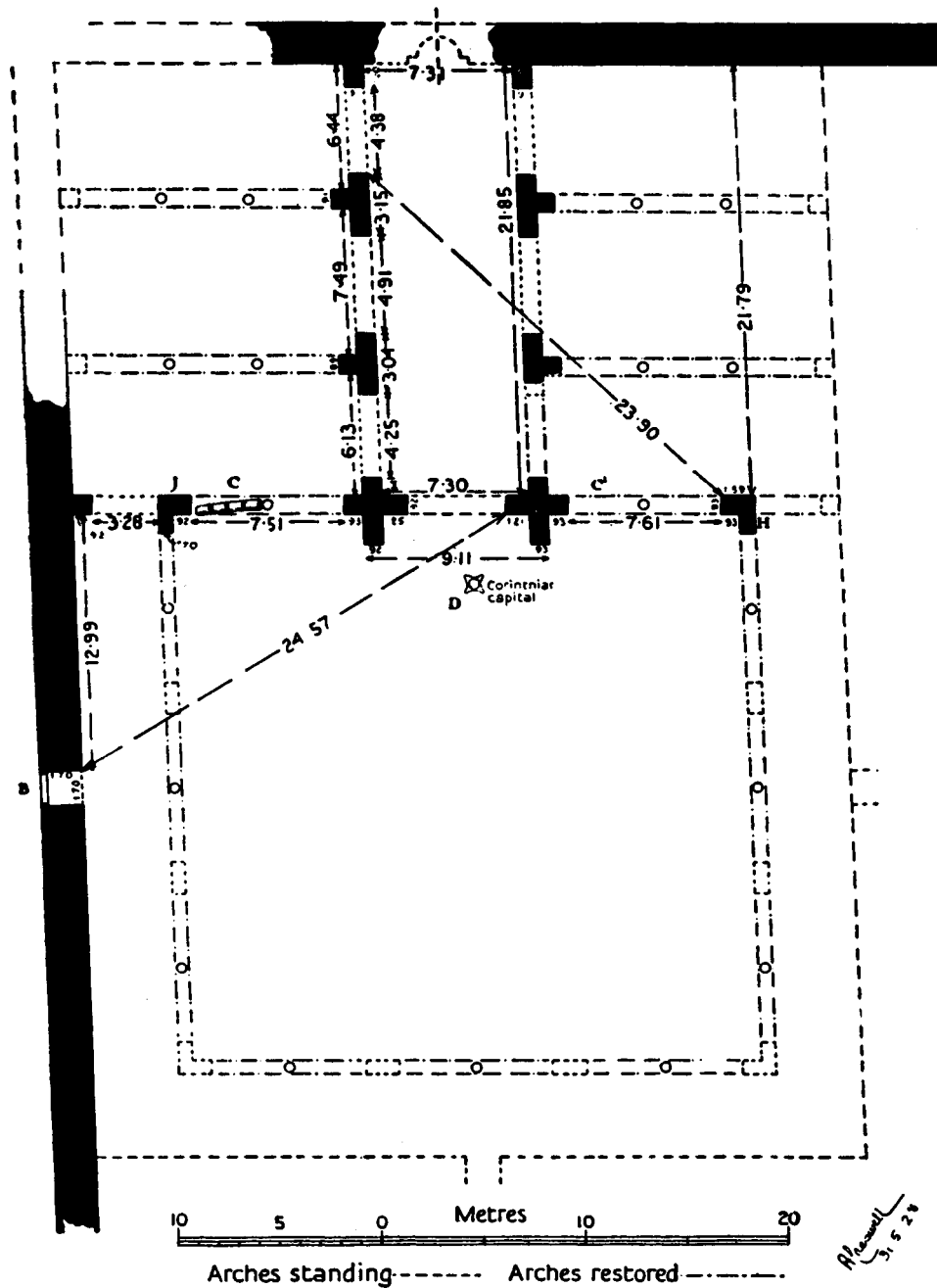
Fig. 4. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, mosque.

The entrance is in the centre of the south side. Internally it is divided into three tracts running from north to south, the central one being 57 m. in width and the lateral ones about 42 m. The buildings intended to occupy the lateral tracts have never been begun, and even those projected for the central tract have never been finished. Of the latter, however, the group at the north end must have been very nearly finished, and the plan of the group at the south end can be clearly seen, for a great stone grid is visible formed by the stone foundation course (Fig. 5).

The part immediately behind the gateway was obviously intended to be an entrance hall 17.40 m. long, leading into a court 27.14 m. broad and 23 m. deep; these two elements were flanked by other rooms and courts. This group may be called the Gateway Block. Beyond the court just mentioned is an enormous central court, just over 57 m. sq. on the north side of which is a triple-arched entrance (the

arches have fallen) leading into a great basilical hall, 21.60 m. deep, ending in a triple apse (Plate XII *b-c* and Fig. 6). This basilical hall, which presumably was the Throne Room, is flanked by two symmetrical complexes composed as follows: on either side of an oblong court, placed perpendicular to the basilical hall, is another court at right angles to it, flanked on each side by a pair of vaulted chambers. These rooms were intended to have a marble panelling, for great block of a fine green stone (looking like marble, but really a calc-schist), some already sawn into slabs 3 cm. thick, were once to be seen lying in the east side tract.

Fig. 5. Mshattā, plan.

But Mshattā really owes its fame to the marvellous carving on its south façade, or rather on the two half-octagonal towers that flank the entrance and the first length of curtain wall to right (13.20 m.) and left (13.50 m.). It consists of a plain socle 47 cm. high, a richly decorated base 1.25 m. in height, a decorated wall-face 2.95 m. in height and an entablature, 90.4 cm. The base consists of a torus moulding with a hollow moulding above and below. The torus moulding is decorated with a network of interlacing vine tendrils which form loops, each occupied by a vine leaf and a bunch of grapes. The wall-surface is divided into twenty upright and twenty inverted triangles by a cornice-like moulding, which runs up and down zig-zag fashion from the socle to the entablature. The triangles are about 2.85 m. in height and 2.50 in width at the base. Exactly in the centre of each is a rosette, those in the upright triangles being lobed hexagons, those in the inverted triangles straight-sided octagons. The kernels of all the rosettes vary. The surface of the upright triangles is decorated with extraordinary richness in high relief, vine tendrils, bunches of grapes, birds which pluck at the fruit, etc. In the lower part of some of the triangles is a chalice, out of which two animals drink (Plate XIII). On the right hand side of the façade there are neither animals nor birds and the ornament is on a much smaller scale, in fact the differences are sufficient to justify the suggestion that it was executed by a different school of craftsmen.

Summary: The monuments of Umayyad architecture are really splendid structures of cut stone with arcades resting on marble columns and richly decorated internally with marble panelling and

mosaic (*fusayfisā*). The mosques are nearly always covered with a gable roof (*djamalūn*). The minarets were tall square towers, derived from the church towers of pre-Muslim Syria, and the triple-aisled sanctuaries were due to the same influence. Umayyad monuments exhibit a mixture of influences, Syria occupying the first place and Persia the second, and Egyptian influence is definitely demonstrable at the end of this period in Mshattā. Umayyad architecture employed the following devices: the semi-circular, the horse-shoe and the pointed arch, flat arches or lintels with a semi-circular relieving arch above, joggled voussoirs, tunnel-vaults in stone and brick, wooden domes and stone domes on true spherical-triangle pendentives. The squinch does not appear to have been employed. But we know from descriptions of early authors that a type of mosque prevailed in ʿIrāḳ and Persia quite different from the Syrian type. It was square in plan, had walls of brick (sometimes of mud brick) and its flat timber roof rested directly on the columns without the intermediary of arches. Here we have a direct link between the ancient Persian audience-hall (*apadāna*) and the flat-roofed portico (*tālār*) of more recent Persian palaces.

(3) *The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*

The effect of the foundation of Baghdād was as far reaching as the transfer of the capital cf the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople. The whole centre of gravity of the Empire was changed; hitherto its capital had been in territory which since the time of Alexander had been in the sphere of Hellenistic culture. The transfer resulted in the weakening of this influence and its replacement by the cultural influences of Sāsānian Persia, to which sphere ʿIrāḳ belonged. This made itself felt in the design of the new city, for which we possess such detailed accounts in al-Yaʿḳūbī and al-Khaṭīb that its form can be reconstructed, although no trace of the Baghdād of al-Manṣūr has survived. The foundation took place in A.D. 762 and everything was finished in 766.

It was a circular city with an outer and inner wall, and a *faṣīl* or *intervallum*, about 35.40 m. wide between. The outer wall was about 14 m. high and 4 m. thick, the inner about 17 m. high including the crenellations and about 5 m. thick; the towers, of which there were 28 between each gate, rose about $2^1/_2$ m. higher. There were four equidistant gateways. al-Khaṭīb says that "each was composed of two gateways, one in front of the other, separated by a *dihlīz* and a *raḥaba* opening on the *faṣīl* between the two walls. When one entered by the Khurāsān Gate one first turned to the left in an oblong passage (*dihlīz āzādj*) with a vault of brick, 20 cubits wide and 30 long, *the entrance of which was in the width and the exit in the length* and passed out into a *raḥaba* ... 40 cubits wide leading to the second gateway. At the far end of this court was the second gateway which was that of the city ... The four gates were constructed on the same model". It is clear from the words of al-Khaṭīb—"when one entered by the Khurāsān Gate, one first turned to the left, etc." that the outer gateway was a bent entrance. Al-Khaṭīb continues: "The second or inner gate, which was that the city ... gave access to an oblong corridor, vaulted with bricks and gypsum (*djiṣṣ*) 20 cubits long and 12 wide. Above the vault was an audience hall ... covered by a gigantic dome 50 cubits high" (Fig. 7).

Fig. 6. Mshattā, triple-arched entrance.

The Muslim historians insist that the circular form of the city was a feature that had never been known before, but such is far from being the case, for many earlier examples are known, e.g. the Hittite city of Sinjerli, Abra, Agbatana, Parthian Ctesiphon and Takht-i Sulaymān, Dārābdjird in Fārs and also Fīrūzābād.

A mosque was built in the centre of the new city. According to al-Khaṭīb it was 200 cubits (roughly 100 m.) square and had a roof supported by wooden columns. There were 17 ailes from right to left, and the side aisles were two deep, the sanctuary was probably five deep as at Kūfa and Wāsiṭ. It was rebuilt by Hārūn al-Rashīd with burnt bricks and teak-wood, in 193/808-9.

The palace of al-Manṣūr measured 400 cubits each way. It was on the *ḳibla* side of the mosque and in contact (*mulāṣiḳ*) with it, as was the practice in early Islam, e.g. at Damascus about 30 A.H., at Baṣra in 45 A.H., at Ḳayrawān in 50 A.H., at Wāsiṭ in 83 or 84 A.H., at Merv in 132-8 A.H., and (if we count
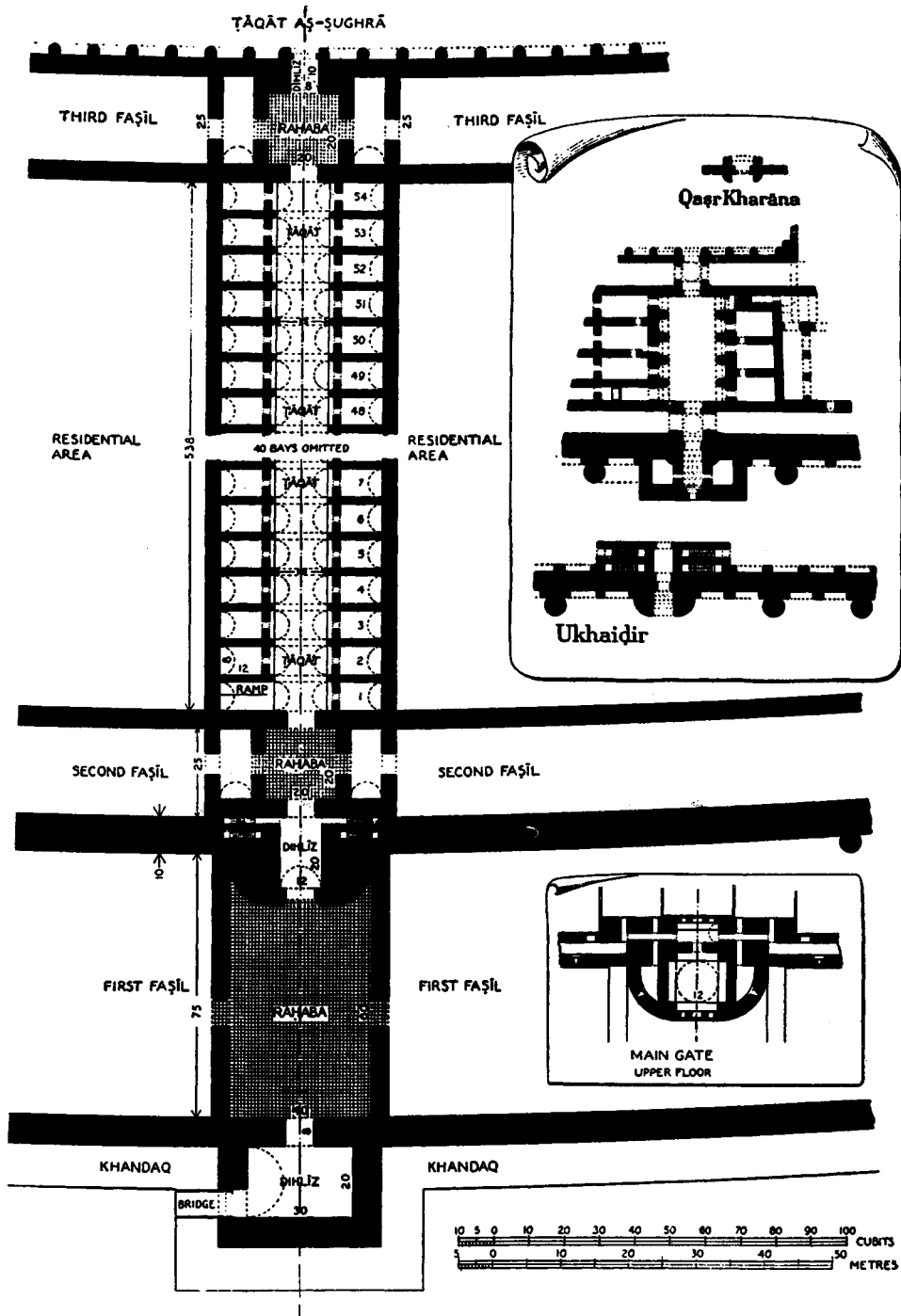
Fig. 7. Baghdād, ṭāḳāt

the Dār al-Imāra as a palace) in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn at Cairo, in 265 A.H.

Palace and Mosque have long since disappeared but fortunately a fairly well preserved ʿAbbāsid palace of this period has survived, viz: Ukhayḍir, on the Wādī ʿUbayd about 30 miles west of Karbalāʾ.

It consists of a fortified rectangular enclosure measuring 175 × 169 m. with a gateway in the centre of each side. There are four round corner towers and ten intermediate half-round towers, not counting the peculiar gateway towers, on each side (Plate XIV *a-b*). Within the great enclosure and in contact with its northern face, is the Palace proper, measuring 111 m. from north to south and 82 from east to west. It also is provided with half round towers. Its main entrance forms one with the northern entrance of the main enclosure. The masonry is composed of roughly shaped slabs of limestone set in gypsum mortar. The walls with the parapet must have been about 19 m. high. The palace proper consists of a great court of honour, with a *līwān* for the Hall of Public Audience and a square room behind it, presumably a hall of private audience. On either side are other vaulted rooms. A great vaulted corridor about 3½ m. wide runs completely round this group of rooms and the court of honour, and on the east and west sides of it are four isolated and self-contained sets of vaulted chambers, each with its own courtyard, which I regard as four *bayt*s for the four lawful wives of the Muslim prince for whom it was built, as at Mshattā (Fig. 8).

In these *bayt*s the side next the great corridor is bounded by a blind arcade of five arches, the central arch being occupied by the door. On the far side was a portico 2.80 m. deep of five arches resting on four round piers, and covered by a tunnel vault. The north and south sides are occupied by a triple-arched façade. These arches form a portico, behind which are three parallel tunnel-vaulted rooms. A passage leads from the courtyard to a room 17.60 m. long and 3½ wide, placed transversely behind the three tunnel-vaulted rooms. It is covered by two lengths of tunnel-vault with a space open to the sky between. It must have been intended to contain a fire, for the vault next the outer wall is pierced by a pair of terra-cotta pipes, so it must have been a kitchen.

The palace was also provided with a mosque 24.20 m. wide and 15.15 deep, with a portico one aisle deep on the east, south and west sides, but without one on the north.

Ukhayḍir was probably begun by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, uncle of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, in 161/778.

At about this time the Aḳṣā Mosque at Jerusalem was partly rebuilt by the Caliph al-Mahdī. Recent research enables us to affirm that it then consisted of a central aisle 11.50 wide with seven aisles to right and seven to left about 6.25 m. in width, all covered by gable roofs and all perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall. There was a great wooden dome at the end of the central aisle. On the north side was a large central door with seven smaller ones to right and left, and ten "unornamented" ones on the east side (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. The Aḳṣā Mosque in A.D. 780.

There can be no doubt that this mosque had a great influence on the Great Mosque of Cordova built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in 170/786-7. It was added to on three occasions but this earliest part still exists; as at Jerusalem the aisles, of which there are eleven, run perpendicular to the back wall, they are all covered by parallel gable roofs, and the central one is wider than the rest. The influence of Syria in Spain at this time is not surprising for Spain was full of Syrian refugees. The arcades each consist of twelve arches with twelve more above, an ingenious device whereby a height of ceiling of about 9.80 m. was obtained with columns which, with their capitals and bases, only measure 3.80 m. (Plate XIV *c* and XV *a*).

Another building of this period, of great importance for the history of architecture, is the Cistern of Ramla in Palestine, for it consists of a subterranean excavation 8 m. deep divided into six aisles by five arcades of four arches each, all of which are pointed and appear to be struck from two centres, varying from one seventh to one fifth of the span apart (Plate XV *b* and Fig. 10). And there can be

INNER ANNEXE

COURT OF HONOUR

Well

GREAT HALL

MOSQUE

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

Ramp

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 Metres
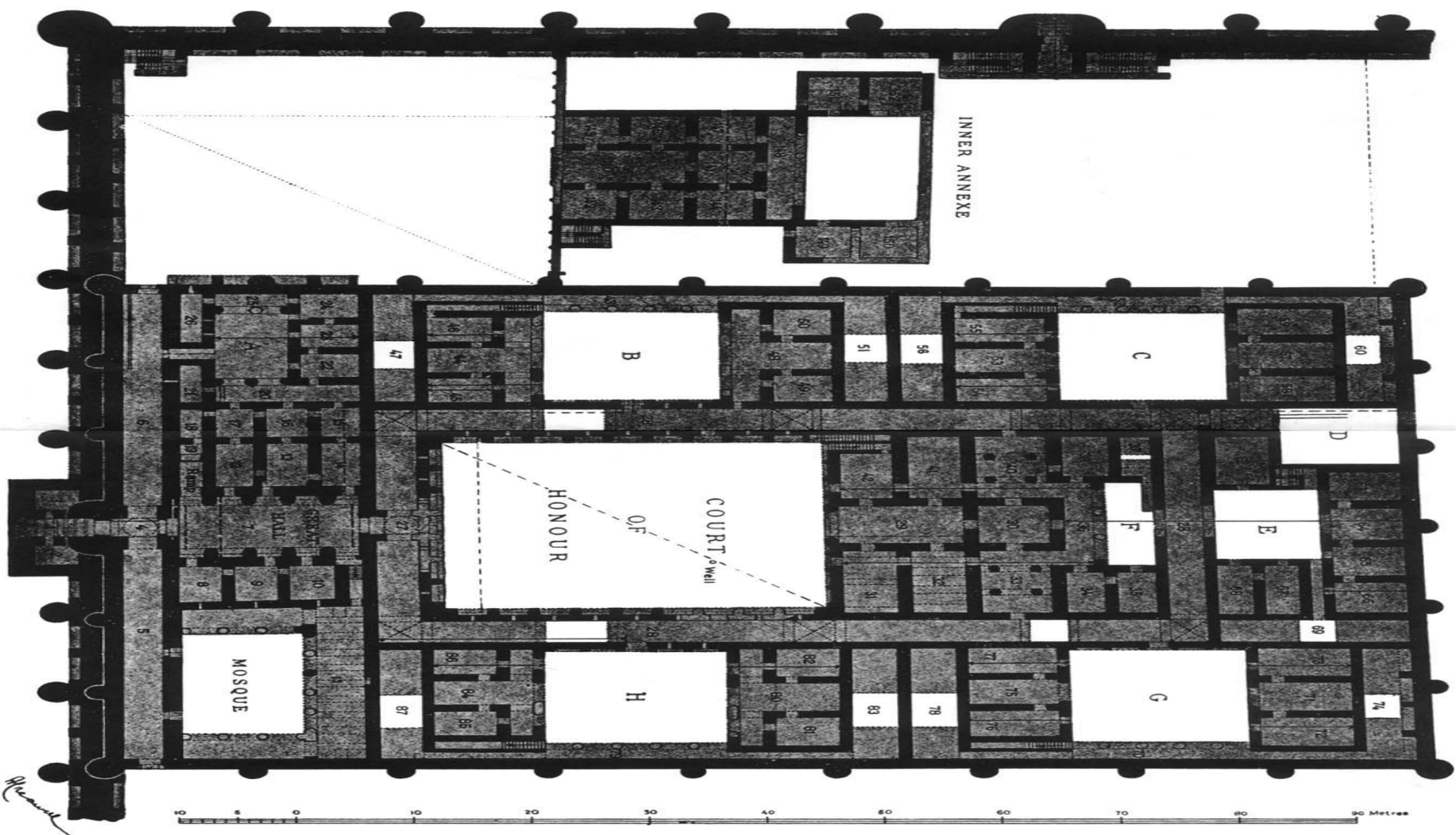
Fig. 8. Ukhaydir, plan.

no doubt about the date for on the plaster of the vault is a Kūfic inscription of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 172/May 789. It is therefore centuries earlier than the earliest pointed arches in Europe.

In 212/827 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, the Governor of Egypt, ordered the Mosque of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ to be doubled in size by the addition to the west of its exact area in the same shape. Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 253) says that the part added included the great *miḥrāb* and all that is to the west of it. The number of doors was now thirteen: five on the N.-E., three on the N.-W., four on the S.-W., and one for the *khaṭīb* on the *ḳibla* side. This is the last recorded extention of the mosque, and its significance is of far reaching importance for it follows that no part of the present structure lying to the right of a line drawn through its centre can possibly be older than 212 A.H. The Mosque then measured internally (as it does to-day) 109 m. on the S.-E. side, 105.28 on the N.-W., 120.55 on the N.-E. and 117.28 on the S.W. As a result of a number of trial trenches made

Fig. 10. Ramla, cistern, plan.

between 1926 and 1933, we now know from the foundations that there were 7 arcades running from right to left on the *ḳibla* side and the same number on the side opposite, and four on the S.-W. side. On the N.-E. side the arcades ran perpendicular to the wall. The outer walls were about 10.50 m. high without their cresting, about which we know nothing. There were seventy-eight windows of very interesting construction. The span was about 2.70 m. There were engaged colonnettes at the inner and outer corners and a pair of dwarf marble columns placed on either side in the opening. A transverse beam resting on the latter reduced the span to about 1.90 m. The springing of the arch began about 1.40 m. above the sill, and the rise was about 1.40. Those arches which have survived are considerably stilted and very slightly pointed, and the broken edge of a stucco grille is visible along their intrados. A beam ran across the opening at the springing of the arch, and nailed to its inner side was a strip of carved woodwork which continued along the face of the wall. The decoration consists of a flowing acanthus frieze in which four-leaved whorls alternate with five-lobed leaves (Fig. 11). This is of fundamental importance, for it is derived from the Hellenistic art of Syria and it shows that the ʿAbbāsid art of ʿIrāḳ, which we find fifty years later in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, had not yet reached Egypt.

The Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān is another famous mosque, founded in the early days of Islam, of which no part (excepting the minaret only) is earlier than the IXth century A.D. The oldest part of the present mosque dates from the rebuilding carried out by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh in 221/836.

Fig. 11. Mosque of ʿAmr, bay.

The measurements of the mosque are as follows: N. 65.60 m., S. 70.28, E. 121.80, W. 120.50. The sanctuary consisted of sixteen arcades of seven arches each, running perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall, but without reaching it, for a transverse arcade runs at a distance of about 6 m. from it and it is against this arcade that the sixteen arcades abut. The side aisles are 3.30 m. in width against 5.40 for the central aisle, which must have measured 6.60 m. originally, for its width has been subsequently reduced by two arcades built in contact with the old ones, without any bond or liaison of any sort. The columnsev en have their own impost blocks instead of each pair being tied together by a common impost block, and the arches of the "lining arcade" are pointed horse-shoe arches instead of round horse-shoe arches like all the rest (Plate XVI). There is no doubt that they are the work of Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad, 261-89 A.H. (see below). The whole was covered by a flat roof of uniform height, even over the central aisle, for the latter was only raised during the extensive works of Ibrāhīm II. There were no *riwāḳ*s on the three sides of *ṣaḥn* until the time

of Ibrāhīm III. The outer walls were of stone, strengthened at intervals by buttresses.

This same year 221/836 was marked by an event of great importance — the foundation of Sāmarrā. The palace was built on the edge of the plateau, which is about 17 m. above the alluvial valley of the Tigris. In the valley itself is a great basin, 127 m. square, from which a great flight of steps, 60 m. broad, gently ascended to the terrace in front of the Bāb al-ʿĀmma. The latter consists of a great triple-arched façade, about 12 m. high, with three parallel tunnel-vaulted rooms behind it (Plate XVII *a*). This is the best preserved part of the whole palace; nearly everywhere else the walls either only rise a metre or two or have been exposed by excavation. Behind the Bāb al-ʿĀmma were six transverse halls, then a square court. To the north one reached the rooms of the Caliph, on the south was the *Ḥarim*. But going directly forward led to an oblong Court of Honour, with the triple entrance of the Throne Room beyond it. The latter consisted of four T-shaped halls arranged in a cruciform fashion. Each one resembled a three-aisled basilica so as to obtain light from the clerestory. Between the arms of the cross are smaller rooms with marble dados, also a mosque for the Caliph with a *miḥrāb*. Beyond this again is the Great Esplanade, a great court or garden, 180 m. wide and 350 m. deep, intersected by little canals. Beyond again was the polo-ground, and the distance from the great basin to the race-course must have been nearly 1400 m.

The decoration consisted of dados, generally of moulded stucco, except in the Throne-Room group where they are of marble slabs. The upper part of the walls in the *Ḥarim* were decorated with fresco paintings, which included living forms and foliage. All woodwork was of teak, carved and painted.

The Great Mosque of this period has not survived, as it was entirely rebuilt in 234-7 H. Before describing it we must speak of the Great Mosque of Sūsa in Tunisia built in 236/850-1.

The mosque proper, excluding its annexes, is a perfectly regular rectangle built of stone in courses about 1/2 m. high and measuring internally 49.39 m. deep and 57.16 wide. The *ṣaḥn*, which measures 41 × 22¼ m., is surrounded by low arcades of slightly horse-shoe form, resting on squat T-shaped piers. There are eleven arches to north and south and six to east and west, and the height of the façade is about 6½ m. It is perfectly plain except for a splay-face moulding, immediately above which is a fine inscription frieze in simple undecorated Kūfic, the maximum height of the characters being 28 cm. The band on which they are carved curves forward slightly to compensate for foreshortening and thus help the observer at ground level. This is the earliest known example of this treatment, which passed into Egypt with the Fāṭimids and appears in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, 380-403/990-1013. The three *riwāḳs* vary in depth from 4.08-4.27 m. and each is covered by a tunnel-vault (Plate XVIII *a*).

The sanctuary consists of thirteen aisles formed by twelve arcades of six arches each running towards the *ḳibla* wall. Each aisle is divided into six bays by other arcades running from east to west. All these arches, which rest on squat cruciform piers, are of horse-shoe form. The first three bays going south are covered by tunnel-vaults, with one exception, the third bay in the central aisle, which is covered by a dome on an octagonal drum with slightly incurved faces.

The next three bays going south are covered by cross-vaults at a slightly higher level. Here again the third bay in the central aisle is covered by a dome on squinches. It is obvious that the mosque has been extended towards the south, that the first three bays are the original part and that the first dome marks the bay in front of the original *miḥrāb* (Plate XVIII *b*), which has been removed together with the original back wall. Before that the depth of the mosque must have been 44 m. The date of the original work is given by the great Kūfic inscription as 236/850-1.

The Great Mosque of Sāmarrā was rebuilt by Mutawakkil; the work was begun in 234/848-9 and finished in Ramaḍān 237/Feb.-March, 852. It is the largest mosque ever built, for its outer walls form an immense rectangle of kiln-baked bricks measuring roughly 240 m. deep internally by 156 m. wide (proportion approximately as 3 : 2); its area therefore is nearly 38,000 sq.m. Only the enclosing walls have been preserved; they are 2.65 m. thick, strengthened by half round towers averaging 3.60 m. in diameter with a projection of 2.15 m., and the curtain walls between them average 15 m. in length. There are four corner towers, twelve intermediate towers to east and west and eight to north and south making forty-four in all. There were sixteen rectangular doorways spanned by beams with a relieving arch above.

The towers are perfectly plain, but each curtain wall is decorated with a frieze of six recessed squares with bevelled edges; in each square is a shallow saucer about a metre in diameter and 25 cms. deep. The total height of the walls is now about 10.50. In spite of its simplicity the whole effect is truly monumental (Plate XVII *b*).

The south wall is pierced by twenty-four windows placed on the axis of the twenty-five aisles of the sanctuary, except the central one, for there was no room above the *miḥrāb*. There were two more windows on each side making 28 in all. Externally they are narrow rectangular openings, but internally they are splayed and covered by scalloped arches of five lobes resting on little engaged columns, the whole being set in a sunk rectangular frame.

Herzfeld's excavations showed that the roof rested directly on octagonal piers of brick, with marble colonnettes at the four corners, making a support 2.07 m. square. The clear height within was 10.35. *There were no arches.*

The mosque proper was surrounded by an outer enclosure, or *ziyāda*, on the east, north and west sides, and air photographs show that the great rectangle thus formed stood in a still greater enclosure measuring 376 × 444 m.

The minaret, the famous Malwiyya, stands free at a distance of 27¼ m. from the north wall of the mosque. There is a square socle, 33 m. a side and about 3 m. high, on which rests a spiral tower with a ramp about 2.30 m. wide, which winds round in an anti-clockwise direction until it has made five complete turns. The rise for each turn is 6.10 m., but as the length of each turn is less than the previous one it follows that the slope inevitably becomes steeper and steeper. At the summit of this spiral part is a cylindrical storey, decorated with eight recesses, each set in a shallow frame (Plate XVIII *c*). The southern niche frames a doorway at which the ramp ends; it opens on to a steep staircase, at first straight then spiral, leading to the top platform which is 50 m. above the socle. From eight holes to be seen Herzfeld concluded that there was probably a little pavilion on wooden columns here.

A few years later, between A.D. 860 and 861, another immense mosque was built by the same Caliph at Abū Dulaf to the north of Sāmarrā. It measures internally 213 m. from north to south and 135 from east to west. Here the outer walls are of mud brick about 1.60 m. thick strengthened by half-round buttresses, but the roof rested on arcades of burnt brick running from north to south; it was apparently only about 8 m. high. The sanctuary is divided into seventeen aisles by sixteen arcades of five arches each with an average span of 3.13 m. The two outer arcades are carried right through to the north end of the mosque, forming side *riwāḳs* 14 m. in depth. The northern *riwāḳ* resembles the southern one, except that it is only three arches deep. On the north side and about 9.60 m. from the mosque is a miniature Malwiyya on a socle about 11.20 m. square, above which is the much damaged spiral part which barely makes three turns.

Ten years later important works were carried out in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, who reduced the width of the central aisle by about 1.20 m. by constructing two new arcades in contact with the old ones. The arches of these arcades are pointed horse-shoe arches instead of round horse-shoe arches like those they are in contact with. He also built three free-standing arches and one wall-arch of the same type to carry a fluted dome in front of the *miḥrāb*. They rise to a height of 9.15 m., and the square thus formed is terminated above by a cornice, its top edge being 10.83 m. from the ground. On it rests the octagonal zone of transition, 2.15 m. in height, which is formed by eight semicircular arches springing from colonnettes resting on little corbels inserted in the cornice just mentioned. The drum is composed of eight arched windows and sixteen arched panels arranged in pairs between the windows. The dome, which is 5.80 m. in diameter, has twenty-four ribs, each springing from a little corbel. Between the ribs are concave segments, 30 cm. deep at the base and diminishing to nothing at the apex. The whole composition is charming. Externally the dome resembles a cantaloup melon, with 24 convex ribs (corresponding to the 24 concave segments) which taper to nothing at the apex (Plate XIX *a* and XX). Abū Ibrāhīm's work was carried out in 248/862-3. He also lined the *miḥrāb* with a series of very beautiful carved marble panels assembled in four tiers of seven panels each; total height 2.72 m. He also decorated the face of the *miḥrāb* and the wall surrounding it with lustre titles about 21 cm. square (Plate XIX *b*). The marble panels and the tiles had been imported by him from ʿIrāḳ, and *the latter constitute the oldest examples of lustre pottery of certain date.*

The Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn

In 263 A.H. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn decided to built a new mosque on an outcrop of rock called Djabal Yashkur. The scheme of the mosque can be seen from the plan (Fig. 12) and the general view (Plate XXI) taken from the minaret of the Madrasa of Ṣarghitmish. It consists of a *ṣaḥn* of about 92 m. square surrounded by *riwāḳs*, five aisles deep on the *ḳibla* side and two aisles only on the other sides. This part—the mosque proper—is enclosed by a wall with a remarkable cresting, and forms a great rectangle measuring 122.26 m. in width and 140.33 in width. It is surrounded by a great outer court or *ziyāda*, except on the south-eastern (*ḳibla*) side which was occupied by a private apartment of the amīr, the Dār al-Imāra. This outer *ziyāda* is roughly 19 m. broad and its outer walls are lower than those of the mosque proper. The whole forms a great rectangle almost exactly square, measuring 162 m. in depth and 162.46 in width, constructed of red bricks, measuring roughly 18 × 8 × 4 cm., coated with a very hard stucco in which the ornament is cut. No wooden ties are used anywhere, except at the tops of the piers.

It results from careful measurements that the unit employed for setting out the mosque was the Nilometric cubit of 54.04 cm., for the principal dimensions are almost exact multiples of it.

The scheme of the façade of the mosque proper is as follows. It would seem that the architect set out his design by bisecting the façade as regards its height and then took this median line for the level of the window sills. Then the plain lower part was pierced by seven rectangular doorways, and the upper part by thirty-one pointed-arched windows, with their sills from 5.70 to 5.86 m. above the floor. The window-arches rest on stumpy engaged colonnettes of brick exactly as in that part of the Mosque of ʿAmr which dates from 212 A.H. The walls are 10.03 m. in height up to the roof level, above which is a row of pierced circles in squares and then a curious open work cresting, making a total height of 13.03 m. above the sills of the doorways (Plate XXII *a*). The latter are perfectly plain except for the carved wooden soffits, of which four original ones remain. In addition to the seventeen large and two small doors leading from the *ziyādas* into the mosque proper there are four in the *ḳibla* wall, one of which leads into the room behind the *miḥrāb*. This must be the door mentioned by Maḳrīzī (ii, 269, l. 22 ff.) which enabled Ibn Ṭūlūn to go directly from the Dār al-Imāra to the *maḳsūra* next the *miḥrāb* and the *minbar*, as was the practice during the first three centuries of Islam.

The *ṣaḥn* is roughly 92 m. square with thirteen pointed arches on each side (Plate XXII *b*). The sanctuary is formed by five arcades of seventeen arches each, and the *riwāḳ* opposite by two arcades. These seven arcades are carried right through to the side walls. The arcades of the lateral *riwāḳs*, however, abut against the outer arcades of the sanctuary and N.-W. *riwāḳ* and consequently consist of thirteen arches only. The arches rest on piers 2.46 m. wide and 1.27 m. deep, with engaged brick columns at the corners. They are placed about 4.60 m. apart. Dove-tailed wooden plates are used round the tops of these piers to strengthen them. The pier-capitals are derived from late Corinthian capitals, the two tiers of acanthus being replaced by conventionalized Sāmarrā vine leaves (Plate XXIII *a*).

The soffits of the arches are decorated with bands of stucco ornament, of which about ten are fairly well preserved (Plate XXIV). All consist of a very broad central strip between narrow double borders. The central strip in every case consists of a geometrical frame-work, the interstices of which are filled with various elements belonging to style B of Sāmarrā (Fig. 13). In addition to this a continuous border of ornament, 46 cm. wide, runs round the arches on both faces, turns at right angles at the springing, runs across the top of the pier, and then turns again at right angles to run round the next arch. A frieze of stucco ornament runs along just above the band of ornament running round the arches. About 20 cm. above this ran the famous Kūfic inscription carved on wood, of which a fair amount still remains, running along about 30 cm. below the beams of the ceiling. Calculation shows that this frieze, which must have been over 2 km. long, may have contained about one seventeenth part of the Ḳurʾān.
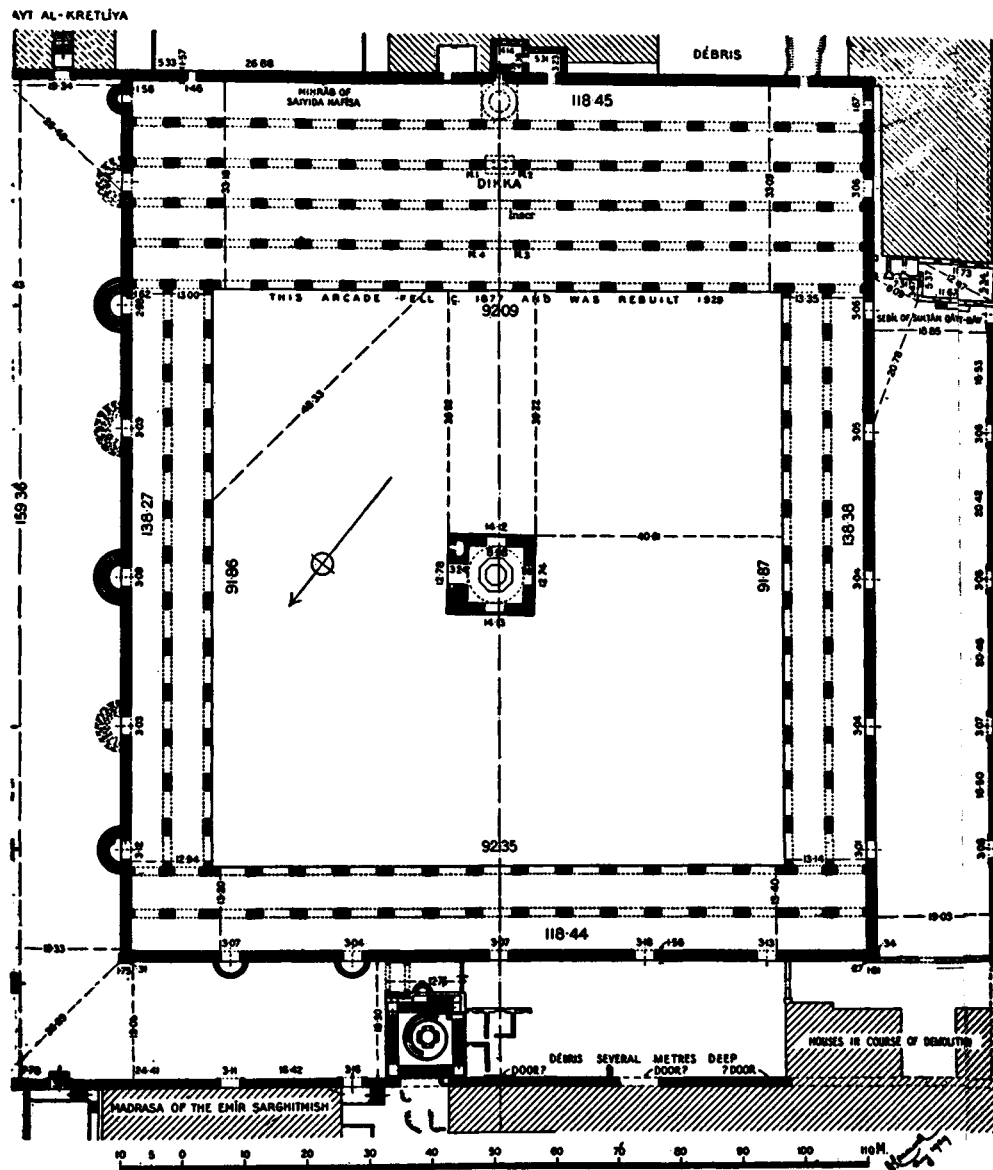
Fig. 12. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, plan.

The windows, in the shadow of the aisles, stand out against the sky like delicate lacework and form one of the most beautiful features of the mosque. There are 128 in all. Each consists of a pointed arch springing from a pair of engaged dwarf columns with stucco capitals, and a border of stucco ornament runs round each, turns at right angles at the springing and runs along horizontally to the next window (Plate XXIII *b-c*). Unfortunately only three, or at most four, of the window-grilles are original. These are mainly composed of compass work, i.e. intersecting circles and segments of circles; two have been set out by a method similar to that employed for one of the marble grilles in the Great Mosque at Damascus (Plate VIII *b*), the third on a network of equilateral triangles (Fig. 14).

The pendentives of the present wooden dome in front of the *miḥrāb*, on stylistic grounds, are undoubtedly the work of Lād̲j̲īn in 696 A.H., and the dome is much later. I very much doubt if there was a dome here originally. The present minaret is likewise the work of Lād̲j̲īn, the original one (seen by Muḳaddasī) was probably fairly similar to the Malwiyya of Sāmarrā.

The statement of al-Ḳuḍāʿī, quoted by Ibn Duḳmāḳ and Maḳrīzī, that the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was built after the style (*ʿalā bināʾ*) of the Mosque of Sāmarrā (unless it refers to the general impression produced by the minaret) is certainly not correct, for its plan does not in the least resemble either of the two mosques of Sāmarrā, except that all three are surrounded by *ziyādas*. It differs from
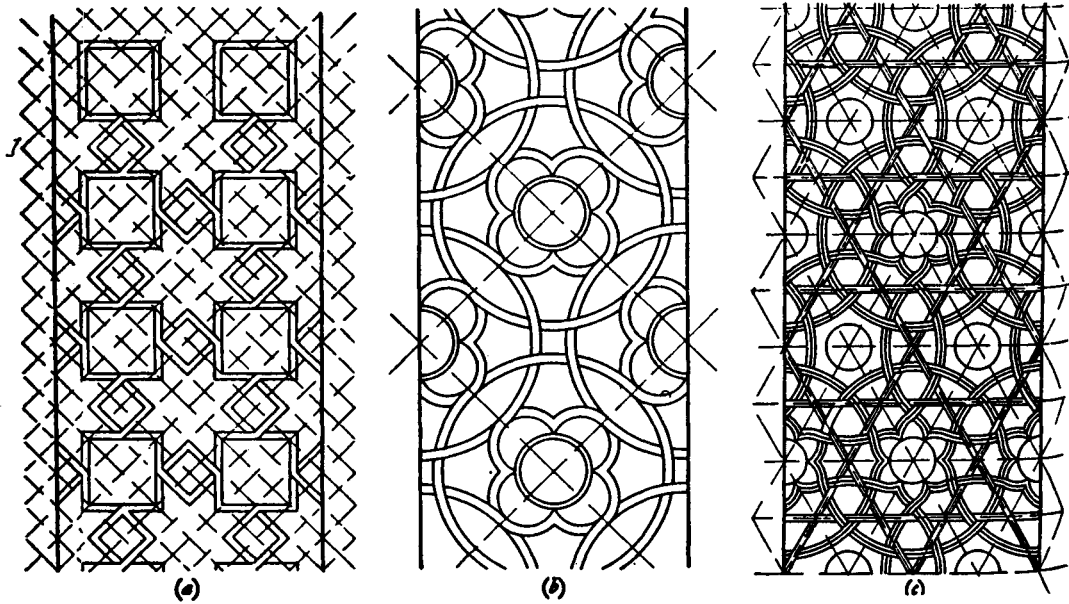
Fig. 13. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, analysis of soffits of arches (see Plate XXIV).
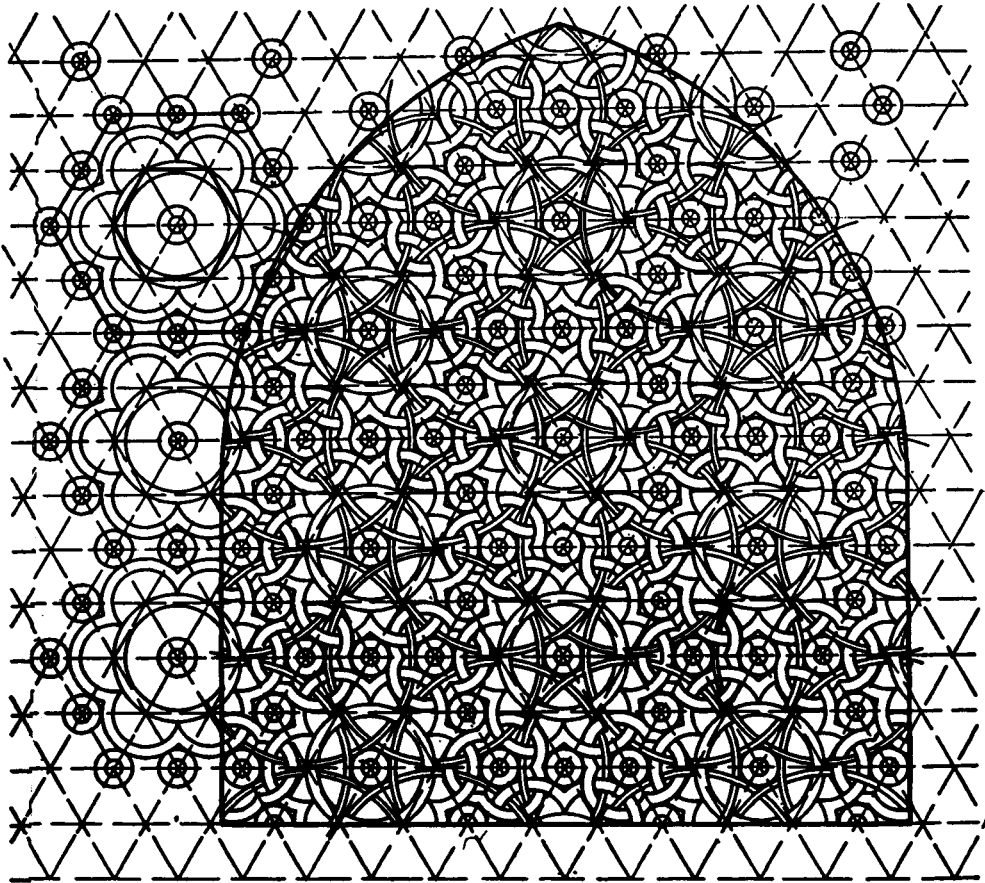
Fig. 14. Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, analysis of window-grille (see Plate XXIII*c*).

the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā in the number of its aisles 5, 2, 2, 2 instead of 9, 4, 4, 3. As for the Mosque of Abū Dulaf, its aisles run perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall instead of parallel to it. It also differs from the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā in that its roof rests on arcades instead of directly on the piers. Its piers alone recall those of Sāmarrā, but whereas the piers at Sāmarrā are square and have engaged marble columns at the corners, those of Ibn Ṭūlūn are oblong and the columns at the corners are only counterfeited in the brickwork. Neither does the scheme of the façade recall either of the mosques of Sāmarrā for it has no bastions. The sole feature of the façade that recalls Sāmarrā is the row of circles in squares below the cresting. Its windows in no way resemble those of the Great Mosque, which are few in number, have lobed arches internally and are treated externally like arrow-slits, but they do resemble those of the mosque of ʿAmr of 212 A.H., except that they lack the transverse beam and carved wooden frieze. In other words, Ibn Ṭūlūn's façade is derived from that of the Mosque of ʿAmr of 212/827 and, as no such façade is known elsewhere, must be regarded as Egyptian.

As regards the ornament, everybody now agrees that it is derived from Sāmarrā, but whereas at Sāmarrā the three styles, A, B and C, occur separately, in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn they are combined and mixed. By its ornament and in certain other respects the mosque may be regarded as a foreign, ʿIrāḳī building planted down on the soil of Egypt, and large numbers of ʿIrāḳī craftsmen must have been employed for its decoration in wood and stucco. Its ornament and that of the Dayr al-Suryānī in the Wādī Natrūn are the two most westerly examples of the art of the ʿAbbāsid Empire, which prevailed over a large area from Baḥrayn and Nīshāpūr to Samarḳand.

Summary: Under the ʿAbbāsids the Hellenistic influences of Syria were replaced by the surviving influences of Sāsānian Persia, which profoundly modified the art and architecture, and this gave birth to the art of Sāmarrā, the influence of which extended to Egypt under Ibn Ṭūlūn, to Nishāpūr and Baḥrayn. In palace architecture there was a vast difference between that of the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, partly due to the adoption of Persian ideas of royalty which almost deified the king. Hence elaborate throne-rooms, generally domed, for private audience, preceded by a vaulted *līwān* (or four radiating *līwāns*) for public audience. The *bayt*s also were different, following the type of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and not the Syrian type of Mshattā and Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba. The scale was immense and axial planning is a marked feature. But all are built of brick and a great part of that basest of materials — mud brick — hidden by thick coats of stucco. A new type of pointed arch appears, the four-centred arch. The earliest existing squinches in Islam date from this period. An important innovation was the introduction of lustre tiles, the earliest examples being those brought to Ḳayrawān from ʿIrāḳ in 248 A.H. Bands of inscription were usually made to stand out on a blue background. But the widespread influence of ʿAbbāsid art did not extend to Spain, where Umayyad art, brought thither by Syrian refugees, was still full of life.

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(K. A. C. Creswell).

II. For later architectural developments, see the articles on individual countries, cities, and dynasties.

III. For the types of buildings, see bināʾ.

ARCHIVES [see başvekalet arşivi, daftar, dār al-maḥfūẓāt al-ʿumūmiyya, wathīḳa].

ARČI, (Arshashdib), a small Caucasian nation of Upper Dāghistān, ethnically akin to the Awar [*q.v.*], but distinct from the Ando-Dido group [see andi, dido]. In 1933 it comprised 1,930 people, living in the high valley of the Kara-Koysu (Soviet Autonomous Republic of Dāghistān). The Arči have their own language, which belong to the Dāghistān branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages, and which represents an intermediate stage between Awar [*q.v.*] and Lak [*q.v.*]; it is not fixed by writing, and the Arči use Awar and, less commonly, Russian and Lak, as the languages of civilisation. Since the 1918 Revolution, they have been merged in the Awar nation. Converted to Islam by the Awar, towards the end of the 15th century, the Arči are, like the former, Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite.

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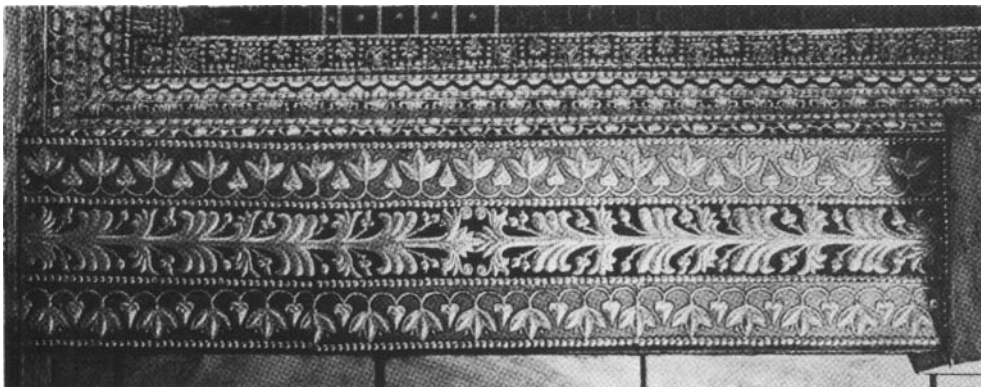
(H. Carrère d'Encausse)

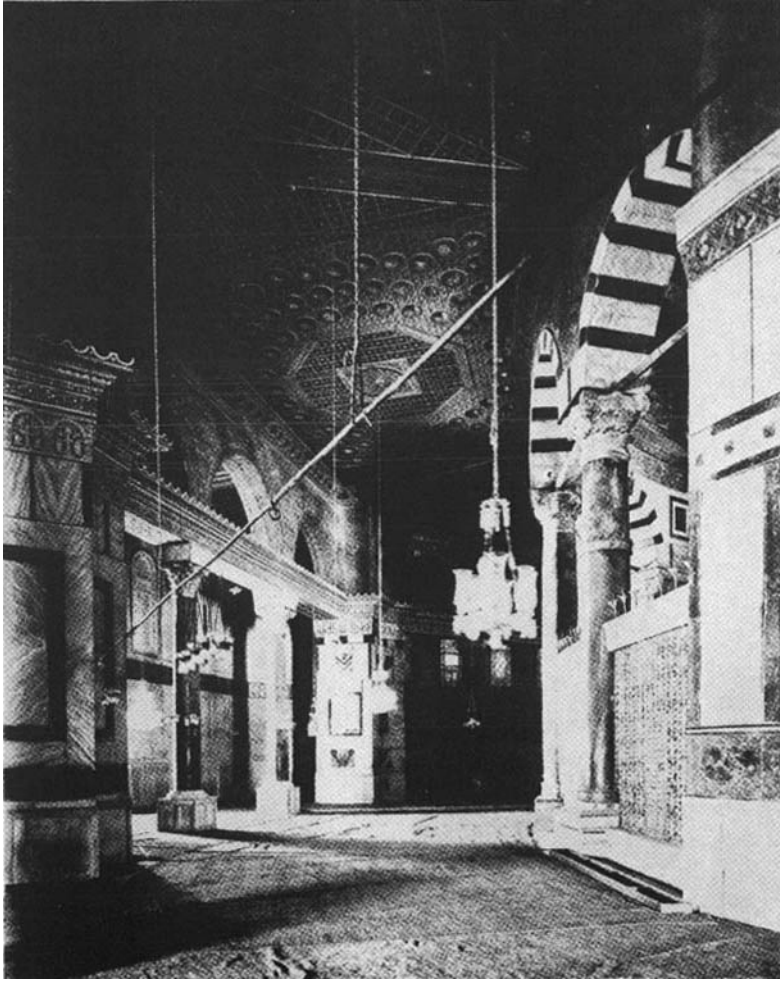
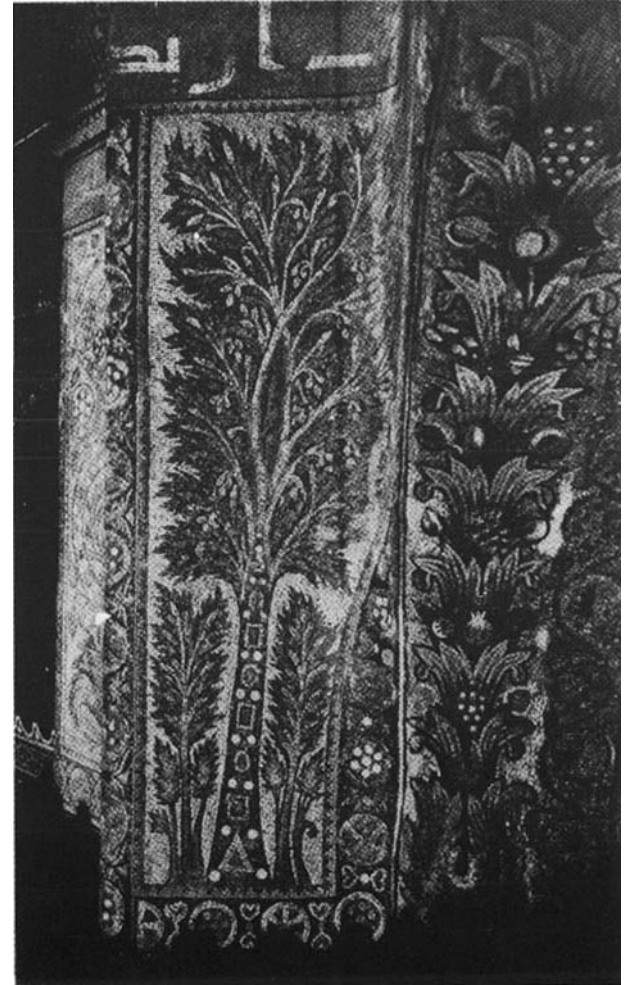
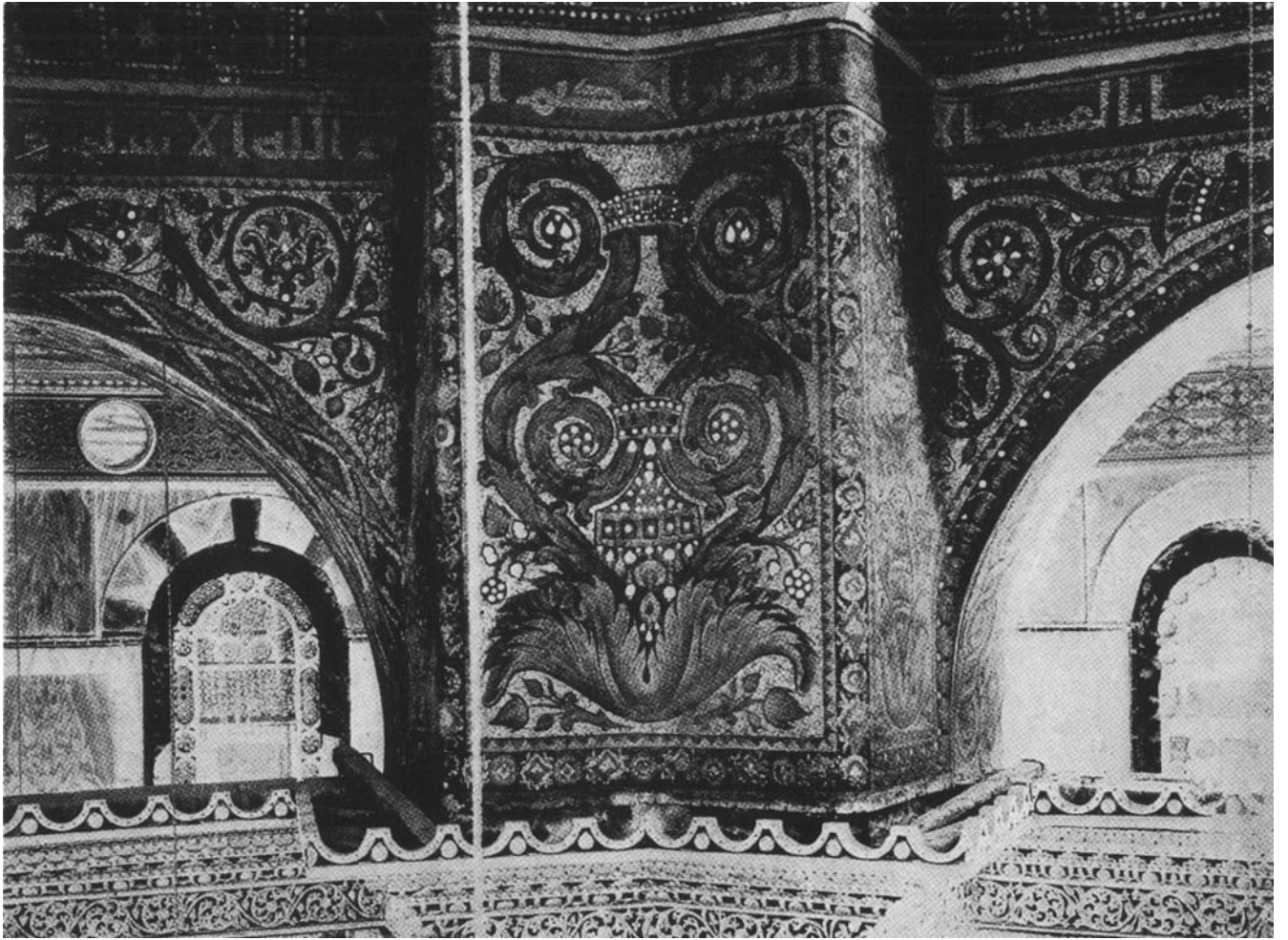
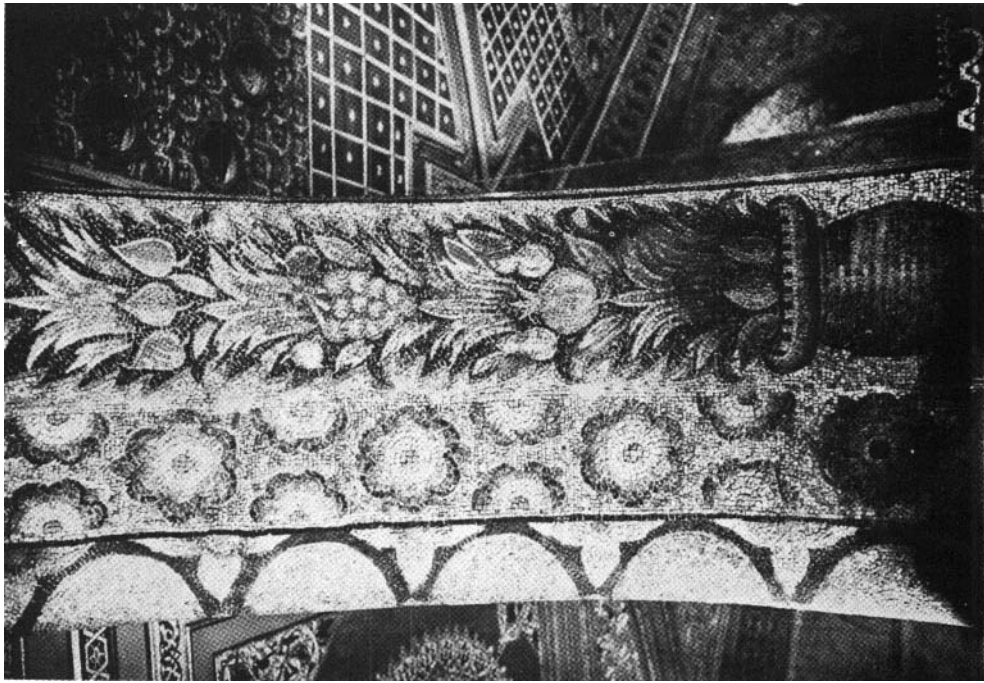
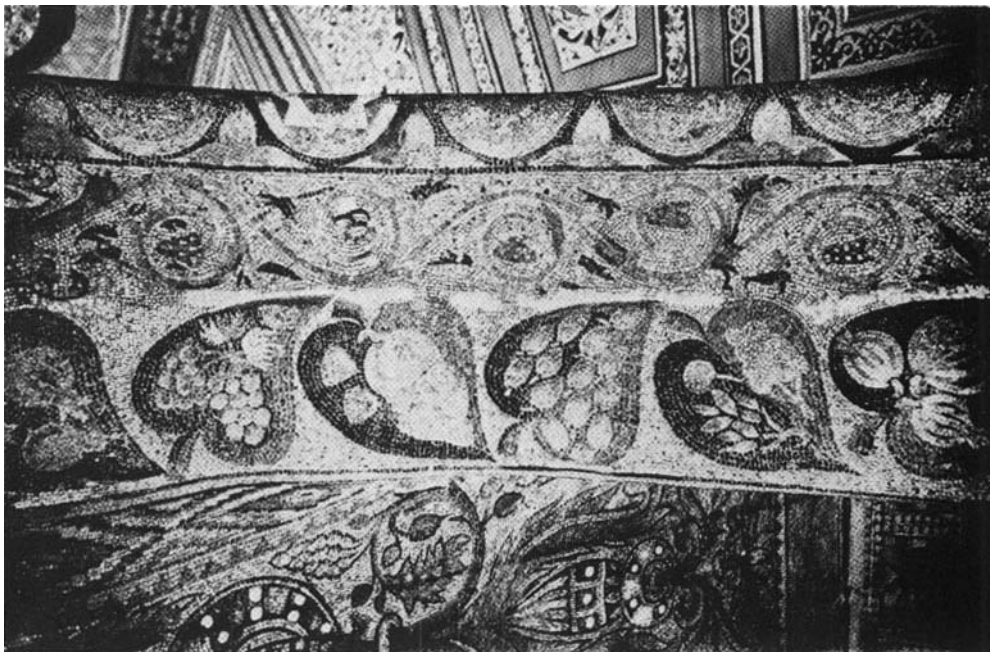
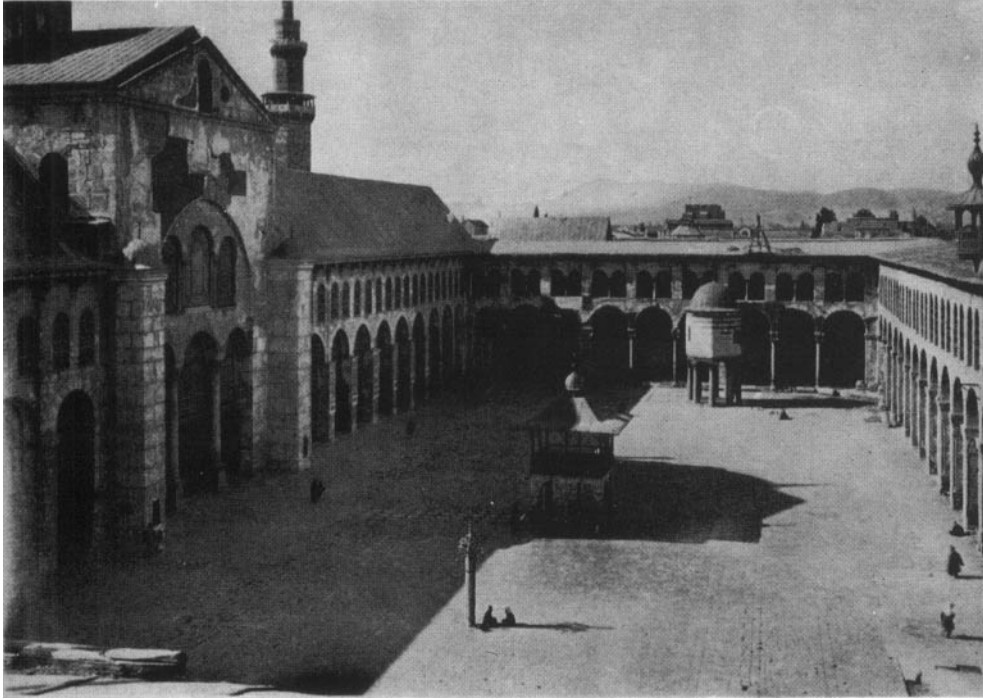
ARCOS [see arkūsh].

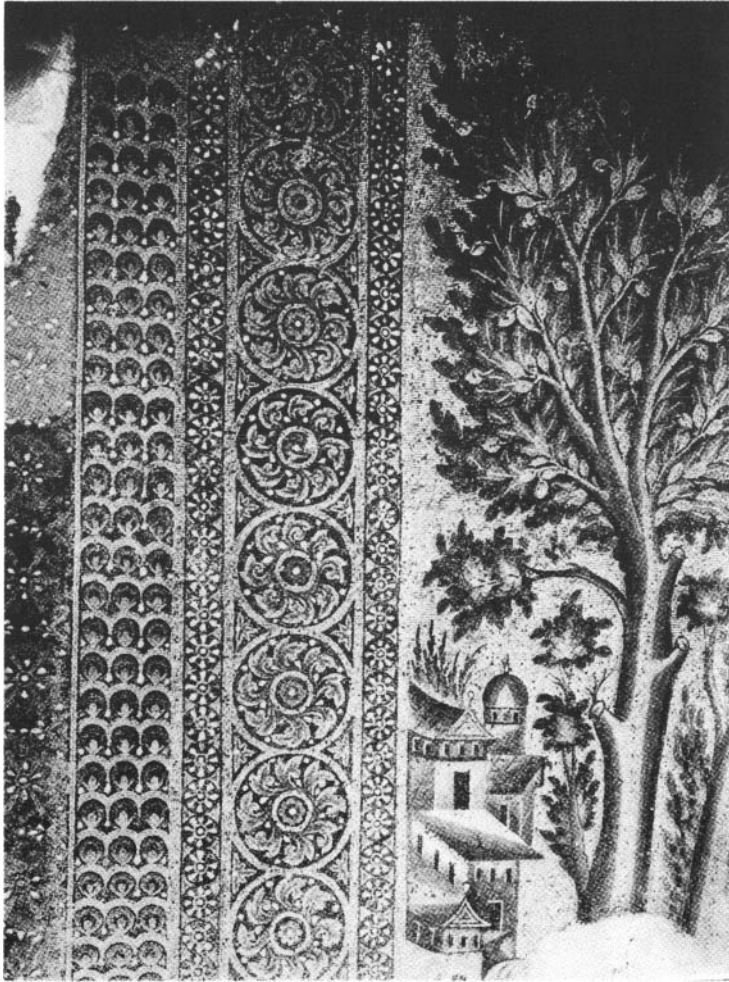
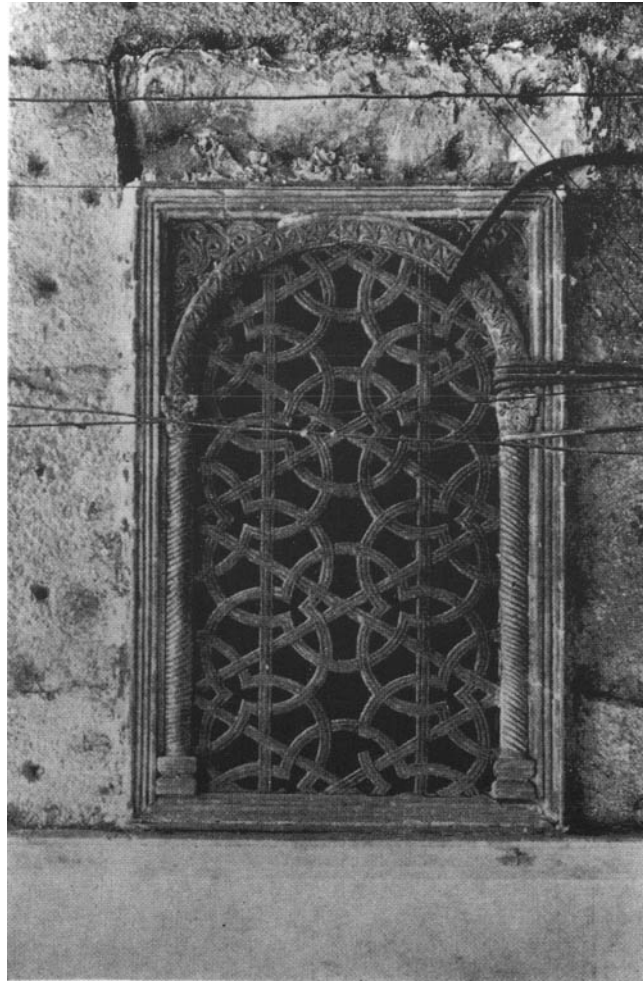
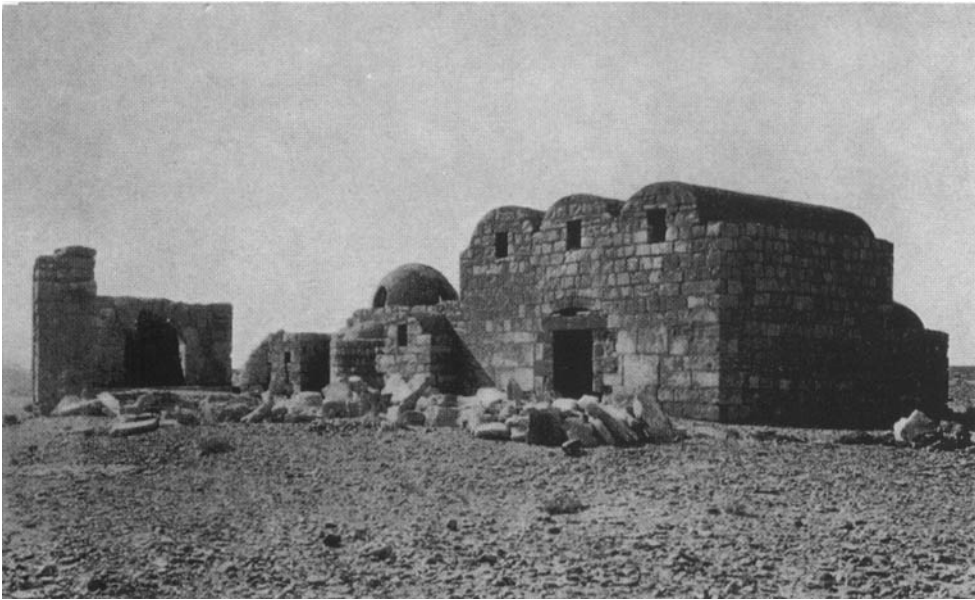
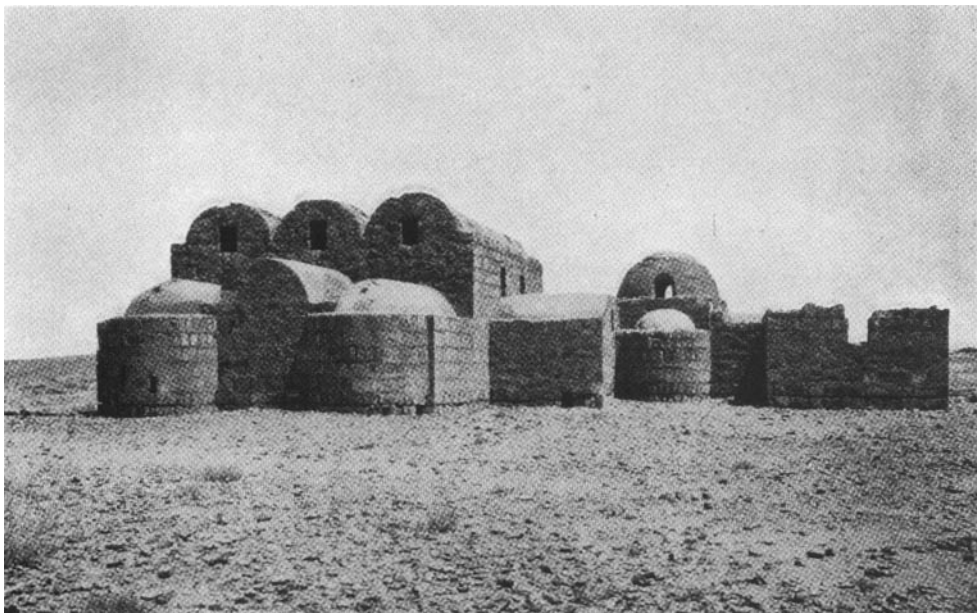
ARCOT (Ārkāt), a town in North Arcot district of Madras, on the right bank of the Pālār. From the Tamil *Ārkkaḍ*—'forest of Ar', or *Āru-kaḍu*—'six forests'. A Čōla foundation, the *Arkatos* of Ptolemy, it is much earlier than is suggested by the tradition of its foundation by a son of Kolōttunga Čōla, and the building of its fort and refoundation by Timmi Reddi. (See K. A. Nīlakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, 1955; R. Sewell, *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, i, 165). In the 12th/18th century it became the capital of the Mughal Nawwābs of Ārkāt.

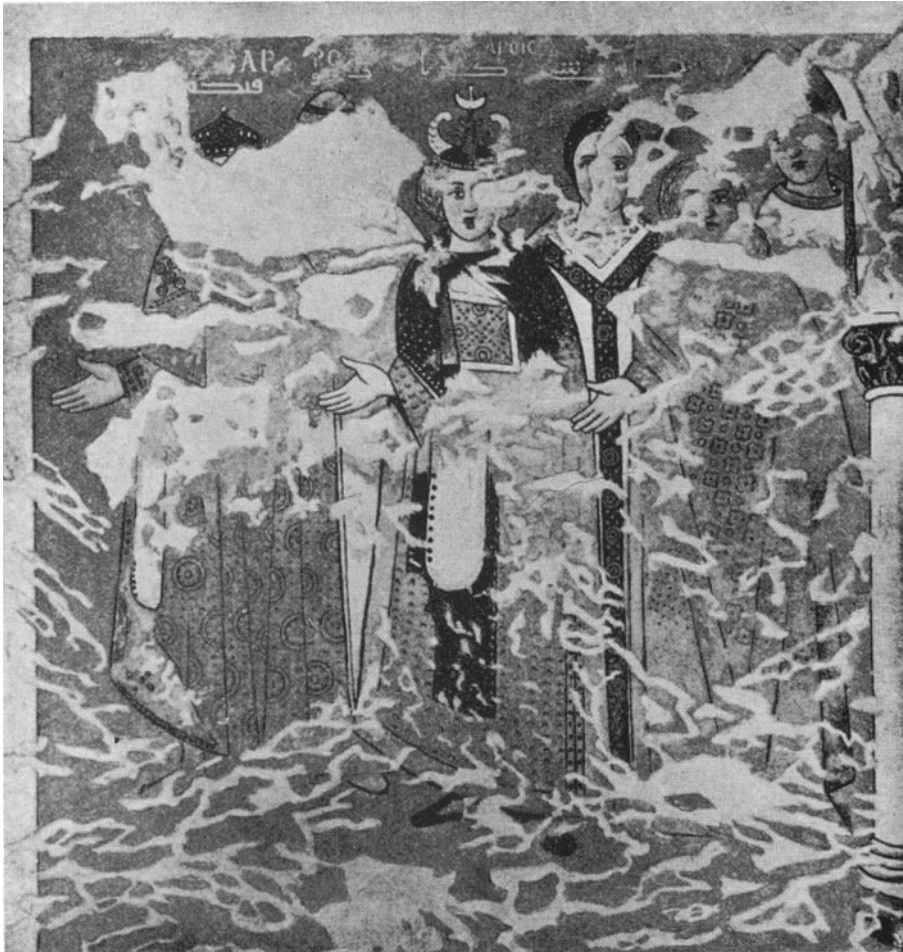
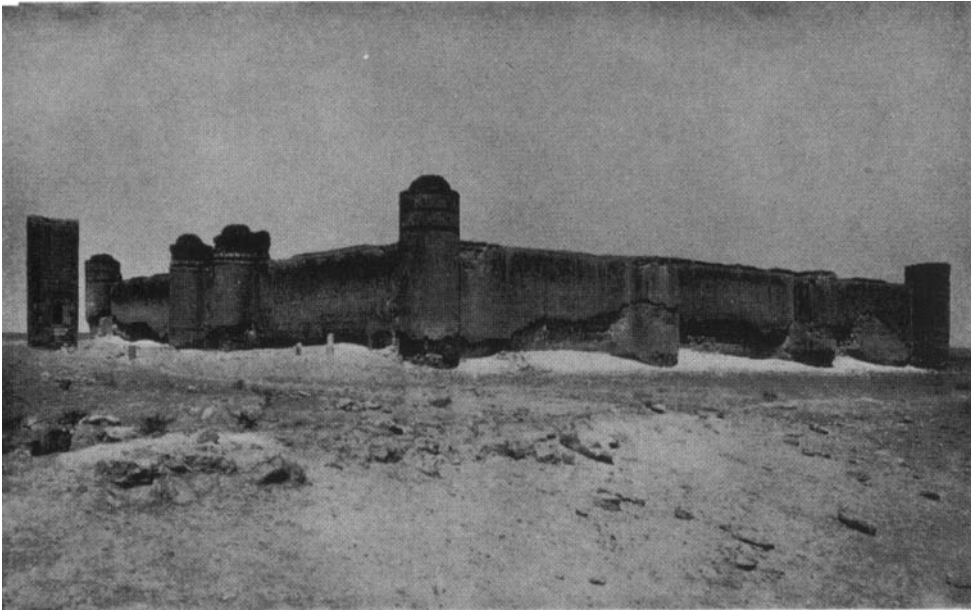
During the previous century, Ārkāt had passed from Vidjayanagar to Bīdjāpūr and Golkonda, to the Marāṭhas, and then to the Mughals. In 1109/1698, Awrangzīb formed a new province, the Carnatic, and Dāʾūd Khān, its governor from 1115/1703, made Ārkāt the capital.

His successor, Muḥammad Sayyid Saʿādat Allāh Khān, was a Nawāyaṭ, who parcelled out the whole province of Ārkāt among his relatives. His nephew succeeded him and extended the province. His son

a. The Dome of the Rock. General view from the south-west.

b. The Dome of the Rock. Bronze covering on under-side of tie-beams.

c. The Dome of the Rock. Bronze covering on under-side of tie-beams.

a. The Dome of the Rock. Inner ambulatory, ring of dome-bearing supports on right.

b. The Dome of the Rock. Decoration on flanks of piers which strengthen the inner corners of the octagonal arcade. To right: soffit.

The Dome of the Rock. Mosaic decoration of inner face of octagonal arcade.

a. THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Mosaic decoration on soffits of arches of octagonal arcade. *b.*

a. The Great Mosque of Damascus. View of *ṣaḥn* taken from roof of east *riwāḳ*.

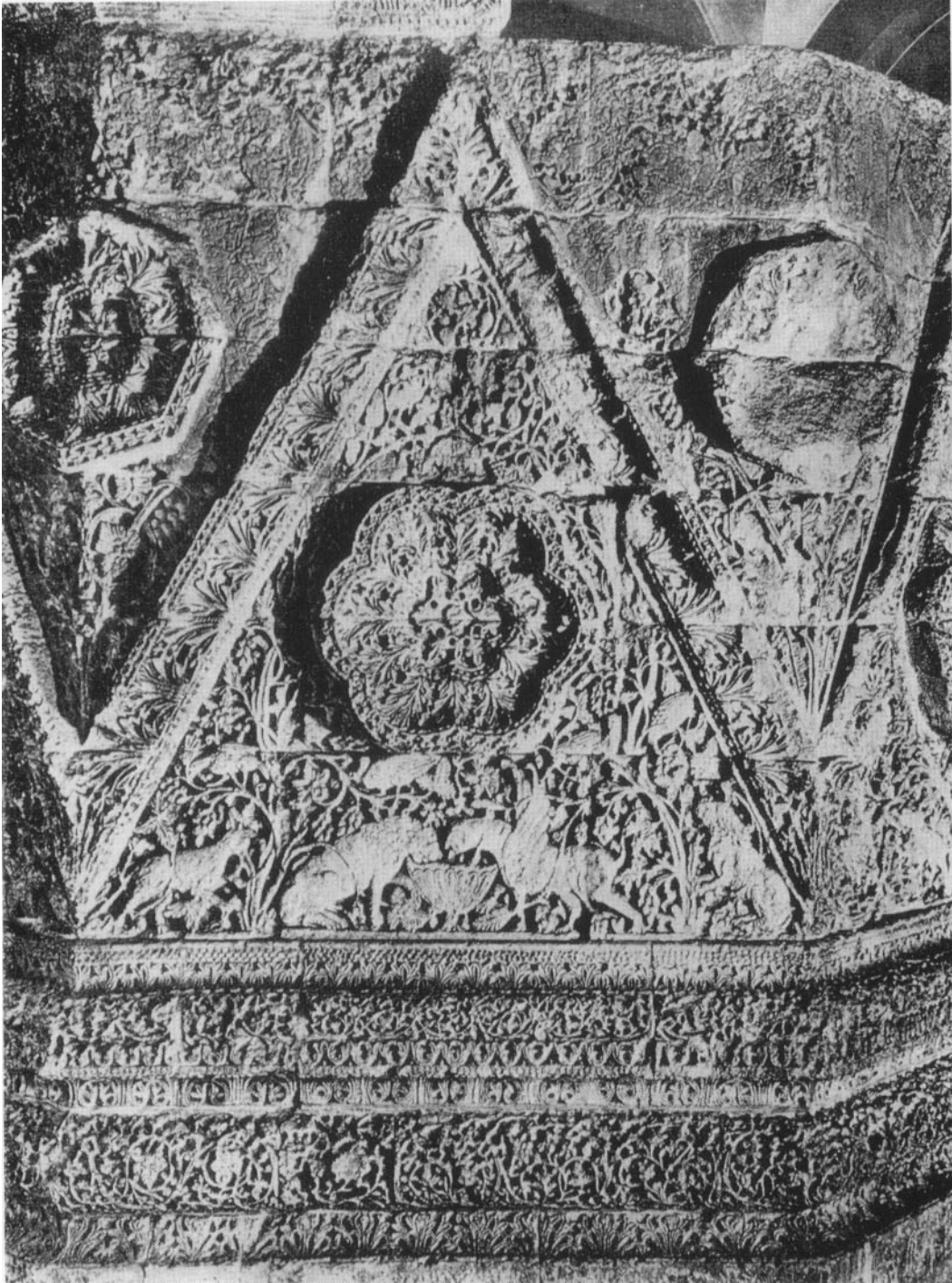
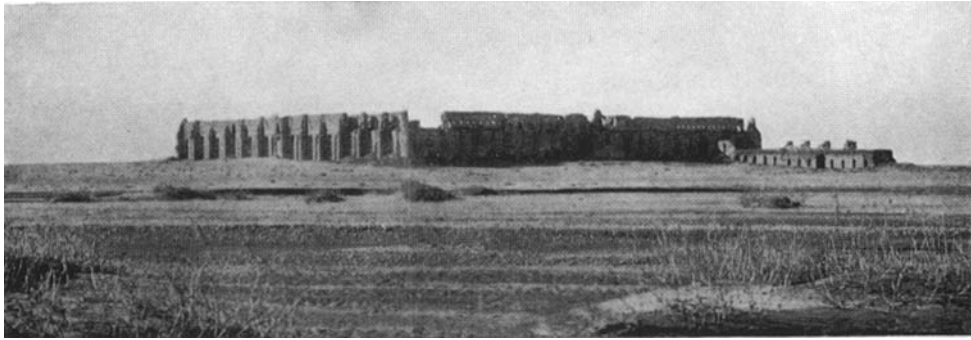
b. The Great Mosque of Damascus. Façade of sanctuary.

a. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. Part of mosaic panel under western *riwāḳ*.

b. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. Marble window grille.

a. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. West side.

b. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. East side.

a. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. Painting on vault.

b. Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. Painting ot the Enemies of Islam (after A. Musil)

a. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-S̲h̲arḳī. Royal enclosure from the S.-W.

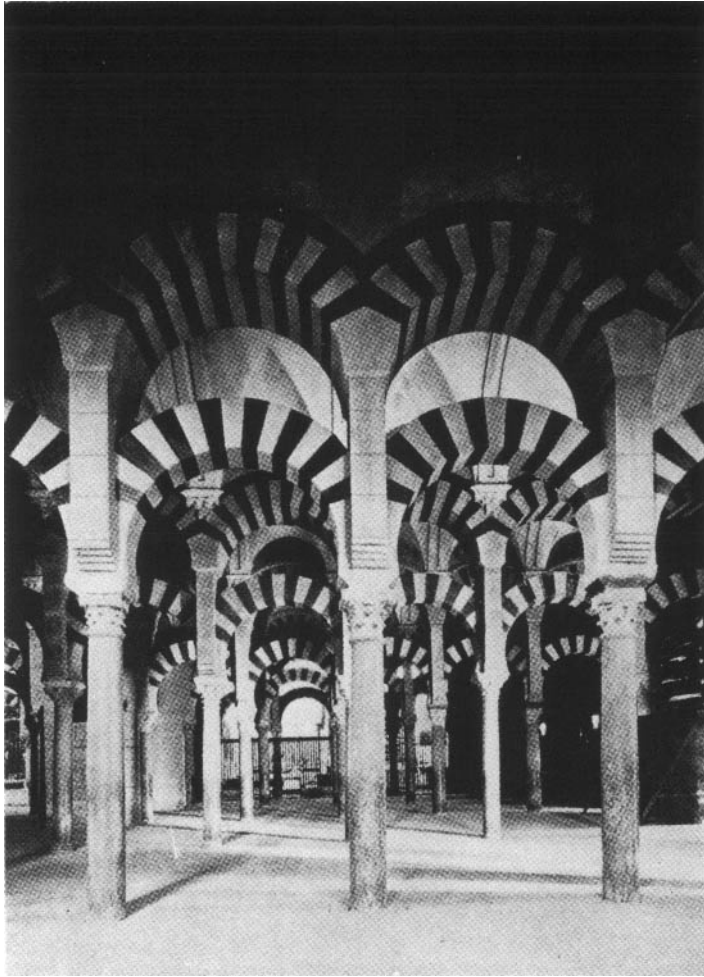
b. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-S̲h̲arḳī. Entrance of royal enclosure, defended by a mâchicoulis.

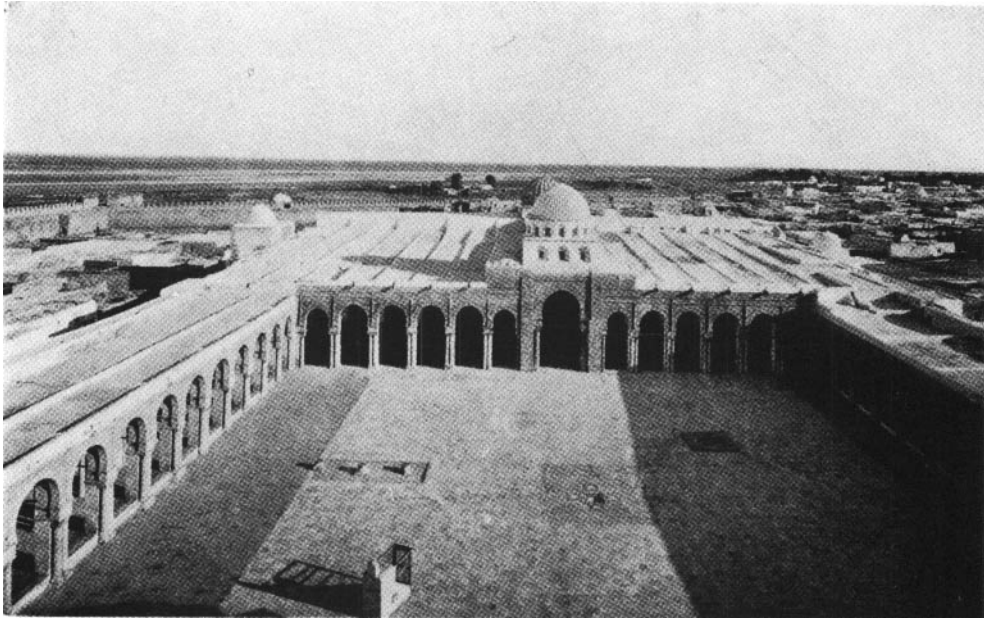
a. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-S͟harḳī. Remains of mosque.

b. Ms͟hattā. The main building.

c. Ms͟hatta. The triple-apsed Throne Room.

MSHATTĀ. Decoration of tower of façade.

a. UKHAYḌIR. From the north-east.

b. UKHAYḌIR. Walled-up entrance in centre of east side.

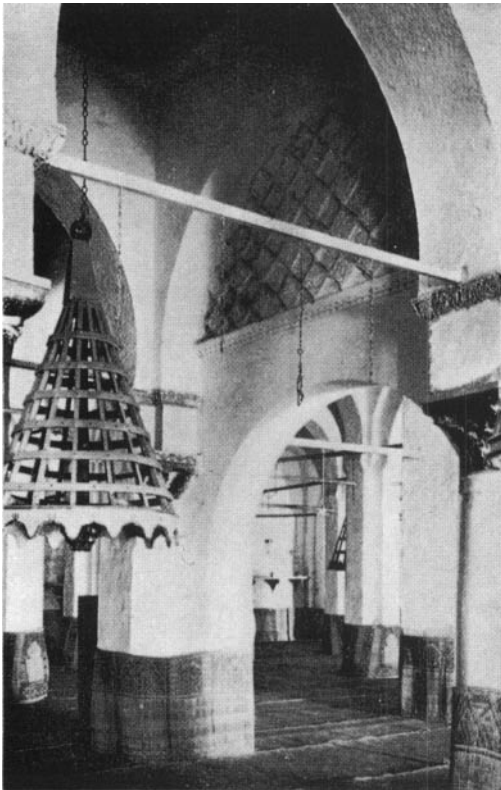
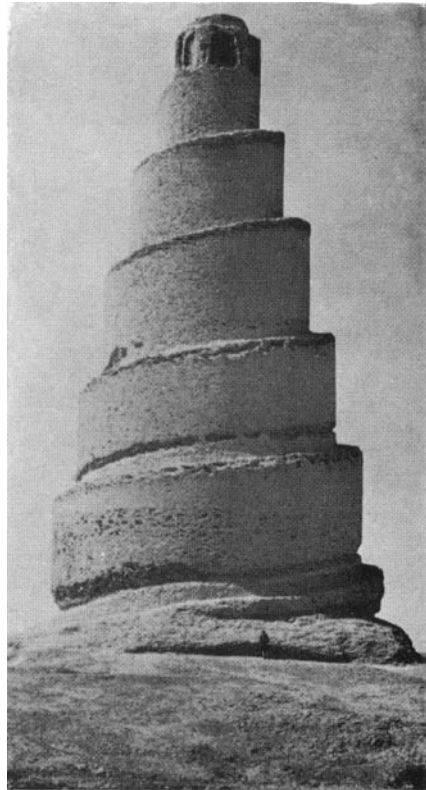
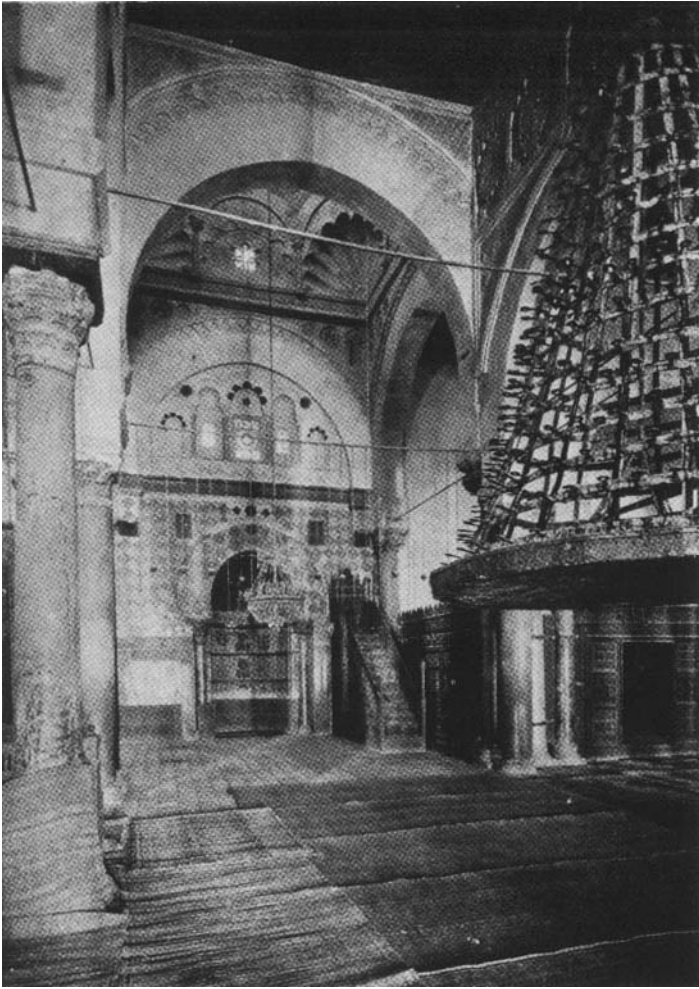
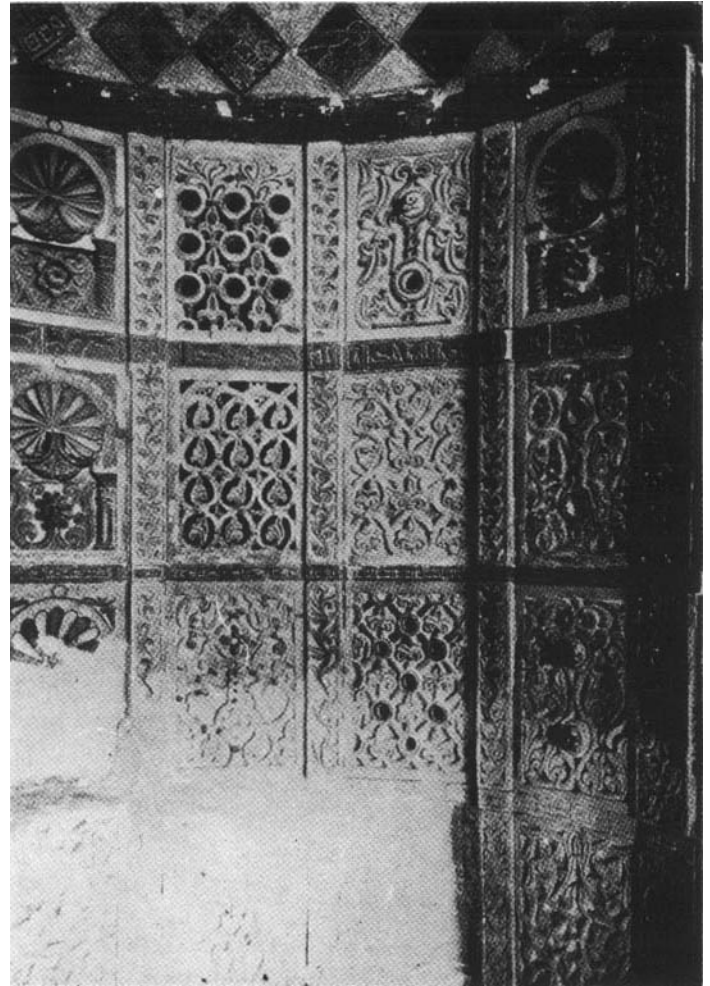
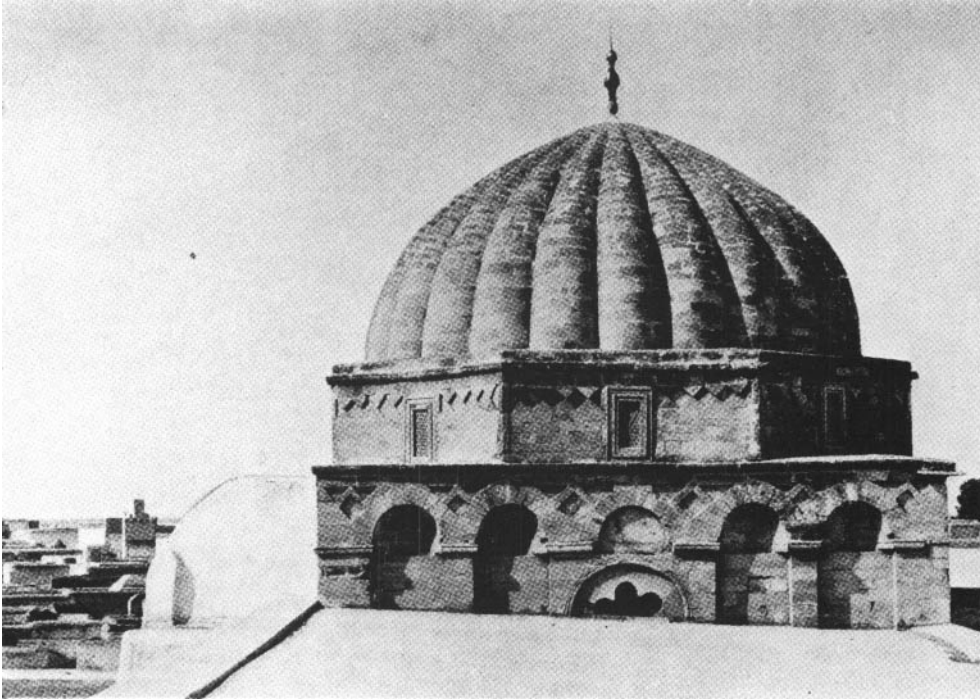
c. CORDOVA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. View of sanctuary from campanile.

a. CORDOVA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Interior looking west.

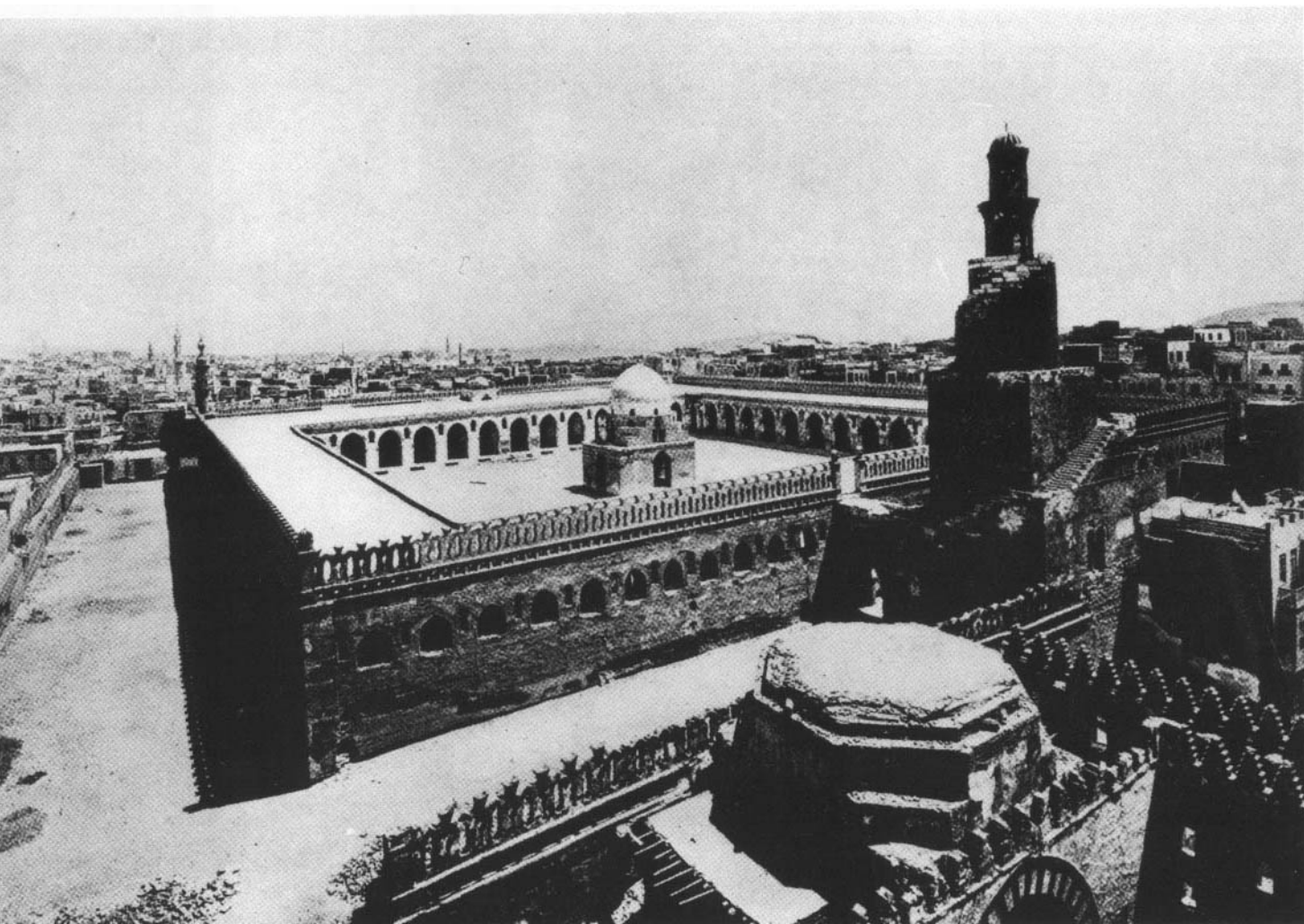
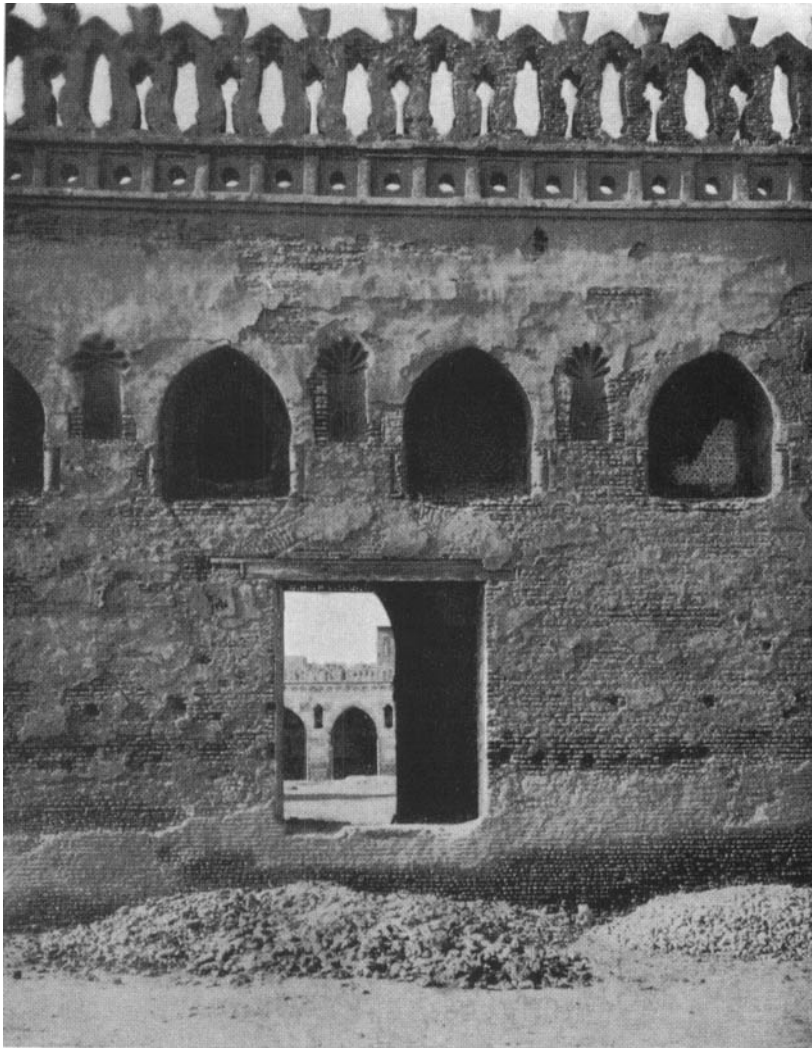
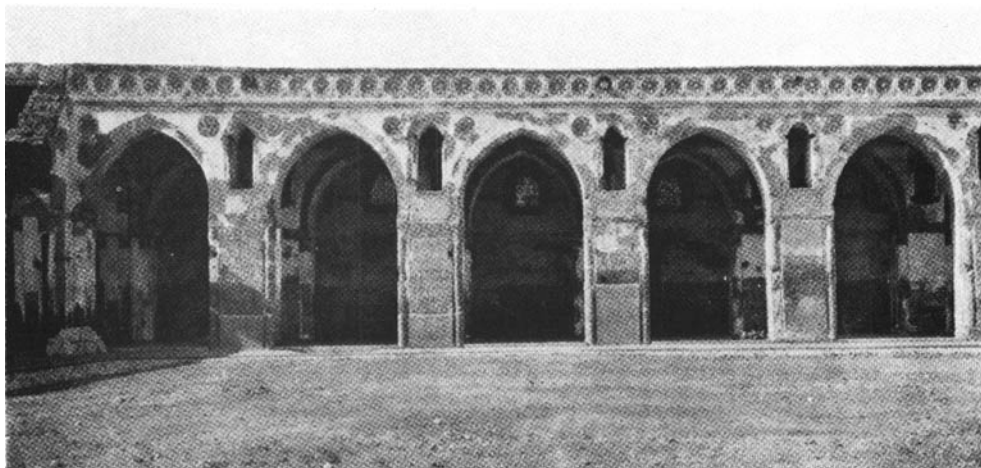
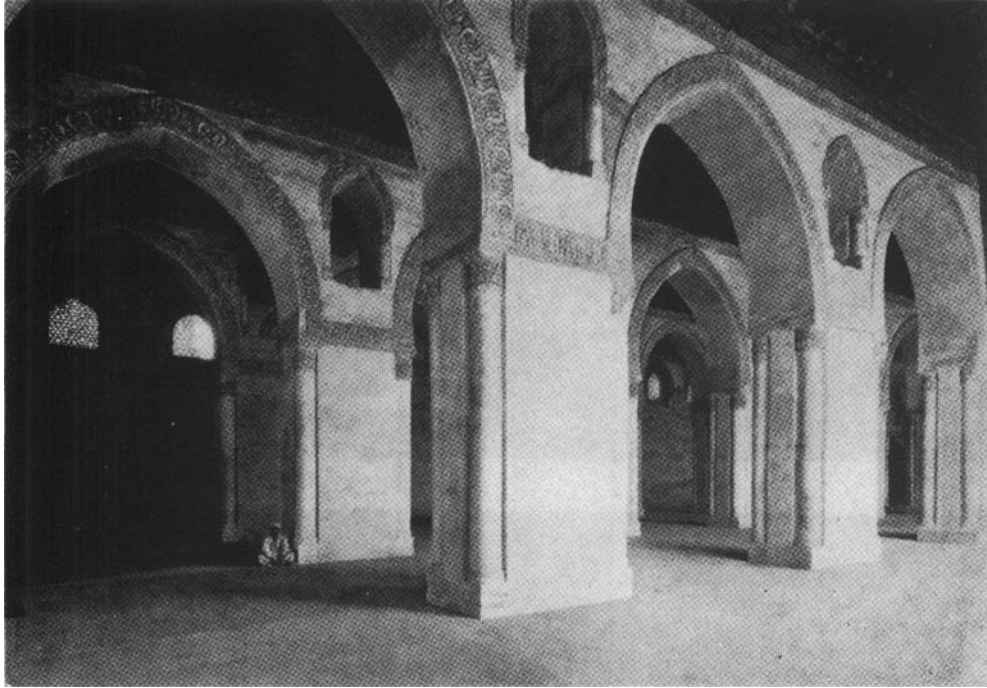
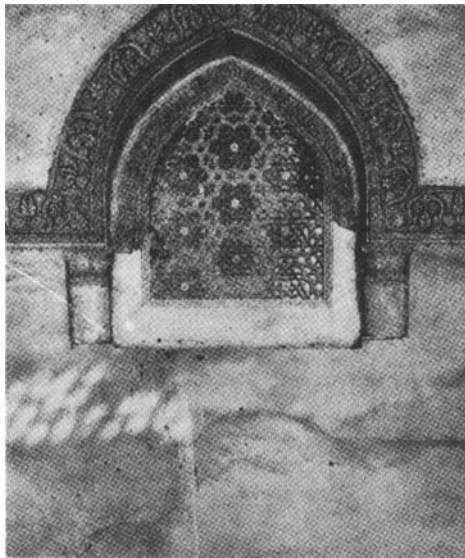
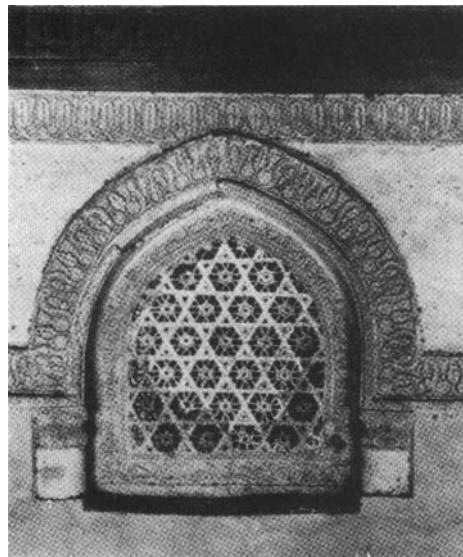
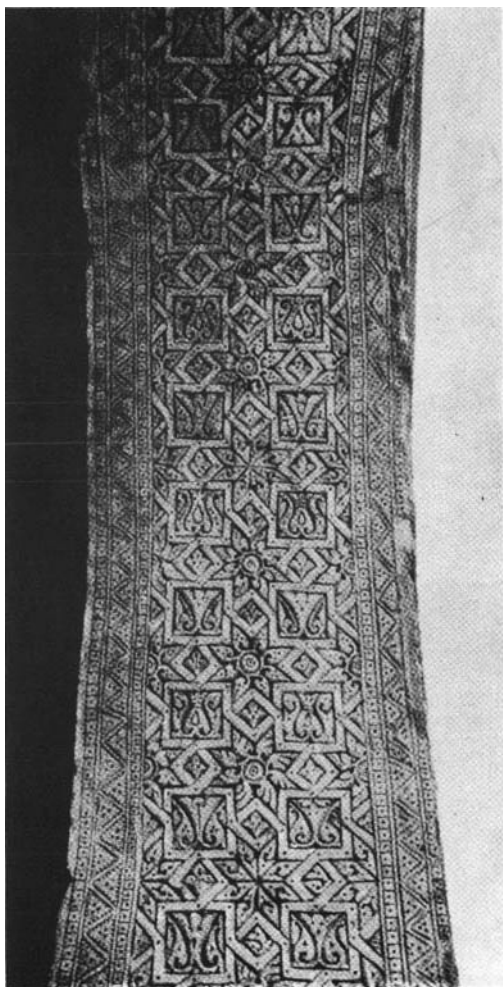
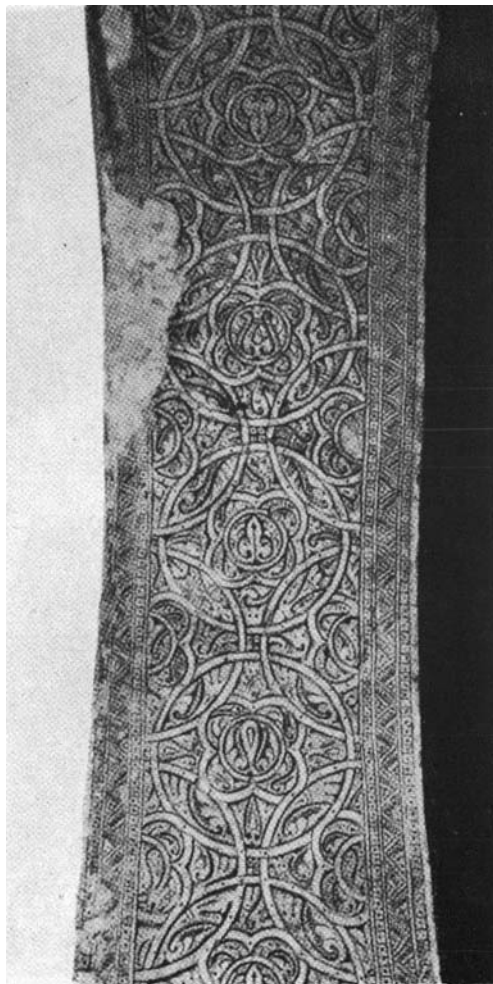
b. RAMLA. Cistern, entirely built with pointed arches and dated 172/789.

a. Ḳayrawān, the Great Mosque. From the minaret.

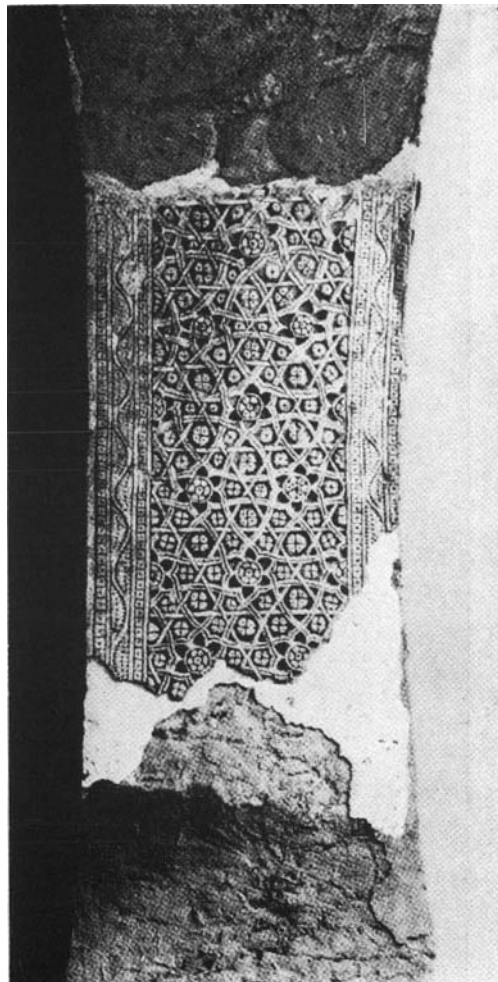
b. Ḳayrawān, the Great Mosque. Interior of sanctuary, looking east.

a. SĀMARRĀ. The Bayt al-Khalīfa.

b. SĀMARRĀ. The Great Mosque.

a. SŪSA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. From the Ribāṭ nearby.

b. SŪSA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Part under first dome.

c. SĀMARRĀ. The Malwiyya.

a. Ḳairawān, the Great Mosque. The *miḥrāb* and its surroundings.

b. Ḳairawan, the Great Mosque. Marble panelling of *miḥrāb*

a. Ḳairawān, the Great Mosque. Dome in front of *miḥrāb*.

b. Ḳairawān, the Great Mosque. Setting of dome.

CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN ṬŪLŪN. General view.

a. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Façade.

b. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Arcades of south-west side of *ṣaḥn*.

a. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. The sanctuary.

b. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. One of the original windows and Kufic inscription on wood below ceiling.

c. Cairo, the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. One of the original windows.

a.

b.

c.

CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN ṬŪLŪN. Decoration of soffits of arches.

Ṣafdar ʿAlī attacked Marāṭha Tanjore, while his son-in-law Ḥusayn Dūst Khān, (Čandā Ṣāḥib) took Trichinopoly by a trick.

This aggression brought the Marāṭhas down upon Ārkāt in 1153/1740. The Nawwāb was killed at the Damalcherry pass, Ārkāt sacked, and Chandā Ṣāḥib carried off prisoner to Satara.

Ṣafdar ʿAlī succeeded to power but was murdered in 1155/1742. The *ṣūbadār* of the Dakhan thereupon appointed an outsider, Anwār al-Dīn, a move resented by the many Nawāyaṭs who held subordinate posts in the province.

Their hostility allowed Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, to intervene. In 1161/1748 Dupleix assisted the release of Čandā Ṣāḥib, the Nawāyaṭ candidate for Ārkāt. Next year French troops under Čandā Ṣāḥib slew Anwār al-Dīn at Ambur, and in 1164/1750 when the *ṣūbadār* of the Dakhan was killed, Čandā Ṣāḥib was proclaimed Nawwāb of Ārkāt.

In the next eleven years Ārkāt was a pawn in the Anglo-French struggle, now taken and held by Clive, now lost to Lally. The war ended with the British protégé, Muḥammad ʿAlī, established as Nawwāb. His troops twice surrendered Ārkāt to Ḥaydar ʿAlī of Maysūr, he became deeply involved in debts, but his line continued till 1272/1855, when the estate escheated to the Company on failure of male heirs. (The administration of the province of Ārkāt had passed to the British in 1216/1801).

The palace and fort, and the fortifications of the town, elaborately constructed on European lines by Muḥammad ʿAlī, are now in ruins. There are numerous mosques, a fine tomb of Saʿādat Allāh Khān, and the shrine of Tipū Mastān Awliyā, after whom Tipū Sulṭān of Maysūr (Mysore) was named. (L. B. Bowring, *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sulṭan*, 117-18 n.).

Bibliography: M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*; Sewell, op. cit, i, 165; ii, 198-9; *Imperial Gazeteer of India*, v, 419, 1908; *Cambridge History of India*, v, ch. viii and bibl.; S. K. Aiyangar, *Jour. of Indian Hist.*, 1930, 173-217; S. M. H. Nainar, *Sources of the History of the Nawabs of the Carnatic*, 4 vols., 1934-44; C. S. Srinivasachari, *A History of Gingee*.

(J. B. Harrison)

ARḌ, earth, land. For the terrestrial globe, see kurat al-arḍ. For land law, see iḳṭāʿ, ḳaṭīʿa, khāliṣa, kharādj, khāṣṣ, mahlūl, matrūk, mawāt, misāḥa, muḳāsama, muḳāṭaʿa, mulk, soyurghāl, timar, ʿushr, waḳf, ziʿāmet.

ʿARḌ, [see istiʿrāḍ].

ʿARḌ ḤĀL, petition. In the Ottoman Empire of the 18th century, the writing of petitions was the prerogative of the *ʿArḍ-ḥāldjis* (*Arzuhalci*). Admission to their number was regulated by the *ʿArḍ-ḥāldji-bashi*, the *Čavushlar emīni*, and the *Čavushlar kātibi*, the qualifications required being personal respectability, proficiency in calligraphy, and a knowledge of *sharīʿa* and *ḳānūns*. Petitions were considered by the *Čavushbashi* on behalf of the Grand Vizier, and answers to them were drafted by the two *Tedhkiredjis* (known as *Tedhkire-i ewwel* and *-thānī*).

Bibliography: Ahmet Refik, *Hicrî 12inci asırda Istanbul hayatı* (Istanbul 1930), 207; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1945), 417, 419.

(G. L. Lewis.)

ARDABB [see kayl].

ARDABĪL (Turkish Erdebīl). A district and a town in eastern Ādharbāydjān. The town is located at 48° 17′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 38° 15′ N. lat. The distance to Tabrīz is 210 km. by road, and it is 40 km. to the Soviet frontier. The altitude of the town is 4,500 ft. above sea level, and it is situated on a circular plateau surrounded by mountains. The district (*shahristān*), of which the town is the capital, comprises four counties (*bakhsh*), capital county, Namīn, Āstārā, and Garmī.

There are few trees around the town and irrigation is necessary for cultivation. Some 20 m. west of the town is Mt. Savalān (Sablān of Arabic geographers) 15,784 ft. at the summit, with perennial snow. The climate of the town and capital county is cold in winter (average monthly temp. below freezing) and the town is assigned to the cold districts (*sardsīr*). The other three counties, however, are reckoned in the warm districts (*garmsīr*). The river Balikhlū or Bāliḳṣū (or chāy), a tributary of the Ḳarāṣū, flows through the southern part of the town. In the vicinity of the town are warm springs which have attracted visitors throughout history.

The etymology of the name is uncertain, but Minorsky in *JA*, 217 (1930), 68, proposes a meaning "willows of the sacred law". The pre-Islamic history of Ardabīl is unknown, for we find the name only in Islamic times. Samʿānī vocalises the name as Ardubīl, while the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* writes Ardawīl. In Armenian we find Artavēt (Ghevond) and later Artavel. Firdawsī and Yāḳūt say the town was founded by Pērōz the Sāsānian king (457-484 A.D.), hence it was called Bādān Pērōz or Bādhān Fayrūz. Ḳazwīnī in his *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* attributes its founding to a much earlier monarch.

It is uncertain whether the mint mark ATRA, on Sāsānian and pre-reform ʿUmayyad coins (Ādharbāydjān?) refers to Ardabīl, but it was the residence of the *marzbān* at the time of the Arab conquest of Ādharbāydjān, according to al-Balādhurī. The city was taken by treaty, and under the caliph ʿAlī his governor al-Ashʿath made Ardabīl his capital. It probably did not remain the capital continuously throughout the ʿUmayyad Caliphate; for example in 112/730 the Khazars captured it. Marāgha may have been a second capital of Ādharbāydjān, for the seat of authority seems to have shifted between it and Ardabīl.

The district of Ardabīl suffered from the uprising of Bābak [*q.v.*]. Ardabīl was in the domain of the independent Sādjid governors at the beginning of the 10th century A.D., and the district suffered from internecine struggles of local rulers, as well as from the invasions of the Rūs in the first half of the 10th century. We find dirhems with the name Ardabīl on them for the first time in 286/899.

The town of Ardabīl was captured and destroyed by the Mongols in 617/1220. It lost its former importance until the rise of the Ṣafawids Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn had made Ardabīl the centre of his Ṣūfī order at the end of the 13th century. In 1499 Ismaʿīl, his descendant, returned from exile in Gīlān to Ardabīl where he started the Ṣafawid dynasty, and shortly thereafter he became shāh in Tabrīz.

Ardabīl became a Ṣafawid shrine and Shāh ʿAbbās especially enriched the mausoleum and mosque of Shaykh Ṣafī by gifts, among them Chinese porcelains and rugs. The city was held by the Ottomans for a short time at the end of Ṣafawid rule, but Nādir Shāh retook it and was crowned shāh in the nearby Mughān steppe in 1736. During the Ottoman occupation a survey of population and land was made for the city and province; a copy of this is preserved

in the Başvekalet Arşivi [*q.v.*] in Istanbul. In the time of Napoleon Gen. Gardanne fortified the city and built ramparts, and ʿAbbās Mīrzā established court there.

European visitors who visited the town and briefly described it were Pietro della Valle (1619), Adam Olearius (1637, with a pictoral map of the town), J. B. Tavernier, Corneille Le Brun (1703), and James Morier (1821). Much of the library of the shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī, as well as art objects, were carried to St. Petersburg by the Russians after 1827.

Morier (*Second Journey*) estimated the population of the town at 4,000; now it is ca. 23,000. Historical structures include the shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī, the *masdjid-i djumʿa* (built in 1382) and the mausoleum of Shaykh Djibrāʾīl (father of Shaykh Ṣafī?) 6 km. to the north of Ardabīl.

Bibliography: P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* 8 (1935), 1026-47, where references to Islamic sources are given in footnotes; F. Saare, *Ardabil Grabmoschee des Schech Safi, Denkmäler persischer Kunst*, Teil II, Berlin 1925; J. A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardabil Shrine*, Washington D.C. 1956; Le Strange, *Lands*, 168; Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfyā-yi Īrān*, 4, Tehran 1952, 11-13; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1290-2; *Rāhnamā-yi Īrān* (Ministry of War map service, Tehrán, 1952), 10-12 (where a sketch map of the town appears). (R. N. FRYE)

ARDAHĀN, town in the remote north-east of Turkey, 41° 8′ north, 42° 42′ east, on the Kuručay, which becomes the Kura, 1,800 m. above sea-level. At one time capital of a *sandjak* in the *iyālet* of Kars. By the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, the town, its surrounding district and Kars were ceded to Russia. On Feb. 23rd 1921, it was ceded back by Georgia; it has since remained Turkish, and is the capital of a *kaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Kars. In 1945, the town had 6,182 inhabitants, and the *kaḍā* 49,699.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Kātib Čelebi), *Djihān-numā*, 407. (FR. TAESCHNER)

ARDAKĀN (dialect (Erdekūn), town in Persia situated 32° 18′ N. Lat. and 53° 50′ E. Long. (Greenw.) on the present route from Nāʾīn to Yazd. It is located on the edge of the desert. To the north is the district (*bulūk*) of ʿAḳdā, and to the south Maybūd. It is located at a height of 3280 ft. above sea level. The identification with Ptolemy's Ἀρταχάνα (Tomaschek, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v.) is open to doubt, and there are no ancient ruins in the town. Ibn Ḥawḳal (Kramers), 263, mentions a town Adharkān on the edge of the desert near Yazd which may be identical with Ardakān. There is no certain mention of the town until the 7th/13th century when a Ṣūfī *khānaḳāh* was erected there; cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ayatī, *Taʾrīkh-i Yazd*, Yazd 1939, 50, who also lists the famous people from this town. The name Ardecan appears on European maps beginning in the early 18th century. Today the town is the centre of a district with 5 villages and 10,430 population (in 1930), according to Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā*, ii, Tehran 1933, 438. Some of the population are Zoroastrians. The people are known for their metal work and sweets. The former flourishing cloth and carpet industry is now unimportant.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1774; General Razmārā, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Niẓāmī-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1945; for references to European travellers cf. A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 58 (von Poser), 188 (Buhse), 304 (Baier); Stahl in *Peterman's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Supplement 118 (1985), 29.

Another Ardakān, in Fārs, 30° 16′ N. Lat. 51° 59′ E. Long. (Greenw.) is a Ḳashḳāʾī tribal centre. (R. N. FRYE)

ARDALĀN. This name was formerly used for the ill-defined province of Persian Kurdistān, the major part of which at present is the district (*shahristān*) of Sanandadj (formerly Senna). For the geography see KURDISTĀN (Persian).

Usually the name refers to the Banū Ardalān who were rulers of much of Kurdistān from the 14th century A.D. The origin of this extended family is unknown, but according to the *Sharaf-nāma*, Bābā Ardalān was a descendant of the Marwānids of Diyār Bakr, who settled among the Gūrān in Kurdistān. Another source (B. Nikitine, *Les Valis*) says Ardalān was a descendant of Ardashīr the first Sāsānian king. Several histories of the rulers of Ardalān were written in Persian in the 19th century which are primarily biographies of the rulers (Storey, 369, 1300). The rulers received the title *wālī* from the Ṣafawid shahs, but sometimes they declared their allegiance to the Ottomans.

One of the most illustrious of the rulers was Amān Allāh Khān who ruled at the beginning of the 19th century, and his son married the daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Nāṣr al-Dīn Shāh appointed a Ḳādjār prince as governor of Kurdistān and the rule of the Ardalān family came to an end. [See KURDISTĀN, SENNA].

Bibliography: B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris 1956, 34-6, 167-170; idem, *Les Valis d'Ardelan*, in *RMM*, 49 (1922), 70-104; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1948, 1775. For the *Sharaf-nāma* and other sources cf. Storey, 366-9. (R. N. FRYE)

ARDASHĪR, old Persian: Artakhshathra, Greek Ἀρταξέρξης, well-known name of Persian kings. Muslim tradition has certain knowledge only of the later Sāsānid kings of that name, viz. Ardashīr I (226-241), Ardashīr II (379-383) and Ardashīr III (628-629). [See SĀSĀNIDS].

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides* (Introd., ii, 2: Littératures arabe et persane, and index, s.v. Ardashēr). (H. MASSÉ)

ARDASHĪR KHURRA [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD].

ARDIBEHISHT [see TAʾRĪKH].

ARDISTĀN (dialect Arūsūn), a town in Persia located on the edge of the desert east of the present road from Naṭanz to Nāʾīn, at a height of 3575 ft. and 33° 22′ N. Lat., 52° 24′ E. Long. (Greenw.) It was a well known town in the Middle Ages. Arabic and Persian histories say a fire temple was erected by Ardashīr the first Sāsānid (226-42 A.D.) and Khusraw I Anūsharwān (531-79) was born here. On the early (4th/10th century) mosque here cf. A. Godard, in *Athār-é Īrān*, 1936, 285. Zawāra, NE and near Ardistān, has an old mosque and pre-Islamic ruins. The population of the district of 50 villages (1930) was ca. 27,000.

Bibliography: Schwarz, *Iran*, v, 638; Le Strange, 208; ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1692; Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā*, ii, Tehran 1933, 425; for a town plan and information on the present town, cf. *Rāhnamā-yi Īrān* (Ministry of War map service), Tehran 1952, part. ii, 14. (R. N. FRYE)

AL-ʿARDJĪ ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, great-grandson of the Caliph ʿUthmān, and a poet regarded as the best of those who belonged to the Umayyad family. Of a generous but violent disposition, he tried to play a part in politics and took part in several

expeditions (especially with Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, against the Byzantines), but, thwarted of power, he retired to the Ḥidjāz, dividing his time between Mecca and one of his estates near al-Ṭāʾif, al-ʿArdj, from which he took his *nisba*. Reduced to a life of idleness, like so many of the aristocracy of the Ḥidjāz, he turned to amusements, frivolous or riotous, and joined the erotic poets who flourished at that time in the two Holy Cities. Doubtless moved by jealousy, he satirised the Governor of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Hishām, the maternal uncle of the Caliph Hishām, and went so far as to compose, in order to discredit him, erotic verse regarding his mother Djaydāʾ. His behaviour led to his being molested, placed in the pillory and thrown into prison, where he died, probably about 120/738.

Bibliography: His *dīwān* was recently printed in Baghdād (1956) with an Introduction. See also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 365-6; idem, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 86; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Aghānī, i, 147-60 and index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 99; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-ʿArdj; Brockelmann, i, 49; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, ii, 72-81; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 146-7; C. A. Nallino, *Scritti*, vi (= *Letteratura*, 61; French trans. 97-8); F. Gabrieli, *Un poeta minore omayyade: al-ʿArǧī*, in *Studi Orient. in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, 361-70, with bibl.

(CH. PELLAT)

ARDJĪSH, a small and ancient town situated on the north-eastern bank of Lake Van, which in the Middle Ages was still called the Lake of Ardjīsh. Its existence seems to be vouched for since the Urartaean period, and more expressly by the Graeco-Roman geographers. It was occupied for a time by the Arabs during the time of ʿUthmān, but remained an integral part of the Armenian principalities up to the 8th century A.D.; from 772 onwards, it was incorporated into the Ḳaysite emirate of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*]. In the 10th century A.D., it belonged to the Marwānids, but about 1025 it was taken by the Byzantines, who proceeded to annex southern Armenia. In 1054, it was retaken by the Saldjūḳid sultan Tughril Beg [*q.v.*], and, when the Saldjūḳid empire was divided up at the end of the 5th/11th century, it was incorporated in the principality of the Shāhs of Armenia of Akhlāṭ and, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, in that of their Ayyūbid successors. Pillaged repeatedly in the 13th century by the Georgians and the Mongols, it was nevertheless of sufficient importance for the Ilkhānid *wazīr* ʿAlī Shāh to fortify it at the beginning of the 8th/14th century (it does not appear to have been fortified before). Later, it suffered from the devastations of Tīmūr and during the disorders associated with the Perso-Ottoman wars. It was still the chief town of an Ottoman district in the 17th century; but the growth of Van, and the northward movement of the lake waters, acted to its detriment. The last inhabitants left the town about the middle of the 19th century, and to-day the ruins are mainly under water. A small modern township has sprung up half an hour's journey to the north.

Bibliography: See ARMENIA and AKHLĀṬ. To the Arabic sources (al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳi studied by Amedroz in *JRAS*, 1902, 785-812, Ibn al-Athīr, etc.), should be added the Armenian sources used in R. Grousset, *Histoire d'Arménie*, Paris 1948, and F. Nève, *Histoire des Guerres de Tamerlan d'après Thomas de Medzoph*, Brussels 1860, in Persian, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, and, in Turkish, the *Djihān-nümā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and the *Travels* of Ewliyā Čelebī, vol. iv, cf. also M. Canard, *Les Hamdânides*, i, 188 and 473 ff.; E. Honigman, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; and Besim Darkot, article *Erciş* in *IA*, which gives the references to the earlier modern works (Hübschman, Markwart).

(CL. CAHEN)

ARDJĪSH-DAGH [see ERDJIYĀS DAGHĪ].

ARGAN (Berb.), argan-tree (*argania spinosa* or *argania sideroxylon*), a tree of the family *Sapotaceae* which grows on the southern coast of Morocco. A shrub with hard, tough wood, it produces a stone whose kernel, when ground, yields a much-valued oil; the oil-cakes are given to cattle.

The word is also known to some of the Arabic-speakers of Morocco, but they look upon it as a loan-word.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 1248; L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Glossary, Paris 1952, 6-7; V. Monteil, *Contribution à l'étude de la flore du Sahara occidental*, ii, Paris 1953, no. 409 (with a bibl.); A. Roux, *La vie berbère par les textes*, i, Paris 1955, 34-6.

(ED.)

ARGHANA [see ERGHANI].

ARGHŪN, name of a Mongol dynasty claiming descent from Hulāgū. (Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, 580, refuses to accept this claim). The Arghūns rose to prominence towards the end of the 15th century when Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā of Harāt appointed *Dhū 'l-Nūn Beg Arghūn* governor of Ḳandahār. He soon began to assume an independent attitude and resisted all attempts of the ruler of Harāt to coerce him. As early as 884/1479 he occupied the highlands of Pishīn, Shāl and Mustang which now form part of Balūčistān. In 890/1485 his two sons, Shāh Beg and Muḥammad Muḳīm Khān, descended the Bolān Pass and temporarily wrested Sīwī (Sibi) from Djām Nanda, the Sammā ruler of Sind. In 902/1497 he espoused the cause of Badīʿ al-Zamān, the rebel son of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He was killed at the battle of Maručak, in 913/1507, during the invasion of Khurāsān by Shaybānī Khān the Uzbeg leader. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Shāh Beg, who was forced to acknowledge the overlordship of Shaybānī Khān in order to maintain his position at Ḳandahār. After the defeat and death of the redoutable Uzbeg leader at Marw, in 1510, he was threatened by Bābur who had established himself at Kābul and by Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī who had annexed Harāt. He was saved for a time by Shāh Ismāʿīl's wars against the Ottomāns and by Bābur's attempt to recover Samarḳand. Realising that his expulsion from Ḳandahār was merely a matter of time, he sought to establish his power in the Balūč country and Sind. In Sind, Djām Nanda had been succeeded by his son Djām Fīrūz whose hold over the country was weakened by faction fights. In 926/1520 Shāh Beg entered Sind, defeated Djām Fīrūz's army and sacked Thatta, the capital of Southern Sind. A treaty was made by which upper Sind was surrendered to Shāh Beg while lower Sind was to remain under the Sammās. This agreement was almost immediately repudiated by the Sammās as a result of which they were once more defeated. Shāh Beg now dethroned Djām Fīrūz and founded the Arghūn dynasty of Sind. After the complete loss of Ḳandahār to Bābur, in 928/1522, Shāh Beg made Bakhar on the Indus his capital. He died in 930/1524 and was succeeded by his son, Shāh Ḥusayn, who had the *khuṭba* read in Bābur's name, and immediately, probably by arrangement with Bābur, proceeded to attack the Langāh kingdom of

Multān. In 1528, after a long siege, Multān capitulated. Shāh Ḥusayn, after appointing a governor, retired to Thatta. When, shortly afterwards, his governor was expelled, he made no attempt to retake the city. After a brief period of independence those in authority in Multān deemed it expedient to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor. Shāh Ḥusayn was reigning in 947/1540 when Humāyūn, after his defeat and expulsion from northern India by Shīr Shāh Sūr, sought refuge in Sind. Probably because he did not wish to be drawn into a war with Shīr Shāh, the Arghūn ruler refused to help Humāyūn. This was followed by Humāyūn's attempt to seize the strong fortresses of Bakhar and Sihwān for which he lacked the necessary resources, energy and generalship. In 950/1543, Humāyūn was granted an unmolested passage through Sind to Ḳandahār. Towards the end of his days Shāh Ḥusayn's character degenerated. As a result his nobles deserted him and elected as their sovereign Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān, a member of the elder branch of the Arghūn clan. Shāh Ḥusayn died childless in 1556 and with him ended the Arghūn dynasty.

The Arghūn Tarkhān dynasty lasted from 1556 to 1591. Muḥammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān was forced to come to terms with a rival claimant, Sultan Maḥmūd Gokaldāsh. It was arranged that Muhammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān kept lower Sind with his capital at Thatta, and Sultān Maḥmūd upper Sind with his capital at Bakhar. In 982/1573 upper Sind was annexed by Akbar. ʿĪsā Khān died in 1567 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Bāḳī who committed suicide in 1585. During the reign of his successor, Djānī Beg, Akbar, in 1591, sent ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, Khān Khānān, to annex lower Sind. Djānī Beg was defeated and lower Sind incorporated in the Mughal empire. Djānī Beg died of delirium tremens in 1599.

Bibliography: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (*Bibl. Ind.*); Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; Muḥammad ʿAlī Kūfī, *Čač-nāma*; *Bābur-nāma*, (Beveridge); H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (i, Sayyid Djamāl's *Tarkhān-nāma* or *Arghūn-nāma* based without acknowledgement on Mīr Muhammad Maʿṣūm's *Taʾrīkh al-Sind*); W. Erskine, *A History of India under Baber and Humayun*, London 1854; M. K. Fredunbeg, *A History of Sind*, ii, Karachi 1902); M. R. Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, London 1894; H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Baluchistan*, London 1888.

(C. Collin Davies)

ARGHŪN [see IL-KHĀNIDS].

ARGYROCASTRO [see ERGERI].

ʿARĪB B. SAʿD AL-KĀTIB AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, an Andalusian *mawlā* who held various official posts (he was in particular *ʿāmil* of the district of Osuna in 331/943), lived in the entourage of al-Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [see AL-MANṢŪR] and was the secretary of the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II (350-66/961-76); the date of his death is not known, but is put by Pons Boigues at about 370/980.

A man of wide learning, ʿArīb distinguished himself as physician and poet, but is primarily known for his work as a historian. He was in fact the author of a résumé of the Annals of al-Ṭabarī, which he continued down to his own times; the section relating to the Orient has been published by M. J. De Goeje (Arīb, *Tabari continuatus*, Leiden 1897), while R. Dozy added to his edition of the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī (Leiden 1848-51) the fragments relating to Spain (from 291 to 320), which constitute the principal source for the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 506 and index). ʿArīb probably also wrote a work on obstetrics (*K. Khalḳ al-Djanīn wa Tadbīr al-Ḥabālā wa 'l-Mawlūd*, a MS. of which has been preserved; see H. Derenbourg-H. P. J. Renaud, *Mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, ii/2, Paris 1941, 41-2, No. 833) dedicated to al-Ḥakam II, and a *K. ʿUyūn al-Adwiya*. The *K. al-Anwāʾ*, of which he is certainly the author, has clearly been merged in the liturgical calendar of bishop Rabīʿ b. Zayd (= Recemundo), in a composite text which R. Dozy published under the title of *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*, Leiden 1873 (a new edition by Ch. Pellat will appear shortly).

Bibliography: Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa 'l-Takmila* (part of this has been edited by F. Krenkow in *Hespéris*, 1930, 2-3); A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantiya i Arabi*, ii/2, 43 ff. (French ed. H. Grégoire and M. Canard, ii, Brussels 1950, 48 ff. with a bibliography); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 88-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Xᵉ Siècle*, 107; González Palencia, *Literatura*, index; Brockelmann, i, 134, 236, S I, 217; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, § 428; idem, in *Zeit. für Math. und Physik*, 1866, 235ff.; R. Dozy, in *ZDMG*, xx, 595-6; idem, Préface of *Cal. de Cordoue*; idem, Introd. to the ed. of *Bayān*, 43-63; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. ar.*, i, 432; Sarton, i, 680.

(Ch. Pellat)

AL-ʿĀRIḌ, the central district of Nadjd. Originally applied to the long mountainous barrier Ṭuwayḳ [*q.v.*], the name al-ʿĀriḍ is still very commonly used in this sense. In a more restricted sense it refers to the central part of the barrier, the district between al-Khardj to the south and al-Maḥmal to the north. On the west al-ʿĀriḍ is bounded by the western escarpment of Ṭuwayḳ and the district of al-Baṭīn below it, in which lie Ḍarmā, al-Ghaṭghaṭ, etc. On the east Wādī 'l-Sulayy, the escarpment of Djāl Hīt, and the land of al-ʿArama separate al-ʿĀriḍ from al-Dahnāʾ.

The district is traversed from northwest to southeast by Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], formerly known as al-ʿIrḍ, the head of which lies below ʿAḳabat al-Ḥaysiyya (formerly Thaniyyat al-Aḥīsā), whence it flows for c. 160 km. before emptying into al-Sahbāʾ near the modern town of al-Yamāma in al-Khardj.

The principal towns of al-ʿĀriḍ, all of which lie in or near Wādī Ḥanīfa, are: (1) al-ʿUyayna [*q.v.*], the birthplace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]; (2) al-Djubayla, near which the battle of ʿAḳrabāʾ between Musaylima and Khālid b. al-Walīd is supposed to have been fought; (3) al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the first capital of Āl Suʿūd, the picturesque ruins of which still overlook the modern town in the valley; (4) al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*], the present capital of Āl Suʿūd; (5) Manfūḥa, which is presumed to lie on or near the site of the poet al-Aʿshā's home; and (6) al-Ḥāʾir (also called Ḥāʾir Subayʿ or Ḥāʾir al-Aʿizza, the latter being the section of the tribe of Subayʿ dominant in the oasis). Ḥāʾir Subayʿ lies at the junction of the valleys Luḥā (not Ha as shown on most modern maps) and Buʿaydjāʾ (the lower stretch of al-Awsaṭ) with Wādī Ḥanīfa.

The Bedouin tribes roaming through al-ʿĀriḍ are Subayʿ, al-Suhūl, and al-Ḳurayniyya. Many other tribesmen are drawn there by the presence of the capital. The townspeople are descended from Tamīm, ʿAnaza, al-Dawāsir, and many other sources.

Since the beginning of the reform movement preached by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*]

al-ʿĀriḍ has been the great stronghold of the faith. In the myriad campaigns conducted by Āl Suʿūd the people of al-ʿĀriḍ, both townsmen and nomads, have almost invariably been in the front rank. One of the main reasons the reformation began in al-ʿĀriḍ in the 12th/18th century was that this district had preserved a tradition of Islamic learning, and since then al-ʿĀriḍ has contributed more than its share of highly honoured religious scholars.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*; Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1370; Ibn Ghannām, *Rawḍat al-Afkār*, Cairo 1368; Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd*, Mecca 1349; H. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922; idem, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928. (G. RENTZ)

ʿARĪF, "one who knows", a term applied to the holders of certain military or civil offices, based on competence in customary matters, *ʿurf*, as opposed to knowledge of the law, which characterises the *ʿālim*. There may have existed in some cases *de facto ʿurafāʾ* in Arabia already prior to and at the time of Muḥammad (al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, iv, 81) who is said to have condemned them (Ibn Ḥanbal, iv, 133; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, iii, 86; al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, i, 98; al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, ii, 341). But such traditions are obviously influenced by later conditions.

During the periods of the caliphs of al-Madīna and of the Umayyads, the *ʿarīfs* collected taxes from the tribes and handed them over to the *muṣaddiḳ* who was appointed by the caliph (al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, ii, 61, 72, 74; *Aghānī*[3], iii, 62, xi, 248). No details are available concerning their appointment, except that they were chosen among the tribe concerned, though not among its chiefs.

From the time of ʿUmar I onwards there are frequent references to the office of *ʿarīf* in connection with the military organisation of the empire and the *amṣār*. Sayf b. ʿUmar claims that the armies of Kūfa were divided after the battle of Ḳādisiyya into numerous units (*ʿirāfa*), with an *ʿarīf* over each unit (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2496); but most of the details concerning the functions of the *ʿarīfs* apply to the period of Muʿāwiya only. Each *ʿarīf* was assigned to an *ʿirāfa* and was responsible for the distribution of the stipend (*ʿaṭāʾ*) among its members, for which purpose he had to keep a register (*dīwān*) of the payees and their families. He was furthermore responsible for security inside his own *ʿirāfa*, and probably also had other responsibilities, such as collecting blood-money and arbitrating in disputes among the members of the *ʿirāfa*.

The governor of the *miṣr* (or the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) was the sole authority with the power to appoint and dismiss *ʿurafāʾ* and it was not necessary for him to seek the approval of the caliph or of the clan; he was, however, probably obliged to choose influential persons (cf. the authorities quoted in Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt, etc.*, 97-100).

The military office of *ʿarīf* continued throughout the Middle Ages; the rather scanty evidence indicates that its scope varied. At the time of al-Rashīd, for instance, the *ʿarīf* was responsible for ten to fifteen men (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 196), while in Spain, at the time of al-Ḥakam, he is mentioned as a commander of a hundered horsemen (*Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, 129-30). (In the ʿIrāḳī and Syrian armies of the present day the *ʿarīf* is in charge of ten men). We also hear of *ʿurafāʾ* of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], when it was desired to organise these into official military units (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 179; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 452).

Among the civil offices whose incumbents bore the name of *ʿarīf* we hear, in the first two centuries of the Hidjra, of a special official responsible for the interests of orphans and illegitimate children. An *ʿarīf* of *dhimmīs* is also occasionally mentioned. But the most frequent use of the title of *ʿarīf* in the mediaeval Arabic-speaking Orient is to denote the head of a guild, although the term was used concurrently (or in varying hierarchical relationships) with others, such as *naḳīb*, *raʾīs* or simply *shaykh*, fell into disuse during the Ottoman period, and in the west was usually replaced by *amīn* [*q.v.*]. We find instances of *ʿarīf* in this sense, it seems, from Umayyad times, in direct relationship with the *ḳāḍī*, prior to the appearance of the office of *muḥtasib* (according to *Wakīʿ Akhbār al-Ḳuḍāt*, ii, 347, referring to the time of the *ḳāḍī* Shurayḥ, who died about 80/700). But it is mainly from the 6th/12th century onwards that references to *ʿurafāʾ*, now in the rôle of assistants to the *muḥtasibs*, occur frequently in works designed for the use of the latter.

It is impossible to discuss the position of the head of a trade-guild in detail except in the general study of the organisation of the guilds which will appear in the article ṢINF. The basic problem, in assessing the position of the *ʿarīf* or the *amīn*, is to know to what extent this individual, situated midway between the administrator and the guilds, was the representative of an autonomous corporation comparable to those of the mediaeval Christian west at the time of the communes, or the agent of authority supervising a guild governed from above, like the colleges of the late Empire and Byzantium. His actual position must have varied according to the relative strength of the forces concerned. In general, the *ʿarīf* or *amīn* figures mainly as an assistant of the *muḥtasib* as regards the regulation, internal jurisdiction and financial obligations of the guild; he could not however discharge his duties unless he was regarded with a certain minimum of confidence by the leaders of the guild, from amongst whom he himself was chosen and who often, by acclamation, accepted or proposed him. In practice he also to a certain extent represented the guild in its dealings with authority. He organised the participation of his guild in certain festivals. He was often duplicated by a *khalīfa*, and exercised his powers of arbitration and jurisdiction, in the large centres, assisted by a small customary tribunal subordinate to the *muḥtasib*. It sometimes happened that there was also an *amīn al-umanāʾ*. The *amīn* kept a register of the members of the guild, and admitted new members, in accordance with various initiatory rites. His function was of an eminently temporary nature. This organisation has, of course, been undermined to-day by the progress of trade-unionism on the European pattern.

Bibliography: In addition to the references quoted in the article, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arab. Philologie*, i, 21; Dj. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, i, 148; P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1946, 328; *IA*, s.v. (by M. F. Köprülü); Rāshid Barrawī, *Ḥālat Miṣr al-Iḳtiṣādiyya*, Cairo 1948, 190-4; A. A. Duri, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-Iḳtiṣādī*, Baghdad 1948, 82; Ṣāliḥ A. al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmat al-Idjtimāʿiyya wa ʾl-Iḳtiṣādiyya fī ʾl-Baṣra*, Baghdad 1953, 97-100.

For matters relating more particularly to the *ʿarīf* and *amīn* as technical terms of the guilds, the essential sources are the Syro-Egyptian works on *ḥisba* (Shayzarī, ed. ʿArīnī, 1946, analysed by Bernhauer, who calls him Nabrawī, in *JA*, 1860,

61; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, ed. R. Levy, 1938; Ibn Bassām, extracts by Cheikho in *Mash.*, 1907) or the similar works of Spanish origin (Ibn ʿAbdūn, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *JA*, 1934, trans. in *Seville musulmane au XII*ᵉ *s*, and especially, from our point of view, Saḳaṭī of Malaga, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, 1931), not to speak of other similar works, as yet unpublished, written in other countries. The material which they provide on the *ʿarīf* has been utilised by E. Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, ii, to be completed, as regards the *amīn* of Spain and mediaeval Tunisia, by the remarks of Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, especially 300-2, and Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 150, 203, etc. For the modern period, on North Africa, see the study of Massignon on the Moroccan guilds (*RMM*, 1924), to be completed as regards Fez before the Protectorate by the work of Le Tourneau on that town (with bibliography); for Tunisia, Payre, *Les amines en Tunisie*, 1940, should be consulted. No equivalent study exists for the Orient, where we are still dependent on the valuable, but restrained picture of the guilds at Damascus at the end of the 19th century, by Elyas Qudsi (*Travaux de la VI*ᵉ *Session du Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1884, 3 ff.), and for Egypt, on the information given in the *Description de l'Egypte*, xvii and xviii, and on certain special monographs such as G. Martin, *Les Bazars du Caire*, 1910. For a comparison with central Asia see M. Gavrilov, *Les corps de métiers en Asie Centrale*, in *REI* 1928, 209 ff.; with Persia, the lecture by Ann K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1954; with the Ottoman Empire, the description of the guilds at Constantinople in the 17th century by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, i, 473 ff.; Hammer's English translation I, 2, 90ff.) and H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens auf Grund von Basṭ Madad et-Taufīg*, (Türkische Bibliothek 16) Berlin 1913.

(Salih A. el-Ali and Cl. Cahen)

ʿĀRIF HIKMET BEY (1201-1275/1786-1859) *shaykh al-islām* from 1262 to 1270/1845-54, and one of the last representatives of Turkish classical poetry. Descended from a family of high officials (his father, Ibrāhīm ʿIsmet was *ḳāḍi 'l-ʿaskar* under Selim III), he became *molla* of Jerusalem (1231/1816), then of Cairo (1236/1820) and Medina (1239-1823); later appointed *naḳīb al-ashrāf* (1246/1830) and *ḳāḍi 'l-ʿaskar* of Anatolia (1249/1833), then of Rumelia (1254/1838), he finally became *shaykh al-islām*, a post which he held for seven years. ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey maintained relations with the principal poets of his period, notably Esʿad Efendi, Ziwer Pacha and Ṭāhir Selām. He himself wrote poetry, and his *Dīwān*, which contains poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, is considered to be one of the last works of note of the old school of Turkish poetry; in it may be perceived the influence of Nefʿī, Nabī and Nedim (see M. F. Köprülü, *Türk divan edebiyatı antolojisi*, 18th and 19th centuries); this *Dīwān* was printed in Istanbul in 1283/1867. His other works are: *Tedhkire-i Shuʿarā'* (biographies of Turkish poets up to the year 1250/1834); *Madjmūʿat al-Tarādjim*: *Dhayl li-Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (see İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır türk şairleri*, iv, 626-628); *al-Aḥkām al-Marʿiyya fi 'l-Arāḍī al-Amīriyya* (quoted in *Osmanlı müellifleri*); *Khulāṣat al-Maḳālāt fi Madjālis al-Mukālamāt* (MS. in İstanbul University Library, no. 3791; cf. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *ibid.*, 626). ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey enjoyed great fame during his lifetime, and Namık Kemal wrote that he was, with Ṭāhir Selām, the most notable poet of the era of Maḥmūd II.

Bibliography: On the life of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet, there are numerous references in the historical and biographical works written in the second half of the 19th century; see in addition: Fāṭima ʿAliyye, *Djewdet Pasha we zamani*, Istanbul 1332, *passim*. On his poetry: the Introduction to his *Dīwān*, written by Meḥmed Ziwer (İstanbul 1283); Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 350 ff., Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1937, iv, 620 ff., *IA*, s.v. (article by Fevziye Abdullah). (R. Mantran)

al-**ʿARĪSH**, or 'the ʿArīsh of Egypt', the Rhinokorura of the ancients, town on the Mediterranean coast situated in a fertile oasis surrounded by sand, on the frontier between Palestine and Egypt. The name is found as early as the first centuries of our era in the form of Laris. According to the ordinary view, which is presupposed also in the well-known anecdote about ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's expedition to Egypt, the town belonged to Egypt. The inhabitants, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, belonged to the Djudhām. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of two principal mosques in the town and refers to its wealth of fruit. It was at al-ʿArīsh that King Baldwin I died in 1118. Yāḳūt states that the town contained a great market and many inns, and that merchants had their agents there. Al-ʿArīsh was occupied by Napoleon in 1799; in the following year a treaty was concluded in the town, by which the French were forced to evacuate Egypt.

Bibliography: Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 196-7; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 95; Muḳaddasī, 54, 193; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 330; Yāḳūt iii, 660-1; Wilhelmus Tyrensis, 509; Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 2, *Edom* i, 228 ff., 304-5; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 125; Capitaine Bouchard, *La chute d'el-Arich*, ed. and ann. by G. Wiet, Cairo 1945; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *IFAO* ed., iv, 24-7. (F. Buhl*)

ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS or **ARISṬŪ**, i.e., Aristotle, the 4th century B.C. Greek philosopher, the study of whose works became permanently established in the Greek philosophical schools from the first century B.C. onwards.

I. The commentators Nicolaus of Damascus (*saec.* I B.C.) Alexander of Aphrodisias (± A.D. 200), Themistius (*saec.* IV), John Philoponus and Simplicius (*saec.* VI) show the way in which Aristotle was understood in such late Greek teaching. With very few exceptions (cf. below), most of the writings of Aristotle eventually became known to the Arabs in translation, and a great number of the commentaries (which are partly familiar to us in the Greek original, partly only preserved in Arabic versions or even in Hebrew versions from the Arabic) were also thoroughly studied by Arabic teachers of Aristotle and by Islamic philosophical writers. The oriental tradition of Aristotle reading follows his late Greek interpreters without a gap, and the medieval Western tradition depends as much on the Islamic study of Aristotle (particularly in the huge sections of Al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd made available to the Schoolmen) as on the late Greek and Byzantine expositions of his thought. A. is without reservation considered by most Arabic philosophers as the outstanding and unique representative of philosophy from al-Kindi (cf. *Rasā'il* I, 103, 17 Abū Rīda) to Ibn Rushd's unqualified praise (*Comm. Magnum in Arist. De anima* III, 2, 433 Crawford): Aristotle is 'exemplar quod natura invenit ad demonstrandum

ultimam perfectionem humanam'. A. is often referred to as 'the philosopher'. He is by implication 'the first teacher', al-Fārābī being described as the second (*al-muʿallim al-thānī*).

Since a full survey of Muslim Aristotelianism would virtually constitute a complete history of Islamic philosophical thought, it must be sufficient to point out the main facts and name the instruments of study at present available. In agreement with the Greek commentators Aristotle is understood as a dogmatic philosopher and as the author of a closed system. He is, moreover (again in a way not unknown to the Greek neo-Platonic teachers), supposed to agree with Plato in all the essential tenets of his thought or, at least, to be complementary to him. The Arabs could even go as far as to credit Aristotle himself with neo-Platonic metaphysical ideas, and it is hence not altogether surprising that extracts from a lost Greek paraphrase of Plotinus and a rearrangement of a number of chapters of Proclus's *Elements of Theology* could pass as Aristotle's *Theology* and Aristotle's *Book of the Pure Good* or *Liber De Causis* respectively.

The Arabs eventually became acquainted with almost all the more important lecture-courses of Aristotle, with the exception of the *Politics*, the *Eudemian Ethics* and *Magna Moralia*. They had no translation of the *Dialogues*, which had become less popular in post-Hellenistic times. Their knowledge of Aristotle thus went far beyond the few logical writings known to the early Latin Middle Ages in Boethius's translation, and comprehended the whole late Greek syllabus (cf. also the interesting passage *Comm. in Arist. Graeca* iii/1, xvii f.). Surveys of the treatises and the ancient commentaries known are to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 248-52, Flügel (347-52 in the Egyptian edition) and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamā*, 34-42 Lippert. It is odd that Ibn al-Ḳifṭī *op. cit.*, 42-8 (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ* I 67 ff.) has preserved an otherwise lost but originally Greek list of Aristotle's writings ascribed to a Ptolemy, cf. A. Baumstark, *Syrisch-Arabische Biographien des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1900, 61 ff. and P. Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, Louvain 1951, 289 ff.

Aristotle's lecture courses did not become known to the Arabs in their entirety at once, but in stages. The first texts translated of which we are informed are, in conformity with the syllabus followed in the Syrian monastic schools and by Greek patristic writers, limited to formal logic, i.e. Porphyry's *Isagoge*, *Categories*, *De Interpretatione* and part of the *Prior Analytics*. The first translator of Aristotle whose work is known (although still unedited) is Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdallāh, the son of the famous Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (cf. P. Kraus, *RSO* 1933). The *Topics* and the *Posterior Analytics* and *Rhetoric* and *Poetic* (which belong to the logical writings in late Greek tradition) were soon added but it was not before the foundation of the *bayt al-ḥikma* during the reign of al-Maʾmūn that non-logical writings by Aristotle were made accessible as well. Details about the history of the early translations are still scarce, but 'ancient' versions of the books *On the Heaven*, the *Meteorology*, the main zoological writings, the greater part of the *Metaphysics*, the *Sophistici Elenchi* and (most probably) the *Prior Analytics* have survived until the present day; whilst the so called *Theology of Aristotle* (cf. above) was also translated at this early stage. Al-Kindī's understanding of Aristotle is based on these translations (cf. M. Guidi-R. Walzer, *Studi su al-Kindī I, Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele*, Rome 1940). Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ and his son Isḥāḳ and other associates of this renowned centre of translations of philosophical, medical and generally scientific Greek works produced a great number of partially improved and partially first translations of Aristotle. The translators sometimes worked from the Greek original, sometimes from older or recent intermediate Syriac translations. The better ones were eager to establish a Greek text before they started upon their task. We eventually find a well established tradition of Aristotle reading in the 10th century, in Baghdād, upheld by Christian Arabic philosophers such as Abū Bishr Mattā and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī and others who considered themselves, probably correctly, as late descendants of the Greek philosophical school of Alexandria. The syllabus which they followed was partly based on earlier translations and partly on translations of their own (made from older or recent Syriac translations), since most of the representatives of this school were no longer able to read Greek. Al-Fārābī's acquaintance with Aristotle presupposes the achievement of this circle (his treatise *On Aristotle's Philosophy* will be published by Muhsin Mahdi), and all the subsequent Islamic philosophers equally base themselves on the same corpus of translations which had eventually emerged (after an activity of almost 200 years) in Baghdad and spread from there all over the Islamic world, from Persia to Spain. The work of these translators seems to have surpassed even Ibn Rushd in accuracy and knowledge of textual variants. These Arabic versions of Aristotle are certainly not without importance for the establishment of the original Greek text, and they deserve the same attention as a Greek papyrus or an early Greek MS. or the variants recorded in Greek commentators. They help us moreover to get a more common sense view of the history of texts in general.

The Greek commentators became known to the Arabs together with the text of Aristotle. We meet their influence in different forms: Full texts comprising the lemmata of the Aristotelian groundwork, terse paraphrases by Themistius and his like, shorter surveys of the argument of individual treatises, and marginal notes in manuscripts which quote sentences and views taken from the larger works. Not many of the translations of these Greek commentaries have survived, since they were used by the Arab successors of the Greek Aristotelian scholars who wrote commentaries and monographs in their own name. Of these, again, not very many have come down to us in the original text. Not one of Al-Fārābī's commentaries on Aristotelian treatises has yet been traced in any library. Ibn Badjdjā's elaborate summaries of works of Aristotle are still unedited. A certain number of Ibn Rushd's shorter and more elaborate commentaries are also known, whilst more survive only in Hebrew and Latin translations.

A list of the works of Aristotle (mentioning the more important spurious ones as well) which are at present available for study is following.

I

Categories. Al-Ḥasan b. Suwār's edition of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation was published, with all the marginal comments to be found in Paris Bibl. Nat. Ar. 2346, a French translation of the notes and an index of terms by Khalil Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions Syro-Arabes*, Beirut 1948 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 101 ff.). Other edition

(without the marginal notes) by A. Badawi, *Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, 1-55, 307 f., 673 ff. Ibn Rushd's *Middle Commentary* is available (together with a critical text of the groundwork) in an edition by M. Bouyges, *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*, tom. IV, Beirut 1932.

De interpretatione: Best edition of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation by I. Pollack, Leipzig 1913. Other edition by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 57-99.

Prior Analytics: Al-Ḥasan b. Suwār's edition of Theodorus' (Abū Qurra's?) translation with copious marginal comments was published for the first time by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 103-306 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 108-28).

Posterior Analytics: First edition of Abū Bishr Mattā's translation (based on Ishaḳ b. Ḥunayn's Syriac version) and later scholars' marginal comments published by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 309-462 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 129 ff.

Topics: First editions of Abū ʿUthmān ad-Dimashḳī and Ibrāhim b. ʿAbd Allāh's translations and later scholars, marginal comments published by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 467-733.

Sophistici Elenchi: First edition of three translations (Yaḥya b. ʿAdī, ʿIsā b. Zurʿa and Ibn Nāʿima) by A. Badawī, *op. cit.*, 736-1018. C. Haddad, *Trois versions inédites des Refutations Sophistiques*, Thesis, Paris 1952.

Rhetoric: No edition of cod. ar. 2346 Paris exists, cf. S. Margoliouth, *Semitic Studies in memory of A. Kohut* (Berlin 1897), 376 ff. S. M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samḥ*, *JRAS* 1956, 41 ff. F. Lasinio, *Il commento medio di Averroë alla Retorica di Aristotele* (Florence 1877—edition of part of book I). A. M. A. Sallam, *Averroes' commentary on the third book of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, Thesis (Oxford 1952), Typescript.

Poetics: Editions of Abū Bishr's translation by D. S. Margoliouth (1887, Latin translation 1911), J. Tkatsch (*Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik und die Grundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes*, 2 vols., Vienna 1928-1932) and A. Badawī (*Arisṭūṭalīs. Fann al-Shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 85-143). The texts of the *Poetics* by Al-Fārābī (*fī Kawānīn Ṣināʿat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Arberry, *R.S.O.* 16, 1938), Ibn Sīna (from the *Shifā*, ed. Margoliouth) and Ibn Rushd ('Middle Commentary', ed. Lasinio) are reprinted in the same volume.

Physics: About the Leiden MS (no. 1443) of Isḥāḳ ibn Ḥunayn's translation cf. S. M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samḥ*, in *JRAS*, 1956, 31 ff. A critical edition will be published in the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*. Ibn Rushd's 'Middle Commentary' is available in a Hyderabad edition of 1947: *Rasāʾil I.R.*, fasc. 1.

De caelo: cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 7453 (Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīq). A critical edition will be published in the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*. The Hebrew text of Themistius's otherwise lost commentary was edited (with a Latin translation) by S. Landauer, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* V 4, Berlin 1902. Ibn Rushd's 'Middle Commentary': *Rasāʾil* (cf. above) fasc. 2.

De gen. et corr.: cf. *Rasāʾil Ibn Rushd*, fasc. 3. For a fragment of Alexander of Aphrodisias's lost commentary cf. MS. Chester-Beatty 3702, fol. 168^b.

Meteorology: Translation by Yaḥya b. al-Bitrīḳ in cod. Yeni Cāmi 1179 and Vat. Hebr. 378. *Rasāʾil Ibn Rushd*, fasc. 4.

De naturis animalium (= *On the parts of animals, On the generation of animals, History of Animals*): Translation by Yaḥyā b. al-Bitrīḳ in cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 7511 and cod. Leyd. 166 Gol. G. Furlani, *R.S.O.* 9, 1922, 237.

De plantis (by Nicolaus of Damascus): Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's translation, as revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra, was edited (from cod. Yeni Çāmi 1179) by A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933-4, and edited a second time by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 243 ff. Cf. H. J. Drossaart Lulofs, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77, 1957, 75 ff.

De anima: First edition of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn's Arabic version by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 1-88 (from cod. Aya Sofya 2450). Anonymous Paraphrase, ed. Aḥmad Fouād al-Ahwānī, Cairo 1950 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 126 ff. and *JRAS* 1956, 57 ff.). Arabic translation of sections of Themistius's paraphrase (Comm. in Arist. Graeca V 3), cf. M. C. Lyons, *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 426 ff. *Ibn Bādjdja, Paraphrase of Aristotle's De anima*, edition and English translation by M. S. Hasan, Thesis, Oxford 1952 (Typescript). Rasāʾil Ibn Rushd fasc. 5 (other edition Cairo 1950). *Averrois Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelis De anima Libros*, rec. F. S. Crawford, Cambridge Mass. 1953 (critical ed. of the Latin translation). Cf. also Ibn Sīna, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* 75-116 (ed. Badawī, *Arisṭū ʿinda-l-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947).

De sensu et sensato. De longitudine et brevitate vitae: Ibn Rushd's paraphrases were edited by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 191 ff. *Averrois Compendia Librorum qui Parva Naturalia vocantur*, rec. A. L. Shields, Cambridge Mass. 1949 (Latin version).

Metaphysica: First edition of Arabic text (from MSS. Leiden or. 2074 and 2075) of books α, A 5, 987a 5 ff., B-I and Λ by M. Bouyges, in *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum* V-VII, Beirut 1938-1952 (together with Ibn Rushd's *Great Commentary*). Part of the Arabic version of the commentary on book Λ by Themistius was published by A. Badawī, *Arisṭū ʿindaʾ l-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 329 ff.; 12 ff., the full text in Hebrew and Latin by S. Landauer, *Comm. in Aristotelem Graeca* V 4, Berlin 1903 (the Greek original is lost). For Alexander of Aphrodisias cf. J. Freudenthal, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, Berlin 1885. Cf. also Badawī, *Arisṭū etc.*, 3-11 and Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-inṣāf*, 22-33 (ed. Badawī, *Arisṭū etc.*).

Nicomachean Ethics: The last four books have been traced in Morocco, together with a paraphrase of another section of the work ascribed to Nicolaus of Damascus, cf. A. J. Arberry, *BSOAS* 1955, 1 ff. Books 1, 7 and 8 of the '*Summaria Alexandrinorum*' are available in cod. Taimūr Pāshā, *Akhlāḳ* 290.

De Mundo: Translation from the Syriac (by ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Nafīsī) in cod. Princetonianus RELS 308, ff. 293^v-303^v. Cf. W. L. Lorimer, *American Journal of Philology* 53, 1932, 157 ff.

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Fragments of lost works

Eudemus (?): R. Walzer, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, N.S. 14, 1937, 125 ff.; Sir David Ross, *The Works of Aristotle translated into English* XII, Oxford 1952, 23 (cf. Al-Kindī, *Rasāʾil* I, 179; 281).

Eroticus (?): R. Walzer, *JRAS* 1939, 407 ff.; Sir David Ross, *op. cit.*, 26.

Protrepticus (?): S. Pines, *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et litteraire du Moyen Age*, 1957 (from Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ*, ch. 3).

De philosophia (?): S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, London 1954, II 90.

3

Books attributed to Aristotle in Arabic tradition.

De pomo (*Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*): J. Kraemer, *Das arabische Original des 'Liber de pomo'* (Köprülü 1608), *Studi Orientali in onore di G. Levi della Vida*, Rome

1956, i, 484 ff. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Book of the Apple, ascribed to Aristotle*, ed. in Persian and English, *JRAS* 1892, 187 ff.

J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912.

Secretum Secretorum (*Sirr al-Asrār*): ed. A. Badawī, *Islamica* 15, Cairo 1954, 67-171.

Περὶ βασιλείας, ed. J. Lippert, Dissert. Halle 1891. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Der Islam* 6, 1916, 173 ff.

'Theology of Aristotle', based on a probably Greek paraphrase of sections of Plotinus, ed. F. Dieterici, Leipzig 1882 (German translation, ibid. 1883); new edition by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 20, Cairo 1955. Ibn Sīna's comments are published by A. Badawī, *Aristū ʿinda-l ʿArab*, 37 ff. and translated into French by G. Vajda, *Revue Thomiste* 1951, 346 ff. Cf. also S. Pines, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 1954, 7 ff.

'Liber de causis', based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, ed. O. Bardenhewer, Freiburg i. Br. 1882 (with German translation); new edition by A. Badawī, *Islamica* 19, Cairo 1955.

II. The Arabic 'Lives of Aristotle' add almost nothing to the information available in Greek texts. To be mentioned are the accounts of his life in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (cf. above), in Mubashshir b. Fātik's *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam* (cf. J. Lippert, *Studien auf dem Gebiet der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungsliteratur I*, Berlin 1894, 4 ff. and F. Rosenthal, *Orientalia* 6, 1937, 21 ff.), Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Tabaḳāt al-Umam*, 24 ff., Ibn al-Ḳifti, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamā*, 27 ff. Lippert, Ibn Juljul, *Tabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ wa-l-Ḥukamā* (ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 1955), 25 ff., Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ* I 54 ff. Müller. Sections from these biographies were translated and compared by A. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 39 ff., 117 ff., 128 ff. A very comprehensive list of all the works and commentaries translated into Arabic (cf. above), to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī was discussed by A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle 1873 and M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* V, 1893. The lost Greek catalogue by a still unidentified Ptolemy (cf. above) was published by A. Müller, *Morgenländische Forschungen, Festschrift Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875, 1 ff., by M. Steinschneider in vol. 5 of the Berlin edition of Aristotle, 1870, 1469 ff. and in Aristotle, *Fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose, 18 ff., by A. Baumstark and P. Moraux (cf. above). A new and comprehensive treatment of the whole Arabic biographical tradition is to be found in I. Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition*, Göteborg 1957. (R. WALZER)

ARITHMETIC [see ḤISĀB].

ʿĀRIYYA (A.) or *ʿāriya*, also *iʿāra*, the loan of non-fungible objects (*prêt à usage, commodatum*). It is distinguished as a separate contract from the *ḳarḍ* or loan of money or other fungible objects (*prêt de consommation, mutuum*). It is defined as putting some one temporarily and gratuitously in possession of the use of a thing, the substance of which is not consumed by its use. The intended use must be lawful. It is a charitable contract and therefore "recommended" (*mandūb*), and the beneficiary or borrower enjoys the privileged position of a trustee (*amīn*); he is not, in principle, responsible for damage or loss arising directly from the authorized use of the object. In working out the details, however, the several schools of law differ greatly, the doctrines of the Ḥanafīs and of the Mālikīs being more favourable to the borrower than those of the Shāfiʿīs and of the Ḥanbalīs.

Bibliography: E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897, 457 ff.; D. Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malichita di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, II, Milan 1919, 417 ff.; id., *Istituzioni*, II, 373 ff.; O. Pesle, *Le crédit dans l'Islam malékite*, Casablanca (n.d.), 31 ff.; *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, ed. J. Schacht, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, 76 f.; H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 101; A. Querry, *Droit musulman, recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyites*, I, Paris 1871, 537 ff.; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *al-Fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, III, Cairo 1354/1935, 366 ff. (ED.)

AL-**ARḲAM**, an early companion of Muḥammad's, commonly known as al-Arḳam b. Abi 'l-Arḳam, and having the *kunya* Abū ʿAbd Allāh. His father's name was ʿAbd Manāf, and he belonged to the influential clan of Makhzūm at Mecca. His mother's name is variously given, but she is usually said to be of the tribe of Khuzāʿa. As al-Arḳam's death is placed in 53/673 or 55/675 at the age of over eighty, he must have been born about 594; and he must have become a Muslim when very young, since he was one of the earliest converts, one source alleging that he was seventh, another twelfth. For reasons which are not stated he was in a position, perhaps round about the year 614, to offer to Muḥammad the use of his house on the hill of al-Ṣafā, and this was the centre of the new community until after the conversion of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ibn Saʿd frequently says that conversions and other events took place when Muḥammad was in the house of al-Arḳam or before he entered it, but Ibn Hishām is silent on the subject. Al-Arḳam migrated to Medina with Muḥammad and was at Badr and on the other chief expeditions, but was not prominent in any way. The house, which contained a place of worship (*masdjid* or *ḳubba*) remained in the family till the caliph al-Manṣūr purchased it. It passed into the hands of al-Khayzurān, mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and came to be known as "the house of al-Khayzurān".

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 172-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 59 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-73, i, 205; Ibn Hishām, 457; al-Wāḳidī (tr. by J. Wellhausen as *Muhammed in Medina*), Berlin 1882, 67; F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858-61, iii, 112, 440; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 261 f., with further references. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ARKĀN [see RUKN].

ARKUSH (Span. Arcos). There are at least twenty places in Spain which bear this name, which is also given to a large number of rivers, streams, ravines and river basins, either in the sing. Arco or the plur. Arcos; there is also a commune, $4^1/_2$ m. (7 km.) from Valencia, which retains the Arab name Alacuas (*al-Aḳwās*, the Arcos). As regards the history of Muslim Spain, the most important of these localities is Arcos de la Frontera, north-west of the province of Cádiz, on the last western spurs of the sub-Betic chain and in the grape-growing region of the *campiña* of Seville. It numbers about 30,000 inhabitants, and its situation is extremely interesting both from the point of view of geography and of strategy, because it occupies the axis of a rock-mass which is lapped by a sharp bend of the Guadalete; throughout the Middle Ages, its important *castillo* and its suburbs were at different times razed and repopulated. Numerous traces of the prehistoric era, concrete evidence and Roman paving-

stones prove its antiquity. Arcos declared for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I when the latter undertook his campaign against Yūsuf al-Fihrī; it was subsequently sacked by Shaḳyā b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Miknāsī, leader of the most important and most dangerous Berber revolt against the first Umayyad *amīr*. During the Arab-*muwallad* conflict at the end of the 3rd/9th century in the region of Seville, the rebel *castillos* of Arcos, Jerez and Medina Sidonia were assaulted by the troops of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn stopped at Arcos on his way to Zallāḳa. The Almohad caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, in his campaign of 586/1190 against Portugal, concentrated his troops at Arcos de la Frontera; from there he dispatched his cousin al-Sayyid Yaʿḳūb b. Abī Ḥafṣ against Silves, while he himself proceeded to lay siege to Torres Novas and Tomar. Ferdinand III took possession of Arcos in 648/1250, after having captured Granada; its Muslim inhabitants rose in revolt in 659/1261, and it was reduced to submission by Alfonso the Learned in 662/1264. In 739/1339, when the Marīnid *amīr* Abu 'l-Ḥasan undertook his Andalusian campaign, which resulted in his defeat at the battle of the Salado or Tarifa, the Andalusian Councils routed the troops of prince Abū Mālik a short distance from Arcos, and put him to death on the banks of the Barbate, which marked the frontier between the two countries. Up to 856/1452, the Moors of Granada encroached on the territory of Arcos, which for two centuries was a frontier town, kept constantly on a war footing and thus deserving its name of Arcos de la Frontera.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, Arabic text 174, trans. 208; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, Arabic text 14, trans. 20; *Dic. geog. de España*, 1957, ii, 697; A. Huici, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, 336. (A. Huici Miranda)

ARMAN [see ARMĪNIYA].

ARMĪNIYA, Armenia, a country of Hither Asia.

I. Geographical Outline.

Armenia is the central and most elevated part of Hither Asia. Encompassed between two mountain chains, the Pontic chain to the north and the chain of the Taurus to the south, it lies between Asia Minor to the west of the Euphrates, Ādharbāydjān and the region south-west of the Caspian (on a level with the confluence of the Kurr [Kura] and the Araxes) to the east, the Pontic regions to the north-west, the Caucasus (from which the line of the Rion and the Kurr separates it) to the north, and the plain of Mesopotamia to the south (area of the Upper Tigris). To the south of Lake Van, Gordjaïk (the ancient Gordyene, now Bohtan) and the land of the Hakkiari Kurds (the region of Djulamerk and Amadiye) form geographically a part of Armenia, although they have not always been subject to the Armenians. Armenia thus embraces almost the whole of the territory extending between long. 37° and 49° East and lat. 37.5° and 41.5° North. Its area can be estimated at about 300,000 sq. kms.

The geological framework of the land consists of mountains having an archaean core and covered with sedimentary strata and tertiary deposits, but vast volcanic masses and lava flows of more recent date have modified its structure. High plains extend between the mountain ranges and vary in altitude from 800 to 2 000 metres (Erzerūm: 1,880 m.; Kars: 1,800 m.; Mūsh on the Murād Ṣū: 1,400 m.; Erzindjān: 1,300 m.; Erivān: 890 m.). The eruptions have produced a whole series of volcanic cones which are among the highest peaks in the land: Ararat (5,205 m.) to the south of the Araxes; the Sīpān dāgh (4,176 m.), already known to al-Balādhurī (ed. De Goeje, 198. Cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67, 162; Le Strange, 183); the Bingöl dāgh (3,680 m.) to the south of Erzerūm; the Khoridāgh (3,550 m.), the Ala-dāgh (3,520 m.), and the Alaghöz (4,180 m.) which forms to the north an almost completely isolated massif.

Armenia is the cradle of great rivers: the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Kurr (Kura). The Euphrates is formed through the confluence of two branches, the northern branch or Ḳara Ṣū (Ar. Furāt) and the southern branch or Murād Ṣū (Ar. Arsanas) which come from the Armenian plateau; the Tigris is born in the border range of the South called the Armenian Taurus. While the system of the Tigris and the Euphrates irrigates the lands inclined towards the Persian Gulf, the Araxes (Ar. al-Rass, [*q.v.*]) which comes from the Bingöl dāgh, waters the lands turned towards the Caspian Sea and, before flowing into it, joins the Kurr which, with its parallel prolongation, the river Rion, a tributary of the Black Sea, separates the Caucasus sharply from Armenia. The Euphrates and the Araxes cut deeply into the Armenian plateau and these breaches facilitate the drainage of water with the result that Armenia has but a small number of lakes, Lake Van (1,590 m.) called in Arabic the lake of Khilāṭ and Ardjīsh [*q.v.*] and the Gök Čay [*q.v.*] or Sevanga (2,000 m.) mentioned already in 1340 by al-Mustawfī, and several smaller lakes.

The orographical and hydrographical systems of Armenia are such that the land is divided into a number of basins separated the one from the other by high mountains, a fact that helps to bring about the feudal disunion in which the Armenians have always lived.

The climate of Armenia is very severe. The winter lasts regularly for eight months on the plateau, the short and very hot summer rarely exceeds two months; it is very dry and crops have need of artificial irrigation. The region of the plains along the Araxes enjoys, however, a more favourable climate. The snow-line in the mountains of the South lies at 3,300 m., but rises to 4,000 m. in eastern Armenia.

II. History.

1. — Armenia before Islam.

Armenia is thought to have been inhabited towards the 17th century B.C. by an Asiatic people, the Hurrites, who were neither of Semitic nor of Indo-European origin; this people was organised in the first half of the second millennium by a conquering Indo-European aristocracy and later became subject to the Hittite empire and thereafter to the Assyrians. In the 9th century B.C. a people closely related to the Hurrites, the Urartians, also called Khaldi, established there the powerful kingdom of Urartu (the biblical Ararat), of which Lake Van formed the centre. This kingdom, which had to fight against the Assyrians, attained its apogee in the 8th century, but was destroyed towards the middle of the 7th century by the Cimmerian and Scythian wave that flowed over Hither Asia. During and after these changes an Indo-European people of the Thraco-Phrygian family, a branch, probably, of the Phrygians whose state had just been destroyed by the Cimmerians, came from the West and conquered Urartu. These new inhabitants were called Armenians by the Achaemenid Persians (Greek: Ἀρμένιοι), a name of

which the meaning and origin are still unexplained, and the region became known in the course of time as Armenia. The Armenians, however, call themselves Haik (from the name of the hero who led the Armenian people to the conquest) and refer to their land as Hayastan.

The Armenians, save in the time of Tigranes II (Tigranes the Great), have never played a dominant rôle in Hither Asia. The reasons for this were, to a large degree, the feudal régime favoured by the geographical nature of the country and itself a source of internal dissensions, and also the proximity of powerful empires. From the time of their settlement in Armenia the Armenians were vassals of the Medes and then of the Achaemenid Persians who placed the land under the control of satraps. These latter, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the death of Alexander the Great, became veritable kings who afterwards recognised the suzerainty of the Seleucids. When Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (189 B.C.), the two "strategi" who governed Armenia made themselves independent, took the title of king and formed two kingdoms, the one, Artaxias, in Great Armenia or Armenia proper and the other, Zariadris, in Little Armenia (Sophene-Arzanene). Great Armenia fell afterwards under the suzerainty of the Arsacids. In the first century B.C. a descendant of Artaxias, Tigranes the Great, threw off the Parthian yoke, dethroned the king of Sophene and united all Armenia under his sceptre; having achieved Armenian unity, he established at the expense of the Parthians and the Seleucids a vast Armenian empire and played an important political rôle. After him, however, Armenia was reduced more and more to the role of a buffer state between the two empires, the Arsacid Parthian and the Roman, each of which desired to impose a king of its choice, internal troubles furnishing a perpetual pretext for intervention and encroachments. In general, from the year 11 A.D. down to the fall of the Arsacids in 224, it was, for the greater part of the time, cadets of the Arsacid family who ruled in Armenia, now supporting their relatives in their wars against Rome, and now accepting the Roman protectorate. When the Arsacid Parthians were replaced by the Sāsānids, Armenia, continuing under the rule of Arsacid kings and embracing Christianity at the close of the 3rd century, became once more a new apple of discord between the two empires which in the end reached an agreement to share the weak vassal state. By a partition which took place about 390 Persia received the eastern portion, four-fifths of Armenia, over which Khosraw III reigned with Dwīn (Ar. Dabīl) as capital, while Rome kept the western part where Arshak III ruled at Erzindjān. After the death of Arshak the Romans (Byzantines) entrusted to a count (*comes*) the administration of the land. The Persian part of the country or Persarmenia retained its national princes until 428-9 and was thereafter administered by a Persian *marzbān* residing at Dwīn. According to the Armenian historian Sebeos, the most important native source for the period extending from the 5th to the middle of the 7th century, the Persian domination never succeeded in implanting itself solidly in Armenia, all the more since the Sāsānids persecuted Armenian Christianity. The Armenian lords (the *nakharar*) availed themselves of every opportunity to shake off the detested yoke of the fire-worshippers and in their quarrels with the Persian *marzbāns* invoked frequently the aid of their co-religionists in Byzantine Armenia, a procedure that led to frontier skirmishes and at times to real battles. A wide breach in the community of interests between Armenia and Byzantium was made, however, in 451 by the Council of Chalcedon, the decisions of which were condemned by the Armenians at the Council of Dwīn in 506. This schism, which was definitive despite the efforts of the Greeks to restore union, facilitated political relations between the Armenians of Persarmenia and the court of Ctesiphon, now become more tolerant towards Christianity.

Under the emperor Maurice (582-602) the Byzantines, profiting by the troubles of the Persian empire, reconquered a part of Persarmenia. Armenia now enjoyed a period of peace, but Khusraw II Parwīz (590-628) resumed in 604 against the Byzantines a war which was to last until 629 and was marked by the celebrated campaigns of Heraclius (610-41) in Atropatene.

Throughout the Sāsānid period the intervention of the two great powers, the internal discords between the great families which vied with each other for pre-eminence and the incursions of the Khazars on the north-eastern frontier maintained a complete anarchy in the land. Armenia, ravaged and torn, found itself at the moment of the Muslim invasion in a state of weakness that did not allow it to oppose a strong resistance to the Arab assault. Favoured by this anarchy, there now developed in the region of Lake Van the power of the Ṛshtuni family which had for its base the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van and whose chief Theodore played a great rôle at the time of the Arab invasions.

2. — Armenia under Arab domination.

The history of the conquest of Armenia by the Arabs still presents in its details many uncertainties and obscurities, for the information found in the Arab, Armenian, and Greek sources is often contradictory. The Armenian account by Bishop Sebeos, who speaks to us as an eye-witness of these memorable events, is by far the most important source for this period; to this account there must be added, as a valuable complement, the work of the priest Leontius which constitutes indeed for the years 662-770 the only notable testimony. Among the Arab authors the first place belongs to al-Balādhurī who made use to a unique degree of accounts drawn from the inhabitants of Armenia.

After the conquest of Syria and the defeat of Persia by the Arabs, the latter began to make repeated irruptions into Armenia and to contend with the Byzantines for possession of the land. ʿIyāḍ b. Ghānim, the conqueror of Mesopotamia, undertook between the close of the year 19 and the beginning of the year 20/639-40 a first campaign in south-western Armenia, where he penetrated as far as Bitlīs. Al-Balādhurī (176), al-Ṭabarī (i, 2506) and Yāḳūt (i, 206) agree on the date of this campaign, but differ in regard to its details. A second Arab attack took place, according to the accounts of al-Ṭabarī (i, 2666) and Ibn al-Athīr (iii, 20-1), in the year 21/642. In four corps, two of which were under the command of Ḥabīb b. Maslama and of Salmān b. Rabīʿa, the Muslims advanced into the frontier regions of north-eastern Armenia, but, driven back on all sides, soon had to retire from the land. Nor did the brief razzia carried out in the year 24/645 by Salmān b. Rabīʿa from Ādharbāydjān into the Armenian border territory have any more enduring effect: see, on this raid, al-Yaʿḳūbī, 180; al-Balādhurī, 198; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2806.

According to the evidence of the Arab historians and geographers (see especially al-Yaʿḳūbī, 194; al-Balā̲dh̲urī, 197-8; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2674-5, 2806-7; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iii, 65-6), the greatest invasion of Armenia, the one which for the first time reduced the country to effective Arab control, occurred during the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān towards the end of 24/645-6. Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria, charged the same general Ḥabīb b. Maslama, who had already distinguished himself in the battles of Syria and Mesopotamia, with the conquest of Armenia. The general marched first against Theodosiopolis (Armen. Karin, Ar. Ḳālīḳalā, now Erzerūm), the capital of Byzantine Armenia and took the town after a short siege. He inflicted a heavy defeat on a great Byzantine army which, reinforced by K̲h̲azar and Alan auxiliary troops, had moved forward to stop him on the Euphrates. He turned next towards the south-east in the direction of Lake Van and received the submission of the local princes of Ak̲h̲lāṭ [*q.v.*] and Moks. Ard̲j̲īs̲h̲ on the north-eastern shore of Lake Van also yielded to the Arab troops. Ḥabīb then marched to besiege Dwīn, the centre of Persarmenia, which likewise capitulated after a few days. He concluded a treaty of peace and guarantee with the town of Tiflīs in return for the recognition of Arab suzerainty and the payment of a capitation tax (*d̲j̲izya*). At the same time, Salmān b. Rabīʿa with his army of ʿIrāḳī troops, subjugated Arrān (Albania) and conquered its capital Bard̲h̲aʿa.

The Armenian tradition differs from the Arab tradition in the matter of dates as well as in various details. On one point alone, the direction given to the great Arab invasion, is there complete agreement in Sebeos and al-Balād̲h̲urī, as a comparison of the routes indicated in each of these authors reveals.

According to the Armenian historians, an army entered Armenia in 642, penetrated to the region of Airarat, conquered the capital Dwīn and then left the country by the same route, carrying off 35,000 prisoners. In the next year the Muslims made, from Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, a new irruption into Armenia. They ravaged the region of Airarat and penetrated even into Georgia; a sharp defeat which the prince Theodoros Ṛs̲h̲tuni inflicted on them compelled them, however, to retreat. Soon after this event the emperor recognised Theodoros as commander of the Armenian troops. Armenia, spared the Arab incursions for a number of years, then recognised anew the suzerainty of Byzantium. When the truce of three years concluded between the Arabs and Constans II, the successor of Heraclius, who had died in 641, came to an end in 653, a resumption of hostilities had to be expected in Armenia. In order to prevent a threatening invasion by the Arabs, Theodoros surrendered the land voluntarily to them and concluded with Muʿāwiya a treaty very favourable to the Armenians and which imposed on them only the recognition of Muslim suzerainty. In the same year, however, the emperor, with an army 100,000 strong, appeared in Armenia, where most of the local princes ranged themselves on his side. He brought all Armenia and Georgia once more under his authority without much trouble. Yet scarcely had Constans II left the country (654), having wintered at Dwīn, than an Arab army entered the land in its turn and took possession of the districts on the northern shore of Lake Van. With the aid of these Arab forces Theodoros drove the Greeks from the country once more and was thereafter recognised by Muʿāwiya as prince of Armenia, Georgia and Albania. The attempts of the Greeks, with an army under the orders of Maurianos, to reconquer the lost provinces failed completely. In 655 the Arabs extended their domination over the whole of Armenia and the Greco-Armenian capital Karin (Ḳālīḳalā) had also to open its gates to them. Two years later the Muslims saw themselves constrained, however, to renounce for the time being a possession that was ill assured. When, in the year 36/657, the first civil war between Muʿāwiya and ʿAlī broke out, the former had need of his army of occupation established in Armenia and the country, empty of troops, fell back immediately under its old master, Byzantium.

It transpires from the account of Sebeos that all these events, merged by the Arab sources in the great campaign of Ḥabīb in 24-25/644-646, occurred only after the end of the three year truce; it is on this date, too, that the information in the *Chronography* of Theophanes is based. There is, in the Arab historians, no mention at all of the fact that Armenia, after the first Arab invasion which occurred in the reign of ʿUmar, had been subjected anew to Byzantine domination, nor of the events which unfolded themselves in the land during the period before the accession of Muʿāwiya. That Theodoros Ṛs̲h̲tuni submitted voluntarily to Muʿāwiya, a fact attested not only by Sebeos, but also by Theophanes, would be incomprehensible, if, ever since the first invasion of the Arabs, the country had been subjected to their full authority. According to Ghazarian, who, in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.* (ii, 173-4), has made a close analysis of the divergences between the Arab and the Armenian sources, the contemporary account of Sebeos deserves more trust than the tradition of the Arabs; it is on Ghazarian that Müller relies (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 259-61); a different opinion is that of Thopdschian (*Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 70-1), according to whom there can be established in the Armenian and Arab historians a concordance of dates and facts relative to the first great Arab invasion. In the view of J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 90, 371, there were six Arab invasions between 640 and 651. H. Manadean, *Brèves Études*, Erivan 1932 (trans. by H. Berberian in *Byzantion*, xviii, 1946-8) has submitted the traditional data to a close criticism and has arrived at the conclusion that until 650 there were only three Arab invasions: (i) in 640, a first invasion through the Taron region and the capture of Dwīn on 6 October 640; (ii) in 642-3, a second invasion by way of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān into Persarmenia; (iii) in 650, a third invasion carried out from Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and marked by the taking of Artsapᶜ in the Kogovit district to the north-east of Lake Van on 8 August 650.

The Arabs, who had carried off Theodoros Ṛs̲h̲tuni in 655 to Damascus, where he died in 656, had set in his place at the head of Armenia Hamazasp Mamikonian, a member of a rival family, the fiefs of which extended from the Taron to Dwīn. Mamikonian took, however, the side of Byzantium and was nominated by Constans II to the command of the country in 657-8. The Byzantine domination did not last long. Muʿāwiya, after he had come to power (41/661), wrote to the people of Armenia, inviting them to recognise anew the Arab sovereignty and to pay tribute, and the Armenian princes dared not oppose this demand. According to the Armenian sources, members of the most notable families (the Mamikonians, the Bagratuni or Bagratids) assumed the government of the land under the first Umayyads down to ʿAbd al-Malik. The Arab historians, on the other hand, describe Armenia as being under the

administration of Muslim governors since the conquest of Ḥabīb (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī for the period extending from ʿUthmān to the ʿAbbāsid al-Muntaṣir, and the list of governors in Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 177-82, Laurent, *op. cit.*, 336-47, R. Vasmer, *Chronology of the governors of Armenia under the first ʿAbbāsids*, in *Memoirs of the College of Orientalists*, Leningrad 1925, i, 381 ff., in Russian).

The first century of Arab domination in Armenia was, despite the destructive wars, an era of national and literary efflorescence for the country. And yet Muslim rule, in the time of the Umayyads and still less in the time of the ʿAbbāsids, under whom the hand of the Arab governors weighed heavily on Armenia, was not able to implant itself solidly in the land. Disturbances and rebellions were therefore frequent. The greatest and most dangerous insurrection against the Arab yoke occurred in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The Caliph sent his most skilful general, the Turk Bughā the Elder, with a strong army which, after sanguinary and desperate battles in the year 237-8/851-2, succeeded in overcoming the rebellion. The entire nobility was then carried off into captivity. Al-Mutawakkil renounced his hostile policy only when he had need of his troops to fight the Byzantines and in order to prevent a new uprising fomented by the latter. He therefore freed the captive *nakharar* and recognised (247/861-2) as the chief prince of Armenia the Bagratid Ashot (Ar. Ashūṭ) who had already rendered to the Arab cause most important services. During the twenty-five years of his rule as the prince of princes Ashot won the affection of all his subjects as well as that of the local lords to such a degree that, on the request of these latter, the Caliph al-Muʿtamid conferred on him in 273/886-7 the title of king. He received the same distinction from the emperor, who concluded with him at the same time a treaty of alliance. The relations of Ashot with the Caliph were never troubled; he paid his tribute regularly, but administered and governed his possessions in his own fashion; the native princes likewise acquired during his reign an almost independent status.

After the death of Ashot (862-90) there reigned his eldest son, Smbat I (Ar. Sambāṭ), a man indeed of heroic character, but one who was in no wise capable of withstanding his external foes, the Shaybānids of Diyār Bakr and the Sādjids of Ādharbāydjān. He was unsuccessful in his conflict with the Shaybānids. Nevertheless, a little later in 286/899 the intervention of the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid brought to an end the Shaybānid domination and delivered the Armenian provinces from these invaders. The Sādjid Afshīn, however, in his thrust towards the west and the north menaced Armenia unceasingly. The situation of Smbat became still more difficult in the time of the astute Yūsuf, the brother and successor of Afshīn (d. 288/901). Yūsuf understood that above all else he must draw to his side the Ardzruni family which had become, since the reign of Ashot I, the most powerful princely house next to that of the Bagratids. About 909 he even conferred the royal crown on the head of this family, Gagik, the lord of Vaspurakan, a distinction that the Caliph al-Muḳtadir renewed in 304/916 and 306/919.

Yūsuf, from the year 910, ravaged Armenia in the course of his expeditions and at length, in the fortress of Kapoit, besieged Smbat, now abandoned by all the princes. In 913 (according to Adontz in 911) the king of Armenia surrendered to his adversary, who, after having inflicted on him a year of imprisonment, had him put to death by cruel tortures (914; according to Adontz 912). Anarchy ensued in Armenia after the fall of Smbat I. His vigorous son, Ashot II, the "Iron King" (915-29), succeeded in recovering the throne with the support of Byzantine arms; he was at first thwarted by Yūsuf who raised against him one of his cousins, but Yūsuf, seeing that Ashot was getting the better of his foes, granted him recognition and sent him a royal crown (about 917). After the capture of Yūsuf, who had risen in revolt, by the troops of the Caliph in 919, his successor Sbuk (Subuk) allied himself with Ashot II in order to drive out the Caliph's forces and bestowed on him the title of Shāhānshāh, a title which recognised as belonging to Ashot suzerainty over the principalities of Vaspurakan, Iberia, Georgia and other regions. Ashot II raised the Bagratid power to its apogee and ruled over the greatest part of central and northern Armenia where Smbat had already considerably enlarged the territory of this family. His reign ended in tranquillity after a reconciliation of the Armenian princes and the nominal recognition of his supremacy by his rivals, notably the Ardzruni. Dwīn, however, remained in the hands of Yūsuf's lieutenant.

In southern Armenia the Ardzruni (see above) ruled over a less extensive territory (Vaspurakan, with Van as the capital). Apart from these two great kingdoms there still existed a series of smaller principalities which for the most part recognised only nominally the suzerainty of the Bagratids. Moreover, in the south, in the region of the Apahunik and Lake Van, there were several Arab emirates, independent but isolated from the Caliphate. The history of Armenia is not therefore conterminous with that of the Bagratids.

Throughout the entire reign of Ashot II and for much of the reign of his successor Abas (929-53) the war between Byzantium and the Arabs continued without interruption and was at times fought out in Armenia. The Greeks operated in northern Armenia as well as in southern Armenia against the Armeno-Arab emirates of Lake Van which, according to the Byzantine sources, were compelled to submit to the emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919-44). The last Sādjid amīrs of Ādharbāydjān retained hardly any influence in Armenia. The Ḥamdānids, who were the masters of Diyār Bakr, bordering on Armenia, and were in constant war against the Byzantines, succeeded for a time in exacting from all Armenia (according to the historians Ibn Ẓāfir and Ibn al-Azraḳ) a recognition of their sovereignty and established a more effective dominion over the Armeno-Arab emirates in the region of Lake Van. These emirates later recognized the suzerainty of Bādh, the founder of the Marwānid dynasty [*q.v.*] of Diyār Bakr, and of his successors.

After the Ḥamdānids, it was the Musāfirids [*q.v.*] of Ādharbāydjān who exacted from the princes of Armenia a recognition of their suzerainty, imposed tribute on them (see Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 354, for the year 955-6) and became the masters of Dwīn.

Ashot III (952-77) transferred the official capital of the Bagratid kingdom to the little fortress of Anī [*q.v.*] which he and his successor Smbat II, by erecting there magnificent buildings, transformed into a pearl of the Orient. It is during his reign that the territory of Kars was raised to the rank of a kingdom for the benefit of a prince of the Bagratid house and that Byzantium, moreover, in 968 annexed the region of Taron, the fief of another Bagratid.

Smbat II (977-89) and his brother Gagik I (990-1020) ruled with vigour and success but, in consequence of a ridiculous family policy, became involved in almost continual strife with the neighbouring Christian principalities; they were also in conflict with the neighbouring Muslim amirs who in turn took possession of Dwīn, imposed tribute on the Armenians and were at times invited by the Armenians themselves to intervene in their quarrels. Thus the Bagratid of Kars called in a Musāfirid amir against Smbat. In 987-8 Smbat had to recognise the authority of the Rawwādid prince of Ādharbāydjān, the successor of the Musāfirids, and to pay him the tribute due in former years.

In the conflict against the Rawwādid Mamlān concerning the other emirates of southern Armenia Gagik allied himself with Davitʿ of Taikʿ who was the master of a great part of Iberia (Georgia) and, about 993, had seized Malāzgerd from the Marwānid prince of Diyār Bakr. Mamlān was twice defeated, the second time decisively, in 998, at Tsumb near Ardjīsh, and to take refuge in that place.

The emperor Basil II (976-1026) aimed, however, at gaining possession of all the Armenian principalities. Having succeeded in obtaining from Davitʿ of Taikʿ, in 990, the promise that he would cede to him his territories after his death, the emperor annexed Taikʿ and also Malāzgerd in 1001 after the death of Davitʿ. Following the death of Gagik I, troubles arose in the Bagratid kingdom owing to the competition for the throne between his sons, Johannes-Smbat and Ashot IV, the younger brother, to the intervention of the king of Georgia and the king of Vaspurakan in this matter, and to the first Saldjūḳid incursions. Basil II took advantage of these events and succeeded, partly through annexation and partly through mediation between the princes, in extending his authority over Armenia. Senekʿerim, the last Ardzruni, abandoned Vaspurakan to Byzantium in 1021 through fear of a threatening Turkish assault and received in exchange the region of Sebasteia (Sivas), to which were added other territories in Cappadocia (Caesarea, Tzamandos). The Muslim amirates of Lake Van (Akhlāṭ, Ardjīsh, Berkri) were annexed between 1023 and 1034. King Johannes of Anī, intimidated and seeing his lands encircled by Byzantium, proclaimed the emperor his heir, retaining temporary possession of Anī until his death. On the death of Ashot IV (1040), which was soon followed by that of Johannes (1041), with whom he shared possession of the Bagratid realm, the emperor Michael IV resolved at last to incorporate Armenia wholly within his empire, but his army was defeated and the son of Ashot IV, Gagik II, then only 17 years old, was proclaimed king by the Armenian nobles (1042). As soon, however, as Constantine Monomachos had ascended the throne, he decided to annex Anī and, in order to weaken Gagik, did not hesitate to launch against him the amīr of Dwīn, Abū 'l-Aswār, of the dynasty of the Shaddādids of Gandja (see SHADDĀD, BANŪ). Taken between two fires, Gagik allowed himself to be drawn to Constantinople and was obliged to cede Anī (1045). He received in recompense lands in Cappadocia in the themes of Charsianon and Lykandos. Thereafter the greater part of Armenia was governed directly by Byzantium and the discontent provoked by the centralising policy of the empire and the favours granted to the Chalcedonian clergy explain in part the success of the Saldjūḳids in Armenia.

The Bagratid kingdom of Kars was only annexed by Byzantium in 1064 after the Saldjūḳid invasion; the last king Gagik-Abas surrendered it to the emperor Constantine X Ducas, who indemnified him with estates in Cappadocia.

Thus, following their kings, an important part of the Armenian people settled down in the territories of the Byzantine empire. Armenians, however, had long been found outside Armenia. It is well known that they furnished Byzantium with soldiers and a number of generals and even emperors. It was Armenians who, under the famous Melias (Arm. Mleh), colonised the regions of Lykandos, Tzamandos, Larissa and Symposion, when, at the beginning of the 10th century, Byzantium decided to reoccupy these territories of Cappadocia which had been devastated by the Arab raids, and who assured the defence of these lands and at the same time won renown in the Arab-Byzantine wars. There were Armenians, too, in the Muslim territories, serving the Caliphs, but converted to Islam, like the celebrated amīr ʿAlī al-Armanī who died in 863, not long after he had been named governor of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. Armenians were also to be found in Egypt in the army of the Ṭūlūnids. It is above all in Byzantine territory, however, that the immigration was important and contributed, in the second part of the 10th century to the repopulation of the lands in Cilicia and northern Syria reconquered by Byzantium and evacuated by the Muslim inhabitants. The geographer Muḳaddasī (*BGA* iii, 189) states that in his time the Amanus was peopled with Armenians. Asoghik tells us that under the pontificate of Khačik I (972-92) there were Armenian bishops at Antioch and Tarsus. During the course of the 11th century the rôle of the Armenians in these regions (Cappadocia, Commagene, northern Syria and even Mesopotamia, e.g., at Edessa) was considerable; numerous Armenian officers acted as governors of towns for Byzantium and, profiting from the troubles caused by the first Saldjūḳid invasions, founded Armenian principalities (see ARMAN). During the same period Armenians were to be found with the Fāṭimids of Egypt. Following the Armenian Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] who, after being a slave, had become commander of the Egyptian troops in Syria and then rose to the rank of wazīr at Cairo (1073/94), there entered into Egypt, first, the Armenians with whom he had already surrounded himself, and later all those whom he summoned there and who took service in the army and even in the administration. These Armenians furnished to the Fāṭimid Caliphate a number of wazīrs, of whom one, Bahrām [*q.v.*] remained a Christian. The introduction into Egypt of an important Armenian population led to the creation of numerous Armenian monasteries and churches and also of an Armenian catholicosate. The Armenians were regarded with favour by some of the Fāṭimid Caliphs. See on this subject M. Canard, *Un vizir chrétien à l'époque fatimite*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, xii (1954) and *Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque fatimite*. *ibid.*, xiii (1955). Cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en* 1081, in *Annales de l'Est*, 28th year, fasc. 2, Paris, 1914 (1919).

(M. CANARD).

II(b). *The Armenians under the Turks and the Mongols.*

While these last events were taking place, the Turkomāns, before long led by the Saldjūḳid dynasty, were conquering Muslim Iran as for as the Armeno-Byzantine borders. Although this thrust was probably not, as is sometimes alleged, the cause of

the first losses of Armenian territory to Byzantium (*JA.*, 1954, 275-9 and 1956, 129-34) it nevertheless constituted a tragic threat to the Armenians in the middle of the 5th/11th century. After a period of Turkomān ravages, the battle of Manāzgird (1071) [see MALAZGERD] marked the end of Byzantine supremacy, and the Turkomāns settled in Armenia, Cappadocia and throughout most of Asia Minor. The Armenian territories on the borders of Ādharbāydjān were incorporated in the Saldjūḳid empire, while those in the centre and west took shape as different principalities: that of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*], founded by a Saldjūḳid officer and vassal, Sukmān al-Ḳutbī, who assumed the ambitious title of *Shāh-i Arman*; that of Ani [*q.v.*], assigned by the Saldjūḳids to a branch of the former Kurdish dynasty of Arrān, the Shaddādids (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, 79-106); and finally the autonomous Turkomān states of the Saltuḳids at Erzerum and the Mangudjakids at Erzindjān, while the Dānishmandids of Cappadocia and the Saldjūḳids of Anatolia and the Taurus contended for possession of Malaṭya, and Diyār Bakr was eventually absorbed by the Artuḳids. The position changed at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, when the greater part of Diyār Bakr and the principality of Akhlāṭ were annexed by the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria; later, following the temporary invasion of Armenia and Asia Minor by the Khwārizmians, the principalities of Erzindjān and Erzerum, together with that of Akhlāṭ, were incorporated, as the Dānishmandid territories had been earlier, in the united and powerful Saldjūḳid state of Asia Minor. In the regions of Arrān and Ani however, the Armenians again became, if not independent, at least subjects of a Christian state (but of a different Church), as a result of Georgian expansion at the expense of the Atabeks of Ādharbāydjān and the Shaddādids.

Although some Armenians had made agreements with the invaders, and most in any case had tried to come to terms with them, the devastation caused in the early stages had accentuated and increased the emigration which had been set in motion by Byzantine policy, and which now took the direction of the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician plain. For a time, after Manāzgird, all the territories from the Cilician Taurus to Malaṭya, including Edessa and Antioch, were reunited under the control of a former Armeno-Byzantine general, Philaretes, whose descendants still maintained their position in the Taurus at Edessa and Malaṭya, under Turkish suzerainty, at the time of the arrival of the Crusaders. The Armenian populations of the Syro-Euphrates borders were then incorporated in the free states of Antioch and Edessa, but, in Cilicia, a national dynasty, that of the Rupenians, gradually achieved freedom; its rise, sanctioned in 1198 by the recognition of the royal title of Leo the Great, attracted so many Armenians that the area could with justice be referred to as a "Little Armenia". We are not required here to follow its history, but only to draw attention to the fact that the struggle against his neighbours and hostile factions impelled Prince Mleh temporarily (from 1170 to 1174) to become a Muslim in order to obtain the protection of Nūr al-Din [*q.v.*], and that for a longer period, in the 7th/13th century, under the new Hethumian dynasty, the kingdom had to wage hard battles against the Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor, to whom they were obliged at intervals to pay a vague allegiance (cf. a treatise by P. Bedoukian in course of publication for the Amer. Numismatic Society).

Nevertheless, once the initial devastation was over, and stable states had been organised, the lot of the Armenians under Muslim domination was no worse than it had been under earlier Muslim régimes. Quite apart from Malikshāh, whose generosity the Armenian historians are unanimous in praising, it is difficult to see major difficulties occurring in the principalities of Asia Minor, where there remained an ecclesiastical organisation, monasteries, some cultural activity (cf. for example S. Der Nersessian, ***Armenia and the Byzantine Empire***, Harvard 1947, 133), and large Armenian towns, such as Erzindjān and Erzerum. The only dramatic events which occurred were due to special causes. There was first of all, about 1180, the massacre of the Armenians of Djabal Sassūn, as a result of the disorders among the almost autonomous Turkomāns and Kurds of that region, and especially, the massacre of part of the Christian population of Edessa, at the time of the recapture of the city from the Franks by Zangi in 1144 and Nūr al-Dīn in 1146.

Fundamentally, in fact, it was not for religious but political reasons that the Armenians at different times suffered at the hands of their Muslim masters. Despite some friction, the Armenians of the west generally acted as "accomplices" of the Franks. This was the reason, moreover, for the frequent disputes in the Armenian Church, especially between the Armenians of the Muslim States of Great Armenia, who were primarily concerned not to incur the ill-will of their masters, and those of Cilicia, who were drawn more towards the Latin world; and it was similarly the attitude of the Armenians to the Mongol invasion which determined the reactions of the Muslim powers towards them.

The establishment of the Mongol empire heralded profound changes in the conditions of life in the different religious communities of the Near East. In the Muslim states conquered by them, the Mongols usually relied on the support of the religious minorities, Christians in particular. Favourably impressed by the news received from his eastern co-religionists, Hethum I acted as the precursor of the Mongols on the shores of the Mediterranean, against the Muslims of Syria and Asia Minor. But this action of the Armenians in itself provoked the wrath of the Muslims, with the result that, when the Mamlūks of Egypt took the offensive against the Mongols, the Cilician kingdom was one of their principal targets. The break-up of the Mongol empire in the 8th/14th century left the Armenians defenceless, and the capital of the Cilician kingdom, Sis, succumbed in 1375. The seat of the Katholikos was moved back to Etchmiadzin, near the Araxes, in the 9th/15th century.

In Great Armenia, however, the situation was not favourable for long. About 1300, the Mongols became Muslims, and, although their toleration was not affected, all the same there was no longer any question of special protection. Moreover, Mongol rule had increased in Armenia the size of the nomad element, primarily Turkomān, which inflicted great injury on the peasants, for the most part Armenians. Later Great Armenia, in common with all its neighbours, experienced the savage assault of Tīmūr, and the establishment in the 9th/15th century of a stable and well-organised principality under the Turkomān dynasty of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] was not sufficient to restore the former strength of the Armenian community; again many Armenians emigrated, this time mainly to the regions north of the Black Sea. The wars between the Ottomans and the Ṣafawids

were still to be fought on Armenian soil, and part of the Armenians of Ādharbāydjān were later deported as a military security measure to Iṣfahān and elsewhere. Semi-autonomous seigniories survived, with varying fortunes, in the mountains of Ḳarabagh, to the north of Ādharbāydjān, but came to an end in the 18th century.

Bibliography: (in addition to the general works): the general sources, in all languages, for the history of the Near East from the 11th to the 15th century will not be enumerated here; a study of these will be found, with regard to the period of the Crusades, in *Syrie du Nord* mentioned below, 1-100; special attention will be drawn here to the not inconsiderable number of 12th and 13th century Armenian historians, especially Matthew of Edessa and the anonymous "Royal Historian" used in the works of Alishan mentioned below (an edition of the text has been prepared by Skinner), and to the historians of Great Armenia at the time of the Mongol conquest; in connexion with the latter, the *History of the Nations of the Archers*, for long attributed to Malachi the Monk, has been restored by its editor-translators R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xii, 1949) to its real author Gregory of Akanc). For the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, only one noteworthy Armenian chronicle exists, that of Thomas of Medzoph, part of which has been made accessible in French by F. Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan* etc., Brussels 1860; for the Ṣafawid period, Arakel of Tabriz, trans. by M. F. Brosset, *Collection d'Auteurs arméniens*, i.

Modern works: J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides*, 1920; Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Anatolie*, *Byzantion* 1948; idem, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940; the histories of the Crusades of de Grousset, Runciman, and the syndicated *History of the Crusades* of Philadelphia; L. Alishan, *Sissouan*, French trans., Venice 1899; the Introduction by Dulaurier to *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Historiens arméniens* i. Among other special studies of recent date, O. Turan, *Les Seldjoucides et leurs sujets non-musulmans*, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 1953.

(CL. CAHEN)

II(c) *Ottoman Armenia.*

The Ottomans conquered western Armenia in the last decade of the 14th century, under Bāyezīd I, and eastern Armenia in the following two centuries under Meḥemmed II and Selīm I. They eventually became masters of the whole of Armenia, Great and Little (separated *grosso modo* by the upper reaches of the Euphrates), except the Khanate of Erivan (or rather Erevan), in Persian and Turkish Revan, a region containing the patriarchal seat of Ečmiadzin (in Turkish *Üč Kilise*) and relics of the ancient capitals of the Kings of Armenia. This region, situated in Transcaucasia on the middle Araxes, for long disputed by Turks and Persians, was ceded by the treaty of Türkmen-Čay (1 February 1828) to the Russians, who have since created from it the Soviet Federal Republic of Armenia. In the south of this region is situated Mt. Ararat (in Turkish Aghrī Dagh, in Armenian Masis), on which western expeditions periodically seek and claim to discover the wreckage of Noah's Ark. It is the point where the Turkish, Persian and Russian frontiers meet.

The province of Kars on the other hand, ceded to the Russians in 1878, was recovered by Turkey in 1918.

Ottoman administrative terminology—especially with respect to the programmes of reforms promised to the European Powers—adopted the term *wilāyāt-i sitte* "the six provinces (*scil.*, populated by Armenians)": *viz.*, Van, Bitlis (alternating with Mush), Erzerum, Harput, Sivas and Diyārbekir. No account was taken by this convention of the *sandjak* of Marash, forming part of the former *wilāyet* of Aleppo, or of the former *wilāyet* of Adana (Cilicia or Little Armenia in the strict sense of the term).

Turkish domination did not result in the assimilation of the Armenians, who were preserved by the difference of religion. Many Armenians, especially among the men and the Catholics, adopted Turkish as their second, or even as their first language.

After the capture of Constantinople an important change occurred in the life of the Armenian community. Up to 1453 it had at its head three patriarchs or *katoghikos* (katholikos): (1) the patriarch of Ečmiadzin, restored to this monastery since 1441; (2) the patriarch of Sis (now Kozan) in Cilicia, who had resided in this town since 1292 and did not recognise (1); (3) the patriarch of Aghtamar, (a small island in the Lake Van), since 1113. The Armenian bishop of Jerusalem also bore the title and ornaments of a patriarch.

After the conquest of Byzantium, Meḥemmed II, true to his political views, summoned to Istanbul the Armenian bishop of Brusa, Joachim, and made him a patriarch with the same prerogatives the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. In this way the Armenian "nation" (Turkish *millet*) was formed. A council of the clergy and a council of the laity assisted the patriarch who was elected from the "prelates" superior to the ordinary bishops and called *markhassa*, properly "saint priest" (from the Syriac *mārḳassa*; the etymology through the Turko-Arabic *murakhkhaṣa* must be rejected). The residence of the patriarch of Constantinople is in the Kum Kapu quarter.

From then on on a better footing, the Armenians succeeded in occupying an important position in Turkey, notably as bankers (*ṣarrāf*, properly "money-changers"). Ubicini (*Lettres sur la Turquie*, 1854, ii, 311-14) gives interesting details about the position of genuine strength which they had achieved in their dealings with the provincial pashas and the Ottoman government in general. They were also merchants (often cloth merchants) and active caravan leaders who maintained connexions between Istanbul, Moldavia, Poland (Lemberg, Lwów), Nuremburg, Bruges and Antwerp. As artisans they were architects, house-painters, manufacturers of silk stuffs and gunpowder, and printers (Armenian printing-press at Istanbul in 1679). Like the Jews they were exempt from military service until the revolution of the Young Turks.

The most important events in the history of Ottoman Armenia are:

1) The religious schism, which resulted in the formation of a (Uniate) Catholic Community and internal persecution (Protestant propaganda played a less important part);

2) The revolutionary activity;

3) The repression and massacres.

Roman propaganda had been sporadically effective in Armenia since the 12th century. It was resumed by the oecumenical council of Florence (1438-45) and, in 1587, by the famous Pope Sixtus Quintus, among the Armenians of Syria, but found its greatest driving force in Mechitar (born at Sivas in 1675, died Venice 1749). Converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits, he

ARMĪNIYA
MER NOIRE
MER CASPIENNE
0 50 100 KM
0 50 100 MILES
SINOP
HALYS
AMASYA
NIKSAR
KERASŪN
TRÉBIZONDE (ṬARABZŪN)
KHALDIA
LAZIQUE
MINGRÉLIE
POTI
RION
IMÈRETHIE
GORI
TIFLĪS
KAKHETH
HERETH
GÉORGIE
GUGARKʿ
AKHALTZIKHÉ
AKHALKHALAKI
KURA
ARDAHĀN
DARBAND
UTI
ALBANIE
GANDZAK
BARDHAʿA
KURA (KURR)
KARABAGH
LAC DE SEVAN (GÖKČAY)
VANAND
LENINAKAN
SHIRAKAVAN
ANI
KARS
TAÏKʿ
OLTI
ČORUKH
SPER
BAYBURT
LYKOS (KURU ČAY)
SIVAS
ARSHARUNIKʿ
EČMIADZIN
ERIVAN
DVIN
Mt ARARAT
VAYOTS-DZOR
SIOUNIE
ARAXE (AL-RASS)
PHAITAKARAN
ERZERUM (KĀLĪKALĀ)
BASEAN (PHASIANE)
BAGREVAND
KOGOVIT
DARIUNK
DERZÈNE
KELTZÈNÈ
KAMAKHA
EUPHRATE
KHORZIANÈNE
NAKHIČEVAN
GOGHTN
ARAXE
TURUBERAN
APAHUNIKʿ
MANĀZGERD
TEFRIKÈ
EGHIN
DEGHIKʿ (TEKES)
HALYS (KIZIL IRMAK)
OGHNUT
TARON
AGHIOVIT
BZNUNIKʿ
PERKRI
VASPURAKAN
SOPHÈNE
PALU
ARSANAS (MURĀD SU)
MŪSH
KHILĀṬ
AMIUK
LAC DE VAN
VAN
HER
MARAND
TZAMANDOS
KAYSERI
ARGAUN
HANZĪṬ
KHARPŪT
SHIMSHĀṬ
INGILÈNE
HĀNĪ
SĀSŪN
RSHTUNIKʿ
BITLIS
HAYOTS-DZOR
ANTZEVATSIKʿ
OSTAN
AGHTHAMAR
DERENDE
TOKHMA SU
MALAṬYA
LIKANDOS
ARABISSOS
ELBISTĀN
KARMALAS (ZAMANTI SU)
MAYYĀ-FĀRIKĪN
ARZAN
ARZANÈNE
MOKKʿ
BOHTAN SU
GOGHBAGH
ĀDHARBAYDJĀN
LAC D'URMIYA
ĀMID (DIYĀRBEKIR)
SOPHANÈNE
ZIBAṬRA
ADAMAKERT
URMIYA
MARĀGHA
PʿAGHBAGH
TYANE
KORKUN
HISN MANṢŪR
HADATH
TIGRE
DIYĀR BAKR
GORDJAÏKʿ
HERAKLEIA-KYBISTRA
LOULON
PODANDOS
SAYHĀN (SAROS)
SĪS
DJAYHĀN (PYRAME)
MARʿASH
SAMOSATE (SUMAYSĀṬ)
KAYSŪN
RAʿBĀN
MĀRDĪN
DJAZĪRAT IBN ʿUMAR
ČAKIR SU
ʿAYN ZARBĀ
ADANA
CYDNUS
TARSŪS
MISSĪSA
AYĀS
DULŪK
ʿAYNTĀB
EDESSE
DIYĀR MUḌAR
HARRĀN
NISIBE (NASĪBĪN)
KARA SU
N. AFRĪN
KŪRUS
N. SADJŪR
KHĀBŪR
BALĪKH
DIYĀR RABĪʿA
MOSSOUL (AL-MAWṢIL)
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succeeded in founding a remarkable order which bore his name. The Republic of Venice ceded in 1717 to the Mechitarists the small island of Saint-Lazare, near Lido, where their monastery was installed in an old leper hospital. After the death of Mechitar a schism occurred, and a certain number of clergy retired to Trieste and then to Vienna (1810). There was also a subsidiary branch of the order at Padua which, transferred to Paris, continued to exist there for twenty years. The Mechitarists possessed rich libraries (numerous oriental MSS.), and printing-presses; from these they published historical and philological works which gave a place to Turkish as well as Armenian studies.

Even during the lifetime of Mechitar the over-zealousness of Catholic propaganda, which was gaining ground in the richest and most enlightened section of the Armenian community, provoked a lively reaction among the patriarchs of the Gregorian persuasion. The latter were supported by the Ottoman government, which regarded with disfavour these "Frankish plots".

There were martyrs among the Armenian Catholics who refused to abjure their faith, as in the case of Der Gomidas or Don Cosme and two of his followers (1707). He was the grandfather of Cosme Comidas of Carbognano, an interpreter at the Spanish embassy and author of a Turkish grammar in Italian (Rome, 1794). The Catholics suffered further presecutions in 1759, and even during the reign of the reforming Sultan Maḥmūd II, in 1815 and 1828.

They found allies, on the other hand, in the French ambassadors and the Jesuits. Thus the imprudent M. de Ferriol secured from the Porte the banishment of the patriarch Avedis, who was hostile to the Catholics, after which the latter was abducted and incarcerated in the Bastille. He died in 1711 at Paris in the house of François Pétis de la Croix. The Jesuits at the same period secured the closure of the Armenian printing-press.

In 1830 General Guilleminot, who also was a French ambassador, secured for the Catholics a separate ecclesiastical organisation, and in 1866 Mgr. Hassun, already patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, assumed the title of Catholic-Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia for all the Ottoman empire.

To what cause are the Armenian revolts to be attributed? Certainly not to utilitarian considerations. "The Armenians", wrote the impartial Ubicini (*op. cit.* ii, 347), "are of all the nations subject to the Porte, the one which has most interests in common with the Turks and is the most directly interested in preserving them". See also Victor Bérard, *La Politique du Sultan* (Abdulhamid II), 1897, 149. In the official texts, and when compared with the Greeks and Macedonians, the Armenians were termed *millet-i ṣādiḳa*, "the loyal nation".

The causes of Armenian discontent were as follows:

1) The vexatious and troublesome behaviour of, and the acts of brigandage committed by, the Kurdish and Circassian immigrants.

2) The negligence, exactions and extortions of Ottoman officials.

3) Russian incitement, especially from 1912 onwards.

4) A keen love of independence in a generally courageous people which prides itself on being one of the most ancient known, and which still looks back nostalgically to the short periods during which it succeeded in maintaining its autonomy. Certain districts even succeeded in remaining virtually independent; for example the unconquerable mountaineers of Zeytun (now Süleymanli, in the present *wilāyet* of Maraş), Haçin (now Saimbeyli, in the present *wilāyet* of Seyhan) and Sasun (Kabilcoz, in the present *wilāyet* of Siirt).

5) The activities of the revolutionary committees, sometimes particularly audacious, as in the case of the armed attack in broad daylight by 24 Armenians, and the siege of the Ottoman Bank at Galata (26 August 1896). The extremist or terrorist revolutionaries were called *Ta<u>sh</u>naksutyun*. There existed a more moderate committee, the Hinčak, formed in 1867 at Paris by Avedis Nazarbek, an Armenian from the Caucasus.

All these factors served as reason or excuse for a violent campaign of repression which took the form of mass deportations or massacres. With the connivance or at the instance of the authorities there occurred, among a people who were by nature kindly and even chivalrous, a long and contagious outburst of religious fanaticism and racial hatred. The calvary of the Armenians in Turkey began with the Erzerum affair (25 February 1890), went through numerous crises, notably in 1895-6 and in 1909 (Adana), and reached its culmination during the First World War, in 1915, during the systematic suppression of the Armenians organised by the government of the Young Turks.

Armeno-Turkish war of 1920. — After the collapse in 1917 of the Bolshevised Russian front, which in Turkey passed to the west of Trebizond and Erzincan, it was in the main the Armenian corps formed by the government of Transcaucasia which had to contain the Turkish counter-thrust. It was defeated and driven from Turkish territory (Turkey concluded the treaty of Batum with the Armenian Republic on 4 June 1918). In 1920 Mustafa Kemal Pa<u>sh</u>a, in order to put an end to a state of undeclared war, appointed General Kâzim Karabekir Pa<u>sh</u>a, commanding the 15th army corps, to the command of the north-east front. The troops of the "United Armenian Republic" of Ta<u>sh</u>nakist allegiance, were again defeated, and the treaty of Alexandropolis (in Turkish Gümrü, now Leninakan) of 2 December 1920 confirmed the gains won by the Turks, the most important of which was the recovery of Ḳarṣ.

Bibliography: As far as is known, no works specially devoted to Turkish Armenia exist in any western language (the works in Armenian are not accessible to me). Such information as exists, often bearing the imprint of a strongly partisan bias, is to be gleaned here and there in the general works on Turkey. The following should be mentioned: Amédée Jaubert, *Voy. en Arm. et en Perse*, 1821; Comte de Cholet, *Arm., Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, 1892; André Mandelstamm, *La Soc. des Nations et les Puissances devant le problème armén.*, 192[illegible]; Aghasi, *Zeïtoun depuis les orig. jusqu'à l'insurrection de 1895*, translation by Archag Tchobanian, preface by Victor Bérard, 1897.—There is a copious bibliography on the massacres. The following only will be mentioned: *Le traitement des Armén. dans l'Emp. Ott.* (1915-1916), extracts from the "Blue Book" with a preface by Viscount Bryce, 1916; René Pinon, *La suppression des Armén.*, 1916, *Les massacres d'Arménie; témoignages des victimes*, preface by G. Clemenceau, 1896; *<u>Kh</u>āṭirāt-i Ṣadr-i esbaḳ Kāmil pa<u>sh</u>a*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 2nd ed, 184 ff.; *Saʿīd pa<u>sh</u>anin Kāmil pa<u>sh</u>a <u>Kh</u>āṭirātina <u>Dj</u>ewāblari*, Istanbul 1327/1909, 78 ff.

(J. Deny)

III. Division, Administration, Population, Commerce, Natural Products and Industry.

Division.

Since the size of Armenia, in its territorial delimitation, has varied much in the course of the centuries, the regions into which the lands designated under this name were divided have not always been the same. In ancient times the Armenians (see the *Geogr. of the Pseudo-Moses Xorenaçi*, 606) separated the land into two unequal sections: Mez-Haik (Armenia major) and Pokr-Haik (Armenia minor). Great Armenia, i.e., Armenia proper, extended from the Euphrates in the west to the neighbourhood of the Kur in the east and was divided into 15 provinces; Little Armenia ran from the Euphrates to the sources of the Halys. The Arabs also were acquainted with this twofold division (see, e.g., Yāḳūt, i, 220, 13). Yet, in contradistinction to the Armenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, they extended the name Armīniya to the whole of the land situated between the Kur and the Caspian, i.e., to Djurzān (Georgia, Iberia), Arrān (Albania) and the mountainous regions of the Caucasus as far as the pass of Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb), the reason being that the history of this country, especially in the struggle against the Muslims, reveals itself as closely linked with that of Armenia. By Armīniya al-Kubrā, "Great Armenia", the Arabs (see Yāḳūt, ibid.) understood particularly the districts which have Khilāt (Akhlāṭ, [*q.v.*]) as their centre, whereas they applied the name Armīniya al-Ṣughrā, "Little Armenia", to the region of Tiflīs (i.e., to Georgia). Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 295) was acquainted with yet another division of Armenia proper (excluding Albania and Iberia) into Inner (Armīniya dākhila) and Outer (Armīniya khāridja); to the former belonged the districts of Dabīl (Dwīn), Nashawā (Nakhčawān) and Ḳālīḳalā, later Arzan al-Rūm (Karin) and to the latter the region of Lake Van (Berkri, Akhlāṭ, Ardjīsh, Wasṭān, etc.).

Apart from this division there existed also another of ancient date which was adopted by the Byzantines (partition of Justinian in 536) and which, with the changes introduced by Maurice (591), remained in force until the Arab invasion. This system (Armenia prima, secunda, tertia, quarta) was also taken over by the Arabs; but, in the classification of the various districts among these four groups, the Arabs deviate so markedly from their predecessors that the explanation of this divergence can only be found by supposing a new distribution of districts to have occurred after the conquest. The data given by the Arab historians and geographers differ, moreover, greatly among themselves. Here, in essentials, is a table of the Arab division: (1) Armenia I: Arrān (Albania) with the capital Bardhaʿa and the land between the Kur and the Caspian (Shirwān); (2) Armenia II: Djurzān (Georgia); (3) Armenia III: comprising central Armenia proper with the districts of Dabīl (Dwīn), Basfurradjān (Vaspurakān), Baghravand, and Nashawā (Nakhčawān); (4) Armenia IV: the south-western region with Shimshāṭ (Arsamosata), Ḳālīḳalā, Akhlāṭ and Ardjīsh.

Furthermore, when mention is made in the Arab authors (al-Sharīshī, ii, 156 ff., and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 387 = al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 364, 5, 12) of a threefold partition of Armenia reproducing very exactly the division that existed before Justinian, it transpires, from the enumeration of the districts included therein, that this division is obtained only by the complete exclusion of Armenia II.

See, on the pre-Islamic divisions of Armenia, H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Leipzig 1889, 66 and, by the same scholar, the edition of George of Cyprus (Lipsiae 1890), xlvi ff. (ed. E. Honigmann, Brussels 1939, with the *Synecdemos* of Hiéroclès, 49-70); and, for the Arab period, Ghazarian in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 207-8, Thopdschian, *l.c.*, ii, 55 and in the *Mitteil. des Semin. für orient. Sprachen*, 1905, ii, 137, J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 299 ff., and R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 239.

Administration.

In regard to the internal situation in Armenia during the Arab period (see especially Ghazarian, *loc. cit.* ii, 193-206; Thopdschian, *loc. cit.*, ii, 123-7; Laurent, *op. cit.*, *passim*) this land did not always constitute a separate province, but was frequently united with Ādharbaydjān or with the Djazīra under a single government. The governor (*ʿāmil* or *wālī*), usually appointed by the Caliph himself, resided to the south of Erivān, near the Araxes, at Dwīn, which had already been, before the Muslim conquest, the seat of a Persian *marzbān*. The principal task of the governor consisted in protecting the country against its external and internal enemies; he had at his disposal for this purpose an army which was garrisoned, not in Armenia itself, but in Ādharbaydjān (Marāgha and Ardabīl were the general headquarters). The governor had above all to see to the punctual payment of taxes. For the rest, the Arabs did not concern themselves with the internal administration; this was left to a number of local lords (Arm. *ishkhān*, and *nakharar*, Greek *archôn*, Ar., *baṭrīḳ*, patrikios) who, after the Arab invasion, retained all their possessions and enjoyed within their domains a certain independence. Each of these lords, from ʿAbbāsid times onward, was also obliged, in case of war, to furnish a contingent of troops without receiving any indemnity.

Armenia was, among the provinces of the empire of the Caliphs, a land taxed only moderately. In place of the various kinds of taxes (*djizya*, *kharādj*, etc.: capitation tax, land tax, etc.) the system of *muḳāṭaʿa* was applied from the beginning of the 9th century, i.e., the Armenian princes had to pay a fixed sum. The list of contributions given by Ibn Khaldūn, which relates to the period of greatest prosperity for the Caliphate, notes for Armenia (taken in the broad sense of the Arabs) the sum of 13 million dirhems, i.e., more than $15^1/_2$ million gold francs, as the revenue of the years 158-70/775-86; in addition to this there were also the revenues in kind (carpets, mules, etc.). Ḳudāma gives as the average figure for taxes during the years 204-37/819-52 no more than 9 million dirhems only. The treaties, in respect to taxation, were scrupulously observed by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids and were violated only by Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj. See, in regard to financial matters, A. von Kremer, *Kulturgesch. des Orients*, i, 343, 358, 368, 377; Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 203 ff.; Thopdschian, *op. cit.* (1904), ii, 132 ff. The Arab monetary system was also introduced into Armenia; under the Umayyads, coins were already being struck there (see Thopdschian, ii, 127 ff.).

According to Yāḳūt (i, 222, 12) there were in Armenia not less than 18,000 localities great and small, of which 1,000 were situated on the Araxes alone (according to Ibn al-Faḳīh). In Arab mediaeval times the most important towns of Armenia proper were: Dabīl (Dwīn) which, as the residence of the

Muslim government, filled the rôle of a capital throughout the period of the Caliphs — while it had a large population at this time, it became, in the modern period, nothing more than an insignificant village; in addition, Ḳālīḳalā, later called Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerūm), Arzindjān (Erzindjān), Malāzdjird (Manazkert, Mantzikert), Badlīs (Bitlīs), Akhlāṭ (Khilāṭ), Ardjīsh, Nashawā (arm. Nakhčawān), Anī and Ḳarṣ (see the separate articles).

The native Armenians formed, in the time of the Caliphs, the main part of the population; but there were strong Arab colonies at Dabīl, Ḳālīḳalā, and likewise at Bardhaʿa in Arrān and Tiflīs in Djurzān, which were the chief bases of Arab power. Outside these great towns there existed also more extensive settlements of Arab tribes, notably to the south-west in the region of Alznik (Arzan in the Arzanene); the old district of Badjunays (Arm. Apahunik) with its capital Malāzdjird was controlled by a branch of the famous tribe, the Ḳays, who also held a number of places on the northern shore of Lake Van. The growth of the Bagratid dominion was "like a thorn in the flesh" to these Muslim colonies, since it hindered the consolidation and extension of their own power (see especially, on these colonies, Thopdschian, *op. cit.*, 1904, ii, 115 ff.; Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 501 ff.; and, on their situation in the 10th century, M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, 471-87).

After the Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century, Turkey, Russia and Persia shared possession of the Armenian territory and, until the war of 1914-18, there existed a Persian, a Russian and a Turkish Armenia.

(1) Persian Armenia: the smallest of the three sections, with an area of about 15,000 sq. km.; it embraces only a few districts and forms, as it were, an appendix to Russian Armenia; politically, it is joined to the province of Ādharbaydjān. To the west it touches the Turkish *wilāyet* of Van, while to the north, facing Russia, the Araxes serves as the frontier over a distance of about 175 km. from the eastern foot of Ararat as far as Urdābādh (Ordūbādh). The chief town is Khoy. In addition, Maku, Čors and Marand should be mentioned. In general Persian Armenia corresponds to the eastern part of the old Armenian province of Vaspurakān (Ar. Basfurradjān). There exists, moreover, an Armenian population at Iṣfahān, resulting from the deportation of the inhabitants of Djulfa [*q.v.*] by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1605.

(2) Russian Armenia: before the war of 1914-18 it formed the southern and south-western part of the province of Transcaucasia and covered an area of about 103,000 sq.km. It embraced the regions bordering on Persia and Turkey and, in particular, the whole of the governments of Erivān (27,777 sq. km.), Ḳarṣ (18,749 sq.km.) and Baṭūm (6,976 sq.km.). The governments of Elizavetpol and Tiflīs were Armenian only in their southern and western parts, and that of Kutaīs only on the right bank of the river Rion. The most notable towns of Russian Armenia were: Baṭūm, important strategically and commercially, and capital of the government of the same name; in the government of Tiflīs, the two strongholds of Akhalčikh [*q.v.*] and Akhalkhalaki; in the government of Ḳarṣ, the very strong fortress of the same name, important also as a commercial centre, and the old town of Ardahān set high on its hill, a citadel of the first order; in the government of Erivān, which once belonged in great part to Persia, Erivān itself, and 18 km. to the west the famous monastery of Ečmiadzin, the religious centre of the Armenians, Nakhčawān (Nashawā, [*q.v.*]) which, like Erivān, has played a pre-eminent rôle in Armenian history, and Alexandropol (the ancient Gumri), an important frontier fortress until 1878 and thereafter a town given over to the silk industry; in the government of Elizavetpol, Elizavetpol (the ancient Gandja, [*q.v.*]), Shūsha situated in the region of Ḳara-Bagh and formerly the capital of a separate khānate, and the frontier town of Ordūbādh (Urdābādh) on the Araxes.

(3) Turkish Armenia: the greater part of the Armenian territory, far superior in size to the Russian and Persian sections taken together, had been for 500 years in the hands of the Turks and included the *wilāyets* of Bitlīs, Erzerūm, Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz (now Elaziğ, i.e., Kharpūt), Van and, although only in part, Diyārbekir, with a total area of about 186,500 sq.km. The most important towns were Sīvās, Erzerūm, Van, Erzindjān, Bitlīs, Kharpūt, Mūsh and Bāyazīd [*qq.v.*].

Save in Persian Armenia, the war of 1914 brought about important changes in this situation. In 1917, after the retreat of the Russian troops from the Caucasian front, the regime which was then created in Armenia and itself formed part of the provisional government of Transcaucasia (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan), undertook the task of defending the front against the Turks, but could not prevent the latter from regaining Erzindjān and Erzerūm (February-March 1918), and then Ḳarṣ (25 April) after the peace of Brest-Litovsk which granted to the Turks possession of Turkish Armenia, together with Ḳarṣ and Ardahān, previously in Russian hands since 1878. After the dissolution of the Transcaucasian government and the formation of an independent Armenian republic (28 May 1918), the republic itself was reduced, by the treaty of Baṭūm (4 June 1918) to Erivān and the region of Lake Sevān, the Turks and the Azerbaidjanis sharing between themselves the remainder of Russian Armenia. There now ensued the collapse of the Turks on other fronts and the armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918). At the beginning of 1919 Armenian forces reoccupied Alexandropol (Leninakān) and Ḳarṣ and came into conflict with Georgia over the region of Akhalkhalaki and with Azerbaidjan over the Ḳara-Bagh. The Armenian Republic, recognised *de facto* in January 1920 by the Allies, received *de jure* recognition by the treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920). Nevertheless, the arbitration of President Wilson, which gave to this republic the regions of Trebizond, Erzindjān, Mūsh, Bitlīs and Van, remained a dead letter, the Turkish government of Mustafa Kemāl having resumed the war, while the Soviet government, on its part, reconquered the Caucasus. After the Turks had entered Ḳarṣ and then Alexandropol, the Armenian Republic was compelled, on 2 December 1920, to accept the Turkish peace conditions. Turkey retained Ḳarṣ and Ardahān, annexed the region of Iğdir to the south-west of Erivān and demanded that the district of Nakhčawān (Nakhitchevan) be transformed into an autonomous Ṭatar state. On the same day, the Armenian Republic, within which there had been formed, some time earlier, a pro-Soviet revolutionary committee, changed itself into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. The Russo-Turkish treaties of 1921 ratified the cession of Ḳarṣ and Ardahān, but Turkey abandoned Baṭūm to Georgia.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia embraces the territories of Erivān and Lake Sevān, but the Ḳara-Bagh and Nakhitchevan are attached to the

Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaidjan under the designation of autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (mountainous Ḳara-Bagh) and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Nakhitchevan, while the districts, formerly included in Russian Armenia, of Akhalkhalaki, Akhalčikh (Akhaltzikè) and Baṭūm, this latter in the form of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjarie, are part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia. The principal towns in the Republic of Armenia are Erivān, Leninakān (formerly Alexandropol), Kirovakān (the old Elizavetpol) and Alaverdy.

The former Turkish Armenia, which can no longer bear this name, since it is now empty of Armenians as a result of the deportations and massacres of 1915-18, has been increased by the addition of Ḳarṣ, Ardahān and Igdir.

Population.

Owing to the invasion of Turkish and Turcoman tribes on the one hand and, on the other, to the advance of the Kurds (in the south) the composition of the population had undergone, ever since the second half of the mediaeval period, a transformation so profound that the Armenians properly so called constituted, over the whole extent of their ancient homeland, no more than a quarter of the total inhabitants. According to the statistics of L. Selenoy and N. Seidlitz (*Petermann's Georg. Mitt.*, 1896, i ff.), out of the 3,470,000 people to be found in the provinces of Transcaucasia enumerated above 897,000 (27%) were Armenians; in the purely Armenian districts, out of 2,000,000 inhabitants, the Armenians numbered 760,000 (more than a third). The government of Erivān, however, had a population of which 56% was Armenian. In the whole of Transcaucasia the towns were more strongly peopled by Armenians than the countryside (notably Tiflīs: 48%); but, in regard to the total number of inhabitants (4,782,000), the Armenians (960,000) constitued only 20% of the population.

The five *wilāyets* of Turkish Armenia had 2,642,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,828,000 were Muslims, 633,000 were Armenians, and 179,000 were Greeks; in the *sandjaḳ* of Mūsh, however, and also in that of Van the Armenians possessed the numerical superiority (almost twofold).

The total population of Russian and Turkish Armenia, according to the estimates given above, amounted to about 4,642,000, of whom 1,400,000 were Armenians. In Russian Armenia the Caucasian peoples were more numerous, while in Turkish Armenia it was the Kurds, Turks and other racial elements (Greeks, Jews, Gypsies, Circassians, Nestorian Christians to the south-east of Lake Van, nomad Tatar tribes) who had the majority.

In Persian Armenia there were, in 1891, 42,000 Armenians, only half of them to be found in Ādharbaydjān (see above concerning Iṣfahān).

Such was the estimate of the Armenian population given by Streck, for a period anterior to 1914, in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* He noted that as a result of massacres and of emigration the number of Armenians on Turkish soil was constantly diminishing. The settlement of Armenians in foreign lands and their dissemination throughout the world had continued, although in varying degree (see above for the emigration into Byzantine territory, and then into Syria and Egypt). Cf. on this subject Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 594-611; R. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, 239-50. The total number of Armenians living in the Old World amounted to between 2 and 2½ millions.

According to the figures given by Pasdermadjian *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1949, 444, the total number of Armenians in the world in 1914 was approximately 4,100,000, of whom 2,100,000 lived in the Ottoman empire, 1,700,000 in the Russian empire, 100,000 in Persia and 200,000 in the rest of the world. In Russian Armenia proper they numbered 1,300,000 (including Ḳarṣ, Nakhitchevan, the Ḳara-Bagh and Akhalkhalaki) and, in Turkish Armenia (with Cilicia), 1,400,000. They represented in Russian Armenia the majority of the population, 1,300,000 out of 2,100,000.

Here, on the other hand, are the figures of the Armenian population in the world and in the Soviet Union for 1926 and 1939, according to W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion, Natur, Volk und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1950. In 1926 the total number of Armenians in the world amounted to 2,225,000 (the difference from the figure given for 1914 being explained to a certain degree by the losses due to the war, to the massacres and to the sufferings endured during the deportations); of these, two thirds were in the Soviet Union, while one third remained in the Near East (130,000 in Syria, 100,000 in Persia, approximately 100,000 in Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Greece, with a further 100,000 in America). The Soviet Union held 1,568,000 Armenians, of whom 1,340,000 were in Transcaucasia and 162,000 in Ciscaucasia. Of those to be found in Transcaucasia 744,000 lived in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia (29,900 sq.km.) and constituted there 85% of the total inhabitants (831,290), i.e., the half of the Armenian population of the Soviet Union and one third of the entire Armenian population in the world. 311,000 dwelt in Georgia, 112,000 in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (89% of the total population there) and 173,000 in the rest of the Republic of Azerbaidjan.

According to the census of 1939 the Armenians of the Soviet Union numbered 2,152,000; in the Republic of Armenia they were 1,100,000 out of a total population of 1,281,599; they constituted 90% of the total population in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh, but, in the remainder of the Republic of Azerbaidjan, only 10% of the total population. In Georgia they numbered 450,000. The Armenian population of the Soviet Union, taken as a whole, had increased by 37% between 1926 and 1939.

In Syria and the Lebanon there were in 1914 about 5,000 Armenians; in 1939 they numbered approximately 80,000 in the Lebanon, and more than 100,000 in Syria. In 1939, after the reunion of the *sandjaḳ* of Alexandretta with Turkey, 25,000 Armenians left the country. When, in 1945, the Soviet government issued its appeal to the Armenians, inviting them to return to Soviet Armenia, this invitation concerned, in Syria, about 200,000 Armenians who lived especially at Aleppo and Beirut (Aleppo: 100,000 out of a total of 260,000; Beirut: 50,000 out of 160,000). In Persia, between 1926 and 1939, the Armenian population had risen from 50,000 to 150,000; approximately 93,000 expressed the wish to emigrate to Soviet Armenia and the Armenians of Persia formed a great part of the 60,000 to 100,000 Armenians who, from Syria, the Lebanon, Persia and Egypt, went to Soviet Armenia after this appeal. Of the 27,000 Armenians who dwelt in Greece, 18,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the period down to 1947.

In 1945 (see H. Field, *Contribution to the anthropology of the Caucasus*, Cambridge, Mass. 1953, 5) the population of Soviet Armenia amounted to 1,300,000, with a figure of 200,000 for the capital, Erivān. Today (see P. Rondot, *Les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1955, 191 and 196) the Republic of Armenia approaches a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants and there are almost as many Armenians in the rest of the Soviet Union. Erivān numbers 300,000 inhabitants and has formulated plans for 450,000. 400,000 to 500,000 Armenians are to be found in the Near East, 100,000 in the countries where 'popular democracy' prevails, 200,000 to 300,000 in North America, 20,000 in France and important nuclei in South America, India, Palestine and Greece.

The Armenian question had been given a definite form. Various Armenian groups in Brazil, the United States, etc. have presented to the U.N.O. demands which seek to bring about the restoration to the Armenians of the former Turkish Armenia with the frontiers fixed by President Wilson and the Armenian question continues to be an obstacle to the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey.

Commerce.

As a land of transit between the Pontus and Mesopotamia and as a frontier territory between Byzantium and the Muslim empire, Armenia played an important economic rôle in the mediaeval period. The numerous merchants and the caravans that crossed it contributed to the development of a native industry which was favoured, like the flow of commerce, by the richness of the country in natural products. The commercial importance of Armenia arose also from the existence of numerous transit routes which cut across the land and of which the Arab geographers have described the most important. The Arabs attached to the support which these routes furnished to their military interests a greater weight than to their commercial usefulness. For this reason they linked together the principal routes at Dabīl, the bulwark of the Arab domination. The maintenance and security of the routes was a duty which fell to the Muslim governor. Even today Erzerūm, a point of junction for all the great routes, is a place of high strategic importance and, as it were, the key to Asia Minor.

Armenia communicated with Byzantium through Trebizond (Ṭarābazanda), the main entrepôt for Byzantine merchandise (above all, precious materials). The great fairs held there several times a year were visited by merchants from the entire Muslim world; the traffic ran ordinarily from Trebizond to Dabīl and Ḳālīḳalā (Erzerūm). In Persia, Rayy was the most important market for the Armenian merchants (see Ibn al-Faḳīh, ed. De Goeje, 270); they were also in direct business relations with Baghdād (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 237).

Natural Products and Industry.

Armenia was considered to be one of the most fertile provinces of the Caliphate. It produced so great a yield of cereals that some of it was exported abroad, e.g., to Baghdād (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 272, 275). The lakes and rivers, which were full of fish, also favoured the export trade; Lake Van provided enormous quantities of a certain kind of herring (Ar. *ṭirrīkh*) which, from mediaeval times, was sent out in salted form even to the Indies (according to al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 352). This salted fish is encountered even today as a food much sought after throughout the whole of Armenia, Ādharbaydjān, the Caucasus and Asia Minor.

Armenia is rich, above all, in minerals; copper, silver, lead, iron, arsenic, alum, mercury and sulphur are especially to be found there; gold, too, is not lacking. Very little is known concerning the exploitation of these products by the Arabs; the only Arab author who has furnished us with information on the natural products of Armenia is Ibn al-Faḳīh. According to the Armenian writer Leontius, silver mines were discovered at the close of the 8th century A.D.; these mines correspond no doubt to the silver (and lead) mines which are exploited at Gümüsh-Khāne (now Gümüşhane) = House of Silver, halfway between Trebizond and Erzerūm (see, on this subject, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 272 and Wagner, *Reise nach Persien*, i, 172 ff. and cf. also the article GÜMÜSH-KHĀNE). There were important mines, too, at Bayburt and Arghana [*qq.v.*]. The great and ancient copper mine of Kedabeg with its offshoot at Kalakent (between Elizavetpol-Gandja and the lake of Gökčay) had been much developed before 1914 (see Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 122 ff.). Today there are important copper foundries at Alaverdy, Zangezur and Erivān. It was, however, the salt mines which, in the past, were the richest in Armenia, their products being exported to Syria and Egypt. The salt beds mentioned by the mediaeval authors were probably to the north-east of Lake Van; there was also an extensive salt-bearing deposit at Kulp to the south of the Upper Araxes and east of Keghizman (see Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 270 ff. and Radde, *Vier Vorträge über den Kaukasus*, 47). Erivān today is an industrial town with workshops for the building of machinery and factories for preserves, tobacco, synthetic rubber, etc.

The industries for which Armenia was most renowned during the mediaeval period were weaving, dyeing and embroidery. Dabīl was the centre of this industrial activity; magnificent woollen cloths were made there, carpets and heavy materials of silk decorated with flowers and multi-coloured (Ar. *buzyūn*) which were also sold abroad. The *ḳirmiz*, a kind of purple-bearing worm, was used for dyeing. Armenian carpets were long considered to be of the finest workmanship. Ardashāt (Artaxata), some kilometres from Dabīl, was so famous for its dye-works that al-Balādhurī calls it "the town of the kermes" (*ḳaryat al-ḳirmiz*) (ed. De Goeje, 200; cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67 and 217). See in particular, on the commerce and industry of Armenia in the mediaeval period, Thopdschian in the *Mitt. des Sem. für orient. Sprache*, 1904, ii, 142-53. On the carpets, see Armeniag Sakisian, *Les tapis à dragons et leur origine arménienne*, in *Syria*, ix (1928) and, by the same author, *Les tapis arméniens*, in *Revue des Ét. arm.*, i/2 (1920). On Armenian textiles in general, see R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), 91 ff.

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(M. CANARD)

ARMS [see SILĀḤ].

ARMY [see DJAYSH, LASHKAR, ORDU etc.].

ARNAWUTLUḲ, the Ottoman Turkish name for ALBANIA.

1.—Language. Allegedly descended from Pelasgian, Albanian is an Indo-European language of "satem" type like Armenian, Indo-Iranian and Slavonic. No literary records occur before 1496 A.D., but ancient Illyrian and ancient Epirote, on the basis of personal and place names, are held to be the prototypes of Geg (northern) and Tosḳ (southern) Albanian respectively. Illyrian *mantua*, *mantia*, "bramble", and *grõssa*, "file", are Albanian *mand*, *manzë* and *grresë* respectively. Macedonian, Thracian and Dacian were languages of Albanian type.

Known as *shqip* in Albania, *arbëresh* in the Albanian colonies, the Albanian language is spoken by some 1,500,000 in Albania, 700,000 in the adjoining Kosovo-Metohija area of Yugoslavia, and some 40,000 in Epirus. An archaic form of the language survives on the Greek islands of Hydra and Spetsa, and in Sicily and Calabria, brought there by Tosḳ exiled from the Turkish invasions. Impoverished by centuries of neglect, Albanian has a small native, but a large borrowed vocabulary. Thus the wheel, the cart and the plough are represented by borrowings and the usual Indo-European terms of kinship are absent. City life, road-building, horticulture, law, religion and family relationship are expressed by Latin loanwords, much disguised by phonological breakdown. Terms used in the Orthodox ritual are Greek; names of prepared dishes, garments, parts of the house, and Islamic terms have come in via Turkish.

The composite alphabet is: *a*, *b*, *c* (like *ts*), *ç* (like *ch*), *d*, *dh* (like *th* in *this*), *e*, *ë* (like French *e* in *le*), *f*, *g*, *gj* (like Turkish *g* before *e*, *i*, *ö*), *h*, *i*, *j* (like *y* in *yoke*), *k*, *l* (as in French), *ll* (as in English *all*), *m*, *n*, *nj* (as in *cañon*), *o*, *p*, *q* (like Turkish *k* before *e*, *i*, *ö*), *r* (weak), *rr* (strong trill), *s*, *sh* (as in *shop*), *t*, *th* (as in *thin*), *u*, *v*, *x* (as in *adze*), *xh* (as in *judge*), *y* (German *ü*), *z*, *zh* (as in *pleasure*). The vowels *â*, *ê*, *î* are Geg nasals.

Geg is the dialect of Tiranë, the capital, and the North, including Kosovo-Metohija. Tosḳ has a considerable literature. Its main deviations are: replacement of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions, absence of nasal vowels, occasional conversion of *n* to *r*, and representation of *ue*, *uem* as *ua*, *uar*. There are small differences of vocabulary.

The noun has three genders and five cases. A noun is linked to a following genitive or adjective by an inflected particle, thus *mali i veriut*, "the mountain of the north", *mali i búkur* "the beautiful mountain", in which *-i* of *mal-i* is the detachable masc. definite article. Similarly *molla*, f. "the apple", but *mollë* "apple". The verb possesses an imperfect, aorist, subjunctive, optative imperative, a mediopassive, and a compound mood called the admirative.

2.—Literature. From the third century A.D. the Roman Church has maintained a bishopric at Scutari in N. Albania. This became the first cultural centre; evidence of this is Bishop John Buzuk's Liturgy of 1555, and the 17th century religious works of Budi, Bardhi and Bogdani. Literary activity, tolerated by the Turks in the Catholic North, was suppressed in the Muslim centre and the Orthodox South, but took root among the exile colonies of Sicily and Calabria. Matranga, descendant of the exiles, began a tradition of hymn-writing using folk-rhythms (1592), which was continued by Brancato (1675-1741) and the Calabrian Variboba (born 1725). The movement became secular with the folksongs and rhapsodies of De Rada (1813-1903), an ardent spokesman of Albanian liberation, and was continued well into the present century by Zef Schirò (1865-1927), Sicilian-born author of two allegorical epics and a collector of folksongs.

The work of de Rada was helpful in inspiring three Tosḳ patriots, the brothers Abdyl, Sami and Naim Frashëri, to form a league at Prizrend in 1878. Under the stimulus of the San Stefano settlement they sought Albanian autonomy and literary freedom. After several years of activity in Istanbul, where they were joined by the lexicographer and Bible translator Kristoforidhi (1827-1895), they were forced into exile. At Bucharest Abdyl the politician, Sami the educationist, and Naim, the Bektashi lyricist of Albanian nostalgia, formed a literary society and printed Albanian books from 1885 onward. Thimi Mitko and Spiro Dine, exiles in Egypt, collected folksongs from the local colony. In Sofia Midhat Frashëri, son of Abdyl, published an almanach, an anthology and a journal, and wrote didactic essays and short stories with a moral. Books printed in exile were smuggled into Albania by caravan.

The absence of a literary centre, and the want of a standard alphabet, hampered the movement, and Sami's difficult phonetic spelling was replaced by a digraphic one resembling that of A. Santori of Calabria and the linguist Dh. Camarda (1821-1882) of Sicily. After independence in November 1912 the various literary currents combined. A. Drenova (born 1872), the Tosk lyricist, Bubani, and L. Poradeci (born 1899) continued the Bucharest tradition, the last in an unorthodox style of his own; the Catholic North was represented by the nostalgic F. Shiroka (1847-1917), the linguist and historian A. Xanoni (1863-1915), N. Mjeda (1866-1937), the satirist Gj. Fishta (1871-1940), the folk-poet and elegist V. Prennushi (1885-1946), and the short-story writer E. Koliqi (born 1903). Foqion Postoli, and M. Grameno (1872-1931), the Tosk novelists, Kristo Floqi (born 1873), the dramatist, and F. Konitza (1875-1943) transferred their activity to Boston, U.S.A., where a literary society Vatra, and a journal Dielli ("The Sun") were founded in 1912.

The brief fascist regime (1939-1943) attracted a few writers with pro-Italian leanings; the present communist regime encourages writing on the partisan movement, the class struggle, work themes and peace. Textbooks are based on Russian models. There are three active theatres and a writers' union. This activity is paralleled in Kosovo-Metohija, where the communist themes are Titoist.

3.—Geography. Albania (Shqipní, Shqipëri) lies on a N-S axis 20° E of Greenwich. With a total area of 11,097 square miles (28,748 sq. km.) it is bounded by Yugoslavia, Greece and the Adriatic. Lying between N Latitudes 39° 38′ and 40° 41′, its total length is 207 miles. It narrows to 50 miles at Peshkopi, and widens to 90 miles at the lake of Little Presba. Its ten prefectures formerly had 39 subprefectures, now redrawn and renamed as 34 districts. Continuing the limestone formation of the Dinaric Alps, the terrain is highest in the E, reaching some 7,000 feet in places. Of the western lowlands, some below sea-

level, the largest is the fertile Myzeqeja plain. The longest river, the Drin, rises in Lake Ohri (Ochrida), and flows N-W and S-W to the Adriatic below Shëngjin. The Mat, Ishém, Arzén, Semén-Devoll-Berat and the Vijosë flow in general N-W, but the Shkumbî, a torrent in winter, flows broadly E to W dividing the country into two roughly equal areas, Gegnija and Toskërija.

The mountain massif consists of three north-to-south barriers in Gegnija, and four N-W to S-E parallel ranges in Toskërija. The highest mountain is Tomorr near Berat (7,861 feet: 2396 metres). Denudation and deforestation have given the country a bare, rugged character. The lakes of Shkodër (Scutari), Ohri and Presba are only partly in Albania; Tërbuf in the central plain is a marsh, and Malik, below Korçë, has been drained.

Durrës (Durazzo) is the main port, with wharves and a shipyard; Valona has a fine natural harbour, and handles refined oil and bitumen; Saranda is a fishing port, and Shëngjin handles ore. Chief towns are Tiranë, the capital (100,000), Shkodër (35,000), Korçë (25,000), Durrës (16,000), Vlorë or Valona (15,000) and Gjinokastër or Gjirokastër (12,000). Railways (80 miles) link Tiranë with Durrës, Peqin and Elbasan, but most towns are reached by road.

Climate ranges from European in the high country to sub-tropical in the S-W, and the vegetation is Mediterranean. Forests, mainly deciduous, include hornbeam, turkey oak, sumach, avellan oak, holm oak, jujube and celtis. The foothill scrub includes arbutus, bush heather, pomegranate and juniper. Densest forests are at Mamuras near Kruja.

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(S. E. Mann)

4.—Population.

According to the census of 1955 the population of Albania was 1,394,310 (in 1930 it was 1,003,097). Outside Albania there are Albanians in Yugoslavia (750,000 according to the Yugoslav census in 1948), in Greece (estimated between 30-60,000) and in Italy (estimated at 150-250,000). The number of Albanians by birth all over the world is estimated at 3 millions (see *Albania*, ed. S. Skendi, New York 1956, 50). According to the 1930 census there were 45,000 Vlachs, 35,000 Slavs, 20,000 Turks and 15,000 Greeks in Albania. Approximately 20 percent of Albania's total population lived in towns in 1949-50. In the same year the larger towns were Tirana, the capital, with an estimated population of 80,000 (in 1930, 30,806), Shkodër 34,000, Korčë 24,000, Durrës 16,000, Elbasan 15,000, Vlorë 15,000, Berat 12,000, Gjinokastër 12,000.

The Albanians are divided into two principal ethnic groups: The Gegs to the North of the Shkumbi River and the Tosks to the South. The Turks called these two regions Gegalîk and Toskalîk. Not only in their dialects but also in the outlook and social behaviour the Gegs differ from the Tosks. The Gegs are considered as keeping national characteristics purer than the Tosks.

Generally speaking the barren mountains of Albania provided too little for an increasing population to subsist. Especially when an epidemic decimated livestock, the helpless people had no choice but to emigrate or to fall upon neighbouring plains. They usually went out as mercenaries, shepherds or agriculturists.

Toward the middle of the 14th century the Albanians, under the pressure of the Serbs or as mercenaries of feudal seigneurs in Greece, migrated and settled in Epirus, Thessaly, Morea and even in the Aegean Islands. There most of the Albanians were gradually graecised, or migrated to Southern Italy under the pressure of the Ottomans later on. But about 1466 in Thessaly there were still Albanian districts in the towns as well as 24 Albanian *katunes* in Livadia (Lebadea) and 34 in Istifa (see my *Fâtih Devri*, Ankara 1954, 146). Under the Ottomans these *katunes* had a special status and, later, are known as *armatols*.

When Iskender-beg died in 1468 a number of the Albanians involved in his struggle against the Ottomans either retired to the mountains or migrated to the kingdom of Naples. In 1478, 1481 and 1492 more Albanians migrated to Southern Italy and Sicily where they preserved their language and customs down to the present day.

In the 15th century the Ottoman government transferred some Albanian *timar*-holders [see TĪMĀR] of the feudal families (Mazeraki and Heykal) to Trebizond.

No large Turkish settlement is recorded in Albania except a small number of exiles from Konya, locally called Konici. There are also the Yürüks of Kodja-djik on the mountains to the East of Dibra where they were stationed apparently to safeguard the Rumeli-Albania highway. The *sürgüns* (the deported), sent *c.* 1410 from such parts of Anatolia as Sarukhan, Kodja-ili, Djanik were also few in number (see *Sûret-i Defter-i Sandjâk-i Arvanid*, index).

The second significant expansion of Albanians in Rumeli occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries. They came to settle in the plains of Djakovë (Yakova), Prizren, Ipek (Peč), Kalkandelen (Tetovo) and Kossovo, especially after the mass migration of the Serbs from these areas in 1690. It seems that Albanian settlement was mostly the result of the land *mukâṭa'a* system (see my *Tanzimat nedir?*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları*, Ankara 1942) prevailing there in this period. Albanians came to lease small tracts of lands from big *mukâṭa'a* owners in these rich plains and settled there as tenants permanently.

As for the Vlachs in Albania, they had lived a pastoral life on the mountains of North Albania side by side with the Albanians since the Slavic invasion in the 7th century and they took part in the Albanian expansion from the 11th century onwards. In the Ottoman Register of 835/1431 we find the Vlachs and their *katunes* (*Eflak-katune*) in Southern Albania especially in the region east to Kanina.

The Albanian tribes to the North of the Drin River are called by the general term of *Malj-i-sor* (highlanders). Toward 1881 there were 19 tribes belonging to this group with a population of 35,000 Roman Catholics, 15,000 Muslims and 220 Greek Orthodox. The most famous tribes among them were Hotti, Klementi, Shkreli, Kastrati, Koçaj, Pulati, living on the mountains east of Scutari.

It seems that during the Ottoman conquest of Albania from 1385 to the end of the 15th century the rebellious clans had to retire once more to the most rugged parts of the highlands. Their reappearence in the lowlands coincided later with the weakening of Ottoman control in the provinces in the 17th century, and, later on, they became "the terror of Rumeli".

From the beginning the Ottoman government had to respect the tribal organisation and autonomy of these tribes. As they had actual control of the important mountain passes from Rumeli into Albania the government charged them with the guardianship of these passes and in return for these services made them exempt from taxation. A regulation dated 1496 (*Başbakanlîk Archives, Istanbul, Tapu Def.* no. 26) reads as follows: "The *nāḥiye* of *Klemente* (Klementi) consists of five villages. Their inhabitants of Christian faith pay one thousand *aḳča* of *kharādj* and one thousand *aḳča* of *ispendje* to the Sandjaḳbegi and they are exempted from *ʿushr* and *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwānī* and other taxes, but they are made *derbenddji* (guardians of the passes) on the route Scutari-Petrishban's territory-Altun-ili as well as the route Medun-Kuča-Plava". Later in the 17th century the Klementi caused troubles through their depredations in Rumeli and their co-operation with the rebellious tribes of Montenegro (Karadagh).

To the south of Drin lived the Mirditë tribe, 32,000 in number (in 1881) and all Roman Catholics. They were divided into five clans called *bayraḳs*, namely Oroshi, Fândi, Spashi, Kushneni, Dibri. Distinguished by their service to the Ottomans against the Venetians in 1696, the Hotti were promoted to the first place among the clans. Their *bayraḳ* headed all the others. But today the Shalë tribe is the chief.

In tribal tradition the origin of the *bayraḳs* goes back to the Ottomans. In fact it was an Ottoman institution to give a *bayraḳ* or a *sandjaḳ* to military chiefs as a symbol of authority. Each clan was under a *bayraḳdār* i.e. standard-bearer, who was a hereditary chief. The public affairs of the clan were decided in the council of the hereditary elders. In order to discuss general affairs the five clans had their annual meeting at Orosh. A *bölük-bashî*, appointed by the Ottoman governor, arranged all kinds of affairs between the administration and the clans. The "captains" of the five clans of Mirditë claimed to descend from Lekë Dukagjin who played an outstanding rôle in Iskender-beg's struggle against the Ottomans. Lekë Dukagjin is believed to have codified the customary law practiced among the tribes, which is called *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit* (A. Sh. K. Gječov, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, Shkodër 1933).

These tribes used to send to the Ottoman army an auxiliary force composed of one man per household, an Ottoman practice which was also applied to the Yürüks and the Kurds. When from the end of the 16th century onwards the empire came to need more troops for its lengthy wars the Albanian auxiliaries seemed to gain an increasing importance. They were used especially in the local wars against the Montenegrins. The Mirditë were regarded as the bravest soldiers in Rumeli. But at the same time H. Hequard (1855) calls them "the greatest plunderers in the world". In 1855 when the *Tanẓīmāt* administration attempted to disarm them and enrol them in the regular army they rose up and infested the Zadrima (Zadrimë) area with the result that the next year the government gave up these attempts. Later the Mirditan chief Prenk Bib Doda played an important part in the Albanian independence movement (1908). The "Republic of Mirditë", proclaimed under Yugoslav auspices in 1921, collapsed the next year.

5.—Religion.

According to the Italian statistics of 1942 (see, *Albania*, ed. S. Skendi, 58) out of a total population of 1,128,143, 779,417 were Muslims, 232,320 Orthodox and 116,259 Catholics. The only significant Catholic group is located in the Shkodër (Scutari) district, while large Orthodox groups live in the districts of Gjinokastër (Argyrokastro), Korčë (Körice), Berat and Vlorë (Avlona). Muslims are spread all over the country, but mostly in the Central Albania.

Albania which became attached to the Partriarchate of Constantinople in 732 A.D., was split between Rome and Constantinople in 1054, the northern part coming under the jurisdiction of Rome. The Normans and the Angevins strengthened Catholicism in the country; Antivari was the seat of the Archbishop of Albania and Durazzo that of Macedonia.

Orthodox Albania was dependent directly on the Archbishopric of Ohrida. As the protectors of the Orthodox Church the Ottomans, even before their restoration of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1454, favoured Orthodoxy against Catholicism. However, for political reasons the Porte tolerated the Catholic church in Albania. The Albanian lords wavered between East and West according to the political conditions. The Orthodox Albanian immigrants to southern Italy had their own Uniate church recognising the Pope's supremacy. According to the Ottoman year-book of 1895 there were, in the province of Yanya (Epirus and Albania south of the Devoll River), 223,885 Muslims, 118,033 Greeks, 129,517 Orthodox Albanians, 3,517 Jews and only 93 Roman Catholics. It must be added that a part of these Greeks were in origin Orthodox Albanians graecised through the Greek religious and educational institutions which were zealously founded beginning with the second half of the 18th century. After the independence of Albania an autocephalous Orthodox church of Albania was finally recognised by the Patriarchate (1937). The first converts to Islam were the Albanian feudal lords holding *tīmārs* from the Ottomans. Contrary to what is generally held conversion was not required as a condition for keeping their lands as *tīmārs*; allegiance to the Ottoman state was sufficient in order to receive *tīmārs*. Throughout the 15th century Christians were granted *tīmārs*. By the end of the 15th century, however, only a few Christian *tīmār*-holders were left because of voluntary conversions. Elbasan, built by Meḥemmed II in 870/1466, became a Muslim centre from the outset, as did Yenishehir in Thessaly. It appears, however, that Islam had then only a few converts among the common people, *raʿāyā*. At the beginning of the 16th century in four *sandjaḳs* of Albania (Elbasan, Ohri, Awlonya and Iskenderiye) there were about three thousand Muslim *raʿāyā* families. In Catholic sources written around 1622 it was estimated that only one thirtieth of the Albanian population was Muslim. During the 17th century the Venetians and Austrians attempted to foment an insurrection of the Catholic Albanians as well as the Orthodox Serbs who were feeling hostile to the government because of an increase in the *djizye*. In 1614 at a meeting of church dignitaries at Kuči it was decided to ask for aid from the Pope. Toward 1622 the first Franciscan missionaries appeared in Albania and Southern Serbia. Albanian Catholics and the Serbs co-operated with the Venetians in 1649 and with the Austrians in 1689-1690, which made the Porte decide to have recourse to retaliatory measures. To escape these, the Christian populations in the plains of Peč, Prizren, Djakovë and Kossovo, who were partly Albanian, migrated in mass or adopted Islam; but many of them became

crypto Christians, locally called *laramanë* (motley). The albanisation and islamisation of these plains went hand in hand in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Conversion to Islam received a new impetus under the Bus̲h̲atlis and ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] of Tepedelen. According to the contemporary witnesses, the latter forced a number of villages to adopt Islam. He is believed to have been a Bektās̲h̲ī himself and in his time Bektās̲h̲ism (see BEKTĀS̲H̲IYYA) made its greatest progress in Albania. Under King Zog its adherents were estimated at about 200,000. With its prosperous *tekkes* in Tiran, Akčahisar (the old centre of the Bektās̲h̲īs), Berat, and on the Tomor mountain, as well as its central organisation in the capital, Bektās̲h̲ism assumed importance in Albania. During the Congress of Korčë in 1919 the Bektās̲h̲īs sought to establish a community of their own, separate from the Sunnīs. This was to be accomplished only under the Communist régime in 1945.

Islam played an essential part in ottomanising the Albanians, and the Christian Albanians often referred to their Muslim compatriots as Turks. On the other hand Islam prevented the Albanians from being assimilated by her Greek or Slavic neighbours. It is asserted that under the veneer of Christianity as well as Islam the primitive religious beliefs survived with the Albanians, especially in the highlands.

6.—History.

The Illyrian origin of the Albanian people is generally admitted, but their ethnic relationships to the Thracians, Epirots and the Pelasgians are still subject to argument. The Illyrian tribes first came into contact with Greek culture, through the Greek colonies founded on the Albanian coastland, in the 7th century B.C. The principal one was Epidamnos near Durazzo (Durrës). The Illyrians formed their first independent political organization in the third century B.C. Conquered by the Romans in 167 B.C., they were subject to strong Roman influence for centuries. The Roman highway to the Orient, Via Egnatia, started at Dyrrachium (Durrës) and followed the Shkumbi valley. Ptolemy mentions, for the first time, the Ἀλβανοι among Illyrian tribes and their capital Ἀλβανόπολις (near Croya). In the 7th century the invasion of Albania by the Slavs put an end to the romanisation of the Albanians who retired to the mountains in north Albania to live a pastoral life for half a millennium. In the 9th and 10th centuries the Bulgarian empire extended its rule over southern Albania, including Dyrrachium (Greek Dyrrachion), and toward the end of the 12th century the Serbs under Nemanja occupied northern Albania. The long coexistence with the agriculturist Slavs left a deep cultural imprint on the Albanian people. Finally, Emperor Basil II restored Byzantine rule in southern Albania, and conquered Dyrrachion (1005) which had been the capital of the Byzantine *thema* of Dyrrachion since the 9th century. When toward the middle of the 11th century the control of Byzantium was weakened in the provinces the Albanians came out from their mountain retreats. From this time on, the Albanians, who were then located between the lines of Skodra (S̲h̲kodër)-Dyrrachion and Ohrida-Prizren, are seen to be mentioned more by the contemporary sources, Ἀλβανοι or Ἀρβανίται in Greek, *Arbanenses* or *Albanenses* in Latin and *Arbanaci* in Slavic sources. The Ottomans first used the Greek form *Arvanid* and then its turcicised versions *Arnavud* and *Arnawut*.

Again from the 11th century on, Albania became a bridge-head for feudal Europe to attack the Byzantine empire. Dyrrachion was temporarily taken by the Normans in 1081 and 1185, and by the Venetians in 1204. Then, it came into the possession of the Despot of Epirus, Theodore Angelus (1215-1230). In 1272 Charles of Anjou occupied Dyrrachion as well as the rest of the Albanian coastland, and called himself the "King of Albania". This started a long struggle between the Byzantines and the Angevins in Albania.

Anatolian Turks, as a result of their alliance with the Byzantine emperor, first came to know Albania in 737/1337. During the Byzantine civil war the Albanian highlanders had increased their depredations in Albania, taken Timoron (Timorind̲j̲e), and threatened the other Byzantine strongholds, Kanina, Belgrade (Berat) Klisura and Skarapar. In order to establish his control in Albania as well as in Epirus, Andronicus III entered that province with an army which included a Turkish auxiliary force. It was sent by his ally Umur Beg, ruler of Aydīn. The army overran the country as far as Durazzo (Dyrrachion). The rebels who retired into the mountains suffered great losses at the hands of the Turks. The Turks returned home through Thessaly and Boeotia (Cantacuzenus).

Before long Stephan Dushan occupied Albania (Croya in 1343, Central Albania 1343-1346). This seems to have accelerated the migration of Albanians into Greece. Native Albanian feudals and soldiers joined Dushan in his conquests further south (L. von Thallóczy—C. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden* . . ., 85). The *voyniks* whom we later find in Albania under the Ottomans settled there apparently with Dushan at this time. When in 1355 Dushan's empire collapsed, local feudal lords, Slav, Albanian or Byzantine in origin, appeared in all parts of Albania. Soon the Bals̲h̲as (Bals̲h̲ići), in the north and the Thopias in the centre emerged as the most powerful of these lords. The Bals̲h̲as possessed the coastland between Durazzo and Cattaro, and tried to secure control of a large area as far Prizren. They came into conflict with Twrtko, king of Bosnia, as well as with the Serbs who sought to bring this region, Zeta, again under their control. Soon the Bals̲h̲as, who had already settled themselves in Avlona, Belgrade and Kanina, threatened Carlo Thopia in Durazzo. He asked for help from the Ottoman Turks in 787/1385, as their *ud̲j̲* (frontier) units had appeared near Yannina already in 783/1381. Bals̲h̲a II was defeated and killed by an Ottoman army at Savra (on the Vijosë River in Myzeqe) on 12 S̲h̲aʿbān 787/18 September 1385. This is recorded in Ottoman chronicles as the expedition to "Karli-ili", that is "the land of Karli" (Carlo Thopia), and it is dated correctly as 787/1385. The Albanian lords, including Bals̲h̲a's heirs, recognised the Sultan's overlordship. The Dukagjini of Alessio notified the Ragusans of their peace with the Ottomans in 789/1387. Alarmed by the Ottoman advance, Venice sent Daniel Cornaro to Murad I to protect Thopia (Ramaḍān 789/October 1387), but on the other hand started negotiations with Thopia to take over the city. Thus the long Venetian-Ottoman rivalry over Albania had begun. As a vassal of the Sultan, Gjergj Stratsimirović, Bals̲h̲a's heir in Scutari (S̲h̲kodër) and Dulcigno, now wished to profit from the Ottomans in his conflict with the Bosnians. Kefalia S̲h̲āhīn (in Turkish chronicles Kavala S̲h̲ahin, later S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn S̲h̲āhīn Pas̲h̲a) an *ud̲j̲-begi* and probably *subas̲h̲ī* of Liaskovik, embarked on a series of successful raids into Bosnia; but he was finally defeated by Bosnians near Trebinje 23 S̲h̲aʿbān 790/27 August 1388). According

to Neshrī, this expedition was made at the request of the "Lord of Skutari" (G. Stratsimirovic) who after Shahin's defeat was accused of a secret understanding with the enemy. After their victory at the Kossovo plain (791/1389) the Ottomans made Skoplje (Üsküb) a strong frontier centre by settling there the Turks from Sarukhan under Pasha-Yigit (toward 793/1391). Then Shāhīn came back and drove out G. Stratsimirovic from Scutari, and St. Sergius (1393-1395) who had returned to the Venetians for protection. Venice for its part took Alessio, Durazzo (1393), Drivasto (1396), all given up by the native lords for a yearly pension. The Ottomans too tried to keep the local lords on their side by guaranteeing them their lands as *tīmārs*. Thus Dimitri Yonima (Gionima), Konstantin Balsha, Gjergj Dukagjin as Turkish vassals all co-operated with Shahin against the Venetians.

The establishment of the Ottoman rule in Albania with its *taḥrīr* (see TAPU) and *tīmār* [*q.v.*] system started first in the region of Premedi (Premetë) and Korčë (Körice). The regular Ottoman administration with its *subashīs* and *ķāḍīs* in towns and *sipāhīs* in villages is found there in the records going back to the time of Bayazid I (*Başvekalet Archives, Istanbul, Maliye no.* 231). This must have followed the Ottoman expeditions in Albania in 796/1394 and 799/1397. The Ottoman records also show that Aķčaḥisar (Croya, Krujë) was granted tax exemption in the same period. Albanian forces under Coïa Zaccaria, Dimitri Yonima, Gjergj Dukagjin and Dushmani were present at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402. Upon the collapse of Bayazid's empire in 1402, many of these Albanian lords (Ivan Kastriot, Coïa Zaccaria, Niketa Thopia) recognised Venetian suzerainty. When in 1403 Georg Stratsimirović died, Venice, which had already taken Scutari, seized a part of his heritage—Dulcigno, Antivari and Budua. But his son Balsha, supported by Stephan Lazarević and Vuk Branković of Serbia embarked upon a long struggle against Venice. The latter finally reached an agreement on Albanian affairs with their suzerain, Emīr Süleymān (19 Djumādā I, 812/29 September 1409). Then Pasha-Yigit of Üsküb forced Ivan Kastriot to submit to the Sultan's suzerainty (813/1410). In the South the Ottomans supported Albanian Spatas against the Toccos. Finally war was declared against Venice during which the Ottomans made the real conquest of Albania from Northern Epirus to Croya (Aķčaḥisar) and formed the province of Arvanid-ili or Arnavud-ili (818-20/1415-1417).

The conditions which the Ottoman conquest brought into the country can be fully ascertained with the help of the details contained in the *tīmār* register of 835/1432 (*Sûret-i defter-i Sancâķ-i Arvanid*, ed. H. Inalcik, Ankara 1954). The names of various regions in the register frequently contains references to the chief feudal families who were vassals of the Ottomans about 819/1416: Yuvan-ili (land of Kastrioti), Balsha-ili (east of Kavajë and south of Shkumbi), Gionomaymo-ili (North of Pekin), Pavlo-Kurtik-ili (the Jilema Valley), Kondo-Miho-ili (area west of Elbasan), Zenebish-ili (Zenebissi, Gjinokastër and its surroundings), Bogdan-Ripe-ili (north of Elbasan), Ashtin-ili (Premetë). Besides these great families, many smaller Christian feudals kept some of their lands as *tīmārs*. Among them we may mention Dobrile (in Čartolos), Simos Kondo (in Kokinolisari), Bobza Family (Gion and his sons Ghin and Andre in the Village of Bobza or Bubës), Karli family (Matja). This kind of *tīmārs* constituted 16 per cent of all the *tīmār*-holders in Arvanid-ili. Conversion to Islam was not considered necessary for possession of *tīmār*. One *Metropolid* in Belgrade (Berat) and three *Peskopos* in Kanina, Aķčahisar and Čartolos were given their former villages as *tīmārs*. The Turkish population in the province consisted only of the military and religious personnel. The Turkish *tīmār*-holders with their men did not exceed 800 in number. The whole *sandjaķ* was distributed among about 300 *tīmār*-holders who lived in the villages or castles, namely, Argiriķasrī (Argyrocastro, Gjinokastër), Kanina, Belgrade, Iskarapar, Bratushesh or Yenidje-ķale and Aķčahisar. Argiriķasrī (later on Argiri or Ergiri) became the seat of the *sandjaķ-begi* and in each county (*wilāyet*) centre there was a *subashī* and *ķāḍī*. The revolutionary step taken by the Ottoman state was that it considered almost all the agricultural lands as owned by the state, because only such a system would enable it to apply its *tīmār* system. The peasants, therefore, must have had the feeling that they were under an impersonal central government as compared to their close dependence upon the feudal lords under the old régime.

In the north, the Ottomans supported first, Balsha III, and upon his death (824/1421), Stephan Lazerević of Serbia, against Venice, which finally had to return to Stephan, Drivasto, Antivari and Budua (826/1423). In the south the Despot Carlo Tocco died in 832/1429 and Murad II, taking advantage of the conflict between his heirs, took Yannina (Muḥarram 834/October 1430). After that a new land and population survey of Albania was effected (Shaʿbān 835/spring 1432) which meant the tightening of the Ottoman administrative control there. This survey may be regarded as the real starting-point of the long Albanian resistence during the subsequent decades. Moreover it demonstrates the real character of the rebellion. Firstly some of the villages in the mountainous Kurvelesh and Bzorshek areas refused to be registered. In a few places they even killed their Ottoman *tīmār*-holders. Great feudal lords such as Ivan (Yuvan) Kastriot in the north, Arianites (Araniti, Arnit) Comnenus in the Argirikasrī region, had to give up considerable parts of their lands for distribution to the Ottoman *sipāhīs* as *tīmārs*. First Araniti took up arms, killed many *sipāhīs* in the autumn of 836/1432, and Thopia Zenebissi besieged Argiriķasrī. Alfonso V. of Naples, Venice and Hungary encouraged the rebels, who defeated ʿAlī, son of Evrenuz, governor of Albania, at the Bzorshek pass. Encouraged by these developments Christian lords in central and northern Albania joined the rebellion. Finally in 837/1434 all the forces of Rumeli under Sinān Beg, governor-general of Rumeli, combined to put an end to this dangerous rebellion which was giving hope to Hungary of a new Crusade. But Araniti managed to escape to the mountains. The additional records made after 836/1432 in the *defter* of Arvanid-ili indicate that the rebellion did not affect the Ottoman control of the country to any considerable extent. A great majority of the Ottoman and Christian *tīmār*-holders remained in possession of their *tīmārs*. It appears that mostly the highlanders co-operated with the feudal families who had matrimonial connexions with their chieftains.

From 847/1443 onwards Iskender-beg [*q.v.*], the son-in-law of Araniti, assumed the leadership of the rebellion; his unusual energy and boldness, and the international situation which obtained at the time, gave the movement a character of international

significance. Setting aside the legend that has grown up around his person, it must be emphasised that the origin and the motives of his rebellion were not different from those of the other Albanian lords. Appointed *subas͟hī* of Aḳčaḥisar (Croya) about 842/1438, he was dismissed in 1440. He wished to recover Croya and his father's lands in their entirety and to possess them as a feudal lord, not as a *tīmār*-holder. It is true that he made an alliance with other feudal families, Thopias, Bals͟has, Dukagjini, Dus͟hmani, Lecca Zaccarīa and Araniti (The Alessio Meeting, 1st March 1444), but the idea of an Albania unified by a national leader is far from reality. He controlled only northern Albania while central and southern Albania always remained under Ottoman control. *Subas͟hī*s and *sand͟jaḳ-beg*s, based on Argiriḳasrī (Gjinokastër), Ohrida or Belgrade (Berat) tried to suppress him with local forces. He waged guerilla warfare all the time. Many of the battles described by Marino Barlezio with such fantastic figures were nothing but local clashes. Iskender-beg's own forces seem never to exceed 3,000. By the treaty of 26th March 1451 he became vassal of Alfonso V of Naples and surrendered Croya to the king's men. Araniti, who had claims on southern Albania (Vagenetia, Valona, Kanina) followed his example. Araniti was authorised by the king to accept in his name oaths of allegiance by other Albanian lords. So Zenebissi and others also became Alfonso's vassals. In return, the King agreed to grant a yearly pension varying between 300 and 1400 ducats to each of these vassals and to provide them a place to take refuge in case of danger. This simple change of masters was obviously determined by the fact that the Aragonese system appeared much more favourable than the Ottoman regime to the Albanian feudals. But as witnessed by a contemporary Aragonese document, "the common people had hardly any complaints against the Ottoman administration". (see C. Marinesco, *Alphonse VIII., Mél. de l'école Roum. en France*, Paris 1923, 104). A *tīmār* register made in 871/1466-67 included Dibra, Dlgöbrdo, Rjeka, Mat and Čermeniḳa (*Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, Maliye no.* 508). It is therefore seen that after Meḥemmed II's [*q.v.*] expedition in 870/1466, the *tīmār* system was extended into these areas. Whatever his real motives may have been, Iskender-beg, who defied, in his mountains, Murād II (in 852/1448 and 854/1450) and Meḥemmed II (in 870/1466 and 871/1467), was also glorified in his time as "Champion of Christ", by the Pope, and as the Albanian National hero, by the nationalists in the 19th century.

During the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1463-1479 Albania became one of the main scenes of operation. Finally the Ottomans were able to take Croya, Drivasto, Alessio and Jabljak (Jabyak) in 1478, Scutari in 1479, and Durazzo in 1501. Alessio (Lesh), which the Ottomans lost during the war of 1499-1503, was retaken in 1509. After having failed in their attempts in 1538, the Ottomans finally took Antivari (Bar) and Dulcigno (Ulćinj, Ölgün) in 1571, and thus completed their conquest of Albania.

It appears that up to the end of the 16th century Ottoman rule in Albania created a peaceful and prosperous era. Most of the old feudal families then adjusted themselves to the Ottoman régime, and even one of the Aranitis named ʿAlī beg had a large *tīmār* around Kanina, Argiriḳasrī and Belgrade toward 1506.

Until about 870/1466 Ottoman Albania was organised as a *sand͟jaḳ* under the name of Arvanid (or Arnavud)-ili. Its subdivisions were the *wilāyet*s of Argiriḳasrī, Klisura, Kanina, Belgrade, Timorind͟je, Iskarapar, Pavlo-Ḳurtik, Čartalos and Akčaḥisar. When in 1466 Meḥemmed II erected the fort of Elbasan, this region was set up as a new *sand͟jaḳ*.

*Sand͟jaḳ*s	Communities			Population			Officials and soldiers**						Tax revenues
	Towns	Forts	Villages	Christian households	Muslim households	Jewish households	*Sand͟jaḳ-begi*	*Ḳāḍī*	*Zaʿīm*	*Tīmār sipāhīs*	*D͟jebelus*	*Mustaḥfiẓ* in fortresses	in *aḳča* (one Venetian ducat was worth 52-6 *aḳča* in this period)
Iskenderiye; Its *ḳaḍā'* divisions: Iskenderiye, Podgoridja, Bihor, Ipek, Prizrin, Karadagh.	5	6	895	23,355	371	—	1	4	8	137	?	297	4,392,910
Awlonya; its *ḳaḍā'* divisions: Belgrade, Iskarapar, Premedi, Bogonya, Depedelen, Argiriḳasrī, Awlonya.	7	7	?	33,570*	1,344*	528* in Awlonya 25 in Belgrade	1	7	68	479	654	346 and 107 ʿ*azab*	6,991,830 in three *ḳaḍā*s Argiriḳasrī, Awlonya and Belgrade
Elbasan; its *ḳaḍā'* divisions: Elbasan, Čermeniḳa, Is͟hbat, Dīrač.	3	4	250	8,916	526	?	1	3	2	109	1,031	400 250 ʿ*azab*	1,260,087
Ohri; its *ḳaḍā* divisions: Ohri, Dibra, Aḳčahisar, Mat.	4	6	849	32,648	623	—	1	4	8	388	655	193	2,947,949

* These figures are for the *ḳaḍā*s of Belgrade, Argiriḳasrī and Awlonya only.

** We have not included in this list *dizdār*s, *ketk͟hudā*s, *k͟haṭīb*s, *imām*s, or *s͟hayk͟h*s, who were present almost in every town.

Moreover in the south the *sandjak* of Awlonya (Avlona) and in the east that of Ohri were created and in 1479 the *sandjak* of Iskenderiye (Scutari) was formed in the north. The following is a list established on the basis of the surveys of 912/1506 and 926/1520. (*Başv. Archives, Tapu* no. 34 and 94), showing the administrative and military situation in the 16th century.

A comparison of the survey of 835/1431 with those of the 16th century reveal the fact that everywhere, in towns and villages, the population more than doubled during the intervening period, and in consequence the tax revenues increased similarly. The following illustrates this for the principal towns.

Towns	1431		The beginning of the 16th century	
	Christian households	Muslim households	Christian households	Muslim households
Argirikasrî	121	—	143	—
Belgrade	175	—	561	11
Kanina	216	—	514	—
Premedi	42	—	260	—
Klisura	100	—	514	—
Akčaḥisar	125	—	89	65

(These figures do not include the military or the civil officials).

The Albanian towns, which numbered 19 in the four Albanian *sandjaks*, were small local market-towns with populations varying between 1,000 and 4,000. Only Awlonya (Avlona) became a commercial centre of some importance (population 4 to 5 thousand). In order to further commerce, the government settled there a sizeable Jewish colony of the refugees from Spain (end of the 15th century). According to the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Awlonya (see *Arvanid Defteri*, 123) the port handled goods imported from Europe, and velvets, brocades, mohairs, cotton goods, carpets, spices and leather goods came from Bursa and Istanbul. Some of the citizens of Awlonya even had business associates in Europe. Quite a large amount of tar and salt, produced near the city, was bought by state agencies at fixed prices. The tax income from Awlonya for the sultan's treasury alone amounted to about 32 thousand gold ducats a year. A garrison and a small fleet were stationed there permanently (for vols. 7 and 8). It must be noted that the Ottomans Albanian towns *circa* 1081/1670 see Ewliyā Čelebi, continued the tax privileges of Akčaḥisar and Iskarapar which went back to Byzantine times (see L. von Thallóczy-C. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien, Archiv für slavische Phil.* xxi, 1899, 83). The *defter* of 835/1431 reads as follows: "Let the inhabitants of Akčaḥisar guard the castle and be exempt from all kinds of taxation with the exception of *kharādj*". These tax exemptions were abolished toward the end of the 16th century.

The Ottomans did not radically change the taxation system which had existed in Albania under the Byzantines and the Serbs. *Ispendje*, most probably a Serbian tax, was paid by every adult Christian male at the rate of 25 *akča*. The basic Ottoman taxes were the *ʿushr*, which was actually one eighth of agricultural products, and the *djizya*. The Byzantine tax of two bushels of wheat and two of rye a year survived in some parts of Albania under the Ottomans. So did fines called *bād-i hawā* [*q.v.*], apparently an adaptation of Byzantine *aerikon. Tavuk ve boghača* (Byzantine *kaviskia*) also survived in Albania as an *ʿādet*. All these taxes except the *djizya*, which was collected for the sultan's treasury, were assigned to *tīmār*-holders. Under the Ottomans the rate of taxation seems not to have been lighter than before. But they abolished forced labour and determined, in advance, for each peasant, the amount of taxes due. Unlawful practices did exist, and the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of 1583 would seem to give a good idea concerning such abuses. It states that no *tīmār*-holder should subject his peasants to forced labour, make them carry hay for themselves, take their lands away without lawful reason, or force them to pay in cash the *ʿushr*, which was to be paid in goods. The commonest complaint of a semi-nomadic people was that they were liable to the sheep-tax more than once a year during their move from one pasture to another.

At the beginning of the 16th century the public revenue in the *sandjak* of Iskenderiye (Scutari) amounted to 4,392,910 *akča*, half of which was assigned to the sultan and the other half to the *sandjak-begi* (449,913) and the *tīmār*-holders (1,776,118).

The Albanians occupied an outstanding place in the ruling class of the empire. At least thirty Grand-Viziers can be identified as of Albanian origin—among them Gedik Aḥmed, Kodja Dāwud, Dukagin-zāde Aḥmed, Lutfî, Kara Aḥmed, Kodja Sinān Pasha, Nasūḥ, Kara Murād, and Tarhoncu Aḥmed. In the Kapî-kulu army, too, the Albanians were always present in great numbers. One obvious reason for it was that the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] system was practised extensively in Alhania, as in Bosnia.

Two fundamental changes in the structure of the empire, namely the disruption of the *tīmār* system on the one hand, and the deterioration of the fiscal system on the other, had their impact on the situation in Alhania as elsewhere. The first change, which coincided with the weakening of the central authority at the end of the 16th century made possible the formation of large estates in the provinces, while the second made it necessary for the state to assess new taxes and to reform the *djizya*, which due to its increased rate, affected particularly the Christian population. The discontent is manifested especially in the rebellious attitude of the Catholic highlanders in Albania in the 17th and 18th centuries and in their co-operation with hostile powers. For example, the original tax of 1000 *akča* a year paid by the Klementi clan had become a trivial amount by the end of the 16th century due to the depreciation of the *akča*, and the government therefore wanted instead to assess the *djizya* at 1,000 gold coins. This caused the rebellion of the trihes of northern Albania. They started to attack and plunder the plains of Rumeli as far as Filibe. In order to stop these depredations the Porte sent several armies against them and built a new castle near Gusinje. Their new uprising in 1638 was quelled by Duče Meḥmed Pasha (see Naʿīma, iii, 399-409). The Klementi, Kuči (Kcčaj), Piperi in the North, and the Himariots on the coastal range of Himara, co-operated also with the Austrian and Venetian armies during the wars of 1683-99, 1714-8, 1736-9.

On the other hand, as the central control weakened, the highlanders began to penetrate into Rumeli and even in Anatolia from the beginning of the 17th century. In the 18th century, pashas, begs and

*a*ʿ*yān* everywhere took into their service these highlanders who were reputed to be the best mercenaries. They were organised in *bölüks* of about 100 men under a *bölük-bas̲h̲ī*, who, as a perfect condottiere, arranged everything for his men with the hirer. The part played by such *bölüks* is well illustrated by the example of Meḥmed Ali in Egypt. Many Albanians also joined the mountain bands in Rumeli, called *Dag̲h̲lī es̲h̲kiyāsī* or *Kïrčaali*.

In the same period the lease system of the state-owned lands (*mīrī arāḍī muḳāṭaʿasī*) on the lowlands, coastal plains or inland basins, in Albania gave birth to the big land-owning class of *a*ʿ*yān* [*q.v.*]. These absentee land-lords used every means to obtain more and more *muḳāṭaʿāt*. Among them, the Bus̲h̲atlī family in the North, in the land of Gegs, and Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (see ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a tepedelenli) (1744-1822) in the south, in the area of Tosks, emerged as semi-independent despots. The first Bus̲h̲atlī (in Turkish chroniclers Bud̲j̲atlī or Bučatlī), Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, built up his power by acquiring large *muḳāṭaʿāt* and by making an alliance with the Malisors, the highlanders, and thus forced the Porte to confer him the governorship of Scutari (Is̲h̲ḳodra, S̲h̲ḳodër) (1779). After his death (1796), the Porte's attempt to get back these *muḳāṭaʿāt* caused his son Kara Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] to rebel. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, too, possessed about 200 estates (*čiftliks*). The Porte at first did not challenge the increasing power and authority of the Bus̲h̲atlīs and ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, as they were rightly considered to check the domination of the local *a*ʿ*yān*, and the rivalry between these two *pas̲h̲as* seemed to counterbalance each other. ʿAli Pas̲h̲a once tried to extend his control into the zone of the Bus̲h̲atlīs and fought them. Through his sons whom he managed to have appointed governors of Thessaly, Morea, Karli-ili he actually formed a semi-independent state in Albania and Greece. In 1820, when the central government finally took action against him, he rebelled, and instigated the Greeks to revolt. The power of the last Bus̲h̲atlī, named Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a, was destroyed only in 1832 by the reformed army of Maḥmūd II. The centralist policy of the *Tanẓīmāt* caused troubles with the autonomous tribes in North Albania.

The "Albanian League for the Defence of the Rights of the Albanian Nation" had been set up at Prizren on June 13, 1878, only to influence the decisions of the Congress of Berlin; but it proved to have great significance for the birth of an Albanian state later on. Encouraged by the Ottoman government at the beginning, the League set up resistance to the Montenegrins and Greeks in order to keep the Albanian provinces united (the four Ottoman *wilāyets* of Yanya, Is̲h̲kodra, Manastïr and Kosova). But when the league tended to further the idea of an autonomous Albania, the Porte sent an army and dispersed the League (1881). The great powers, especially Austria-Hungary and Italy, encouraged this autonomy movement with the purpose of extending their influence over Albania while Russia was supporting Montenegro's territorial claims over Albania. On the other hand, by enlisting Albanians in his bodyguard and conferring special favours on them, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II was trying to win Albanian support. But the Albanian intellectuals, in co-operation with the Young Turks in Paris and elsewhere, were anticipating an autonomous Albania. In 1908 the stand taken by the Albanians against ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd at the Frizovik Meeting did actually help the Revolution to succeed. In the Ottoman Parliament the influential Albanian deputies, such as Ismāʿīl Kemal, Esʿad Toptanī, Ḥasan Pris̲h̲tina, joined in the *Ḥürriyyet we Iʾtilāf* Party which sought decentralisation as against the centralist ottomanisation policy of the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī* Party. While the heated discussions on an Albanian educational system was going on (the Congress of Manastïr, November 1908) an uprising broke out among the Albanian highlanders who resisted the Ottoman government attempt to collect their arms. Finally, on 4th September 1912, the new Ottoman government accepted the Albanian demands for an autonomous administration. But the Balkan War completely changed the situation in the Balkans. A short time after the declaration of war, in November 1912, Ismāʿīl Kemāl declared the independence of Albania at Awlonya (Vlorë). The London Conference proclaimed Albania an autonomous principality under the guaranty of the six powers (29th July 1923); but the newly elected prince, Wilhelm von Wied, had soon to leave the country (3rd September 1914). After the first world war Serbia laid claims to S̲h̲ḳodër and Durrës. Seeing their country dismembered, the Albanian leaders hastily convoked a congress at Lushnjë (21st January 1920) and demanded the independence of Albania. A national government was formed in Tirana, and an Albanian partisan army drove out the Italians from Vlorë. Italy finally recognised the independence of Albania with the treaty of Tirana (3rd August 1920). The small Albanian state experienced a tumultuous parliamentary life during the first years of its existence (1921-4). The Muslim land-owning beys of the western and central plains came into conflict with the Popular Party (under its leader Fan S. Noli). A revolution forced Aḥmed Zog, the Prime Minister, to flee to Yugoslavia. With Yugoslav support he came back into power (24th December 1924). A constituent Assembly proclaimed Albania a Republic and named Aḥmed Zog (Zogu) President. He then signed a series of treaties with Italy (12th May 1925; 27th November 1926; 22nd November 1927 and March 1936) putting the country practically under Italian protection. In September 1928 Zog was proclaimed the King of Albanians. He fled from Albania one day before the Italians invaded the country on April 6, 1939.

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(Halil İnalcik)

ARNĪṬ, Span. Arnedo, a small town in the province of Logroño, chief town of a *partido judicial*; it numbers about 10,000 inhabitants and is situated on the left bank of the Cicados, a tributary of the Ebro, about 22 m. (35 km.) from the capital. Arnedo is a toponym of Iberian origin which is found in the provinces of Burgos, Albacete and Logroño, and which also occurs, in the last-named, in the diminutive form Arnedillo. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, Muslim Spain consisted, according to al-Idrīsī, of twenty-six climes (*iḳlīm*) or regions, among which figured that of Arnedo, with the towns of Calatayud, Daroca, Saragossa, Huesca and Tudela. The only Arabic work which describes it is the *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*; according to this, it is "an ancient town of al-Andalus, 30 m. from Tudela, surrounded by rich cultivated plains. It is a place of great strength, and ranks among the most important. From this fortress one looks down on to Christian territory". Arnedo, Tudela and Oñate were the principal towns of the seigniory of the Banū Ḳaṣī. In 308/920, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in the famous campaign, called the Muez campaign, against Navarre, occupied Calahorra, which had been conquered two years previously by Sancho Garcés, and forced the latter to take refuge in Arnedo; Sancho Garcés left Arnedo when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān moved off in the direction of Pampeluna to inflict a bloody defeat on the united forces of Navarre and Leon at Valdejunquera.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

AROR [see arūr].

ARPA. 'Barley' in Turkish. The term *arpa tanesi* —'a barley grain'—was used under the Ottoman régime to denote both a weight and a measure: a weight of approximately 35.3 milligrams (half a *ḥabba*), and a measure of rather less than a quarter of an inch, 6 equalling one *parmaḳ* (itself equivalent to 1¹/₄ inches). (H. Bowen)

ARPALĪḲ, (literally, "barley money"), a term used in the Ottoman empire up to the beginning of the 19th century to denote an allowance made to the principal civil, military and religious officers of state, either in addition to their salary when in office, or as a pension on retirement, or as an indemnity for unemployment. This term does not appear in the historical sources before the 16th century, and corresponds, to begin with, to an indemnity for fodder of animals, paid to those who maintained forces of cavalry or had to look after the horses: the first beneficiaries were the Agha of the Janissaries, the Aghas of the imperial stable and the Aghas of the *bölük*, that is to say the principal army and palace officers; this benefit was later extended to religious officials: the *shaykh al-islām*, the *ḳāḍī 'l-ʿasker*, the tutor of the sovereign, and later (17th century) to the viziers and *ʿulamāʾ* who were already titular holders of *ziʿāmet*, and also to officials of the central or provincial administration, or to military officers who had specially distinguished themselves; the Khāns of the Crimea were also numbered among the beneficiaries. The maximum amount of the *arpalīḳ* was fixed at 70,000 aspers for religious officials, 58,000 aspers for the Agha of the Janissaries, and 19,999 aspers for palace officials. These endowments took the form of the grant of fiefs of varying degrees of importance; it is said that some holders of *arpalīḳ* farmed its revenues. The haphazard distribution of these grants caused serious disturbances in the military, economic and social organisation of the state, and from the 18th century onwards only the principal religious authorities could benefit by the grant of an *arpalīḳ*. The *arpalīḳ* disappeared at the time of the *Tanẓīmāt*: a fund for retirement pensions was then created and, after the proclamation of the Constitution, an indemnity for unemployment was instituted.

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(R. Mantran)

ʿARRĀDA, a mediaeval artillery engine. In general, from Europe to China, there were everywhere in existence two main types of engines of projection which were operated by more than one man. In the case of the one, the heavy type of engine, the projectile was hurled from a great distance by virtue of the centrifugal force produced by the rocking of a great arm: these were the *mandjanīḳ* or mangonels; in the case of the other, a lighter engine, the projectile was discharged by the impact of a shaft forcibly impelled by the release of a rope: these were the *ʿarrāda*. The principle of the *ʿarrāda* only differs from the large arbalest mounted on a fixed chassis in the comparative lightness of the latter, and in the fact that the arbalest discharges its arrow itself instead of using it to propel a projectile. *ʿArrāda*, like *mandjanīḳ*, were naturally siege and not field weapons. The word itself comes from an almost identical Syriac form, and corresponds to the Classical Greek *onagros*; but, strangely enough, it seems that in mediaeval Greek *manganikon* denoted a light weapon: this is a source of possible confusion.—To-day, *ʿarrāda* is applied to cannon. [See also ʿaraba].

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ARRADJĀN, town in Fārs. According to the Arabic authors it was founded by the Sāsānid king, Ḳawādh I (488, 496-531), who settled there the prisoners of war from Āmid (Diyārbakr) and Mayyāfāriḳīn, and gave to the new settlement the official name Weh Āmid-i Ḳawādh = "Good (or Better)-Āmid of Ḳawādh", run together and arabicised into Wāmḳubādh or usually simply Āmid-Ḳubādh (Marquart proposed to read so in al-Ṭabarī, i, 887, 888)! Some Arabic writers have erroneously given to Arradjān the name Abar(z)ḳubādh, which was borne by a district and a town on the western frontier of Ahwāz (Khūzistān); see also ABARḲUBĀDH In any case, the name which is in common use, Arradjān, comes from an older town which existed before the new one founded by Ḳawādh.

In the Arabic mediaeval age Arradjān was a very frequently mentioned frontier-town of Fārs against Ahwāz, and down to the end of the 7th/13th century was the capital of the most westerly of the five provinces of Fārs; a part of the province of Arradjān belonged earlier not to Fārs but to Khūzistān (cf. Ibn Faḳīh, 199; al-Maḳdisī, 421). Arab geographers describe Arradjān as a large place with excellent bazaars, which manufactured much soap, grew great quantities of corn, possessed numerous date and olive plantations, and was considered to have one of the healthiest situations of the "hot land" (Garmsīr). The rise of the Assassins portended its decline; for they seized possession of several strongholds on the neighbouring hills and from there made frequent plundering raids on the town and its adjacent district, and finally took it in the 7th/13th cent. Arradjān never recovered from the horrors of this conquest. The inhabitants emigrated mostly to the neighbouring town, Bihbahān, which succeeded Arradjān as capital of the province.

According to the Arab geographers Arradjān lay on the road leading from Shīrāz to ʿIrāḳ, 37 miles distant from Shīrāz and al-Ahwāz, and a day's journey from the Persian Gulf; it was situated on the river Ṭāb, which here formed the boundary between Fārs and al-Ahwāz.

The ruins of Arradjān were discovered by C. de Bode on the river Ṭāb (modern Āb-i Kurdistān or Mārūn) at 31 40′ N. Lat. and 50 20′ E. Long. (Greenw.). Mustawfī shows that the form Arghān or Arkhān for the town, was in popular use at the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The site of the ruins, according to Herzfeld, is a ride of two hours by horse east of the town of Bihbahān on a canal leading out of the Mārūn River, and it forms an almost rectangular plain of ruin ca. 3930 × 2620 ft. near the Kūh-i Bihbahān. Cultivation has now effaced all structural remains, according to Stein. About two miles farther up the river remains of a bridge from the Middle Ages, and of a barrage below the bridge, still exist. The bridge was mentioned by Arab geographers.

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AL-**ARRADJĀNI,** Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, Arab poet born at Arradjān in 460/1067, died in 544/1149-50 at Tustar or ʿAskar Mukram. Religious studies, pursued mainly at the Niẓāmiyya at Iṣfahān, enabled him to be nominated *ḳāḍī* of Tustar, but he early devoted himself to poetry, which he considered as a means of livelihood, and wrote panegyrics, addressed in particular to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mustaẓhir, in *ḳaṣīda* form, with the traditional *nasīb*. Although some critics praise his work, al-Arradjānī must be considered as a versifier of limited stature. His *dīwān*, compiled by his son, was printed at Beirut in 1307/1889; several Mss. exist in London and Cairo.

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ʿARRĀF. (A.; the abstract is, *ʿirāfa*) one of the names for a diviner. Literally "eminent in knowledge" or "a professional knower"; the European equivalent would be "wise woman" with a change of sex. There are several synonyms. *Ṭabīb* (physician); "I said to the *ʿarrāf* of Yamāma, "Treat me, for if you cure me you are indeed a physician"; and "I will give the *ʿarrāf* of Yamāma his due and the *ʿarrāf* of Nadjd, if they cure me." The two were respectively Rabāḥ b. ʿAdjala and al-Ablaḳ al-Asadī. *Kāhin* (diviner) [*q.v.*] is especially one who deduces his answer from the words, behaviour or circumstances of the enquirer or finds things which have been stolen or lost. It is said that the *ʿarrāf* is somewhat less than the *kāhin*. Of course, opinions differ on the precise meaning of these words; a proverb says that the *ʿarrāf* takes what escaped the thief. *Ḳunāḳin* or *ḳinḳin*, dowser. *Ḥāzī* one who divines from the shape of the limbs or moles on the face. A tradition says that he who consults the *ʿarrāf* or *kāhin* is an unbeliever. Nevertheless the examples of their activity are Islamic. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was not a professional *ʿarrāf* but was famous for his practical wisdom; from the names of two travellers, Ḥaṣīra and Ḳaṭṭāl, he deduced that ʿUthmān had been first besieged and then killed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3250). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā say that the *kāhin* uses no tools, books or calculations but relies on his motherwit and interprets what he sees or hears. *Zadjr* is employed to describe this method of divination though it first meant drawing omens from birds or animals. Ibn Khaldūn sets out a theory of divination. "It is a property peculiar to the human soul. The soul is so constituted that it can divest itself of its fleshly integument and rise to a higher spiritual state. Men who belong to the rank of prophets through their natural disposition receive as it were a flash (of intuition), and this comes to them without effort on their part, without the aid of sensual means of perception, and without forcing the imagination; nor need they bring their bodies into play by uttered word or hurried movement. They need employ no artificial means. By divesting themselves of the flesh they put on the angelic state which is natural to them in less than the twinkling of an eye."

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ARRĀN. The name is usually applied in Islamic times to the district in Transcaucasia between the Kur (Kura) and Aras (Araks) Rivers. In pre-Islamic times, however, the term was used for all of eastern Transcaucasia (present Soviet Azerbaijan), i.e. Classical Albania (cf. article "Albania" in Pauly-Wissowa). By the 15th century A.D. the name Arrān was not in common parlance, for the territory was absorbed into Ādharbāydjān.

The origin of the name Arrān, Georgian *Rani*, Greek Ἀλβανοί, and Armenian Ałwankʿ (people), is unknown. (In some Classical authors one finds the form Arian/Aryan, and in Arabic sources one can find al-Rān). Before 387 A.D. the land between the two rivers was considered part of Armenia, comprising the provinces of Ardzakh, Uti, and Pʿaitakaran. After the division of Armenia between the Greeks and Sassanians in 387 A.D., the first two provinces went to Albania/Arrān and the last to Persia. This is one reason for much confusion in the designation of Arrān, since the Armenians considered only the land north of the Kur River as Arrān.

By the 7th century A.D. the population of "greater" Arrān was thoroughly mixed, and one can hardly speak of a distinctive people. Iṣṭakhrī, 192, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 349, however, mention *al-rāniyya* as a language still spoken in the city of Bardhaʿa in the 10th cent. A.D.

The Arabs, adopting the Roman system of designation of Armenia, extended the terminology, including all of eastern Transcaucasia under Armenia I (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 122; al-Balādhurī, 194). When the Arabs appeared in the country they found it divided among many small lords, some of whom held allegiance to the Khazars, especially after the fall of the Sassanians. Arrān had been Christianised from Armenia and during the Umayyad Caliphate was nominally under the rule of the princes of Armenia, who in turn were subject to the Arabs. Since it was on the Islamic frontier, subject to Khazar raids and rule, Arrān in fact enjoyed a great measure of independence.

The early Arab raids under Salmān b. Rabīʿa and Ḥabīb b. Maslama at the end of the caliphate of ʿUmar and the early years of ʿUthmān brought the nominal submission of Baylaḳān, Bardhaʿa, Ḳabala, and Shamkūr, the principle towns of Arrān. Afterwards the Arabs warred constantly with the Khazars and local princes (cf. Balādhurī, 203; Ṭabarī, i, 2889-91).

After the first civil war, and in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya Arab rule in Arrān was established, but the Khazars continued to raid south of the Caucasus Mountains. In the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik the Christian church of Arrān, which had been joined to the Greek Orthodox church, was united with the Armenian church by the Armenian clergy with Arab aid and approval (cf. J. Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, Louvain 1927, 99). On the Umayyad governors of Armenia (including Arrān) cf. Balādhurī, 205-9. During the governorship of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, appointed by the Caliph Hishām in 107/725-6, large Arab garrisons were brought into Arrān, and Bardhaʿa served as headquarters in operations against the Khazars. On the campaigns against the Khazars cf. D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 60-87, and F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hisham*, Alexandria 1935, 74-84. Under the governorship of Marwān b. Muḥammad, last of the Umayyad caliphs, from 113-26/731-44, the Khazars were decisively defeated and Arab rule firmly established.

During Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid rule in Arrān local Armenian and Arrānian dynasties continued a semi-independent existence subject to the Arabs. Taxes were paid in Islamic coins, and we find a mint with the appelation Arrān on ʿAbbāsid dirhams as early as 145/762. This mint was either in Bardhaʿa or Baylaḳān. By 207/822 we find coins bearing *madīnat Arrān*, and after 226/840 the mint seems to have been abandoned.

The local ruler from the ancient house of Mihrān was called the *baṭrīḳ* of Arrān by the Arabs, and the last of the family, Varaz Trdat, was assassinated in 821 or 822. Shortly after this the lord of Shakkī, north of the Kur River, a certain Sahl b. Sunbāṭ, extended his sway over all of Arrān declaring his independence of the caliphate. He became reconciled with the Arabs by delivering the rebel Bābak to them after Bābak had taken refuge with him. Later he, or his son and successor, was taken to Samarra about 854 when the new governor of Armenia Bughā deported many of the local princes. At this period the lords of Sharwān and Derbend interfered in Arrān, but the Sādjids were the most powerful rulers in Arrān.

The Sādjid governors of Armenia at the end of the 9th and early 10th centuries A.D. were especially harsh to the Christian population of Transcaucasia, but local dynasties continued to rule, especially north of the Kur River (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 348). Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir ruled over Arrān, as well as Ādharbāydjān from 941-57 A.D., and most of the lords of Arrān were his vassals. It was under his rule, in 943, that the environs of Bardhaʿa were ravaged by the Russians. After this Arrān fell under the sway of the Shaddādids of Gandja. The strongest member of the Shaddādid dynasty was Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur b. Faḍl b. Muḥ. b. Shaddād, who ruled from 441-459/1049-1067. In 468/1075 Alp Arslan sent one of his generals, Sawtegin, to rule Arrān displacing the Shaddādid dynasty. Turkish tribes, primarily Ghuzz, settled in Arrān and gradually Turkish replaced all other languages in common use.

In the Turkish period Baylaḳān seems to have replaced Bardhaʿa as the most important city of Arrān, but the former was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221. After this Gandja became the leading city of Arrān. Under the Mongols Arrān was joined to Ādharbāydjān and single governors ruled both provinces. The process of islamicisation and turkicisation was hastened after the Mongol invasion. The land between the rivers came to be called Ḳarabāgh. After the conquests of Tīmūr, who did much building and repair of canals, Arrān only appears as a memory, and its affairs are part of the history of Ādharbāydjān.

Bibliography: The religious history of the Arrānians is told by Moses Kałankatuaçi in Armenian (Tiflis, 1912); for the contents see A. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte* Leipzig 1897, 48. On the pre-Islamic history cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 117. For geography cf. Le Strange, 176-9, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 398-403. On the early Islamic history of Arrān see

J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* (Paris, 1919). For Sahl b. Sunbāṭ see Minorsky, *Caucasica IV*, in *BSOAS* 1953, 504-29. On the Shaddādids cf. his *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953. Many details of nomenclature and linguistics may be found in the article *Arrân* in *IA* by Zeki Velidi Togan.

(R. N. Frye)

ARSENAL [see DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA].

ARSH [see DIYA].

ʿARSH [see KURSĪ].

ʿARSH, the name given in Algerian legislation, during about the last hundred years, to some of the lands under collective ownership. This meaning of the word, which has various senses in the Maghribī dialects: "tribe" (for example, on the high plains of Constantine), "agnatic group" (for example, in the Tunisian Sahel), "federation" (for example, in Kabylia), only seems to be vouched for from the time of the preparatory enquiries for the Law of 16 June 1851.

A dispute has long existed in Algeria between those who support recognition of the collective ownership, or only usufruct, of these lands, and those who support recognition of their private character. This dispute overlies the conflict between the administrative theory, which tends to safeguard the patrimony of the tribes, and the expansion of private interests, which want the rapid conversion of these lands into movable property. Arguments have been borrowed, somewhat superficially, from *fiḳh*, which offered the theory of tenure subject to payment of the *kharādj*, and of the Islamic community as the paramount landowner. A secular dispute, which is not yet resolved, has raged over the title to the lands of the Maghrib. It is certainly more in conformity with the facts to say that the system of exploitation, itself a function of the climatic conditions, of divorce from the central power, and of vitality of the local seignories, is the factor fundamentally responsible for the forms of land tenure in the ancient Maghrib: (1) *milk* or "private property"; (2) *ʿazīb*, or *ʿazl*, or *hanshīr*, depending on the district, "latifundium"; (3) *mushāʿ*, or *mushūʿ*, or *blād djamāʿa*, "collective, communal holding"; (4) *waḳf* or *ḥubūs*, "domain constituted into a pious endowment". According as one or other factor predominated, it seems that there was a certain alternation, characteristic of the social history of North Africa, between these different concepts and the realities that they correspond to.

At all events, the decree of the Senate of 22 April 1863 lays down, (article 1), that the tribes of Algeria "are the owners of the territories of which they enjoy the permanent or traditional usufruct, under what title soever". This patrimony, under the tutelage of the administration, is, however, liable to come under the privative statute through the medium of "partial inquiry". This legislation aroused lively opposition. With less clarity than the Moroccan law, but with greater resolution than the Tunisian law, it seems to have found a compromise solution to this long-standing and difficult problem of real estate and society.

Bibliography: Dr. Worms, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale*, 1846; M. Pouyanne, *La propriété foncière en Algérie*, 1895, 130 ff.; Mercier, *La propriété foncière en Algérie*; and especially F. Dulout, *Des droits et actions sur la terre arch ou sabga en Algérie*, 1929. On the word, see Ph. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Djidjelli*, 1955, 27, n. 3. (J. Berque)

ARSHGŪL, a town, not now in existence, on the Algerian coast, which was situated between Oran and the Moroccan frontier, at the mouth of the Tafna, facing the island of Rachgoun, which perpetuates its name.

The Muslim city, which took the place of Portus Sigensis, the port of Siga, the capital of King Syphax, is first heard of at the beginning of the 4th/10th century as being assigned by Idrīs I to his brother ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. It is mentioned in the second half of the 4th/10th century by Ibn Ḥawḳal, who informs us that it had then just been rebuilt by an amīr of the Miknāsa Berbers, a vassal of the caliph at Cordova al-Nāsir. Some years later, al-Bakrī describes Arshgūl, a town on the "coast of Tilimsān", as possessing a harbour accessible to small vessels, and surrounded by a rampart which had four gateways. Within the city were a seven-aisled mosque and two baths, one of which was pre-Islamic, a fact which indicates that the Muslim city occupied the ancient site. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, it was regarded by al-Idrīsī only as a populous place, recently a stronghold, where ships could replenish their water supplies.

Political vicissitudes account for its decline. During the struggles between the Fātimids of al-Ḳayrawān and the Umayyads of Cordova (4th/10th century), its Idrīsid rulers were driven out and its inhabitants were deported to Spain. Partially repopulated by Andalusians, it was again laid waste at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Again, in the first half of the 7th/13th century, it fell prey to the B. Ghāniya Almoravids, and was finally abandoned at the end of the 10th/16th century, at the time of the Spanish expeditions against the coast of Oran.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, trans. by de Slane, *JA* 1842 i, 187; Bakrī, text, Algiers 1911, 79-80; trans., Algiers 1912, 161; Idrīsī, ed. by Dozy and de Goeje, 172, trans. 206; Leo Africanus, *Il viaggio*, ed. by Ramusio, Venice 1892, 107 (transl. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 330-1); Gsell, *Atlas archéologique*, sheet 31, no. 2. (G. Marçais)

ARSHĪN [see DHIRĀʿ].

ARSLAN (T.), lion; also frequently appears as a Turkish proper-name.

ARSLAN B. SALDJŪḲ, the son, probably the elder son, of the ancestor and eponym of the Saldjūḳid dynasties, Saldjūḳ. His history is merged in that of the first contacts between the Oghuz led by his family and the Muslim states of Central Asia. His personal name was Isrāʾīl (cf. his brothers Mīkhāʾīl and Mūsā, fore-names in which it is possible to see Jewish Khazar or Nestorian Central-Asian influence), with Arslan as a totemic name (cf. his famous nephews Ṭughril Muḥammad and Čaghrī Dāʾūd). The beginnings of his history are confused. During his lifetime the Saldjūḳid family, which had settled at Djand, was converted to Islam and freed itself from the Kingdom of the Yabghū of the Oghuz; it is not disputed that his father, Saldjūḳ, then sent him to the aid of one of the last Sāmānids who was engaged in a struggle with the Ḳarakhānids, as is affirmed by the tradition of the *Maliknāma*, a history of the family written under Alp Arslan about 1060; and it is generally thought that it is he who is mentioned, under the title of Yabghū, by the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī, as assisting in 1003 the last Sāmānid attempt at resistance to the Ḳarakhānids; but latterly this version has been contested by O. Pritsak, according to whom the title of Yabghū can only be understood to refer to the last Yabghū of the Oghuz Kingdom north of the

Aral Sea. It is true that manuscripts of the Arab and Persian chronicles frequently attach to individual Saldjūḳids an appellation which can be read *yabghū*, but O. Pritsak has shown that side by side with the title of *yabghū*, which alone has been taken into consideration hitherto, there existed a totemic name *payghū*, and it is probable that the word must be read thus in some cases; I think however that as far as Arslān Isrāʾīl is concerned, he could not have had two totemic names, and did in fact bear the title of yabghū, indicative of the revolt of his family against the pagan kingdom of the north, and it seems to me probable, although not certain, that he is, in agreement with the traditional account, the person mentioned by Gardīzī.

The main features of his later history are less open to dispute. After the final collapse of the Sāmānids. he is found associated with the Ḳarakhānid rebel at Bukhārā, ʿAlī Tegīn, in whose service he was eventually joined by his nephews Ṭughril and Čaghrī. In 416/1025 he was involved, to a greater extent than they, in the defeat of ʿAlī Tegīn by the combined forces of the supreme Ḳarakhānid Ḳadr-Khān (supported mainly by the Ḳarluḳs) and Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and his Oghūz were transferred to Khurāsān, separated from those of Tughrīl and Čaghrī who soon emigrated to Khwārizm. Legend or adulation has obscured the account of this move which, according to some, was voluntary, but more probably was carried out on the orders of Maḥmūd, as is asserted by others, in order to weaken ʿAlī Tegīn. At all events it is not open to dispute that Maḥmūd kept Arslan-Isrāʾīl prisoner, and that he died in captivity, about 427/1034, in a fortress on the borders of Hind. It is impossible to say what the connexion was between this fate and the persistent tendency to rebellion on the part of the Oghuz of Khurāsān from 418/1027 onward. Those historians, like Rāwandī, who wished to flatter the Saldjūḳid dynasty of Asia Minor, descended from Arslan's son Ḳutlumush (Ḳutalmīsh?), ascribed to the latter the role of secret liaison agent between the prisoner and his Oghuz, but it is impossible to verify this.

Bibliography: Cl. Cahen, *Le Maliknāmeh et l'histoire des origines seldjukides*, in *Oriens* ii, 1949, which contains a survey of the sources, but which is to be revised in the light of the studies of Omelyan Pritsak, in particular *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oghuzischen Yabghu*, in *Köprülü Armağani*, Istanbul 1953, or in *Annals of the Ukranian Academy of Arts in the USA*, ii, 2, 1952, together with my discussion in *JA*, 1954, 271-275; cf. also Pritsak's *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.* 1953. For the relations between Arslan and the Ghaznawids, a comprehensive account will be found in Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931.

(CL. CAHEN)

ARSLAN B. **ṬOGHRUL** [see SALDJŪḲIDS].

ARSLAN-ARGHŪN, brother of Malikshāh who, on the death of the lätter, seized possession of Khurāsān and the province of Balkh, defeated and put to death another brother, Buribars, who had been sent against him (488/1095), but incurred odium as a result of his punitive measures against the supporters of his defeated brother and his destruction, as a preventative measure, of the ramparts of Marw, Nīshāpūr, Sarakhs, Sabzawār etc.; he was finally killed in 490 by one of his slaves. His young son, aged seven, was easily swept aside by Sandjar, the brother and lieutenant of the Sulṭān Barkyāruḳ. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34, speaks of an Arslan-Arghūn, a brother of Alp Arslan, who received from him the government of Khwārizm at the time when Malikshāh was proclaimed heir-presumptive; the author of the *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 40, gives the same information, but calls this Arslan Arghūn the son of Alp Arslan, and therefore identical with the brother of Malikshah; but according to ʿImād al-Dīn Bundārī, 257, followed by Ibn al-ʿAthīr, 178-80, the brother of Malikshāh was twenty-six years old at the time of his death, and only possessed at the death of the former a small *iḳṭāʿ* in Western Persia; although nothing else is known of a brother of Alp-Arslan of this name, it seems as though we must conclude that two individuals of this name existed. Descendants of the brother of Malikshāh were still living at Marw in the middle of the 6th/12th century.

Bibliography: ʿImād al-Dīn/Bundarī, ed. Houtsma, *Receuil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, ii, 84, 255-8, whence Ibn al-Athīr, x, 178-80; *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, ed. Moh. Iqbāl, Lahore 1933, 33, 34 (relations between Arslan-Arghūn and the ʿAmīd-i Khurāsān known as Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Nasawī), 40 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr 34), 54; ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī called Ibn Funduḳ, *Tarīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Teheran 1337/1938, 72, 270. (CL. CAHEN)

ARSLAN KHĀN [see ḲARAKHĀNIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. **KIRMĀN SHĀH** [see SALDJŪḲIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. **MASʿŪD ABU 'L-ḤĀRITH** [see ZANGIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. **MASʿŪD** [see GHAZNAWIDS].

ARSLAN SHĀH B. **ṬOGHRUL SHĀH** [see SALDJŪḲS OF KIRMĀN].

ARSLANLI [see GHURŪSH].

ARSŪF, small fishing port on the coast of Palestine, 10 miles north of Jaffa. The Arabic name probably preserves its original dedication to the Semitic god Reseph. Under the Seleucids it was renamed Apollonia. In the early centuries of the Caliphate it was one of the principal fortified cities of the province of Filasṭīn. It was occupied by the Crusaders under Baldwin I in 494/1101 and called by them Azotus; recaptured by Saladin in 583/1187; scene of an engagement between Saladin and Richard I, 14 Shaʿbān 587/7 Sept. 1191; restored to the Crusaders under the truce with Richard 588/1192; refortified by John of Arsūf 640/1242; captured by sultan Baybars Bunduḳdārī after a forty-days' siege, 11 Radjab 663/29 April 1265, and left in ruins.

Bibliography: Maḳdisī 174; Yāḳūt s.v.; Abu 'l-Fidā (Reinaud) 239; ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳudsī* (Landberg), 383-7; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i (Cairo 1934), 528-30; general histories of the Crusades; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, index; G. Beyer in *Zeitschr. d. deut. Palästina-Vereins*, lxviii (1951), 152-8, 178-84.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

ART [see articles on countries, cities and dynasties, ʿADJ, ARABESQUE, ARCHITECTURE, BINĀʾ, ḲĀLĪ, NAḲSH, RASM etc.].

ARTENA [see ERETNA].

ARTILLERY [see BĀRŪD, TOP].

ARTUḲIDS, (not URṬUKIDS), a Turkish dynasty which reigned over the whole or part of Diyār Bakr, either independently or under Mongol protectorate, from the end of the 5th/11th to the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

Artuḳ, son of Ekseb, belonged to the Turkoman tribe Döger [*q.v.*]. In 1073 he was in Asia Minor, operating for and against the Byzantine Emperor

ARTUḲ
ILGHĀZĪ
(Mārdīn then Mayāfāriḳīn and Aleppo)
SUKMĀN
(Ḥiṣn-Kayfā then Mārdīn)
Bahrām
ʿAbd al-Djabbār
Alpyārūḳ
ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN
TIMURTASH
(Mārdīn then Mayyāfāriḳīn)
SHAMS AL-DAWLA
SULAYMĀN
(Mayyāfāriḳīn)
IBRĀHĪM
(Mārdīn)
RUḲN AL-DAWLA
DĀŪD
(Ḥiṣn-Kayfā then Khartpert)
NŪR AL-DAWLA
BALAK
(Khartpert)
BADR AL-DAWLA
SULAYMĀN
Aleppo
YĀḲŪTĪ
(Mārdīn)
ʿALĪ
NADJM AL-DĪN ALPI
ḲUṬB AL-DĪN ILGHĀZĪ
ḲARA-ARSLAN
NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤ,
acquires (Āmid)
ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR
YAVLAK-ARSLAN
loses Mayyāfāriḳīn
ARTUḲ-ARSLAN
ḲUṬB AL-DĪN SUKMĀN
(Āmid and Ḥiṣn-Kayfā)
NĀṢIR AL-DĪN
MAḤMŪD
NIẒĀM AL-DĪN
IBRĀHĪM
(Khartpert)
NADJM AL-DĪN
GHĀZĪ AL-SAʿĪD
RUKN AL-DĪN
MAWDŪD
KHIḌR
ḲARA-ARSLAN
AL-MUẒAFFAR
MASʿŪD
NŪR AL-DĪN
ARTUḲSHĀH
SHAMS AL-DIN
DĀʾŪD AL-SAʿĪD
NADJM AL-DĪN
GHĀZĪ-AL-MANṢŪR
(recovers Āmid, etc.)
ʿALĪ-ALPĪ
SHAMS AL-DĪN
MAḤMŪD AL-ṢĀLIḤ
ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN
AḤMAD AL-MANṢŪR
AL-MUẒAFFAR DĀʾŪD
SHAMS AL-DĪN
MAḤMŪD AL-ṢĀLIḤ
NADJM AL-DĪN
ʿĪSĀ AL-ẒĀHIR
AL-ṢĀLIḤ

Michael VII, but he later appears principally as an officer in the service of the Great Salḏjūḳ Malikshāh. In 1077 he brought the Carmathians of Baḥrayn under the rule of Malikshāh; in 1079 Malikshāh placed him under the command of his brother Tutush in the Syrian campaign, and in 1084 under Ibn Djahīr in the Diyār Bakr campaign; in 1085 he was sent to Khurāsān against the sultan's brother, Tökūsh. He received as an *iḳṭāʿ* Ḥalwān, a strategic point in southern Kurdistān. From 1085 onwards, however, he intrigued in Diyār Bakr with Muslim, the Arab prince of Mawṣil and Aleppo, who was at variance with Malikshāh. The death of Muslim obliged him to re-enter the service of Tutush, who gave him Palestine (1086). The date of his death is not known; he left several sons, among whom were Sukmān and Ilghāzī.

After the death of Malikshāh, the Artuḳids, led by Tutush into Djazīra, helped him to dispute the throne with his nephews (1092-5); on the death of Tutush, they supported his son Ruḍwān of Aleppo against another son, Duḳāḳ of Damascus; they later lost Palestine, and its reconquest by Egypt (1098) and subsequent occupation by the Crusaders finally prevented their return there. One of the two Artuḳid leaders, Ilghāzī, then entered for a time the service of Muḥammad, one of the sons of Malikshāh, whom he had supported against his brother Barkyāruḳ, and who made him governor of ʿIrāḳ, but the Turkomans from whom the family derived its strength remained in Diyār Bakr. In 1097, the nephew of Suḳmān succeeded in occupying Mārdīn. Suḳmān himself, who had taken possession of Sarūdj, was expelled from there by the Crusaders (1097), but, as a result of quarrels between the chiefs of Djazīra, obtained possession of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (1102), controlled numerous districts further north, and then inherited Mārdīn. He took part in the wars against the Franks, and in 1104 before Ḥarrān captured Count Baldwin of Edessa. He died soon afterwards.

Muḥammad, who became sole sultan by the death of Barkyāruḳ, sent Ilghāzī back to Diyār Bakr, where in 1107 he had a hand in the defeat of Kilidj Arslān of Rūm, who had been summoned by Muḥammad's enemies, and in 1108 he took the place at Mārdīn of one of the sons of Suḳmān (another son, Dāʾūd, retained Ḥiṣn Kayfā). Other chiefs, at Āmid, Akhlāṭ, Arzan etc., carved out seignories for themselves. Muḥammad tried to unite them for the Holy War against the Franks; he could not prevent the rupture, in the middle of the campaign, between Ilghāzī and Suḳmān of Akhlāṭ, who, however, died (1110). From then on, relations between Ilghāzī and Muḥammad became strained; the former more and more avoided participation in the expeditions sent against the Franks by the Sultan, from which, having regard to the risks run, only Saldjūḳ authority stood to gain. In 1114, Ilghāzī formed a Turkoman coalition against the governor of Mawṣil, Aḳsunḳur al-Barsuḳī. He was victorious, but, apprehensive of retaliation by Muḥammad, fled to Syria, and reached an understanding not only with Tughtegin, the *atabeg* of Damascus, who was also disturbed at the Sultan's Syrian ventures, but even with the Franks of Antioch; the latter, by crushing the Saldjūḳ army (1115), saved Ilghāzī. In 1118, Muḥammad died, and Ilghāzī seized possession of the last Saldjūḳid post in Diyār Bakr, Mayyāfāriḳīn. He was now a power to be reckoned with. Aleppo, threatened by the Franks and rent by anarchy, appealed to him, despite its leading men's dislike of handing over power to him. Ilghāzī, secure as regards the Saldjūḳids, did not wish to see the power of the Franks increase. In agreement with Tukhtegin, he answered the appeal (1118), and, in 1119, his Turkomans inflicted on the Franks of Antioch a resounding defeat. Their base, however, remained in Diyār Bakr, and, in face of the reaction of other Franks, Ilghāzī was disposed to make peace. He was also called into action against the Georgians; this time he was defeated (1121). Nevertheless his prestige was unimpaired at the time of his death in 1122.

From 1113 onwards, his nephew Balak had been progressively building up, north-east of Diyār Bakr, astride the eastern Euphrates, a stable principality whose chief town, from about 1115, had been Khartpert. Moreover, as tutor of the Saldjūḳid of Malaṭya, who was a minor, he achieved fame by crushing, with the aid of an alliance with the Dānishmandid Gümüshtegin, Ibn Mangudjak of Erzindjān and the Byzantine governor of Trebizond, Gavras (1120), and later, while in the service of Ilghāzī, by capturing Joscelin of Edessa (1122), and, after the death of Ilghāzī, Baldwin of Jerusalem, who had come to protect the Franco-Armenians of the border regions of the Euphrates (1123). He was then able to take the place of another nephew of Ilghāzī at Aleppo but was killed while besieging Manbidj in 1124. Aleppo then passed out of Artuḳid hands.

In Diyār Bakr, where they remained firmly entrenched, Shams al-Dawla Sulaymān, son of Ilghāzī, who had succeeded at Mayyāfāriḳīn, also died at the end of 524/1129-30. Another son of Ilghāzī, Timurtash, already master of Mārdīn, succeeded him. Balak's principality had passed to Dāʾūd, the son and successor, since 1104, of Suḳmān at Ḥiṣn Kayfā. From then on, the two branches maintained a separate existence for two centuries.

The period of expansion, however, was at an end. From 1127 Zenkī ruled at Mawṣil, and from 1128 at Aleppo also; he built up a strong kingdom there. Timurtash acted as Zenkī's vassal, by hostile action against Dāʾūd, then (1144) against his son Ḳara-Arslan, as well as against the prince of Āmid whom Zenkī and he besieged in 1133. Dāʾūd had been active in the north, where he had also conducted an anti-Georgian expedition; he had absorbed the small seignories bordering on his own, especially to the east of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. But he was subjected to relentless pressure from Zenkī, who conquered Buhtān, east of Diyār Bakr, and, on the accession of Ḳara Arslan, the districts lying between Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Khartpert. Ḳara Arslan was forced to effect a rapprochement with the Franco-Armenians of Edessa against whom, like Timurtash, he had waged war from time to time; the capture of Edessa by Zenkī (1144) was a disaster for him too, but he was saved by his enemy's death (1146). Not without difficulty Timurtash and Ḳara Arslan divided Diyār Bakr between them.

Zenkī's dominions were divided between Nūr al-Dīn at Aleppo, and at Mawṣil a line of other princes, brothers and nephews of Nūr al-Dīn, who increasingly brought them under his tutelage. His struggle against the Franks and his efforts in the Mawṣil direction led him again to seek an alliance with the Artuḳids; he did not contend with them for Diyār Bakr and allowed them north of the Euphrates to take their share of the spoils of the Count of Edessa, but dragged them along in his wake in holy wars against the Franks or Byzantines. Nevertheless his relations with them were excellent, especially with Ḳara Arslan, and Alpī, the son and successor of

Timurtas̲h̲, sought to secure his position by obtaining the protection of the S̲h̲āh-i Armin of Ak̲h̲lāṭ, whom he was obliged in return to aid against the Georgians. Ḳara Arslan himself, in 1163, attempted to take Āmid from the Inālids and the Nīsānids, but was prevented from doing so by a Dānis̲h̲mandid attack; but soon his son Muḥammad, with Nūr al-Dīn, went to the aid of the Dānis̲h̲mandids who were threatened by the expansionist policy of the Sald̲j̲ūḳids of Ḳonya. The growing power of Nūr al-Dīn had imperceptibly caused the Artuḳids to assume the rôle of vassals, when Nūr al-Dīn died in 1174.

The history of the following years is mainly concerned with the resistance offered by the princes of Upper Mesopotamia to the ambitions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who, master of Egypt, gradually took possession of the Syro-D̲j̲azīran heritage of Nūr al-Dīn. The Artuḳids to begin with gave their united support to the Zenkids of Mawṣil. Then Muḥammad considered it more prudent to come to terms with Ṣalāh al-Dīn, who captured Āmid, for long the object of his envious regard, and gave it to Muḥammad as fief; from then on it became the family seat (1183). Muḥammad's death shortly afterwards, which left only young princes on the throne of Āmid, Mārdīn, Ak̲h̲lāt and Mawṣil, together with the division of Muḥammad's dominions into two branches, Ḥiṣn Kayfā with Āmid, and K̲h̲artpert, increased their subjection to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; the latter directly established his authority in Diyār Bakr in 1185 by the occupation of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

The Artuḳids were from then on only remnants gradually whittled away by the successors of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn of the Ayyūbid dynasty, his brother al-ʿĀdil and the latter's descendants, who became masters of Ak̲h̲lāṭ in 1207 but were sometimes divided among themselves. Against the most powerful of them, al-Kāmil of Egypt, the Artuḳids became for a time vassals of the Sald̲j̲ūḳids of Rūm, then expanding rapidly to the east, and then of the K̲h̲ʷārizms̲h̲āh D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Mangubertī, who had become master of Ad̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and Ak̲h̲lāṭ; Sald̲j̲ūḳid vengeance caused them to lose the towns north of the Euphrates (1226), and the vengeance of al-Kāmil deprived them of Āmid and Ḥiṣn Kayfā (1232-3). Al-Kāmil quarrelled with the Sald̲j̲ūḳid Kayḳubād̲h̲ and was defeated, and as a result the Artuḳid of K̲h̲artpert, who had supported him, was dispossessed in his turn (1234). From then on only the Mārdīn branch remained; this continued to exist for nearly another two centuries. In 1260 its representative, al-Malik al-Saʿīd, endured a lengthy siege by the Mongols; but his death saved the dynasty, for his son, al-Muẓaffar, submitted to Hūlāgū and thus, as a humble vassal, preserved the heritage of his ancestors.

The internal organisation and the civilisation of the Artuḳid principalities are too little known and, on the whole, too lacking in originality, for them to merit a general study on their own. Forming, with the exception of K̲h̲artpert, part of the Muslim world since the Arab conquests, the territories over which the Artuḳids reigned continued to be governed by the same people (for example the illustrious family of the Banū Nubāta at Mayyafāriḳīn) and according to the same principles (summarised in the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* of Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-Ḳars̲h̲ī al-Adwī, *wazir* of Mārdīn in the 7th/13th century) which had existed formerly or still existed in the neighbouring principalities. The taxes recorded in one or two inscriptions are those obtaining everywhere, and it would be unwise to attach more than a passing significance to the anecdote which emphasises the lightness of the burdens borne by the rural elements subject to Timurtas̲h̲ compared with those subject to Zenkī. The introduction of the Turcoman element had no effect on the traditional economic activity of the country, which was based on agriculture and stock-breeding, the iron and copper mines, and trade with ʿIrāḳ and Georgia. Culturally, although we do not know of any writer of note who lived in the entourage of the Artuḳids, the Arabic literary tradition was sufficiently alive among them for a Usāma b. Munḳid̲h̲, for example, an exile from Syria, to have lived for several years at the court of Ḳara Arslan at Ḥiṣn Kayfā.

When all this has been said, we still have to see whether, by virtue of its origin or otherwise, the Artuḳid régime had any particular characteristics. The first problem is that of Turcoman influence. The Turcomans remained until the end an important element in the life of Diyār Bakr, in the south perhaps more than in the north, where the Kurds were always dominant; and Diyâr Bakr was one of the starting points for the vast Turcoman migration of Rustem, which embraced about 1185-90 the whole of eastern and central Asia Minor. It is known, on the other hand, that the few verses which constitute the earliest specimen of popular literature in the Turkish language in western Asia, emanated from Artuḳid territory. There is no doubt that the Artuḳid dynasty did not remain purely Turcoman. The use of the symbolic arrow, however, continued for some time, and the princes (but not more than the Zenkids, who were not of direct Turcoman origin) preserved in their style, alongside Arab and Persian names, specifically Turkish titles. There has been much discussion on the significance of the animal motifs on certain coins or in decorative work on buildings, which perhaps belong to a general group of Turkish traditional symbolic signs. None of this has much bearing on the actual organisation of the Artuḳid principalities. What perhaps has a greater bearing on this, if it must be attributed to an original tribal practice deriving from authority which was more family than individual, is the impossibility which faced the dynasty of avoiding apportionment, and the numerous and detrimental grants of apanages to "princes of the blood". All the same, it is hardly open to dispute that the continued existence of the dynasty at Mārdīn, and its replacement by the Ayyūbid Kurds north of the Tigris, should be related to the redistribution of the population and consequently to the support given to the Artuḳids by the Turcomans despite the existence of numerous Turks in the Ayyūbid army. This does not mean to say that the Artuḳids had had much quarrel with their Kurdish subjects, despite memories of the Marwānids; nevertheless one sees them pursuing on their eastern frontiers the same policy of reabsorbing the autonomous Kurdish states which Zenkī was following a little further south, and at the end of the century a massacre of Kurds, with whom they were indeed formerly half intermixed, marked the beginning of the migration of the Turcomans of Rustem.

As regards religious belief, the attitude of the Artuḳids seems in general to have been fairly tolerant. It is true that they took part in the general trends towards orthodoxy which characterises the Sald̲j̲ūḳid and post-Sald̲j̲ūḳid period, and were among the most active builders of *madrasas* and mosques and executors of public works (bridges, *k̲h̲āns*, etc.) and military defence works. Ilg̲h̲āzī, who was of necessity a diplomat, had avoided a complete breaḳ with

the Assassins; none of his successors had the appearance of a champion of orthodoxy comparable to that of Nūr al-Dīn, and one of them, at Khartpert, favoured the Persian mystic Suhrawardī who, it is true, had at that time not yet been denounced as heterodox. The same tolerance, on the whole, characterised the relations of the Artuḳids with their Christian subjects. The latter complained, in the second half of the 6th/12th century in particular, of various tribulations; but popular disturbances sometimes among the Kurds, rather than any action by the government, seem to have been at the root of the matter. About 1180, Turkomans and Kurds massacred, on the borders north of Diyār Bakr, the Armenians of Djabal Sassūn, but the latter constituted a quasi-autonomous group, intriguing frequently with the Shāh-i Armīn, and the action of which they were the victims was therefore of a political rather than religious nature. Towards their ordinary Christian subjects, it has to be admitted that the Artuḳids acted with correctitude. There is no other explanation for the fact that the Armenian Catholicus resided for a period during the 12th century at Dzovk, in the province of Khartpert, and that the patriarch of the Monophysites constantly alternated his periods of residence at the Convent of Mār Barṣawma (itself momentarily subject to the Artuḳids, but normally a dependency of Edessa, and then of the princes of Malaṭya) with periods of residence at Āmid or at Mārdīn, where their election frequently took place with Artuḳid permission. Several bishoprics, especially Monophysite, always existed in Diyār Bakr, the Christian population remained numerous and, on the south-eastern frontiers of the province, the district of Ṭūr-ʿAbdīn remained a great centre of monastic life until the 8th/14th century.

The strange character of Artuḳid coins, which, like those of the Dānishmandids, for long resembled ancient Byzantine coins, is sometimes explained as a Christian influence. This does not seem to me to be a sufficient explanation. To speak of the impossibility of finding an artisan capable of striking Muslim coins in an ancient Muslim country does not make sense; nor does the importance of trade with Byzantium carry greater weight, because it is impossible to believe that it had suddenly assumed greater importance than trade with neighbouring Muslim states, or that the copper pieces with which we are exclusively concerned could be used for any other purpose than local consumption. These arguments are admissible for the Dānishmandids, but not for the Artuḳids, and the problem deserves to be reconsidered as a whole.

The history of the Artuḳids after the Mongol conquest, despite their disappearance from the larger political stage, should not cease to attract our interest as an example of how an autonomous principality adapted itself to new circumstances; unfortunately very little is known about it. The Artuḳids played the role of loyal servants of the Ilkhāns; they gained, apart from the title of sultan, the advantage of being considered for a time as auxiliaries or delegates of Mongol authority, and of recovering more or less permanently a considerable part of Diyār Bakr (Āmid, in a state of decay, Mayyāfāriḳīn, perhaps Isʿird) and in addition Khābūr, only Ḥiṣn Kayfā (Ayyūbid) and Arzan (Saldjūḳid) remaining autonomous. Moreover, like all the vassals of the Ilkhāns, the Artuḳids, in the second quarter of the 8th/15th century, as a result of the break-up of the Mongol state, found themselves once more free, and subsequently free to bow momentarily before one or other of the new powers created by this break-up. The little which is known of their "foreign policy" shows them trying to preserve their pre-eminence in the face of, on the one hand, the Ayyūbids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, against whom they waged in 735/1334 an unsuccessful war which cost them their possessions on the left bank of the Tigris, and on the other hand the Mongols, Turcomans and Mamlūks who contested Upper Mesopotamia with them. On the one hand they appear to have joined forces with the Turcomans against the Kurds of the north, supporters of the Ayyūbids; there is, however, no further mention of any special link with their parent tribe, the Döger, now settled further to the west, on the borders of the Mamlūk state; on the other hand, with the formation of the two great rival Turcoman federations of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū and the Ḳara Ḳoyūnlū in Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia in the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Artuḳids seem at first to have supported the enemies of the latter (although it is not possible to affirm that they belonged strictly to the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū group); but, some time before the invasion of Tīmūr, a general rapprochement seems to have taken place between the Mongols (Djalāʾirids) of Baghdād, the Ḳara Ḳoyūnlū, the Artuḳids and the Mamlūks.

Whatever the position regarding these disputed questions, on another plane, that of economic and social life, the increase, by comparison with pre-Mongol times, of the nomad element compared with the settled element, and the consequent decline of agricultural life, are not open to dispute. Nevertheless some towns, among them Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Mārdīn, perhaps derived profit from the surrounding decadence, which made them valuable places of refuge. Building was definitely still going on at Mārdīn in the 8th/14th century, and Arab culture, represented, for example, by the poet Ṣayf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, still held an honoured position there. Christianity, favoured by the Mongols, but sometimes ill-treated by their descendants, retained for its part a certain vitality in Artuḳid territory: the Monophysite patriarch often resided at Mārdīn, and Daniel bār al-Khaṭṭāb is a theologian still held in respect there.

The invasion of Tīmūr caused fresh upheavals. Ṣulṭān al-Ẓāhir ʿĪsā, suspected of maintaining a connexion with Egypt, could not save his principality from the ravages of the conqueror. He contended with the Ayyūbids, zealous vassals of Tīmūr, and especially with the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū who, to begin with on behalf of Tīmūr, then, after his death, on their own account, sought to conquer the Artuḳid principality; in 809, al-Ẓāhir was killed making a vain attempt to save Āmid, and in 811/1409 his successor al-Ṣāliḥ decided to abandon Mārdīn to Ḳara Yūsuf, the leader of the Ḳara Ḳoyūnlū. This represented the end of the dynasty and of the period of comparative autonomy of southern Diyār Bakr.

Bibliography: The sources are those for the general history of the Near East from the end of the 5th/11th to the beginning of the 9th/15th century. For the 12th-13th centuries see the introduction to my *Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940. Special note should be made of the following: for the 11th century, the History of Aleppo of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. Sāmī Dahhān, Damascus vol. 1, 1951, vol. 2, 1954, vol. 3 in preparation), the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (the portion relevant to this period has not been published), and, for the Baḥrayn eposide,

the annotator of Ibn al-Mukarrab (De Goeje, *La fin des Karmates*, in *JA* 1895); for the 12th century, the Syriac chronicle of Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. by Chabot, iii, and above all, a unique extant chronicle originating from Artuḳid Diyār Bakr, the History of Mayyāfāriḳīn of Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī (unpublished; analysis of the political events in my *Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA* 1935); for the 13th century, before the Mongol intervention, the great histories of Ibn al-ʿAdīm (mentioned above), Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Wāṣil (edition in course of preparation by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Alexandria; vol. 1, appeared in 1953), al-Djazārī (*Oriens* 1951, 151), and especially the section relating to Djazīra in the *Aʿlāḳ* of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (unpublished; analysis in my *Djazira au XIIIe s.*, in *REI* 1934), which constitute the Arab sources, and, in addition, in Persian, the History of the Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor of Ibn Bībī (facsimile edition by A. S. Erzi, Ankara 1956, critical edition by N. Lugal and A. S. Erzi, i, Ankara 1957; a Turkish version was edited by T. Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, A. German translation by H. W. Duda is in the press.) and, in Syriac, the *Chronography* of Gregory Abu 'l-Faradj Bar Hebraeus (ed. and trans. by Budge); for the Mongol, post-Mongol and Tīmūrid period, one must glean the fragments of information scattered among the standard chronicles of the Mamlūks, the Ilkhānids and Tīmūr, and more especially in the *History of the Ayyubids* (of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, unpublished, analysis by the author in *JA* 1955), and augment this by the *inshāʾ* works of the period, the continuation of the Syriac Eccleciastical Chronicle of Bar-Hebraeus (ed. Abbeloos and Lamy) and (for the period since Tīmūr) the anonymous Syriac work edited and translated by Behnsch (Bratislava 1838) and the Armenian history of Tamerlane by Thomas de Medzroph (ed. and trans. by Nève); see also the *dīwān* of Sayf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, and, perhaps, the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* of Abū Bakr Tihrānī (end of the 15th century), which is not accessible to me (see *IA*, articles Diyarbekir and Akkoyunlu, and Faruk Sumer, article mentioned below).

The inscriptions, collected up to the beginning of the 14th century in *RCEA*, have nearly all been studied by Sauvaget in the appendix to A. Gabriel, *Voyage archéologique en Turquie Orientale*, 1940; see also Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak* (*Ars Islamica* 1938) and Sül. Savci, *Silvan Tarihi*, Diyarbekir 1949. — For buildings, see Gabriel, *op. cit.* — For *objets d'art*, see J. T. Reinaud, *Monuments Blacas*, ii, 40, and P. Casanova, *Inventaire de la collection Princesse Ismail*, 1896. For coins (not a few unpublished coins exist in private collections), the Istanbul and British Museum catalogues, and S. Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Urtuḳis*, in *Marsden Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875; B. Butak, *Resimli turk paralari*, Istanbul 1947-50.

The only comprehensive modern studies are those, necessarily brief, by Mukr. Halil Yinanç (*Diyarbekir*) and Köprülü (*Artuk-oğullarī*) in *IA*. My *Diyar Bakr* etc. mentioned above, one of my early works, is only of value for political events; see also my *Première Pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure* (*Byzantion* 1948) and my *Syrie du Nord* mentioned above: the histories of the Crusades of Grousset and Runciman; the valuable commentaries on inscriptions by Van Berchem in *Abh. G. W. Göttingen* 1897, and in Strzygowsky, *Amida* 1910; H. Derenbourg, *Ousama b. Mounkidh*, i, 1886; Faruk Sümer, *Dögerlere Dair*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuasī* 1953. For the 14th century, see my *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār Bakr au XIVe s.*, in *JA*, 1955; on Daniel bar al-Khaṭṭāb, Nau, in *Rev. Or. Chrét.* 1950. (Cl. Cahen)

ARTVIN, town in the far north-east of Turkey, 41° 10′ north, 41° 50′ east, situated on the Çoruh. It was ceded to Russia by the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 together with Kars and Ardahan, and ceded back by Georgia on Feb. 23rd, 1921. Since then, it has been the centre of the *ḳaḍā* and the capital of the *wilāyet* of Çoruh. In 1945, there were 3,980 inhabitants in the town itself and 16,966 in the *ḳaḍā*. (Fr. Taeschner)

ʿARŪBA [see ta'rīkh].

ʿARŪḌ. I. *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* is the technical term for ancient Arabic metrics. *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* and *ʿIlm al-shiʿr* are occasionally used synonymously in the sense of "science of versification", and in this extended sense *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* embraces not only the Science of Metre, but also the Science of Rhyme. Usually, however, the rules governing rhyme (*ʿIlm al-Ḳawāfī*, sg. *Ḳāfiya*) are treated separately, and *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* is confined to metrics in the stricter sense. As such, Arabic philologists define it in the following manner: *Al-ʿarūḍ ʿilm bi-uṣūl yuʿraf bihā ṣaḥīḥ awzān al-shiʿr wa-fāsiduhā* (*ʿArūḍ* is the science of the rules by means of which one distinguishes correct metres from faulty ones in ancient poetry).

There is no generally accepted etymology for this sense of the term *ʿArūḍ*. Some Arabic grammarians maintain that it acquired the meaning of metrics because the verse is constructed on its analogy (*yuʿraḍ ʿalayhi*); others say that the term was used because al-Khalīl developed it in Mecca, and this city is also called al-ʿArūḍ. Georg Jacob (*Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, 180) has suggested a curious explanation by pointing to the passage in the *Dīwān* of the Hudhaylites (95, 16), where the poem is compared to an obstinate female camel (*ʿarūḍ*) which the poet tames. The most plausible explanation still remains the one based on the concrete meaning which *ʿArūḍ* has as part of a tent, and the transferred sense which it acquired in metrics, as the last foot of the first hemistich: originally it describes "the transverse pole or piece of wood which is in the middle of a tent, and which is its main support and hence the middle portion (or foot) of a verse" (Lane). Since the last foot of the first hemistich in the centre of the line (*bayt al-shiʿr*) is as important for its structure as the centre pole is for that of the tent (*bayt al-shaʿr*), one may readily assume that *ʿArūḍ* then came to be the general term for the science of metric structure.

There are few works on metrics by Arab philologists, and their contents are of little value. This fact is all the more surprising if one bears in mind how many works of lasting value have been written by prominent Muslim scholars on grammar and lexicography. The *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ*, which al-Khalīl, the founder of the science of metrics, is said to have written, has not survived, nor have any of the works on the subject written by the older grammarians. The earliest monographs which we have concerning *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ*, in the wider sense, date from the turn of the 3rd century A. H. There are sections on metrics in some of the larger *Adab* works; the oldest and best known of these can be found in the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* (Ed. Cairo, 1305, III, 146 ff.) of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (died 328/940). The following list gives the names o

4th century		
Ibn Ḳaysān	1, 110	*talḳib al-ḳawāfī wa-talḳib ḥarakātihā*; ed. W. Wright in *Opuscula arabica* (1859) 47-74.
Al-Ṣāḥib al-Talkānī	S. 1, 199	*al-iḳnāʿ fī 'l-ʿarūḍ*
Ibn Djinnī	1, 126; S. 1, 192	
5th century		
Al-Rabaʿī	S. 1, 491	
Al-Ḳundhurī	1, 286	
Al-Tibrīzī	1, 279; S. 1, 492	1) *al-kāfī* 2) *al-wāfī*
6th century		
Al-Zamakhsharī	1, 291; S. 1, 511	*al-ḳusṭās fī 'l-ʿarūḍ*
Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ	1, 308; S. 1, 540	*al-ʿarūḍ al-bāriʿ*
Al-Dahhān	1, 281	
Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī	1, 301	
Al-Saḳḳāṭ	1, 282; S. 1, 495	
7th century		
Abū 'l-Djaysh al-Andalusī	1, 310; S. 1, 544	*ʿarūḍ al-Andalusī*; first printed Istanbul 1261; much commented upon.
Al-Khazradjī	1, 312; S. 1, 545	*al-ḳaṣīda al-khazradjiyya*; critical ed. by R. Basset: *Le Khazradjiyah, Traité de métrique arabe* (Alger 1902); the text can also be found in all editions of the *Madjmūʿ al-mutūn al-kabīr*; much commented upon.
Ibn al-Ḥādjib	1, 305; S. 1, 537	*al-maḳṣad al-djalīl fī ʿilm al-Khalīl*; ed. Freytag in: *Darstellung der arab. Verskunst* (1830) 334 ff.; much commented upon.
Al-Maḥallī	1, 307; S. 1, 539	1) *shifā* 2) *urdjūza*
Ibn Mālik	1, 300	*al-ʿarūḍ*
8th century		
Al-Kalāwisī	2, 259	
Al-Sāwī	2, 239; S. 2, 258	*al-ḳaṣīda al-ḥusnā*
9th century		
Al-Damāmīnī	2, 26	
Al-Ḳināʾī	2, 27; S. 2, 22	*al-kāfī fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-ḳawāfī*. First printed Cairo 1273; copied in the *Madjmūʿ*; much commented upon.
Al-Shirwānī	2, 194	
11th century		
Al-Isfarāʾinī	2, 380; S. 2,513	
12th century		
Al-Ṣabbān	2, 288; S. 2, 399	*manẓūma* [*al-shāfiya al-kāfiya*] *fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*; printed several times in Cairo; also copied in all editions of the *Madjmūʿ*.

those Arab philologists whose works on metrics are preserved in manuscripts (—mere commentators are omitted). They are arranged in centuries, reckoning from the Hidjra, and details are given only in the case of the better known works; references to Brockelmann are, however, given in every case.

Just as the ancient Indians and Greeks developed their own form of metric poetry, so did the ancient Arabs. Ancient Arabic poems were already written and recited in the known metres a hundred years before Islam, and they retained their form more or less unchanged in the succeeding centuries. The usual ancient Arabic poem, the so-called *Ḳaṣīda*, [*q.v.*] is comparatively short and simple in its structure. It consists of 50 to 100 monorhyming lines (rarely of more), and there is no strophic division in ancient Arabic poetry. Each line (*bayt*, pl. *abyāt*) consists of two clearly distinct halves (*miṣrāʿ*, pl. *maṣārīʿ*); the name for the first hemistich being *al-ṣadr*, that for the second *al-ʿadjuz*. Only these more obvious attributes of the line were recognised and named during the 1st century A.H. Al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (died ca. 175 A.H. in Baṣra) was the first to investigate the inner, rhythmical structure of Arabic verse; he distinguished between different metres, gave them the names by which we still know them, and divided them up into their subordinate metric elements. The written description and analysis of observations made by ear presented, however, very serious difficulties.

In all languages the choice and position of words in prose is solely governed by generally accepted syntactic rules and by the desire of the speaker to express his thoughts as clearly as possible. In poetry, however, when it is based on rhythm, the choice of words and their sequence within the line is not so uncontrolled. The rhythm of the verse and the metres in which it finds its external expression are

created by the following factors: 1) the observance of a definite order in the sequence of syllables within the line, and 2) the regular recurrence of accent, indicated either by stress or some other means. The rhythm of a line in poetry is as completely tied to the phonetic properties of the language in which it is written as are the syllables of the words in the prose of the language concerned. This is, above all, a matter of the *duration* of the syllables and the *stress* with which they are pronounced. Syllables have a measurable length in all languages, but whereas in some (e.g. in the Germanic languages) there is no fixed and definite proportion of length of syllables (for, although there are admittedly some syllables in these languages which are always long and others which are always short, there are many which have no fixed quantity), there are, on the other hand, other languages (such as ancient Greek) where the quantity of every syllable in every word is absolutely fixed. In these, there is a strict distinction between long and short syllables in prose, too; the ratio of their length is roughly 2 : 1. The position is similar with regard to the element of stress: whilst in every language there is one syllable in a word which is somehow raised above the others, the strength of this accent is, however, something which differs widely in the individual languages. Thus, for example, ancient Greek uses musical pitch, whereby individual syllables are distinguished only by a higher tone, whilst in the Germanic languages they are distinguished by an expiratory stress which renders them more emphatic in comparison with the other syllables. The rhythmic structure of the verse has in all languages to adapt itself to these qualities of the syllables. If the quantity of the syllables is definitely fixed, then the rhythm of the verse is attained largely by regularly recurring sequences of short and long syllables, forming metrical 'feet', which last the same length of time. One then speaks of 'quantitative' verse. If, on the other hand, stress, rather than any fixed quantity, is the characteristic by means of which definite syllables are distinguished from their neighbours, then the rhythm of the verse and the structure of its metre, will both be largely produced by the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. In this case we speak of 'accentual' verse.

From the prose of the Ḳorʾān, and the poetry of the ancient poets, as it has come down to us, we know that in the ancient Arabic language the quantity of the syllables was definitely fixed. From certain grammatical facts one may assume that an expiratory accent was also present, though only slightly developed. *A priori* one can therefore assume that the rhythm in ancient Arabic verse (as in ancient Greek verse) found its expression in 'quantitative' metrics. The theoretical treatment of this problem, however, was at that time a far more difficult one for the Arabic philologist than for the Greek prosodist. The latter used the term 'syllable', made a clear distinction between short and long syllables, and chose the short syllable, the χρόνος πρῶτος, as the basic unit for measuring the duration of the verse. They also had a term and a graphic sign for the pitch by which one syllable in every word was distinguished. Arabic philologists, by contrast, did not possess the *concept* of syllable, let alone the refinement of the 'short syllable'. Al-Khalīl, too, did not know the words 'syllable' and 'stress', yet his ear surely perceived what we call syllables and stresses, for his graphic paraphrase —which we can understand if we try hard—does give us a clear picture of the rhythm in ancient Arabic verse.

Primarily, Al-Khalīl made good use of the peculiarities of Arabic script, in which the face of each word is a guide to the quantity of its syllables: one individual 'moving' consonant (*ḥarf mutaḥarrik*), i.e. a consonant with a vowel sign (e.g. بِ، قَ), corresponds to what we call a short syllable, and two consonants, of which the first is 'moving' and the second 'quiescent' (*sākin*) (e.g. فِي، لَوْ، قَدْ), correspond to what we call a long syllable. There are only a few fixed spellings which fail to comply with this rule (e.g. بِنْ بِنْ = بِ، وَلْ = وَاْلْ، أَاخَرُ = آخَرُ، قَتْتَلَ = قَتَّلَ، ذَالِكَ = ذٰلِكَ). Thanks to this peculiarity of the Arabic script, Al-Khalīl was able to take the face of the verse as a basis for his treatment of Arabic metres. In order to be independent of the changing shape of the letters, graphic symbols were introduced, namely the symbol | o for the 'quiescent' and the symbol o for the 'moving' consonant (e.g. قِفَا نَبْكِ = o | o | o o).

Both al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Khallikān report that Al-Khalīl had noticed the different rhythms produced by the hammering in different copper-workshops in the bazaar in Baṣra, and that this gave him the idea of developing a science of metre, in other words, of determining the rhythm in the structure of the ancient poems. This late report agrees with the earlier one by Al-Djāḥiẓ, who states that Al-Khalīl was the first to distinguish between different metres, that is to say, that he was the first who in listening had distinguished different rhythmic structures in the ancient verses, and that he was the first to analyse this rhythm, by dissecting it into its metric elements. His theory was supplemented in its details by later Arabic prosodists, but these additions made no difference to the basic conception. Even today, the 16 Arabic metres are still given in the very order in which Al-Khalīl gives them, because it is only in this order that they can be united in the graphic presentation of the five metric circles (*dawāʾir*, sg. *dāʾira*).

According to him, every metre comes into being by the repetition of 8 rhythmic feet which recur in definite distribution and sequence in all metres. The term applied to these feet is *djuzʾ*, pl. *adjzāʾ* ("part"). In accordance with the common practice of Arabic grammarians, he represents each of these 8 "parts" by a mnemonic word, derived from the root *fʿl*. Of these eight mnemonics, 2 consist of five consonants each, namely: faʿūlun فَعُولُنْ and fāʿilun فَاعِلُنْ, 6 of seven consonants each, namely mafāʿīlun مَفَاعِيلُنْ, mustafʿilun مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ, fāʿilātun فَاعِلَاتُنْ, mufāʿalatun مُفَاعَلَتُنْ, mutafāʿilun مُتَفَاعِلُنْ, mafʿūlātu مَفْعُولَاتُ. The following table of the 5 metric circles will clarify how the 16 metres are made up of these 8 feet. For the sake of clarity, the circles are opened out and given as straight lines, and only one hemistich is given in the rhythmical mnemonic words for each metre (see Circle 1-5, p. 670).

Circle 1

Ṭawīl | FAʿŪ́ -lun MAFĀ́ -ʿī- lun FAʿŪ́ -lun MAFĀ́ -ʿī -lun |
Basīṭ -ʿILUN fā -ʿILUN | mus -taf -ʿILUN fā -ʿILUN mus -taf- . . . . . |
Madīd -ʿILUN | fā -ʿILĀ -tun fā -ʿILUN fā -ʿILĀ́ -tun fā . . |

Circle 2

Wāfir | MUFĀ́ -ʿala -tun MUFĀ́ -ʿala -tun MUFĀ́ -ʿala -tun |
Kāmil -ʿILUN | muta -fā -ʿILUN muta -fā -ʿILUN muta -fā- . . |

Circle 3

Hazadj | MAFĀ́ -ʿī -lun MAFĀ́ -ʿī -lun MAFĀ́ -ʿī -lun |
Radjaz -ʿILUN | mus -taf -ʿILUN mus -taf -ʿILUN mus -taf- . . |
Ramal -ʿILĀ -tun | fā -ʿILĀ -tun fā -ʿILĀ -tun fā- . . . |

Circle 4

Sarīʿ | mus-taf-*ʿilún* mus -taf -*ʿilún* māf -ʿu -LĀ́TU mus -taf -*ʿilun* mus -taf -*ʿilún* maf -ʿū-LĀ́TU |
Munsariḥ | mus -taf -*ʿilun* maf -ʿū -LĀTU mus -taf -*ʿilun* |
Khafīf | fā -*ʿilā* -tun mus -TAFʿI -lun fā -*ʿilā* -tun |
Muḍāriʿ | *mafā* -ʿī -lun FĀʿI -lā -tun *mafā* -ʿī -lun |
Muḳtaḍab | maf -ʿū -LĀTU mus -taf -*ʿilun* mus -taf -*ʿilun* |
Mudjtaththth | mus -TAFʿI -lun fā -*ʿilā* -tun fā -*ʿilā* -tun |

Circle 5

Mutaḳārib | FAʿŪ́ -lun FAʿŪ́ -lun FAʿŪ́ -lun FAʿŪ́ -lun |
Mutadārik -ʿILUN | fā -ʿILUN fā -ʿILUN fā -ʿILUN fā- . . |

The order of the 5 circles is based on an arithmetical principle. They are arranged according to the number of consonants in the mnemonic words of the metres which compose them. The three metres *Ṭawīl, Basīṭ* and *Madīd*, whose hemistiches consist of 24 consonants each, form the first circle; the two metres *Mutaḳārib* and *Mutadārik*, whose hemistiches consist of only 20 consonants each, form the last circle. The remaining metres, whose hemistiches consist of 21 consonants each, are divided among the three circles in the middle. The order of the metres within the circles is also a formal one: the *Adjzāʾ* of a metre are first written around the periphery of a circle, thus the three *mafāʿīlun mafāʿīlun mafāʿīlun* of the *Hazadj* are inscribed around the periphery of circle 3. If one reads the same circle again, but starting at a different point, one automatically gets the mnemonic words of another metre: thus if, for instance, in circle 3 one does not begin with *mafā-* (as in *Hazadj*), but only with the *-ʿī-* of *mafāʿīlun*, one obtains the metric scheme of *Radjaz*, and if one advances still further and does not begin reading till the *-lun*, one obtains the scheme of *Ramal*. The possibility of dividing the *Adjzāʾ* of a circle in various ways, and of reaching different metric schemes by doing so, is only due to Al-Khalīl having purposely constructed his circles so that the mnemonic words united in each circle not only produce the same total number of consonants, but coincide completely in their 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants as well, if they are written in a certain relationship to one another. This can be clearly seen in the above table of the 5 circles if one transcribes the Latin letters into Arabic ones. The agreement emerges even more obviously if we substitute the signs which are used by the Arabic prosodists for the 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants themselves. The following picture will then emerge for circle 3:

Hazadj | o | o | oo | o | o | oo | o | o | oo
Radjaz | oo | o | o | oo | o | o | oo | o | o
Ramal | o | oo | o | o | oo | o | o | oo | o

The same relative coincidence is also found between the metres contained in the remaining 4 circles. Al-Khalīl's object in arranging the metres in this purely formal system of the 5 circles has not been handed down to us either by himself, or by any of the later prosodists. It is quite certain, however, that this merely external superimposition of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in the mnemonics is not meant to imply a rhythmic development of one metre out of another.

The 8 *Adjzāʾ*, which, as we have seen, recur again and again in different distributions in the 16 metres, can be further split into their metric components. For Al-Khalīl, however, the metric component means something different than for the occidental prosodist. It is not the smallest indivisible unit of sound, but the smallest independent word occurring in the language. Accordingly, he distinguished two pairs of metric components which he apparently regarded as such because none of the 4 words concerned (each with its particular sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants), could be derived from any of the other 3, whilst all 8 feet could be formed by combinations from these 4 words. He took the terms for these two pairs of components from two important parts of the tent, and he distinguished between:

A: The two *Asbāb* (sg. *sabab* "cord") which consist of two consonants each, namely

1) *sabab khafīf* = 2 consonants, the first 'moving', the second 'quiescent', as in words like قَدْ
2) *sabab thaḳīl* = 2 consonants, both 'moving', e.g. words like لَكَ

B: The two *Awtād* (sg. *watid* "peg") which consist of three consonants each, namely

1) *watid madjmūʿ* = 3 consonants, the first two 'moving', the last 'quiescent', as in words like لَقَدْ

2) *watid mafrūḳ* = 3 consonants, the first and third moving, the middle one 'quiescent', e.g. words like وَقْتَ

In this manner, each of the 8 feet can be reduced to its metric components as follows; thus مَفَا|عِيـ|ـلُنْ *mafā-ʿī-lun* = B1 + A1 + A1 or مُتَ|فَا|عِلُنْ *mutafā-ʿilun* = A2 + A1 + B1. Each of the 16 metres given in the circles can therefore be scanned on this basis, e.g. *Wāfir* = *mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun mufāʿalatun* = B1 + A2 + A1, B1 + A2 + A1, B1 + A2 + A1 or *Sarīʿ* = *mustafʿilun mustafʿilun mafʿūlātu* = A1 + A1 + B1, A1 + A1 + B1, A1 + A1 + B2.

Since it is thus possible to reduce all the metres to their basic components, one might assume this metric system to be complete. The fact remains, however, that the 16 metres never actually appear in the form in which they are given in the 5 circles, but nearly always deviate from this ideal form—at times to a considerable extent. In other words, the sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in ancient Arabic poems does not correspond to the sequence determined by the circles. Therefore one can no longer split the metric forms used by the poets into the 8 ideal feet, nor yet divide these into their two metric elements, because that method of scanning is based completely on the sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in the ideal metres of the circles. This fact was, of course, known to Al-Khalīl just as well as it is to us, and in fact his circles are just a kind of rhythmic *Uṣūl*, from which the actual metric forms used by the poets deviate in a certain manner as *Furūʿ*. Consequently, there are also two different terms designating the metres. The ideal forms in the circles are called *buḥūr* (sg. *baḥr* "river, ῥυθμος"); those deviating from them, and actually occurring in ancient poetry are called *awzān al-shiʿr* (= metres).

The smallest of the deviations is the shortening of the metre. This is immediately visible, because then the metre no longer has its full (*tām*) number of *adjzāʾ*. According to the degree of shortening, there are three possibilities. The line is either

a) *madjzūʾ*, if there is one *djuzʾ* missing in each of the two hemistiches (if, for instance, in *Hazadj*, *Kāmil* or *Radjaz* the foot is repeated only twice and not three times); or

b) *mashṭūr*, when a complete half (*shaṭr*) is absent (as, for instance, when the *Radjaz* is reduced to *one* hemistich); or

c) *manhūk*, when the line, on rare occasions, is "weakened to exhaustion" i.e. (as for instance in *Munsariḥ*) when it is reduced to a third of its size.

All these deviations only concern the external shape of a metre and not its rhythmical structure, which does find its expression in the sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants.

The very numerous cases in which this particular sequence in the ancient poems differs from that prescribed by the circles have been covered by a special set of rules. This forms a necessary supplement to the circles, because the deviations would be arbitrary—and thus the circles would lose their authoritative character as *Uṣūl*—if there were no such rules. Just as one is amazed at the regularity of the first part of the system—the five circles and their normal metres—so one is confused by the second part with its casuistry and its complications. This, however, is inherent in its very nature. Neither Al-Khalīl nor the later prosodists use the term 'syllable', and we can therefore not expect any *general* rules (e.g. concerning the reduction of long syllables to short, the omission of short syllables etc). In effect, they were obliged to mention in each individual case whether and to what extent the 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in ancient poetry showed a plus or a minus as compared with the ideal scheme of the circles. This had to be done in every metre and every one of its feet in both halves of the line, and in order to denote them clearly, individual terms had to be created to cover each one of these numerous differences. A certain order and clarity emerges from this baffling list thanks to the fact that all deviations fall into two classes, which perform different functions and appear in different parts of the line.

The last foot of the first hemistich (*al-ʿarūḍ*, pl. *aʿārīḍ*) and the last foot of the second hemistich (*al-ḍarb*, pl. *ḍurūb*), that is to say, the ends of the two halves of the line, suffer most from deviations. The terms for these two vulnerable parts of the verse are definite, the terms for the other feet vary and are usually given the collective name *al-ḥashw* ('stuffing'). By analogy, one also distinguishes two groups of deviations, the *Ziḥāfāt* and the *ʿIlal*. The *Ziḥāfāt* ('relaxations') are, as the name suggests, smaller deviations which occur only in the *Ḥashw* parts of the line in which the characteristic rhythm runs strongly, and their effect is a small quantitative change in the weak *Asbāb*-syllables. As accidental deviations, the *Ziḥāfāt* have no regular or definite place, they just appear occasionally in the feet. By contrast, there are the *ʿIlal* ('diseases', 'defects') which appear only in the last feet of the two halves of the lines, and there, as their name suggests, they cause considerable change as compared to the normal feet. They alter the rhythmic end of the line considerably, and are thus clearly distinct from the *Ḥashw* feet. As rhythmically determined deviations, the *ʿIlal* do not just appear occasionally but have to appear regularly, always in the same form, and in the same position in all the lines of the poem. A further difference between the two groups of deviations is the fact that the *Ziḥāfāt* fall only on the *Sabab* (and there on its second consonant), whilst the *ʿIlal* alter the *Watid* in each of the last feet of the two hemistiches as well as in their *Sababs*.

By applying the definite *Ziḥāfāt* and *ʿIlal* rules, and taking the normal form of the feet of each metre as a point of departure, one arrives at the forms actually occurring in the *Ḳaṣīdas*. Just as the normal feet are denoted by their 8 mnemonic words, (*faʿūlun*, *mafāʿīlun*, etc.), which express the normal sequence of their 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants, there are also mnemonics denoting the forms which have undergone alteration because of *Ziḥāfāt* and *ʿIlal*, and these indicate the changed sequence of consonants. Thus, for instance, *mu[s]tafʿilun*, when its *Sīn* is lost, should become *mutafʿilun*. If, however, as in this case, the resulting form is not one linguistically possible in Arabic, then the same sequence of consonants (i.e, the same sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts') is expressed by an equivalent word which is linguistically acceptable, in this case, for instance, by *mafāʿilun*. By contrast with the *Uṣūl* forms of the feet, these modifications are known as the *Furūʿ* forms of the feet. In the following, the *Furūʿ* will be added in brackets, if their form

differs from that of the *Uṣūl*. Space here does not permit a detailed list of all *Ziḥāfāt* and *ʿIlal* (cf. for the details the arabic compendia of the *ʿIlm al-ʿarūḍ*). A few examples will be given, however, in order to illustrate the theoretical exposition, and to show how peculiar and complicated this particular part of the system is.

As already stated, the *Ziḥāfāt* appear when the *Sabab* in a line does not possess its full normal form, but shows a change in the second consonant. Then, however, one does not simply speak of a *Ziḥāf*, because this would be ambiguous. In order to describe the *Ziḥāf* accurately, one must state which consonant of a foot is affected, and whether that is a 'moving' or a 'quiescent' consonant. For example, one can divide the so-called 8 'simple *Ziḥāfāt*' into two groups, according to whether a *sabab khafīf* or a *sabab thaḳīl* is affected. Even then, one must denote the eight cases by individual terms. 1) We have a *khabn*, if the second consonant of a foot is missing, e.g., the *sīn* in مُ[سْ]تَفْعِلُنْ [= مَفَاعِلُنْ], or the *alif* in فَـ[ـا]عِلُنْ; we have a *ṭayy*, if the 4th consonant is missing, e.g., the *fā* of مُسْتَـ[فْ]عِلُنْ [= مُفْتَعِلُنْ]; a *ḳabḍ*, if the 5th consonant is concerned, e.g., the *nūn* in فَعُولُـ[نْ] or the *yā* in مَفَاعِـ[يـ]ـلُنْ; and a *kaff*, when the 7th consonant is missing, e.g., the *nūn* of فَاعِلَاتُـ[نْ]. 2) In the *sabab thaḳīl*, there can either be only the vowel of the second consonant missing (then one speaks of an *iḍmār*, in the case of the *fatḥa* of *mut[a]fāʿilun* [= *mustafʿilun*], and of an *ʿaṣb* in the case of the *fatḥa* of *mufāʿal[a]tun* [= *mafāʿīlun*]) or both this consonant and its vowel (then one speaks of a *waḳṣ*, if the *ta* of *mu[ta]fāʿilun* [= *mafāʿilun*] is missing, and of an *ʿaḳl* in the case of the *la* of *mufāʿa[la]tun* [= *mafāʿilun*]).

Whilst the *Ziḥāfāt* always lead to a minus, when compared with the normal *Sabab*, the *ʿIlal* (which change the last feet of the two hemistichs) fall into two groups, according to whether they arise out of an addition (*ziyāda*) or an omission (*naḳṣ*). 1) the *tadhyīl*, for example, adds a 'quiescent' consonant to the *watid madjmūʿ* (thus مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ becomes مُسْتَفْعِلَانْ), the *tarfīl* a *sabab khafīf* (thus مُتَفَاعِلُنْ becomes مُتَفَاعِلَاتُنْ). 2) On the other hand, the *ḥadhf* means the loss of a *sabab khafīf* (as for *mafāʿī[lun]* [= *faʿūlun*] or for *faʿū[lun]* [= *faʿal*]), the *ḳaṭf* means the loss of a *sabab khafīf* and the preceding vowel (as, for instance in *mufāʿal[atun]* [= *faʿūlun*]) and the *ḥadhadh* means the loss of a whole *watid madjmūʿ* (as in *mutafā[ʿilun]* [= *faʿilun*]).

These examples give only a rough impression of the complexity of the classical system. Even more complicated changes take place when two deviations obtain within one foot and in certain other special cases. In this manner one can derive from the 8 basic feet no less than 37 *Furūʿ* feet, all of which actually appear in old poetry. Feet undergoing a change through *ʿIlal* play the greater part for two reasons. Firstly because they produce a greater plus or minus in the normal feet than the weaker *Ziḥāfāt*, and secondly because they cause rhythmic variants, which recur throughout the whole poem. Because of the large range of varying line endings, a great number of sub-divisions appear in all metres; and because the *Ḍarb*, the last foot of the second hemistich, is (being the end of the whole line) more concerned with these changes than the *ʿArūḍ* (the last foot of the first hemistich), the possible metres are named after their different *Ḍurūb*. The *Ṭawīl*, for example, has only *one ʿArūḍ*, i.e., the last foot of its first hemistich always has the same form (shortened by *ḳabḍ*) of *mafāʿilun*; but it has three *Ḍurūb*, i.e., apart from the normal form of the last foot of its second hemistich there are two further forms of its *Ḍarb*. Accordingly, one speaks of the first, second, or third *Ṭawīl*, depending on whether the *Ḍarb* has the form *mafāʿīlun*, *mafāʿilun* or *faʿūlun*. The same goes for all other metres. The *Kāmil*, which has 9, has the greatest number of *Ḍurūb*. The sum of all possible *Aʿāriḍ* of all 16 metres is 36, and that of all *Ḍurūb* is 67; in other words, the 16 ancient Arabic metres are used by the poets in a total of 67 rhythmic variations, merely counting the changes caused by *ʿIlal* in the line-endings and ignoring the sporadic *Ziḥāfāt* in the *Ḥashw* of the line.

We are now—if we trust the Arabic prosodists and follow them on their circuitous ways—in a position to scan all the metres which appear in ancient Arabic poetry, and this would appear to bring to an end the exposition of *ʿIlm al-ʿArūḍ* in its general structure. Nevertheless, European Orientalists have never relied unreservedly on the Arabic prosodists, because the inner reason for the complicated structure of their system has not been understood. What was the reason for constructing the circles? And why formulate statements about ideal metres when one cannot arrive at the actual forms of the metres except by a complicated system of permissible deviations? To these objections we must add that the underlying concepts of Arabic prosodists, and the way in which they expound the patterns of sound and rhythm, are completely alien to us. They describe prosodic phenomena externally, according to the changes which the consonants of the words in the line undergo, whereas we are accustomed—as already mentioned—to explaining the changing metrical shape of a line in different languages by giving the characteristics of the syllables of the language concerned. In the system of the Arabic prosodists we do not, however, find any direct statement concerning the length and stress of syllables in ancient Arabic poetry. Therefore it seems that we have nothing to learn from them concerning the real essence of Arabic metrics, that is to say, nothing about the way in which the characteristic rhythm of ancient Arabic poetry originated, whether—as in ancient Greek—it came into being exclusively through the harmony of periodically recurring sequences of 'shorts' and 'longs', i.e., purely quantitatively, or whether the element of accentual stress was also a factor in deciding the shape of the rhythm of their poetry. Hence one has generally tended not to accept their system, making use of its terminology with reluctance and only to the extent required in order to understand the commentaries on the ancient poems.

It has already been pointed out that the quantity of the syllables is absolutely fixed in the ancient

literary Arabic language, so that one can assume that the rhythm in their verse has found its expression in some form of quantitative metrics. This basic assumption is shared by almost all the experts who have dealt with Arabic metrics. There is no agreement, however, on the question as to whether (and to what extent) factors other than the quantity of syllables shaped the rhythm of ancient Arabic verse. There are various views as to the composition and sequence in which 'shorts' and 'longs' are arranged into feet, and these, in turn, into metres; and there is furthermore the particularly vexed question of whether the rhythm of the lines found its expression exclusively in a quantitative pattern of 'shorts' and 'longs' in the individual feet (as in ancient Greek), or whether there was also a rhythmic stress (ictus), which recurred regularly and emphasised certain syllables in the line.

Heinrich Ewald, disregarding the theories of the Arabs, produced an entirely fresh theory regarding the organic growth of ancient Arabic metrics. He began with the thesis that its rhythm originated not only from the quantity of the syllables but also from the presence of marked stress on some of them (*rhythmum constat aequabili arseos et theseos vicissitudine contineri*). To begin with (in 1825), he found only iambic metres (marked by a recurrance of short and long syllables); but in his second presentation (1833) he distinguished 5 rhythmic kinds: *genus iambicum, genus antispasticum, genus amphibrachicum, genus anapaesticum, genus ionicum*. This classification has gained currency because W. Wright accepted it and printed it at the end of his *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3rd ed. 1898, vol. II, 361 ff.). Whereas Ewald could start on secure basis concerning the quantity of syllables, his conclusions, as far as the second rhythmical factor (stress) was concerned, could only be based on assumptions at which he had arrived by comparing the structure of Arabic verse with the structure of Greek metres and the sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts' within them. His conclusions not only cannot be proved, but are not, in fact, tenable because they start with the assumption that the same rhythm obtains in both Arabic and Greek metres, without adducing any proof to this effect and without taking into account that the very presence of rhythmic stress in ancient Greek poetry is itself a matter of controversy. This is the reason why all the later experts who started from the same or similar assumptions as Ewald disagree both with Ewald and with each other on the important question of how to divide up the feet and whether any syllables are to be stressed (and, if so, which).

Stanislas Guyard advanced an entirely different explanation of the essence of Arabic metrics: he decided to adopt a musical beat, measuring the exact time of each syllable and fixing it by a musical note, instead of merely distinguishing metric 'longs' and 'shorts' at the ratio of 2 : 1. Accepting the division of feet and metres, handed down in the Arabic mnemonics, he concluded from his musical measurements that a *temps fort* and a *temps faible* had to alternate every time. Apparent contradictions were explained either by describing a *temps fort* as weak or by inserting a pausal note (*silence*)—which was not, however, graphically expressed—to play the rôle of a *temps faible*. Other deviations were explained by the assumption of a double ictus in every Arabic foot, and he discarded the *mafʿūlātu* foot as imaginary because it would not fit in with his theories. He was then in a position to assert that the 16 metres with all their variations did correspond to the musical rhythm which he had assumed; but far from explaining the essence of the metric line-structure in Arabic poetry he had simply transposed it into a sequence of musical terms.

Martin Hartmann is concerned with the development of the various metres and with their derivations from each other, rather than with the actual essence of Arabic metrics. He therefore does not argue with Ewald, though one may assume that he disagrees with him because he goes so far as to say that there was nothing to indicate that the Arabs ever thought of quantitative distinctions in their poetry. Although Hartmann never explicitly says this, it has been asserted that ancient Arabic poetry was in his opinion accentual in character. On the other hand, he rightly asserts that the syllable with the main stress must always be of a constant length and that its preceding short syllable must equally be of a constant duration. Concerning the origin of the metres, he assumed that these were in the last resort instinctive rhythmical imitations of the regularly recurring sounds made by camels' feet. As a camel advances its feet in pairs, he assumes the basic metre to be the one which consists of the alternation of an accented and an unaccented syllable. Depending on whether one starts with the animal's first step, as it starts off from the static position, or from one of the intermediate paces, one gets the *Hazadj* (⏑–́⏑–) or *Radjaz* (⏑–⏑–́); the difference between them being that the stress is on the first element in the first case and on the second in the other. According to him, *Mutaḳārib* and *Mutadārik* developed from these two basic metres by inserting not one, but in each case two, unstressed syllables between the two steps, i.e. between the two stressed syllables; and *Wāfir* and *Kāmil* respectively by the alternate insertion of two unstressed syllables and one unstressed syllable between the two stressed ones. Similarly, he takes *Basīṭ* (––⏑–[–]–⏑–) and *Ṭawīl* (⏑–[–]–⏑–––) to be defective forms of *Radjaz* and *Hazadj*. He, too, has difficulties with the derivation of other metres from the diiamb, because in that case there is no alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, but two stressed ones have to come together. Hartmann's expositions are subjective assumptions concerning the origin of Arabic poetry in general, and the derivation of metres from one original metre in particular. His arguments do not convince as he offers no conclusive proof, and also because he appears to believe that rhythmic occurrances can be adequately explained by the arbitrary inclusion or exclusion of syllables or by the simple assumption of an anacrusis or a pause. Hartmann himself admits that he has been unable to show what made the Arabs choose the particular combinations which appear in the 16 metres.

Gustav Hoelscher, too, has advanced a theory concerning the origin of Arabic metrics and the derivation of its metres from each other. The simplest, and according to tradition the oldest, metre, the *Radjaz*, developed from rhymed prose, *Sadjʿ*, by regulating the number and quantity of syllables; it has a rising rhythm and is dipodically bound. In his opinion, all other metres developed from *Radjaz*: first *Sarīʿ*, *Kāmil* and *Hazadj*; and then, with varying forms of syncope, *Wāfir, Basīṭ, Ṭawīl* and *Mutaḳārib*. The same objections must be raised here as were raised in the case of Hartmann's theory of derivation: Hoelscher himself admits that *Khafīf* and *Munsariḥ* cannot be derived from *Radjaz*, and apart from diiambic metres he also lists ditrochaic metres of a falling rhythm. In addition,

Hoelscher deals extensively with the basic rhythmic factors which determine the essence of all metres. He says that the simplest rhythmical group, the beat or foot, has a "division of time into fixed proportions" and consists of a "regular change from light to heavy"; but he does not define these two factors any further. The rhythmical time-value of the syllable, according to him, is always one single "counting-unit", irrespective of its quantity, and the law according to which a long syllable has twice the length of a short one is not to be applied to Arabic poetry. Similarly, he admits the presence of an ictus, and states that a "bar" consists of two dynamically related parts (of which the second is always the heavier); at the same time he asserts that the stronger ictus, being free, is not tied to either of the two stresses.

Alfred Bloch, in contrast to Hoelscher, stresses the existing clear difference between longs' and 'shorts'. His detailed study of the patterns in ancient Arabic prose and the facility with which it can be fitted into all metres lead him to the conclusion that—compared with other languages—ancient Arabic possessed truly ideal phonetic conditions which rendered it suitable to quantitative metrics. Furthermore, he regards quantity as the only factor shaping the rhythm of the verse, and (following Rudolf Geyer) decides against the assumption of an ictus.

The reason why such varying and contradictory theories concerning the essence of Arabic metrics have been advanced lies in the fact that we have no record of the recitation of ancient poems, and that the casuistic expositions of the Arabic metricians have such a repellent character that it seemed justifiable to disregard them completely. Thus, different experts approached the subject from personal points of view (the musical analogy, analogies with the poetry of other peoples, etc.). Neither attitude towards the teaching of the Arabic metricians (uncritical acceptance or outright rejection) is in fact justifiable. Surely as renowned a philologist as Al-Khalīl, whose fundamental achievements as a phonetician, grammarian and lexicographer are recognised even today, did not construct the five circles and the complicated metric system connected with them just for fun. One may assume with certainty that thereby he meant to express certain observations which he had made when he heard the ancient poems. Starting from this assumption, the author of this article has analysed all the parts of Al-Khalīl's system in order to arrive at the actual core of the theory of the circles. The following gives the most important results of these investigations, which bring out clearly the particular peculiarity of ancient Arabic metrics.

a) Al-Khalīl purposely arranged the feet of the metres within the circles in such a relation to one another that all 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants (i.e. all their long and short syllables) should coincide. In this way, the length of the syllables was graphically shown, and he did not have to use a term for it. Since the Arabic language *in itself* already mirrors the quantity of syllables, there would have been no need for Al-Khalīl to construct the circles if he had only wanted to make statements concerning the length of the syllables in the feet. One must therefore assume from the start that he meant to express something else in addition, concerning the rhythm of Arabic poetry, by this arrangement of the metres in the circles.

b) Whilst the Greek metricians used terms for the metric feet which state nothing other than a certain sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts', Al-Khalīl chooses mnemonic words to represent the 8 basic feet which correspond to words actually occurring in the Arabic language. But it is the stress which is the bond that integrates the syllables into the unity of a word. One is therefore tempted to assume that the mnemonics for the feet are meant to indicate that in them, too, one syllable was always to be stressed in each case.

c) This assumption is strengthened by the way in which Al-Khalīl further divides the feet up into their components. Whilst the Greeks accept the short and long syllables as basic metric units, Al-Khalīl again used actual words—the shortest words pronounceable in themselves (i.e. monosyllabic and disyllabic words)—to denote these smallest parts. These words too, state something concerning the stress obtaining in them. The two *Asbāb*, i.e. (sequences of syllables like قَدْ (ḳad = –) and لَكَ (laka = ⏑⏑), do not have a stress of their own in prose either, but (proclitically or enclitically) adapt themselves to the preceding or subsequent words, whilst the two *Watid* words لَقَدْ (*laḳád* = ⏑–́) and وَقْتَ (*wáḳta* = –́⏑) have a marked stress of their own in opposite directions. When these sequences of syllables form a line, as metric components of a foot, then they have definite rhythmical functions. The two *Asbāb*, being unstressed parts of the foot, have no influence over the shaping of the rhythm, and are thus exposed to quantitative changes, the *Ziḥāfāt*, but the *Watid*, as the bearer of the stress, constitutes the rhythmical core of the metre, and as such within the line it is (as has been shown) proof against any change whether in sequence of syllables or in its quantity. Depending on which of the two opposing *Awtād* forms the core of the foot, we have a rising or a falling rhythm.

d) This substantiated assumption that *those* syllables in the line which form the *Watid* element carry the rhythmic stress becomes a certainty as a result of the following argument, which brings out the obvious purpose for the construction of the 5 circles. Only 4 of the 8 basic feet can be absolutely and unambiguously scanned. These are the following: *FAʿŪ́-lun, MAFĀ́-ʿī-lun, MUFĀ́-ʿala-tun, maf-ʿū-LĀ́TU*. Since every foot must have a *Watid*, one cannot divide those 4 feet into their components except as shown in print, the *Watid* being represented by capital letters. In other words, the syllables which carry rhythmic stress in these 4 feet are clearly established; consequently it is equally clear which syllables carry the stress in the 4 metres *Ṭawīl, Wāfir, Hazadj* and *Mutaḳārib*, because these metres consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. But, according to the teaching of Al-Khalīl, there are two ways of analysing the other 4 basic feet. Either: *fā-ʿILŪ́N, mus-taf-ʿILŪ́N, fā-ʿILĀ́-tun, muta-fā-ʿILŪ́N*, or: *FĀ́ʿI-lun, mus-TÁFʿI-lun, FĀ́ʿI-lā tun, muta-FĀ́ʿI-lun*. In other words, the rhythmic stress in these 4 feet could actually lie on a different syllable in every case, and, accordingly, all metres which consist of these 4 feet could also have either a rising or a falling rhythm. In the case of these ambiguous metres—which form the greater part of those in existence—there is only one possible method of showing clearly in which of the two possible ways it is to be read, namely by placing it

in one of the 5 circles. The following well thought-out inner mechanism emerges as the actual reason for the construction of the circles: the *first* metre of every circle—with the exception of circle 4—is the leading metre, and consists only of unambiguous feet, for which the position of their *Awtād* is absolutely fixed; the second and third metres, however, consist of the 4 ambiguous feet. If one writes down the mnemonic words of these metres in relation to the first metre (as reproduced in the table), it will be found not only that the short and the long syllables coincide, but also that in every circle from the second metre onwards, *one* of two possible *Awtād* falls in its entirety (i.e. in its indivisible syllable-sequence) under the unambiguous *Watid* of the first metre. This, in turn, means that the second possibility of scanning is out of the question. Thus the circles are graphic figures whose purpose is to show which syllables bear the rhythmic stress as *Watid* elements by means of the arrangement of all metres in relation to one another. Thus, for example, the two feet ***mustafʿilun fāʿilun***, which form the ***Basīṭ***, cannot be unambiguously scanned. However, the fact that their *TAFʿI* and *FĀʿI* do not fall under the *Watid* of the *Ṭawīl*, but that in both cases their *ʿILŪN* falls under the unambiguous *Awtād* *FAʿŪ* and *MAFĀ* of the *Ṭawīl*, shows (as clearly as if it were written in a table) which syllables of the *Basīṭ* actually bear the rhythmic stress. In this way it has been proved that the metres brought together in the circles 1, 2, 3 and 5 have, without exception, a rising rhythm, and we also know, on what syllables the stresses were laid.

e) Circle 4 differs from this rule. This is already clearly visible externally, because its first metre, the *Sarīʿ*, does not consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. This deviation was surely intended by Al-Khalīl, because (1) in contrast with the other circles, which are homogeneous and only incorporate metres of rising rhythm, circle 4 is not uniform; in it—and only in it—one finds the foot ***maf-ʿū-LĀTU***, the only one of the 8 basic feet which has a falling rhythm, but that, too, never alone, but always together with one of the other 7 feet. The metres of this circle thus have a mixed rhythm of rise and fall. (2) The ***Watid madjmūʿ***, the representative of rising rhythm, (⏑ –́) has a particularly rigid structure in Arabic verse; it never undergoes any change within the hemistich and therefore clearly and distinctly dictates the rhythm of *those* metres in which it is to be found. In contrast with it, the ***Watid mafrūḳ***, the core of the falling rhythm (–́ ⏑) is less clearly fixed in composition, hence variable and weaker in shaping rhythm. This explains why the syllables carrying the stress in the metres *Sarīʿ*, *Khafīf* and *Munsariḥ* do not stand out with the same clarity as in the other metres. It is certain that Al-Khalīl realised this because he gave this circle the name "***al-mushtabik***" ("the dubious one, the one of several meanings").

It becomes evident that analysis of the circles produces an answer to the questions which have been in dispute, and on which arabists have hitherto held such different views. (1) The rhythm of ancient Arabic metres was not only produced by the quantity of the syllables, but also by the element of rhythmic stress; we even know on which syllables this stress lay in all the metres. (2) Nearly all the metres have a clear, rising rhythm; in no metre was there exclusively a falling rhythm; only a few metres—namely those in circle 4—which occur more rarely, have a rhythm which changes from rise to fall and which, because of this mixture, has less of a clear character. (3) The rhythmical core of all feet and metres (excluding the few in circle 4) is formed by the sequence of a short and a long syllable (⏑ –́) which is inseparable in its sequence and unchangeable in its quantity, and where the long syllable always carries the stress.

Al-Khalīl listened to recitals of ancient poetry and embodied his observations graphically in the construction of the circles, hence the results of their analysis can be taken to be contemporary evidence; and, indeed, they lead us to a complete understanding of the peculiarities of ancient Arabic metres. As we shall see, a metric system, theoretically constructed from the inseparable core of the rising rhythm (⏑ –́), is completely identical with the system of metres used by the ancient Arabic poets.

If neutral syllables are grouped around the core, we get feet of a rising rhythm; these cannot have less than 3 or more than 5 syllables. Thus we arrive at the following 7 feet: (1) ⏑ –́ ×, × ⏑ –́ (2) ⏑ –́ × ×, × × ⏑ –́, × ⏑ –́ ⏑ (3) ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –́. No further or different forms of feet can be derived from the core ⏑ –́. If one does not represent these feet by symbols, but in the manner of the Arabic grammarians by *voces memoriabiles*, then one gets exactly those mnemonic words which Al-Khalīl fashioned for the 7 feet of the rising rhythm: (1) ***FAʿŪ-lun, fā-ʿILŪN***, (2) ***MAFĀ-ʿī-lun, mus-taf-ʿILŪN, fā-ʿILĀ-tun***, (3) ***MUFĀ-ʿala-tun, muta-fā-ʿILŪN***.

Whilst the actual rhythmical core of these feet always appears in the same indivisible and unalterable form, with the stress on the 'long', the neutral syllables (which have no part in the shaping of the actual rhythm) are neither bearers of stress nor stable in their quantity; they can be either a 'long' or a 'short', and their only function is to bring some variation into the rhythm. Such variations do appear, and the difference between them depends on whether (a) the foot begins immediately with the core, which makes a rising rhythm especially strong: ⏑ –́ ×, ⏑ –́ × ×, ⏑ –́ ⏑ ⏑ –; (b) whether the core is at the end of the foot, which gives the rhythm a somewhat hurrying and skipping character: × ⏑ –́, × × ⏑ –́, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –́; (c) or whether the core is enclosed within the foot, which somehow hampers the forcefulness of the rising rhythm: × ⏑ –́ ×. Just because the grouping of neutral syllables around the core determines the rhythmical variations, it is absolutely necessary to keep to this fixed shape of the feet when scanning the metres.

By combining these 7 feet, one gets metres of rising rhythm of the following 3 groups: (1) The 7 "simple" metres are arrived at by the repetition of the 7 feet in identical form. These 7 theoretically constructed metres are completely identical with the metres *Wāfir, Kāmil*; *Hazadj, Radjaz, Ramal*; *Mutaḳārib, Mutadārik* used by the ancient poets. (2) If the 7 feet are combined not with themselves (as sub 1) but with each other, there result according to the calculation of variables many possibilities of "combined" metres. Most these potential metres, however, are incapable of realisation chiefly because they would offend against the general metric law according to which two cores can never succeed each other directly, but must always be separated by not more than two neutral syllables. It will then be seen that the three groups of feet, distinguished above, can be combined into compound metres only with

themselves, but never with each other. Consequently of the list of possible combined metres only three pairs are left, namely those which correspond exactly to the metres *Ṭawīl*, *Basīṭ*, *Madīd* used by the ancient poets and to their reverses.

(3) The gap which is caused by the absence of metres combined by feet of diverse variations of rising rhythm (as shown sub 2) is filled in by "mixed" metres which commence with one of the 7 feet of rising rhythm and are then varied by the foot of falling rhythm maf-ʿū-LÁTU. In this case too the theoretical construction again leads to the mixed metres used by the ancient poets, and which Al-Khalīl has united in circle 4.

The fact that the metrical system constructed theoretically from the core of the rising rhythm ◡– is identical with the metres actually used by the ancient poets affords us full insight into the ground-plan and the system of the ancient Arabic metres.

If the rising rhythm was "the" poetic form, by means of which Arabic poets fashioned their poems, one can, *a priori*, assume, that those metres which displayed the core of the rising rhythm most strongly were preferred and used most readily. Such are, primarily, the two metres *Ṭawīl* and *Basīṭ*, which combine unequal feet, and of the simple metres *Wāfir* and *Kāmil* (in which the rhythm is more variable because of the sequence of the two 'shorts'), rather than the other simple metres. In fact, this accords with the results obtained by various arabists (cf. Bräunlich, in *Islam*, XXIV, 249) in their statistical investigations into the frequency of metres: three-quarters of all *Ḳaṣīda*s were composed in these 4 metres, and amongst these *Ṭawīl* (as the strongest) heads the list.

Thus the peculiarity of ancient Arabic metres lies in the fact that they unlike the ancient Greek ones are not formed by the joining of *single* syllables, but are developed from an inseparable *pair* of syllables, the core of the rising rhythm. Only this one rhythmical idea has taken shape in Arabic metrics, but the principle is carried out in all its possible variations and effects. The reason why poets unconsciously developed this one principle to perfection can only be explained by the fact that the ancient Arabic literary language, in its structure of sound and syllable, conforms to the shape of the rising rhythm and invites such development. It is this monorhythm which basically distinguishes ancient Arabic metrics from the polyrhythm of ancient Greek metrics (which expressed various rhythmic figures without developing any one, as it were, systematically to its ultimate possibilities, as the Arabic does). Because Arabic metrics are sometimes wrongly simply equated with Greek ones, a further basic difference between the two systems of versification must be pointed out: the only factor which governs the rhythm of Greek verse is the quantity of the basic metric units which recur at regular intervals, and it is therefore a case of a quantitative metric (measuring the time); the ictus (the element of energy of rhythmic stress), if indeed it was present, merely had the task of regulating the quantity when this was disturbed by an anceps-syllable. Ancient Arabic metrics are also of a quantitative nature (every syllable in the language has an absolutely fixed duration), but in poetry the number of neutral syllables which can be either a 'long' or a 'short' is so great that the quantity alone cannot have been decisive for the rhythm. Therefore, with it we have—not only in a regulating but in a shaping capacity—stress; these two together, in an indivisible and unchangeable unit, form the rhythmic core of the feet and metres. In most lines, the ictus and the word-accent will coincide on the same 'long', but even when a word-accent falls on a syllable without an ictus there could be no discord. Within a line, the ictus—being the factor which shapes the rhythm—acts more strongly than the word-accent; but in ancient Arabic, with its contrast of 'long' and 'short', both are dependent on the quantity of the syllables, and hence are not as strong as in accentual languages.

The special peculiarity of the rhythmical structure in ancient Arabic poetry is in itself proof enough that Arabic metrics are an autochthonous growth which has not been transplanted from somewhere else to Arabic soil. Merely for the sake of completeness, let it be mentioned here that Tkatsch (*Die arabischen Uebersetzungen der Poetik des Aristoteles*, vol. I, Vienna 1928, 99 ff.) supposes that "the illiterate sons of the desert" had received knowledge of Greek metrics through Aramaic-Christian intervention, and that they had then developed it further. This assumption, however, has been accorded little attention and no acceptance because of its lack of substantiation.

The form of the *Ḳaṣīda* and the ancient metres used in it, have survived—though in a limited range—until today. There is considerable material on this in Socin's *Diwan aus Centralarabien* (Leipzig, 1901, T. 1-3), where the older literature is also mentioned (vol. III, 1 f.). The *Ḳaṣīda* and its ancient metres are still used today by the Bedouin; but they are rarely used by other poets, and then only when they want to appear consciously archaic. The metre of the modern Bedouin *Ḳaṣīda* is usually a *Ṭawīl* with the first syllable missing; *Ramal*, *Basīṭ*, *Radjaz* and *Wāfir* are also used. As this form of modern verses is a direct continuation of ancient Arabic poetry in content, form, and language, the rules of the *ʿIlm al-ʿarūḍ* are applicable to it. They can, however, *not* be applied to the actual Arabic folk-poetry, of which there are traces even in pre-Islamic times, and which was greatly cultivated in later centuries. This '*muse populaire*' is different from the ancient *Ḳaṣīda* because it no longer has the monotonous rhyme which recurs throughout the poem but a rich strophic structure, and because it is freer in its choice of themes, but most particularly because the language of folk-poetry is the language of every-day life. The sound-structure of this, however, is fundamentally different from that of ancient literary Arabic. The emphatic stress which is evident in the colloquial language caused a shortening of the vowels and omission of the endings. Consequently one can no longer find the regular alternation of 'long' and 'short' and the absolutely fixed relation in the quantity of the syllables which were the most characteristic feature of the old literary language, and as such determined the rhythm of the poetry. Therefore we cannot expect to find in popular poetry the metres which the ancient poets created and adapted to the phonetic structure of the Arabic literary language. In it, as well as in the colloquial language, stress prevails; it even gains in force when the songs are recited, because the stressed syllables are then emphasised by beating on instruments or by hand-clapping. The different forms of Arabic popular poetry are therefore outside the framework of the article *ʿArūḍ*, which is concerned only with the metrics of the ancient poetry.

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(GOTTHOLD WEIL)

II. The most outstanding feature of the *ʿArūḍ* system as adopted by the Persians is the emphasis laid on quantity, which gives to Persian verse a lilt and swing which can be more readily appreciated by ears to which the more subtle rhythms of Arabic verse are unfamiliar. To words ending in two consonants (*nūn* excepted) preceded by a short vowel, or one consonant preceded by a long vowel, an extra short vowel was added. This *nīm-fatḥa*, as it is called, is now not pronounced by the Persians. By poetic licence, certain monosyllabic long syllables may become short according to scansion. Of the types of poem in use the *Mathnavī* and the *Rubāʿī* are most characteristic of Persian poetry. The former is a many-rhymed poem in couplets of which each hemistich rhymes with the other. The freedom thus allowed in rhyming renders this form eminently suitable for epic and didactic verse. The *Rubāʿī* (Quatrain), also called *Tarāna*, is said (Browne, i, 472-3) to have been the earliest of the verse-forms invented by the Persians. It is derived from no less than twenty-four varieties of the *Hazadj* metre, and it is perhaps the form best known to the West. The *Ḳaṣīda* lost much of its importance at an early period in Persian literature and became more and more artificial under such poets as Khāḳānī (d. 582/1185). In scope and subject matter, it much resembled its Arabic prototype except that in Persian hands it became more of a eulogy of the poet's patron. Of the same single-rhymed type but shorter (five to fifteen verses), the *Ghazal* achieved more fame at the hands of Persian poets and lent itself to a graceful sonnet-like form. Only in the opening lines do the hemistichs of these poems rhyme. The two types of refrain poem—the *Tardjīʿ-band* and *Tarkīb-band* were a Persian innovation. The former consists of about five to ten lines which differ in rhyme with a refrain (*wāsiṭa*) in the same metre. If the refrain differs in each instance where it occurs, the poem is then called *Tarkīb-band*. Of the various types of multiple poem which have internal rhymes and are grouped under the general term of *Musammaṭ*, the *Mustazād* deserves special mention. It is a poem of which each second hemistich is followed by a short metrical line which has some bearing on the sense of the first hemistich without altering the meaning. All these lines rhyme together throughout the poem. The Persians have been credited with the invention of three new metres—the *Djadīd*, *Ḳarīb* and the *Mushākil*, but these are of rare occurrence.

The adoption by the Turks of the Perso-Arabic metrical system was facilitated, not only by a genuine admiration for Persian *belles-lettres*, but also by the resemblance which the ancient Turkish method of versification (*parmaḳ ḥisābī*) bore to the *ʿArūḍ* metres. For example, the *Ḳutadghu Bilik*, composed in 462/1069, was written in a metre which was not unlike the *Mutaḳārib*, and the Turkoman *tuyuğ* was similar to the *rubāʿī*. Both the original and the *ʿArūḍ* systems enjoyed a parallel existence until the former was ousted by the latter during the XVth century. The main difference between the two forms is that in the *parmaḳ ḥisābī* the verses were based not on quantity but on the number and beat of the syllables. The old system survived only in the folk-poetry of Anatolia of which the most representative types are the *türkü*, *sharḳī* and the *mani* (*maʿnī*). In the XVIIth century, a revival of the old prosody began under such poets as Ḳaradjaoghlan, and, in the course of last century, the growth of national feeling led to the victory of the Turkish system. The *ʿArūḍ* system is now obsolete and is cultivated only by a few conservative or neo-classicist poets. The most important innovation produced by the Turks in the ʿArūḍ was somewhat artificial, although it was very necessary. In purely Turkish words there are, of course, no long syllables, but the Perso-Arabic letters of prolongation were used as vowel-letters. By a poetic licence, these were regarded as long where the metre demanded it.

The metres in use in Persian and Turkish are rather less numerous than those used in Arabic. Some of the more popular metres such as the *Ṭawīl*, *Basīṭ*, *Wāfir*, *Kāmil* and *Madīd* are scarce. For details of the metres most used the reader is referred to the bibliography.

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(G. MEREDITH-OWENS)

ARŪḌĪ [see NIẒĀMĪ ʿARŪḌĪ].

ʿARŪDJ, Turkish corsair who seized possession of Algiers at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. He is sometimes designated by the name of Barbarossa (a term which is sometimes interpreted as a corruption of Bābā ʿArūdj), but it appears this surname more often refers to his brother Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*].

ʿArūdj came from the island of Midilli (Mytilene-

ancient Lesbos); his father was a Turk, a Muslim soldier of the garrison of occupation (*Ghazawāt*), or a Greek potter (Haëdo). He had at least two brothers, who were with him in the Maghrib; Khayr al-Dīn and Isḥāḳ. A sailor and a Muslim from an early age (*Ghazawāt*), or only from his twentieth year (Haëdo), he began to act as a privateer in the eastern Mediterranean. He later decided (the exact reasons for this decision are not known) to operate off the coast of the Maghrib.

It is fairly certain that from 1504 onwards, or soon afterwards, ʿArūdj and his brothers made their base at Goletta; they started in a small way with two ships, but soon took some remarkable prizes; as a result of these they increased both the numbers of their fleets, which comprised eight galliots in 1510, and their capital, which enabled them to honour their obligations to the ruler of Tunis. The latter, Abū ʿAbd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (1494-1526), in fact only authorised them to establish a base on his territory on condition that he received a share of the prizes. The *Ghazawāt* describes on one occasion the magnificent cortège organised by the corsairs in Tunis to carry to the Ḥafṣid ruler his share of the booty (text, 15-16; tr., 28-30). They were authorised to establish a secondary base on the island of Djerba, and ʿArūdj was even appointed *ḳāʾid* of the island in 1510 (Haëdo). Until 1512, they cruised in the western Mediterranean and off the Spanish coast.

The Spanish, however, occupied various points on the coast of North Africa, notably Oran (1509), the Peñon of Algiers, Bidjāya (Bougie) and Tripoli (1510). Despairing of being able to retake Bidjāya (Bougie) by his own efforts, the Ḥafṣid governor of that town appealed to ʿArūdj who had then at his disposal twelve ships armed with cannon, and a thousand Turkish soldiers. ʿArūdj established a naval blockade of the port, while the "king" of Bidjāya (Bougie), supported by the Turkish troops, laid seige to it by land with three thousand "Moors". After eight days' bombardment, ʿArūdj lost his left arm. His brother Khayr al-Dīn took him back at full speed to Tunis where he spent his time recovering his health. In August 1514, he attacked Bidjāya (Bougie) for the second time, with twelve ships and 1100 Turkish troops. Again ʿArūdj was forced to raise the siege, this time because of bad weather, the appearance of a Spanish relief squadron, and perhaps the desertion of local contingents; it is even possible that he was forced to burn some of his vessels in the gulf of Bidjāya to prevent them falling into the hands of the Spanish.

He may perhaps have been already established at Djidjelli [*q.v.*], as the *Ghazawāt* lead one to believe. At all events, he took refuge there after his second reverse before Bidjāya, because his relations with the Ḥafṣid ruler had undergone a change—we do not know for what reason.

At this juncture, apparently, ʿArūdj conceived political ambitions. Haëdo describes him as supplying corn to tribes in the vicinity which had been smitten by famine, thereby acquiring great popularity, and intervening in the quarrels of the Kabyle chiefs.

When King Ferdinand the Catholic died on 22 January 1516, the inhabitants of Algiers sought to rid themselves of the threat from the Peñon, and appealed to ʿArūdj, who had both ships and cannon. He answered their appeal, and bombarded the Peñon without success. The leader of the Arabs of Algiers, Sālim al-Tūmī, then sought to get rid of ʿArūdj and his Turks, who behaved as though they were in conquered territory. But ʿArūdj forestalled him, put him to death and seized power with the help of his Turks. Despite the intrigues of the son of Sālim al-Tūmī, who had taken refuge with the Spanish, he succeeded in maintaining his position at Algiers by exercising the greatest severity. He also succeeded in repulsing a Spanish landing carried out by Diego de Vera (30 September 1516).

The Spanish then sent the Sultan of Ténès against him, but ʿArūdj went out to meet him and inflicted on him a severe defeat, as a result of which ʿArūdj made himself master of Miliana and Ténès. According to the *Ghazawāt* he then organised the territory he had conquered; Khayr al-Dīn had the territories to the East, with Dellys as his seat, while ʿArūdj took Algiers and the western territories.

ʿArūdj then received an appeal from the inhabitants of Tlemcen, whose king had accepted a sort of Spanish protectorate. He at once organised an expedition with the greatest thoroughness, and entrusted the government of Algiers to his brother Khayr al-Dīn. He occupied in passing the strongpoint of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Rashīd, now the site of Oued-Fodda, and left his brother Isḥāḳ there with a small garrison. He then proceeded to Tlemcen, which he took possession of without great difficulty, after having defeated the troops of King Abū Ḥammū in the field (September 1517). Instead of raising to power the pretender Abū Zayyān who had no link with the Spanish, ʿArūdj assumed power and despatched expeditions as far as Oudja and the Beni Snassen; he seems to have had the intention of negotiating with the ruler of Fez against the Spanish.

The latter did not give him time for this: in January 1518, a Spanish column under the command of Don Martin of Argote captured the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Rashīd, thus cutting communications between Tlemcen and Algiers. In May, the Marquis of Comarès, governor of Oran, marched on Tlemcen. There he laid siege to ʿArūdj, who hoped, it appears, to be relieved by the troops from Fez. The inhabitants of Tlemcen rebelled against the Turks, and forced ʿArūdj to shut himself up in the fortress of Mishawār [see TLEMCEN]. As supplies were running low, ʿArūdj attempted a sortie and managed to escape with a few men, but he was overtaken, probably in the vicinity of the present Rio Salado (department of Oran) and put to death; he was 44 or 45 years of age (Autumn 1518).

It will be seen that on the whole very little is known about the history of ʿArūdj. It seems likely that political aspirations awoke within him, when he realised the political anarchy existing in the central Maghrib and the possibilities it offered to a bold man backed by a body of men equipped with fire-arms and artillery. But the possibilities were so great that ʿArūdj allowed himself to be carried away by ambition, and he failed because he was too far from his base, and had not prepared the ground politically to a sufficient extent.

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250-6. The best known Turkish account is that given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in his *Tuḥfat al-Biḥār* (Istanbul 1141/1728 and 1329/1914, Eng. tr. of chaps. 1-4 by J. Mitchell, *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, London 1831). This narrative, which was used by Hammer in his account of the naval wars, rests on earlier sources, some of which are still extant. A list of Ottoman *ghazawātnāmes* dealing with the campaigns of ʿArūdj and Khayr al-Dīn is given in Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavat-nameler*, Ankara 1956, 70 ff. (R. LE TOURNEAU)

ARŪR (AROR) also written AL-RŪḲ, town in Sind; it is surmised to have been the capital of king Musicanus, defeated by Alexander the Great, and to be mentioned in the 7th century A.D. by Hiung-tsang. The town was conquered by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim before 95/714 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439, 440, 445) and it is mentioned by al-Istakhrī, 172, 175, and al-Bīrūnī, *Hind* (Sachau), 100, 130, according to whom it lay thirty *farsakhs* S-W of Multān and twenty *farsakhs* upstream from al-Manṣūra. The Indus used to flow near the town, but later it changed its course, destroying the prosperity of the town. The date of the change is uncertain; the local historians of the 17th-18th centuries (cf. Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, i, 256-8) give a legendary account. Five miles west from the old site there exists a small town, Rohri, chief place of the *taluka* of the same name (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 4, xx, 308). One of the names of the Gypsies, Lūlī < *Rūrī, may be connected with Arūr [see LŪLĪ].

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 833; H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta 1929, 76-9; V. Minorsky, in *JA*, 1931, 285; idem, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 246. (V. MINORSKY)

ʿARŪS [see ʿURS].

ʿARŪS RESMI, also resm-i ʿarūs, resm-i ʿarūsāne, ʿādet-i ʿarūsī, etc., in earlier times gerdek degheri and gerdek resmi; an Ottoman tax on brides. The standard rates were sixty aspers on girls and forty or thirty on widows and divorcees. There are sometimes lower rates for persons of medium and small means. In some areas the tax is assessed in kind. Non-Muslims are usually registered as paying half-rates, but occasionally double rates. On timar lands the tax was normally payable to the timar-holder, though part or all of it might be reserved for the Sandjaḳ-beyi or the Imperial Treasury. The destination of the payment was determined by the status of the bride's father or, in the case of widows, of the place where she resided or where the marriage occurred. Tax was also payable on the daughters of sipāhīs, garrison janissaries, etc. These were paid to the Sandjak-beyi, the Beylerbeyi, the Su-bashī, or the representative of the Treasury, according to the rules inscribed in the *ḳānūns* and registers of the province. These also contain rules for the bride-tax paid on the daughters of Tatars, yürüks, müsellems, miners, and other special categories. No tax was payable by an owner who married two of his slaves to one another.

The tax, which seems to be of feudal origin, is already established in *ḳānūns* of the 15th century in Anatolia and Rumelia, and was introduced into Egypt, Syria and ʿIraḳ after the Ottoman conquest. It was abolished in the 19th century and replaced by a fee for permission to marry (*idhnnāme*) given by a ḳāḍī. This was at the rate of 10 piastres for girls and 5 for widows.

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ʿARŪSIYYA, Dervish-order, according to Rinn a branch of the Shādhilīya which takes its name from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Abī Bakr) b. al-ʿArūs, who died c. 1460 in Tunis.

Bibliography: Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, 268; Depont et Coppolani, *Les confréries musulmanes*, 340.

ARZACHEL [see AL-ZARḲĀLĪ].

ARZAN (Syriac Arzōn, Armenian Arzn, Ałzn). The name of several towns in eastern Anatolia. The most important was the chief city of the Roman province of Arzanene, Armenian Ałdznikh, located on the east bank of the Arzanṣū River (modern Garzansu) a tributary of the Tigris, at about 41° 41′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 38° N. lat. By Islamic authors Arzan is linked with the larger city to the west, Mayyāfāriḳīn.

The origin of the name is uncertain but of undoubted antiquity; see the discussion in H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 16 (1904), 248, 311. On the pre-Islamic history of the town, a Syrian bishopric, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 25.

Arzan surrendered to ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm in 20/640, and the district was included in the territory of Djazīra (Balādhurī, 176), later in Diyār Bakr. The town was in a rich agricultural district, and the average combined revenue from Arzan and Mayyāfāriḳīn in ʿAbbāsid times was 4,100,000 dirhems, according to Ḳudāma (BGA vi, 246). Until the rise of the Ḥamdānids Arzan was ruled by Armenian amīrs allied by marriage, as well as allegiance, to the Arabs. Cf. Canard (below), 472.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla resided in Arzan when preparing expeditions against the Armenians or the Byzantine Empire. In 330/942 the Byzantines captured and sacked Arzan (Canard, 748). The Ḥamdānids recovered the town but had to fight many times with the Byzantines in the Diyār Bakr district. Afterwards the town lost its importance and in the 12th cent. A. D. Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 205) wrote that it was in ruins.

Few travellers have visited the site, but it was identified by J. G. Taylor in *JRGS*, 35 (1865), 26, where a plan of the ruins is given.

One should not confuse Arzan with a smaller nearby site also on a river, the Bohtansu, called Arzan al-Zarm; see J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen* (Vienna 1930), 41*, and 341. Also to be distinguished from Arzan is Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerum), and nearby Byzantine Ἄρτζε.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text cf. Marquart, *Die Entstehung und Wiederherstellung der armenischen Nation*, Potsdam 1919, 33; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Ham-*

danides, Algiers 1951, 84, with a bibliography of references to Arzan in the Arabic geographers in footnote 17. The map on 240 is of special interest.

(R. N. Frye)

ARZAN al-RŪM [see erzurum].

ĀRZĀW (Berb. Arzyu; modern orthography Arzew or Arzeu), town on the Algerian coast situated between Oran and Mostaganem, 7 km. E. of the present small town of Arzeu. The Muslim town of the Middle Ages doubtless occupied "on the littoral of the plain of Sīrāt" the site of the ancient Portus Magnus (modern Saint Leu, still called Vieil Arzeu). In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī speaks with admiration of the Roman town and its ruins, but declares that it was completely uninhabited. He notes however, on the nearby mountain (the one which dominates the present Arzeu), three castles which were used as *ribāṭ*. This is the more remarkable because fortified monasteries were very rare on the northern coast of Barbary. The Ārzāw region thus appears to have played a military and religious role. One assumes that maritime activity was, here as in other towns on the same coast, carried on not by the Berbers of the region but by Andalusian immigrants. In the 6th/12th century, Ārzāw furnished the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin with ships for the conquest of Ifrīḳiya. About the same time al-Idrīsī mentions its economic activity. "It is", he says, "large village to which is brought the wheat produced in the surrounding countryside, which is sought after by merchants who export it to numerous countries". In the 10th/16th century Leo Africanus, in his list of the large and small towns on this coast, does not mention Ārzāw.

At an unspecified period, probably in fairly recent times (18th century?) there arrived in the region an important Berber tribe which came from the Moroccan Rif, the Boṭṭīwa, among whom the original dialect was still spoken forty years ago.

Bibliography: Bakrī, text, Algiers 1911, 70, French trans. by de Slane, Algiers 1913, 143; Idrīsī, ed. by Dozy and de Goeje, 100, trans. 117; Gsell, *Atlas archéologique*, Mostaganem sheet, 5, 6; Biarnay, *Notice sur les Bettioua du Vieil Arzeu*, *R. Afr.* 1910-11, 101 ff.; R. Basset, *Loqmân berbère*, Paris 1890, 9, 13; idem, *Dial. berb. du Rif*, 1897, 168-71.

(G. Marçais)

ĀRZŪ KHĀN (Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Ārzū) 1099/1687-8 or 1101/1689-90—1169/1756, Indo-Muslim scholar and poet in Persian and Urdū. Son of Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusām, Ārzū Khān was, according to Shams al-ʿUlamā Mawlāna Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, descended from the family of the saint Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Čirāgh-i Dihlī on his father's side and from the saint Muḥammad Ghawth Guwāliyārī on his mother's.

A native of either Gwalior or Akbarābād (Āgra), in 1132/1719 he went to Dihlī and obtained a *manṣab* and a *djāgīr* also receiving patronage from Muʿtaman al-Dawla Isḥaḳ Khān, Khān-sāmān to Muḥammad Shāh. The former's sons Nadjm al-Dawla and Nawwāb Sālār Djang continued their father's favours to Ārzū Khān and when Sālār Djang went to Awadh in 1168/1754-5 Ārzū Khān accompanied him there and secured a stipend from Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh. Ārzū died at Lucknow but his body was brought back to Dihlī for burial.

In Persian literature Ārzū Khān was an important commentator on the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī, on the *Sikandarnāma* of Niẓāmī and upon the *Ḳaṣāʾid* of Khāḳānī and ʿUrfī. His other Persian writings include a lexicon, *Sirādj al-Lughāt*, the *ʿAṭiyya-i Kubrā* on simile, metaphor and metonymy, the *Zāʾid al-Fawāʾid*, a dictionary of Persian verbs and the nouns derived from them, the *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, a criticism of the poems of Ḥazīn, and the *Madjmaʿ al-Nafāʾis*, a biography of ancient and modern poets with extracts from their works.

In Urdū literature Ārzū Khān was more of an influence than a figure. Although he composed a few verses in Urdū he is more important as a teacher of such luminaries of the Dihlī school of Urdū poets as Mirzā Djān Djānān Maẓhar, Muḥammad Rafīʿ Sawda, Muḥammad Taḳī Mīr and Mīr Dard. He also composed an Urdu dictionary of mystic words, the *Gharāʾib al-Lughāt* and a Hindūstāni dictionary, the *Nawādir al-Farz*.

Bibliography: Extensively given in Storey, Vol. I, Part 2, 834-840.

(P. Hardy)

ʿAṢĀ: rod, stick, staff. From *LA*, xix, 293 ff. it is clear that the word was in common use among the ancient Arabs for the camel herdsman's staff.

In the Ḳurʾān it is used of Moses' stick with which he beat down leaves for his flock (xx, 18 (19)). Later it is the rod that at the Bush became a snake (xxvii, 10; xxviii, 31), and in Egypt the rod that devoured those of the magicians (vii, 107 (104), 117 (114); xxvi, 32 (31), 45 (44). Since the same word is used for the rods of the Egyptian magicians (xx, 66 (69); xxvi, 44 (43) it is clear that it has become his magic wand, so that with it he smites the sea to make a crossing (xxvi, 63), and smites the rock in the wilderness to procure water (ii, 60 (57); vii, 160). All this follows closely the Biblical narrative in Exodus, iv to xvii though in the Ḳurʾān no distinction is made between Moses' rod and that of Aaron.

In later tradition we are told that it was a rod cut from a celestial myrtle bush which Adam brought from Paradise. It was inherited by Seth and passed to Idrīs, Noah, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham and his family, and finally to Shuʿayb, who is identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. Through his daughter it came to Moses, for whom it was not only a shepherd's staff but a magic rod whereby he could light his way at night, find nourishment in the ground, split rocks and mountains, and defend himself from animal and human enemies. This material also is mostly derived from Rabbinic sources such as those we have in *Yalḳūṭ Shimʿoni*, *Midrash Wayyosha*, *Pesiḳta de-Rab Kahana*, and *Midrash Rabba*. That certain Muslim circles were embarrassed by these stories is clear from al-Maḳdisī's, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh*, iii, 42, 55, 112. In popular eschatology this rod is one of the things that will reappear in the Last Days, for when the Beast (cf. al-dābba) appears as one of the greater signs of the approaching Hour, it will bring with it the Rod of Moses and the Seal of Solomon (al-Tirmidhī in *Bāb at-Tafsīr* on Sūra xxvii; *Musnad Aḥmad*, ii, 295).

Al-Djāḥiẓ in his *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, ii, 49 ff. has a chapter on the use of the *ʿaṣā* among the Arabs, and Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 18 devotes a section to its various names. Certain men of letters, e.g. Usāma b. Munkidh, have written a *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā*. For the *ʿaṣā* as used in public worship see ʿanaza.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 460, 461; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1339, 122, 123; al-Kisāʾī (Eisenberg), 208; the Ḳurʾān Commentaries, ad loc.; L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, ii, 291, 292; v, 411; vi, 165; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 161 ff.; Sidersky, *Origines des légendes musulmanes*, 78-80.

(A. Jeffery)

ʿAṢABA [see mīrāth].

ʿAṢABIYYA, Arabic word meaning originally "spirit of kinship" (the *ʿaṣaba* are male relations in the male line) in the family or tribe. Already used in the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet condemns *ʿaṣabiyya* as contrary to the spirit of Islam, the term became famous as a result of the use to which it was put by Ibn Khaldūn, who made this concept the basis of his interpretation of history and his doctrine of the state. *ʿAṣabiyya* is, for Ibn Khaldūn, the fundamental bond of human society and the basic motive force of history; as such, the term has been translated as "esprit de corps" (de Slane), by "Gemeinsinn" and even by "Nationalitätsidee" (Kremer), which is an unjustified modernism. The first basis of the concept is undoubtedly of a natural character, in the sense that *ʿaṣabiyya* in its most normal form is derived from tribal consanguinity (*nasab, iltiḥām*), but the inconvenience of this racial conception was already overcome in Arab antiquity itself by the institution of affiliation (*walāʾ*), to which Ibn Khaldūn accords great importance in the formation of an effective *ʿaṣabiyya*. Whether it is based on blood ties or on some other social grouping, it is for Ibn Khaldūn the force which impels groups of human beings to assert themselves, to struggle for primacy, to establish hegemonies, dynasties and empires; the validity of this principle is tested firstly in Arab history, pre-Islamic and Muslim, and secondly in the history of the Berbers and other islamicised peoples: the Arab empire is the product of the *ʿaṣabiyya* of Ḳuraysh, especially of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf group, but once power (*mulk*) has been seized, the dominant group tends to detach itself from the natural *ʿasabiyya* on which it is based, and to substitute for it other forces which become the instrument of its absolutism. This extraordinary appreciation of a non-religious force as the motive power of history (the religious element only superimposes itself as a secondary element) involved Ibn Khaldūn in delicate problems of reconciliation with the traditional view of Muslim history and civilisation, a view, moreover, which he supported with whole-hearted conviction; this effort of harmonisation, apparent in more than one page of the *Muḳaddima*, prevented him from making a deeper examination and rendering fully coherent his ingenious theory.

Bibliography: F. Gabrieli, *Il concetto della ʿaṣabiyyah nel pensiero storico di Ibn Ḫaldūn, Atti della R. Accad. delle scienze di Torino*, lxv, 1930, 473-512; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's political Theory, BSOS*, vii, 1933, 23-31. (F. Gabrieli)

al-**ASAD** (a.), plural usually *al-usūd, al-usud, al-usd*, the most usual word for lion. It is also frequently found as a personal or tribal name (see following article; concerning the presumable etymology and connexions with other roots, see dicussion by C. de Landberg, *l.c.*, II/ii, 1237-40). The old poetic word, which has been more and more replaced by *al-asad*, is *al-layth*; this is found not only in Semitic languages (Akk. *nēšu*, this, however, generally only in prose: Landsberger, l.c., 76), but also, according to Koehler (*Lex. in VT Libros*, 481b), in Greek λῖς, λεῖς, where it is also used by poets—though rarely—from Homer onwards. The same author, 472a, also gives, alongside the kindred Akk. *labbu* etc., the Arabic fem.: *labuʾa* (with numerous kindred forms for lioness), and gives λέων, λέαινα, *leo* as an "Asianic" word, referring to *ZDPV*, LXII (1939), 121-4 (with a geographical distribution of the words). H. Oštir, in *Symb. Rozwadowski*, I (Cracow 1927), 295-313, derives the name of the lion in the Semitic languages (including the Arabic forms *labuʾa* and *layth*), Egyptian Coptic, Greek, Latin, German and Slavonic from an original Alarodic form and its variants. Recently, Indo-Germanic scholars once more refused to admit any connexion between the Semitic languages and the words for "lion", but they are unable to give any Indo-Germanic alternative (Paul Thieme, *Die Heimat der idg. Gemeinsprache*, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 32-9; also Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. etym. Wb.*[3], Heidelberg 1938, I, 785; and Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, XIII, col. 968). The phonetic difficulties involved in the undoubted relationship between the words for "lion", "elephant" etc., in the different languages, remain a problem. It is noteworthy that all the cases concern animals which appear as characters in fables, playing a great part both in literature and ornamentation (see below, and *Indogerm. Jahrbuch*, XIII [1929], 94, No. 85).

It is a matter of common knowledge that various hypotheses have been advanced concerning the distribution of the lion in Arabia. M. Grünert, *l.c.*, 3-4, 11, states that more than two-thirds of the great number of words for the lion (3 Arab philologists vie with one another in mentioning 600 and more) can be found in the ancient poets. In his opinion, the "epitheta ornantia" which he has collected are proof of "such a perceptive way of observing nature" that "some ancient Arabic poets really observed the lion". Here, however, it is not the great quantity, but the significance of these epithets which must be the decisive factor: they do not so much give a clear picture of the animal itself, but—and this is typical in Arabic lexicography—they give a great number of synonyms for the general conception, such as "tearer-to-pieces, crusher, smasher" etc. (cf. *ibid.*, 15 f.). B. Moritz (*l.c.*, 40 f.) is likewise led to accept Grünert's view, in the main, because of this wealth of synonyms (following Ibn Sīda, *Kitāb al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 59-64). On the other hand we have the objections by G. Jacob *l.c.*, 17; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, XLIX (1895), 713; H. Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, I, 128 f. In addition to these objections, there is, above all, the fact that the figure of the lion as the king of animals—and hence as a personification of kingly power—appears very early in places where the living animal never existed (for example in Ceylon, Indonesia, and in parts of Europe; cf. M. Ebert, *l.c.*, vii, 318a). It was in such places that it could most easily turn into a semi-mythical animal, engaging an imagination which had already endowed it with those ideals which its appearance evokes. This may perhaps also serve as an explanation for attributing other qualities to it, such as courage, bravery, magnanimity and the like, which some experts definitely deny to the real animal (cf. R. Lydekker, *The Royal Natural History*, London-New York 1893/4, i, 357 f., as opposed to Brehm, *l.c.*, i, 144, 150). — Arabia, which has a predominantly desert character is, furthermore, hardly a country for an animal like the lion, which prefers a certain amount of vegetation (Jacob, *l.c.*, 16). As far as Arabia proper is concerned, geographers can only find mention of a few lions' dens (*maʾsada*) in the Yemen, in the ancient poets; but the lion is no longer found there today. Some others, difficult to localise, were on the northern border, especially in the Babylonian marshes [cf. al-Baṭīḥa], where it is also extinct today (cf. M. Streck, *l.c.*, 416 f.; O. Rešer, *Sachindex zu Jâqût's "Muʿǧam"*, 42 f.; Hommel, *l.c.*, 287 f.; Grünert, *l.c.*, 13; Landsberger, *l.c.*, 67; Jacob, Lammens, Moritz, *ibid.*). There are different types of lion according to

the colour of the animal and the growth of its mane. Facts for a more detailed description of these (cf. e.g. Jacob, *ibid.* and Moritz, *l.c.*, 41, n. 3) are, however, scanty. In Islamic countries today, one finds, according to Brehm, *l.c.*, i, 144 ff., the Berber lion, the Senegalese lion, the Persian lion and the Gudjarāt lion.

The Arabs caught lions in pits, a primitive method which is still found in some parts today (Grünert, *l.c.*, 14; Ebert, *l.c.*, vi, 146; Brehm, *l.c.*, i, 151f.; according to Pliny, this was the method employed to catch animals for the circus: *RE*, XIII, col. 980). Following the example of the rulers of the ancient Orient, as well as that of the Achaemenids, Sāsānids and the Caesars, the Caliphs later went on lion-hunts themselves and in Islam, too, it became a prerogative of the rulers. They kept the lions in zoological gardens, trained them as companions, and organised shows with them in the Roman manner (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 980 f.; Ebert, *l.c.*, vi, 144-6; G. Contenau, *La vie quotid. à Bab. et en Assyrie*, Paris 1950, 140-3; W. von Soden, *Herrscher im AO*, Berlin 1954, 37, 75, 82, 134; C. de Wit, *l.c.*, 10-4; Streck, *ibid.*; Mez, *Renaissance*, 385 f.; M. F. Köprülü, *l.c.*, i, 599 f.).

"In Islamic art, the lion is probably the most frequently and diversely represented animal. It rarely has an apotropaic meaning, it sometimes has an astrological or symbolic one, but it is generally merely decorative and without any deeper significance. The main forms are:

1) In the round, as in the Fountain of the Lions in the Alhambra, hewn in stone in Konya, in Fāṭimid and Saldjūḳ metal work, and in Persian ceramics of the 12th to 14th century (particularly as pouring vessels and censers).

2) In bas-relief, and also flat, in the various spheres of art, and in almost any material, either:

a) passant, statant, sejant, rampant, either alone or paired, in the so-called 'heraldic style';

b) either in battle with other animals—such as bulls, gazelles or camels—or attacking them (thereby going back to ancient Iranian tradition);

c) explicitly heraldic: as in the Persian coat of arms (where it appears with the sun); as the animal in the coat of arms of the Mamlūk Baybars and perhaps also in that of the Rūm Saldjūḳs of the name of Ḳîlîdj Arslan; also in numismatic representations;

d) as a lion mask (the head only) on later carpets and textiles.

3) Partial representations are rare; the most frequent are: lions' paws, used as ornamental legs; lions' heads (modelled fully in the round) as door-knockers, as handles and in similar functions, usually in bronze.

There seems to be little direct debt to the ancient Orient or Hellenic art; the stylisation of the figure of the lion, at least, is nearly always typically Islamic, both in details and ornamentation. — There is as yet no iconographic study of the lion in Islamic art." [Information given in a letter from Professor E. Kühnel].

Fr. P. Bargebuhr in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1957, mentions occasions where plastic representations of lions are alluded to in Arabic literature. According to the results of his research, the Alhambra lions are of the 5th/11th century.

In heraldry, the best known example of the lion is in the Iranian Imperial coat of arms [see below], which has its predecessor in numismatics. As M. F. Köprülü shows, *l.c.*, i, 609, it dates from the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834). — For *Asadī* or *Arslanlî* coins see *ibid.*, i, 615.

The use made of the lion in all these spheres is based largely on astronomical and astrological configurations. The constellation of *Leo* "with 27 stars and 8 shapeless ones" is, according to L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin, 1809, 154: "a fiction of grammarians ignorant of the skies, which owes its existence to false interpretations and arbitrary changes of the older star-names. It is impossible to say in all cases exactly how they arrived at such corruptions" (see *ibid.*, 152-5, 159-68, 20-31, 52 f., 252 f., 272, 279, 317 f., 409 f., 422). The Babylonians already saw a heavenly hierarchy of kings in the zodiacal sign of *Leo* (α leonis = *šarru*, later: Regulus = *malakī*, the "royal", also: *ḳalb al-asad* "lion-heart": *ibid.*, 164 f. and A. Jeremias, *Handb. d. ao. Geisteskult.*[2], 1929, 203, 218 f., 347), and they put the king of their animal kingdom into the place in the zodiac in which the summer solstice occurs. Hence it became the symbol of the victory of the sun (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 983; Keller, *l.c.*, I, 52). Just as Jesus is called the Lion of Judah (comp. the title of the Negus) because he triumphed over death (*Apoc.* V, 5), the Shīʿites call ʿAlī b. Ṭālib the "Lion of God" (cf. Cassel, *l.c.*, 72, 87-93; Ḥamza was also called *Asad Allāh*: Grünert, *l.c.*, 4). In the Persian coat of arms he draws his sword Dhū 'l-Faḳār [*q.v.*], and the rising sun appears in the background. — When the sun is in *Leo*, on July 20th, the flooding of the Nile begins, hence the lions' heads as water spouts and fountain heads (cf. Keller, *l.c.*, i, 47 f.; C. de Wit, *l.c.*, 84-90, 396 ff.). — The apotropaic nature of the lion is of considerable significance. With his fierce look, warding off all hostile attack, he becomes the guardian of the throne (also of the throne of Allāh: Grünert, *l.c.*, 5), the gate, halls and graves (cf. Keller, *l.c.*, i, 58; Bonnet, *l.c.*, 429; like the Sphinx: cf. C. de Wit, *l.c.*, 66 f.). — Some representations of lions may, of course, have resulted from mere playful joy in modelling. However, W. Andrae, *Dargestelltes u. Verschlüsseltes in der ao. Kunst*, in *Welt d. Or.*, II/3 (1956), 250-3, shows that there was often a deeper reason behind it, especially when the lion, bull, and eagle occur together. Here, Islam took a great deal from older cultures without enquiring into its significance. Frequently, ancient Egyptian art provides the answer in its added explanation of what is portrayed (cf. C. de Wit, *l.c.*, especially 78, 84-90, 159 f., 398 f., 461-8).

It is impossible here to go further into the part played by the lion in the literature of mythology (some of this may be found in M. F. Köprülü, *l.c.*, i, 601-3), the fable (e.g. of Luḳmān; in animal-fables he is often called *(al-)Usāma*, similar to our "noble beast"), and the proverb (examples from al-Maydānī in Grünert, *l.c.*, 17).

The description of his biological attributes, too, his daring, strength and wildness (especially his roar), on the other hand, are repeatedly stressed. Mixed up with this, are superstitious ideas concerning him, such as the tale that he flees from the (white) cock —or from its crowing—that is to say, that he was originally shy of the light of day before he himself became the symbol for it (see above), according to the views held in antiquity (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 975 f.; Cassel, *l.c.*, 59; Grünert, *l.c.*, 18). The same is true of the use—sometimes medicinal—made of parts of

his body: brain, teeth, gall, flesh, fat, etc.; these are held to be infallible in their magic effects. The court apothecary in Stuttgart sold lions' excrement as late as 1561 as a remedy (cf. Keller, *l.c.*, i, 44; *RE*, XIII, col. 982; Grünert, *l.c.*, 19 f.).

Names show most clearly how much the lion entered into the cultural history of man. *Usd al-Ghāba* "the lions of the thicket" is what Ibn al-Athīr (died 632/1234) calls his biography of the companions of the Prophet. The names formed with *Asad(ī)*, *Layth(ī)* are numerous (sometimes theophorous: J. Wellhausen, *RAH*², 2, 64); in Turkish those formed with *Arslan* (particularly the Saldjūķs; M. F. Köprülü, *l.c.*, 600-4 deals with personal names, place names and titles); in Persian, *shīr*, either alone or in compounds, such as *shīrdil* "lionhearted", *shīrmard* "hero" (like *asad*: Landberg, *l.c.*, II/ii, 1239f.; Fr. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdōsī's Shāhnāma*, 1935, 584-7). In the Turkish of today, the word is usually *aslan*, which also means "brave, upright, good"; *arslanciğim* "my little lion", is practically a term of endearment for boys. — Thus the likable traits of the animal, its traditional virtues, the dignity of its appearance, have triumphed everywhere.

Bibliography: Owing to lack of space, the subject can only be roughly sketched.

Max Grünert, *Der Löwe in der Literatur der Araber*, Prague 1899, is little more than a study from a lexicographic standpoint. — M. Fuad Köprülü's article ARSLAN in *IA*, i, 598a-609a is hitherto the best exposition, not only for Turkish. There is no general survey of the Islamic field, nor are there any monographs on particular areas. — For comparison with antiquity, the following will be found useful: the article "Löwe" (by Steier) in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, xiii, 1927, col. 968-990; Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, i (Leipzig 1909), 24-61; further: Max Ebert, *Reallex. d. Vorgesch.*, vi, 114a-6b, VII, 318a-9b and especially Paulus Cassel, *Löwenkämpfe von Nemea bis Golgatha*, Berlin 1875, this also for oriental conditions. — For relationship with the ancient Orient: B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1934; M. Streck, in *Vorderas. Bibliothek*, vii/2 (1916), 416 f.; H. Bonnet, *Reallex. d. ägypt. Religionsgesch.*, Berlin 1952, articles "Löwe", "Sphinx", and others; especially C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Egypte anc.*, Leiden 1951, *passim*. — Concerning Arabic and Semitic matters in general, cf. F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugetiere bei den südsemit. Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, 287-94; C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, II/ii, Leiden 1909, 1237-40; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*², Berlin 1897, 16-18; B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, 40-41. — For zoology in general: Brehm's *Tierleben*³, I (1893), 144-152.

(H. KINDERMANN)

ASAD, BANŪ (later, dialect: Benī Sed), Arab tribe. They are a tribe related to the Kināna [*q.v.*]; the awareness of this interconnexion remained remarkably alive, though it had little practical effect owing to the great distance separating them.

The homelands of the Asad are in North Arabia, at the foot of the mountains formerly inhabited by the Ṭayy [*q.v.*]. In contrast to the latter, the Asad led a mainly nomadic life. Their grazing lands extended to the south and south-east of the Nefūd, from the Shammar mountains [*q.v.*] to the Wādi 'l-Rumma in the south, and beyond it in the neighbourhood of the two Abān in the direction of Rass and further eastwards up to Sirr. Here their territory overlapped with that of the ʿAbs [*q.v.*], in the north with that of the Yarbūʿ [*q.v.*] of the Tamīm [*q.v.*], for there the Asad owned the spring of Līne beyond the Dahnā' [*q.v.*], as well as the adjacent tract of Ḥazn (Ḥedjera) to the north.

An important event in the pre-Islamic history of the Asad is their revolt in which Ḥudjr fell, the son of the last great ruler of the Kinda and the father of the poet Imru' al-Ķays [*q.v.*], and in which they struck the disintegrating kingdom of Kinda [*q.v.*] a mortal blow. — The Asad's relationship both with their immediate and their more distant neighbours, the Tamīm and the tribes beyond the Wādī, varied. In contrast, at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies of the 4th century A.D., a permanent alliance with the Ṭayy and the Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*] was developped, in which the Dhubyān [*q.v.*] and finally the ʿAbs joined. A few decades later, however, a rift among the allies occurred, as a result of which clashes ensued, particularily between the Asad and the Ṭayy, until Islam established peace among the tribes.

An Asad family, the Ghanm, who had long been settled in Mecca, belonged to the inner circle of Muḥammad's disciples. But these connexions in no way affected the great Asad tribe. At the beginning of the year 4 /625, Muḥammad sent a raiding expedition to the Asad wells at Ķaṭan, where were encamped the sub-tribe Faķʿas, with their chief Ṭulayḥa (Ṭalḥa) and who, according to tradition, were contemplating an attack on Medina, already weakened by the battle of Uḥud. It is conceivable that Ṭulayḥa took part in the siege of Medina, the so-called Battle of the Trench (6/627). When, after further unsuccessful struggles against Muḥammad, famine broke out among the Asad, Ṭulayḥa appeared with other chiefs in Medina at the beginning of 9/630 to embrace Islam. Though it is uncertain that Sura XLIX, 14-17 refers to their emissaries, as is maintained by tradition, nevertheless these verses undoubtedly reflect their attitude towards Islām. However that may be, their leader Ṭulayḥa is said to have proclaimed himself a prophet even before Muḥammad's death. During the ensuing widespread troubles of the *Ridda* wars, he succeeded in re-establishing the alliance with the Ghaṭafān and the Ṭayy, which was joined by sections of the ʿAbs and Fazāra (Dhubyān). After being abandoned by the leader of the Fazāra [*q.v.*] at the battle of Buzākha against Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], he took to flight (11/632). This victory of the Muslims broke the resistance of the insurgents in North Arabia, who then for the first time were converted to Islām, the Asad among them.

In the ensuing wars of conquest, we find the Asad predominantly on the ʿIrāķ front; Ṭulayḥa also, having in the meantime returned to Islām, fought both there and in Persia. — Most of the Asad were absorbed by al-Kūfa; here in the course of time, they evolved from warriors to men of learning; as a result many of those who handed down the Shīʿa tradition, were men of the Asad from al-Kūfa. Smaller groups of the Asad were incorporated in the Syrian army and subsequently settled near Aleppo and beyond the Euphrates.

When the withdrawal of the Bakr [*q.v.*] and Tamīm left the way to the north open to them, in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, they extended their grazing lands along the Kūfa pilgrim road from al-Biṭān (Bṭāne) in the Dahnā' as far as Wāķiṣa. Later it was extended still further northwards: up to al-Ķādisiyya [*q.v.*] on the frontier of the Sawād. In the East the Asad extended right up to Baṣra and in the West to ʿAyn al-Tamr [*q.v.*].

In the second half of the 4th/10th century, the Asad penetrated into the settled lands. Shaykh Mazyad of the sub-tribe Nāshira settled on the Nīl canal at al-Ḥilla [*q.v.*], whilst another chief, Dubays, crossed the Tigris and set up his camp in the neighbourhood of the later Ḥuwēze (Ḥuwayza; see Ḥawīza) (Khūzistān).

The internal troubles under the Būyids [*q.v.*] favoured the rise of the Banū Mazyad [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī b. Mazyad was confirmed in his office as a vassal of the Būyids in 403/1012-3. His son Dubays (408-474/1018-1082) and the latter's son Manṣūr (474-479/1082-1086) were considered to be the ideal type of Arab aristocracy. Both were surpassed by Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr [*q.v.*] (479-501/1086-1108), in personal nobility and political significance. In the struggle between Sulṭān Barkiyārūḳ [*q.v.*] and his brother Muḥammad b. Malikshāh [*q.v.*], he sided with the latter and occupied al-Kūfa (494/1101), Hīt, Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and Takrīt and brought several Beduin tribes of ʿIrāḳ under his influence; thus he was well justified in calling himself Malik al-ʿArab (Prince of the Beduin). Later however, he quarrelled with his overlord Sulṭān Muḥammad, who defeated him at al-Madāʾin in 501/1108, in which battle he fell. Ṣadaḳa united in his person the virtues of an old-time Arab warrior and those of an Islamic prince. He stands on the threshold of the transition from the Beduin way of life to that of urban civilisation. Though at the outset he still lived in tents, in 495 (1101/2) he set up his residence al-Ḥilla. The sons of his son and successor Dubays II [*q.v.*], who led a restless and adventurous life and was murdered at the court at Marāgha of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] in 529/1135, ruled at al-Ḥilla until 545/1150.

The Asad had followed the Banū Mazyad to al-Ḥilla and remained there after their princely family had become extinct. Because they had supported Sulṭān Muḥammad II b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] in the last Saldjūḳ feat of arms in Irāḳ, the unsuccessful siege of Baghdād (551/1157), the Khalīfa al-Mustandjid [*q.v.*] determined to expel them from al-Ḥalla (558/1163). They entrenched themselves in the neighbourhood and were, with the help of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], finally compelled to submit. Four thousand of them were slaughtered and the remainder banished for ever from al-Ḥilla. The victors were perhaps induced to adopt this merciless procedure, because the Asad belonged to the Shīʿa (see above).

The Asad then dispersed, but must have reassembled again later. In any case, in the 14th and 15th centuries they lived to the south east of Wāsiṭ.

In the course of time they finally found a new home in al-Djazāʾir. The Banū Asad or Benī Sed as they are called in dialect, are apparently to be found here as early as the 10th/16th century.

In the 19th century they found their territory round el-Čebāʾish too constricted. In the forties they are said to have advanced under Shēkh Djenāḥ as far as the region east of ʿAmāra and later, under the latter's son Kheyūn, to Little Medjer. 1894-5 they were punished by Turkish troops for having set fire to Medina (below el-Čebāʾish on the Euphrates) under Ḥasan el-Kheyūn. Ḥasan was driven out of el-Čebāʾish and perished miserably in Hōr al-Djazāʾir (ca. 1903). His son Sālim, thanks to the influence of the family of Sēyid Ṭālib, was appointed to the office of Shaykh over the Benī Asad in 1906. After the first world war, he remained faithful to Sēyid Ṭālib and declared himself opposed to the choice of Fayṣal as King of ʿIrāḳ. In 1924/5 he revolted against the Government, was taken prisoner and then exiled from his home. He now lives on his estates in Beledrūz (North East of Baghdād).

Bibliography: The best comprehensive historical description with source-references is in: Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. III/part 2 (= VIII. Section: ʿIrāḳ), revised and published by W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952, 452-458 (all geographical names mentioned above may be found on the appended maps). — For the early Islamic period: The Prophet's biographies, especially: Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, German edition by H. H. Schraeder, Heidelberg[2] 1955, 261, 271, 277, 321, etc., 352; also L. Caetani, *Annali*, see Index, *s.v.* (H. Kindermann)

ASAD, ancient Arab tribe. The Ασατηνοι mentioned by Ptolemy VI, 7, § 22 (Sprenger, 206), and stated by him to have lived in central Arabia, to the west of the Θανουιται = Tanūkh [*q.v.*]. Like them, and perhaps with them, the Asad had emigrated to the Euphrates line before the middle of the 3rd century. They appear in the inscription on the grave of the second Lakhmid of Ḥīra (in al-Numāra, 328 A.D.), together with the Tanūkh, as al-Asadayn, "the two Asads". Here the dual *a potiori* may well have been chosen in order to erase, together with the name, the memory of the Tanūkh rule, whose kings had preceded the Lakhm in Ḥīra. It is not obvious what this term is based on—possibly on some relationship. This is also accepted by the Arab genealogists, who say that the core of the Tanūkh arose from the Asad. The inscription in Numāra mentions that "he reigned over both the Asad ...... and their kings". It is not known for how long the Asad were under the Lakhm. Some of their descendants, the B(anu) ʾl-Ḳayn [*q.v.*], lived until Islamic times to the south and south-east of the Ḥawrān on the eastern border of the Balḳāʾ and down to Arabia; other branches had joined the Tanūkh.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Ms. Escorial, 450, 490. (W. Caskel)

ASAD [see nudjūm].

ASAD b. ʿABD ALLĀH b. Asad al-Ḳasrī (of the Ḳasr sept of Badjīla; not al-Ḳushayrī, as sometimes printed in error), governor of Khurāsān, 106-9/724-7 and 117-20/735-8, under his brother Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], governor of al-ʿIrāq and the East, in the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. His first period of governorship coincided with increasing pressure by Turkish forces against the Arabs in Transoxiana, which he was unable to counter effectively, although he conducted successful raids into the fringes of the Parapomisus. In 107/726 he rebuilt the city of Balkh (destroyed by Ḳutayba b. Muslim after the rising of Nēzak) and transferred the Arab garrison troops to it from Barūḳān. The Caliph was forced to remove him from office, however, owing to his violence against the local Muḍarites. But when the disorders in Transoxiana and Eastern Khurāsān came to a climax with the revolt in 116/734 of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], supported by the native princes, Asad was reappointed to the province. He drove the rebel forces across the Oxus but in spite of a raid towards Samarḳand failed to restore the Arab position in Ṣughd. In order to control the disturbed sector of Ṭukhāristān he established a garrison of 2500 Syrian troops in Balkh in 118/736. In the following year he led an expedition into Khuttal, but the local princes called for support from the powerful khāḳān of the Türgesh, Su Lu, who drove Asad back to Balkh with severe losses (1 Shawwāl 719/

1 October 737). The joint forces of the Türgesh and the princes of Ṣughd, supported by al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj, now crossed the Oxus in their turn, to make a raid on Khurāsān. Asad, with the Syrians from Balkh and some local forces, surprised the main body at Kharistān, and the remainder were all but cut off in their retreat (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 119/December 737). By this fortunate victory Asad restored the Arab power in Eastern Khurāsān but himself died a few months later (120/738). In his second government, as in his first, he had had to take severe measures against the emissaries and local agents of the ʿAbbāsids [*q.v.*, p. 15 above], but he also endeavoured to reform the local administration, and gained the friendship of many *dihḳāns*, who applauded him as a prudent "steward" (*katkhudā*) of his province. Among other nobles, Sāmānkhudāt, the ancestor of the Sāmānid [*q.v.*] dynasty, was converted by him to Islam, and named his eldest son Asad in his honour. The village of Asadābād near Naysābūr is said to have been built by him, and remained in the possession of his descendants until the government of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir. In Kūfa also, the suburb of Sūḳ Asad was established by and named after him.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara* (Lévi-Provençal), 366; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Narshakhī (Schefer), 57 sq.; Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, History of Balkh; Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination des Arabes* (Amsterdam 1894), 24-5,30; J. Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, 284, 291-5; H. A. R. Gibb, *Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London 1923), 65-89; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hisham* (Alexandria 1935), 38-41, 54-64. (H. A. R. GIBB)

ASAD B. AL-**FURĀT** B. SINĀN, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, scholar and jurist of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century, born at Ḥarrān (Mesopotamia) in 142/759. At the age of two he went with his father to live in Ifrīḳiya. He completed his early studies there, and in 172/788 went to Medina, where he received an initiation in Mālikism from Mālik b. Anas himself. From there he went to ʿIrāḳ, where he profited by the teaching of several disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa. The lessons he received from Mālik provided him with the material for his great work, the *Asadiyya*. On his return to Ifrīḳiya, be established himself as a master in the science of *ḥadīth* and as an eminent jurist; he was appointed by the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳayrawān, jointly with Abū Muḥriz (203/818), an unusual division of this office between two holders. Of a violent nature, he sometimes quarrelled with his colleague and disagreed with the famous Saḥnūn, a Mālikite doctor whose *Mudawwana* outlived the success of the *Asadiyya*.

His passionate convictions and perhaps his belligerent energy led to the appointment of this man of learning as *amīr*, leader of the expedition which left Sūs in 212/827 to attack Byzantine Sicily. He marched at the head of the Muslim troops and took the first step towards the conquest of the island by the capture of Mazzara. He died of wounds or of the plague before Syracuse in 213/828.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, ed. and trans. by Ben Cheneb, 81-3, 153-6; Houdas and R. Basset, *Mission scientifique en Tunisie* (*Bulletin de Correspondance africaine*, ii, 1884). Extract from Ibn al-Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-Īmān*; Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, index; idem, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, i, 382 ff.; Ben Cheneb, in *Centenario M. Amari*, i, 242-3. (G. MARÇAIS)

ASAD ALLĀH IṢFAHĀNĪ, celebrated Persian sword-maker (*shamshīrsāz*) of the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I. It is said that the Ottoman sultan presented a helmet to Shāh ʿAbbās, and offered a sum of money to anyone who could cleave the helmet in two with a sword. Asad made a sword with which he achieved this feat, and, as a reward, Shāh ʿAbbās remitted the tax of the sword-makers, who continued to obtain exemption until Ḳādjār times (see A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, London 1954, 25). For a description of Asad Allāh's work, see *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2575. (R. M. SAVORY)

ASAD AL-**DAWLA**, a title held by several princes, of whom the most important was ṢĀLIḤ B. MIRDĀS [*q.v.*].

ASʿAD EFENDĪ [see ESʿAD EFENDĪ].

ASADĀBĀDH, town in al-Djibāl, 7 *farsakhs* or 54 kms. southwest of Hamadhān, on the western slope of the Alwand Kūh at the entrance to a fruitful well-tilled plain (5659 ft. high). As a permanent caravan-station on the famous, ancient highway Hamadhān (Ekbatana)-Baghdād (or Babylon), it is a settlement reaching back into antiquity, and (according to Tomaschek) is probably the Ἀδραπάνα of Isidor of Charax and the Beltra of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (cf. Weissbach, in Pauly-Wissowa's iii, 264). In the Arab Middle ages, and even into the Mongol period, Asadābādh was a flourishing, thickly populated place with excellent markets, and its inhabitants were considered well-to-do because of the rich yield of their domains, to which canals gave a plentiful supply of water. In 1872, according to Bellew, it was a fine village with some 200 houses, some of which were occupied by Jewish families. The Persians call it, according to the accounts of European travellers, Absadābādh (Petermann, Bellew), also Saʿīdābādh (Duprée, Petermann) or Sahadābādh (Ker Porter). In 514/1120 there was fought at Asadābādh a battle between the two Saldjūḳ sultans Masʿūd of Mawṣil (Mosul) and Maḥmūd of Iṣpahān, which resulted in favour of the latter. 3 *farsakhs* from Asadābādh there stood imposing buildings of Sāsānid times which the Arabs called Maṭbakh or Maṭābikh Kisrā, i. e. the Kitchen(s) of Chosroes; for the explanation of this name cf. the legend deriving from the *Risāla* of Misʿar b. Muhalhil in Yāḳūt, iv, 593 s.v. Maṭbakh Kisrā.

Bibliography: Yāḳut, i, 245; Quatremère *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, 1,250, 264-6, 427 f.; Le Strange, 196; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 218; Tomaschek, in *SBAK. Wien*, 1883, 152; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 81, 344; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, 1861, ii, 252; H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, London 1874, 431; de Morgan, *Mission scientif. in Perse, étud. géogr.*, ii, 124, 127 f., 138; *Farhang Djughrāfyāʾī Īrān*, v, Tehran 1953, 11. (M. STRECK)

ASADĪ. This poetical name (*takhalluṣ*) is probably that of two poets born at Ṭūs (Khurāsān): ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. MANṢŪR AL-ṬŪSĪ and his son ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD. According to the extremely doubtful statement of Dawlatshāh, the father was the pupil of Firdūsī (born ca. 320-2/932-4), while the epic composed by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad is precisely dated 458/1066; H. Ethé concludes from this that it is impossible to attribute to the same author the works placed under the name of Asadī. Thus Abū Naṣr, about whom it is only known that he died during the rule of Masʿūd al-Ghaznawī, becomes the author of the *Munāẓarāt* ("Debates"), which show analogies with the Provençal *tensones*, and are consequently important from the point of view of literary history,

apart from their originality of matter and form. On the other hand ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, situated at the court of a prince of Arrān, Abū Dulaf composed on the advice of a minister, his *Gershāsp-nāma*, the oldest of the epics complementary to the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdūsī: this work is remarkable not only for its spirited narrative and for its style, but also for its supernatural episodes and philosophical discourses which foreshadow the later development of the Persian epic. The valuable *Lughat-i Furs*, a dictionary of rare words with quotations from Persian poetry, was probably written after the epic. A copy of the pharmacopoeial treatise of Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī of Harāt dated 447/1055-6 one of the oldest Persian manuscripts, is in the handwriting of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, and is dated and signed by him. K. I. Tchaikin has tried to show that all these works are by one and the same author, Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (*Iztadelsvo Akademii Nauk SSSR*, Leningrad 1934, 119-59; resumé by H. Massé in introd. *Gershāsp-nāma*).

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ĀṢĀF B. BARAKHYĀ (Hebrew Āsāf b. Berekhyā), name of the alleged *wazīr* of King Solomon. According to the legend he was Solomon's confidant, and always had access to him. When the royal consort Djarāda was worshipping idols Āṣāf delivered a public address in which he praised the apostles of God, Solomon among them, but only for the excellent qualities he had manifested in his youth. Solomon in anger at this took him to task, but was reproved for the introduction of idol-worship at the court. This was then done away with and the consort punished; the king became repentant.

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ĀṢĀF-DJĀH, title of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*].

ĀṢAF KHĀN Abu 'l-Ḥasan, second son of Djahāngīr's *wakīl-i-kul* Iʿtimād al-Dawla Ghiyāth Bēg and elder brother of Nūr Djahān.

After Nūr Djahān's marriage to Djahāngīr in 1020/1611 Abu 'l-Ḥasan became *Khān-sāmān* with the title of Iʿtiḳād Khān. In 1021/1612 his daughter Ardjmand Bānū Begam Mumtāz Maḥall married Prince Khurram, the future Shāh Djahān. He himself received the title of Āṣaf Khān in 1023/1614 and attained in 1031/1622 the rank of 6,000 *dhāt* and *suwār* and was appointed *sūbadār* of Bengal in 1033/1623. In 1025/1616 the imprisoned Prince Khusraw, eldest son of Djahāngīr, was delivered over to the charge of Āṣaf Khān, now sharing the real power in the empire with Nūr Djahān, Iʿtimād al-Dawla and Prince Khurram. Despite his negligence in allowing Mahābat Khān, the enemy of the Nūr Djahān faction, to capture Djahāngīr on the banks of the Jhelum in 1035/1626, his own flight to Atak and eventual seizure there by Mahābat Khān's forces, Āṣaf Khān survived to become governor of the Pandjāb and *wakīl*.

Āṣaf Khān quickly despatched the news of the death of Djahāngīr in 1037/1627 to Prince Khurram in the Dekkan. Always a supporter of the latter's succession, Āṣaf Khān diplomatically proclaimed Dāwar Bakhsh as *pādshāh* at Bhimbar, pending the arrival of Prince Khurram. He also placed Nūr Djahān, who supported Prince Shahriyār, under restraint. His services in securing the succession of Shāh Djahān were rewarded by the title of *Yamīn al-dawla*, the rank of 9,000 *dhāt* and *suwār*, *do-aspa sih-aspa* and the office of *wakīl*. In 1041/1631-2 Āṣaf Khān was employed as commander of the Mughal armies fighting against Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh of Bidjapūr.

Āṣaf Khān died in 1051/1641 and was buried in Lahore not far from Djahāngīr's tomb. A patron of Mughal miniature painting and a great builder, he left a fortune estimated, in European sources, at more than twenty five million rūpīs apart from his residences and gardens.

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AL-AṢAMM, "the deaf", a soubriquet applied to several people, notably: 1. Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī, called al-Aṣamm, an Umayyad general famous for his eloquence, who led several campaigns against the Khāridjites, the most notable of which, about 78/677 or 79/678, led to the crushing defeat and death of the Azraḳī Khāridjite Ḳaṭari b. al-Fudja'a [*q.v*].

Bibliography: al-Ṭabari, *Annales*, ed. by de Goeje, ii, 1018 (Cairo ed. v, 126); Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. by Hārūn, i, 61, 407 and iii, 264.

2. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Nīsābūrī, called al-Aṣamm, a celebrated doctor and traditionist of the Shāfiʿī school, born in 247/861, died in 346/957-8. A disciple of al-Rabīʿ al-Murādī (d. 270/883) and al-Muzanī (d. 264/876) [*q.v.*], he helped to make the latter's *Mukhtaṣar* more widely known through the medium of a recension which attained great popularity; see *Fihrist*, 212. The Shāfiʿī Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Ṣuʿlukī (d. 387/997), who was a pupil of his at Nīsābūr, also won great renown.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 211, 212; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 219 and ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, n.d., iii, 154; Dhahabī, *Tabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ* (*Liber Classium*, etc.), ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1833 fol., ii 94, no. 61. Our edition of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Subkī does not contain any notice on him. (R. Blachère)

ASĀS [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA].

ʿASAS, the night patrol or watch in Muslim cities. According to Maḳrīzī the first to carry out this duty was ʿAbdallah b. Masʿūd, who was ordered by Abu Bakr to patrol the streets of Medina by night. ʿUmar is said to have gone on patrol in person, accompanied by his *mawlā* Aslam and by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 223, cf. Ṭabarī, i, 5, 2742; R. Levy, (ed.) *Maʿālim al-Ḳurba*, 216; al-Ghazzālī, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* (ed. Humāʾī, 13, 58). Later the *ʿasas* was commanded by a police officer, known as the *ṣāḥib al-ʿasas* (Maḳrīzī, loc. cit.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 73; Nuwayrī, iii, 151). Maḳrīzī says that in his day the *ṣāḥib al-ʿasas* was popularly known as the *wāli 'l-ṭawf* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 103); a *ṣāḥib al-ṭawf* is reported in Baṣra in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 364. On the *Ṭawf*, apparently a synonym of the *ʿAsas*, see also Badīʿ al-Zamān, *Maḳāmāt*, *al-Maḳāma al-Ruṣāfiyya*; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 93, citing the instructions given to them in 697/1297 by the Sultan). In Mamlūk times there were also night patrols known as *aṣḥāb al-arbāʿ*, coming under the authority of the *Wāli*, or chief of police; in Spain they were called *darrābūn* (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo, ii, 54; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 135).

In the East, a diploma issued by the *dīwān* of the Saldjūḳid Sandjar (d. 552/1157) orders the *nāʾib* of Rayy to appoint *ʿasas* in the town wherever there may be the suspicion of vice and corruption (*ʿAtabat al-Katabat*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 44).

In Ottoman times the commandant of the *ʿAsas* (*ʿAsesbashī*) was a Janissary officer (according to ʿOthmān Nūrī the čorbadjī of the 28th *bölük*, according to Hammer from an unspecified regiment). He was in charge of the public prisons and exercised a kind of supervision over public executions. He attended meetings of the Dīwān of the Agha of the Janissaries and at the Saray and the Porte, in case anyone was to be handed to him for execution. He also played an important role in public processions. He received one tenth of the fines imposed by the Su Bashī for drunkenness and similar offences by night, though not by day; in addition the *ʿAsas* levied a due (*Resm-i ʿAsesiyye*) from every shop. (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 517 = Hammer's translation, i, 2, 108-9, attributing their foundation to Meḥemmed II; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, 901-2, 954; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esaslarî I Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 69, 70, 134, 139, 147, 160, 162, 163, 164, 178, 400).

In Ṣafawid Persia the night patrols were under the command of the dārūghā, and were called *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] and *gezme* as well as *ʿasas*. (Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 149). In 19th century Shīrāz the head of the night watchmen was known as *mir ʿasas* (Ann K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, London, 1954, 14-15).

In Ghardaïa and in the other cities of the Mzāb, the organisation of night watchmen not only assures public security and morals, but possesses a secret and almost absolute authority, superior even to that of the *Ḥalḳa* of the *ʿAzzāba* and the *Djamāʿa* of the laymen, in the important affairs of the community. (M. Vigourous, *La garde de nuit à Ghardaïa*, in *Bulletin de Liaison Saharienne*, no. 9, Algiers 1952, 9-16). The minaret of the Abāḍī mosques in the Mzāb is called *ʿassās*, «watchman». (M. Mercier, *La civilisation urbaine du Mzab*, Algiers 1922, 60 f.).

Bibliography: in addition to sources quoted in the article: W. Behrnauer, *Mémoire sur les Institutions de Police chez les Arabes, les Persans et les Turcs*, *JA*, June 1860, 461 ff.; G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, *Egypte*, ii, Cairo 1929-30, *Mém. I.F.A.O.* vol. lii, 61-62; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, 393-4; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 1/i, 119, 324-326; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilatından Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 170, 358, 370, 397, 421; id. *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 21, 124, 139, 141-2, 283, 285, 286; D'Ohsson, *Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1788-1824, vii, 167, 319; J. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i, 247, ii, 105-6; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, i, Istanbul 1946, 93-4; an example of the use of the term in Morocco is given in *Archives Marocaines* 1/ii, 186.

(ED.)

The term *ʿassās* is used in North Africa in the sense of "night-watchman". R. Brunschvig (*La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 203) uses it in connexion with the night-watchmen in the *sūḳs* at Tunis. It is also found in Budget Meakin (*The Moors*, London 1902, 174) to denote the watchman who keeps guard at night over the caravans which have halted in the villages; the same custom, but without the word being used, is mentioned by M. Rey (*Souvenir d'un voyage au Maroc*, Paris 1844, 124). At Fez, the word was used at the beginning of the 20th century to denote not only night-watchmen, but policemen in general.

Whether the word *ʿassās* is indicated or not, the use of guards at night, particularly in the central market, at warehouses and on the ramparts, was the general practice in North African towns up to the advent of the French. There is evidence of its use in Algiers (R. P. Dan, *Histoire de Barbare et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1637, 102), where the *mizwār* [*q.v.*] and his agents patrolled the main streets at night, and in Fez (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 206), where "four police officers, not more", went the rounds from midnight until 2 a.m., and where the central market and warehouses were guarded by Berber porters or *zarzāya* (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca-Paris 1949, 196), while the police of the ward commanders (*ʿassāsa*) kept watch on the ramparts (*ibid.*, 253). At Wazzān, the head of the family of the *Shorfa* of the town paid each night 58 guards who kept watch over the city (Budget Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901, 325), while at Safi, the Moroccan army took part in guarding the city by night (*ibid.*, 200).

In Spain, the term *ʿassās* does not appear to have been used. E. Lévi-Provençal (*Xe siècle*, 253), mentions the use of the word *darrāb* to denote night-watchmen; the person responsible for nocturnal security was sometimes known as *ṣāḥib al-layl*, which is apparently the equivalent of the term: *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 155, following al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 134).

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

AṢFAR (A), yellow: also, in distinction from black, simply light-coloured. Some Arab philologists and exegetes indeed claim for *aṣfar* also the meaning "black"; see the discussions thereon in the *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii, 465. The Arabs called the Greeks *Banu 'l-Aṣfar* (fem. *Banāt al-A.*: *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 274, ab

infra) according to Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i, 357, $_{11}$; 354, $_{15}$) signifying "Sons of the Red One" (Esau). In the Ḥadīth mention is made of the contest of the Arabs with the Banu 'l-Aṣfar and of the conquest of their capital Constantinople (*Musnad Aḥmad*, ii, 174). *Mulūk Bani 'l-Aṣfar* (*Aghānī*, 1st ed., vi, 95, $_{18}$) = the Christian princes, especially those of the Rūm (ib. 98, $_{7}$ ab infra; cf. Abū Tammām, Dīwān, ed. Beirut. 18 ult. in a poem to al-Muʿtaṣim after the battle at ʿAmmurīya). Later this designation was applied to Europeans in general, especially in Spain. *Ta'rikh al-Ṣufr* (Spanish Era) can thus be best explained; other views in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 626, 637. Many genealogists have explained Aṣfar as the name of the grandson of Esau (Σωφάρ in the Septuagint, Gen. 36, $_{10}$) and father of Rūmīl (Re'ū'ēl, Gen. 36, $_{11}$), ancestor of the Rūm. According to the explanation of De Sacy (*Not. et Extr.*, ix, 437; *Journ. As.*, 3. Serie, Pt. i, 94), which Franz Erdmann accepts (*ZDMG*, ii, 237-241), the designation Banu 'l-Aṣfar was a literal translation originally referring to the Flavian dynasty, then became extended beyond it to the western nations. From his travels among the Nuṣayrīs [*q.v.*] H. Lammens relates that they designate the Emperor of Russia *Malik al-Aṣfar* (*Au pays des Nosairis* in *Rev. de l'Or. chrétien*, Paris, 1900, 42 of the separate edition).

Bibliographie: I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 268 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 242; *ZDMG*, iii, 363; *JA*, 10th series, ix, 230; 10th series, xii, 190. (I. Goldziher)

ASFĀR B. SHĪRAWAYHĪ, (Aspar the son of Shēroē), a Daylamite *condottiere*, to be more exact a Gīlite, who played an important rôle in the civil wars which followed the death in 304/917 of the ʿAlid Ḥasan al-Uṭrush [*q.v.*], the master of Ṭabaristān, and put an end to the domination of the ʿAlids in this region. He made his appearance with another Daylamite *condottiere*, Mākān b. Kākūy (Ar. another Daylamite brigand, Mākān b. Kākūy (Ar. Kākī), in 311/923, in the struggles which brought al-Uṭrush's son-in-law and successor, Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim, surnamed *al-dāʿī al-ṣaghīr*, "the little missionary", into conflict with some of al-Uṭrush's sons, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. He revolted against Mākān or was dismissed from his army by the latter for his execrable conduct, and entered the service of the Sāmānid prefect of Naysābūr. After the death of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim in 312/925, Mākān proclaimed one of the latter's sons, Ismāʿīl, in opposition to one of his nephews Abū ʿAlī, whom he had imprisoned in Djurdjān; Abū ʿAlī succeeded in escaping, killing his custodian, Mākān's brother, and appealed to Asfār (315/927-8). Asfār came to Djurdjān and with ʿAlī b. Khurshīd, another Daylamite, the leader of Abū ʿAlī's army, defeated Mākān and expelled him from Ṭabaristān. After Abū ʿAlī's death in the same year, Mākān recovered Ṭabaristān and Asfār returned to Djurdjān, where he was appointed governor by the Sāmānid amīr Nasr. Then with the help of the Gīlite Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, he again took possession of Ṭabaristān. Mākān had brought the *Dāʿī* Ḥasan back to power and they then tried to take Ṭabaristān from Asfār, but were routed and the *Dāʿī* was killed in the battle by Mardāwīdj. In this way the ʿAlid dominion in Ṭabaristān came to an end, for Asfār seized the other ʿAlids and sent them to the Sāmānid at Bukhārā (316/928-9).

Asfār, now master of Ṭabaristān, extended his power over Djurdjān, over Rayy (from which he expelled Mākān), over Ḳazwīn and the other towns of the Djabal. However he lefts Āmul to Mākān on condition that he did not seek to dominate the rest of Ṭabaristān. He proclaimed the sovereignty of the Sāmānid. He removed his family and treasures to Alamūt (Ibn al-Athīr: Ḳalʿat al-Mawt), the famous future fortress of the Ismāʿīlīs to the North of Ḳazwīn, which he took by a ruse. Within a short time, he conducted himself as an independent prince, adopted the external marks of sovereignty at Rayy (golden throne and crown) and defied the Sāmānid and the Caliph. At this point the Caliph al-Muḳtadir sent an army against him, under the command of his maternal uncle Hārūn b. Gharīb, which Asfār completely routed near Ḳazwīn. However, Asfār found himself the object of the hostility of both Mākān, who had not renounced his claims to Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān, and the Sāmānid, who marched against him and reached Naysābūr. Asfār's minister persuaded his master to make peace with the Sāmānid, paying him tribute, and recognising his suzerainty. In this manner Asfār avoided war and took advantage of the situation to further extend his authority by deceit and fraud. He became increasingly tyrannical, took the most fearful revenge on the people of Ḳazwīn for having helped Hārūn b. Gharīb, and, in order to pay the tribute to the Sāmānid, collected a poll-tax of one dīnār per head on all the inhabitants of his possessions and even on foreign merchants in the country, in fact the *djizya* (the word occurs in al-Masʿūdī).

His tyranny caused his lieutenant Mardāwīdj to rebel against him; the latter made an alliance with the prince of Shamīrān in Ṭārum, Sallār, and with Mākān, and wons over a large part of Asfār's troops. After fleeing to Ray, where he was only able to collect a small amount of money, Asfār wanted to set out for Khurāsān and reached Bayhaḳ; then he turned back towards Ray, his purpose being to reach Alamūt so as to regain possession of his treasures there, raise new troops and take up the struggle again. But on the way, he was overtaken by Mardāwīdj, who cut his throat (there are several versions of this occurrence). The chronology of events between 316 and 319 is not well established: Ibn al-Athīr gives them under 316 and Ibn Isfandiyār under 319. The latter is the most likely date for Asfār's death. It is with Asfār that the domination of the Daylamites in North-West Iran really begins, continuing with Mākān and Mardāwīdj, and then the Buwayhids. According to al-Masʿūdī, who stresses Asfār's behaviour at Ḳazwīn (the *mu'adhdhin* thrown from the top of the minaret, the suspension of the prayers, the ruined mosques), he was not a Muslim.

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(M. Canard)

AṢFĪ, Asafī, (Fr. Safi, Sp. Safí, Port. Çafim or preferably Safim), town and port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, a few kilometers to the south of Cap Cantin; about 25,000 inhabitants in 1936, and about 70,000 in 1953, of whom, in round figures, 62,000 were Muslims, 3,500 Jews and 4,000 Europeans.

Safi does not appear to date from any very considerable antiquity. Al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) mentions it, without treating it as a place of any great importance. Al-Idrīsī in the following century considers it to be a relatively busy port, though its roadstead was not very safe. According to the same geographer, this was the point where the flotilla of the "Adventurers", who set out to explore the Atlantic Ocean, made landfall on its return (with a popular etymology of the toponymic; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Pén. ibér.*, 24). In the 7th/13th century there was a *ribāṭ* there. The history of the town is chiefly known since the intervention of the Portuguese, who accepted its submission just prior to the death of King Alfonso V (1438-1481) and who occupied it in the first months of 1508. They built a great enclosure, which contained a castle called "Castle of the Sea" by the sea-shore, and adapted the old *ḳaṣba* which they turned into their citadel (now Kechla). Almost the whole of these fortifications still survive. Safi was the main Portuguese stronghold in Southern Morocco. The Portuguese made it the centre of the manufacture of the rugs called *hambels* (Ar. *ḥanbil*), which were one of the basic articles of their trade with the rest of the Barbary States, with the Western Sahara (through their trading post at Arguin) and with Negro Africa (through their trading post at Mina on the Gulf of Guinea). Enterprising and bold captains (governors), the most famous of whom was Nuno Fernandes de Ataide, working through native notables, especially through one man who seems to have been a great chief, Yaḥyā b. Taʿfūft, gave Safi a vast military and political sphere of influence which was expressed by at least two expeditions against the town of Marrakesh. But this brillant period was of short duration: the death of Nuno Fernandes de Ataide, killed in a fight in 1516, then that of Yaḥyā, ambushed and killed in 1518, weakened the Portuguese and forced them to curtail their activity. In 1534 the Saʿdī Sharīf of Marrakesh subjected the town to a close and dangerous siege. After the fall of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué in March 1541 (see AGADIR), which jeopardised the whole Portuguese position in Southern Morocco, King John III (1521-1557) decided to concentrate his forces at Mazagan and to evacuate Safi and Azemmūr: this operation took place towards the end of October 1541 (the famous João de Castro's participation in this operation is a legend).

Safi became the main port of the Saʿdī Sharīfs, owing to its nearness to Marrakesh, the residence of the Sulṭāns, and played a considerable rôle until the accession of the ʿAlawis; it was one of the centres of Christian trading. When the ʿAlawī Sultans transferred their residence to the North (Fez and Meknes), the activity of Safi declined to the advantage of Rabat; yet European merchants were still numerous there at the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century the town's decline became increasingly evident. The establishment of the French Protectorate gave Safi a new lease of life; it is today a busy port, exporting the agricultural produce of the ʿAbda region and the Louis-Gentil phosphates. Recently the number of factories for producing salted goods has been increased. The name of one of the two quarters of the old *ribāṭ* has been preserved, whilst the other is absorbed in the old Portuguese walls.

From 1487 (?) to 1542, Safi was the seat of a bishopric, held by Portuguese prelates, the best known of whom was D. João Sutil (1512-36); the remains of a Christian church, which was probably the Cathedral, are still to be seen.

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(H. BASSET and R. RICARD)

ASFIZĀR [see SABZAWĀR].

AL-AʿSHĀ, "the night-blind", is the surname of a number of early Arab poets (17 in all; see al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, 12 ff.; *Aghānī*, index; *L.A.*, s.v.); each of them is connected with a tribe (Aʿshā Banī Fulān) and, apart from the most celebrated of their number, al-Aʿshā of the Bakr (or the Ḳays) [*q.v.*] and al-Aʿshā of the Hamdān [*q.v.*], the following are worthy of note: al-Aʿshā of the Bāhila (ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith b. Riyāḥ) who is included among the *aṣḥāb al-marāthī* by Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 169, 175 (with refs.); see also al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Abu Zayd al-Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, 135; al-Djāḥiz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 387; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1306, 9-12; al-Aʿshā of the Banū Māzin (ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Aʿwar), who is reckoned among the Companions of the Prophet; see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 220. Al-Aʿsha of the Banū Nahshal = al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur [*q.v.*].—al-Aʿsha of the Banū Rabīʿa (ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāridja), a poet of Ḳūfa of the 1st/7th century; see *Aghānī*, xvi, 155-7; C.A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, index; Brockelmann, S I, 95.—al-Aʿshā of the Banū Shaybān, see al-Buḥturi, *Ḥamāsa*, 156; Ibn Sallām, 377 and refs.—al-Aʿshā of the Banū Taghlib (d. 92/710), see *Aghānī*, x, 98-100; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn* iii, 263; Brockelmann S I, 95.—al-Aʿshā of the Banū Sulaym, a 2nd/8th century poet, see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index.—al-Aʿshā of the Ṭarūd (Ṭirwad), Iyās b. ʿĀmir, see al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 311-2.

(ED.)

AL-AʿSHĀ, MAYMŪN B. ḲAYS. Prominent ancient Arab poet of the tribe of Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba of the Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. Born before 570 in Durnā, a place in the Manfūḥa oasis (south of Riyāḍ), died in the same place after 625. As his cognomen indicates, he suffered from an eye disease, and went completely blind whilst still in the prime of life. He set out in search of wealth in his youth. For years he travelled, probably as a merchant, and visited Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, southern Arabia, and Abyssinia in this way. After he became blind, he lived by his art, i.e. by writing panegyrics; yet he still travelled: to the governor of Ḥīra, Iyās b. Ḳabīsa (+ 611), to Ḥaḍramawt to see Ḳays b. Maʿdīkariba (the father of Ashʿath), to Hawdha b. ʿAlī, prince of Djauw a village in Yamāma. He had already tried his luck as a panegyrist in earlier days. But poem No. 1, celebrating the triple victory of Prince Aswad of Ḥīra (the brother of King Nuʿmān), does not appear to have been a success. The poet was

deeply involved in politics. After the fall of King Nuʿmān (in 501 or 502), the Bakr had begun their raids into the cultivated land of ʿIrāḳ, along the Euphrates border where Aʿshā resided—presumably with the powerful Shaybān b. Thaʿlaba, who shared the area in which they migrated in summer with the nomad Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba. He threatened to bring death and destruction upon the valley of the Euphrates in an insolent reply to Khusraw II, who had demanded hostages. With equal boldness he confronted Ḳays b. Masʿūd, the head of the Shaybān, when the latter—under the impression of the great losses he had suffered—went to the court (No. 34; 26). Thus the poet may be said to have helped to bring about the battle of Dhū Ḳār (605). If the stray and corrupted verses 5, 32-50 do indeed refer to Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa, then he was also active in that change which soon brought the victors of Dhū Ḳār under Persian influence again. In his home country, he interceded in favour of the rightful prince, Hawdha, to whom he was indebted, and ridiculed the usurper al-Ḥārith b. Waʿla (7, 4-6; 30). Meanwhile he had left the Shaybān in favour of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, because he considered that the Shaybān had violated the honour of his tribe (6; 9). He was therefore deeply hurt, when (a few years later) he was accused in his own homeland and lost the case. Actually, he had been quite ready to reach an amicable solution until his opponent opposed him with a poetaster by name of Djihinnām. The two met at a fair near Mecca. A mob—stirred up by Djihinnām—closed in on him with whips and spear-staffs, but was then dumbfounded by his verses, in which Aʿshā allowed Misḥal—his demonic *alter ego*—to appear for the first time (14; 38; 15). He had once previously had occasion to save himself from great danger by means of a hastily improvised poem (on Samawʾal [*q.v.*]). He subsequently, with or without their consent, interfered in the quarrel between ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*] and ʿAlḳama b. ʿUlātha (18; 19). He also defended ʿUyayna and Khāridja of the Fazāra (Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*]) against Zabbān b. Sayyār, a well known chief of the same tribe (20, 27-37): *Oriens* 7, 302. This probably took place in the beginning of the twenties. As can be seen from 1, 67; 3, 32. 54; 5, 62-64; 13, 69; 34, 13 al-Aʿshā was a Christian.

The poet was educated at Ḥīra, where the tradition of legend and poetry was broader than that of any other individual tribe. His style is rhetorical and at times (especially in 1), artificial. Connected with this is his preference for sound-effects and for sonorous (Persian) foreign words, as well as for effective endings. He occasionally treats the traditional themes of the *ḳaṣīda* with a high-handed indifference. He likes many types of allusion. Thus, for instance, *Ḥurayrata waddiʿ*, 9, 1, prepares one for the recurrence of the theme, only with the motto inverted, in No. 6. The praise of Mecca and his panegyric on the leaders of the Ghaṭafān (20, 27-37), both of which are otherwise apparently meaningless, indicate the whereabouts of Aʿshā, who had good reason on both occasions to avoid his homeland. The first passage discloses furthermore the place where he clashed with Djihinnām, and the second shows Aʿshā's intention to proceed against Zabbān, who is left out of the panegyric on leaders of the Ghaṭafān.

The immediate impact of the poet seems to have been confined to his anonymous (Christian?) pupils and forgers, who counted on gaining the patronage of Ashʿath. Their works fill almost the whole of the second part of his *Diwān* (No. 52-82), although the first part, too, contains many a verse which is not authentic.

Bibliography: *The Diwan of al-Aʿshā*, ed. R. Geyer (Gibb Mem. N. S. VI), London 1928; GAL, G 37; S I, 65-67; Muḥ. b. Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 18 f.; Caskel, *Oriens* 7, 302. (W. Caskel)

AʿSHĀ HAMDĀN, properly ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, Arab poet, who lived in Kūfa in the second half of the 1th/7th century. In his early career a traditionist and Ḳurʾān reader he was married to a sister of the theologian al-Shaʿbī, who in turn had married a sister of al-Aʿshā. Later he concentrated on poetry, acting on occasion as the spokesman of the Yamanite faction. He was active in the wars that marked the governorship of al-Ḥadjdjādj and his health appears to have suffered during an expedition into Mukrān. The role which he played under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath is best known. He took part in his campaign against the Turks and was taken captive but escaped with the aid of a Turkish woman whose passions were enflamed for him. When Ibn al-Ashʿath turned against al-Ḥadjdjādj the poet's sharp tongue aided him with satires. The decisive battle at Dayr al-Djamādjim resulted unfortunately; Ibn al-Ashʿath took to flight, and al-Aʿshā was led prisoner before al-Ḥadjdjādj, who immediately recalled to him some of his malicious songs. His extemporaneous flatteries availed him no longer: al-Ḥadjdjādj's sentence of death was carried out on the spot (83/702). The poems of Aʿshā Hamdān which have been preserved to us are reflexes of his adventures and political sentiments. The level of his poetry which remained curiously unaffected by the modernism of the Medinese school is considerable, both as regards his partisan verse and his treatment of the traditional motifs of erotic description. The vigour of his diction lends a certain attraction even to his handling of conventional topics.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], V, 146 ff., 162 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, V, 355 ff.; Ṭabarī, index; *The Diwān of al-Aʿshà*, ed. R. Geyer, London: 1928, 311-345 (50 pieces); Brockelmann, I, 62, S. I, 95; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 149-50; Guido Edler von Goutta, *Der Aġaniartikel über ʿAʾšà von Hamdān*, Diss. Freiburg i. B., 1912, contains translations of practically all Aʿshā's preserved verse.

(A. J. Wensinck-[G. E. von Grunebaum])

ASHʿAB, nicknamed "the Greedy", a Medinese comedian who moved in the circles of the grandchildren of the first four caliphs and flourished in his profession in the early years of the 8th century. He is said to have survived until 154/771. The historical information about him is rather plentiful; though contaminated by much legendary material, it permits us to get a glimpse at the life of a professional entertainer in the Umayyad period. The jokes and stories connected with his name concern politics, religion, and middle-class life. The middle-class jokes come last in the chronological development of the Ashʿab legend; but then, ever since early ʿAbbāsid times, they have enjoyed the greatest popularity in Islam. Among the famous jokes under Ashʿab's name, there is a brilliant parody of the foibles of *ḥadīth* transmitters: Ashʿab says that he heard ʿIkrima (or some other well-known transmitter) report that the Prophet had said that two qualities characterised the true believer. Asked which they were, Ashʿab replied: "ʿIkrima had forgotten one, and I have forgotten the other." Even more famous is the story of greedy Ashʿab who tries to get rid of annoying children by telling them that free gifts

are being distributed in some place, and then runs after them because he thinks his story might be true.

Bibliography: *al-Aghānī*[1], xvii, 82-105; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 235-9; F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Islam and its Historical Development* (Leiden 1956), which centres around Ash'ab.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

AṢḤĀB [see ṢAḤĀBA].

AṢḤĀB AL-ḤADĪTH [see AHL AL-ḤADĪTH].

AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF, "those of the cave". This is the name given in the Ḳur'ān, and further in Arabic literature, to the youths who in the Christian Occident are usually called the "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus". According to a legend, in the time of the Christian persecution under the Emperor Decius (249-51), seven Christian youths fled into a cave near Ephesus and there sank into a miraculous sleep for centuries, awoke under the Christian Emperor Theodosius, were discovered and then went to sleep for ever. Their resting place and grave was considered, at any rate since the beginning of the 6th century A.D., as a place of worship. The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is found in various Oriental and Occidental literatures, particularly in Greek and Syriac; the Greek version would appear to be the earliest one (texts edited by Land, I. Guidi, Bedjan, Allgeier). Since Muḥammad the legend is handed down in Arabic as well.

Muḥammad has got to know the legend, like so many other stories of Jewish and Christian origin, has assimilated it and put it to edifying use in the Ḳur'ān (xviii, 9-26; hence the whole *sūra* is called *sūrat al-kahf*). The main outlines are clearly recognisable: The youths and their flight into the cave, so as to be able to remain true to the belief in the one God; their miraculous sleep, which lasts 309 years (v. 25), but which appears to them as at the most one day (v. 19); the circumstances of their discovery (by means of the ancient coinage, with which one of them attempts to buy provisions in the city). But some details remain doubtful. Muḥammad himself points out that the number of the youths is variously given as three, five or seven, and that only God really has knowledge of the length of their sleep. It is strange that the dog who "stretches out his paws on the threshold" (v. 18), is taken into consideration when the number of the youths is given (v. 22); thus he also appears to be considered as holy. Not quite clear is the hint at the building of a place of worship over the resting place of the youths (v. 21). Particularly disputed is the expression *al-raḳīm* (v. 9: "those of the cave and (of) *al-raḳīm*"; N.B. the definite article).

The Arabic commentators and historians have attempted to overcome the difficulties in the interpretation of the Ḳur'ānic text and to fill in gaps, making use of much material from the Christian-Oriental tradition about the Seven Sleepers. Consequently their accounts are also of significance for the history of the transmission of the legend in pre-Islamic times. J. Koch and M. Huber have been at great pains to make use of the various reports for the history of legend and literature. Here a certain amount remains to be done. Huber's monograph *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern* (1910), and his translation of Arabic texts in *Romanische Forschungen*, xxvi (1909) are however still to-day useful as collections of material.

The expression *al-raḳīm* is variously interpreted by the commentators. As the name of the dog (to whom the name *Ḳiṭmīr* is otherwise given); as a place name; and as the name for an inscription, which is supposed to have been put up in that place (cf. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 95). Torrey suspected here a misreading for Decius, such an interpretation can however not be maintained (cf. Horovitz, loc. cit.).

Once the legend had taken root with the Muslims it was connected with various places within the Islamic world, so with a cave in Transjordan, in Cappadocia, in East Turkistan and in Spain. This does not however alter the fact that originally it belongs to Ephesus.

In the course of time the story of "the people of the cave" has drifted into the realm of the magical. In this way can be explained the custom of hanging up leaves on which the names of the sleepers are inscribed, for the sake of *baraka* or for averting evil. The name of the dog, *Ḳiṭmīr*, plays a special part. Among the Turks of East Turkistan, as in Indonesia it was still customary in recent times to inscribe letters which it was desired to protect from loss, with the word *ḳiṭmīr* instead of "registered".

In a treatise somewhat overloaded with symbolistic details, L. Massignon has attempted recently to do justice to the story of the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf, as it were from the inside, that is, in the sense in which it has become meaningful for Muslim believers.

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(R. PARET)

AṢḤĀB AL-RASS, "the people of the ditch" or "of the well", are twice mentioned in the Ḳur'ān (xxv, 38; L, 12), along with ʿĀd, T͟hamūd and other unbelievers. The commentators know nothing for certain about them, and so give widely divergent explanations and all manner of fantastic accounts. Some take al-Rass to be a geographical name (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.); some hold that these people, a remnant of T͟hamūd, cast (rassa) their prophet Ḥanẓala into a well (*rass*) and were consequently exterminated. It is also related that the mountain of the bird ʿAnḳā' [*q.v.*] was situated in their region. Al-Ṭabarī mentions the possibility of their being identical with the Aṣḥāb al-Uk͟hdūd [*q.v.*]; otherwise he does not know anything about them; just as little do we.

Bibliography: The Commentaries on the verses of the Ḳur'ān in question, esp. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xix, 9 f.; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, s.v. ʿAnḳā'; T͟haʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1292, 129-33; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 94 f. (A. J. WENSINCK)

AṢḤĀB AL-RA'Y, also AHL AL-RA'Y, the partisans of personal opinion, a term of deprecation applied by the *ahl al-ḥadīt͟h* [*q.v.*] to their opponents among the specialists in religious law. *Ra'y* [*q.v.*] originally meant "sound opinion", and was used of the element of human reasoning, whether strictly systematic [see ḲIYĀS] or more personal and arbitrary [see ISTIḤSĀN], which the early specialists used in order to arrive at decisions on points of religious law. The *ahl al-ḥadīt͟h*, however, who rose in opposition to the ancient schools of religious law, regarded this as illegitimate; in particular they thought it wrong to reject, as the followers of the ancient schools used to do, traditions which were reported as coming from the Prophet, on account of *ra'y*. As a consequence of the success of this point of view in the theory of religious law [see UṢŪL], each group was apt to qualify those who on any particular question gave to personal opinion a wider scope than they themselves did, as *aṣḥāb al-ra'y*, and it became impossible for those who did, in fact, use *ra'y*, to recognise this and to justify it from Islamic premises. There never was a school of thought in religious law that called itself, or consented to be called, *aṣḥāb al-ra'y*, and the distinction between *ahl al-ḥadīt͟h* and *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* is to a great extent artificial. From the point of view of the *ahl al-ḥadīt͟h*, both Abū Ḥanīfa and his school and Mālik and his school belong to the *aṣḥāb al-ra'y*, and they were indeed so called by al-S͟hāfiʿī, Ibn Ḳutayba, and others. For adventitious reasons, Abū Ḥanīfa and his school became the principal objects of the attacks of the *ahl al-ḥadīt͟h*, and this gave rise to the erroneous opinion that they were the *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* par excellence. Warnings against *ra'y* and its partisans, sometimes with explicit mention of Abū Ḥanīfa and his followers, were even put into the mouth of the Prophet, his Companions and their Successors, and thereby became themselves traditions.

Bibliography: al-S͟hāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, vii, passim; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, introductory chapters; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 248 ff.; idem, *Muk͟htalif al-Ḥadīt͟h*, 62 ff.; al-K͟haṭīb al-Bag͟hdādī, *Ta'rīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, xiii, 323 ff. (attack on Abū Ḥanīfa); S͟hahrastānī, 161; Sachau, in *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien.*, Phil.-Inst. Classe, 1870, 713 ff.; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, 490 ff.; Goldziher, *Ẓâhiriten*, 2 ff.; idem, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 74 ff. (transl. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, 88 ff.); Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 46 ff.; J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* 98 ff. and *passim*; idem, *Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, 53 f. (J. SCHACHT)

AṢḤĀB AL-UK͟HDŪD, "those of the trench", an expression at the beginning of Ḳur'ān, LXXXV, which is difficult to understand. The verses 4-7 run: "Slain be those of the trench, of the fire fed with fuel, (lo) when they are sitting by it (i.e. the fire), while they are witnesses of what they do (were doing) with the believers!" The ancient Ḳur'ān commentators and historians refer the passage inter alia to the persecution of the Christians in Nad͟jrān under the Jewish king of South Arabia D͟hū Nuwās [*q.v.*] which—as far as is historically established—is to be placed in the year 523. It is alleged that the Christian martyrs were burnt alive in a trench (*uk͟hdūd*) which had been specially dug for the purpose. Occasionally the passage in the Ḳur'ān is connected with a story which goes back ultimately to Daniel iii ("The men in the firing-oven").

In fact however the passage is to be understood in an eschatological sense, as Grimme has recognised and Horovitz more closely explained. We are dealing with a scene of judgement typical of the Ḳu'rān. The *aṣḥāb al-uk͟hdūd* are unbelievers, who will go into the hell fire, as a punishment for what they did to the believers (verse 7). The objections, which K. Ahrens (*ZDMG*, 1930, 149) and R. Blachère (*Le Coran*, i, 120) have raised against this interpretation, are not decisive.

There remains the difficulty of explaining the expression *al-uk͟hdūd*. A. Moberg thinks—though with strong reservations—of an influence of the Hebrew Gē Hinnōm (of Hinnom) in the sense of Hell (*Legenden*, 21; cf. Speyer, 424). According to R. Bell, "it may be that in 'the fellows of the pit' there is a sub-reference to the Quraysh slain at Badr, whose bodies were thrown into a well" (*The Qur'ān*, ii, 646). Both interpretations are questionable.

Bibliography: The Ḳur'ān commentaries on LXXXV, 4-7, especially Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxx, 72-5 (cf. Loth, in *ZDMG*, 1881, 610-22); Ibn His͟hām (Wüstenfeld), 24 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīk͟h*, i, 922-5; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, 182-7; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 129 f.; T͟haʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1292, 380-2; Caussin de Perceval *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 128 f.; *Acta Sanctorum, Octobris T. X*, Bruxelles 1861, 721-62; Fell, in *ZDMG*, 1881, 1-74; I. Guidi, *La Lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth-Aršâm sopra i martiri omeriti, Raccolta di scritti*, i, 1945, 1-60); A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, Lund 1924, especially p. xliii-xlvii, lvi; idem, *Ueber einige christliche Legenden in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund 1930, 18-21; Duval, *Littérature syriaque*, 1907, 136-41; T. Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala 1926, 11-3; K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qoran, ZDMG*, 1930, 148-50; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 12, 92 f.; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen, 424. (R. PARET)

ASHĀM (Turkish ESHĀM), plural of Arabic SAHM (Turkish SEHIM), share. In Turkey the word was used to designate certain treasury issues, variously described as bonds, assignats, and annuities. The *eshām* are called annuities by Hammer (*Leibrenten*) and also in the Ottoman budget of 1862-3, where they are mentioned as *rentes viagères*. The description is not strictly accurate, as although the *eshām* reverted to the state on the death of the holder, they could be sold, the state claiming a duty

of one year's income on each such transfer. According to Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, the *eshām* were introduced in the early years of the reign of Muṣṭafā III, when assignats on the proceeds of the customs of Istanbul and other revenues were issued to creditors of the state and other applicants, with an annual income of 5%. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ remarks that most of the proceeds were spent in the war with Russia beginning 1182/1768. The handling of the *eshām*, he says, was at first entrusted to a *muḳāṭaʿadji*, and later transferred to a *muḥāsebe*. The records of the *Eshām Muḥāsebesi ḳalemi* in the Istanbul archives begin in the year 1189/1775, and end in 1281/1864. According to Djewdet the *eshām* were introduced by the finance official Peykī Ḥasan Efendi, who first became bashdefterdār in 1192/1778, after having previously been defter-emīni. The issue of *eshām* on provincial revenues is reported in 1198-1200/1783-5. The practice of issuing *eshām* was continued by later Sultans, and Maḥmūd II used them to compensate the *tīmār*-holders dispossessed by the land reform of 1831.

The first regular bond issue in the European style dates from 1256/1840, when bearer treasury bonds were floated, carrying a high rate of interest. These bonds, which circulated like banknotes, were called *Ḳāʾime-i Eshām* and *Ḳāʾime-i Muʿtebere-i Naḳdiyye* (see ḲĀʾIMA).

In 1864, in the course of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms, the old *Eshām Muḥāsebesi Ḳalemi* was abolished. Meanwhile, however, in 1274/1857, a new internal loan was floated under the name of *Eshām-i Mümtāze*, and was followed by a series of others—*Eshām-i Djedīde*, *Eshām-i ʿAzīziyye*, *Eshām-i ʿĀdiyye* etc. These mid-19th century loans are sometimes referred to collectively as *Eshām-i ʿOthmāniyye*.

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AʿSHĀR [see ʿUSHR].

AL-ʿASHARA AL-MUBASHSHARA, the ten, to whom Paradise was promised. The term does not occur in canonical *ḥadīth*, to which however the conception goes back. The traditions in question usually have the form: "Ten will be in Paradise", whereupon the names are enumerated. There are differences in the lists. Those who appear in the various forms extant are: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, Saʿīd b. Zayd. In some traditions Muḥammad himself is put before these nine (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, bāb 8; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 187, 188 *bis*). In others Muḥammad is absent and the tenth place is taken by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ (Tirmidhī, *Manāḳib*, bāb 25; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 279; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 193). Conceptions of this kind owe their origin to the hierarchic tendencies that were prominent in the Muslim community, and that found expression even in the earliest creeds.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍira fī Manāḳib al-Aṣḥāb al-ʿAshara*, Cairo 1327. (A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-ASHʿARĪ, ABŪ BURDA, ʿĀMIR B. ABĪ MŪSĀ, according to the accepted opinion one of the first ḳāḍīs of Kūfa. Apart from the fact that he was a son of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], little that can be considered authentic is known of his life and work. As a member of the Islamic aristocracy, it was only natural for him to be appointed as an official of the treasury (Ibn Saʿd); he also appears as one of the notables of Kūfa in 51/671, when he gave evidence against the followers of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] (Ṭabarī, II, 131 f.; *Aghānī*, xvi, 7), and again in 76/695-6, when he did homage to the Khāridjī insurgent Shabīb b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] (Ṭabarī, II, 928). It is generally taken for granted that he was ḳāḍī of Kūfa, but even early sources give contradictory reports of the circumstances of his alleged appointment by al-Ḥadjdjādj (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 285, l. 20 f.; Wakīʿ, ii, 391 f.), of the persons of his predecessor (Shurayḥ, according to Ibn Saʿd, to the *K. al-Muḥabbar*, and to Wakīʿ, *loc. cit.*; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 407) and his successor (Saʿīd b. Djubayr, according to the *K. al-Muḥabbar*; Shaʿbī, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 392, 413; his brother Abū Bakr, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 412 f.), and of the length of his tenure of office (a very short time, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 392; three years, according to Wakīʿ, ii, 413; an unspecified time, between three and eight years, from 79/698-9 onwards, according to Ṭabarī, ii, 1039, 1191). The accounts that Shurayḥ should have recommended Abū Burda and Saʿīd b. Djubayr as his joint successors to al-Ḥadjdjādj (Wakīʿ, ii, 392), or that Muʿāwiya on his deathbed in 60/680 should have advised his son Yazīd to avail himself of Abū Burda's good counsels (Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 83; Ṭabarī, ii, 209), are certainly apocryphal (cf. Lammens, *Moʿāwia Ier*, 139). Another anecdote (Wakīʿ, ii, 409 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, Būlāḳ 1293, iii, 140) makes Abū Burda peevishly complain to Muʿāwiya of an attack by a poet. From Ibn Khallikān onwards, however, the person of Abū Burda is idealised. Abū Burda died in 103/721-2 or 104/722-3, at the age, it is stated, of more than 80 lunar years.

The traditional biography of Abū Burda reflects an absence of positive information, combined with the desire of fitting his name into the fictitious picture of the development of Islamic law and the administration of Islamic justice in the first century of the *hidjra* which came to prevail. He played no part in the formation of the doctrine of the school of Kūfa, and he does not belong to its authorities. The one report on a judgement of his, on the ownership of household chattels, that occurs in an early source (Wakīʿ, ii, 211), represents him as undecided among the secondary opinions held in the second century (cf. J. Schacht, *Origins*, 278 f.), and is therefore not authentic. In his time, the implications of the prohibition of *ribā* were only in the course of being worked out in ʿIrāḳ rather than in Medina; the anecdotes which report that Abū Burda, having been sent by his father to Medina for study, was warned by his teacher there against the laxness of the ʿIrāḳians in matters of *ribā*, must therefore be later, although they bear Baṣrian *isnād*s (on this phenomenon, see

Schacht, *Origins*, 130 f.). Abū Burda appeared as a transmitter of traditions because his name was used in "family *isnāds*", which were meant to authenticate sayings which his father was claimed to have related on the authority of the Prophet. The fact is attested already by Ibn Saʿd, but traditions themselves are quoted for the first time only by Wakīʿ; some express repugnance for accepting government office (Wakīʿ, i, 65 ff.; ii, 22), an attitude which became fashionable only under the ʿAbbāsids (cf. E. Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, i, 387, n. 2; N. J. Coulson, in *BSOAS*, xviii/2, 1956, 211 ff.); another (Wakīʿ, i, 100) aims at enhancing the reputation of Abū Burda's father, Abū Mūsā, to the detriment of that of Muʿādh b. Djabal (it seems to presuppose the well-known tradition about the instructions of the Prophet to Muʿādh, and could then be hardly earlier than the last third of the second century of the *hidjra*); there are, finally, the alleged instructions of the caliph ʿUmar to Abū Mūsā on the administration of justice, which appear for the first time in Wakīʿ (i, 70 ff.); these are certainly not earlier than the third century of the *hidjra* (cf. Tyan, i, 106 ff.). Abū Burda's reputation as a traditionist in his own right, with a respectable number of authorities from whom he was supposed to have heard traditions, had been established by the time of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and it continued to grow, together with the number of authorities from whom he was alleged to have transmitted, until Ibn Ḥajar could ascribe to Ibn Saʿd the statement that Abū Burda "was reliable and transmitted many traditions", although Ibn Saʿd said nothing of the sort.

A son of Abū Burda, Bilāl, became *ḳāḍī* in Baṣra, and authentic, contemporary information on him is ample (cf., e.g., Wakīʿ, ii, 21 ff.; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 288 f.).

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AL-ASHʿARĪ, ABU ʾL-ḤASAN, ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl, theologian, and founder of the school of orthodox theology which bears his name. He is said to have been born in 260/873-4 at Baṣra, and was ninth in descent from the Companion Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. Little is known of his life. He was one of the best pupils of al-Djubbāʾī, head of the Muʿtazila in Baṣra, and might have succeeded him, had he not left the Muʿtazila for the party of the orthodox traditionists (*ahl al-sunna*). This change or conversion is placed in 300/912-3. In later life he moved to Baghdād, and died there in 324/935-6.

The story of al-Ashʿarī's conversion is told with many variations of detail. Three times during the month of Ramaḍān he is said to have seen Muḥammad in a vision, and to have been commanded to adhere to true Tradition. He regarded this vision as authoritative, and, since the traditionists disapproved of rational argument (*kalām*), he gave up this also. In the third vision, however, he was told to adhere to true Tradition but not to abandon *kalām*. Whatever be the truth of this story, it is a succinct account of al-Ashʿarī's position. He abandoned the dogmatic theses of the Muʿtazila for those of opponents like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, whom he professed to follow; but he defended his new beliefs by the type of rational argument which the Muʿtazila employed.

The chief points on which he opposed the doctrines of the Muʿtazila were:

(1) He held that God had eternal attributes such as knowledge, sight, speech, and that it was by these that He was knowing, seeing, speaking, whereas the Muʿtazila said that God had no attributes distinct from His essence.

(2) The Muʿtazila said that Ḳurʾānic expressions, such as God's hand and face, must be interpreted to mean "grace", "essence" and so on. Al-Ashʿarī, whilst agreeing that nothing corporeal was meant, held that they were real attributes whose precise nature was unknown. He took God's sitting on the throne in a similar way.

(3) Against the view of the Muʿtazila that the Ḳurʾān was created, al-Ashʿarī maintained that it was God's speech, an eternal attribute, and therefore uncreated.

(4) In opposition to the view of the Muʿtazila that God could not literally be seen, since that would imply that He is corporeal and limited, al-Ashʿarī held that the vision of God in the world to come is a reality, though we cannot understand the manner of it.

(5) In contrast to the emphasis of the Muʿtazila on the reality of choice in human activity, al-Ashʿarī insisted on God's omnipotence; everything, good and evil, is willed by God, and He creates the acts of men by creating in men the power to do each act. (The doctrine of 'acquisition' or *kasb* [*q.v.*], which was in later times characteristic of the Ashʿariyya, is commonly attributed to al-Ashʿarī himself, but, though he was familiar with the concept, he does not appear to have held the doctrine himself; cf. *JRAS*, 1943, 246 f.).

(6) While the Muʿtazila with their doctrine of *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* held that any Muslim guilty of a serious sin was neither believer nor unbeliever, al-Ashʿarī insisted that he remained a believer, but was liable to punishment in the Fire.

(7) Al-Ashʿarī maintained the reality of various eschatological features, the Basin, the Bridge, the Balance and intercession by Muḥammad, which were denied or rationally interpreted by the Muʿtazila.

Al-Ashʿarī was not the first to try to apply *kalām* or rational argument to the defence of orthodox doctrine; among those who had made similar attempts earlier was al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī. Al-Ashʿarī, however, seems to have been the first to do this in a way acceptable a large body of orthodox opinion. He had the advantage, too, of having an intimate and detailed knowledge of the views of the Muʿtazila (as is shown by his descriptive work, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Istanbul, 1929; cf. R. Strothmann, in *Islam*, xix, 193-242). His many followers came to be known as the Ashʿariyya [*q.v.*] or Ashāʿira, though they mostly deviated from him on some points.

To a European reader his argumentation differs little at first sight from that of the ultra-conservative followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, since many of his proofs depend on the interpretation of Ḳurʾān and Tradition (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, 91). This, however, was because his opponents also, including even the Muʿtazila,

used proofs of this sort, and he was always arguing ***ad hominem***. Yet when opponents would admit a purely rational premiss, al-As͟hʿarī had no hesitation in using it to refute them. Once the permissibility of such arguments was established, at least for many theologians, it was possible for the As͟hʿariyya to develop this side of his method until in later centuries theology became thoroughly intellectualistic. This, however, was far removed from the temper of al-As͟hʿarī himself.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-AS͟HʿARĪ, ABŪ MŪSĀ, IBN ḲAYS, Companion of the Prophet and military leader. Bornp about 614 A.D., Abū Mūsā, a native of the Yemen, left South Arabia by sea with several of his brothers and members of his tribe (the As͟hʿar) and joined Muḥammad at K͟haybar at the time of the famous expedition against the Jews of that oasis (7/628) to swear allegiance to him (the information given in some sources [for example Ibn Ḥad͟jar, *Tahd͟hīb*, ii, 1265] according to which he was one of the emigrants who went to Abyssinia, is therefore most unlikely to be authentic; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, 392, no. 1622; 678-79, no. 678). In 8/630 he took part in the battle of Ḥunayn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1667); in 10/631-2 he was sent to the Yemen with Muʿād͟h b. D͟jabal to spread Islam there and was one of the lieutenants of Muḥammad and then of Abū Bakr in that region. ʿUmar appointed him governor of Baṣra when he recalled al-Mug͟hīra b. S͟huʿba [*q.v.*] from that post in 17/638 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2529; see also 2388). At the request of the inhabitants of Kūfa, ʿUmar appointed him governor of that town in 22/642-3, but after retaining him in the office for a few months, until the reappointment of al-Mug͟hīra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2678 f.), he sent him back to Baṣra.

As governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā organised and carried out the occupation of K͟hūzistān (17-21/638-42), of which he must be considered the conqueror (Caetani, *Annali*, 16 A.H., para. 261). The capital Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (or simply al-Ahwāz) fell into his hands as early as 17/638, but the campaign continued and offered many difficulties, for the numerous well fortified towns of the region had to be subdued one after the other, some of them having to be retaken after 21/642, the date of the fall of the second capital of K͟hūzistān, Tustar (= S͟hustar or S͟hus͟htar). Abū Mūsā also took part in the conquest of Mesopotamia (end of 18-20/639-41), uniting his forces with those of ʿIyāḍ b. G͟hanm, and in the campaign on the Iranian plateau, where he is mentioned as being present at the battle of Nihāwand; the occupation of several towns is ascribed to him (al-Dīnawar, Ḳumm, Ḳās͟hān, etc.).

In 23/643-4, in a bloody but indecisive battle, he defeated numerous Kurdish tribes which had gathered with hostile intentions at Bayrūd͟h (in the province of al-Ahwāz) and had attracted many of the inhabitants of the territory to their ranks; he laid siege to the town, where the survivors of the insurgents had found shelter, and took it after having subdued the rest of the country. It was on account of the distribution of the booty taken on this occasion that an accusation was made to the Caliph against him, to whom he had to justify his conduct (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2708-13). After this success, he advanced into Fārs (end of 23/644) and, in several expeditions, gave support to ʿUt͟hmān b. Abiʾ l-ʿĀṣ, who had begun the conquest of this province from Baḥrayn and ʿUmān (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 387).

There is an episode showing that discontent against Abū Mūsā was already threatening in 26/646-7 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2829, where a movement of insubordination amongst his troops is reported under the year 29, which in fact took place in 26: Caetani, *Annali*, 26 A.H. para. 38). But the most serious protest against the abuses committed by him was brought to Medina by a delegation of Baṣrans in 29/649-50 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2830), whereupon the Caliph ʿUt͟hmān decided to replace him at Baṣra by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir. However Abū Mūsā had won the respect of the inhabitants of Kūfa to such an extent, that they demanded his reappointment, when they drove out the governor Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ in 34/654-5, (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2930; *al-Ag͟hānī*[1], xi, 31), and he was governor of the town at the time of ʿUt͟hmān's assassination. Upon the election of ʿAlī, Abū Mūsā took the oath of allegiance to him in the name of the Kūfans (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3089; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, 296 etc.), retaining his office, when the other governors of ʿUt͟hmān were dismissed (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 208); but when war broke out between ʿAlī and ʿĀʾis͟ha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, he called on his subjects to remain neutral (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3139; al-Dīnawarī, 153 ff., etc.), and, inspite of pressure, did not relinquish this attitude; as a result the partisans of ʿAlī expelled him from the town at the first opportunity (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3145-9, 3152-4) and the Caliph wrote him a letter of dismissal couched in the severest terms (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3173; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, iv, 308; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 220); yet a few months later he granted him *amān* (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1365, 572; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3333).

Abū Mūsā was one of the two arbitrators appointed at Ṣiffīn in 37/657 to settle the dispute between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya and more exactly the arbitrator nominated to represent ʿAlī, whose supporters had obliged him to choose someone neutral, so certain were they that the decision would be in their favour (for the details of the arbitration, see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). After the meeting at Ad͟hruḥ, Abū Mūsā withdrew to Mecca, but when Muʿāwiya sent Busr b. Abī Arṭāt to occupy the holy cities (40/660), he was afraid of his vengeance, for at Ad͟hruḥ he had opposed his election to the Caliphate, and according to some sources, he took to flight; Busr reassured him (see Caetani, *Annali*, 40 A.H., para. 8, note 3 for the different versions of this episode). After that Abū Mūsā took no further part in politics, as is shown by the uncertainty of the date of his death (41, 42, 50, 52, 53; 42 is the most probable date).

Abū Mūsā was very highly thought of for his recitation of the Ḳurʾān and the prayers, for he had a pleasant voice (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/2, 106), but above all his name continues to be connected with ḳurʾānic studies, for he established a *muṣḥaf* which locally outlived the composition of the vulgate of ʿUt͟hmān (see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, 73 ff.).

Bibliography: All the chroniclers and historians of early Islam, and all the collections of biographies of early personalities speak of Abū Mūsā (the main ones have been indicated in the body of this article). Numerous quotations are to be found in Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 42 A.H., 479; idem: *Annali*, Indices and vols. vii-x, *passim*; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ Nahd͟j al-Balāg͟ha*, Cairo 1329, iii, 287-9, 291, 293 f., iv, 199 f., 237 f. On the conquest of K͟hūzistān: *Wellhausen, J., Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 94-113.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

AS͟HʿARIYYA, a theological school, the followers of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-As͟hʿarī [*q.v.*], sometimes also called As͟hāʿira. (The history of the school has been little studied, and some of the statements in this article must be regarded as provisional).

External history. During the last two decades of his life al-As͟hʿarī attracted a number of disciples, and thus a school was founded. The doctrinal position of the new school was open to attack from several quarters. Apart from members of the Muʿtazila, certain groups of orthodox theologians attacked them. To the Ḥanbalīs [*q.v.*] their use of rational arguments was an objectionable innovation. On the other hand, to the Māturīdiyya [*q.v.*], who also were defending orthodoxy by rational methods, some of their positions seemed too conservative (cf. the criticisms made by an early member of that school in *S͟harḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar* ascribed to al-Māturīdī). Despite such opposition the As͟hʿariyya apparently became the dominant school in the Arabic-speaking parts of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate (and perhaps also in K͟hurāsān). In general they were in alliance with the legal school of al-S͟hāfiʿī (though al-As͟hʿarī's own school of religious law is not clear), while their rivals, the Māturīdiyya, were almost invariably Ḥanafīs. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the As͟hʿariyya were persecuted by the Buwayhid sultans, who favoured a combination of the views of the Muʿtazila and S͟hīʿa. But with the coming of the Sald͟jūḳs the tables were turned, and the As͟hʿariyya received official support, especially from the great *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk. In return they gave intellectual support to the caliphate against the Fāṭimids of Cairo. From this time on, until perhaps the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the teaching of the As͟hʿariyya was almost identical with orthodoxy, and in a sense it has remained so until the present time. The Ḥanbalī reaction centring in Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327) was of limited influence. From about the time of the s͟hayk͟h al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), however, though al-As͟hʿarī and the great names of his school were honoured and accepted, the leading theologians no longer regarded themselves as belonging to the As͟hʿariyya, and were in fact eclectic.

Important members of the Ashʿariyya (see the individual articles): al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013), Ibn Fūrak (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) (d. 406/1015-6), al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418/1027-8), al-Bag͟hdādī (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir) (d. 429/1037-8), al-Sumnānī (d. 444/1052), al-D͟juwaynī Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085-6), al-G͟hazālī (Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad) (d. 505/1111), Muḥammad b. Tūmart (d.c. 525/1030), al-S͟hahrastānī (d. 548/1153), Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), al-Īd͟jī (d. 756/1355), al-D͟jurd͟jānī (d. 816/1413).

Internal evolution. Little is known about the views of the As͟hʿariyya in the half-century after the founder's death. Al-Bāḳillānī is the first person whose work is extant and accessible, and by his time it is noteworthy that the As͟hʿariyya are making use of certain conceptions of the Muʿtazila (notably Abū Hās͟him's doctrine of the *ḥāl*), and have perhaps been influenced by the criticisms of the Māturīdiyya. One point on which the school was beginning to differ from al-As͟hʿarī himself was in the interpretation of the corporeal terms applied to God, such as hands, face and sitting on the throne. Al-As͟hʿarī had said these were to be taken neither literally nor metaphorically but *bi-lā kayf*, "without asking how"; but al-Bag͟hdādī and al-D͟juwaynī interpreted "hand" metaphorically as "power", and "face" as "essence" or "existence"; and the attitude of most of the later As͟hʿariyya was similar (cf. Montgomery Watt, *Some Muslim Discussions of Anthropomorphism*, in *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xiii, 1-10). Again, while al-As͟hʿarī had insisted that man's acquiring (*kasb*) of acts was created, thus emphasizing God's omnipotence at the expense of man's responsibility, al-D͟juwaynī was able to put forward the view that the doctrine of the As͟hʿariyya was a *via media*.

Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century there was a change in method. Ibn K͟haldūn (tr. de Slane, iii, 61) speaks of al-G͟hazālī as the first of the "moderns", doubtless because of his enthusiasm for the Aristotelian syllogism, but there are already in al-D͟juwaynī traces of methodological advance (cf. Gardet and Anawati, op. cit. infra, 73). It was al-G͟hazālī, however, who steeped himself in the doctrines of Ibn Sīnā and others of the *philosophers* until he could attack them on their own ground with devastating success. Little more was heard of the *philosophers*, but from this time onward their Aristotelian logic and much of their Neoplatonic metaphysics was incorporated in the teaching of the As͟hʿariyya. This teaching rapidly became intellectualised in a bad sense. sometimes even views of doubtful orthodoxy were taken over, and the philosophical prolegomena occupied more space and attention than the strictly theological doctrines (notably in al-Īd͟jī and his commentator al-D͟jurd͟jānī). In the end the school may be said to disappear in a blaze of philosophy.

Bibliography: (see also bibliographies for al-As͟hʿarī and individual members of the school): Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn Kad͟hib al-Muftarī*, Damascus 1347, (for trs. by McCarthy and Mehren v. art. al-As͟hʿarī); M. Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des Asʿaritentums*, in *Actes du 8e Congr. des Orient.*, i A, 79 ff.; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1923, iv, 133-94; L. Gardet and M. M. Anawati, *Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane*, Paris 1948, esp. 52-76.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-AS͟HʿAT͟H, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD MAʿDĪKARIB B. ḲAYS B. MAʿDĪKARIB, of the clan of al-Ḥārit͟h b. Muʿāwiya, a chief of Kinda in Ḥaḍramawt. The nickname, by which he is most commonly known, means "with unkempt or dishevelled hair"; he is also called, but less frequently, *al-As͟had͟jd͟j*, "the scar-faced", and *ʿUrf al-Nār*, said to be a South-Arabian term for "traitor". In earlier life he led an expedition against the tribe of Murād, who had murdered his father, but was taken prisoner and

had to pay 3000 camels for his ransom. In 10/631 he was leader of the delegation (*wafd*) which offered the submission of a section of Kinda to the Prophet at al-Madīna. It was arranged that his sister Ḳayla should be married to Muḥammad, but he died before she arrived in al-Madīna. After Muḥammad's death (11/632) al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ rose in revolt with his clan and was besieged by Muslim troops in the castle of al-Nud̲j̲ayr; according to the legend he surrendered the castle on condition of immunity for himself and nine others, but omitted to include his own name in the document of surrender, and barely escaped execution. He was, however, sent to al-Madīna, where Abū Bakr not only pardoned him but married him to his own sister Umm Farwa or Ḳurayba (according to other reports this marriage had taken place already at the time of the delegation to Muḥammad). He took part in the wars in Syria and lost the sight of an eye at the battle of the Yarmūk; he and his tribesmen were sent thereafter by Abū ʿUbayda to join Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ at Ḳādisiyya, and he commanded one of the Arab forces which occupied northern ʿIrāḳ. He settled in Kūfa as chief of the Kindite sector, and appears to have taken part in the expedition to Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in 26/646-7. At the battle of Ṣiffīn he played a leading part both in the fighting and in the negotiations, and is represented as having forced ʿAlī to accept the principle of arbitration and to agree to the selection of Abū Mūsā on the ʿIrāḳī side (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬALIB). Pro-S̲h̲īʿite tradition accordingly represents him and his whole house as inveterate traitors. He died in Kūfa during the government of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (40/661), to whom one of his daughters was married. For his descendants see IBN AL-AS̲H̲ʿAT̲H̲.

Bibliography: L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, A.H. 40, § 29; Ibn Saʿd, vi, 13-14; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, index; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (Cairo 1365), passim; general histories of the Caliphate. (H. RECKENDORF*)

AL-**AS̲H̲DAḲ** [see ʿAMR B. SAʿĪD].

(AL)-**AS̲H̲D̲J̲Aʿ** B. **ʿAMR** AL-**SULAMĪ**, Abu 'l-Walīd, Arab poet of the end of the 2nd/8th century. An orphan, he settled at an early age at Baṣra with his mother, and, when he showed signs of talent, the Ḳaysites of the town who, since the death of Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd (a *mawlā* of the Banū ʿUḳayl) had not possessed any poet of eminence, adopted him and fabricated for him a Ḳaysite genealogy. His formative period at an end, he went to al-Raḳḳa to D̲j̲aʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who presented him to al-Ras̲h̲īd, and, from then on, he became the panegyrist of the caliph and his entourage (Barmakids, al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ras̲h̲īd, al-Amīn, al-Faḍl. b. al-Rabīʿ, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ziyād and others). The greater part of his surviving work consists of panegyrics which were assured of the widest possible circulation through the agency of the Ḳaysites of Baṣra; there are also a few funeral orations, notably for al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-As̲h̲d̲j̲aʿs own brother Aḥmad, who was also a poet, but confined himself to erotic poetry (on him, see Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, 137-43).

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *K. al-Awrāḳ*, ed. by J. H. Dunne, Cairo 1934, i, 74-137, which reproduces an important part of the poet's work; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. by Sandūbī, iii, 194-5; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, GMS, N.S. xiii, 117-9; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 562-5; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xvii, 30-51; Marzubānī, *Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*, 295; *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, vii, 45; Ibn ʿAsākir, iii, 59-63; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, 419-22; Brockelmann, S I, 119. (CH. PELLAT)

ʿĀS̲H̲IḲ, an Arabic word meaning lover, frequently in the mystical sense. Among the Anatolian and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ānī Turks, from the late 9th/15th or 10th/16th century, it is used of a class of wandering poet-minstrels, who sang and recited at public gatherings. Their repertoire included religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives. At first they followed the syllabic prosody of the popular poets, but later were subjected to Persian influence, both directly and through the Persian-influenced Turkish Ṣūfī poets. Köprülü has argued that they represent a social element distinct alike from the popular poets, the court poets, and the *madrasa* or convent-educated religious poets, and are the successors of the earlier Turkish bards known as ozan [*q.v.*]. They are especially numerous in the 17th century, when we find them among the dervish orders, the Janissaries, and other branches of the armed forces. The most famous among them are Gewherī and ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ ʿÖmer.

Bibliography: Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuʾad [= M. F. Köprülü], *Türk Sazşairlerine ait metinler ve tetkikler*, i-v, Istanbul 1929-30; idem, *Türk Edebiyatinda ilk Mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 390-2; M. K. Köprülü, *Türk Sazşairleri antolojisi*, i-ii, Istanbul 1939-40; numerous other writings by M. F. Köprülü on this subject will be found listed in *Fuad Köprülü Armağani*, Istanbul 1953, xxvii-l. For an account of the impression made on a young Turk in the 19th century by the ʿās̲h̲iḳ poets, see the autobiography of Ziyā Pas̲h̲a, translated in Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, v, 46, 51-2. A contest between ʿās̲h̲iḳs in Mug̲h̲la is described by H. J. van Lennep, *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, 1, New York 1870, 253-4. See further H. Ritter, *Orientalia*, i, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, i, Istanbul 1933, 3 ff. (*Der Sängerwettstreit*). (B. LEWIS)

ʿĀS̲H̲ÎḲ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUT̲H̲MĀN B. BĀYEZĪD, Turkish cosmographer, born about 964/1555 in Trebizond, the son of a teacher at the Koran elementary school of the K̲h̲ātūniyya mosque. At the age of 20, he left his native town to see the world. The geographical part of his writings (mentioned below), contains references to his travels covering Anatolia and Rumelia. He did, for instance, take part in ʿUt̲h̲mān Pasha's (died 993/1585) campaign in the Caucasus and southern Russia in the years 989-992/1581-1584. After 994/1585, the spent several years in Salonica, whence he participated—in 1002-1003/1593-1594—in Ḳod̲j̲a Sinān Pasha's (died 1004/1596) Hungarian campaign. In 1005/1596, he settled in Damascus, where he completed the writing of his cosmographic work in Ramaḍān 1006/April-May 1598. The date of his death is not known.

Muḥammad ʿAs̲h̲īḳ's work, *Manāẓir al-ʿawālim* is composed of two parts. Part I begins with the creation of the world and describes the 'upper' world, and something of the 'lower', i.e. the stars, paradise and its inhabitants, and hell and its inhabitants. Part II treats the 'lower' world in 18 chapters. Chapters 1 to 12 are strictly geographical, and 13 to 18 are of a more general nature. In a final chapter, he speaks of the duration and the end of the world. The work is a vast compilation of the reports of the older Arabic and Persian cosmographers, geographers and natural scientists. It is clearly arranged under headings and written in Turkish, giving precise references to the source in every case. In the geographical part, he mentions in addition—again with references—what the personal view of each author on individual objects was. There are consi-

-derable additions to the purely traditional geographical material where Rumelia and Hungary are concerned. Chapter 12, which treats the towns, is the most important one. The material is arranged according to the Ptolemean climates (*aḳālīm-i ḥaḳīḳiyya*), and within these, according to the districts (*aḳālīm-i ʿurfiyya*) of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. Later writers on geography, such as Kâtib Čelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa) and Abū Bakr b. Bahrām frequently based their writings on Muḥammad ʿAshïk, sometimes copying parts of his *Manāẓir al-ʿawālim* verbatim, without, however, his clear references.

Bibliography: Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, p. 138 f.; Franz Taeschner, *Ankara nach Mehmed Ashik* in *Zeki-Velidi Togan Armağanî*, Istanbul, 1957, 147-156. An edition, with translation, of that part of the *Manāẓir* dealing with Rumelia is being prepared by R. F. Kreutel.

(FR. TAESCHNER)

ʿĀSHIḲ ČELEBI, Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad Naṭṭāʿ (ʿĀshïḳ is his *takhalluṣ*), Ottoman man of letters, born at Prizren in 926/1520, his father then being ḳāḍī of Üsküb, died at Üsküb in Shaʿbān 979/Jan. 1572. He came of a family of *sayyids*, originally from Baghdad, his great-grandfather having come to Bursa in the time of Bāyezīd I. His childhood was spent in Rumeli, but after studying in Istanbul (where his teachers included Abu 'l-Suʿūd) he settled at Bursa and became *mutawalli* of the waḳfs of Emir Sultan, a post hereditary in his family. Dismissed in 953/1546, he returned to Istanbul and spent four years there as a *kātib*. He then became a ḳāḍī, and spent the rest of his life, except for a brief period in ʿAlāʾiyya, in a succession of towns in Rumeli. In 976/1568-9, tired of repeated changes, he applied in vain for the post of *naḳīb al-ashrāf* which his great-grandfather and grandfather had held. However, through the favour of the Grand Vezir Sokollu, to whom he had presented his *dhayl* to the *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, he was appointed ḳāḍī of Üsküb for life, but died there shortly afterwards. His tomb was seen by Ewliya (*Seyāḥatnāme* v, 560).

His most important work is his book of Biographies of the Poets, entitled *Mashāʿir al-Shuʿarāʾ*, presented to Selīm II in 976. In order of time it is the fourth Ottoman *tadhkira* and contains over 400 entries. Whereas for the early period ʿĀshïḳ adds nothing to the information given by his predecessors (Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿAhdī), his work is of the first importance for the poets of the XVIth century, many of whom were personally known to him. MSS are fairly numerous, but the British Museum's exemplar Or. 6434, dated 977, deserves mention.

His other works are a *Diwān* (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa ed. Flügel No. 5536) a *Shehrengiz* for Bursa (*ibid.* No. 7697), a *Sigetvār-nāme* in verse (Babinger p. 68f.), a translation of Ṭāshköprüzāde's *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya*, and a *dhayl* in Arabic to the same work. ʿAṭāʾī attributes to him a *Madjmūʿa-i Ṣuḳūk*. He also translated a number of works into Turkish (cf. Ḥ. Kh. Nos. 2366, 6558 and 7303 [but not 4772 as stated in *EI*¹]); his translation of Kemāl Pashazāde's *Sharḥ-i ḥadīth-i arbaʿin* has been printed (Istanbul 1316; cf. A. Karahan *Islam-Türk Edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, pp. 175-8).

Bibliography: For his exhaustive article in *IA* (*s.v.*), on which the above is based, M. Fuad Köprülü has used the primary sources, ʿĀshïḳ's *Mashāʿir al-Shuʿarāʾ* and ʿAṭāʾī's *dhayl* to the *Shaḳaʾiḳ* (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268, pp. 161-5). This article gives a detailed biography, a complete list of ʿĀ.'s works, and references to the secondary sources which it supersedes. A list of the poets recorded in ʿĀ.'s *tadhkira* and specimens of his poems are given by S. Nüzhet in *Türk Şairleri* I, pp. 117-121. A satirical poem by ʿĀ. is quoted by ʿAṭāʾī (p. 153). There is a copy of his *diwān* in Istanbul (*Ist. Kit. Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu* [1947] I p. 157 f.).

(V. L. MÉNAGE)

ʿĀSHIḲ PASHA, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ (670/1272-733/1333). Turkish poet and mystic. The little which is known about his life is half legendary. Ḥusāyn Ḥusām al-Dīn, the only author who gives detailed information about his life and his family, does not mention his sources (*Amasya Taʾrīkhi* I, 1327, II, 1332, III, 1927, IV, 1928). ʿĀshïḳ Pasha was the son of Bābā Mukhliṣ, whose father the shaykh Bābā Ilyās migrated from Khurāsān to Anatolia and founded the Bābāʾī sect. A disciple of his, Bābā Isḥāḳ, was the organiser of the famous 13th century religious revolt in Anatolia. ʿĀshïḳ Pasha, educated at Ḳïrshehir [*q.v.*], then an important cultural centre, had a chequered political career, was sent as an envoy to Egypt and died at Ḳïrshehir in 733/1333, where his tomb sanctuary, of remarkable architectural interest, has been a place of pilgrimage for centuries. A devout shaykh, he seems to have been a rich and influential man. One of his sons, Elwān Čelebi, was a poet of some distinction and his great-grandson is the famous 15th century chronicler ʿĀshïḳ Pasha-Zāde [*q.v.*]. ʿĀshïḳ Pasha's main work is the *Gharībnāme* (630/1330) sometimes wrongly called *Dīwān-i ʿĀshïḳ Pasha* or *Maʿārifnāme*. This is a mystic-didactic *mathnawi* of more than 11.000 couplets in *ramal*. The work begins with a preface in Persian and a long panegyrical introduction, and is systematically divided into ten chapters (*bāb*) and each chapter into ten discourses (*dāstān*). Each chapter treats of a subject in relation to its number (i.e. Chapter Four—The Four Elements, Chapter Five—The Five Senses, Chapter Seven—The Seven Planets, etc.). The whole can be described as a collection of moral precepts and exhortations illustrated by quotations from the Ḳurʾān and the Ḥadīth and followed by relevant anecdotes. The influence of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn's great *Mathnawi* is apparent in the *Gharībnāme* as in most contemporary mystic works. But ʿĀshïḳ Pasha's poetry is plain and merely didactic and lacks the lyrical élan of both Mawlānā and Yūnus Emre. The *Gharībnāme* represents on the whole Sunnī Islam and the question how far the heterodox tendencies which were very active at the time in Central Anatolia find an echo in it has not yet been sufficiently studied. The language of the *Gharībnāme* offers interesting philological material for the study of old Ottoman, since it was written at a period when Turkish was struggling with Arabic and Persian to secure its place as a written language in Anatolia, and ʿĀshïḳ Pasha's conscious contribution towards this is not unimportant. But his handling of the *ʿarūḍ* is less secure and skilful than that of his contemporaries Gülshehrī and Dehhānī. The numerous copies of the *Gharībnāme* witness its great popularity as one of the main mystic-religious works in Turkish. It has not yet been edited. Among dated copies the oldest are: Berlin No 259 (840 h), Paris No 313 A.F. (848 h.), Vatican Turkish 148 (854 h.), Casanatense No 2054 (861 h.), Bāyezīd No 3633 (861 h.), Lâleli No 1752 (882 h.). Apart from the *Gharībnāme* we have from ʿĀshïḳ Pasha a number of poems,

mostly hymns (*ilāhis*), preserved in certain *Gharīb-nāme* MSS, or other codices. In recent years some minor works by ʿĀshiḳ Pasha or attributed to him have come to light. The most important is the *Faḳrnāme*. This is a short mathnawī (160 couplets) in praise of mystic poverty, and is developed, like the *Gharībnāme* but on a smaller scale, upon quotations from the Ḳurʾān and the Ḥadīth. The commentary on the well-known ḥadīth "Poverty is my pride» introduces the subject. It has been published in facsimile and edited in transcription (v. Bibliography).

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ʿĀSHIḲ-PASHA-ZĀDE, great-grandson of the poet ʿĀshiḳ Pasha, his actual name was Dervīsh Aḥmad b. Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Shaykh Salmān b. ʿĀshiḳ Pasha (makhlaṣ ʿĀshiḳī), one of the oldest Ottoman historians. He was born in 803/1400, probably in Elvan Čelebi near Amasya, and died some time after 889/1484. His historical work (*Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿUthmān*) has been edited three times; by ʿĀlī Bey, Istanbul 1332, by Friedrich Giese (*Die altosmanische Chronik des ʿĀšiḳpašazāde*), Leipzig 1929 and by Çiftşioglu N. Atsız in *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, i, Istanbul 1949. In addition to these, and to the manuscripts enumerated by Babinger (see below), mention must be made of the manuscript in the *Riwāḳ al-Atrāk* of al-Azhar in Cairo, Taʾrīkh No. 3732 (completed in 1021/1612), a copy of which is in my possession (No. 140 of my collection).

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ASHĪR, an old fortified town in North Africa situated 100 km. SSW of Algiers in the Tīṭerī mountains, makes its appearance in history during the first half of the 4th/10th century. It belonged to the country occupied by the Ṣanhādja on the western borders of their territory. The founding of the town by Zīrī b. Manād, chief of the main tribe of the Ṣanhādja, is an episode in the struggle which brought these Berber highlanders, the supporters of the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya, into conflict with the Zanāta of the plains of Oran, adherents of the party of the Umayyads of Cordova.

As a reward for services rendered to the Fāṭimids, especially during the terrible revolt of Abū Yazīd, "The Man with the donkey" [*q.v.*], in 324/935 Zīrī obtained permission from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḳāʾim to found a town, which to a certain extent gave this tribal chief the prestige and autonomy of a sovereign. However it should be noted that it is to Zīrī's son Buluḳḳīn that al-Bakrī and Ibn al-Athīr attribute the founding of the fortified town of Ashīr, which the former dates from 364/974 and the latter from 367/977.

The new city was artificially populated by elements brought from Tobna, Msila and Hamza (now Bouira), and later from Tlemcen, which had served as a gathering place for the Zanāta. Palaces, caravanserais and baths were erected there. Buluḳḳīn, after being invested by the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz, who quitted the government of Ifrīḳiya for Cairo (363/973), left Ashīr and repaired to al-Ḳayrawān; this exodus, however, took place in stages, the chief's family remaining at Ashīr.

The protection of this frontier region of the Zīrid kingdom was entrusted to the Banū Ḥammād (b Buluḳḳīn), and Ashīr was incorporated into their territory, when their secession was recognised by the arrangement of 408/1017. Possession of Ashīr, the town of the Banū Ḥammād, was moreover, disputed by members of the family. It was taken by Yūsuf the son of Ḥammād just after 440/1048 and completely pillaged by his troops. In 468/1076 it was besieged and occupied by the Zanāta, being subsequently retaken by the Banū Ḥammād. In 495/1101 the Almoravid governor of Tlemcen, Tāshfīn b. Tināmer, took and destroyed it. Resurrected once more from its ruins by its Ḥammādī masters, it fell into the power of Ghāzī the Ṣanhādjī, ally of the Banū Ghāniya, (about 580/1184). After this date the name of Ashīr disappears from history.

The uncertainty which surrounds the founding of Ashīr and its attribution to either Zīrī or Buluḳḳīn is to some extent illustrated on the actual site, for anybody wishing to study what has survived.

The same region of the Tīṭerī, which dominates from afar the high plains of Southern Algeria, retains traces of three inhabited places, rather different in appearance, but all three showing the characteristics of Muslim origin.

1. One of them, called Manzah Bint al-Sulṭān, is a fortified enclosure crowning a rocky eminence 276 metres in length, surrounded by deep ravines, jutting out in a northerly direction from the Kāf Lakhdar range. A building—a guard-house or storehouse—stood near the centre. A large cistern was intended to assure the temporary food supply of the small garrison holding the position.

2. On the slopes falling away from the same range towards the South, there stretches a rectangular enclosure, part of the perimeter of which was encircled by a rampart two metres thick. Inside it, walls appear to mark off terraces at different levels; but no other building is visible there. A spring called ʿAyn Yashīr flows along a ravine which borders on the enclosure. According to Rodet, the name Yashīr is used to denote the enclosure itself.

Outside this enclosure, recent excavations by M. L. Golvin have revealed the existence of a castle built of stone, the plan of which is remarkably symmetrical. A projecting porch in the middle of the south façade gives access to an entrance-hall

closed at the far end by a wall. Two side passages connect this entrance-hall with the rest of the building. This entrance shows a clear similarity to that of the Fāṭimid palace of al-Ķāʾim recently excavated at Mahdiyya (see M. S. Zbiss, in *JA*, 1956, 79-93).

3. The site of another fortified town faces Ya<u>sh</u>īr and the castle, from which it is separated by a distance of two and a half km. and a valley. This is Benia (Banya), which covers an area sloping down towards the north of Kāf Tsemsāl. Near the bottom of the slope, the rampart crowns the escarpment which borders the valley and a continuation of it extends towards the Kāf, against which the town rested. At the foot of this rocky eminence there used to be a dungeon. Three gates are set in the rampart. The ground is covered by numerous ruins. Of these the most easily identifiable is the mosque. The prayer chamber, which is preceeded by the courtyard, had seven naves and four bays. Several copious springs discharge themselves in the town.

It is possible to regard these three sites in the same region as marking three phases in the history of the Zīrid Ṣanhā<u>dj</u>a, and to see in them three successive foundations. Manzah Bint al-Sulṭān is not a town, but a refuge and an observation post of the Ṣanhā<u>dj</u>a, and probably preceeded the founding of a real city.

The affinity between the neighbouring castle of Ya<u>sh</u>īr and the palace of Mahdiyya permits the identification of the castle and the town with the foundation of Zīrī (324/934), authorised by al-Ķāʾim and carried out with the collaboration of an Ifrīķiyan architect.

Benia, on the other hand, probably represents the city of Bulukkīn (364/974), of which al-Bakrī gives such a remarkably exact description.

Bibliography: Nuwayri, *apud* Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn, trans. de Slane, ii, 487-93; Ibn <u>Kh</u>aldūn, text i, 197 ff., 326, trans. ii, 6 ff., 209; Ibn ʿI<u>dh</u>ārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dozy, i, 224, 248, 258 ff., trans. Fagnan i, 313, 350-1, 365, 367 ff.; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, viii, 459, ix, 24, 38, 47, 90, 107, 110, 177, 180, trans. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, 374-5, 394-5, 397-8, 404-4, 406, 414, 418; Ķayrawānī (Ibn Abī Dīnār) trans. Pellissier et Rémusat, 124-34; Bakrī, text, ed. de Slane (1911) 60, trans. (1913) 126-7; Istibṣār, trans. Fagnan, 105-6; al-Idrīsi, *Ma<u>gh</u>rib*, 99; Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, folio Boghar nos. 80, 82, 83; Chabassière et Berbrugger, *Le Kef el-Akhdar et ses ruines*, in RAfr. 1869, 116-21; Capitaine Rodet, *Les ruines d'Achir*, in RAfr. 1908, 86-104; G. Marçais, *Achir* (*Recherches d'archéologie musulmane*) in RAfr. 1922, 21-38. (G. Marçais)

ʿA<u>SH</u>ĪRA, usually a synonym of *ķabīla* [*q.v.*] "tribe", can also denote a subdivision of the latter. Thus ʿAbd al-<u>Dj</u>alīl Ṭāhir, after using the word in the former sense in the title of his lectures on "The Bedouin and the Tribes in the Arab Countries" (*al-Badw wa 'l-ʿA<u>sh</u>āʾir fi 'l-Bilād al-ʿArabiyya*, Inst. des Hautes Études arabes, Cairo 1955), gives it a more technical definition (20, l. 2-7): "The social unit or nucleus of tribal society is the family *ʿāʾila* [*q.v.*]); several families descended from a common ancestor, most commonly of the fifth degree, form a *fa<u>kh</u>dh* [*q.v.*]. The *ʿa<u>sh</u>īra* comprises several *af<u>kh</u>ā<u>dh</u>*, and the *ķabīla* several *a<u>sh</u>āʾir*". The difficulties encountered by the author in chapter vii, in an effort to give precise definition to "the actual designations of these fluid social ideas", are explained by the instability of the groups, and are a reminder that "Arab authors have experimented with them over a period of centuries; from this fact derive the contradictory versions of dictionaries .... and, as anyone can verify for himself, in al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, and in Bishr Fares, *L'honneur chez les Arabes*", (77-8). Josef Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete* (Leiden 1943, 134-5), by means of the extremely inconsistent extension of the units which marks his theory, supported by numerous references, gives the same explanation of tribal structure in four stages: 1) family, *ʿayle*; 2) offspring up to the fifth degree, *āl* or *ahl*; 3) clan; 4) tribe, *ʿa<u>sh</u>īre*, *ķabīle*, *badīde*, *firķa*. These last expressions are synonymous, but "sometimes *ʿa<u>sh</u>īre* or *badīde* are regarded as subdivisions of *ķabīle* (134) ... *ʿa<u>sh</u>īre* and *ḥamūle* are often used interchangeably, and *ahl* for a whole people" (135). On the other hand the definition of *LA* (vi, 250, l. 9) suggests that some of these fluctuations may be accounted for by the normal conflict between the proper meaning and the ordinary, less precise, usage: "The *ʿa<u>sh</u>īra* of a man is constituted by the nearest male offspring of his father" (proper meaning) "who are also called the *ķabīla*" (meaning altered by synecdoche). Comparison with other Semitic languages gives no clue, because Arabic is alone in affording, from the 10th root, a small group of apparently isolated derived forms with the dominant idea of "direct, intimate, relationship", and this etymological problem has only been touched on, as far as is known, by Marcel Cohen (*Essai comparatif ... chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 86). The roots of nouns of number do not seem to give, apart from a few obscure names of animals or plants, derived forms without semantic connexion with their number, and it is perhaps not impossible that the original idea was one of a group of about ten persons. This would still be an extremely flimsy basis of evaluation, because the additional remark of *LA* (*ibid.*, 19): "The *ʿa<u>sh</u>īra* consists exclusively of men" (also valid for *maʿ<u>sh</u>ar*, *nafar*, *ķawm*, *rahṭ* and *ʿālam*) can equally well support *a contrario* a current use of the term which is considered corrupt, as give an indication of its social and juridical value, as a group consisting only of warriors.

Bibliography: The work first mentioned, edited by the Arab League, gives much information. The work of J. Henniger, which is absolutely fundamental for all these problems, ought also to have appeared in the bibliography of the article ʿĀʾila. (J. Lecerf)

ʿA<u>SH</u>ĶĀBĀD (properly ʿI<u>sh</u>ķābād; according to the Turkish pronounciation of the Arab word ʿi<u>sh</u>ķ, "love", called by the Russians since 1924 A<u>sh</u>k<u>h</u>abad, previously till 1921 Askhabad, 1921-4 Poltorack), a town, since 1924 the capital of the SSR of Türkmenistān. It lies in an oasis south of the desert Ķara Ķum and developed out of a Turcoman *awl* with (1881, time of the Russ. conquest) 500 tents. Already in the year 1897 it had, as capital of the district Transcaspia (Zakaspiyskaya Oblast'), 19,428 inhabitants, chiefly merchants and officials. The city developed rapidly, and possessed already before 1914 a museum (which contained inter alia objects of interest for the ethnology of the Türkmen) and a library (with some Persian manuscripts). After 1917 in spite of the difficulty of maintaining a sufficient water supply the city became an important industrial centre in this district (woven wares, silk factories, foodstuffs, building materials), possessing also cultural significance (since 1950 Gor'kiy-University and four other higher schools, a branch

of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and other research institutes). The number of inhabitants rose (1926) to 51,593 and (1939) 127,000; no information in particular concerning their nationality has been given. Doubtless however numerous Russians live there.

The place has been very frequently (17-xi-1893, 17-i-1895, 1929) struck by earthquakes and possesses since 1947 a Soviet seismic observatory. A particularly destructive earthquake took place on 6 October 1948. Numerous buildings were destroyed and many people lost their lives. (The centre of the earthquakes is mostly fifty miles south in the Kopet Dagh.)

The district of ʿAs͟hḳābād is notable for its cotton and corn cultivation; vines, melons and vetegables are cultivated here. It contains the foothills of the Kopet Dagh, the oasis Tedjen and the central parts of the desert Ḳara Ḳum [*q.v.*]. Minerals: zinc, lead, sulphur, barytus.

Four-five miles west of ʿAs͟hḳābād lie the ruins of the city of Nasā [*q.v.*]; six-seven miles east the ruins of the city of Anaw with the remains of a beautiful mosque with an inscription by its builder, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur (d. 861/1456-7) where during excavations (1904) a rich neolithic culture of the time 3000-500 (?) B.C. came to light.

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AL-**AS͟HMŪNAYN** [see USHMŪNAYN].

AS͟HRĀF [see SHARĪF].

AL-**AS͟HRAF**, AL-**MALIK** [see AYYŪBIDS].

AS͟HRAF, town in the Persian province of Māzandarān, and chief town of a district (*bulūk*) of the same name, situated 36° 41′ 55″ N, 53° 32′ 30″ E, five miles from the shore of the Caspian Sea, 35 miles E. of Sārī and 43 miles W. of Astarābād on the road between these two towns. The town lies at the foot of wooded spurs of the lofty Alburz range, and commands a fine view northwards over the bay of Astarābād. Although the approaches to As͟hraf are fertile and produce excellent cotton and wheat, the plain of As͟hraf itself tends to be marshy. The cypress, the wild vine, the citron and the orange grow in profusion.

Formerly an unimportant town named K͟harkūrān, the new town of As͟hraf dates from its foundation by S͟hāh ʿAbbās I in 1021/1612-3. Intended by ʿAbbās to be a rural retreat, As͟hraf at first consisted of a group of large farmhouses surrounding the royal palace and scattered along the Sārī road, but eventually the royal residences extended over a considerable area, and comprised six separate establishments, each with its gardens. According to Fraser five of these, the Bāg͟h-i S͟hāhī, the ʿImārat-i Ṣāḥib-i Zamān (used as a banqueting hall), the Ḥaram, the K͟halwat, and the Bāg͟h-i Tappa, were enclosed by one wall, while the sixth, the ʿImārat-i Čas͟hma, lay outside. Spacious accommodation was provided for guests and travellers. Great skill was employed in the construction of the palaces and of the famous causeway, large blocks of stone and marble being brought from Bākū, and joined by iron clamps cemented with lead.

The gardens were laid out with walks bordered by pines, and by orange and other fruit trees, and were watered by an elaborate system of reservoirs, cisterns and channels, fed by a spring which also supplied numerous fountains and cascades. On the hills above were situated the observatory known as Ṣafīābād, and a dam which controlled the water supply to the rice fields round As͟hraf.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the power of the Ṣafawī dynasty declined, and As͟hraf suffered heavily in the ensuing civil wars, and from Turcoman invasions from the N-E. It was plundered by the Afg͟hāns and again by the Zand armies. The great *aywān* called Čihil Sutūn was burnt down in the time of Nādir S͟hāh, and Nādir's replacement was a much meaner edifice. Muḥammad Ḥasan K͟hān Ḳādjār carried out certain repairs, but what remained of the imperial residences was destroyed by Muḥammad K͟hān of Sawādkūh, Governor of Māzandarān, and As͟hraf remained virtually uninhabited until Āḳā Muḥammad K͟hān Ḳādjār escaped from Zand captivity at S͟hīrāz and, making Māzandarān his base, rebuilt the town in 1193/1779-80. Though making a slow recovery—in 1826 it numbered 500 houses, in 1859 845, and in 1874 over 1200—As͟hraf has never regained its former prosperity, nor can its ruined palaces do more than hint at their former magnificence.

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AS͟HRAF ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ AL-FĀRŪḲĪ, was born at T'hāna Bhawan (Muẓaffarnagar district, India) on 12 Rabīʿ I, 1280/19 March 1863 and died on 6 Radjab 1362/9 July 1943. He received his education at his home-town and at Deoband [*q.v.*]. Leaving Deoband in 1301/1883-4 he started life as a teacher at Cawnpore. The same year he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca where he met Ḥādjdjī Imdād Allāh al-Hindī al-Muhādjir al-Makkī with whom he was already in correspondence. He renewed his *bayʿa*, contracted *in absentia*, and formally became his disciple. In 1307/1889-90 he again left for Mecca and stayed there for a number of months with Imdād Allāh. He left Cawnpore in 1315/1897-8 and settled down at T'hāna Bhawan for the rest of his life.

An eminent scholar, theologian and *ṣūfī*, he led a very busy life, teaching, preaching, writing and lecturing, and making occasional journeys. A prolific writer, his works exceed one thousand in number. These are mostly on *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, logic, *kalām*, *ʿaḳāʾid* and *taṣawwuf*. His first work, a Persian *mat͟hnawī* entitled "*Zīr o-Bam*", was written while he was still a student; his last is *al-Bawādir al-Nawādir*, published in 1365/1945-6, being a selection of his innumerable writings. His most famous works are: i) *Bayān al-Ḳurʾān*, a commentary of the Ḳurʾān, in 12 vols. in Urdu, completed in 2½ years and first published at Delhi in 1334/1916-7. A revised and enlarged edition was published at T'hāna Bhawan, in 1353/1934-5 and at Delhi in 1349-2. Since then several editions have appeared; (ii) *Bihis͟htī Zēwar*, in 10 vols., also in

Urdu, a compendium of Islamic teachings meant for women. The 11th vol. "*Bis̲h̲tī Gawhar*" for men, was added much later. It has been frequently printed in India and Pākistān and is still in great demand. A collection of his *fatāwā* in 8 vols., compiled posthumously, is in process of publication.

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AS̲H̲RAF ʿALĪ K̲H̲ĀN, foster-brother of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh, King of Delhi (1161/1748-1167/1754) was born in Delhi c. 1140/1727. His father Mīrzā ʿAlī K̲h̲ān "Nukta" was a courtier of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]. His uncle Īrad̲j̲ K̲h̲ān was the *nāẓim* of Murs̲h̲idābād during the reign of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh. A composer of poetry in both Urdu and Persian, he wrote under the pen-name of "Fug̲h̲ān" (Fig̲h̲ān) and enjoyed the title of "Ẓarīf al-Mulk Kokaltās̲h̲ K̲h̲ān Bahādur", conferred on him by Aḥmad S̲h̲āh.

He lived in Delhi till the dethronement of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh in 1167/1754, when he left for Murs̲h̲idābād. He seems to have been unfavourably received by his uncle and after a brief stay with him returned to Delhi. In 1174/1761 when the Durranis again attacked India he left Delhi for good and went to Fayḍābād. He, however, soon fell out with his patron S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] and left for ʿAẓīmābād (Patna) where he was well received by Rād̲j̲a S̲h̲itāb Rāyʾ, Governor or Bengal and Bihar and a great patron of learning. Offended by an unkind remark of S̲h̲itāb Rāyʾ he decided to leave him. But soon after he somehow came into contact with officials of the East India Company and appears to have entered their service. Thereafter he led a comfortable life and died at ʿAẓīmābād in 1186/1772-3.

A good poet, his compositions are, however, marred by biting satire and lampoon. His Urdu and Persian *dīwān* was published at Karachi in 1950.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AS̲H̲RAF D̲J̲AHĀNGĪR b. S. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was born in 688/1289 at al-Simnān (K̲h̲urāsān), the principality of his father. His mother, K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a, was a grand-daughter of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. A *ḥāfiẓ* of the Ḳurʾān, with its seven readings, he completed his education at the age of 14. His love for mysticism took him to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī [*q.v.*], a leading *ṣūfī* of his days, whose company he frequented. Succeeding his father, on the latter's death in 705/1305-6, to the principality he soon abdicated in favour of his brother Muḥammad and set out for India having been told to do so in a dream. Passing through Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, he visited Buk̲h̲ārā and Samarḳand and then left for Uččh [*q.v.*] where he met D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Buk̲h̲ārī, surnamed D̲j̲ahāniyān D̲j̲ahān Gas̲h̲t [*q.v.*]. After a long series of travels covering Delhi, several places in the Indo-Gangetic plain, Bihār and Bengāl, including Sunārgāʾōn, near Dacca, he finally settled at Rūḥābād (an old name for Kačhawčha, a village 53 miles from Fayḍābād), where he died on 27 Muḥarram 808/July 6, 1405 and was buried in his own *K̲h̲ānaḳāh*.

A short time after having settled at Kačhawčha he again left on his global travels, this time visiting Mecca (twice), al-Madīna, Karbalāʾ, al-Nad̲j̲af, Turkey, Damascus, Bag̲h̲dād, Kās̲h̲ān, al-Simnān, Meshed, G̲h̲azna and Kābul, returning to Rūḥābād *via* Multān, Pākpattan and Delhi. On his first voyage to Mecca he was accompanied by Badīʿ al-Dīn S̲h̲āh Madār [*q.v.*].

The statement in the *Laṭāʾif-i As̲h̲rafī* (ii, 105-6) that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm S̲h̲arḳī (804/1401-848/1444) was introduced to him by Ḳāḍī S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī early on his arrival in India is apparently wrong as the Sulṭān succeeded to the throne in 804/1402 while the saint died four years later in 808/1405. The meeting, therefore, must have taken place during the closing years of the life of As̲h̲raf D̲j̲ahāngīr.

He is the author of *Bas̲h̲ārat al-Murīdīn* and *Maktūbāt-i As̲h̲rafī*, the latter is highly spoken of by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī [*q.v.*]. His shrine is visited, in thousands, by persons possessed and patients suffering from mental derangement in the hope of obtaining a cure.

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AS̲H̲RAF OG̲H̲ULLARĬ, march-wardens of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs in Anatolia during the second half of the 13th century. Members of a Turkoman tribe which had been settled by the Anatolian Sald̲j̲ūḳ state on its western frontiers, they embellished the town of

Gorgurum, and subsequently Beys͟hehri, and established a principality in that region.

The first of the family who is known to us is the Sald͟jūḳ amīr As͟hraf-og͟hlu Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey, who played an important part during the reigns of G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Kayk͟husraw III and Ghiyāt͟h al-Dīn Masʿūd II. After the Mongols of the west, the Ilk͟hānids, had put Kayk͟husraw III to death, they ordered Masʿūd II to rule in his stead (Rabīʿ I 682/June 1283), but Kayk͟husraw's mother, who was at Ḳonya, proclaimed his sons as his successors, with the approval of the Ilk͟hānids, thus declaring herself against Masʿūd. She invited the As͟hrafid Sulaymān Bey to Ḳonya and appointed him regent to these infant sovereigns (8 Rabīʾ I 684/14 May 1285). With assistance from the Mongols, Masʿūd II, who was at Ḳayseri, disposed of the two children and seized power, whereupon Sulaymān Bey withdrew to Beys͟hehri. Subsequently (687/1288) he made submission to Masʿūd and came to Ḳonya.

Masʿūd II wished to have his brother Siyāwus͟h, whom he regarded as a rival, placed under restraint. He therefore sent him to Beys͟hehri, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing back the As͟hrafid's daughter as a bride for himself. By prior arrangement the As͟hrafid arrested and imprisoned Siyāvus͟h, but was compelled to release him and send him to Ḳonya by the threats of the Ḳaramānid Güneri Bey, who was favourably disposed towards Siyāvus͟h (*Seld͟jūḳnāme*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Persian MS no. 1553).

By this time the Sald͟jūḳ state had lost its authority, and Sulaymān Bey was in perpetual conflict, sometimes with his neighbours and sometimes with the Sald͟jūḳ governors: at one point he was even in danger of falling into the hands of the Ḳaramānid, who was attacking Beys͟hehri, but he later gained the victory. He also suffered considerably at this period from assaults on this territory by the Ilk͟hānid Gayk͟hātū.

Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey died on Monday 2 Muḥarram 702/27 August 1302, and was buried in the mausoleum he had had constructed a year before beside his mosque in Beys͟hehri. Sulaymān had embellished Beys͟hehri, which he called Sulaymāns͟hehri, with a number of foundations, and had repaired the fortress, placing his inscription over the fortress gate in 689/1290. He built his mosque, a distinguished work of art, in 696/1296, and his mausoleum in 1302. In his *waḳfiyya* he appointed his sons Muḥammad and As͟hraf as *mutawallīs* of these foundations (K͟halīl Edhem, *Anadoluda islâmî kitâbeler, TOEM* year 5, 139-44; Yusuf Akyurt, *Beyşehri kitabeleri ve Eşref oğlu camii ve türbesi*).

He was succeeded by his elder son Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey, who added the towns of Aḳs͟hehir and Bolvadin to his domains. The As͟hrafid amīr Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn S͟hikārī built the market mosque in Aḳs͟hehir in 720/1320 (I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Kitabeler*, ii, 26). When the amīr Čōbān, the Ilk͟hānid governor-general, visited Anatolia in 1314 there was an As͟hrafid among the Anatolian beys who came to offer him their obedience (*Musāmarat al-Ak͟hbār*, 311); this must have been Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Muḥammad Bey died after 1320 and was succeeded by his son Sulaymān II, whose reign however was of short duration. The influence of the Ilk͟hānids in Anatolia having begun to wane, Demirtas͟h, son of the amīr Čōbān, was appointed governor of Anatolia. In his efforts to subdue the Anatolian beys, who had grown accustomed to acting independently and rebelliously, he first took Ḳonya (1320), which had come under Ḳaramānid control. A few years later he marched on Beys͟hehri, seized Sulaymān Bey, killed him, and threw his corpse into the Beys͟hehri lake (the *Masālik al-Abṣār* records that he was tortured to death: his eyes were put out, his nose and ears cut off, and his severed testicles were hung about his neck) on 11 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 726/9 October 1326 (this is the date shown in the Paris MS of the *Seld͟jūḳnāme*; the *Taḳwīm-i Nud͟jūmī* gives the year of his death as 722/1322-3.

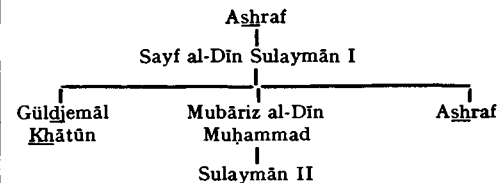
With the murder of Sulaymān II the principality of the As͟hrafids came to an end. After Demirtas͟h's time, their territories fell into the hands partly of the Ḥamīdids, partly of the Ḳaramānids. No coins of the As͟hrafids have yet come to light, but is possible that coins of Muḥammad Bey exist.

In his *Masālik al-Abṣār*, S͟hihāb al-Dīn ʿUmarī says that the As͟hrafids possessed almost 70,000 cavalry, 60 towns, and 150 villages.

It is evident from the titles used by Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey in his inscription which he placed over the gate of the fortress of Beys͟hehri (which he called Sulaymāns͟hehri) in D͟jumādā I 689/May 1290 (*Amīr-i Muʿaẓẓam*), and on his other inscriptions (*al-Amīr al-ʿĀdil*: see Halil Ethem and Yusuf Akyurt) that he was an amīr of the Seld͟jūḳs.

The mosque of Sulaymān Bey, its *minbar* and *miḥrāb*, are choice works of art. The ornate ceiling of the mosque, which is rectangular in shape, is supported on 48 wooden pillars, decorated with stalactites. The *miḥrāb* is adorned with porcelain mosaics, Ḳurʿānic verses and *ḥadīt͟hs*. The *minbar* is a masterpiece of the woodcarver's art, made of jointed sections of ebony. Around the front of the door to the *minbar* is inscribed the Throne-verse, in Sald͟jūḳ *nask͟hī* script, while above the doorway are seen the names of the first four caliphs, in Kūfic lettering. The mausoleum of Sulaymān Bey, though most artistic, has become dilapidated with age.

There exists a philosophical work in Arabic, in 9 sections, entitled *al-Fuṣul al-As͟hrafiyya fī Uṣūl al-Burhāniyya wa 'l-Kas͟hfiyya*, written for the As͟hrafid Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey by S͟hams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tus͟htarī. The author's autograph copy, written at Ḳonya in 710/1311, is in the library of St. Sophia (no. 2445).

The As͟hrafid family:

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(ISMAIL HAKKI UZUNÇARŞILI)

ASHRAFĪ [see SIKKA].

ASHRAFIYYA, Dervish-order (according to d'Ohsson), which takes its name from ʿAbd Allāh Ashraf (Eshref) Rumī, died 899/1493 in Čīn Iznīk.

AL-ʿ**ASHSHĀB** (A.), the gatherer or vendor of herbs, from the Arabic *ʿushb*, a word which means a fresh annual herb which is afterwards dried. In medical literature, the word is chiefly used to denote simples, and consequently *al-ʿashshāb* means a vendor of or authority on medicinal herbs. Thus for example the celebrated physician Ibn al-Suwaydī (d. 690/1291), in a note preserved in his own hand on the title-page of Ms. No. 3711 of the Aya Sofya, calls his teacher, the famous pharmacologist Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*], *al-ʿashshāb al-mālaḳī*, "the herbalist of Malaga". In this connexion it should be noted that the word *al-shadjdjār*, which is lacking in most dictionaries, means an authority on plants or a botanist; it is derived from *shadjar*, which is used for tree, bush, shrub or any plant with a strong woody stem, and also for plants in general.

(M. MEYERHOF)

AL-**ASHTAR**, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī, warrior and political agitator of the time of the Caliph ʿUthmān and supporter of ʿAlī. He was surnamed al-Ashtar, "the man with inverted eyelids", as the result of a wound received at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636). He distinguished himself by his boldness in the campaign against the Byzantines and even dared to venture beyond Darb in enemy territory (see Caetani, *Annali*, index). He was one of the most persistent agitators against the Caliph ʿUthmān and the ruling class of the period and defended the rights—or the claims—of the warriors to the *fayʾ* (booty consisting of landed property). After a violent scene in the presence of ʿUthmān's governor at Kūfa, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (33/653-4), he was banished from Kūfa to Syria together with ten other agitators; Muʿāwiya subsequently sent him back to ʿIrāḳ, but Saʿīd sent him on to the governor of Ḥimṣ. As the agitation persisted in Kūfa, he lost no time in returning and stirring up the masses (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2907-17, 2921, 2927-31). He is to be found at the head of the band of seditious elements who prevented the return of the governor Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and who took upon themselves to obtain the appointment by the Caliph (34/654-5) of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2927-30; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 262-5). At the time of the insurrection in Medina, which ended with the assassination of the Caliph ʿUthmān (35/656), he brought two hundred men from Kūfa (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 49) and was one of those who besieged "the House" (*al-nuffār*) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2989 f., etc.); his name is even cited among the murderers of the Caliph (Ibn ʿAsākir, in Caetani, *Annali*, 35 A.H., paras. 137 and 169; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, (Būlāḳ 1293), ii, 278 etc.).

His violence came to the fore also during the election of ʿAlī, for he threatened several recalcitrants, forcing them to swear the oath of allegiance to him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3068-9, 3075-77: al-Dīnawarī, 152). He then attached himself to ʿAlī, but was often among those of his supporters who presumed to impose their own will on him.

During ʿAlī's campaign against ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, he was sent to Kūfa with other men of importance to persuade the inhabitants to take ʿAlī's side, and after succeeding in this objective, he brought reinforcement to his master. He took part in the battle of the Camel (36/656); the sources mention a duel which he fought with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and other brave deeds. At the head of the vanguard of ʿAlī's army in the campaign against Muʿāwiya, he obliged the inhabitants of Raḳḳa to build a bridge of boats over the Euphrates to enable the troops to cross (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3259-60). At the battle of Ṣiffīn in which he commanded the right wing of the army, he displayed zeal and bravery (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3283, 3284, 3294-300, 3327, 3328; al-Dīnawarī 194-8; al-Masʿūdī, IV, 343-9).

ʿAlī wanted to have him as an arbitrator at the time when the famous arbitration between himself and Muʿāwiya was proposed (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), but his supporters refused, well aware that such a choice would mean the continuation of the war; when al-Ashtar was informed that a truce had been decided upon, he wanted to go on fighting, for he thought that victory was near and the speech which he delivered on this occasion has come down to us (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, 562 f.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3331 f.; cf. al-Dīnawarī, 204); he then tried to avoid signing the agreement. It was probably because of his uncompromising attitude towards the truce with Muʿāwiya, that ʿAlī got rid of him, by appointing him firstly governor of Mawṣil (as well as of other towns of ʿIrāḳ and Syria which were in his possession, but al-Ashtar encountered opposition from al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī, appointed governor by Muʿāwiya, and had to withdraw to Mawṣil) and then governor of Egypt; it is not known precise y whether this took place immediately after the recall of Ḳays b. Saʿd or after the dismissal of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr who had proved himself a bad politician (al-Kindī, *Governors* 22-4; al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 336; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3242; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 227; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 492; Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H. paras. 221-3). However that may be, al-Ashtar never reached the seat of his appointment, for when he arrived at al-Ḳulzum (37/658 or 38?) he was poisoned by the local *djāyastār* (not the *quaestor* but the *logistarius*, see J. Maspero, in *BIFAO*, xi, 155-61), (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3392-5). On hearing of his death, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya are said to have spoken the words which have subsequently become famous: — the former: *li 'l-yadayn wa li 'l-fam* "[fallen] hands and mouth [to the ground]" an expression indicating the pleasure felt on seeing someone fall (Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 475; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H. para. 224, n. 1); the latter: "God even has troops in the honey". Muʿāwiya has been suspected of being the instigator of al-Ashtar's assassination; more certain is the fact that Muʿāwiya considered al-Ashtar one of the "arms" of ʿAlī, the other, according to him, being ʿAmmār b. Yāsir.

From the physical point of view, al-Ashtar was a giant; his sword bore the name *al-ludjdj* "the sheen of running water" (*TA*, ii, 93).

Bibliography: Information on al-Ashtar is to be found in all the chronicles and histories dealing with the early period of Islam as well as in the collections of biographies of early personalities; Caetani, *Annali*, Index and vols. vii-x *passim*; several quotations of sources, *ibid.* 37 A.H. paras. 332-9; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1365, Index; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, Cairo 1329, i, 158-60, ii, 28-30, 80, iii, 416, 417.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

ASHTURKA [see SUPPLEMENT].

ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ, name of a voluntary fast-day which is observed on the 10th Muḥarram.

I.—When Muḥammad came to Madīna he adopted from the Jews amongst other days the ʿĀshūrāʾ. The name is obviously the Hebrew *ʿāsōr* with the Aramaic determinative ending; in Lev. xvi, 29 it is used of the great Day of Atonement. Muḥammad retained the Jewish custom in the rite, that is, the fast was observed on this day from sunset to sunset, and not as in other fasts only during the day. When in the year 2 Muḥammad's relations with the Jews became strained, Ramaḍān was chosen as the fast month, and the ʿĀshūraʾ-fast was no longer a religious duty but was left to the option of the individual. —On which day of the Arabian year the fast was originally observed cannot now be ascertained owing to our defective knowledge of the calendar of the period; naturally its observance coincided with the Jewish on the 10th Tishri, and so fell in the autumn. The 10th Muḥarram finds early mention as the ʿĀshūrāʾ; probably the tenth day of the first Muslim month was selected to harmonise with the tenth day of the first Jewish month. From the calculations which have already been made, it does not seem possible that it could have been originally celebrated on the 10th Muḥarram (see Caetani, *Annali*, i, 431 f.).

Presumably for the sake of distinguishing themselves from the Jews some fixed the 9th Muḥarram either along with or in place of the tenth as a fast day with the name *Tāsūʿāʾ*.

The Jewish origin of the day is obvious; the well-known tendency of tradition to trace all Islamic customs back to the ancient Arabs, and particularly to Abraham, states that the Meccans of olden time fasted on the ʿĀshūrāʾ. It is not impossible that the tenth, as also the first nine days of Muḥarram, did possess a certain holiness among the ancient Arabs; but this has nothing to do with the ʿĀshūrāʾ.

The fast of the ʿĀshūrāʾ was later and is still regarded by Muslims as commendable; the day is kept by the devout of the entire Sunnī world; it is holy also on "historical" grounds: on it Noah left the ark, etc. In Mecca the door of the Kaʿba is opened on the day of the ʿĀshūrāʾ for visitors (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 51). In lands which are Shīʿite or come under Shīʿite influence quite different usages have become associated with the 10th Muḥarram; in this connexion see MUḤARRAM.

Bibliography: The Chapter *Ṣawm ʿAshūrāʾ* in the Collections of Traditions, and the appropriate sections in the Fiḳh-books; Goldziher, *Usages juifs d'après la littérature des musulmans*, in *Rev. des Etudes juives*, xxviii, 82-84; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 121-125; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 115 f.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 179, note; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, iii, 53, note; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 214, 226; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Ch. xxiv. (A. J. WENSINCK)

II.—ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ (ĀSHŪRA) in the Maghrib. In practice a distinction is usually made between *ʿĀshūr*, the name given to the month of *Muḥarram*, and *ʿĀshūra*, the name of the feast celebrated on the tenth of that month. The supererogatory fast enjoined on that day seems to be unevenly kept, whilst alms-giving is a ore usual practice. Perhaps this is why children from the ḳurʾānic schools, at *ʿĀshūra*, go from door to door, singing and making collections for their masters. The dead are also honoured by visits to their tombs, which are copiously watered, and branches of myrtle are placed on them. The feast is celebrated by eating special dishes (fritters, flat cakes and gruel), and especially, eggs and poultry. Popular manifestations of *ʿĀshūra* vary according to the region and are at times on an extraordinary scale.

Three essential elements can be distinguished in the practices in use: 1) *Fire and water rites*. A bonfire of branches, leaves and grasses is built; this is very frequently lit by a person of repute, who is possessed of *baraka* [*q.v.*]. Whilst the bonfire burns, those present jump over it (*ʿammi ʿōf* of Takroûna). Also very common practices are throwing burning faggots from the bonfire into the river, mixing water with the ashes, bathing and sprinkling oneself with water. 2) *Marriage rites* (when a sacrificial animal is sometimes slaughtered). These are especially observed in Morocco: Douzrou ceremony (Tafilalet); the making of dolls and puppets representing *ʿĀshūr* and his fiancée *ʿĀshūra*, in the Region of Agadir, in the Sūs and the Middle Atlas, etc., 3) *Carnival rites*, mainly in Morocco, in Western Oran, all along the edge of the Sahara, in the Sahara, Tunisia and Libya. The Maghribī carnival (*fara*), with numerous variations, almost always includes a trial, an execution and a funeral; the victim is usually an old man or an old woman, dressed up in a burlesque costume, at times wearing animal skins or pelts or a tunic made of plaited plants (*shāyb ʿāshūra* at Ouargla, *bū-lifa* at Biskra, *bū-jlūd* in Morocco and at Tlemcen, *bū-heremma* in Southern Morocco and Oran, *bu 'l-fdām, bābā ʿēshōr* elsewhere, etc. ...). One of the figures in the *fara* is usually that of an enormous beast, a lion, a mule or a camel, which both delights and terrifies the spectators.

It is generally agreed that the complex customs of *Āshūra* in the Maghrib reflect the survival of very ancient agrarian rites, in fact the celebration of the death of the year coming to its end and the birth of their popular aspects, which are both sad and joyful. The traditional Muslim Shīʿite mourning has, in all likelihood, become grafted on to this magico-religious substratum, whilst the lunar calendar has taken over a solar year cult, subjecting it to a temporal displacement. Through these superimpositions, remains of this ancient disrupted ceremonial have, here and there, become haphazardly attached to Muslim feasts (the two *ʿīds* and *mawlid* [*qq.v.*]) and to the various periods and holidays of the agricultural year (*rās el-ʿām, ennāyr, rbīʿ, ʿanṣāra* [*qq.v.*].)

Bibliography: Gaudefroy-Demembynes, *La fête de Achoura à Tunis*, in *Revue des Traditions populaires* 1903, 11; E. Doutté, *Merrakech*, Paris 1905, 371-2; Biarnay, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla*, Paris 1908, 212; A. Bel, *La population musulmane de Tlemcen*, in *Revue des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques* 1908, 8-9; S. Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain*, Paris 1908, 146-67; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909, 526-40; Monchicourt, *La fête de Achoura*, in *Revue tunisienne* 1910, 299-324; Castells, *Note sur la fête de Achoura à Rabat*, in *Archives berbères* 1916; E. Laoust, *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hespéris* 1921; W. Marçais et A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, i, 347 ff. (copious bibliography); E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 58-86; Godard, *Croyances et coutumes du Fezzan*: *la fête de Achoura à Edri*, in *Bulletin de liaison saharienne*, Algiers 1956, 79-84. (PH. MARÇAIS)

AL-ʿĀṢĪ is the name in use among the Arabs for the Orontes. The classical name of this river, the most important in northern Syria, is preserved in Arabic literature as al-Urunṭ, al-Urund. Presumably the origin of the word ʿĀṣī, like that of the Greek Axios, must be sought in an ancient native name. The common explanation of al-ʿĀṣī = "the rebel" is a popular etymology with no actual foundation, and the name *al-nahr al-maḳlūb* = *fluvius inversus* is probably a scholarly invention.

The river-system of the ʿĀṣī begins to the north of the watershed formed by the highland-valley of al-Biḳāʿ not far from Baʿalbakk, but really only obtains its volume of water farther north near al-Hirmil from a spring, generally called simply the Orontes Spring, which wells forth in a strong stream from the rock. Following the line of the Syrian canal to its northern end, the river flows through several lakes or marshes (those of Ḳadas and of Fāmiya = Ḳalʿat al-Muḍīḳ); on its banks are situated the most important towns of central Syria, Ḥimṣ and Hamāt. At the point where the Syrian buttresses rejoin the faults of Armenia and Asia Minor the river turns away from the north and flows towards the south-west, receives the streams which, rising in the most northerly regions of Syria, discharge into the marshes of al-ʿAmḳ, and reaches the sea below Anṭākiya, to the south of the Amanus, at a point where the coast is flat and devoid of natural harbours (Seleucia and al-Suwaydiyya were artificial harbours).

The geographical peculiarities of the course of the Orontes, and its comparatively abundant flow, have long permitted the traditional use of its waters for irrigation. But the favourable conditions which it presents for large-scale modern development have as yet only given rise to partially realised projects.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 588; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 49; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 59-61; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index; J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, lx, 245-6; J. Weulersse, *L'Oronte*, Tours 1940. (R. HARTMANN *)

AṢĪLA (now Arzila in Fr. and Port., Arcila in Span.), town and port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, situated about 50 kms. S.S.W. of Tangiers and not far from the mouth of al-Wādī al-Ḥulw (Oued el-Helou). According to Spanish statistics, the population rose from slightly over 6,000 inhabitants in 1935 to just under 16,000 in 1949, with a majority of Muslims, a negligible Jewish minority and a small number of Europeans, mainly Spaniards.

The name Aṣīla seems to derive from the forms Ζῆλις (Strabo), Zilis (Itinerary of Antoninus and the Anonymus of Ravenna) or Zilia (Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela); but the ancient authors tell us hardly anything about the town, which may have originally been a Phoenician trading-post. In contrast, it is frequently mentioned and described by the Arab historians and geographers, among others by Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Bakrī. According to the latter, Aṣīla was twice visited by the Normans in the 3rd/9th century. In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī describes it as a small town in complete decay. But trade must have enjoyed a certain prosperity there in the 9th/15th century, because at the time of the disaster suffered by the Portuguese before Tangiers (1437), Jewish merchants and Genoese and Castilian business men were to be found there; the Waṭṭāsid sultans of Fez seem also to have made Aṣīla one of their principal bases. However, the history of the town is only really well known in the period during which it was occupied by the Portuguese (1471-1550). They took it, partly with a view to taking Tangier in the rear, on 24th August 1471, under the command of King Alfonso V, called "the African" (1438-81), with the aid of his son, the future John II. The almost immediate result of the fall of Aṣīla was the fall of Tangier, which the Portuguese entered without striking a blow. The new masters built a strong citadel at Aṣīla with a dungeon and a vast walled enclosure, which contained the whole town; the whole of these fortifications still survive today. The Portuguese garrison, in conjunction with the garrisons of Ceuta, al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr and especially of Tangier, had constantly to contend with the hostility of the marabouts, of local chiefs (Djabal Harub), of the Ḳāʾids of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Larache, Tetuan and Chechaouen (Mawlāy Ibrāhīm) and of the Waṭṭāsid sultans of Fez, especially Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī: they endured several sieges; the most serious was that of 1508; the Portuguese lost the town and only retained the citadel; they were saved by the intervention of a squadron which arrived from Portugal, which was soon after reinforced by the Spanish fleet of Pedro Navarro. Furthermore, the fortress was handicapped by the insecurity of its port, which was blocked by a reef. In August 1550, King John III of Portugal (1521-57) had it evacuated —a few weeks after al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr—with a view to concentrating all his forces in Northern Morocco at Tangier and Ceuta. In 1577, Aṣīla was reoccupied by King Sebastian (1557-78), as the price of his alliance with the Saʿdid prince Muḥammad al-Maslūkh and with a view to the expedition in which he lost his life, at the battle of the Three Kings, or the battle of al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr (4th August 1578): it was at Aṣīla that the Christian army landed and it was from Aṣīla that it set out on 29th July 1578 to meet the Moroccan army. Philip II, King of Portugal since 1580 following the death of Cardinal Henry, gave the town back to the Saʿdid sultan al-Manṣūr in 1589. From this date onwards, Aṣīla has led a quiet and obscure existence. It formed part of the region subject to the authority of the Sharīf Raysūnī, when it was occupied in 1912 by the Spaniards, who incorporated it in their zone.

Bibliography: All the requisite information on Aṣīla prior to 1589 is collected together in David Lopes, *História de Arzila durante o domínio português*, Coimbra 1924-5 (based strictly on the sources, especially *Bernardo Rodrigues*, *Anais de Arzila*, ed. David Lopes, 2 vols., Lisbon 1915-9); see also Adolfo L. Guevara, *Arcila durante la ocupación portuguesa*, Tangier 1940, and Pierre de Cenival, David Lopes and Robert Ricard, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Portugal, 5 vols., Paris 1934-53, and the bibliography of the article *Aṣfi* concerning the Portuguese period. For recent events: Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos*, Larache 1949, 421 ff. (R. RICARD)

ʿĀṢIM, ABŪ BAKR ʿĀṢIM B. BAHDALA ABI 'L-NADJDJŪD AL-ASADĪ, a *mawlā* of the Banī Djudhayma of the Asad. Some say Bahdala was his mother's name and his father's name ʿAbd Allāh, though he was known Abu 'l-Nadjdjūd. He is said to have been a dealer in wheat (*ḥannāṭ*) who succeeded as-Sulamī as head of the Kūfan School of Ḳurʾān Readers, where his preeminence in Ḳurʾānic studies secured him a place as one of the Seven Readers whose systems became canonical. Indeed

through his pupil Ḥafṣ [*q.v.*] his system of pointing and vowelling the Ḳurʾānic text has become the *textus receptus* in Islam. He is classed as a Follower and had a small part in transmitting *ḥadīth*. His fame, however, was as a *ḳāriʾ* and a teacher of *ḳirāʾāt*, in which he had the reputation of being a *ḥudjdja*. In this branch of learning he is said to have been the pupil of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 74/693-4), Zirr b. Ḥubaysh (d. 82/701-2) and Abū ʿAmr Saʿd b. Iyās al-Shaybānī (d. 96/714-5), through one or other of whom his readings may be traced back to all the most famous names in Ḳurʾānic learning among the Companions. He had a large number of pupils who transmitted his system, but his two *rāwīs* in the canonical list are Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh (d. 194) and Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān (d. 190). He died late in 127 or early in 128/745.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, i, 304, 305 (no. 314); Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 263; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 29; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* i, 175; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, no. 1496; idem, *Nashr*, i, 156; al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, 6; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, v, 38-40; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, ii, 5 no. 26. (A. JEFFERY)

ʿĀṢIM, AḤMAD, imperial historiographer of the Ottoman empire, born in ʿAyntāb (the modern Gaziantep) in south-eastern Anatolia about the year 1755. He was the son of Seyyid Meḥmed, a clerk of the court, who became famous as a poet under the name of Djenānī. His family was one of the old-established ones in the place. In his early youth he acquired an equally fluent knowledge of Arabic and Persian, and this helped him in later years to achieve his fame as a translator (*müterdjim*) of well-known dictionaries. To begin with, Seyyid Aḥmed was the secretary of the law-court of his home town, and later in nearby Kilis. In 1790 he went to Istanbul, where he gained the sultan's favour with a translation of the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* which was dedicated to Selīm III. He subsequently became a professor. In 1802 he was sent to the Ḥidjāz, and on his return he brought his whole family from ʿAyntāb to Istanbul. In 1807 he became imperial historiographer (*wakʿa-nüvis*); as such he compiled a history of the Ottoman empire (later printed in two volumes) from the peace treaty of Sistova (4 August 1791) to the accession of Maḥmūd II (28 July 1808). Later, he translated the *Ḳamūs al-Muḥīṭ* (which was reprinted several times) into Turkish. In later years he returned to his calling as a teacher, then as judge (Mulla of Selānīk, Feb. 1814), and died on 28 Sept. 1819 in Skutari, where he owned a house near the well of Nuḥ (*Nūḥ ḳuyu*). He lies buried in the Ḳaradja Aḥmed cemetery, and the inscription on his tomb is in *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri* i, 375.

In his capacity as imperial historioriographer, he surpasses his predecessors in a presentation which is at the same time a fluent day-to-day chronicle, yet also critical in its treatment of events. Finally, he translated the Cairo chronicle of the French occupation, by al-Djabartī—which became known in Europe too (French ed. by A. Cardin, Paris 1838)—from Arabic into his mother-tongue. This version is preserved in manuscript form in Paris (Bibl. Nationale s.t. 1283; cf. E. Blochet, *Catal.*, ii, 221) and in Cairo. It was never printed because the Cairo chronicle was soon afterwards translated again by the court-physician Muṣṭafā Behdjet Efendi, and then printed (as *Taʾrīkh-i Miṣr*, 260 Ss. 12°, Istanbul 1282) after having previously appeared as a feuilleton in *Djerīde-i ḥawādith* (cf. *JAS*, 1868, i, 477 f.).

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 283; A. D. Mordtmann, in *Augsburger Allgem. Zeitung* of 29 June 1875, supplement no. 180; Faṭīn, *tedhkire*, 226; *GOW*, 339 f. with further bibliographical details; ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri, i, 375 f.; *Türk Meşhurlarī* (Istanbul, n.d., ca. 1946) 47 f. (with a picture which pretends to be a portrait). (FR. BABINGER)

ʿĀṢIM EFENDĪ ISMĀʿĪL [see ČELEBI-ZĀDE].

ASĪR, the *takhalluṣ* of Mīrzā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mīrzā Muʾmin, Persian poet and pupil of Faṣīḥī Harawī. Born at Iṣfahān: probable date of death 1049/1639-40, though some sources give later dates. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not migrate to the Mughal court, but became a boon companion and close relative (according to one account the son-in-law) of Shāh ʿAbbās I. He composed most of his poetry under the influence of alcohol, from an excess of which he died. His *dīwān*, comprising *ḳaṣīdas*, *mathnawīs*, *tardjīʿ-bands* and *ghazals*, was lithographed at Lucknow in 1880.

Bibliography: The MSS. Catalogues of Rieu (British Museum), ii, 681, and Pertsch (Berlin), no. 938. *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Khāḳānī*, 163*v*.; Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 311. (R. M. SAVORY)

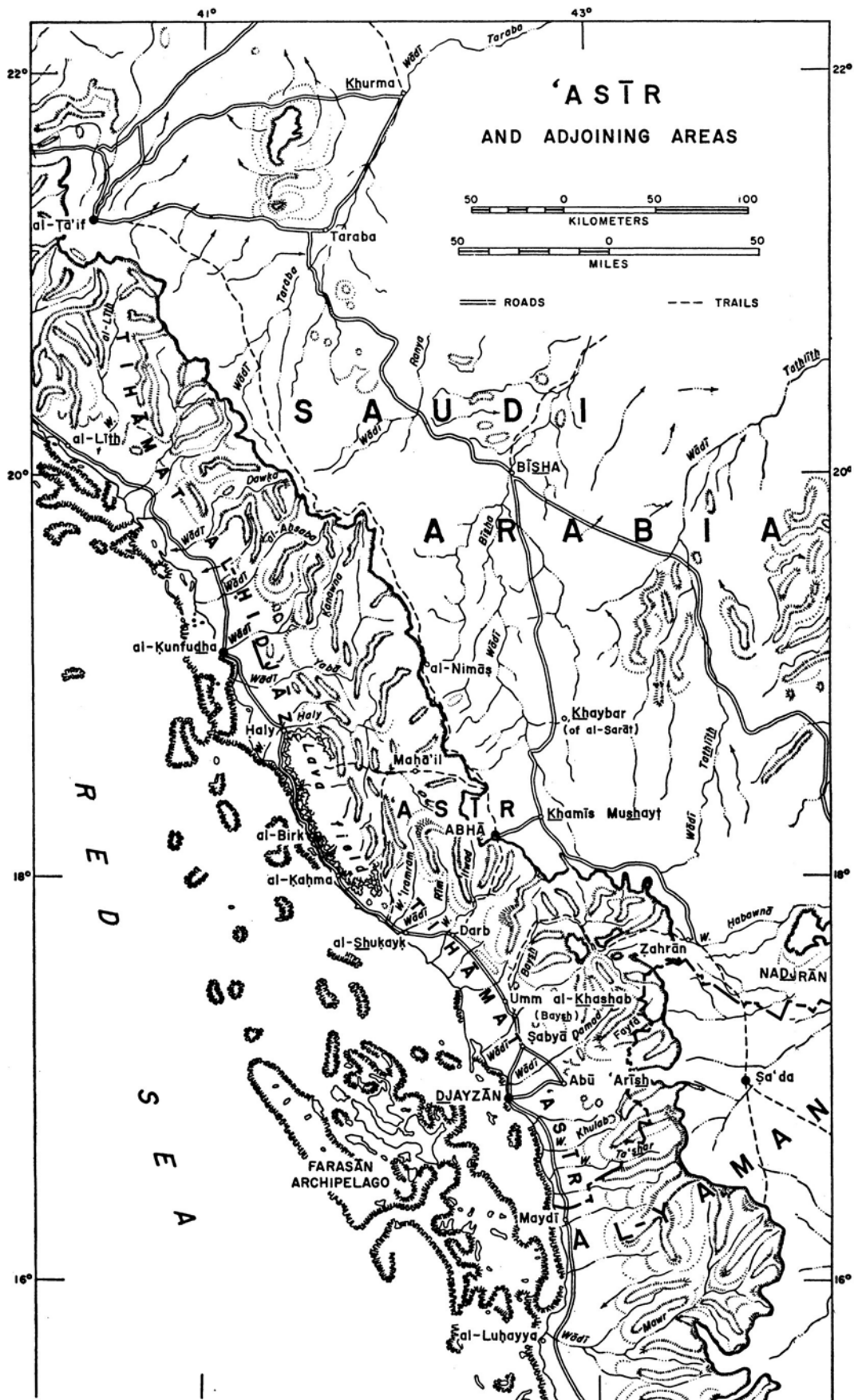
ʿASĪR, a region in Western Arabia named after a confederation of tribes in al-Sarāt [*q.v.*]. The concept of a separate region intervening between al-Ḥidjāz and the Yaman developed in the 19th century and is now sanctioned by official Saudi Arabian practice, which uses the name ʿAsīr for the highlands southwards from al-Nimāṣ to Nadjrān, and Tihāmat ʿAsīr for the lowlands bordering the Red Sea between al-Ḳaḥma and the Yaman frontier.

From al-Ṭāʾif to the Yaman there is no gap in the bold range of al-Sarāt. The core is crystalline rock, but in certain fault zones volcanic activity has produced lava fields, one of which, reaching the Red Sea just south of Ḥaly, used to form the natural boundary between al-Ḥidjāz and the Yaman. The main drainage divide, some 50 to 75 m. (80 to 120 km.) inland, rises abruptly to heights of over 6000 ft. (2,000 m.), with peaks over 9000 ft. (3,000 m.). Streams fed by rain from the fringe of the monsoons have carved great gorges in the steep seaward flanks. Drainage on the gentler eastern slope follows fracture zones northwards, creating the major wadi systems of Bīsha and Tathlīth, which eventually turn eastwards to empty their flood waters into Wādī al-Dawāsir. Along these wadi systems Philby traces the Road of the Elephant (*Darb al-Fīl*).

The highland capital is Abhā [*q.v.*], the centre of the confederation of ʿAsīr, which consists of Banī Mughayd, Banī Mālik, ʿAlkam, and Rabīʿa wa-Rufayda. Other important tribes are Ridjāl Almaʿ on the western slopes, Ridjāl al-Ḥidjr and Shahrān north of Abhā, and elements of Ḳaḥṭān, including ʿAbīda, from Abhā south to Ẓahrān.

Along the reef-lined coast of Tihāmat ʿAsīr are the little ports of al-Ḳaḥma, al-Shuḳayḳ, and Djayzān (classical Djāzān), the last being the capital of the district, which also embraces the Farasān Archipelago. Inland from Djayzān is an extensively cultivated area surrounding Umm al-Khashab (Baysh), Ṣabyā, and Abū ʿArīsh. Among the larger wadis debouching on the plain of Tihāmat ʿAsīr are those of ʿItwad, Baysh, and Ḍamad.

Terracing is widely practiced in the highlands, where rainfall of c. 12 ins. (30 cm.) a year provides for the cultivation of grains and fruits. Coffee is grown near the Yaman border, and *ḳāt* on the slopes of Djabal Fayfā. Grains and vegetables are raised

'ASĪR
AND ADJOINING AREAS
KILOMETERS
MILES
ROADS
TRAILS
SAUDI ARABIA
RED SEA
Khurma
al-Ṭā'if
Taraba
al-Līth
BĪSHA
al-Ḳunfudha
al-Nimāṣ
Khaybar (of al-Sarāt)
Haly
Maḥā'il
'ASĪR
ABHĀ
Khamīs Mushayṭ
al-Birk
al-Ḳaḥma
al-Shuḳayḳ
Darb
Zahrān
NADJRĀN
Umm al-Khashab (Baysh)
Ṣabyā
Abū 'Arīsh
Ṣa'da
DJAYZĀN
FARASĀN ARCHIPELAGO
Maydī
al-Luḥayya
AL-YAMAN

in Tihāma, and some indigo around Ṣabyā and Abū ʿArīsh. The *dawm* palm is cultivated for its fruit and leaves, which are woven into baskets and mats, but almost all dates come from Bīsha or by sea.

The ways of the mountaineers tend towards those of Nadjd, while the ways of the lowlanders indicate the closeness of their contact with Africa. Dwellings vary from mud-brick buildings with projecting stone tiles in the mountains to thatch huts on the coast. There are virtually no tent-dwellers in the mountains or on the coast plain, the nomads using a mat shelter. The isolation of mountain towns and ranges has contributed to the complexity and fragmentation of the tribal system. The Arabic speech of some of the tribes is held to be remarkable for its purity and freedom from outside influence, but *kashkasha* and other dialectal deviations are not uncommon.

The name ʿAsīr was originally borne by several Ḳaḥṭānite tribes centred on Abhā who had attached themselves to the ʿAdnānites of ʿAnz b. Wāʾil. Among the early divisions of ʿAnz were Rabīʿa, Rufayda, and Mālik. Other old tribes in the region were Khathʿam (including Shahrān and Aklub) and al-Azd (including al-Ḥidjr, Almaʿ, and Azd Shanūʾa, among whose branches were Ghāmid and Ẓahrān). Sections of Kināna were established along the coast.

In the time of the Ziyādids [*q.v.*] in the Yaman (204-409/819-1018), the lord of ʿAththar, Sulaymān b. Ṭarf al-Ḥakamī, held Tihāma from al-Shardjā to Ḥaly (Mikhlāf Ibn Ṭarf or al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, a name still used on occasion by the inhabitants). In 460/1067-8 the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad defeated a Ṭarfid and his Abyssinian allies at al-Zarāʾib, ʿUmāra al-Ḥakamī's birthplace.

The Ṭarfids gave way as rulers of the Mikhlāf in the 5th/11th century to the Sulaymānid Sharīfs, who after a passing hegemony in Mecca had been supplanted there by the Hāshimids (see MAKKA). The principal Sulaymānid capital was Djayzān while lesser Sulaymānid dynasties arose in Ṣabyā, Ḍamad, etc. One of the Sulaymānids, ʿUlayy b. ʿĪsā Āl Wahhās, taught al-Zamakhsharī in Mecca; many others turned to nomadic life in the Mikhlāf. A victory of the Mahdids of the Yaman over the Sulaymānids in 560/1164-5 was instrumental in bringing about the occupation of the Yaman by Saladin's brother Tūrān Shāh. Sulaymānid authority, impaired by the advent of the Ottomans, yielded to a more vigorous local dynasty. The Khayrātids, *sharīfs* descended from the House of Ḳatāda in Mecca, in time installed themselves in the position once held by the Sulaymānids as independent rulers in the Mikhlāf; the foremost figure among them in the early 19th century was Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad Abū Mismār of Abū ʿArīsh (d. 1233/1818).

For centuries intertribal feuds had kept the highlands disunited. The missionary zeal of Wahhābism, advancing westwards from Central Arabia late in the 19th century, provided a basis for unification under Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir Abū Nuḳṭa al-Rufaydī, the first Amir of ʿAsīr al-Sarāt under Āl Saʿūd (1215-18/c. 1801-3). Under the chiefs of Rufayda, who held power until 1233/1818, the year of the fall of the Saudi capital al-Dirʿiyya, the Wahhābī tribesmen of ʿAsīr came into conflict with Sharīf Ḥamūd in the lowlands, who, though he recognised the authority of Āl Saʿūd at times, was never a sincere convert.

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā's forces from Egypt, which had occupied al-Ḥidjāz as a base for the war against Āl Saʿūd, carried on campaigns to the south in al-Sarāt and Tihāma on various occasions until 1256/1840, the year of their withdrawal from Arabia under pressure from the Western powers. In 1239/1823-4 a chief of Banī Mughayd, Saʿīd b. Muslaṭ, became the dominant figure in ʿAsīr al-Sarāt, a position held by himself and his successors, with one main interruption, for the next century. In 1248/1833 ʿAlī b. Mudjaththil al-Mughaydī cooperated with Türkče Bilmez and other Albanians who had mutinied against the Egyptian authorities; later the men of ʿAsīr broke with the mutineers and defeated them. Upon ʿAlī's death in 1249/1833-4, the succession fell to ʿĀʾiḍ b. Marʿī al-Mughaydī, the first to found a dynasty in the highlands. A new advance southwards by Muḥammad ʿAlī's commanders, who took control of the Mocha coffee trade, coupled with a forward movement in Central and Eastern Arabia, prompted the occupation of Aden by the British in 1254/1839. The departure of Muḥammad ʿAlī's troops from Arabia shortly thereafter left ʿĀʾiḍ master of ʿAsīr al-Sarāt and the Khayrātids masters of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī as well as much of Tihāmat al-Yaman.

Following the death of ʿĀʾiḍ in 1273/1856-7, his son Muḥammad drove al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, the last of the Khayrātids, out of Abū ʿArīsh in 1280/1863. The expanding power of Āl ʿĀʾiḍ in Tihāma provoked Ottoman intervention, facilitated by the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1289/1872 Muḥammad Radīf Pāshā defeated Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾiḍ at Rayda and put him to death. ʿAsīr, established as a *mutaṣarrifiyya* attached to the *wilāyet* of the Yaman, remained under Turkish rule for more than forty years, but this rule often extended no farther than the towers of the garrison town of Abhā.

Early in the 20th century the place of the Sulaymānids was taken by Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī. He was the great-grandson of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, the founder of the Aḥmadiyya (Idrīsiyya) *ṭarīḳa* who had migrated from Morocco to Ṣabyā, which was to become the Idrīsī capital. Relying on his great prestige as a man of religion, al-Idrīsī brought the lowlands under his sway, negotiated with the Italians on the other side of the Red Sea, and laid siege to the Turks in Abhā. The Sharīf of Mecca, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, led an expedition southwards to relieve the beleaguered garrison of Sulaymān Shafīḳ Kamālī Pāshā in 1329/1911.

During the First World War, al-Idrīsī was the first independent prince in Arabia to join the British against the Turks by virtue of a treaty signed in 1333/1915. After the defeat of the Turks the British awarded the port of al-Ḥudayda to him rather than Imam Yaḥyā of the Yaman. An attempt to annex the highlands having failed, al-Idrīsī solicited the mediation of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, but this was rejected by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Āl ʿĀʾiḍ, the lord of Abhā since the evacuation of the Turks in 1337/1918. An expedition sent by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz occupied Abhā in 1388/1920. Āl ʿĀʾiḍ later revolted and continued the struggle briefly, but in 1342/1923 the resistance of the dynasty ebbed away and the highlands were incorporated in the Saudi state. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī concluded a treaty with Ibn Saʿūd in 1339/1920, but the dissensions within the Idrīsid realm subsequent to his death resulted in the establishment of a Saudi protectorate. The Imam of the Yaman maintained a claim to the Idrīsid territories until the Treaty of al-Ṭāʾif finally determined their appurtenance to Saudi Arabia in 1353/1934.

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(R. HEADLEY, W. MULLIGAN, G. RENTZ)

ASĪRGARH, a fortress situated 21° 28′ N., 76° 18′ E in the Burhānpūr *taḥṣīl* of the Nimār district of Madhya Pradesh, about 2,200 feet above sea level and 850 feet high from its base, dominating the only route through the Satpūra range between the Narbada and the Taptī from north west India to the Dekkan.

Probably of great antiquity (see H. Cousens, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar*, Arch. Sur. India, 1897, P. 39, A. Cunningham, *Report on a Tour in the Central Provinces*, Calcutta 1879, 120-1, *Gazetteer*, (Khāndesh) Bombay 1880, 557-58), Asīrgarh was certainly a stronghold of the Tak branch of the Čouhan Radjputs from the 3rd/9th century. It was stormed by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, then *muḳtaʿ* of Karra, in the winter of 695/1295-6 on the way back from his Dekkan raid (see Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, 1920, iii, 1463 and 1467 where the date Samvat 1351 is given), but not permanently occupied by Muslim forces until about 802/1400 when it was seized by Malik Nāṣir Khān Fārūḳī to become the supposedly impregnable stronghold of the Fārūḳī sulṭāns of Khāndesh. (See Firishta, text, ed. Briggs, ii, 544, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, text, ed. Blochmann, i, 475 and *Bombay Gazetteer*, loc. cit.).

Asīrgarh was captured by Akbar in 1009/1600-1, becoming the headquarters of the *marzubān* of the frontier *ṣūba* of Dāndīsh. (On Akbar's conquest see Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Sec. ed. 1902, 272-286).

In 1032/1623 Shāh Djahān, then in rebellion against Djahāngīr, took refuge at Asīrgarh and later c. 1061/1650-1 built a mosque there. In 1132/1720 it passed into the hands of Niẓām al-Mulk, *ṣūbadār* of Malwā, and was lost entirely to the Mughals in 1173/1760 when the Mahratta Badjirāo Peshwā occupied it. Asīrgarh was first captured by the British in 1218/1803 and finally occupied by them in 1234/1819.

Bibliography: see text; also *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, ed. C. Grant, Nagpur 1870, *Imperial Gazetteer*, vi, Oxford, 1908, and Arch. Sur. India Report, 1922-23. (P. HARDY)

ĀSITĀNA [see ISTANBUL].

ĀSIYA. This is the name given by the commentators to Pharaoh's wife, who is twice (xxviii, 9 and lxvi, 11) mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. She plays the same part as Pharaoh's daughter in the Bible, so that there is obviously confusion. In the second passage these words are put into her mouth: "My Lord, build me a house with thee in Paradise, and deliver me from Pharaoh and his doings and deliver me from the wicked". In connexion with this passage it is related that Āsiya endured many cruelties at the hands of Pharaoh because of her faith (she was an Israelite); and finally he even caused her to be cast down upon a rock; at her prayer God took her soul to himself, so that only the body fell on the stone.—It is also related that Pharaoh scourged her to death, but on Moses' praying to God she did not feel any pain. J. Horovitz explains the name as a corruption of Āsenath, the name of Joseph's wife in Gen. xli, 45.

Bibliography: The Ḳurʾān commentaries on xxviii, 9 and lxvi, 11 esp. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xx, 19-21, xxviii, 98; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 444 f., 448-50; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 119, 121 f., 130; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1292, 146-50, 164; Kisāʾī (Eisenberg), 199 ff.; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, 1845, 138-41; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1889, 155 f., 159 f.; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 86; H. Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 281 f.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ʿĀSḲALĀN, a town on the coast of southern Palestine, one (Hebrew: ʾAshḳelōn) of the five Philistine towns known to us from the Old Testament; in the Roman period, as *oppidum Ascalo liberum*, it was (according to Schrürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu*⁴, ii, 65-7) "a flourishing Hellenistic town famous for its cults and festal games" (Dercetis-Aphrodite-shrine); in the Christian period a bishop's see (tomb of the *tres fratres martyres Aegyptii*).

ʿAsḳalān was one of the last towns of Palestine to fall into the hands of the Muslims. It was taken *ṣulḥan* by Muʿāwiya shortly after the capture of Ḳayṣariyya in 19/640, but may have been briefly occupied by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ before that. It was reoccupied for a short time by the Byzantines during the time of Ibn al-Zubayr and was subsequently restored and refortified by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 142-4). According to an inscription from a building which was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau, the Caliph al-Mahdī in 155/772 caused a mosque and minaret to be erected there (*RCEA*, i, 32-3). After varied fortunes the town passed into the hands of the Fāṭimids, under whose rule, according to Muḳaddasī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, it attained some prosperity. It housed a mint, and served at times as a secondary naval base. Together with some other coastal towns, it was retained by the Fāṭimids, even after the loss of the rest of Syria and Palestine to the Saldjūḳs, though sometimes this retention amounted to no more than a nominal suzerainty over the local rulers. In 492/1099 the Egyptian army retreating from Jerusalem entered the town, and for a while it seemed that ʿAsḳalān itself was about to pass under Frankish rule. It was however saved by the internal dissensions of the Crusaders, and was retained by the Egyptians. For the next century and a half it was a frontier city and a key military objective in the struggle between the Crusaders and the Muslim rulers of Egypt. For the first 53 years after the coming of the Crusaders, it

was held by the Egyptians, and used by them as a bridgehead and as a base for raids into Frankish territory. With its population swollen by refugees from the Frankish occupied areas, and its garrison reinforced from Egypt, it became a major military centre. Despite the partial resumption of trade with Jerusalem, life in this outpost was difficult, and the Egyptians found it necessary to send new supplies and relief troops several times a year (William of Tyre, XVII, 22; Ibn Muyassar, *Annales*, 92). According to William of Tyre, the whole civil population, including children, was on the army payroll. After the fall of Tyre to the Crusaders in 1134, the position of ʿAsḳalān was much weakened. To neutralise the threat which it offered to Jerusalem, the Crusaders surrounded it with a ring of fortresses, and in 548/1153, after a siege of seven months, Baldwin III got possession of the town by a combined land and sea attack. It now became the base for Frankish military and political adventure in Egypt. After the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn it had, like most of the Crusader strongholds in Palestine, to surrender to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (583/1187). In 587/1191, after the defeat at Arsūf, the latter found himself unable to hold ʿAsḳalān against Richard of England and therefore destroyed the town. The Muslim population migrated to Syria and Egypt, the Christians and Jews moved to Jerusalem. A vivid description of the destruction of the town and the evacuation of its inhabitants is given in the anonymous Mamlūk chronicle published by K. V. Zetterstéen (*Beiträge*, 233-5). Richard reached ʿAsḳalān in Dhuʾl-Ḥidjdja 587/January 1192 and rebuilt the fortress, but according to the peace terms of August-September of the same year, it had again to be demolished. The rivalries between al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt and al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Damascus once more let it slip into the hands of the Franks. It was garrisoned and refortified by the Hospitallers, who successfully defended it against an Egyptian attack in 642/1244. After the decisive battle of Ghazza (17 Oct. 1244), ʿAsḳalān could, however, no longer expect help, and it fell in 645/1247 to Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Shaykh. In order to make it impossible for the Christians to effect a landing, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] demolished a number of places on the Palestine coast, and in 668/1270 levelled the last vestiges of ʿAsḳalān, filling the harbour with trees and rubble (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1, 590). The town, which had never recovered from its demolition by Saladin, remained desolate until modern times. Abu 'l-Fidā (239), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 126), Mudjīr al-Dīn (432), Pīrī Re'is (*Baḥriyye* 724, English trans. by U. Heyd, ***A Turkish Description of the Coast of Palestine, Israel Exploration Journal***, vi, 1956, 205-7) and Volney (*Syrie*, ch. 10) all describe it as ruined.

In antiquity and the Middle Ages the environs of the town were famous for their wine, sycamores and henna (Kypros). It has given its name to a species of onion (shallot = ***allium ascalonicum***). Mediaeval authors, using an expression attributed to the Prophet, often call ʿAsḳalān the "Bride" of Syria, *Sponsa Syriae*, "*ʿArūs al-Shaʾm*".

In the period of the Shīʿite supremacy of the Fāṭimids falls the construction by al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī (491/1098) of the Mashhad for the reception of the head of the Prophet's grandson, Ḥusayn. This highly venerated relic was in 548/1153-54 saved from the Franks and carried off to Cairo (cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 427; Mehren, *Câhirah og Kerâfat*, Copenhagen 1870, ii, 61-2; *RCEA* vii 261-3; Ibn Taymiyya (ed. Schreiner, *ZDMG*, 53, 81-2) dismisses the whole story as a fable). Besides Ḥusayn's chapel, later Muslim pilgrims visited, in particular, Abraham's Well.

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(R. Hartmann-[B. Lewis])

AL-ʿASḲALĀNĪ [see IBN ḤADJAR].

AL-ʿASKAR [see DJAYSH].

AL-ʿASKAR [see SĀMARRĀ].

ʿASKAR MUKRAM ("Mukram's Camp"), formerly a town built on the site of a camp pitched by an Arab leader named Mukram whom al-Ḥadjdjādj had sent to Khūzistān to suppress a revolt near al-Ahwāz. This camp or cantonment adjoined the ruins of Rustam Ḳawādh (corrupted by the Arabs into Rustaḳubādh), a Sāsānian town which the Muslim Arabs had destroyed. ʿAskar Mukram was situated on both sides of the Masruḳān canal (the modern Āb-i Gargar) just above the point where it now flows into the Shaṭayṭ (= Shuṭayṭ, "the small river"), the main arm of the Kārūn (at the time of which we write, the Masruḳān canal joined the Shaṭayṭ much further to the south, near al-Ahwāz); furthermore, the Dizfūl Rūd (modern Āb-i Diz) flowed into the Shaṭayṭ just west of the town. Owing to its favourable situation and its relatively good climate (see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 112), ʿAskar Mukram developed into a flourishing town and became the chief place on the Masruḳān canal; two bridges of boats linked the two parts of the town. It was a mint-town during the 4th/10th century, under the Būyid ruler Muʿizz al-Dawla; cf. *ZDMG*, xi, 452. The ruins now known as the Band-i Ḳīr ("Bitumen Dam") are those of ʿAskar Mukram; the remains of that town and of earlier cities cover an area of nearly 9 sq. m. (see Layard, ***A Description of the Province of Khuzistan***, in *JR Geog. S* xvi, 52, 63, 64, 95 and 96). The inhabitants of Shushtar (Arab. Tustar) wrongly identify with ʿAskar Mukram some ruins near their city, which they therefore call Lashkar (Persian = Arab. al-ʿAskar; according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, ʿAskar Mukram was formerly known as Lashkar).

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(M. Streck-[L. Lockhart])

ʿASKARĪ; from *ʿaskar*, soldier; in Ottoman technical usage a member of the ruling military caste, as distinct from the *reʿāyā*—the subject population of peasants and townspeople (*reʿāyā* sometimes means the subjects generally, sometimes only the peasants). The term ʿaskarī denoted caste rather than function; it included retired or unemployed ʿaskarīs, the wives and children of ʿaskarīs, manumitted slaves of the Sultan and of the ʿaskarīs, and also the families of the holders of religious public offices in attendance (*mulāzemet*) on the Sultan.

The Ottoman ʿaskarī class comprised both the slave military establishment (see KUL) and the feudal levies (see SIPĀHĪ). The latter seem to have originated with the g͟hāzīs who established themselves in the conquered lands. They were further recruited from the military landed gentry of the newly acquired territories, some of whom retained their Christian faith for a generation or two before becoming assimilated to Ottoman Islam.

In matters of personal status the Muslim ʿaskarīs, like the Muslim reʿāyā, were generally subject to the provisions of the S͟harīʿa but were under the special jurisdiction of the Ḳāḍī-ʿasker [*q.v.*]; in administrative, fiscal, and disciplinary matters they were ruled by special codes of regulations issued by by the Sultan—the *ḳānūn-i sipāhiyān*. This assured them important privileges and exemptions, as against the *reʿāyā*, who were, for example, forbidden to bear arms, ride horses, or hold fiefs. The ʿaskarīs were in theory not a privileged feudal aristocracy; they had no prescriptive or hereditary right to fief, office, or status, all of which could be conferred or withdrawn at the will of the Sultan. In fact the Sultan normally confined these fiefs and offices to members of the ʿaskarī class, who were still considered as such even when deprived of office or fief. On the other hand it was regarded as contrary to the basic laws of the Empire to appoint men of peasant stock (apart of course from the *dews͟hirme* of boys) to ʿaskarī positions; Koču Bey and later memorialists adduce the violation of this rule as one of the causes of Ottoman decline. An ʿaskarī could, by decree, be demoted to the *reʿāyā* class or a *raʿiyya* promoted as a reward for exceptional services to be an ʿaskari. Both were infrequent in the early period. By the early sixteenth century, however, Sultan Suleymān found it necessary to issue a decree confirming sipāhīs of peasant descent in their fiefs, and protecting them from dispossessment on these grounds. In the period of decline the dilution of the military caste by the intrusion of peasants and townspeople becomes a common complaint. By the 18th century the extension of the fiefs to the peasantry and of Janissary affiliation to the merchants and artisans had distributed the status of ʿaskarī so widely as to deprive it of any real meaning.

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(B. LEWIS)

AL-ʿ**ASKARĪ**. Two Arabic philologists of the 4th/10th century, both bearing the same name al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, but of a different *kunya*, are known by this name, a relative noun derived from ʿAskar Mukram in K͟hūzistān.

(i) ABŪ AḤMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿĪD was born in ʿAskar Mukram, on 16 S͟hawwāl 293/11 August 906 and died there on 7 D͟hu ʾl-Ḥid͟d͟ja 382/3 Febr. 993. The date 387/940 is less probable. He began his studies under his father and the traditionist ʿAbdān, d. 306/919, and continued them at Bag͟hdād, Baṣra, and Iṣbahān under Ibn Durayd, d. 321/933, and the traditionists al-Bag͟hawī, d. 317/929, and Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sid͟jistānī, d. 316/929. He also met al-Ṣūlī and other men of letters. Then he returned to ʿAskar Mukram. He declined an invitation of the vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, but paid him a visit when the latter came to ʿAskar Mukram. He went several times to Iṣbahān where his brother, the traditionist Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad had settled, e.g. in 349/960 and again in 354/965. He was a scholar of vast erudition and wrote a number of books (see Brockelmann S I, 193) but he was little known outside of K͟hūzistān; Yāḳūt had great difficulties in obtaining information about him. His chief work, the *Kitāb al-Taṣḥīf*, contains useful information about rare and difficult words and proper names occurring in traditions and poems and misunderstood by their transmitters. It was utilised by Yāḳūt (*Muʿd͟jam*, vi, 384) and by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Bag͟hdādī (see *Iḳlīd al-K͟hizāna*, 31 f.). Much of his learning has been preserved through the writings of his pupil Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī.

Bibliography: Abū Nuʿaym, *Geschichte Iṣbahāns*, i, 272, ii, 291; Samʿānī, *Ansāb* fol. 390 b; Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, iii, 126-135; Ibn K͟hallikān, Cairo 1299, i, 234 f.

(ii) ABŪ HILĀL AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAHL. Of his life very little is known. He was a pupil (but not a sister's son, for he never calls him *k͟hālī*) of the aforesaid Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī and owed to him the bulk of his learning, as is proved by the numerous references in his writings. He wrote amongst other works (see Brockelmann, I, 126 and S I, 193 f.) for the benefit of budding writers (1) *Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatayn al-Kitāba wa ʾl-S͟hiʿr* (Istanbul 1320, Cairo 1952; cf. P. Schwarz, in *MSOS* ix, 206-230), a systematic handbook of rhetoric. (2) *Dīwān al-Maʿānī* (Cairo 1352), an anthology of the most elegant and original expressions of ideas met with in poetry and prose. (3) *Kitāb al-Furūḳ al-Lug͟hawiyya* (Cairo 1353) dealing with synonymous words. (4) *al-Muʿd͟jam fī Baḳiyyat al-As͟hyāʾ* (Cairo 1353; abridged ed. by O. Rescher, in *MSOS*, xviii, 103-130), a list of words meaning "remainder". (5) *D͟jamharat al-Amt͟hāl* (Bombay 1306-7 and on the margin of al-Maydānī, Cairo 1310), a collection of proverbs. Not yet published is his *tafsīr* whose title *Maḥāsin al-Maʿānī* suggests that he dealt mainly with the stylistic beauties of the Ḳurʾān. The latest known date of his life is the year 395/1005 in which he finished dictating his *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* on the so-called inventors of arts etc. (Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, iii, 138). He is said to have died after 400/1010.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, iii, 135-9; Suyūṭī, *Bug͟hya*, 221; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *K͟hizānat al-Adab*, i, 112; Zaki Mubarak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle*; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 138-42.

(J. W. FÜCK)

AL-ʿ**ASKARĪ**, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. the tenth Imām of the Twelver S͟hīʿa. He is commonly known as al-Naḳī and al-Hādī. He was the son of the ninth Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*], and was born in Medīna. Most S͟hīʿite authorities give the date of his birth as Rad͟jab 214/Sept. 829, though others say that he was born in D͟hu ʾl-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 212 or 213/Feb.-March 828 or 829. His mother, according to some sources, was Umm al-Faḍl, the daughter of al-Maʾmūn; according to others she was a Mag͟hribī *Umm Walad* called Sumāna or Sūsan. The latter story seems more likely in view of the statement in some chronicles that the marriage between Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā and Umm al-Faḍl, though contracted in 202/817-8, was not consummated until 215/830. (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1029, 1102-3; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, vii, 61-2; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 552-3. Some S͟hīʿite traditions say that Umm al-Faḍl poisoned her husband and died childless—al-Mad͟jlisī, *Biḥār*, xii 99 ff.). His father died in 220/835, and like him he became Imām while still a small child. (Echoes of the doctrinal problems which this raised may be found in S͟hīʿite theological works). He lived peacefully in Medina until the accession of al-Mutawakkil, whose anti-ʿAlid policy soon brought him into difficulties. In 233/847-8 or 234/848-9, on the bsais of reports reaching the Caliph that Abu ʾl-Ḥasan was engaged in seditious activities, Yaḥyā b. Hart͟hama b. Aʿyan was sent to Medina to escort him to Sāmarrā (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1379; al-Nawbak͟htī, 77; *Nud͟jūm* ii, 271). He seems to have won the Caliph's respect and, though kept under surveillance, was not molested. He was greatly esteemed for his piety and modesty. He remained in Sāmarrā until his death, which took place in D͟jumādā II or Rad͟jab 254/June-July 868. His *nisba* al-ʿAskarī derives from ʿAskar Sāmarrā. He was buried in his home in that town. According to S͟hīʿite tradition he was poisoned by the Caliph (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j* viii, 383, who already appears to know this story). The *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, however, does not include him among the ʿAlid martyrs. His *bāb* was Muḥammad b. ʿUt͟hman al-ʿAmrī (d. 304 or 305/916-8), whose father ʿUt͟hmān b. Saʿīd had been *bāb* and *wakīl* of the eighth and ninth Imāms (al-Mad͟jlisī, 150, where his *t͟hiḳāt* and *wukalā* are also listed; al-Astarābādī, *Minhād͟j al-Maḳāl*, Tehran 1306, 305). The Twelver S͟hīʿa recognised his son al-Ḥasan, also called al-ʿAskarī, as eleventh Imām. Another group, however, believed that his son Muḥammad, who predeceased him, was the hidden Imām (al-Nawbak͟htī, 78-9, 83). Possibly connected with this group was Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-Namīrī, who attributed divine status to ʿAlī al-Naḳī and claimed to be his *bāb* and his prophet; he is regarded as founder of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*] (al-Nawbak͟htī 78; al-As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 15; al-Kas͟hs͟hī, *Rid͟jāl*, 323; cf. the Nuṣayrī, *Mad͟jmūʿ al-Aʿyād*, ed. R. Strothmann in *Isl.*, 1946, index s.v. Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Alī al-Askarī).

Bibliography: a full account, with citation of sources, of the life, works, miracles, companions, and dealings with the Caliphs of the 10th Imām is given in Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Mad͟jlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, xii, Tehran 1302, 126-153. Earlier notices are contained in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, vii, 206-9, 379-383; al-Yaʿḳūbī (Houtsma), ii, 614; Ibn K͟hallikān, i, 445-6 (De Slane's translation, ii, 214-6); al-Nawbak͟htī, *Firaḳ al-S͟hīʿa*, ed. Ritter, 77; Mufīd, *al-Irs͟hād*, Tehran 1308, s.v.; In addition to the texts cited in the article, reference may also be made to al-S͟hahrastānī, ed. Cureton, i, 128 ff., ed. Badrān 347-8; Abu ʾl-Maʿālī, *Bayān*, ed. Schefer, 164 ff., ed. Ikbāl 42; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shiʿite Religion*, London 1933, 209 ff.; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953, 87-89.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-ʿ**ASKARĪ**, AL-**ḤASAN** [see AL-ḤASAN AL-ʿASKARĪ].

AṢL [see UṢŪL].

AL-**AṢLAḤ**, the most suitable or fitting, a term used by theologians in a technical sense. The "upholders of the *aṣlaḥ*" were a group of the Muʿtazila who held that God did what was best for mankind. It is nowhere stated who composed the group. Abu ʾl-Hud͟hayl held that God did what was best for men. Al-Naẓẓām introduced the refinement that there were an infinite number of equally good alternatives, any of which God might adopt instead of acting as He does; in this way he avoided the implication that God's power is finite. Others, because of the difficulty of maintaining that the actual world is the best possible, said that it was only in religion that God did what is best for men, viz. sent prophets to guide them. There was much diversity of opinion on this point among the Muʿtazila. The orthodox later used the story of the three brothers to show the absurdity of the view. One brother died young and went to Paradise; one grew up and was good and went to a higher place in Paradise; and one became wicked and went to Hell. If one tries to justify the lack of opportunity of the first to gain the highest position by saying that God knew he would become wicked if he grew up, then, on the suppositions of the "upholders of the *aṣlaḥ*", it is impossible to explain why God did not cause the third to die young (cf. al-Bag͟hdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1346/1928, 150 f.). The later Muʿtazila of Baṣra seem to have made similar criticisms of the Muʿtazila of Bag͟hdād.

Divested, however, of the suggestion that a certain course of action was obligatory for God, the concept of *aṣlaḥ*, identified with God's wisdom (*ḥikma*), has survived in orthodox Islam and found literary expression, for instance, in the *al-Risāla al-kāmiliyya* of Ibn al-Nafīs [*q.v.*] (cf. J. Schacht, in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, ii, Barcelona 1956, 325 ff.).

Bibliography: As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Istanbul 1929, i, 246-51, ii, 573-8; K͟hayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, Cairo 1344/1925, 8 ff., 24 f., 64 f., Bag͟hdādī, *Farḳ*, 116, 167; D͟juwaynī, *Irs͟hād*, Paris 1938, 165 ff. (= tr. 255 ff.); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*[2], 99; A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 79-82; on the origin and background of the term, J. Schacht, in *St. I.*, i, 29.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ASMĀʾ, daughter of the caliph Abū Bakr by his wife Ḳutayla bint ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. She was the elder half-sister of ʿĀʾis͟ha, and one of the early converts to Islam in Mecca. At the time of Muḥammad's flight from Mecca with Abū Bakr, she tore her girdle in two to serve for the Prophet's provision-bag and the strap of his water-skin; this is the traditional explanation of her nickname *D͟hāt al-Niṭāḳayn*, "She of the Two Girdles". After the Hid͟jra she was married to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], and their son ʿAbd Allāh was reputedly the first child born in the Muslim community at al-Madīna. She is said to have had four other sons and three daughters. Apart from several anecdotes illustrating her piety and self-denial, little more is reported of her except her courageous behaviour before and after the death of her son ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]; in connexion with this she is credited with circulating a Tradition

from the Prophet denouncing the "two liars" (*al-kadhdhābāni*) who should issue from Thaḳīf (i.e. al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba and al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf). She died in Mecca shortly afterwards, in 73/693.

Bibliography: L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, A.H. 73, § 36; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 182-6; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, vi, 344-55.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ.—"The most Beautiful Names", these being the divine Names. "To God belong the most Beautiful Names—pray to Him, using (these Names)", Ḳurʾān, vii, 179. Cf. xvii, 110; xx, 8; lix, 24 etc. Pious Muslims have always revered the mystery of the Name, which at one and the same time both designates and veils the Named (cf. *ḥidjāb al-ism*).

The Theological question. A chapter of "Muslim theology" (*ʿilm al-tawḥīd*) is devoted to the divine Names. Problem stated: can one name God, and what, with regard to God, do the Names attributed to Him mean? *Preliminaries*: What is the name (*ism*)? Is it identical with the named (*musammā*) and with the denomination or definition (*tasmiya*)? On this problem in general see ISM. *Application of the divine Names.* The reply of the narrators of Tradition, reiterated by the strict Ashʿarites, is: the divine Names can only be given to God by *tawḳīf*, i.e. by preconcerted "determination"; by which we understand: as God Himself has "determined" it in the Ḳurʾān and secondarily in the *Sunna*. The employment of the latter in this connexion must be limited to "authentic" (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and "good" (*ḥasan*) *ḥadīth*. Some people admit a possible determination derived through *idjmāʿ*. According to the Muʿtazilites and the Karrāmiyya: when *ʿaḳl* (Reason) proves that an attribute (either of existence, or negative or of action) is suitable to God, it is permissible to employ the corresponding Name, whether or not it is mentioned by the texts. This is a case of attribution of the Name by human reason. Al-Ghazzālī admits this solution for those attributes (*ṣifāt*) which, he says, designate a significate added to the essence; he does not admit it for the employment of the Name designating the divine essence itself. "Middle" solution of the Ashʿarite al-Bāḳillānī, followed by many later Ashʿarites: if the text or the tradition gives an attribute to God or speaks to us of an act of God (but in these cases only), "according to the rules of the language", one may designate Him by the corresponding Name, even though the texts do not "determine" it. And one should in particular exclude non-scriptural names, which would evoke a notion incompatible with the absolute divine perfection. (God should not be called *ʿārif*, as *maʿrifa* "presupposes that some inattention has been overcome"; likewise He should not be called *faḳīh*, *ʿāḳil*, etc.). According to this thesis, which has become current, the Names must, therefore, either be scriptural or at least have a scriptural derivation. *Two related problems*: a) the Names are eternal, Ashʿarite thesis, in opposition to the Muʿtazilite thesis, which holds them to be contingent; b) Ḥanafite-Māturīdite line: they are equal in importance and excellence (cf. *Fiḳh Akbar*, ii, 26); Ashʿarite line: a hierarchy exists among them with the Name *Allāh* taking precedence (or, as the Ṣūfīs are prone to say, with some other Name known to the initiated, or even the ineffable Name, only attained through initiate experience, taking precedence).

The 99 Names. A *ḥadīth*, transmitted by Abū Hurayra, states: "To God belong 99 Names, a hundred less one; for He, the Odd Number (= the Unique) likes (to be designated by these enumerated Names) one by one; whosoever knowns the 99 Names, will enter paradise". The meditated recitation of these Names became one of the most diligent devotions in Islām. The pious Muslim repeats them and meditates on them, usually with the help of the 99 beads of the *subḥa* ("rosary") [*q.v.*], except for the Wahhābīs, who object to this custom as being a reprehensible *bidʿa* ("innovation"). It appears that a Syriac (Christian) custom already made use of the *subḥa* to count off an enumeration of divine Names, which was much shorter than the Muslim enumeration.

In fact, on the one hand, the traditional 99 "most Beautiful Names" do not exhaust the list of all the Ḳurʾānic Names; on the other hand, some of them do not occur *ad litteram* in the Ḳurʾān. As a result, the list was not always absolutely fixed and was liable to contain variants. It does not suffice, therefore, to settle the entire question of the divine Names. But the place held by this recitation in Muslim piety gives it an outstanding importance. It expresses clearly enough the pious Muslim's faith in God, and what the supreme Name *Allāh*, which, in itself, recapitulates all the others, means for him. We shall reproduce the most usually accepted list, in accordance with the *ḥadīth*, with a translation and a brief commentary. As space does not permit us to trace its usage historically, we shall take it in its finished form, as given by most of the *tafsīr* to Ḳurʾān, xvii, 110. Fairly frequently the Name *Allāh* is as though set apart, the hundredth Name if one so desires (thus the *tafsīr* of the Djalālayn). But it is also at times considered as the first of the enumeration; in which case the 67th Name *al-wāḥid* is suppressed and joined to the 68th *al-aḥad*. Main references: *al-Maḳṣad al-Asnā* of Ghazzālī (Cairo ed. n.d.), especially 23-72; *Mawāḳif* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī, commentary by al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* Cairo ed. 1325/1907 vol. 8 211-17) who himself refers to al-Ghazzālī and to Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī.

The usual order may be established as follows: the first 13 Names (or Names 2 to 14 when the list starts with *Allāh*) refer to the Ḳurʾānic enumeration of verses lix, 22-24. The subsequent order seems to be mainly mnemotechnic, governed by assonances, associations of verbal forms, doublets having both a correlative and paradoxical sense, etc. Connexion with the attributes (*ṣifāt*), where indicated by us, is that put forward by al-Ghazzālī or al-Djurdjānī. Also to be noted: the Arabic root of several of these Names expresses different, sometimes opposite meanings, which are, therefore, present together in the mind of the Muslim reciting and meditating on the *subḥa*. It is therefore impossible at times to translate a Name into a European language by one single word.

List of the "99 most Beautiful Names". 1) *Allāh*, name belonging to God, "designates God Himself and may not be applied to any other thing"; 2) and 3) *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, the Benefactor (or the Merciful), the Compassionate: depend on the attribute of will, both connoting the same sense; however according to al-Ghazzālī, *raḥmān*, unlike *raḥīm*, may only be applied to God (reminder of Raḥmān, divine proper Name?); 4) *al-malik*, the King, indicates independence (negative attribute) towards all things, the dependence of everything as regards God (active attribute), and the perfection of the divine power (attribute of power); 5) *al-ḳuddūs*, the

Holy, in the sense of Separated (negative attribute), indicates: a) the absence of all blemish; b) that neither imagination nor sight can penetrate the mystery of God; 6) *al-salām*, Peace: a) possessor of a flawless peace (negative attribute); b) giver of peace and salvation at the beginning of the creation and at the time of the resurrection (active attribute); c) will pronounce the benediction of peace over his creature (attribute of speech); 7) *al-muʾmin*, the Believer: a) with regard to this Name, the doctors of *kalām* speak of God's "increate faith" in Himself; Īdjī comments: God is *muʾmin* in as much as He puts faith in Himself and in His Messenger, meaning that He authenticates Himself and authenticates His Messenger by His supreme Veracity; this He accomplishes either by affirming Himself and His Messenger (attribute of speech), or by working, by "creating" the miraculous proof; b) God may also be called *muʾmin* towards his disciples as a source of security and protection (*amān*); 8) *al-muhaymin* the Vigilant: a) ever present witness, whose cognisance is on guard over everything (attribute of knowledge); b) to be associated with *amīn*, taken as sincere, truthful in His speech (attribute of speech); 9) *al-ʿazīz*, both the Powerful and the Precious; a) negative attribute: means according to al-Ghazzālī, rare, very precious and difficult to obtain,—God is so rare that He is absolutely Unique, so necessary that nothing would exist without Him, so inaccessible that He alone can know Himself; according to al-Īdjī: without father or mother, whom no place can contain, and nothing resembles Him; b) attribute of action: He punishes whomsoever He wishes, is the Master of the retribution for actions; 10) *al-djabbār*, the Very Strong, the "Oppressor", which no thing or will may resist; according to another sense of the root *djbr*: who sets to right, who restores, according to His Desire, what concerns His creatures. Depending on the circumstances: attribute of action, or negative and positive together. Synonym: *ʿaẓīm*, with the sense "all deficiency is diverted therefrom"; 11) *al-mutakabbir*, the Haughty;—according to al-Ghazzālī: everything seems base to Him in the sight of His Essence; al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī: meaning also very close to *ʿaẓīm*; 12) *al-khāliḳ* and 13) *al-bāriʾ*, according to al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī have a single sense: the Producer, the Creator of things; 14) *al-muṣawwir*, the Organiser, who ordains and composes the forms (*ṣuwar*) of things. These last three Names depend on attributes of action. Al-Ghazzālī analyses them more closely: all three connote the passage from non-being to existence, the first towards determination, in accordance with the divine decree (*ḳadar*); the second towards existentialisation properly so called (*wudjūd*); the third towards the co-ordination of forms, according to the best of ordinances.

The Names 2 to 14 are given in the same order ap. *Ḳurʾān*, lix, 22-24. Now follow Names grouped in preference according to euphony.

15) *al-ghaffār*, the Indulgent, pre-eminently the Pardoner, who knows how to remit the sentence of punishment even for one who deserves it (al-Ghazzālī makes it, by participation, the human qualificative of Jesus, just as he made *al-djabbār* the qualificative of Muḥammad): attribute of will; 16) *al-ḳahhār*, the Dominator, He who always subdues, dominating and never dominated (negative attribute of action); 17) *al-wahhāb*, the constant Giver, who gives abundantly, receiving nothing in return (active attribute); 18) *al-razzāḳ*, the Dispenser of all good, who dispenses what pleases Him; primarily concerns the physical needs of every human being (al-Djurdjānī), but also the spiritual needs of rational creatures (al-Ghazzālī), —attribute of action; 19) *al-fattāḥ*, (three shades of meaning according to the various connotations of the root), a) the Victorious, who vanquishes difficulties and brings about victory (active attribute); b) the Judge, whether pronouncing sentence (attribute of speech), or making known the decision (attribute of will); c) the Revealer, who discloses to men that which remained concealed from them (al-Ghazzālī); 20) *al-ʿalīm*, Knowing in a perfect manner everything which is knowable: Name directly bound to the attribute of knowledge (*ʿilm*) which is an attribute of essence (*dhātī*); a "natural" (*ḥaḳīḳī*) attribute is involved, says al-Djurdjānī.

The six following Names, whilst referring to Ḳurʾānic roots, are not to be found *ad litteram* in the Ḳurʾān: they are therefore regarded as "traditional". They go in pairs, opposites and correlatives at the same time, and express the absolute gratuitousness of God's gift. 21) *al-ḳābiḍ*, he who restrains, and 22) *al-bāsiṭ*, he who expands (the lives, the hearts of his servants); 23) *al-khāfiḍ*, who humbles and humiliates, and 24) *al-rāfiʿ*, who raises in dignity; 25) *al-muʿizz*, who gives honour and strength, and 26) *al-mudhill*, who abases and degrades;

27) *al-samīʿ*, the Hearer, and 28) *al-baṣīr*, the Seer: God hears and sees all things, according to two "attributes of the essence", which the Ḳurʾān affirms, and which reason, this time, cannot prove; *al-ḥakam*, the Judge in his act of sovereign decision; idea of wisdom and providence (al-Ghazzālī), attached to the attributes of knowledge, speech, action; 30) *al-ʿadl*, the Just, who is supreme Justice,—nothing bad can come from Him (negative attribute); 31) *al-laṭīf*, the Benevolent, who creates in His servants a grace of benevolence (*luṭf*), to come to their help (attribute of action); 32) *al-khabīr*, a) the Sagacious, very close to *ʿalīm*, in the sense of knowing the intimate secrets of creatures (attribute of knowledge); b) who choses, who decides freely (attribute of speech); 33) *al-ḥalīm*, endowed with gentleness, who is slow to punish (negative attribute); 34) *al-ʿaẓīm*, the Inaccessible (cf. the sense given with regard to *al-djabbār*); according to al-Ghazzālī: is beyond the limits of human understanding, just as the earth and sky cannot be taken in at a single glance;

35) *al-ghafūr*, the Very Indulgent, who pardons much; a) according to al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī: identical in meaning to *al-ghaffār*, just as *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm* are identical in meaning; b) according to Ghazzālī: *al-ghaffār* stresses that God pardons even repeated sins, whereas *al-ghafūr* conveys in an absolute manner and without precision the infinite pardon of God; 36) *al-shakūr*, the "Very Grateful", in a metaphorical sense, coming from *shukr* (gratefulness), i.e.: a) who gives much as reward for little (attribute of action), b) and proclaims the eulogy of whomsoever obeys him (attribute of speech);

37) *al-ʿalī*, the High; for al-Īdjī: synonym of *al-mutakabbir*; for al-Ghazzālī: God, primary Cause, is on the highest step of the scale of beings; 38) *al-kabīr*, the Great; for al-Īdjī: synonym of *al-mutakabbir* and of *al-ʿalī*; for al-Ghazzālī: synonym of *al-ʿaẓīm*, stresses the absolute perfection of the being of God, whose eternal existence is the source of the being of all creatures; 39) *al-ḥafīẓ*, the vigilant Guardian! sense close to *ʿalīm* according to al-Īdjī, for vigilance (*ḥafẓ*) is the opposite of negligence and forgetfulness, and therefore has its origin in *ʿilm*; a) God is Vigilant, continually

in action, by this action watching over the whole universe, without having to give His attention to things one after the other (negative attribute); b) He assures the permanence of created forms, by a vigilance which resists depredations (attribute of action); 40) *al-muḳīt* (four shades of meaning), a) the Nourisher, source of strength, for He creates nourishment (physical and spiritual): synonym of *al-razzāḳ* (al-Ghazzālī), b) the Determiner, who decrees and fixes destiny, attribute of power (*ḳudra*); c) the Witness (*shahīd*), who knows the Mystery (*al-ghayb*), attribute of knowledge; d) the Present; 41) *al-ḥasīb*, the Calculator, He who settles accounts: a) who gives sufficiency, for He creates for His servants what is sufficient for them (active attribute); b) who, by His words, asks of whomsoever is submissive to the Law, account of what he does of good and of evil (attribute of speech); 42) *al-djalīl*, the Majestic, worthy of veneration: a) according to al-Ghazzālī, it is the stress placed on the Beauty of the divine Being which distinguishes this Name from *al-mutakabbir* and *al-ʿaẓīm*, with their adjacent meanings; b) according to al-Īdjī, synonym of *al-mutakabbir*; c) according to al-Djurdjānī, qualified by the attributes of majesty (*djalāl*) and of beauty (*djamāl*): 43) *al-karīm*, the Generous; four shades of meaning: a) endowed with liberality (attribute of action); b) who fixes the measure of generosity (attribute of power); c) from whom comes all nobility (attribute of relation); d) who pardons faults; 44) *al-raḳīb*, the jealous Guardian, sense close to *ḥafīẓ* (and thus derived from the sense of *ʿalīm*); according to al-Ghazzālī, with a stress placed on an absolute and jealous vigilance; 45) *al-mudjīb*, the Assenter, who grants prayers; al-Ghazzālī: who hastens to satisfy the needs of creatures, who anticipates them; 46) *al-wāsiʿ*, the Omnipresent, who embraces and contains all things: He extends His generosity to everything which exists, His knowledge to everything which is knowable, His power to everything which may be determined by it, absolutely and without His having to pay attention successively to things (al-Djurdjānī); 47) *al-ḥakīm*, the Wise; a) synonym of *al-ʿalīm* (al-Īdjī), endowed with wisdom, i.e. with knowledge of things as they come from Him and with the production of actions according to what is expedient; b) the Prudent in His decisions: which corresponds to the perfect soundness of His providence in the guidance of the world and to the benefit from the accomplishment of His decrees; 48) *al-wadūd*, the Very Loving; a) who loves the well-being of His creatures and procures it for them gratuitously; b) refers to the attribute from which proceeds the praise He bestows on the believer and the reward which He gives him; 49) *al-madjīd*, the Glorious, a) whose actions are resplendent, whose favours abound; b) the praise due to him belongs to Him alone; 50) *al-bāʿith*, the Revivifier, who will revivify every creature on the day of the Resurrection (this name has only a traditional origin); 51) *al-shahīd*, the Witness, a) who knows the Mystery, b) and who is Present (cf. 3rd. sense of *al-muḳīt*); 52) *al-ḥaḳḳ*, the Real, supreme Truth, connotes *al-ʿadl* (same kind of attribute): a) necessary by essence (ontological truth); b) perfectly truthful in His speech; c) who makes the Truth); manifest; 53) *al-wakīl*, the Trustee, He to whom everything is entrusted, who takes care of all the needs of creatures; 54) *al-ḳawī*, the Strong, who has power over all things; 55) *al-matīn*, the Unshakable, whose power is without limit; 56) *al-walī*, the Friend, the Protector, in the sense of helper, defender; and also: the Holder of authority; 57) *al-ḥamīd*, Worthy of praise (attribute of relation); 58) *al-muḥṣī*, the Numberer, who comprehends and knows comprehensively all numbered things (*al-ʿālim*) and has power over them (*al-ḳādir*); 59) *al-mubdiʾ*, the Innovator; a) absolute creator of beings; b) whose favours are purely benevolent; 60) *al-muʿīd*, He who resuscitates, who causes the creature to "return" after its destruction; 61) *al-muḥyī*, the Creator of life, and 62) *al-mumīt*, the Creator of death,—He who causes to live and to die; 63) *al-ḥayy*, the Living, one of the "essential attributes", "in the obvious sense" (al-Īdjī): God is always acting and watching, whereas none can act upon Him in any way and none can perceive Him without dying; He is Living in the highest and most perfect degree of life, by reason of the absolute perfection of His Activity and His Knowledge (al-Ghazzālī); 64) *al-ḳayyūm*, the Self-Subsisting: a) who subsists in Himself and by Himself, without any reason for being other than Himself (negative attribute); b) who rules and co-ordinates creatures, and none can subsist without Him; 65) *al-wādjid*, the Opulent (the Perfect), to whom nothing can be lacking or be needed (negative attribute); 66) *al-mādjid*, the Noble, the High (*al-ʿālī*), attribute of relation; to whom sovereignty and power belong (attribute of action). (N.B.-Here the majority of the enumerations insert the Name *al-wāḥid*, the Unique; al-Ghazzālī and al-Īdjī, who omit it, recall the sense in connexion with the commentary on the following Name:) 67) *al-aḥad*, the One, pre-eminently essential attribute, the very attribute of divine perfection,—differs from *al-wāḥid* as follows: *al-aḥad* the One by Essence, absolute simplicity of the Essence, insuperability and inimitability of the divine attributes; *al-wāḥid*, the One God, there is no other God; 68) *al-ṣamad*, the Impenetrable; a) the Master, He who reigns (attribute of relation); b) sense close to *al-ḥalīm*: whom the acts of His adversaries neither trouble nor move (negative attribute); c) the Very High in dignity; d) He to whom one prays and supplicates (attribute of relation); e) in whom there is no "hollow": negation of all mixture and of all possible division into parts; 69) *al-ḳādir*, the Powerful, and 70) *al-muḳtadir*, the All-powerful; 71) *al-muḳaddim* and 72) *al-muʾakhkhir*, He who brings near and sends away: He brings near to Himself whomsoever He wishes and shows him his preference; He sends away and sets aside whomsoever He wishes; 73) *al-awwal* and 74) *al-ākhir*, the First and the Last (Alpha and Omega): He is before everything and nothing is before Him; He is after everything and nothing is after Him (Primary Cause, efficient and final, according to al-Ghazzālī),—negative attributes; 75) *al-ẓāhir* and 76) *al-bāṭin*, the Patent and the Latent;—Patent: a) known by decisive proof (attribute of relation), b) which manifestly dominates all things (attribute of action);—Latent: a) screened from the senses (negative attribute), b) who knows the hidden things (attribute of knowledge); 77) *al-wālī*, the Reigning (al-Īdjī); 78) *al-mutaʿālī*, the Very High, the Exalted, synonym of *al-ʿālī*, the High, but with a supplementary idea of triumph; 79) *al-barr*, who causes piety (*birr*) to function in the heart and is the source of benefits; 80) *al-tawwāb*, the "Repentant": God, by pure and gratuitous favour, returns to His servants if they return to Him, repenting of their faults; 81) *al-muntaḳim*, the Avenger, chastising whomsoever disobeys him; 82) *al-ʿafū*, who rubs out the traces of faults on the leaves where actions are inscribed; 83) *al-raʾūf*, the Merciful, the Compassionate, who

wishes to lighten the burdens (sense close to *raḥmān*, according to Ghazzālī); 84) *mālik al-mulk*, the Master (King) of the Kingdom, who possesses in complete sovereign independence the world and each creature; 85) *dhu 'l-djalāl wa 'l-ikrām*, the Lord of Majesty and Generosity, sense close to *al-djalīl*, observe al-Īdjī and al-Āmidī; 86) *al-muḳsiṭ*, the Just, —al-Ghazzālī specifies "on the Day of Judgement", (al-Djurdjānī recalls that the root, according to the verbal forms, has both the meaning of "just" and "unjust"); 87) *al-djāmiʿ*, the Assembler: a) who assembles beings according to their similitudes, their differences, their oppositions (al-Ghazzālī); b) who reunites adversaries on the Day of Judgement (al-Īdjī—al-Djurdjānī); 88) *al-ghanī*, the Rich, the Independent, who lacks nothing; 89) *al-mughnī*, the Enricher, who embellishes every creature, from whom creatures derive their perfection; 90) *al-māniʿ*, (traditional Name only), the tutelary Defender: correlative of *al-ḥafīẓ*, the vigilant Guardian; *al-ḥafīẓ* stresses the idea of guarding, protecting,—and *al-māniʿ* the idea of prohibiting and suppressing obstacles; 91) *al-ḍārr*, He who afflicts, and 92) *al-nāfiʿ*, He who favours: two traditional Names only; they teach that evil and good, affliction and favour, harm and benefit derive only from God; 93) *al-nūr*, the Light,—God is Light: a) of a perfect and manifest evidence in Himself, b) and He it is who makes all things manifest and evident, by causing them to pass from non-being to being; 94) *al-hādī*, the Guide, who creates the "right direction" (*al-hudā*) in the hearts of believers; and leads every being, rational and irrational, towards its end; 95) *al-badīʿ*, the Creator-Inventor, who is at the beginning of everything: a) who creates and invents without a model; b) who is Himself First absolutely, and nothing is similar to Him; 96) *al-bāḳī*, the Eternal, who permanes,—without end; 97) *al-wārith*, the Inheritor,—who continues to exist after the annihilation (*fanāʾ*) of His creatures;—to whom returns everything which His creatures possess; 98) *al-rashīd*, the Leader: who directs with justice; who leads on the way of the Good; 99) *al-ṣabūr*, the Very Patient, slow to punish, and who always acts in due time: sense close to *al-ḥalīm* (traditional Name only).

Such is the list of the 99 "most Beautiful Names". Other lists exist, which sometimes exceed this number: one then encounters *al-rabb*, the Lord, *al-munʿim*, the Benefactor, *al-muʿṭī*, He who gives, who grants (his gifts), *al-ṣādiḳ*, the Sincere, the Truthful, *al-sattār*, who protects and who veils, etc.

To conclude, there are numerous studies on the divine Names which seek to group them according to the attributes(thus, al-Ghazzālī, *Maḳṣad*, 72 ff.), with a predilection for imparting an appearance of spiritual meditation to this presentation. There are many examples of this in *taṣawwuf*. It is then no longer so much a question of providing a commentary on the 99 "most Beautiful Names", as of applying all the rules of *tawḳīf* and of language to magnify the divine Mystery. For the use of the divine Names in *ṣūfī* prayers, see the article DHIKR.

Bibliography: I) in addition to the Arab authors cited in the body of the article, reference should be made to the main Ḳurʾānic *tafsīrs*, and the very numerous manuals of *kalām*, chapter on *al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*; 2) an example among many others of a *ṣūfī* "meditation": Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of Alexandria, *al-Ḳaṣd al-Mudjarrad fī Maʿrifat al-Ism al-Mufarrad* (Cairo, al-Azhar ed., 1348/1930); 3) references in European languages: A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 196, 239; (non-typical) list of the *asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* ap. J. Windrow Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, I, 1, Lutterworth Press, 1945, 215-216; Miguel Asín Palacios, *El justo medio en la Creencia, compendio de teologia dogmatica de Algazel* (trans. of the *Iḳtiṣād*, followed by fragmentary annotated translations of the *Maḳṣad*), Madrid 1929, 435-471; Y. Moubarac, *Les Noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran et leurs correspondants en épigraphie sud-sémitique*, in *Muséon*, 1955, 86 ff.

(L. GARDET)

AL-AṢMAʿĪ, ABŪ SAʿĪD ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ḲURAYB, Arabic philologist, d. 213/828 (also other dates in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, and later writers). The date of his birth, often stated as 123/828, is said not to have been known to himself; (see *Irshād*, vi, 86). The *nisba* al-Aṣmaʿī is derived from one of his ancestors, Aṣmaʿ, that of al-Bāhilī from the ill-reputed Ḳaysite tribe al-Bāhila, a relationship which is alluded at in a satirical poem of a contemporary poet; (see Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 130, and *al-Sīrāfī*, 58 f.). In an anecdote he presents himself as an offspring of Banū Aʿṣur b. Saʿd b. Ḳays ʿAylān; (see al-Ḳālī, *al-Amālī*, i, 117).

This scholar and his contemporaries Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] constitute a triumvirate to which later philologists owe most of their knowledge about Arabic lexicography and poetry. They were all of them disciples of the leading philologist of Baṣra, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*]. Among their numerous disciples the littérateur al-Djāḥiẓ has left in his works a monument of their learning. An astonishing memory and an unusually critical mind distinguished al-Aṣmaʿī. From his teacher he had taken over also an accurate consciousness of the limits fixed to philological knowledge; (see an utterance of Abū ʿAmr quoted by Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, i, 323). The method of seeking information from the bedouins in matters concerning grammar and lexicography which seems to have been developed in Baṣra under the stimulus of Abū ʿAmr was taken over by his dicsiples. A list of the bedouin teachers of the Baṣrans is given in *Fihrist*, 43 f.; (cf. *al-Muzhir*, ii, 401 f.). In Baṣra common people were familiar with his scholarly interests and could suggest to him where he could find a *shaykh* possessing a perfect knowledge of the *lugha*; (see *al-Muzhir*, ii, 307). Anecdotes tell also of his rides into the desert to visit bedouins and collect pieces of poetry from their lips. Already as a young man he was sought by students who were anxious to learn from him, and his *madjlis* was widely known. Of the different branches of philological work which had already developed, lexicography particularly corresponded to his talent, whereas Abū Zayd is said to have been his superior in grammar and al-Khalīl to have been in despair about him in metrical matters; (see Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, 367).

There are several traditions about the circumstances which brought al-Aṣmaʿī to Baghdād and the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. According to a story told by al-Marzubānī and quoted by al-Yāfiʿī, ii, 66, he had met the caliph already in Baṣra. As a crown-prince Muḥammad al-Amīn summoned him and he was introduced to the caliph by the vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ; (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 411). According to al-Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ*, 189, he was introduced to Hārūn al-Rashīd by Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. The Barmakids bestowed substantial benefits on him; (see Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *op. cit*, 98). This did not restrain him however from satirising

them after they had fallen into disgrace; (see al-Djahshiyārī, 206). As an intimate of Djaʿfar he was himself in fear of his life when he got to know about the fall of Djaʿfar in 187/803; (see al-Djahshiyārī, 206). In al-Aṣmaʿī's opinion, the poet Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, his rival at the court, was more successful in obtaining from the caliph a ready-money consideration for his wit; (see *Aghānī*[1], v, 77, al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*[2], 1014, and *Irshād*, ii, 205). The *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih contains a number of the "extraordinary tales" (*nawādir*) and the "amusing stories" (*mulaḥ*) with which al-Aṣmaʿī entertained the caliph. After the death of Hārūn, al-Aṣmaʿī seems to have returned to Baṣra. According to an isolated piece of evidence he died in Marw; (see Ibn Khallikān, nr. 389).

Among the disciples of al-Aṣmaʿī and related circles of Baṣra and Baghdād there circulated numerous stories told by him or about him which found their way into Arabic literature. Some of them certainly catch authentic features of his character. Thus we are told that, at the summit of his career, though possessing at that time considerable property, he persisted in living as a poor man. As against the luxuriousness of the Persians, the plain living ascribed in tradition to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī represented to him the pure Arab way of living; (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalāʾ* (al-Ḥādjirī), 186). The numerous sayings of unlearned men and women of the desert told by him are certainly meant also to illustrate, not only the *balāgha* but also the sincere piety of plain-living people. His predilection for the sentimental and pathetic elegy—he is said never to have transmitted satirical poetry—is in accordance with his idealisation of the Arab race according to his own religious feelings. In authentic traditions he relates the sayings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Numerous traditions beginning with the formula "I heard a bedouin saying in his prayer" are in the same spirit. In the works of later writers these sentimental features dominate the character of al-Aṣmaʿī. We find them in the romantic story put into the mouth of al-Aṣmaʿī in one of the fictitious 'traditions' (*aḥādīth*) of Ibn Durayd; (see al-Ḳālī, *al-Amālī*[1], ii, 7). In the *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār* of Ibn al-ʿArabī, the learned philogist of Baṣra tells, as did his contemporary the Egyptian mystic Dhuʾl-Nūn, about his meetings with poor bedouins and young girls who revealed to him an unexpected and extraordinary insight into the mysteries of the divine love; (see *op. cit.*, i, 81 and 133).

His orthodox contemporaries and later writers agree that al-Aṣmaʿī was an orthodox Sunnī. According to Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/889), there were among the philologists of Baṣra only four definite adherents of the *sunna*, one of them being al-Aṣmaʿī, (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 418; cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, 170). As an instance of his piety tradition adduces that in order to "avoid sin" he answered with strict silence to any philological question which evidently had or could have a bearing upon the reading of the Ḳurʾān or the wording of tradition. (A list of examples is given in *al-Muzhir*, ii, 325 f.). Whereas for Abū ʿAmr and Abū ʿUbayda the study of the *lugha* was dependent on that of the Ḳurʾān, al-Aṣmaʿī thus separated in himself the "reader" from the grammarian and the transmitter of poetry. In accordance with the attitude held by his teacher Nāfiʿ and the readers of Medina (see about this subject *Two Muqaddimas to the Quranic sciences*, ed. A. Jeffery, Cairo 1954, 183) al-Aṣmaʿī consequently abstained also from *tafsīr*; (see *al-Muzhir*, ii, 416, and *Irshād*, i, 26 f.). In this respect he was opposed to people of Muʿtazilite and Ḳadarite outlook who, in his view, commented upon the Ḳurʾān according to their "opinion" (*raʾy*), as did Abū ʿUbayda in his *al-Madjāz*; (see *Irshād*, ii, 389 and vii, 167).

As a transmitter of poetry al-Aṣmaʿī and his generation were essentially influenced by "the great transmitters", Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and Khalaf al-Aḥmar [*qq.v.*]. The inconveniances connected with the unreliable character of these persons were clearly seen by him; (see *Irshād*, iv, 140 and *al-Muzhir*, ii, 406; cf. Blachère, 99 f.) In order to collect in a complete and definite form the odes of the great pre-Islamic poets he sought persons known to have a reliable knowledge of the tradition. In his work he developed a critical method remarkable for his time, a deep knowledge of the topography of the Arabian peninsula, of the genealogies of the tribes and, above all, of *lugha* and of grammar. Handed down by his disciples, these critical remarks found their way into the works of later commentators. On the basis laid by al-Aṣmaʿī, his disciples Ibn Ḥabīb, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭūsī and, finally, al-Sukkarī, prepared the definitive editions of the *dīwāns*.

From the 72 pieces or fragments of pre-Islamic or early Islamic poets which he collected in an anthology called *al-Aṣmaʿiyyāt* (ed. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, i, Berlin 1902), we can get an idea of al-Asmāʿī's literary taste. On the subject of criticism (*naḳd al-shiʿr*) numerous sayings of al-Aṣmaʿī are quoted in later writers. In a note-book called *Fuḥūlat al-Shuʿarāʾ* (ed. Torrey, *ZDMG*, 1911, 487-516), his disciple Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī collected answers given by his teacher to the question which poets are to be regarded as *faḥl*. Whereas Abū ʿAmr, according to al-Aṣmaʿī, was never heard to quote an Islamic poet (Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 73), his disciple valued the new poets who mastered the *lugha*; (see for instance Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *al-Waraḳa*, 60. For his criticism of the *muwalladūn*, see J. Fück *Arabiya*, 22 f.).

Applying to the rich lexicographical materials collected by him the systematic methods employed by philologists from the very beginning of these studies in ʿIrāḳ, i.e. of grouping together items of similar materials, al-Aṣmaʿī composed a series of monographs the titles of which are listed in the *Fihrist*, 55. In his *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, which is lost but is copiously quoted by Yāḳūt in his *Muʿdjam*, he often seems to adduce a first-hand knowledge of topography; (see for instance *Muʿdjam*, i, 705). About the size of these treatises we know from *Fihrist* only that the *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* was written in 200 folios. A number of them, however, have been preserved; (see Brockelmann, I, 104 and S I, 164). That these specimens of al-Aṣmaʿī's lexical work do not represent the final state of his collections seems obvious, if one compares for instance the rather meagre text of his *al-Nabāt waʾl-Shadjar* (ed. Haffner, Beirut 1898) with the rich material on the subject quoted from al-Aṣmaʿī by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī in his *Kitāb al-Nabāt*.

Among the disciples of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī was known to be his *rāwiya*. He is said to have transmitted the books of his teacher to Thaʿlab; (see *Irshād*, ii, 140). As a transmitter of them there is mentioned also Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*], who divided the books of al-Aṣmaʿī into chapters and added some pieces of information to them on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and the philologists of Kūfa; (see *Irshād*, vi, 162 f.).

For later lexicographers the main source of information about materials collected by al-Aṣmaʿī was the *Tahdhīb al-Lugha* of al-Azharī. In the introduction (ed. Zetterstéen, *MO*, 1920, 1 f.), al-Azharī mentions the direct and indirect sources from which he drew these materials.

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AL-AṢMAʿIYYĀT [see AL-AṢMAʿĪ].

ASPER [see AḲČE].

ʿAṢR (A), time, age; particularly the early part of the afternoon, until the sun becomes red; hence *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, the ritual prayer in the afternoon, cf. ṢALĀT. (ED.)

ASRĀFĪL [see ISRĀFĪL].

ĀṢṢ [see ALĀN].

ASSAB, town and port at the N.W. end of the Bay of Assab on the coast of Eritrea. The surrounding country is arid and is inhabited by Afar (Danākil). Assab is generally identified with the ancient Sabae, described by Strabo (xvi, 771) as πόλις εὐμεγέθης. Its importance is due to its position opposite Mukhā and at the end of a caravan route leading to the Ethiopian plateau, both the Red Sea and the coastal desert being comparatively narrow at this point. In 1936-39 the Italians built a motor road from Assab connecting with the main Addis Ababa-Asmara road near Dessye. Assab was known to the Jesuit missionaries of the early seventeenth century; they describe it as Ethiopian territory. It was occasionally visited by European voyagers who found it a useful place in which to careen their ships. In 1611 it was called "a very good road ... where you may have wood and water freely, and refreshing for your money or coarse calicoes". (Sir W. Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, i, 131). It is mentioned from time to time in the Company's records and is said to have been ruled by a Muslim "King". In 1869 it was acquired from the Sultan of Rahayta by the Italian traveller, ex-missionary and propagandist for colonial expansion, Giuseppe Sapeto, acting for the Rubattino shipping company, by which it was used as a coaling station. It became an Italian colony in 1882 and with the extension of Italian rule was made the capital of a *commissariato*. In 1928 Ethiopia was granted freedom of trade at Assab which became increasingly important commercially.

Bibliography: G. Sapeto, *Assab e i suoi critici*, Genoa, 1879; G. B. Licata, *Assab e i Danachili*, Milan, 1885; A. Issel, *Viaggio nel Mar Rosso*, Milan, 1885; *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Milan, 1938. (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

ASSAM, name of the easternmost province in the Republic of India, situated between East Pakistan and Burma, within 22° 19′ and 28° 16′ N. Lat., and 89° 42′ and 97° 12′ E. Long. It comprises the Brahmaputra valley and the hill ranges enclosing small plateaux, the shelter of numerous hill tribes and refuge of the Mongol hordes. The province covers 85,012 English square miles, and its population in 1951 was 9,043,707, of whom 1,996,456 were Muslims, three-fourths of these being concentrated in the westerly districts of Goalpārā and Kāmrūp, contiguous to North Bengal, and Cachar, adjacent to Pakistani Sylhet. Since 1920 their percentage has considerably increased in other neighbouring districts owing to immigration from Bengal, the eastern portion of the valley remaining unaffected.

In Sanskṛit records the valley is called "Lawhitya", Prāg-jyotisha", or "Kāmarūpa". The word, Assam (correctly Āsāma, locally pronounced Āhōm), is connected with the *Shans* or *Tais*, a group of Tibeto-Burmans, who settled about 8th century A.D. in Siam, Upper Burma, and finally in this province. Its derivation from Sanskṛit A+sama (= "peerless") is unwarranted. The Ahom migrants had a sense of history, and produced works called *Burañjis*. The first king known is Sukaphā, who, in 1228, occupied a portion of the Upper Valley. His successors gradually conquered the neighbouring tribes and established the Ahom kingdom. The western valley, with the city of Gawhātī, which lay outside their domains, retained the name of Kāmrūp, and was ruled by petty landlords, collectively called Bārā-bhuiṅyas. Twice they were integrated into the kingdom of Kāmrūp-Kāmtā, first by the Khens, and next by the Kochas, northern rival neighbours of the Muslim Sulṭāns of Bengal.

The Muslim advance into Kāmrūp falls into three stages. The first, which began in A.D. 1206 with Bakhtiyār Khaldjī, is a period of raid, occasional occupation and imposition of tribute. It culminated in 1357, when Sikandar Shāh founded the mint of Čawlistānʿurf Kāmrū (possibly Gawhātī). It is in one of the neighbouring caves that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa possibly met the famous saint Shāh Djalāl Tabrīzī. The second period began with the defeat of Kāmeśvara, the king of Kāmtā, by Bārbak Shāh, and the final occupation of Kāmrūp by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh after overthrowing the Khen king, Nīlambar, in 1498. So far the Muslims had not contacted the Ahoms, Kāmrūp being alone mentioned in contemporary Muslim records. The *Burañjis* speak of a first Muslim invasion in 1532 by Turbak (possibly Baḥr-bak = "naval officer"), obviously an official posted in Kāmrūp, but the invading forces were utterly routed. With the downfall of the Ḥusayn Shāhī dynasty in 1538, the Kochas emerged and established their kingdom. Oç this period the tomb of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Awliyā at Hājo is an important memorial. The third period began in 1612, when Islām Khān, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, subjugated the Kochas and occupied Kāmrūp once again. Hereafter wars with the Ahoms became frequent, and Assam loomed large in Persian chronicles. In 1662 Mīr Djumlā finally reduced the Ahom king and imposed an annual tribute on him. The subsequent weakness of the Mughals encouraged the Ahoms, who by 1682 occupied the whole Brahmaputra valley and continued to rule till 1824, when the British intervened to check the threat of the Burmese and integrated Assam into their territory. The Ahoms retained the services of the Muslims for their skill in arts and crafts. The *Marias* (braziers) and the *Garias* (tailors by profession) are even now common in some districts. In the middle of the 19th century a large percentage of the Muslims were affected by the "Farāʾiḍī" movement. The humbler peasants have developed a peculiar local culture, combining with their faith in Islam the local rites and customs and national festivals of this region.

Bibliography: E. A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, Calcutta 1906; K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, Shillong 1933; W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam*, London 1879, 2 Vols; B. C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers*, Calcutta & Allāhābād 1905-1906, 8 Vols. H. Blochmann, *Koch Bihar, Koch Hajo, and Assam*, in *JASB*, 1872, 49-101; Birinchi Kumar Barua, *A note on the word Assam*, in *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. ii/1, Gawhati 1934, 41-2; M. Glanius, *A relation of an unfortunate voyage to the kingdom of Bengala*, London 1682; M. I. Borah, *Bahāristān-i Ghaybī* of Mirzā Nāthān, Gawhati 1936; Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭālish, *Fatḥ-i Ibriya*, MS. in the collection of Asiatic Society, Calcutta; S. K. Bhuyan, *Annals of the Delhi Badshahat*, Gawhati 1947; idem, *Deodhai Asam Buranji*, Gawhati 1932; idem, *Tungkhungia Buranji*, Oxford 1933; idem, *Asam Buranji*, Gawhati 1930; Golap Chandra Barua, *Ahom-Buranji*, Calcutta 1930. (A. H. DANI)

ʿAṢṢĀR, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, Persian poet, born in Tabrīz, died in 779 or in 784/1382-3; he was one of the panegyrists of the prince Uways [*q.v.*] and is chiefly known for his poem *Mihr u Mushtarī*, at the end of which he gives the date of its completion (10 Shawwāl 778/1377); this poem consists of 5,120 distichs and was later translated into Turkish. In the words of Ethé (*Gr. I. Phil.*), it is "the story of a love, free from every frailty and pure from every sensual lust, between Mihr, the son of Shābūrshāh, and the comely stripling Mushtarī".

Bibliography: Von Hammer. *Gesch. d. schönen Redekünste Persiens*, 254 (analysis and translation of selected passages; the name of the poet is erroneously given as ʿAṭṭār); Peiper, *Comment. de libro persico Mihr o Mushtari*, Berlin 1839; Fleischer, in *ZDMG*, xv, 389 ff.; Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii, 626; Pertsch, *Katal. Berlin*, 843 ff. (H. MASSÉ)

ASSASSINS [see NIZĀRĪS].

ASSUAN [see USWĀN].

ASTARĀBĀDH, Astarābād, (Istirābād in Samʿānī, *Ansāb*).

1. A town in Iran situated ca. 23 m. east of the S-E corner of the Caspian Sea at 36° 49′ N. lat. and 54° 26′ E. long. (Greenw.) on a tributary of the Ḳarāṣū. It is 377 ft. above sea level and 3 m. from the foothills of a mountain chain, a spur of the Elburz. The town lies on a plain which ends in the Turkoman steppes to the north. Astarābādh is now called Gurgān (not to be confused with medieval Gurgān, Arabic Djurdjān, to the N-E).

The pre-Islamic history of the town is unknown, and it is uncertain whether it existed before Islam, although Mordtmann in *SB Bayr. AK.* 1869, 536, identifies it with ancient Zadrakarta. The etymology of the name is also obscure. Folk etymology connects the name with the Persian word for "star", or for "mule", and appropriate stories are told of the origin of the town.

Astarābādh was the second city of the province of Gurgān in Islamic times and underwent the same fortunes as the capital city Gurgān. The province was raided by the Arabs in the time of the caliph ʿUthmān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 334), and again by Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān under Muʿāwiya, but it was not conquered until Yazīd b. Muhallab defeated the ruling Turks of the area in 98/716. There is a tradition that Yazīd founded Astarābādh on the site of a village called Astarak.

There were frequent rebellions in Gurgān during both the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphates. Astarābādh is rarely mentioned by historians, and the geographers also give little information. It was a silk centre according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 213. The port of Astarābādh (and Gurgān) on the Caspian, Abaskūn, was an important trading centre. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 134, says the people of Astarābādh spoke two languages, one of which is probably preserved in the dialect used by the Ḥurūfī sect.

After the Mongol conquest of Iran we find Astarābādh replacing Gurgān as the most important town of the area. The province was the scene of strife between the last Īl-Khāns, the Tīmūrids, and local Turkish tribal leaders. Sometime during this period the Ḳādjār tribe of Turkomāns became the leading power in Astarābādh. Aghā Muḥammad, first of the Ḳādjār Shāhs, was born in Astarābādh. Shāh ʿAbbās I, Nādir Shāh, and Aghā Muḥammad all erected buildings in Astarābādh. The town, located on the steppes, continually suffered the depredations of Turkomāns.

Astarābādh had many mosques and shrines (see Rabino, below), and was called *dār al-muʾminīn* probably because of the many *sayyids* living there.

The name of the town was changed to Gurgān under Riḍā Shāh, and in 1950 it had ca. 25,000 inhabitants. There are few old remains in the town, and only two are noteworthy, the Imāmzāda Nūr and the mosque of Gulshān. Rabino (below, 73-5) lists the shrines of the town as well as the inscriptions.

2. The province of Astarābādh, as it existed under the Ḳādjārs, was bounded on the north by the Gurgān River, on the south by the Elburz Mts., on the west by the Caspian Sea and Māzandarān, and on the east by the district of Djādjarm. The district (*shahristān*) of Gurgān under Riḍā Shāh was smaller. The province could be divided into two parts, the mountain area and the plains. The former is well-watered with many trees, while the latter is fertile, even marshy but becomes desert to the north. Wheat and tobacco are grown extensively here. The population is mixed, with Persian speakers predominant in the mountain area and the towns, and Turkomāns on the plains.

Bibliography: A history of Astarābādh was written by a certain al-Idrīsī (d. 405/1014) which has not survived, (see Brockelmann, S I, 210); H. L. Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928, 71-5; Yāḳūt, i, 242; G. Melgunov, *Das südl. Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 101-24; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, i, Paris 1894, 82-112; Le Strange, 378-9. For recent information on the town and province of Gurgān, see *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ed. Razmārā, 3, Tehran 1951, 254-5. A plan of the town appears in *Rāhnumā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1952, 205. See also art. on Astarābād in Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1952, 2143-6.

(R. N. FRYE)

AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ. The *nisba* of several Muslim scholars of whom Raḍī al Dīn al-Astarābādhī and Rukn al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī (see below) are the best known. Yāḳūt describes Astarābādh as a city producing scholars proficient in all sciences and mentions the *ḳāḍī* Abū Naṣr Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Muṭrafī al-Astarābādhī (d. circa 550/1155-6), the *imām* Abū Nuʿaym ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAdī al-Astarābādhī, author of a treatise on the verification of traditions (d. 320/932) and the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Rāmīn al-Astarābādhī, a much-

travelled scholar who consorted with Ṣūfīs (d. in Baghdād in 412/1021-2). There were several well-known Astarābādhī *ʿulamā* in Ṣafawid times, including Aḥmad b. Tādj al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Sayf al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, author of a biography of the Prophet, ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sharīf al-Ḳārī al-Astarābādhī, author of a treatise on the recitation of the recitation of the Ḳurʾān, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Anṣārī al-Astarābādhī, who translated an Arabic work on ethics. The *nisba* al-Astarābādhī is given also to several lesser known scholars, such as al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Astarābādhī, a grammarian and lexicographer, and the traditionist Muḥammad b. ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 242; Storey, 42, 177, 192; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326/1908, 218; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Oxford 1903-37, 724-826 (1162); Loth, *Catalogue of Arabic MSS in the Library of the India Office*, London 1877 i, 258; Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntahā al-Maḳāl* (lithographed Tehran 1302/1885; the *Manhadj al-Maḳāl* of Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Astarābādhī is published as a supplement to this); ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1332/1953, s.v. *Astarābādhī*. (A. J. Mango)

AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ, Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, author of a celebrated commentary on the *Kāfiya*, a well-known grammatical work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. Al-Suyūṭī, who praises the commentary as unique, admits to knowing nothing of Raḍī al-Dīn's life, except that the work was completed in 683/1284-5, and that Raḍī al-Dīn was reported to have died in 684 or 686/1285-8. He also wrote a lesser known commentary on the *Shāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. The *ḳāḍī* Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī interprets a reference in the introductory prayer as meaning that the commentary on the *Kāfiya* was written in Nadjaf, but the term *ḥaram* which occurs in the Arabic edition could refer just as well to Mecca, where Suyūṭī obtained his information on the date of Raḍī al-Dīn's death. There seems no doubt, however, that Raḍī al-Dīn was a Shīʿī.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326/1908, 248; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, lithographed, Tehran 1302/1885, 61; Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn*, fifth *Madjlis*; Brockelmann I, 21, 303, 305; S. I. 532, 535, 713; M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Allāhābād 1894, Introduction, xi. Raḍī al-Dīn's commentary on the *Kāfiyya* was published in Cairo in 1358/1939. (A. J. Mango)

AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ, Rukn al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sharafshāh al-ʿAlawī, known as Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil al-Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn, a Shāfiʿī scholar best known for his commentary on the *Kāfiya*, a grammatical work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. This commentary, the *Wāfiya*, is known also as the *Mutawassiṭ*, or "intermediate", as it was the second of three commentaries. Al-Suyuṭī, quoting Muḥammad b. Rāfi's appendix to the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (the passage is not included in the abridged Baghdād edition of 1938) says that he enjoyed the patronage of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] in Marāgha where he taught philosophy and composed commentaries on Ṭūsī's *Tadjrīd al-ʿAḳāʾid* and *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿAḳāʾid*. He accompanied Ṭūsī to Baghdād in 672/1274 and, after the death of his patron in the same year, settled in Mawṣil, where he taught in the Nūriyya *madrasa* and composed his commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib. From Mawṣil he went on to Sulṭāniyya, where he taught Shāfiʿī jurisprudence. He died in 715/1315-6 or 718/1318-9 (two MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale give the date of his death as 717/1317-8 and 719/1319-20). Rukn al-Dīn was reputed for his modesty as well as for the honour in which he was held in the Mongol Court.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, 228; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1906, vi, 86; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, Oxford 1903-37, 724-826 (1162); idem, *Arabic MSS. in the British Museum*, London 1894, 946; de Slane, *Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris 1883-95, 2369, 4037; Brockelmann I, 305, SI, 536; M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Introduction, v. (A. J. Mango)

ASṬARLĀB [see asṭurlāb].

ASTORGA [see ashturḳa, in the Suppl.].

ASTRAKHĀN, city and district. The city lies on the left bank of the Volga, some sixty miles from the point where it runs into the Caspian Sea, 46° 21′ N, 48° 2′ E, 20.7 m. below normal sea level, 7.6 m. above the level of the Caspian Sea. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 410-2, who passed through here in 1333, mentions for the first time a settlement supposed to have been founded by a Mecca pilgrim, whose religious reputation brought the district exemption from taxes; this was supposed to explain its name, viz. Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān (*tarkhān* means among the Mongols in later times a man exempt from taxes, a nobleman). Other forms of the name are Cytrykań or Zytrykhań, in Ambr. Contarini's account (1487) Citricano, in Turkish-Tatar sources also Aždarkhān and Ashtarakān. The settlement lay on the right bank of the Volga on the Shareniy (or Žareniy) hill; the first coins discovered are from 776/1374-5 and 782/1380-1. (777/1375-6: Chr. Frähn, *Münzen d. Chane etc.*, St. Petersburg 1832, 22, no. 102; idem, *Recensio etc.*, St. Petersburg 1826, 300, no. 1; A. K. Markov, *Inv. Katalog*, St. Petersburg 1896, 860; 1380-1; ibidem, 476; P. S. Savel'ev, *Monety Džučidov*, ii, St. Petersburg 1858, 18, no. 416; also the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, possessed a specimen.) In the winter of 798/1395-6 Tīmūr destroyed the city, as well as Sarāy [*q.v.*] (Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, i, 158-62). In contrast to the latter Astrakhān rose again and took over eventually its importance as a centre of trade; in the course of this it became, as earlier the neighbouring Khazar city of Itil (Atil) [*q.v.*]. eventually the centre of the traffic on the Caspian Sea and the lands bordering on it.

In 871/1466 there was established in Astrakhān, during the decline of the Golden Horde [cf. bātūids] a Tatar dynasty of the Noghay princes stemming from the Tatar Khān Küčük Meḥmed. The territory ruled by the Khāns Ḳāsim (871-896/1466-90) and his brother ʿAbd al-Karīm (in Russian and Polish Ablumgirym; 896-910/1490-1504) encompassed the country as far as the modern Stavropol', Orenburg (Čkalov), Samara (Kuybīshev) and Saratov, and was divided into various *uluses*. The population supported themselves mainly by cattle raising, hunting and fishing. Conflicts with the *begs*, the rapid changes of Khāns after 910/1504 and the interference of the Crimean Tatars and the Noghays brought the Khānate into difficulties; the Khān ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 941-5/1534-8) sought help against these and the Ottomans from the Russian Czar. (For a list of the Khans see Zambaur, 247, and for a genealogical table ibid., 24¹.)

In 962/1554 the Khānate (since 951/1544 under Yamghūrčāy or Yaghmūrčī) was conquered by the Russians; since the Khān Darwīsh ʿAlī (in Russian Derbīsh), who was nominated by them, allied himself with the Crimean Tatars and the Noghays, he was deposed in 964/1556-7 and the Khānate incorporated into the Russian state. Apart from the Russian there immigrated into the country Kalmucks [*q.v.*], since 1632; those of them who lived east of the Volga returned in 1770-1 to the East, while those who settled west of the Volga were driven out in 1944-5. They were followed with Russian permission by Ḳazaḳs [*q.v.*] since 1801. As a counterbalance 25,000 so called Astrakhān Cossacks were settled here in 1750 (new organisation in 1817; their corporation dissolved in 1919). In 1717 the *Gouvernement* of Astrakhān was established by the Russians; 1785-1832 the territory belonged to Caucasia. The re-established *Gouvernement* of Astrakhān received in 1860 new boundaries (208, 159, according to other calculations 236, 532 sq.km.). In 1918-20 the territory became part of the Russian SSR and forms since 27 Dec. 1943 (after the dissolution of the Kalmuck territory) an *oblast'* of 96,300 sq.km.

Astrakhān was rebuilt by the Russians in 1558 seven miles downstream on the left bank and has since then always contained an overwhelmingly Russian population; there was a Tatar and an Armenian suburb. Indian settlers of the 16th century mixed with the Tatars ("Agryžans"). The city was threatened in 1569 by an Ottoman-Crimean Tatar army (cf. Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Baḥr-i Khazer—Ḳara Deñiz Ḳanalī we-Ežderkhān Seferi*, *TOEM*, viii, 1-14; Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı-rus rekabetinin menşei we Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü*, *Bell.*, 1948, 349-402; cf. also ḲAZĀN). Consequently in 1582 the Russians built a stone wall and in 1589 a fortress. In spite of this the city was repeatedly plundered by Tatars and Cossacks (especially Steńka Razin, 1667-8); it suffered too from repeated earthquakes and epidemics. In 1722-1867 it was the naval port for the Caspian Sea (since then Bākū); in 1918-21 also, during the civil war, a flotilla operated from here. Astrakhān had in 1897: 113,001 inhabitants (among them 12,000 Muslims: Persians, Tatars, etc., and 6,200 Armenians), six Shīʿī mosques and one Sunnī, 73 *madrasas* and three *maktabs*. In 1939 the city had 253,655 inhabitants and possessed over ten Tatar schools and several Tatar newspapers. For the Soviet Union it is important mainly as a starting-place for Caspian ships and because of its fisheries (with caviar and blubber factories) and its fishing industry.

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. (by R. Rahmeti Arat); Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklop. Slovaŕ*, ii/3,349-66, Suppl., i, 168; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*[1], iii, 651-2, [2]iii, 278-90; A. N. Shtyl'ko, *Illyustrirovannaya Astrakhań. Očerki proshlago i nostoyashčego goroda*, Saratov 1896; *Astrakhan i Astrakhanskaya guberniya*, St. Petersburg 1902; Astrakhan. *Spravočnaya kniga*, Stalingrad 1937; G. Peretyatkovič: *Povolž'e v 15-16 vekakh*, Moscow 1877; P. G. Lyubomirov, *Zaselenie Astrakhanskogo kraya v XVIII v., in Nash Kray*, Astrakhan 1926, no. 4; W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 284, 449; T. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, 194-203; F. Sperk, *Opyt khronologičeskago ukazatelya literatury ob Astrakhanskom krae* (1473-1877), St. Petersburg 1892.

(B. SPULER)

ASTROLOGY [see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-].

ASTRONOMY [see HAYʾA, ʿILM AL-].

ASṬURLĀB or AṢṬURLĀB (Ar.; on the vocalisation see also Ibn Khallikān, no. 779; idem, Būlāḳ, no. 746), Astrolabe. The word was derived from the Greek ἀστρολάβος or ἀστρολάβον (ὄργανον), name of several astronomical instruments serving various theoretical and practical purposes, such as the demonstration and graphical solution of many problems of spherical astronomy, the measuring of altitudes, the determination of the hour of the day and the night, and the casting of horoscopes. In Arabic the word *Asṭurlāb* when used alone always means the flat or planispheric astrolabe based on the principle of stereographic projection; it is the most important instrument of mediaeval, Islamic and Western, astronomy. The linear astrolabe, depending on the same principle, is an ingenious simplification of the planispheric astrolabe, though of little practical interest. The spherical astrolabe represents the terrestrial and the celestial spheres without any projection. No specimens of linear or spherical astrolabes seem to have been preserved. *N.B.* The Ptolemaic astrolabe as described in *Alm.* 5,1 is an improved armillary sphere, having only the name in common with the instruments treated here; the astrolabe mentioned in *Tetrab.* 3,3 probably refers to the planispheric astrolabe (see below).

I. The flat (*saṭḥī* or *musaṭṭaḥ*) astrolabe, being the astrolabe in its stricter sense, Latin (*astrolabium*) *planisphaerium*, in Arabic called also *dhāt al-ṣafāʾiḥ* (from *ṣafīḥa* = Lat. *saphaea, alzafea*, etc., "disc"), "the instrument having, or consisting of, discs (tablets)". Another alleged Ar. synonym: *waztalcora* (also *wazzalcora, walzagora*, etc.), corresponding with Ar. *basṭ al-kura* (not *waḍʿ al-kura*, see Millás [1], 169 f.), "the spreading out of the sphere", is known only from Lat. MSS. originating from Spain. The word appears to refer rather to the principle of projection than to the instrument itself, and discloses a striking similarity with the original title of Ptolemy's Planisphaerium as recorded by Suidas (ed. A. Adler, Leipzig 1928-38, iv, 254, 7): ἅπλωσις ἐπιφανείας σφαίρας.

1. History. While the theory of stereographic projection (by which circles of the sphere are represented again as circles, and angles formed by intersecting circles of the sphere remain unchanged in the plane of projection) can be traced back to Hipparchus (150 B.C.), Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium* (preserved only in a Latin translation made by Hermannus Dalmata from Maslama al-Madjrīṭī's Ar. version; crit. ed. by J. L. Heiberg, *Cl. Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia*, Vol. ii, Leipzig 1907, 225-59; German transl. by J. Drecker: *Das Planisphaerium des Cl. Ptolemaeus*, in *Isis* ix, 1927, 255-78) is the earliest special treatise on the subject. The references made there (ch. 14) to the *aranea* ("spider") of the *horoscopium instrumentum*, and (*Tetrab.* 3, 3) to the ἀστρολάβον ὡροσκοπεῖον as the only useful instrument for determining the hour of birth, can leave no doubt that Ptolemy really knew the planispherical astrolabe (Neugebauer [1], 242; Hartner [1], 2532, n. 1). For a critical analysis of subsequent references to the astrolabe prior to the Arabic conquest (Theon of Alexandria, Synesius of Cyrene, Johannes Philoponus, Severus Sebokht) see Neugebauer [1]. The earliest Ar. treatises mentioned in the *Fihrist* are by Mā shāʾa 'llāh (Messahalla, d.c. 200/815, Suter no. 8), ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (flor. c. 215/830, Suter, no. 23), and Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (d.c. 220/835). Ever since, the construction and the use of the astrolabe remained one of the favourite subjects of Islamic astronomers. The earliest Islamic

instruments preserved date from the second half of the 4th/10th century. In learned European circles the astrolabe and its theory became first known through the writings (spurious?, see Millás [1], ch. vi) of Gerbert d'Aurillac, the later Pope Sylvester II (ca. 930-1003) and Hermann the Lame of Reichenau (1013-54); they, as all posterior European compositions, strictly depend on Islamic models, above all Messahalla, whose influence proves particularly strong in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Conclusions of the astrolabe* (*"Bread and milk for children"*); see Gunther [2]. The earliest European instruments that have survived date from c. 1200. After the invention of the telescope, the astrolabe fell into disuse in the West, whereas, in the East, the tradition was carried on till late in the 18th and even the 19th century. As is attested by the laḳab *al-asṭurlābī* encountered since the beginning of Islamic science, the making of astrolabes was a handicraft of its own cultivated by specially trained craftsmen, but many astrolabes prove to have been wrought by other artisans, too, as is shown by the sobriquets *al-ibarī*, "the needle-maker", *al-nadjdjār*, "the carpenter", etc., frequently found in colophons. According to Chardin (*Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. Langlès, iv, Paris 1811, 332) the most highly valued instruments were manufactured, not by artisans, but by astronomers. For illustrations of astrolabes (Eastern and Western), see Gunther [1]; for the names of astrolabe-makers see Mayer [1] and Price [1].

2. Description of the instrument. The planispherical astrolabe is a portable metal (brass, bronze) instrument in the form of a circular disc with a diameter varying from 4″ to 8″ (10-20 cm.). The simplest type of this astrolabe, taken over with respect to its essential features from Greek and Syrian models, consists of the following pieces:

(A) The suspensory apparatus, which comprises three parts: a triangular piece of metal called *kursī*, "throne" (large and richly decorated in the *Mashriḳ*, esp. Persia, smaller and simpler in the *Maghrib*), which is firmly attached to the body of the instrument; a handle, *ʿurwa*, *ḥabs*, L. *armilla suspensoria*, affixed to the point of the *kursī* so that it can be turned to either side in the plane of the latter; a ring, *ḥalḳa*, L. *armilla rotunda*, passing through the handle and moving freely. When in use, the astrolabe is suspended with a cord, *ʿilāḳa*.

(B) The body of the astrolabe, which has a "front", *wadjh*, L. *facies*, and a "back", *ẓahr*, L. *dorsum*.

(a) The front of the astrolabe consists of an outer rim, *ḥadjra*, *ṭawḳ*, *kuffa*, L. *limbus* or *margo*, which encloses the inner surface, usually depressed, called "mother", *umm*, L. *mater*. A number of thin discs, *ṣafāʾiḥ*, L. *tympana* or *tabulae regionum*, are fitted into the *ḥadjra* over the *umm*; a bit of metal, *mumsika*, projecting from the *ḥadjra* and fitting into an exactly corresponding indentation on the edge of each disc, prevents the discs from turning. A hole is bored through the centre of the *umm* and the *ṣafāʾiḥ*; a broadheaded pin, *ḳuṭb*, *watad*, or *miḥwar*, L. *clavus*, *axis*, passing through it holds the parts together and serves as an axis around which turn the two movable parts of the instrument, viz., on the front, the "sp der", *ʿankabūt* (also called "net", *shabaka*), L. *aranea* or *rete*, and, on the back, the "alidad" (from the Ar. *al-ʿiḍāda*), L. *radius* or *regula*. A wedge called the "horse", *faras*, L. *equus*, *caballus*, or *cuneus*, which is fitted into a slit in the narrow end of the *ḳuṭb*, prevents the latter from coming out. A small ring, *fals*, placed under the horse, protects the spider and ensures a smooth turning. *N. B.* A ruler in the shape of the hand of a watch turning on the face of the astrolabe (L. *index*, *ostensor*) is often found on European, but never on Islamic, astrolabes.

The mathematical divisions of the parts mentioned are as follows:

The *ḥadjra* carries a circle graduated from 0 to 360°, beginning at the middle point of the *kursī*, i.e., at the top of the astrolabe.

The *umm* may either function as one *ṣafīḥa* (see next section), or carry a list of the geographical latitudes of a number of cities.

The *ṣafīḥa* carries on each of its two sides the stereographic projection of the equator, the tropics, and the horizon for one particular geographical latitude, with its parallel circles called "almacantars" (from Ar. *al-dāʾira al-muḳanṭara*) and vertical circles, *dawāʾir al-sumūt*. For a northern astrolabe, the centre of projection is the South Pole of the heavens, and the plane of projection, the equator; then the southern tropic constitutes the edge of the *ṣafīḥa*. For a southern astrolabe, the centre of projection is the North Pole, the plane of projection, again, the equator; then the northern tropic coincides with the edge of the *ṣafīḥa*. Most, if not all of the astrolabes preserved are northern; only for the spider northern and southern projections may be used simultaneously (see below, section on the *ʿankabūt*). Fig. 1a illustrates the face of an astrolabe with a *ṣafīḥa* constructed for the geographical latitude 36° 0′. There NS represents the meridian, *khaṭṭ wasaṭ al-samāʾ*, L. *linea medii coeli*; its section CS is called the "line of midday", *khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār*, L. *linea meridionalis*, and section CN, "line of midnight", *khaṭṭ niṣf al-layl*, L. *linea mediae noctis*. The diameter EW represents the "straight horizon", *ufḳ al-istiwāʾ*, also called east-west line, *khaṭṭ wasaṭ al-mashriḳ wa 'l-maghrib*; its sections CE and CW bear, respectively, the names "east line", *khaṭṭ al-mashriḳ*, and west line, *khaṭṭ al-maghrib*. On the meridian NS, the following points are marked (for their construction, see Fig. 1b): C = projection of the North Pole, being the centre of the three concentric circles represented, viz., counting from within, the northern tropic, *madār raʾs al-saraṭān*, the equator, *dāʾirat al-iʿtidāl*, and the southern tropic, *madār raʾs al-djady* (outer rim). The points R_0, R_{10} . . . R_{80} mark the centres of the horizon, *ufḳ*, L. *horizon obliquus* (meeting NS at α_0) and of the almacantars from 10° to 10° (intersecting with NS at $\alpha_{10} \ldots \ldots \alpha_{80}$). $R_{90} = \zeta$ marks the "zenith" (from Ar. *samt al-raʾs*). The points η_0, η_{10} . . . . η_{90} ($= \zeta$) represent the second intersections of the almacantars with NS, south of the zenith.

The horizon, the equator, and the east-west line meet in the east and the west points, from which Islamic astronomy counts the azimuths (from 0-90° towards N and S). The vertical circles, *dawāʾir al-sumūt* pass through the zenith and the points 0, 10°, etc. on the horizon. M_0 marks the centre of the "first vertical", *awwal al-sumūt*, through the east and west points. For the construction of the other vertical circles, see Hartner [1], 2529 and Fig. 846.

The lines under the horizon indicate the equal or unequal hours (*sāʿāt al-iʿtidāl*, *horae aequales*, and *al-sāʿāt al-zamāniyya*, *horae inaequales seu temporales*), to be counted from sunset and sunrise; for their construction, see Hartner [1], 2540. The European way of counting equal hours from midday and midnight was known to Islamic astronomers, but never used in civil life. Therefore the second division

of the *ḥadjra* into 2 × 12 hours, starting from 0° and 180°, as shown in Fig. 1a (outer rim), is often found on European, but never on oriental astrolabes. The latitude for which a *ṣafīḥa* is designed is usually engraved near the middle of the disc; it may be expressed in various ways: by degrees and minutes (e.g. "valid for the lat. of 38° 54′"), by the name of a particular city ("valid for the lat. of Mecca"), or by the duration of the longest day ("valid for 14ʰ 45 ᵐ"). *N.B.* Astounding errors are sometimes found in the descriptions of astrolabes in European collections, where *abdjad* numbers are misread for names of (non-existing) places. The number of the *ṣafāʾiḥ* varies; a good instrument may contain nine and even more. Certain astrolabes have also a *ṣafīḥa* which gives for a particular geographical latitude the projection of the circles of position, as required for the calculation of the astrological *directiones* (*tasyīr*); others have a *ṣafīḥa* "for all latitudes" (*li-djāmiʿ al-ʿurūḍ*) also called the "tablet of the horizons" (*ṣafīḥa āfāḳiyya*) or "general tablet" (*djāmiʿa*), which carries only the projection of the
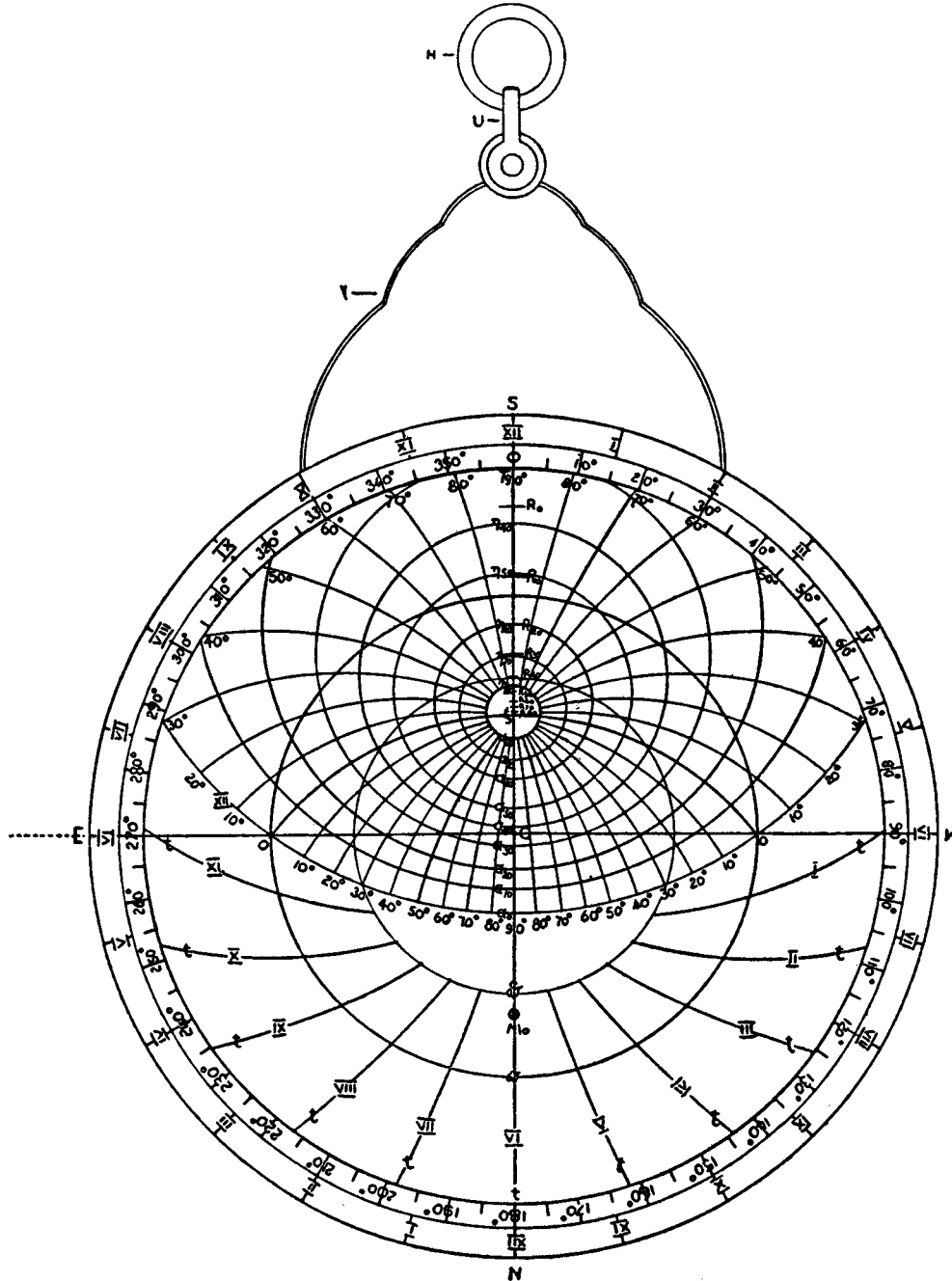
Fig. 1a. Face of an astrolabe showing the division of the *Ṣafīḥa*.

meridian and that of the horizon for a number of latitudes; the projection of the latter is often reduced to one-half of each arc of horizon. This disc serves to solve, for any latitude, the problems concerning the hour and the azimuths of the rising and setting of stars (cf. Michel [1], 91-2). The "perfect" (*kāmil*) astrolabe, moreover, bore the circle of the sun's equation. Finally, by interchanging the four quadrants of a *ṣafīḥa*, such fanciful figures as the "ogival tablet" are obtained (see Michel [1], 61 and Fig. 44); although being only a geometrical play, they allow the same measurements to be carried out as does an ordinary *ṣafīḥa*. An astrolabe on which all of the 90 almacantars are marked, is called "complete" *tāmm*, L. *solipartitum*. If only every second, third, fifth, sixth, ninth, or tenth, almacantar is marked, it is called *niṣfī* (*bipartitum*), *thulthī* (*tripartitum*), *khumsī*, *sudsī*, *tusʿī*, *ʿushrī*.

The *ʿankabūt* represents the vault of the fixed stars turning around the earth at rest represented by the *ṣafīḥa*. In order to allow the diagram of the *ṣafīḥa* to be seen as clearly as possible it is wrought in the shape of an openwork plate, having of course due regard to its solidity and the space required for attaching the protuberances or pointers (in the sing. *shaṭba*, *shaẓiyya*) indicating the fixed stars. It is because of this reticulated form that it has been called a "spider", referring of course to the spider's web (Gr. ἀράχνη and L. *aranea* may both mean the spider and its web). In designing this "spider", no limits are imposed on imagination, and almost every conceivable type is found, from the simplest geometrical pattern to the most beautiful leaf and scroll designs. As shown in Fig. 2, its most important part is the circle of the zodiac, (*minṭaḳat al-burūdj*), which is constructed in exactly the same way as all other circles represented on the *ṣafīḥa*. It is divided into the 12 *burūdj* comprising 30° each, but it is well to note that this division, radiating *not* from the pole of the ecliptic, but from that of the equator, does not indicate ecliptical longitudes, but the points of the zodiac having the *right ascensions* 0°, 30°, etc., and their subdivision into degrees (*mediationes coeli*, see Michel [1], 67 f., and Hartner [1], 2543). At the point of contact with the southern tropic, the zodiac carries a little point or hand, A, which serves to read the graduation on the *ḥadjra*. The spider is rotated by means of one or several handles, M, called *mudīr* or *muḥrik*. By combining parts (halves, fourths, sixths, even twelfths, i.e., single signs) of the zodiac represented in northern with others represented in southern projection, the zodiacal belt assumes more or less fantastic shapes for which equally fantastic names were invented: al-Bīrūnī and others tell us about *ṭablī*, "drum", *āsī*, "myrtle", *saraṭānī* or *musarṭan*, "crab", *ṣadafī* "shell", *thawrī*, "bull", *shaḳāʾiḳī*, "anemone" astrolabes, etc. Probably the *asṭurlāb zawraḳī*, "boat astrolabe" of *Aḥmad al-Sidjzī* (c. 400/1009) belongs to this category. For more detailed information, see Frank [1], 9 ff. and Michel [1], 69 f.

Other planispherical astrolabes based on other projections than the stereographic are to be regarded as theoretical constructions without practical significance, e.g. the astrolabe devised by al-Bīrūnī and called *usṭuwānī* "cylindrical", because of its projection (Ptolemy's "Analemma"), which al-Bīrūnī called cylindrical, and which we now call orthographic; the circles of the sphere are projected there in the form of straight lines, circles and ellipses. The *mubaṭṭaḥ* ("flattened") astrolabe, described by al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, 358-9), appears to have been only a stellar chart in equidistant polar projection, i.e., the pole of the ecliptic was the centre of the projection, the parallels with the ecliptic or circles of latitude (*dawāʾir al-ʿarḍ*) were represented by equidistant concentric circles and the circles of longitude (*dawāʾir al-ṭūl*; *N.B.*: in European
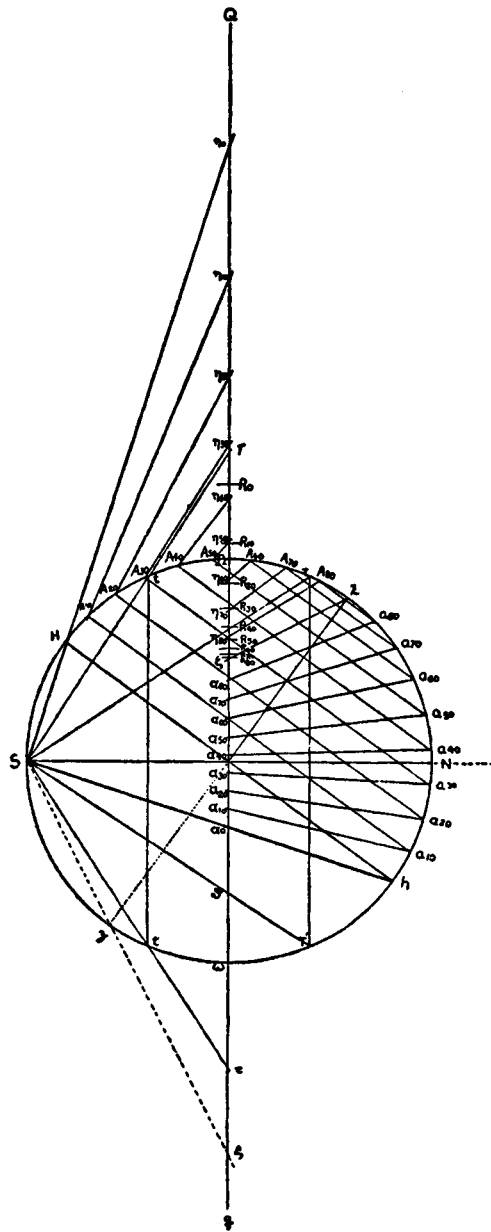
Fig. 1b. Stereographic projection on the equator.

astronomy, illogically, these great circles through the poles of the ecliptic are called "circles of *latitude*") by equidistant radii. The other projection mentioned on 359 f. is a peculiar variant of the one devised by al-Zarḳālī (see below).

(b) The back of the astrolabe is nearly always divided into four quadrants. The outer rim of the two upper are graduated from 0-90°, starting

from the horizontal line; the altitude of the sun or a star, taken with the aid of the alidad, is directly read on this graduation. Although the rules for the arrangement of the designs on the back are less strict, it can be said that the distribution of the diagrams in most cases is as follows: The upper left quadrant carries horizontal and/or vertical lines representing sines and cosines; the upper right, several sets of curves, one of which indicates the altitude of the sun when standing in the azimuth of the *ḳibla*, valid for a number of cities and for any position of the sun in the zodiac,—while another set indicates the altitude of the sun at midday for various geographical latitudes at all seasons of the year; the lower two quadrants contain the shadow squares, one devised for a gnomon of seven "feet" (*ḳadam*), the other, for a gnomon of twelve "fingers" (*aṣbaʿ*). As these divisions, which were first introduced by al-Zarḳālī (hence lacking only on the very oldest instruments, such as the one made by Aḥmad and Muḥammad, the sons of Ibrāhīm of Iṣfahān, in 374/984-5, Oxf. Lew. Evans Coll.), may be interpreted
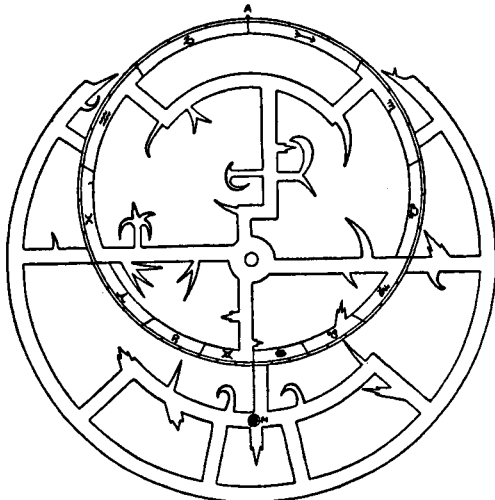
Fig. 2. Spider of an astrolabe.

as the tangents and cotangents of the altitudes measured, it can be said that the back of the astrolabe offers a graphical demonstration of the main four trigonometrical functions.—Apart from these divisions, all kinds of calendaric, astrological, and religious information can be found. Characteristic differences must be noted here: Spanish-Moorish astrolabes always have a Julian calendar, Egyptian, a Julian or Coptic, while Persian never have any solar calendar. Similarly, the lines indicating the times of prayer are apparently found only on Mag̲h̲ribī (including Spanish-Moorish) astrolabes (according to a personal communication from M. Henri Michel).

The alidad is a flat ruler turning around the *ḳuṭb* on the back of the astrolabe. Figs. 3 a and c show the two principal types employed, Fig. 3b being a drawing in perspective of 3a. The straight line A B passing through the centre is called *ḳuṭr*, L. *linea fiduciae* or *fidei*. The two arms of the alidad are sharpened to a point (*s̲h̲aṭba*, *s̲h̲aẓiyya*) and each has a rectangular plate (*libna*, *daffa*, *hadaf*) standing at right angles to the plane of the alidad itself, through which a hole (*t̲h̲uḳba*) is bored above the *linea fiduciae*.

The inconvenience that a special *ṣafīḥa* is required for each latitude was remedied by the Spanish Arab al-Zarḳālī (Azarquiel, Arzachel) who made the vernal or the autumnal point the centre, and the solstitial colure (i.e. the meridian passing through the solstitial points) the plane, of projection. In its final form, which al-Zarḳālī called *al-ʿabbādiyya* in honour of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād, king of Sevilla (461-84/1068-91), the entire instrument consists of a single tablet with two small subsidiary pieces. On the face of the tablet in stereographical "horizontal" (as opposed to the ordinary, "vertical") projection the equator is represented with its parallels (*madārāt*) and its circles of declination (*mamarrāt*), and the ecliptic with its circles of latitude and longitude; the projections of the equator and the ecliptic, then, are straight lines through the centre. Then evidently the tablet is valid for any geographical latitude; moreover, since the projections of the two hemispheres exactly coincide, it suffices to add the principal stars, to make it replace the "spider" of an ordinary astrolabe. A rod (*ufḳ māʾil*) "oblique horizon", with an attached perpendicular ruler, both turning about the centre of the graduated face, fulfils the functions of the *ṣafāʾiḥ* of the common astrolabe; by inclining it at an appropriate angle to the line of the equator
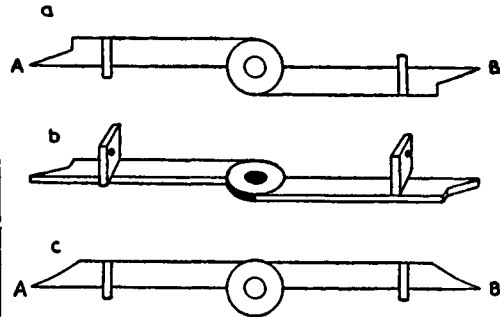
Fig. 3. Types of alidads.

we obtain the horizon of the place of observation, and can then deduce from its divisions the eastern and western amplitudes or else solve any other problem of spherical astronomy. On the back of the tablet are the alidad and the markings found on the back of the common astrolabes; but al-Zarḳālī further added the "circle of the moon", which enabled him to follow also the course of our satellite. —This simple and perfected astrolabe was called by the other Arabs *al-ṣafīḥa al-zarḳāliyya*, "the tablet of al-Zarḳālī". As mentioned above, the idea of making the solstitial colure the plane of projection appears to have been first conceived by al-Bīrūnī, whose *Chronology* was composed 30 years before al-Zarḳālī was born. But curiously enough, he there (359 f.) acquiesces in devising a purely schematical, not projective, diagram, with the circles of longitude and latitude drawn through *equidistant* parts of the radii. It is, therefore, really al-Zarḳālī who must be credited with the invention of this new type of an astrolabe. Through the *Libros del Saber* (Vol. 3, Madrid 1864, 135-237: *Libro de le açafeha*) the instrument became known and famous under the name *Saphaea*. It is practically identical with Gemma Frisius's *Astrolabum* (sic) *Catholicum* of 1556; the astrolabe of Gemma's pupil, D. Juan de Roias Sarmiento (published 1550) is a variety of it, where the stereographic is replaced by orthogonal projection (cf. above, al-Bīrūnī's "cylindrical" pro-

jection). Another early variety of al-Zarkālī's astrolabe is the *ṣafīḥa shakāziyya* (or *shakāriyya*), about which we do not yet possess any accurate information.

For the difficult problem of deriving the date of manufacture of an astrolabe from the astronomical data on which it was based (position of the vernal point, longitudes of stars and, in some cases, the longitude of the perihelion), see Michel [1], 133 ff. and Poulle [1]; for a demonstration that the application of modern astronomical methods necessarily leads to false conclusions, see also Hartner [2] 104, 135-8. No conclusions whatever can be drawn from the (extremely slow) variation of the obliquity of the ecliptic; astrolabists nearly always assume it to be 23½° sharp.

II. The linear (*khaṭṭī*) astrolabe, also called *ʿaṣa 'l-Ṭūsī*, "the staff of al-Ṭūsī", after its inventor al-Muẓaffar b. Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī (d.c. 610/1213-4) consists of one single piece, viz., a rod, with a plumb-line attached to its mid-point (i.e. the projection of the North Pole) a second thread fastened at its lower end, and a third thread, which is freely movable. The rod represents the NS line of an ordinary *ṣafīḥa*; its main divisions are those points in which the horizon, the almacantars, etc. meet the NS line. In the upper part are marked, moreover, the centres of the horizon and the almacantars, in the lower, the points in which each of the 12 *burūdj* and its subdivisions, as represented on the "spider", intersect with the NS line, in the course of one complete revolution of the latter. Another graduation, serving for measuring angles, indicates the cords of the angles 0-180°, where the cord of 180° equals the length of the whole rod. For further information, see Michel [1], 115-22, and Michel [2]; a first description was given by Carra de Vaux, *L'astrolabe linéaire ou bâton d'Et-Tousi*, in *JA*, 9th series, v, 464-516.

III. The spherical (*kurī, ukarī*) astrolabe, called *astrolabio redondo* in the *Libros del Saber* (Vol. 2, Madrid 1863, 113-222, text compiled by Isaac b. Sid (Isaac ha-Ḥazzan, called Rabbi Zag), exhibits without projection the diurnal movement of the sphere relatively to the horizon of the place of observation. Its history is at least as long as that of the flat astrolabe. P. Tannery, *Recherches sur l'hist. de l'astronomie ancienne*, Paris 1893, 53 ff., in dealing with the principle of the latter, demonstrates how easily the idea of a globe carrying the main constellations, surrounded by a hemispherical "spider" carrying the horizon and the hour lines, could have been derived from the hemispherical sundial, σκάφη (called ἀράχνη by Eudoxus). The *Fihrist* (trans. by Suter in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wiss.*, Vol. 6, 19, 1892) mentions Ptolemy as the first manufacturer of a spherical astrolabe, but this is evidently due to a confusion with the ἀστρολάβον ὄργανον described in *Alm.* 5, 1 (see introduction to the present article). Neither can the instrument devised by al-Battānī (*Op. astr.*, ed. Nallino, Vol. i, 319 ff.) be called a spherical astrolabe, as it is a combination of a celestial globe with an armillary sphere which lacks the essential characteristics of the astrolabe, above all the "spider". The main steps in the development of the spherical astrolabe before Alphonse X are marked by the treatises of Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā (d.c. 300/912), Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nayrīzī (d.c. 310/922), al-Bīrūnī (*K. fī Istīʿāb al-Wudjūh al-Mumkina fī Ṣanʿat al-Asṭurlāb*), and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Marrākushī (d.c. 660/1262, see L. A. Sédillot's trans. of the section on the spherical astrolabe in *Mém. sur les instruments astron. des arabes*, Vol. i, Paris 1834).

The spherical astrolabe serves the same purposes as the planispherical astrolabe. Its main disadvantage is, that it is considerably less handy than the latter and yet does not yield better results. The instrument as described in the *Libros del Saber* consists of the following pieces: (a) a metal globe on which are engraved three complete great circles representing the horizon, the meridian, and the first vertical; furthermore, in the upper hemisphere, the almacantars and the halves of the vertical circles that lie between the horizon and the zenith. The lower hemisphere, as on the flat astrolabe, carries the lines of the unequal hours (the equal hours can be read directly on the equator). On the meridian a number of pairs of diametrically opposite holes are bored so as to make the instrument adjustable to any geographical latitude; (b) the openwork "spider" containing the ecliptic, the equator, a number of fixed stars, a quadrant of altitude, and (only on the Alphonsine astrolabe) a shadow quadrant and a calendar; (c) a narrow semicircular strip of metal fitting closely to the surface of the "spider" and fastened with its centre to the pole of the ecliptic, about which it can be turned freely; together with the two diopters (tangent to the globe and parallel to one another) fastened at either end of it, it forms the alidad of the spherical astrolabe; (d) an axis passing through the appropriate pair of holes on the globe and through the equatorial pole of the "spider".—On the Alphonsine astrolabe, the equator, otherwise always represented as a half great circle, is given the shape of a small (!) circle parallel to the equator proper. The astrolabe of al-Marrākushī, instead of the alidad, has a metal strip (*ṣafīḥa*) turning about the pole of the *equator*, with a small gnomon fixed at right angles to it, which can thus be set on any point of the equator. For detailed information, see Seemann [1].

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(W. Hartner)

al-ASWAD b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnsī, of the tribe of Mad̲h̲ḥidj̲, leader of the first *ridda* in al-Yaman. His proper name is said to have been ʿAyhala or ʿAbhala, and he was also known as D̲h̲u 'l-K̲h̲imār, "the veiled one" (or D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥimār, "the man with the donkey"). After the murder of K̲h̲usraw II Parwīz (Ar. Abarwīz) in 628, but possibly not before the capture of Mecca in 630, the Persians in al-Yaman, under Bād̲h̲ām (or Bād̲h̲ān), made an alliance with Muḥammad, since they realised that they could obtain no further aid from Persia. The Arabic sources say they also became Muslims, but some European scholars place their conversion to Islam after the *ridda* (or "apostasy"). Whatever the date of conversion, the alliance meant that the part of al-Yaman controlled by the Persians had become part of the Islamic political system. After the death of Bād̲h̲ām Muḥammad seems to have recognised a number of local leaders as his agents in different parts of the region, besides sending some agents from Medina. The neighbourhood of Ṣanʿāʾ remained under Bād̲h̲ām's son, S̲h̲ahr. About the end of 10 (March, 632) men of the tribe of Mad̲h̲ḥidj̲ under al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī expelled two of Muḥammad's agents (K̲h̲ālid b. Saʿīd and ʿAmr b. Ḥazm) from Nad̲j̲rān and the surrounding district, defeated and killed S̲h̲ahr, occupied Ṣanʿāʾ, and brought much of al-Yaman under the authority of al-Aswad. Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ al-Murādī acted in concert with al-Aswad against his rival for the leadership of Murād, Farwah b. Musayk, who had been recognised by Muḥammad. Al-Aswad's movement was thus directed against the political system established by Muḥammad, not against the Persians as such, since some of them retained important positions in Ṣanʿāʾ. The religious aspect is not as evident as in the *ridda* elsewhere, but al-Aswad increased his influence by claims to be a soothsayer (*kāhin*), speaking in the name of Allāh or al-Raḥmān, and by practising sleight-of-hand. His monotheism is probably derived from the Christianity or Judaism of al-Yaman, not from Islam, since there is no record of his having become a Muslim. Al-Aswad's rule lasted only a month or two, for his death is said to have been before that of Muḥammad (in Rabīʿ I 11/June 632). He was killed by some of those who cooperated with him, namely, Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ and the Persians Fayrūz (or Fīrūz) al-Daylamī and Dād̲h̲awayh, assisted by the widow of S̲h̲ahr whom al-Aswad had married. Muḥammad is said to have instigated this movement against al-Aswad, but this report is perhaps only a later reconstruction of the events.

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al-ASWAD b. YAʿFUR (also called Yuʿfur and Yaʿfir) b. ʿAbd al-Aswad al-Tamīmī, Abu 'l-D̲j̲arrāḥ, pre-Islamic Arab poet who lived probably at the end of the 6th century A.D. He is said to have travelled about among the tribes, composing eulogies or satires in verse, and was for some time the companion of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mund̲h̲ir. He is sometimes called al-Aʿs̲h̲ā of the Banū Nahs̲h̲al, because he was night-blind, but he lost his sight at the end of his life, which is thought to have been extremely long. Of the poems which have come down to us, the most celebrated are a *ḳaṣīda* in *dāl* dating probably from his later years and containing the usual commonplaces on life's difficulties, the approach of death, the flight of youth, the infirmities of old age, etc.

Bibliography: His poems have been collected by L. Cheikho, *S̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 475-85; two *ḳaṣīdas* figure in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, i, 445-57, 846-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 134 f.; idem, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 282; D̲j̲umaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 33-4; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Durayd, *Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, 149; Ag̲h̲ānī, xi, 134-9; Bag̲h̲dādī, *K̲h̲izāna*, i, 193-6; Abkāryūs, *Rawḍa*, 44 ff.; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 178. (Ch. Pellat)

ASYŪṬ, town in Upper Egypt. Asyūṭ, the largest and busiest town of Upper Egypt, is situated Lat. 27° 11′ N. on the west bank of the Nile. Owing to its situation in one of the most fertile and sheltered districts of the cultivable Nile valley, and also to its being the natural terminus of great desert highways it was in antiquity an important town (Syowt, Greek: Lykopolis) and the chief town of a Nomos. Under Islām Asyūṭ remained the chief town of a *kūra* (modern *markaz*, "district"), and on the inauguration of the division into provinces became the capital of a province (*ʿamal*, now *mudīriyya*).

Asyūṭ is the colloquial form of the literary Usyūṭ. Both are Arabisms for the Coptic Siout, to which in the land registers of the Middle Ages the form Suyūṭ or Sayūṭ corresponded. But as early as the time of al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (d. 821/1418) the popular pronunciation was Asyūṭ.

A history of Asyūṭ cannot be written for the reason that we scarcely find any mention of it in the historians, and only towards the end of the Mamlūk period, under ʿAlī Bey, did it play any historical part, viz. in the year 1183/1769-70, when it was for a time the centre of revolt. From the accounts of geographers and travellers we ascertain that it enjoyed unbroken prosperity throughout the entire Islamic period. At the end of the 19th century, it gained considerably in importance, especially after it became linked by rail with Cairo (in 1292/1875). Its population has risen from 28,000 in 1293/1876 to 42,000 before the first world war and about 120,000 at the present time.

In the Middle Ages Asyūṭ was famed for its agricultural products, its industry and trade. Besides corn and dates, quinces of an exceptional size were found here. The main industries were the weaving of woollen, cotton and linen goods. Owing to the alum and indigo obtained from the adjacent oases dyeing was extensively carried on; *e.g.* the materials manufactured for export to Dār Fūr were dyed here. Its specialities were fine linen goods, called *dabīḳī* after their chief place of production Dabīḳ in Upper Egypt, and fine woollen goods and carpets modelled on the classical Armenian products. Today Asyūṭ still manufactures black and white tulle shawls with silver appliqué-work, which are much sought

after in Europe, and represent the last remains of an industry once very famous throughout the Orient. Further Asyūṭ was engaged in the preparation of opium and in the making of high-quality pottery which, with its antique patterns, is still much in demand as black and red "Asyūṭ-ware".

There was a brisk trade in all these products throughout Egypt and abroad. The direct trade with the Sūdān is specially famous. The annual Dār Fūr caravans (numbering about 1500 camels) brought slaves, ivory, ostrich-feathers and other products of the Sūdān, and received in exchange the products of Egypt's industries, especially stuffs. The scholars of Napoleon's expedition made careful investigations into this trade which has now so much declined.

Like all the industrial towns of Egypt, Asyūṭ had a large Christian population—60, according to others as many as 75, churches and chapels—, but no Jews at all, a fact explicitly stated.

Caravanserais, bazaars, baths—one of the latter famous and very ancient—, mosques and other public buildings adorn the town to-day as formerly. In one of the mosques stood a *minbar* which at certain seasons was filled with corn and carried through the streets as a *maḥmal* (Ibn Duḳmāḳ). Like all the flourishing towns of modern Egypt, Asyūṭ has a strong admixture of Levantines.

Asyūṭ is the birth place of Plotinus, the Coptic Saint John of Lykopolis and of several Arab scholars named al-Suyūṭī, of whom the versatile historian Dj̲alāl al-Dīn (d. 911/1505) is the best known.

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ATA. A Turkish word meaning "father", and also "ancestor" (cf. the expression *ata sözü* "proverb"). Among the Og̲h̲uz, the qualifier *ata* was appended to the names of people who had acquired great prestige; this term can also bear the derived meaning of "wise", and even of "holy", "venerated".

ʿAṬĀʾ, "gift", the term most commonly employed to denote, in the early days of Islam, the pension of Muslims, and, later, the pay of the troops. It is impossible to give here the history of the system of pay throughout the Muslim world, and this article will be confined to a general outline.

The traditional starting-point is the organisation of the pensions by ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb. The first Muslims had derived no material advantage except their share of the booty from successful expeditions. The flow of taxes into the coffers of the nascent caliphate enabled a better regulated form of reward to be envisaged, which the traditionists and jurists explain in connexion with the organisation of the first *dīwān* and within the framework of their theories, subsequently evolved, on the utilisation of *fayʾ*; the various versions which they give accord ill with one another, because they all reflect the desire, conceived at a later date, to find in the decisions of ʿUmar a precedent which did not exist. The main outlines, however, are clear: according to a hierarchic order which took into account kinship with the Prophet and especially seniority as regards admission to Islam, graduated pensions were distributed to the whole Muslim population which had been displaced from its homes by the holy war (the *muhādj̲irūn* and *anṣār* of the early days, together with the fighting men of a later date), women, children, slaves and clients (still not numerous and not by definition foreigners), but excluding, of course, the Bedouin and others who remained, in Arabia and elsewhere, unaffected by the military expansion of Islam. The amount ranged from 200 to 12,000 dirhams, the great majority of the men receiving from 500 to 1,000 dirhams annually. The registration and classification of those eligible necessitated the organisation of a service which constituted the first *dīwān*, and the division of the beneficiaries into groups, *ʿirāfa*, under the control of an *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*]. All the quotations relevant to these questions are given with a commentary in Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 368-417, to which should now be added Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallam, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 223-71, and the references in Tritton, *Notes on the Muslim system of pensions*, in *BSOAS* 1954, 170-2, which also deals with the century following.

This system, conceived in terms of conditions at the time of ʿUmar, obviously could not continue unchanged. The ramification of family trees, conversion on a large scale, the slowing-up of the rate of the conquests and the reduction in the benefits derived from war, the increasing complexity and specialisation of military techniques during the Umayyad period, and later, during the ʿAbbāsid period, the increasing professionalism and progressive "de-arabicisation" of the army, led, after many tentative procedures and irregularities, to a distinction between, on the one hand, civil pensions, reserved for the descendants of the Prophet's family (ʿAlid and ʿAbbāsid branches) and in general more of an honorary than concrete nature (we are, of course, not discussing here the salaries of officials, cf. RIZḲ), and on the other hand military pay; as regards the army, a distinction was made between the class of professional soldiers, registered in the *dīwān* and entitled to regular pay, and occasional volunteers, not registered in the *dīwān*, who received a smaller allowance confined to their period of effective service. On the other hand, whereas under the Umayyads, in spite of the ephemeral effort of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (cf. Wellhausen, *Arabische Reich*, 186-7), the *mawālī*, who were by that time numerous and were for the most part Iranians, were virtually excluded from the benefit of pay, under the ʿAbbāsids, it was the K̲h̲urāsānīs, and later the other elements, Turks, Daylamites, etc., who, as professionals, were almost the only persons to receive pensions, and the Arabs in the end were systematically removed from the registers in the course of the 3rd/9th century, at least in the East. In the early days, payment was made principally on a provincial basis, or, in Syria and Spain, on the basis of military districts called *dj̲und* [*q.v.*], as a charge on the local taxes; but ʿAbbāsid centralisation made the majority of these payments a charge on, or placed them under the direct control of, the Treasury (*bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]).

Although the amount of the payments seems to have been subject to considerable fluctuation, the

annual pay of a foot-soldier, in the second century of ʿAbbāsid rule, can be estimated to be of the order of 1,000 dirhams = 70 dīnārs, or three times the pay of a Baghdād journeyman, and that of a cavalryman twice as much. Commanders and specialised corps naturally received more. Ḳudāma describes in detail the functioning of the system, the differences between the various categories, the minute detail of the rolls, the different intervals at which different payments were made (W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der Abbasiden*, in *Isl.*, 1949). But, dating from before his time, *ad hoc* payments were made, especially on the occasion of an accession, in addition to the regular pay; and it seems that there had always been, in addition to pay proper, distributions of provisions and equipment. Arms were a charge on the Treasury. The army was therefore always expensive, and became increasingly so as military technique became more complex and heavy cavalry and siege operations played a greater part in it. Disturbances prevented the government from reducing the number of its effectives; and the troops, realising that they were indispensable, increased their demands; the Treasury found it increasingly difficult to maintain regular payments, and the discontent of the troops could only be appeased by increases in lieu of arrears, thus creating a vicious circle.

From the 4th/10th century onwards, the control exercised by the military over the political authority caused the replacement of payments by fiscal assignments which the interested parties collected from a domain the revenue of which was the equivalent of the amount of pay due (see IḲṬĀʿ).

Bibliography: In the article; cf. also DJAYSH. On the pay of the Ottoman forces, see ʿULŪFA. (CL. CAHEN)

ʿAṬĀʾ B. ABĪ RABĀḤ, a prominent representative of the ancient Meccan school of religious law. Born in Yaman of Nubian parentage but brought up in Mecca, he was a *mawlā* of the family of Abū Maysara b. Abī Khuthaym al-Fihrī. He died in Mecca in 114 or 115 (732 or 733) at a very old age (88 or even 100 years are mentioned). ʿAṭāʾ is the only ancient Meccan jurisconsult who is more than a name to us; an analysis of the doctrines ascribed to him enables us to separate an authentic core from later, fictitious accretions. In the manner common to his contemporaries, he did not hesitate to use his personal opinion (*raʾy*), both in its disciplined and in his arbitrary form (*ḳiyās* and *istiḥsān*, respectively); statements which, reflecting a later fashion of thought, make him reject *raʾy*, are therefore spurious. The extent to which ʿAṭāʾ may have used traditions from the Prophet and from the Companions as legal arguments, is difficult to ascertain; if he did so, he presumably made use of *mursal* [*q.v.*] traditions. Owing to the rapid development of Islamic law at the beginning of the second century of the *hidjra*, some of the distinctive opinions of ʿAṭāʾ seem to have become unfashionable already towards the end of his life; this is probably reflected in the statement that some younger contemporaries of his ceased attending his lectures, and that the *mursal* traditions transmitted by him are weak. This was more than compensated by attributing to him, when the attitude to traditions had changed, personal contact with an ever increasing number of Companions of the Prophet, though some Muslim critics themselves point out that he did not hear traditions from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Umm Salama and others, and express doubt concerning his direct contact with ʿAʾisha. At the beginning of the second century, the interest of the specialists in Islamic law had already spread from purely religious problems to more technically legal questions; the authentic doctrines of ʿAṭāʾ bear this out, and he did not specialise in the ceremonies of *ḥadjdj* as some sources assert in deference to the fiction that this was the favourite subject of the scholars of Mecca. Already during the life-time of ʿAṭāʾ, his reputation spread far beyond Mecca, and Abū Ḥanīfa states that he was present at his lecture meetings; this is perhaps the earliest authentic piece of evidence on technical instruction in Islamic religious law.

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ʿAṬĀʾ BEY, Ṭayyārzāde ʿAtāʾ Allāh Aḥmad, known as ʿAṭāʾ Bey, Ottoman historian. He was born in Istanbul in 1225/1810, the son of a palace official. He himself was educated in the palace, and held various official positions. In 1293/1876 he went to the Ḥidjāz to take up an appointment as administrator of the sacred territory (ḥarām) of Mecca, and died in Medina in 1294/1877 or 1297/1880. His most important work is his five volume history, known as *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭāʾ* (Istanbul 1291-3/1874-6). Its chief interest derives from his intimate knowledge of the organisation, customs, personalities, and affairs of the Imperial household in the 19th century. An autograph copy of his *dīwān* is preserved in the *Millet* library.

Bibliography: Babinger 366-7; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* iii, 481-2; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri* iii, 108. (ED.)

MEḤMED **ʿAṬĀʾ BEY**, (1856-1919), Ottoman scholar, journalist, and public official. After the revolution of 1908 he became a member of the Financial Reform Committee and was for one week Minister of Finance. He published many articles in journals and periodicals, under the names of Mefkhari and ʿAtāʾ, and also produced a literary anthology called *Iḳtiṭāf*, which was extensively used as a school text-book. His most important undertaking was the Turkish translation of Hammer's History of the Ottoman Empire. This version, based on the French translation of J. J. Hellert, began to appear in Istanbul in 1329/1911. Of the fifteen volumes that were planned, only ten actually appeared, the last in 1337/1918.

Bibliography: Babinger 400-1; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri* iii, 110-1. (ED.)

ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH EFENDI [see SHĀNĪZADE].

ʿAṬĀʾ MALIK DJUWAYNĪ [see AL-DJUWAYNĪ].

ʿATĀBA, modern Arabic four line verse, common in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ. The first three lines not only rhyme, but generally repeat the same rhyming word with a different meaning (*tadjnīs tāmm*). The last line rhymes with the paradigm *ʿatāba* ("lovers' reproach"), the last syllable of which is often supplied without making sense. The metre is a sort of *wāfir*. A peculiar form common in ʿIrāḳ is called (*a*)*būdhiyye* ("man of sorrow") or *lāmī* and ends with *iyya* (*eyya*).

Bibliography: E. Sachau, *Arabische Volkslieder aus Mesopotamien*, *Ab.Pr.Ak. W*, 1889, 17 ff.;

G. H. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan*, Leipzig 1901, passim; B. Meissner, *Neuarabische Gedichte aus dem Irâq*, ii, in *MSOS As.*, 1903, 65-75, 96-124, iii, in *MSOS As.*, 1904, 268-9; P. Kahle, *Zur Herkunft der ʿAtāba-Lieder*, in *ZDPV*, 1911, 242-4; H. Ritter, *Mesopotamische Studien*, ii: *Vierzig arabische Volkslieder*, in *Isl.*, 1920, 120-33; W. Eilers, *Arabische Lieder aus dem Irak*, in *ZS*, 1935, 234-55; idem, *Zwölf irakische Vierzeiler*, Leipzig 1942.

(H. Ritter).

ATABAK (Atabeg), title of a high dignitary under the Saldjūḳids and their successors. The term is Turkish and first makes its appearance in Muslim history with the Saldjūḳids; it is therefore reasonable to enquire whether any precedents exist in the Turkish societies of Central Asia. So far no occurrence of the actual word seems to have been reported and the fact that in the Orkhon civilisation there is apparently a person called *ata*, father, acting as a tutor to a young prince, is too vague to enable one to affirm a connexion; the same is true of similar cases existing in other civilisations (see for example Hārūn al-Rashīd and Yaḥyā al-Barmakī); moreover no such office has so far been noted even under the Ḳarakhānids. The term *atabeg*, therefore, seems to be more precisely characteristic of the Oghuz or the Saldjūḳids. Even under these latter, the first definite indication of the title, which was subsequently to make history as the title of Turkish military chiefs, applies to an Iranian "civilian": Malikshāh, who was very young when he came to power, added the term *atabeg* to the *laḳab* of his *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk, thereby indicating that he conferred upon him the entire delegation of his own authority, as though he were his father (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 54; *RCEA*, vii, no. 2734-2737). Nevertheless the fact that from the death of Malikshāh the title is to be met with in all branches of the Saldjūḳid dynasty, including that of Asia Minor, which has a specific evolution, prompts one to admit its existence already at the origin of the régime. In these circumstances there is no reason to reject the evidence, not apparently previously adduced, of the *Akhbār al-Dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, ed. Muḥ. Nāẓim, 28-29, which places a Turkish *atabeg* beside the young Alp Arslan during his father's lifetime in the person of a certain Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Kulsāriʿ (Ḳizil Sāriʿ?). The honour conferred on Niẓām al-Mulk, a non-Turk and *wazir*, appears to have been something of an exception, all the more characteristic of his ascendancy.

However that may be, from the death of Malikshāh, the *atabegs* appear more and more regularly, whilst the role played by them increases, favoured by princely minorities and strife between pretenders. Henceforth only Turkish military chiefs are involved, corresponding to the growing influence acquired by this element during the period of the Saldjūḳid regime's decay. Malikshāh's son Barkyāruk, apparently during his father's lifetime, had the *djāndār* Gümüshtakin as "preceptor (*murabbiy*ᵘⁿ) and *atabeg*" (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, abridgement by Bundarī, ed. Houtsma, 83; cf. al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, 140). He, in turn, created others for his young brothers Sandjar and Muḥammad, when he accorded them autonomous appanages, and on his death-bed, also for his son Malikshāh, who was still a child. At the same time, on the death of Malikshāh's brother Tutush, whose appanage was in Syria and who was the unfortunate rival of Barkyāruk, we find an *atabeg* with each of his sons Ruḍwān and Duḳāḳ. Henceforth every Saldjūḳid prince seems to have had an *atabeg*, at least if he was endowed with an appanage whilst still a minor; in other words, wherever there were several sons, there were also several *atabegs*. As they now issued exclusively from the category of military chiefs of servile origin, their function may in a way be associated with the duty of every slave or manumitted slave to guard the interests of his master's family to which he himself belonged. Furthermore the *atabeg* frequently made his position as a "father" complete by marrying his pupil's mother, when the latter became a widow (for example early on, Tughtakin at Damascus, the mother of Duḳāḳ). As for his authority, this consisted in his sharing in the unrestricted power of the prince and therefore it cannot be defined by precise attributions, as in the case of ordinary functions. However, he could be dismissed by another *atabeg*; in any case, when the prince grew up, the *atabeg*'s authority naturally disappeared, only leaving room for his influence as a counsellor, who had the prince's ear; if the *atabeg* assumed more than that, a rupture with the prince followed (for example, Ruḍwān and Duḳāḳ), or even the *atabeg*'s execution (Kutlughtakin by Barkyāruk's brother Muḥammad).

This, at least was the initial state. But relatively soon the *atabeg*'s position was consolidated at the expense of that of the prince. The office of *atabeg* gave its holder great authority, which he was normally tempted to perpetuate. But in addition, from the second generation of Malikshāh's heirs, the respective roles of prince and *atabeg* were reversed. The starting point now was that either willingly or under duress the sultan would bestow a major governorship on a powerful *amīr* and, in order to safeguard the formal dependence of the latter, he attached one of the Saldjūḳid children to him, whose *atabeg* he became. For a while the young prince continued to serve as a cloak beneath which the chief concealed his own ambitions; such was the case in the disputes which brought Sultan Masʿūd into conflict with various of his relatives, each of whom was urged on by his *atabeg*. Thus Fārs, Ādharbāydjān and, at one time, Mawṣil, each had their respective *atabeg* and their claimant to the Sultanate. A corresponding evolution took place in the case of the minor Saldjūḳid dynasty of Kirmān (Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm, *Histoire des Seldjukides du Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma, 35-132 passim and index, especially under Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Būzḳush).

A further new stage was reached when the *atabeg* succeeded in making hereditary, in addition to his office, possession of the governorship, which in theory constituted his reward for it. This was accomplished after the middle of the 6th/12th century by the family of the *atabegs* of Ādharbāydjān, who were descended from Ildegiz, the *atabeg* of Sulṭān Arslan. Lastly at the beginning of the century, the death of Duḳāḳ without heir at Damascus, far away from the centres of the Saldjūḳids, enabled the *atabeg* Tughtakin to found a dynasty which was both autonomous and in his own name. Elsewhere all-powerful *atabegs* reached the same results by suppressing their sultans, who were completely devoid of resources: this was accomplished at Mawṣil on the death of the *atabeg* Zangi by his heirs in 539/1144 and was similarily achieved against the last Persian Saldjūḳid, with the help of the Caliph, by the heirs of Ildegiz, who summoned the Khʷārizmshāh into central Iran (588/1192). Moreover the sultan's disapperance did not hinder the masters of Ādharbāydjān and of Mawṣil from continuing to have themselves called *atabegs*; the word, hence-

forth, had in practice the exclusive sense of territorial prince. Thus it seems that from the middle of the 6th/12th century the title in Fārs had been adopted by the Salghūrids, the vanquishers of the real *atabegs*, without their having any longer a sultan under their tutelage. The most famous of the Atabeg dynasties is that of Mawṣil, by reason of the work devoted to them by their historian and subject Ibn al-Athīr. A further new dynasty of pseudo-atabegs was to appear in the 7th-13th century in Luristān (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*).

The title *atabeg* was still to be met with among the successors of the Saldjūḳids, in particular under the Khwārizm-shāhs, who did not allow those who bore it, exclusively tutors of young princes, to acquire much influence (Djuwaynī, ii, 22, 33, 39, 209). Later on, in all those states which derived from the Mongol conquest, the appellation *atabeg* is to be met with upon occasion fortuitously, applied to indefinite princely tutors or as one of a number of simple honorific titles inherited from the past (see references in M. F. Köprülü, art. *Atabeg* in *IA*). More remarkable is the penetration of this title, attributed to military and feudal leaders, into Christian Georgia, which had borrowed other institutions from neighbouring Ādharbāydjān, with whom they were alternatively at war or in matrimonial relationship (J. Karst, *Le code géorgien du roi Vakhtang, Commentaire*, i, 211 ff.; M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de Géorgie*, 1/2, passim; Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 1932, chap. xxiii).

Among the Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor, the *atabeg* is attested from the beginning of the reign of Ḳilidj Arslan I, in the person of Khumartāsh al-Sulaymānī (consequently a manumitted slave of his father Sulaymān b. Ḳuṭlumush) (Ibn al-Azraḳ, quoted in a note by Amedroz to the History of Damascus of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 157). Shortly afterwards the mother of the young Saldjūḳid of Malaṭya, to protect him against his brother of Ḳunya, gave him a series of *atabegs*, whom she took in marriage, the last of them being the neighbouring Artuḳid Balak [*q.v.*] (Michael the Syrian, trans. Chabot, 194 and 200). In the main branch, *atabegs* are also reported in the 6th/12th century (*RCEA*, no. 3376-3377), and then in the 7th/13th century; the power of the sovereigns prevented them from expanding and it is only after the disaster which ended in the Mongol protectorate that the title occurs borne by men with a decisive influence on the régime, such as Djalāl al-Dīn Ḳaratāy. However, in Asia Minor the actual conditions of the evolution had given the power to a team of high dignitaries, friends or enemies according to the case, rather than to a single individual, and the *atabeg* was not the most important. In this area he does not appear to have survived the Ilkhānid regime and he was unknown to the Ottomans.

The title of *atabeg*, however, still had a fairly long independent career in the Mamlūk state. The Ayyūbids had made it known in their realms; it may perhaps have found expression in the ephemeral tutelage which al-Afḍal exercised in 595/1198 over his young nephew, the son of al-ʿAzīz in Egypt; in any case it was used more permanently and formally during princely minorities in the Yemen and particularily at Aleppo (History of Aleppo of Ibn al-ʿAdīm, passim). This is the way in which it reached the Mamlūks. The founder of the regime, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, bore the title, not as tutor to a prince, but as regent-spouse of the famous heir and widow of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, Shadjarat al-Durr; and the title, sometimes accompanied by considerable power, at other times devoid of it, survived down to the end of the dynasty. If one may believe al-Maḳrīzī (*Sulūk*, trans. Quatremère i/1, 2), Aybak bore the title of *atabeg* of the armies; but no contemporary author has attributed it to him and one must perhaps envisage a confusion in al-Maḳrīzī's mind with the title of *atabak al-ʿasākir* [*q.v.*], which was usual in his time. In effect it then corresponded with a kind of supreme military command, though it only acquired this extended meaning apparently under the Circassians, following the suppression of the office of *nāʾib*.

Bibliography: The only general study is by M. F. Köprülü, *op. cit.*, where detailed references and additional information will be found. For the sources and other materials, apart from those already cited in the article, see below the articles MAMLŪKS and SALDJŪḲIDS. On the Great Saldjūḳs and their Irano-ʿIrāḳī successors, the information used here has been taken mainly from Ibn al-Athīr, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, and Rāwandī. See also Sanaullah, *The decline and fall of the Seldjukid Empire*, Calcutta 1938; M. A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu Imparatorluğu Tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1954; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 50-1. For Asia Minor, see principally the chronicles of Ibn Bībī and Aksarayi, *passim*. For the Mamlūks, see the following article.. (CL. CAHEN)

ATĀBAK AL-ʿASĀKIR. After the decline of the office of the viceroy (*Nāʾib al-Salṭana*) the Atābak al-ʿAsākir (Commander-in-Chief) of the Mamlūk Army became the most important *amīr* in the Sultanate. His functions were much broader than the name of his office indicates. For all intents and purposes he had become the sultan's viceroy. Very frequently the title *mudabbir al-mamālik* or *mudabbir al-mamālik al-islāmiyya* was appended to his name. It was common, especially in the Circassian period, for him to succeed the sultan on the throne. (See D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 58-59, and references on p. 59, n. 6). (D. AYALON)

ATABEG [see ATABAK].

ATABEG AL-ʿASĀKIR [see ATABAK AL-ʿASĀKIR].

ʿAṬĀʾĪ. ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH B. YAḤYĀ B. PĪR ʿALĪ B. NAṢŪḤ, known as NEWʿĪ-ZĀDE ʿAṬĀʾĪ, prominent Ottoman poet of the early 17th century and continuator of Ṭashköprü-zāde's biographical work on the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes. (Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣa*, iv, 263, incorrectly gives his *ism* as Muḥammad). He was born in Istanbul in Shawwāl 991/1583, where his father (who, under the *makhlaṣ*, Newʿī, enjoyed high esteem as a poet and scholar—from 998 to 1003, he was tutor to the ill-fated sons of Murād III) was at this time professor of the Djaʿfar Agha *madrasa*; his mother was the daughter of the famous Nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 131). Having studied under Ḳāf-zāde Fayḍ Allāh Ef. (the father of the anthologist Fayḍī) and Akhī-zāde ʿAbdülḥalīm Ef., he began his career as professor of the Djānbāziyye *madrasa* in Istanbul (Ṣafar 1014/1605), but was soon to be transferred to the judicial class by his appointment as *ḳāḍī* of Lofdja in Shaʿb. 1017. He held a number of such posts in Rūmili (Shaykhī gives the most detailed information about these), the last of which was Üsküb, whence he was dismissed at the end of 1044/1635. He returned to Istanbul where he died in Djumādā I, 1045 (ʿUshshāḳī-zāde, f. 26b and

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 724, et al., id., *Fadhlaka*, ii, 168 erroneously give the year 1044; characteristically unreliable, Riḍā gives 1046) and was buried beside his father in the court-yard of the Shaykh Wafā mosque. He was survived by a son, Meḥmed, who was also of the *ʿulamāʾ* (*Fadhlaka*, loc. cit.).

The most famous and valuable of his works is the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī Takmilāt al-Shaḳāʾiḳ* (completed in Rabīʿ II, 1044 and printed in Istanbul, 1268), in which he brings down to his own day the biographical sketches of the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* and dervishes begun by Ṭashköprüzāde in his Arabic *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* (Brockelmann, ii, 425). Like the latter, it is organised according to the reign in which the individual died, the last being that of Murād IV, but the language is now Turkish and the notices are far more precise in detail and frequently contain ʿAṭāʾī's personal remarks and reminiscences. The style is similar to that used by Medjdī in his translation of the *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, and, while to the taste of recent generations almost intolerably elegant, was greatly admired by his contemporaries; and, indeed, it is this alone which redeems the work from being a mere statistical summary. The popularity of his poetry, too, has not survived (cf. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 232 ff. for the 19th century Ottoman critics), though at least one modern scholar, M. F. Köprülü, has found his mathnawī works deserving of study. These latter are included in his *khamsa*, of which the fifth portion, entitled *Ḥilyat al-Afkār*, was until recently regarded as lost or non-existent. For a full analysis of the other four works and a short account of his divan, all still unpublished, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. osman. Dichtkunst*, iii, 244-283. (It should be remarked that the chronogram given here for the date of completion of the *Nafḥat al-Azhār* is 1020, while that given by A. S. Levend is 1034). The only other work ascribed to him is a legal monograph, *al-Ḳawl al-Ḥasan fī Djawāb al-Ḳawl Liman* ... (Brockelmann, ii, 427), which, from its title, appears to be a reply to an unfinished work by his contemporary Mollādjiḳ Aḥmed Ef. (cf. *Ḥadāʾiḳ*, 667).

Bibliography: To the works mentioned by Babinger, 171 and Brockelmann, II, 427, should be added those given by Behcet Gönül, *Istanbul Kütüphanelerinde al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri*, *Türkiyat Mecmuasī*, vii-viii, cüz 2 (1945), 161; Shaykhī, *Waḳāʾiʿ al-Fuḍalāʾ*, (*Süleymāniyye*, Beshīr Ağa, 479), f. 3a; Riyāḍī, *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarāʾ*, (Nuruosmaniye, 3724), f. 116b. ʿUshshāḳīzāde's *Dhayl-i Shaḳāʾiḳ* was used in the Murād Mollā MS., nr. 1432, f. 26a. Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergün, *Türk Şairleri*, ii, 541-550, gives the most extensive selection of his verse and reproduces in his article the statements of Shaykhī, Riyāḍī and Riḍā, as well as the opinions of M. F. Köprülü. On the *Khamsa*, cf. Agâh Sīrrī Levend, *Atayiʾnin Hilye-tül-Efkarʾī*, (Ankara, 1948); however, his argument in support of 1046 as the year of ʿAṭāʾī's death is unconvincing.

(J. Walsh)

ATAK (Attock), a fort in West Pākistān 33° 53′ N, 72° 15′ N, commanding the passage of the Indus just below the junction with the Kābul river. Atak was founded by Akbar in 989/1581 (under the name Atak-Banāras) to defend the main invasion route from Kābul via Peshāwar against the incursions of his brother Mīrzā Ḥakīm. For contemporary explanations of the name see Firishta, i, 502 and Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. Text, iii, Calcutta 1881-87, 355; for a comment on its possible historical derivation see Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. India*, ii, 1871, 7.

Coming into British occupation at the end of the second Sikh war, Atak lost some of its military value with the opening (1300/1883) of the combined road and rail bridge to carry the Grand Trunk road and the North-West railway.

Bibliography: see text; also *Gazetteer of Rawalpindi District*, (rev. ed.), 1893-4, Lahore 1895, 260 and *Imperial Gazetteer* VI, 138.

(P. Hardy)

ATALİḲ. A term synonymous with *atabeg*, used not only among the Turks, but also in the Caucasus, Turkistan, and by the Tīmūrids and the Turkish dynasties of India. It was still used in the 19th century by the *amīrs* of Bukhārā and Khiva, and the *amīr* of Kāshghar, Yaʿḳūb Bey, bore the title of *atalīḳ ghāzī*.

Bibliography: See the article, with a very full bibliography, by M. F. Köprülü in *IA*, s.v.

(R. Mantran)

ʿATAMA (a.), the first third of the night, according to the lexica, from the time of waning of the *shafaḳ* (the red colour of the sky after sunset). This definition covers exactly the right time for the *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ*, which is therefore often called *ṣalāt al-ʿatama*, even in quite large a number of traditions. But later on, pious circles rejected this name, since the *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ* is expressly called thus in the Ḳurʾān. A tradition appeared which declared the use of *ʿatama* with regard to the prayer to be characteristic of Bedouins, who used to milk their camels at that time and call the milking itself *ʿatama*. Muslims are requested to use the name which Allāh himself used in the Holy Book.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.vv. *ʿatama*, *ʿishāʾ*.

(M. Plessner)

ATAR, town in Mauritania, chief place of the Circle of the Adrar, situated at a height of 230 m., on the route Saint-Louis to Tindouf, about 420 km. to the east of Port-Etienne. The Ḳṣar has 4500 inhabitants belonging for the most part to the Smacids, a tribe of marabouts. According to local tradition Atar was founded in the 16th or 17th century. At this period the pilgrims' caravan to Mecca was organised each year by the Idau ʿAli of Chinguetti (Shinḳīṭī) who used to give the imamate to a distinguished member of the Smacids. It happened that they broke with this tradition in favour of a Ghellawi. Outraged, a group of the Smacids left the town in protest and arrived at an important settlement of the Azougui which has now disappeared, but was then rich enough for the Portuguese to have established a factory there in the 15th century. So this display of temper gave birth to Atar.

Although Chinguetti has remained the spiritual and religious capital of the Adrar, Atar is now the principal commercial centre, providing a market for the great nomads and the southern outlet for the products of Moroccan workers. It is here that graziers come to sell their camels and sheep and to stock themselves up with tea, sugar, indigo, oil etc. It is also to its important palm-grove that they come to perform the process known as *geṭna*, the cleaning of the dates, which brings in great wealth at the time of the date-harvest.

When, at the beginning of the 20th century, Coppolani and his successor, Colonel Montane-Capdebosc, extended French influence to the north of Senegal, they were soon forced to the conclusion that no peace was possible in Mauritania while the

mountainous range of the Adrar provided an ideal centre for armed malcontents.

It was Atar, capital of the Adrar, "the Key to the Situation", that Colonel Gouraud chose as the objective for his column in 1908.

After defeating the Emir's warriors and the *ṭālibs* of Shaykh Mā al-ʿAynayn at the pass of Hamdoun, he entered the Ḳṣar on 9 January 1909 and received the submission of the chief of the Smacids, Sidia Ould Sidi Baba.

Since then Atar, linked by road and air to Senegal and Morocco has considerably increased its economic and commercial importance.

Bibliography: Gouraud, *Mauritanie-Adrar*, Paris 1945; Psichari, *Les Voix qui crient dans le désert* (Complete works, vol. ii), Paris 1948; Cdt. Modat, *Portugais, Arabes et Français dans l'Adrar mauritanien*, in *Bull. du Comité d'Études historiques et scientifiques d'A.O.F.*, 1922, 550; *R.M.M.* xix, 1912, 260; *Études mauritaniennes* (*IFAN no.* 5) *Ahmed Lemine ech Chinguetti.*

(S. d'Otton Loyewski)

ATATÜRK (Muṣṭafā Kemāl), the founder and first President of the Turkish Republic, was born at Salonica 1881 and died at Istanbul on 10th November 1938. He lost his father, ʿAlī Riḍā, whilst still very young, so that it was his mother, Zübeyde Khānīm, who saw to his education. When twelve years of age, he entered the military preparatory school at Salonica, where one of his teachers made him take the name of Kemāl in addition to Muṣṭafā. In 1895 he entered the Military School of Monastir, then in 1899 that of Istanbul, where he started to take an interest in political life and to play an active part in the secret opposition movements, which the despotism of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] had called into being. He obtained the diploma of the Academy of War of Istanbul in 1905, and was then sent to Damascus as a Captain, where he founded the *Waṭan we Hürriyet* (Fatherland and Freedom) group. Upon his return from Salonica, he only took part from a distance in the activities of the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī* (Union and Progress) movement. He took part in the defence of Tripolitania, when it was invaded by the Italians (1911-2), was appointed Military Attaché in Bulgaria and, during the first world war, distinguished himself in the Dardanelles' fighting (1915) and, as an Army Commander, in the fighting in the Caucasus (1916) and in Palestine (1917). After a short visit to Germany, he reassumed command of the 7th Army in Palestine, with which he retreated as far as the area north of Aleppo, where he was at the time of the Mudros Armistice (30th October 1918). Muṣṭafā Kemāl did not agree with the Draconic terms of the Armistice and came into conflict with Sultan Meḥemmed VI. Recalled to Istanbul, where his national feelings were severely tested, he was then appointed Inspector of the Army of the North at Erzurum on 30th April 1919. On 19th May, he landed at Samsun with his mind made up to fight for the total independence of Turkey, threatened by the designs of the Allies, by relying on the troops which had remained faithful to him. On 22nd June he issued a circular from Amasya condemning the government of the Sultan and of the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ferīd Pasha. Through the medium of the congresses which he assembled at Erzurum (23rd July) and at Sivas (4th September) he launched the demand for the independence and unity of Turkey. On 23rd April 1920, having won a certain number of political and military personalities to his cause, he assembled the first Great National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Medjlisi*) at Ankara, which elected him President. The struggle had begun against both the Government of Istanbul and the Allies, more particularly the Greeks (1920-2). His decisive part in the campaigns conducted against the latter caused the Assembly to bestow on him the title of *Ghāzī* ("The victor").

The Armistice of Mudanya (11 October 1922) set the seal on Muṣṭafā Kemāl's victory, and on 1st November 1922 he obtained the vote abolishing the Sultanate. The Lausanne Conference (November 1922-July 1923) gave complete independence to Turkey as well as national frontiers. The second Great National Assembly, the majority of whose members belonged to the People's Party (*Khalḳ Fīrḳasī*, modern Tk. *Halk Firkasī*), founded by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (subsequently the People's Republican Party: *Cümhuriyet Halk Partisi*), on 29th October 1923 proclaimed the Republic; Muṣṭafā Kemāl was elected President—an office to which he was constantly re-elected until his death—whilst ʿIṣmet Pasha (Ismet Inönü) was appointed Prime Minister and Ankara became the capital of Turkey. The abolition of the Caliphate was voted on 3rd March 1924.

The first years of the Turkish Republic were marked by the fierce determination of Muṣṭafā Kemāl to modernise the country, to free it from foreign economic tutelage and to secularise it. Relying on a single absolutely devoted party, he imposed a Constitution which virtually placed all power in the hands of the President of the Republic (30th April 1924). Secularisation, marked by the suppression of the religious courts, Ḳurʾānic schools and dervish orders, the prohibition of the wearing of the fez, the abolition of the article of the Constitution declaring Islam the state religion, brought about local risings (Kurdistan and the Izmir region) and reactions in some political circles, which were swiftly suppressed. Modernisation and turkisation proceeded hand in hand through the nationalisation of foreign companies, the impulse given to agriculture and industry, the creation of national banks, the development of means of communication, the reform of the alphabet, the vote for women and the introduction of new civil, criminal, and commercial codes. Muṣṭafā Kemāl's decisions, sanctioned by the Assembly without opposition, were disseminated throughout the country by the local sections of the People's Party and by the *Halk evleri* (Houses of the people); the whole nation was affected and impregnated by the new ideas. In November 1934, a law required all citizens to use family names; the Assembly accorded Muṣṭafā Kemāl that of Atatürk. In foreign policy, he showed himself to be pacific, though determined to protect the independence of his country: he concluded treaties of friendship or alliance with the neighbouring states and with the Great Powers. He signed a pact with Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, "the Balkan Entente" (9th February 1934), which was extended eastwards by the Pact of Saʿdābād (Turkey, ʿIrāḳ, Īrān and Afghanistān, July 1937).

Muṣṭafā Kemāl died on 10th November 1938 at Istanbul, mourned by a whole nation, who saw in him the liberator and the renovator of their country. A provisional tomb was erected at the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara; on 10th November 1953, his remains were solemnly transferred to the vast mausoleum erected in his honour in the capital.

Muṣṭafā Kemāl was a man uncompromising by nature, impatient of opposition, exacting in his

demands both upon himself and others, his sole objective being the restoration of his country and the promotion of its greatness. Opposed to the Sultanate and to Islam, he strove relentlessly to suppress them both, for he considered them responsible for the decay of the Ottoman Empire. His passionate love of his country led him into the severe treatment both of ethnic minorities long settled in Turkey and of prominent Turks whose crime was that they did not subscribe to all his political ideas. Yet Atatürk has imparted to the new Turkish régime the deep imprint of his personality. There could be no question for his successors of going back on his work, except in the matter of religion and in the democratisation of the régime.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography of works dealing with Atatürk will be found in *IA*, vol. i, fasc. 10, Istanbul 1949. Additional bibliography: Atatürk, *Nutuk* (1919-27), vols. i and ii, Istanbul 1934 (English translation: *A Speech delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal*, Leipzig 1929); *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (1919-38), Istanbul 1945; Burhan Cahit, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal*, Istanbul 1930; Ziya Şakir, *Atatürk'ün hayati*, Istanbul 1938; Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Atatürk*, Istanbul 1946; J. Deny, *Souvenirs du Gazi Moustafa Kemal Pacha*, in *REI*, 1927, i, 119-36; ii, 145-222; P. Gentizon, *Moustafa Kemal ou l'Orient en marche*, Paris 1929; H. E. Wortham, *Mustapha Kemal of Turkey*, New-York and Boston 1930; H. Armstrong, *The Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal. An intimate study of a dictator*, London 1932, New-York 1933; H. Melzig, *Kemal Atatürk*, Frankfurt a.M. 1937; Enver Ziya Karal, *Türk Inkilâbinin Mahiyeti ve Önemi*, Istanbul 1937; Gotthard Jaeschke-Niyazi Recep Aksu, *Türk Inkilâbi Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. i-ii, Istanbul 1939-41. To the detailed bibliography published in *IA*, vol. i, fasc. 10, 800-4, should be added: *Tarih Vesikalari*, new series, vol. i, fasc. I (16), August 1955, 1-15; *Harp tarihi vesikalari dergisi*, nos. 1-10, September 1952-December 1954; *Belleten*, vol. xx, no. 80, October 1956.

(R. MANTRAN)

ATBARA, a tributary of the Nile, known to the ancients as Astaboras. It rises in Abyssinia not far from Gondar and, entering the Sūdān near Gallabat (Ḳallabāt) is joined lower down by the Salām and Setīt; it joins the Main Nile at a point about 200 miles north of Khartūm. During the flood season (end of May to end of September) it contributes a considerable amount of silt-laden water to the Nile; for the rest of the year it dries up into a series of pools.

The town of Atbara near the river mouth is important as the headquarters of the Sūdān railways (population of the Municipal council area 36,143), and as the junction for the Red Sea line. In the battle of the Atbara fought on 8 June 1898 at Nakhayla, a short distance upstream from the river mouth, the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Sir Herbert (later Lord) Kitchener destroyed a Mahdist army of 12,000 infantry and 4,000 horsemen commanded by the Darwīsh *amīr* Maḥmūd Aḥmad.

Bibliography: *Sudan Almanac* (Khartūm, annually); H. E. Hurst, *The Nile*, London 1952; A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdiya*, London 1951.

(S. HILLELSON)

ʿATEIBA [see ʿUTAYBA].

ATEK, district in Soviet Türkmenistān on the northern slope of the frontier-mountains of Khurāsān (Kopet Dagh), between the modern railway-stations Gjaurs and Dushak. The name is really Turkish, Etek, "edge border" (of the mountain-chain), and is a translation of the Persian name given to this district, viz. Dāman-i Kūh, "foot of the mountain"; but the word is always written Ātak by the Persians. During the Middle Ages no special name for Atek appears to have been in use; being a district of the town of Abīward [*q.v.*] it belonged to Khurāsān. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th cents. it fell into the power of the Khāns of Khʷārizm, and later into that of the Turkomāns; before the appearance of the Russians the frontier with Persia was never clearly defined. Previous to the delimitation of the borders in 1881 a part of Atek with Abīward belonged to the principality of Kalāt, which was subject to the overlordship of Persia. (W. BARTHOLD*)

ʿAṬF (= connexion), an Arabic grammatical term denoting a connexion with a preceding word. Two kinds of *ʿaṭf* are distinguished: *ʿaṭf al-nasaḳ* or *aṭf* properly so-called, and *ʿaṭf al-bayān*:

1. The simple co-ordinative connexion (*ʿaṭf al-nasaḳ*) consists of the co-ordination of a word with a preceding word by means of one of the ten particles of connexion, e.g.: *ḳāma Zayd wa-ʿAmr*. The co-ordinative particles (*al-ʿawāṭif* or *ḥurūf al-ʿaṭf*) are distinguished according to their degree of strength: *wa* is used for the simple co-ordinative relationship (*li 'l-djamʿ*); *fa*, *thumma* and *ḥattā* express relationships of governance and subordination (*li 'l-tartīb*); *aw*, *immā*, or *am* express a fluctuation between these two terms (*li-taʿlīḳ al-ḥukm bi aḥadi 'l-madhkūrayn*), and *lā*, *bal*, or *lākin* an antithesis (*li 'l-khilāf*). *ʿAṭf* can connect words (*mufrad ʿalā mufrad*) as well as clauses (*djumla ʿalā djumla*). According to Ibn Yaʿīsh, *nasaḳ* is a term belonging to the terminology of Kūfa, *ʿaṭf* to that of Baṣra.

2. The explicative connexion (*ʿaṭf al-bayān*) is an apposition, which however cannot be an adjective, and which, in contrast to *badal*, explains the preceding word (*mūḍiḥ li-matbūʿihi*), e.g.: *djāʾa akhūka Zayd*, or *aḳsama biʾllāh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar*. From this point of view *ʿaṭf al-bayān* has exactly the same value as *wa-huwa*.

In both kinds of *ʿaṭf*, the second word is called *al-maʿṭūf*, and the preceding *al-maʿṭūf ʿalayhi*.

Bibliography: See the works on grammar, especially Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 50,[2]-51,[2]; 140,[12]-142,[11]; *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, 1007-10.

(G. WEIL)

AṬFĪḤ, town in Middle Egypt. Aṭfīḥ (also written with *t* instead of *ṭ*) is a small town of 4,300 inhabitants on the east bank of the Nile at the latitude of Fayyūm. The name of the town in old Egyptian was Tep-yeh or Per Hathor nebt Tep-yeh, i.e., "house of Hathor, lady of Tepyeh". The Copts changed this name to Petpeh, the Arabs to Aṭfīḥ. The Greeks, identifying Hathor with Aphrodite, called the town Aphroditopolis, abbreviated to Aphrodito. The town must still have possessed importance in the Christian period, for it had over twenty churches, of which ten were still standing in the 13th century. The ancient νομός, later known as Kūrat Aṭfīḥ, was also called al-Sharḳiyya by reason of its position on the east bank. On the occasion of the division of Egypt into provinces, towards the end of the Fāṭimid period, a whole province, Iṭfīḥiyya, was named after the town of Aṭfīḥ. Not until the year 1250/1834-5 was the region of Aṭfīḥ reunited to the province of Djīza, of which it constituted a district (*markaz*).

Information about Aṭfīḥ is very scanty. There is no doubt that at the time of the Mamlūks the town

was already in a state of complete decay. It was only under the Khedives that the government again began to do something for this region. The incessant raids by Bedouins and Mamlūks came to an end; canals were built or restored. Aṭfīḥ is to-day a port of no more than local importance importance; trade is only on a small scale.

Bibliography: Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣabḥ al-Musfir*, (trans. Wüstenfeld, 93, 104); Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, i, 73; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-D͟jadīda*, viii, 77; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, iv, 133; Yāḳūt, i, 311; Abū Ṣāliḥ, 56a ff.; Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 81; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte*, 326; Boinet, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*, 86; Baedeker, *Égypte*, s.v.; Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ed. *IFAO*, i, 312; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 21.

(C. H. BECKER *)

AṬFIYĀS͟H, MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. ʿĪSĀ B. ṢĀLIḤ, called Ḳuṭb al-Aʾimma, Ibāḍī scholar and author of Béni Isguen (arabicised: Banū Yasd͟jan) in the Mzāb, d. 1332/1914, 94 years old. Descendant of a family of scholars, he brought about, by his extensive literary activity (of which the few items in Brockelmann, S II, 893, cannot give an adequate idea), a real renascence of Ibāḍī religious studies in the West. This went parallel with an increasing strictness in religious practices and in social life, the effects of which, seen through the eyes of the women of the Mzāb, have been described by A. M. Goichon (*REI*, 1930, 231 ff.). S͟hayk͟h Aṭfiyās͟h was in close relations with his coreligionaries in the East, where another great Ibāḍī scholar, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimī (Brockelmann, S II, 823), was his contemporary. Whilst defending his point of view vigorously, he did much to make the Ibāḍīs known to and respected by the other Muslims, and this brought him into contact with sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The leading Ibāḍī scholars in the Mzāb in the present time are his disciples. His library, a unique collection of Ibāḍī and other works in manuscripts and in printed and lithographed editions, is a *waḳf* in Béni Isguen; it contains many of his autograph manuscripts.

His main works are: commentaries on the Ḳurʾān: *Himyān al-Zād ilā Dār al-Maʿād*, 14 vols., Zanzibar 1350; *Taysīr al-Tafsīr*, 6 vols., Algiers 1326; traditions: *Wafāʾ al-Ḍamāna*, 3 vols., Cairo 1306-26; religious law: *S͟harḥ al-Nīl* (commentary on the *K. al-Nīl* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Musʿabī, d. 1223/1808; Brockelmann, S II, 892), Cairo 1305-43; *S͟hāmil al-Aṣl wal-Farʿ*, 2 vols., Cairo 1348; *S͟harḥ Daʿāʾim Ibn al-Naẓar* (on this author, see Brockelmann, II, 538), 2 vols., Algiers 1326; *Tafḳīh al-G͟hāmir*, Algiers 1319; dogmatics: *Sharḥ Risālat al-Tawḥīd* (commentary on the *ʿaḳīda* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. D͟jamīʿ; Brockelmann, S II, 357), Algiers 1326; *al-D͟hahab al-Khāliṣ*, Cairo 1343; also works on grammar and philology, some poetry, and writings on various subjects.

Bibliography: biographical notice in Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm Aṭfiyās͟h (nephew of the author), *al-Diʿāya ilā Sabīl al-Muʾminīn*, Cairo 1342/1923, 100-9; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites*, in *R. Afr.*, vol. 100, 1956, 373 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

AT͟HAR (A.), pl. *āt͟hār*, literally "trace"; as a technical term it denotes: 1) a *tradition* [see ḤADĪT͟H]; 2) a *relic*: *al-athar al-s͟harīf* (pl. *al-āthār al-s͟harīfa*), relics of the Prophet, hair, teeth, autographs, utensils alleged to have belonged to him and especially impressions of his footprints [see ḲADAM]; these objects are preserved in mosques and other public places for the edification of Muslims. Relics are also called, both by Christians and Muslims, *d͟hak͟hīra* ("treasure").

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Muh. St*, ii, 356-68. For a description, with illustrations, of the sacred relics preserved in Istanbul see Tahsin Öz, *Hirka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Emanet-i Mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953. (I. GOLDZIHER)

3) *At͟har* is also used as a technical term in the theory of causality, although it is less commonly used than *fiʿl*, *ʿilla* and *sabab* with their derivatives [*qq.v.*]. From the *muʾat͟ht͟hir*, i.e. from a higher, active being or thing, (for example, God), emanate *taʾt͟hīrāt*, "influences", to which correspond under certain conditions *āt͟hār*, "impressions", in lower beings or things. In contrast to the higher beings, the latter behave in a passive (or better: receptive) manner. This use of the word is most frequently found in the astrologers and natural philosophers, with reference to the influence of the stars (considered as higher beings possessing a soul) on the terrestrial world and on men. In addition, the atmospheric phenomena, which are also under the influence of the stars, are called *al-āt͟hār al-ʿulwiyya* [*q.v.*]. The *Meteorology* of Aristotle was translated into Arabic under this title. *Āt͟hār fi 'l-nafs* (παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς) is the name given to the emotions and ideas of the sentient soul, because the soul experiences the impressions of things. (TJ. DE BOER *)

AL-ĀT͟HĀR AL-ʿULWIYYA, "The meteorological phenomena", title used by the Arabs to designate the Meteorology of Aristotle and that of Theophrastus.

1. In his *Risāla fī Kamiyyat Kutub Arisṭūṭālis wa mā yuḥtād͟ju ilayhi fī Taḥṣīl al-Falsafa*, al-Kindī mentions, in fourth place among the books of physical sciences (*al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*), The Book of the phenomena of the air and of the earth (*Kitāb Aḥdāt͟h al-D͟jaww wa 'l-Arḍ*); (see M. Guidi and R. Walzer, *Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele, Studi su al-Kindī*, i, *Atti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, *Mem. della classe di scienze morali*, 6: 6, 1937). The same division of the *ṭabīʿiyyāt* occurs in al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 149, who cites the book *Fī 'l-S͟harāʾiʿ wa huwa Kitāb al-Manṭiḳ fī 'l-Āt͟hār al-ʿUlwiyya*; (see also Klamroth, *Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Yaqubi*, *ZDMG*, 41, 1887, 415-42). The title *al-Āt͟hār al-ʿUlwiyya* also appears in the *Fihrist*, 251, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 58. In D͟jābir's work *Kitāb al-Baḥt͟h*, the Meteorology belongs to the middle books, i.e., the physical writings; (see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, i, 322 ff. *Mém. de l'Institut d'Egypte*, 45, 1942).

The first attempts to make Aristotle's works on the physical and biological sciences accessible in Arabic are represented by the paraphrases translated by the Melchite Yuḥannā (Yaḥyā) b. al-Biṭrīḳ, *mawlā* of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn. His translation of the Meteorology, clearly made on the basis of a Syriac original, has come down to us in two manuscripts, one of which is preserved at Istanbul (*Yeni* 1179), and the other at Rome (Vat. hebr. 378). The first three books of Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ's work were translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona; (see Lacombe, *Aristoteles latinus*, i, 56). Of the fourth book, the *Treatise on Chemistry*, three versions of the Arab-Latin type have been indicated by Fobes; (see *Classical philology*, 10, 1915, 297-314). One of these texts, contained in the *ms. cod. Bibl. Nat.*, lat. 6325, represents a version made on the basis of the work of Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ.

Among the works of Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan b. Suwār (born 331/942), the *Fihrist*, 265, mentions the translation of a *Kitāb al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya*, but whether this title in fact refers to the Meteorology of Aristotle is uncertain. On another meteorological work of Ibn Suwār, see also Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 323.

The great commentary of Olympiodorus on the text of Aristotle was translated, according to the *Fihrist*, 251, by Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (died 328/940), and that of Alexander of Aphrodisias by Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (died 363/973). None of these translations has come down to us. On the commentary of al-Fārābī see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 279, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 138. In the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, the Meteorology and the Geography form part of the fifth *fann*; that part of it dealing with the halo and the rainbow has been translated by Horten and Wiedemann (*Meteorologische Zeitschr.*, 30, 1913, 533-544). In the *Kitāb al-Nadjāt* (Cairo ed. 1938, 152-7), Ibn Sīnā gives the extract of the detailed account of the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*. Of Ibn Rushd's commentaries on the Meteorologies, we possess the Arab text of his abridgement (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1365).

The ideas expounded by Aristotle in the Meteorology, especially those of the fourth book, have played an important rôle in the history of physical ideas in Islam. At the beginning of the third century of the Hidjra, the Muʿtazilite theologian al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], criticised the doctrine expounded by the *dahriyya* of the four elementary qualities (*ḳūwa ghariziyya*): this he considered to be arbitrary, since it was based only on the sense of touch (*lams*, *malsama* = τὸ ἁπτικόν). He knew the fundamental theory of the two exhalations (*bukhār arḍī*, *bukhār māʾī* = ἀναθυμίασις, ἀτμίς) and expounded an opinion on the saltness of the sea; (see the fragments of his writings cited by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, v). In Djābir's system, the doctrine of the elements is clearly based on that of Aristotle; (see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 163 ff.). In the Arab tradition of the Meteorology, starting from Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ, down to Ibn Rushd, the doctrine vaguely indicated by Aristotle (339a 20 f.) of the influence of the Spheres on the sub-lunar world is interpreted in conformity with the astrological theory expounded for example in the Book of the Treasure of Alexander, the Arabic text of which is cited by Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina*, 80. According to this theory, "the world below follows the world above, and the individual bodies of the former are subject to those of the latter, because the air is contiguous (*muttaṣil*) to the exterior of all the bodies and to the Spheres as well". In the *Sirr al-Khalīḳa*, a hermetic work attributed to Balīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) (see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 147, n. 2), the idea of the influence of the Sphere is presented under the form of a cosmogony, according to which the successive development of minerals, plants and animals is due to the increasingly rapid motion of the Sphere. This idea is also present in Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ's paraphrase of *Meteor.*, i, I: "The movement of things directed (by the celestial bodies) belonging to the earth such as plants, the creation and production of animals, minerals, etc. taking into account their transformation and mutation, is produced by the celestial influences". This theory is also expounded by the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* in the chapter on *al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya*, *Rasāʾil*, ii, 54 ff. It is explicitly attributed to Aristotle by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-Ḥikma*, 21. See also Ibn Rushd, *al-Āthār al-ʿUlwiyya*, 6.

2. The Meteorology of Theophrastus (Περὶ μεταρσίων), the Greek original of which is lost, was partly translated by the celebrated lexicographer Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Bahlūl al-Ṭīrhānī (this is how it should be read, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 109); see Bergsträsser, *Neue meteorologische Fragmente des Theophrast* (*Sitzungber. der Heidelb. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1918 : 9). The Syriac text translated by Bar Bahlūl has come down to us; see Drossaart Lulofs, *The Syriac translation of Theophrastus's Meteorology* (*Autour d'Aristote. Recueil d'études offert à A. Mansion*, Louvain 1955, 433-49).

(B. LEWIN)

ATHENS [see ATĪNA].

ʿATHLĪTH, formerly a harbour on the coast of Palestine between the promontory of Carmel and al-Ṭanṭūra (Dora), on a little tongue of land which lies to the north of a small bay and is washed on three sides by the sea. According to the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* there was a mutatio Certha there, but the name ʿAthlīth appears to be ancient. ʿAthlīth appears in the light of history in the period of the Crusades. In 583/1187 it fell into Saladin's hands. In 1218 the Castellum Peregrinorum, as the Franks called it was reconstructed as a powerful Templar-fortress. Along with Districtum-Détroit (Khirbet Dustrē) it had to guard the passes of Carmel leading south. In 690/1291 it was conquered and demolished by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl. In the late 14th century al-ʿUthmānī speaks of ʿAthlīth as the southernmost *wilāya* of the *mamlaka* of Ṣafad (*BSOAS*, xv, 1953, 483).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 616; Ḳalḳashandī, *Mukhtaṣar Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1906), i, 306; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi, 612-619; G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie*, 93-105; E. von Mülinen, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels*, 258-277 (= *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins*, xxxi, 167-186); A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 137; reports by C. N. Johns on excavations at the Pilgrims' Castle will be found in *QDAP*, ii, 1933, 41-104; iii, 1934, 145-164; vi, 1938, 121-152.

(R. HARTMANN)

ʿATHR or ʿATHTHAR (both pronunciations are well attested, the second one mostly in poetry, cf. *LA*, *TA* s.v.).

(1) Mountain not far from Tabāla [*q.v.*], known as a haunt of lions (*maʾsada*), like ʿItwad, Sharā etc. (cf. Hamdānī, 54, 127, tr. Forrer 222; Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, *Bānat Suʿād*, 46; ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, ii, 6).

(2) District in NW Yaman on the Red Sea, between Djāzān (Djizan) and Ḥamiḍa (al-Hamdānī), or Shardja and Ḥaly (ʿUmāra). Main towns: ʿAthr (see below), Baysh, Djurayb, Ḥaly, Sirrayn. *Wādīs*: al-Amān, Baysh, Rīm, ʿIramram, Zanīf, al-ʿAmūd. Having united ʿAthr, Shardja, Ḥaly and Zarāʾib (= al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī) under his dominion, Sulaymān b. Ṭarf, the viceroy of the Banū Ziyād in Zabīd, made himself actually, although not formally, independent of Abu 'l-Djaysh ca. 350/960, and the territory enjoyed great prosperity until the expulsion of Banū Ṭarf in 453/1061. The annual revenue of Ibn Ṭarf from the trade is given by ʿUmāra as 500,000 *ʿathrī* dīnārs (= 2/3 of a *mithḳāl*, just as the *muṭawwaḳ* of Mecca: al-Maḳdisī 99). With the succession of the Sulaymānī *sharīfs* from Mecca there was a rapid decline, until Yaman was conquered by the Ghuzz, the mercenary troops of the Ayyūbids, ca. 560/1165.

(3) The capital of the district and a seaport of importance. It was situated on the pilgrim road

from Ṣanʿāʾ, between al-Hadjar (= Djāzān) and Bayḍ, and is quoted already in the year 11/632 as belonging to the insurgent al-Aswad [*q.v.*]. Scarcity of water and the silting up of the bay brought about the decline of the town in the 6th and 7th/12th-13th centuries. In the time of al-Djanadī (ca. 700/1300) it was since long in ruins. According to him (MS Paris 2127, fol. 153b, in the biography of Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAthrī) the name ʿAthr also was transferred to the opposite island(s), usually called Farasān [*q.v.*]. The name is not on the maps; the closest correspondents would be Khor Abū es-Seba, or Qawz (al-Djaʿāfira) 32 km. N of Djizan.

(4) A small place on the maritime road ʿAdan-Mekka, between ʿĀra and Sukyā (ʿUmāra, 8), three farsakhs from the former village (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 100).

Bibliography: Hamdānī, tr. Forrer, 47-51; Yāḳūt, iii, 615; Maḳdisī, 53, 70, 86; Kay, *Yaman* 7, 11, 141 ff., 240 f.; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 54 (*baṭn/khabt ʿAthr*), 100; Sprenger, *Post- u. Reiserouten*, 150; idem, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 45-54, 197; on the orthography of the *nisba*: Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, ii, 122 and Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 377 f.

(O. Löfgren)

ʿĀTIKA, Meccan lady, the daughter of the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. ʿAmr and sister of Saʿd b. Zayd, of the clan ʿAdī b. Kaʿb. She embraced Islam early and took part in the *hidjra*. She was married first to ʿAbd Allāh, a son of Abū Bakr, then after his death to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (in 12/633 according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2077), whom she bore a son ʿIyāḍ (Ibn Saʿd iii/1,190). When ʿUmar was killed, she married al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, whose death she lamented in a much quoted elegy (Ibn Saʿd iii/1,79 etc.). The sad story of this beautiful woman and her husbands whose lives ended so tragically was soon turned into a fanciful romance and embellished with spurious love-poems and elegies.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd viii, 193-5; ii/2,97; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, iv, 114 f.; Ḥamāsa (Freytag), 493 ff.; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 133-5; ʿAynī, ii, 278 f.; *Khizānat al-Adab*, iv, 351 f., etc.

(J. W. Fück)

ATIL, or Itil, sometimes Atil (Itil)-Khazarān, also Khazarān Atil, the Khazar capital, a double town on the lower Volga, itself called Atil, Itil [q.v.] in the early mediaeval period. The exact site is unknown. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 7), the capital was transferred to Atil from Samandar in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus in the time of Sulaymān (Salmān) b. Rabīʿ a al-Bāhilī, i.e. about 30/650, though elsewhere (*Tanbīh*, 62) he says that Balandjar, also in the Caucasus region, was the original Khazar capital. Already at this date the Arabic sources speak of al-Bayḍāʾ, 200 parasangs from Balandjar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2668), by which doubtless the later capital is intended. Ibn Rusta (139) gives what are apparently the earlier Khazar names for the double town on the Volga. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī (220), the west part, which was the larger, was a straggling town of felt tents with a few clay houses, several miles in extent and surrounded by a wall. The Khazars proper, i.e. the Judaised ruling class, as well as the army and the royal castle, built of brick, were on this bank. Most of the Muslims, estimated in all at 10,000, lived on the east bank, which was the commercial part of the town. Markets, baths, mosques, etc. are mentioned. There was also a considerable Christian population, and a colony of pagan Ṣaḳāliba and Rūs (*Murūdj*, ii, 9, 12). The correct naming of the double town appears to be: west bank, Khazarān; east bank, Atil (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 389 note). Like its modern counterpart Astrakhān, it was an important entrepôt of trade. The products of the north, especially furs, passed through the Khazar capital, while contact was made with Kievan Russia to the west and with Khʷārizm to the east. The slave-trade seems to have been of importance. In the sixties of the 10th century the Khazar capital was destroyed by the Rūs (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 15, 392; Russian Chronicle, *anno* 965) and never recovered its former prosperity, though the Rūs withdrew and attempts were made to rebuild it (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 398; cf. al-Maḳdisī 361). The Khazar state appears to have drawn out a precarious existence for some time afterwards, but Khazarān Atil ceases to be mentioned.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 452 ff.; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 91 n., 106, 217 n.

(D. M. Dunlop)

ATĪNA, Athens, capital of Greece. The history of Athens in pre-Islamic times will not be treated here. The first closer—admittedly hostile—contact with the Muslims was made in 283/896 , when Saracen pirates occupied the town for a short time (cf. D. G. Kambouroglous, Ἡ ἅλωσις Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, Athens 1934). Certain Arabic remains, and influences on the ornamental style in Athens, have been traced back to this event (cf. G. Soteriou, *Arabic remains in Athens in Byzantine times*, in: *Praktiká* (*Proceedings*) *of the Academy of Athens*, iv (Athens 1929), reproduced by D. G. Kambouroglous, *l.c.*, 160; cf. also *Byzant.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, xi (Berlin and Athens), 233-69). The whole question still appears to be in need of clarification (cf. K. M. Setton, *On the raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the ninth and tenth centuries and their alleged occupation of Athens*, in: *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. LVIII (1954), 311-9). Shortly after the time of Justinian I, Athens had sunk to the level of a provincial town, and apart from its great buildings, there was nothing left of its ancient cultural importance. During the period of western rule in Greece, Athens became (1205) the capital of a duchy which was successively held by the Burgundians and the Catalans, who occupied it in 1311, bringing it under the sovereignty of the kings of Aragon (cf. Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens* 1311-1388 (Cambridge, Mass., 1948 with excellent bibliography on pp. 261-301). From 1388 to 1458 the Florentine house of the Acciajuoli ruled in Athens. In 1397 it was temporarily taken by sulṭān Bāyazīd I. In some Turkish sources this capture is mentioned as taking place before the battle of Nicopolis (which took place on 28 Sept. 1396); after the conquest of Salonica (which is mentioned as having taken place in the previous year) (Neshrī, Rūḥī); in others, as taking place after that battle (Saʿd al-Dīn and his plagiarists, Solaḳzāde and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa as well as Münedjdjim-bashī). The later date seems preferable, as Timurtash is mentioned as the conqueror of Athens, and the *Chronicum breve* mentions a raid by Yaʿḳūb-Pasha and 'Mourtasis', Μουρτάσης = Timurtash against Morea in summer 1397. Doubtlessly it was only a temporary occupation of the town, perhaps no more than a raid, so that Greek sources do not mention the event explicitly (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, 149 f. also Neshrī in ZDMG, XV (1861), 344; and concerning the whole question J. H. Mordtmann, *Die erste Eroberung von Athen durch die Türken zu Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher*, IV,

346-350). It was not until Meḥemmed II, that Athens, "the city of wise men" (*madīnat al-ḥukamā'*) finally came under Ottoman rule, when the Conqueror personally made his triumphal entry in the last week of August, thus beginning nearly 330 years of Turkish occupation. Concerning this event and all its details, cf. F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 170 f.; (Italian edition, *Maometto II il Conquistatore ed il suo tempo*, Turin 1956, 246). In the following centuries, Athens sank into insignificance, as one can gather clearly from reports of western travellers (cf. in particular Comte de Laborde, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, Paris 1854, 2 vols.). The Parthenon had been converted into a mosque, and barracks were built in the Propylaea. Turkish domination meant a time of decadence for Athens, which sank to the status of a small country town. In autumn 1687, it was besieged by a Venetian admiral, Francesco Morosini (subsequently Doge), and on this occasion the Parthenon was largely destroyed (on Sept. 26th) by a bomb which hit the ammunition stored there. The two mosques of the city were turned into places of Catholic and Protestant worship (the latter because a considerable number of German mercenaries were present) by the Venetian Provveditore Daniele Dolfin. Shortly afterwards, however, on April 9th 1688, Athens was abandoned by the occupying troops (which were much reduced by an epidemic) and the Turks re-entered. A city-wall—built largely from the remains of ancient monuments—was erected in 1777. From the 17th century onwards, there was great interest in the monuments of Greek antiquity in Athens, hence there are detailed descriptions dating from that time, especially in French (e.g. J. Spon (1678) and G. Wheler (1682); cf. also Sh. H. Weber, *Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and adjacent Regions made previous to the Year* 1801, Princeton, 1953. These describe vividly to what a pitiable state Athens had sunk. The Greek fight for liberation increased this devastation. In 1822 Athens was conquered by the Greeks, but had to be ceded to the Turks again no later than 1826 (the Acropolis in 1827). It was only after the London Conference (1830), that Athens was incorporated into the new kingdom of Greece. It became the capital of the country at the end of 1834, and soon developed into an intellectual and cultural centre. Owing to the quick economic and political development there was a steep rise in population. Today, Athens has about one million inhabitants. The university was founded in 1835.

Bibliography: The best bibliography of the history of Athens during the periods of Catalan and Florentine rule is found in Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens* 1311-1388 (1948) in chapter XII, from 261 onwards. Concerning the Turkish rule cf. Th. N. Philadelpheus, Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας (Athens 1902, 2 vols.) A detailed description of Athens in the 17th century is found in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 249-67; in connexion with this, see also short notices by Hādjdjī Khalīfa, in J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 109-10. There is a thorough study of Athens in the Middle Ages and in modern times by Wm. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 335 ff., with numerous further bibliographical details. Ferd. Gregorovius, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1889, 2 vols. See also G. C. Miles, *The Arab Mosque in Athens* in *Hesperia, Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, xxv (Athens 1956), 329-44 (with plate 49). (FRANZ BABINGER)

ʿATĪRA (pl. *ʿatā'ir*) denoted, among the Arabs of the *djāhiliyya*, a ewe (and by extensions its sacrifice) offered as a sacrifice to a pagan divinity, either as a thanksgiving following the fulfilment of a prayer (concerning in particular the increase of flocks), or when a flock reached the total of a hundred head (cf. the word *faraʿa*); the head of the idols before which the sacrifice was performed was smeared with the blood of the victims. If one bears in mind on the one hand that these sacrifices (which were also called *radjabiyya*; hence the phrase *radjdjaba ʿatīratan*) took place in the month of *radjab* (i.e., in the spring), and on the other hand that in principle the first born were used for the sacrifice, a close connexion will be established with the sacrifice which took place during the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*], and also with the Jewish Passover and the magic rites which introduce a scapegoat. It seems that the Prophet forbade these sacrifices (cf. the *ḥadīth*: *lā faraʿata* (sacrifice of firstlings) *wa lā ʿatīrata*).

Bibliography: *LA*, s.vv. *ʿatīra*, *radjabiyya*; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 118; J. Chelhod, *La Sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 151 and refs. quoted; cf. Jaussen, *Moab*, 359; see also Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², i, 18, v, 510. (CH. PELLAT)

ATJÈH [1]) (Atchin, Achin), the most northerly part of the island of Sumatra. Here flourished the once powerful Muslim empire of Atjèh, which is now a province of the Indonesian Republic. The southern limit was, under Dutch rule, formed by the residencies of Tapanuli and "Sumatra's Oostkust", now the province Sumatra Utara. In earlier times the province (or at least the sphere of political sovereignty) of Atjèh extended much farther towards the south. A considerable part of both the east and west coasts of Sumatra was subject to the authority of Atjèh, and even pagan chiefs in the Batak regions received their rank at the hands of the princes of Atjèh.

Great-Atjèh. Only the district to the north-west with the Atjèh river and the port Atjèh, the former residence of the princes of Atjèh, was from the first reckoned as Atjèh proper. The Dutch named it Great-Atjèh and the capital Kuta Radja (i.e. fort of the prince). The port of Sabang situated on the island of Pulò Wè (to the north-east of Kuta Radja) only dates from the beginning of the present century. The inhabitants of the littoral (Barōh) are distinguished in many respects from the population of the highlands of the interior (Tunòng); the customs and speech of the former (who live of course in the vicinity of the residence) are always considered to be the more refined.

The Dependencies. The other districts situated on the west, north and east coasts were under Dutch rule usually referred to as the Dependencies. Among the important towns are: on the west coast: Meulabōh, Tapa' Tuan and Singkil; on the north coast: Sigli in the region of the former empire of Pidië (Pedir), Meureudu, Bireuën, Peusangan, Lhō'Sukōn and Lhō' Seumawè. In the region between the latter place and the river Djambō Ayé stood the flourishing empire of Pasè, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv, 228 ff.) visited in

1) In this article *tj* is retained in deference to the official orthography in Indonesia; *é* = closed, *è* = open *e*; *ò* = open, *ō* = closed *o*; *eu* is one vowel (not a diphthong).

the year 746/1345. On the east coast are situated among others: Idi, Langsa and Kuala Simpang. A steam tramway joins the east and north coasts with Kuta Radja. A part of the population has migrated thither from Great-Atjèh; many Malays have also settled here from the neighbouring districts.

With an estimated rice export surplus of 45,000 tons in 1942, and an important export of betel nuts, patchouli, copra, rubber and live-stock, Atjèh developed under the Dutch government into a thriving country, in spite of the ruin of the traditional pepper culture, to which the settlements in one part of the Dependencies had owed their original existence. Large irrigation works were completed or were under construction. The road system was extended. In addition on the West and East Coasts of Atjèh extensive acreages of waste ground were cleared by Western estate companies for the planting of rubber, oil-palms and fibres. The BPM (Bataafse Petroleum Maatschappij) had fields in operation in Rantau (Kuala Simpang), and Peureula' (Langsa); whilst in Meulabōh a concession was granted to a gold mining concern.

Gayō and Alas-Countries. High mountain-chains overgrown with virgin forest separate the littoral from the Gayō-country; transverse chains divide the region of the Gayōs into four tablelands. The most northerly (containing the great Tawar lake and the sources of the river Peusangan) is occupied by the so-called "Urang Laut" (i.e. people of the lake), the plain to the south of it is occupied on the other hand by the "Urang Döröt" (i.e. people of the land); to the southeast lies the table-land of Sĕrbödjadi containing the sources of the river Peureula' which flows in an eastly direction. The fourth table-land, situated in the south and containing the bed of the river Tripa which discharges its waters on the west coast, is called Gayō Luös (i.e. the wide, spacious Gayō-countries). The Alas-countries lie south of this. The population of these regions, who differ in many respects from that of Atjèh, have from the first recognised the authority of Atjèh. The four chiefs appointed by the princes of Atjèh in the several parts of the Gayō-country (the so-called "Kĕdjuruns") were the mediators between the Gayōs and Atjèh. Two of these Kĕdjuruns had their sphere of influence in the region of Lake Tawar (their distinctive titles were Rödjö Bukit and Siah Utama), one among the Döröt (with the title Rödjö Linggö), and the fourth in Gayō Luös (Kĕdjurun Pĕtiambang). Sĕrbödjadi was formerly without inhabitants; later its most eminent chieftain was also called Kĕdjurun (Kĕdjurun abuk). In the Alas countries the authority of Atjèh was represented by two Kĕdjuruns.

The most important administrative centres are Takéngön, on Lake Tawar, and Blang Kĕdjĕrèn, in Gayō Luös. In the sub-district of Takéngön, which has an area of 70,000 hectares under fir trees, an important government resin and turpentine industry has developed. Plans for the establishment of a paper factory were in an advanced state of preparation at the time of the Japanese invasion in 1942.

For accurate information about the people of Atjèh we are indebted above all to C. Snouck Hurgronje, who (first in the years 1891-1892) investigated the previously but little known social, political and religious conditions of this nation (*De Atjèhers*; Batavia 1893-1894; cf. the English translation of this work which is provided with a new introduction and some additions by the author: *The Achehnese*, Batavia-Leiden 1906; *Ambtelijke adviezen* I, The Hague 1957, 47-438), and later described at length the land and customs of the Gayōs (*Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners*, Batavia 1903). A wealth of ethnographical details was collected by J. Kreemer and published in his work *Atjèh*, 2 vols., Leiden 1922-'23, which also includes the Alas region.

Population and Language. Little is known about the origin of the people of Atjèh. Linguistically they belong to the Malay-Polynesian peoples. Slaves (from the island of Nias, etc.) and other foreigners (e.g. merchants from Hindustan) have influenced to some extent the composition of the population. Atjèh has many dialects, and each dialect again many variants; the literary language has in general closest affinity with the idiom of the Barōh-district. For the literature of Atjèh see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 66-189. Gayō is an independent language, whilst Alas is a Northern-Batak dialect. In the 19th century Malay was almost unknown in Atjèh except among a portion of the inhabitants of the sea-ports, but formerly it was the language of the court and from earliest times in Atjèh letters, official documents and many works on theology were written in Malay. The earliest Achehnese adaptations of Arabic and Malay works date from the 17th century. Now Indonesian is the official language. For further details see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Studiën over Atjèhsche klanken schriftleer*, in *TBG*, xxxv (1892), 346-442, also *Atjèhsche Taalstudiën*, *ibid.*, xlii (1900), 144-262; K. F. H. van Langen, *Handleiding voor de beoefening der Atjèhsche Taal*, The Hague, 1889; H. Djajadiningrat, *Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Batavia 1933-1934; P. Voorhoeve, *Three old Achehnese MSS.*, in *BSOS* 14 (1952), 335-345; G. A. J. Hazeu, *Gajōsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek met Nederl.-Gajōsch register*, Batavia 1907.

Tribes and Families. There are still preserved traces of a division of the population of Atjèh into 4 tribes. The members of such a tribe or family—Achehnese: *kawōm* (from the Arabic *ḳawm*, people)—regard themselves as blood-relations in the male line, and have (especially in regard to blood-feud and the payment of blood-money) common rights and obligations. The members however of the various *kawōms* are scattered throughout the country; only where many kinsmen dwell together are they wont to choose a chief to represent their common interests. The Gayōs are divided into families who dwell together under their chiefs (Rödjös). When Rödjös disagree decision rests with the Kĕdjurun.

Administration of the Villages. In Atjèh the Keutjhi' (i.e. the elder) is the head of the Gampōng—i.e. the village, also a quarter of a town (Mal. *kampung*); in case of necessity he consults the "eldest" (i.e. the people who have had experience of life). The religious affairs of the Gampōng, e.g. leading the community in the Ṣalāt, are the concern of the *Teungku meunasah*. The title *teungku* is borne in Atjèh both by people whose functions are connected with religion, and by those who have acquired some acquaintance with the sacred law. The Gampōng-Teungkus or Teungku meunasah are not men of learning. Their rank has become hereditary, and in Snouck Hurgronje's time the ignorance of many Teungkus was so great that they were scarcely able to administer their office without the help of other people.

The Princes, Ulèëbalangs and Sagi-chiefs. In historical times Atjèh has always been divided into many small districts, whose hereditary chiefs—

the so-called Ulèëbalangs (i.e. commanders-in-chief) —lived in constant feud with each other. They paid homage however to the prince of the port of Atjèh as their common over-lord. The latter had the title of Sultan in official (Malay) documents, but was usually called by the Achehnese *Radja* or *Pòteu* (i.e. "our master"). Whilst the Sultans and their male relatives bore the title *tuanku*, the male members of the Ulèëbalangs families bore the title *teuku*.

The power and dignity of the Achehnese princes and the riches and splendour of their court, which are mentioned both in the earliest Malay and European accounts, depended on the tribute of the neighbouring regions on the coasts and the harbour-dues of the capital Atjèh. The bold Achehnese mariners were master of sea and harbours; if they demanded tribute few dared resist. The interior of the country possessed little interest for the princes. Even when the empire was flourishing (2nd half of the 16th cent. and particularly during the 1st half of the 17th) the authority of the Sultan was confined to the immediate vicinity of the capital.

By the end of the 17th cent. the princes had become quite dependent on the Ulèëbalangs in Great-Atjèh. The latter had at that time apparently on the ground of common interests formed themselves into three federations, the so-called *Sagis*, "sides", i.e. of the triangular-shaped Great-Atjèh. Each Sagi had an overlord (*Panglima-Sagi*), whose authority however did not extend beyond the common Sagi-interests. (In the Dependencies also such federations are found). The Sultan chosen by the three Sagi-chiefs used to pay to them a certain sum. He usually belonged to the family of the previous ruler, but strangers, e.g. Sayyids, who dwelt in Atjèh, were sometimes elected to the Sultanate. In the course of time other chiefs obtained a voice in the choice of a ruler; according to tradition at one period 12 chiefs (including the 3 Sagi-chiefs) formed a kind of electoral college.

The majority of the Ulèëbalangs in Great-Atjèh and the Dependencies later received their authority from the Sultan's hand and in witness thereof were given a document bearing the ruler's seal (a so-called *Sarakata*; on the Hindustani origin of this seal see G. P. Rouffaer, in *BTLV*, Series 7, v, 349-384; cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *ibid.*, Series 7, vi, 52-55). Not all the Ulèëbalangs thought it worth while to go to the expense involved in the acquisition of a *sarakata* or deed of recognition; more important than the "*tjab sikureuëng*" (the nine-fold seal of the sultan) was the "*tjab limòng*" (the five-fold seal, i.e. signifying the hand as a symbol of power, meaning the ability to protect one's own interests). The Kĕdjuruns of the Gayō and Alas peoples on the other hand usually received a kind of dagger as symbol of their rank.

Division into Mukims. The Friday-service according to the Shāfiʿite doctrine is only valid if 40 *Muḳīm*-s are present. A Muḳīm is a person domiciled in the place and satisfying the stipulations of the law. Since the population of most of the Gampōngs was not numerous enough to be able to hold a regular Friday-service with 40 participants, it became the custom to group together several Gampōngs and as near the centre as possible of such a district to construct a mosque for the Friday-service. Hence Muḳīm (here pronounced Mukim) acquired, not only in Atjèh but also in some other Malay regions, the meaning: department, circle. Each Ulèëbalang was lord over several of these Mukims. Further the names of the 3 Sagis have been derived from the original number of their Mukims; i.e. they are called: the Sagi "of the 22 Mukims" (in the south), the Sagi "of the 25 Mukims" (in the west) and the Sagi "of the 26 Mukims" (in the east of the triangular-shaped Great-Atjèh). These ancient names were preserved even after the number of the Mukims in the Sagi of the 25 Mukims and especially in that of the 22 Mukims had mounted up owing to the increase in the population.

The chiefs of the Mukims bore the title of *Imeum*. This word denoted originally the leader of the Friday-service (Arab. *Imām*). The Imeums became however gradually hereditary, secular chiefs, who transferred the leadership of the Friday communal prayer to special officials.

Administration of Justice. Laws. As a general rule the chiefs themselves were wont to fulfil the functions of judges; they based their decisions on the unwritten law of custom (*ʿĀdat*). There are indeed some statutes (*Sarakata*), which tradition credits Meukuta ʿĀlam and other famous rulers with having issued, and the Achehnese, who know these laws only by name, ordinarily assume that they contain an exact statement of their law; they really consist however only of brief regulations regarding matters of administration, court-ceremonial (including the homage to be rendered to the ruler by the ulèëbalangs), the division of the harbour-dues and the fulfilment of several religious obligations. These regulations date from the time when the princes attempted, without permanent result however, to centralise their imperial administration; Muslim scholars at the court also left their impress on these laws (for fuller information see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 4-16; K. F. H. van Langen, *De inrichting van het Atjehsche staatsbestuur onder het sultanaat* in *BTLV*, Series 5, iii, 381-471; *Translations from the Majellis Ache* [by T. Braddell] in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, V (1851), 26-32; an edition of the Malay text by G. W. J. Drewes and P. Voorhoeve is in the press). Further both the Sultan and the Panglimas had their *Kali* (= Ḳāḍī), but these ecclesiastical judges only took a share in the administration of justice on certain special occasions (e.g. in the division of an inheritance, in some forms of divorce, in contracting marriages, and in other cases where the religious law was usually followed; on other occasions only if the chiefs expressly took them into council). The judge of the sultan bore the title *Kali Malikōn Adé* = *Ḳāḍī Maliku 'l-ʿĀdil*; his hereditary office degenerated in course of time; he became the peculiar chief of several Gampōngs within the sultan's realms. Also the rank of the other Kalis became hereditary, and if those people who were Kali in virtue of their hereditary right possessed the knowledge requisite for this office it was by a rare chance.

Religion. From earliest times there existed trade relations between Atjèh and Hindustan. The civilisation and language of Atjèh were at first subject to Hindu influence; later Islām reached the shores of Atjèh, probably conveyed thither by Hindustani merchants. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Pasè in 1345 Islām held the field; the ruler of the country warred against his unbelieving neighbours. The Achehnese are orthodox Muslims, but Islām as it exists in Atjèh and elsewhere in Indonesia has some peculiar features which are to be explained by its Indian origin. Such are, for instance, the existence of a heterodox

mysticism and some characteristics distinctively Shī'ite. The first month, *e.g.*, is in Atjèh always called *Asan Usén*, obviously from the two martyrs Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who are held in special honour in Shī'ite countries. The representation on a captive standard of 'Alī's sword Dhu 'l-Faḳār with a Shī'ite marginal inscription has formerly led some scholars to the false opinion that the Achehnese were partly Shī'ite (cf. A. W. T. Juynboll, *Een Atjineesche vlag met Arabische opschriften* in *Tijdschrift voor Ned.-Indië*, 1873, ii, 325-340; 1875, i, 471-476; M. J. de Goeje, *Atjeh* in *De Nederl. Spectator*, 1873, 388). The Achehnese in general were lax in the fulfilment of many religious duties. The *Ṣalāt* for instance was usually neglected by the majority. On the other hand many Achehnese are wont annually to join in the *Ḥadjdj*. Further the *Kitāb*-s (Malay, Arabic and Achehnese) were studied in various places under the guidance of masters learned in the law (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Eene verzameling Arab. Mal. en Atjèhsche handschriften en gedrukte boeken* in *Notulen van het Batav. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetensch.*, xxxix (1901), n°. vii; also *The Achehnese*, ii, 1-32). The students who mostly came from remote districts lived in a common residence (*rangkang*). Whilst yet the Empire flourished the splendour of the court not rarely induced foreign scholars from India, Syria and Egypt (including a son of the celebrated Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī) to settle in Atjèh.

Many Achehnese pilgrims became members in Mecca of one of the orthodox mystic brotherhoods (especially the Ḳādiriyya or Naḳshbandiyya) but these *Ṭariḳa*-s did not have in Atjèh the same importance as in many other parts of Indonesia. Formerly there were prevalent in Atjèh the forms of pantheistic mysticism which at that period were generally spread throughout Hindustan. The most famous representatives of this heterodox tendency in Atjèh were Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī (i.e. of Pasè; d. 1630) [*q.v.*] and his predecessor Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*]. Its chief opponents were Rānīrī [*q.v.*] and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī [*q.v.*]. Certain forms of the ancient heterodox mysticism have been preserved till recent times, but such differences from the orthodox teaching, which are based on ignorance, are gradually disappearing before the increasing communication with the centre of Islam. (Fuller information in Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 13 f.). Veneration of saints has still an important place in the popular faith of the Achehnese. The pilgrim visits the tombs of illustrious saints and seeks by gifts and vows to secure their favour and intercession. Some of the most celebrated Achehnese saints were foreigners, as e.g. the Arab Teungku Andjōng, who died in 1782, and the Turkish or Syrian "saint of Gampōng Bitay", who according to tradition came to Atjèh in the 16th cent.

At the summit of religious life stood the *ulama* (Arab. *'ulamā'*, used as a singular in Achehnese) the supreme authorities in the field of religious law and doctrine, who were held in great respect by the people. They ranked much higher than the *além*, who however learned was not considered as a real authority, any more than was the ess scholarly *malém* or the *leubè*, as anyone would be described who—even though he was quite unlearned—carried out his religious duties more or less faithfully. The *ulamas* were much more respected too than the village religious functionary, the *teungku meunasah*. In the same way that the *ulèëbalangs* were the exponents of the *adat*, so were the *ulamas* the champions of the *hukōm*, although the *ulèëbalangs*, in accordance with the *hukōm*, were at the same time the religious head of their own territory. The essential co-operation of *hukōm* and *adat*, described by Snouck Hurgronje as the basis of Achehnese society, must—as this author observed—be seen in this light:

'the *adat* assumes the part of mistress, and the *hukōm* that of her obedient slave. The *hukōm*, however, revenges herself for her subordination whenever she sees the chance; her representatives are always on the look-out for an opportunity to escape from this servile position.' (*The Achehnese*, i, 153).

History. The province of Atjèh was the first part of Indonesia where Muslim kingdoms were founded. The first mention of such a kingdom is by Marco Polo; when he visited Atjèh's north coast in 1292, there was a Muslim king in Ferlec, i.e., Pĕrlak (Ach. Peureula'), whilst two other countries, Basma or Basman and Samara, were still heathen. These last names cannot be identified with Pasè and Samudra, as the first Muslim king of Samudra-Pasè, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, died in 1297, so that it seems unlikely that in 1292 the people of Samudra were still 'wild idolaters' and 'brutes of man-eaters' (H. K. J. Cowan in *Djawa* 19 (1939), 121 ff). For some centuries the port of Samudra, afterwards called Pasai (Ach. Pasè), remained an important centre for the diffusion of Islam in the Indian Archipelago. Its dynastic history may one day be reconstructed from the inscriptions on tomb-stones and coins, Malay chronicles (*Sĕdjarah Mĕlayu* and *Hikayat Radja-radja Pasai*, ed. from the unique MS. R. A. S. Raffles Mal. 67 by E. Dulaurier, *Chroniques Malayes*, 1849; romanised ed. J. P. Mead, in *JSBRAS* 66 (1914)), Chinese, Arabic (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see above) and European sources; until now, much material has been collected but a publication of the inscriptions is still lacking. (Reports on the work of the Archaeological Survey in: *Oudheidkundig verslag*, 1912 ff.; cf. *Encyclopaedie v. Ned. Indië*, I, 1917, s.v. Blang Mè). Many of the tomb-stones were imported from Cambay in Gudjarāt (J. P. Moquette in *TBG* 54 (1912), 536-548); one tomb, dated 781 A.H., has inscriptions in Arabic and in Old-Malay (W. Stutterheim, *AO* 14 (1936), 268-279; cf. G. E. Marrisson, *JMBRAS* 24 (1950), pt. i, 162-165); another stone, dated 823 A.H., on the grave of an Indian immigrant, is inscribed with a Persian *ghazal* by Sa'dī (H. K. J. Cowan, *TBG* 80 (1940), 15-21). The kingdom lasted until the 16th century. It was still independent when Tomé Pires collected information for his *Suma Oriental* in Malacca, 1512-'15 (ed. A. Cortesão, Hakluyt Soc. 2nd Ser. 89, 90 (1944)), and its trade profited greatly by the decline of Malacca after its capture by the Portuguese. This prosperity was not to last long. Though Pasè's traditional enemy Pedir (Ach. Pidië) was at that moment in decay owing to the death of its king Madaforxa (Muẓaffar Shāh?) and its being at war (apparently with Atjèh), the rising power was not Pasè but Atjèh. Pires describes its ruler as a pirate-king, 'a knightly man among his neighbours'. He had already subdued the adjoining country of Lambry (Lamuri, Lambri) and the land of Biar, between Atjèh and Pedir (Ach. Biheuë). This probably refers to Sultan 'Alī Mughāyat Shāh, the first sultan in Djajadiningrat's list, whose date of accession is uncertain. Tomb-stones of some of his predecessors have been found after H. Djajadiningrat compiled his list from Malay chronicles and European

sources (*BTLV* 65 (1910), 135-265), but the exact relations between these predecessors are still unexplained, and Sultan ʿAlī Mughāyat Shāh, by conquering Daya to the west and Pidiē and Pasè to the east, became the real founder of the empire of Atjèh. Leaving aside, for the time being, the data on the earlier sultans, we reproduce Djajadiningrat's list of the princes of Atjèh with only a few modifications in the dates:

I. ʿAlī Mughāyat Shāh (?-1530).
II. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1530-± 1537).
III. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat Shāh al-Ḳahhār (± 1537-1571).
IV. ʿAlī Riʿāyat Shāh or Ḥusayn (1571-± 1579).
V. Sulṭān Muda (a child, reigned only some months in 1579).
VI. Sulṭān Sri ʿĀlam (1579).
VII. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (1579).
VIII. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn of Perak or Manṣūr Shāh (1579-± 1586).
IX. ʿAlī Riʿāyat Shāh or Radja Buyung (± 1586-± 1588).
X. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat Shāh (± 1588-1604).
XI. ʿAlī Riʿāyat Shāh or Sulṭān Muda (1604-1607).
XII. Iskandar Muda (posthumous name: marḥūm Makota ʿĀlam) (1607-1636).
XIII. Iskandar Thānī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughāyat Shāh (1636-1641).
XIV. Tādj al-ʿĀlam Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1641-1675).
XV. Nūr al-ʿĀlam Naḳiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1675-1678).
XVI. ʿInāyat Shāh Zakiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1678-1688).
XVII. Kamālat Shāh (1688-1699).
XVIII. Badr al-ʿĀlam Sharīf Hāshim Djamāl al-Dīn (1699-1702).
XIX. Pérkasa ʿĀlam Sharīf Lamtuy b. Sharīf Ibrāhīm (1702-1703).
XX. Djamāl al-ʿĀlam Badr al-Munīr (1703-1726).
XXI. Djawhar al-ʿĀlam Amāʾ al-Dīn Shāh (reigned only a few days).
XXII. Shams al-ʿĀlam or Wandi Tĕbing (reigned only a few days).
XXIII. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh or Maharadja Lela Mĕlayu (1727-1735).
XXIV. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Djohan Shāh or Pòtjut Auk (1735-1760).
XXV. Maḥmūd Shāh or Tuanku Radja (1760-1781).
[XXVI. Badr al-Dīn (1764-1765)].
[XXVII. Sulaymān Shāh or Radja Udahna Lela (1773)].
XXVIII. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh or Tuanku Muḥammad (1781-1795).
XXIX. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Djawhar al-ʿĀlam Shāh (1795-1824).
[XXX. Sharīf Sayf al-ʿĀlam (1815-1820)].
XXXI. Muḥammad Shāh (1824-1836).
XXXII. Manṣūr Shāh (1836-1870).
XXXIII. Maḥmūd Shāh (1870-1874).
XXXIV. Muḥammad Dāwūd Shāh (1874-1903).

ʿAlī Mughāyat Shāh's two sons Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and more especially ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat Shāh al-Ḳahhār increased the importance of the new kingdom. From Turkish archive documents we learn that the latter sent an embassy to Constantinople in 973/1563 asking for help against the Portuguese and saying that several of the heathen rulers of South East Asia had promised to embrace Islam if the Ottomans would save them. The arrival of the embassy coincided with the Szigetvar campagn and the death of Sulaymān. The embassy therefore waited two years in Constantinople and then a naval expedition was prepared under the command of the Admiral of Suez, Kurdoghlu Khizir Reis, consisting of 19 galleys and some other ships with guns, supplies, etc. This expedition was however diverted to deal with an insurrection in the Yemen and instead two ships with supplies and military technicians were sent to Atjèh. It would seem that they entered the service of the Sultan of Atjèh and stayed there. (See Saffet, *TOEM*, 10, 604-614; 11, 678-683; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, ii, 1949, 388-389, and iii/1, 1951, 31-33). In the first half of the seventeenth century Atjèh reached its greatest prosperity, attaining its zenith during the reign of Iskandar Muda, honoured after his death by the title of Meukuta ʿĀlam, i.e., Crown of the World (*supra* n°. XII). The dominion of the Achehnese was extended far to the south during his reign. Iskandar's expedition with a great fleet against Pahang and Malacca forms the subject of an inportant Achehnese epic the *Hikayat Malém Dagang* (ed. H. K. J. Cowan, The Hague, 1937). In 1638, during the reign of his successor (Iskandar Thānī, *supra* n°. XIII) a Portuguese embassy came to Atjèh and tried in vain to win over the Sultan to their side in the war against the Dutch (see: Agostino di S. Teresa, *Breve racconto del viaggio ... al regno di Achien*, Roma 1652; Ch. Bréard, *Histoire de Pierre Berthelot*, Paris 1889). Four princesses ruled over Atjèh in the second half of the seventeenth century (1641-1699). This period of feminine rule was naturally much to the advantage of the Ulèëbalangs whose power and authority were thereby increased; but on the other hand many disapproved of this state of affairs and declared on the authority of a *fatwā* received from Mecca that it was forbidden by law for a woman to rule. Thereupon at the beginning of the eighteenth century arose a series of dynastic wars. Some of the princes who contended for the throne were Sayyids (i.e. descendants of Ḥusayn) born in Atjèh. The best known among these was Djamāl (*supra* n°. XX). After he was deposed in 1726, he held out for a considerable time against the later Sultans, amongst others against Aḥmad (*supra* n°. XXIII, a man of Bugis descent, ancestor of the last dynasty of Achehnese princes) and his son Djohan Shāh (*supra* n°. XXIV). The contest between Djamāl and Djohan Shāh and the death of the former are the subjects of another great Achehnese epic, the *Hikayat Pòtjut Muhamat* (still unpublished; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 88-100). Even after the authority and wealth of the court had gradually become insignificant, there survived, indeed till quite recent times a great reverence among the Achehnese for their rulers whom they honoured as the representatives of a glorious past.

(Th. W. Juynboll-[P. Voorhoeve])

The Atjèh War. In the 19th century the piracy and slave trade of the Achehnese and their raids on neighbouring territories constituted a constant danger. The Dutch government were at first not in a position to put a stop to this evil as they had pledged themselves to England in 1824 not to extend their dominion in Sumatra to the north, but this obligation was removed by a new

treaty with England in 1871. The landing of Dutch troops in 1873 was the beginning of a war (the Atjèh War), which lasted—with several pauses—from 1873 until 1910, in which year the pacification was considered complete.

Broadly speaking the three components inspiring this unexpected opposition were the *ulamas*, the *ulèëbalangs*, and the sultanate. Of these three the *ulamas* were the strongest, and the sultanate the weakest component. This last fact is understandable, since—as we have seen above—the influence of the sultan was very limited. With the capture of Kutaradja, the sultan's stronghold, the Dutch considered the sultan's government as at an end, and the Dutch administration took over his position and rights. Meanwhile, after the death of Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh, the six-year old Muḥammad Dāwūd, grandson of Sultan Manṣūr Shāh (*supra* No. XXXIII), was elected sultan. The "pretender-sultan" Muḥammad Dāwūd, who had taken refuge with his court at Keumala in Pidië, hunted by Dutch troops from hiding place to hiding place, finally made his submission in 1903. In 1917, because of underground activities, he was banished from Atjèh. The *ulèëbalangs*, the secular authorities or "lords of the country" (*The Achehnese*, i, 88), so far as they were not willing to accept Dutch authority, had to be subdued one by one. One of the most influential of them was Teuku Panglima Pòlém Muḥammad Dāwūd, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXII *Mukims*. Now that the sultan's government had lapsed the Dutch recognised the *ulèëbalangs*—with the exception of those in Great-Atjèh, which was regarded as the personal domain of the sultan—each as independent rulers in their own right, whose relationship with the Dutch government must be determined by treaty. On the advice of Snouck Hurgronje the form of treaty selected from 1898 onwards was the so-called *korte verklaring* [short contract]. In this the rulers recognised that their territories formed part of Netherlands India, and undertook not to have any kind of political contacts with foreign powers, to follow and maintain all the regulations, and to obey all the orders given them by the Civil and Military Governor of Atjèh. The *ulamas*, the spiritual leaders of the people, were the real inspirers of the struggle. Here we can mention only one well-known family, the *Tirò-teungkus*, of whom Tjhèh Saman (d. 1890) was the best known. They were named after the *gampōng* Tirò in Pidië, an important centre of Islamic scholarship. The *ulamas* went throughout the land preaching the holy war; their war-chest was the *zakāt*-tax levied on the people. The native chieftains were ignominiously thrust into the background. The long duration of the war and the fanaticism with which it was fought are explained by the character of a holy war which it assumed. From this period comes the *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (ed. H. T. Damsté, *BTLV*, 84, 1928, pp. 545 ff). in which the faithful were called to a holy war. After the submission of the "pretender-sultan" the *ulamas* and some *ulèëbalangs* conducted a guerrilla warfare, though Panglima Pòlém also submitted a few months after the sultan. In 1911 Teungku Maʿat, the last survivor of the *Tirò-teungkus*, was killed.

It was a long time before the Dutch government came to comprehend the full significance of these three fundamental components in the Atjèh War, and to adapt their policies and tactics accordingly. The investigations of Snouck Hurgronje were the first to provide the political insight upon which the military campaigns of Governors J. B. van Heutsz (1898-1904), G. C. E. van Daalen (1905-1908), and H. N. A. Swart (1908-1918), could be based (cf. K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjèh-Oorlog*, 2 vols., Oostersch Instituut, Leiden 1948, and the literature listed therein). Governor Swart was the last governor to be charged both with the civil government and the military command in Atjèh.

The Dutch administration. Since the sultanate was swept away by the Atjèh War, the highest authority was considered to have passed to the "regents" of the sultan, the *ulèëbalangs*. This administrative institution which drew its sanction from *ʿādat* (local customary law) was fitted into the Dutch administrative system in the following way. The *ulèëbalangs*' territories were recognised as "native states" (*zelfbesturende landschappen*), and their relationship with the Dutch government was regulated by the *korte verklaring*. Exceptions to this were the district of Great-Atjèh, and the sub-district of Singkel, both of which were classed as "directly ruled territories" (*rechtstreeks bestuurd gebied*). Great-Atjèh, the territory of the three *sagis*, was included in this category because after the conquest it had wrongly been assumed that here, in contrast to the rest of Atjèh, the chiefs were dependent officials of the sultan. The border territory of Singkel was included on historical grounds. A section of this district had been brought under Dutch rule earlier, forming part of the residency of Tapanuli, and therefore in determining the form of administration the system in force elsewhere in that residency was followed. But here too the existing administrative frame-work based on *ʿādat* law was maintained, so that the *panglimas sagi*, the *ulèëbalangs*, and so on, as 'native chiefs' were made government officials.

The *ʿādat* system which was thus embodied in the administration presented a picture of infinite diversity. It embraced about 100 *ulèëbalangs* acting as independent rulers, and about 50 *panglimas sagi*, *ulèëbalangs* and local chiefs with various other titles in the directly ruled territories. The size of each territorial unit varied from a village to the equivalent of a Dutch province, the populations from a few hundreds to more than 50,000, and the educational background of the rulers from a simple primary school course to training at the Civil service college (*Bestuursschool*) in Batavia.

Over this Indonesian administrative framework extended the Dutch administration; its task was the creation and enforcement, through these institutions, of peace, order and the rule of law, and the economic and cultural development of the land. The Government (later Residency) of Atjèh and Dependencies, administered by a Governor (later a Resident), was for these purposes divided eventually into four districts, each administered by an Assistant Resident. These were the district of Great-Atjèh, and the districts of the North Coast, the East Coast, and the West Coast. They in their turn were subdivided into a total of 21 sub-districts, each administered by a *Controleur* (District Officer).

The policy of government was consistently directed towards promoting a larger measure of personal initiative on the part of the chiefs, and bringing the Indonesian administration into line with Western standards. So the old type of chief, ruling like a patriarchal despot, gradually made way for more progressive younger men.

Thus under the Dutch régime the administration remained wholly in the hands of the hereditary *ulèëbalang* caste, a caste consolidated on the one hand

by intermarriage between families already related to each other in a variety of ways, and divided on the other hand through the operation of historical feuds. The hegemony of this caste, moreover, was not confined to the sphere of government. In accordance with the *ʿādat* the administration of justice was also in the hands of the *ulèëbalang*s, whilst in accordance with the *ḥukōm* they were the religious leaders of their own territory. In addition they had often important trading and other economic interests, and usually disposed of extensive estates, particularly in Pidië, where a medieval system of feudal holding still prevailed. Finally—their sons being considered first for all forms of education and training—they had in a certain sense also an intellectual monopoly.

When the Japanese War broke out there were three *ulèëbalang*s of outstanding importance. Teuku Nja᾿ Arif, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Mukim*s, had represented Atjèh in the *Volksraad* until 1931. Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan, ruler of Glumpang Payōng (Pidië), had previously been employed in the Residency offices at Kutaradja, where he exercised a great influence on political policy. Teuku Ḥadji Tjhi᾿ Muḥammad Djōhan Alamsjah was the ruler of Peusangan (Bireuën).

Whilst the *ulèëbalang* group thus linked itself increasingly closely with the Dutch régime, amongst the *ulama* group, taken as a whole, the anti-Dutch tradition was maintained. The predominant position which the *ulama*s had attained during the Atjèh War was lost again with the return of peace, and the traditional superiority of the *ulèëbalang*s was restored. So there developed gradually between these two groups, which had co-operated during the war, an antipathy—a recurring theme in the history of Atjèh—as the result of which the *ulama*s regarded the *ulèëbalang*s as traitors.

Religious life itself was left to develop freely, in keeping with the tradition of the Dutch régime. At first Tuanku Radja Keumala (whose father was a great-grandson of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, *supra* XXXI), acted as adviser on religious affairs. But after his death this office was not refilled, whilst the advisory council on religious affairs established in 1919 under the title *"raad ulama"* ["Council of ʿUlamāʾ"], of which this learned descendant of the sultan formed the central figure, was discontinued. For this reason the Dutch authorities were subsequently dependent for their information about developments in the religious sphere upon the *ulèëbalang*s, who were considered legally the religious leaders of their own territories. Ultimately, just before the Japanese invasion, another descendant of a former sultan, Tuanku ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Imeum* of the great mosque at Kutaradja, was made unofficial religious adviser. He was not an *ulama* in the sense which was attached to that word in Atjèh, and although known as *além* (see above) he did not enjoy anything like the prestige of his eminent predecessor.

Religious instruction retained an important place next to secular education. Besides elementary religious education Atjèh possessed a large number of so-called religious secondary schools in which geography, history, economics, etc., were also taught. Many *ulèëbalang*s made a point of having one or more religious schools in their territory, which through the fame of the *ulama*s trained in Egypt, Minangkabau, or in Atjèh itself who taught in them, would enhance their own reputations. That these *ulama*s were often more or less openly anti-Western in outlook they accepted as part of the bargain.

As for the third component in the struggle against the Dutch—the Sultan's party—its rôle was played out. The "pretender-Sultan" died in exile in 1939 in Batavia. His son was allowed to return to Atjèh. The other descendants of the sultanate remaining in Atjèh wielded little influence. An exception was Tuanku Maḥmūd, an important political figure, who had been trained at the Civil service college in Batavia. He held a government post in Celebes for some years before returning to Atjèh as senior native official in the service of the resident there. In 1931 he succeeded Teuku Nja᾿ Arif as a member of the *Volksraad*, and after the death of the "pretender-Sultan" became undisputed head of the sultan family. A campaign started in 1939 by some Achehnese merchants for the restoration of the sultanate met with little response; there was practically no support for it from the *ulèëbalang*s, who saw in it a threat to their own position.

The political situation itself developed favourably. The last resistance incident took place in 1933, and the military garrison was gradually reduced. The *kāfir*-hate and the idea of a holy war—negative expressions of the religious consciousness—gave way to a positive local Achehnese patriotism, which expressed itself in the normal impulse to be master in one's own house, or more specifically to get an increased number of posts in the administration occupied by one's fellow countrymen.

Modern nationalist ideas had as yet hardly any hold on the Achehnese people. The same was true of the Muḥammadiyya movement, which originated in Java. Though it fixed as its target the advancement of religious life, and had its connexions over the whole of Indonesia, it struck no responsive note in Achehnese religious life. It remained—despite its Achehnese leadership—a distinctly non-Achehnese movement, which attracted mainly non-Achehnese elements, or locally the militant part of Achehnese society, which in the absence of a purely political movement sought in it satisfaction for their political and social aspirations. The religious ideas of this young Islamic modernist movement were quite alien to the more conservatively orientated religious life of the Achehnese.

As a counter-weight to the modernist ideas of the Muḥammadiyya, the *PUSA* or *Persatuan Ulama-ulama Seluruh Atjèh* was founded at Bireuën in 1939, under the influential patronage of the ruler of Peusangan. Under the direction of Atjèh's most prominent *ulama*s it was to be the vehicle of that typically Achehnese strictly orthodox religious life. Its membership was not necessarily limited to *ulama*s. Anyone else who could identify himself with its aims could join it, and its most prominent leader was Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu᾿éh from Keumangan (Pidië). The movement seemed to fulfil an important need. Through it both conservative and progressive *ulama*s were brought together, and branches were set up throughout Atjèh. To have assumed a political, let alone an anti-Dutch, character, would have been inconsistent with the aims of the movement. Its attitude towards the government and the *ulèëbalang*s was completely correct, and many *ulèëbalang*s accepted the position of adviser to their own local branch. The position of patron was offered to Tuanku Maḥmūd. A youth movement was founded under the name *Pemuda Pusa*, with its headquarters at Idi. The more advanced and militant elements, reacting against the pressure of the *adat* authorities, sought within this movement a refuge, and a means of expressing

their own ideas. As a result the youth movement quite quickly began to take on a more militant and subversive character. So the *Pusa* itself gradually developed into a new and potent weapon in the hands of the *ulamas* in their struggle against the Dutch régime and the *ulèëbalangs*.

We have already dealt briefly with economic developments in this period, and with education in its religious aspect. Secular education expanded steadily. At the time of the Japanese invasion Atjèh had one higher grade school, thirteen schools giving Western elementary education, 348 elementary vernacular schools, 45 *vervolgscholen* or advanced vernacular schools and one trade and handicraft centre, founded either by the Dutch government or the native states. There were besides a number of private schools giving elementary Western education, supported by the Muḥammadiyya and Taman Siswa societies.

The Japanese occupation. Even before Japanese troops occupied Atjèh in March 1942 rebellions against the Dutch government broke out in Great-Atjèh and in the North and West Coast districts. These took on the character of a national rising, particularly in the *sagi* of the XXII *Mukims* and in the sub-district of Tjalang, on the West coast. After the Japanese troops had landed the rebellion spread quickly. As during the Atjèh War the most important component of the rising was formed by the *ulamas*. It was led by Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beuereu'èh at the head of the Pusa and the Pemuda Pusa, which provided a single organisation spread over the whole of Atjèh, admirably suited for the preaching of the holy war. The participation of the *ulèëbalangs* was at first limited to a number of discontented political elements of purely local importance. That the rebellion in the *sagi* of the XXII *Mukims* was able to assume the character of a national rising is explained by the support which the *ulamas* experienced from the chief of the *sagi*, the son of the great resistance leader of the Atjèh War, Teuku Panglima Pòlém Muḥammad Dāwūd, who had died shortly before the outbreak of the war. In Tjalang the participation of Teuku Sabi of Lageuën, one of the only two native rulers who had earlier supported the movement for the restoration of the sultanate, set its stamp on the nature of the rising there, so that the third component from the Atjèh War, that of the sultanate, re-appears at this time too. The movement was stimulated from the Japanese side, for immediately after the fall of Penang in December 1941 a fifth column organisation was formed from the Achehnese colony there, which sent its agents back to Atjèh as "refugees" from Japanese violence. Shortly before the Japanse landing Teuku Nja' Arif, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Mukims*, joined the rebellion, whilst later Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan of Glumpang Payōng also declared that he had already been in contact with the Japanese before their attack.

From the beginning the Japanese stood in a different relationship *vis à vis* the *ulèëbalangs* and the *ulamas* than had the Dutch. From the outset they received support from the *ulamas* more perhaps than from any one else. An attempt by the Pusa to take over power locally from the *ulèëbalangs*, however, was not sanctioned by the Japanese, since they could not allow the existing social order to be dislocated by the sweeping aside of the government machinery based on the *ʿādat*. It would have undermined their own military strength. Instead Japanese policy was aimed at linking both of these political forces, that of *ʿādat* and that of *ḥukōm*, in order to obtain the co-operation of the people as a whole in their war effort. The Japanese tried therefore just like the Dutch to keep a balance between both groups. The fact that the *ulèëbalangs* too had taken an important share in the rising made this policy acceptable.

The rule of the *ulèëbalangs* was thus maintained. In the sphere of government the position of the *ulèëbalangs* was even strengthened. Dutch government officials made way for Indonesian *gun-chōs* who were chosen, with a single exception, from leaders of the *ulèëbalang* families. Two *ulèëbalangs* represented Atjèh in the delegation from Sumatra which visited Japan in 1943, one—Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan—being designated as its leader. In the advisory Council for Atjèh created at the end of 1943, Teuku Nja' Arif was appointed chairman, and Teuku Muḥammad Ḥasan deputy chairman. As it was first constituted, the majority of its members belonged to the *ulèëbalang* class; but this was no longer the case when it was re-constituted in 1945.

Nevertheless the position of the *ulamas* was considerably strengthened, at the expense of the *ulèëbalangs*. At the beginning of 1943 Tuanku ʿAbdul ,Azis was appointed adviser for religious affairs for the whole of Atjèh, and some months later he was made chairman of the newly created advisory council on religious affairs. Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh was appointed deputy chairman of this council, which had branches throughout Atjèh, and he quickly became the leading figure in it. The principal object of this and similar organisations was to bring religion into the service of the Japanese war effort. In 1944 a court was established to hear religious cases under the name *shūkyō-hōin*, and in this too Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and his Pusa predominated. Eventually one of the members of the executive committee of Pusa was appointed inspector of religious education. Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and a number of other *ulama* were members both of the first and of the second Council for Atjèh.

The administration of justice too was re-organised, and largely withdrawn from the control of the *ulèëbalangs*. In the magistrates courts (*ku-hōin*) in particular a large number of those appointed as members were supporters of Pusa, leaders of the resistance movement, and other enemies of the *ulèëbalangs*.

This policy of holding a balance between both groups could satisfy neither the *ulèëbalangs*, nor the *ulamas*. To be sure, the *ʿādat* was no longer the mistress and the *ḥukōm* her obedient slave-girl. But the *ulamas* would only be satisfied with a position in which the *ḥukōm* would be mistress and the *ʿādat* the slave. So both groups conducted a remorseless struggle over the heads of the Japanese.

Meanwhile the pressure on the Japanese was growing from day to day. The Japanese army of occupation was dependent on what the country itself could provide both for its food and for the labour supply needed for the construction of roads, airfields and fortifications. To provide this, an almost intolerable burden was through the agency of both the *ulèëbalangs* and the *ulamas* imposed on the people. Increasing discontent was the result. More and more *ulèëbalangs* refused to provide the services of their men for the use of the occupying forces, whilst it became ever harder for the *ulamas* too co-operate in satisfying the Japanese demands. In September 1943 mass arrests took place throughout

Atjèh and amongst those arrested were several *ulèëbalangs*. In August 1944 the ruler of Glumpang Payōng, who was suspected of underground activities and of conspiring with the Dutch, was arrested with some other *ulèëbalangs*, and executed shortly afterwards. At the moment of these mass arrests the ruler of Peusangan was already for some months in prison. The possession of a copy of the *Hikayat prang sabi* ("Summons to the Holy War") or its recitation was made an offence. In two instances there was open resistance. As early as 1942 there was an insurrection in Bayu, in the sub-district of Lhō' Seumawè. There an *ulama* Teungku ʿAbd al-Djalil who, despite his youth, was already head of a large religious school, is said to have preached the *prang sabi* against the Japanese. He and his followers were killed in the bloody conflict which followed. In 1945 there was another insurrection in Pandraīh, in the sub-district of Bireuën. Here the heavy economic burden of compulsory deliveries and "voluntary" labour produced an outbreak which was savagely repressed.

The Japanese invasion brought at first a revival of the negative element of *kāfir* hatred. But as Japanese pressure increased the positive element of local patriotism grew, stimulating the urge to take control into Achehnese hands. In the end, as the result of the Japanese promise of independence, this developed into the idea of a unity, based on religion, which would embrace the whole of Indonesia.

Indonesian Independence. The Japanese surrender in August 1945 did not bring any restoration of the Dutch régime in Atjèh and only the island of Sabang was occupied by Dutch troops. The way was thus open for a final reckoning between the *ulamas* and the *ulèëbalangs*. In December 1945 a civil war broke out which ended in February 1946 with the annihilation of the power of the *ulèëbalangs*. A number of *ulèëbalang* families were massacred to the last male child. Hundreds of members of *ulèëbalang* families disappeared into republican internment camps as "enemies of the Republic", and their property was confiscated. Amongst them were the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Mukim*s and the ruler of Peusangan.

This annihilation of the power of the *ulèëbalangs* cannot be viewed solely as a result of the antithesis between *ʿādat* and *ḥukōm*. Social, political and economic factors were also involved. Religion played the part of the instrument of a social revolution against the position which the *ulèëbalang* class held in society as a whole, a position which has been described at some length above.

Soon after the Pusa emerged victorious from the civil war, its leader Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh became military governor of Atjèh. His adherents filled those posts in the administration, the police and the judicature which had formerly been occupied by the *ulèëbalangs*. The lack of experience, high-handedness and corruption of the new rulers, who in fact were supported by only a minority of the population, soon led to increasing unrest, and in 1948 there was an abortive insurrection in Kutaradja. But so long as the central government of the Republic had not reached a settlement with the Dutch, its hands were full elsewhere and there was no question of its intervening in Atjèh. The common struggle for the recognition of Indonesian independence was in these years the only aim; Achehnese local patriotism and the idea of Indonesian unity for the moment coincided.

After the transfer of sovereignty from Holland to the Republic of Indonesia at the end of 1949 the intervention of the central government could no longer be avoided. For administrative purposes Atjèh was included in the province of North Sumatra, so that Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh lost his position as governor. Achehnese military units were gradually replaced by non-Achehnese troops, thus depriving the Pusa of their military support. In 1951 a large number of Pusa leaders were arrested under cover of the general round up of Communist leaders, undertaken throughout Indonesia at this time, and inefficient Pusa adherents in official positions were removed from their posts. But the expectation of the central government that they could in this way gradually steer the government in Atjèh back into normal channels, was not realised. In September 1953 Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and his followers launched a rebellion against the central government. A bloody guerrilla warfare followed, which lasted until the middle of 1957 when an informal truce was reached between Teungku Muḥammad Dāwūd Beureu'èh and the local authorities. The year before, in October 1956, Atjèh was again granted the status of an autonomous province. (A. J. Piekaar)

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AL-ʿ**ATK**, a valley in Nadjd, the northernmost of those cutting through the western wall of the cuesta of Ṭuwayḳ. It is a true *wādī* with a strong flood whenever there is enough rain. The valley forms the dividing line between the district of Sudayr to the north and the district of al-Maḥmal to the south. Its head (*farʿa*) is in the low ground west of Ṭuwayḳ in the vicinity of the oasis of al-Ḳaṣab, south of which there is a large salt pan (*mamlaḥa* or *sabkha*). After passing north of the hills of al-Bakarāt (pl. of *bakra* = she-camel 3-5 years old), the valley goes through the escarpment of Ṭuwayḳ by a narrow passage. Just east of this passage, the valley of Urāṭ descends from the uplands of Sudayr and the valley of Thādiḳ comes up from the south to join al-ʿAtk.

Farther on, the main valley of Sudayr—in which lie Djalādjil, al-ʿAwda, and other oases—and the valley of ʿUshayra come together and then empty into al-ʿAtk from the north, as does the valley of al-Ḥisy (a settlement of the Wahhābī Ikhwān belonging to the tribe of Subayʿ) from the south. After passing south of Khashm Abū Rukba and north of Ruwayghib (a settlement of the Ikhwān belonging to al-Suhūl), al-ʿAtk cleaves through the escarpment of al-ʿArama. The valley runs by a few kilometres north-west of the wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk and comes to an end at Rawḍat al-Tanhāh just west of the sands of al-Dahnāʾ. This basin also receives the waters of the valleys of al-Shawkī and al-Ṭayrī, the latter of which runs only c. 1 km. west of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk.

The sweet water wells of Ḥafar al-ʿAtk (25° 57′ 04″ N, 46° 30′ 28″ E) are over a dozen in number, all lined with stone, with a depth of c. 23 *bāʿ* (c. 40 m.). Each well has its own name; those with the most water are al-Ghabbāshiyya and Sudayra. These wells mark the western end of Darb al-Kunhurī, a well beaten desert trail coming from the town of al-Djubayl (ʿAynayn) on the Persian Gulf coast. From the wells the traveller may ascend the valley to Sudayr or al-Maḥmal or proceed westwards to the district of al-Washm lying beyond Nafūd al-Balādīn. Popular tradition has it that the first wells here were dug by the chiefs of Banū Khālid, masters of Eastern Arabia until its conquest by the rising Wahhābī state of Āl Saʿūd at the close of the 18th century. During the summer several thousand Bedouins may congregate at Ḥafar al-ʿAtk, their tents filling the depression in which the wells lie and lining the edges of the circumambient hills.

The valley is regarded as lying within the range of the tribes of Subayʿ and al-Suhūl, while the wells belong to al-Khuḍrān, a group consisting of al-Nabaṭa and al-ʿUraynāt, both sections of Subayʿ. Members of these tribes, like most of the townsfolk of Nadjd, pronounce the name *ʿatts*, while other Bedouins in Nadjd and the east say *ʿatsh*, associating the name with the word *ʿatsha* = having many bushes and trees. The pronunciation *ʿatk* is seldom if ever heard, but the written form Baṭn al-ʿAtk is in al-Hamdānī, i, 141, who also mentions al-Bakarāt and Baṭn Dhī Urāṭ. Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd* (Mecca ed.), i, 44, 72, 108; ii, 26, speaks of al-ʿAtk and Ḥafar al-ʿAtk, and Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār*, i, 137, identifies al-ʿAtk as one of the two places called al-ʿItkān or al-ʿAtkān in early Arabic poetry.

(GEORGE RENTZ)

ATLAS, general name for the mountains of North Africa (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), which give it its originality and variety in contrast to the monotonous Sahara platform. Although this name, of unknown origin, was already used by the Greeks, the classical authors, Strabo (Book xvii) for example, give us few details. The Arab geographers lack precision and, like Strabo, often apply the name to the mountain chains otherwise called Adrār n-Deren, a term in fact reserved for the High Moroccan Atlas and the Saharan Atlas of Algeria (al-Bakrī, trans. de Slane, 2nd. ed., 281, 295); some authors (al-Bakrī, 303-4, al-Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib* 73-4, Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, i, 158) erroneously extend it as far as the Nefūsa, to Egypt and even beyond. The Northern chains—the Rif and Tell Atlas—were known to Strabo (xvii), and the Rif, to al-Bakrī (214); according to Ibn Khaldūn (i, 128) the Deren chains form "a girdle enclosing the Maghrib al-Akṣā from Asfī to Taza", including, therefore, the Middle Atlas. Leo Africanus (*Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 4 and 49-50), rather more exact, distinguishes the northern chains from the Atlas in the strict sense extends the latter right into Egypt. Marmol (*Africa*, i, 5) distinguishes between 'la Sierra menor' and 'la Sierra de Athalante mayor' in the south, which will henceforth be referred to as the Little Atlas and the Great Atlas. French geologists and geographers, above all in the last half century, have determined their characteristics and various aspects.

The chains of the Atlas are structurally folded mountains, related to the Tertiary chains of Europe; like these, they have been rejuvenated by Pliocene and Quarternary upheavals, which raised them considerably above the Mediterranean and the rigid Sahara platform. The Sahara begins to the south of the Southern Atlas accident (fault, flexure, abrupt straightening out of the strata), which extends from Agadir to Gabès. The Dahar of Southern Tunisia and the Nefūsa, therefore, do not form part of the Atlas. As for the Anti-Atlas of Morocco, of which the Dj. Saghro is merely an extension, this stands on its own: it is only the raised edge of the Sahara platform. It is a great asymmetrical massif, reaching 2,531 metres at the Dj. Akhni, and consists of consolidated rocks of the Pre-Cambrian and Primary ages. It falls away to the depressions of the Sūs and the Dadès (which the great granitic and volcanic mass of the Sirwa, 3,304 metres, separates) and runs down to the plains of Dra (Darʿa) and Tafilalet, intersected by the wrinkle or scarp of the Dj. Bani.

In the "Atlas regions" a first complex, and the most extensive, contains both moderately folded mountains, often of considerable height, and relatively low zones: plateaux and high plains. The High Atlas is a huge "fundamental fold", a chain 750 kms. in extent, which rises to 4,000 metres and over (4,165 m. at the Tubkal, 4,070 at Mgūn); in spite of its latitude, it bears traces of quarternary glaciation, though it no longer retains everlasting snows. Hemmed in to the west between the Sūs and the Ḥawẓ of Marrakesh, it breaks up, despite several considerable peaks, into ridges and deep transverse valleys, and may only be crossed by high cols, historical routes to the Sūs (Tizi n-Test) and the High Dra (Tizi n-Tishka). In the centre and the East it becomes primarily calcarious (liassic and jurassic), with narrow faulted anticlines and broad synclines; after the Dj. ʿAyyashī (3,751 m.), the chains lose height and peter out in the South of Eastern Morocco. The "wādīs" Dadès, Gheris, Ziz (the route from Fez to Tafilalet) and Guir break away from it by majestic cross valleys—the Saharan Atlas of Algeria continues the High Atlas. Its massifs, the mountains of the Ḳṣūr, of the ʿAmūr (Dj. ʿAmūr), of the Ouled Nail and of the Zab loose height progressively from the South-West (2,236 m. at the Dj. Aissa) to the North-East (less than 1,000 m.). These are remains of folded mountains, ridges isolated by broad pediments, which the nomads easily cross in spite of their elevation above the Sahara. On the further side of the Biskra depression, rises the Aurès (Awrās), the only massif of the Saharan Atlas and the highest mountain in Algeria (2,329 m. at the Chélia). Its majestic chains with their very broad folds lying S.-W./N.-E., are separated by the deep vallies of the "wādīs" Abdi, el-Abiod and el-Arab: these "wādīs" flow through savage gorges to reach the "southern Aurès depression", which sinks down to below sea level. The Nememcha

mountains to the East of the Aurès tower above this depression and then subdivide northwards into isolated ridges, the remains of broad domes. In Tunisia, the chains deriving from the Saharan Atlas cover the entire mountain country, except the north-west. The structure of domes, frequently faulted, and of broad basins, to be observed in the Tebessa mountains, is continued in the Dorsal range of Tunisia. Its anticlines, generally calcarious, (1,154 m. at the Dj. Chambi) and separated at times by broad transverse rift valleys, rendering communications easy, converge towards the N.E. to form one single chain bristling with sierras (Dj. Zaghwān, 1,298 m.) extending as far as the Gulf of Tunis North of the Dorsal range, the High Tell and the Medjerda regions are composed of compressed folds, which, however, only produce mountains of moderate height, separated by broad basins, by the deep depression of the Middle Medjerda and by its tributary valleys: the "wādīs" of Mellègue, Tessa and Siliana. In the south the anticlinal chains of limestone or sandstone rise among broad plains, generally synclinal and covered by alluvium: from a W.-E. direction on the parallel of Gafsa, they are turned back in a S.-N. direction, bordering the plains of Eastern Tunisia.

North of the High Atlas and of the Sahara Atlas of Algeria, extend vast regions of low relief, which, however, are twice intersected by transverse chains: the Middle Atlas and the mountains of the Hodna. The Middle Atlas has the same rocks and the same style as the central High Atlas with narrow faulted anticlinal folds (Dj. Ben Nacer, 3,354 m.) and broad synclinal depressions. But in the N.W. it descends in step plateaux; the faults separating them are covered with volcanic cones and coulées. Heavily watered, it gives birth to the principal rivers of Morocco: Oum er-Rebia (*Umm al-rabīʿ*), Sebou, Moulouya. The Middle Atlas separates the rigid block of primary terrains of the Moroccan "meseta" (central plateau, hills of the Reḥama and of the Djebilet, sedimentary phosphate plateau, alluvial plains of the Tadla, the Bahira and of the Ḥawẓ of Marrakesh) from that of the Oran-Moroccan borders, which is almost completely concealed by secondary sediments. The Rokam, to the East of the Moulouya, is extended by the Debdou and Djerada plateaux, in Morocco, and by the undulating and faulted plateaux of the Tell Atlas of Oran: the mountains of Tlemcen, of the Mekarra, of Saida and Frenda. North of the Sahara Atlas, the High Algero-Moroccan plains, rising to 1,200 metres in the West and 800 metres on the meridian of Algiers, are structurally similar, consisting of simple exhausted folds, which, however, are three quarters buried beneath considerable old alluvial deposits (basins of the Chott Gharbi and Chott Chergui and of the Ẓahrez); only the Oued Touil (Upper Chelif) reaches the sea. Further to the E., the narrow chain of the Hodna mountains and the Belezma massif, separate the very low lying basin of the Hodna (400 m.) from the high plains of the eastern and Constantine regions of Algeria (800 to 1,050 m.). The W.-E. secondary chains of which they are made up, calcarious domes or ridges, leave gaps between them and continue, intermittently spaced out, across the high Constantine plains, which they dominate, rising to several hundred metres. The so-called region of the Sebakh in the south escapes the drainage of the Rhumel, the Seybouse and the Meskiana (Mellègue). As for the plains of Eastern Tunisia, these are incompletely drained behind the camber of the Sahel.

Bordering the Mediterranean, a second complex is formed, extending from Tangiers to Bizerta, by the chains of the Rif and the Tell Atlas. They are very complex in structure. The cemented and loose sediments of the Secondary and Tertiary have on several occasions been heavily folded. They have been pushed and overlapped southwards by the primary eruptive massifs of the "coastal belt", which only subsist still South of Ceuta and Kabylia; these massifs dominate in the south the lofty calcarious sierras of the Djebala and the Bokkoya (Morocco), the Djurdjura and the chain of Numidia. All the rest is formed of a thick and plastic mass of clay, sandstone and schistous sediments, usually discharged in "slip sheets" and, in Morocco, clearly carried down in a southerly direction. These structurally very complex mountains have been cut and broken up by transverse gorges and longitudinal valleys due to the vigorous erosion caused by Mediterranean torrents. The chain of the Rif, from Ceuta to Melilla, forms a crescent of mountains (2,450 m. at the Dj. Tidighine), which is enlarged in the south by a variety of hills carved by the tributary rivers of the Ouergha and Sebou in the Rif and Pre-Rif sheets. From the Melilla peninsula to the Trara massif, the heavily folded zone narrows and follows the hills of the Low Moulouya, the Beni Snassen mountains and the Tell plateaux of Oran. Then it bifurcates, continuing on both sides of a long depression, running from the *sebkha* of Oran to the elbow of the Middle Chelif; to the North are the hills of the Sahel of Oran, which are succeeded by the Dahra and Miliana mountains (Zaccar, 1,579 m.), and to the south, the Tessala and the Ouled Ali and Beni Chougrane mountains, which border the inland plains of Sidi Bel Abbès and Mascara, giving way in the East to the great Ouarsenis massif (1,985 m.), which directly dominates the high plains. The longitudinal depression recommences East of Medea and runs down by the valley of the wādī Sahel-Soummam as far as Bougie (al-Bidjāya); along its northern edge runs the Mitidja Atlas, rising above the alluvial plain of the Mitidja and the hills of the Sahel of Algiers, after which it is bordered by the Djurdjura Kabylia, culminating in the Lalla Khasidja peak (2,308 m.); to the south rise the Titeri mountains and the long Biban chain. East of Bougie, the Babor (2,004 m.) and the chain of Numidia are contiguous to Eastern Kabylia and directly dominate the softer reliefs of the Ferdjioua and Constantine mountains. The crystalline terrains of Eastern Kabylia are partly obscured by oligocene clays and sandstones, bearing cork forests. These same sandstones form the mountains encircling the littoral plain of Bône and, in Tunisia, Khroumiria and the Mogod regions.

The Atlas makes North Africa a country of mountain chains encircling plains, which are often both elevated and arid. The relief accentuates and diversifies the climatic contrasts due to the proximity of the Mediterranean and the Sahara. Dominating the Tell regions, the steppe areas of the high plains and the desert of the Saharan Piedmont, the principal massifs are original geographical environments, which have played a considerable though mainly negative rôle in the history of the Maghrib.

Bibliography: See the articles MOROCCO, ALGERIA, and TUNISIA. (J. DESPOIS)

ATOM [see AL-DJUZʾ ALLADHĪ LĀ YATADJAZZAʾ].

AṬRĀBULUS [see ṬARĀBULUS].

ATREK, a river in the north of Khurāsān, which has its source on the mountain of Hazār

Masdjid on the Gulistān ridge of the Kopet Dagh, 37° 10′ N, ca. 59° E, NE of Kočan (Kūčān), 3,975 ft. above sea level. The Atrek has a course of some 320 miles (Mustawfī: 120 *farsakhs*), running mainly westwards and runs, being some 32 ft. wide, 2-3 ft. deep, into the bay of Ḥasan Ḳulī in the SE of the Caspian Sea. On its upper reaches lie the fertile districts of Kočan and Budjnurd (in the Middle Ages Ustuwā), which are inhabited by Kurds since about 1600 A.D. From its junction with the Sīmbār (Zumbar) coming from the right (by the village of Čat or Čatlī), the Atrek has been since 1882 the frontier between Russia (or the Türkmen SSR) and Iran. Below Kharakī the Atrek flows through a region which is occupied only by a few Türkmen settlements and is almost deserted; yet there are many signs of Middle Ages irrigation and near Gudrī there has been constructed by means of a dam a northern canal wholly on Russian (Soviet) territory. The river is described by Mustawfī as scarcely permitting a crossing.—The name Atrek cannot be found in the works of the geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Muḳaddasī, 354, 367); they speak in general of the numerous rivers of the district. It occurs for the first time in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (212, transl. 205) and was later in popular etymology explained as the plural of Turk (Atrāk). — In the Middle Ages the district of Gurgān (Djurdjān, Hyrcania) bounded on the Atrek in the south, that of Dahistān [*q.v.*] in the north.

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ATSİZ B. MUḤAMMAD B. **ANŪSHTIGIN**, Khwārizmshāh [*q.v.*] from 521-2/1127-8 to 551/1156, b. around 1098, followed his father as vassal of the Saldjūḳ sultan Sandjar in 521/1127 or 522/1128. All through his life it was his desire to make himself independent of this ruler, to maintain his position also with respect to the newly founded might of the Ḳara Khiṭāy and to bring under his domain the districts in the north which in earlier centuries had been temporarily connected with the Khwārizm state in order thus to achieve an expansion of it. In effect he was able (according to Djuwaynī partly still during his father's lifetime) to subject the lands between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea with the peninsula of the Min Ḳīshlak (Russian: Mangyshlak), as well as the country up to the Jaxartes (downwards from about Otrār) having Djand for its centre; since 536/1141 he secured the latter territory against the Ḳara Khiṭāy by the payment of tribute in kind and in money (30,000 gold *dirhams* p.a.). After a first rebellion against Sandjar, the latter was able, after initial hesitation, to drive off Atsīz by means of the bloody victory at Hazārasp, 10 Rabīʿ I 533/15 Nov. 1138 (Atsīz's son was taken captive and executed). Sandjar put in his own nephew Sulaymān b. Muḥammad (thus Djuwaynī) as Khwārizmshāh. But already in the following year Atsīz was able with the help of the inhabitants to drive him out again and to capture Bukhārā. Nevertheless Atsīz now saw fit to submit again to Sandjar (middle of Shawwāl 535/end of May 1141); but after the latter's defeat at the hands of the Ḳara Khiṭāy in the steppe of Ḳatwān (5 Ṣafar 536/9 Sept. 1141) he fell away again and took Marw (17 Rabīʿ II/19 Nov. 1141) and Nīshāpūr (Shawwāl 536/May 1142). However, by 538/1143-4 Sandjar by a campaign forced him again to recognise his authority. In spite of a third defection accompanied by the murder of Sandjar's envoy, the latter allowed Atsīz to retain his position, after the capture of Hazārasp (Jan. 1148) and the siege of Gurgandj, and in the course of a meeting (Muḥarram 543/June 1148) where Atsīz showed little submission. Yet Atsīz now remained loyal to Sandjar even after the latter's capture by the Oghuz (548/1153) and obtained from Sandjar for his support the promise to receive—though only at a later date—the fortress of Āmul (modern Čārdjūy) and other fortresses. After Sandjar's escape from emprisonment Atsīz sent him a high-flown message of congratulation and appeared (551/1156) before him at Nasā, but died shortly afterwards at Khabūshān on the Atrek (9 Djumādā II 551/30 July 1156).

Despite his own reverses he secured the power of the Khwārizmian state by his stand against the Saldjūḳs and the Ḳara Khiṭāy (to both of whom he had eventually to pay tribute), as well as by the expansion of his territory northwards, and so layed the foundation stone of its position as a great power which lasted up to the Mongol invasion.

Bibliography: Djuwaynī, ii, 3-14, and following him Mīrkhwānd, *Histoire des Sultans du Kharezm*, ed. C. Defrémery, Paris 1842, 5-11; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 183, 476, xi, 44-63, 118 f., 138 (both following Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī's lost *Mashārib al-Tadjārib*; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, 169, 174, 370; Bundārī, *Zubdat al-Nuṣra* (Houtsma), 281; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., i, 26-27 (official documents concerning the dispute between Atsīz and Sandjar); Yāḳūt, iv, 70. — W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Engl. ed., 33, 323-31; idem, 12 *Vorlesungen zur Gesch. der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 122 f.; S. P. Tolstow, *Auf den Spuren der alt-choresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 295 f. (with map, 297); Mehmet Altay Köymen, *Der Oghusen-Einfall und seine Bedeutung im Rahmen der Geschichte des grossen Seldschukenreiches*, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, v, 1947-8, 621-60 (Turkish, 563-620). (W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

ATSİZ B. **UVAK** (and not Abak), was one of the chiefs of the Turkomāns (perhaps of the tribe of the Īwāī and perhaps at the beginning of the Saldjūḳid expansion established in Khwārizm), who in 1070 had followed Erisgen (?), husband of a daughter of Alp-Arslan, into Asia Minor in his flight to Byzantine territory; but he refused to take service in the Christian army, and had responded to the appeal made to him by the Fāṭimid government, requesting him to come and bring some of the Palestine Bedouin to heel (1071). An initial appearance which, if one calls to mind the orthodox anti-Fāṭimid position of the Saldjūḳids, adequately discloses the extent to which the brief traditional version, portraying Atsīz as one of their lieutenants, is inaccurate. However Atsīz did not consider himself adequately paid and occupied Jerusalem, Palestine and Southern Syria on his own account and he then made an attempt at reconciliation with Malikshāh, Alp-Arslan's successor. It was in vain that the government of Cairo obtained the help against him of his own lieutenant at Acre, then that of the Saldjūḳids, the descendants of Kutlumush, who were engaged in establishing themselves in Asia Minor: Atsīz defeated them (1075), conquered Damascus (1076) and attacked Egypt itself (1077). There, however, he was defeated, and was then confronted by a revolt of the pro-Egyptian elements in Palestine, which he drowned in blood (1078). He was unable to prevent the Egyptian army coming to threaten him

in Syria proper, and appealed to Malikshāh, who decided to make Syria an appanage for his own brother, Tutush. Atsïz may perhaps have hoped to be able to retain a territory as a vassal, but in the interview which took place between the two chieftains, Tutush rid himself of Atsïz by assassination (1079).

The episode of Atsïz is interesting as the first successful attempt to establish a Turkomān principality on the Western confines of the Saldjūḳid empire. As such it is directed against the Saldjūḳid regime. Naturally the Turkomāns made themselves felt by their ravages in the surrounding countryside, as everywhere else; but once he had subdued the country, he took care to restore agriculture; the townspeople, in contrast, complained that he showed no interest in them. The episodes narrated above are sufficient evidence of his religious indifference; the hostility shown to him by the urban aristocracy, both pro-Saldjūḳid and pro-Fāṭimid, doubtless explains in part his evident good relations with the Christians, especially the Monophysites, who, in spite of what has been said on the subject, were spared at the time of the Jerusalem massacre in 1078. It is therefore wrong to consider him, as one of those responsible, by repercussion, for the preaching of the crusade in Europe.

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The sources are indicated particularly in the first of these works; much the most important is the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī.

(CL. CAHEN)

ʿATTĀB B. ASĪD B. ABIʾL-ʿĪṢ B. UMAYYA AL-UMAWĪ, a Companion of the Prophet, who was converted on the day of the capture of Mecca; shortly afterwards, during the battle of Ḥunayn (8/629), he was appointed governor of Mecca by Muḥammad, and continued to hold this post under Abū Bakr. He agreed to marry Djuwayriya bint Abī Djahl in order to prevent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib from taking a second wife in addition to Fāṭima. The date of his death varies between 12 and 23/634-44.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 5391; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, index; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; al-Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, index; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 405; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 123; idem, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, i, 230, ii, 55; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 54; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivB, 150.

(ED.)

AL-**ʿATTĀBĪ** (Abū ʿAmr) Kulthūm b. ʿAmr b. Ayyūb, letter-writer and poet, died at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. A descendant of the pre-Islamic poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, al-ʿAttābī belonged to a sub-group of the Arab tribe, the Taghlib (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, 287), from the neighbourhood of Ḳinnasrīn in Northern Syria. The date of his birth and of his appearance in Baghdād are unknown. According to an indication by Ibn Ṭayfur, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ed. Kelley, X, 157-8, taken up again by A. Amīn, he stayed for a while at Marw and at Nishāpūr, for the purpose of consulting Persian (*sic*) manuscripts. In so far as this indication is valid, al-ʿAttābī had, therefore, a dual culture, Arab and Iranian. He held an office in the administration. Anecdotes show him as being attached to the Barmakid family. Their disgrace, moreover, was almost fatal for him, and as he was furthermore accused of *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*], he was obliged to flee to the Yemen to escape Hārūn al-Rashīd's punishment; see Yāḳūt and especially al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 351. By his cleverness, al-ʿAttābī was nevertheless able to regain the Caliph's favour. He was also well regarded by the general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] and al-Maʾmūn. According to one indication, he seems likewise to have been protected by his patron, the general Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (died 259/873). In his last years, al-ʿAttābī is said to have done penance. He is thought to have died about 220/835 (date given by Kutubī, i, 139, who follows Ibn al-Nadīm, but there is a lacuna here in the Flügel edition). Al-ʿAttābī has left the reputation of being a witty and brillant courtier, though not always scrupulous, as is borne out by the rôle he played at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd to bring about the fall of a rival poet; (see Ibn Ḥazm, 285).

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 121 and also 316-18 (reproduced by al-Kutubī and Yāḳūt) gives a list of six works written by al-ʿAttābī; to judge from the titles, these were probably works on philology and *adab*. To assess al-ʿAttābī's merits as a prose writer, one must turn to the citations made by al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Al-ʿAttābī's poetical writings seem to have been considerable (the *Fihrist*, 163, speaks of a collection of 100 folios) and Ibn Abī Ṭayfur, d. 280/893, gave a selection from them; see *ibid.*, 146 *in fine*. Today they are only known to us by the quotations from them by al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih and al-Iṣfahānī. These fragments have been collected together by F. Rifāʿī. His work is that of a court poet; free in style, it seems to bear the imprint of the influence of Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya and Abū Nuwās, whom al-ʿAttābī admired (see *Aghānī*[3], iv, 39); a panegyric on al-Rashīd enjoyed considerable fame (see the quotation by al-Djāḥiẓ, iii, 353 and the note by the ed.). With the exception of al-Marzubānī, this poet was greatly esteemed by the men of the Islamic Middle Ages. As regards literary history, al-ʿAttābī represents the beginning of the neo-classical current, which started in Northern Syria and was later represented by Abū Tammām and Buḥturī [*q.v.*].

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(R. BLACHÈRE)

AL-**ʿAṬṬĀR**, like *al-ṣaydalānī*, primarily meant a perfume merchant or druggist; but as most scents (*ʿiṭr*, pl. *ʿuṭūr*) and drugs (usually *ʿaḳḳār*, pl. *ʿaḳāḳīr*) were credited with some healing properties, *ʿaṭṭār* also came to mean chemist and homoeopath (*mutaṭabbib*). His activities combine commerce with science and medicine. He has to know "the diverse drugs, curatives, drafts and scents, their good and bad varieties, as well as what is fraudulent; he must know which things change quickly or go bad, and which do not, and what means there are for their preservation or reconstitution. Finally, he must

know the mixing of drafts and potions, powders and spices" (al-Dimashḳī, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*; cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.* 7, 59). Today the term also sometimes includes dyers and dye-merchants, although the perfume merchants are the noblest and wealthiest of the *ʿaṭṭārūn*. As in the Middle Ages, herbal remedies—that is to say, the greater part of the medicines offered—are still sold dry (i.e., roots and wood chopped small; herbs, leaves, and flowers whole or crushed; and fruit or seed just dried). The containers were generally provided by the bazaar druggist (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* [ed. Ch. Schefer], Paris 1881, 53). The plants and animals which a druggist used, and the methods of obtaining his raw materials, are particularly vividly presented in the illuminated Persian Dioscorides-manuscript Topkapī Saray Ahmed III. 2147 f. 204-475 (written in the year 867/1463 Medicines were usually given in simple form (*adwiya mufrada, Simplicia*), but they were sometimes compounded (*adwiya murakkaba, Composita*) by the *ʿaṭṭār* in the presence of the patient, who, if need be, was given a dose right away. Compare with this the miniatures in H. Buchthal, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942), 24-33; Bishr Farès, *Le Livre de la Thériaque* in *Art Islamique*, vol. ii, Cairo 1953, plates XI and XII.

The professional knowledge of the bazaar druggist is usually scanty, and his medicines are often completely spoilt by storage under unsuitable conditions for excessive periods. Druggists have always been known for their cheating in measures and general quackery, as is attested to both by specialised works on fraudulent practices, (such as *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār wa-Hatk al-Astār* of Djawbarī [7th century A.H.; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Sitzungs-Berichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen* 43, 206-32], which is still much read in the Orient) and by treatises on the duties of a market superviser (*muḥtasib*). M. Meyerhof reports, for instance, how French perfumes are diluted and tampered with in the bazaar, bottled in oriental flasks, and then sold to the Europeans as genuine oriental scent and to the local inhabitants as improved Parisian products. Concerning weights, measures, and vessels used by the *ʿaṭṭārūn*, more information can be found in G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps*, Supplement, New York 1951 (illustrated); for a container for measuring cf. F. E. Day, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 11, 259. In *Der Bazar der Drogen und Wohlgerüche in Kairo, Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient* 3 (1918), 1-40, 185-218, M. Meyerhof describes how the druggists worked in mediaeval and more modern times. The best known druggists' quarter (*sūḳ al-ʿaṭṭārīn*) of ancient times was in al-Fusṭāṭ (E. J. Worman, *JQR* 8, 1906, 16-18), which was burned down almost completely in 563/1168 (but was, according to Ibn Duḳmāḳ, rebuilt under the Mamlūks), also referred to in documents from the Geniza. The *sūḳ al-ʿiṭr* of Damascus is also worthy of note (H. Sauvaire, in *JA* 9th series, vol. vii, 1896, 381, 404). A woodcut in E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* ii, facing p. 9, gives a vivid picture of a druggist's shop in the 19th century. Original bills for medicines, prescriptions, and similar texts from a druggist's practice, exist in considerable numbers on papyrus. The fact that this particular calling was very widespread is borne out by the frequency with which the term *al-ʿaṭṭār* appears as a cognomen, especially amongst poets and scholars for whom this calling may well have served as an additional source of income. The best known instance is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār.

The same word is used in India to denote an alcohol-free perfume-oil produced by the distillation of sandalwood-oil through flowers (for instance, roses).

Bibliography: (Apart from works already mentioned in the text): A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten* (*Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, N.F. no. 1), Heidelberg 1954; G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'épices sous les sultans mamlouks* (*Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*), Cairo 1955. (A. Dietrich)

ʿAṬṬĀR, Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Persian mystical poet. The dates of his birth and death cannot be fixed with any certainty. According to Dawlatshāh, he was born in 513/1119 and the general belief is that he was killed by the Mongols in Nīshāpūr in the year 627/1230. This would mean that he lived to the age of 114, which is improbable, and besides, Nīshāpūr was conquered by the Mongols as early as 617/1220. According to a *taʾrīkh* verse in some manuscripts (e.g. Ibrahim Ef. 579), in other sources (Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Djustudjū*, 607), and according to the inscription on the tomb erected by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, he died as early as 586/1190, that is to say, three years after writing *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* (Saʿīd Nafīsī 129). Saʿīd Nafīsī adheres to 627 as the date of his death, but he bases this assumption on the spurious book *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ* and on the statement of Djāmī that ʿAṭṭār had given the *Asrār-nāma* to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī who had emigrated from Balkh with his father in 618/1221. This emigration, however, probably took place as early as 616/1219 (Ritter in *Isl.* 26, 1942, 117-8). Nothing definite concerning the dates of his life can be got from ʿAṭṭār's own works. The one which seems to contain most biographical information, *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib*, is a forgery, which unfortunately misled Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī as well as the author of this article. ʿAṭṭār was a pharmacist and doctor, and whilst not actually a Ṣūfī, he admired the holy men and was edified by the tales told about them, from his youth onward.—When attempting to compile a list of ʿAṭṭār's works, one meets with a peculiar difficulty: the works attributed to him fall into three groups which differ so considerably in content and style that it is difficult to ascribe all three to the same person. The main works of the first group are *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr*, *Ilāhī-nāma* and *Muṣībat-nāma*; those of the second group are *Ushturnāma* and *Djawhar al-Dhāt*; and those of the third *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* and *Lisān al-Ghayb*. There is, in addition, a fourth group of works which can—on the basis of internal evidence—be proved not to be by ʿAṭṭār. With the exception of *Asrār-nāma*, the epics of the first group consist of a clear, well-constructed main story, which is interspersed with numerous—generally short—subsidiary tales. These tales reflect a wealth of religious and profane life. Told with masterly skill, these subsidiary tales are richly varied in subject, and they are the main charm of the works of this group. In the second group the number of tales is much reduced, and the interest is withdrawn from the external world and all that occurs in it. A limited number of ideas are pursued with intensity and great emotion, and with many repetitions. The recurring themes are: complete *fanā*, even through physical death, monistic pantheism (there is nothing other than God, and all things are of one substance), the knowledge

of one's self as everything, as God, as identical with all prophets. People are repeatedly recognised as God by others, and addressed as such. The presentation is broad and ill-ordered, and full of tiresome repetitions. Frequently one does not know who is speaking or who is being addressed. Anaphora is used excessively: on occasions a hundred consecutive lines begin with the same words. Saʿīd Nafīsī considers the works of this group as spurious, and attributes them to the writer of the third group, a man from Tūn who lived in Ṭūs for a long time, who was undoubtedly a Shīʿite and must have lived in the 9th/15th century. He considers the change of style, which had been accepted both by Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and by the author of this article, to be impossible. One might object that a change of style and a limitation of the field of interest are not out of the question in a poet; that the beginnings of the use of anaphora can be found in the works of the first group; and also that some of the themes frequent in the second group are traceable in the first. I therefore do not regard it as utterly impossible that the works of the second group should be genuine, though it is rather doubtful. In the time of Djāmī—that is to say in the 9th century—at least, these works were considered genuine, because Djāmī's remark in the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* that the light of Ḥallādj had manifested itself after 150 years in ʿAṭṭār, can be based only on the works of the second group, in which Ḥallādj plays an extensive part.

The epics of the third group, on the other hand, have been conclusively proved to be spurious. In the *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* the poet asks the reader to read Ḥāfiẓ (died 791 A.H.) and Ḳāsim-i Anwār (died 837 A.H.) and prophesies the appearance of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Saʿīd Nafīsī 146 ff.). I find such a difference in style and content between the works of the second and those of the third group, that—unlike Saʿīd Nafīsī—I should not ascribe them to the same poet. With regard to the probable chronology of the works (on the basis of self-quotation), see my *Philologika* X, in *Isl.* 25, 1939, 144-156. The conclusions drawn in that article from the statements in the *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* (whose author has the audacity to claim all ʿAṭṭār's genuine and famous works as his own) as also in my own article "Aṭṭār" in *IA*, are now superseded.

Individual works: First group:

1) *Dīwān*: apart from love poems, this contains the exposition of the same religious thoughts as govern the epics. Printed in Tehran, but not in a critical edition.

2) *Mukhtār-nāma*: a collection of quatrains arranged according to themes, with an elucidatory prose introduction describing the origin of the work —which originally formed part of the *Dīwān*—and the destruction of the two works *Djawāhir-nāma* and *Sharḥ al-Ḳalb* (Ritter, *Philologika* X, 152-155). Incomplete publication, Teheran 1353.

3) *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* (*Maḳāmāt al-Ṭuyūr*): grandiose poetic elaboration of the *Risālat al-Ṭayr* of Muḥammad or Aḥmad Ghazzālī. The birds, led by the hoopoe, set out to seek Sīmurgh, whom they had elected as their king. All but 30 perish on the path on which they have to traverse seven dangerous valleys (*Haft wādī*: this part appears as an independent work in some manuscripts). The surviving 30 eventually recognise themselves as being the deity (*sī murgh* = *Simurgh*), and then merge in the last *fanā* in the divine Sīmurgh. Inadequate edition by Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1857; *Mantic uttair ou le langage des oiseaux .... par Farid-uddin Attar*; *Traduction française* and *La poésie philosophique et religieuse chez les Persans d'après le Mantic uttair, ou le langage des oiseaux de Farid-uddin Attar*, 3rd edition, Paris 1860; on the translation by Baron E. Hermelin, Stockholm 1929, see Jan Rypka in *Archiv Orientalní* 4. 1932, 149-160. The best edition known to me is the one which appeared in Bombay in 1313 A.H., published by Cooper and Cooper. For other editions of *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* and for works of ʿAṭṭār in general, see E. Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1912; A. J. Arberry, *A Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part IV. Persian Books*, and the catalogues of manuscripts. A Turkish commentary was written by Shemʿī in 1005/1596-7 (MS. Carullah 1716). For Turkish translations and studies, cf. my article on "Attar" in *IA*.

4) *Muṣībat-nāma*: a *ṣūfī* disciple (*sālik*), in his helplessness and despair, is advised by a *pīr* to visit successively all mythical and cosmic beings: angel, throne, writing tablet, stilus, heaven and hell, sun, moon, the four elements, mountain, sea, the three realms of nature, Iblīs, the spirits, the prophets, senses, phantasy, mind heart and soul (the self). In the sea of the soul, in his own self, he eventually finds the godhead. The tale may have been inspired by the *ḥadīth al-shafāʿa*. Printed in Tehran 1298 A.H.

5) *Ilāhī-nāma*: a king asks his six sons what, of all things in the world, they wish for. They wish in turn for the daughter of the fairy king, the art of witchcraft, the magic cup of Djam, the water of life, Solomon's ring, and the elixir. The royal father tries to draw them away from their worldly desires and to inspire them with higher aims. Edition by H. Ritter, Istanbul-Leipzig 1940, *Bibliotheca Islamica* 12. Concerning a Turkish version, cf. the article Attâr in *IA*.

6) *Asrār-nāma*: it has no framework-story, and repeatedly mentions the gnostic motif of the entanglement of the pre-existing soul in the base material world. ʿAṭṭār is supposed to have given a copy of this book to the young Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Printed in Tehran 1298/1880-1 Cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele, Mensch, Gott und Welt in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār* (Leiden 1955) for content and ideas of Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

7) *Khusraw-nāma*: a romantic novel of love and adventure, concerning Khusraw, the son of the emperor of Rūm, and Gul, the daughter of the king of Khūzistān, with many adventures, befalling above all the faithful Gul, who is besieged by a succession of suitors. Synopsis in *Philologika* X, *Isl.* 25, 160-173. Printed in Lucknow 1295/1878.

8) *Pand-nāma*: a small moral treatise which enjoyed great popularity; it has been printed in Turkey alone at least eight times (1251, 1252, 1253, 1257, 1260, 1267, 1291). Concerning further editions see Saʿīd Nafīsī 109-10 and the above mentioned catalogues. It has been translated into several languages (compare Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, 603 and Saʿīd Nafīsī 108-10). As early as 1809 it was published in London by J. H. Hindley, then by de Sacy together with a French translation: *Pandnameh ou Livre des Conseils*, Paris 1819. For the Swedish translation by Baron Erik Hermelin, see Jan Rypka in *Archiv Orientalní* 4, 1932, 148 ff. The Turkish translation, completed in 964/1557, was by Emrī, who died in 988/1580, and it was repeatedly printed in Turkey together with the Persian text (1229, 1266, 1280, 1282). Turkish commentaries: Shemʿī (died 1009/1600-1), *Saʿādat-nāma*; Shuʿūrī

(died 1105/1693-4 autograph of 1083 A.H. Istanbul, Darülmesnevi 185; 'Abdī Pasha (died 1113/1701-2), *Mufīd*; Bursalī Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī (died 1137/1724-5), in great detail, printed Istanbul 1250; Meḥmed Murād (died 1264/1849) *Māḥaḍar*, Istanbul 1252, 1260.

9) *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*: an extensive prose work which contains the biographies and sayings of Muslim mystics. It ends with a biography of Ḥallādj, who plays such an extensive part in the works of the second group. Other biographies—over 20 in number—have been added in some manuscripts. In these, as also in his epics, 'Aṭṭār has treated his sources freely, and has often altered them in the light of his own religious ideas. For the numerous Turkish studies and translations, see the article Attâr in *IA*; in addition Sa'īd Nafīsī 110-112. The text of the edition by R. A. Nicholson, *The Tadhkiratu 'l-awliyá of Shaykh Farídu'd-dín 'Aṭṭár*, London-Leiden 1905-1907, Persian Historical Texts 3 and 5, is not always trustworthy. Other editions in Sa'īd Nafīsī 112 and in the above mentioned catalogues.

10) *Bulbul-nāma*: the birds complain to Solomon about the nightingale which, they say, disturbs them with her song to the rose. The nightingale is called upon to defend herself. Eventually Solomon orders that she be left in peace. Sa'īd Nafīsī (106-7) regards this book as spurious. Printed in Tehran 1312.

11) *Mi'rādj-nāma*: could well be an excerpt from the *na't* of any *mathnawī*. In the only manuscript which I have seen, it covers a mere two pages.

12) *Djumdjuma-nāma*: a rather short story which might come from any of 'Aṭṭār's epics. Jesus resurrects a skull in the desert; the dead man, who had been a great king, tells Jesus about the torments of the grave and of hell; he then embraces the true faith and dies for a second time. For Turkish editions of this little work, see *IA*: Attâr.

The works of the second group (described above):

13) *Ushtur* (*Shutur*)*-nāma*: the central figure of the first part of this work is a Turkish puppet player, who appears as a symbol of the deity. He has seven curtains to his stage and has seven assistants. He breaks the figures which he himself had created and tears the curtain. He sends his assistants in all directions and himself withdraws in order to guard his secret. A wise man asks him for the reason for his actions. By way of a reply, he is sent in front of seven curtains. There he beholds a strange, fantastic series of events, the meaning of which is to be understood symbolically. He is always sent on by a *pīr* without any clear information, and on his arrival at the 7th curtain he is asked to fetch from a grave some writing written on silk in green letters. On this God has revealed matters concerning Himself, the way towards Him, the creation, and the prophet Muḥammad. There is repeated mention of decapitation as a means of reaching God, and Ḥallādj is repeatedly pointed to as the great example. The fruitless wandering from one curtain to another is reminiscent of the cosmic journey of the *sālik* in the *Muṣībat-nāma*. The second part deals almost exclusively with Ḥallādj. On the scaffold he has talks with Djunayd, Shaykh-i Kabīr (Ibn al-Khafīf), Bāyazīd and Shiblī, and in these, as God, he develops a monistic-pantheistic theology. In spite of its length, the *Ushtur-nāma* is an important and interesting work which deserves closer study. Metre: *Ramal*.

14) *Djawhar* (*Djawāhir*) *al-Dhāt*: this epos was written after the *Ushtur-nāma*, because the latter (as well as the *Muṣībat-nāma*) is quoted in it. In this work, too, Ḥallādj is continuously presented as a model of the *fanā* and of becoming God. Among other stories, it contains the one of 'Alī whispering the divine secrets into a cistern. These secrets are then betrayed by a reed which had grown in the cistern and had been cut into a flute. The connexion with the 18 introductory lines of the *Mathnawī*, by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, is obvious. My assumption is that it is this story (which goes back to Midas' donkey-ears via Niẓāmī) which has inspired Djalāl al-Dīn; Sa'īd Nafīsī, who considers the work a later forgery, assumes the reverse to be the case (p. 114) (H. Ritter, *Das Prooemium des Mathnawī-i Mawlawī*, in *ZDMG* 93, 169-196). The epic also contains the story of the youth who went on a sea voyage with his father, recognised himself as God and jumped into the sea in order to lose himself completely in the divine nature. The youth is also recognised as God by a fellow-passenger. The *motif* of the recognition of a man as a God by another man also appears in other works of this group. This work was printed in Teheran in 1315/1355.

15) *Haylādj-nāma*: a poor imitation of the second part of the *Ushtur-nāma*. Metre: *Hazadj*. Lithographed, Tehran 1253.

16) *Manṣūr-nāma*: a short tale in the metre *Ramal*, beginning: *Būd Manṣūr ay 'adjab shūrīda ḥāl*. It is a short description of the martyrdom of Ḥallādj.

17) *Bīsar-nāma*: a short *Mathnawī*, the centre of which consists of self-deification (*Man khudāyam man khudāyam man khudā*) and *fanā* by decapitation. It contains verses from other *mathnawīs* of this group. Its content is connected with the second part of the *Ushtur-nāma*. Lithographed, Tehran 1319 and several times in Lucknow.

The works of the third group (undoubtedly by another hand):

18) *Maẓhar al-'Adjā'ib* (the "place where miracles appear") is an honorary name for 'Alī, to whose glorification this work is dedicated. He is the divine man, the bearer of divine secrets, the Shāh of all beings, prophets and angels. Legends about 'Alī play a large part. The author claims all the works of 'Aṭṭār as his own, and gives great biographical detail, including the meeting with Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā. Lithograph, Tehran 1323. Sa'īd Nafīsī 126 ff.

19) *Lisān al-Ghayb*: again a Shī'ite work by the same poet, who explicitly renounces Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān. Sa'īd Nafīsī 122-3. These two works have no literary value.

Works of the fourth group (demonstrably spurious on the basis of internal evidence):

20) *Khayyāṭ-nāma*: for contents see E. Berthels, *Farīdaddīn 'Aṭṭār's Khayyāṭ-Nāma*, in *Bull. de l'Ac. des Sc. de L'URSS*, Classe des Humanités 1929, 201-214. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa attributes the work to a certain Khayyāṭ-i Kāshānī. Berthels considers it genuine.

21) *Waṣlat-nāma*: the poet is a man called Buhlūl. Sa'īd Nafīsī 131-132.

22) *Kanz al-Asrār* (= *Kanz al-Baḥr* = *Tardjamat al-Aḥādīth*): compiled 699/1299-1300. *Philologika* X, 157; Sa'īd Nafīsī 120.

23) *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ*: compiled 688/1289-90, according to other manuscripts 587/1191-2, by a man from Zandjan, *Philologika* X, 157; Sa'īd Nafīsī 127-128.

24) *Waṣiyyat-nāma*: compiled 850/1446-7. *Philologika* X 158. Perhaps = *Waṣlat-nāma*?

25) *Kanz al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*: contains a panegyric to a prince by name of Nīkū Ghāzī. Concerning the possibly corrupt name of this prince see Sa'īd Nafīsī

121, Ritter, *Philologika* X, 158. Concerning four other spurious works, compare *ibid.*, 154.

Bibliography: Works other than those mentioned in the text: Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, Introduction to E. G. Browne's edition of the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*; H. Ritter, *Philologika* X in *Isl.* 25, 1939, 134-173; idem, the article in *IA*. (All three articles still take *Maẓhar al-ʿAdjāʾib* to be genuine and use it as a source for biographical matter); Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Djustudjū dar Aḥwāl u Āthār-i Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār-i Nīshābūrī*, Tehran 1320. Apart from these, histories of literature and catalogues of manuscripts.

(H. Ritter)

AL-ʿAṬṬĀR, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, Egyptian scholar of Maghribine origin, born in Cairo after 1180/1766. He studied at al-Azhar, and was one of the few *ʿulamāʾ* who, after the occupation of Egypt by Bonaparte, entered into relations with the French scholars and took an active interest in the new learning. He then spent many years in Syria and Turkey, and on his return to Egypt was employed as editor of the Official Journal (*al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*) founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī (1244/1828). In 1245/1830 he was installed as Shaykh al-Azhar by Muḥammad ʿAlī, with whose programme he was thought to be in sympathy, and died in office in 1250/1835. He was probably most influential as the teacher of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], but his handbook of correspondence (*Inshāʾ al-ʿAṭṭār*) enjoyed a wide vogue, and was frequently reprinted at Cairo and in India.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭāṭ al-Djadīda*, iv, 38-40; Ph. Tarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣaḥāfa al-ʿArabiyya*, i, Beirut 1913, 128-30; Brockelmann, II, 473; S II, 720; E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. ix; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Hist. of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1940, 154, 265, 397; Sulaymān Raṣad, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, 138-41.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ATTACK [see atak].

ATTRIBUTE [see ṣifa].

AURÈS [see awrās].

AVARS (Awar, from Ādharī Turkish *avarali*: "unstable", "vagabond") *Ibero-Caucasian people*, inhabiting the mountainous part of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Dāghistān (basins of the rivers Ḳoysu of Andi, Ḳoysu Awar, Ḳara-Ḳoysu and Tleyserukh) and the northern part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. The Avars are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite. In 1955 their numbers were estimated at 240,000, of whom 40,000 approximately were in the Belokanī and Zakatalī districts of Azerbaijan.

The Avars are divided into two major groups—formerly federations of tribes (*bo*), which are subdivided into clans (*kʿibilʿ*): the Maarulal group (from *maar* "mountain" in Avar, in Russian *tawlinsti* from the Ḳumīḳ *taw*: mountain) to the North of the plateau of Khūnzāḳ, and the Bagaulal (in Avar: rough men), composed of the southern clans. The Avars claim to have been converted to Islam by the Arabs. According to a legendary tradition, Islam is said to have been introduced to Khūnzāḳ by the Amīr Abū Muslim, and his tomb and sword are still shown there. In point of fact, this tradition confuses Amīr Abū Muslim, who never went to Dāghistān, and the Shaykh Abū Maslama, who is reputed to have lived there in the 5th/11th century. In point of fact, when the Arabs arrived in Dāghistān, Christianity and even Judaism had already taken root in the Avar country and Islam only penetrated very slowly, since Christianity in the Georgian rite survived at Kakhib until the 10th/16th century. However, in the 5th/11th century, the Tanush *aul*, capital of the Avar principality of the Nutsal, originally a vassal of the Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ (see lak), was already a Muslim stronghold and one of the principal centres of Arab culture of Upper Daghistān. The islamisation of the country was completed during the brief period of Ottoman domination (965-1015/1558-1606), that is to say at the time of the formation of the Avar Khānate, whose rulers claimed (legendary) descent from the Arab governors of Khūnzāḳ.

In the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries, the Avar Khānate dominated Upper Dāghistān culturally and politically, especially with Ummu-Khān Avar (died 1634), who codified the Avar *ʿādat*, and his successors who received tribute from the King of Georgia and from the Khāns of Shirwān, Shekkī and Darband. However, the lords of Khūnzāḳ were never able to completely unite Avaristān, which remains divided amongst a multitude of clans, some grouped in free federations (*bo*) and others tributary to the Khānate.

In 1727 the Avar Khānate accepted the Russian protectorate for the first time, but soon rejected it. It was again imposed for a second time on ʿUmar Khān in 1802, then once more in 1803 on his son and successor Ṣulṭān Aḥmad Khān.

In 1821, after the revolt of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, Avaristān was occupied by Russian forces which, without assuming power directly, were content to provide the ruler with military advisers. From that time, the plateau of Khūnzāḳ served the Russians as a springboard for the conquest of Upper Dāghistān. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Avar country became the field of activity of the initiates of the Naḳshbandiyya order, who in 1830 instigated a popular movement there directed both against the Khānate, which was in alliance with the Russians, and against the "infidels". The Khānate was overthrown in 1834 by the Imām Ḥamza Beg [*q.v.*] and the Russians were shortly afterwards expelled from Avaristān. The surrender of the Imām Shāmil [*q.v.*] on 25 August 1859 put an end to the imāmate; the Russians re-established the Avar Khānate, placing Ibrāhīm Khān of Meḥtulin at its head. However, on 22 February 1863, Ibrāhīm Khān was arrested and sent into exile; on 2 April 1864, the Khānate was finally suppressed and its territory annexed to the Avar *okrug* administered directly by the Russian authorities.

After the October Revolution, the Avar territory became part of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Dāghistān, attached to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist republic (decree of the Supreme Soviet of January the 20th 1921).

The Avar language belongs to the North-Eastern branch (Dāghistānī) of the Northern group of Ibero-Caucasian languages. Its sphere extends from the *aul* of Čirinot to Novo-Zakatali in Azerbaijan, 170 km. further to the South; it is subdivided into numerous dialects (almost one to each clan) forming two main groups: the Northern (or Khūnzāḳ) dialects and the Southern dialects (Antsukh, Čokh, Gidatli and Zakatali). The literary language was formed from the *Bolmats* ("language of the army"), the vehicle of inter-tribal relations from the 16th century onwards. In the middle of the 17th century, Avar was endowed with an Arabic alphabet (completed by numerous signs for the transcription of

Ibero-Caucasian phonemes), (called "Old ʿAdjam") which was finally perfected by Dibir, ḳāḍī of Khūnzāḳ (1747-1827). Avar literature was born at the same period with Muḥammad b. Mūsā of Kudatli (died 1708), who wrote in Arabic, and Dibir, ḳāḍī of Khūnzāḳ, who translated *Kalīla wa Dimna* into Avar. At the beginning of the 19th century, it was enriched by a spate of religious and didactic works, then, in Shāmil's time, by satricial and lyrical works, the chief representative of which was the poet Maḥmūd of Betl-Kakhab rosso (1873-1919). This literature first of all found expression in Arabic and then in Avar. In 1920 the old alphabet was replaced by a simplified Arabic alphabet of 38 letters (called "New ʿAdjam"), for which in 1928 a new Latin alphabet was substituted and then in 1938 a Cyrillic alphabet.

At the present time (1957), the Avars are numerically the largest nationality in Dāghistān (200,000 for a total population of one million) and the most advanced. They have a literature of their own, the most famous representative of which is Ḥamzat Tsadasa (1873-1951), Lenin Prize winner in 1950, an Avar language press and a well developed network of schools, where instruction is given in the national language up to the 5th class, and in Russian in the senior classes.

The literary Avar language is used by the Arči [*q.v.*] and by the thirteen small, Andi [*q.v.*] and Dido [*q.v.*] nationalities which have no written language and are rapidly becoming absorbed into the Avar nationality; it also serves as a secondary language for certain other peoples of Upper Dāghistān, who are subject to the cultural influence of the Avars (Dargin, Laks [*q.v.*]). Russian, however, continues to be the administrative language of Dāghistān. The Avars of Azerbaijan are losing the use of their mother tongue, which is being replaced by Ādharī Turkish.

In the territory of Avaristān occupying the mountainous and little accessible region of Central Dāghistān, the Awars remain essentially nomadic sheep breeders, and in the valleys horticulturists on a small scale (terraced orchards). Traditional crafts are very much developed: woven woollen goods, carpets, copper work (*auls* of Yotsatl' and Čičali), work on leather, work in gold, artistic work on wood (*auls* of Untsukul and Batsada), wrought iron work (*auls* of Sogratl', Golotl', Kakhih). The industrialisation of the country, which was started about 1936, is still in the initial stages.

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(H. Carrère d'Encausse and A. Bennigsen).

AVENPACE [see ibn bādjdja].
AVENZOAR [see ibn zuhr].
AVERROES [see ibn rushd].
AVICENNA [see ibn sīnā].
AVROMAN [see hawrāmān].

ĀWA (*Āvah, Āveh*), the name of two towns in central Īrān.

1) A town of Āwa, at present called Āwadj, lies 70 m. (111 km.) S.-W. of Ḳazwīn on the road to Hamadān, ca. 35° 35′ N. lat. and 49° 15′ E. long. (Greenw.). The town is reckoned in the cold zone (*sardsīr*) because of its altitude. In 1950 it had ca. 1800 Persian and Turkish speaking inhabitants.

There are only short notices of the town in medieval geographers. Yāḳūt, i, 387, mentions a savant called Āwaḳī from there. The only old building in the vicinity is a caravanseray from the time of Shāh ʿAbbās.

2) Another town, also called *Ābeh*, is now a village in the Djaʿfarābād county of the Sāwa district, ca. 18¾ m. (30 km.) west of Ḳumm on the usually dry Gāwmāhā River, 34° 45′ N. lat and 50° 20′ E. long (Greenw.). The medieval geographers mention it together with Sāwa. It was plundered by the Mongols but apparently regained importance, if this is the Āwa where Īl-khānid coins were minted (see B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 129).

The present village had 885 inhabitants in 1950, ardent Shīʿites as in the past of the town. There are many ancient artificial mounds in the vicinity of Āwa, and an old *imāmzāda* in the village.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 196, 211; P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 5, 549, 542; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 60, 221 (only the second Āwa); Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, 1, Tehran 1950, 26-7; P. Schwartz, *Drei Ortslagen in Nord-Iran*, in *Isl.* 8, 1918, 18, (only the first Āwa = Ud?).

(R. N. Frye)

AWADH (Oudh), a tract of country comprising the Lucknow and Fayḍābād divisions of the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. It has an area of 24, 168 square miles and a population of 15, 514, 950, of which 14, 156, 139 are to be found in the rural districts. (Census of India, 1951). From very early times Awadh, which forms part of the great alluvial plain of northern India, has been the peculiar home of Hindu civilisation. It corresponds roughly to the Middle Country, the Madhya-desha of the sacred Hindu writings, where dwelt the gods and heroes of the Epic Period whose deeds are recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. Here too arose a number of religious reactions against the sacerdotalism and the social exclusiveness of Brahmanism.

Apart from marauding expeditions, such as Maḥmūd of Ghazna's attack upon Manaič and the doubtful exploits of Sālār Masʿūd Ghāzī recorded in the *Mir'āt-i Masʿūdī* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čishtī, it was not until the last decade of the twelfth century, in the days of Ḳutb al-Dīn Aybak, that the Muslim invaders established themselves in Awadh and annexed it to the Dihlī Sultānate. It formed a province of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's extensive empire, but towards the close of the fourteenth century was absorbed by the Sharḳī kingdom of Djawnpūr, of which it remained an integral part until reconquered by the Lodī sultans of Dihlī. In the reign of Akbar it was annexed to the Mughal empire. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl it was divided into five *sarkārs* and thirty-eight *parganas*. It extended from the Ganges on the south-west as far as the Gandak on the north-east; and from the river Sai in

the south to the Tarai of Nepāl in the north. (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, 170-7. Jarrett, H.S., *Bib. Ind.*, 1891). Local traditions in Awadh, however, conflict with the Muslim accounts and suggest that the Rādjput chiefs maintained their authority practically intact throughout the Mughal period. (W. C. Benett, *The Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District*, 1895). The weakness of the central government after the death of Awrangzīb gave the nawābs of Awadh an opportunity of asserting their independence, although nominally they still acknowledged the authority of the Mughal emperor.

Saʿādat Khān Burhān al-Mulk, the founder of the Awadh dynasty, was descended from a respectable Sayyid family of Nīshāpūr (*Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān, ii, 902). During his nawābship (1722-39) Benares, Ghāzīpūr, Djawnpūr and Čunār were annexed to his dominions. His successor, Ṣafdar Djang (1739-54), was appointed *wazīr* of the empire in 1748. He invited the Marāthās to assist him against the Bangash Pathāns of Farrukhābād who were supported by the Rohillas. The engagements entered into at that time formed the basis of later Marāthā claims on Rohilkhand. Ṣafdar Djang's son and successor, the *nawāb-wazīr* Shudjāʿ al-Dawla (1754-75), came into conflict with the rising power of the English East India Company and was totally defeated at Baksar in 1764 This left Awadh at the disposal of the Company By the treaty of Allāhābād (1765) Clive restored Awadh to Shudjāʿ al-Dawla with the exception of Kora and Allāhābād, which were handed over to the emperor for the upkeep of his dignity and expenses. This alliance with Shudjā al-Dawla was purely defensive. It was the germ of all subsequent subsidiary alliances with Awadh because the extraordinary expenses of all troops supplied by the Company were to be defrayed by Shudjāʿ al-Dawla. By these means Awadh was converted into a buffer state against Marāthā encroachments. In the main this was a sound policy. Its chief weakness from a strategical point of view was the handing over of Kora and Allāhābād to the Mughal emperor as the defence of Awadh necessitated the defence of these districts. The reinstatement of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla was a wise move as the Company at that time were in no position to annex and administer Awadh. By the treaty of Benares (1773) Warren Hastings placed the Company's relations with this important buffer state between Bengal and the Marāthās on a firmer footing. In future its ruler had to defray all the expenses of the Company's troops required for the defence of his country, namely 210,000 rupees a month. Because the emperor had deserted the Company and become a puppet in the hands of the Marāthās, Kora and Allāhābād were sold to the ruler of Awadh for fifty lakhs of rupees. (For these negotiations *see* *The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, ed. C. Collin Davies, Camden Miscellany, Royal Historical Society, vol. lxxix, 1948).

The accession of the incapable Āṣaf al-Dawla (1775-97) enabled the hostile majority on Warren Hastings' council to alter his policy towards Awadh. By the treaty of Fayḍābād (1775) the subsidy for the use of the Company's troops was raised to 260,000 rupees *per mensem* and the new nawāb was forced to cede Rāja Chait Singh's *zamīndārī* of Benares, Djawnpūr and Ghāzīpūr in full sovereignty to the Company. By the treaty of Čunār (1781) Hastings, who had regained control over his council, proposed to reform Āṣaf al-Dawla's administration by reducing the number of English troops stationed in his territories. Unfortunately the weakness of the nawāb's government prevented this and Hastings was forced to retain both the permanent and temporary brigades. His share in the resumption of the *djāgīrs* and in the sequestration of the treasures of the bēgums of Awadh, the mother and wife of Āṣaf al-Dawla, formed one of the charges against him on impeachment. Certain conclusions may be drawn from Hastings' conduct of the Company's relations with Awadh. His object was to prevent any development which would impair the efficiency of the buffer state and weaken the Company's defences. He therefore contended that the Company had a right to dethrone a disloyal or unsuitable ruler. He also insisted on ministers favourable to the British connexion. The trouble he experienced in controlling the English Residents in Awadh, both Middleton and Bristow, illustrates the difficulty of formulating written instructions which were not liable to misinterpretation. Because of the close connexion between Awadh and Bengal a policy of non-intervention was impossible. Under the incapable Āṣaf al-Dawla Awadh could not have preserved its independence without the Company's assistance. It certainly would not have been free from Marāthā depredations. In the main Hastings' policy was followed by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. Cornwallis reduced the Company's demands on Awadh to fifty lakhs of rupees a year, but, on the accession of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān (1798-1814) Shore raised the subsidy to seventy-six lakhs. In 1801 Lord Wellesley forced Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān to cede Rohilkhand, Farrukhābād, Mainpurī, Etāwah, Cawnpore, Fatehgarh, Allāhābād, Azimgarh, Bastī, and Gorakhpur. This meant that Awadh ceased to be a buffer state, for, except where it was bounded by Nepāl, it was entirely surrounded by British territory. Its weakness as a buffer state had been Wellesley's excuse for these annexations. Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, who was the first ruler of Awadh to assume the title of king. The remaining kings of Awadh were Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1827-37), Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh (1837-42), Amdjad ʿAlī Shāh (1842-47) and Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh (1847-56).

It was a provision of the treaty of 1801 that the ruler of Awadh should introduce into his country a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to secure their lives and property. In spite of repeated warnings nothing was done and misgovernment continued unchecked. On these grounds Awadh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh received a pension and was allowed to reside at Calcutta where he died in 1887, his title expiring with him. The annexation of Awadh was one of the causes of the 1857 Mutiny. Some of the fiercest fighting during this uprising took place at Lucknow and Cawnpore.

After its annexation Awadh was controlled by a Chief Commissioner, until, in 1877, both Agra and Awadh were placed under the same administrator, who was known as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Awadh. The title of Chief Commissioner was dropped on the formation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1902. It was not, however, until 1921 that this administration was raised to the status of a Governor's province.

The first land revenue settlement after annexation was carried out with a lack of consideration for the great *talukdārī* families of the province, who were ousted from the greater part of their estates. This

was reversed after the Mutiny when Lord Canning reverted to a *taluḳdārī* settlement and confirmed the rights of the *taluḳdārs* by *sanads*.

To-day in Awadh Muslims are to be found chiefly where they held sway in the past, their preference for urban life explaining their presence in the chief towns. The old *taluḳdārī* system has been abolished and a new rural hierarchy of officials and village organisations has sprung up as a result of the Uttar Pradesh Village Panchayat Act of 1947. Villages or groups of villages with a population of 1,500 have been constituted into a *gāon sabhā* with certain powers of local administration. Groups of *gāon sabhās* are controlled by *panchāyat ʿadālats* with judicial powers extending to civil, criminal and revenue cases. There are about 9,466 *gāon sabhās* and 2,180 *panchāyat ʿadālats* in Awadh.

Bibliography: (For the Persian authorities on the history of Awadh see Storey, i, 703-13); C. U. Atchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* i, Calcutta 1909; P. Basu, *Oudh and the East India Company* 1785-1801, Lucknow 1943; W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*. 4 vols., Calcutta 1896; C. C. Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, Oxford 1939; *The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, Royal Historical Society, vol. lxxix 1948; D. Dewar, *Handbook of the Records of the United Provinces*, 1919; C. A. Elliott, *Chronicles of Oonao*, Allahabad 1862; M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh*, London 1858; *Tafḍīḥ al-Ghāfilīn*, transl. W. Hoey, Allahabad 1885; Muḥammad Fāʾiz Bakhsh, *Taʾrīkh-i Faraḥbakhsh* (transl. W. Hoey, *Memoirs of Dehli and Faizabad*, 2 vols., Allāhābād 1888-9); H. C. Irwin, *The Garden of India*, London 1880; W. Knighton, *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, Oxford 1921; Khayr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tuḥfa-i Tāza* (Balwantnāma); W. Oldham, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Ghazeepoor District*, Allāhābād 1870; *Papers relating to Land Tenures and Revenue Settlement in Oudh*, Calcutta 1865; *Papers respecting a reform in the administration of the government of* ...... the *Nawab-Wazir*, London 1824; *Parliamentary Papers, Oudh*, vol., xliii, 1857-8; *Report on the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, published annually; W. H. Sleeman, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh in* 1849-1850, 2 vols., 1858; A. L. Srivastava, *The first two Nawabs of Oudh*, Lucknow 1933; idem, *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1939-45.

(C. Collin Davies)

AWĀDHILA [see ʿAWDHILA].

AWĀʾIL. Plural of *awwal* "first", technically used to denote various ideas such as the "primary data" of philosophical or physical phenomena; the "ancients" of either pre-Islamic or early Islamic times; and the "first inventors" of things (or the things invented or done first).

In the last mentioned connotation, the term characterises a minor branch of Muslim literature with affinities to *adab*, historical, and theological literature. Among the Muslims themselves, only the 10th/17th-century Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), i, 490; Istanbul 1941-3, col. 1996, defines the *awāʾil* as a separate "science" relating to history and *adab*.

Curiosity about the origin of things was deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of the ancient Semites and reached the Arabs through such literary media as the Bible. The Hellenistic world possessed a literature on the first inventors (*Peri Heurêmatôn*, cf., most recently, A. Kleingünther, *Prôtos Heuretês*, in *Philologus, Supplementband* XXVI, i, 1934), the history of science, such as the origins of medicine, became known in Islam directly through translation (cf. Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn, *Taʾrīkh al-Aṭibbāʾ*, in *Oriens*, 1954, 55-80, whose source was Ps.-Galen's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath*, or, more generally, the ample material preserved in the introduction of Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī's *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*). For the Muslims, the knowledge of the "firsts" connected with the history of Muḥammad and the beginnings of Islam was a matter of far-reaching legal and practical importance in many respects, and already the earliest known literature on the biography of Muḥammad pays attention to it. Muslim customs, such as clipping the moustache, using the toothpick, etc., were justified by ascribing their first use to the great religious leaders of the past, in this case Abraham (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif* (De Jong), 6). With the growing historical interest of the Muslims not only in political history but also in the history of civilisation and science (cf., especially, the introductory remarks to each chapter of the *Fihrist*, on the origin of the science treated in that particular chapter), the question: Who was first ?, was soon asked in connexion with every conceivable subject and always answered, though often in a rather fanciful manner. Nevertheless, the *awāʾil* works are brilliant expressions of the cultural outlook and historical sense of their authors, and they are full of valuable material and interesting insights. The wide intellectual appeal of the subject shows itself in the fact that since the beginning of our era, the Chinese also had a literature on the origins (cf. J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* I, 51 ff., Cambridge 1954) and again in late medieval Europe, successful works on the first inventors were produced, such as the alphabetically arranged chapter on the inventors from *De viris illustribus* by the fourteenth-century Guglielmo da Pastrengo (published in Venice 1547, under the title of *De originibus rerum* fols. 78a-89a) and the famous, widely read *De originibus rerum*, by Polydore Vergil which first appeared in 1499.

Our oldest known representative of the Muslim *awāʾil* literature dates from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. The large *Muṣannaf* of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849; Brockelmann, S I, 215) is said to contain, at (or rather, near) the end, a section on *awāʾil*, which was used as a source in al-Shiblī, *Maḥāsin al-Wasāʾil ilā Maʿrifat al-Awāʾil*. It appears to deal with the *awāʾil* of early Islam and the origins of Muslim history and customs. The end of the section is preserved in MS Berlin 9409; the large sets of the *Muṣannaf* could not be consulted.

At the same period, works entitled *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* were composed by Hishām b. al-Kalbī (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 252); al-Madāʾinī (*Fihrist*, 104); al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (*Fihrist* 221), whose list of works is duplicated in Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 32, under the name of Aḥmad al-Raḳḳī; and a certain Saʿīd b. Saʿdūn al-ʿAṭṭār (*Fihrist* 171) of unknown date. Since none of these works is preserved or quoted in the later *awāʾil* literature, it remains extremely doubtful whether they dealt with *awāʾil* in the sense discussed here (or, at any rate, contained some *awāʾil* material). According to the description given in *Fihrist* 133, the *Kitāb al-Awāʾil* by the 4th/10th-century al-Marzubānī appears to have dealt not with first inventors but with the history of the ancient Persians and the Muʿtazila.

Late in the 3rd/9th century, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif* (Wüstenfeld), 273-7, devoted to the *awāʾil* a chapter in a historical context (cf. also the later

al-Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, 3-17). In an *adab* context, a chapter on *awā'il* appears in the early 4th/10th century in al-Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin* (Schwally), 392-6. Theological *awā'il* works were written at about that time by Abū ʿArūba [*q.v.*] and al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971; Brockelmann, S I, 279).

Adab literature provided its first monograph treatment of the subject in the *Kitāb al-Awā'il* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005), who claims to have had no predecessors. He restricts himself to material derived from Arab and Muslim history, with the inclusion of some Persian and biblical references, and ignores 'Greek' cultural and scientific data. He succeeds in clearly underscoring the view of Muslim historians that every important and good invention dates back to the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period while subsequent ages as a rule produced insignificant and undesirable inventions. Al-ʿAskarī's book remained a much quoted standard work which served as a basis for later efforts, such as the *awā'il* works of the 8th/14th century al-ʿAtā'iḳī and al-Suyūṭī (cf. Brockelmann, I, 132; S I, 193 f.).

There appears to have been a gap of about two centuries in the *awā'il* literature. From the early 7th/13th century, we then have the *Ghāyat al-Wasā'il ilā Maʿrifat al-Awā'il* by al-Mawṣilī (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 597 f.; H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1950, 80 f.). A historical handbook based on the *awā'il* scheme is the above-mentioned *Maḥāsin* by the 8th/14th century Shiblī (cf. Brockelmann, II, 90 f.; S II, 82; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 129, fn. 1), a highly informative work. Al-Shiblī's literary effort appears to have been continued by the poet Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (cf. Brockelmann, II, 17; S II, 7; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), i, 490). On the other hand, the theological inclination of some 9th/15th-century scholars finds expression in their *awā'il* works, which might have followed the lead of Ibn Ḥadjar's *Iḳāmat al-Dalā'il ʿalā Maʿrifat al-Awā'il* (which has not yet been recovered, cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *loc. cit.*). Abū Bakr b. Zayd al-Djirāʿī (form uncertain, d. in 883/1478, cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, xi, 32 f.) thus arranged his *Kitāb al-Awā'il* (Ms. Berlin 9368) more or less according to the chapters of the science of traditions, and the same was done by al-Suyūṭī, in his instructive *Wasā'il ilā Maʿrifat al-Awā'il* which was based to some degree upon al-ʿAskarī. In turn, al-Suyūṭī's work was used by ʿAlī Dede al-Bosnawī (d. 1007/1598, cf. Brockelmann, II, 562 f.; S II, 635) who, as was the custom among certain later authors, also included the "last things (*awākhir*)" that happened (cf., in this connexion al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, Damascus 1349/1930-1, 13; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 214 f. For a further user of al-Suyūṭī, cf. G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1950, 3). Another great historian of that time, Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), wrote *ʿUnwān al-Rasā'il fī Maʿrifat al-Awā'il* (Ms. Cairo, Taymūr, *Ta'rīkh* 1467; cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn*, Damascus 1348/1929-30).

The subject was also versified in a work entitled *Wasā'il al-Sā'il ilā Maʿrifat al-Awā'il* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Flügel), vi, 435) which appears to have been preserved in MS. Cairo, *Madjāmīʿ* 474, fols. 28b-36b. In the Cairo manuscript, the author is called Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. (Abi) 'l-Luṭf, apparently either the father or the son, who died in 971/1564 and 993/1585, respectively (cf. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*; Brockelmann, II, 367; S II, 394). The active literary interest in the subject continued into modern times (cf. M. al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, ii, 481).

Bibliography: R. Gosche, *Die Kitāb al-awā'il. Eine literarhistorische Studie*, Halle 1867, which includes the edition of a small portion of al-Suyūṭī. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā'il ilā Maʿrifat al-Awā'il*, Cairo 1950. None of the independent *awā'il* works has so far been edited in its entirety. Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 193 f., S III, 1265; S I, 279 f.; S I, 597 f.; II, 90 f., S II, 82; II, 203. S II, 197; II, 562, S II, 635; A. J. Wensinck and others, *Concordance*, i, 134 f.; Ahlwardt, Catalogue Berlin nos. 9368-76 (most of the works cited under no. 9376 are, however, no *awā'il* works); *MMIA*, 1941, 357-9, on the section dealing with *awā'il* in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (Brockelmann, II, 300 f.; S. II, 323 f.), *al-Fawā'iḥ al-Miskiyya*. The *awā'il* are treated as part of the historical equipment of the government secretary by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 412-36. A short Syriac text of the Muslim period in E. Sachau, *Verzeichniss d. syr. Hss.*, 331. Berlin 1899.
(F. ROSENTHAL)

ʿAWĀLIḲ [see ʿAWLAḲĪ].

ʿAWĀMIR, AL- (sg. ʿĀmirī), a tribe of Bedouins and villagers in Southern and Eastern Arabia. The tribe is split into three main groups living in the following areas: (1) al-Ḳaff between the southern edge of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī and Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, (2) southern al-Ẓafra between Ḳaṭar and al-Buraymī, and (3) ʿUmān. The groups are completely separate and have little intercourse with each other, though they recognize their common kinship, and the two main divisions of the tribe, Āl Badr and Āl Lazz, exist in all three groups. The southern group, whose range abuts on that of al-Ṣayʿar at the well of Tamīs in the west and on that of al-Manāhīl at the well of Thamūd in the east, is mainly nomadic, though its members are not accustomed to pasturing their herds in the sands of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, as is done by most of the Bedouin tribes in this region. The chief (*tamīma*) of this group is Ibn al-Ṭabāzā of Āl Badr. Like most of the Arabs in this part of Arabia, the southern ʿAwāmir are Shāfiʿīs. The central group consists entirely of nomads, who are among the hardiest sand-dwellers of eastern al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, moving about so much that they have no claim to a range of their own. The shaikhly clan headed by Ibn al-Rakkāḍ of Āl Badr is said to have had an origin outside the tribe. Some of these ʿAwāmir are Ḥanbalīs, the rest Shāfiʿīs. The eastern group is found almost entirely in villages in the area between Wādī Ḥalfīn and Wādī ʿAndām south of the Samā'il pass through the mountains of al-Ḥadjar, with some offshoots in al-Bāṭina, al-Ẓāhira, and the vicinity of Muscat. There are two principal chiefs in this group, Ibn Khamīs of Āl Badr in Ḳalʿat al-ʿAwāmir and Ibn Sulaymān of Āl Lazz in al-Ḥumayḍa. As Ibāḍīs the eastern ʿAwāmir recognise the Ibāḍī Imam of ʿUmān and the temporal authority of his lieutenant in al-Sharḳiyya, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿĪsā al-Ḥārithī. These ʿAwāmir have a tradition of having emigrated long ago from Nadjd, and their war-cry of *Yā awlād ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa* indicates their claim to a descent from the famous tribe of ancient times (see ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA). Certain smaller elements in Eastern Arabia such as Āl Silm and Bayt Ḳayʿāl tend to associate themselves with the ʿAwāmir; in some cases this may be due to the attraction of a glorious name.

Bibliography: Arabian American Oil Co., *Oman and the Southern Shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952; S. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919; *Memorial of the Government of Saudi Arabia* [Buraimi Arbitration], 1955.
(R. L. HEADLEY)

ʿAWĀNA B. AL-ḤAKAM AL-KALBĪ, Arabic historian, d. 147/764 or 153/770. His genealogy and descent are disputed. His father's name is given as al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna b. ʿIyāḍ b. Wizr (Yāḳūt, vi, 93; cf. *Djamhara* (Lévi-Provençal), 428, and *Fihrist* 134); Abū ʿUbayda, however, asserted that al-Ḥakam's father was a slave tailor (Yāḳūt, *ibid.*, citing verses by Dhu 'l-Rumma, for which cf. Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shuʿarāʾ* (M. Shākir), 482, and *Aghānī*, xvi, 121). Al-Ḥakam was the lieutenant of Asad al-Ḳasrī in Khurāsān in 109/727 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1501; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 428) and later governor of Sind, where he founded al-Maḥfūẓa and al-Manṣūra (Balādhurī, 444). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, ʿAwāna was a blind Kūfan narrator and scholar in poetry and genealogy, and compiled two historical works, on the life of Muʿāwiya and the Umayyads. The latter are known only from citations in later works; al-Ṭabari quotes ʿAwāna in 51 passages, all of which (except for one passage relating to ʿUmar and another to the battle of «the Camel») relate to events from Muʿāwiya to ʿAbd al-Malik; al-Balādhurī cites him frequently for the same events, and in *Futūḥ* adds further citations relating to the conquest of al-ʿIrāḳ, also to the conquest of Ṭabaristān under Sulaymān. He is thus one of the chief authorities for the earlier Umayyad period. He seldom cites his own sources, but shows some care in fixing the dates of events; his style is clear and lucid, and his narratives are often detailed. He is also interested in poetry and literary events (for which he is often cited in the *Aghānī* and in other literary works), as well as in social life and administration. Although he is charged with partiality towards the ʿUthmāniyya and the Umayyads (Yāḳūt, vi, 94), the quotations from his works show little evidence of prejudice, whether for the Umayyads, or for Kūfa, or for Kalb. They are transmitted chiefly through Hishām b. al-Kalbī, al-Madāʾinī, and al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, but occasionally also by other scholars; he is not, however, as is asserted by one of Yāḳūt's authorities, the source of most of al-Madāʾinī's information.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article: Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Naḥwiyyīn*, 246; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-Ruwāt*, ii, 361-3 (biography of his son ʿIyāḍ); D. S. Margoliouth, *Arabic Historians*, Calcutta 1930, 83; J. Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, Intro. vi; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, no. 27; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952, index. (SALEH EL-ALI)

AWAR [see AVARS].

ʿAWĀRIḌ. A term used under the Ottoman régime down to the second quarter of the nineteenth century to denote contributions of various types exacted by the central government in the sultan's name, and hence often referred to as *ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniyye*. The Ottoman fief-system dispensed the central government from the collection of revenues for the payment of the feudal militia and many officers and officials, while the institution of *waḳf* likewise relieved it of responsibility for the initiation and upkeep of public works of all kinds. But both deprived it of vast revenues, and those that remained to it, whose collection was sanctioned by the *sharīʿa*, often proved insufficient for its needs. At first only in emergencies, but later annually, therefore, it resorted to the exaction, by the sultan's *ʿurf*, or customary, authority, of money payments, of unpaid services, or of contributions in kind, either from the generality of tax-payers, or from those of particular areas; and it was to these demands that the term *ʿawāriḍ* was applied, apparently because the total exacted varied according to the government's need and was hence regarded as *ʿāriḍ*, "accidental".

ʿAwāriḍ were imposed, not directly on individuals, but on what were called *ʿawāriḍ-khānes*, which, however, were not actual "households", but rather "contribution units", so that a whole village or quarter of a town, for instance, might constitute no more than a fraction of one of them. Care was taken, when *ʿawāriḍ* were first imposed, or at least when their imposition was regularised, to ensure a just apportionment of the burden amongst all contributors according to their resources, and if for any reason those resources were impaired as time went by, the government's demands were adjusted accordingly.

It seems to be uncertain whether *ʿawāriḍ* were originally money payments on the one hand, or contributions in kind or by way of service on the other. Eventually, in any case, units that rendered services, or furnished supplies, were exempt from payments in cash (*ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi*). As regards these latter, when in any emergency it was decided how much mony was needed, the total was apportioned amongst all the *ʿawāriḍ-khānes* concerned and the provincial *ḳāḍīs* were instructed to collect a similar sum from each. As for persons rendering services to the state on the *ʿawāriḍ* principle, typical of these were the *kürekčis* (oarsmen supplementing the war captives and criminals likewise employed in the imperial galleys), each of whom was supported during his term of service by contributions from the other members of his *ʿawāriḍ-khāne*. Among supplies furnished as *ʿawāriḍ* were barley, straw and other provisions, together with carts and animals to transport them, for troops on campaign; timber, pitch, sailcloth, etc. for the admiralty; foodstuffs for the imperial kitchens; and cloth for the uniforms of the Janissaries.

Units that normally performed services or furnished supplies might be obliged, if they were unable, or were not required, to do so for any reason, to make cash payments to the treasury instead. The term applied to such payments was *bedel* (plural *bedelāt*) (see BADAL); they became more and more usual from early in the seventeenth century, by which date the exaction of *ʿawāriḍ* was no longer occasional; and that these *bedelāt* were distinguished from the *ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi* proper may indicate that *ʿawāriḍ* had been in origin cash exactions, from which units performing services or furnishing supplies were exempted by way of recompense, and that this exemption endowed those units with as it were an *odjaḳ* status, which they preserved by paying *bedelāt* instead of reverting to the payment of *ʿawāriḍ aḳčesi*.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many fresh *ʿurfī* contributions were exacted from tax-payers under a large variety of names; and since little care was by that time taken to ensure that the tax-payers could meet the demands made upon them, many found it hard to do so. It therefore became a practice among the charitable, when founding *waḳfs*, to devote all or part of the revenues so engaged to the assistance of such needy contributors; and the term *ʿawāriḍ waḳfī* was used of such foundations. In course of time, however, the original object of such *waḳfs* would often be forgotten; and then the revenues in question would be devoted to

other needs of the village, or the quarter of the town, concerned.

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AL-ʿ**AWĀṢIM**, name of a part of the frontier zone which extended between the Byzantine Empire and the Empire of the Caliphs in the North and North-East of Syria. The forward strongholds of this zone are called *al-Thughūr* [*q.v.*] or frontier strongholds properly so called, whilst those which were situated further to the rear, are called *al-ʿAwāṣim*, literally "the protectresses" (sing. *al-ʿāṣima*).

Following their quick successes in Syria and Mesopotamia, the Arabs for a while made no attempt to extend their conquests and confined themselves to making raids into Byzantine territory, on the further side of the Amanus (al-Lukām, [*q.v.*]) and the Taurus. In the time of ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, the Muslim frontier strongholds were those which were later to be called *al-ʿAwāṣim*, situated between Antioch and Manbidj, whilst those which were more precisely to bear the name al-Thughūr were in a kind of *no man's land*, in the vast region extending to the North of Antioch and Aleppo, up to Tarsus and the Taurus, where the towns had been purposely depopulated by Heraclius when he withdrew from Syria, and where the Byzantines only left guard-posts (*masāliḥ*) held by local irregular troops, the Mardaïtes; they are perhaps to be identified with the Djarādjima [*q.v.*] who were sometimes on the Byzantine side and sometimes on the side of the Arabs, whom they also provided with *masāliḥ* and spies. This region, periodically ravaged by Muslim incursions, was designated by the Arabs by the name *al-ḍawāḥī*, the outside countries, the exterior zone, or *ḍawāḥī al-Rūm* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1317; cf. Ibn al-Athīr under 98), an expression still in use in ʿAbbāsid times by the poets Abū Tammām and Buḥturī. The Umayyads began to acquire a footing in this zone on the further side of Antioch and to occupy the main strategical points situated where roads intersected or at the entrance to the mountain passes. According to Theophanes (ed. Bonn, 555-6, A. M. 6178), the withdrawal of the Mardaïtes, as a result of the treaty of Justinian II with ʿAbd al-Malik, left this whole region undefended, and was subsequently disastrous for the Byzantine Empire.

The whole of this frontier zone in the beginning was dependent on the *djund* of Ḥims. But from the time of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, it was detached and made into a special *djund*, that of Ḳinnasrīn. In 170/786, Hārūn al-Rashīd, with a view to ensuring the defence of the frontier region exposed to Byzantine attacks, rather than with any offensive objective, (for he also organised the advanced zone for defence), detached from the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn a certain number of strongholds, Manbidj, Dulūk, Raʿbān, Ḳūrus, Antioch, Tīzīn, which he called *al-ʿawāṣim*, because the Muslims protected themselves by them and because they afforded them protection and defended them when they returned from their expeditions and left the frontier (*thaghr*) (al-Balādhurī). Another definition is provided by Ibn Shaddād: "because the inhabitants of the frontier strongholds (*ahl al-thughūr*) protected themselves by them when a danger threatened them from the enemy", and al-Ḳalḳashandī gives another: "because they protected from the enemy the Muslim territory which was behind them (*dūnahā*), for they bordered upon the country of the Infidels". The same author thinks that the expressions *al-thughūr* and *al-ʿawāṣim* are different names applied to the same thing, which is certainly not correct, for they are both quite distinct and must have been so at an early period. But as, at the time of the creation of this province, which from 173 had the ʿAbbāsid ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ as governor with residence at Manbidj, the advanced strongholds were included in it, both expressions must have been used interchangeably (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 604: Hārūn al-Rashīd separated all the frontier strongholds of the Djazīra and Ḳinnasrīn, made them into a single territory and called them *al-ʿawāṣim*).

ʿAwāṣim and *thughūr* are often united under a single command, at times with the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn. At other times the *thughūr* form a separate province. The geographers do not agree on the number of localities which form part of the *ʿAwāṣim*: Ibn Khurradādhbih also includes al-Djūma, Būḳā, Bālis and Ruṣāfat Hishām; Ibn Ḥawḳal: Bālis, Sandja, Samosate (Sumaysāṭ), Djisr Manbidj. Ibn Shaddād also names Baghrās, Darbasāḳ, Artāḥ, Kaysum, Tall Ḳabbāsīn. Yāḳūt includes other localities. In the 10th century, the capital of the *ʿAwāṣim* was Antioch.

The region of the *ʿAwāṣim*, like that of the *thughūr*, was the scene of bloody wars between Byzantium and the Arabs; it was reconquered by Nicephorus Phocas, who obliged the emirate of Aleppo to cede him the whole western and northern part of the region. Thenceforth, the word *al-ʿawāṣim* is simply a geographical expression, which continues to be used in the period of the Crusades and the Mamlūks by the Arab geographers.

We have only sparse information on the economic situation of this region, which seems to have been fairly prosperous in ʿAbbāsid times. The sum of the taxation of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and the *ʿawāṣim* together was 400,000 dinars according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, and 360,000 according to Ḳudāma. The population was very mixed. It included, besides indigenous elements (Christians of the towns and settlements, Djarādjima of the Amanus) several elements which had emigrated or been transported thither: Arab tribes, especially Ḳaysites, who had established themselves there, the Kilāb extending up to Dulūk, foreign elements coming from India via Mesopotamia, such as the Sayābidja [*q.v.*], brought to the region of Antioch by Muʿāwiya, and the Zoṭṭ [*q.v.*], also transported to the same region by Muʿāwiya, then by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. It is known that one of the reasons why the Zoṭṭ were settled in this country (as in Cilicia by Yazīd II and by al-Muʿtaṣim), is that this tribe practised the breeding of water buffaloes, and the presence of buffaloes cleared marshy territories, such as those of the ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*] of Antioch, or of Cilicia, of the lions which infested them (see al-Balādhurī, 162, 376; Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 415; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwā Haleb*. 71).

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120; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 75; Ḳudāma, 246; Ibn Rusta, 107; Ṭabarī, i 2396, iii 604, 775, 1352, 1697, 2187; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 233; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 192, 214; Ibn Shaddād, al-*Aʿlāḳ al-Khaṭīra*, ed. Ch. Ledit, in *al-Mashriḳ*, xxx°°° (1935), 179-223; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-Muntakhab*, Beirut 1909, 9, 11, 158, 190, 201, 221, etc. (see Index); Yāḳūt, i 136, 928, iii 240, 741 and *passim* (see Index); Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv, 91, 130 ff., 228; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 25-7, 36, 39, 42, 45-7; Sachau, in *Sitz.-Ber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1892, 319, 325, 327; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaiyiden*, in *Nachr. der Göttinger Ges. der Wiss.*, 1901, 415, 429-31; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie a l'époque des Mamelouks*, 9-10, 31, 95, 217; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches*, 39-41; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, 224 ff.

(M. Canard)

ʿAWĀZIM, al- (sg. ʿĀzimī), a Bedouin tribe in North-eastern Arabia of reputedly ignoble origin, in that its descent is not regarded by other tribes as pure (*aṣīl*). Although Arabs of pure stock do not intermarry with the ʿAwāzim, the tribe has earned their esteem for its desert lore and courage in battle, having been one of the most loyal and effective supporters of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd during his conflicts with other tribes in Eastern Arabia in 1333-48/1915-29. During this period the ʿAwāzim broke away from their relationship as clients of the powerful tribe of the ʿUdjmān. The ʿAwāzim range through the northern part of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, mainly in the areas of al-Sūda and al-Radā'if, and along the coast of Kuwayt and in the Neutral Zone between the two countries. Although the Ruler of Kuwayt has a number of ʿAwāzim as personal retainers, the tribe is officially recognised as subject to the authority of Saudi Arabia. Its members are preponderantly Mālikīs. It has *hidjras* at Thādj, al-Ḥinnāh, and ʿUtayyiḳ. The chief of the tribe (1957) is ʿĪd ibn Djāmiʿ.

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(W. E. Mulligan)

AWDAGHOST (or Awdaghosht) African town, now no longer extant. According to al-Bakrī, it was situated between the country of the Blacks and Sidjilmāssa, at about 51 days' march from this oasis and 15 from Ghāna. Barth thinks that it must have been situated between long. 10°-11° W. and lat. 18°-19° N., not far from Ḳṣār and Barka, that is to say to the South-West of the post of Tidjikja in French Mauritania.

Little is known about this town, which seems to have been at the outset a trading colony established by the Zenāga (Ṣanhādja) on the Northern border of the Kingdom of Ghāna. At the end of the 4th/10th century, after the Zenāga had conquered a large part of the Kingdom of Ghāna, Awdaghost became the capital of a powerful state. As its sovereign, from 350-60/961-71, it had a Ṣanhādjī, who numbered more than thirty black kings among his vassals and whose empire measured sixty days' march in length and breadth. In the following century, Awdaghost was attacked by Ibn Yāsīn, the founder of the Almoravid dynasty. The town was taken by assault, pillaged and its inhabitants massacred (446/1054-5). From that time onwards, the power of the Zenāga progressively declined; their kingdom was invaded by the Sūsū, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century; they had to abandon it, or were reduced to the rôle of tributaries.

In al-Bakrī's time (5th/11th century), Awdaghost was still a flourishing city. The population, quite considerable in numbers, was composed of Arabs from the Maghrib and Ifrīkiya, Berbers (Berkadjenna, Lawāta, Zanāta, Nafūsa and especially Nafzāwa) and doubtless also Blacks. The town, surrounded by a suburb of gardens and palm groves, contained mosques and schools, sumptuous public buildings, elegant houses and busy markets. An important trade flourished there in cereals and fruits from the Muslim lands, ambergris brought from the Atlantic coast, worked copper and gold thread; gold dust served as money. Signs of decadence were already visible in the time of al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century). The population was very scanty, trade exiguous, and the inhabitants maintained themselves almost exclusively by camel breeding. Doubtless, Awdaghost's disappearance coincided with the ultimate destruction of the power of the Zanāta.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. de Slane, 349 and *passim*; Idrīsī, ed. trans. Dozy and De Goeje, 34; Barth, *Reisen*, iv, appendix ix, 602-4 (according to the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* by Saʿdī); P. Laforgue, *Notes sur Aoudaghost*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Oran*, 1943; R. Mauny, *Les ruines de Tegdaost et la question d'Aoudaghost*, in *Notes Africaines* (*IFAN*), Oct. 1950.

(G. Yver)

ʿAWDHALĪ, (pl. ʿAwādhil, coll. ʿAwdhilla; cf. al-ʿAwd (with *d* for *dh*) in al-Hamdānī, *passim*), dynastic title of (a) tribe, (b) district (ca. 2,000 sq.km., 10,000 inhabitants) in the Western Aden Protectorate. It lies between the Lower Yāfiʿī (W), Faḍlī (S) and ʿAwlaḳī (E) territories. In the N, beyond the "*status quo* line" of 1934, are the districts Ḍāhir (Dahr) (< Ẓāhir, cf. al-Hamdānī) and Raṣṣāṣ (capitals: Bayḍā' *viz.* Meswara). Part of Ḍāhir (with ʿAryab as its centre) and Dathīna (with Ḳulayta) have been incorporated into the ʿAwdhilla-district. Its N part is dominated by the mighty mountain al-Kawr (Kōr), serving as a barrier between Sarw Ḥimyar and Sarw Madhidj (al-Hamdānī 80, tr. Forrer 102: Kūr, with erroneous vocalisation); it is ca. 2,000 m. high. On the terraced hill-slopes and in the fertile plateaus round Mukayras and Lōdar (N respectively S of al-Kawr) fruit and vegetables are grown for export. Honey is an essential product of the country, the climate of which is near tropical. The Sultan belongs to the ʿAwāsidj, a branch of the old Haytham tribe, hence the dynastic name Ibn al-ʿAwsadjī. His residence is at Lōdar (also called al-Ghudr). After family feuds at the turn of the century (Landberg, *Daṯīna*, 1624) the political situation was stabilised; a treaty with the British was made in 1912 by Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn Djibil. The population mostly consists of free tribes, who only obey the Sultan in case of war. In the border countries (especially Dathīna) the local *shaykhs* are almost independent. There is a *sharīʿa*-court at Zara, two self-supporting schools and two dispensaries in the district. At Lōdar and Mukayras are landing-grounds for aircraft.

Bibliography: H. von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873, 275-282 (with map); A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens* 1875, 206, 269; C. Landberg, *Arabica*, iv, 54; *idem*, *Études*, ii, *passim* (especially indices 1807, 1828, 1834); Wyman Bury, *The land of Uz*, 1911, 109 f., 137 ff. (with map); Doreen Ingrams, *A survey of*

social and economic conditions in the Aden protectorate, 1949, *passim* (with map). (O. Löfgren)

AWDJ [see nudjūm].

AWDJILA. This name designates both an oasis and a group of three palm groves situated on the traditional caravan route, which in the South of Cyrenaïca and between the 30th and 29th parallels, joins Sīwa, in Egypt, and Djarabûb to Tripolitania and Fezzān by Marada and the Djofra. Awdjila has been known, since Herodotus (iv, 172, 182) and the classical authors, for its abundance of dates and as a halting place. Its rôle as a halting place seems to have been enhanced by the Arab conquest of the Maghrib. Ibn Ḥawḳal (trans. de Slane, *JA*, 3rd series, xiii, 163) describes it in the 4th/10th century as a small town recently attached to the province of Barḳa; likewise, 200 years later, al-Idrīsī (trans. Jaubert, i, 248); in the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. de Slane, 32) speaks of it as an important centre with several mosques and bazaars; he notes that Awdjila is the name of the district, that of the town being Arzaḳiyya. In the 10th/16th century, grain was imported from Egypt (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, 4564). Awdjila was occupied by the Turks in 1640. It has been visited and described by the travellers Hornemann (1798), Hamilton (1852), Beurmann (1862) and Rohlfs (1869 and 1879) (see the bibliography). The development, from the middle of the 19th century, of the intransigeant Sanūsī order has kept Europeans away, except Rosita Forbes and Hasseneïn-bey (1920). It has only been studied during the Italian occupation (1928-1943), in particular by the geographer Scarin. Since then, it has formed part of the Kingdom of Libya.

The name Awdjila only designates the most westerly oasis whilst that of Djālo (which is applied to El-Erg and El-Lebbe, 30 km. to the S.S-E.) has imposed itself on a whole area, which also includes the mediocre palm grove of Djikerra (or Leshkerreh), 30 km. to the North. The three oases, which are situated in slight depressions with scanty pastures in the middle of a vast desolate plain of sand and gravel (*serīr*), have a continental and very arid climate, with little wind: the annual rainfall between 1931 and 1940 was 11 mm. 7.

Water, which is not far below the surface and is fairly copious, is obtained by draw-wells (worked by donkeys) and from wells functioning with balance-beams. It is used primarily to water the palms, occasional pomegranate and fig trees, little patches of cereals, lucerne and vegetables. Stockbreeding is very poor and trade dwindling, even at Djālo, which for a century has taken Awdjila's place in the caravan trade with the Sudan and Egypt. This economic and demographic decline, due to emigration, was halted by the Italians, who established their residence at El-Erg (Djālo) and joined the oases to Adjdābiya by a track extending for 270 km. (and from there a road, 190 km. long, goes to Benghāzī).

Awdjila itself, very much in decay, possessed in 1934 18,000 palm trees, 170 gardens, and 1,500 inhabitants, who have remained Berber-speaking and are grouped in four divisions, living in four adjoining wards: Es-Sobka, Es-Sarahna, El-Hati and Ez-Zegagna—plus a small group of Madjabra, Arabic-speaking, living dispersed in the palm grove. Djālo, which has not declined to the same extent, has 50,000 palm trees, 123 gardens and 2,700 inhabitants divided up into 14 "families". They are distributed between two villages, one of which, El-Erg, is rather dispersed, whilst the other, El-Lebba, is more concentrated, and in a number of dwellings scattered throughout the oasis. These are the Madjabra most of whom are former nomads who have become arabicised and who have a taste for trade. Djikerra is simply a palm grove (13,000 palm trees) and not systematically irrigated; it is inhabited only by a few very poor families (400 inhabitants) and visited for the date harvest by the Zūiya nomads of the Ouadi Fareg region to the North-West. The houses of these settlements, built of large unbaked bricks and more rarely of loose stones, have no upper storeys, and are strung out along twisting lanes and blind alleys. The dwellings, located apart in the gardens, often inhabited by former slaves, are usually palm huts (*zeriba*). The mosques, very rustic in character, have multiplied under the influence of the Sanusiyya; those of Awdjila generally have several domes; the mosque of Djikerra is made of palm trees, including the minaret.

Bibliography: F. Hornemann, *The journal of Frederick Hornemann's travels from Cairo to* Mourzouk . . ., London 1802; Pacho, *Relation d'un voyage dans la Marmarique et la Cyrenaique et les oasis d'Audjilah et Maradeh*, Paris 1927; J. Hamilton, *Wanderings in North Africa*, London 1856; Beurmann, *Moritz von Beurmann's Reise von Bengasi nach Udschila und von Udschila nach Murzuk*, Petermann Mitt., Ergänzungsband II, Gotha 1863; G. Rohlfs, *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*, Bremen 1871, and *Reise von Tripolis nach der oase Kufra*, Leipzig 1881; Hasseneïn-bey, *The lost oases*, London 1925; E. de Agostini, *Notizie sulla zona di Augila-Gialo*, Benghazi 1927); E. Scarin, *Le oasi cirenaiche del 29° parallelo*, Florence 1937. No complete study has yet been devoted to the Berber spoken at Awdjila. For fragmentary studies on this dialect see: A. Basset, *La langue Berbère*, in *Handbook of African Languages*, Oxford 1952, 69-70. (J. Despois)

AWFĀT (or Wafāt; in the Ethiopian chroniclers Ifāt), an Ethiopian Muslim state (1285-1415) situated in the plateau region of Eastern Shoa, including the slopes down to the valley of the Ḥawāsh. At the end of the 7th/13th century a number of Muslim states existed in eastern Shoa; the predominant one (whose Makhzūmid dynasty had been founded according to tradition in 283/896) shown in a document recently discovered by E. Cerulli to be in the last stages of disruption, was conquered in 684/1285 by the ruler of one of its tributories, whose dynastic title was Walasmaʿ. He conducted campaigns to reduce various Shoan and ʿAfar regions, including the nomad state of Adal. The reconstituted state, under the name of Awfāt, is first mentioned by Ibn Saʿīd, who says that the region was also known as Djabara (Djabarta). Awfāt seems to have been alternately tributary to the powerful pagan kingdom of Dāmot, to the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, and at times independent. The northernmost of a number of Muslim states (Hadya, Faṭadjār, etc.), it became the buffer-state against the advance of the Abyssinian power southwards. Ḥaḳḳ al-Dīn, warring against ʿAmda Ṣyōn, was overwhelmed in 1328 and Awfāt made tributory to Abyssinia. Al-ʿUmarī's important account of Awfāt at this time shows that its territory extended eastwards to include Zaylaʿ. Continually in revolt against Abyssinia, its last attempt to regain independence was under Saʿd al-Dīn, with whose defeat and death in 817/1415 the kingdom came to an end and its original territory was annexed to Abyssinia. When the Walasmaʿ, after brief exile in Yaman, returned to

Africa they formed a new state out of their former provinces of Adal-Zaylaʿ, and took the title of kings of Adal or Zaylaʿ [*qq.v.*] with their capital at Dakar and later Harar [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, transl. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1927, 1-14; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm*, 161, transl. ii, 229; Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane), i, 262, transl. ii, 107-9; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 325-332; Maḳrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi Akhbār man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabasha min Mulūk al-Islām*, Cairo 1895; E. Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici*, I, 5 ff.; idem, *Documenti Arabi per la Storia dell 'Etiopia, Mem. Linc.*, 1931; idem, *Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel Secolo XIII, Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 1941, 5-42; J. Perruchon, *Histoire des Guerres d'Amda Ṣyon, JA*, 1889; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952, 58-60, 67-75.

(J. S. Trimingham)

ʿAWFĪ, Muḥammad b. Muḥ., Sadīd al-Dīn (wrongly called Nūr al-Dīn) Bukhārī, renowned Persian anthologist. ʿAwfī traced his descent from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, a companion of the Prophet, from whom he derived his surname. He came from a learned family of Transoxiana, and was probably born and certainly educated at Bukhārā. The exact date of his birth is not known. In 597/1201 he went to Samarḳand to serve at the court of Ilak Khān Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn Ṭamghādj Khān of Samarḳand where his maternal uncle Sharaf al-Zamān Madjd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAdnān al-Surkhakatī was serving as a court-physician. In 600/1203, when the tension between the Ghūrid Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn, or Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, and Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khʷārazmshāh had become acute, he went to Khʷārazm. Soon afterwards he went to Shahr-i Naw and Nasā, and attended some of the meetings of Shaykh Madjd al-Dīn Sharaf Ibn al-Muʾayyid al-Baghdādī. Then he started on his literary tour of Khurāsān and was in Nīshāpūr in 603/1206, where he stayed for a considerable period and made the acquaintance of various eminent persons. From there he went to Harāt and remained in Sidjistān till 612/1215. It appears that he returned to Bukhārā, journeyed through Khurāsān and Ghazna, crossed the river Indus, and, passing through Sind and Gudjarāt came for the first time to Lahore to seek the patronage of the *wazīr* ʿAyn al-Mulk Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn at the Court of Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča, to whom he dedicated his famous anthology, the *Lubāb al-Albāb* in 617/1220. He served for a time as *ḳāḍī* in Kanbāyat or Cambay, where he completed his Persian translation of al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda* in 620/1223. This period coincides with the attack of the Mongols on Khʷārazm and their advance towards Multān and Delhi, when Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish besieged the fort of Bhakkar and overthrew Ḳabāča in 625/1228. ʿAwfī changed masters and attached himself to the court of Iltutmish, to whose *wazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk Muḥammad ibn Abī Saʿd al-Djunaydī he dedicated his famous collection of anecdotes, the *Djawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmiʿ al-Riwāyāt* in 625/1228. It appears that ʿAwfī lived in Delhi till 630/1232, in the early years of Raḍīyya's reign.

The *Lubāb* occupies an honourable place among Persian anthologies, but Awfī's *magnum opus* is the *Djawāmiʿ* which contains more than 2000 historical and literary anecdotes relating to various dynasties that ruled in Persia before the Mongol invasion. Much of the material for this book is drawn from rare or lost works, hence its importance as an original source. A comprehensive *Introduction* to this work was published in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1929. The Persian text, based on the earliest MSS., is ready for press, and the first volume is to appear shortly.

Bibliography: ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*; Muḥammad Niẓāmud-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmiʿ ul-Ḥikāyāt*, London 1929; Storey, i, 781-4.

(M. Nizamuddin)

al-**AWḤAD** [see Ayyūbids].

AWḤADĪ, Rukn al-Dīn, Persian poet, born c. 680/1281-2 at Marāgha in Ādharbāydjān. The fact that he lived for many years in Iṣfahān has led the author of the *Haft Iḳlīm* to state that he was a native of that city. Little is known about his life, but there is scarcely any doubt that he died in 738/1337-8. He was buried at his birthplace where his tombstone is still to be seen.

Awḥadī, who took his *takhalluṣ* from the name of his master, Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn of Kirmān, was the author of a *dīwān* which amounts to about ten thousand verses. Some of these are eulogies of his patrons, Abū Saʿīd, the Īlkhān, and his vizier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh. In one of his poems he attacks the pretensions of a contemporary poet, Salmān of Sāwa.

As a poet, Awḥadī displays little originality. He is reckoned by most Persian critics as second-rate in view of some weakness which is to be found in his poetic diction. Moreover, the greater part of his verse, although not without some grace, is often laboured and lacks that subtle light and shade in bringing his ideas before the reader which is characteristic of the best Persian poetry.

Awḥadī's best work is to be found in his two *mathnawī* poems, the earlier of which is entitled *Dah-nāma* or, as it is called in some MSS., *Manṭiḳ al-ʿUshshāḳ*. This consists of ten letters addressed by an imaginary lover to his mistress and is not of outstanding poetic merit. It was dedicated to Wadjīh al-Dīn, grandson of Naṣīr al-Dīn of Ṭūs, in 706/1306-7. The other *mathnawī*, the *Djām-i Djam* (the goblet of Djamshīd), is longer and far better known. It displays a more fully developed talent, and when it was first composed, achieved a great measure of popularity. Like the *Ḥadīḳat al-Ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanāʾī, it covers the whole field of ethics, with advice on moral discipline, the upbringing of children, civic responsibilities and so forth; but the last part changes its theme and deals with the Ṣūfī Path and all that appertains to it. The *Djām-i Djam* was written in 733/1332-3 and was dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh 210 f.; Browne, iii, 141-6; Ethé in the *G.I.P.*, ii, 299. Edition of the *Djām-i Djam*, Tehrān, 1347/1928-9, and of the *Dīwān* by A. S. Usha, Madras 1951.

(G. Meredith-Owens)

AWḲĀF [see waḳf].

ʿAWL (a., literally "deviation by excess"), the method of increasing the common denominator of the fractional shares in an inheritance, if their sum would amount to more than one unit. This has, of course, the effect of reducing each individual share. For instance, a man dies leaving a widow, two daughters and both parents. The share of two daughters would be $^2/_3 = {}^{16}/_{24}$, that of the widow $^1/_8 = {}^3/_{24}$, that of the father $^1/_6 = {}^4/_{24}$, and that of the mother $^1/_6 = {}^4/_{24}$, total $^{27}/_{24}$. The denominator is therefore increased to 27, and the two daughters receive $^{16}/_{27}$, the widow $^3/_{27} = {}^1/_9$, and the

father and the mother each $^{1}/_{27}$. This particular problem is called *al-masʾala al-minbariyya*, because ʿAlī is reported to have solved it off-hand when it was submitted to him, whilst he was on the *minbar*. The *ʿawl* is accepted by all the Sunnī schools of Islamic law. The Ibāḍīs, too, recognise it, but they ascribe its introduction to ʿUmar. The *Ithnā-ʿashariyya* or "Twelver" Shīʿites, on the other hand, reject it and reduce the share of the daughter (or daughters) or that of the full or consanguine (but not of the uterine) sister (or sisters) instead.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Muḥammad, (*K. al-Nahr al-Fāʾiḍ*), *Der überfliessende Strom in der Wissenschaft des Erbrechts der Hanefiten und Schafeiten*, ed. and transl. L. Hirsch, Leipzig 1891, 96 ff.; W. Marçais, *Des parents et alliés*, Rennes 1898, 74 ff.; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897, 256 (a special case); D. Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, ii, Milan 1919, 829; id., *Istituzioni*, ii, 512 f.; Sayf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ruwāḥī, *al-Nabʿ al-Fāʾiḍ*, Cairo 1357, 60 ff.; A. Querry, *Droit musulman, recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyites*, ii, Paris 1872, 379; Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, 6th ed., § 459. (ED.)

AWLĀD [followed by the name of the eponymous ancestor of a tribe, see under the name of that ancestor].

AWLĀD AL-BALAD was the term used during the Sudanese Mahdiyya (1881-98) to designate persons originating from the northern riverain tribes, of which the Danāḳla group and Djaʿliyyīn were the most important. Many *awlād al-balad* were domiciled, temporarily or permanently, away from their tribal centres by the main Nile. The Danāḳla were boatbuilders and sailors, especially on the White Nile, while both they and the Djaʿliyyīn played an important rôle as merchants and slave-traders in Kurdufān, the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Dār Fūr. The Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad found much support among the *awlād al-balad*, particularly those dispersed in the west and south. In general they formed the ruling class under him. After his death in June 1885, they were gradually displaced from the chief offices by his successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh, but clerical and other subordinate posts were largely filled by *awlād al-balad* until the end of the Mahdiyya. Chief among the *awlād al-balad* were the *Ashrāf*, relatives of the Mahdī, whose nominal leader was the Khalīfa Muḥammad Sharīf. In 1886 this group attempted to overthrow ʿAbd Allāh but failed. The *awlād al-balad* were seriously weakened by the defeat of the Mahdist invasion of Egypt at Ṭūshkī in 1889, since they had formed the bulk of the expeditionary force and large numbers perished, including their leading general ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nudjūmī. A rising of the *Ashrāf* and Danāḳla in Omdurman in 1891 was foiled by ʿAbd Allāh and was followed by repressive measures. In 1897 the Djaʿliyyīn of al-Matamma under their chief, ʿAbd Allāh Saʿd, revolted and communicated with the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Kitchener. A Mahdist army under Maḥmūd Aḥmad put down the rebellion and sacked the town.

Bibliography: Special allusion to the term is made by F. R. Wingate (J. Ohrwalder), *Ten years captivity in the Mahdi's camp*, London 1892, many ed. (P. M. HOLT)

AWLĀD AL-NĀS. The mamlūk upper class constituted an exclusive society. Only a person who himself was born an infidel and brought as a child-slave from abroad, who was converted to Islam and set free after completing his military training and who usually bore a non-Arab name, could belong to that society. These rules implied that the mamlūk upper class should be a non-hereditary nobility, for the sons of the mamlūks and mamlūk amīrs were Muslims and free men by birth, were born and grew within the boundaries of the mamlūk sultanate and bore Arab names. As such they could not belong to the upper class and were automatically ejected from it. They were joined to a unit of non-mamlūks called the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*] which was socially inferior to the pure mamlūk units. Within the *ḥalḳa* the sons of amīrs and mamlūks formed the upper stratum. They were known as *Awlād al-Nās* 'children of the people', i.e. 'of the best people, of the gentry', for *the* 'people' were the mamlūks, the members of the exclusive society.

The *Awlād al-Nās*, but for quite a small number of exceptions, attained no higher rank than that of Amīr of Ten and Amīr of Forty. Occasionally the *Awlād al-Nās* were favoured for political reasons. Thus sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748/1347-752/1351) preferred amīrs from *Awlād al-Nās* to mamlūk amīrs. The privileged position of the *Awlād al-Nās* under sultan Ḥasan was, however, exceptional, and contrasted sharply with their status under other rulers. Since theirs was an element which, by its very nature, was excluded from the ranks of the mamlūks, their chances for advancement and for attaining key positions were seriously limited. In the course of time they declined together with the *Ḥalḳa*, and saw the same restrictions applied to them as to the rest of that body, viz. reductions in pay, sale of their fiefs, exemptions from military expeditions in exchange for cash payments (*badīl*), tests in the use of the bow and arrow designed to prove that they were badly trained and thus not entitled to all the privileges of full-fledged soldiers. Toward the end of the mamlūk era, the name *Ḥalḳa* fell into disuse, while that of the *Awlād al-Nās* became extremely common.

There was, both among the *Awlād al-Nās* and the other members of the *Ḥalḳa*, a strong leaning toward piety and pre-occupation with other-worldly affairs. Many of them left the military service and became theologians or *faḳīhs*. (See D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, 1953, 456-58 and references on p. 456, n. 1).

(D. AYALON)

AWLĀD AL-SHAYKH (Banū Ḥamawiya) were originally an Iranian family of *ṣūfīs* and Shāfiʿī *fuḳahā*, a branch of whom emigrated to Syria and became influential under the later Ayyūbid kings, al-Malik al-Kāmil (615-35/1218-38) and his sons. The member of the clan earliest known, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥamawiya (Pers. form Ḥamawayh) al-Djuwaynī, died in 530/1135-6, was a celebrated ṣūfī, *faḳīh* and author of several works on mysticism (al-Samʿāni; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 30; Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Ḥaydarābād, x, 63-4; Yāḳūt, ii, 425; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 612, no. 7231). His grandson ʿImad al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, (died 577/1181), went to Damascus, and in 563/1167 Nūr al-Dīn, 541-69/1146-74, appointed him inspector of all the *ṣūfī* institutions at Damascus, Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Baʿalbak and other places in Syria. Hence he became the ancestor of the Syrian and Egyptian division of the family; but the connexions with the Iranian branch were maintained (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, Ḥaydarābād, 272). Of these his brother

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (died 588/1192; Ibn al-Furāt, *cod. Vind.* iv, 146a), and his grand-nephew Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad (died 650/1252; *EI* ii, 260 & IV, 33; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 651) are the best known.—ʿImād al-Dīn ʿUmar had two sons: *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad (543-617/1148-1220), was born in Khurāsān, came with his father to Damascus and became his successor. He married the daughter of the famous *Ḳāḍī* Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn (died 585/1189; Ibn Khallikān, no. 334; transl. de Slane ii, 32-5) by whom he had four sons, famous as Awlād (Banū) *shaykh al-shuyūkh*. Ṣadr al-Dīn, a friend of Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, 595-615/1198-1218, later went to Egypt, where he was invested with the same offices as he had held at Damascus. He died at Mawṣil on the way to Baghdād as an ambassador of al-Malik al-Kāmil.—His younger brother Tādj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, 572-642/1177-1244, went in 593/1196 to the Maghrib and served under the Almohād sultans al-Manṣūr Yaʿḳūb (580-95/1184-98) and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (595-610/1198-1213) for seven years in a military capacity. After his return he settled down at Damascus and followed his father and brother as an inspector of the *ṣūfī* institutions of the Syrian capital. He wrote several works on history only the titles of which have survived; Ibn Khallikān saw the autograph of one of his books about Spain at Damascus in the year 668/1269 (Ibn Khallikān, no. 839, transl. de Slane, iv, 337).—The fame of the family rests upon the four sons of Ṣadr al-Dīn, especially on Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf. Born about 580/1184, he entered upon a political career, and al-Kāmil sent him in 614/1217 as his envoy to the caliph. He gained his reputation as a skilled diplomat, being al-Kāmil's ambassador to the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II from 624/1229 until the conclusion of the treaty concerning Jerusalem, February 18th, 1229. During this period he became the friend of the emperor who discussed with him even non-political problems and wrote him two letters after his return to Italy (Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *Ta'rīkh al-Manṣūrī*, M. Amari, *Bibl. Sic. App.* ii, 25). Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf held several high posts during the latter part of the reign of al-Kāmil and was a member of the crown council at Damascus after the king's death in Radjab 635/Feb.-March 1238. After his return to Cairo al-ʿĀdil II b. al-Kāmil (635-7/1238-40) dismissed him despite his good services and even threw him into prison. He remained out of office until 643/1246, when al-ʿĀdil's successor and brother al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Kāmil (637-47/1240-9) restored him to all his former honours and appointed him commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. When in 1249 Louis IX of France threatened to attack Egypt, Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf was entrusted with her defence; but after the Frankish invasion of the Nile Delta he sacrificed Damietta and retreated with his army southwards to al-Manṣūra. When al-Ṣāliḥ died shortly afterwards (Monday 14th Shaʿbān 647/22th Nov. 1249) the sultana Shadjar al-Durr made Fakhr al-Dīn regent in the absence of the new sultan al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh b. Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb. In the meantime the crusaders slowly advanced towards al-Manṣūra and in a surprise attack crossed the Nile and entered the city. In the fighting Fakhr al-Dīn was killed on Thursday 4th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 647/8th Feb. 1250.—The three brothers of Fakhr al-Dīn, ʿImād al-Dīn ʿUmar, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad and Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan started their political activities only in the later part of al-Kāmil's reign having been before engaged in the teaching of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* at Cairo. They, too, belonged to the crown council after al-Kāmil's death at Damascus and thanks to the influence of ʿImād al-Din ʿUmar the nephew of the late sultan, al-Djawwād Yūnus b. Mawdūd b. al-ʿĀdil, died 641/1243 was elected vice-regent of Damascus. When he conspired against al-ʿĀdil II, the sultan sent ʿImād al-Dīn back to Damascus in order to force the abdication of al-Djawwād. But al-Djawwād had him arrested soon after his arrival and murdered on Thursday, 26th Djūmadā I 636/4th January 1239.—Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, the least famous of the four brothers, was appointed by al-Ṣāliḥ in 637/1240 as an ambassador to negotiate a peace-treaty with Count Theobald of Jaffa and the king of Navarre, and afterwards commander-in-chief of an army to regain Damascus. But Kamāl al-Dīn was defeated by al-Djawwād and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd b. al-Muʿaẓẓam (died 656/1258) in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 638/May-June 1241, and taken prisoner. He died a year later on 13th Ṣafar 640/12th Aug. 1242 at Ghazza.—The youngest brother Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan was appointed *wazīr* by al-Ṣāliḥ in 637/1240 and four years later became his representative and commander-in-chief in the campaign for the reconquest of Damascus. The siege began at the end of 642/May 1245, and six months later Muʿīn al-Dīn forced ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿĀdil (died 648/1250-1) to give up the Syrian capital, which he had held since 637/1239, in return for Baʿalbak, Boṣrā and some other places. Muʿīn al-Dīn survived his triumph for only a few months and died of typhoid on Monday 24th Ramaḍān 643/12th Febr. 1246.

Of the two sons of Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad the elder Saʿd al-Din Khiḍr, 592-674/1196-1246, is known as the author of a small chronicle from which Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and al-Dhahābī drew most of their information about the Banū shaykh al-shuyūkh.

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(H. L. GOTTSCHALK)

ʿAWLAḲĪ (pl. ʿAWĀLIḲ, vulg. Mawāleḳ; for the etymology, see Landberg, ii, 1684 f.) (a) tribal confederation and (b) territory in South Arabia, between the Indian Ocean and the desert (Ramlat Sabateyn). It is the eastermost district of the Western Aden Protectorate. The boundaries are, in the W the Faḍlī, ʿAwdhalī and Bayḥānī districts, in the E the Dhiēbī territory of ʿIrḳa, the Wāḥidī sultanate of Bal-Ḥāf and the indeterminate area of Djerdān, ʿIrma (ʿUrma) with Shabwa, and Āl Burayk. This country is divided by Kawr al-ʿAwd (the continuation of Kawr ʿAwdhilla) into two halves of very different character:

1. Upper ʿAwlaḳī territory (ca. 100,000 sq.km., 30-50,000 inhabitants) is by far the richest and most powerful. The climate is tropical, the fertile ground produces wheat, maize, tobacco and indigo. Arḍ al-Maḥāḍjir in the N belongs to this tribal confederation (cf. al-Hamdānī, 89) which comprises the subtribes Marāzīḳ, Rabīz, Hammām, Dayyān and Daḳḳār. They inhabit the district round Anṣāb (Niṣāb), where the Sultan of Upper ʿAwāliḳ has his residence.

He also controls the wide plateau Arḍ Markha, where Nisiyyīn bedouins live in Wāsiṭ, Hadjar and Hudjayr. The main *wādīs* are: ʿAbadān, Ḍurā, Khawra, Markha. In the NW, not far from Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, are rich salt-mines at Khabt. The other great tribal federation, the Maʿn or Maʿan (cf. Maʿīn, Maʿān "Minaeans"), is grouped round the old town (Sūḳ) Yeshbum, in the SE part of the territory. Here resides the second chieftain, the *shaykh* of Upper ʿAwāliḳ, who like the Sultan always is chosen from the Maʿn. Their sub-tribes are: Madhidj, Bū Bekr, Bā Rās, ʿAtīḳ, Sulaymān, Ṭawsala, Miḳraḥa and Thawbān. For the most part these tribes are independent *ḳabīlīs*, they are fond of fighting and often enlist for service abroad. Treaties with the British were signed in 1903 by the *shaykh* of Yeshbum, Muḥsin b. Farīd, and in 1904 by the Sultan of Anṣāb, ʿAwaḍ b. Ṣāliḥ. There is an aerodrome at Anṣāb.

2. Lower ʿAwlaḳī territory (ca. 80,000 sq.km., 12-15,000 inhabitants) is for the most part arid and barren; there is seldom rain enough in the mountains to make the *wādīs* flow. The most important valley-system is that of W. Aḥwar (also called ʿUthrub), formed by the junction of W. Djaḥr, coming from Dathīna, and W. Ḍēḳa (Laiḳa), which starts S of Ḥabbān [*q.v.*] and passes through the highland of Munḳaʿa. Here live Ḥimyaritic clans (*mashāʾikh*), the Ḳumūsh in W. Labākha and Ahl Shamʿa in Maḥfid S of Yeshbum; they exercise a certain authority over the primitive bedouins of the tribe Bā Kāzim, who are scattered all over the W and S parts of the territory. Other towns in W. Ḍēḳa are: Khabr, Shadjma and Ḳulliyya. On the coast are small villages, inhabited by fishermen. The Sultan resides at Aḥwar (Ḥawar), ca. 5 km from the coast and a little E of the wādī. Just as Abyan and Laḥdj, Aḥwar properly denotes the district, then its centre, al-Madjābī (acc. to Landberg II, 273, 326, 1834), which is a series of villages rather than a town. The population (ca. 5,000) is chiefly agricultural. A treaty with the British of 1888 was renewed in 1944 by Sultan ʿAydarūs b. ʿAlī (murdered in 1948). The adviser agreement has resulted in better security and a revival of agriculture and trade. There is an aerodrome and a wireless station. One sub-grade and one indigenous school are reported in the district.

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AWLIYĀ ATA, (T., "holy father") is the old name of the city called since 1938 Djambul after the Ḳazakh poet Džambul Džabaev (1846-1945), which lies on the left bank of the Ṭalās in the Ḳazakh SSR. Until 1917 it was the capital of the district of the Sīr Daryā in Russian Turkistān and obtained its name from the grave of the holy man Ḳara Khān (which is mentioned as early as the 17th century; see Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-Asrār*, MS India Office 545, fol. 119r). His mausoleum dates from the 19th century and bears no inscription. On the other hand the grave of the "little holy one" (*Kičik Awliyā*) there is an inscription of 660/1262; the grave is that of the prince Ulugh Bilge Iḳbāl Khān Dāʾūd Beg b. Ilyās. (The inscription is published in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Ob.va*, xii, V.)—The city of Awliyā Ata which came into being only in the 19th century, was conquered by the Russians in 1864, became a fortress, and contained, in 1897, 12,006 inhabitants; it was famous for its fruit growing and its cattle and wool trade. In the surrounding district of Awliyā Ata (71,097 sq.km., with 297,004 inhabitants) ancient Turkish inscriptions were found in 1896 (*Zap. etc.*, xi).

The present day city of Djambul lies on the Turksib line just north of the frontier of the Ḳirgiz SSR, and contained in 1926 19,000 and by 1939 as many as 62,700 inhabitants. It possesses a sugar, a meat processing, and other factories, and is besides a centre of trade. The district of Djambul (since 1936) contains 138,600 sq.km. and is mountainous in the south; in the north there lies the Bad Pak Dala steppe.

Close to Awliyā Ata—Djambul lay evidently the city of Ṭarāz [*q.v.*], which may be regarded as its precursor.

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AWLONYA, Alb. Vlora, Valona, town in southern Albania. (see Arnawutluḳ) Awlonya, usually called Valona, is today a town of about 10,000 inhabitants. It lies in the bay of the same name, and is some 2½ m. (4 km.) inland from the harbour. It played an important part in antiquity as Aulon (hence Avlona). Concerning its history in the Middle Ages, cf. Konst. Jireček, *Valona im Mittelalter*, in: Ludwig v. Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, i, Munich and Leipzig 1916, 168/87. In June 1417, the Ottoman armies entered the area of Valona, and occupied the town, together with the fortress of Kanina and Berat. The general Ḥamza-Beg became commander-in-chief of Awlonya, and the Ottomans—who had never before possessed an Adriatic port—soon began to build ships there. In 1418, there was a vain attempt by the seigniory of Venice to regain Awlonya for its former owner Rugina (the widow of Duke Mrkša), a citizen of Venice. Awlonya remained Ottoman property, admitted Christians as farmers of taxes, and was governed by a Sandjaḳ-Bey; it was an important bulwark against the West. As late as the 14th century, the inhabitants (apart from Albanians and Slavs) were mostly Greeks, and deuominationally belonged to the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid up to the 18th century. Awlonya was used twice during the 15th century by the sultan Meḥemmed II as a base for a raid on Apulia, Italian territory only 47 m. (75 km.) away. (Otranto; cf. F. Babinger, *Mehmed II. der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 430 ff. and Ital. transl., *Maometto II il Conquistatore, ed il suo tempo*, Turin 1956, 570 ff.). As governors, Valona had particularly capable civil servants who were devoted to the sultan, as for instance Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, who maintained this as a base for ambassadors and emissaries sent to Italy. In the nearby fortress of Kanina, there were the Vloras, who had been there

since the time of Bāyezīd II and were related to him by marriage (cf. Ekrem Bey Vlora, *Aus Berat und vom Tomor*, Sarajevo 1911, *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, No. 13) and who traced their origin back to Ghāzī Sinān-Pasha (cf. F. Babinger, *Rumelische Streifen*, Berlin 1938, 24 f.). In the 17th century, the fortress of Awlonya was surrounded by high and thick walls with many bastions. Within the fortress, there was a mosque endowed by Sulaymān the Magnificent, and in the middle there was a tower—identical with the white tower of Salonica—built for the same sultan, supposedly by the Ottoman architect Sinān. There is a clear description by Ewliyā Čelebi of the Awlonya of his day (cf. the German translation by F. Babinger, *Rumelische Streifen*, 25 f.). The order of the Bektāshī appears to have been very active around Valona. After 400 years of Turkish rule, Albanian independence was declared in Awlonya in 1912, and it seceded from the Ottoman Empire. From 1914 to 1920, the town was occupied by the Italians, and during the First World War it formed an important base for military operations in the Balkans. By the Treaty of Rapallo, this bridge-head on the Adriatic and barrier in the Straits of Otranto had to be returned to Albania—with the exception of the island of Saseno. From April 1939 to autumn 1943 Awlonya, together with the rest of Albania, was once again in the hands of the Italians.

Bibliography: Apart from works mentioned in the text of the article, cf. the travels of Pouqueville, W. M. Leake, Lord Holland, L. Heuzey, G. Weigand, C. Patsch, which give a description of old Awlonya. (F. BABINGER)

ʿAWNĪ [see MUḤAMMAD II].

AWRANGĀBĀD, a town and district in the state of Bombay having in 1951 a population of 1,179,404. During the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī the Hindu rulers of this part of the Deccan were forced to pay tribute to the Muslim invaders. In 1347 it was incorporated in the Bahmanī kingdom and with the disintegration of that kingdom became part of the Niẓām Shāhī sultanate of Aḥmadnagar. Under Malik ʿAmbar, an able Abyssinian minister, Aḥmadnagar offered a stubborn resistance to the Mughal invaders, but, after his death in 1626, it was annexed to the Mughal empire. During the decline of Mughal power in the first half of the eighteenth century Awrangābād was added to the dominions of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. In 1956 it was incorporated in the state of Bombay.

The town of Awrangābād, previously named Khirkī, was the capital of the Aḥmadnagar sultanate in the days of Malik. ʿAmbar It was burned to the ground by Mughal forces in 1612, but was rebuilt and renamed Awrangābād in honour of Awrangzīb, who lived there during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. The neighbouring village of Khuldābād contains the tombs of Malik ʿAmbar, Awrangzīb, and Āṣaf Djāh, the founder of the Ḥaydarābād state. It was once famous for its gold brocade, but this and other industries have declined.

There is another small town of the same name in the Gāyā district of Bihār.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AWRANGĀBĀD SAYYID, a small town in the Bulandshahr district of Uttar Pradesh, founded in 1704 by Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, a descendant of Sayyid Djalāl al-Ḥusayn of Bukhārā.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AWRANGZĪB, ABUʾL-MUẒAFFAR MUḤAMMAD MUḤYI ʾL-DĪN AWRANGZĪB ʿĀLAMGĪR BĀDSHĀH-I GHĀZĪ (1027-1118/1618-1707), the third son of Shāhdjahān and Mumtāz Maḥall (daughter of Āṣaf Khān) was born at Dhod in Mālwa on 15 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1027/3 Nov. 1618.

I. *Early Years* (1027-68/1618-58). He certainly received a very good education according to the standards of the day, for throughout his life he could hold his own in disputations with the *ʿulamāʾ* as well as men of letters, and his Persian compositions have been regarded with respect.

In 1044/1635 Awrangzīb was made a commander of ten thousand and put in nominal charge of a successful campaign against Djūdjhar Singh Bundelā. In 1045/1636 he was appointed Viceroy of the Dakhin but resigned in 1053/1644, either owing to a fit of religious fervour or on account of his bitterness against Dārā, his elder brother, whom Shāhdjahān seems to have had chosen as his successor. Nevertheless he accepted the governorship of Gudjarāt and was thence transferred in 1055/1646 to the command of Balkh, which the Mughal officers had conquered under the nominal command of Murād Bakhsh, the Emperor's youngest son. But the Uzbegs were too strong and Dihlī was too far; Awrangzīb established his reputation as a general and an administrator, but he had to give up Balkh to Naẓar Muḥammad Khān and beat a retreat. Appointed governor of Multān in 1057/1648, Awrangzīb was directed by the Emperor to recapture Ḳandahār from the Persians. He besieged Ḳandahār twice — in 1058/1649 and 1061/1651—but the enterprise was too difficult and he had to retreat. Awrangzīb can hardly be blamed for this, for Dārā Shukōh to whom the third siege of Ḳandahār was assigned failed even more disastrously.

Awrangzīb was assigned the Viceroyalty of the Dakhin for a second time in 1062/1652. His revenue expert, Murshid Ḳulī Khān, did much to settle that desolated territory by his revenue system (*dhara*). In 1065/1655 Awrangzīb laid siege to Gulkunda and could have extinguished that kingdom but the Emperor ordered him to accept a tribute and make peace. In 1066/1657 he attacked Bidjāpūr and had captured Bidār and Kalyānī when orders once more came from the Emperor directing him to accept peace terms. Soon after that Shāhdjahān fell ill (27 Dhuʾl-Ḳaʿda 1067/6 Sept. 1657) and his four sons prepared to fight for the throne.

II. *War of succession*, 1067-68/1658-59. The war of succession shows Awrangzīb at his best as a general and an administrator; he was never to attain that standard again. Dārā Shukōh, the heir-designate at Āgra, had the prestige of the imperial authority and the advantage of moving on interior lines. But he showed himself lacking both in capacity of organisation and strategy. Shudjāʿ, the second son, who was governor of Bengal, assumed the crown (as did the youngest brother, Murād) and moved towards the capital. But he was decisively beaten at Bahādurpūr (11 Djumādā I 1068/14 Feb. 1658) by the imperial army under Radja Djai Singh and Sulaymān Shukōh and fled back to Mungīr. But Dārā's southern army, under Djaswant Singh, could not prevent Awrangzīb and Murād from joining their forces near Udjdjain. The two brothers crushed Djaswant's forces at Dharmat (12 Radjab 1068/15 April 1658) and then crossing the Chambal, defeated Darā decisively at Sāmūgarh, eight miles from Agra (26 Shaʿbān 1068/29 May 1658). Awrangzīb interned his father in the Āgra fort and then arrested Murād near Mathurā and sent him to Gwāliar where he was executed in Rabīʿ II-Djumādā I 1072/ Dec.

1661. Awrangzīb crowned himself hurriedly at Dihlī and then pursued Dārā as far as Multān. Then he had to march eastwards to meet Shudjā', whom he defeated signally at Khadjwāh, near Allāhābād (10 Rabī' II 1069/5 Jan. 1659). Leaving Mīr Djumla to pursue Shudjā' to Arrakān, where that unfortunate prince met his death, Awrangzīb once more marched west because Dārā, supported by Shāh Nawāz Khān, the governor of Gudjarāt, had entrenched himself at Deorai, near Adjmēr. Dārā was defeated after a three day battle (28 Djumādā II 1069/23 March 1659) and, while he was fleeing towards Ḳandahār, Malik Djuwān, his Balučī host, captured him and brought him to Āgra, where, after being paraded with every disgrace, he was put to death as a heretic. Awrangzīb's power was now unchallenged and he celebrated his second coronation on 14 Ramaḍān 1069/5 June, 1659.

First half of the reign, 1068-92/1658-81. The Mughal Empire during Awrangzīb's long reign was really ruined by a series of wars, many of which were of his own seeking. His general, Mīr Djumla, conquered Kuč Behār and Assām (1071-3/1661-3) with a terrible loss of life, including his own, but the territory was lost within four years. The Paṭhāns rose in revolt—the Yūsufzaīs in 1077/1667 and the Afrīdīs in 1083/1672—but though the Emperor stationed himself at Ḥasan Abdāl (Rāwalpindī district), the efforts of the imperial officers were strangely unavailing and peace could not be restored till 1085/1675. The death of Mahārādja Djaswant Singh of Mārwār on 25 Shawwāl 1089/10 Dec. 1678, started the Rādjpūt war. Awrangzīb stationed himself at Adjmēr for the better conduct of the campaign, but his own son, Prince Akbar, rebelled against him and fled to Sambhādjī. The Emperor made peace with Rāna Rādj Singh in Djumādā I or II 1092/June 1681, but the Raṭhors of Mārwār continued their struggle till Adjīt, son of Mahāradja Djaswant, entered Djodhpur as a victor in 1118/1707. Meanwhile a new opponent of the Empire had risen in the Deccan, Shīwādjī son of Shāhdjī Bhonsla, a first rate diplomat, guerrilla warrior and organiser of victory. Shāyista Khān, the Emperor's uncle, was sent against him and failed disastrously, but Djai Singh, who succeeded Shāyista, compelled Shiwādjī by the treaty of Purandar (Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da-Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1075/June 1665) to hand over 23 out of his 37 forts. Shīwādjī came to Awrangzīb's court, found that he would only be given the status of a *pandj-hazārī* (commander of five thousand), and pretended to faint owing to a weak heart; he was interned by the Emperor's order but succeeded in escaping back to his homeland. In 1080/1669 he began offensive operations against the Empire, plundered Sūrat for a second time (1081/1670) and started a series of plundering raids for the levy of *čauth* (one-fourth) against the imperial territories. Though Shīwadjī, who had crowned himself in 1085/1674, died in 1091/1680, Mughal administration in the Deccan was completely demoralised. Meanwhile all the great officers of Awrangzīb, including even Radja Djai Singh, had failed disastrously against Bidjāpūr. In Sha'ban-Ramaḍān 1092/Sept. 1681 Awrangzīb decided to march to Burhānpūr; he was not destined to return to northern India again.

Second half of the reign, 1092-1118/1681-1707. In spite of the increasing inefficiency of the imperial civil and military machine, which Persian writers have loved to make the object of their humour, the Emperor succeeded in his three immediate objectives. The city of Bidjāpūr, governed by a minor king, Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, and torn by internal strife, only surrendered after it had withstood a siege of sixteen months (23 Shawwāl 1097/12 Sept. 1686. Gulkanda was conquered after a siege of eight months, owing to the treachery of one of its principal officers (14 Dhu'l-Ḳa'da 1098/21 Sept. 1687). Lastly, Sambhādjī, son of Shiwādji, was captured at Sanganeshwar and executed (26 Sha'bān 1100/15 June 1689). But this did not bring the Deccan under Awrangzīb's control. The absence of a centralised Mahratta power left the field open to Mahratta captains—half heroes, half bandits—and the imperial officers often preferred to make a separate peace with them. Forts were captured and lost. "All the various tribes residing in central and southern India were up in arms with Mahratta aid and concert against the officers of the Emperor and the cause of law and order in general." In the midst of this turmoil Awrangzīb died on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1118/2 March 1707.

One need not go beyond these exhausting wars to discover the reason for the failure of the Mughal Empire. The picture left for us by Khāfī Khān, a historian whose family had been in Awrangzīb's service, is one of increasing corruption, harassment of the peasantry, neglect of government orders by officers in charge and failure of the state's financial resources. Whatever the reason, the Emperor was lax in the maintenance of discipline and Khāfī Khān repeatedly tells us that no imperial officer, whatever his offences, was seriously punished. Awrangzīb's religious policy has been a matter of controversy, which will continue to simmer on for some time to come. Equally valid evidence seems to be available on both sides. Even with reference to his *djizya*, (1090/1679), a retrogressive poll-tax on the higher classes of Hindus at the rate of Rs. 3-1/3, 6-2/3 and 13-1/3 (but not higher) per year, we have Khāfi Khān's statement that it could not be levied and remained largely a tax on paper. To avoid misunderstanding it should be added that the term *djizya* was used in a very loose sense in medieval India and often meant any tax other than the land-tax (*kharādj*). [See also AL-FATĀWĀ AL-'ĀLAMGĪRIYYA].

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(W. IRVINE-[MOHAMMAD HABIB])

AWRĀS (Aurès; Αὐράσιον ὄρος in Procopius, *De bello vand.*, i, 8, ii, 12-13. 19-20) mountain massif of Algeria, forming part of the Eastern Saharan Atlas. So far it has not been possible to discover the meaning of the word Awrās.

The Awrās is a compact massif 8,000 sq. km. in area, which extends from the depression leading from Batna to Biskra as far Khenchela and the valley of the Wādi 'l-ʿArab, between the high plains of southern Constantine (Sbā̱kh̲) and the Saharan depression of the Zibān. Its summits (D̲j̲ibāl Chélia, 2,327 m., and Kef Mahmel, 2,321 m., the highest in Algeria) and its ridges tower nearly 1,000 m. above the "South-Aurasian" depression. The western Awrās comprises three long chains running S.W.-N.E., separated by the deep valleys of the Abdi and al-Abiod Wādīs, which discharge through narrow gorges into the Sahara. The eastern Awrās is much more massive. Differences of altitude and aspect create a diversity of bio-geographical zones. The northern and north-western slopes, short and steep, nevertheless have an adequate rainfall and can be cultivated without irrigation; they are covered with forests of holm-oak and, on the often snow-clad peaks, there are forests of cedar and grassy mountain glades. The southern slopes, which are much longer and drier, comprise three zones in which crops are irrigated in terraced fields : a cool zone, above 1,500 m., also often covered with snow, and characterised by forests of holm-oak, pastures, summer crops and walnut-trees; a middle zone, with patches of badly-neglected Aleppo pine and juniper forest, and, in the foothills, winter (barley and wheat) and summer (maize and sorghum) cereal crops, figs, apricots; below 800 m., the first palm-trees appear, growing along the *wādīs*, at the foot of slopes on which are found only occasional junipers, clumps of *alfa* and extremely poor pasture.

The inhabitants of the Awrās live on cereals, which they sow on the mountain and at the foot of the northern (Chara) and southern (Sahara) slopes, fruit, and a few vegetables, and by stockbreeding, in which goats play a greater part than sheep. For the cultivation of the crops, the men move from the northern slope to the Sahara. The winter migration, during which the flocks are moved from the high zone to the foot of the mountain, involves families in a semi-nomadic way of life.—The inhabitants of the Awrās are villagers, except in the east, where they live in hamlets of *gourbis* dispersed in the woods. Their villages, often built on the hillside, with the houses in terraces, are sometimes dominated by a *guella* (*ḳalʿa*, fortified granary). The people of the Awrās (115,000) are still Berber-speaking, except on the borders where there has been penetration by arabicised tribes.

These Berbers are called S̲h̲āwiya by the Arabs. The women continue to speak Berber whilst the men adopt Arabic for use outside the family.

Worked stones show that the Awrās has been occupied since Old Neolithic times. Roman influence is indicated by the ruins of cisterns and irrigation ditches, oil-mill grinding stones, etc. The Byzantines confined themselves to building a line of forts along the foot of the Northern face of the Awrās. When ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] entered the Mag̲h̲rib, the Berbers inflicted serious losses on him and it was near the Awrās, at Tahūda, that he met his death when returning from his great expedition towards the West. After the destruction of the Kingdom of Kusayla [*q.v.*], the Awrās became the centre of the resistance offered to the Muslims, who only succeeded in suppressing it at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, after the bloody struggles to which the legend of the Kāhina [*q.v.*] is attached. Following upon these wars, Berbers from Tripolitania and the South of Ifrīḳiya established themselves in the Awrās; converted to Islam willingly or by compulsion, they retained a spirit of independence which was shown by the eagerness with which they adopted heretical doctrines, Ibāḍism in the 2nd/8th century, the Nakkārī doctrines in the 4th/10th century; it was from the Awrās that Abū Yazīd appeared, whose revolt for a brief moment imperilled the Fāṭimid Empire. The Hilālī invasion contributed to the arabisation of the whole area of the mountain massif, but the populations succeeded in retaining their independence intact, escaping from the authority of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], then from the domination of the Turks; the latter, however, set up in the area some chieftains devoted to their policy, whose authority remained precarious. From the 10th/16th century, preachers from the extreme South of Morocco gave the Islam of the Awrās the appearance which it was to retain until about 1935: a religion closely linked with a specific social structure. At this last date, the Algerian *ʿulamāʾ* intervened, especially against the cult of Saints.

The inhabitants of the Awrās have always retained their old political organisation, of which the village remained the basis, a true municipal republic administered by the assembly of the people, or *d̲j̲amāʿa*, in conditions analogous to, though rather more sketchy than, those which existed in Kabylia. The French occupation only superficially put an end to this state of affairs. In 1845 the Duc d'Aumale took Ms̲h̲ūnes̲h̲, whilst Bedeau made the main tribes recognise French authority; further expeditions, however, were required in 1848-1849 and 1850 to repress a revolt; French troops had to intervene again in 1859 and 1879, when risings had broken out. In 1866, the judicial system of the Mālikīs was applied to the Awrās and *Ḳāḍīs* were sent there, but local customary law continued to be applied, as a supplement to Islamic Law and the French Penal system.

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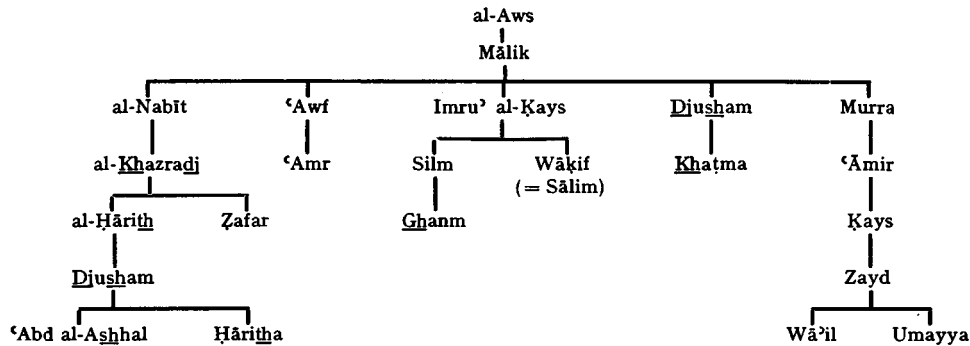
(G. YVER*)

AL-**AWS**, one of the two main Arab tribes in Medina. The other was al-Khazradj, and the two, which in pre-Islamic times were known as Banū Ḳayla from their reputed mother, constituted after the Hidjra the 'helpers' of Muḥammad or Anṣār [*q.v.*]. The genealogy as given by Ibn Saʿd (iii/2,1) is: al-Aws b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr (Muzayḳiyāʾ) b. ʿĀmir (Māʾ al-Samāʾ) b. Ḥāritha b. Imriʾ al-Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba b. Māzin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ b. Yashdjub b. Yaʿrub b. Ḳaḥṭān. The following table gives the genealogical relationships of the chief divisions of the tribe:

The name al-Aws probably means 'the gift' and seems to be a contraction for Aws Manāt, 'the gift of Manāt' (the goddess whom they worshipped). The fuller form tends to be restricted to the clans of Wāḳif, Khaṭma, Wāʾil and Umayya b. Zayd, and was changed in Islamic times to Aws Allāh; but these four clans seem to be called simply 'Banu 'l-Aws' in the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-3).

The traditional story is that, some time after the emigration from the Yaman led by ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, his descendants quarrelled, and al-Aws and al-Khazradj separated from Ghassān and settled in Yathrib or Medina, which was then controlled by Jewish clans. For a time Banū Ḳayla were subordinate to the Jews, but under the leadership of Mālik b. al-ʿAdjlān of the Khazradjī clan of Sālim (Ḳawāḳila) they became independent and obtained a share of the palm-trees and strongholds (*(āṭām*, sing. *uṭum*) A contemporary and rival of Mālik was Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ, chief of B. Djaḥdjabā, a branch of the Awsī clan of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.

It is to be doubted whether there was at this time any conception of the Aws (or the Khazradj) as a unity. The effective units seem to have been the subdivisions of these two tribes, here called 'clans'. Even the clans may not have been constituted as the genealogies lead one to suppose, since the genealogies, which are later compilations, are entirely patrilineal, whereas there are many indications that matrilineal kinship was important in Medina. The feuds at Medina in the decades before the *hidjra* are commonly said to be between the two tribes, but the sources speak of fighting between clans and groups of clans; and even in the Constitution of Medina the units responsible for blood-money, which are apparently independent political entities, are single clans or groups of clans, like al-Nabīt, which consisted of the clans of ʿAbd al-Ashhal, Ẓafar and Ḥāritha. It is probable that the conception of the Aws and the Khazradj as tribes was fostered in order to create closer ties between the clans in alliance with one another, and that this was happening shortly before the *hidjra* and more particularly after it.

In the generation before the *hidjra* the leading man among the Aws was Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, who by genealogy belongs to ʿAbd al-Ashhal, but appears at one point as leader of the clan of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf against the Khazradjī clan of al-Ḥārith, while the chief of ʿAbd al-Ashhal was Muʿādh b. al-Nuʿmān. Another leader was Abū Ḳays b. al-Aslat of the clan of Wāʾil, but on several occasions when he was in command of a party his followers fled, and latterly he yielded the supreme command to Ḥuḍayr where both were present. During this period various small feuds became linked with one another, until there was a conflagration in which most of Medina and some of the surrounding nomads were involved. After a serious defeat the clans of ʿAbd al-Ashhal and Ẓafar had withdrawn from Medina, while ʿAmr b. ʿAwf and Aws Manāt had made peace. The oppressive policy, however, of the Khazradjī leader, ʿAmr b. Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa, drove the Jewish tribes of Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr into alliance with the two exiled clans, and enabled them to fight back. They were also helped by the nomadic clan of Muzayna, and the other clans of the Aws joined in, with the exception of Ḥāritha, which had been driven from its lands by ʿAbd al-Ashhal. The ensuing battle of Buʿāth went in favour of the Aws and their allies, but their leader Ḥuḍayr was killed. Peace was not made after this battle, but there was no further large-scale fighting.

Such was the situation when Muḥammad commenced negotiations, first with the Khazradj and then with the Aws also. While nearly all the Khazradj entered into agreement with Muḥammad, many of the Aws held back, viz. the clans of Khaṭma, Wāʾil, Wāḳif and Umayya b. Zayd, and some of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. Nevertheless the conversion of Saʿd b. Muʿādh b. al-Nuʿmān, chief of ʿAbd al-Ashhal,

was a decisive event in the growth of Islam in Medina, and from the battle of Badr until his death in 5/627 he was the leading Muslim of the Banū Ḳayla or Anṣār [*q.v.*]. The enmity between the Aws and the Khazradj died away gradually, and is not heard of after the institution of Abū Bakr as caliph.

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AWS B. ḤADJAR, the greatest pre-Islamic poet of the tribe of Tamīm; al-Aṣmaʿī frequently praises and comments on his poetry; in contrast the early anthologies, except the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, do not mention him at all. Whether al-Farazdaḳ, when he boasts of having "inherited from the family of Aws a tongue like poison", means our poet, cannot be ascertained. Fragments of some length do not appear before the time of Ibn al-Sikkīt, who probably wrote a commentary to his *dīwān*, and quotes him in his lexicographical work.

With the early critics Aws was famous for his description of the (wild) ass, the bow, and "noble virtues". He exhorted the Lakhmid king ʿAmr b. Hind to avenge his father al-Mundhir III, who was murdered in 544, and mentions the battles of al-Kāʿ and al-Suʾbān in which his tribe was involved. A charming anecdote tells the story of his acquaintance with Faḍāla b. Kalada of the Banū Asad to whom he dedicated a well-known elegy. Aws seems to be earlier than al-Nābigha.

Tradition relates that Zuhayr was the transmitter (*rāwī*) of both Aws and Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī. Krenkow makes Aws the *rāwī* of Ṭufayl without indicating his source.

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AWTĀD (Ar., sing. *watad*), literally "pegs", the 3rd category of the hierarchy of the *Ridjāl al-Ghayb*, comprising four holy persons, also called *al-ʿUmūd*, "the pillars" [see ABDĀL]. Each of them is charged with the surveillance of one of the four cardinal points, in the centre of which they have their dwelling-place. (I. GOLDZIHER)

AL-ʿ**AWWĀʾ** [see NUDJŪM].

AWWAL (fem. *ūlā*, plur. *awāʾil*), first. — I. As a philosophical term, *awwal* was brought into Muslim thought by the Arab translators of Aristotle and Plotinus as the equivalent in Arabic of the Greek words πρῶτος and ἀρχαί. Thus in the *Pseudo-Theology* of Aristotle, that is to say, in the Arabic translation of the last three *Enneads* of Plotinus, *awwal* indicates either the *First Being* or the *First Created*. Similarly, in the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā we already find the expression *al-ḳaṣd al-awwal* to express the first causality derived from God, the same expression being again found in the *Budd al-ʿĀrif* and the *Sicilian Questions* of Ibn Sabʿīn. The word *awwal* is likewise used by the Muʿtazilites, al-Kindī and al-Fārābī; but it was Ibn Sīnā who systematised its use in philosophical terminology. The word *awwal* subsequently became customary among those Eastern and Western thinkers familiar, either directly or indirectly, with the thought of Avicenna.

II. Used in the singular, *awwal* indicates among the philosophers God in the sense of *First Being*. With the expression the *Necessary Being*, it is the name of God most frequently employed by Muslim philosophers; in this sense it is usually employed alone, though at times such reiterative expressions as *al-mabdaʾ al-awwal*, *First Principle*, are to be encountered.

III. In several compound expressions, *awwal* indicates essentially causal priority, and secondarily temporal priority, as in the terms *al-maʿlūl al-awwal* (First Caused), *al-adjsām al-ūlā* (*First or Elementary bodies*), *al-ḥaraka al-ūlā* (*First movement*).

IV. Used in the plural, *awāʾil* [*q.v.*] indicates the first ones in date and, in philosophy, the thinkers of former ages.

V. Likewise in the plural, *awāʾil* also indicates the *first principles* in the order of being and knowledge; for example: *al-mabādi ʾal-ūlā*, the *First Principles* in the order of Being or *Separate Intelligences*, or *al-maʿḳūlāt al-ūlā*, the *First Intelligibles* that is to say, the *First Principles* of Knowledge.

VI. From *awwal* is derived the abstract noun *awwaliyya* (plur. *awwaliyyāt*), which in the Philosophers indicates the essence of *that which is first*.

VII. In the plural, *awwaliyyāt* translates τὰ πρῶτα and ἀρχαί indiscriminately and means the *First Principles* in the order of knowledge, that is to say, the propositions and judgements immediately evident by themselves.

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AL-**AWZĀʿĪ**, ABŪ ʿAMR ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿAMR, the main representative of the ancient Syrian school of religious law. His *nisba* is derived from al-Awzāʿ, a suburb of Damascus, so called after a South Arabian tribe, or an agglomeration (*awzāʿ*) of clans, who lived there (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, ii, 1954, 144; Yāḳūt,

i, 403 f.). An ancestor of his had been made a prisoner in Yaman (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 214). He seems to have been born in Damascus, and he did part of his studies at least in al-Yamāma, where he went in Government employment. Later, he moved to Bayrūt where he died, about 70 years old, in 157 (774); he is buried in the village of Ḥantūs, near Bayrūt, where his tomb is still visited by pilgrims (Heffening, 148, n. 4).

Al-Awzāʿī's writings, which he dictated to his disciples and of which the *Fihrist*, 227, mentions a *Kitāb al-Sunan fi 'l-Fiḳh* and a *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fi 'l-Fiḳh*, have not been preserved in their original form. His *Musnad* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 12006) was presumably composed at a later date, as were the other works of this kind. Al-Awzāʿī's opinions, however, are extensively quoted (1) in Abū Yūsuf's *al-Radd ʿalā Sīrat al-Awzāʿī* (Cairo 1357; also, with comments by al-Shāfiʿī, in his *K. al-Umm*, vii, Būlāḳ 1325, 303-336; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 251), a refutation of al-Awzāʿī's criticisms of the opinions of Abū Ḥanīfa; an original version of al-Awzāʿī's *K. al-Siyar*, by one of his immediate disciples, was still in existence in the 11th/17th century (Heffening, 149 f.); (2) in al-Ṭabarī's *K. Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahāʾ* (ed. F. Kern, Cairo 1902, and J. Schacht, Leiden 1933).

Al-Awzāʿī's opinions, as a rule, represent the oldest solutions adopted by Islamic jurisprudence. The archaic character of his doctrine makes it likely that he, who was himself a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa, conserved the teaching of his predecessors, who are nothing more than names for us, in the generation before him. His systematic reasoning, though explicit, is on the whole rudimentary; it is overshadowed by his reliance on the "living tradition". By this he understands the uninterrupted practice of the Muslims, beginning with the Prophet, maintained by the first Caliphs and by the later rulers, and verified by the scholars; this is the "*sunna* of the Prophet", even though it may not be expressed in formal traditions going back to him. Al-Awzāʿī opposes this idealised concept of *sunna* to the actual administrative practice, and he makes the "good old time" last until the killing of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd (II) b. Yazīd (II) in 126 (744) and the civil war which followed it, so that it includes most of the Umayyad period. In this concept of *sunna* and in other respects, al-Awzāʿī's doctrine comes nearest to that of the ancient ʿIrāḳians.

Al-Awzāʿī shows as yet no trace of the anti-Umayyad feeling which became fashionable under the ʿAbbāsids, and it is likely that his attitude to the ʿAbbāsids was cool (this is reflected by an anecdote about his meeting with the ʿAbbāsid conqueror ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, though the story itself seems to be legendary; cf. Barthold, in *Isl.*, xviii, 244). Nevertheless, he succeeded in gaining the respect and esteem of the new rulers, and in particular of the future Caliph al-Mahdī as a prince, whom he seems to have met. The applications which al-Awzāʿī addressed to this prince, to the Caliph al-Manṣūr, and to influential persons at the Court, on behalf of political prisoners, the public of Bayrūt, and others (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-Maʿrifa*, 187 ff.), are doubtless genuine. The statement that Ibn Surāḳa (governor of Damascus on behalf of the Umayyad al-Walīd II and of the ʿAbbāsid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī; cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ Dimashḳ*, ed. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1955, 55) made al-Awzāʿī come from Bayrūt to Damascus (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ibid.*, 187), is difficult to fit into what little is known of al-Awzāʿī's biography.

A number of al-Awzāʿī's disciples, amongst whom al-Walīd b. Mazyad (d. 203) is prominent, are mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 785 f., s.v. Bayrūt). Similarly to what happened in the other schools of religious law, the ancient school of the Syrians transformed itself into the personal *madhhab* [*q.v.*] of al-Awzāʿī. It prevailed not only in Syria but in the Maghrib, including al-Andalus (Islamic Spain), before it was superseded by the *madhhab* of Mālik, in the Maghrib about the middle of the 3rd (9th), in Syria towards the end of the 4th (10th) century (J. Lopez Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malequí en España*, Madrid 1931, 16 ff.; R. Castejon Calderon, *Los juristas hispano-musulmanes*, Madrid 1948, 32, 43 ff.; Heffening, 148; Barthold, *ibid*). The anecdotes on how al-Awzāʿī overcame Mālik in disputation (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ibid.*, 185 f.), reflect the struggle between the two schools.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vi/II, 185; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 249; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2514; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Taḳdimat al-Maʿrifa*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, 184 ff.; idem, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-Taʿdīl*, ii/II, Ḥaydarābād 1953, 266 f., Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, vi, Cairo 1936; 135 ff.; al-Samʿānī, 53r; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (in MS; cf. Yūsuf al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya* (*Taʾrīkh*). Damascus 1947, 113); al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1842-47, 382 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1333, 168 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, Cairo 1351-8, x, 115 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, Ḥaydarābād 1326, 238 ff.; Anonymous, *Maḥāsin al-Masāʿī*, ed. Shakīb Arslān, Cairo 1352 (cf. O. Spies, in ZS, 1935, 189 ff.); W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, 148 ff.; O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1932, 52 f.; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*[2], Oxford 1953, index, s.v. Auzāʿī. (J. Schacht)

ĀYA—plu. *āyāt*, a sign, token, miracle, verse of the Ḳurʾān. The original meaning is a *sign* or *token* and as such is found in the pre-Islamic poetry (plur. *āy* and *āyāt*, with plur. of plur. *āyā*, cf. *Nöldeke's Belegwörterbuch*, sub. voc.), where it is the equivalent of the Hebrew *ōth*, Aramaic *āthā*; Syriac *āthā*, the plur. *ōthōth* occurring in the Lachish Letters (iv, 11) for the fire-beacons used for signalling. This original meaning occurs in the Ḳurʾān, where the ark is called the token of Saul's kingship (ii, 248/249), and the sun and moon are signs of day and night (xvii, 12/13). The wonders of nature are also tokens of Allāh's presence and power (xxx, 20/19 ff.; xii, 105 etc.), but such are also portents from which men should take warning (ii, 164/159, 266/268; xxvi, 67 ff. etc.). It is the duty of the Messengers whom Allāh sends to rehearse to men these demonstrations of Allāh's power, or wisdom, or judgment as they appear in nature or in history, and it is the condemnation of communities that they reject the signs of Allāh that are rehearsed to them (ii, 61/58; x, 73/74; xxvii, 81/83 ff.; vii, 182/181). From wonder to miracle is an easy step (xliii, 47; iii, 49/43; xiii, 38; xxvi, 154), and by a further step the accounts telling of such portents or tokens of Allāh's might could be called His signs (ii, 252/253; xii, 7; xv, 75; xxxiv, 19/18; v, 75/79). By a final step each verse of such an account becomes a sign (vi, 124; xxviii, 87; iii,

108/104 etc.). In the Massorah to the Ḳurʾān *āyā* (plur. *āy*) always means verse, and there was considerable discussion as to verse-endings (*ruʾūs al-āy*), verse-numbering, and the *faḍāʾil* of certain verses such as the "Throne Verse" (ii, 255/256), the "Light Verse" (xxiv, 35), the final verses of *sūra* ii, etc., which brought peculiar blessings to such as recited them in specified ways. These various meanings of *āya*, save the last, correspond closely with Jewish and Christian usage, where the particular religious use of the word is for the signs that attest the divine presence and which accompany and testify to the work of the Prophets.

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AYA SOFYA, the largest mosque in Constantinople (Istanbul), and at one time the leading Metropolitan Church of Eastern Christendom. It was known generally as Ἡ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία up to 1453, having been called Σοφία (without the article) around 400 A.D., and since the 5th century, Ἡ Ἁγία Σοφία.

According to the most recent research, the original Aya Sofya was not built by Constantine the Great, but, in accordance with his last wishes, by his son, Constantius, after the latter's victory over his brother-in-law Licinius. It was then built in the shape of a Basilica, and consecrated on 15 February 360 (cf. A. M. Schneider, *Die vorjustinianische Sophienkirche*, in *BZ*, 1936, 36). This" Great Church" met with frequent and diverse changes. There were fires and earthquakes which ravaged it (the first wooden-roofed basilica went up in flames on 20 June 404 on the occasion of the expulsion of Bishop John Chrysostom). Reopened on 8 October 415, it remained undamaged for over a century until the night of the 13th of January 532, when once again it went up in flames (as did the greater part of the city, including the imperial archives) during the fight between the rival hippodrome factions.

The emperor Justinian immediately made known his decision to rebuild the church in such splendour as had never been seen before. Even before this, Justinian had already ordered that valuable materials from old monuments in the provinces of his vast empire (where heathen works of art were deliberately left to decay) were to be sent to the imperial residence, and after the fire these materials were largely used to rebuild Aya Sofya. Two of the greatest architects of all times, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, were placed in charge of the reconstruction. Since the emperor had ordered that the new building must be proof against both fire and earthquake, they decided to use a dome-and-cupola design as being the surest means of escaping these dangers. The opening of this magnificent building took place on 27 December 537 with enormous pomp, and the proud Justinian could exclaim "Solomon, I have surpassed you!" Even during his own reign, however, the eastern part of the dome collapsed in an earthquake (on 7 May 558) and the ambo, tabernacle, and altar were smashed. The dome had been designed too flat, and it was now raised by more than 20 feet, whilst the supports of the big pillars were strengthened. It was ready for reopening on 24 December 562. The church has an enviable position: to the south there is the Augusteum, with an equestrian statue of Justinian, meant for national festivities; to the north (well within the Saray walls of today) are court churches, noble monasteries and the palaces of the court officials; and to the east, that is to say towards the sea, stands the imperial palace.

The west presented a court-yard called the Atrium, flanked by open halls, to the visitor. From here, a number of doors (perhaps four or five) led into an enclosed hall (Exonarthex) which still belonged to the Atrium. From this, five doors led to the actual Narthex (Esonarthex), in addition there is a door at the extreme north and south ends. Further passages branch off, and nine rectangular openings from the entrances to the inner part of the church. The centre one of these was elaborately coloured and used to be the king's door.

The area covered by the church is almost square: the internal length is about 75 metres (excluding the main apse to the east) and the breadth is about 70 metres. The floor is shaped in the form of a cross, and above it the almost hemispherical pendentive dome rises to a height of 56 metres. Since the outside walls alone could not have carried it, it had to be supported in addition by four pillars, and these in turn are supported by small but structurally important arches and their corresponding pillars. To the east and west of the dome, there are two further semi-circular chambers, each of which has three semi-domes over it. Of greatest importance for the shaping of the interior was the two-storey arrangement of all the side-chambers adjacent to the centre aisle, where the galleries (as was customary in Byzantine churches) were reserved for women. The weight of the building is carried by 107 columns (40 below and 67 above), usually monoliths of coloured marble (*verde antico*), but in some cases of red porphyry. An overwhelming impression was created for the mediaeval spectator by the wealth of ornament: the lavish use of marble everywhere, the pictures of Christ and of the Mother of God, the Prophets, Apostles, and other saints which turn the walls into a sea of colour, not to mention the mighty Seraphim (in the spherical triangles of the main dome), and the gold-mosaic which adorned the dome and walls with such a splendour as had never been seen before. The mosaic ornamentation was probably not finished until the last years of Justinian, and during the reign of Justinos II.

The original walls and vault of the original building consist of brick throughout. The sanctuary (βῆμα) lay to the east of the central part of the church and was divided from it by an iconostasis of considerable height, adorned with pictures and open-work pillars. It contained the altar and the ciborium and led into the main apse. There were 425 priests (who admittedly also served three other churches) and 100 doorkeepers in the days of Justinian. Shortly before the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, the number of church officials in the Aya Sofya was estimated at 800.

The first major repairs to Aya Sofya were made in the time of the emperor Basil II. A part of the dome collapsed during an earthquake on 26 October 986. The emperor had the damage repaired (the clumsy flying buttresses on the western façade probably date from that time; cf. A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabungen im Westhof der Sophienkirche*, Berlin 1941, 32 ff.). In 1204 the church was severely damaged during the Latin

sack of Constantinople, when it was ruthlessly plundered, the holy vestments and vessels even being used to clean and feed the invaders' horses; yet it became, nevertheless, the chief church and place of coronation for the new dynasty. The most extensive changes still undertaken in Byzantine times were made in the 14th century. In the first half, the walls were strengthened on all sides, the eastern wing in particular being buttressed from outside by high and broad supports.

We have no description of the interior of Aya Sofya in Byzantine times from Muslim reports. The first Muslim who mentions the cathedral in detail is Aḥmad b. Rusta (124 ff.; trans. G. Wiet, Cairo 1955, 139 ff.); the author lived around 290/902-903 but derives his description from Hārūn b. Yaḥyā, who was a prisoner of war in Constantinople some time during the ninth century. Hārūn does not really describe the building, which he calls al-Kanīsa al-ʿUẓmā (i.e. Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία), but he does describe in vivid detail a feast-day procession, to the church of the Byzantine emperor. On this occasion, the Muslim prisoners of war were led to the church (this might perhaps mean to the atrium of it), and there they greeted the emperor with the cry "May God preserve the king for many years" (*ibid.* 125). One detail is of particular importance: he mentions that beyond the *Madjlis* (by which he presumably meant benches) there were 24 small doors with openings a span square, at the western gate (these are not mentioned anywhere else). One of these little doors opened automatically, and closed again of its own accord, at the end of each of the 24 hours. With the decline of the Caliphate, the Muslims after Ibn Rusta grow more and more silent about far-away Constantinople. Only four centuries later, after Asia Minor had been occupied by Turkish tribes, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashḳī (ed. Frähn and Mehren, St. Petersburg, 1865, 227)—who, however, is dependent on the work of the slightly earlier paper-merchant Aḥmad (*ibid.*, VIII)—mentions the Aya Sofya in a few lines. The one remarkable thing is his statement that the church harboured an angel whose home was surrounded by a barrier (*darābazīn*), presumably meaning the area of the altar and ciborium together with the iconostasis itself.

A few decades later, Muḥammad b. Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 434) is the first to ascribe the erecting of Aya Sofya to Āṣaf b. Barakhyā [*q.v.*], supposedly a cousin of king Solomon. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's main merit is the detailed description of the atrium. As he stresses, he was not allowed to enter the church itself, possibly because he would not comply with the order (mentioned by him) to kneel before the cross at the entrance.

When the Turks conquered Constantinople (29 May 1453), crowds of the defenceless population fled into the church, in the firm belief that an angel would appear in the sky and drive the victors forever back into their Asiatic home-country after they had advanced as far as the column of Constantine the Great. However, the Turks came on, smashed the doors of the house of God, and dragged the frightened people—both men and women—away to slavery. Eye-witnesses do not, however, mention any blood-bath in the holy place, as was often stated to have been the case. After this wild spectacle of loot and plunder, the ruler himself—though not seated upon a horse, as it was usually stated—entered the church. His *muʾadhdhin* spoke the invitation to prayer which contains the confession of faith, and he threw himself down—together with his followers—before the one God, and thereby the temple of Constantius and Justinian was dedicated to Islam.

There are very considerable changes in the interior resulting from the rules of the victorious religion. The mosaics which had formerly adorned the walls and vaults, and which had seemed to their Greek creators to have been fashioned for eternity, were hidden under a grey lime-wash (since Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme* i, mentions the mosaics, a few must still have been visible in his time, that is to say, in the 17th century). The iconostasis between the priests and the lay folk was torn down, and the rich decorations of the east wing, the *Bēma*, were stripped. As the ancient Byzantine churches faced Jerusalem, whilst the Ṣalāt had to be performed facing Mecca, the Turks have prayed more towards the south, and not towards the eastern wing of the mosque, ever since the days of the conquest. From the time of Meḥemmed II, the preacher— bearing a wooden sword—ascended the pulpit on Fridays, on every afternoon of Ramaḍān, and on Bayrām festivals (see the article ʿANAZA and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, 84, 87); and there were always two flags by the side of the pulpit. Furthermore, we know that Meḥemmed II erected the mighty buttresses against the south wall, where he also built the first of those high, slim minarets. Selim II erected the two buttresses in the north and the second minaret on the north-east corner. His son, Murād III, was responsible for the other two.

Sultan Murād III undertook thorough repairs of the mosque. In the first place, this meant the correction of minor defects which had come to light as time went on, but he also contributed considerably to the embellishment of the bare chamber. He placed the two huge alabaster urns on the inside near the main entrance; each of which holds 1250 litres; he also donated the two large estrades (*maṣṭaba*). On the right hand one, the Ḳurʾān was recited during most of the day in that chanting intonation which is peculiar to the oriental liturgy of all denominations, whilst the other was meant for the prayer leaders. At great expense, Murād III also gilded the half-moon which crowned the dome. This had a diameter of 50 ells, and had replaced the cross. Thus the Muslim subjects of the Porte could behold the emblem of their faith from as far off as the summit of Bithynian Olympus.

In the second half of the 16th century, the conversion of the churchyard immediately to the south of the mosque into a mausoleum for the sultans was begun. The oldest tomb is that of sultan Selīm II. His son Murād III and his grandson Meḥemmed III are also buried there. Sulṭān Meḥemmed III's 19 brothers, whom he had killed on his accession to the throne, are also entombed here. A few decades later, the dethroned sultan Muṣṭafā I suddenly died, and a suitable grave could not be found immediately; the old baptistry (on the southern side of the narthex), which the Turks had used for oil storage since their conquest, was taken over for the purpose. Later on, the nephew of Muṣṭafā I, Sultan Ibrāhīm, was likewise buried there. Since then, the large oil stores have been kept in the hall and courtyard on the north side of the baptistry.

Sultan Murād IV (1623-1640), whose reign saw a certain measure of general revival, had the bare walls embellished in a memorable way by the great calligrapher Bičaḳdji-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebī, with large gold-lettered quotations from the Ḳurʾān. Some

of these letters, such as *Alif*, are as much as ten ells long. These beautifully painted and often intertwining verses are, however, dwarfed by the clear and boldly drawn names of the first four Caliphs (these are written by Teknedji-zāde Ibrāhīm Efendi, cf. *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i, 4). There is a magnificent *minbar* dating from those days. It is also known that it was Aḥmed III who erected the enclosed raised throne for the ruler, the *maḳṣūra*, on the north side of the main apse. Maḥmūd I (1730-1754) donated the large sultan's loggia on the first floor in the gallery and also a charming fountain and a school (both in the courtyard on the southern side), the large eating-house (*ʿimāret*) in the north, and above all the valuable library in the mosque itself. There is, however, indubitable proof that this last was built on an older foundation already in the mosque. All of this is essentially part of the House of God in the Orient.

From the time of Murād IV, the conqueror of Baghdād, there was a perceptible decline in the maintenance of the mosque, which coincided with the general decline of the empire. In 1847, Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd commissioned the Italian brothers Fossati as architects to renovate the building in order to avoid the threatened collapse of some parts, as well as to give the whole a more dignified appearance. The work took two years. The lime-wash was only left in the places which depicted human forms; apart from this, the walls came back into prominence with the disclosure of their old splendour. The red and yellow striped paint on the outside dates from the restoration. The way in which the sultan showed his veneration for the great deeds of his forbears is somewhat strange: all the minarets were repaired with the exception of that of Meḥemmed II, who had dealt the final and decisive blow against the Byzantine empire. The Italian architects, however, were eventually allowed to make this minaret as high as the others. The eight round tablets inscribed by the calligrapher Muṣṭafa ʿIzzet Efendi were put into Aya Sofya under Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd.

It is fortunate indeed that the mosque has not suffered from earthquakes since the 10th century. It must be admitted that it is largely thanks to the buttresses which the last Byzantines and the Turks put up against three sides of the walls that this gigantic building (standing, as it does, on seismic ground) has served mankind longer than any other building in Europe. The storms which blow from the Balkans or from the sea, on the other hand, seem to be increasingly dangerous to the mosque.

In summer 1906 the Minister of Education ordered thorough repairs in the library building, which was looked after by 5 *Khōdjas* who officiated one day of the week each.

In Ramaḍān, the mosque made an interesting picture when princes and officials assembled for afternoon prayers. At the *tarāwīḥ* prayers (said an hour and a half after sun-down) there was less ceremony. The dome was lit by innumerable lamps which were arranged in a circle. The greatest splendour of all was to be seen during the 27th night or the *Laylat al-Ḳadr* (Turk. *Kadīr gecesi*), in which the Ḳurʾān descended from heaven to earth. The earlier rulers frequently attended the ceremony, but Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II only honoured the mosque with his presence (if at all) in the middle of Ramaḍān, when he came by boat to do honour to the relics of the Prophet in the ancient castle of his ancestors during a short visit (*Yawm-i Ziyāret-i Khīrḳa-i Saʿādet*).

Immediately after the conquest, the Turks took over the many legends which had grown up concerning the origin and the excellence of the church during the last years of Byzantine rule, refurbishing them in Muslim terms. A history of Aya Sofya (library of Aya Sofya, No. 3025) was written very shortly after the victorious entry, by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Gīlānī (in Persian, on a Greek model) at the order of Meḥemmed II. This was later translated into Turkish by Niʿmat Allāh (died 969/1561-2). According to Kâtib Čelebī (ed. Flügel, II, 116) there was a second Persian work written for the same ruler by the astronomer and cosmographer ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḳushdjī [*q.v.*]. This work, however, can apparently no longer be identified. There is another version of the year 888/1483-4, by an anonymous author, which is now in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (MS. Orient. 8°. 821) as an appendix to an Ottoman history (the *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniyya* [Fleischer, *Kat. Dresden*, No. 113; Pertsch, *Türkische Hss. zu Berlin*, no. 231] written three years later) which is more interesting but otherwise similar in thought and sources. According to the *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniyya* the story is that Āṣafiyya, the extremely wealthy wife of the great Ḳonsṭanṭin b. ʿAlāniyya, died very young and ordered in her last testament that a church should be built which should exceed all other buildings of the world in height. An architect is said to have arrived from Firangistan. He is reported to have begun by digging down 40 ells, in order to reach water; then, having built the church with the exception of the dome, he is said to have fled. The building then stood untouched for 10 years, until he returned and put on the dome. It is also stated that the particular marble —otherwise only known by the Dīws (it is actually a "marble metal", *Mermer Maʿdeni*)—was brought from many countries. The "metal" for the four mottled (*ṣomāḳī*) pillars (in fact, of course, they are simply of the hardest marble) is said to have come from Mount Ḳāf, and the large doors are alleged to have been made from planks of Noah's ark and already used by Solomon for his buildings in Jerusalem and Kyzikos (Aydīndjīḳ). The total expenditure is said to have come to 360,000 gold bars (each of 360,000 filori). In the time of the grandson of Constantine the Great, emperor Heraclius (a contemporary and secret follower of the Prophet), the dome is said to have crashed down, but the pious ruler rebuilt it immediately. The *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniya wa Āyā Ṣōfya* of ʿAlī al-ʿArabī Ilyās, who was then in the service of the Grand Vizier ʿAlī the Fat (died 28 June 1565) and was a teacher (Flügel, *Kat. der Kais. Hofbibl. Vienna*, iii, 97), dates from the time of Suleyman the Great. The earliest edition belongs to the year 970/1562-3. Two years later, the author added a few insignificant details to the work and brought it out under a different title (*Tawārīkh-i Binā-yi Āyā Ṣōfya*, in the Bibl. Nationale in Paris, Turkish MSS. Suppl., no. 1546; *Tawārīkh-i Ḳosṭanṭiniya wa Āyā Ṣōfya wa baʿḍ-i Ḥikāyāt*, in Pertsch: *Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts of the Kgl. Bibl. Berlin*, no. 232. Fourmont has a further manuscript, *Cat. cod. man. Bibl. Reg.*, 319, no. 147, I). According to this, Aya Sofya was built under the emperor Ustūniānō by the architect Ignādūs (as also in Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ). Generally speaking, the author of this is more plausible. He also gives far more detail than his predecessor of the 15th century, because he gives various versions. Thus, he must be regarded as the best Turkish authority on the history of their greatest mosque,

although he is utterly unreliable from our point of view.

The contents of the legends which continue to be woven around Aya Sofya change from one epoch to the next. They seem to have their spiritual peak in the 17th century, a time when the Ottomans in general also appear as the greatest despisers of this world. At that time the place was shown on which the Arabic heroes of the first century A.H. were said to have prayed on the occasion of their siege of Constantinople; the place in the centre of the nave, from which Khiḍr supervised the building of the church. In the southern gallery a hollowed stone is pointed out as having been the cradle of Christ. One of the anecdotes which one could still hear told by young theologians in much later years mentioned Ḥusayn-i Tabrīzī and the way in which he is supposed to have got his professorship in the mosque: the mystic (*Ṣūfī*) Sultan Meḥemmed II the Conqueror had held out his hand to him so that he had to kiss the inside (*āyā*), instead of the back of the hand, whereupon he promptly asked for the appointment as *mudīr* of the Aya Sofya. The so-called "Damp Pillar" (*yash direk*) and the "Cold Window" (*so'uk pendjere*) near the *Ḳibla* gained great fame as places of pilgrimage where miracles happened within the holy walls in the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The window was the place where Shaykh Aḳ Shams al-Dīn (whose words had a truly rousing influence on the men of his time, amongst them Meḥemmed the Conqueror himself) first expounded the Ḳur'ān. Until very recently, everyone was still convinced that the blessings brought by the currents of fresh air which entered through this "Cold Window" were of beneficial influence to the depth of theological knowledge.

In 1934, President Kemal Atatürk decreed that Aya Sofya was to cease being a place of Islamic worship, and put it under a museum administration. Subsequently, the lime-wash which had covered the figures in the mosaics was removed, and amongst others the following pictures reappeared in 1936: a beautiful representation of an enthroned Madonna and Child, surrounded by the emperors Constantine (with a model of the town he founded) and Justinian (with a model of the church of St. Sophia) above the southern narthex door; and over the central door, leading from the narthex to the church (the old Emperor's Door), a representation of Christ enthroned, with an emperor (Leo VI? or, more likely, Basil I, cf. A. M. Schneider in *Oriens Christianus* 1935, 75-79) at his feet in adoration; and, finally, a Madonna in the curve of the apse.

Bibliography: Procopius, Agathias, and Paulus Silentiarius are the most trustworthy of the Byzantine sources of the time of Justinian. Of the more recent ones, there are above all: Pierre Gilles, *De topographia Constantinopoleos libri* iv (Lyons, 1561 and repeatedly after that date); idem, *De Bosphoro Thracio libri tres* (Lyons 1561, and repeatedly after that date); Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, Paris 1680; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, i, Pesth 1822; Σκαρλάτος Α. Βυζάντιος, Κωνσταντινούπολις, i, Athens 1851; C. Fossati, *Aya Sophia of Constantinople as recently restored*, London 1852; W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmäler von Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1854; Auguste Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, Paris 1883; J. P. Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, special number of *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters*, Vienna 1897, by Eitelberger von Edelberg and Ilg; W. R. Lethaby and Har. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople; a study of Byzantine building*, London and New York 1894; Heinr. Holtzinger, *Die Sophienkirche und verwandte Bauten der byzantinischen Architektur* (in *Die Baukunst*, edited by R. Borrmann and R. Graul, no. 10, Berlin and Stuttgart 1898); Εὐγένιος Μιχαὴλ Ἀντωνιάδης, Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (in: Βιβλιωθήκη Μαρασλῆ 3 vols., Athens and Leipzig, 1907-1909); Alfons Maria Schneider, *Die Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel*, Berlin n.d. (1938); a Turkish account, giving the inscriptions and a description of the additional buildings in Turkish times: Ḥāfiẓ Hüseyn, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864, i, 3-8; further bibliography in *IA*, ii, 47-55 (Arif Müfid Mansel). On the description of Hārūn b. Yaḥyā see M. Izzedin, *Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance . . .*, in *REI*, 1941-6, 41 ff., where earlier studies are cited; on the Muslim legends see F. Tauer, *Notice sur les versions persanes de la légende de l'édification d'Aya Sofya, in Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul 1953, 487 ff.; idem, *Les Versions persanes de la légende sur la construction d'Aya Sofya, in Byzantinoslavica* xv/1, 1954, 1-20.

Not far from the Great Sophia, there is the Small Āyā Ṣōfya (Küčük Āyā Ṣōfya) near the Djundī square. It was built by Justinian, and was formerly dedicated to Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus. A cupola rose from an octagonal base (which was extended by four apses). The guardian of the ḥarem of Meḥemmed II (Ḳizlar Aghasi) changed it into a mosque, and since then it has been fully equipped for Muslim teaching and worship. The porch, and the five flat cupolas rising from it, are of Turkish origin.

(K. Süssheim-[Fr. Taeschner])

AYA SOLŪK, Ayasulūḳ, Ayasulūgh, Ayatholūgh (from Ἅγιος θεόλογος, i.e., the apostle and evangelist John, who lived and died there). In mediaeval western (Latin) sources, the town is referred to as Altoluogo, today (since 1914) it is known as Selčuk. It is a small town on the western coast of Anatolia, 37° 55′ north, 27° 20′ east, on the site of the Ephesus of antiquity (still referred to as Afṣūs or Ufsūs by Arabic geographers) in the plain which surrounds the mouth of the river Küčük Menderes (the Kaystros of antiquity), at the foot of the Bülbül Daghi (Koressos), and now on the railway between Izmir and Aydin. It is the capital of the *nāḥiye* of Akincilar in the *kaza* of Kuşadasi (*wilāyet* of Izmir). At the end of the 19th century it had 2,793 inhabitants (according to V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 505), in 1935 it had 4,025 (the *kaza* of Kushadasi had 17,819).

In the Middle Ages, Aya Solūk was a town of considerable importance. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited it in 733/1333 (ii, 308 f.), describes it as having 15 gates, and it was an important commercial centre on the banks of the river Kaystros, where gardens and vineyards flourished. The harbour, which had been the source of the town's prosperity, was silted up with deposits from the river Kaystros as early as the Middle Ages. Instead of Ephesus, the harbour of Kushadasi, some 15 kms. to the south-east (referred to as Scala nova in western mediaeval sources) began to flourish; this had 5,442 inhabitants in 1945.

The advance of the Arabs to Ephesus was only a temporary one (182/798). Similarly, the occupation by Turkish troops after the victory of Melāzgerd (1071)—under the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan—came to an end with the victory of the crusaders of the

first Crusade near Dorylaeum (1097). When the Rūm-Saldjūḳ Empire fell into decline, Turkish troops again penetrated western Anatolia as far as the Aegean coast. Under their leader, they founded principalities, and then Ephesus/Aya Solūk came under the principality of Aydln. Here Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met the Aydln-oghlu Khlzlr Beg as the local prince. He was in contact with the Italian Republics, and there was a Venetian and a Genoese consulate in Aya Solūk. In 1391, when Bāyazīd II absorbed the principality of Aydln, Aya Solūk came under Ottoman rule for the first time, but after his defeat, it was returned to the princes of Aydln by Tīmūr in 1402. Under Murād II, Aya Solūk finally became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1425, and henceforth it was a *ḳaḍā* of the *sandjaḳ* of Aydln (*eyālet* of Anadolu, later *wilāyet* of Aydln). The fortress, however, was under the Kaptan Pasha, being a part of the *sandjaḳ* of Ṣughla (Izmir). Aya Solūk gradually fell into decay, and is now little more than a village. This is due in part to the changes at the mouth of the river Kaystros, where the plain is now a fever-infested swamp, and in part to the growth of the neighbouring Kushadasl.

Noteworthy monuments include the ruins of the ancient Ephesus, the remains of the Basilica of St. John, and the imposing Mosque of Aydln-oghlu ʿĪsā Beg I (towards the end of the 14th century)—built on the same plan as the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. At the foot of the fortress hill, the Panaylr Daghl (the ancient Pion), one can see the cave in which the Seven Sleepers are said to have slept. Up on the Bülbül Daghl, there is a small early Christian building, in which the Virgin Mary is said to have lived and died (Panaya Kapulu). In recent times, this has developed into a place of pilgrimage, and the Turkish government has built a road to it.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 155; W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, cf. index; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme* ix, 137 ff.; *Sālnāme* of the *Wilāyet* of Aydln 1324/1908; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 310 ff.; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* iii, 87 ff.; A. Grund, *Vorläufiger Bericht über physiogeographische Untersuchungen im Delta-Gebiet des kleinen Mäander bei Ajasolug (Ephesus)* (*SBAW*), (*SBAW*, Vienna 1906, cxv 241-62, 1757 ff.); Besim Darkot, *Coğrafi araştlrmalari*, i, 39 ff.; *IA*, ii, 56 f. (Besim Darkot); L. Massignon, *Les Fouilles archéologiques d'Éphèse et leur importance réligieuse*, in *Les Mardis de Dar El-Salam*, Cairo 1951, 1 ff., the same (and others), *Les Sept Dormants d'Éphèse ...*, in *REI*, 1954, 59-112, 1955, 93-106, 1957, 1-11.

(Fr. Taeschner)

AYA STEFANOS]see Yeshilköy].

AʿYĀN. Plural of the Arabic ʿ*Ayn* in the sense of 'notable person' and often used to denote the eminent under the caliphate and subsequent Muslim regimes (cf. the celebrated *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*—'Obituaries of Notable Men'—of Ibn Khallikān). Under the Ottoman regime, from having at first denoted merely the most distinguished inhabitants of any district or town-quarter, the term, often used as a singular, acquired a more precise significance, coming, in the eighteenth century, to be applied to those among such persons as then first exercised political influence and were accorded official status. A factor in their rise to such influence was the institution by the Porte, during the 17th century, of *Mālikāne* tax-farms—that is to say of farms leased to holders for life. For many of these were taken up by such local notables, who not only prospered financially thereby, but also came virtually to control the districts to which these tax-farms related. During the Russo-Ottoman war of 1767-1774 it was largely to *aʿyāns* all over the country that the Porte resorted in order to raise funds and recruits for the army; and in due course they were accorded official recognition as the chosen representatives of the people vis-à-vis the government, the provincial *wālīs* furnishing them with documents known as *aʿyānlıḳ buyuruldusu* on payment of a fee called *aʿyāniyye*. In 1779 this right of appointment was transferred from the *wālīs*, who had abused it, to the Grand Vizier; and in 1786 it was decided to abolish *aʿyānlıḳs* altogether. On the outbreak of war again in the following year, however, the Porte, as before, found itself unable to dispense with the aid of these local notables; and in 1790 *aʿyānlıḳs* were duly revived. Many *aʿyāns* in both Rumelia and Anatolia came during the reigns of Selīm III, Muṣṭafā IV, and Maḥmūd II, to play a part in Ottoman affairs very similar to that of the *dere-beyis* [*q.v.*], often defying the Porte for long periods and managing the districts over which they had extended their control in virtual independence, although often providing contingents for the Ottoman army in time of war. Among these the most celebrated were perhaps Pāswān Oghlu [*q.v.*] (who, if not strictly speaking an *aʿyān* himself, was the son of one), the Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pāshā [*q.v.*] (who became one early in his career), and Ismāʿīl Bay of Serez. It was chiefly to breaking the power of the *aʿyāns* (and *dere-beyis*) in the provinces that Maḥmūd II successfully devoted the first half of his reign.

Bibliography: *I.A.* s.v. (article by I. H. Uzunçarşılı); Mouradjea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, 286; Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, x, 87, 116-118, 147, 191, 194, 197, 209, 216; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 11-12; Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj al-Wuḳūʿat*, iii, 74, iv, 35-6, 42, 71-2, 98-9; Aḥmed Rāsim, ʿ*Othmānlı Taʾrīkhi*, iii, 1029, iv, 1663-4, 1714; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, 1, Istanbul 1922, 1654 ff.; A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*; *Ottomans-kaya Imperia v Načale XIX veka*, Moscow 1947, 363-5; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, 2-7; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i, Oxford 1950, index. (H. Bowen)

ĀYĀS, town on the coast of Cilicia, on the western shore of the gulf of Iskenderun, to the east of the mouth of the river Djayhan (Pyramos), 36° 53′ north, 35° 46′ east, capital of the *nāḥiye* of Yumurtalık in the *ḳaḍā* of Ceyhan (*wilāyet* Seyhan/Adana). In antiquity it was known as Aigai (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 385 f.). Italian seamen and merchants in the Middle Ages knew it as Ajazzo or Lajazzo. In 1935 it had 667 inhabitants (the *nāhiye* 11,024) (Pauly-Wissowa, i, 945).

The harbour of Āyās (which at that time formed part of the Christian principality of Little Armenia) only became important in the second half of the 13th century. As a result of the withdrawal of the Franks from the lands of the Crusaders on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and also of the silting up of the harbour of Tarsus, the whole of the trade between the West and the Orient was concentrated in this harbour, which was also connected by good overland routes with Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as with Iran via eastern Anatolia. It was from here that Marco Polo started out on his journey across country through Asia in the year 1271. At the end of the 14th century, the Florentine Pegolotti describes the caravan route to

Tabriz which began here (*La pratica della Mercatura scritta da Francesco Balducci Pegolotti*, vol. iii of *Della Decima e delle altre Gravezze .... de Fiorentini fino al Secolo XVI*, Lisbon and Lucca 1766, 9-11 [critical edition by Allan Evans, Cambridge Mass. 1936, index s.v. Laiazol; cf. W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, index). Āyās was the seat of a Venetian Bailo.

The town was plundered by Muslim armies in 665/1266 and 674/1275, conquered in 722/1322 by the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and rebuilt by the Christians after the peace treaty of 1325; it finally fell into the hands of Egyptian Mamlūks in 748/1347. It then began to decline, and the process was accelerated by the fact that sedimentation broadened the mouth of the river Djayḥān, until the whole area around Āyās became a fever-infested swamp. It is, however, still mentioned in 1400 as the administrative centre of the province of Ḥalab. After the conquest of the Mamlūk Empire by the Ottoman Selīm I (1517), Āyās became a *ḳaḍā* in the *evālet* of Adana. Today, Āyās/Yumurtalık is an impoverished coastal town with a great number of ruins.

Bibliography: Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren), 214; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 248 f.; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿsha*, xii, 169; *Mukhtaṣar S. al-Aʿsha*, Cairo 1906, i, 297; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xix, l.c., 115, 126; W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels* ii, 79 ff.; F. X. Schaffer, *Cilicia*, (*Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft* 141), 97; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 603; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 729 f.; *Sālnāme* of the *Wilāyet* of Adana, 12th year, 1319/1903; V. Cuinet. *La Turquie d'Asie* ii, 107 f.; *IA*, ii, 42 f. (Besim Darkot).

(Fr. Taeschner)

AYĀS PASHA (886-7?-946/1482?-1539), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Ayās Pasha was an Albanian born in the region of Cimera (Himara) not far from Valona (ʿĀlī; Bragadino (9 June 1526); Geuffroy). According to Bragadino, Ayās Pasha was 44 years old in 932/1526, had three brothers ("tre fradelli": not, as in Hammer, "tre fratelli monachi") and sent each month 100 ducats to his mother, "christiana monacha a la Valona". The inscription on the gravestone of Ayās Pasha at Istanbul refers to him as Ayās b. Meḥmed. Recruited through the *devshirme* in the reign of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512), Ayās Pasha went out from the Palace with the rank of *agha* (ʿĀlī). He fought at the battle of Čaldirān (920/1514) as Agha of the Janissaries (Shukrī; Ewliyā Čelebī) and also in the war (921/1515) against ʿAlā' al-Dawla, prince of Albistān (Ewliyā Čelebī). Holding the same office, he served throughout the Syrian and Egyptian campaigns 922/3 1516-1517) of Selīm I and, according to one version of the events, had a considerable share in the ultimate defeat and capture of Ṭūmān Bāy, the last Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt (Suhaylī). At the time when Sulṭān Sulaymān ascended the throne (September 1520) Ayās Pasha seems to have been Beglerbeg of Anatolia, a new Agha of the Janissaries having been appointed in 925/1519 (Muṣṭafā Čelebī; Ṣolāḳ-zāde).

After helping to crush the revolt of Djānberdi al-Ghazālī in Syria (1520-1521) (Suhaylī), Ayās Pasha became governor of Damascus, an appointment that he held from Rabīʿ II 927 to Muḥarram 928/ March-December 1521 (Laoust; Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī; Ibn Iyās). He fought, as Beglerbeg of Rumeli, at the siege of Rhodes (928/1522) (Muṣṭafā Čelebī; Ferīdūn) and, rising thereafter to the rank of third and, later, of second vizier, served in the campaigns of Mohács (932/1526), Vienna (935/1529), Güns (938/1532) and ʿIraḳ (941-2/1534-1535) (Muṣṭafā Čelebī; Ferīdūn; Pečewī; Ṣolāḳ-zāde; Kemāl Pashazāde). On the death of Ibrāhīm Pasha (22 Ramaḍān 942/15 March 1536) Ayās Pasha became Grand Vizier and retained this rank until his own death in 946/1539. The main events which occurred during his tenure of the office were the war against Venice (944-7/1537-1540), the Austrian raid on Eszék (944/1537), the Moldavian campaign (945/1538) and the expedition of Sulaymān Pasha, governor of Egypt, against Diu in India (945-6/1538-1539). In the course of the Corfu campaign (944/1537) Ayās Pasha brought under Ottoman control the Albanians settled in the neighbourhood of Valona, a new *sanjaḳ* of Delwīne being now created in this region (Muṣṭafā Čelebī; ʿĀlī; Pečewī). Ayās Pasha died on 26 Ṣafar 946/13 July 1539. In the eyes of his contemporaries he had the reputation of being an illiterate man endowed with no great political talent (ʿĀlī; Bragadino; Gévay). Of his daughters one was married to Güzeldje Rustem Pasha, who became Beglerbeg of Buda (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*), while another (or perhaps the same?) daughter is mentioned as having married the *sandjaḳ beg* of Silistria (Gévay). A brother of Ayās Pasha, Aḥmed, was governor of Ḳaramān and, later, of Damascus, according to the information given in Ibn Ṭūlūn (Laoust).

Bibliography: Djalāl-zāde Muṣṭafā Čelebī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mamālik ....* (Brit. Mus. Ms. Add. 7855), 31r, 65v, 73v, 158r, 211v; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār* (unpublished section: Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 32), 81v, 187v-188r; Shukrī, *Selīm-nāme* (Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 1039), 93v; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Siyāḥatnāme* (Istanbul 1314 A.H.-1938), i. 416, 443, iii. 175, vi. 135, ix. 388, x. 676; Suhaylī, *Ta'rīkh-i Miṣr al-Djadīd* (Istanbul 1142), 28v, 39r, 42r, 50r-51v; Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, Istanbul 1283. 20-21, 132 (Muṣṭafā Pasha as second vizier: 935 A.H.), 153 (Ayās Pasha as second vizier: 936 A.H.), 196; Ṣolāḳ-zāde, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1297, 414, 475, 489; Kemāl Pashazāde, *Histoire de la Campagne de Mohácz*, ed. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1859, 158; Ferīdūn, *Munsha'āt al-Salāṭīn*[2], i, Istanbul 1274. 533, 547, 570, 577, 592; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ al-Ẓuhūr ....*, ed. P. Kahle and M. Muṣṭafā, v, Istanbul 1932. 386, 388, 394, 426; Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira ....*, ed. Djibrā'īl S. Djabbūr (Or. Ser., no. 20, Amer. Univ. of Beirut), ii (1949), 125-126; H. Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas ....* (658-1156/1260-1744): *Traduction des Annales d'Ibn Ṭūlūn et d'Ibn Gumʿa*, Damascus 1952, 159-160, 167, 174, 183; *Relazione di Piero Bragadino*, in M. Sanuto, *Diarii*, xli, Venice 1894. 528 (reproduced in E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. 3, iii. 104-105. Cf. also *ibid.*, iii. 96); A. Geuffroy, *Briefve Description de la Court du Grant Turc*, in J. Chesneau, *Le Voyage de M. d'Aramon*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, Append. XI, 238; A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke ....* ii, Vienna 1838-1841: Gesandtschaft (1534), 53, 111 and Gesandtschaft (1536), 115-116 (letter of Ayās Pasha (1536) to Ferdinand of Austria); ʿOthmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 26-27; Köprülü-zāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Luṭfī Pasha*, in *Türkiyāt Mejmūʿasī*, i, Istanbul 1925. 125, note 1 (on the date of Ayās Pasha's death); I. H. Uzunçarsili, *Osmanli devleti zamaninda .... bazi mühürler hakkinda bir tetkik*, in *Bell.*, iv, no. 16 (1940), 506 and plate XC, no. 3 (seal of Ayās Pasha) and *Tuğra ve Pençeler ile ferman ....*, in *Bell.*, v, no. 17/18 (1941), 137 and plate XXXVI,

no. 26 (*penče* of Ayās Pas͟ha); M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livasi*, Istanbul 1952, 75, 81; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik* ...., Budapest 1926: Documents, 3-5 and Plate I (letter of Ayās Pas͟ha (1536): the same document as in Gévay); Hammer-Purgstall, iii (1828), 52, 211, 629, 647, 652, 685, 686; *Sid͟jill-i ʿOthmānī*, i. 446-447; *Arşiv Kilavuzu*, fasc. I, Istanbul 1938, 48; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iii, s.v. Ayas Paşa Türbesi (the inscription on the gravestone of Ayās Pas͟ha); *IA*, ii (1949), s.v. Ayas Paşa (M. Cavid Baysun).

(V. J. Parry)

ĀYĀT [see Āya].

AYĀZ, Abu 'l-Nad͟jm, favourite slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of G͟haznīn. Details of the life of the historical Ayāz are difficult to discover, but he was a Turkomān and, if the tradition utilised by D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, iv, 887, is accepted, of humble origin also. The *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī* reports Maḥmūd's successor Masʿūd as describing Ayāz as his father's 'sneeze' and as unsuitable for appointment to the governorship of Ray because of his lack of experience of life outside the court. His death is recorded by Ibn al-At͟hīr under 449/1057-8. According to the *Čahār Maḳāla*, Ayāz was not remarkably handsome but possessed a sweet expression and olive complexion, and was greatly endowed with the arts of pleasing, in which respect he had few rivals in his time. This tradition is also found in Saʿdī.

In Persian literature Ayāz appears as a symbolical figure under many guises. In the *Gulistān* and *Bustān* of Saʿdī he appears as a symbol of true love, in the *Mat͟hnawī* of D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī he figures as a type of the Perfect Man, in ʿAwfī's *D͟jawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt* as a model of loyalty and sagacity and as a fit brother-in-law to Maḥmūd. In the *Čahār Maḳāla* the cutting off of Ayāz's locks in a fit of passion by Maḥmūd is made the occasion of a display of poetical skill by ʿUnṣurī; in the *Tad͟hkirat al-Awliyā* an unsuccessful attempt by Maḥmūd to pass off Ayāz as sultan before S͟hayk͟h Abu'l-Ḥasan K͟hurḳānī is used as proof of that saint's sagacity. In his *Maḥmūd u Ayāz*, Zulālī has woven romance around the relationship of the sulṭān and his catamite.

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(P. Hardy)

AYĀZ, the Amīr, lord of Hamad͟hān, played an important rôle in the struggles for the throne between the rival Sald͟jūḳ princes Barkiyāruḳ and Muḥammad I. After having first taken the side of the latter, in 494/1100 he went over to the side of Barkiyāruḳ, and, after the latter's death, became the Atabeg of his son Maliks͟hāh, who was a minor. He could not, however, hold his own against Muḥammad, and was treacherously murdered by him in 499/1105.

Bibliography: Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 199 ff.; Houtsma, *Receuil*, ii, 90; see also Barkiyāruḳ and Muḥammad b. Maliks͟hāh.

(Ed.)

AYBAK (Turkish pronunciation Aybeg), properly called ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Manṣūr Aybak (Aybeg) al-Muʿaẓẓamī (as a *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam) S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿĪsā, who was first (597-615/1200-1218) governor of Damascus and then (615-624/1218-1227) sultan of the empire of Damascus after the death of his father al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. In 608/1211-2, Aybeg received the town of Ṣalk͟had in the Ḥawrān and the adjacent lands as a fief and was appointed major-domo (*ustād͟h-dār*). When al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd succeeded his father on the throne of Damascus, Aybeg even became regent of Damascus and had the entire political administration in his hands. Shortly afterwards, however, al-Malik al-As͟hraf, Dāwūd's uncle, took possession of Damascus; Aybeg was deprived of the office of regent, but retained his fiefs in the Ḥawrān. In 636/1238-9, he was still called "Lord of Ṣalk͟had and of Zurʿa". He was subsequently suspected of treason and lost his political standing; he died in Cairo in 646/1248-9. His remains were taken to Damascus and placed in the mausoleum built for him. The districts dependent on Aybeg were indebted to him for buildings of various types which he undertook. He erected three Ḥanafī academies at Damascus and one in Jerusalem. As major-domo, it fell to him especially to attend to the building of k͟hāns: as governor of Ṣalk͟had, he sought to render flourishing that part of the trade route from Northern Arabia and from Babylonia to Damascus which crossed his territories; he built the desert fortress, Ḳalʿat al-Azraḳ and repaired the great reservoir (*matk͟h*; elsewhere *birka*) at ʿInāk and had a great *k͟hān* set up at Sāla. His zeal for building communicated itself to his subordinates, especially to his *mamlūk* ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar. Among the buildings which he erected in his fiefs, the following are especially worthy of mention; a *k͟hān* at Ṣalk͟had (611/1214-5); a tower in the fortress of Ṣalk͟had (617/1220-1); arcades and a tower (minaret) in the mosque of Ṣalk͟had (630/1232-3); a fort in the Ḳalʿat al-Azraḳ (634/1236-7); a *k͟hān* at Zurʿa (636/1238); a reservoir at ʿInāk (636-637/1238-1240); a mosque at al-ʿĀyin (638/1240-1). The mosque and *k͟hān* of Sāla must have been built about 630/1232-3. The exact date cannot be established because of the fragmentary state of the inscriptions. S͟haraf al-Dīn ʿĪsā and his *mamlūk* Aybeg are both known at the time of the Crusades.

Bibliography: Ibn K͟hallikān, see under *al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā*; van Berchem, in *ZDPV*, xvi, 84 ff.; E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 204 ff.; Dussaud and Macler, *Missions dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, 326 ff., 336 ff.

(E. Littmann)

AYBAK ḲUṬB AL-DĪN [see Delhi, Sultanate of]

ʿAYDARŪS (ʿEdrūs, often misunderstood as Idrīs; etymology obscure, cf. S͟hillī, *Mas͟hraʿ*, ii, 152) a family of learned *sayyids* and *ṣūfīs* in South Arabia, India and Indonesia, belonging to the Saḳḳāf branch of the Bā ʿAlawī [*q.v.*] and still playing an important rôle in Ḥaḍramawt. Wüstenfeld (*Çufiten*, 29 ff.) quotes from al-Muḥibbī the details on more than thirty members of the family down to the 11/17th century. In the 19th century there

were in Ḥaḍramawt five ʿAydarūs *manṣabs*, at Ḥazm, Bawr, Ṣalīla, Thibī and Ramla. Among the numerous members of the clan, known for its literary activity, are:

1. The ancestor, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr (al-Sakrān) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saḳḳāf (811-865/1408-1461) of Tarīm, who was called by his father al-ʿAydarūs. He received the *khirḳa* from his uncle ʿUmar al-Miḥḍār and succeeded him at his death (833/1430) as *naḳīb* (*manṣab*) of the Bā ʿAlawī. By that time he had already won a reputation for piety by means of severe asceticism. He taught *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, but had a predilection for the mystics (al-Ghazzālī). Writings: (a) *al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar*; (b) *Manāḳib* of his *shaykh* Saʿd b. ʿAlī (i.e. al-Suwaynī Bā Madhidj, d. 857/1453); (c) *Rasāʾil*. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣāḥib al-Ḥamrāʾ wrote his biography: *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān* etc. See Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, v, 16 (without *laḳab*!); *Mashraʿ*, ii, 152 ff.; Wüst., *Çufiten* 5, 29; Brockelmann, S II, 566.

2. His son, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs, Fakhr al-Dīn (b. 851/1447 in Tarīm, d. 914/1508 in ʿAdan), the patron saint of ʿAdan, where he spent his last 25 years and won great fame for piety and hospitality. He was initiated into Ṣūfism by Saʿd b. ʿAlī Bā Madhidj (cf. above) and others. Among his disciples were Ḥusayn b. Ṣiddīḳ al-Ahdal [*q.v.*], Djār Allāh b. Fahd and Muḥ. b. ʿUmar Baḥraḳ (d. 930/1524) who wrote *Mawāhib al-Ḳuddūs f Manāḳib Ibn al-ʿAydarūs*. Writings: (a) *al-Djuzʾ al-Laṭīf fī ʿIlm al-Taḥkīm al-Sharīf* (on Ṣūfism) cf. Serjeant, *Mat.*, 581; (b) three litanies (*awrād*); (c) *Dīwān* (a *muwashshaḥ* was commented upon by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, below, no. 4). His mausoleum, built by the *amīr* Murdjān, who also was buried there in 927/1521, and his mosque are in the Aden Crater, where the *ziyāra* of the saint is celebrated on the 15th Rabīʿ II. Al-Ghazzī in his chronicle (see below) has the curious tradition, taken over by Ibn al-ʿImād, of Ibn al-ʿAydarūs having introduced the habit of drinking coffee into Arabia. The *nisba* al-Shādhilī is perhaps due to some sort of confusion with the famous *shaykh* of Makhāʾ (Mokha) ʿAlī b. ʿUmar (d. 821/1418), cf. KAHWA. The non-ascetic attitude of Ibn al-ʿAydarūs is in harmony with a trend of the Shādhiliyya, but the ʿAydarūsiyya is reckoned as a branch not of this order, but of the Kubrāwiyya (see TARĪḲA). See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 39 f. (s.a. 909! an error of the compilator, repeated in Brock.), 62 ff.; Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, i, 113 f.; *Nūr*, 81 ff.; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 34 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 105 ff.; Brockelmann II, 181, S II, 233.

3. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh (no. 1), b. 919/1513 in Tarīm, d. 990/1582 in Aḥmadābād (Gudjarāt). After studies in Mecca, Zabīd and Shiḥr he removed to India, where he had many disciples and entered the service of the vizier ʿImād al-Dīn. Writings: (a) *al-ʿIḳd al-Nabawī wa ʾl-Sirr al-Muṣṭafawī*; (b) *al-Fawz wa ʾl-Bushrā*; (c) *Tuḥfat al-Murīd* (*ḳaṣīda*) with commentaries: *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Tawḥīd* and *Sirādj al-Tawḥīd* (cf. Brockelmann); (d) *Dīwān*. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Baskarī wrote *Nuzhat al-Ikhwān wa ʾl-Nufūs fī Manāḳib Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs*. See *Nūr*, 372 ff.; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 119 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 171 ff.

4. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Shaykh (no. 3) al-Hindī, Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn (978-1038/1570-1628) of Aḥmadābād, Ṣūfī scholar, author of numerous works on mysticism and biography. He was initiated into Ṣūfism by his brother ʿAbd Allāh (945-1019) and Ḥātim al-Ahdal [*q.v.*], in whose memory he wrote *al-Zahr* (*al-Durr*) *al-Bāsim min Rawḍ al-Ustādh Ḥātim*. He made wide travels for the sake of study and collecting books. Among his disciples was Aḥmad Bā Djābir al-Ḥaḍramī, on whose premature death in 1001 he wrote *Ṣadḳ al-Wafāʾ bi-Ḥaḳḳ al-Ikhāʾ*. On his father's mystic ode *Tuḥfat al-Murīd* he wrote the commentary *Bughyat al-Mustafīd*. Other works: (a) *al-Futūḥāt al-Ḳuddūsiyya fī ʾl-Khirḳa al-ʿAydarūsiyya*; (b) *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* etc. (see below); (c) *Taʿrīf al-Aḥyāʾ bi-Faḍāʾil al-Iḥyāʾ* (Cairo 1311, in the margin of *Itḥāf al-Sāda* by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī). For further details see *Nūr* 334-343 (autobiogr.); *Mashraʿ*, ii, 148 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 31 ff.; Brockelmann ii, 418 f., S II, 617; Sarkis 1399 f.

5. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh (no. 3), b. 993/1585 in Tarīm, d. 1041/1631 in Dawlatābād. After studies in his native town, in Yaman and Ḥidjāz he sailed for India in 1025, visited his uncle ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Aḥmadābād and was taught by him. From there he went to Deccan and was favourably received by Sulṭān Burhān Niẓām Shāh and his Grand Vizier, Malik ʿAnbar (Ambar). After a rupture he entered the service of Ibrāhīm II ʿĀdil Shāh at Bīdjāpūr. He held a privileged position with this sultan, whom he had cured from a disease. After the death of ʿĀdil Shāh he returned to Dawlatābād and was in high favour with the vizier Fatḥ Khān, the son of ʿAnbar. He wrote a book on Ṣūfism called *al-Silsila* but it fell into oblivion. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 117 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.*, 39 f.

6. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh (no. 5), b. 1017 (?)/1608 in Tarīm, d. 1073/1662 in Shiḥr. He was educated by his uncle ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no. 7) and his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saḳḳāf, whom he succeeded in the dignity of a *manṣab*. After two visits to Mecca and Medina he went to India, visited his cousin Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (no. 8) in Sūrat, a disciple of his father, the Grand vizier Ḥabash Khān, and Sultan Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm Shāh at Bīdjāpūr. Back in Arabia he spent his last years in the seaport of Shiḥr, where his grave and mosque are venerated and visited by pilgrims. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 177 f.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 40 f.; Berg, *Hadhramout*, 85, 94.

7. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaykh (no. 3), called Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn (984-1041/1577-1632) of Tarīm. He had many disciples, and won great influence at the court of the Kathīrī sultan. His literary production is restricted to a collection of *Rasāʾil*, among them one sent to the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim in answer to his claim for obedience from the people of Ḥaḍramawt. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 221 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 58.

8. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no. 7), b. 997/1589 in Tarīm, d. 1064/1654 in Sūrat. Having finished his studies in Arabia he migrated to the Deccan in India, where he had a hight position a the court of the Grand Vizier Malik ʿAnbar. During his stay there he learnt Persian and translated *al-ʿIḳd al-Nabawī* (above, no. 3) into that language. After the fall of Fatḥ Khān in 1038 he continued his literary activity at Sūrat. He translated the Persian work of Dārā Shikūh (ca. 1065/1655) into Arabic with the title *Tuḥfat al-Aṣfiyāʾ bi-Tardjamat Safīnat al-Awliyāʾ*. See *Mashraʿ*, ii, 85 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 214 and (enlarged) ii, 9 ff.; Wüst., *Çuf.* 37 f; Brockelmann, S II, 619.

9 Djaʿfar b Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no 7), b. 1084/1673 in Tarīm, d. 1142/1729 in Sūrat. In 1105 he left his home and sailed from Shiḥr to India, where he witnessed the conquest of Sūrat by Bahādur Shāh, and found favour with the sultan. Writings: (a) *Kashf al-Wahm ʿan mā Ghamaḍa min al-Fahm*; (b) *Miʿrādj al-Ḥaḳīḳa*; (c) *al-Fatḥ al-*

Ḳuddūsī fi 'l-Naẓm al-ʿAydarūsī (comm. on a *muwashshaḥ* of Abū Bakr, no. 2); (d) *ʿArḍ al-La'ālī* (on a *ḳaṣīda* by ʿUmar Bā Makhrama, [*q.v.*]); (e) *Dīwān*. See al-Saḳḳāf, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 78 ff.

10. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā b. Shaykh b. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (no. 7), b. 1135/1723 in Tarīm, d. 1192/1778 in Cairo, the most extensive traveller and most productive writer among the Bā ʿAlawī. Having spent the years 1151-1155 in India (Sūrat, Bharūč) he returned to Arabia, stayed for some time in Ṭā'if, then settled in Cairo (1174). After a visit to Damascus (1182) he returned to Egypt. The long series of his travels in the Near East was concluded by a visit to Istanbul in the year before his death. He had numerous disciples from all parts of the Islamic world, among them Sulaymān al-Ahdal, his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī [*q.v.*], who wrote *al-Nafaḥāt al-ḳuddūsiyya* (cf. Brock.) on the principles of the *ṭarīḳa*. His literary production comprises more than sixty works, the titles of which are given by al-Saḳḳāf and Brockelmann. Only two collections of poetry have so far been published: (a) *Tarwīḥ al-Bāl wa-Tahwīdj al-Balbāl*, Būlāḳ 1283; (b) *Dīwān* (1304) in three parts: *Tanmīḳ al-Asfār*, *T. al-Safar* and *Dhayl*. Among the remaining titles the following categories can be distinguished: (a) treatises on Ṣūfism, *e.g. Mir'āt al-Shumūs* (on the ʿAydarūsiyya), *al-Irshādāt al-Saniyya* (on the Naḳshbandiyya), *al-Nafḥat al-ʿAliyya* (on the Ḳādiriyya); (b) commentaries, *e.g. al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn* (on a *muwashshaḥ* by Abū Bakr, no. 2, with the supercommentaries *Tashnīf al-Ku'ūs min Ḥumayyā Ibn al-ʿAydarūs* and *Tarwīḥ al-Humūs min Fayḍ Tashnīf al-Ku'ūs*), *Sharḥ al-Raḥmān bi-Sharḥ Ṣalāt Abī Fityān* (i.e. al-Badawī, cf. Brockelmann I, 450) and a comm. on a poem by ʿUmar Bā Makhrama [*q.v.*]; (c) *manāḳib* works, e.g. *Ḥadīḳat al-Ṣafā'* (on ʿAbd Allāh al-Bāhir b. Muṣṭafā), *Tanmīḳ al-Ṭurūs* (on Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh, no. 3). *Tashnīf al-Samʿ bi-baʿḍ Laṭā'if al-Waḍʿ*, listed by al-Saḳḳāf among his works, is accord. to Brockelmann, S III, 1290 a comm. on his *Risāla fī 'l-Waḍʿ* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Udjhūrī, who also commentated *al-Istighātha al-ʿAydarūsiyya*. In his poetry this author also used the special Ḥaḍramī form called *ḥumaynī* (see Serjeant, *Poetry* 5). His grave with a monument is in an open place close to the mausoleum of Zaynab bint Fāṭima in Cairo. His biography (*manāḳib*) was written by his son Muṣṭafā with the title *Fatḥ al-Ḳuddūs*. See Murādī, *Silk al-Durar*, ii, 328; Djabartī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-Athār*, ii, 27-34; ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, v, 11-14; al-Saḳḳāf, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 183-214; Sarkis, 1398 f.; Brockelmann, II, 352, S II, 478 f.

11. Ḥusayn b. Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs (d. 1798 in Batavia), Indonesian saint. His grave and big mosque at Luar Batang constitute one of the most frequented goals of pilgrimage in the Indian Archipelago.

On the ʿAydarūs dynasty of Kubu (Borneo), founded ca. 1770 by a *sayyid* of that name, see Berg, *Ḥadhramout*, 202; cf. ʿAWLAḲĪ (Lower).

ʿAydarūs as an individual name is rather common; the Ḥaḍramī *sayyid* ʿAydarūs b. ʿUmar b. ʿAydarūs al-Ḥabshī (d. 1314/1895 in al-Ghurfa) wrote *ʿIḳd al-Yawāḳīt al-Djawhariyya fī Dhikr Ṭarīḳat al-Sāda al-ʿAlawiyya* (Sarkis, 1399; Brockelmann, S II, 812).

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Çufiten in Süd-Arabien im XI. (XVIII.) Jahrhundert*, 1883 (from Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*); al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira bi-(Manāḳib) Aʿyān al-Mi'a al-ʿĀshira*, ed. Dj. S. Djabbur, 1 et 2, Beirut 1945-49; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Shaykh al-ʿAydarūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir ʿan Akhbār al-Ḳarn al-ʿĀshir*, Baghdād 1353; Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Shillī, *al-Mashraʿ al-Rawī fī Manāḳib (al-Sāda al-Kirām) Banī (āl Abī) ʿAlawī*, 1-2 (1319); ʿAbd Allāh al-Saḳḳāf, *Ta'rīkh al-Shuʿarā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, (1353/6); L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies Arabes dans l'archipel Indien* (1886); R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for South Arabian history*, in *BSOAS*, 1950, 281-307, 581-601; idem, *South Arabian Poetry*, I: *Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt* (1951). (O. LÖFGREN)

ʿAYDHĀB, harbour on the African coast of the Red Sea, the ruins of which still exist on a flat and waterless mound 12 miles N. of Ḥalayb, at 22° 20′ N., 36° 29′ 32″ E. It is mentioned already in the 3rd/9th century as a port used by pilgrims to Mecca and merchants from al-Yaman (Yaʿḳūbī 335; cf. *BGA* iii, 78), and was linked to the Nile valley by caravan roads from Aswān (15 days) and Ḳūṣ (17 days). Originally a small village of huts, it grew in importance from the 5th/11th century in consequence of increasing Egyptian commerce with al-Yaman, and was especially flourishing in the period of the Kārimī merchants, when it is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 109-11) in 725-1325 as a large town. The local population was formed mainly of Muslim Budjāh (Bejas), whose ruling family, called by the Arabic name of al-Ḥadrabī (or Ḥadrubī) frequently clashed with the Egyptian representatives over their share in the control and revenues of the port. It was destroyed during the reign of the Mamlūk sultan Barsbay (825-42/1422-38), allegedly in retaliation for the pillage of a caravan proceeding to Mecca, and its place was taken by Sawākin [*q.v.*].

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

AYDIN, also known as Güzel Ḥiṣār ("Beautiful Fortress"), formerly Tralleis, a town in western Anatolia 60-80 m. above sea level, 37° 50′ north, 27° 48′ east. It lies at the foot of the Gevizli Daghī (Messogis), which forms the northern boundary of the valley of the Büyük Menderes (in antiquity the Maeander), on the little river Tabak Çay (formerly Eudon) which flows thence to the Menderes. It is surrounded by fields and gardens, and the railway line from Izmir (via Dinar) to Afyon Ḳaraḥiṣār passes through it. It is the capital of the *wilāyet* of the same name and has 18,504 inhabitants (1945; at the end of the last century there were, according to Cuinet, 36,250 inhabitants with a strong Greek minority); the *vilâyet* (with 294.407 inhabitants) consists of the following *kazās*: Aydln (105,155 inhabitants), Bozdoğan, Çine, Karacasu, Nazilli and Söke.

Tralleis was occupied by the Turks for the first time after the victory of the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslan over the Emperor Romanus IV at Malāzgerd in 1071. It was surrendered, however, after the crusaders' victory at Dorylaeum in 1098. It was occupied by the Turks for the second time—together with the Maeander valley—in 1176, after Sulṭān Ḳilič-Arslan II's victory over the Emperor Manuel; the Emperor succeeded in winning it back before long. The *sāḥil begi* Amīr Menteshe brought it finally under Turkish rule in 1280, in the time of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw III, and henceforth it became known as Güzel Ḥiṣâr. In 1310, another

Turkish prince took possession of the town, Aydîn-og̲h̲lu Meḥmed Beg, whose family name was henceforth added to that of the town; the actual capital of the principality of Aydîn was, however, generally Birgi. The Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I absorbed the principality of Aydîn, but Tīmūr re-established it. In 806/1403 both town and principality finally came into Ottoman possession, and from then on formed a *sand̲j̲aḳ* of their own (with Tire as capital) within the *eyālet* of Anadolu. In the 18th century, the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Aydîn and the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Saruhan together formed the hereditary governorship of the family of the Kara-ʿUt̲h̲mān-og̲h̲ullarî; it was not until 1249/1833 that Maḥmūd II brought it again under the direct administration of the Porte, when it again became a *wilāyet* in its own right. In 1850, however, it was brought under the *wilāyet* of Izmir as a *sand̲j̲aḳ*. Kemal Atatürk re-instituted it as a *wilāyet* in 1924. In the war between Turkey and Greece, the town of Aydin was burnt down on 7th September 1922.

Historical buildings of the town are the Uways D̲j̲āmiʿ (before 998/1589), Ramaḍān Pas̲h̲a D̲j̲āmiʿ (1000/1594-95), Süleymān Bey D̲j̲āmiʿ (1005/1683) and D̲j̲ihānzāde D̲j̲āmiʿ (built in 1170/1756 by D̲j̲ihānzāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi).

Bibliography: A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, ii, 78 ff.; E. Chaput, *Voyages d'Etudes géologiques et géomorphogéniques en Turquie*, 214-8; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 279 ff.; E. Banse, *Die Türkei*, 139 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iii, 591 ff.; W. J. Hamilton, *Recherches in Asia Minor* i, 535; W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, see index; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle* ix, 634; R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in South-western Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931; *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Münec̲c̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲î* iii, 32; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *D̲j̲ihān-nümā*, 636-8; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 150-9; *Sālnāme* of the *wilāyet* of Aydîn 1326/1908; *IA*, ii, 61 f. (Besim Darkot).

(Fr. Taeschner)

AYDÎN-OG̲H̲LU, a Turkomān dynasty which reigned from 708 to 829 (1308 to 1425) over the emirate of the same name. Aydîn-og̲h̲lu Meḥmed Beg (708-734/1308-1334), *ṣubas̲h̲î* of the emir of Germiyān, separated from him in the early years of the 8th/14th century and started to make war on his own account, associating himself with Sasa Beg, son-in-law of the emir of Mentes̲h̲e. After having conquered Birgi, Ayaṣoluḳ and Keles, Sasa turned against his former ally and was defeated and put to death by him in 708/1308. Meḥmed Beg added to his conquests those of the acropolis of Izmir, Tyre, Sulṭān-Ḥiṣārî and Bodemya. His son Umūr Beg (734-748/1334-1348) added to the glory of the dynasty by his victories which were celebrated in a *destān*. He took possession of the fortress of the port of Izmir, held by the Genoese Martin Zaccaria, and organised a fleet, with which he proceeded to lay waste the islands of the Archipelago, even extending his incursions into Greece. On the death of Andronicus III, John VI Cantacuzenus, who a few years previously had succeeded in winning the emir's friendship, appealed to him for help in his war against the supporters of the rightful heir, John V Paleologus. Umūr Beg proceeded to Rumelia in 743/1342, 744/1343 and 745/1345 and helped Cantacuzenus to subdue Thrace. But whilst he was engaged in making his contribution to the triumph of his friend, Pope Clement VI preached a Crusade against him, in which Venice, Genoa, the King of Cyprus, the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes and the Duke of Naxos participated and which culminated in the taking of the fortress of the port of Izmir in October 1344. Shortly afterwards, the leaders of the Crusade perished in a fight against the emir, who also, in 746/1346, repulsed the Crusade of the Dauphin, Humbert II le Viennois. Umūr, however, was killed in the spring of 1348 whilst attempting to retake the fortress of Izmir. The immediate result of his death was the treaty of 18 August 1348 which gave the Latins great advantages. During the reigns of his brothers, K̲h̲iḍr 748-760/1348-1460) and ʿĪsa (760-791/1360-90), the emirate lost its importance and was finally annexed by Bāyazīd I, who in 1390 ratified the treaty of commerce of 1348, to the Venetians' advantage. In 1402, after the battle of Ankara, Tīmūr restored their principality to ʿĪsa's two sons, Mūsā and Umūr II. After the death of these princes, the power passed to their cousin D̲j̲üneyd (808-828/1405-25), the son of Ibrāhîm Bahādur b. Meḥmed, well known for his intrigues against the Ottomans. He supported the claims of Düzmed̲j̲e Muṣṭafā and his son, but was defeated by Murād II and took refuge in the fort of Ipsili, from whence he sought unsuccessfully to obtain the assistance of Ḳaramān-og̲h̲lu and of Venice. He was besieged by the Sulṭān, taken prisoner and executed together with all the members of his family in 829/1425-6. This was the end of the Aydîn-og̲h̲lu, and the emirate was finally annexed by the Ottomans.

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AL-**AYKA** [see Madyan].

AYLA, seaport at the north end of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, now succeeded by al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*].

Nelson Glueck, who excavated the site of Biblical Ezion-geber (Tall al-K̲h̲ulayfa) near the shore of the Red Sea about three kilometres north-west of al-ʿAḳaba, has concluded that the original sites of Biblical Ezion-geber and Elath (the predecessor of Ayla) are identical. The Biblical narrative sometimes distinguishes the two (Deut., ii, 8, I Kings, ix, 26, II Chron., viii, 17), while at other time it gives the impression that they were one (II Kings, xiv, 22, 16: 6). The Old Testament name Elat̲h̲, of doubtful etymology, is the ancestor of the Arabic Ayla.

Judaean control of Elath-Ezion-geber, established since the time of Solomon, was finally lost to the Edomites in the reign of Ahaz (735-15 B.C.), and the site remained occupied until the 4th century B.C. In the following century the town was transferred, probably by the Nabataeans, a short distance to the south-east, where it was situated at the time of the Islamic conquest.

During the Ptolemaic period (when it was known for a time as Berenike), Ayla continued as a port for trade with Arabia and Ethiopia. Under Roman rule it was garrisoned by the 10th Legio Fretensis and constituted the southern terminus of the road built by Trajan (A.D. 98-117) to connect the port with the important commercial centre of Bostra (Buṣrā) in Syria. Already in A.D. 325 Ayla was the seat of a bishopric and four capitals of its Byzantine church were to be seen in the courtyard of the customs house at al-ʿAḳaba in 1940. Just prior to Islam, Ayla lay in the territory controlled by the G̲h̲assānid phylarchs on behalf of Byzantium.

Ayla first makes its appearance in the Islamic

period in the year 9/630-1, when the town under its bishop Yuḥanna b. Ru'ba made peaceful submission to the Prophet during his Tabūk campaign. Under Islam Ayla became an important meeting-place for Mecca-bound pilgrims coming from Egypt and Syria, and trade flourished. Although the town stood at the meeting-point of Egypt, Syria, and the Ḥidjāz it was generally considered as belonging to Syria and is described by al-Muḳaddasī (178), writing in 985-6, as "the port of Palestine." The 4th/10th century marked the height of its prosperity under Muslim rule, as is clear from the account of al-Muḳaddasī. In 415/1024-5) Ayla was sacked by ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Djaʿfarī and some of the Banū al-Djarrāḥ, while in 465/1072-3 it is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm* (Popper), ii, 239).

The Crusading period brought a long era of strife to Ayla and at the end of it the town lay largely in ruins. Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, took Ayla (Helim) in 1116 and it became incorporated into the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem under the barony of al-Karak and Montréal. In 1171 the Franks were driven out by Saladin, who left a garrison in the town. Frankish control was briefly reasserted by Renaud de Châtillon, lord of al-Karak, in 1182-1183 during his remarkable but foolhardy campaign against the coast of the Ḥidjāz and the Red Sea. With the destruction of Renaud de Châtillon's fleet by Saladin's commander Ḥusām al-Dīn Luʾluʾ in 1183, Ayla passed permanently into the hands of Islam, but in a depleted condition. Abu'l-Fidāʾ (1273-1332) states that in his time nothing was left of the town but the stronghold near the shore (*Taḳwīm*, 86-7).

This stronghold, which probably was the predecessor of the still-standing late Mamlūk fortified caravanserai in al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*], does not represent the original fortification of Ayla. The original fort that protected Ayla lay on the island now known as Djazīrat Firʿawn, which lies on the opposite side of the Gulf of the coast of Sinai but within sight of the town. This island was already occupied in Byzantine times. It was this island fort which was besieged by Renaud de Châtillon in 1182, and the first fort on the mainland appears to have been built by Renaud de Châtillon in 1182 or 1183. In Abu'l-Fidā's day this mainland stronghold was the residence of an Egyptian governor.

Bibliography: N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, New Haven 1940, 89, 105, 107-108, 112-113; Ph. Schertl, *Ela-Aḳaba, Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1936, 33-77; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, ii/1, Vienna 1907, index; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Wiet), iii, 228-35; H. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, index under Aila; H. W. Glidden, *A Comparative Study of the Arabic Nautical Vocabulary from al-ʿAqabah, Transjordan*, in *JADS*, 1942, 68-9; C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, London 1936, 145-7; E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, London 1856, 161, 163.

(H. W. Glidden)

AYLŪL [see Taʾrīkh].

AYMAK, Mongol and Eastern Turkish word meaning "tribe" and "group of tribes" (= Turkish *il*); in Modern Mongolian, "province", in the USSR, "*rayon*". In Afghānistān the four nomadic tribes of partly nomad origin: Djamshīdī, Hazāra, Fīrūzkūhī and Taymanī, are called the "Four Aymaḳs" (Čār, or Čahār. Aymaḳ) [see čahār aymak].

(B. Spuler)

AYMAN b. **KHURAYM** b. Fātik b. al-Akhram al-Asadī, Arab poet of the Umayyad period, son of the Companion of the Prophet Khuraym al-Nāʿim, whose *ḥadīths* he has handed down. After settling at Kūfa, he composed, like many of the poets of that town *ghazal* poems, but also panegyrics on the Umayyad princes ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Bishr, son of Marwān; although he contracted tubercular leprosy (*abraṣ*), his poetry allowed him to enjoy their intimate friendship, and this favour won him the surname of *khalīl al-khulafāʾ* (the friend of caliphs). In some of his poems he touches on political matters; he ventures to compose a panegyric on the Banū Hāshim, and manifests his desire not to take up arms against other Muslims (particularly against ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, with regard to whom he wished to remain neutral); on the other hand, he is hostile to the Khāridjites and the murderers of ʿUthmān, so that, contrary to the *Aghānī* which makes him a Shīʿī, he must rather be considered a partisan of ʿUthmān.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, 1366/1947, 138, 258; idem, *Ḥayawān*², vi, 318, 462; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 345-7; idem, *Maʿārif*, Cairo ed. 1353/1934, 85, 148, 252; *Aghānī*, xxi, 7-13; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iii, 185-9; ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 393, 2246; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, in the margin of the *Iṣāba*, i, 89-90; Yāḳūt, index; C. A. Nallino, *Scritti*, vi (= *Letteratura*, index; French trans., index).

(Ch. Pellat)

ʿAYN [see Hidjāʾ].

ʿAYN in its basic sense signifies the eye, the organ of sight, acquires then the meaning of the function of sight, the seeing, and as is frequent in semantics compare e.g. *khalḳ*, creation, and *fiʿl* action, which can mean in Arabic as in English the acting and the effect of the acting—can also denote the effect of the function of sight, the aspect, the thing viewed, and especially in the plural, *aʿyān*, the particular things that are perceived in the exterior world. It is therefore not astonishing when we read in Khʷārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. van Vloten, 143) that in an old translation of Aristotle's *Categories* which he ascribes to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, the first category, οὐσία, substance, which signifies a particular concrete individual, e.g. a particular horse or a particular man, was rendered by *ʿayn*. However, in a later translation of the *Categories* by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn the word *ʿayn* is replaced by the Persian word *djawhar* and this word becomes the technical term in all later philosophy for all the meanings of οὐσία, substance. But in a less technical sense to express the concrete things the philosophers still frequently use the term *ʿayn*. When e.g. Avicenna in his *Nadjāt* repeats the Aristotelian statement at the beginning of the *Hermeneutics* that the written words are the signs of the spoken words, the spoken words the signs of what is in the soul, i.e. its representations and concepts, and these representations and concepts in the soul the signs of the things in the exterior world, he uses for the things in the exterior world (in Greek τὰ πράγματα) the term *aʿyān*. It is interesting to note that Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn in his translation of the *Hermeneutics* translates τὰ πράγματα by the term *al-maʿānī*, a literal translation of the Stoic term σημαινόμενα or λεκτά, "meanings" (these "*meanings*" are called by the Stoics πράγματα —see Sextus Empiricus, *adv. log.* II. 12—but in another sense than that which the term πράγματα has in Aristotle). The Muslim philosophers accept from the Stoics the division of the "something", τί, in

Arabic *shay*ʾ, (i.e. anything that can be thought of) into two classes, things that exist in the exterior world, and things that exist in the mind, and they use for the former the expression *fi 'l-aʿyān*, for the latter *fi 'l-adhhān* (*adhhān* is the plural of *dhihn*, mind) and it is in this opposition of the exterior world to the purely mental entities that the term *aʿyān* is specially used by the philosophers. In this sense *ʿayn* is synonymous with *shakhṣ*, *individuum*, and it can express also the identity of the individual thing. But a common word denoting a concrete individual, like "horse", can signify both a particular horse, e.g. the horse in my stable, and the class "horse", when you say "this is a horse", meaning that this is an animal which possesses the nature, the general characteristics of a horse (according to the Arabian grammarians an *ism ʿayn*, a word denoting a concrete individual is an *ism djins*, a generic word). The philosophers give to this universal character of a thing the name of *māhiyya*, quiddity, or *dhāt*, essence, but in theology and mysticism the term *ʿayn* is frequently used to express this meaning. And since according to the neoplatonising mystics and philosophers the universals exist eternally in God's mind, these eternal ideas are called by the mystics *aʿyān* or *aʿyān thābita* (*thābita* means stable or eternal), whereas the philosophers use different other terms like *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* and *maʿānin* (some Muʿtazilites too employ the terms *aʿyān* or *ḥālāt* to express the eternal ideas in God). Now, since for the neoplatonising mystics our world is but a dream—world and true reality lies in a world beyond and God is the one truly Real and the ultimate source from which all being and all beings spring, *ʿayn* in its double sense of the real and of source—for in Arabic *ʿayn* can mean also source—is used by the mystics to indicate the super-existence of God's deepest essence. In this sense it is rare in philosophy, but we find it in Avicenna, for instance when he speaks in the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget 205) of those mystics who penetrate to the *ʿayn*, the contemplation of God's inner nature. Finally it may be remarked that the term *ʿayn al-yaḳīn*, the contemplation of the evident, can be used in the double sense of "intuition", i.e. the pre-rational sense of intuitive understanding of the philosophical first principles, and the post-rational sense of the intuitive understanding of super-rational mystical truth.

Bibliography: see ANNIYYA; for the mystical use of the term see R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

ʿAYN in the medical terminology of the Arabs, like "eye", "oeil", "Auge" etc. in that of the Europeans, not only refers to the bulb or eye-ball, Ar. *muḳla*, *kurat al-ʿayn*, but also to the whole of the organs which make up the apparatus of vision, *djamiʿ ālāt al-baṣar*.

The study of the human eye, for the doctors of medicine and those who wrote on the subject in the Islamic world, constituted one of the most remarkable branches of their science. This branch of knowledge, which is the equivalent of the ophthalmology of the West at the present day, has borne different names at various periods. Thus it was called *kuḥl*, a word which originally designated collyrium (black) of antimony—the pre-eminent medicine and cosmetic in the East—, which was subsequently used in a much wider sense for the "science and art of caring for the eyes";—*kaḥḥāla*, from the same root and used in the same wide sense;—*ṭibb al-ʿayn*, *ṭibb al-ʿuyūn*, an expression still in use;—*ṭibb ramadī* and *ʿilm al-ramad*, where this latter term, which originally only meant "conjunctivitis", now embraces eye diseases of all types.

From the point of view of the history of medicine, this branch synthesises and reflects the evolution of Arab Medicine as a whole. Thus it is that two periods are distinguishable here: the initial period of formation, when the scholars of the East, for the most Christians, translated Greek ophthalmological science into Arabic and used it as it stood; and secondly, the period of development, during which other scholars systematised this material, perfected it and enriched it by their original contributions. Among the former must be mentioned Yuḥannā b. Māsawayh, a native of Djundīshāpūr and the author of the *Kitāb Daghal al-ʿAyn*, and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ of Ḥīra (194-264/809-877), to whom the *Kitāb al-ʿAshr Maḳālāt fi 'l-ʿAyn* has been attributed; and among the latter, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*], also a Christian, of Baghdād (first half of the 5th/11th century), author of the celebrated *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn*, and his great contemporary ʿAmmār b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], a Muslim of Mawṣil who practised in Cairo, author of the *Kitāb al-Muntakhab fi ʿIlādj Amrāḍ al-ʿAyn*. The works of these four authors must be considered as the cornerstones of Arab ophthalmology.

To give an idea of the originality of Arab thought on this subject, it is sufficient to recall the relationships of cause and effect, which ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was the first to discern, between trachoma (*djarab al-ʿayn*, today *ramad ḥubaybī*, *tarākūma*, *tarākhūma*) and the acute conjunctivitises which precede it, on the one hand, and the "cornea pannus" (*sabal*) and "entropion-trichiasis" (*inḳilāb al-shaʿar*) which follow it, on the other hand; and in the operation of cataract (*māʾ*, *māʾ nāzil fi 'l-ʿayn* and in the modern language *katārakta*) the astonishing suction of the (soft) crystalline lense performed by al-Mawṣilī, which eight centuries later, was to be adopted in the West and continued down to the the present day. New contributions in this special field are to be sought in the treatises on general medicine, like the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā, where, for example, we find the first "anatomical" description of the eye motor muscles, as well as of the lachrymal ducts; also in the works of non-medical authors, such as the famous treatise on Optics, the *Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, of Abū ʿAlī b. al-Haytham, of Baṣra (died *ca.* 431/1039), in which this great scholar put forward his rational theory of vision, refuting that of the Greeks' "sight-spirit", inherited by the Arabs (*rūḥ al-baṣar*, *rūḥ baṣarī*, *rūḥ nūrī* etc.). Neither should the numerous minor works on ophthalmology be neglected which appeared everywhere and with great frequency in Islamic countries, some of which are in dialogue form (see the *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ʿAyn* of Ḥunayn) and even in poetic form (see the *Manẓūma fi 'l-Kuḥl*, author unknown, Vat. Borg. 87/3). Finally it should not be forgotten that there were oculists who enjoyed great fame, none of whose works on the subject have yet come to our knowledge. Such is the case, for example, of Isḥāḳ al-Isrāʾīlī (3rd/9th century), who practised in Cairo before moving to al-Ḳayrawān, where he became one of the most enlightened masters and authors on general medicine of the Middle Ages.

Bibliography: (confined to works by oculists who were themselves Arabic scholars, or who worked in collaboration with Arabic scholars): J. Hirschberg, *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde bei den Arabern*, Leipzig 1908; M. Meyerhof, *The Book of the Ten Treatises on the Eye oscribed to Hunain ibn Isḥaq*, Cairo 1928, and the whole of his valuable series of studies and original memoranda

on Arab Ophthalmology; A. Casey A. Wood, *Memorandum Book of a Tenth-Century Oculist* (ʿAlī b. ʿIsā), Chicago 1936. (T. Sarnelli)

ʿAYN, "evil eye". Belief in the evil eye is well established in Islam. According to Abū Hurayra, the Prophet said *al-ʿaynᵘ ḥaḳḳᵘⁿ* "The evil eye is a reality" (al-Bukhārī, commentary of al-Ḳasṭallānī on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, viii, 390, 463); it is the evil action of an envious glance which is envisaged by the recommendation given in the Kurʾān, cxiii, 5. Orthodoxy, however, makes the Prophet condemn this belief (*Muntakhab Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, iv, 22; *Nihāya fi Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, iv, 202). This superstition, universally current, dates from before Islam in the Muslim countries, where it continues to be prevalent. It frequently finds expression both in religious traditions and in popular folklore: "the majority of human beings die as victims of the evil eye", "the evil eye empties the houses and fills the graves", etc. The effect of the evil eye, *iṣāba bi 'l-ʿayn, laḳʿ, shawba*, etc. is generally instigated by a desire to harm transmitted by a look pregnant with hate or envy, *nāfis, nadjūʾ* or *nadjīʾ*, but it can be involuntary and result from the naturally injurious power of a strange or staring look *masfūʿ* (Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Tahdhīb al-Alfāẓ*, ed. Cheikho, 545-46; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 329). Deep-set eyes, blue eyes or eyebrows which meet are reputed to be baneful. Some animals, such as the viper (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, i, 24) are considered as having a poisonous glance. The eye suffices to disseminate the evil. Its power, however, may be coupled with that of the spoken word: evil eye, *fascinum oculo*, and evil mouth, *fascinum lingua*, frequently go together. An unfortunate word or misplaced praise is capable of harming the person to whom they are addressed and of releasing the malefic action. Of all people suspected of possessing the evil eye, the most feared are women, especially old women or those who are unmarried or sterile. But likewise equally all who are ill-favoured or consider themselves placed at a disadvantage by nature. As a corollary, pregnant women, small children and, generally speaking, everything which is beautiful, happy, or precious, is liable to the assaults of envy, and certain circumstances augment the vulnerability of persons and things which are enviable: pregnancy, childbirth, marriage and in general, feasts and celebrations. Illness, debility, death of those concerned; loss of livestock, deterioration or destruction of objects or situations; the consequences feared from the evil eye are innumerable. People strive to protect themselves against it or to remedy its calamitous effects. Whether preventative or curative, the prophylaxis of the evil eye is varied (al-Suyūṭī, *Raḥma*, 56-58): use of formulas, gestures; fire rites, fumigations; use of salt, alum, horn, metal, etc.; the wearing of phylacteries, amulets, jewels; tattooing. Originally, doubtless the veil worn over the face was one of these means of prophylaxis. The most effective protective symbol is the number five, *khamsa* [*q.v.*] and the figuration of the five-fingers of the hand spread out (Lefebure, in *Bull. Soc. géogr. Alger*, 1907, 411-417). The ritual attaching to the evil eye, like the belief itself, is very much more a matter of magic and superstition than of religion, even where the formula is derived from orthodox Islam.

Bibliography: Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, see *evil eye* in the index; Chauvin, *Bibl. ouvr. ar.*, v, 161; Blau, *Altjüd. Zauberw.*, 152-56; Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, 30-31, 48; I. Goldziher, *Einige arab. Ausrufe und Form*, in *WZKM*, xvi, 140 and 59; idem, in *ARW*, 1907, 41-46; 1910, 35; A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte or.*, ii, 253; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 196; L. Einzler, *Das böse Auge*, in *ZDPV*, 1889, 200-22; Lane, *Modern Egypt*, 1895, 71, 160; Vassel, in *RT*, 1905, 549-51; idem, in *RI*, 1907, 323-5; Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions et croyances*, passim; A. Bel, *La Djāzya*, in *JA*, 1903, 359-365; E. Westermarck, in *JAnthr.* I, 1904, 211-3; idem, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, I, chap. viii; idem, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, 34-75; Legey, *Essai de Folklore marocain*, passim; A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, passim; Mathéa Gaudry, *La femme chaouïa de l'Aurès*, passim, Dubouloz-Laffin, *Le Bou-Mergoud*, 149-64; W. Marçais et A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, 323-4, 371-2, 396 (with copious references); E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 317-27 (good synthesis). (Ph. Marçais)

ʿAYN DILFA is a spring in the north of Syria which is of some importance on account of its situation on the road between Antioch and Aleppo, somewhat west of the large ruins of the monastery of Ḳaṣr al-Banāt. Its source is on the northern slope of the Djabal Bārīshā and it runs through a narrow channel cut out in the rock into a well-house (*sabīl*). According to an Arabic inscription, this well-house was built in 877 (1472-1473) by an inhabitant of the neighbouring village, of the name of Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad. It is highly probable that on account of the spring a settlement already occupied the spot in ancient times. A few remains of buildings from the Christian era, still more from Islamic times, can yet be seen. There are also a few inscribed Muslim tombstones. The place is nowadays uninhabited; it belongs to the people of Sermedā. From time to time nomadic Turcomans or Kurds used to camp there in their tents. The spring was of importance for the caravans between Antioch and Aleppo, which often used to rest there.

Bibliography: *Syria. Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. to Syria in* 1904-5 *and* 1909. Division IV, Section D: *Arabic Inscriptions* (by E. Littmann), Leyden 1949, 88 f.

(E. Littmann)

ʿAYN DJĀLŪT, spring of Goliath, mentioned by the mediaeval geographers as a village between Baysān and Nābulus, in the Djund of Filasṭīn. It stood at the head of the Wādī Djālūt, and is said to have owed its name to a tradition that by it David slew Goliath (cf. A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 152; G. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 384, 461). In the chronicles of the Crusaders the neighbourhood is called Tubania or Tubanie. It first achieves mention in Djum. II 578/Sept. 1183, when the armies of Saladin and of the Franks camped there face to face and then separated without an engagement (W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, Cambridge 1907, 232-3; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, ii, Paris 1948, 724; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, ii, Cambridge 1952, 439; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, 599).

ʿAyn Djālūt is chiefly known as the site of the famous battle, fought on Friday 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260, in which a Mongol army, commanded by Kitbuga Noyon, was defeated by a Mamlūk army from Egypt, led by the sultan Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz. The vanguard of the Mamlūk army was commanded by Baybars [*q.v.*]. The strength of the Mamlūk force was estimated at 120,000; that of the Mongols at 10,000 horsemen

(thus the Syriac and Arabic texts of Bar-Hebraeus; Rashīd al-Dīn speaks of "a few thousand"). The Mongol forces and their Christian auxiliaries, after at first sweeping the Mamlūk left wing (or, according to others, vanguard) before them, were set upon and annihilated by the main body of the Mamlūk army. The Mongol general Kitbuga was captured and put to death. Hülekü, infuriated by the defeat, prepared to send a punitive expedition to Syria, but was prevented from doing so by the inner struggle within the Mongol Empire following the death of Möngke Ḳaan (Mangu Khān) in September 1259 (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, 359).

The Arabic and especially the Egyptian chroniclers regard the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt as a decisive victory, which saved the Syro-Egyptian Empire and indeed Islam itself from the Mongol menace. For the first time, a Mongol army had been defeated in pitched battle; the fact that the victors were largely Turkish, and overcame the Mongols by using their own methods of warfare against them, if anything added to the significance of the victory, for it meant that the vitality and energies of the steppe peoples were now being harnessed to the service of Islam (see for example the remarks and verses of Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim*, 208 and Yunīnī 367; D. Ayalon, in his *The Wafidiya in the Mamlūk Kingdom, IC*, 1951, 90, has drawn attention to the highly significant comments of Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, v, 371, on the rôle of the steppe peoples in rejuvenating and renewing Islam). The Persian and other sources sympathetic to the Mongols tend rather to present the battle as an inconclusive engagement in which a small Mongol force was overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers, who were saved from retribution only by Hülekü's preoccupation with other and more important matters.

The victory by no means ended the danger from the Mongols, who continued to hold Mesopotamia and 'Irāḳ and to threaten Syria from both north and east. In the event, however, ʿAyn Djālūt was the high water mark of Mongol advance, though it seems likely that the ebbing of the Mongol tide was due to events in the East at least as much as to Mamlūk resistance.

Bibliography: the contemporary Egyptian accounts of the battle are those of the two biographers of Baybars, Ibn Shaddād and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, whose narratives seem to underlie those of most subsequent Egyptian historians. Ibn Shaddād's account of ʿAyn Djālūt is unfortunately not included in the surviving fragment of his work (MS. Selimiye 1507, Edirne; published in Turkish translation only: M. Şerefüddin Yaltkaya, *Baybars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941). which, however, contains several allusions to the victory. A probably abridged version of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's narrative was published from the B. M. manuscript by S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956 (13 ff., and index). A fuller text of the same book is to be found in Istanbul (MS. Fatih 4367). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir is at some pains to emphasise Baybars' vital contribution to the victory. Of the later Egyptian accounts, the most accessible are those of Maḳrīzī (*Sulūk*, i, 430 ff. = Quatremère, *Sultans Mamelouks*, I, i, 104-6) and Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, Cairo ed., vii, 79. There are also Syrian (Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim Ridjāl al-Ḳarnayn al-Sādis wa 'l-Tāsiʿ*, Cairo 1948, 207-9; Yunīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1954, 360 ff., citing Ibn al-Djazarī, etc.) and ʿIrāḳī (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Al-Ḥawādith al-Djāmiʿa*, Baghdād 1351, 344) accounts, as well as brief allusions in Frankish and Eastern Christian sources (*Eracles*, ii, 444; Wm. Tyre Cont. ed. Migne 1044; the Armenian chronicle of Grigor of Akancʾ, ed. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *HJAS*, xii, 1949, 349; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, ed. and tr. E. Blochet, *Patr. Or.* xii, 417; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, Oxford 1932, 439-40; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Taʾrikh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, Beirut 1890, 489; al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd (ed. Cl. Cahen), *BÉt. Or.* xv, 1955-7, 175). The chief Persian source is Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. and tr. E. Quatremère, Paris 1836, 349-352). See further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Leipzig 1939, 57; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, London 1888, 167 ff.; R. Grousset, *Croisades*, iii, 603 ff.; Runciman, *Crusades*, iii, 312-3; Stevenson, *Crusaders*, 334; A. Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, i, Freiburg 1956, 317; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 710-1.

(B. LEWIS)

AYN AL-DJARR, an ancient and important site in the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*] and an Umayyad residence, the Arab name of which, now pronounced ʿAndjar, corresponds to the Greek and Syriac Gerrha and ʿIn Gero. The main source of the Litani, which comes forth at the foot of the Anti-Lebanon, not far from the modern road from Beirut to Damascus, for a long time formed a swampy lake there stretching to Karak Nūḥ, which was only finally drained in the Mamlūk period. The remains of a temple, later converted into a small fort (hence the expression *ḥiṣn Madjdal* used at the period of the Crusades), which still dominate the present-day village of Madjdal ʿAndjar, doubtless mark the site of ancient Chalcis of the Lebanon, the capital of a state which extended from Coelesyria to Ituria, before being annexed to the Roman Empire. In contrast, the archaeological remains which exist not far away, in the interior of a vast enclosure furnished with towers, and which the excavations now being undertaken will make better known to us, have been identified by J. Sauvaget with the Umayyad town founded about 95-96/714-715 by the Caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and built, as is attested by inscriptions and the Aphrodito papyri, with stones from the quarries of Kāmid in the Biḳāʿ and by the use of forced labour. Its character as an agricultural settlement has been inferred from the existence of hydraulic works, contemporary with the ruins, but at what period it was completely abandoned is not known. The Arabic texts, which first speak of the victory there of Marwān b. Muḥammad, in Ṣafar 127/November 744, over the troops of Sulaymān b. Hishām and the passage of the ʿAbbāsid forces when they occupied Syria, continue in fact to mention it incidentally without giving any precise information as to the actual condition of the old Umayyad town at the time.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

ʿAYN MŪSĀ: (1) A spring at the entrance of the Sīḳ at Wādī Mūsā (Petra). It was a source of water for a large Edomite site now known as Ṭawīlān, occupied in the 13th-6th centuries B.C. (Nelson Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, New Haven, 1940, 24). Islamic tradition associates this spring with Ḳuʾrān 2 : 57, where Moses strikes a rock with his staff and brings forth twelve springs. This appears to represent a blending of the twelve springs of Elim (Exodus 15 : 27) with the striking of the rock at Horeb in Exodus 17: 6. Yāḳūt (s. v. Wādī Mūsā) gives the same story repeated later by al-Bayḍāwī (*Tafsīr*, commentary on Ḳuʾrān 2 : 60 according to the Egyptian verse numbering) that the twelve springs burst forth from a stone that Moses had carried with him and set down on this spot. William of Tyre (*A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, New York, 1943, ii, 144) associates the spot with Exodus 17 : 6, which probably represents the then current Crusader tradition. Musil (*Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908, 330) reports that in his day the spring was venerated by the Liyāthina Arabs because of its association with Moses.

(2) A spring north of al-Kafr in Ḥawrān, in Syria (René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 349; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig 1912, 165).

(3) A small spring near the foot of Djabal al-Muḳaṭṭam east of Cairo (Les Guides Bleus, *Egypte*, Paris 1950, 253).

ʿUYŪN MŪSĀ: (1) A group of springs rising near Mt. Nebo north of Maʾdabāʾ in Jordan. They give their name to the Wādī ʿUyūn Mūsā, which drains into the Dead Sea. The springs, which are now used as a water supply for the town of Maʾdabāʾ, probably were associated with Moses already in Byzantine times (F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, i, Paris 1933, 460). The local Arabs are reported to believe that the springs are inhabited by spirits, to whom the Arabs annually make a sacrifice (Archimandrite Būlus Salmān, *Khamsat Aʿwām fī Sharḳ al-Urdunn*, Ḥarīṣā (Lebanon) 1929, 185).

(2) A group of about a dozen springs approximately 12 km. SE of Suez, near the shore of the Gulf of Suez. Al-Maḳdisī (2nd ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 67) mentions them by name, but says nothing further about them. At this spot there exists a small settlement, which formerly carried on trade in turquoise with the Bedouin from Sinai (T. Barron, *The Topography and Geology of Sinai (Western Portion)*, Cairo 1907, 36-37, 101, 212; Léon Cart, *Au Sinaï et dans l'Arabie Pétrée*, Neuchâtel 1915, 15-16). (H. W. GLIDDEN)

ʿAYN SHAMS is a town in Egypt. ʿAyn Shams is the Arabic name of the ancient Egyptian town of Ōn, which the Greeks called Heliopolis because of its famous sun-temple. A recollection of this cult is contained in the Arabic name ("the spring, or the eye, of the sun"), which must be a popular arabicised form of an old name. In the first centuries of Islam ʿAyn Shams was still, according to some authorities, an important town, and the capital of a district (*kūra*), but according to others, a collection of ruins used as a public quarry. The Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz built castles on the spot but afterwards the buildings fell completely into ruins. The extensive ruins, especially the two obelisks (*misallatān*) of the temple, stirred the imagination of the Arabs. One of them has been preserved until the present day; the other fell down in 656/1258. It is said to have contained over 200 *ḳinṭār*s (quintals) of brass. During the Arab period a statue of a beast of burden with a man on its back still stood between the two obelisks.

The other curiosity of ʿAyn Shams was its balsam-garden, which was cultivated under the supervision of the government. During the Middle Ages the balsam-tree is said to have grown only here, though formerly it had also been a native plant in Syria. According to a Coptic tradition known also by the Muslims, it was in the spring of ʿAyn Shams that Mary, the mother of Jesus, washed the clothes of the latter on her way back to Palestine after her flight to Egypt. From that time onwards, the spring was beneficent, and during the Middle Ages balsam-trees could only produce their precious secretion on land watered by it.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i, 228 ff.; de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte* 20 ff., 86 ff.; al-Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 145; *BGA*, i, 54; viii, 22; Ḳalḳashandī *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣubḥ al-Musfir* (trans. Wüstenfeld) 13, 96; Yāḳūt, iii, 763, iv, 564; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 44; Baedeker, *Egypt*; Casanova, *Les Noms Coptes du Caire et Localités voisines* 40 ff.; W. Heyd, *Levantehandel*, ii, 566 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. *IFAO*, iv, 89-102; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériauxpour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 131.

(C. H. BECKER)

ʿAYN AL-TAMR, a small town in ʿIrāḳ in a fertile depression on the borders of the desert between Anbār and Kūfa. It is 80 miles west of Karbalāʾ.

The Arabic name means fountain of dates. It was probably called so because of an abundance of palm trees (Yāḳūt, iii, 759).

According to Ibn al-Kalbī, it was part of the Ḥīrite kingdom of Djudhayma al-Abrash (al-Ṭabarī, 750; Yāḳūt, ii, 378). There Shāpūr is said to have married Naḍira, the daughter of the King of Hatra. (Al-Ṭabarī, i, 829; Yāḳūt, ii, 283; al-Hamdānī, *al-Buldān*, 130). It was probably also a *tassūdj* of the *astān* of Bihḳubādh al-Aʿlā, as it was in the ʿAbbāsid period (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 8; Ḳudāma, 236; Yāḳūt, i, 241, 771).

When the Muslim commander Khālid b. al-Walīd attacked it in the year 12 A.H., ʿAyn al-Tamr was a military post (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2057; al-Balādhurī, 246) with a fortified citadel (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064, al-Balādhurī, 246-7). Khālid defeated and massacred the garrison (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064; al-Balādhurī, 110; Yāḳūt, iii, 759; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 261, 940, 991). He captured and enslaved some of its non-combatant inhabitants. These were the first enslaved captives to arrive in Medina (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2076). The sons and grandsons of many of these captives became prominent figures in the military, administrative and intellectual life of Islam (cf. their names in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064, 2121, 3472, ii 801; al-Balādhurī, 247, 230, also 14, 142, 352, 367; Yāḳūt, iv, 807; Aghānī, iv, 3256).

Scanty information about the Muslim conquests indicates that ʿAyn al-Tamr had a Christian population and a church (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2064; al-Balādhurī, 247; Yāḳūt, iv, 807), and also a Jewish Community and a synagogue (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 151). But probably the majority were Arabs from the tribes of Taghlib, Namīr and Asad, who were sedentary agriculturists.

ʿAyn al-Tamr preserved its importance in the Islamic period, not only for its products by which the nomads of Arabia and ʿIrāḳ were supplied, but also for its geographical situation on the routes of communication between the fertile centre of ʿIrāḳ and the Syrian desert. It also commanded the military approaches from the western desert to ʿIrāḳ and especially to Kūfa (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2069,

2072, 2121, ii, 946, 1352; al-Balādhurī, 62; Yāḳūt, iv, 137; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 97; Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 34; A. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 41, 295-311).

Its importance led the governors of Kūfa to station in it a military force to protect one of the approaches to their *Miṣr* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3444: ii, 773, 1352, 1945, 1946, ii 21; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 295).

Its rather isolated position induced some of the Khāridjites to make it a centre for grouping revolutionary forces (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 183, 773; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 228, 387; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 45; Yāḳūt, iii, 759).

By the end of the 3rd/9th century ʿAyn al-Tamr was inhabited by the Banī Asad (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 225).

ʿAyn al-Tamr was a fortified town (al-Muḳaddasī, 117) in the 4th/10th century, a *tassudj* of the *astān* of Bihḳubādh al-Aʿlā. At this time its products included 14 *baydar*, 300 *kurr* of wheat, 400 *kurr* of barley and 45,000 *dirhems* per year (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 10; Ḳudāma, 237). Its lands were considered *ʿushrī* (al-Balādhurī, 248).

For the period of the decline of ʿIrāḳ from the 6th/12th century onwards, information on ʿAyn al-Tamr is scanty and it is confused with Shthatha, a neighbouring village. It was captured and looted by the Mongols who captured Baghdād (ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn Iḥtilālayn*, i, 357). During the turbulent 10th/16th century some of the Bedouins used it for a refuge (ʿAzzāwī, *op. cit.*, v, 182).

Gertrude Bell visited ʿAyn al-Tamr and described it as a walled village with a citadel. She mentioned its sulphurous waters, cereals and 170,000 palm trees (*Amurath to Amarath*, London 1924, 139).

At present ʿAyn al-Tamr is the centre of a district (*nāḥiya*). It has four quarters: Albu Hardan, Ḳaṣr Thamir, Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn, and Ḳaṣr Abū Hwaydī. The sedentary population numbers 2144, and the rural and nomadic population is 3183 (1947 Census of ʿIrāḳ).

Bibliography: quoted in the article.

(SALEH A. EL-ALI)

ʿAYN TEMUSHENT, a town in Algiers situated 45 m. (72 km.) S-W of Oran, on the road to Tlemcen, and on the site of the Roman city of Albulae and of Kaṣr Ibn Sinān, mentioned by al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century (de Slane's trans., 1913, 146, 160) to the S-E of the plain of Zīdūr. A redoubt, erected by the French in 1839 near the spring called Aïn Temouchent (French orthography), and unsuccessfully attacked by the troops of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in 1845, is the source of a centre of colonisation which has grown into a town with now more than 20,000 inhabitants, one-third of whom are Europeans. It is the market for the rich agricultural region of Orania; its black, fertile soil, of volcanic origin, is used primarily for the cultivation of the vine, and also for market gardening and the cultivation of citrous fruits, cereals and pulses. (J. DESPOIS)

ʿAYN AL-WARDA is a locality which, according to Yāḳūt, is identical with Raʾs ʿAyn [*q.v.*]. It owes its fame to the great battle of 24 Djumādā I 65/6 Jan. 685, in which the Shīʿites of Kūfa were slaughtered by the Syrians. See Weil, *Chalifen*, i, 360 ff.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 374; al-Ṭabarī, index and especially i, 257 and ii, 554 f. (ED.)

ʿAYN ZARBA, deserted town of Anatolia, situated to the south of Sīs and to the north of Miṣṣīṣa (the former Mopsuestia), a little to the north of the confluence of the Sombaz Čay with the Djayḥān, built on an isolated hill in the middle of the plain, on top of the ruins of an ancient town which was called Anazarba (cf. Hirschberg in Pauly-Wissowa, i, col. 2101). The Arabs took the first element of the name *Ana* for *ʿAyn*, spring; cf. Sachau, in *ZA* VIII, 98. It acquired a certain importance from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd who organised the frontier for defence. In 180/796 he rebuilt and fortified it, and settled people from Khurāsān there (al-Balādhurī, 171; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 113; Ibn Shaddād, in Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-Muntakhab*, 185). In 212/827 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of the region between Raḳḳa and Egypt, settled Africans from Egypt in the town (Michael the Syrian, iii, 60). In 220/835 al-Muʿtaṣim brought in some Zoṭṭ (al-Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*, al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 355) were the object of a Byzantine attack in the same year, and of another in 241/855 when they were captured with their families and their buffaloes and carried off to Constantinople (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1169 and 1426; cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Fr. edit., i, La *dynastie d'Amorium*, 126 and 224). In 287/900, the eunuch Waṣīf, who wanted to cross from ʿAyn Zarba into Byzantine territory was captured by the troops of al-Muʿtaḍid to the north of the place.

ʿAyn Zarba is included by the Arab geographers among the frontier towns of the Thughūr (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 100, Ḳudāma, 229, 253, Ibn Rusta, 107, al-Yaʿḳūbī, 362 etc.). It flourished mainly in the 4th/10th century. In his book on the Thughūr, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 121, described it as a town like those of the Ghawr (probably because of the similarities of climate and products), in the middle of a plain where palms grow, and surrounded by fertile lands (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 55, 63). It was fortified by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla who, says Yāḳūt, iii, 761, spent 3 million dirhems on it. Nevertheless it was taken by Nicephorus Phocas, to whom it surrendered at the end of the year 350/962 (see the detailed description of the siege and the ravages of the Byzantines, particularly the felling of 50,000 palm trees, in Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 190-1; for other references see M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Ḥamdanides*, i, 806-8). The Muslims were expelled and emigrated to Syria. The town remained in Byzantine hands until the time when the Armenians, expelled from Armenia, occupied it together with the other towns of Cilicia, and it became part of the territories belonging to Philaretus. But, a little before the arrival of the First Crusade the Saldjūḳs took Tarsus, Miṣṣīsa and ʿAyn Zarba (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173, 179). Tancred, nephew of Bohemond, conquered Cilicia in 1097 and Bohemond, installed in the principality of Antioch, took possession of it and also of Tarsus, Adana and Miṣṣīsa in 1098. These places, the object of a dispute between Bohemond and the Byzantines, were recaptured by the latter, but the Armenian Thoros I, a descendant of Roupen, who was established in the mountains to the north of Sīs, and who reigned from 1100 to 1129, took Sīs and Anazarba from the Byzantines (*RHC Arm.* I, 499). During the reign of Leo I, brother of Thoros, Bohemond wanted to establish himself again in Cilicia and marched on ʿAyn Zarba, but he came into conflict with the Dānishmandid of Cappadocia who also wanted the country, and was killed in 1130. After Leo had conquered Tarsus, Adana and Miṣṣīsa in 1132-33, the Byzantines invaded Cilicia in 1137 and John Comnenus recaptured ʿAyn Zarba and took Leo prisoner (Kamāl al-Dīn, ed. S. Dahan, ii, 263), but in 1151 Thoros II, son of Leo, regained ʿAyn Zarba as well as the other large towns in Cilicia. Ḳilīdj Arslān II of Ḳonya, at the instigation of his ally Manuel Comnenus, attacked ʿAyn Zarba without success. In 1159

Manuel reoccupied it with the other places in Cilicia, but Thoros II took it again in 1162 (cf. concerning these events, F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, ii, 115-6, 426-30 and R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii, 51, 86, 333, 399, 566).

The Rupenians kept Cilicia until the 14th century. From 1266 the Mamlūks of Egypt made numerous invasions into the kingdom of Little Armenia (see the articles ARMENIA, CILICIA, MIṢṢĪSA, SĪS); during one of them the region of ʿAyn Zarba was pillaged (in 1279, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 462). Finally in 823 Arm. = 776 A.H. = 1374 A.D., in the reign of Malik Ashraf Shaʿbān, Cilicia was conquered, ʿAyn Zarba destroyed, and Leo led into captivity in 1375 (see *RHC Arm.* i 686 and 719). After this the town lost all importance. Like the rest of Cilicia it passed into the hands of the Turkomān family of Ramaḍān-oghlu in the 15th century and then to the Ottomans in the 16th.

In the 14th century the name of the town was corrupted into Nāwarzā (cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 2nd part, 29). To-day the place is in ruins and is known as Anavarza.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the course of this article, see Le Strange, 129; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xlx, 56; G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au Xme siècle, Nicéphore Phocas*, 191 ff. (M. CANARD)

AYNABAKHTĪ, Turkish name for Lepanto, or Naupaktos, in Greece. It is on the Gulf of Corinth, has a picturesque position, but is—these days—an impoverished small town, called Epaktos by the people and Lepanto by the Italians. It is surrounded by crumbling walls which date from the times of Venetian rule, and is dominated by a fortress. In the Middle Ages, Aynabakhtī ruled over the Gulf of Corinth, and in 1407 it came under Venetian rule (cf. Vitt. Lazzarini, *L'acquisto di Lepanto*, 1407, in: *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XV (Venice 1898), 267-833; in 1483 it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Ottomans, but was taken by them in 1499. Don Juan of Austria (at the age of 26) won a victory near the Oxia islands on 7 Oct. 1571 in a very bloody sea-battle, in which he commanded 250 ships (partly Venetian, partly Spanish), supported by the Pope, and met a Turkish fleet of equal strength of which he sank 200 vessels. The town remained the seat of a Turkish Sandjaḳ-Bey until it was once more conquered by the Venetians in 1687, who retained it until the Peace of Karlovac (26 Jan. 1699). After this it became Turkish again, and on 12 March 1829 it became Greek. Opposite the Bay of Aynabakhtī, the Gulf of Corinth narrows to a width of 1¼ m. (2 km.). The fortifications erected here by the Venetians, called Kástro Moréas in the south, and Kástro Roumelías in the north, were formerly known as the Small Dardanelles, but have long fallen into ruins. Today, the town has about 2000 inhabitants and is the seat of a bishop.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii (1928), 612ff.; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 125-7 (with the strange statement that Aydīn-oghlu Umūr-Beg transported ships overland with the aid of machines); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār fī Asfār al-Biḥar* (*incunabulum* 1141 A.H., Istanbul) 42-3. Concerning the sea-battle of Lepanto, cf. the bibliography in H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, iii, Gotha 1934, 579 ff. and the older one in Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 787 f.; as well asC. Manfroni, *Storia della Marina Italiana*, iii, Rome 1897, 437-51; F. Hartlaub, *Don Juan d'Austria und die Schlacht bei Lepanto* (1940); and R. C. Anderson, *Naval Wars in the Levant 1559-1853*, Princeton 1952, ch. 2. Further bibliographical notes can be found in W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, *passim* (cf. 670b), idem, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, *passim* (cf. 568a). (F. BABINGER)

ʿAYNĪ, ḤASAN EFENDI AL-SAYYID ḤASAN B. ḤASAN AL-ʿAYNṬĀBĪ, one of the most celebrated poets of the reign of Maḥmūd II, born at ʿAynṭāb in 1180/1766 and died at Constantinople in 1253/1837. Of very humble origins, he left his native town in 1780, travelled about Anatolia for ten years and settled in Istanbul, where he studied at the *madrasa* of Sulṭān Aḥmad; after holding various appointments in the offices of the administration, in 1831 he became professor of Arabic and Persian in the Chancellery of the Sublime Porte. His poetry caused Sulṭān Maḥmūd II to look on him with particular favour, and to grant him pensions and honours. On his death he was buried at the Mawlawī monastery at Galata. His contemporaries did not have a very high opinion of him, and have left us a picture of him as having been very much a courtier in outlook, with a love of luxury and money, and profoundly egoistical. Though belonging to the Mawlawī sect, he was in constant communication with members of the Naḳshbandī sect, who exerted a strong influence over him.

Works: *Naẓm al-Djawāhir* (1236/1820-1), Turkish, Arabic and Persian dictionary; *Nuṣrat-nāma*, a *mathnawī* on the destruction of the Janissaries; *Kulliyyāt* (1258/1842), comprising the *Dīwān*, which contains *ḳaṣīdas* and encomia written for the Sulṭāns Selim III and Maḥmūd II, *ghazals*, stanzas, chronograms and *mathnawīs*, and the *Sāḳī-nāma*, a résumé of his philosophical reflections on the life of man from the Creation. It cannot be said that ʿAynī displayed either great poetic temperament or great literary culture.

Bibliography : ʿĀrif Ḥikmet, *Tedhkire-i Shuʿarā*; Esʿad Efendi, *Bāghče-i Ṣafā-andūz*; Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*; ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 121; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 173; v, 27, 42; Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, v, passim; vi, 211, 273; ix, 39, 71; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte d. osman. Dichtkunst*, iv, 502; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 336 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (article by Fevziye Abdullah). (R. MANTRAN)

AL-**ʿAYNĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD B. AḤMAD B. MŪSĀ BADR AL DĪN, was born 17 Ramaḍān 762/21 July 1361, at ʿAynṭāb, a place situated between Aleppo and Antioch. He belonged to a family of scholars (his father was a *ḳāḍī*) and began his studies at an early age, first in his birthplace and then at Aleppo. When he was 29 years old, he visited Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo. He was initiated into the mystical doctrines of Ṣūfism in the latter town and for a time entered the darwīsh monastery of the Barḳūḳiyya, which had recently been founded. After making several journeys to Damascus and to the town of his birth, he established himself finally in Cairo, where he was appointed *muḥtasib* in 801/1398-1399, during the reign of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir; he was several times dismissed and re-appointed, and, in 803/1400-1, he succeeded in obtaining the much envied post of inspector of pious foundations (*nāẓir al-aḥbās*). On the accession of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815/1412), he was disgraced. However, shortly after he was again in favour and was again appointed to the office of *muḥtasib*. His knowledge of the Turkish language, moreover, contributed to making him

persona grata with the rulers of his time, the Sulṭāns al-Muʾayyad, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Tatar and al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Barsbāy. He translated al-Ḳudūrī's legal treatise into Turkish for Tatar; he read his Arabic chronicle, translating it orally into Turkish as he went along, to the Sulṭān al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf in the long and frequent interviews he had with him. For the rest, the one-time Ṣūfī of the Barḳūḳiyya, now become a perfect courtier, composed panegyrics in honour of his masters (a *Life of Muʾayyad*, a *Eulogy of al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf*). Appointed in 829/1425-6 chief *ḳāḍī* of the Ḥanafīs, he occupied this post for 12 consecutive years. In 846/1442-3, he even succeeded in combining the offices of *muḥtasib*, inspector of pious foundations and chief *ḳāḍī* of the Ḥanafīs, a unique achievement according to his biographers. In addition he was professor at the Muʾayyadiyya *madrasa*. He lost favour in 853/1449-50 and died two years later (4 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 855/28 December 1451). He was buried in the ʿAyniyya *madrasa*, which he had founded and where, later on, another commentator of al-Buk̲h̲ārī, al-Ḳasṭallānī, also found his resting place.

The life of al-ʿAynī affords a most interesting testimony on the relationships of the scholar class with the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. This scholar took an active part in the intellectual movement of his century and was in contact, though on rather bad terms, with two of the most outstanding men in Muslim science of the period, al-Maḳrīzī and the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-Asḳalānī; he supplanted the former in the office of *muḥtasib*, thus incurring his hatred; he sustained a very lively argument against the latter concerning his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buk̲h̲ārī.

Al-ʿAynī's works are very numerous; some of them are in Turkish, though the majority are in Arabic. The three best known are: (1) his general history called *ʿIḳd al-D̲j̲umān fī Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ahl al-Zamān* (an extract in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. or.*, II^{a}, 183-254); (2) his commentary on the poetical examples cited in four commentaries of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, entitled *al-Maḳāṣid al-Naḥwiyya fī S̲h̲arḥ S̲h̲awāhid S̲h̲urūḥ al-Alfiyya* (printed on the margin of the *K̲h̲izānat al-Adab* of al-Bag̲h̲dādī, Būlāḳ 1299, 4 volumes); (3) his great commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buk̲h̲ārī, entitled *ʿUmdat al-Ḳārī fī S̲h̲arḥ al-Buk̲h̲ārī* (printed in Cairo 1308, and Constantinople 1309-1310, 11 volumes); in this last work, al-ʿAynī shows proof of a certain method, which contrasts with the usual confused disorder prevalent in the work of Muslim exegetes; in the study of each *ḥadīt̲h̲* he proceeds in the following order: connexion between the *ḥadīt̲h̲* and the chapter heading; study of the *isnād*, of its peculiarities and its authorities; enumeration of other works or other chapters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* where the *ḥadīt̲h̲* occurs; study of the literal sense; study of the juridical or ethical rules which can be deduced from the *ḥadīt̲h̲*.

Bibliography: Quatremère, *Histoire des Mamlouks*, I^{b}, 219 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, 489; Brockelmann, II, 52, 53, S II 50-1; on the al-ʿAynī and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar controversy: Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, II, xxiv. (W. Marçais)

ʿAYNṬĀB (Arm. Antaph, Lat. Hamtab, to-day Antep or Gaziantep since 1921: ethnically *ʿaynī* and also *ʿanṭabī*, see *1001 Nights*, Night 864, Cairo edition) important town, chief place of a *vilāyet* in the south-east of Anatolia, with 50,965 inhabitants (1935). The *vilāyet* has five *kazas*: Gaziantep, Kilis, Nizip, Islahiya and Pazarcik.

The town is situated on the upper Sad̲j̲ūr, a tributary of the Euphrates, near the junction of two important roads, one running north-south from Marʿas̲h̲ to Aleppo, with a fork just south of Marʿas̲h̲ to Malaṭya; the other east-west; the latter runs from Diyarbakir, Urfa (Edessa) and Bired̲j̲ik on the Euphrates, and, after following a short section of the Marʿas̲h̲ road just outside Gaziantep, branches off towards Adana. Secondary roads also diverge from Gaziantep, one to Besni (Bahasnā) to the north-east, the other to the Syrian frontier in the south-east. A new railway line links, through Gaziantep, the Adana-Malaṭya line to the Bag̲h̲dād line, thus avoiding the détour into Syrian territory via Aleppo. Gaziantep is 55 km. from Bired̲j̲ek, 45 from the Syrian frontier and 100 from Aleppo.

The region of ʿAynṭāb has always been the hub of important routes, but it was Dolichè (Dulūk, now Dülükbaba), a little to the north-east, which in ancient times took the place of ʿAynṭāb, and the latter, which was probably the Diba of Ptolemy, the Tyba of Cicero, was only a dependency of it. It was not until Dulūk had been taken by the Byzantines in 351/962 under the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla that ʿAynṭāb began to assume the importance lost by Dulūk, with which Yāḳūt wrongly identifies it. On the eve of the First Crusade it was part of the domain of the Armenian Philaretus. It was allotted in fief, with Tell Bās̲h̲ir, to Joscelin of Courteney, vassal of Baldwin of Le Bourg, count of Edessa, then to his son Joscelin II. After the capture of Joscelin II by the troops of Nūr al-Dīn in 1150, it was ceded by the Franks, together with the rest of the region, to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, but in 1151 the Sald̲j̲ūḳ of Ḳonya, Masʿūd, annexed it. After his death in 1153, it was taken by Nūr al-Dīn. It was from then on part of the province of Aleppo and was an advance post, first for the Ayyūbids and then the Mamlūks, against the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and the Armenians. It was temporarily occupied by the Mongols in the course of their expeditions against northern Syria in 1271 and 1280. Taken in 1400 by Tīmūr, it was then annexed by Ḳarā Yūsuf of the Turkomān dynasty of the Ḳara-Koyūnlū, master of the two ʿIrāḳs, and then it passed to the Turkomān dynasty of the D̲h̲uʾl-Ḳadr, who submitted to the Ottomans in the 16th century. It was from then on part of the Ottoman empire, and was only temporarily detached to Egypt in the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī, between 1832 and 1840. At the end of the First World War, ʿAynṭāb was occupied by the English in 1919, then by the French until 1921.

Before the First World War ʿAynṭāb contained a large proportion of Armenians, nearly a third of its total population. It was also the centre of an American mission which had a college there. The region is also the centre of the preserve or must of grapes called *pekmez*. It was a stronghold with its citadel towering on a great mound of which the ruins are still visible.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 759; Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 205; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii/2, 45; Ibn S̲h̲addād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-Khaṭīra*, MS. in the Vatican, f. 156 r., (*cf.* A. Ledit, in *Mashriḳ*, xxxiii 1935, 211-2 under Dulūk); Ibn al-S̲h̲iḥna, *al-Durr al-Muntak̲h̲ab*, Beirut 1909, 171-2 and *passim*; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, Damascus, 1951-4, ii, 302-311; *RHC*, Or. I and III in the index; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, Oxford 1932, i 277, 281, 315, 372-3, 400; G̲h̲azzī, *al-Nahr al-D̲h̲ahab fī Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, Aleppo 1927, i, 416-55; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 1034 ff.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii,

188 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 42,386; Honigmann, *Hist. Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, in *ZDPV*, 1923-4 no. 160; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie antique et médieval,é* Paris 1927, 299, 434, 472 and *passim*; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisàdes*, 1934-6, i, 49, 392, ii, 192, 296-7, 299 ff., 302 ff., 306-7, iii, 661, 697; Cl.Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 115 ff., 118, 388, 405, 705. For the fighting round ʿAynṭāb in 1920, see Andréa, *La vie militaire au Levant*, Paris 1923, — see also the article Ayintab in *IA*, which lists the Turkish monographs on the town. (M. CANARD)

AYT, a Berber word meaning "sons of", the singular of which, *w* (and var.: *u, aw, əg, ag(g), i*) appears in compounds and before proper nouns. *Ayt* consists of a suffix of number *t*, a complementary element *a* and the radical velar sonant *w* palatalised as the second element of a diphthong; it is known to most of the Berber dialects, which use it either in compounds (thus: *ayt-ma* "sons of mother = brothers"), or before a proper noun to indicate a tribe (Ayt Izdəg, Ayt Warayn, etc.), in the same conditions as the Arabic *Banū* (>*Bnī*) or Awlād (> *Ūlād*); in the more evolved dialects, *Ayt* tends to be replaced by these Arabic terms, but it is still very prevalent in the more conservative dialects (particularly in Morocco, where, however, in the Sūs, it is challenged by a composite *id-aw*: Id-aw Səmlal); in the spirant dialects (Rif, Kabylia, etc.), the evolved form *Ath*, from which the actual radical has disappeared, has replaced *Ayt* (*Ath* Iznasən, *Ath* Iratən, etc.). In Touareg, *ayt* is very prevalent in its primary function (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1951, iii, 1440 ff.), but in the names of tribes, although it is known, it disappears before *Kgl* (Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. abrégé touareg-français des noms propres*, Paris 1940, *passim*). (CH. PELLAT)

AYWALİK (Greek Kydonia), small town on the Aegean coast of western Anatolia. Situated on a peninsula in the gulf of Edremit, 39° 18′ north, 26° 40′ east, opposite the island of Mytilene (Midilli). It is the capital of a *ḳaḍā* of the same name in the *wilāyet* of Balikesir [*q.v.*]. In 1945 it had 13,650 inhabitants (V. Cuinet gives the number 20,974—largely Greek Orthodox—for the end of the last century), and the *ḳaḍā* 24,742. There is a small group of islands in the gulf, called the Yund Adalarî, in antiquity known as Hekatonnesoi.

Aywalik was completely destroyed in the Greek War of Independence (1236/1821), but soon regained its former prosperity. Following the agreement between Turkey and Greece (30th January 1923) to exchange minorities, the Greek population—which had hitherto formed the greater part of the inhabitants—left, and was replaced by returning Turks from Midilli, Crete and Macedonia. Today the population is exclusively Turkish and Muslim.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 2799 (Hekatonnesoi); ix, 2307 (Kydonia); A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* i, 31 and 86 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 207; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 268-71; Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, xi, 283-5 (details concerning the reasons for the destruction of the town); *IA*, ii, 78 (Besim Darkot). (FR. TAESCHNER)

AYWĀN [see ĪWĀN].

AYWAZ, ʿAYWAḌ. (1) A term applied to the footmen employed in great households in the later Ottoman Empire. They were generally Armenians of Van, sometimes Kurds. A *ḥukm-i sherīf* to the çavushbashî, dated Rabīʿ I 1164/January-February 1751, speaks of "the Armenian *dhimmī*s who have for some little time been employed in the houses of the *ridjāl-i dewlet-i ʿaliyye*" and who drink wine and steal in their places of employment and evade payment of *djizya*: henceforth Armenian and Greek *dhimmī*s are not to be employed in the houses of the great, but are to be replaced by Muslims (Ahmet Refik, *Hicrî on ikinci asirda Istanbul hayatî*, Istanbul 1930, 171). To what extent Greeks were in fact so employed is not clear. This order could have had no lasting effect, for an *aywaz* called Sergis, an Armenian of Van, is one of the stock figures in the Ḳaragöz shadow-plays: in modern Arabic he is known as *ʿeywāz*, and has a wife, Umm Maʿwaẓa (A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Paris 1935-54, 562, 567).

The duties of the *aywaz* included waiting at table, lighting and stoking the *mangals*, filling and cleaning the lamps, and doing the shopping for the household (*bazara giden* in the *ḥukm* quoted above). There is reason to suppose that this last duty was sometimes a source of profit to both servant and tradesman: *ayvaz kasap hep bir hesap* ("*aywaz* and butcher; it all amounts to the same") is still a Turkish saying used of two identical things. A senior *aywaz* who acted as steward was entitled *aywaz kyaḥya* (*ketkhudā*).

The usual dress of an *aywaz* was a purple jacket, waistcoat and trousers, variously coloured woollen stockings and black shoes, with a white towel over the shoulders, a broadstriped apron, and a fez surrounded by a turban.

Pakalîn (see Bibliography) states that certain men-servants in government offices were also called *aywaz*, and that there was an *aywaz* in the Foreign Ministry "till recently", whose job was to clean the carpets.

The origin of the word is dubious: it is thought to be a corruption of the Arabic *ʿiwaḍ* (so *IA*: see Bibliography): the plural *aʿwāḍ* would seem a more likely etymon, on formal grounds, though *ʿayvaz* is the form taken by the Arabic *ʿiwaḍ* in the dialect of Gaziantep (Ömer Asîm Aksoy, *Gaziantep ağzî*, Istanbul 1945-6, iii, 60). Either way, the connexion of ideas is hard to see.

(2) Ayvaz (ʿAywāḍ or ʿIwaḍ Khān) is the name of a leading character in the Köroghlu folktales: he is the son of a butcher (from Georgia, Urfa, or Üsküdar in the several versions), who is kidnapped by Köroghlu and eventually becomes his most valiant follower (see Pertev Naili, *Köroğlu destanî*, Istanbul 1931, passim; and Pertev Naili Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946, Index s.v. Ayvaz).

Bibliography: *IA*, article *Ayvaz*, by Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, from which the present article is largely drawn, as is the article Ayvaz in M. Z. Pakalîn, *Osmanlî tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-56. (G. L. LEWIS)

AYYĀM AL-ʿADJŪZ "the days of the old woman". In the Islamic countries bordering on or near to the Mediterranean, certain days of recurrent bad weather, generally towards the end of winter, are called "days of the old woman". This expression, which is old, is also to be met with in contemporary folklore. It refers to a period of variable duration, from one to ten days, though more frequently of one, five or seven days duration. Its place in the yearly cycle varies according to the country. There is only

one reference mentioning the winter solstice (see R. Basset). It often involves the last four (or three) days of February and the first three (or four) days of March (months of the Julian calendar or their equivalents): this is the case with the Turks, in Syria and the Lebanon and in Egypt. These seven days each have a special name: Ṣinn, Ṣinnabar, Wabr, Āmir, Muʾtamir, Muʿallil, Muṭfiʾ al-Djamr (var. Mukfī al-Ẓaʿn); if there are five days, the fourth, fifth and sixth names are omitted: the study of these eight names has still to be undertaken (see an interpretation in R. Basset). In the West, this seven day period at the end of February and the beginning of March bears another name, and it is the last day of January or the first of February which is connected with the legends about the "old woman", though it is rarely called "day of the old woman". In point of fact, this appellation, even in the East, has numerous variants based on Arabic, to which must be added, for the West, the Berber variants: 1.—"days of the old women"; or indeed "cold of the old woman" (Turkey, Persia, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt); "the old woman" (Berber Morocco); 2.—"the borrowed day or days" (Syria, Lebanon, Kabylia, Northern Morocco). 3.—"cold or bad weather or period of the goat" (Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco). These various expressions are almost always connected with a legendary commentary in which an old woman is the main actor; an old woman dead from cold, an old woman predicting a cold spell, an old woman killed by the wind when the people of ʿĀd were exterminated, in the case of the old texts, and, as regards contemporary folklore, in the majority of cases, a story about the old woman and her calf, her goat or her flock, combined with the legend of the borrowed days, explaining why February has only 28 days (hence the expressions 2 and 3 above). This legendary old woman seems to come from remote ages. No doubt this tradition should be linked with those existing in the countries of Europe and which concern certain meteorological phenomena, certain place names and perhaps certain themes of folklore involving an old woman.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ*, ed. Hamidullah-Pellat, Haydarābād 1956, para. 73, 130; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vol. iii, 410-1; *Calendria Cordova*, 26th February-2nd March; Ḳazwīnī, *Kitāb ʿAdjab al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848-9, 77; idem, *Calendarium syriacum* . . ., ed. Volck, Leipzig 1859, 4, 13, 27 n. 42 (text and translation and notes in Latin with references to old variants of the legend); Ḥarīrī, *Séances*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris 1822, 256; 1853, i, 295, ii, 131; *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannāʾ de Marrakech* . . ., ed. H. P. J. Renaud, Paris 1948, 15, 33, 35, Lane; *Lexicon* 1961; R. Basset, *Les jours d'emprunt chez les Arabes* in *Revue des traditions populaires*, 1890, 151-153; Westermark, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 161-2, 174-5; idem, *Ceremonies and beliefs connected with agriculture* . . . *in Morocco*, Helsingfors 1913, 71; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 295, 301; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textes arabes de l'Ouargha* . . ., Paris 1922, 101, 151 and n. 1; P. Galand-Pernet, *La vieille et la légende des jours d'emprunt au Maroc*, in *Hesperis*, 1958/1-2, 29-94).

(P. GALAND-PERNET)

AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB, "Days of the Arabs", is the name which in Arabian legend is applied to those combats (cf. *Lisān*, s.v. *yawm* xvi, 139, 1 according to Ibn al-Sikkīt) which the Arabian tribes fought amongst themselves in the pre-Islamic (sometimes also early Islamic) era. The particular days are called for example *Yawm Buʿāth* = "Day of Buʿāth", or *Yawm Dhī Ḳār* = "Day of Dhū Ḳār". Their number is considerable. Many of them however are not commemorative of proper battles like the "Day of Dhū Ḳār", but only of insignificant skirmishes or frays, in which instead of the whole tribes, only a few families or individuals opposed one another. The Arabs themselves sometimes noticed this fact. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār for example, when speaking of the combats between the Aws and Khazradj tribes, observes that only on the day of Buʿāth a proper battle had been fought, and that on the remaining days the fight had been limited to throwing of stones and beating with sticks (*Aghānī*, ii, 162, l. 12; this passage was evidently derived from Zubayr's account of the combats between the Aws and Khazradj, which is mentioned in the *Fihrist* i, 110). The number of these combats, handed down by tradition, has moreover been increased by the fact that a great many were called by different names after the settlements, well-springs, hills etc., near which they took place. Consequently one and the same occurrence has been recorded in various places under different names.

The course of events on each individual day follows a somewhat similar pattern. In this respect what has been said by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 28 ff.) about the particular combats between the Aws and Khazradj, applies to the Ayyām in general. At first only a few men come to blows with one another, perhaps in consequence of a border dispute, or some insult offered to the protégés of a man of influence. Then the quarrel of a few grows into the hostility of whole races or even of entire tribes. They meet in battle. Bloodshed is generally followed by the intervention of some neutral family. Peace is soon restored. The tribe which has lost fewer men, pays to the adversary the price of blood for the surplus of dead bodies.

The accounts of the Ayyām, written in good old prose, together with the ancient poems, supply excellent information concerning conditions before Islām. They especially afford us an insight into the chivalrous spirit, by which the old Arabian warriors were inspired. Popular memory kept the recollection of these heroes alive for centuries. Hence similar subject-matter to that found in the Ayyām often recurs in later popular romances, drawn out, it is true, in legendary fashion. One example may suffice: Zīr, a hero of the *Siyar Banī Hilāl* is none other than Muhalhil, brother to Kulayb Wāʾil, who acts a leading part in the Basūs war between the Bakr and Taghlib tribes (Muhalhil is already called al-Zīr = "the visitor of women" in *Aghānī*ʾ iv, 143, 13).

Tradition affirms (cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1302, iii, 61 towards the end), that Muḥammad's companions already discussed the events of the *Djāhiliyya* in their assemblies (*madjālis*). Consequently the Ayyām al-ʿArab afforded at an early period a favourite subject of study to the *Akhbāriyyūn*, i.e. traditionists, who were engaged on the *Akhbār al-ʿArab*, the old Arabian tales, amongst which the Ayyām are included. In the *Fihrist* (*maḳāla* iii, *fann* i) several of these authors are mentioned as having written narratives of particular battle-days or of all of them. None of these works on the Ayyām has come down to us in its original form; but considerable extracts by

subsequent writers are extant. Most of these have borrowed from Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825). Of his work on our subject only the title is mentioned in the *Fihrist* (i, 53 ff.). Something more concerning him is reported by Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 741, who is followed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 499 no. 1513 s.v. *ʿIlm ʿAyyām al-ʿArab*). According to these authorities Abū ʿUbayda wrote two books on the Ayyām, a shorter one describing 75 days, and a more extensive one, in which he treats of 1,200.

The information concerning the Ayyām which later writers have preserved, is partly given in scattered bits, and partly in entire chapters in proper sequence. Instances of the former are found in al-Tibrīzī's *Ḥamāsa* commentary, in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, where they are inserted by way of explanation of events alluded to in the ancient verses, in the collections of proverbs, and in the works on geography (al-Bakrī, Yāḳūt). Examples of the latter are contained in the *ʿIḳd al-Farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (iii, 61 *ff*.), in al-Nuwayrī's encyclopaedia *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (*fann* v, *ḳism* iv, *kitāb* v) and in Ibn al-Athīr's historical work *al-Kāmil fi 'l-Taʾrīkh* (i, 367-517).

The account in the *ʿIḳd* was probably based on the minor work of Abū ʿUbayda. It is very concise, often to such an extent as to obscure the meaning, which can only be ascertained by comparison with more detailed accounts by other writers. Al-Nuwayrī has—apart from details—copied the whole chapter on the Ayyām from the *ʿIḳd*. Ibn al-Athīr has tried to arrange the separate "Days" in chronological order, in accordance with the character of his history. His account goes into greater detail than that of the *ʿIḳd*. A great deal of it must doubtless be traced back, either directly or indirectly, to the larger version of Abū ʿUbayda's work; much also to other sources all of which cannot be retraced.

Finally, it should also be noted that al-Maydānī treats of the Ayyām al-ʿArab in the 29th chapter of his *Madjmaʿ al-Amthāl*. His narratives are extremely short, but very useful for quick orientation. He restricts himself as a rule to giving the pronunciation of the name, explaining its meaning and enumerating the tribes which engaged in the battle. In this way 132 pre-Islamic days are dealt with by al-Maydānī. In addition to those, 88 Islamic days are moreover enumerated in a second section of that chapter. For further bibliography cf. E. Mittwoch, *Proelia Arabum paganorum* (*Ajjâm al-ʿArab*) *quomodo litteris tradita sint* (Diss.) Berlin 1899; C. I. Lyall, *Ibn al-Kalbī's account of the First Day of al-Kulāb*, in *Orientalische Studien* (Nöldeke-Festschrift) 127-154; W. Caskel, *Aijām al-ʿArab*, in *Islamica*, iii, Suppl. (1930), 1-99; I. Lichtenstädter, *Women in the Aiyam al-Arab*, London 1935. (E. MITTWOCH)

AYYĀR [see TAʾRĪKH].

ʿAYYĀR, literally 'rascal, tramp, vagabond'; Arabic pl. *ʿayyārūn*, Persian pl. *ʿayyārān*. From the 9th to the 12th century it was the name for certain warriors who were grouped together under the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] in ʿIraḳ and Persia, and gradually also in Transjordania, similar to the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*] in Syria and Mesopotamia, and to the *rindān* (v. AKHĪ) in Anatolia. Occasionally, the term is used to mean the same as *fityān* (v. FATĀ). Thus one of their leaders might sometimes be referred to as *sar-ʿayyārān*, and sometimes as *raʾīs al-fityān*. On occasions they appeared as fighters for the faith in the inner Asian border regions, on others they formed the opposition party in towns and came into power at times of weakness of the official government, when they indulged in a rule of terror against the wealthy part of the population, as they did, for instance, in Baghdād in the years 1135-44.

It is perhaps of interest, concerning the attitude of the *ʿayyārān*, that in the *Kābūs-nāma* (written in 475/1082), or *Andarz-nāma*, ed. R. Levy, 142, ll. 13-143, l. 4; trans. 248, there is mention of rivalry between the *ʿayyārān* of Marw and those of Ḳuhistān over the *futuwwa* (*djuwānmardī*) being resolved by virtue of "juridical expedients" (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]). In Ṣūfī literature there is mention of a Ṣūfī by the name of Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār al-Nīsābūrī as a representative of the *futuwwa* (cf. R. Hartmann in *ZDMG* 72, 1918, 195; and idem, in *Der Islam*. 8, 1918, 191; Fr. Taeschner in: *Der Islam*, 24, 1937, 50 f.). At any rate, a distinction was made between the *ʿayyārān* and the Ṣūfīs as far as the *futuwwa* was concerned. In this connexion, the following remark is of some interest: Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072) mentions that this very Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār has said that the *futuwwa* of the *ʿayyārān* consisted in their wearing the *murakkaʿa* of the Ṣūfīs, in other words that they behave like Ṣūfīs and keep the holy law, the *sharīʿa*, whereas the *futuwwa* of the Ṣūfīs of the Malāmatī persuasion (see MALĀMATIYYA) consisted not in wearing any external marks, but in keeping the mystical spirit (*ḥaḳīḳa*). (The *Kashf al-maḥjúb* . . . . . . by ʿAlí . . . . al-Hujwírí, transl. . . . . by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden and London 1911, 183; *Kitāb-i Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, ed. V. Schukovskij, Leningrad 1926, 228. lines 10-18; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, i, 332, lines 9-16). The same Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār defines the difference between these two *futuwwa* by saying that the one of the *ʿayyārān* consists in faithfulness to the spoken word, whilst that of the gnostics (*ʿārifūn*, i.e. the Ṣūfīs) consists in faithfulness to the spirit. This report first appears in Ibn Djaʿdawayhi (5th/11th century) (Fr. Taeschner in: *Documenta Islamica inedita, Festschrift R. Hartmann*, Berlin 1952, Sentence No. 19, 113 and 118).

Bibliography: Apart from works already mentioned in the article: Compilation of excerpts concerning the *ʿayyārūn* (*ʿayyārān*) by Fr. Taeschner in: *Die Welt als Geschichte*, iv, 1938, 390-392; idem, in: *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft*, ed. R. Hartmann and H. Scheel, Leipzig 1944, 348-352; idem, in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 1956, 132-135. Concerning the rule of the *ʿayyārūn* in Baghdād between 1135 and 1144, compare my review of Gerard Salinger's essay, *Was the Futuwwa an Oriental form of Chivalry*? in: *Oriens* 5 (1952), 332-336, where the relevant passages are translated. (FR. TAESCHNER)

AL-ʿAYYĀSHĪ, ABU 'L-NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. MASʿŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAYYĀSH, a Shīʿite writer of the 3rd/9th century. He was a native of Samarḳand, and was said to have been descended from the tribe of Tamīm. Originally a Sunnī, he was converted while still young to Shīʿism, and studied under the disciples of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl (d. 224/839-al-Ṭūsī 93) and of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Ṭayālisī (al-Astarābādī, 211). He spent his patrimony of over 300,000 dīnārs on scholarship and tradition, and his house was a centre of Shīʿite learning. He is credited with the authorship of over 200 books. Though accused of relating traditions on weak authorities, he is often cited by later Shīʿite writers. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kashshī, author of a well-known Shīʿite biographical work, was his pupil.

Bibliography: al-Kashshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 379; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa* (*Bibl. Ind.* no. 60) 317-320; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿUlamā*ʾ, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1934, 88-9; al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 247-50; al-Astarābādī, *Minhādj al-Maḳāl*, Tehran 1306, 319-310; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Fluegel) 194-6; Brockelmann, S.I. 704; W. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 15, 95.

(B. Lewis)

AL-ʿAYYĀSHĪ, Abū Sālim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, man of letters, traditionist, lawyer and Ṣūfī scholar, born in the Berber tribe of the Aït (Ayt) ʿAyyāsh of the Middle Moroccan Atlas at the end of Shaʿbān 1037/April-May 1628, died of plague in Morocco on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1090/13 December 1679. After having travelled through Morocco "in search of knowledge" and obtained an *idjāza* from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī [*q.v.*], in 1059/1649 he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca going via Touat, Ouargla and Tripoli; then, in 1064/1653-4 he made a second pilgrimage, on returning from which he wrote his *Riḥla*, called *Māʾ al-Mawāʾid* (Fez 1316/1898, 2 vols). This is one of the most important travel accounts for information on the road taken by caravans going from the Maghrib to Mecca, in spite of the fact that the author attaches less importance to describing the countries through which he passed than he does to the enumeration of the celebrated men whom he met, especially scholars and Ṣūfīs; the style of the *Riḥla* is faitly simple when al-ʿAyyāshī is not speaking of Ṣūfism, though it is lacking in colour and vivacity. This work, which enjoys great popularity in the Maghrib, has only been partially translated into French (see A. Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le Sud de l'Algérie* ..., in *Exploration scient. de l'Algérie*, ix, 1846, and Motylinski, *Itinéraires entre Tripoli et l'Égypte*, Algiers 1900). Another travel account, composed in letter form, has been translated into French by M. Lakhdar (*Les étapes du pèlerin de Sidjilmasa à la Mecque et Médine*, in *4e Congrès Fédér. Soc. sav.*, Algiers 1939, ii, 671-88).

Al-ʿAyyāshī is, moreover, the author of several further works: *Manẓūma fi 'l-Buyūʿ*, a treatise in verse on sales, with a commentary; 2) *Tanbīh Dhawī 'l-Himam al-ʿĀliya ʿala 'l-Zuhd fi 'l-Dunyā al-Fāniya*, treatise on Ṣufism; 3) a study on the particle *law*; 4) *al-Ḥukm bi 'l-ʿAdl wa 'l-Inṣāf al-Dāfiʿ li 'l-Khilāf fi-mā waḳaʿa bayn Fuḳahāʾ Sidjilmāssa min al-Ikhtilāf*; 5) *Iḳtifāʾ al-Āthār baʿd Dhahāb Ahl al-Āthār*, biographical collection; 6) *Tuḥfat* (*Itḥāf*) *al-Akhillāʾ bi-Asānīd al-Adjillāʾ*, biographies of his masters (these last two works probably forming his *Fahrasa*).

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, 191; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, ii, 45; Yūsī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, 76, 150; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Āthār*, Būlāḳ 1297/1880, i, 65 (Cairo 1323/1905, i, 68); Ibn Zākūr al-Fāsī, *Nashr Azhār al-Bustān*, Algiers 1902, 60; R. Basset, in *Recueil de mémoires* ... *XIVe Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 31; E. Fagnan, *Cat. mss Bibl. Nat. d'Alger* nos. 1670, 1902; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 262-4 and index; R. Blachère, *Extraits Géog. arabes*, 369 ff.; M. Hadj-Sadok, in *Bull. Ét. Ar.*, Nov.-Dec. 1948, 204-5; Brockelmann, II, 464, S II, 711.

(M. Ben Cheneb-[Ch. Pellat])

AYYIL. The word, for which different pronunciations are transmitted (also *uyyal* and *iyyal*, the latter being considered as the best one), is commonly explained by Arab lexicographers as meaning the mountain-goat (*waʿil*). This identification, however, is not fully borne out by the descriptions of the *ayyil* which are given by Muslim zoologists. Here, the properties and ways of behaviour ascribed to the animal only partly apply to the mountain-goat, while, in the main, they rather point to the deer, which is also in keeping with the meaning commonly attributed to corresponding forms in other Semitic languages. This conclusion, moreover, gets support by a comparison of the terms used in earlier foreign sources and in the respective accounts as transmitted in Arabic zoological literature. However, in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry (see, e.g., *Nöldeke's Belegwörterbuch*, 53, and *TA*, ii, 121₁₈; against Hommel, 279) *ayyil* may actually mean the mountain-goat, since the deer probably never existed in the Arabian peninsula.

These facts can serve as an illustration of the inconsistencies in medieval zoological terminology, which not infrequently denotes different animals by one name and vice versa. For this reason, too, part of the information given by several writers with regard to the *ayyil* is to be found, e.g., in Ḳazwīnī under the heading *baḳar al-waḥsh*. Comp. also Djāḥiẓ, iv, 227 with vii, 30 f. (on *waʿil*). Because of the graphic similarity of *ayyil and ibil* both words have sometimes been confused through mistranscription, and the accounts on either animal became transferred to the other.

A considerable part of the information on the *ayyil* contained in Arabic works goes back to foreign sources, such as Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* (quoted, e.g., by Djāḥiẓ) and the ancient *Physiologus* literature. The latter, especially, contributed a number of fabulous accounts.

According to Arab pharmacologists certain parts of the *ayyil*'s body and in particular its horns can be put to various medicinal uses.

Al-Damīrī does not indicate the rôle of the *ayyil* in the interpretation of dreams, which is pointed out, e.g., in ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī's *Taʿṭīr al-Anām* (s.v.).

Bibliography: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ* i, 166, 167, 170, 172, 176, 184, 185 (transl. Kopf, *Osiris* xii [1956], 463 [index]); Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar i, 222 ff.); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Hommel, *Säugethiere*, index s.v. *Steinbock*; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 72-73; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 99, 100 (transl. Kopf, 75, 76); Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 386-87; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* vii, 32; A. Malouf, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ix, 324 ff.; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324; i, 58-59; al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 12-13; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss.*, liii, 236, n. 1.

(L. Kopf)

AYYŪB, the Biblical Job. The name apparently occurs in pre-Islamic Arabia but only as a name derived from the Biblical story. Job is mentioned twice in the Ḳurʾān in lists of those to whom Allāh had given special guidance and inspiration (iv, 163/161; vi, 84), and fragments of his story are given in xxi, 83-84; xxxviii, 41/40-44, Muḥammad being expressly bidden to make mention of him in his preaching. These fragments merely tell of his suffering affliction at the hands of Satan, crying unto his Lord for relief, and being healed, so that his case becomes an admonition for men. In the story of the miraculous spring by which he was healed there seems to be a confusion with the Naaman story of II Kings v, and in the obscure verse about his

taking a bundle in his hand and striking with it, there may be a similar confusion with the story in II Kings xiii, 14 ff. (See Bell, *Qur'ān*, 454 and *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 162, 163).

Later Muslim writers greatly amplified this meagre Ḳur'ānic account, drawing partly on the Biblical Book of Job, (which Ibn ʿAsākir actually quotes), partly on Rabbinic tales from Talmud and Midrash (for which cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. Job) and the Greek Testament of Job, but also exercising pious imagination in developing various details of the story. That Job was a descendant of Abraham through Isaac is generally agreed, though there is great confusion in the names which appear in his genealogy. His mother was a daughter of Lot. His wife, who figures so largely in the story, is generally called Raḥma, daughter of one of the sons of Joseph, though some said she was Leah the daughter of Jacob (obviously a confusion of Leah with Dinah, who in Rabbinic sources is said to have been Job's wife). His great wealth is described in detail, and his unparalleled kindness and generosity to the poor, the unfortunate, the guest and the stranger. This piety excited the enmity of Iblīs who challenged Allāh to let him test Job. The testing is permitted in three stages, against his property, his family and his body, Iblīs being assisted in the afflicting of Job by the *ʿafārīt* under his command. Job is abandoned by all save his faithful wife, who continues to tend him even when he is cast out on the dunghill, and to his bodily afflictions is added that of lack on understanding on the part of his friends. Failing to move Job by these afflictions Iblīs attempts to seduce him through his wife as he had formerly seduced Adam through Eve. Job, however, sees through his stratagems and takes an oath that he will beat his wife for having listened to Satan. The exegetes are obviously puzzled by Allāh's granting permission for His faithful servant to be so afflicted and so are at pains to suggest a variety of explanations, the favourite being that Job's pride in his piety needed a lesson. Finally Gabriel brings him news of his release from his sufferings by the water of a miraculous spring from which he drinks and in which he bathes and so is restored. His wealth, his property, his children are also restored to him double and he dies at the age of seventy-three in the place where he had lived.

Since he was a prophet (*nabī'*) we are told that he came after Joseph in the prophetic series (though Ibn al-Kalbī placed him after Jonah), that he had a *risāla* and preached to his own community in the Ḥawrān, being peculiar in that he was a prophet whom no one ever treated as false. Job will appear in the events of the Last Day, for at the Accounting Allāh will use him as an example to answer those who seek to excuse their negligence in religion on the ground of their ill health, and he will be the leader of "those who patiently endured" as the various groups make their way to Paradise. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 91 reports that the shrine over his grave was a place of visitation at Nawā near Damascus, where people were still shown the rock on which he sat during his affliction and the spring in which he bathed and was healed (Cf. also Yāḳūt, ii, 645).

Bibliography: The Commentaries on Ḳur'ān, xxi and xxxviii; Ṭabarī, i, 361-364; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1339, 106-114; Kisā'ī (Eisenberg), 179-90; Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Tā'rīkh al-Kabīr*, iii, 190-200; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, i, 220-225; Pseudo-Balkhī, *Le Livre de la Creation* (Huart), iii, 72-5; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 262 ff.; D. Sidersky, *Origines des légendes musulmanes*, 69-72; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Unterschungen*, 100-1. (A. JEFFERY)

AYYŪB KHĀN, the fourth son of Shīr ʿAlī, Amīr of Afghānistān, and brother of Yaʿḳūb Khān. Like all rulers of Afghānistān, Shīr ʿAlī had trouble with his sons. When, in 1873, he nominated his favourite son ʿAbd Allāh Djān as his heir-apparent, Ayyūb Khān fled to Persia. In 1879, when Yaʿḳūb Khān succeeded Shīr ʿAlī as amīr, Ayyūb Khān returned to Afghānistān and was appointed governor of Harāt. Towards the end of the Second Afghān War (1878-80) Lord Lytton's government selected a Sadōzai prince, named Shīr ʿAlī, as the *wālī* of Ḳandahār. From this position he was ousted by Ayyūb Khān, who also decisively defeated a British army under General Burrows at Maiwand, on 27 July 1880. The situation was retrieved by Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts, who marched rapidly from Kābul to Ḳandahār, routing Ayyūb's troops and forcing him to retire on Harāt. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān became Amīr of Kābul, his first task was to extend his control over the country. In July, 1881, Ayyūb Khān, who was in possession of Harāt, declared a *djihād* against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān because he was a British nominee, and occupied Ḳandahār. Towards the end of 1881, he was crushingly defeated by ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who also expelled him from Harāt and forced him to seek refuge at Mashhad in Persia. Once more, in 1887, during the Ghalzai rebellion, he attempted to regain his position in Afghānistān but was defeated and compelled to flee to India. Here he remained until his death on 6 April 1914.

Bibliography: S. Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon*, 1953; S. M. Khan, *Life of Abdur Rahman*, 1900; and Lord Roberts, *Forty-One Years In India*, 1897. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AYYŪB ṢABRĪ PASHA, Ottoman naval officer and author. A graduate of the naval college, he held various appointments, and served for a while in both the Ḥidjāz and Yemen. He died in Istanbul in 1308/1890. He was the author of a number of historical and descriptive works on Arabia, including an account of Mecca and Medina (*Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1301-6), and a history of the Wahhābīs (*Ta'rīkh-i Wahhābiyyān*, Istanbul 1296). Besides these he wrote a biography of the Prophet called *Maḥmūd al-Siyar* (Edirne 1287).

Bibliography: Babinger 372-3; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 451; *Othmānlı Müellifleri*, iii, 26-7.

(B. LEWIS)

AYYŪBIDS. Name of the dynasty founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, which, at the end of the 6th/12th century and in the first half of the 7th/13th century, ruled Egypt, Muslim Syria-Palestine, the major part of Upper Mesopotamia, and the Yemen.

The eponym of the family, Ayyūb b. Shādhī b. Marwān, born in the village of Adjdanaḳān near Dvin (Dabīl) in Armenia, belonged to the Rawwādī clan of the Kurdish tribe of the Hadhbānī, and, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, had been in the service of the Shaddādid dynasty, likewise Kurdish, which had been installed in the government of this region by the Saldjūḳid Sulṭān Alp Arslan in the middle of the preceding century. Gradually, however, all the Kurdish princes and lords were eliminated by the Turks, many of them, to avoid losing everything, entering the service of the latter, with whom their Sunnī ardour and taste for war provided a close affinity. When in 524/1130, the Shad-

dādids lost Dvin, Shādhī entered the service of the Saldjūḳid military governor of ʿIrāḳ, Bihrūz; Bihrūz, who held Takrīt as an *iḳṭaʿ*, made Shādhī governor of that town, a post in which his son Ayyūb soon succeeded him (V. Minorsky, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge 1953, 107-129). It was in this capacity that Ayyūb earned the gratitude of the master of Mawṣil and Aleppo, Zankī (Zangī), who after being defeated by the Caliph, was able, with the help of Ayyūb, to cross the Euphrates and withdraw without a disaster. In the country behind Mawṣil, Zankī first of all adopted a systematic policy of subduing and then of recruiting the Kurds. In 532/1138, Ayyūb entered his service. He was at once used by him in Syria, being appointed governor of Baʿlbak, opposite Damascus. On Zankī's death, Ayyūb placed himself under the Būrid prince of Damascus, who gave him the governorship of that town, whilst his brother Shīrkūh, followed Zankī's son, Nūr al-Dīn, the master of Northern Syria, who gave him Ḥimṣ as an *iḳṭāʿ*. However, the trend of public opinion in Damascus finally led to the unification of Muslim Syria, with a view to the more effective prosecution of the war against the Franks, under the command of the prince with the most power and the greatest enthusiasm for the *djihād*, Nūr al-Dīn; in the surrender of Damascus the activities of the two brothers Shīrkūh and Ayyūb played a major rôle, and Ayyūb chose the side of Nūr al-Dīn, the governor of the Syrian capital.

It is impossible to describe the activities of Shīrkūh in Nūr al-Dīn's service in detail here. The family fortunes began, when he was chosen, rather against his will, by Nūr al-Dīn to lead the army to Egypt, which, at the request of the *wazīr* Shāwar, was to intervene in that country against his adversaries. The result of several years of difficult fighting was the assassination of Shāwar and the proclamation of Shīrkūh as his successor to the wazīrate. It is true that he died a few weeks later (564/1169), but his nephew, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, was with him, and quickly succeeded in getting himself recognised by the occupying troops as his successor.

Ṣalāḥ al-Din (known in Europe as Saladin) is the real founder of the dynasty. Its history can be divided into three periods: that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, a formative period bearing the imprint of his personality, the strongest in the family, to which, however, the policy of his successors was opposed on many points; the period of his early successors, a period of organisation, up to the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil (635/1238); lastly, the period of long-drawn-out decline. Under the second period it will be convenient to group together the study of several problems of interior organisation, which are common to the whole history of the régime.

I. The detailed history of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn cannot be given here, but will be given in the article concerning him; an attempt will only be made to reveal those features which are indispensable for the understanding of the following period, which one has especially in mind when speaking of the Ayyūbids.

Although the assumption of power by Shīrkūh and Ṣalāh al-Dīn took place in Egypt with much the same forms as in the case of the preceding *wazīrs* of the Fāṭimid régime, by the conferring of a diploma by the Caliph al-ʿĀḍid, they were none the less the representatives of the orthodox militant tradition inherited from the Saldjūḳids, more or less common to all the Turkish princes of Muslim Asia at that time, and especially typified by Nūr al-Dīn. In 566/1171, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn considered he was able to suppress the Fāṭimid Caliphate and proclaim the return of Egypt to the family of states owing allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph of Baghdād. For the first time in two centuries, Egypt became officially Sunnī again; in point of fact, the majority of the population had never been won over to the Ismāʿīlism of the Fāṭimids, and although those elements which were most strongly attached to the régime, and which were, moreover, partly of foreign origin, attempted to re-establish their position by revolts, the advent of the new régime was received among the masses with the same passivity which they had shown to its predecessor.

Invested by the Fāṭimid Caliph, then by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, and at the same time a vassal of Nūr al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn found himself in an equivocal position vis-à-vis the latter, which would doubtless have led to conflicts, had Nūr al-Dīn not died in 569/1174. Disagreements and the weakness of his successors produced the immediate result that the dominant military power in the neighbourhood of the "Latin Orient", which for fifty years had resided in Northern Syria, now passed to Egypt. Whilst Nūr al-Dīn's successors dropped the policy of the holy war, which had given the former his prestige and strength, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn adopted the idea, though it is not possible to discern to what extent ambition was combined with undoubtedly sincere conviction. (H. A. R. Gibb, *The Achievement of Saladin*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv-1, 1952, 46-60). However that may be, this idea led him to claim for himself the unified command of the Muslim armies, to win a large share of public opinion for his cause and, ultimately, to constitute to his own advantage a state, in which the heritage of Nūr al-Dīn, including Egypt, Muslim Syria and a part of the Djazīra, was regrouped and extended, in a more solid manner than that of his predecessor's kingdom, at the time of its brief and final apogee; this was an accomplished fact in 1183. At the same time, relatives of his established themselves in the Yemen and one of his generals, Ḳarakush, on the borders of Tunisia.

The power formed in this way enabled Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to utilise the internal crisis of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the difficulties of the Byzantine Empire and the tension which had arisen since 1180 between himself and the Latins, to undertake to drive the latter out of Palestine and Syria. His success was his main title to glory among his contemporaries and posterity; in 583/1187 the Franks were crushed at Ḥaṭṭīn, Jerusalem became Muslim again after eighty years, and in the ensuing months, almost all the Christian territories fell, including a large part of the coast, where only Tyre, Tripoli and Antioch still held out against him.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's power was founded on the strength of the army, and his whole policy required a strong army. This was no longer, with the exception of a few contingents of irregulars, the army of the Fāṭimids. It was the Kurdo-Turkish army, completely alien to the Egyptian population, inherited from Nūr al-Dīn and developed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by means of the resources of Egypt. In 577/1181, the Egyptian army amounted to 111 amīrs, 6,976 *ṭawāshī* (cavalrymen with full equipment) and 1,153 *ḳaraghulām* (second grade cavalrymen), without mentioning the Arab frontiersmen, unfit for foreign campaigns (H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, iii/4, 1951, 304-320). To this

army must be added the Syro-Djazīran contingents, including those of Mawṣil, which the treaty subsequent to the hostilities of 1174-1183 allowed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to call together in case of need: a little over 6,000 men in all. It was with almost his entire forces, some 12,000 horsemen, that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn won the victory at Ḥaṭṭīn and his later successes. But, as was the case with the European armies, such an assembly of troops could not normally be kept on campaign for a protracted period, owing to the revictualling requirements of the soldiers (cf. *infra*). And considerable efforts and conviction would be required to maintain the indispensable effective strength over the whole of the time which the struggle against the Third Crusade lasted. Campaign and siege equipment, which had probably increased in quantity and quality, was also the object of attention, as is shown by the treatise on gun-making of Murḍā (or Marḍī) b. ʿAlī, which has come down to us (ed. Cl. Cahen, in *B. Ét. Or.*, xii, 1948, 108-163).

In the first years of his rule, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had been threatened by the Byzantine, Norman and Italian fleets, using the bases in the Latin Orient. He made a great effort to reconstitute the Mediterranean navy of the Fāṭimids, which had deteriorated in the 6th/12th century as the result of internal troubles and the progress of the Crusaders and the Italians. By this means he was even able to carry out offensive operations against the nearest Frankish ports. The possibility cannot be excluded that the expansion of Ḳarakush along the African coast had as its aim, at the same time as providing an outlet for turbulent Turkomāns, the control of the shores along which Muslim vessels were able to range, and a closer approach to the source of supplies of wood and sailors. The Crusade put an end to this effort, which was weakened by Egypt's inferiority in these last two respects, and it does not seem to have been repeated by his successors (A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history etc.*, in *JAOS.*, LXXV-2, 1955, 100-116).

There is no doubt that it was partly the need to procure the raw materials required by his armament on land and sea, and not only preoccupation with commercial interests, that led Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, very soon after he came to power, to renew and increase the connexions which had existed under the Fāṭimids with the Italian trading cities, including Pisa, which had gone furthest in encouraging the Franks to attack Egypt. Pisans, Genoans and Venetians flocked to Alexandria, where the Venetians found, more than at Acre, compensation for the impossibility of trading at Constantinople, a situation in which the Byzantine government placed them from 1171 to 1184 (Cl. Cahen, *Orient Latin et commerce du Levant*, in *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg*, xxix-8, 1951, 332). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could boast in his letters to the Caliph that Franks themselves were delivering arms to him which were destined to be used against other Franks (Akū Shāma, i, 243).

Saladin also took advantage of political developments in Byzantium and Cyprus to negotiate, unbeknown to either of them, with their princes against the Franks. When he felt the approach of the European menace, he attempted, after having been, via Ḳarakush, the ally of the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya of the Balearic Islands against the Normans and the Almohads, to draw near to the latter to form an alliance, mainly maritime, against the Crusaders: this attempt, however, met with no success (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Mélanges René Basset II*, and Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in *Bull, Fac. Arts Univ. Alexandria*, vi-vii, 1952-3, 24-100). The same reasons explain his negotiations with the Saldjūḳids of Asia Minor.

A war policy, naturally, was expensive and all the evidence goes to show that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was a bad financial administrator, always on the point of going bankrupt. In necessary conformity with the religious ideal with which he infused all his propaganda, he everywhere suppressed the taxes deemed by *fiḳh* to be illegal. Similarly, his desire to eliminate all traces of the Fāṭimid régime, led him to replace the coinage by a new one, of variable weight, in the case of both gold dinars and dirhams, which could no longer be obtained at a fixed value; but the burden of expenditure, the decline in income, especially to begin with, as the result of disorders, the exhaustion of Egyptian gold, the precariousness of the routes towards Sudanese gold, which were controlled by the Almohads, even caused instability in the standard of the dinar, the minting of dirhams containing variable quantities of alloy in addition to the legal Egyptian dirham, (which contained 30 % silver, worth 1/40th. of a dinar), and, as a natural consequence, the disappearance of sound coinage. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and after him, al-ʿAziz, lived on loans from the merchants and amīrs, which were never repaid. Of course, it could be maintained that the profits derived from the war would make it possible, in the long run, to restore financial stability. But this calculation, if ever made, turned out to be wrong, as the result of the Third Crusade (cf. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Contribution to the knowledge of the fiscal administration of Egypt* . . . ., in *BSOAS*, xv-3, 1953 and xvi-3, 1954; *The standard of fineness of gold coins in Egypt* . . . in *JAOS.*. LLXIV/3, 1954; *The crisis of the dinar in the Egypt of Saladin, ibid.*, LXXIV/3, 1956.

One of the results of Saladin's policy was the formation of a coalition, for the salvation of the Latin Orient, of the western forces, which was even joined by the Italian towns, adversely affected by the loss of the Syrian ports. In the end, even if the Franks did not retake Jerusalem, at least they recovered the major part of the Syro-Palestinian coast; moreover, they laid hands on Cyprus, which henceforth provided a secure naval base and a position to which they could withdraw. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was by no means defeated. But the formidable effort which he had had to sustain for two years, convinced him that it was fruitless to wish to expel the Franks, and made a period of *détente* and recovery a matter of urgency. It is impossible to know what Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn might have done, for he died a few months after the conclusion of peace (589/1193).

II. The period of the reigns of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and al-Malik al-Kāmil (died in 635/1238) appears essentially as one of *détente* and organisation after the disorders which followed the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

The first eight years which followed the disappearance of the founder of the dynasty put to the test the conception of family unity which he had entertained as regards his monarchy and succession. He had granted, either in the form of fiefs during his lifetime or as shares in his inheritance, in addition to the Yemen, where two of his brothers reigned in succession, Central and Southern Syria to his son al-Afḍal, Egypt to his other son al-ʿAziz, Aleppo to a third son, al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, whilst Ḥamā passed to his nephew Ṭakī al-Dīn ʿUmar, Ḥimṣ to his cousin, Shīrkūh's grandson, al-Mudjāhid, and lastly the Djazīra to his brother al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr. The

latter, who had played an important rôle during the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a diplomat and administrator, was now the eldest member of the family and indisputably the most eminent of its surviving members. The sons of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who were incapable of doing anything but amuse themselves or wrangle among themselves, upon several occasions sollicited his alliance or his arbitration. Whether or not al-ʿĀdil was an ambitious man, it was becoming clear that the security of the Ayyūbid monarchy required him to take over its destinies. In 597/1200, he had himself proclaimed Sulṭān in Cairo, distributed the governments of Damascus and Djazīra among his sons, and after the last hostilities in 1201, of the other former princes, he only permitted those of Aleppo, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā, who were forced to do homage to him, to continue to exist. Naturally, after al-ʿĀdil's death, similar problems again arose. The presence at that moment (615/1217) of a Crusade at Damietta maintained solidarity for a time around his eldest son, al-Kāmil, who, like him, governed Egypt, and was moreover an imposing personality. Once the Frankish danger was removed, the agreement between him and his brother al-Muʿaẓẓam of Damascus, who died in 625/1228, and then the latter's son and successor, al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd, was disrupted. Al-Kāmil was helped by the loyalty of his other brother Al-Ashraf, to whom he gave Damascus in exchange for Diyār Muḍar, whilst Dāʾūd was relegated to Karak. Then, for a few years, al-Kāmil was the undisputed head of the family; however, a coolness was making itself increasingly felt between al-Ashraf and himself, when the former died (635/1237); al-Kāmil then took Damascus away from the other brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, whom al-Ashraf had designated as his successor, but he himself died at the beginning of the following year; he was the last Ayyūbid who might have been able to unite the whole Ayyūbid family behind him. One should not be misled by the disagreements; up till then there had always been a majority of members of the family willing to place solidarity in the face of their common enemies above their individual interests, and, in one way or another, solidarity had always been restored for half a century or so; after the death of al-Kāmil the situation changed.

Ayyūbid rivalries with neighbouring princes, however, interfered with their dissensions among themselves. In 604/1207, the troubles at Akhlāṭ provided al-Awḥad, the son of al-ʿĀdil and at that time governor of Diyār Bakr, with the possibility of annexing to Ayyūbid territory the inheritance of the Shāh-Armin (upon al-Awḥad's death, he was succeeded there by al-Ashraf). Other annexations were carried out in Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa, and lastly, in 631/1233, that of Āmid and Ḥiṣn Kayfā; only a single branch of the old Artuḳid dynasty subsisted, that of Mārdīn. Thus it was that the Ayyūbids emerged from these wars increased in stature.

However, from about 1225, Mesopotamo-Iranian politics were dominated by the approach of Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubertī, who at the head of his Khwārizmians fleeing before the Mongol invasion, was putting Iran and its borders to fire and sword. Al-Muʿaẓẓam and the Djazīran opponents of al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil adhered to him, and he was eventually able to take Akhlāṭ, which was pillaged in terrible fashion (1229). The Khwārizmshāh then invaded Asia Minor, where the Saldjūḳid Sulṭān was reinforced by al-Ashraf: this time the invader was crushed near Erzindjān (628/1230).

There were more lasting causes of friction between the Saldjūḳids and the Ayyūbids. The interests of the two dynasties had already clashed at Diyār Bakr in the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and in the 13th century the development of the Saldjūḳid power made conflicts inevitable. The Saldjūḳids sought to spread from their mountains over the Arab plains, from Northern Syria to Diyār Bakr. According to circumstances, they achieved this either by attacking the Ayyūbid territories or by posing as the sovereign-protectors of the Aleppo branch against their Egyptian cousins. Al-Ashraf's expedition to the assistance of Kaykubādh gave al-Kāmil the impression that the conquest of the Eastern part of the Saldjūḳid territory would be an easy matter: in 1233, a coalition of all the Ayyūbid forces invaded it. Ignorance of the country and the lack of enthusiasm of some of those taking part led to failure of the enterprise. Later, the Saldjūḳid army took Āmid from al-Kāmil's successors (1241). It had already taken the ruins of Akhlāṭ from the lieutenants of al-Ashraf.

Finally, there were the Christian enemies: the Georgians, whom it had been necessary to fight in the vicinity of this same Akhlāṭ, and, naturally, the Franks themselves. In the latter case, the Ayyūbids drew from the Third Crusade a moral diametrically opposed to the policy of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Their aim was to preserve the peace, by avoiding any hostile action, on the one hand in view of the economic advantages of peaceful relations, and on the other hand to avoid giving any pretext for further crusades. Further crusades did in fact take place, but their immediate initiative came entirely from Europe, rather than from the Franks of the East. Naturally the Ayyūbids took every precaution in their power to resist them, and there was no question of military negligence. The fall of Byzantium and the decline of the Almohads deprived them of the possible allies which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had endeavoured to obtain, and, having relinquished the maintenance of a large and vulnerable fleet, they afforded Egypt protection by the land army, by fortifications, sometimes by destroying coastal installations (Tinnīs), and by espionage. However, with the Crusaders, even al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil had tried as far as possible to replace the costly chances of war by diplomacy.

In accordance with the tendencies of this policy, in 1204 al-ʿĀdil restored to the Franks the coastal places which he was occupying, which reconstituted the continuity of the Frankish territories, with the exception of the enclave of Lādhiḳiya, which belonged to the principality of Aleppo. At the time of the Fifth Crusade, his successor al-Kāmil, whilst calling his brothers in Asia to his assistance, offered to restore Jerusalem to the Franks, who refused it, in exchange for the evacuation of Damietta, and took care to avoid any real battle. It was especially at the time of the Crusade of Frederick II that this attitude was disclosed in a manner most calculated to affect public opinion. Al-Kāmil's desire for peace with the Franks was then strengthened by the menace of al-Muʿaẓẓam, the ally of the Khwārizmians. Aware of circumstances which predisposed the Emperor for his part to negotiations, he finally granted him Jerusalem, with the reservation that it should not be fortified and freedom of worship should be maintained; pious Muslims and pious Christians were equally scandalised. A real friendship arose between the two sovereigns, which was to continue even between their successors.

The principality of Aleppo was confronted by slightly different local problems. These princes,

disturbed at being the only direct descendants of Saladin to confront the family of al-ʿĀdil, sought both to ally themselves with them by marriage and to guard themselves against the masters of Egypt, sometimes through the Ayyūbids of Djazīra, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā, and at other times through the Saldjūḳids of Rūm, and naturally also, at times, with the ones against the others who had encroached too far. The ambitions of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia also troubled them, and they several times intervened, with the Saldjūḳids against it, giving assistance to the Frankish princes of Antioch, who were weaker.

A normal and intended consequence of the peace policy adopted towards the Franks was the resumption and intensification of commercial relations with the Italians (and now, to a lesser extent the Southern French and the Catalans). Even before formal treaties had been concluded once more, as is shown by the private documents in the Venetian and Genoan archives, Genoan, Pisan and Venetian ships, after the Third Crusade, were once again going to Alexandria, and, to a lesser extent to Damietta. Under al-ʿĀdil, a series of agreements confirmed their rights, a reduction in customs' dues and administrative and judicial facilities. Furthermore, the accessibility of the principality of Aleppo to the sea had the result that even in Syria, Italian merchants were to be seen no longer confining themselves to Frankish ports, but were also disembarking at Ladhiḳiya and regularly visiting the markets of Aleppo and Damascus. An important personage of Genoa, William Spinola, seems at one time to have enjoyed al-ʿĀdil's special favour, accompanying him on his journeys through his estates (this can be seen from a comparison between the *Annals of Genoa* used by Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Mittelmeer-Romanen* 121, and Ibn Naṭīf, cited in Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, ii, Appendix, 35, which was unknown to Schaube). Egypt sold to Europe, besides the products of the Indian Ocean which passed through its territory in transit, native resources, the chief of which at this time seems to have been alum. Naturally the Crusades, or the fear of surprise attacks, were liable to provoke crises, as for instance the day in 1215 when three thousand merchants assembled at Alexandria were temporally arrested. But even after the Damietta Crusade, relations were resumed (as is shown among other things by a document of immunity in Arabic from al-Kāmil to the Venetians which is to be published by Subḥī Labīb) and lasted in the main without undue interruption until the middle of the century.

But, though the Italians were the masters in the Mediterranean, and Egypt played a purely passive rôle in trading with them, only making a profit from the taxes and commissions, they were prevented from access to the Red Sea, and the commerce of the Indian Ocean remained exclusively in the hands of the subjects of Muslim (or Hindu) states. We are not in a position to determine exactly what rôle the Egyptians played, or that of the Yemenites or other more easterly peoples. The exact nature of the merchants called Kārimī, specialists at Aden and in Egypt in the trade in products brought from the Indian Ocean and especially spices, still remains obscure; they appear to have existed since Fāṭimid times, but it is in the Ayyūbid period that they really make their appearance in the rôle which was to be more especially theirs in the following century (cf. the elucidations of Goitein and Fischel in the press for the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1958, and G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'Épices* ... in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, 1955). The occupation of the Yemen may have had as its primary motive the hemming in of the supporters of a Fāṭimid restoration or the formation there of an eventual refuge for the Ayyūbids; but its object was doubtless also the improvement, which in any case occurred, of commercial relations, of primary importance for both parties, between the Yemen and Egypt, with whom Yemenite currencies and some measures were aligned (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, ed. Löfgren, 12 ff.).

The almost complete internal peace which Egypt enjoyed, and the relatively long periods of peace from which Syria profited, certainly had a favourable influence, though it is difficult to give precise indications, on their economy, which was also stimulated by the possibilities of trade and which the Ayyūbids deliberately strove to promote, even though only for their fiscal interests. For Syria and the Djazīra we are able to gain a certain idea of their resources through the *Aʿlāḳ* of Ibn Shaddād, who describes the situation on the eve of the Mongol assault; more precisely, for the crafts of Damascus, much information is to be found in the treatise on *ḥisba* composed about 600/1200 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī (ed. ʿArīnī, Cairo 1946, trans. Bernhauer, *Les institutions de police etc.* in *JA*, 1860, where the author is called Nabrawī), apparently the prototype of all successive treatises of this kind in Syria and Egypt. For Egypt, besides the information preserved by al-Maḳrīzī, many indications are to be found in the treatises of Ibn al-Mammātī and al-Nābulusī (cf. *infra*); the latter especially attests al-Kāmil's interest in the maintenance of forests, irrigation works, state cultivation of sugar cane etc. In general, Egypt, in contradistinction to the other Ayyūbid states, remained, as always, the country *par excellence* with a partly nationalised economy, especially for mining and forest production, trade in metals and wood, certain means of transport and tools, arms etc. The *Lamʿ* of al-Nābulusī, a pamphlet composed after the disorders which followed al-Kāmil's death, stresses the harm done by the interference of private undertakings with those of the State, and by the frauds perpetrated by officials at the first relaxation of control.

Under al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil, in addition to the attention paid to economic matters, a strict financial policy was maintained. Al-ʿĀdil's great minister, Ibn Shukr, made himself famous by his competence combined with intractable behaviour towards everyone, including his own sovereign. After him, al-Kāmil maintained an equally energetic control over expenditure and resources (including the *iḳṭāʿ* of the amīrs) and on his death left a treasure almost equivalent to a year's budget. For Egypt, the inquiry carried out by al-Nābulusī in the Fayyūm, although relating only to 642, shows the minuteness of the cadastral survey and accounts (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm ayyūbide*, in *Arabica* iii/1, 1956). For the northern states, Ibn Shaddād has left us lists of taxes for the towns of Aleppo, Manbidj, Sarūdj and Bālis. The care taken with the finances and the economy also made possible the resumption of the large-scale minting of dinars at the standard normal before Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Nevertheless, it seems to have been difficult to check the flight of silver coinage before that of copper (De Boüard, *L'évolution monétaire de l'Égypte medievale*, in *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, 1939).

The internal history of the Ayyūbid states has been the subject of few studies. Yet it is essential that it should be known, especially for Egypt, since it is at this period, by means of a partial break with the Fāṭimid past and the introduction of Saldjūḳid and Zankid traditions from further Asia, but also inevitably with some retention of the Egyptian heritage and with innovations and adaptations, that the foundations were laid of the régime which, to a large extent, the Mamlūks, for two centuries, simply prolonged and completed in detail. Naturally only a few rather incidental allusions can be made here.

The Ayyūbid régime, approximately up to the late years of al-Kāmil, was a semi-feudal family federation, as, for example, had been that of the Būyids and, to a lesser extent, of the Saldjūḳids and Zankids. Under a sovereign to whom all owed allegiance, a certain number of territories were distributed to vassal "princes of the blood" who, apart from the limitations imposed by their primarily military allegiance to the ruler, enjoyed complete autonomy in administering them (cf. for example, the diploma of investiture of a prince of Ḥamā by al-Kāmil preserved at the end of the Chronicle of Ibn Abi 'l-Damm, Oxford Bodl. Marsh 60). Within these great appanages, there were lesser ones, likewise distributed to princes of the blood of second rank or to a few great officers, whose loyalty was to the vassal prince, and whose effective independence was naturally more restricted. It was only still lower down the scale that the military *iḳṭāʿ* properly so-called, of which we shall speak later, were to be found. However, towards the end of al-Kāmil's reign, this régime began to undergo certain modifications; the aggravation of family conflicts obliged the Sulṭān, who during his absence in Egypt had himself represented by a *nāʾib*, sometimes belonging to his family and sometimes not, to replace the princes in the Asiatic provinces also by governors, taken from among their domestic attendents, as for example at Diyār Bakr, Shams al-Dīn Ṣawāb, either standing beside a young prince or not, and whose title of *nāʾib* also stressed his dependence better than any other title would have done. The conditions in which, after al-Kāmil, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb reconstituted Ayyūbid unity, led to the triumph of this centralist conception; moreover, in Egypt, there had never been autonomous appanages, except as a quite exceptional and temporary measure (for example in Fayyūm). In Asia, on the other hand, all the autonomous princes, like the sovereign in Egypt, now bore the title of Sulṭān, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had never officially made use of, perhaps because of its connexion, in the Fāṭimid heritage, with that of *wazīr*; and even the subordinate Ayyūbids bore that of *malik*.

The organisation of the Ayyūbid states, as a natural result of the preceding considerations, was never unified. In general, leaving aside the Yemen, there can be distinguished on the one hand the territories of Asia, which perpetuated Zankid institutions without any great modifications, and on the other, Egypt, where newer institutions were introduced, or at least newer as regards Egypt. As is normal, the central organs of government there were transformed to a greater extent, in relationship to the Egyptian past, than the fundamentals and rules of local administration. An attempt to adjust matters was made, once the initial troubles were over, during the lifetime of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, as is shown by the description of Fāṭimid institutions composed for the new régime by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (extracts in al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn al-Furāt), the treatise of the ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan on *kharādj* (extracts in al-Maḳrīzī) and the famous *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn* of Ibn al-Mammātī, which have been preserved; others could be added, as, for example, a little later the more literary work of Ibn Shīt al-Kurshī on the *dīwāns*. As the counterpart of and a contrast to these methodical accounts, there appeared at the end of the Ayyūbid régime the various treatises, preserved or known only through quotations, of ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī, which are a vivid witness of his concrete experience.

The central government was naturally directed, more or less effectively according to temperament, by the Prince himself; most of the princes holding appanages had a *wazīr*, that is to say, an official who ensured in the Prince's name the unity of direction of the whole administration. But the institution was less usual in Egypt; whatever prestige the ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil may have enjoyed in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's eyes, he certainly never, despite what has been said, bore the title or fulfilled the functions of *wazīr*, first because this sovereign himself performed the functions of government, and second because it was as *wazīr* that he had originally come to power in Egypt in accordance with the late Fāṭimid practice endowing the wazīrate with plenary authority. For quite a long time his brother al-ʿĀdil had the redoubtable Ibn Shukr as his *wazīr*, whom he had learned to value as his associate in directing Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's navy; al-Kāmil took him back for a time, but then subsequently assumed the direction of the administration himself, with the help of high officials, to whom he sometimes, but not always, gave the title of *nāʾib* of the wazīrate. After him, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had as his *wazīr* one of the "Sons of the Shaykh", of whom we shall speak again later. Princes who were minors and orphans had an *atabeg* [*q.v.*]. The *ustādhdār*, a kind of intendant of the Sovereign's "Household", played an important political rôle.

Below the prince and the *wazīr*, the central administration was divided between the *dīwāns*, the names and attributions of which no longer exactly corresponded to those of the Fāṭimid period. It was essentially the army for which the régime still operated, hence the importance of the *Dīwān al-Djuyūsh*, a section of which dealt with the *iḳṭāʿ* and, in this respect, possessed a competency which in part coincided with that of the *Dīwān* of Finance; on this latter were dependent all questions of taxation, income and expenditure, and the Treasury, with a section devoted to the finances of 'the Gate' itself; it is described in detail, with the exclusion of the others, in the treatise of Ibn al-Mammātī. The third great *Dīwān*, which in certain respects was pre-eminent among those just mentioned, was the *Dīwān al Inshāʾ*, the Chancery, entrusted with correspondence and the composition of diplomas; of this the director enjoying the greatest reputation was al-Fāḍil, who had been taken over from the Fāṭimid regime (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, who emulated him in belles-lettres, was private secretary to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn). Finally, marginal, though of no less importance, was the *Dīwān* of the *ḥubūs*, indicated by al-Nābulusī, which naturally enjoyed complete autonomy as against those just mentioned. The Ayyūbids adopted the Saldjūḳid *ṭughrāʾ*, which they distorted (Cl. Cahen, in *BSOAS*, xiv/1, 42). The work of these offices involved large numbers of documents and employees supervising

one another. The most striking institution of the Ayyūbid régime seems to have been the *shadd*, the office of the *mushidd*. The administration was dependent, naturally, on a native personnel, frequently Copts, who alone possessed the requisite traditional training; but either because it did not inspire sufficient confidence or because on its own it had insufficient power to make its decisions effective against powerful, especially military officials, there was attached to each *Dīwān* and also, perhaps, to the *Dīwān*s as a whole, a *mushidd*, that is to say an amīr entrusted with the supervision of the ordinary civil administration, which he supported with his own military contingents.

The army seems to have had contingents at least equal to those of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time and, in case of need, it could of course be temporarily augmented by the distribution of new provisional *iḳṭāʿ*. Though pay or direct distribution did not entirely disappear, the *iḳṭāʿ*, however, was the main source of revenue for the army, or at least for the amīrs. The Ayyūbid *iḳṭāʿ* was connected with both the Fāṭimid and Saldjūḳid traditions, but, especially in Egypt, did not exactly correspond to either of these models. It was freer, economically, than the Fāṭimid *iḳṭāʿ*, in the sense that it was no longer subject to tithes; but, compared with the Zankid *iḳṭāʿ*, which conferred on the holder a kind of seigneurial autonomy over his territory, it was much more closely incorporated in the State administration: although the *muḳṭāʿ* was responsible for some items of expenditure, in reality he possessed no actual administrative rights, being merely the assignee of a definite revenue, the composition of which did not depend on him, and which could be withdrawn from him or transferred elsewhere at any time. This revenue was calculated according to an estimate, *ʿibra*, in a unit of account, the *dīnār djayshī*, which was made up of a specific combination of payments in cash and in kind from the crops; however, generally speaking, it was the interested party who, at the time of the harvest, was obliged to go and supervise the levying of the tax due to him (hence the difficulty of maintaining an army in the field for any considerable time). The *iḳṭāʿ* of the great amīrs were, generally speaking, made up of parcels of land at a distance from one another. The number of men, which the *muḳṭāʿ* could and had to maintain on them, was stated precisely (likewise in the Ayyūbid territories in Syria), and it became the custom, unknown until then, to speak of amīrs of 10 men, 100 men etc. (Cf. Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iḳṭāʿ*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953).

One of the weaknesses of this army lay in the fact that the various corps of which it was constituted were lacking in unity and were mutually jealous. A few traces of ethnic hostility can be found between Kurds and Turks. It does not appear to be attributable to any great extent to the fact that the former were apparently free men and the latter, at least prior to their promotion to the amīrate, slaves. The most seriously significant factor was that each ruler tended to form a body of troops of his own, acquired by him individually and therefore personally devoted to his cause; the disappearance of a ruler, however, did not entail that of the body or bodies of troops formed by him, within which there prevailed a vigilant solidarity, arising out of fear of the new bodies of troops. The rivalries between *asadiyya* (from Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh), *ṣalāḥiyya*, *ʿādiliyya*, *kāmiliyya*, *ashrafiyya* etc. play a great part in the quarrels between Ayyūbid pretenders.

The military policy of the Ayyūbids was completed by the construction of impressive fortresses both urban (Aleppo, Cairo etc.) and rural, which they matched especially against those of the Crusaders.

At times there has been speculation as to the extent to which certain characteristics of the Ayyūbids can be attributed to their "Kurdism". Considerations of this kind too often derive from gratuitous prejudices and falsified information. It does not seem that the presence of Turks beside Kurds in the Ayyūbid regime differed profoundly from that of Kurds beside the Turks in the Zankid régime, and both institutionally and intellectually the two régimes are related, allowance being made for the consequences of environmental conditions. Yet it is probably not a matter of chance that the Ayyūbids sought to expand to Diyār Bakr and Akhlāṭ, that is to say towards their country of origin, or at least into Kurdish territory, so as to ensure the continuity of Kurdish recruitment. However, within the actual dynasty, in the course of successive generations, Turkish and Kurdish blood was mixed; and we shall see that in its last days the régime divested itself of its Kurdish aspect.

The Ayyūbids in any case, like the Zankids and their other contemporaries, were staunch Sunnī Muslims, working, under the aegis of the sovereign, to promote Orthodox Islam against heresy. This attitude was first of all revealed by the reintroduction of Egypt into the ʿAbbāsid family, and more durably, at a time when the Caliph al-Nāṣir had restored a certain prestige to the Caliphate, it was manifested by an expression of respect, of a concordance of opinions which, whilst naturally not diminishing the autonomy of the Ayyūbids, were not however purely verbal, authorising, for example, in the settlement of disputes, the frequently effective mediation of such caliphal ambassadors as Ibn al-Djawzī. Furthermore, the Ayyūbids, like other rulers of their times, entered the kind of *futuwwa* order by which al-Nāṣir tried to take in hand the lower classes of Baghdād and at the same time consolidate his administration and reassert his moral authority among the aristocracy; he hoped to associate the princes with himself in this undertaking, both in order to attach them to himself and to enable them to conduct a similar line of action among their own people (cf. the latest assessment of this question by Fr. Taeschner, *Die Futuwwa* etc., in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, LIII, 1956).

The orthodox attitude of the Ayyūbids is also shown in the concrete encouragement which they and their high dignitaries gave, after the Saldjūḳids and Zankids, to increasing the numbers of *madrasas* in Syria and the Djazīra, and to their introduction into Egypt. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb appears to have been the initiator of a new form, the *madrasa* for the four rites including in its buildings the tomb of the founder. On the other hand, the Ayyūbids welcomed the mystical orders, often originating in the East, for whom they founded various *khānaḳāh*s, under the direction of a *shaykh of shaykhs*. More generally evident is the fact that quite a few immigrants of recent or remote Iranian origin are to be found surrounding them, as with the Saldjūḳids and Zankids, especially in the controlling spheres of intellectual life; there seems also have been a tendency for them to associate the ḳāḍīs and religious circles more extensively with the government. Especially remarkable under their rule was the so-called family of the Sons of the Shaykh, of Khurāsānian origin (see AWLĀD AL-SHAYKH), who,

contrary to the almost universal particularisation between the military, religio-legal and administrative castes, succeeded in being eminently represented in all three, especially in the case of the *wazīr* Maʿīn al-Dīn and his brother the amīr Fakhr al-Dīn who, for a short time before his death in the battle of Manṣūra, acted as regent of the realm.

Nevertheless, if one compares the behaviour of the Ayyūbids with that of the Great Saldjūķs, a greater flexibility is certainly to be observed. This is doubtless connected with the general aim of relaxing tension which we have noted, moreover, in the policy adopted towards the Franks. But it must also be said that the heretics of Syria had been sufficiently weakened by the Zankids for it to be no longer really necessary to fight them, and that in Egypt Ismāʿīlism seems hardly to have left any regrets. At Aleppo, however, the government of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī was stained by the blood of the Iranian mystic Suhrawardī Maķtūl, executed during the lifetime of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; but it must be said that this was a very special individual case, and that this measure was demanded by pietistic circles of Aleppo. The majority of the Ayyūbids were Shāfiʿīs, in contradistinction to the Turks who were Ḥanafīs; and although doctrinally this does not impute to the latter a stronger degree of intolerance, the result may nevertheless have been that the Ayyūbids had a less intimate contact with the pietists, devoted to the militant spiritual mission of the Saldjūķids. However, al-Muʿaẓẓam and his son Dāʾūd were Ḥanafīs, and this perhaps partly explains their conflicts with al-Kāmil; they certainly appear, for example, at the time of the dealings with Frederick II, doctrinally to represent the intransigent party.

Christians and Jews, generally speaking, likewise appear to have had no grounds for complaint against the dynasty. As is almost always the case, when an exception occurs, the motive is political and not confessional. There is no doubt that the Ayyūbid occupation impaired the exceptionally favourable conditions enjoyed by the Armenians under the last Fāṭimids (see ARMĪNIYA). But it was the Copts who profited from these confiscations and not the Muslims. Similarly, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn retook Jerusalem, he favoured such of the native Christian communities there as could not be suspected of covenanting with the Franks (cf. *inter alia* Cl. Cahen, *Indigènes et Croisés, un médecin d'Amaury et de Saladin*, in *Syria* 1934, and E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, i, Rome 1943). The Ayyūbid period in Egypt was one of vitality for the Coptic Church. When moments of tension arose, it was generally as a counter effect of Crusades, in so far as collusion might be feared, for example, between Melkitis and Latins. That it was not considered necessary, however, in normal circumstances, to prohibit intercourse between indigenous and Latin Christians is shown by the permission accorded by the Ayyūbids for Dominican and Franciscan missionaries to enter their kingdom, provided that no attempt was made to convert Muslims. It is true that the traditional discriminatory measures in respect of non-Muslims were from time to time revived, always with the same ineffectiveness. The Jews were also passably well treated, even being invited to return to reconquered Jerusalem, and refugees from Spain, such as Maimonides, were favourably received (see E. Ashtor-Strauss, *Saladin and the Jews*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1956, 305-26).

The climate certainly offers a partial explanation for the intensity of cultural life in the Ayyūbid domains. Syria in the 13th century was truly the heart of Muslim culture in the Arabic language. Egypt was soon to rival her, but had not as yet quite achieved a synthesis between the survivals from her own past and the imported elements favoured by the Ayyūbids. All the credit for this flowering cannot indeed be claimed by the Ayyūbids, but it would be injust to deny any credit to princes who were themselves frequently men of letters and scholars, and who in general sought to protect and attract the representatives of all disciplines compatible with orthodoxy. The economic progress and the general advance of Muslim recovery in the area which the Crusades had involved most directly in the struggle, must have accomplished the rest. There is little object in giving a list of names of men of letters and scholars. The names of the historians and geographers will be found in the bibliography of sources; Ibn al-Ķifṭī (*wazīr* of Aleppo) and Ibn Abī ʿUsaybiʿa, biographers of scholars and physicians, draw our attention to the importance of the support given to these latter in the hospitals; among the poets (some of whom were studied by Rikabi, *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, 1949), the historian will perhaps more especially note al-Amdjad Bahrāmshāh, himself an Ayyūbid, or a man of the *sūķs* such as Ibn al-Djazzār (cited in the *Mughrib* of Ibn Saʿīd). Furthermore, emphasis should be laid on the many Spanish refugees who established themselves in the Ayyūbid domains, men as diverse as the historian-geographer Ibn Saʿīd, the grammarian Ibn Mālik, the botanist Ibn al-Bayṭar and the mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī.

It is not possible to speak at length here of the Ayyūbid principality of the Yemen; Ayyūbid intervention here certainly had the same importance for the country as was the case in Egypt. Ayyūbid rule to a certain extent restricted the quarrels of sects and princelings who divided the country among themselves, and brought about a political unity which was to survive them; although, from 629/1232, the Ayyūbids were supplanted by the Rasūlids, the latter had their origins in their officer *milieu* and continued their traditions. The Ayyūbid régime reintroduced Sunnī Islam to the Yemen and linked it more closely to Egypt, politically, economically and institutionally. The persistence of religious divisions in the population may have been the origin of the strange attempt on the part of the third Ayyūbid to pass himself off as an autonomous Umayyad Caliph; after his overthrow, al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil stressed their intention of not allowing the Yemen to escape from their hands by sending one of the sons of the latter to take over the succession. Al-Kāmil, however, was unable to prevent the accession of the Rasūlids, but the latter were at pains to show themselves, at least at the outset, as allies of the Ayyūbids; later there arose conflicts of influence between them at Mecca; commercial relations, however, seem never to have been broken off.

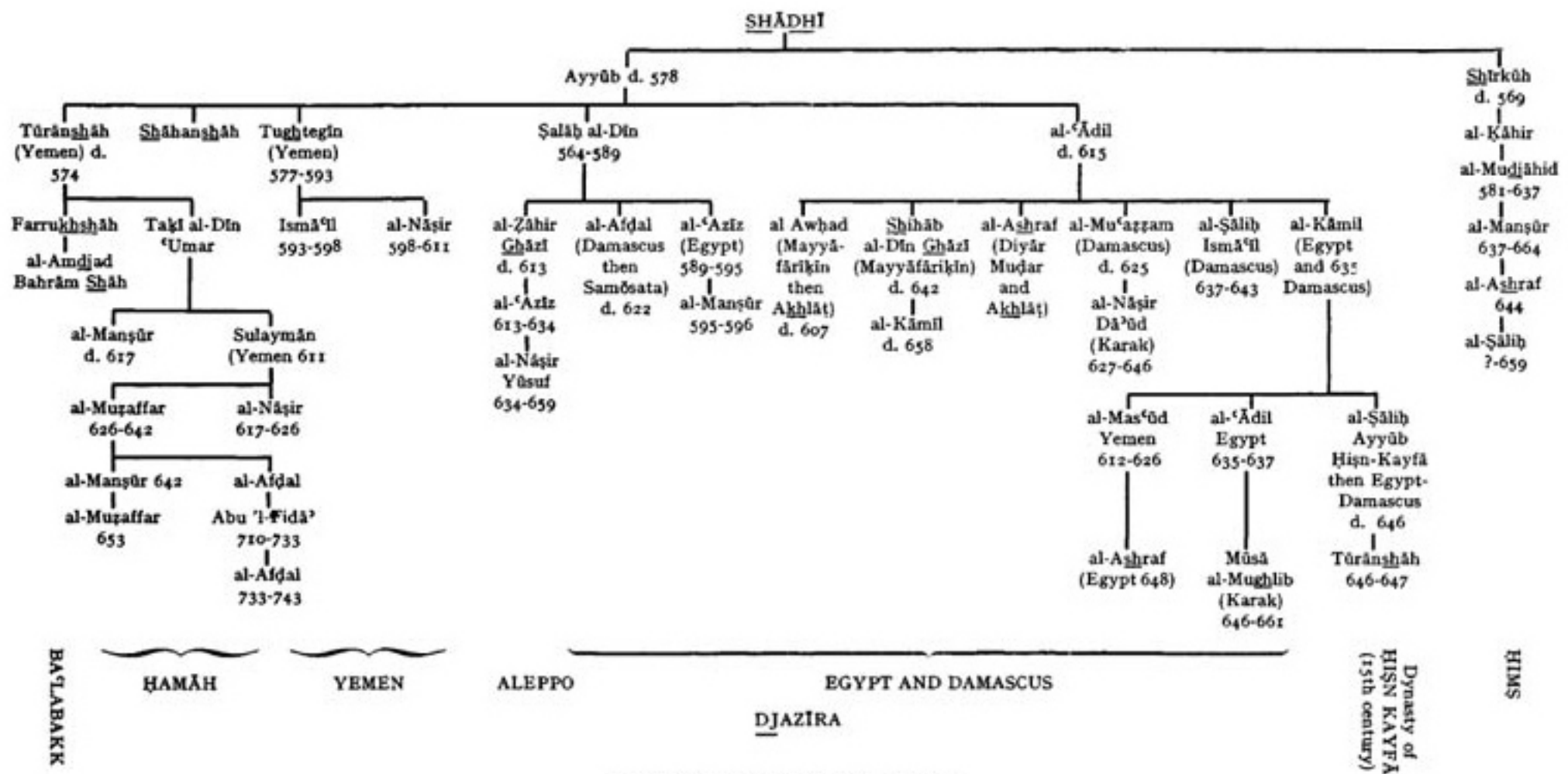
III. The death of al-Kāmil marks the end of the true Ayyūbid régime, with the reservation that the resulting degradation was, in a large measure, implicit in its very constitution. Al-Kāmil had relegated his eldest son al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to the government of Ḥiṣn-Kayfā and designated his youngest son al-ʿĀdil to succeed him; al-ʿĀdil made himself disliked and his opponents appealed to al-Ṣāliḥ. The latter, in the course of fierce struggles, accompanied by

many reverses, conquered his throne and restored the unity of command of the Ayyūbid states (a unity rendered ephemeral by his death), not only at the expense of his younger brother, but also of the majority of the Ayyūbids of Syria, especially al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who had become master of Damascus. It is true that there had already been conflicts between Ayyūbids, but these conflicts did not prevent either of the protagonists from in the first place receiving the territories which they governed from the Sulṭān, the head of the family, or family solidarity from keeping the harmful effects of these conflicts within definite limits. This time, the adversaries viewed one another as usurpers, and it was naked strength which gave the victory to al-Ṣāliḥ. Nevertheless, this strength was no longer derived from the old Kurdo-Turkish army; during al-Kāmil's lifetime, the disgrace of al-Ṣāliḥ had been due to the fact that, as his father's lieutenant in Egypt, in his distrust of the Kurds, he had carried out a large scale recruitment exclusively of Turkish slaves. The army which he organised on becoming master of Egypt was exclusively Turkish. But, in the meantime, his successes had been due to an even more disquieting element: the Khwārizmians who, after the defeat and death of Djalāl al-Dīn, had been driven back from Asia Minor where for a time they had served the Saldjūḳids, and were seeking an employer and a territory. He invested them with Diyār Muḍar and summoned them to fight against his enemies in the Djazīra and in Syria; it was partly due to them that these wars were of so devastating and ruthless a character, until at last al-Ṣāliḥ, having no further need of them, caused them to be annihilated by his cousins of southern Syria. Furthermore, though the previous Ayyūbids had kept the peace with the Franks, and at one point al-Kāmil had even entertained an alliance with Frederick II against his brothers, such plans had never been actually realised. This time, the Franks appeared in alliance with al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl and with al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd of Karak himself against al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and the Khwārizmians, which resulted in an irreparable disaster for both of the former. This marks the appearance in al-Ṣāliḥ of a warlike spirit against the Franks which was unknown to his predecessors, and the ordeals of the Franks gave rise to a new Crusade, that of St. Louis, at the beginning of which the Ayyūbid ruler died.

In effect, he was the last Ayyūbid. His son Tūrānshāh was massacred after a few months by his troops, and even though several child puppets still carried on the name of the Ayyūbid dynasty for a time, it was in fact from 647/1249 that the establishment of the new so-called Mamlūk régime dated. Al-Ṣāliḥ was the real creator of this régime. The well-knit and well-disciplined army of Turkish slaves, called the Baḥriyya from the name of the barracks on an island in the river (Baḥr), was the real arbiter of the situation; neither al-Ṣāliḥ nor Tūrānshāh were military leaders. The dynasty might have lasted longer if the latter had not been unbalanced; it was inevitable that sooner or later the Baḥriyya would supplant him by a leader promoted from among themselves, which they in fact did when, on the death of Tūrānshāh, they raised the Turkomān ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak to power, first as *atabeg* and then as sultan. The "Kurdish" dynasty was succeeded by the "Turkish" régime, in the words of contemporaries.

The Northern Ayyūbids continued for a little while longer, but without further success. Their lives were spent under the shadow of the terror caused by the approach of the Mongols. They hesitated between submission which they feared might be annihilation, and armed resistance of which they despaired in advance. However, al-Nāṣir of Aleppo, with the advent of the Mamlūk régime, had become the standard-bearer of the Ayyūbid cause, and it required the mediation of the Caliph in face of the Mongol danger to bring about an agreement that all Syria belonged to him, the Mamlūk Sulṭān being satisfied with Egypt. But in 1258 Baghdād fell and, in 1260, Aleppo, Damascus and Mayyāfāriḳīn were either taken or capitulated of their own accord before the invader, who seemed to be invincible. The unfortunate al-Nāṣir, who unlike others did not dare to seek refuge in Egypt, was finally captured by the Mongols and, well treated at first, paid with his life when news arrived of the defeat of a Mongol army by the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in Syria at the end of the same year. In the ensuing conquest of Syria by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars, the principality of Karak (which moreover had been lost to the family of Dāʿūd in 1248), which was of great strategic importance, was subjugated; the principalities of Aleppo and Ḥimṣ had disappeared of their own volition; that of Ḥamāh alone, made illustrious by its writer-prince Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, was restored, and existed (with one interval) until 1342, by reason of its absolute docility.

There was however another branch which survived for more than two centuries under the Mongols and their successors, in the vicinity of Ḥiṣn Kayfā; reduced to the level of a local seigniory, it returned in a rather odd way to its origins, in that it drew a large part of its strength from the Kurdish tribes who had become powerful in the region and among whom it attempted to play an ever-repeated rôle as arbiter. It succeeded in surviving the Tīmūrid catastrophe, preserving a centre of culture, but in the end succumbed to the Āḳ Ḳoyūnlū; nevertheless several of its members regained a minor local importance at the time of the Ottoman conquest (cf. Claude Cahen, *Contribution à l'Histoire de Diyār Bakr au XIVᵉ siècle*, in *JA*, 1955).

Bibliography: A. Sources. A number of archival documents of the Ayyūbid period have been preserved; official documents, reported in Sinaī (A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic MSS. of Mt. Sinaī*, Baltimore 1955), or discovered in the Italian archives and published (M. Amari, *Diplomi arabi del Archivo Fiorentino*, 1863-67; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handelsgeschichte Venedig*, 3 vols. 1856-7); cf. also Ṣubḥī Labīb cited above); private documents, in the collections of papers of Cairo, Vienna. etc. (cf. for example A. Dietrich, *Eine Eheurkunde aus der Aiyubidenzeit*, in *Doc. islam. ined.*, Berlin Akad. Wiss. 1952). Moreover partial collections have been preserved of copies of the correspondence of the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (on whom see A. N. Helbig, *Der Kadi al-Fadil*, 1909, inadequate), of the Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd (Brockelmann, I, 318, and Cl. Cahen, *REI*, 1936, 341), and of al-Afḍal's *wazīr*, Ḍiyā al-Dīn b. al-Athīr (analyses of MSS. by Margoliouth, Xth Congress of Orientalists, Ḥabīb Zayyāt, in *Machriq* xxxvii/4, 1939; and Cl. Cahen, in *BSOAS*, xiv/i); numerous extracts of the first also occur in Abū Shāma cited infra; various Jewish documents in the collections of the Cairo Genīza.

ABRIDGED GENEALOGICAL TABLE
(3 detailed tables in Zambaur)

On the whole, the essential sources for us continue to be the narrative sources, on which several comprehensive studies are to be found in the Introductions of Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940, and H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil* (in the press); for the times of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxv/i, 1950. For this first period, the main source is ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*, of which only two fragments exist, at Oxford (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in *WZKM*, LII, 1953), but of which more or less complete summaries are given in all the subsequent literature and especially in Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo ed. 1287/1872, 2 vols. (the first part of a new critical edition by Hilmy M. Ahmad appeared in Cairo in 1956; it goes as far as 558/1163); extracts in *Hist. Or. Crois.*, iv and v); it should be completed by *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, idem, ed. C. Landberg, devoted to the events of 1187 (cf. J. Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königreichs Jerusalems in der Darstelling* des —, Wiesbaden 1952). The other important Arabic sources are Ibn Shaddād, *Life of Saladin*, in *Hist. Or. Crois.* iii; Ibn Abī Ṭayyī quoted in Abū Shāma, op. cit.; the *Bustān al-Djāmiʿ*, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, Damascus 1937 and the Christian Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian, *Churches*, etc., ed. Evetts. For the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr becomes the main Arab source, to which must be added the last pages of Ibn Abī 'l-Damm (Oxford MS. Marsh 360), Ibn Naṭīf (MS. Leningrad IM 159 ed. in preparation by H. Gottschalk: a few extracts in Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, ii, Appendices; continually utilised in Ibn al-Furāt, *infra*), the extracts from the Memoirs of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf preserved in the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* of Dhahabī and the authors quoted for the following period. For the 7th/13th century of the Ayyūbids as a whole and especially from about 1220, the fundamental source is the *Mufarridj al-Kurub* of Ibn Wāṣil (ed. undertaken by al-Shayyāl, who so far has published the first two volumes stopping at the death of Saladin; extracts quoted in the *Bibliothèque des Croisades* of Michaud, iv (by Reinaud) and in the comments on the translation of Maḳrīzī by Blochet in *ROL*, ix-xi); this work and the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (facsimile ed. Jewett, on which is based that of Ḥaydarābād, ii, 1952, inadequate, cf. *Arab.* 1957/2 review by Cl. Cahen), especially important for Damascus, are the two sources used almost exclusively for the whole of subsequent historiography; the overrated Abu 'l-Fidāʾ in the main only reproduces the work of his less noble compatriot for this period; Ibn Wāṣil had previously written a more concise *Taʾrīkh Ṣāliḥī*, based on different sources of information (unpublished). To these authors must be added especially Abū Shāma, *Dhayl ʿala 'l-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo ed. 1366/1947, the Christian al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd (edition in *BÉt.Or.*, 1958, by Cl. Cahen), the *History of the Partiarchs of Alexandria* (this part unpublished, quotations, among others, in Blochet-Maḳrīzī *loc. cit.*), the extracts of Saʿd al-Dīn (Cl. Cahen, *Une source pour l'Histoire des Croisades, les Mémoires de* —, in *Bull. Fac. Lettres Strasbourg*, xxviii-7, 1950); for Northern Syria, the *Zubda* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. undertaken by Sami Dahān; meanwhile, Blochet trans. in *ROL*, iv-vi) and the *Bughya* by the same author (unpublished), and ʿIzz al-Dīn Shaddād, cf. *infra*; the ʿIrāḳī point of view is to be found in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith, etc.*, ed. Must. Djawād; the Khwārizmian in Nasawī, *Vie de Djalāl al-dīn*, ed. trans. Houdas; the Saldjūḳid (of Rūm) in Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma (somewhat abbreviated: in Persian). See also the historians of the Mongols and of the first Mamlūks. Among later Arab historians who have preserved some original materials, Djazarī (Cl. Cahen, in *Oriens*, IV/1, 1951, 151-3), Dhahabī (ed. in preparation), Nuwayrī (Cairo ed.), Ibn al-Furāt (this part unpublished), Maḳrīzī (*Sulūk*, ed. Must. Ziadā; *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed. and, for the beginning, ed. Wiet, the only good edition). For the Yemen under the Ayyūbids, better than the celebrated Khazradjī (ed. trans. *Gibb Mem. Ser.*), of late composition, the contemporary Ibn Mudjāwir (ed. Löfgren) and Hamdānī (Brockelmann, I 323, unpublished). For the principality of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the anonymous Vienna manuscript studied in Cl. Cahen, *Contributions etc.* cited above. A general history of the whole Ayyūbid family was composed at the beginning of the 9th/15th century by an anonymous Syrian (Brit. Mus. Add. 7311, unpublished). On the whole, too many important sources are still in manuscript form and their publication (at least photographically) is a pressing desideratum. Translated extracts from the Arabic historians will be found in F. Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle Crociate*, Rome 1957, and J. Østrup, *Arabiske Krøniker til Korstogenes Periode*, Copenhagen 1906.

To the historians must be added the biographers, not only Ibn Khallikān, but also Ibn al-Kifṭī (ed. Lippert) and Ibn Abī ʿUsaybiʿa (ed. Aug. Muller), and the geographers, Yāḳūt, Ibn Saʿīd (unpublished), and especially ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād (Northern Syria, ed. Ledit in *Machriq*, 1935; Aleppo, ed. Sourdel, Damascus 1958; Damascus, ed. Dahān 1957; Djazīra, analysis by Cl. Cahen in *REI*, 1934; further extracts by Sobernheim in *Centenario di Amari*, ii, (Baʿlbak) and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arab.* passim), historical and administrative, to be completed by Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAdjamī, *Les Trésors d'Or*, analysis and trans. Sauvaget, 1950, and ʿUlaymī, *Description de Damas*, ed. Sauvaire, in *JA*, 1894.

As administrative treatises must be cited (besides the extracts preserved by Maḳrīzī) Ibn al-Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al Dawānīn* (ed. Atiya, 1943), Ibn Shīt al-Kurshī, *Maʿālim al-Kitāba*, ed. Khūrī Ḳusṭantīn Pasha, 1913; and the tracts of Nābulusī, *Akhbār al-Fayyūm*, ed. B. Moritz, cf. Cl. Cahen, *Les Impôts*, etc., quoted above, and *Lamʿ al-Ḳawānīn*, ed. Cl. Cahen to appear shortly, extracts by C. Owen in *JNES*, 1935; finally the *Nihāyat al-Rutba* of al-Shayzarī and the technical treatises like the treatise on gun-making, and the monetary treatise of Ibn Baʿra analysed by Ehrenkreutz in *Contributions etc.* quoted above; I do not know the *Tadhkira fi 'l-Ḥiyāl al-Ḥarbiyya* dedicated by ʿAlī al-Harawī to al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (Rescher in *MFOB*, v, 1912, 495 ed. in preparation by J. Sourdel-Thomine). The *dīwāns* of the poets should not be neglected.

Naturally non-Arab and non-Muslim literature must also be consulted, which cannot be given in detail here: especially the Latin and French historians of the Crusades and of the Latin Orient, and Syriac literature (Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. Chabot; Bar-Hebraeus, ed. and trans.

Budge; *Chronique anonyme syriaque*, ed. Chabot, in *Corpus Script, or.*, iii, 14-15).

The epigraphical material has been collected in the *RCEA*, vii-ix; the inscriptions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn studied by Wiet in *Syria*, iii. To the numismatic material provided by the usual catalogues, should be added the recent studies of Balog, Minost and Jungfleisch in *MIE* since 1950.

B. Modern Works. There is no complete general study on the Ayyūbids. The two best general accounts, though short, are those of G. Wiet in the *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne* edited by Hanotaux, iv, and of H. A. R. Gibb in *History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia), i, (Saladin) 1955 and, ii (The Ayyūbids after Saladin) in the press. There is not even a serious biography of Saladin; the latest is that of A. Champdor, Paris 1956, and the least bad still that of Lane-Poole, New York 1898. Of the rest of the Ayyūbids, al-Kāmil alone has just been the subject of an important work, by H. Gottschalk (in the press; the same author has given notice of an article on Ayyūbid Yemen). The studies on various special problems have been quoted in the article. For trade, hardly anything new has been added from our point of view to the two old classical works of W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i, 1882, and of Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Mittelmeerromanen*, 1906, which view matters from the Western point of view. Some information on institutions is contained in W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1929. See also the general histories on the Crusades and the Latin Orient; F. Butcher, *The history of the church of Egypt*, 1897; and *supra* and *infra* the articles devoted to the individual rulers, as well as the section on *madrasa* in the article MASDJID.

(CL. CAHEN)

AL-ʿAYYŪḲ [see NUDJŪM].

ʿAZAB. An Arabic word meaning "an unmarried man or woman", "a virgin", applied to several types of fighting men under the Ottoman and other Turkish régimes between the 13th and the 19th centuries. The soldiers of various Ottoman formations, notably all those recruited by *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], were forbidden to marry before retirement; and it may be assumed that the earliest *ʿazabs* we read of —those employed as marine troops by the Aydln Oghullarl in the 13th century—were bachelors recruited from coastal villages. The term was probably used likewise for marines both in the Saldjūḳid state of Ḳonya and in those of its smaller successor states that were possessed of seaboards.

Presumably because the men concerned were again unmarried, the term *ʿazab* was also applied from early Ottoman times to the light archers, recruited *ad hoc* for campaigns in whatever numbers were considered necessary, whose office in battle it was immediately to face the enemy from a station in front of the artillery and the Janissaries and to open the fight with a hail of arrows. These *ʿazabs* were drawn one from every twenty or thirty "*khānes*" in the provinces, and supported whilst on service from the contributions of those *khānes*, which stood in lieu of tax payments (cf. ʿAWĀRIḌ).

From the middle of the 14th century, further, there were *ʿazabs* employed in the garrisons of Ottoman fortresses. These *ḳalʿe ʿazablarl*, as they were called, were organised more or less like the Janissary and other *odjaḳs* recruited by *dewshirme* (though not so recruited themselves) and paid in cash by the Treasury. Though they may all have started their service as bachelors, these men must have been permitted eventually to marry, since places in these corps were heritable by competent sons. After the 16th century the *ḳalʿe ʿazablarl* were sometimes employed as bridge-builders and sappers (*laghlmdjilar*). It is perhaps these *ʿazabs* of whom D'Ohsson states (*Tableau*, vii, 309) that they were charged with the care of munitions and were incorporated in the corps of the *djebedjis*, and again (*Tableau*, vii, 363) that though really *djebedjis*, they were often called *ʿazabs*, particularly in Egypt. This "incorporation" presumably took place after the *djebedjis* ceased being recruited by *dewshirme*. Another late reference to "frontier" *ʿazabs* is made by Juchereau de Saint-Denys (*Révolutions* i, 90). Writing of the second decade of the 9th century (between the collapse of the *Niẓām-i Djedīd* and the abolition of the Janissaries), he lists the *ʿazabs*, under *Serḥadd Ḳullarl*, as élite infantry stationed on the frontiers.

Finally, the Ottomans continued the tradition of the Aydln Oghullarl in employing *ʿazabs* at sea, as Treasury-paid musketeers, organised in companies under officers (*reʾīs*) who might rise either to the command of galleys or to some of the chief posts at the Admiralty (next to which there was an *ʿazab* barracks), as for instance its *kāhyallk*. The men of the Admiralty *odjaḳ* were indeed also known as *ʿazabs*, who, like those employed at sea, were Treasury-paid. Their duty was to guard war-ships whilst in dock.

Bibliography: Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj al-Wuḳūʿāt*, i, 144; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, loc. cit.; Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, etc. ii, 280, 287-8; Zinkeisen, iii, 202; *EI*¹ art. *Lewend* (Kramers); *IA* art. *ʿAzab* (Uzunçarşlll); Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i (part I) index.

(H. BOWEN)

ĀZĀD, ABUʾL-KALĀM [see Supplement].

ĀZĀD, MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN, an Indian Muslim writer and poet, who wrote in Urdū and is noted for the unique charm of his agreeable and picturesque style and for the important rôle he played in the field of literature and education. He was born in Delhi about 1834, being the son of Mawlawī Muḥammad Bāḳir, himself a pioneer of journalism in Northern India. After the political upheaval of 1857, he left Delhi and after several years' wandering arrived in Lahore in 1864. He spent the rest of his life there in the service of the education department of the Government of the Pandjāb, writing among other things text-books for students of the Urdū and Persian languages. He also made journeys to Persia and Central Asia. He died at Lahore in 1910.

His principal works are: *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, a history of Urdū poetry, with an introduction on the history of the Urdū language; it is his greatest and best-known work, which is celebrated and highly prized not only for its subject-matter but also for its vivid and graphic style; *Sukhandān-i Pārs*, on Persian philology and the development of Persian prose style; *Nigāristān-i Pārs*, dealing with Persian poets of India and Persia; *Nayrang-i Khayāl*, a collection of allegorical essays, translated or adapted from the English; *Darbār-i Akbarī*, which deals with the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great and his brilliant court, and *Ḳiṣaṣ-i Hind*, or stories from Indian history. He also collected and edited the poetical compositions of his master, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dhawḳ.

He used Āzād as his pen-name; and along with Alṭaf Ḥusayn Ḥālī [*q.v.*] he is regarded as a pioneer

of the new school of Urdū poetry, which is characterised by naturalness and greater breadth of subject and treatment and also by increased attention paid to thought and matter as opposed to language and form.

Bibliography: B R. Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allāhābād 1927; M. Bāķir in *Supplement to the Oriental College Magazine* (Lahore) for Feb., 1939; Muḥammad Ṣādiķ, *Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, his Life, Work and Influence*, Doctoral Dissertation in the Pandjāb University, 1939; S. M. Ḥusayn Riḍawī, *Āb-i Ḥayāt ka Tanķīdī Muṭāla'a*, Lucknow 1953.

(Sh. Inayatullah)

ĀZĀD BILGRĀMĪ, Mīr Ghulām ʿAlī b. Nūḥ al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī, b. at Bilgrām on 25 Ṣafar 1116/29 June 1704; he received his early education from Mīr Ṭufayl Muḥammad Bilgrāmī (*Subḥat al-Mardjān* 99-4) and later studied with Mīr ʿĀbd al-Djalīl Bilgrāmī (*Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, i, 257-77). In 1151/1738 he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and learnt *ḥadīth* from Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt Sindī al-Madanī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ṭanṭāwī (*Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, i, 162). He returned to India in 1152/1739, and settled at Awrangābād where he died in 1200/1786; he was buried at Khuldābād (Deccan) (T. W. Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, Allāhābād 1907, 58).

When his friend Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān [*q.v.*], *dīwān* of Ḥaydarābād, was murdered and his house plundered (1171/1758), Āzād recovered most of the dispersed fragments of the unfinished MS. of the latter's *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, which he re-arranged and edited. The works of Āzād himself cover *ḥadīth*, belles-lettres, history, biography and poetry. His Arabic *ķaṣā'id* in praise of the Prophet have earned him the title of Ḥassān al-Hind, after the Prophet's panegyrist Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*].

His notable works are: In Arabic: (1) *Subḥat al-Mardjān fī Āthār Hindustān* (lith. Bombay 1303/1886), incorporating two independent works by the author: *Shammāmat al-ʿAnbar* and *Tasliyat al-Fu'ād*, the former containing references to India in Ķur'ānic commentaries and *ḥadīth* and the latter on biographies of Indian scholars and *ʿulamā'*. The chapter on rhetorical figures was later translated into Persian by the author himself under the title of *Ghizlān al-Hind* (MSS. Āṣafiyya, i, 169; Ethé, 2135; Berlin 1051); (2) *Dīwān* in 3 vols. (Ḥaydarābād 1300-1/1882-3) containing more than 3000 verses; a selection from his seven other *dīwāns* entitled *al-Sabʿa al-Sayyāra* was published at Lucknow, 1328/1910; (3) *Ḍaw' al-Darārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, an incomplete commentary on al-Bukhārī (MS. Nadwat al-ʿUlamā', Lucknow, 99); In Persian: (4) *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira*, alphabetically arranged notices of some 135 ancient and modern Persian poets with a brief history of the Marathas, (Cawnpore 1871, 1900); (5) *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, on the pious and learned men of Bilgrām (lith. Agra 1910); (6) *Sarw-i Āzād*, biographies of 143 Persian and Urdū poets of India (Lahore 1913); (7) *Yad-i Bayḍā'*, alphabetically arranged lives of 532 poets, originally compiled at Sīwastān (i.e. Sihwān, in Sind, where he was *nā'ib Waķā'iʿ-nigār*) in 1145/1732 (MS. Āṣafiyya, iii, 162; Ind. Off. 3966 (b); (8) *Rawḍat al-Awliyā'*, a short compendium on the saints of Deccan (lith. Awrangābād 1310/1892). For a detailed list of his works see *GJASB* (*L*), 1936, 119-30; Shams Allāh Ķādirī, *Ķāmūs al-Aʿlām* i, 32-5; Storey, i/2, 855-66.

Bibliography: Autobiography in *Subḥat al-Mardjān* 118-23, *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira* 123-45, *Ma'āthir al-Kirām* 161-64, 303-11; Ṣiddīķ Ḥasan Khān, *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, 530; idem, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, 920; *Ḥadā'iķ al-Ḥanafiyya*, 454; *Tadhkira ʿUlamā-i Hind* 154; Wadjīh al-Dīn Ashraf, *Baḥr-i Zakhkhār* (MS), fol. 315; Rieu, *Pers. Cat.*, i, 373 b, iii, 976 b; *Asiatick Miscellany*, Calcutta 1785, i, 494-511; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Maķālāt* (in Urdū), v, 118-35; Brockelmann, S II, 600-1; Maķbūl Aḥmad Ṣamdanī, *Ḥayāt-i Djalīl Bilgrāmī* (in Urdū), Allāhābād 1929, ii, 163-77; Ibrāhīm Khalīl, *Ṣuḥuf-i Ibrāhīm*, s.v.; Zubayd Aḥmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, index; Lačmī Narāyan Shafīķ: *Gul-i Raʿnā*, s.v.; Muḥyī'l-Dīn Zor, *Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī*, Ḥaydarābād.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AZAĶ, Russian Azov; called Tana by the Italians after the ancient Tanaïs (the Old-Tana of Jos. Barbaro) is first found on an Italian map of 1306. The Turkish name Azaķ has appeared on coins since 717/1317. First the Genoese around 1316, then the Venetians in 1332, established trade colonies in Azaķ. It appears, however, to have remained essentially a Muslim-Tatar city which was administered by Tatar governors such as Muḥammad Khwādja about 1334, Sichi-beg in 1347 and 1349, Tolobey about 1358. A mint of the khāns was active there as late as 1411. An emporium of the East-West trade in the 14th century, Azaķ declined perhaps more from the competition of the Genoese Kaffa than Djani-bek's hostile policy toward the Italian colonies (1343-1358) or Tīmūr's depredations (September 1396). Conquered by the Ottomans in 1475, Azaķ is described as a *ķaḍā* of the *sandjaķ* of Kaffa in the *defter* of 1545. The town consisted of three parts: 1. Venedik-ķalʿesi (in Ewliyā Čelebi, Frenk-hisārī) with 198 Muslim families including garrison; 2. Djeneviz-ķalʿesi (later Orta-ḥiṣār) with 109 Muslim families including garrison; 3. Toprak-ķalʿe with 500 Tatar aķīndjī and 104 families of fishermen and 57 Greek families. Extensive fisheries and large production of caviar as well as slave-trade were the chief economic resources in this period. Later when the Cossacks, Čerkes and Russians began threatening it Azaķ was transformed into the main Ottoman bastion in the North. The first serious siege was attempted by Dimitrash, a chief of the Cossacks, in 1559. They eventually captured it in 1637, but had to abandon it in 1642. As the attacks were renewed in subsequent years especially in 1656 and 1659, the Ottomans made it stronger than ever (in 1666 Ewliyā Čelebi saw a garrison of 13 thousand men and numerous cannons in it) and later erected new fortifications around it such as Sedd-i Islām. After an unsuccessful attack in 1695, Peter the Great captured Azaķ on August 6, 1696. Compelled to surrender it at the treaty of the Prut (1711), he only evacuated it two years later. The Russians recaptured it in 1736.

Bibliography: A. S. Orlov, *Skazočnia povsti ob Azov*, Warsaw 1906; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, vol. II and VII; I. Bykadorov, *Donskoe Voisko...*, 1540-1646, Paris 1937; B. H. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1949; W. Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant*, vol. II; A. Refik, in *TOEM*, vol. 16, pp. 261-275; A. N. Kurat, *Isveç Kıralı XII. Karl...*, Istanbul 1943; C. Baysun, *Azak*, in *IA*.

(H. Inalcik)

AZAL [see ķidam.]

AZALAY (current orthography: *azalai*), a term for the great caravans made up of several thousand camels (or to be more precise, dromedaries), which in the spring and autumn carry the salt from the salt deposits of the Southern Sahara to the tropical

regions of the Sahel and the Sudan. This salt, which used to be exchanged by the Blacks against its weight in gold, if one is to believe al-Bakrī (trans. de Slane, 2nd. ed., 327), is exchanged today for food-stuffs: rice, millet, sugar, tea ... The salt from Idjil, to the West, which has perhaps been known since the 6th century A.D. (Anonymus of Ravenna), is collected by manumitted slaves of the Kounta (Moors) of Chinguiti and transported by the Moors to the markets of the Western Sudan. The salt deposits of Taoudenni have replaced those of Teghaza, a source of wealth of the kings of Mali and of Gao (14th-15th centuries), and have been worked since 1585; the salt, after being collected by sedentary miners, is taken to Timbuctoo by the Kounta and by a few small Touareg caravans; it is distributed throughout the whole of the Central Sudan and the Upper Volta. To the East, the salt deposits of Bilma, Seguedine and Fachi are worked by the Kanouri and the salt transported by *azalay* by the Touareg of Aïr and Damergou; it is sold in Nigeria and in the Niger Colony. The salt of Borkou (Faya) and of Ennedi furnishes supplies to the blacks of the plains of French Equatorial Africa. As regards the salt of Amadror, to the North of Tamanrasset, this is collected and transported by the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer.

The *azalaï* is the only type of great caravan which has survived. The salt trade has always been a source of wealth to the nomads of the Southern Sahara. It persists, in spite of the competition from salt from Europe and of the sea salt deposits of Kaolak.

Bibliography: Capot-Rey, *Le Sahara français*, Paris 2 ed. 1959 (with bibliog.). (J. Despois)

AZALĪ, name given to those Bābīs [*q.v.*] who followed Mīrzā Yaḥyā, called Ṣubḥ-i Azal [*q.v.*], after the death of the Bāb.

AʿẒAMGARH, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in the province of Uttar Pradesh (India), situated in 26° 5' N. and 83° 12' E. on the river Tōns, notorious for its frequent and devastating floods; it was founded in 1076/1665-6 by Aʿẓam Khān I, a scion of an influential Rādjpūt family, whose head Abhīman Singh, embraced Islām during the reign of Djahāngīr (1014/1605-1037/1627) and was named Dawlat Khān. Population in 1951: 26,632; district: 2, 102, 423. A series of battles between the successors of Aʿẓam Khān I and the Nawābs of Awadh for political supremacy culminated in the battle of Djawnpūr in 1175/1761-2, which resulted in the death of both the Rādja of Aʿẓamgarh and the *ʿāmil* (revenue collector) of Niẓāmābād (Awadh). Aʿẓamgarh was then occupied by Faḍl-i ʿAlī Khān, ruler of Ghāzīpūr. On the defeat of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla at Buxar in 1178/1764-5 at the hands of the British, Aʿẓam Khān II returned to his ancestral estate. On his death in 1185/1771-2 the entire estate was annexed to the kingdom of Awadh. In 1216/1801-2 it was ceded by Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, Nawāb of Awadh, to the East India Company. The town was badly disturbed during the Mutiny of 1857 when the local prison was stormed and the inmates were set free.

The dilapidated fort built by Aʿẓam Khān I and a temple erected towards the close of the 12th/18th century are the only buildings of note. Aʿẓamgarh has been frequently visited by serious floods causing widespread damage. The floods of 1871, 1894, 1896, 1898 and 1956 were particularly heavy. It has earned a bad name for Hindū-Muslim riots, which frequently took place.

Aʿẓamgarh is now famous as a centre of cultural activity, being the seat of the Dār al-Muṣannifīn (Shiblī Academy) and its Urdū organ the "*Maʿārif*".

Bibliography: *Azamgarh District Gazetteer*, 1935, 39ff.; *Imp. Gazetteer of Ind.* 1908, vi, 155-6, 162-3; Sulaymān Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i Shiblī*, Aʿẓamgarh 1362/1943, 50-5; Gird'hārī (Lāl), *Intiẓām-i Rādj-i Aʿẓamgarh*, (Edinburgh Univ. MS. No. 237); Amīr ʿAlī Riḍawī, *Sargudhasht-i Rādjahā-i Aʿẓamgarh*, (Edinburgh Univ. MS. No. 377); Anon., *Tāʾrīkh-i Aʿẓamgarh* (I.O. MS. 4038); Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *A History of Aʿẓamgarh* (in the Press). (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AZAMMŪR (Fr. Azemmour, Span. and Port. Azamor), town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, about 75 km. South-West of Casablanca and 10 km. North-East of Mazagan, on the left bank and some 3 km. from the mouth of the Wādī Umm al-Rabīʿ (Oum er-Rbiʿa). It possessed approximately 15,000 inhabitants in 1953, mostly Muslims, with a small Jewish minority (*mellāḥ*) and a very small number of Europeans. The name is connected with the Berber *azemmūr* (wild olive tree). The town is famous for shad fishing, which is one of the population's principal means of livelihood and takes place each year from December to March. Its patron saint is a *sayyid* who lived at the time of the Muʾminid dynasty: Mūlāy Būshʿīb (= Mawlāy Abū Shuʿayb).

The history of Azammūr remains obscure until the time of its contacts with the Spanish and Portuguese. The former, setting out from the maritime coast of Lower Andalusia, appear to have made several incursions, between a date which it has not been possible to fix and the ratification at Toledo in 1480 of the Hispano-Portuguese treaty of Alcáçovas, which abandoned the Atlantic part of Morocco to Portugal. In 1486, the town appears under the sovereignty of the King of Portugal, who was then John II (1481-1495). Twenty years later, doubtless at the instigation of a party formed among the local chieftains, the Portuguese wished to occupy it effectively; in August 1508, during the reign of Manuel the Fortunate (1495-1521), they made an unsuccessful attempt to carry this out; they repeated their efforts at the beginning of September 1513, under the command of the Duke of Braganza, and this time their efforts were completely successful. As in their other places in Morocco, the Portuguese built strong fortifications at Azammūr the whole of which still exists. When their positions in Southern Morocco were shaken by the fall of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué in March 1541 (see art. AGADIR), King John III (1521-7) decided to concentrate all his forces at Mazagan, and had Azammūr evacuated at the same time as Safi, towards the end of October 1541 (see AṢFĪ). Azammūr, which thus became a centre of the holy war, from then onwards lived in a state of permanent hostility with Mazagan, until the Portuguese abandoned the latter place in 1769. Azammūr was first occupied by French troops in 1908 and was incorporated into the French Protectorate in 1912.

Azammūr is probably the home of Estebanico de Azamor, a Moroccan negro, celebrated in the history of the exploration of the American continent, who took part in 1528-1536 in the great trek of the Spaniard Cabeza de Vaca across the southern part of the present-day United States.

Bibliography: See the works listed under the article, AṢFI, especially *Sources inédites*, etc., and Ricard, *Études*, etc. In addition: *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, xi, *Région des Doukkala*, ii, *Azemmour et sa banlieue*, Paris 1932 (the historical

part is rather uncertain), and Ch. Le Coeur, *Le rite et l'outil*, Paris 1939. (R. Ricard)

ĀZAR, the commonly accepted name of Abraham's father, based on Ķur'ān, vi, 74 "When Abraham said to his father, Āzar: 'Dost thou take idols as gods?' ", where Āzar is taken as a proper name, in apposition to "father", though some of the commentators, aware that the name of this father was Terah, explain Āzar as an exclamation of disgust, an abusive epithet, or the name of an idol. The majority opinion, however, is that it is the name of Abraham's father, either a second name for Terah, as Israel was for Jacob, or a title. In any case it was recognised as a foreign word and is listed among the *mu'arrabāt* of the Ķur'ān. There can be little doubt that it is a deformation of the Hebrew Eleazar, the name of Abraham's faithful servant in the Genesis story which, as that story came to Muḥammad, was mistaken for the name of his father. [Cf. also IBRĀHĪM].

Bibliography: The commentaries on the passage: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, v, 76; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 253 ff.; Tha'labī, *Ķiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1339, 51; Suyūṭī, *Itķān*, 318; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, i, 142; Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr*, ii, 134; S. Fraenkel, in *ZDMG*, vi, 72; A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of Qur'ān*, 53-55; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 85, 86. (A. Jeffery)

AZĀRIĶA, One of the main branches of the Kharidjites [*q.v.*]. The name is derived from that of its leader Nāfi' b. al-Azraķ al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥanẓalī, who, according to al-Ash'arī, was the first to cause disputes among the Khāridjites by supporting the thesis according to which all adversaries should be put to death together with their women and children (*isti'rāḍ*). As regards the man himself, it is known that he was the son of a manumitted blacksmith of Greek origin and that in 64/683 he came to the aid of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, beseiged in Mecca by the troops of the Syrian general Ḥusayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī. Once the seige was raised, Nāfi' with other Khāridjite leaders, including Nadjda b. 'Āmir and 'Abd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, returned to Baṣra, where he at once took advantage of the disturbances which had broken out on the announcement of the death of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. It was the Khāridjites under his orders who assassinated the governor nominated by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-'Atakī, and who subsequently refused to recognise the governor sent by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh, so that the latter was obliged to use force to gain possession of the town; in this he was helped by the inhabitants, who found it difficult to tolerate the Khāridjites' importunities. Expelled from Baṣra, Nāfi' encamped at the gates of the town and, after collecting reinforcements, succeeded in defeating 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh in the course of fierce fighting and in retaking the town. To re-establish the situation, Ibn al-Zubayr dispatched an army under the command of the general Muslim b. 'Ubays. It is probable that it was on this occasion that the opposition between the moderate elements and the extremist elements arose in Baṣra which led to the division of the Khāridjites into Ibāḍites and Azāriķa, an event placed by tradition in that year (65/684-5). Whilst the former, less courageous, preferred not to fight Muslim and remained in Baṣra, the latter, resolved to fight to the end, left the town and under the leadership of Nāfi' withdrew to Khūzistān (al-Ahwāz). Muslim caught up with them at Dūlāb: in the severe fighting which ensued, both Nāfi' and the Zubayrid general met their deaths (65/685). The Azāriķa, however, reorganised themselves under the command of 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Māḥūz and continued the struggle until the enemy troops, exhausted and discouraged, withdrew to Baṣra. For several months the region between Baṣra and a-Ahwāz was the scene of massacres, looting and arson, the Azāriķa massacring all who refused to recognise their sect. The population of Baṣra in alarm called upon al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, who agreed to lead the struggle against the Azāriķa. After dislodging them from the Tigris, he inflicted a severe defeat on them near Sillabrā to the East of Dudjayl, (66/686), following which they withdrew into Fārs. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Māḥūz was killed in the fighting and the command passed to his brother Zubayr, who, having reorganised his supporters within a short space of time, again set out on a campaign. Descending once more into 'Irāķ, he advanced as far as al-Madā'in, which he sacked, massacring the inhabitants. But, faced by an army from Kūfa, he turned about and attacked Iṣfahān, which was governed by 'Attāb b. Warķā'. In an engagement near the town, the Azāriķa suffered a reverse and, on the death of Zubayr b. al-Māhūẓ, they fled in complete disorder into Fārs and thence into the mountains of Kirmān (68/687-8). It was a warrior from Luristān, Ķaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a, who, combining fierce energy with exceptional gifts as an orator and a poet, succeeded in rekindling their enthusiasm and reorganising their ranks. After a period of time, he became active and, having occupied al-Ahwāz, descended once again into 'Irāķ and advanced towards Baṣra. The new governor of the town, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, convinced that only al-Muhallab would be capable of opposing the Azāriķa, recalled him from Mawṣil, where he had sent him as governor, and entrusted him with the direction of the campaign. But, although al-Muhallab succeeded in launching a wide offensive against the Azraķī condottiere, the latter succeeded in keeping him in check for a long time and in holding his position on the left bank of the Dudjayl, even after 'Irāķ had fallen into the hands of 'Abd al-Malik following the defeat of Muṣ'ab at Maskin (71/690). The situation did not change until al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, having completed the pacification of Western Arabia, took over the government of 'Irāķ (75/694). The latter confirmed al-Muhallab in his command of the operations and ordered him to go over to the attack at once. Then it was that there started a long series of campaigns, conducted by al-Muhallab against the Azāriķa, which led to their being increasingly relegated to the periphery of the Empire. For, in spite of their fierce resistance, they were compelled to abandon Dudjayl, retreat to Kāzirūn and finally to evacuate Fārs and withdraw into Kirmān. Having established their headquarters in the town of Djīruft, they managed to hold their positions for a few years until the divergencies which arose in their army between Arabs and *mawālī* led to a split. Whilst Ķaṭarī with the Arabs was compelled to abandon the town and to take refuge in Ṭabaristān, the *mawālī* continued to hold Djīruft under the command of 'Abd Rabbih al-Kabīr (in addition to whom the sources speak of an 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr, who is supposed to have commanded a second group of dissidents). Whilst al-Muhallab was easily able to deal with the Azāriķa remaining in Kirmān and massacred them all, the Kalbī general Sufyān b. al-Abrad, who had joined the governor of Ṭabaristān, caught up with Ķaṭarī in the mountains of this region and inflicted a

decisive defeat on him. The brave condottiere, having fallen from his horse and been abandoned by his own men, was discovered and killed (78-79/698-99). His head was taken to Damascus to be shown to the Caliph. The remnants of the Azāriḳa who, under the leadership of ʿAbīda b. Hilāl, had barricaded themselves in at Sadhawwar, near Ḳūmis, after a prolonged siege were exterminated in an attempted sortie. In this manner the revolt, which of all the Khāridjite disturbances was undoubtedly the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible by reason of its savage fanaticism, came to an end.

Doctrine: The principal religious theses which separate the Azāriḳa from the other Khāridjites are, according to al-Ashʿarī: 1. The exclusion from Islam (*barāʾa*) of the quietists (*al-ḳaʿada*); 2. The examination (*miḥna*) of all who wished to join their army; 3. Regarding as unbelievers (*takfīr*) those Muslims who did not make the *hidjra* to them; 4. The slaughter of the women and children of their adversaries (*istiʿrāḍ*); 5. The exclusion from Islam (*barāʾa*) of those who recognised *taḳiyya* either in word or deed: 6. The children of the *mushrikūn* are in Hell, as are their parents. Further, according to al-Shahrastānī and al-Baghdādī: 7. Suppression of the stoning of adulterers which is not prescribed by the Ḳurʾān; 8. The possibility of God's sending a Prophet, whom He knows will of necessity become impious or who was so before his mission; further, according to Ibn Ḥazm: 9. Amputation of the thief's hand, *i.e.* arm, from the humerus; 10. Women during the menses must perform the prayers and observe ritual fasting; 11. Ban on killing those who acknowledged that they were Jews, Christians or Zoroastrians (evidently because they enjoyed the *dhimma*).

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AZARQUIEL [see al-Zarḳālī].

ʿAZĀZĪL, fallen angel or *Djinn* in the legendary tradition of Islam (does not occur in the *Ḳurʾān*). He gets his name from the biblical ʿAzāzēl (Leviticus xvi, 8, 10, 26), perhaps demon of the desert (see L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 693). In point of fact the Muslim tradition extends and develops that of some of the Apocrypha (Enoch and the Apocalypse of Abraham) and of Jewish texts, in which ʿAzāzēl is more or less connected with the fallen angels ʿUzza and ʿAzāʾēl (in Muslim tradition, Hārūt and Mārūt, [*q.v.*]); the *ḥadīth*, however, would appear to innovate in considering ʿAzāzʾēl as the name of Iblīs [*q.v.*] before his fall, a tradition which is traced back to Ibn ʿAbbās and which is even repeated in *al-Insān al-Kāmil* of al- Djīlī.

Bibliography: the article *Asasel* in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* iii, 418-421 (Jehoschua Gutmann) gives the previous bibliography; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, passages indicated in the index (Philadelphia 1946, 52) s.v. *Azazel*; Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen 1951, especially 69 and 114; B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*, Philadelphia 1956, passages indicated in index s.v. *Azazel*; Ṭabarī, i, 83; idem, *Tafsīr*, on ii, 34 [32], Cairo 1321, i, 173; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, 32; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 539; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, 347. (G. Vajda)

AZD (by assimilation from Asd, both spellings are current), name of two ancient Arab tribal groupings in the highlands of ʿAsīr (Azd Sarāt) and in ʿUmān (Azd ʿUmān), which united in Basra and Khurāsān in Islamic times. Hence the later reports that the Azd were a tribe in Yaman, of whom part migrated to the north and part to the east, after the breach of the Maʾrib dam. One cannot, however, prove any basic relationship between these two tribes of the same name. In the genealogical system (al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʾ, where al-Azd is the surname of the tribal ancestor Dirʾ/Darrāʾ b. al-Ghawth) there is a fusion not only of the Azd Sarāt and the Azd ʿUmān, but also the Ghassān, Khuzāʿa, al-Aws and Khazradj appear as part of the Azd in it. The name Azd, however, can only be applied to those tribes who derive from Naṣr b. al-Azd (in Sarāt and ʿUmān), to the Bāriḳ and Shakr (Sarāt), derived from ʿAdī b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, to the al-ʿAtīk and al-Ḥadjr (ʿUmān), derived from ʿImrān b. ʿAmr Muzayḳiyāʾ, and to the tribes of al-Hinw b. al-Azd, Ḳarn b. ʿAbd Allah b. al-Azd, ʿArman, Almaʿ and Ḥidjina b. ʿAmr b. al-Azd (Sarāt).

The Azd Sarāt, who were well known as weavers, were largely settled, hence their homes remained essentially static. The tribes of Daws (Sulaym b. Fahm, Ṭarīf b. Fahm, Munhib b. Daws) and the Banū Māsikha were the ones furthest north, parts of them as far as north-east of Ṭāʾif, most of them on the upper Wādī Dawḳa. To the east and south-east of them were the tribes of Zahrān (Salāmān, Kadāda, ʿUbayd b. ʿUbra); further east, in the Sarāt Ghāmid were the Namir b. ʿUthman, al-Ghaṭārīf, Zāra, Athbāb, Lihb, Thumāla, Ghāmid, Ḳarn b. Aḥdjan and others. Their area reached from the upper Wādī Ḳanawnā eastwards. These tribes were separated from their relatives living further east by the Khathʿam. To the east of the Khathʿam were the al-Buḳūm (from Ḥawāla b. al-Hinw) in Turabā, the Banū Shakr (Banū Wālān) were to the north-west and the Ḳarn b. ʿAbd Allāh to the south of Tabāla. Further south, still in the Sarāt al-Ḥadjr, were the numerous branches of al-Ḥadjr b. al-Hinw (the most important were the Banū Shahr with the Bal-Asmar) who were in the area round Ḥalabā in the north and reached as far as the areas south of the Wādī Tanūma/Wādī

Bal-Asmar. Their main centres were: Ḥalabā, al-Khaḍrā', Nimās, Tanūma. Some few lived further south still, towards the Wādī Ibil, as neighbours of the ʿAnz. The Bāriḳ lived in the area of the Wādī Bārīḳ to the west, enclosing the Khathʿam enclave from the south. On the whole they lived in the valleys, whilst the Khathʿam inhabited the highlands. A few groups of the Azd (Almaʿ, Yarfā b. al-Hinw and parts of the al-Ḥadjr b. al-Hinw) were settled as neighbours of the Kīnāna on the coast around Ḥalī. Originally, the Azd Sarāt had been much further south, and only in comparatively recent times did they penetrate to their later region, after continuous battles against the Khathʿam. Remnants were still living under the Banū Maʿāfir in Islamic times, south-west of Taʿizz, and under the Banū Awd in the Dathīna. The frequent term Shanū'a remains obscure. As the name appears as a war-cry in a poem by the poet Ḥādjiz b. ʿAwf, one may suppose that it is a genealogical rather than a geographic term. The current explanation (Shanū'a = al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd) is obviously erroneous; which individual tribes belonged to the Shanū'a can no longer be ascertained.

The Azd ʿUmān consisted of those tribes which derived from Mālik b. Fahm in genealogy (Hunā'a, Farāhīd, Djahāḍim, Nawā, Ḳarādīs, Djarāmīz, ʿUḳā'a, Ḳasāmil, Ṣulaymī, Ashāḳir), some descended from Naṣr b. Zahrān (Yaḥmad, Ḥuddān, Maʿāwil) and those descended from ʿImrān b. ʿAmr Muzayḳiyā', that is, the al-ʿAtīk and al-Ḥadjr b. ʿImrān (it is probable that the link with ʿImrān, which made them brother tribes of the Anṣār, was postulated in honour of the Muhallabids; the true link was preserved in the genealogy al-ʿAtīk b. al-Asd b. ʿImrān). There is little information concerning the sites on which the individual tribes lived. The Maʿāwil were in and around Ṣuḥār; the Yaḥmad and the Hunā'a in the neighbouring coastal areas. The Humaym (from Maʿn b. Mālik b. Fahm) were in Nazwā; al-ʿAtīk in Dabā and al-Ḥadjr nearby; the Ḥuddān were in the hinterland of the Pirate Coast. In between, there were some non-Azd tribes, particularly the Sāma b. Lu'ayy, who were later collectively known as the Nizār. The Banū Djudayd (from Ashāḳir) advanced in Islamic times to the west as far as Ẓufār Ḥaḍramawt, where they captured the sea-port of Raysūt after battles against the Mahra. Even in pre-Islamic times, parts of the Azd ʿUmān, such as the Salima b. Mālik b. Fahm, migrated to the islands in the Persian Gulf and to Kirmān. As fishermen, sea-farers and merchants, the Azd ʿUmān did not enjoy a good reputation among the other Arabs. The term Muzūn, occasionally applied to them, seems to have been a nickname. It may be supposed that they immigrated from the north and imposed themselves on the previously settled non-Arab inhabitants. The tradition which identifies them with the Asad (2), [*q.v.*] mentioned in inscriptions, and which makes them the allies of the Tanūkh, is erroneous.

Little is known of the Azd Sarāt in pre-Islamic times, as there are hardly any poetic writings; the only well-known poet was Ḥādjiz b. ʿAwf (Banū Salāmān). There is mention of battles against Khathʿam and Kināna, and fights by some tribes against the powerful clan of the Āl Ghiṭrīf (in the Wādī Ḳanawnā) at the beginning of the 7th century. Members of that clan are said to have been the keepers of the shrine of Manāt in Ḳudayd. It is possible that the name Ghiṭrīf in the genealogical lists of Medina from came that quarter. The following are mentioned as deities of the Azd Sarāt: Dhu 'l-Sharā, Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa (shrine in Tabāla), Dhu 'l-Kaffayn and ʿĀ'im. Still less is known of the early history of the Azd ʿUmān. Apart from mythical fights against Persians and Mahra, there is mention of one against the ʿAbd al-Ḳays. Bādjar/Nādjir is mentioned as their deity.

The Azd Sarāt accepted Islam in 10/631. Small risings during the *ridda* were quickly put down in 11/632 by ʿUthmān b. al-ʿĀṣ, the governor of Ṭā'if. As early as 13/634, there were a few Azd in the contingent which ʿUmar sent to the Euphrates. Some Azd Sarāt were amongst the first settlers in Basra and Kufa and some went to Egypt. On the whole, however, there was little emigration. Islam had already entered ʿUmān a few years before. This was due to a difficult situation into which the brothers Djayfar and ʿAbd—heads of the ruling group, the al-Djulandā (from Banū Maʿāwil in Ṣuḥār)—had got themselves in relation to al-ʿAtīḳ and other tribes of the inland regions under the leadership of Laḳīṭ b. Mālik al-ʿĀtikī. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was sent to Ṣuḥār in the year 8/629, and with his assistance, the brothers managed to recover their power completely. Laḳīṭ tried his luck once more during the *ridda* and ʿAmr had to flee, but in the year 11/632 the rising was finally put down by ʿIkrima b. Abī Djahl. The Banu 'l-Djulandā remained practically complete rulers in ʿUmān for many years. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd b. al-Djulandā took over the rule in the time of ʿUthmān. He was killed in battle against the Khawāridj of the Yamāma in 67/686. His sons Saʿīd and Sulaymān succeeded him. It was not until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj that the two brothers could finally be ousted from ʿUmān, and the territory re-incorporated. A great number of Azd ʿUmān had emigrated to Baṣra in 60-61/679-680. In the process, some of them remained in eastern Arabia, where an Azd emirate was founded in Zāra in the 3rd/9th century. They united themselves with the Azd Sarāt who were already settled in Baṣrā, made an alliance with the Rabīʿa and thereby became the opponents of the Tamīm. As early as 38/658, the Azd Sarāt of Basra had protected the governor Ziyād b. Abīhi against the Tamīm. Similarly, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād got assistance from the Azd, when, after the death of Yazīd I (64/683) the Tamīm rose against him. The subsequent tribal warfare, in the course of which Masʿūd b. ʿAmr al-ʿĀtikī, the leader of the united Azd and Rabīʿa was killed, with be settled by al-Aḥnaf, the leader of the Tamīm. The enmity, however, remained and spread to Khurāsān, especially when the Azd there (again in league with the Rabīʿa) became the leading tribe under the Muhallabids after 78/697. They were greatly offended at the removal of the Muhallabids and were largely responsible for the events which led to the defeat and death of Ḳutayba b. Muslim in 96/715. The Azd remained the leading group up to the beginning of the reign of Yazīd II in 101/720. The subsequent systematic extermination of the Muhallabids brought for them a time of subjugation by Ḳaysid governors. Their enmity against these contributed greatly to the fall of the Umayyads. During the troubled times at the end of the reign of the Umayyads, the Azd—apart from a few short-lived alliances—remained in opposition to the governor Naṣr b. Sayyār, a fact which considerably facilitated the advance of Abū Muslim. In Baṣra too, the Azd followed the ʿAbbāsids, having risen against Umayyad rule and having been beaten by Tamīm and Syrian troops. Ibāḍī teaching, brought

over from Basra, began to be accepted in ʿUmān atba out the same time. In 132/749, al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd, a member of the old ruling house of the Banu 'l-Djulandā, was elected the first Imām. He was killed in 134/751, fighting against Khāzim b. Khuzayma, general of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās. The subsequent years were very troubled ones for the country. Nominally, it was under an ʿAbbāsid governor, but there were constant battles, usually between the Banu 'l-Djulandā—who were trying to re-establish their former rule—and the Ibāḍīs. It was not until 177/793 that the latter gained the upper hand and elected a new, rightful Imām. Henceforth, Nazwā became the seat of the Ibāḍī Imāms, who were, almost without exception, of the Yaḥmad tribe. After 230/844 troubles broke out again. In addition to the activities of the Banu 'l-Djulandā, there was tribal warfare between the Azd and the Nizār. The Banū Sāma b. Luʾayy applied for assistance to the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 277/890, to help them against the Ibāḍīs. The last independent Imām, ʿAzzān b. Tamīm fell in 280/893, fighting against Muḥammad b. Nūr, the ʿAbbāsid governor of Baḥrayn. After 282/875, there were again Ibāḍī Imāms in Nazwa, but their powers remained limited.

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(G. Strenziok)

AL-AZDĪ, Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yazīd b. Muḥ. b. Iyās b. al-Ḳāsim, historian of Mosul, who died in 334/945-6. While the work on Mosul by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. b. Yazīd al-Mawṣilī, who lived a generation before Al-Azdī, appears to have been concerned only with the biographies of religious scholars, al-Azdī wrote both on the "Classes of Mosul *ḥadīth* Scholars" and on the political history of Mosul, either in one combined or in two separate works. His treatment of *ḥadīth* scholars is known only from quotations and seems to have been restricted to the limited information usually found in *ridjāl* works. The political annalistic history of the city, the first work on this particular subject, is preserved for the years 101/719-20—224/838-9. It treats the history of Mosul in the framework of general contemporary history and is a highly creditable achievement of early Muslim historiography.

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(F. Rosenthal)

AZEMMŪR [see AZAMMŪR].

AZERBAYDJĀN [see ĀDHARBAYDJĀN].

ĀZERĪ [see ĀDHARĪ].

AẒFARĪ, Muḥammad Ẓahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā ʿAlī Bakht Bahādur Gūrgānī, a lineal descendant of Awrangzīb and a grandson of ʿIffat Ārāʾ Begum (daughter of Muḥammad Muʿizz al-Dīn Pādshāh (i.e. Djahāndār Shāh), son of Shāh ʿĀlam (Bahādur Shāh I), was born in the Red Fort at Delhi in 1172/1758 and educated within the fort. Like other princes of the line of Tīmūr, Aẓfarī was in receipt of an allowance from the East India Company. Aẓfarī decided in 1202/1789 to escape from the fort. Passing through Djaypur and Djodhpūr, Aẓfarī reached Lucknow where he was received with open arms by Āṣaf al-Dawla, the ruler of Awadh. For seven years he stayed there and then left for Patna *en route* to Maḳṣūdābād, (an old name for Murshidābād [*q.v.*]) where he arrived in 1211/1797. After a stay of some ten years he left for Madras, where he stayed until his death in 1234/1818.

Aẓfarī was polyglot and spoke Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdū fluently; during the closing years of his life he also learned a little English. He was well-versed in different sciences such as medicine, astrology, prosody, geomancy and metrics, but was more attracted by poetry. In addition to an Urdu *dīwān* he left behind a large collection of verses in Persian and Turkish. These Persian and Turkish collections as well as some of his works enumerated at the end of his memoirs (a Čaghatay grammar, *Tenkarī-Tār*—a Turkish-Hindī compilation) are, however, lost.

His chief work is the *Wāḳiʿāt-i Aẓfarī* (MSS Berlin 496, Rieu, iii, 1051 b; Madras, i, 450, 451) commenced in Murshidābād in 1211/1797 and completed at Madras in 1221/1806. It is an account of his wanderings and personal experiences in addition to being a valuable historical sketch of the ephemeral rise of Ghulām Ḳādir Rohilla [*q.v.*], who captured Delhi in 1203/1788 and blinded the Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam I. This work is also of great geographical value.

At the end of his above-noted memoirs Aẓfarī mentions 7 of his works, in addition to an earlier one: (i) *Lughat-i Turkī-i Čaghatāʾī* (compiled during his stay in Lucknow); (ii) A Persian translation in rhymed prose of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's [*q.v.*] Turkish work *Maḥbūb al-Ḳulūb*; (iii) *Niṣāb-i Turkī*, (in verse); (iv) *Tenkarī Tār*, a Turkish-Hindi compilation on the lines of *Khāliḳ-bārī*, erroneously ascribed to Amīr Khusraw; (v) A Persian metrical translation, from Arabic, of the *Risāla-i Ḳabriyya*, a supposed treatise by Hippocrates on the signs of approaching death; (vi) *Nuskha-i Sāniḥāt*, detailing his experiences and tribulations. It contains 109 anecdotes; (vii) A metrical grammar of Čaghatay Turkish (composed at ʿAẓīmābād (Patna) on the request of Rāyīʾ Tīkā Rām, a hereditary *bakhshī* [*q.v.*] of his family; (viii) *Fawāʾid al-Mubtadī*.

Bibliography: Muḥ. Ghawth Khān, *Subḥ-i Waṭan*, Madras 1258/1842, 35; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la litt. Hindouie et Hindoustanie*[2], Paris 1870, i, 265; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, viii, 234; A. Sprenger, *Oudh. Cat.* 208; *Berlin Pers. Cat.* No. 496; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Bazm-i Tīmūriyya* (in Urdū), Aʿẓamgarh 1948, 426-7; Storey 642-3, 1322; *OCM* (Lahore), xi/4 (Aug. 1935), 41-8; *Wāḳiʿāt-i Aẓfarī*, (Urdū trans. ʿAbd al-Sattār), Madras 1937. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

AL-**AZHAR** (al-Djāmiʿ al-Azhar). This great mosque, the 'brilliant one' (a possible allusion to Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ, although no ancient document

confirms this) is one of the principal mosques of present-day Cairo. This seat of learning, obviously Ismāʿīlī from the time of its Fāṭimid foundation (4th/9th century), whose light was dimmed by the reaction under the Sunnī Ayyūbids, regained all its activity—Sunnī from now on—during the reign of Sultan Baybars. Its influence is due on the one hand to the geographical and political position which Cairo occupies in the Muslim world (especially since the downfall of the Baghdād ʿAbbāsids), attracting scholars and students and accommodating many Maghribī pilgrims on their way; on the other hand it is due to the situation of this capacious mosque itself in that quarter which was up to the 19th century the epicentre of the town of Cairo. One institution of learning among many others in the Mamlūk era, it benefited from the almost complete disappearance of all the Cairo colleges under Ottoman domination, and became the only stronghold in the capital where the study of the Arabic language and religious learning could be maintained. From the 18th century, in spite of the decadence of its intellectual methods, its organisation, becoming consolidated, gained for it the dignity of a harmonious whole, at once a school and a university; and it can be considered from that time as the principal religious university of the Islamic world. In the 20th century al-Azhar, outgrowing the framework of its mosque, began to acquire a whole network of establishments of Islamic education. With its faculties in Cairo of university status, and with the various primary and secondary institutions in Egypt which are directly connected with it, its strength in 1953 was a total of 30,000 pupils and students, 4,500 of whom were foreigners. Some institutions situated outside Egypt, moreover, function within its orbit. Its work is at present carried out by its teachers, a certain number of whom are sent out to different Muslim countries; it makes its influence felt by its monthly journal and, in a special way, through the foreign pupils and students who come to take its courses in Egypt. A few of the latter remain in Cairo, but the majority return to their native lands, thus contributing to the propagation of the knowledge of the Arabic language and Muslim political and religious ideas.

I. Buildings and furnishings. The mosque of al-Azhar was conceived as the place of worship of the capital al-Ḳāhira which the conquering Fāṭimid general Djawhar al-Kātib al-Ṣiḳillī established as an entity, and where his master, the Fāṭimid Caliph Abū Tamīm Maʿadd al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh, his entourage and his troops, were intended to reside. The construction of the mosque, situated at the South and in the neighbourhood of the palace, began on 24 Djumādā I 359/4 April 970, and lasted for two years. It was inaugurated immediately, on 7 Ramaḍān 361/22 June 972, cf. the text of an inscription, now disappeared, on the cupola, with the date 360 (in al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1326, iv, 49 ff.). It was frequently referred to as the 'mosque of Cairo', *Djāmiʿ al-Ḳāhira*, and indeed played the same rôle in Fāṭimid Cairo as the mosque of ʿAmr at Miṣr-Fusṭāṭ or that of Ibn Ṭūlūn at al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ. All three of these were the religious centres of their respective quarters, at that time small, independent, neighbouring towns; the Friday prayer was conducted in these three mosques, and the Caliph from time to time caused the *khuṭba* to be read in them. After 380/990 the new *al-Djāmiʿ al-Anwar* (al-Ḥākimī), which was built on the Northern side of Fāṭimid Cairo, enjoyed the same privileges as al-Azhar. Many Fāṭimid Caliphs worked for the enhancement of al-Azhar and enriched it with gifts and endowments. The original roof, which was too low, was soon raised, at an unknown date (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 53). Al-ʿAzīz Nizār (365-86/976-96)—who perhaps added the two (North and South) lateral *liwāns* of three bays—and al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1020) made some improvements there. A deed of *waḳf* dating from the year 400/1009-10 throws light on the organisation of its personnel and on its apparatus of worship (but none on the teaching; text in *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 49 ff.). From this epoch dates the appearance of the vast central courtyard surrounded by porticos with Persian arches, as does that of the prayer hall of five parallel bays on the *ḳibla* wall. The construction is of brick rendered with either plain or chased plaster; the arches of the courtyard, of the prayer-hall and of the lateral *liwāns* are supported by slender columns which have been used for a second time. One must mention the work of the Caliphs al-Mustanṣir, al-Ḥāfiẓ (improvements, rearrangement of the Fāṭimid *maḳṣūra* from beside the west door) and al-ʿĀmir (wooden *miḥrāb* now in the Cairo museum). During the whole of this epoch al-Azhar, by its teaching, played an important rôle in Fāṭimid propaganda, which explains why it suffered from the Sunnī reaction of the Ayyūbids (rulers of Egypt from 567/1171-2 on). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had certain ornaments torn down (silver band from the *miḥrāb*), and took to himself the privilege of the *khuṭba*; the Friday prayers in al-Ḳāhira took place only in the al-Ḥākimī mosque. This mosque had been restored to Muslim worship by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after having been used by the Franks as a church. Al-Azhar continued to exist, although on the decline (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī taught medicine there at the end of the 6th/12th century: see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 207), but the buildings were very neglected. With the Mamlūk sultans the situation changed. The amīr ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Ḥillī, residing in the neighbourhood, was so distressed by the dilapidation of al-Azhar that he financed some works with the help of sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars, who amongst other things permitted the *khuṭba* to be read again in 665/1266 (*Corp. Inscr. Arab. Egypt*, i, no. 128). Some *waḳfs* were allocated to provide for Sunnī teachers. Once again vigorous life returned to it, never to cease up to the present day. Badly damaged (*saḳaṭa*) by the well-known and disastrous eartquake of 702/1302-3, it was restored by the amīr Salār. Marble made its appearance, discreetly, in the undated repairs of the *miḥrāb* (beginning of the 14th century), though it was used with magnificent effect in the *miḥrābs* of the three small new erections of fine stone built against the exterior of the mosque, which were later to be incorporated with it: the *madrasa* of the amīr Ṭaybars, founded in 709/1309 to the right of the west door; that of the amīr Aḳbughā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid in 740/1339-40 to the left of this door; and the charming *madrasa* founded by the eunuch Djawhar al-Ḳanḳabāʾī, who was buried here in 844/1440-1, at the eastern corner of the mosque. In 725/1325 some constructions are recorded, and about 761/1360 the *maḳṣūras* were rebuilt, some improvements were made, funds for feeding the poor and for teaching were established, *e.g.*, a *sabīl* for water, and teaching the Ḳurʾān to orphans. A minaret which was at a dangerous angle was demolished and then rebuilt on three occasions for the same reason (800, 817, 827/1397-8, 1414-5, 1423-4). On this last date, a cistern (*ṣahrīdj*) with a wash-basin (*mīḍaʾa*) was built in the middle of the mosque, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to

establish four trees in the courtyard. The sultan Ḳāytbāy was responsible for much work: for the west door, which he demolished, he substituted an elegant doorway with minaret attached (873/1469; *Corp. Inscr. Arab.* i, no. 21), had a host of little dwellings, which were excrescences on the terraces, cleared away (881/1476), and ordered a general restoration (901/1496). Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī bestowed on al-Azhar another minaret, thanks to which it can today be recognised from afar among the assembly of minarets in Cairo (915/1510). Funds for teaching continued during this period. At the time of the Ottoman conquest the sultan Selīm looked with favour on al-Azhar. The 18th century was, in the history of al-Azhar, as important as the Fāṭimid era; possessing from that time on the monopoly of religious studies in Egypt, the mosque was considerably enlarged. A chapel for the blind (*Zāwiyat al-ʿUmyān*) was built by ʿUthmān Katkhudā al-Kazdoghlī (Ḳaṣid Oghlu), who died in 1149/1736. But its greatest benefactor was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā or Kiḥya (died 1190/1776, buried in the mosque), who caused the following constructions, which lack the beauty of the ancient works, to be carried out: demolition of the *ḳibla* wall of the prayer-hall except for the original *miḥrāb* which remains, the addition at the rear of four new bays of stone arches on slightly raised ground, a new *miḥrāb*, a *minbar*, his tomb, a cistern, and a Ḳurʾānic school for children. Victuals and gifts in kind were provided for poor students. A new enclosure, with doorway, brought in on the west the two *madrasas* of Ṭaybars and Aḳbughā, whose façades were rebuilt (1167/1753).

The Azharīs, like students of all countries, came out into the streets from time to time. Al-Djabartī indicates that there were some troubles in the quarter, in which they took part. He makes mention of the rising against the French under Bonaparte who were occupying Cairo (10 Djumāda I 1213/20 October 1798); the immediate repression found in al-Azhar and its neighbourhood the last bastion of resistance. The mosque suffered from the final bombardment, and was profaned by the troops. The restoration of autonomous rule, under Muḥammad ʿAlī, was scarcely favourable to al-Azhar, whose *waḳf*s were misused. Later the Khedives and then the kings of Egypt became its benefactors, reserving to themselves the upper hand in its affairs, and hoping in return for the tractability of its shaykhs, a hope which was generally realised except in a few cases of proud and sudden boldness which even today form a topic of conversation. ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ Dj.*, iv, 14-26) gives a minute description of the buildings and of Azharī life about 1875. The great wretchedness and decay of so many mosques in Cairo in this period had not left al-Azhar untouched. The Khedives Tawfīḳ and ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had important restorations carried out. That of the courtyard and of the porticos which surround it date from 1890-2. At the western corner of the mosque, on the site of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's Katkhudā's minaret which was demolished, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī had the *riwāḳ* built which bears his name, a vast building with lodgings for students and an oratory (inaugurated in 1315/1898). The participation of the Azharīs in the risings of 1882 (ʿUrābī Pasha) and 1919 (against the British) did not entail any material damage to the buildings, but only a temporary suppression of the courses at the time of the second incident. The number of students up to 1935 caused al-Azhar to conduct part of its courses in the neighbouring mosques, which were used as annexes. In 1930 the separation of the three faculties of higher study had as a necessary consequence the taking over of lay buildings in Cairo, to house these faculties outside the mosque. These places were given up when a new area was built behind al-Azhar (modern installations, classrooms with desks and benches, chemical laboratory, etc.). There were erected in 1935-6 a general administrative building, on the site to the north of al-Azhar, and three more four-storied buildings intended as the primary and secondary institutes, and medical block with boarding infirmary. In 1950, again to the east, a building was constructed for the Aula Magna with room for 4,000, with a high minaret, and a building for the faculty of *sharīʿa* law; in 1951 came the building for the faculty of the Arabic language. In 1955, again on the East, some old houses were pulled down, in order to prepare a site for the future faculty of theology (still housed in the Shubrā quarter). At the present time the principal library (of manuscripts, etc.) is housed in Aḳbughā's *madrasa* (rebuilt by the Khedive Tawfīḳ). A *cité universitaire* for foreign Azharīs is in construction (1956-1957) on the site of the ancient Mīdān al-Ghafīr at ʿAbbāsiyya, in conformity with the social policy of the new Egyptian Republic. This will allow for the rehabilitation of students, who were overcrowded in the precincts of the mosque itself, or were sleeping in the town in properties belonging to the trustees of the *waḳf*s, or with private families. The courtyard and the prayer-hall of the mosque are still used for certain courses for foreigners, and for exceptional private lessons. Some young Azharīs do come here to go over their books again; walking up and down, or even seated on the ground, they still keep up the old tradition and thus help to maintain the ever busy appearance of the mosque. In addition, the Azharīs have modern installations everywhere; likewise in the provinces, the local institutions have special buildings outside the mosques.

Bibliography: Texts, among which the most important are those of Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 49-56, 60-2, 223-4), Djabartī, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, and for the modern period Van Berchem and Flury, are collected with references in Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952, 36-64, with plates and plan. See also Hautecœur and Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, 2 vols; Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Taʾrīkh al-Masādjid al-Athariyya*, i, Cairo 1946. See also *EI*[1], article *Azhar* § I.

II. Al-Azhar as a sanctuary and house of the people. Like all mosques, al-Azhar had this dual function. The regular prayers were said here, as well as those on exceptional occasions. Its history from this point of view is linked with that of Egypt: people collected here in times of catastrophe (such as epidemic, famine, or war) to call upon God, and to hear special readings from the Ḳurʾān or from al-Bukhārī; it was also a place of refuge for fugitives (see Ibn Iyās, ii, 177, 264, iii, 106, 132, 167). In modern times also, some events of national significance have been organised there. The spaciousness of its buildings, and the constant presence of students, were appropriate for large meetings, *e.g.*, that of 1919 (see *Madjallat al-Azhar*, XXVII, 396-400). Here they exalted the *Mudjāhidūn* or combatants during the Palestine war (1948), and at the time of the guerilla warfare against the British in the Suez Canal in 1951-2. Al-Azhar is, moreover, a 'people's house' for those poor men who, since its

foundation, have found there either a temporary or a permanent shelter: many have spent the night there, as al-Maḳrīzī points out with regard to the intervention of the *amīr* Sudūb, *nāẓir* of al-Azhar, who in 818/1415-6 wished to free the mosque of all who were dwelling therein, whether students or otherwise. His intervention was the occasion for pillage, and opinion turned against him. Some inhabitants of Cairo, even the well-to-do, would pass the night here, specially in Ramaḍān, at the beginning of the 15th century (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 54-5). At the present time, among the poor pilgrims coming on foot from as far as North Africa and the Atlas Mountains (1400 in 1952), many stay at al-Azhar during the month of Ramaḍān before setting off for the Ḥidjāz. Many Azharī students give them moral and material help (in the middle ages the Maghribī pilgrims camped at Ibn Ṭulūn—*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 40). Countless gifts have been made by rich Muslims at all times for the poor of al-Azhar, In the middle ages al-Azhar was open to Ṣūfīs also, although its tendencies were predominantly juridical. ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ chose to live there towards the end of his life (Ibn Iyās, i, 82, 3). One text mentions the *dhikr*s which took place there (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 54). Aḳbughā's *madrasa* is also said to have had a permanent group of Ṣūfīs (*ibid.*, iv, 225). The mosque of al-Azhar was above all a "people's house" for the teachers and the pupils whom it housed under its arcades, and its history here again is inseparable from that of Islamic teaching in Egypt (see Ibrāhīm Salāma, *L'enseignement islamique en Égypte*, Cairo 1939). Teachers found within it peace and adequate quarters; sometimes, however, their position there was not official: at times we hear of passing scholars supported by a sovereign during their stay. There were above all the *waḳf*s maintaining what could be described as chairs of learning, and others again for the maintenance of certain categories of students.

III. Teaching in the mediaeval and post-mediaeval periods. Information on the situation in early times is both fragmentary and incomplete. Under the Fāṭimids in 365/975 the great official propagandist ʿAlī son of al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān taught Ismāʿīlī law at al-Azhar, and dictated the *Mukhtaṣar*, a work of his father's (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 156; Brockelmann, SI, 325). After having been named *wazīr*, Yaʿḳūb b. Killis held in his own home meetings of *littérateurs*, poets, jurists and men of the *kalām* (theologians), to whom he gave a pension, and who thereafter taught the Ismāʿīlī doctrine in the mosque of ʿAmr. Al-Azhar profited by this trend. In 378/988-9 al-ʿAzīz assigned to 35 jurists a house near to al-Azhar, with provision for their support. On Fridays, between midday and the *ʿaṣr* prayers, they held meetings, and their chief, Abū Yaʿḳūb Ḳāḍī al-Khandaḳ, was responsible for the teaching. (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 49; al-Ḳalḳashandī, III, 367). Al-Maḳrīzī, writing of the al-Anwar (al-Ḥākimī) mosque only recently inaugurated, notes that in Ramaḍān 380/991 'groups of listeners followed courses there given by the teachers who instructed in the mosque of Cairo, that is to say, al-Azhar' (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 55), which implies that it must have always had a stable organisation. It is known, moreover, that Ibn al-Haytham elected to live at al-Azhar (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 90-91). But the remarkable effort of the Fāṭimids in both sacred and secular culture is specially evident in the *Dār al-ḥikma* founded by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005, which became the real cultural centre of Cairo at this period (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 158). Under the Ayyūbids the Shīʿite teaching was swept away. Al-Azhar had always opened its doors to scholars (*e.g.*, for ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī), but it was supplanted by the official Sunnite *madrasas* recently created. Under the Mamlūks al-Azhar regained its position.

In 665/1266 the *amīr* Bīlbak al-Khāzindār installed a vast *maḳṣūra* and provided it with a fund in order that a group (*djamāʿa*) of jurists might teach Shāfiʿī law there. He appointed a teacher of *ḥadīth* and spiritual doctrine (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*), seven people to 'read' the Ḳurʾān, and a tutor (*mudarris*) (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 52). In 761/1359-60 a course of Ḥanafī law was started, at the same time as a Ḳurʾānic school for orphans. In 784/1382-3 a decree of Sulṭān Barḳūḳ provided that students should inherit the property of those of their friends who died without heir (see Tritton, *Education* 123, for a discussion of arrangements of this kind). Al-Maḳrīzī, on the events of 818/1415-6, mentions 750 provincial or foreign inhabitants, ranging from Maghribīs to Persians, as residing in the mosque, grouped according to strict *riwāḳ*s. They read the Ḳurʾān and studied it. They devoted themselves to law (*fiḳh*), to tradition (*ḥadīth*), to commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, to grammar (*naḥw*), to meetings devoted to preaching and to *dhikr* (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 53-4). It is often said nowadays that al-Azhar was always the Egyptian Muslim university *par excellence*; in fact, in the Cairo of the Mamlūks, bursting with life, it was an important centre of learning, but a centre among many others (see MASDJID). Al-Maḳrīzī, writing in the 15th century, makes mention of more than 70 *madrasas* in Cairo (*Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 191-258). He points out the intellectual activity within the mosques: in that of ʿAmr, before the great plague of 749/1348, he mentions forty-odd courses or *ḥalḳa* (*ibid.*, iv, 21); in that of Ibn Ṭulūn, at the beginning of the 14th century, courses in the law of the four schools and a course in medicine (*ibid.*, iv, 40-1); in that of al-Ḥākim, in the same period, law courses in the four schools (*ibid.*, iv, 57). There was moreover still *ṣūfī* teaching in the convents or *khānḳāh*s. Ibn Khaldūn, for example, from the time of his arrival in Cairo in 784/1383, taught at al-Azhar, which he later left in order to teach elsewhere (Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʿrīf*, 248). The Ottoman era was a time of decadence for learning in Cairo. Ibrāhīm Salāma, *L'enseignement*, 111-121, has enumerated the causes of this: economic unrest, the impoverishment of Egypt, the devaluation of the *waḳf*s or the perversion of these latter to other purposes (the Ḥanafī law administered by the Ottomans permitted a judge to modify the provisions of a *waḳf*), and finally the triumph of the Ṣūfī *khānḳāh*s in tending to replace the *madrasas*. All that obtained of non-mystical teaching activity was concentrated in al-Azhar. One could name the titles of a good thousand works preserved in this era in the library of al-Azhar and those of the neighbouring mosques, from Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, vii, 3-22. A catalogue of more than 2000 works belonging to the '*riwāḳ* of the Syrians', probably at al-Azhar, exists in a manuscript of the 18th century (no. 4.476, Slane. Bibl. Nat. de Paris). (On the Ottoman period see further H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/2, London 1957, index).

But henceforward, and up to the end of the 19th century, scholarship consisted of learning by heart a traditional corpus of material, encumbered by all that successive generations had added to it. Instead of the direct study of those great texts which were capable of engendering noble thoughts, there were substituted the studies of manuals, of commentaries (*sharḥ*), of marginalia on the commentaries (*ḥawāshī*),

and sub-commentaries on these glosses (*taḳārīr*). All the energy of the students was absorbed by the effort of memory necessary to retain by heart this complicated learning, which was presented with no pedagogical method whatever. General culture was non-existent. Arithmetical studies were limited to that elementary technique necessary for apportioning an inheritance, and astronomy to that which allowed the times for prayer, or the beginning of the lunar months (*al-miḳāt*), to be determined. But one should not judge the mediaeval intellectual activity of Cairo by this period of post-mediaeval decadence.

In the middle ages, the office of superintendent (*nāẓir*) of al-Azhar was held by a person of high rank. Moreover, each *riwāḳ*, a group analogous to the 'nations' of the mediaeval universities of Europe, as well as each faculty, had its own head (*s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, *naḳīb*). From Ottoman times al-Azhar had its rector (*s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Azhar*), who remained in office until his resignation, dismissal or death. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of the different departments were subordinate to him, and he was directly responsible to the government. Al-D̲j̲abartī gives us a partial roll of these from the beginning of the 18th century (see § V, below). ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak has described (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ D̲j̲*., iv, 26-30) life at al-Azhar as it was in 1875 at the dawn of the modern reforms. This picture gives an idea of the ancient customs: the students were grouped in a 'circle' (*ḥalḳa*, literally 'circle', extended to mean 'course'), seated on the mats (*ḥaṣīra*) of the mosque around the teacher, who himself was seated Turkish-fashion on a low wide armchair placed at the foot of a pillar, each pillar having its own accredited holder and being, moreover, up to 1872 the undisputed property of one juridical school. Morning lectures were reserved for the most important subjects, that is to say successively *tafsīr*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, *fiḳh*, then at noon the Arabic language; other subjects were kept over for the afternoon. At the end of each class the students kissed the hand of their teacher. The Azharī lived meagrely on the regular issues of food (*d̲j̲arāyāt*), supplemented by that which came from his family, and would often work in order to earn a little more, by giving readings from the Ḳurʾān, copying manuscripts, etc. He lived in the mosque or in the town. There was no examination at the end of the course of study. Many of the students were well advanced in years. Those who left al-Azhar obtained an *id̲j̲āza* or licence to teach; this was a certificate given by the teacher under whom the student had followed courses, testifying to the student's diligence and proficiency. Teacher-pupil relationships had a rather patriarchal aspect, disturbed only by rather rare rebellions. Quarrels between rival cliques of students were more frequent. A proctor (*d̲j̲undī*) was responsible for the administration of the rules, for the care of the books, and for distributing the provisions in kind; he had a staff of some size under his command. In 1293/1876 the distribution of the 361 teachers and 10,780 students according to schools was: S̲h̲āfiʿīs: 147 teachers, 5,651 students; Mālikīs: 99 teachers, 3,826 students; Ḥanafīs: 76 teachers, 1,278 students. The Ḥanbalīs were poorly represented: 3 teachers, 25 students. There were in addition some non-registered students. The students were grouped into 15 *ḥāras* and 38 *riwāḳ*s (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ D̲j̲*., iv, 28). There were numerous foreign students (see list of *riwāḳ*s, EI[1], s.v. *Azhar*, § II, VI). The vacation began in the month of Rad̲j̲ab and ended in mid-S̲h̲awwāl; there was in addition the twenty days leave for the great Bayrām (festival of sacrifices), the same for the *mawlid* of the saint of Ṭanṭā, Aḥmad Badawī, etc. . . . (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ D̲j̲*., iv, 28).

IV. The reform of al-Azhar. The shock that Bonaparte's expedition gave to Egypt, and the efforts of Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors to modernise the country, left al-Azhar indifferent or hostile. There were individual sympathisers, but they were immobilised by the unshakable apathy of the majority. Al-Azhar rightly feared the influence of certain European ideas; but very few understood how to draw the line between the contributions which were acceptable to Islam and those which were inadmissible. Others became obdurate in passive resistance. It was, however, from among the Azharīs (there was no other intellectual group at that time) that the activist element of the new Egypt was recruited. (Educational mission of Egyptians sent to Paris with Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī in 1825-31; journey of Muḥ. ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī to Russia; later Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and others. But these people were always at cross purposes with the conservative element of al-Azhar, since they emerged and acted in a way which was not that of the traditionalists. Al-Azhar at the beginning of the 19th century could well have been called a religious university; what it was not was a complete university giving instruction in those modern disciplines essential to the awakening of the country. However, it seems that the conservative section of al-Azhar did not appreciate at the time either the necessity of creating new academic branches (in al-Azhar or outside it) or that of reforming the organisation and programmes of religious teaching in al-Azhar. The fear of being contaminated by imitating Europe paralysed everything.

Al-Azhar had nevertheless to take the path of reform. The interference of the government in its affairs, an everyday phenomenon which was sometimes suffered with some resentment, proved decisive at this juncture. When authority had opposed reform (for example during the last years of Muḥ. ʿAbduh) the conservative forces, having no counterweight, paralysed everything. Nothing less than the full Khedival (later the royal) power was necessary to impose reform. The principal stages of reform were these: in 1288/1872, a decree instituting a diploma at the end of the course of study; a maximum of six students would each year sit for a long and exacting examination in eleven subjects. Success would obtain for them the title of *ʿālim* (1st, 2nd or 3rd class, according to their ability), would assure for them material advantages, and would give them the right to teach in al-Azhar. This measure was still clearly inadequate (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ D̲j̲*., iv, 27-8; the newspaper *Wādī al-Nīl*, 26 Feb. 1872).—In 1872, the creation of the higher school of *Dār al-ʿulūm* where a certain number of Azharīs could specialise and prepare themselves for teaching in the new schools. (Muḥ. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲awwād, *Taḳwīm Dār al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1952; résumé in *MIDEO*, I, 160-2).—In 1312-3/1895 the Khedive ʿAbbās instituted an advisory council (*mad̲j̲lis idārat al-Azhar*) consisting of members *outside* al-Azhar as well as others from al-Azhar itself. This institution, demanded by Muḥ. ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], was the prelude to the reform of 1896. Muḥ. ʿAbduh, as a member of the council, was its inspiration.—In 1312-3/1895 the institutes of Ṭanṭā, Damietta and Dasūḳ became affiliated to al-Azhar. —A decree on the salaries of teachers, some of whom had only very meagre salaries.—A law of 20 Muḥarram 1314/1 July 1896, inspired by Muḥ. ʿAbduh, decreed that the council of al-Azhar should

consist of three *ʿulamā* from al-Azhar and two official *ʿulamā* from the government; it fixed the minimum age for the admission of pupils at 15; declared that conditions of admission were to be able to read and write, and to know half the Ḳurʾān by heart; it reorganised the programmes, forbade the teaching of glosses to new pupils and restricted it for the older ones. Two examinations led, either after a minimum of 8 years study, to the diploma of *ahliyya*, or after 12 years, to the diploma of *ʿālimiyya* (with three honour classes). Modern subjects were introduced, either obligatory (such as elements of arithmetic, algebra) or optional (such as the history of Islām, composition, elements of geography, etc). The length of the vacations (summer, Ramaḍān, festival of sacrifices) was fixed. A medical officer was appointed to be in charge of health and hygiene. A list of prescribed texts for the syllabus was drawn up. The implementation of this law came up against fierce resistance, which was likewise expressed in the press. —In 1903 came the foundation of the institute of Alexandria, affiliated to al-Azhar.—In Muḥarram 1325/Feb.-March 1907 came a law instituting the *ḳāḍīs*' school (for the *sharʿī* tribunals) within the orbit of al-Azhar.—The law of 2 Ṣafar 1326/6 March 1908 set out the studies in three standards, primary, secondary and higher, each of four years' duration with a certificate given after each final examination. The optional subjects of 1896 were made compulsory. This law was regarded as a blow to the autonomy of al-Azhar, and provoked an outcry. There was a serious student revolt in Cairo, and in Ṭanṭā (quickly put down), but nowhere else. It was decided to apply this law only gradually.—In December 1908 came the foundation of the Free University of Cairo, the embryo of the four present State universities, and of the western type. This was the origin of a competition that was painful for al-Azhar.—The law of the 14 Djumādā I 1329/13 May 1911 harked back to that of 1908: it laid down that the rector was to be nominated by the Khedive, enlarged the advisory council (the rector, the *shaykhs* of the four schools, the director-general of the *waḳfs*, and three members nominated by the decision of the council of ministers), created the tribunal of the 30 chief *ʿulamā* who were incumbents of the 30 special chairs, from among whom the rector was to be elected. In the conditions of entry for pupils, the age limit was from 10-17 years; other provisions were as in 1896. Modern studies were slightly augmented, etc. This law was still the subject of opposition. One interesting problem arose, in that the graduates of the *Dār al-ʿulūm* and of the school of the *ḳāḍīs* obtained situations more easily than the Azharīs, and earned more. —In 1921 the conditions for entry required the knowledge of the whole of the Ḳurʾān, no longer just half.—In the law of 13 Muḥarram 1342/26 August 1923 the highest standard was renamed 'specialisation' (*takhaṣṣuṣ*) and comprised many branches. The school of the *ḳāḍīs*, which since 1907 had been bandied about between different ministries, was at last affiliated to al-Azhar and abolished as such, becoming simply a branch of specialisation (1923-5). In this period several missions from al-Azhar were sent to study in Europe before returning to teach at al-Azhar.—In 1925 the State University of Cairo (Fuʾād al-Awwal University) replaced the Free University.—A law of the 24 Djumāda II 1349/16 November 1930 laid down that the Tribunal of the chief *ʿulamā* was competent to judge whether any *ʿālim* was guilty of any act not in conformity with his dignity. It enlarged the advisory council of al-Azhar (Grand *muftī*; the *shaykhs* of the three faculties instead of the *shaykhs* of the four schools, etc.), and stipulated that students should be under 16 years of age on admission (18 in the case of foreigners, who were exempted from knowing the whole Kurʾān by heart). The primary course was 4 years, the secondary 5 years, the higher 4 years, in one of the three faculties constituted by this law (Islamic law or *sharīʿa*, theology or *uṣūl al-dīn*, the Arabic language or *lugha ʿarabiyya*), and in appropriate cases more specialisation or *takhaṣṣuṣ*, in those faculties which existed only in Cairo, was allowed. The programme of the higher standard (*ʿālimiyya*) was completed by the special mention of those who had attained distinction in their specialist studies, for example the grade of *ustādh* in such and such a subject, etc. A 'general section' was created for those unable to take the normal courses. The vacations were to be fixed each year.—The law of the 3 Muḥarram 1355/26 March 1936, still in force in 1955, provided that the age of entry be from 12-16 years; duration of specialisation, 2 years. The regulations concerning the subjects to be taught (these were to be still more detailed in the individual syllabuses printed later) make this law the real charter of present-day teaching. Apart from the traditional subjects, the following should be noted: English or French language (compulsory for the *uṣūl al-dīn* faculty, optional for the two others); rudiments of philosophy, history of philosophy, etc., for the *uṣūl al-dīn* and *lugha ʿarabiyya* faculties; common international law, and comparative law, in the *sharīʿa* faculty. Certain branches of *takhaṣṣuṣ* had in addition a compulsory Oriental language (section of *waʿẓ wa irshād*), or the elements of Hebrew and Syriac (sections of *naḥw* and *balāgha*), the history of religions, etc. The normal programme (*niẓāmī*) of the secondary course had as modern subjects the rudiments of logic and the art of rhetoric, of medicine (with the use of the microscope), of chemistry, zoology, botany, history and geography. The primary course comprised history, geography, arithmetic, algebra (up to simple equations with one unknown), and hygiene. The *ḳism al-buʿūth*, reserved for foreigners who were unable to follow the normal courses, comprised 12 years' study divided into three courses of four years, with an easier syllabus. Of modern subjects they had only arithmetic, history, geography and logic. It must not be forgotten that all these modern subjects take a secondary place in the teaching, and that little time is given to them.—In 1945 the *dār al-ʿulūm* was affiliated to the University of Cairo, with the status of Faculty. In 1952 the *dār al-ʿulūm* ceased to be reserved for Azharīs, and admitted candidates coming from Government schools. A women's section was opened in 1954.—About 1954 there was a slight alteration of the programmes at al-Azhar; a foreign language became compulsory in the faculty of *lugha ʿarabiyya*. The retirement age for teachers was fixed at 65; this applied equally to the chief *ʿulamā*, who previously had been appointed for life.—In 1955 came the abolition of the *sharʿī* tribunals, thus doing away with the chief outlet for the Azharīs of the *sharīʿa* faculty. There was talk of opening a women's section at al-Azhar; by the end of 1957, everything was ready, only budgetary credit was lacking.

In 1953, the faculties comprised respectively 1,603 *sharīʿa* students, 1,655 for *lugha ʿarabiyya*, 707 for *uṣūl al-dīn*. The institutes had 12,398 primary students, 6,559 secondary, and 3,703 in the attached

sections; the free institutes had 2,458. At the end of 1955 there were in Egypt some institutions directly affiliated to al-Azhar (*niẓāmī*) in the following towns: (*a*) primary and secondary, Cairo, Ṭanṭā, Manṣūra, Shībīn al-Kōm, Ḳenā, Suhādj, Girgā (Djirdjā), Asyūṭ, Minyā, Fayyūm, Manūf, Samannūd, Zaḳāzīḳ, Dasūḳ, Damiette (Dumyāṭ), Alexandria, Damanhūr; (*b*) primary only, Banī Suwayf, Banhā, Kafr al-Shaykh; (*c*) free institutes supervised (*taḥt ishrāf*) by al-Azhar, primary only, Ṭahṭā, Balasfūra, Banī ʿAdī, Mallāwī, Abū Ḳurḳās, Abū Kabīr, Fāḳūs, Minshāwī, Cairo (ʿUthmān Māhir).

In 1953 the number of foreign students was as follows: Sudan, 2,634; Nigeria, Gold Coast, Senegal 141; Abyssinia, Eritrea, Somaliland, Zanzibar, 309; French Sudan, 57; Uganda and South Africa, 37; India and Pakistan, 46; China, 8; Java and Sumatra, 80; Afghānistān, 13; Kuwayt, 6; ʿIrāḳ, Bahrayn, Īrān (*riwāḳ al-Akrād*) 21; Turkey, Albania, Yugoslavia (*r. al-Atrāk*), 206; Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine (*r. al-Shawwām*), 724; Yemen, 20; North Africa and Libya (*r. al-Maghāriba*), 267; Ḥidjāz, 17; total, 4,586.

In 1953 the group of *ʿulamā* at al-Azhar had 112 teachers or preachers on missions in the following countries: ʿIrāḳ, 2; Kuwayt, 16; Sudan (the Umm Durmān Institute), 23; the Muslim School of the Philippines, 2; Eritrea (the Asmara Institute), 7; Malākal, 5; Barḳa, 3; Gaza, 1; Ḥidjāz, 40; Lebanon, 5; the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, 1; the Islamic Cultural Centre, Washington, 1; Equatorial Africa, 1; Syria, 3; the School of Djūbā, 3. (1953 statistics from *al-Sidjill al-thaḳāfī sanat* 1953, Cairo 1955; 473-4; Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, *Ḥawliyyat al-thaḳāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, iv, Cairo 1954, 301).

Until the Law no. 15 of 1927 was promulgated, al-Azhar was directly responsible to the King. The Council of Ministers had until then to consider his opinion in the matter of appointing rectors, etc. Its budget was submitted for Government approval, and increased continually (£E 136,000 in 1919; in 1954, £E 1,617,200, of which only £E 94,380 was provided by the *waḳf*s, the rest furnished by the Ministry of Finance.) All the scholars and students benefited from the gratuity, and received a grant for food, and a lodging allowance, if they found no room in the official quarters. For the primary and secondary grades this was about 50 piastres per month in 1955, plus school books and gifts from Egyptian charitable societies. There was a minimum of £E 2½ for foreigners in lodgings For students of the faculties, help was available, and could exceed £E 5. The Sudanese, who were favoured, received in all £E 8. Certain countries added a supplementary lodging allowance for their nationals. The Islamic Congress, dating from 1953, has aided certain Azharīs (*MIDEO*, iii, 471-8). The *Dār al-ʿulūm*, likewise, gave help to students (discontinued for those who entered after 1953). These material advantages made al-Azhar, and still makes it, the only place for higher studies open to poor families (except for the bursaries of the State University). There is now a medical service for Azharīs.

The well-organised library of the mosque contains upward of 20,000 manuscripts, and has a printed catalogue. The libraries of some *riwāḳ*s have interesting manuscripts, but still uncatalogued in 1955. Each establishment has in addition a library for its students. Since 1349/1930 al-Azhar has had its monthly review, the official organ of its teachers, and whose title *Nūr al-Islām* was changed to *Madjallat al-Azhar* at the end of its sixth year. A second monthly review, the organ of the *waʿẓ wa irshād* section, has retained the name of *Nūr al-Islām*. In addition, certain courses are printed, and many Azharīs contribute to the literary productions of present-day Egypt. To answer numerous juridical questions addressed to al-Azhar, a commission, *Ladjnat al-fatwā*, was set up in 1354/1935 (having a president and 11 other members, at the rate of 3 per school); this is not to be confused with the *Dār al-iftāʾ*, dependant on the Grand Mufti of Egypt.

V. List of Rectors. The chronicle of al-Djabartī has preserved for us the names of the *shaykh*s (plural *mashāyikh*) of al-Azhar since the year 1100 A.H. The rectorship (*mashyakha*) was a coveted post which was occupied by the most prominent scholars, and which gave rise to long disputes between the schools. The rectors came from the most varied social strata: there were members of the landed aristocracy, as well as simple men who had done copying to earn a living at the beginning of their careers. Most of them, in the 18th and 19th centuries, composed commentaries or other works, as their biographers have noted. In 1954 the budget of al-Azhar provided £ E 2,000 for the rector per annum (see list and references in al-Khafādjī, *al-Azhar fī alf ʿām*, Cairo 1374, i, 147-96). It is, incidentally, with regard to the biographical notice of a third party, that al-Djabartī mentions the name of a rector, the earliest that is known to us. 1, Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khirshī, d. 1101/1690; 2, Muḥ. al-Nashratī, d. 1120; 3, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Ḳalīnī, whose nomination was the occasion of a battle, and some firing, within the mosque; 4, Muḥ. Shanan, one of the richest men of his time, d. 1133; 5, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Fayyūmī, d. 1137; 6, ʿAbd Allāh al-Shabrāwī, poet and wit, frequented and defended the Ṣūfīs, d. 1171; 7, Muḥ. b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī al-Khalwatī, Ṣūfī and jurist, author of glosses, d. 1181, perhaps poisoned by the *amīrs*; his tomb became an object of veneration (Brockelmann, II, 323; S II, 445); 8, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sadjīnī, d. 1182; 9, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Damanhūrī, d. 1192; 10, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿArīshī, of the Ḥanafī school, who had been initiated into Ṣūfism by the *Shaykh* al-Ḥifnāwī, and was rapidly dismissed under Shāfiʿī pressure; 11, Aḥmad al-ʿArūsī, Ṣūfī and commentator, d. 1208/1793-4; 12, ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharḳāwī, whose rectorship saw the expedition of Bonaparte, a scholar whose works were very widely read in their time, d. 1227/1812; 13, Muḥ. al-Shanawānī, who supplanted a rival, al-Mahdī, who was rector only in name, d. 1233; 14, Muḥ. al-ʿArūsī, d. 1245; 15, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Damhūdjī, d. 1246; 16, Ḥasan b. Muḥ. al-ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] who had associated with Bonaparte's French and had been a supporter of the reforms, d. 1250; 17, Ḥasan al-Ḳuwaysnī, d. 1254; 18, Aḥmad al-Ṣāʾim al-Saftī, d. 1263; 19, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. al-Bādjūrī, d. 1277, known as a theologian (Brockelmann, II, 487; S II, 741); 19*a*, an interregnum of four years during which a council of four curators conducted al-Azhar's affairs; 20, Muṣṭafā al-ʿArūsī (to 1287/1870-1), paved the way for the reforms which his successor introduced; 21, Muḥ. al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī al-Ḥanafī, temporarily replaced by Muḥ. by Muḥ. al-Anbābī during the uprising of ʿUrābī Pasha (1299/1882), ceded his place in 1304/1886; 22, Muḥ. al-Anbābī, a scholar but opposed to all innovations, who had to be pressed for a long time before his retirement in 1313/1895 (Brockelmann, S II, 742); 23, Ḥassūna al-Nawawī, a man of character, admired by the Egyptians, had had in the law school an influence on his disciples, who played an im-

portant part in Egyptian politics; he had presided over the Governing Body of al-Azhar, was chosen to supervise the 1896 reforms, and resigned in 1317/1899; 24, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḳuṭb al-Nawawī, his brother, d. the same year: the rapid resignations of his successors show the unrest that the reforms had provoked; 25, Salīm al-Bis̲h̲rī, a pious man who had known poverty, the last in date of the *muḥaddit̲h̲ūn* (he knew the very authorities for the traditions), fiercely opposed to Muḥ. ʿAbduh and to the reforms which he instigated, resigned in 1320; 26, ʿAlī al-Biblāwī, resigned in 1323; 27, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-S̲h̲irbīnī, greatly esteemed for his piety and integrity, resigned 1324; 28, Ḥassūna al-Nawawī, for the second time, resigned in 1327/1909 consequent on the 1908 law. 29, Salīm al-Bis̲h̲rī, for the second time, d. 1335; 30, Muḥ. Abū ʾl-Faḍl al-Ḏj̲īzāwī, d. 1346/1928; 31, Muṣṭafā al-Marāg̲h̲ī, disciple of Muḥ. ʿAbduh, resigned in 1348/1929; 32, Muḥ. al-Aḥmadī al-Ẓawāhirī, resigned in 1354/1935; 33, Muṣṭafā al-Marāg̲h̲ī, second time d. 1364/1945; 34, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, a very cultured man, admirer of Muḥ. ʿAbduh, had taught Arabic at the University of Lyons (France), and later Muslim philosophy at the Egyptian University. He was nominated by King Fāruḳ although he was not of the body of the chief *ʿulamā*, and was at al-Azhar the victim of such hostile demonstrations that he died of a heart attack in 1366/1947; 35, Muḥ. Maʾmūn al-S̲h̲innāwī, d. 1369/1950. The brief duration of the following rectorships corresponds to the political undercurrents of Egypt: the struggle against the British in the Canal Zone, the Cairo riots of 26 January 1952, the *coup d'état* of 23 July 1952. In several cases, the Government brought pressure to bear on the rectors in order to secure their departure. 36, ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd Salīm, resigned, 4 September 1951; 37, Ibrāhīm Ḥamrūs̲h̲, resigned 10 February 1952; 38, ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd Salīm (second time), resigned 17 September 1952; 39, Muḥ. al-K̲h̲iḍr Ḥusayn, resigned at the beginning of January 1954; 40, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Tād̲j̲, *docteur ès lettres* of the University of Paris, nominated 8 January 1954.

VI. Results of the reform. It is difficult for those who are neither Muslims nor Egyptians to assess these; one requires to know in what spirit the programmes were implemented, and in each case the portion of them which is made effective in the classes. From the outside it can only be assumed that, in spite of the significant improvements referred to above, all is not well. Further signs, indicated by the Egyptians themselves, are revealing. Many teachers of al-Azhar send their sons to Government schools and not to their own establishment. The Government has not accepted the principle of equality between the teachers of the State Universities and those of the higher standard at al-Azhar. Outside their functions as teachers in their own establishment, as *imāms*, and as preachers, which are theirs by law, the Azharīs have positions in life inferior to those of their colleagues in the State universities. The recent suppression of the *s̲h̲arʿī* tribunals has abolished a traditional outlet for Azharīs. The channel of Azharī study to which one is committed at the age of 6 on entry into a Ḳurʾānic school, and that of normal secular study, are poles apart. Entry as a student into the State Universities is refused to Azharīs. If the latter wish to be admitted as teachers of Arabic into the cadre of the Ministry of National Education they have to pass through the *Dār al-ʿulūm* or through the Institute of Education. Furthermore, al-Azhar feels that she is criticised by the State Universities, and suspects certain opponents of resenting her autonomy, and of wishing to abolish the primary and secondary institutes, perhaps even of wanting to tamper with the faculties (see *Mad̲j̲allat al-Azhar*, xxvii, no. 4, Rabīʿ II 1375/1955, entirely devoted to defending herself against such attacks). The question becomes complicated when one sees, among the Egyptians who desire more far-reaching reform, not only atheists but also sincere Muslims, even members of the Muslim Brotherhood. For sixty years the question of al-Azhar has from time to time been a vexed one. Fundamentally it is a question of knowing what exactly al-Azhar's real mission is with respect to the needs of the Muslim community of the twentieth century, and further whether the intellectual and moral instruction that she provides is adapted to these needs.

Al-Azhar has laid great stress on the place that her teachers and former pupils have held, and continue to hold, in the life of Egypt and the Islamic countries. She has asked for recognition of the fact that she has deserved well of scholarship. This scholarship, in fact, presents many aspects. First of all stands that knowledge of the great Muslim values that her students absorb by the very atmosphere of their place of study as much as through the intellectual medium of the courses. Al-Azhar has in this way continued to maintain Islamic ideas in traditional circles, both rural and urban. She has upheld those virtues which make up her appeal: a religious and serious attitude to life, hospitality, respect of parents and teachers, and the duty of almsgiving. She recalls the finest aspects of the Ḳurʾān and of the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s that are traditionally stressed. Some of her teachers, specialists in the Arabic language and in law, have again taken up the traditional subject-matter and restated it in simpler forms, without, however, modifying the basic assumptions and principles, except on a few points (polygamy, etc.). In history, certain modern monographs (for example, on al-Azhar itself) fulfil the same function as the mediaeval works, and use the same methods (compilation of documents, biographies, etc.). Other teachers, who are conversant with an impressive number of ancient linguistic or religious treatises, have been able to produce editions of texts invaluable to scholars. Such scholarship as a whole is adapted to the needs of millions of Muslims whose peaceful and untroubled faith has not been touched by foreign ideas, or even to those people 'nearer to nature', as the present rector calls them, among whom, as in Africa, Islam does not cease to make progress. Azharīs agree, however, that there is a decline in the Muslim faith in many universities, and that the West is impervious to the message of Islam. As a counter-measure, they teach their pupils to answer this by short compositions, rather stereotyped, educational or apologetic, which are taught in the *ins̲h̲āʾ* or essay classes of the primary and secondary courses (*e.g.*, personal hygiene, the use of the ritual alms or *zakāt*, the evils of wine, the wisdom of polygamy, etc.). Reviews and sermons continually give examples of these apologetics. But more vital problems are not considered in them. Some of the Muslim brotherhood in their exhortatory efforts, while developing this sort of stereotyped apologetics, have seemed more aware of modern difficulties. In 1951 one of them urged al-Azhar to speak of such topics as the dignity of labour, of social questions, of Capitalism, of Marxism, etc. (Sayyid Ḳuṭb, in the review *al-Risāla*, 18 June 1951). The *Mad̲j̲allat al-Azhar* followed this with

several replies (among others, xxiii (1371), 89-95). But the substance of these replies is very brief, and it does not appear that the defenders would have recognised themselves in the picture that has been drawn of them, elementary as it is.—Such a conception of scholarship has given and still gives service, but those Westerners who are in the best position to observe events are struck by its limitations, which Egyptians educated by modern methods also perceive. There is as yet no question at al-Azhar of studies profiting by modern historical methods or broadening themselves under the influence of modern trends of thought. Learning by heart, and storing up pages of texts in the memory, seems to be the essential requirement of students. Some would wish to attribute the cause of this limitation to a withering casuistry in which vital subjects, *e.g.*, divorce, are taken as subjects for abstract logical exercises, wholly oblivious of their human repercussions (see the daily *al-Djumhūriyya* from 9 to 17 January 1954). Others reproach al-Azhar with having always put a brake on any reforms, and of posing as the only defender of Islam, although Islam is a religion based on equality, refusing clericalism, and one in which every intelligent believer has a voice in affairs. Some bodies, such as the State Universities, which have their own courses of Ḳurʾānic exegesis, of Islamic law, of Arabic, etc., would wish to be their own masters and the only judges of such culpable deviation among their students or their teachers as is a matter for internal discipline (case of Muḥ. Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, 1947-51, see *MIDEO*, i, 39-72). Recently two censures made by al-Azhar have been quashed by the civil tribunals (judgment of 27 May 1950 permitting the reprinting of the proscribed book *Min hunā nabdaʾ* of Muḥ. Khālid Muḥ.; the case of Shaykh Bakhīt in 1955 (*MIDEO*, iii, 46, 8). The Grand National Assembly at Ankara has likewise discussed the question of al-Azhar with regard to according or refusing student status to Turkish subjects who are students there: the final vote was negative (13-16 February 1954).

But, in their turn, Azharīs reproach their adversaries with forgetting the needs of the Muslim community. Few Azharīs would willingly consent to a reduction of their establishment to the status of a Faculty of Higher Religious Studies as was the case with the Zaytūna at Tunis a short while ago. On the contrary, although the prestige associated with the name of al-Azhar has been much diminished in Egypt, it is still as strong as ever abroad. For many Muslims throughout the world, al-Azhar is Egypt. Perhaps the exigences of foreign policy will help to moderate the current of opposition to al-Azhar which exists at the present time in Egypt.

Bibliography: See particularly Ibrāhīm Salāma, *Bibliographie analytique et critique touchant la question de l'enseignement en Égypte depuis la période des Mamelūks jusqu'à nos jours*, Cairo 1938. Besides the references given above, see: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1326, iv, 49-56; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, 1299, ii, 183-4; the chronicle of Djabartī and *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, iv, 19-44, of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak. For the third quarter of the 19th century, see: Sulaymān Raṣad al-Ḥanafī al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Taʾrīkh al-Azhar* (Cairo, c. 1322), and Muṣṭafa Bayram, *Risāla fī Taʾrīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1321. For the modern period: Maḥmūd Abu 'l-ʿUyūn, *al-Djāmiʿ al-Azhar, Nubdha fī Taʾrīkhihi*, Cairo 1368/1949, and especially the indispensable Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, *al-Azhar fī Alf ʿĀm*, Cairo 1374 (1955), 3 vols., which likewise deals with the ancient documents, and ʿAbd al-Mutʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Iṣlāḥ fī 'l-Azhar*, Cairo, n.d., which ends with the end of 1950. This last historical work is one of the most interesting among the abundant literature occasioned by the reforms at al-Azhar; it contains the titles of works studied at al-Azhar since the end of the 19th century. For the organisation of studies, see Vollers, *EI*[1], s.v., E. Dor, *L'instruction publique en Égypte*, 1889, 34 ff., 205ff.; P. Arminjon, *L'enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les universités musulmanes*, Paris 1907; also Johs. Pedersen, *Al-Azhar, et Muhammedansk Universitet*, Copenhagen 1922; A S. Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, London 1957; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1939; Ibrāhīm Salāma, *L'enseignement islamique en Égypte*, Cairo 1939; ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *Min Āthār Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ*, Cairo 1957. The French translation of official texts, laws, etc., concerning al-Azhar since 1911, is to be found in *REI*, 1927, 95-118; 465-529; 1928, 47-165, 255-337, 401-472; 1931, 241-276; 1936, 1-43; all preceded by a study by A. Sekaly. The official syllabuses of the different degrees, in conformity with the law of 1936, are printed in separate brochures by the press at al-Azhar (a first series in 1938-45; a reissue with slight modifications in 1953-6). The annual budget is likewise printed; I have consulted *Mīzāniyyat al-Djāmiʿ al-Azhar wa 'l-Maʿāhid al-Dīniyya li-Sanat* 1953-4 *al-Māliyya*, giving the number of teachers distributed according to establishments, standard of courses, etc. (J. JOMIER)

AL-**AZHARĪ**, an ethnic appellation which, in general denotes a person who has studied at the al-Azhar [*q.v.*] University at Cairo.

AL-AZHARĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH B. AḤMAD, author of a work on rhetoric, written in 1161/1748 and entitled *Nihāyat al-Iʿdjāz fī 'l-Ḥaḳīḳa wa 'l-Madjāz*. This work, with a commentary by the author's son, is known through the medium of a manuscript which has been described by Ahlwardt; see Brockelmann, II, 287. (C. BROCKELMANN *)

AL-AZHARĪ, IBRAHĪM B. SULAYMĀN AL-ḤANAFĪ, wrote about the year 1100/1688 *al-Risāla al-Mukhtāra fī Manāhī 'l-Ziyāra*, in which he shows that it is contrary to the law, when visiting graves, to touch or kiss them, or lie on them (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab Hss. der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, no. 2694). He is also the author of a monograph on the ordinances of *fiḳh* concerning expectoration, and kissing and embracing, entitled *Raḥīḳ al-Firdaws fī Ḥukm al-Riḳ wa 'l-Baws* (*ibid.*, 5596).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 410.

(C. BROCKELMANN *)

AL-AZHARĪ, KHĀLID B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR, Egyptian grammarian, born at Djardjā in Upper Egypt (whence is derived the ethnic appellation al-Djardjāwī which is sometimes applied to him), died at Cairo in 905/1499. He is the author of a grammatical treatise known by the title of *al-Muḳaddima al-Azhariyya fī ʿIlm al-ʿArabiyya* (ed. Būlāḳ 1252, with a commentary by the author; new eds. Būlāḳ 1287 and Cairo 1307, with glosses by various schoolmen). Al-Azharī is also the author of a certain number of manuals of grammar, of a commentary on the commentary of Ibn Hishām on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*], and of commentaries on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*] and the Djarrūmiyya. Al-

Azharī enjoyed great renown in his time. Al-Suyūṭī is reckoned as one of his pupils.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 27; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya* 811.

(C. BROCKELMANN *)

AL-**AZHARĪ**, ABŪ MANṢŪR MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. AL-AZHAR, Arab lexicographer born in 282/895 at Harāt, died in the same town in 370/980.

Al-Azharī was a pupil of his compatriot, the lexicographer Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Mundhirī (329/940), who was himself a disciple of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*] and al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*] (see Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 464 = Cairo ed., xviii, 99 ff.), and seems to have come to ʿIrāḳ whilst still fairly young. At Baghdād he received instruction in grammar from Nifṭawayh, according to Yāḳūt, but came only slightly under the influence of al-Zadjdjādj and Ibn Durayd. If one relies on the lists of Shāfiʿī jurists, given by Yāḳūt, who are supposed to have been al-Azharī's masters, he must have had a thorough knowledge of Shāfiʿī law. In 312/924, he was returning from Mecca to Kūfa with the pilgrim caravan, when they were attacked by the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] at al-Habīr and partly massacred or taken prisoner. Al-Azharī spent two years as a prisoner of the Bedouins of Baḥrayn who were converted to Carmathianism. In a passage cited by Yāḳūt and Ibn Khallikān, he describes how he took advantage of his sojourn among these nomads to study their language, which according to him, was very pure. The rest of his life remains a mystery for us and seems to have been spent in his birthplace in study and retirement.

Al-Azharī's work is known to us by a list containing fourteen titles provided by Yāḳūt and Ibn Khallikān (reproduced in part by al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, 8); with the exception of his commentaries on the *Muʿallaḳāt* and the *Dīwān* of Abū Tammām, these are lexicographical studies. Among these works, a dictionary has come down to us (ten volumes in Ibn Khallikān's time) entitled *Tahdhīb al-Lugha*. The work has still not been edited; there are MSS. of it in London, Istanbul and in India; see list in Brockelmann. This is a compilation made by means of the materials, which al-Azharī received from his master al-Mundhirī; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, *loc. cit.*, even speaks of a *riwāya* of a dictionary of al-Mundhirī. The essential feature of the work is that it continues the tradition initiated by Khalīl in his *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*; the roots are not arranged in the usual alphabetical order, but in accordance with a phonetic classification, commencing with the "gutturals" and ending with the labials. The *Tahdhīb* was copiously used by Ibn Manẓūr in his *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

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(R. BLACHÈRE)

ʿAẒĪM ALLĀH KHĀN, said to have been the brain of the political upheaval (known as the Mutiny) of 1857 in India, came of a poor Pathān family which had settled in Cawnpore long before the famine of 1837-8 (George Dunbar, *A History of India from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London 1943[3], ii, 483). An orphan, saved from starvation by a Christian missionary, he began life as a *khidmatgār* in an Anglo-Indian family of Cawnpore (Mowbray Thompson, *The Story of Cawnpore*, London 1859, 54; G. O. Trevelyan, *Cawnpore*, London 1907, 58), who sent him to school, where he learnt English and French, and acquired high proficiency in both. Soon after completing his education he joined the same school as a teacher. On the request of Nānā Ṣāḥib, adopted son of Bādjī Rāo II, the last of the Pēshwās, he entered his service as a private tutor and English secretary. He soon found favour with Nānā who appointed him as his political adviser. Following the death of Bādjī Rāō II in 1851, Nānā Ṣāḥib succeeded to his title, pension and estate but the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, discontinued his pension and refused to recognise him. Thereupon ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān prepared a memorial for his master which was submitted to the British authorities in 1852. It was, however, rejected by the Court of Directors of the East India Company. In 1853 ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān left for England to plead Nānā's case personally. Here he failed in his mission, but through the charm of his personality he won the heart of many ladies who continued to write him scores of letters even after his return to India in 1855. These letters were later published in two vols., *The Indian Prince and the English Press* and *Love Letters*, which were soon proscribed (Trevelyan, 59). On his way back from England, ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān visited Paris, Constantinople, Sebastopol and the theatre of war in the Crimea (Russell, *My Diary in India*, London 1860, 165-7).

A frustrated and disillusioned man, having spent £50,000 on his fruitless mission to England and anxious to continue in the favour of his master, ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān suggested to Nānā the overthrow of the British power in India through a military *coup d'état*. With this aim in view he visited, early in 1857, along with Nānā, military stations in northern India but met with little success. Some Indian princes falsely promised help to Nānā's emissaries sent out at the instance of ʿAẓīm Allāh Khān, who himself took part in many of the lost actions which his master subsequently fought against the British. On the fall of Bithūr, Nānā's stronghold near Cawnpore in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1273/July 1857, he disappeared from the scene, never to be heard of again. He is said to have died in Rabīʿ I-II 1276/October, 1859 at Bhuṭwāl (Nēpāl) where he had fled along with the other leaders of the Revolt. His end, however, like his origin, still remains shrouded in mystery.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ʿAZĪMA (A.), literally: "determination, resolution, fixed purpose"; thence:

1. In religious law, an ordinance as interpreted strictly, the opposite of *rukhṣa*, an exemption or dispensation (e.g. the dispensation from observing the dietary laws, if there is danger to health or life). ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, in his *Kitāb al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*, consistently explains the divergent opinions of the several schools of religious law as expressing these two complementary tendencies. Cf. Goldziher, in ZDMG, 1884, 676 f.; idem, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig 1884, 68 f.

2. In magic, an adjuration, or the application of a formula of which magical effects are expected. Cf. Goldziher, in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 307.

(I. GOLDZIHER*)

AZIMECH [see NUDJŪM].

AL-ʿ**AẒĪMĪ** (Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ., Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanūkhī, called ~) (483/1090-post 556/1161), chronicler of Aleppo. A full but dry universal history—mainly Syrian—by him, which extends to the year 538/1143-44 (published by me—from the year 455/1063—in *JA*, 1938, 353-448), has come down to us, but in addition, he composed above all a great *History of Aleppo* which was used copiously especially by Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm and Ibn Abī Ṭayyī (the latter up to 556/1161). The interest of the portions of al-ʿAẓimi's work which have been preserved does not reside in their intrinsic value, but rather in the fact that they are the only texts which escaped the destruction of North Syrian historiography between the middle of the 5th/9th century and that of the 6th/12th century; they thus enable us, to a certain extent, to complete or criticise the great works of the following century, on which we are dependent for the history of this period, by bringing us closer to their sources: a necessary test in view of the changes which had taken place in the meantime in the Syrian moral and social climate.

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(CL. CAHEN)

AZIMUT [see AL-SAMT].

AL-ʿ**AZĪZ** [see AYYŪBIDS].

AL-ʿ**AZĪZ BIʾLLĀH** NIZĀR ABŪ MANṢŪR, fifth Fāṭimid Caliph and the first whose reign began in Egypt. He was born on 14 Muḥarram 344/10 May 955 and had been designated as his successor by his father al-Muʿizz after the death of his brother ʿAbd Allāh in 364/974. He succeeded his father on 11 Rabīʿ II 365/18 December 975 (or 14 Rabīʿ II/21 December) after the latter had had him recognised as his successor by his family and dignitaries on the preceding day. The official proclamation, however, only took place on 10 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 365/9 August 976.

The sources describe him as tall, with red hair and blue eyes, generous, brave, fond of horses and hunting and very humane and tolerant in disposition. He was an excellent administrator, subjected the State finances to a rigorous supervision, introduced the system of fixed salaries for officials, whom he forbade to accept bribes and presents, and issued an order that no payments should be made except on the production of written documents. He was the first to assign fixed rates of pay to his troops and palace personnel. He was, moreover, the first of the Fāṭimid Caliphs to employ Turks in the army, a practice which was later to be fraught with serious consequences.

He was well supported by his minister Yaʿḳūb b. Killis, the director of taxation, to whom in 368/979 he gave the title of *wazīr*, previously unknown to the Fāṭimids, and who remained *wazīr* until his death in 380/991, with two short periods in disgrace, one because he was accused of having had the Turk Alptakīn (Alptegin; see below) poisoned in 368/979, and the other in 373/984 when he was imprisoned and had his possessions confiscated, perhaps because of the famine which broke out in that year, but two months later he recovered his liberty, possessions and offices. It was to Ibn Killis that al-ʿAzīz's finances owed their prosperity. He also played an important literary rôle, according pensions to the men of letters, lawyers and poets whom he gathered round himself, and composed a book of Ismaʿīlī Law based on pronouncements by al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz.

The *wazīrs* who succeeded him did not remain as long in office. These were ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-ʿAddās, Abu ʾl-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt in 381/992, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Bāziyār, Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, who had been a collaborator of Ibn Killis, and lastly in 385-386/995-996, the Christian ʿĪsā b. Nesṭūrus, formerly Secretary for Finance. Another important officer of al-ʿAzīz was the Jew Manashshā (Manasseh), Secretary for Syria.

The employment of a Christian and a Jew in high offices was in keeping with the spirit of toleration of the Fāṭimids in matters of religion and race. Al-ʿAzīz was still further inclined to toleration, being influenced by his Christian wife, the mother of his son and successor al-Ḥākim. This Princess's two brothers were indebted to his influence and to the Caliph's recommendation for being appointed, the one, Orestes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the other, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Miṣr and Cairo in 375/986. The Christians, throughout his reign, enjoyed great freedom. The Coptic Patriarch Ephraim, in spite of strong Muslim opposition, obtained permission to rebuild the Church of Abu ʾl-Sayfayn (St. Mercurius) near al-Fusṭāṭ. The Caliph looked favourably on the controversies between the Bishop of Ashmunayn, Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ and the ḳāḍī Ibn al-Nuʿmān, president of the Court of *Maẓālim*. He refused to take action against a Muslim who had become a Christian convert. This policy was bound to cause considerable discontent among the Muslims, and tracts were circulated against Manasseh and Ibn Nesṭūrus. To appease the Muslims, the Caliph had the Jew and the Christian imprisoned, but as it was difficult to do without their services, they soon re-established their position. In 386/996, this discontent provoked a popular movement against the Christians, following the burning of the fleet, of which some merchants from Amalfi were accused; the latter were massacred and several churches were looted.

Though al-ʿAzīz was tolerant towards Christians and Jews, he was less so towards the Sunnī Muslims. He followed a strict Ismaʿīlī policy (defamatory inscriptions for the companions of the Prophet; suppression of the *ṣalāt al tarāwīḥ* of Ramaḍān in 372/982; the punishment in 381/991 of a man who had in his possession the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik). In 366/976, he inaugurated in Cairo the mourning ceremonies on the feast of the ʿĀshūrāʾ. On the other hand, however, the holding of solemn processions on the Fridays in Ramaḍān and the distributions of sweetmeats at the feast ending the fast (*fiṭra*) are due merely to his love of display.

The reign of al-ʿAzīz was in fact a period of luxury. His fondness for precious stones, cut glass

ware, rich materials of *dabīḳī* and of *siḳlaṭūn*, rare animals, truffles and sea fish etc. (once cherries from Baʿalbakk were brought to him by carrier pigeons), involved great expenditure which made necessary the rigorous handling of the finances referred to above, but at the same time it contributed to the economic resurgence of Egypt. Ibn Killis his *wazīr*, who received a salary of 100,000 dinars, also lived in great style. Al-ʿAzīz also spent a great deal on buildings like the Ḳaṣr al-Dhahab, the Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr, parts of the group of buildings known under the name of Great Palace, the Mosque of al-Ḳarāfa and that called the Mosque of al-Ḥakīm, which however was started by al-ʿAzīz.

The foreign policy of al-ʿAzīz was really only active in Syria. In North Africa, he confirmed Yūsuf Bulukkīn in his office. The latter's son, al-Manṣūr (373-386/984-996), however, likewise confirmed by the Caliph, was by no means docile; he did not hesitate to go to war against the Kutāma, in spite of the Caliph's disapproval, and progressively detached himself from Egypt. Similarly in Sicily, the Caliph confined himself to bestowing the investiture, after the event, on amīrs of the Kalbite family. He entertained diplomatic relations with the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla who, according to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (in Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī) is said to have taken the initiative in the matter. The letter of ʿAḍud which has been preserved, seems to indicate that he recognised the Fāṭimid's sovereignty, but this seems doubtful, for, according to Ibn Ẓāfir, ʿAḍud al-Dawla disputed the official Fāṭimid genealogy.

Al-ʿAzīz's principal aim was to ensure his possession of Southern and Central Syria, and latterly that of the Amīrate of Aleppo, so as to realise his dreams of expansion at the cost of Byzantium and the ʿAbbāsids. In Southern Palestine, the Bedouin chief Mufarridj b. Daghfal al-Ṭāʾī, master of Ramla, was not readily submissive to the Caliph's orders. In Damascus, the Turk Alptakīn, who came from Baghdād, had installed himself in 364/975 and had proclaimed the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsids, whilst al-Muʿizz had been unable to expel him from the city. Al-ʿAzīz determined to retake Damascus from Alptakīn, who had allied himself with the Ḳarāmiṭa, the enemies of the Fāṭimids. In 365/976, he sent an army against him under the command of Djawhar. After two months of fighting before Damascus, however, Djawhar, faced by the arrival of the Ḳarāmiṭa, had to withdraw towards Tiberias and then to Ramla and ʿAsḳalān. Here he was besieged, had to negotiate, cede the territory from Damascus to ʿAsḳalān to Alptakīn, and suffer the humiliation of making his exit from the place passing beneath a sword and a lance hung over the gate (367/978). The Caliph reacted and marched in person against Alptakīn, whom he defeated and captured (Muḥarram 368/August 978). But he was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the Ḳarāmiṭa to secure their withdrawal. Against all expectations, he showed Alptakīn every consideration, took him into his service with his Turks and covered him with honours. However, Alptakīn died shortly after from the effects of poison, a victim of Ibn Killis's hate.

In spite of this, Damascus did not remain in the possession of the Caliph, for shortly after it fell into the hands of one of Alptakīn's former auxiliaries, Ḳassām, a navvy by origin. An army, commanded by one of Ibn Killis's favourites, Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, was sent against him, but proved useless and Faḍl had to return to Palestine. At that time, the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib, who had been evicted from Mawṣil, and had got into communication with the Caliph, was in Palestine after having tried unsuccessfully to take Damascus, and was regarded with hostility by Mufarridj b. Daghfal. The latter, fearing lest al-ʿAzīz might give his favour to Abū Taghlib at his expense, launched an attack against him, and the Ḥamdānid fell into his hands and was put to death in 369/979. The Fāṭimid general played an equivocal rôle in the affair. Ḳassām and Mufarridj successfully resisted further Fāṭimid expeditions, notably that led by Salmān b. Djaʿfar b. Falāḥ, and it was only in 372/982 that the Turkish general Yaltakīn mastered the two of them. Mufarridj, defeated, fled to Ḥimṣ, and from there he made for Antioch, where he placed himself under the protection of the Byzantines. Ḳassām surrendered and was sent to Cairo at the beginning of 373/983.

Al-ʿAzīz, however, was still attracted by the idea of taking Aleppo, although Ibn Killis, considering a nominal recognition of Fāṭimid sovereignty by the Ḥamdānid as sufficient, persuaded him against it, and thought he could make the Ḥamdānid governor of Ḥimṣ, Bakdjūr, the instrument of his ambitious designs. He offered him the government of Damascus and the support of his troops in his rebellion against the amīr of Aleppo, Saʿd al-Dawla. Bakdjūr proceeded to invest Aleppo in 373/983. However, the Byzantine general Bardas Phocas came to the assistance of Aleppo. Mufarridj, who was in the Byzantine army and in correspondance with Bakdjūr, gave him warning. The latter fled, not stopping at Ḥims, which was entered by Bardas Phocas and halted at the frontiers of the Fāṭimid territory. The Caliph, faithful to his promise, gave him the government of Damascus. He was joined by Mufarridj. The intrigues of Ibn Killis, who distrusted Bakdjūr and Mufarridj, and who made several attempts to rid himself of Bakdjūr, led finally to his being expelled from Damascus by a Fāṭimid army in 378/988. He took refuge at Raḳḳa. After the death of Ibn Killis in 380, Mufarridj obtained the Caliph's pardon and Bakdjūr once again won al-ʿAzīz over to the idea of a conquest of Aleppo. The Caliph promised him the support of the garrison of Tripoli. However, at the instigation of the secretary Ibn Nesṭūrus, whom Bakdjūr had made ill-disposed toward himself, the Fāṭimid general abandoned Bakdjūr at the decisive moment in the fighting against Saʿd al-Dawla, so that he was defeated and handed over to the Ḥamdānid in 381/991, being then put to death. After his victory, Saʿd al-Dawla threatened to invade al-ʿAzīz's realm. Death prevented him from putting his plan into execution.

The Caliph was once again urged to undertake the conquest of Aleppo by the former secretary of Bakdjūr, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī, who had taken refuge in Egypt, as well as several amīrs who had left the Ḥamdānid Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil. From 382/992 until his death, al-ʿAzīz methodically pursued his attempts to take Aleppo, but without any success, owing to the support given by the Byzantines to their dependant, the amīr of Aleppo. The first attempt, led by the Turkish general Mangūtakīn, supported by Ibn al-Maghribī, was marked by an unsuccessful siege of Aleppo, though there were successful engagements fought to the north of Aleppo against the Byzantine governor of Antioch, Burtzes (al-Burdjī), whom the Emperor Basil II, informed by Ḥamdānid messengers when in Bulgaria, had instructed to intervene. At the end of 382 (end of 992 or beginning of 993), Mangūtakīn, without

authorisation from the Caliph and at the instigation of al-Maghribī, who was dismissed for that reason, raised the siege and returned to Damascus. After the consolidation of Fāṭimid territorial gains south of the amīrate of Aleppo, a second attempt took place in 384/994. There was a first period of siege lasting two months, then Mangūtakīn was obliged to march against Burtzes, and routed him at the ford of the Orontes in September 994, after which he resumed the siege, which lasted until May 995 and was only lifted on the arrival after forced marches of the Emperor Basil II in person, whom the Ḥamdānid messengers had again gone to summon from the Bulgarian front. The Emperor saved Aleppo, but did not succeed in adequately ensuring the defence of the advance positions of the amīrate of Aleppo against the Fāṭimids, for though he placed a garrison at Shayzar, he was unable to take Tripoli. Al-ʿAzīz resolved to intensify the struggle and the close of the year 385/995 and the beginning of 386/996 were marked by great military and naval preparations in Egypt.

The navy built by Ibn Nesṭūrus having been accidentally set on fire (see above), a new navy was immediately called into existence and sent against Anṭarṭūs, a Byzantine stronghold, to which Mangūtakīn, after having executed in the spring of the year 996 several incursions in the direction of Antioch and Aleppo, was laying siege. The intervention of the Byzantine troops from Antioch caused the operation to fail, but the southern region of the amīrate of Aleppo remained under Fāṭimid influence. The Caliph decided to take the field in person, and set out to place himself at the head of his armies, accompanied by the coffins of his ancestors, like al-Muʿizz on his departure from Africa. However, he fell ill and died at Bilbays on 28 Ramaḍān 386/14 October 996.

Al-ʿAzīz was certainly the wisest and the best of all the Fāṭimid Caliphs of Egypt. Though he did not realise all his aims, it was, nevertheless, during his reign that the domination of the Fāṭimids reached, at least nominally, its greatest extent, for the *khuṭba* was read in his name from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, in the Yemen, in Mecca and, on one occasion, even at Mawṣil under the ʿUḳaylid ruler.

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ʿAZĪZ EFENDĪ [see ʿALĪ ʿAZĪZ GIRIDLĪ].

ʿAZĪZ MIṢR, the mighty one of Egypt. In the Kurʾān (xii, 30, 51) the title al-ʿAzīz is given to the unnamed Egyptian who buys Yūsuf. In later legend and commentary he is called Kiṭfīr [*q.v.*], from the Biblical Potiphar. The title al-ʿAzīz seems to connote the office of chief minister under Pharoah, as the same title is applied to Yūsuf himself when he reaches that position (Kurʾān, xii, 78, 88). In some of the Arabic dictionaries the term is defined as meaning the ruler of Egypt (Miṣr) and Alexandria (Lane, *s.v.*). In Ottoman texts the epithet ʿAzīz Miṣr is sometimes applied to the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt (*e.g.*, in the headings of the *Munshaʾāt-i Salāṭīn* of Ferīdūn), but does not appear to have formed part of their official titles. An attempt was made to bring the title into official use during the negotiations between Ismāʿīl Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt, and Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which culminated in 1867 with the granting by the Sultan to the pasha of the title of Khedive. Ismāʿīl, who already enjoyed hereditary status by virtue of the ferman of 1841, was anxious to obtain a special title which would indicate his superiority to the other pashas of the Ottoman Empire, and proposed the title ʿAzīz Miṣr. According to the Ottoman Minister of Internal Affairs of that time, Memdūḥ Pasha, this proposal was not acceptable, in part because the suggested title coincided with the Sultan's own name.

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ʿAZĪZĪ, Ottoman poet, died in 993/1585. His name, according to some, was Muṣṭafā, according to others, Meḥemmed. He lived in Istanbul, near the Castle of the Seven Towers (Yedi Ḳule), as a bookbinder and, presumably later, as the warden of the guards of the castle. He died there and was buried in the large cemetery outside the city walls, near Yedi Ḳule. His portrait in ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi's *tedhkire* (ʿAlī Emīrī

no. 772) shows him with a white beard. Among the poets his contemporaries who used the *nom de plume* ʿAzīzī he was the most famous.

All his biographers found it noteworthy that, in contrast to the works of most of the other poets of his time, his poetry was inspired not by boys, but by women. This reputation seems to have derived from his most famous poem, a *shehrengiz* on the courtesans of Istanbul, entitled *Rengīn-nāme*, which is remarkable for its lively style and bold use of idiomatic expressions and proverbs; each of the 49 beauties is described, in a set of three couplets, with images befitting her name or nickname. Other poems by him are found scattered in *tedhkires* and anthologies.

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ʿAZĪZĪ [see KARAČELEDI-ZĀDE].

ʿAZL, *coitus interruptus*. According to the *ḥadīth* this practice was not unknown to the ancient Arabs, and the Messenger of God did not declare it to be *ḥarām*. The doctors of the Law agree that the master can practise it with his slave concubine unconditionally, and the husband with his wife; in the latter case, however, there is controversy on the question whether the wife's permission is necessary. According to al-Ghazālī, although *ʿazl* is not in conformity with the general spirit of marriage, it is not forbidden, and is at the most only mildly reprehensible: it may also be practised with a view to ensuring, for example, that the consequences of a confinement do not imperil the husband's "continued enjoyment of marital rights"; with greater justification, and although it is preferable to leave the matter trustingly in God's hands, "the fear of incurring great financial hardship on account of the size of one's family" renders this contraceptive practice admissible.

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(G. H. BOUSQUET)

ʿAZL, dismissal [see SUPPLEMENT].

ʿAZMĪ-ZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ, Ottoman poet and stylist, as a poet known under the name of Ḥāletī. Born in the so-called *laylat al-berāt* in Istanbul on 15 Shaʿbān 977/23 Jan. 1570. He was the son of ʿAzmī-Efendi, who was the well-known and well-respected tutor of Murād IV as well as a poet, writer, and translator (died 990/1582). As a pupil of Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] who became famous as a historian, he studied law, and to him he owed his special love for historical investigation. He became *müderris* at the *madrasa* of Ḥādjdjī-Khātūn in Istanbul, but in 1011/1602-3 he was transferred to Damascus as a judge. Two years later he went to Cairo in the same capacity. When Dāmād Ibrāhīm-Pasha (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 136 ff.) the governor of Egypt, was killed in a military rising in Cairo, ʿAzmī-zāde (who had occasionally represented him) was dismissed because of his lack of prudence, and soon afterwards (1015/1606-7) he was moved as Mulla to Brusa. As a reward for his good services in the fight against the ʿAlīd rebel Ḳalender-oghlu, he became Mullah of Adrianople in 1020/1611-2. His behaviour when a judge was punished for wrong-doing led to his transfer to Damascus where, however, he remained only until 1023/1614, to go from there to Istanbul as a judge. This important office he held for four years. Subsequently he was sent to the provinces once again, this time to Cairo. In Rabīʿ II 1030/Feb.-March 1621, he next became a military judge in Anatolia and in Rabīʿ I 1037/Nov. 1627, in Rumelia, after he had again been without office (*maʿzūl*) since Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1032/Sept. 1623. This last post, too, he held only for a short time. He was dismissed in Ramaḍān 1038/April-May 1629, and moved to the school attached to the Sulaymāniyya mosque (*dār al-ḥadīth*) in Istanbul. He died soon afterwards (26 Shaʿbān 1040/30 March 1631), and is buried in the courtyard of his school, not far from his house in Sofular Čarshusu.

As the poet Ḥāletī, ʿAzmī-zāde achieved fame because of his *dīwān*, his *Sāḳī-nāme*, and his quatrains (*rubāʿī*), and he was known as the Turkish ʿUmar Khayyām by his successors. He was very widely read and left a library of manuscripts of some 4000 volumes, all of which are annotated in his own hand. The library was dispersed. None of his works has yet been printed, and his poetry deserves a fuller critical appreciation. ʿAzmī-zāde's *Sulaymān-nāme* would appear to have nothing to do with the sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent; the contents stands in need of an examination (there is a manuscript in the Esʿad-Efendi library in Istanbul (No. 2284, cf. *GOW*, 76)). The best example of his skill in prose is his *Munshaʾāt*, of which there is a manuscript in the Ḥamīdiyya library in Istanbul (No. 599). There is another one in London, in the British Museum (Or. 1169, cf. Rieu, 96b.) with a reference to a further manuscript in Vienna (National-bibliothek) containing only 13 letters (cf. G. Flügel, catalogue I, 265), Cf. also Hammer Purgstall, iv (1828), viii.

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AL-AZRAḲĪ ABU 'L-WALĪD MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD, historian of Mecca and of its sanctuary. The ancestor of the family was a Byzantine (*Rūmī*) slave of Kalada or al-Ḥārith b. Kalada in al-Ṭāʾif, called al-Azraḳ on account of his blue eyes. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (*Istīʿāb*, *s.v.* Sumayya), he married Sumayya, the mother of Ziyād b. Abīhi. During the siege of al-Ṭāʾif in 8/630 al-Azraḳ went over to Muḥammad, was freed, and settled at Mecca. His descendents rose to power and influence and married into the Umayyad aristocracy. In order to obliterate their humble origin they pretended to belong to the clan of ʿIkabb of the Banū Taghlib (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 176) but later, when the antagonisms between Ḳays and Yaman

became prominent, they were persuaded by the Khuzāʿa to join the Yamanite camp by maintaining that al-Azraḳ was the son of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir and hence a member of the royal family of the Ghassānids (Ibn Saʿd, l.c.; see also al-Azraḳī 458, and 460).

A great-great-grandson of al-Azraḳ was Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, d. 222/837 (Ibn Saʿd v, 367; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, i, 222; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 79). He was interested in the history of Mecca and its sanctuary and gathered from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, the *muftī* Saʿīd b. Sālim, the *faḳīh* al-Zandjī, Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār and other Meccans a huge mass of relevant information. His materials were utilised and considerably enlarged by his grandson Abu 'l-Walīd, the author of *Akhbār Makka*. The traditions collected in this book go back in the main to the so-called school of Ibn ʿAbbās and represent its doctrines and Ḳurʾānic exegesis. With regard to the legendary history of Mecca in pre-Islamic times Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Kalbī and Wahb b. Munabbih are also quoted. The topographical description is in the main the work of Abu 'l-Walīd. Abu 'l-Walīd transmitted the book to the "reader" Abū Muḥammad Isḥāḳ b. Aḥmad al-Khuzāʿī (a descendent of ʿUmar's governor of Mecca Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith) d. 308/921, who made many additions, especially about the renovations of the Kaʿba in 281-4/894-7, and transmitted the book to his grand-nephew Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Nāfiʿ al-Khuzāʿī, d. after 350/961 (who made only three additions). This is the text that was printed by Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1858.

Azraḳī's book was plagiarised c. 272/885-6 by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Fākihī (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, i, xxiv-xxix and ii, i). It was also utilised by Saʿd al-Dīn Saʿd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Isfarāʾinī c. 762/1361 in his *Zubdat al-Aʿmāl* (see Rieu, *Supplement*, nr. 575). Al-Kirmānī wrote in 821/1418 a *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Makka* (autograph in Berlin, Ahlwardt no. 9752).

Bibliography: For Azraḳ see also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Handbuch*, 131; Ṭabarī, iii, 2315, 2 and *Iṣāba s.vv.* al-Azraḳ and Sumayya Umm ʿAmmār. For Abu 'l-Walīd al-Azraḳī see *Fihrist*, 112; Samʿānī 28a; Brockelmann, S I, 209. J. W. Fück, *Der Ahn des Azraqi* (*Studi Orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, i, 336-40). (J. W. Fück)

AZRAḲĪ, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl al-Warrāḳ, Persian poet who, according to Ethé, died in 527/1132-33 or in 524/1130; but Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī has shown (*Čahār Maḳāla*, 175 ff.) that he died certainly before 465/1072-3. He wrote a *Dīwān* which, among other poems, contains panegyrics on Ṭughānshāh b. Alp Arslan, the governor of Harāt (not, as is often stated, of Nīshāpūr), and on Amīrānshāh, the son of Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*], the first Saldjūḳid sultan of Kirmān. His verses comprise outstanding *ḳaṣīdas* and *ḳiṭʿas*; he excels in descriptive poetry but is sometimes exaggerated in his praise, and he is not free from far-fetched and affected comparisons. It seems improbable that he is also, as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and others assert, the author of the *Sindbād-nāma* and of an obscene book entitled *Alfiyya wa-Shalfiyya*.

Bibliography: ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 86 ff.; Dawlatshāh, 72 ff.; Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla* (ed. Ḳazwīnī), 44, 170 ff. (trans. Browne, 123-125 and index); Djāmī, *Bahāristān*, chapter vii (trans. Massé, 172); Houtsma, *Recueil*, i, 14 ff.; Ethé, *Gr. I. Phil.*, ii, 258; Browne, ii, 323. (H. Massé)

AZRAḲITES [see azāriḳa].

AZULEJO [see khazaf].

ĀZURDA, Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān b. Luṭf Allāh, Indian writer of Kashmīrī extraction, was born in Delhi in 1204/1789. He learnt the traditional sciences from Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*qq.v.*] and the rational sciences from Faḍl-i Imām of Khayrābād, whom he succeeded in 1243/1827 as the last grand *muftī* and *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* of Imperial Delhi. In addition to his proficiency in various branches of knowledge he was a great authority on the Urdū language, and celebrated poets like Ghālib and Muʾmin often invited his opinion on their compositions. Before the Mutiny his house in Matyā Maḥall, Delhi, was the favourite meeting-place of scholars and poets. (He was the first to prescribe the *dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī as one of the courses of study in India.) Suspected of complicity in the Mutiny of 1857, he was gaoled. His property, including his large private library, was confiscated and auctioned. After his release his property, but not his library, was restored to him. He had many pupils. Before his appointment as *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* he served as a tutor to Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān, ruler of Rāmpūr (1855-65). His other pupils included: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān [*q.v.*]; Faḳīr Muḥammad Lāhōrī, author of *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, and Abu 'l-Khayr, father of Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād. He was struck with paralysis in 1862 and died six years later on 24th Rabīʿ I 1285/15th July, 1868 and was buried in Delhi.

Among his works, some of which perished during the Mutiny, are two tracts in Arabic: *Muntaha 'l-Maḳāl fī Sharḥ Ḥadīth lā Tashudd al-Riḥāl*, in refutation of the arguments of Ibn Taymiyya and others to prove that visits to the shrines of saints and divines are unlawful; *al-Durr al-Manḍūd fī Ḥukm Imraʾt al-Mafḳūd*. He is also the author of a short biographical work on Urdū poets entitled *Tadhkira-i Mukhtaṣar dar Ḥāl-i Rekhtagūyān-i Hind* (Browne, *Suppt.*, 304). Some of his poems were reproduced by (Sir) Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in the *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd*[1], Delhi 1846, 72-114.

Bibliography: Faḳīr Muḥammad Lāhōrī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*[2], Lucknow 1906, 93-4; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, Bhopal 1295, 917; Muẓaffar Ḥuṣayn "Ṣabā", *Rūz-i Rawshan*, Bhopal 1297, 70-3; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind*[2], Lucknow 1914, 93-4; Muṣṭafā Khān Shēfta, *Gulshan-i Bēkhār*, Delhi 1846, 10-1; Ghawth Muḥammad Khān, *Sayr-i Muḥtasham*, Delhi 1851, 247-8; Nūr al-Ḥasan Khān, *Tadhkira-i Ṭūr-i Kalīm*, Agra 1298, 6; ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Khān "Nassākh", *Sakhun-i Shuʿarāʾ*, Lucknow 1291, 23; Imtiyāz ʿAlī "ʿArshī", *Makātīb-i Ghālib*, Bombay 1937, 62; Ghulām Rasūl Mehr, *Ghālib*[4], Lahore 1947, 278-85; ʿAbd al-Ḥaʾiy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir* (MS), vii, s.v.; idem, *Gul-i Raʿnā*, Aʿẓamgarh 1364, 327-8; A. Sprenger, *Oudh Cat.*, s.v. *Āzurda*; Storey, i/2, 922; Ḳādir Bakhsh Ṣābir, *Gulistān-i Sakhun*, (MS.), s.v.; Karīm al-Dīn and Fallon, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shuʿaraʾ*, Delhi 1848, 446-8; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Tirhutī, *al-Yāniʿ al-Djanī fī Asānīd al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī*, lith. on the margin of *al-Astār ʿan Ridjāl Maʿānī al-Āthār*, Deoband 1344, 77; Srī Rām, *Khum-khāna-i Djāwīd*, Lahore 1908, i, 53-61; Asad Allāh Khān "Ghālib", *Kulliyāt Nathr Ghālib*, Cawnpore 1871, 101, 123; Siddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Ithāf al-Nubalāʾ*, Cawnpore 1288, 260; Alṭāf Ḥusayn "Ḥālī", *Ḥayāt-i Djāwīd*, Delhi 1939, i, 29, ii, 253, 380; Faḍl-i Ḥusayn, *al-Ḥayāt baʿd al-Mamāt*, Āgrā 1908, 44;

Maʿārif (Urdū monthly), Aʿẓamgarh, vii/5-6 (1921); Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la litteratnre*[2], *Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Paris 1870, i, 272; K. Aḥmad Fārūḳī, *Kalāsīkī Adab* (in Urdū), Delhi 1956, s.v. *Āzurda*. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ʿAZZA [see kuthayyir].

ʿAZZA AL-MAYLĀʾ, "ʿAzza with the graceful walk", celebrated singer and lute player of Medina, *mawlāt* of the Anṣār, died probably before the end of the 1st/7th century, after a long career. A pupil of Sāʾib Khātir and Nashīṭ, singers of Persian origin, then of Rāʾiḳa and Djamīla [*q.v.*], she in her turn numbered among her pupils such famous singers as Ibn Muḥriz and Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*], but, unlike Djamīla, she did not form an actual school. She differed from the latter, too as regards her practice of giving recitals in aristocratic households, but she also used to receive in her own home poets (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Ḥassān b. Thābit whom she used to move to tears) and important personalities (Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, and others). Greatly beloved for her art and, it is said, for her excellent morals, ʿAzza was a popular figure in 1st/7th century Medina.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, index (particularly xvi, 133 ff.); Ibn Khallikān, no. 557; Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques* ...., Paris 1874 (= *JA*, 1873), 55; ʿAmrūsī, *al-Djawārī al-Mughanniyāt*, Cairo n.d., 74-85. (Ch. Pellat)

B

BĀ (cf. Bū), genealogical term used in S. Arabia, especially among the *sayyids* and *mashāʾikh* of Ḥaḍramawt, to form individual and (secondarily) collective proper names, *e.g.*, Bā ʿAbbād, Bā ʿAlawī, Bā Faḍl, Bā Faḳīh, Bā Ḥasan, Bā Ḥassān, Bā Hurmuz, Bā Wazīr (see special articles and the lists of Nallino (in Gabrieli, *Nome proprio*, 88) and van den Berg (*Ḥadhramout*, 51-61)). Ibn al-Mudjāwir (my ed., 254) gives details on this Ḥaḍramī nomenclature, which seemed so strange to the custom-house officers at Aden that they refused to register these names. While he and al-Shardjī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, *passim*) use the archaising form *ʾabā*, other authors have Abū/ī/ā, or simply omit Bā. Hence the same person is cited as Bā Ḥassān, Abā Ḥassān, Abū Ḥassān and Ḥassān (for Ibn Ḥassān, see below).

The genuine Bā thus would be identical with indeclinable Abā "father" forming individual (pseudo) *kunyas*, with the actual function of a *nisba* in -ī, or of *dhū* in western Yamanite tradition. This is the view of Ibn al-Mudjāwir, al-Shillī (*Mashraʿ*, i, 28), al-Saḳḳāf (*Taʾrīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, i, 53 n.) and Flügel (*ZDMG*, ix, 227) In order to denote the tribe or family *ʾāl* or *ʾawlād* is prefixed to Bā, *e.g.*, Āl Bā ʿAlawī, Awlād Bā Kushayr; this may have caused the equation Bā = Banū found in al-Muḥibbī (*Khulāṣa*, i, 74) and approved of by Wüstenfeld (*Geschichtsschreiber*, 256; *Çufiten*, 4 n. 1).

From this primary Bā-formation must be distinguished another with Bal- (sometimes Bil-) < *bin al-*, *e.g.*, Bal-Faḳīh (not identical with the Bā Faḳīh cited above) = Ibn al-Faḳīh (al-Saḳḳāf, *op. cit.* ii, 54 n. 2), Bal-Ḥādjdj (surname of members of the Bā Faḍl) = Ibn al-Ḥādjdj. The use of Bin, along with the *nisba* in -ī, as a *nomen unitatis* of Bā-names, attested by van den Berg (*loc. cit.*), as also that of Ibn Ḥassān for Bā/Abū Ḥassān (cf. *MO*, xxv, 131 and *BSOAS*, xiii, 291/299), may reflect different local habits or even some uncertainty on the part of native authorities.

Bibliography: van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout et ses colonies Arabes*, Batavia 1886; G. Gabrieli, *Il nome proprio arabo-musulmano*, Rome 1915; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, 1-4; al-Shillī, *al-Mashraʿ al-Rawī*, 1-2; R. B. Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1957. (O. Löfgren)

BĀ ʿABBĀD, a family of Ḥaḍramī *mashāʾikh* and scholars, associated with the shrine of the prophet Hūd. Among its members were (1) ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bā ʿAbbād al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 687/1288) and (2) Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 721/1321) both of them buried in Shibām (al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt* 70, 139). For two *manāḳib*-works on this family, see Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, 6, 11 f. (O. Löfgren)

BĀ ʿALAWĪ (more precisely : Āl Bā ʿAlawī, cf. art. BĀ; according to al-Shillī [*Mashraʿ*, i, 31] *ʿalawī* is "a well-known bird"; *nisba*: al-ʿAlawī [also al-Bāʿalawī], not to be confounded with the usual *nisba* belonging to ʿAlī), a large and influential clan of S. Arabian sayyids and Ṣūfīs, for the most part living in Ḥaḍramawt, in or near the town of Tarīm [*q.v.*], and buried in the Zanbal cemetery there. The noble descent of the Bā ʿAlawī sayyids is said to have been checked in the sixth century by the traditionist ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djadīd (d. 620/1223; *Taʾrīkh thaghr ʿAdan*, ii, 157; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 233) by means of trustworthy witnesses. Special works on S. Arabian *sāda* are: *al-Djawhar al-Shaffāf* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb (d. 855/1451); *al-Barḳa al-mushīḳa* by ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr al-Saḳḳāf [*q.v.*]; *Ghurar al-Bahāʾ al-ḍawʾī* by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Kharid (below no. 10); *al-Tiryāḳ al-wāf* by ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bā Shaybān (below no. 9); *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī* by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bā Hārūn. From these sources and general biographical works Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Shillī (d. 1093/1682) brought together more than 280 biographies in his *al-Mashraʿ al-Rawī fī Manāḳib al-Sāda Āl Abī ʿAlawī* (Maṣr 1319); see art. *al-Shillī*. The valuable study of Wüstenfeld, *Die Çufiten in Süd-Arabien* (1883), being based on al-Muḥibbī's *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, only covers the 11th/17th century, but gives useful genealogical tables of different branches of the Bā ʿAlawī sayyids (to be used with caution as to details). Much material is to be found in the *Taʾrīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Saḳḳāf (1353/55). Here only the most prominent members of the main line can be listed; for the branches ʿAydarūs, Bā Faḳīh, Bal-Faḳīh, al-Djufrī, al-Ḥabshī, al-Ḥaddād, al-Saḳḳāf, al-Shillī, see separate articles.

1. Eponymous ancestor: ʿAlawi b. ʿAbd/ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Muhādjir b. ʿAlī al-ʿUrayḍī b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ b. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir b. ʿA Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. On this senior ʿAlawī and his brothers Baṣrī and Djadīd (Djudayd) see art. AḤMAD B. ʿĪSĀ AL-MUHĀDJIR. Biogr.: *Mashraʿ*, i, 30.

2. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī (no. 1), known as Khāliʿ Ḳasam (village east of Tarīm), was the first one of this house who settled in Tarīm, in 521/1127; he died there in 527/1133. *Mashraʿ*, ii, 230, cf. Wüstenf., *Çufiten*, 4.

3. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (no. 2), called Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ, settled in this famous seaport (= Ẓafār al-ḳadīma) and died there after 550/1155. *Mashraʿ*, i, 198. From his great grandson Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlawī al-Faḳīh (*Mashraʿ*, ii, 62) come the families Bā Faḳīh and al-Ḥaddād.

4. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 3), called al-Ustādh al-aʿẓam, "the great Master", and al-Faḳīh al-muḳaddam (574-653/1178-1255), was a central figure in S. Arabian mysticism and the founder of the special ʿAlawī *ṭariḳa*. He became familiar with Sufyān al-Yamanī of Laḥdj (*Taʾrīkh thaghr ʿAdan*, ii, 93), when this Ṣūfī visited Ḥaḍramawt and brought about rainfall after a long drought. Apart from *risālas* sent to Sufyān and to Saʿd al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Ẓafārī (d. 607/1210) no writings are ascribed to him. By the medium of ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muḳʿad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī he was impressed with the doctrines of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tilimsānī, and was the first one to introduce special Ṣūfistic discipline (*taḥkīm*) into Ḥaḍramawt (cf. Wüst., *Çufiten*, 5). al-Shillī (*Mashraʿ*, ii, 260) traces the spiritual *ṭariḳa* of the Bā ʿAlawī, alongside with the genealogy (*ṭarīḳat al-ābāʾ*) mentioned above. Five sons: ʿAlawī (junior), ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAlī and Aḥmad (ancestor of the Bal-Faḳīh branch [*q.v.*]). Biogr.: *Mashraʿ*, ii, 2-11.

5. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad (no. 4), d. 669/1270, and his son ʿAbd Allāh Bā ʿAlawī (638/1240-731/1330), both of them renowned Ṣūfīs, introduce the line Bā ʿAlawī, strictly speaking. For details on their life see the full biographies in *Mashraʿ*, ii, 211, esp. 184 ff.

6. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī (no. 5), b. 705/1305 in Tarīm, d. there 765/1364. Having performed the pilgrimage he settled in a place near the tomb of Hūd called Yabḥar, hence his surname Mawlā l-Dawīla "patron of the old town (sc. Yabḥar)". His son is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saḳḳāf (739-819), ancestor of the important branches Saḳḳāf and ʿAydarūs (see these arts.). *Mashraʿ*, i, 199 ff.; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 71.

7. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (no. 4), called Ṣāḥib al-Ḥamrāʾ, b. 823/1420 in Tarīm, d. 889/1484 in Taʿizz. After visiting Mecca, Aden, Laḥdj he settled down in the village al-Ḥamrāʾ. Beside poetry and minor *risālas* he wrote *Fatḥ Allāh al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān fī manāḳib ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* (*i.e.*, al-ʿAydarūs, *q.v.*). *Mashraʿ*, ii, 240; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 86.

8. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 4), called Shanbal, d. 920/1514. He compiled an historical work, *Taʾrīkh Shanbal*, on which see Serjeant, *Materials*, 291 f; *Mashraʿ*, ii, 67.

9. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr Bā Shaybān b. Muḥammad Asad Allāh b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 4), 881-944/1476-1537. He wrote *Tiryāḳ al-Ḳulūb al-Wāf bi-Dhikr Ḥikāyāt al-Sāda al-Ashrāf* (cf. supra and Brockelmann II, 401; Serjeant, *Materials*, 583), with biographies of 355 Bā ʿAlawī sayyids. *Mashraʿ*, ii, 248 (cf. i, 3); Wüstenfeld, *Çufiten*, 48.

10. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī (no. 5), called Kharid, b. 890/1485, d. 960/1553. He wrote *al-Wasāʾil* (on tradition), *al-Nafaḥāt* (on Ṣūfism), and *Ghurar al-Bahāʾ al-Ḍawʾī fī Manāḳib al-Sāda Banī ʿAlawī* (var. *Banī Baṣrī wa-Djadīd wa-ʿAlawī*), cf. supra and *Mashraʿ*, i, 196; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 142; Serjeant, *Mat.*, 582.

11. Sālim b. Aḥmad b. Shaykhān b. ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbbūd b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. 6), b. 995/1587, d. 1046/1636 in Mecca. He was introduced into Ṣūfism by Aḥmad al-Shanāwī (d. 1028/1619) and wrote numerous works, listed by his son Abū Bakr in a *risāla* inserted by al-Shillī into his biography (*Mashraʿ*, ii, 104-110), among which are: *Bulghat al-murīd wa-Bughyat al-mustafīd*; a commentary on parts 4-5 of *al-Djawāhir al-khams* by Muḥammad Ghawth Allāh b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn (Brockelmann, II, 418); *al-Sifr al-masṭūr li ʾl-dirāya fī ʾl-Durr al-manthūr li ʾl-wilāya*; *Miṣbāḥ al-sirr al-lāmiʿ bi-Miftāḥ al-djafr al-djāmiʿ*; *Ghurar al-bayān ʿan ʿumr al-zamān*; *al-Burhān al-maʿrūf fī mawāzīn al-ḥurūf* etc. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 407, S II, 565; Wüstenfeld, *Çufiten*, 77. On his son Abū Bakr (d. 1085/1674) see *Mashraʿ*, ii, 26; Brockelmann, S II, 566.

12. ʿAḳīl b. ʿUmar ʿImrān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Sālim b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (no. 4), Abu'l-Mawāhib, b. 1001/1593 in al-Ribāṭ (near Ẓafār al-Ḥabūḍī), d. 1062/1652 in Ẓafār and buried in his birth-place. Among his writings are: *al-ʿAḳīda* (comm. by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳashshāshī and ʿAlī b. ʿUmar Bā ʿUmar); *Fatḥ al-Karīm al-Ghāfir fī Sharḥ Ḥilyat al-Musāfir* (comm. on a *ḳaṣīda* by Saʿīd b. ʿUmar Bal-Ḥāf). Biogr.: *Mashraʿ*, ii, 203; Wüst., *Çufiten*, 51; cf. Brockelmann, S II, 533 (with two more titles).

13. Muḥammad b. Zayn b. Sumayṭ ʿAlawī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Sumayṭ, b. in Tarīm 1100/1689, moved to Shibām in 1135/1723, d. there 1172/1758. He wrote *manāḳib*-works on his teachers ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1132/1720) and Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Ḥabshī (d. 1145/1732), entitled *Ghāyat al-Ḳaṣd wa ʾl-Murād* (Bombay 1885) and *Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn* resp.; *Bahdjat al-Fuʾād* (an abridgement of the first-named); *Lubb al-Lubāb* (an abridgement of *Madjmaʿ al-Aḥbāb*); a *dīwān* of poetry. See al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 127-135; Serjeant, *Mat.* 582; Brockelmann, S II, 566.

14. Among recent members of the clan are:

a) ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Djāwī (d. 1272/1855). He wrote *Sullam al-tawfīḳ ilā maḥabbat Allāh ʿalā l-taḥḳīḳ* (comm. *Mirḳāt Ṣuʿūd al-Taṣdīḳ* by Muḥammad Nawawī al-Djāwī) and other works, see Sarkis, 518, Brockelmann, S II, 820 (814).

b) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar (ca. 1250/1835), *muftī* of Ḥaḍramawt, wrote *Bughyat al-Mustarshidīn fī Talkhīṣ Fatāwī baʿḍ al-Aʾimma al-Mutaʾakhkhirīn* and *Ghāyat Talkhīṣ al-Murād min Fatāwī Ibn Ziyād* (Miṣr 1303). Sarkis, 517; Brockelmann, S II, 817.

c) Faḍl b. ʿAlawī b. Muḥammad b. Sahl Mawlā ʾl-Dawīla (d. 1283/1866) wrote *Sabīl al-Adhkār wa ʾl-Iʿtibār* etc. (in marg. of al-Ḥaddād: *al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-Dīniyya*); *ʿIḳd al-Farāʾid min Nuṣūṣ al-ʿUlamāʾ al-Amādjid*; see Sarkis, 517, Brockelmann, S II, 566.

d) Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad,

called Ibn S̲h̲ihāb (1262-1341/1846-1923), see Sarkis 140 f. (with titles of nine works, printed in India 1305-1331).

e) Muḥammad b. ʿAḳīl b. ʿAlī b. Yaʿḳūb (1279/1862-1350/1931) wrote *al-ʿAṭab al-d̲j̲amīl* (pr. 1342); Brock., S II, 822.

Bibliography: R. B. Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1957; idem, *Materials for South Arabian history*, in *BSOAS*, xiii, 1950, 281-307, 581-601, and the works cited above. (O. Löfgren)

BĀ FAḌL [see faḍl, bā].

BĀ FAḲĪH [see faḳīh, bā].

BAL-FAḲĪH [see faḳīh, bal-].

BĀ ḤASSĀN [see ḥassān, bā].

BĀ HURMUZ [see hurmuz, bā].

BĀ KAT̲H̲ĪR [see kat̲h̲īrī].

BĀ MADḤID̲J̲ [see al-suwaynī, saʿd b. ʿalī].

BĀ MAK̲H̲RAMA [see mak̲h̲rama, bā].

BĀʾ [see hid̲j̲āʾ].

BĀʾ [see mawāzīn].

BAALBEK [see baʿlabakk].

BĀB = Gate. This question is best treated under two headings, (i) in mosques, (ii) in fortifications.

(i) In mosques, mausoleums, etc.

Down to the end of the 3rd/9th century, no mosque had a monumental entrance. All mosques, large or small, were entered by simple rectangular doorways in the enclosure wall, e.g. the Mosque at Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, 110/729; the Great Mosque at Ḥarrān, entrance, *c*. A.D. 744-50; the Mosque of Cordova, 170/787; the Mosque of ʿAmr of 212/729; the two entrances which date from 221/836 in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān; the Mosque of Bū Fatātā at Sūsa, 223-6/838-41; The Great Mosque at Sūsa, 236/850-1; the Great Mosques of Sāmarrā 234-7/848-52, and Abū Dulaf, 247/860-61; and the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, 263-5/876-9. The first mosque to have a monumental entrance was the mosque built by the Fāṭimids at the foundation of Mahdiyya on the Gulf of Gabes in 308/920-21. It has obviously been inspired by one of the Roman triumphal archways, which must have been more numerous in North Africa in 920 than they are to-day (Plate XXV*a*).

This type was brought to Egypt by the Fāṭimids, where it appears in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim in 393/1003, but on a more imposing scale (6.16 m. projection and 15.50 in width, against 3 m. × 8 for Mahdiyya. It also appears in the Mosque of al-Aḳmar, 519/1125 on a much reduced scale, and in the Mosque of Baybars, 665-7/1266-9 on a very large scale (8.86 × 18.83 m.) with its flanks decorated by three arched panels, against two in al-Ḥākim and one at Mahdiyya (Plate XXV*b*).

But a new type, the so-called stalactite doorway, had just appeared in Syria. The earliest example is the entrance of the Madrasa of S̲h̲ādbak̲h̲t at Aleppo (Plate XXVI*a*), 589/1193. This was followed by other fine examples, e.g. the Ribāṭ Nāṣiri (Plate XXVI *b*) at Aleppo, 635 H. = 1237/8); the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Tawba at Damascus, 632/1234; etc.

It was first employed in Egypt in the Madrasa of Baybars, 662/1264, and then in the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf (Plate XXVII *a*) 698/1299, but it did not become general until the second half of the 8th/14th century, for several early 14th century monuments exist in which it is not employed.

The origin of this beautiful form of monumental entrance cannot be demonstrated, for the embryonic stages in its evolution appear to have perished, but it seems probable that it was derived from portals such as the lateral ones of the Bayt al-K̲h̲alīfa at Sāmarrā, where a deep entrance bay is covered by a semi-dome on a pair of squinches. Given this scheme it is obvious that, on its importation at a later date into Syria, the squinches would be replaced by the device there in use for supporting domes. That this has actually happened may be realised on comparing our earliest example, the entrance bay of the Madrasa of S̲h̲ādbak̲h̲t (Plate XXVI *a*) with the pendentives of the dome in front of the *miḥrāb* of the nearly contemporary Mas̲h̲had of Ḥusayn at Aleppo, 608/1211-12. In both cases we have the typically Syrian treatment, a series of horizontal courses, decorated with niches, set straight across the corner and advancing one over the other.

In Persia the earliest portals such as that of the Mausoleum of Čihil Duk̲h̲tarān at Dāmg̲h̲ān (Sarre, *Denkmäler*, Abb. 156), 446/1054, the Gunbad-i Surk̲h̲ at Marāg̲h̲a (Pope, *Survey*, Plate 341 A, and Godard in *At̲h̲ār-é Īrān*, I, fig., 89), 542/1148, and the Mausoleum of Muʾmina K̲h̲ātūn (*ibid*, Plate 345 and Sarre, *op. cit*. Taf. 3, reproduced here, Plate XXVII *b*) at Nak̲h̲čivān, 582/1186, consist of a rectangular doorway with an arched tympanum above, set in a shallow rectangular recess. The next step, apparently, was to replace the arched tympanum by a shallow recess filled with stalactites, e.g. a tower-tomb at Khiov (Pope, *op. cit*., Plate 343) and another at Salmās (*ibid*., Plate 344, reproduced here, Plate XXVIII *a*). During the XIVth century, portals usually take the form of a high arched bay, like a small *līwān*, covered by a semi-dome on stalactite pendentives (quite different, however, from the Egyptian variety), e.g. the K̲h̲ānḳāh at Naṭanz (*ibid*., Plate 367), 704/1304-5, the Shrine of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bāyazīd at Bisṭām (*ibid*., Plate 416, reproduced here, Plate XXVIII *b*), 713/1313, the Great Mosque at Varāmīn (*ibid*., Plate 406), 723-6/1323-5, the Mausoleum of Bābā Ḳāsim at Iṣfahān (*ibid*., Plate 417), 741/1340, the Great Mosque at Kirmān (*ibid*., Plate 541 A), 750/1349, and the Masd̲j̲id-i Pā-Manār, 794/1391, also at Kirmān (*ibid*., Plate 451 B). At the end of the 15th century we have the remarkable portal at Balk̲h̲ belonging to the Shrine of Abū Naṣr Pārsā (*ibid*., Plates 422 and 424), which projects boldly from the façade. In the central part is a high arched bay, with the entrance at the back as usual, but the flanks are bevelled off at 45°, and are in two storeys, each with a pointed arched recess.

This portal may well be the prototype of some of the monumental Indian examples such as the famous Buland Darwāza at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, 1010/1602, and the main entrance of the Great Mosque at Delhi, A.D. 1644-58.

At Constantinople mosque entrances are usually in the form of a slight salient, in which is set the entrance bay, covered by a very high stalactite hood composed of very small niches, e.g. the Mosque of Sulṭān Bāyazīd, 906-11/1500-1505, the Mosque of Sulṭān Selīm (Plate XXIX *a*), 929/1522, the Mosque of S̲h̲āhzāde, 955/1548, etc.

In North Africa the entrances of mosques are usually emphasised, not by a vaulted salient (as at Mahdiyya), but by an elaborat eawning resting on brackets and covered by a sloping roof of tiles, e.g. at Fez (see H. Terrasse, *La Mosquée des Andalous*, pl. XV-XVII.

(ii) In fortifications

The earliest gateways of Muslim fortified enclosures were simple "straight-through" entrances defended by a māchicoulis and a pair of half-round flanking towers, e.g. the single gateway of the

Lesser (Plate XXIX*b*) and the four gateways of the Greater Enclosure of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-S͟harḳī, built by the Caliph His͟hām in 110/729.

But as early as the building of Bag͟hdād by al-Manṣūr in 145-7/762-5 a new type appears—the bent entrance—which was employed for the four gateways of the outer wall. This is clear from the description of al-K͟haṭīb, who says: "When one entered by the K͟hurāsān Gate one first turned to the left in an oblong passage (*dihlīz āzād͟j*) with a vault of brick, 20 cubits wide and 30 cubits long, ***the entrance of which was in the width and the exit in the length***, and passed out into a *raḥaba* ... at the far end of which was the second gateway which was that of the city". Only one turn is mentioned, and as one then passed into a courtyard at the far end of which was the main gateway, it follows that the first direction must have been at right angles to the direction of exit, so it is obvious that the entrance must have been in the flank of the gateway tower.

It is frequently stated that bent entrances occur in Byzantine fortifications in N. Africa. It is not going too far to say that ***not a single example*** of such an entrance is to be found in any work of Justinian's reign, or before it, either in North Africa, Rome, Constantinople itself, or anywhere else in the Byzantine Empire (see my art. in the *Proc. Brit. Academy*, xxxviii, 101-5). The first bent entrance in Byzantine architecture is the south gate of the inner Citadel at Ancyra built, according to an inscription, by Michael III in A.D. 859.

It is probable that the device was brought by the ʿAbbāsids (who came from the north-east) from the Oxus region, where pre-Muslim fortified enclosures have recently been discovered by the expedition led by Tolstov. The oldest of them, D͟janbās Ḳalʿa, is about 50 km. from the river, in a region no longer irrigated. It consists of a fortified enclosure of mud brick, measuring 200 × 170 m. with walls still standing 10 m. high, provided with a bent entrance (see Field and Tolstov, in *Ars Islamica*, vi, 150).

The Arabic term for a bent entrance is *bās͟hūra*, as is perfectly clear from the passage in which Maḳrīzī describes the Bāb Zuwayla of Cairo: "... he (Badr al-D͟jamālī did not make a *bās͟hūra*, as is the custom for the gates of fortresses. This disposition consists in arranging a bend (*ʿatf*) in the passageway to prevent troops taking it by assault during a siege, and to render impossible the entry *en masse* of cavalry" (*K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 380, l. 35, 381, l. 5).

Normally, therefore, the *bās͟hūra* was an integral part of the gateway (as in all the examples of a bent entrance cited below), but it could happen that alterations were made subsequently to an old "straight through" gateway to convert it into a bent entrance, e.g. the Bāb al-S͟harḳī at Damascus. This was a triple gateway of the usual Roman type, but von Kremer (*c.* 1850) found that the central and southern openings had been walled up and an addition (long since removed) built in front of the northern one, so as to force people to make a right-angled turn to pass through (*Topographie von Damascus*, I, fig. on p. 10). This helps us to understand what Maḳrīzī means when he speaks of a *bās͟hūra* at the entrance of the Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ, although they disappeared in the xvth century. They must have been additions built in ***front of them*** subsequently, as at Damascus, to remedy the weakness of these "straight through" gateways. I say "subsequently" because there is no trace on the well preserved masonry of these two gates of anything having been torn away.

On the other hand it follows than when a *bās͟hūra* is mentioned anywhere (e.g. at Subayba near Baniyās) and the gateway itself has a right-angled turn (*ʿatf*), there is no need to assume that there was ever any structure in front of it.

But in spite of its obvious advantages the bent entrance did not become the general rule henceforth; it was not even employed by al-Manṣūr himself when he built Raḳḳa a few years later. The architect merely adopted the "oblique approach" system (see my *E.M.A.*, ii, 38-45).

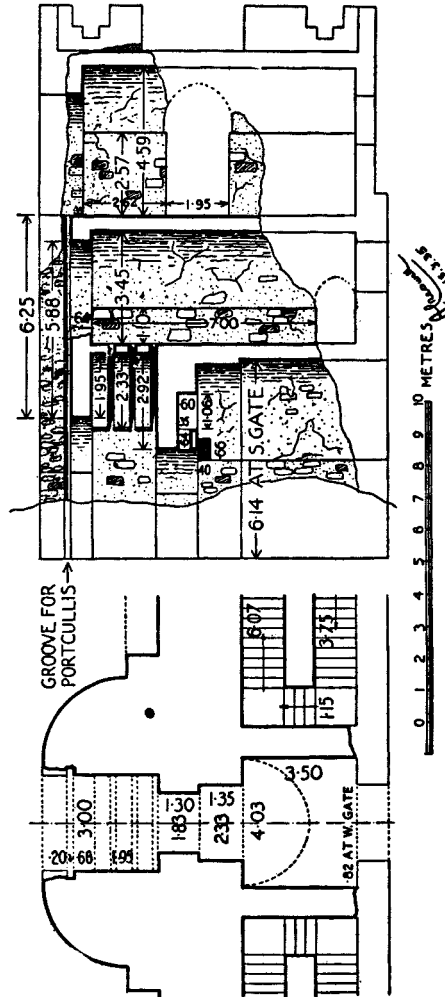



Fig. 1. Uk͟hayḍir: plan and section of west entrance.

Nevertheless a very formidable type of gateway is employed in the famous Uk͟hayḍir (Plate XXIX*a*) towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. The entrance arch, which is 3 m. wide, is set back 91 cm. between two quarter-round towers. On both sides, close up to their inner corners, a deep groove 20 cm. wide runs right up, showing that there must have been a portcullis here. Behind this entrance arch, at a distance of 1.95 m. is another archway, and between the two is a vestibule, 3 m. wide and 1.95 deep, covered by a tunnel-vault in which there are three slits 17 cm. wide running from wall to wall (Fig. 1). Now supposing Uk͟hayḍir were about to be attacked, the portcullis would be kept in a hauled-up position

until a party of men entered the outer archway to try to break down the door behind the inner archway. At a signal, given by men looking through the slits in the vault, the portcullis would be released and missiles, molten lead, or boiling oil dropped on the storming party trapped below. It was impossible for a storming party to approach the door without exposing themselves to be fatally trapped in this fashion.

The finest gateways of the 5th/11th century are the three Fāṭimid gates of Cairo, the Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ (Plate XXX) and Bāb Zuwayla, built by

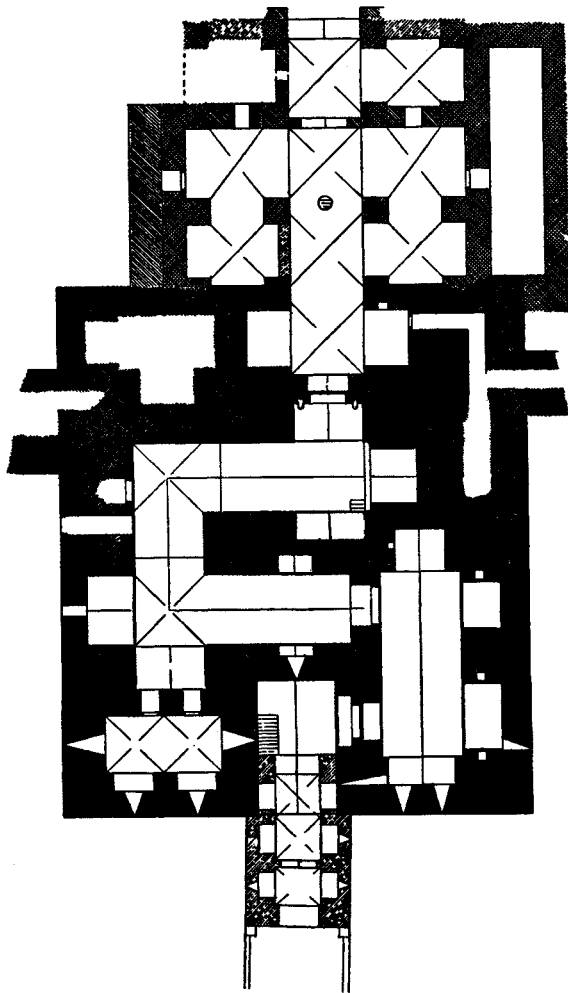



Fig. 2. ALEPPO: Entrance of the Citadel. (From Herzfeld).

Badr al-Djamālī in 480-85/1087-92, but they are "straight through" and not bent entrances. In each case the gateway proper is set back in an arched recess between two round-fronted towers, and at the back of the arch is a slit whereby missiles could be dropped from the platform above on a storming party attacking the door with a battering ram.

But the wars of the Crusades in the two following centuries and the great military experience gained by both sides soon resulted in the bent entrance coming into general use. It was invariably employed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, e.g. at Ḳalʿat Djindī in Sinai, about 578/1182, in the three gateways of the Northern Enclosure of the Citadel of Cairo, 572-9/1176-84, and likewise the gateways in that part of the Wall of Cairo due to him (Plate XXXI *b*). So thoroughly were the advantages of the bent entrance appreciated that it had even reached the Far West of Islam before the end of the 6th/12th century, e.g. the gateway of the Ḳaṣba of the Oudāya at Rabāṭ in Morocco.

For the 7th/13th century three typical examples of it may be cited: Ḳalʿat al-Nadjm on the Euphrates, 605-12/1208-15; and two at Baghdād, the Talisman Gate (blown up by the retreating Turks in 1918) and the Bāb al-Wusṭānī.

The supreme example of a bent entrance is al-Malik al-Ẓāhir's gateway in the Citadel of Aleppo finished according to Ibn Shaddād in 611/1214. Here there are no less than five right-angled turns in the passage-way (Plate XXXII and Fig. 2).

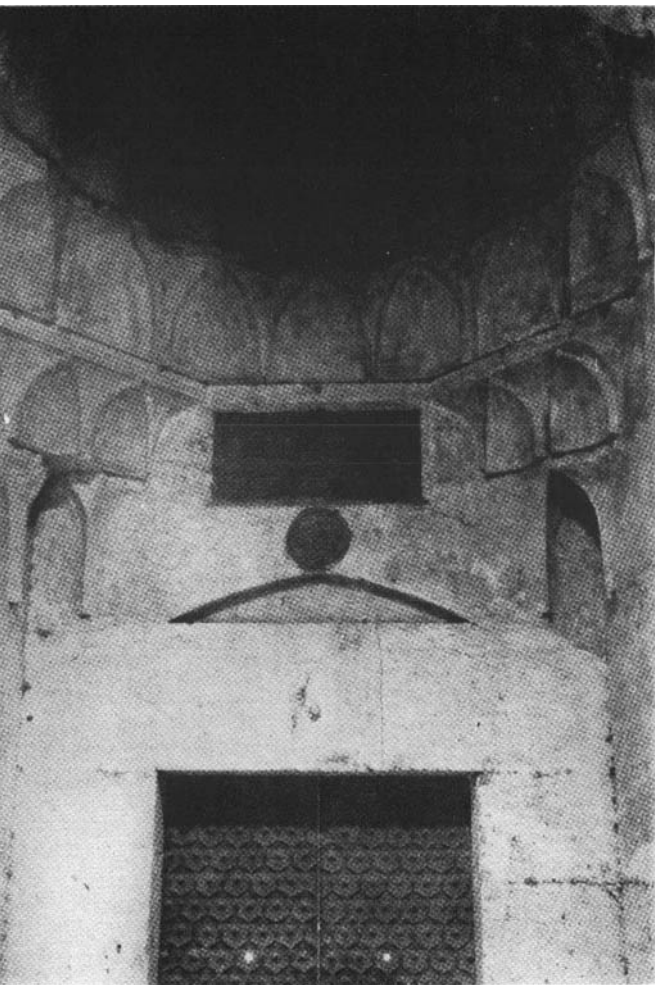
(K. A. C. CRESWELL)

BĀB, a term applied in early Shīʿism to the senior authorised disciple of the Imām. The hagiographical literature of the Twelver Shīʿa usually names the *bābs* of the Imāms. Among the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] *bāb* was a rank in the hierarchy. The term was already in use in pre-Fāṭimid times, though its significance is uncertain (cf. W. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 125 n. 2, citing al-Kashshī, *Ridjāl*, 322; idem, *Notes sur l'Ummu 'l-Kitab*, in *REI*, 1932, 455; idem, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*², Bombay 1955, 19 ff.). Under the Fāṭimids in Egypt the *bāb* comes immediately after the *Imām*, from whom he receives instruction directly. He in turn instructs the *ḥudjdjas*, who conduct the *daʿwa*. The term thus appears to denote the head of the hierarchy of the *daʿwa*, and to be the equivalent in Ismāʿīlī terminology of the expression *dāʿī al-duʿāt*, which is used in the general historical literature but rarely appears in Ismāʿīlī texts. Thus, for example, al-Muʾayyid fī 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, who is described in Ismāʿīlī writings as the *bāb* of al-Mustanṣir, is called his *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* by the historians (e.g. Ibn Muyassar, 10) and is actually named as such by al-Mustanṣir in a *sidjill* of Ramaḍān 461/July 1069 addressed to the Ṣulayḥid ruler of the Yaman (*Al-Sidjillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid, Cairo 1954, 200). Some indications of the status and functions of the *bāb* in Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism will be found in Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Rāḥat al-ʿAḳl*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, Cairo 1953, index; cf. R. Strothmann, *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten*, Göttingen 1943, index, espec. 82, 102, 175; W. Ivanow, *Studies*, 20-23). In the post-Fāṭimid *daʿwa* the office dwindled in importance and seems eventually to have disappeared. In the description of the *daʿwa* organisation at Alamūt given by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, (*Taṣawwurāt*, ed. W. Ivanow, 97, introduction xliii), there is only a *bāb-i bāṭin*, who ranks with the *dāʿī*, and in later Ismāʿīlī writings the term seems to drop out altogether.

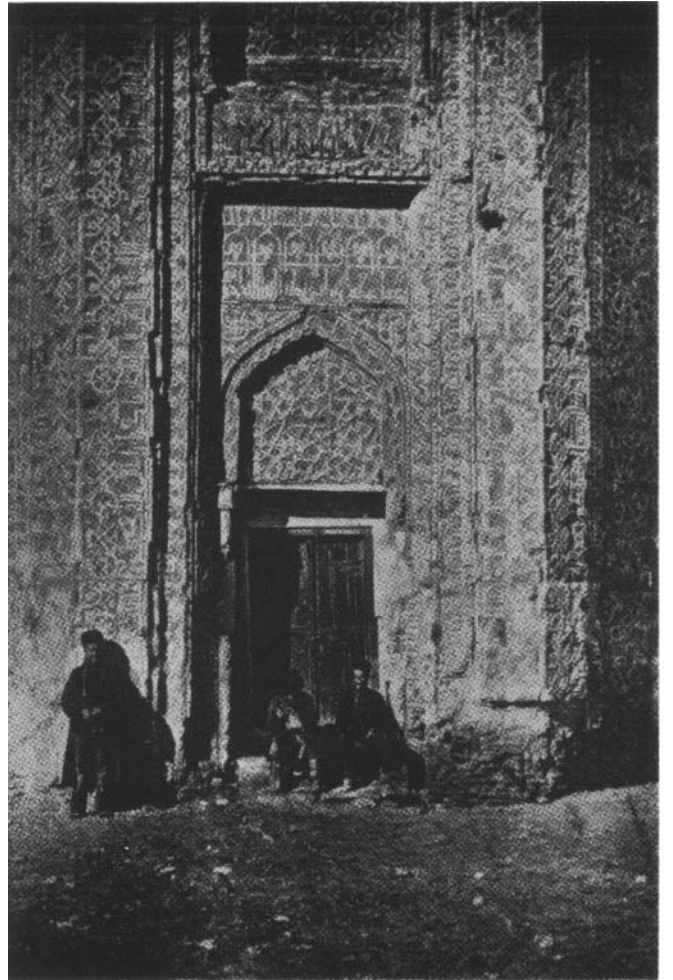
In the system of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*] the *bāb* comes after the *ism* and is identified with Salmān [*q.v.*]. The *bāb* is personified in each cycle. (Lists of Nuṣayrī *bābs* are given in R. Strothmann, *Morgenländische Geheimsekten in Abendländischer Forschung*, Berlin 1953 (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952 Nr. 5) 34-5; L. Massignon, *Nuṣairiya*, in *EI*¹; for a similar Ismāʿīlī list see Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-Kashf*, ed. R. Strothmann, 1952, 14).

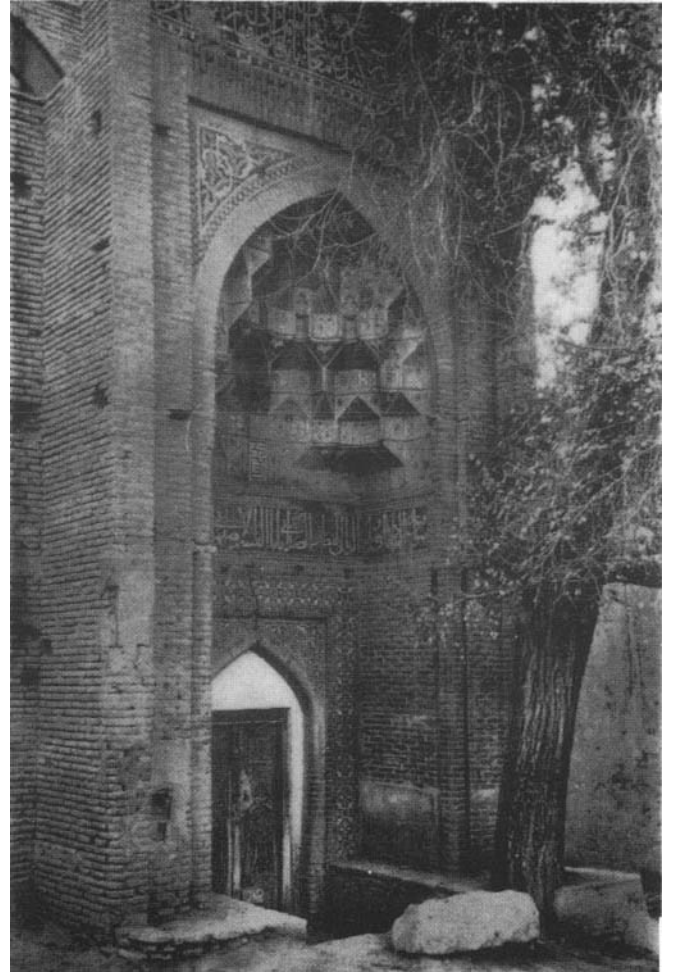
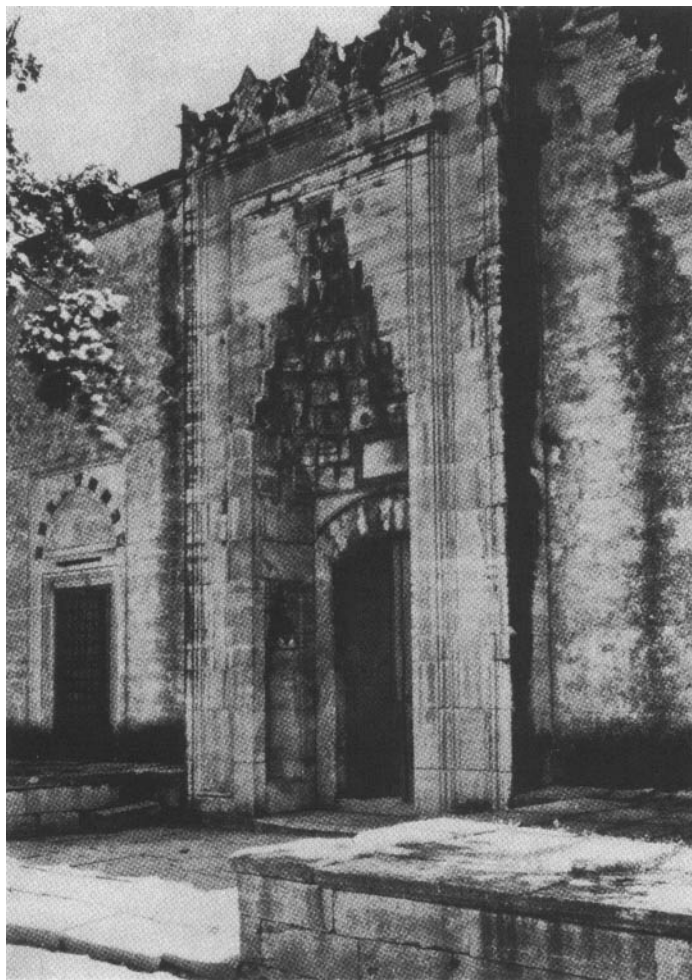
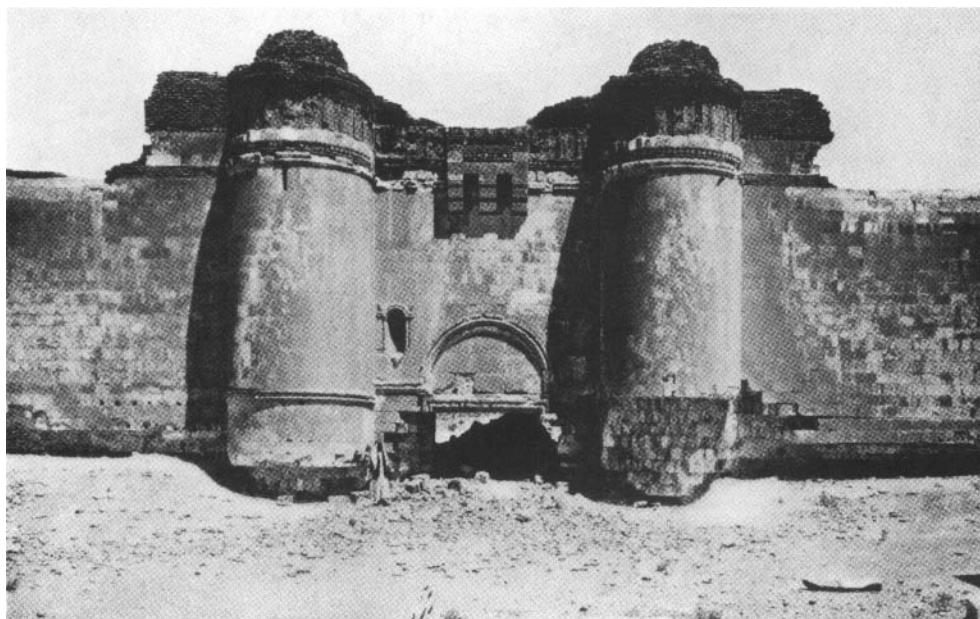
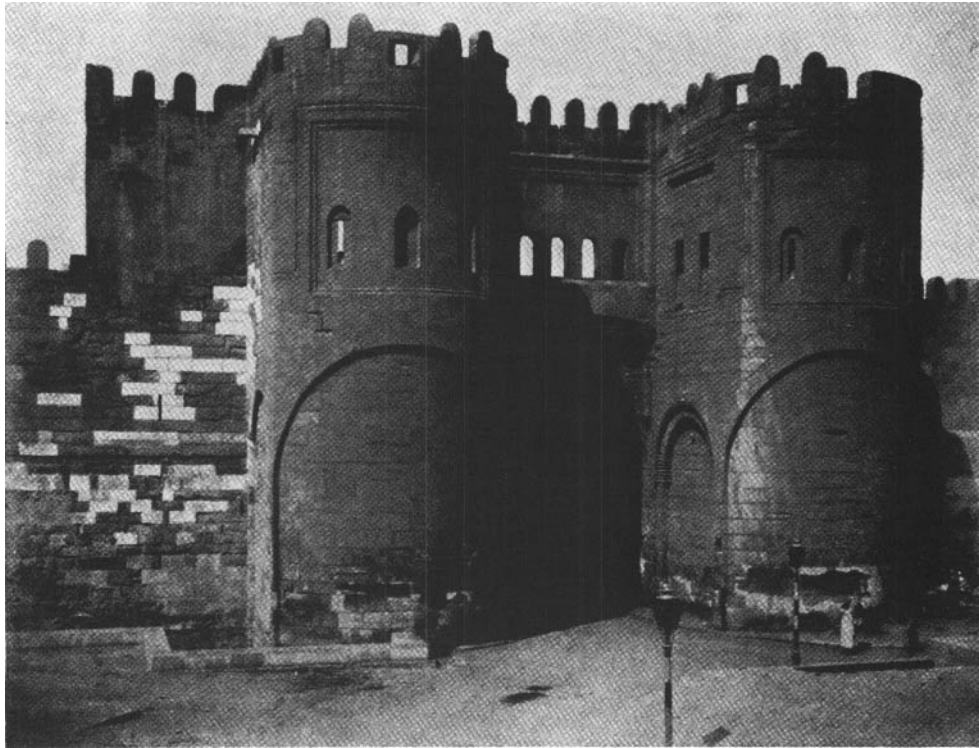
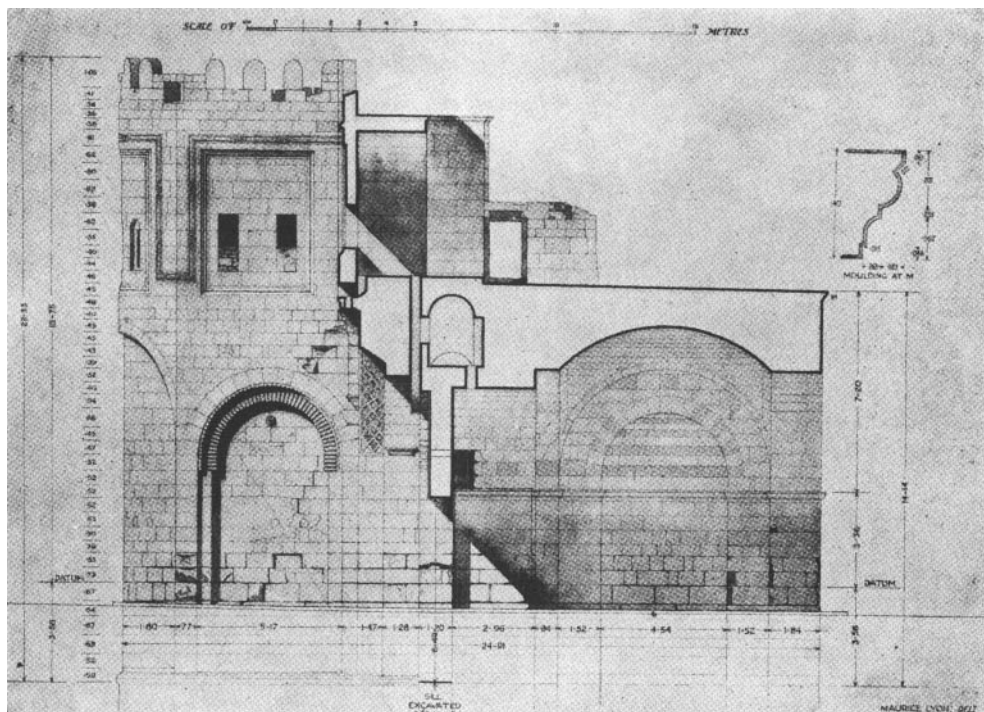
Bibliography: in the text. (B. LEWIS)

a. MAHDIYYA: Great Mosque, main entrance. 308/920-21.

b. CAIRO: Mosque of Baybars, north-western entrance. 665/1267.

a. ALEPPO: Madrasa of Shādbakht, entrance. 589/1193.

b. ALEPPO: Ribāt Nāṣirī, entrance. 635/1237-8.

a. CAIRO: Madrasa-Mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. 698/1299.

b. NAKHČIVĀN: Mausoleum of Mu'mina Khātūn. 582/1186. (Photo: Sarre)

a. SALMĀS: Tower-tomb of the daughter of Arghūn Āg͟hā. VIth/XIIth century (?). (Photo: Pope)

b. BISṬĀM: Shrine of S͟hayk͟h Bāyazīd. 713/1313. (Photo: Pope)

a. ISTANBUL: Mosque of Sultan Selīm, entrance. 929/1522.

b. ḲAṢR AL-ḤAYR AL-SHARḲĪ: entre of Lesser Enclosure. 110/729.

a. CAIRO: Bāb al-Futūḥ. 480/1087.

b. Section of the same. (Drawn by Maurice Lyon, M.C.).

a. Ukhayḍir: eastern gateway. About A.D. 776.

b. Cairo: The Bāb al-Djadīd at the Burdj al-Ẓafar. After 572/1176.

a. ALEPPO: The Citadel. 606-8, etc./1209-11, etc.

b. ALEPPO: The Citadel: bridge across dry moat.

BĀB, an appellation [see the preceding art.] made specially famous by Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad of Shīrāz, the founder of the new religion of the Bābīs [*q.v.*] and, according to the Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*] the precursor of the new prophet Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*]. He is also called by his disciples *Nuḳṭa-i ūlā* ('the first point') or *Ḥaḍrat-i aʿlā* ('the supreme presence').

Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad was born at Shīrāz, of a merchant family, on 1 Muḥarram 1235/20 October 1819 (but according to other sources, exactly a year later, 9 October 1820); becoming an orphan at an early age, he was placed under the tutelage of his maternal uncle Āghā Sayyid ʿAlī. At the age of about 19 or 20 he was sent to Būshahr, on the Persian Gulf, to trade there; here, at the same time, he gave himself up to earnest religious meditations, as he had done before since his childhood. When on a pilgrimage to Karbalāʾ, he made the acquaintance of Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], the head of the religious movement of the Shaykhīs, who showed a high and unusual regard for him. Sayyid Kāẓim died at the end of 1259/December 1843; before his death he had sent disciples into all parts of Persia in search of the awaited *Mahdī*, the *Ṣāḥib al-zamān*, who, according to his prophecies, would not be long before manifesting himself. One of the disciples of the *sayyid*, Mullā Ḥusayn of Bushrūya, who had arrived at Shīrāz and had been strongly affected by the fascination of the young ʿAlī Muḥammad, was the first to recognise him as the 'gateway' to Truth, the initiator of a new prophetic cycle, since, during the night of 5 Djumādā I 1260/23 May 1844, he had replied in a satisfactory way to all his questions, and had written in his presence, with extreme rapidity and all the time intoning what he was writing in a very melodious voice, a long commentary on the *sūra* of Yūsuf; this commentary is known to the Bābīs by the name of *Ḳayyūm al-Asmāʾ*, and considered as the first 'revealed' work of the Bāb. The rapidity with which he wrote and the indescribable charm of his voice seem to have been the characteristics which have most impressed Muslim as well as Bābī writers. In the summer of 1844, the Bāb, who had been making drastic attacks on corrupt Shīʿī *mullās* and *mudjtahids* with their own weapons, quickly collected a number of disciples, among whom were 18 called by him the *Ḥurūfāt al-Ḥayy* ('The Letters of the Living'). Mullā Ḥusayn is also known among the Bābīs by the title of *awwal man āmana* ('the first believer'), and by that of *Bāb al-Bāb*, which the Bāb himself later gave him. In the autumn, after the 'Letters of the Living' had been despatched to proclaim his mission in the various provinces of Persia, the Bāb set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The journey left a bad impression on him. This is reflected in several passages in the *Bayān*, where he speaks of the dirt and promiscuity of the boats and of the low moral character of the quarrelsome and violent pilgrims. Either during a stay in the port of Muscat, or in the heart of the holy city of Mecca, the Bāb, according to the sources, must have declared more openly his mission as *mahdī*, but to no purpose. In the spring of 1261/1845 the Bāb returned to Shīrāz, where his preachings and public declarations (for during the journey he had written another book, *Ṣaḥīfa-i bayn al-Ḥaramayn* ('book [written] between the two Holy Places') in which he lays down the purport of his mission) caused some trouble; the Bāb's missionaries who, on his order, had dared to add to the *adhān* [*q.v.*] the phrase 'and I confess that ʿAlī before Nabīl (the Bāb) is the mirror of the breath of God', were arrested, brought before the Governor of Shīrāz, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Ādjūdān-bāshī, severely punished, and expelled from the city. A representative of the reigning sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh), Sayyid Yaḥyā-i Dārābī, sent to conduct an enquiry, was won over by the charm of the Bāb, and became converted to the new doctrine. Whilst all this was going on, Mīrzā Nūrī (the future Bahāʾ Allāh) and his brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī (the future *Ṣubḥ-i Azal*) at Tehran persisted in the new faith, after a meeting with Mullā Ḥusayn. At Shīrāz an epidemic of cholera broke out, and everyone from the Governor down prayed for deliverance. The Bāb remained at Iṣfahān, where he was protected by the governor, the Georgian Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamad al-Dawla. On the death of the latter the Bāb was called to Tehran by order of the minister Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āghāsī, but shortly before arriving in the city he was arrested and sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Māhkū in the trackless mountains of Ādharbāydjān (summer of 1263/1847). In 1264/April 1848, following more serious disorders which had broken out in different parts of Iran on account of Bābī propaganda [see BĀBĪS], the Bāb, whose powerful religious influence had converted the governor of the fortress of Māhkū, ʿAlī Khān, was transferred to a more rigorous prison, the remote castle of Čihrīḳ. Shortly afterwards, in July, he was removed to Tabrīz to be questioned by a committee of *mudjtahids*; it was decided to condemn him forthwith. The powerful minister Mīrzā Taḳī Khān, who had succeeded Ḥadjdjī Mīrzā Āghāsī after the latter's dismissal by the new sovereign Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848), considered that the death of its founder would break up this dangerous movement which was continuing to attract new adherents. In the spring of 1266/1850 the news of the execution of the seven martyrs of Tehran [see BĀBĪS], among whom was his uncle and well-beloved tutor, reached the Bāb in the fortress of Čihrīḳ where he had been re-imprisoned, and greatly distressed him. He prophesied that his end was near. He was taken at the end of the month of Shaʿbān 1266/July 1850 to Tabrīz, and was condemned to be shot at the same time as two of his disciples, Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī of Yazd and Āghā Sayyid Ḥusayn. The second, during the doleful procession of the three condemned men through the streets of Tabrīz, under insults and blows, made pretence of abjuring the Bābī faith, and was released; he had previously been charged by the Bāb to carry out his last wishes and to deposit some of his personal belongings and writings in a safe place. (He was, however, killed at Tehran shortly after having carried out this mission). The Bāb was secured with the same ropes as his disciples to a pillar in the courtyard of the barracks at Tabrīz, and the Christian regiment of the Bahādurān, commanded by Sām Khān, fired. The first shot, according to the descriptions even in Muslim sources and others hostile to the reformer, merely severed the ropes, leaving the Bāb completely free. Sām Khān, terrified, refused to re-open fire, and consequently another firing-squad was detailed. On 9 July 1850, about midday, the Bāb paid for preaching his doctrine with his life. The mangled body was thrown into a ditch in the town and after many vicissitudes (disinterred by the Bābīs, hidden for several years at Tehran), it was removed on the order of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] to ʿAkkā, where it now rests in a large mausoleum on the slopes of mount Carmel.

Works.—The works of the Bāb, all manuscript—some lost, others of doubtful authenticity (partially due to unexpected feuds after his death between Bahāʾīs and Azalīs, see BĀBĪS)—are very numerous. In more or less chronological order, and mentioning only the best known, they are: 1. The *Ḳayyūm al-Asmā*ʾ or commentary on the *sūra* of Yūsuf, referred to above, of more than 9,300 verses divided into 111 chapters (one per verse of the famous *sūra*), which opens with the well-known apostrophe to the kings of the earth: 'O kings! O sons of kings! do not take unto yourselves that which belongs to God!'; this work is in Arabic, but has been translated into Persian in full by the famous Bābī heroine Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn Ṭāhira; 2. Epistles (*alwāḥ*) to various persons, such as Muḥammad Shāh, Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Nadjīb Pasha, *wālī* of Baghdād. 3. the *Ṣahīfa-i bayn al-Ḥaramayn*, written on his pilgrimage between Mecca and Medina (1844-5). 4. The Epistle to the Sharīf of Mecca. 5. The *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* (Book of the Spirit) of 700 *sūras*. 6. The *Khaṣāʾil-i Sabʿa* (the seven Virtues), wherein the modification of the *adhān* is set forth. 7. *Risāla-i Furūʿ-i ʿAdliyya* (treatise on the divisions of justice). 8. Commentaries on the *sūras al-Kawthar* (cviii) and *Wa 'l-ʿaṣr* (ciii), and other small treatises and epistles all of which date from the beginning of his imprisonment at Māhkū. 9. Nine commentaries (*tafsīr*) on the entire Ḳurʾān, now lost, written, according to the testimony of his copyist Shaykh Ḥasan-i Zunūzī, in the castle of Māhkū. 10. Various epistles to leading Shīʿī theologians and to Muḥammad Shāh, written in the same fortress. 11. The Arabic (shorter) *Bayān* and the Persian *Bayān*, the sacred books *par excellence* of the new relevation; the former divided into 11 *wāḥids* (units) of 17 chapters (*bābs*) each, the latter into 9 *wāḥids* of 19 *bābs* each except the last *wāḥid*, which has only 10 *bābs*. 12. The *Dalāʾil-i Sabʿa* (the seven Proofs), the most important of the polemical works of the Bāb. 13. The *Lawḥ-i Hurūfāt* (Table of the Letters), a semi-cabalistic writing addressed to the Believer (*dayyān*) from the castle of Čihrīḳ, etc. Although the Bābīs are also called *ahl-i Bayān* (the people of the *Bayān*), one must understand by *Bayān* in this sense, according to the explicit declaration of the Bāb himself (Persian *Bayān*, 3rd *wāḥid*, chapter 17), everything which issued from his pen.

The Doctrine of the Bāb. The contents of the *Bayān* can perhaps be reduced to four fundamental points: (a) the abrogation of sundry laws and pronouncements of the Ḳurʾānic *sharīʿa* regarding prayer, fasting, marriage, divorce, and inheritance, but nevertheless upholding the truth of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad, whose prophetic cycle ends with the year 1260/1844; (b) the spiritualistic interpretation of the eschatological terms which appear in the Ḳurʾān and other sacred works, such as 'Paradise', 'Hell', 'Death', 'Resurrection', 'Return', 'Judgment', 'Bridge' (*Ṣirāṭ*), 'Hour', etc., all of which allude not only to the end of the physical world but also to that of the prophetic cycle. From certain passages it seems that it must be understood that the true world being that of the spirit, of which the material world is nothing but an exteriorisation, God effectively destroys the world at the end of each prophetic cycle in order to re-create it by the Word of the subsequent prophet; the creative worth of the Word is given great importance in the *Bayān*; (c) the establishment of new institutions: a new *ḳibla* (towards the abode of the Bāb), a new, and rather complicated, devolution of inheritance, etc.; (d) a continuous and powerful eschatological tension towards *man yuẓhiruhu allāh* ('the One whom God will manifest'), the future prophet. It could thus be upheld that the expectation of the 'Promised One' is the essence of the *Bayān*; indeed, the most banal precepts are set forth in an eschatological light. For example, having stated that the Bābī should possess no more than 19 books, and all these on the *Bayān* and the knowledge of the *Bayān*, it adds: 'All these commands are for this reason, that nothing be put in the presence of Him Whom God Shall Manifest, unless it be the *Bayān* itself' (Arabic *Bayān*, trans. Nicolas, 223).

With regard to the precepts concerning travelling, it is laid down that journeys shall not take place at the time when the 'Promised One' towards whom alone all must travel, will be made manifest (*ibid.*, 166). The care for property, particularly recommended by the Bāb, is justified eschatologically, in order that the eyes of 'Promised One' shall not look upon anything unclean (159). As well as the familiar passage (166) 'All of you get up from your seats when you hear the mention of the name of Him W.om God Shall Manifest .... And in the ninth year you shall attain to perfect Good', which the Bahāʾīs interpret as predicting the prophetic vision of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] in the Tehran prison in the year 9, *i.e.*, 1269/1852-3, various other passages of the *Bayān* effectively suggest that the Bāb believed the Future Manifestation possible at a nearer date. Particularly interesting is the fine chapter XI of the IVth *wāḥid* of the Arabic *Bayān* (138-9): 'Be not the instruments of your misfortunes, for not to be grieved is one of the greatest commands of the *Bayān*. The fruit of this command shall be that you shall not grieve Him Whom God Shall Manifest'.

The metaphysics of the Bāb is similar in certain ways to that of the Ismāʿīlīs. It sets out, in essence, as opposed to the unitary conception of existence as in Pantheism and to the dual conception (divine/human) of orthodox Islām, a division of Being into three parts: the World of the Essence of God, absolutely unattainable and transcendent, the World of Nature and of Man, and the World of the Manifestation, that very pure mirror in which alone God can see himself. The Bāb's doctrine seems to attach very great importance to this invisible world which is concealed behind and between visible things: thus, all the eschatological terms, such as beatific vision, death, eternity, paradise, etc., being solely in accordance with the vision of the prophet, there remains only very little room in which to interest oneself in the life of the other world, which has led certain authors, perhaps wrongly (see E. G. Browne in the Preface to M. H. Phelps, *Abbas Effendi*, London 1912), to believe that the Bāb denies the immortality of the individual soul, at least in the traditional sense of the word. In the same way, his conception of the return of Muḥammad, of the *imāms*, etc., in its actual presentation has led some writers wrongly to believe that he subscribes to the doctiine of reincarnation. On the contrary, the Bāb in his original conception of the novelty of the different 'worlds' of the successive prophetic cycles, besides denying the Islamic and Christian dogmas of the resurrection of the body, denies as well the reincarnation of the soul in another body; when he writes (Arabic *Bayān*, *wāḥid* I, chapter 2 ff.) 'Those (our lieutenants) are, firstly Muḥammad, the prophet of God, then those who are the witnesses (the *imāms*) of God for his creatures ...', he means to say that they 'have been created in another

world', *i.e.*, that God has re-created them *ex novo* in the world of the *Bayān after* having created them in the world of the Ḳur'ān. It is easy to deduce from such a 'bookish' conception of the worlds of nature and of the spirit that letters, the written word, and the corresponding numerical values have enormous significance for the Bāb. The love of calligraphy (according to tradition, his own writing was superb) is for him a feature of religion, and more than once, in the *Bayān*, he commands that copies of the Holy Book should be conserved in the most elegant writing possible. The number 19, for instance, has great importance in Bābī numerology; having abolished the 'natural' calendar, the Bāb substitutes for it a purely spiritual and mental calendar of 19 months each of 19 days, each one bearing the name of an an attribute of God. The last month (that of *ʿAlā'*) is that of fasting, effective from dawn to sunset. This calendar, with some minor modifications, has been adopted by the Bahā'īs also. The Bāb took pleasure also in writing the most complicated *hayākil* (pl. of *haykal*, 'temple' or 'shape'), a kind of talisman in an obscure *shikasta* script, which he considered to be the most acceptable to God.

It would be difficult to put into order the very varied moral and juridical precepts contained in the *Bayān*. Beside such excellent verses as 'Each day recalls my Name. And if each day my thought penetrates into your heart, then are you among those who are always in God's thoughts' (Arabic *Bayān*, *wāḥid* V, chapter 9), one finds prescriptions which seem not a little strange, such as the injunction, already quoted, not to possess more than 19 books, or discursions on the correct way to eat eggs. The extreme leniency of the penalties, which are reduced to fines and to the prohibition of sexual relations with one's own wife, is characteristic. The greatest penalty is incurred by the homicide: the culprit is condemned to pay 11,000 *mithḳāl*s of gold to the heirs of the victim, and to abstain from all sexual activity for 19 years. Some penalties are likewise inflicted not only on those who strike their fellow-creatures, but also on those who lift their voices against them. Certain passages seem, however, to deal with relations between believers and unbelievers (it is only in the Bahā'ī doctrine that Holy War and the confiscation of the goods of unbelievers have been definitely abrogated). There exist, moreover, regulations concerning taxes on benefits, on capital, etc. Divorce is allowed, but discouraged. Widowers and widows are obliged to remarry, the first after 90 days, the latter after 95. Ritual purity and seclusion of women are abolished. Public worship is abolished, except for the rites of the dead. The Bāb's birthplace, the places of his imprisonment, etc., are recommended as places of pilgrimage. Every 19th day one should invite 19 persons, giving them 'if only a glass of water'. All alcoholic drinks are forbidden, and it is as strictly forbidden to beg as it is to give individual alms to beggars.

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(A. BAUSANI)

BĀB AL-ABWĀB, 'Gate of the Gates', in the older texts AL-BĀB WA'L-ABWĀB, 'the Gate and the Gates', and often simply AL-BĀB, the Arabic designation of a pass and fortress at the E. end of the Caucasus, in Persian Darband, later under Turkish influence 'Iron Gate', mod. Derbent. The 'Gates' are the mouths of the E. Caucasus valleys (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 123-4; cf. Yāḳūt, i, 439), al-Bāb itself ('the Gate') in the main pass being the most important. It was originally fortified against invaders from the N. at some date not determined, traditionally by Anūshirwān (6th century A.D.), who is said to have built a wall seven *farsakhs* in length from the mountains to the sea (Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, 341). The present remains of fortification extend from Derbent to the Ḳara Syrt.

When the first Muslims reached Darband in 22/643, a Persian garrison was in possession, but we have no description of what the place looked like. During the fighting of the next decade between the Arabs and the Khazars, at this time the principal power N. of the Caucasus, Bāb al-Abwāb is frequently mentioned, and so also in the following century. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in a spectacular retreat from Khazaria in 113/731 reached the neighbourhood of al-Bāb with his troops at their last gasp. In 119/737 Marwān b. Muḥammad (later Caliph as Marwān II) assaulted the Khazars simultaneously from Bāb al-Abwāb and Darial (Bāb al-Lān, [*q.v.*]), and for a short time was master of the country to the Volga. The Khazars gradually ceased to be dangerous. Their last great invasion of the lands of Islam via Bāb al-Abwāb took place in 183/799.

According to the description of Bāb al-Abwāb given by al-Iṣṭakhrī (circa 340/951) there was a harbour for ships from the Caspian inside the town. The oblique harbour-entrance between the two sea-walls was narrow and further defended by a chain or boom. These arrangements, like the wall mentioned above, and the city-wall, no doubt mostly went back to Sāsānid times, but owed improvements to the Arabs, *e.g.*, under the celebrated vizier ʿAlī b. al-Furāt (after 296/908) (Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz, 217-218). Al-Iṣṭakhrī adds that Bāb al-Abwāb was a principal port of the Caspian in his time, and larger than Ardabīl, the capital of Ādharbāydjān. It exported linen garments, of which it had practically a monopoly in these parts, also saffron, and slaves from the infidel lands lying to the N. Writing about the same time, al-Masʿūdī mentions as imported to Bāb al-Abwāb the black fox-skins of Burṭās (on the Volga) which were the best in the world (*Tanbīh*, 63). For al-Masʿūdī Bāb al-Abwāb, in spite of earlier attempts to plant Arab colonies there (cf. Balʿamī, ed. Dorn, 538) and in spite of its name, was evidently no Arab town.

Recent investigations have brought to light the existence of a dynasty in Bāb al-Abwāb, the Hāshimids, having connexions with the neighbouring Shirwān Shāhs, as early as the 4th/10th

century (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 411). The principal source of information about them is an anonymous 11th century *Taʾrīkh al-Bāb*, which is quoted by Aḥmad b. Luṭf Allāh Munadjdjim (Müneccim) Bāshī (17th century) in his *Djāmiʿ al-Duwal*. This source also adds considerably to our knowledge of the movements of the Rūs, *e.g.*, it mentions that in 423/1032 the *ghāzīs* of al-Bāb caught and destroyed a party of Russian raiders in a defile of the Caucasus (Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 77).

The period of Turkish predominance at al-Bāb, in common with the neighbouring provinces, begins in the time of the Saldjūḳs (cf. A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, i, 190, 411). Under the Mongols al-Bāb figured in the march of Subutāi northwards through the Caucasus (1222). Tīmūr and Djaba (Jebe) campaigned more than once in the neighbourhood. The general effect of the Mongol period was to confirm the Turkification of the N.-W. provinces of what had formerly been the Caliphate.

The most detailed account of Bāb al-Abwāb comes from al-Ḳazwīnī (674/1275), who describes the place as a thriving Muslim town, built of stone, its wall washed by the waters of the Caspian. In length it was about 2/3 of a *farsakh* and in breadth a bow-shot. There were towers on the city-wall, at each of which was a mosque, to serve the neighbourhood and those occupied with the religious sciences. Guards were constantly maintained upon the wall, and a beacon-fire on an adjoining peak was kept in readiness against the danger of invasion from the N. Al-Ḳazwīnī mentions what he calls talismans set up to keep back the Turks, probably remains of sculpture from the pre-Muslim period. He speaks of a cistern outside the city with steps descending to the water. Outside the city also was a mosque, said to contain the sword of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Already when al-Ḳazwīnī wrote al-Bāb had ceased to be the frontier of an empire. Its history henceforward resembles that of other semi-independent Caucasian principalities, sometimes enjoying independence, at other times annexed to a more powerful neighbour. Having previously belonged to Persia, it became Russian in 1806. Since last century its population has shown a slight increase, but evidently it is of much less relative importance than formerly.

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(D. M. Dunlop)

BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ (modern orthography *Babı âli*), less frequently *Bāb-i āṣafī*, the (Ottoman) Sublime Porte, former ministerial department of the Grand Vizier, originally called *Pasha* (or *Vezīr*) *Ḳapusu*.

The custom of calling the palace, court or government of a ruler "porte" or "doorstep" was very prevalent in ancient times (Iran of the Sāsānids, Egypt of the Pharaohs, Israel, Arabs, Japan). The term returned to Iṣfahān in the more Turkish form of *ʿĀlī Ḳapu* (Chardin).

The "Porte", which at the same time was the personal dwelling of the Grand Vizier and at the outset tended to be rather mobile, gradually lost the character of a semi-private residence and became finally established, under what was henceforth to be its official name, from 1718, when the Grand Vizier Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha returned with his father-in law, Sulṭān Aḥmad III, from Adrianople to Istanbul, after the peace of Passarovitz (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 755). Prior to this date the term *Bāb-i ʿālī* denoted rather the palace of the Sultan or the Imperial *dīwān*. The same confusion arises in Byzantine and European usage with the terms Porta, Porte, Pforte, πύλη, θύραι, which moreover corresponded to the Turkish Kapu (Löwenklau alias Leunclavius and Dukas, in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, etc.).

Up till the end of the Empire, the Sublime Porte also housed the Ministry of the Interior (*Dākhiliyye Neẓāreti*), the former offices of the *Ketkhüdā* (*Kahya, Kehaya, Kihaya*) Bey, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridjiyye Neẓāreti*), the former department of the *Reis ül-küttāb* (*Reis-kitap*), literally "Chief of the Secretaries", the Council of State (*Shūrāyi Dewlet*), without counting two more modern commissions which were suppressed by the Young Turks.

Five days after the abolition of the Sultanate (1 November 1922), the premises, prior to becoming the seat of the *wilāyet* of Istanbul, served as the offices of the Delegation of the Government of Ankara (Refet Pasha, soon replaced by Rauf Bey and Adnan Bey Adivar, all three of whom later belonged to the opposition).

The road formerly called *Bāb-i ʿālī djāddesi*, which climbs northwards from the station of Sirkedji and circles round the enclosure (which also contains a mosque), has been renamed *Ankara djāddesi* (*caddesi*). It is lined with bookshops and runs into the Souk Česhme road, passing between this enclosure and that of the Top Kapî Saray. It is in this latter road that the main entrance is to be found, opposite the gate of the Saray, which is called the Souk Česhme gate; at a short distance from this is to be found a huge belvedere, called *Alay köshkü*, incorporated in the same wall, which was built by Maḥmūd II in 1235/1819-20, so that he could be present at official "processions".

Bibliography: Ad. Joanne and Em. Isambert, *Itinéraire*, Paris 1861, 365; A. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, Paris 1855, chap. VI; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, in *TOEM*, 1911, 446-50; Mehmet Zeki Pakalîn, *Osm. tarih deyimleri* . . ., 1946-1956; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* by Reşâd Ekrem Koçu; *IA* (article by Tayyib Gökbilgin); *Inönü Ansiklopedisi*.

(J. Deny)

BĀB-I HUMĀYŪN, the "Imperial Gate", the principal entrance in the outer wall of the Sultan's New Serail or *Ṭop-ḳapu Sarāyî* [*q.v.*] at Istanbul. Situated behind the Aya Sofya mosque, the massive rectangular building gives access to the first court of the Serail through a high, double-arched portal. On either side of the passage between the outer and the inner door are the rooms of the *Ḳapudjîs* who guarded the gate. In or near the deep niches in the façade the heads of political delinquents used to be exposed. Over the doorway is a beautiful Ḳurʾān inscription and, below it, an Arabic inscription referring to the erection of the Serail wall by Sulṭān Meḥemmed II in Ramaḍān 883/Nov.-Dec. 1478. The *tughras* of Maḥmūd II and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz on the gate commemorate some of its later restorations. Originally the gateway was surmounted by an upper storey (destroyed in the last century). At one time

the effects of those who died without known heirs were deposited here; at others it served as archives of the Treasury or for other purposes.

Many European writers, especially in the 19th century, ignoring Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, ii, 95) and D'Ohsson (*Tableau*, vii, 158), asserted that *Bāb-i Humāyūn* meant "Sublime Porte" (the Western name for the Ottoman Government), while in fact the latter denoted the Grand Vizier's residence [see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ]. There is even no reason to assume that the term "Porte", which until the 18th century signified the Sultan's Court, originated from this gate, as some travellers (*e.g.*, Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, i, 496) believed (cf. DERGĀH, ḲAPU).

Bibliography: Hezārfenn, *Telkhīṣ ul-beyān*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., A. F. turc, no. 40, 15 v.; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, in *TOEM*, i, 272-6; B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931, 42-3, 141-2 (with pictures); İstanbul Müzeleri, *Guide to the Museum of Topkapu Saray*, Istanbul 1936, 1-2; T. Öz, *Topkapî Sarayînda .... Mehmet II. ye ait eserler*, Ankara 1953 (photos. of inscriptions); Ekrem Hakkî Ayverdi, *Fâtih Devri Mimarisi*, Istanbul 1953, 303-15 (with plans); I. H. Uzunçarşîlî, *Osmanlî devletinin Saray Teşkilâtî*, Ankara 1945, index. (U. HEYD)

BĀB AL-LĀN (BĀB ALLĀN), 'Gate of the Alans', Persian Dar-i Alān, mod. Darial (Dariel), a pass in the middle Caucasus, E. of Mt. Kazbek and S. of Vladikavkas. It is described as a magnificent gorge through which the Terek rushes between granite cliffs rising to heights of from 4,000 to 5,000 ft., and was apparently known to the ancients as the Caucasian Gates (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, XXXII, i, col. 325). It lay in the territory of the Alans, in the early days of Islam and later a national group of hardy mountaineers, distinct from and usually independent of their neighbours N. and S. of the Caucasus. Their present-day representatives, the Ossetes, live athwart the pass.

Bāb al-Lān was scarcely reached by the first wave of Muslim conquest. It is mentioned in 105/724, when al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī invaded Khazaria by this route. Next year al-Djarrāḥ is said to have received the *djizya* and *kharādj* from the Alans (Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ed. Cairo, iv, 88), but Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 109/727 had to occupy Darial (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 395). It was perhaps at this time that Maslama placed an Arab garrison, mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 44), in the fortress which defended the pass. This fortress was built on a massive rock overlooking a bridge across the ravine and was, says al-Masʿūdī, one of the most famous in the world. Yet in 112/730 the Khazars marched through the pass, defeated al-Djarrāḥ in a pitched battle and captured Ardabīl, before retiring with their booty (Ṭabarī, ii, 1530-1531). In the operation of Marwān b. Muḥammad against Khazaria in 119/737, he himself advanced through the Darial pass to a rendez-vous with Abū Yazīd al-Sulamī advancing from Bāb al-Abwāb. This was the beginning of a highly successful campaign north of the Caucasus, but Marwān did not attempt any permanent occupation. The Arabs made sporadic attempts to hold Darial, *e.g.*, again under Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī circa 141/758 (Balādhurī, 209-210). But no great fortress-city developed here as at Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*]. Al-Masʿūdī states that in his time (4th/10th century) there was still in the pass an Arab garrison, provisioned from Tiflīs, at five days' distance through infidel country (*ibid.*). The Darial pass is mentioned repeatedly in the Mongol period, and later retained its importance.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 43-45; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 446; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BĀB AL-MANDAB, the straits between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. They are divided by the volcanic island of Mayyūn [*q.v.*], called Perim by Westerners, into Large Strait, c. 14 km. wide, and Small Strait, c. 2.5 km. wide, the former being generally used by large vessels. Water runs out of the Red Sea during the south-west monsoon from June to September and into it during the north-east monsoon from November to April, causing currents which make the passage dangerous for sailing craft. The hill of al-Manhalī (270 m.) on the Arabian shore rises east of Small Strait, and just north of this strait is the site of al-Shaykh Saʿīd [*q.v.*], from which, as from Mayyūn, entrance into the Red Sea can be controlled.

Arab tradition holds that Asia and Africa were joined together until Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn split them asunder here and created the Red Sea. Yāḳūt associates the origin of the name al-Mandab ("place of lamentation for the dead") with a crossing of the Abyssinians over the sea to the Yaman, and al-Hamdānī applies it to a not clearly identified portion of the southern Yaman coast, which lay within the territory of Banū Madjīd and Farasān. Amber (called *ḥashīsh al-baḥr*) used to be collected in al-Mandab.

Two Sabaean inscriptions of the early 6th Christian century (Ry 507 and 508) mention *sślt* (or *sslt*) *mdbn* (= *silsilat al-Mandab*) in connexion with the conflict between Yūsuf Asʾar Dhū Nuwās and the Abyssinians; this may have been a chain stretched across the very narrow and shallow mouth of the inlet at al-Shaykh Saʿīd, if al-Mandab lay as far south as that, as its appearance in the name of the straits would suggest. Such a barrier may well have been the source of the implausible tradition of a chain across the straits themselves.

The variant Bāb al-Mandam, probably to be explained by no more than the not unusual substitution of *m* for *b*, is especially current among seafaring Arabs, who often refer to the straits simply as al-Bāb.

Bibliography: In addition to al-Hamdānī and Yāḳūt, G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, Paris 1921-5; ʿĪsā al-Ḳuṭāmī, *Dalīl al-Muḥtār fī ʿIlm al-Biḥār*², Cairo 1950; Ibn al-Mudjāwir in O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, Uppsala 1936; *idem*, ed. Löfgren, Leiden 1951; al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*², ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 12, 91. W. Caskel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, Cologne 1954; G. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953); J. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953); *idem*, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956; U.S. Hydrographic Office, *Sailing Directions for the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden*³, Washington 1943. (G. RENTZ)

BĀB-I MASHĪKHAT, (also SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM KAPÎSÎ, BĀB-I FETWĀ and FETWĀKHĀNE), a name which became common in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century for the office or department of the Shaykh al-Islām [*q.v.*], the Chief Muftī of Istanbul. Until 1241/1826 the Chief Muftīs had functioned and issued their rulings from their own residences or, if these were too distant, from rented quarters. In that year, after the destruction of the Janissaries, Sulṭān Maḥmūd II gave the former

residence of the Agha of the Janissaries, near the Süleymāniyye Mosque, to the Chief Muftī, who thus acquired a permanent establishment. This step, taken simultaneously with the creation of an Inspectorate of *waḳf* to centralise the supervision and control of *waḳf* revenues, prepared the way for the bureaucratisation of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Deprived of both their financial and their administrative autonomy, the *ʿulamāʾ* were gravely weakened as against the sovereign power, and were unable to resist effectively successive diminutions of their competence, authority, and status. In the course of the 19th century, they lost control of education and justice to the new Councils and Ministries created for these matters, and even the drafting of *fetwās* was entrusted to a committee of legal specialists in the Chief Muftī's office. The Chief Muftī himself became a government office-holder, a minister or head of department and a member of the cabinet. Eventually a point was reached when his term of office ended automatically with the fall of the cabinet. Unlike the other ministers, he was appointed by the Sultan and not by the Grand Vizier, with whom he was theoretically equal (cf. Art. 27 of the 1876 constitution). The office however declined steadily in influence and importance, especially after the Revolution of 1908. Finally, on 3rd March 1924, the day the Caliphate was ended, the office of Shaykh al-Islām, which had lapsed with the Sultanate in 1922, was replaced by a department of religious affairs attached to the office of the Prime Minister in Ankara. The head of this department (*Diyanet Işleri Reʾisi*) is the chief religious functionary of the Turkish Republic, with responsibility for mosques and mosque personnel, but not for *waḳf*, law, or education.

Bibliography: *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334; Meḥmed Esʿad, *Uss-i Ẓafer*, Istanbul 1243, 190-2 (cf. Caussin de Perceval, *Précis historique de la Destruction du Corps des Janissaires*, Paris 1833, 293); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh Muṣāḥabalarī*, Istanbul 1339, 299-313; G. Jäschke, *Der Islam in der neuen Türkei*, in *WI*, n.s. i, 1951, 88 ff. (B. Lewis)

BĀB-I SERʿASKERI or Serʿasker kapīsī, the name of the War Department in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. After the destruction of the Janissaries in 1241/1826, the Agha of the Janissaries was replaced by a new commanding officer, the Serʿasker [*q.v.*]. The title was an old one, given to army commanders in former times. As applied by Maḥmūd II, it came to connote an officer who combined the functions of commander-in-chief and minister of war, with special responsibility for the new style army. In addition, he inherited from the Agha of the Janissaries the responsibility for public security, police, fire-fighting, etc. in the capital. In a period of growing centralisation and enforced change, the police function came to be of increasing importance and the maintenance and extension of the police system one of the chief duties of the Serʿasker. In 1262/1845 the police were taken from the jurisdiction of the Serʿasker and placed under a separate department called Zabṭiyye (see ḌABTIYYA) Mushīriyyeti.

Maḥmūd II at first lodged the Serʿaskerate in the old Saray, from which a few remaining parts of the Imperial Household were transferred to the new Saray. Later, in 1282/1865, new buildings were provided for the Serʿasker and his staff. For a short time in 1297/1879-90, and then permanently in 1324/1908, the old name of Serʿaskerate was replaced by Ministry of War (*Ḥarbiyye*). These buildings remained the seat of the Ministry until the time of the transfer of the capital to Ankara, when they were handed over to the University of Istanbul.

Bibliography: Meḥmed Esʿad, *Uss-i Ẓafer*, Istanbul 1243, 192 ff. (cf. Caussin de Perceval *Précis historique de la Destruction du Corps des Janissaires*, Paris 1833, 294-5); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh-i Dewlet-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309, ii, 475 ff.; Mehmet Zeki Pakalīn, *Osmanlī Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946 ff., s.v. Serasker. (B. Lewis)

BABA, (Turkish and also Persian) "father"; in East Turkish it also denotes "grandfather" (Vambéry, *Čagat. Sprachstudien*, 240; Süleymān Efendi, *Lughāt-i djaghatay*, 66). Baba, put after the name, is used in various ways as an honorific for older men, and in Turkey it is used as a form of address even today. As part of a name, it is best known from the story of "Ali Baba and the 40 thieves" in *The Thousand and One Nights*. As a cognomen, it was used particularly in Dervish circles (e.g. Geyikli Baba, who is said to have accompanied Orkhān Beg in the siege of Brusa), and there particularly with the Bektashī. Akhī Bābā [*q.v.*], in corrupt form also Ahū Baba and similar forms) was the title of Akhī Ewrān's [*q.v.*] successor in his Tekke in Kīrşehir (Anatolia) and master of the leather guilds (tanners, saddlers, and shoemakers), in which he held the privilege of inducting apprentices into the guild. There was a movement of dervishes who called themselves Bābāʾīs [*q.v.*] under the Rūm Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Kaykhusraw II. The epithet Baba also occurs with non-religious civil servants in the ancient Ottoman Empire, e.g. Agha Babasī (Barbier de Meynard, *Supplément*, i, 257), the leader of the 40 guardians (*kapīdjī*) of the imperial harem, who were white eunuchs. In Iran the epithet Baba precedes the name, again frequently in the case of dervishes (e.g. the dialect poet Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān [see BĀBĀ-ṬĀHIR]). Occasionally, Bābā appears in its own right, e.g. a member of the Khān family Girāy on the Crimea, Bābā Girāy, son of Muḥammad Girāy, who, after the death of his father, succeeded him as Kalgha, but was murdered six months later (929/1522); as also the Özbek prince Bābā Beg [*q.v.*].

As part of a place name, Bābā indicates that the place had dervish associations. Thus, for example, Bābā Daghī [see BABADAGHĪ], in the Dobrudja, where the tomb of the famous saint Ṣarī Ṣaltīk Baba is; there is another Bābā Daghī near Denizli in Anatolia, and foothills called Bābā Burnu (formerly Assos) in western Anatolia, a part of mount Ida in Troas, at the foot of which lies the harbour Baba Limanī. In eastern Thrace there is a small town called Babaeski [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Barbier de Maynard, *Supplément aux dictionnaires turcs*, s.v.; ʿAli Djewād, *Djoghrāfiyā lughatī*, 143; *Sālnāme* of Edirne (1325), 906, 980; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 20; *IA*, ii, 165 f. (by M. Fuad Köprülü). (F. Taeschner)

BĀBĀ AFḌAL al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Kāshānī (or Kāshī), generally called Bābā Afḍal, a Persian thinker and the author of poems in quatrains, born in Maraḳ near Kāshān, where he is also buried. His dates are still rather uncertain. According to Saʿīd Nafīsī he was born around 582/1186-7, or 592/1195-6, and died after 654/1256 or 664/1265-6; the date given as the date of his death by Brockelmann, II, 280, *viz.* Radjab 666/March-April 1268, is near to this. According to M. Mīnovī, Bābā Afḍal died considerably earlier, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century; the date of death given by

E. G. Browne and others, 707/1307-8, is certainly incorrect. There is scant information on his life, and that of little importance. Thus, for example, the relationship between Bābā Afḍal and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], which has been accepted by some, proves on closer examination to have been impossible. Admittedly Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī had a teacher named Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāsib, who had been a pupil of Bābā Afḍal. Of the two quatrains in praise of "Afḍal" ascribed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, one is not definitely his whilst the other is in self-praise. The assertion that Naṣīr al-Dīn had protected Kāshān from Hūlāgū to please Bābā Afḍal is a fiction. It is hardly possible that there was ever a meeting between Bābā Afḍal and Saʿdī. Bābā Afḍal's thought was influenced by the Bāṭiniyya and Avicenna, whom he resembles also in his attempts to substitute Persian technical terms for Arabic ones. His writings comprise 16 treatises, a posthumous book of questions and answers, some 40 short essays, 6 letters, a collection of quatrains, some *ghazal*s and *ḳiṭʿa*s. These figures, especially where the short essays and letters are concerned, must not be regarded as final, because—though most of his treatises had already been printed individually before—scientific and systematic research into his works has only recently commenced. He wrote chiefly in Persian, though occasionally also in Arabic (cf. primarily the *Madāridj al-Kamāl*, which he later translated into Persian by request). His prose works are concerned with philosophy, theosophy, ethics, and logic; they are partly original, partly editions or translations, and are distinguished by their simple, clear and readily intelligible style, which follows that of the ancients closely. M. Bahār regards his translation of the *Kitāb al-Nafs* of Aristotle as exemplary. Bābā Afḍal's logic *al-Minhādj al-Mubīn* is based on *al-ʿIlm wa 'l-Nuṭḳ* of Aristotle though it is not identical with its model, but has independent developments of its own. Bābā Afḍal's *Čahār ʿUnwān* gives a selection from Ghazzālī's *Kīmiyā-i Saʿādat*, which consists partly of selected pieces from the Persian text of Ghazzālī, partly of translations of the Arabic parts of the book, which Ghazzālī had not included in the Persian version. Bābā Afḍal's quatrains are extremely attractive, and their occasionally shrill note has already been remarked on by E. H. Whinfield. It is no wonder that several of them have achieved currency as works attributed to ʿUmar Khayyām.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpuzhūh lists all of Bābā Afḍal's prose works so far identified, their manuscripts, all printed and lithographed editions, translations, etc. in his essay *Niwishtahā-i Bābā Afḍal*, in *Mihr* 1331 AH solar, viii, 433-6, 499-502. For special mention here: *Muṣannafāt* I: *Madāridj al-Kamāl* (see above), *Rāh-andjām-nāma*, *Sāz u Pīrāya-i Shāhān-i Pur-māya*, *Risāla-i Tuffāḥa*, *ʿArḍ-nāma*, *Djāwidān-nāma*, *Yanbūʿ al-Ḥayāt* (translated by Bābā Afḍal), ed. Mudjtabā Mīnovī and Yaḥyā Mahdawī, Tehran 1331 AH solar (Publications of the University, no. 138, vol. II, including a biography and assessment, indices and vocabulary in preparation). *The Book of the Apple* [*Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*, *Sīb-nāma*], ascribed to Aristotle, edited in Persian and English by D. S. Margoliouth, in *JRAS* 1892, 187-252 (no attempt being made to identify the Persian translator of this dialogue); *Tardjama-i Rawān-shināsī yā Risāla-i Nafs-i Arisṭū*, ed. M. Bahār *Malik al-Shuʿarā*, Tehran 1316 AH solar (Bābā Afḍal's Persian translation is based on the Arabic rescension by either Abū Zayd Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ ʿIbādī [who died in 264/877-8] or by his son Isḥāḳ [who died in 298/910-1]); *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Bābā Afḍal-i Kāshānī* (483 items); Tehran 1311 AH solar, with critical biography and survey of the whole work by Saʿīd Nafīsī (also with a French title on the cover). There is a selection of quatrains with a sensitive prose translation in *Hoséyne-Âzad*, *La Roseraie du Savoir*, *Choix de Quatrains mystiques*, Leiden 1906. Concerning Bābā Afḍal: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 277; Browne, ii, 110; Brockelmann, S II, 280; J. E. Bertel's, *Avicenna i persidskaya literatura*, in *Izvestija AN SSSR. Otdel. obshestv. nauk.* 1938, numbers 1-2, 84-6; *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*, edited by J. Rypka, Prague 1956, 178, 150, 179; Muḥ. Taḳī Bahār *Malik al Shuʿarā*, *Sabk-shināsī*, iii (1319 AH solar), 163-6; *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*, i, 98 etc. (J. Rypka)

BĀBĀ BEG, an Özbek chief of the family of the Keneges, who was till 1870 prince of Shahrisabz. This town having been conquered by the Russians, he fled with a small body of those faithful to him. Finally he was seized in Ferghānā and obliged to reside at Tashkent. In 1875 he entered Russian military service and took part in the campaign against Khoḳand. He died about 1898 at Tashkent. (W. Barthold-[B. Spuler])

BĀBĀ DĀGHĪ [see Babadaghī].

BĀBĀ ESKISI [see Babaeski].

BĀBĀ FIGHĀNĪ [see fighānī].

BĀBĀ ISḤĀḲ [see bābāʾī].

BĀBĀ-ṬĀHIR, a mystic and poet who wrote in a Persian dialect. According to Riḍā Ḳulī Khān (19th century), who does not give his source, Bābā-Ṭāhir lived in the period of Daylamī rule and died in 401/1010. Among his quatrains there is an enigmatical one: "I am that sea (*baḥr*) which entered into a vase; that point which entered into the letter. In each *alf* ("thousand", *i.e*, of years?) arises an *alif-ḳadd* (a man upright in stature like the letter *alif*). I am the *alif-ḳadd* who has come in this *alf*". Mahdī Khān in the *JASB* has given an extremely curious interpretation of this quatrain: the letters *alf-ḳd* have the value 215, the same as the letters of the word *daryā* (Persian equivalent of the Arabic *baḥr* "sea") and those of the name of the poet *Ṭāhir*. If we add *alf-ḳd* (215) to *alf* (111) we get 326 (the same value by the way as the Persian word *hazār*, "thousand", if we spell it *hā*, *zā*, *alif*, *rā*). In this way the phrase "an *alif-ḳadd* came into the *alif*" would give the date (326) of the birth of Bābā-Ṭāhir who may well have lived till 401.

In spite of the ingenuity of this explanation, it is nevertheless true that the only historical evidence that we possess about Bābā-Ṭāhir is that of the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* (c. 601/1204, *GMS*, 98-99), the author of which "had heard" that when the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Tughrīl entered Hamadān (in 447/1055), Bābā-Ṭāhir addressed an admonition to him ("O Turk, how are you going to act towards the Muslims?") which much impressed the conqueror. The anecdote suggests for the death of Bābā-Ṭāhir a date later than 447/1055 but is in no way contradictory to the statement that Bābā-Ṭāhir flourished under the Daylamīs, *i.e.* under the Būyids and their relatives, the Kākoyids, whose rule in Hamadān lasted till the expedition of Ibrāhīm Yināl in 435/1043-4. Bābā-Ṭāhir may well have been the contemporary of Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) who died at Hamadān in 428/1037, but the legends which make him a witness of

the execution of the mystic ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt of Hamadān in 533 and the contemporary of Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672) are pure inventions.

The sources sometimes call Bābā-Ṭāhir Hamadānī (cf. the Arabic MS. 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. Paris, the *Sarandjām*, etc.), sometimes Lurī (Lūrī). This latter form—in place of Lur [*q.v.*]—is somewhat puzzling: does it mean some other connexion than that of origin between Bābā-Ṭāhir and Luristān? It is certainly well to remember that in the 5th/11th century there were very close links between Hamadān and Luristān and the poet may have spent his life between the two places. In Khurramābād there is a quarter bearing the name of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, June 1922, 443). The association of Bābā-Ṭāhir with Luristān in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [see below] is also significant. In the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. nos. 102, 200, 274 of the *Dīwān*), Mount Alwand [*q.v.*] overshadowing Hamadān is frequently mentioned. The tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir lies on a little hill to the north-west of the town in the Bun-i bāzār quarter; beside the tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir are those of his faithful Fāṭima [see below] and Mīrzā ʿAlī Naḳī Kawtharī (19th century); the building is a humble one and of no interest. The tomb is mentioned in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha* (740/1340), 75; cf. the photograph in Minorsky, *Matériaux*, Moscow 1911, xi, and Williams Jackson, *A visit to the Tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir at Hamadān*, in *A Volume presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 257-260.

The stories one hears in Māzandarān about Bābā-Ṭāhir's connexion with that province have no foundation and may have been brought by immigrants from Luristān (the Läk). Besides, all the nomads of Persia like to claim Bābā-Ṭāhir as a compatriot.

The language of Bābā-Ṭāhir. Since all the facts and traditions connect the poet with Hamadān and Luristān, it is reasonable to expect to find in his dialect traces of a dialect of this region of Persia. But as this dialect was very close to Persian and as so many different mouths have been trying to render more comprehensible the verses transmitted orally, there is little hope of re-establishing the text in its dialectic purity. It is not an improbable suggestion that Bābā-Ṭāhir simply wanted to imitate the dialects of his adepts. In our own day a Kurd Christian claims to have made verses in the Gūrānī dialect, quite distinct from his own, in order to "transmit the message" to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (Dr. Saʿīd Khān, in *MW*, Jan. 1927, 40).

The country between Hamadān and Khurramābād still has many dialects, but that of Bāhā-Ṭāhir is not connected with any definite one and seems to borrow from all. The closeness of the present text of Bābā-Ṭāhir to literary Persian is undeniable; on the other hand changes like *nām* > *nūm* "name", *dastam* > *dastum* ("my hand"), *raftam* > *raftum* ("I have gone"), *dūr* > *dīr* (cf. Huart, xiv = *Dīwān*, no. 82) are typical of the Lur dialects; the stems *vādj* "to speak", *kar* "to do" are common to the Kurdish and central dialects; the forms *mī-kar-ū* "he does" and *āy-ū* "he comes" recall particularly the Gūrānī spoken much farther to the west. For certain peculiarities (*dāram* > **dērom*) we only find analogies at Kāzrūn (near Shīrāz).

Hadank's detailed analysis has plainly proved this mixture of dialects (*Dialektgemisch*) in the quatrains, at least as we know them now. The term "Muḥammadan Pahlavi" proposed by Huart (1885) for the language of Bāhā-Ṭāhir has not been accepted by scholars.

The metre of the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir and of his *ghazals* is almost exclusively *hazadj musaddas mahdhūf* ⏑– – – | ⏑– – – | ⏑– – which has made the new editor call the quatrains *du-baytī* (distichs) instead of *rubāʿī*, the last term being too closely associated with the metre *hazadj makfūf maḳṣūr* – – ⏑⏑ | – – ⏑⏑ | – – ⏑⏑ | – . The authenticity of some regular *rubāʿī* attributed to Bābā-Ṭāhir seems doubtful. The metre of Bābā-Ṭāhir is also found in popular songs (Mīrzā Djaʿfar [Korsch], *Gramm. Pers. Yazīka*, Moscow 1901, 308).

Bābā-Ṭāhir—poet. Down to 1927, all that was known of his poems was a rather small number found for the most part in anthologies of the 18th and 19th centuries. Huart's researches produced in 1885, 59 quatrains, and in 1908, found 3 new quatrains (they are moreover very doubtful). Leszczynski (who used the Berlin manuscripts) has translated 80 quatrains and one *ghazal* (a different one from Huart's). Finally Ḥusayn Waḥīd Dastgirdī Iṣfahānī, editor of the Persian review *Armaghān*, published in 1306/1927 at Tiḥrān a *Dīwān* of Bāhā-Ṭāhir containing 296 *du-baytī* and 4 *ghazals* of this poet; as an appendix the editor gives 62 *du-baytī* found in the "different collections" and the 3 *rubāʿī* added by Heron Allen. The quatrains of the *Dīwān* are arranged in the alphabetical order of the rhymes. The editor unfortunately gives no details of the manuscript of the *Dīwān* reproduced in his edition. The new quatrains several of which mention Ṭāhir's name, the mountains of Alwand and Maymand (?) etc., confirm the characteristics already known of Bābā-Ṭāhir, while making them a little more banal by the inevitable repetitions. The dialectical flavour of most of the quatrains is in favour of their authenticity, although an imitation of the peculiarities of the language of Bābā-Ṭāhir would really not be a very difficult matter. The question of the authenticity of the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir certainly arises, as it did in the case of those of ʿUmar Khayyām. Žukowski says that quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir are found in the *Dīwān* of Mullā Muḥammad Ṣūfī Māzandarānī (5th/11th cent.). A certain Shāṭir Beg Muḥammad, a modern poet of Hamadān, claimed to be the author of several "Kurdī (Pahlawī)" quatrains attributed to Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. *Dīwān*, 21).

The choice of subjects in Bābā-Ṭāhir is very restricted, but the poet's work bears the stamp of a distinct personality. We give an analysis of the 59 quatrains published by Huart to enable the reader to judge. As usual it is difficult to draw a rigid distinction between the expression of mystical and that of profane love; 34 quatrains are almost equally divided between two categories of lyric poetry. Two quatrains are simple hymns to God. The rest is more individual and characteristic. Bābā-Ṭāhir often refers to his life as a wandering *darwish-ḳalandar*, without a roof above his head, sleeping with a stone for a pillow, continually harassed by spiritual anxieties (nos. 6, 7, 14, 28). Cares and melancholy torment him; the "flower of grief" alone flourishes in his heart; even the charms of spring leave him still unhappy (34, 35, 47, 54). Bābā-Ṭāhir professes the philosophy of the true Ṣūfī, confesses his sins, implores pardon for them, preaches humility, invokes nirvana (*fanāʾ*) as the only remedy for his misfortunes (1, 13, 45, 50, 58). One human failing is especially

characteristic of Bābā-Ṭāhir: his eyes and his heart do not readily detach themselves from the things of this world; his rebellious heart burns within him, leaves him no rest for a moment and the poet cries in anguish: "Art thou a lion, a panther, O my Heart, thou who art continually struggling with me. If thou fallest into my hands, I shall spill thy blood to see what colour thou art, O my heart" (3, 8, 9, 26, 36, 42).

Bābā-Ṭāhir's psychology shows striking contrast to that of ʿUmar Khayyām. Bābā-Ṭāhir shows no trace of the hedonism of the latter (d. 517/1123?) nor of his serenity in face of the changes brought by death, while ʿUmar Khayyām lacks the mystic fire of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. Christensen, *Critical Studies in the Rubāʿiyāt of ʿUmar-i Khayyām*, Copenhagen 1917, 44).

What pleases in Bābā-Ṭāhir is the freshness of his sentiments which Ṣūfī routine had not yet stereotyped, the spontaneity of his images, the naiveté of his language, with the local tang.

Bābā-Ṭāhir—mystic. The Persian dervishes with whom Žukowski talked about Bābā-Ṭāhir knew that he was the author of 22 metaphysical treatises (cf. also Riḍā Ḳulī Khān) but it is only from Ethé and Blochet that we have learned in Europe of the existence in Oxford and Paris of commentaries on the maxims of Bābā-Ṭāhir. The complete treatise [*al*-]*Kalimāt* [*al*]-*ḳiṣār* ("The brief sayings") has now been published in the edition of the *Armaghān*. This treatise consists of 368 Arabic maxims divided into 23 *bāb* dealing with the following subjects: knowledge (*ʿilm*); gnosis (*maʿrifa*); inspiration and penetration (*ilhām, firāsa*); reason and the soul (*ʿaḳl, nafs*); this world and the beyond (*dunyā, ʿuḳbā*); the musical performance (*samāʿ*) and the *dhikr*; sincerity and spiritual retreat (*ikhlāṣ, iʿtikāf*), etc.

Here are a few specimens of these maxims: no. 86: "Real knowledge is the intuition after the knowledge of certainty has been acquired" (*al-ḥaḳīḳatu 'l-mushāhadatu baʿda ʿilmi 'l-yaḳīni*); no. 96: "Ecstasy (*wadjd*) is the loss (of the knowledge) of existing things and is the existence of lost things"; no. 368: "he who has been the witness of predestination (coming) from God remains without movement and without volition"; no. 300: "he whom ignorance has slain has never lived, he whom the *dhikr* has killed will never die".

The "Brief Sayings" seem to have enjoyed considerable popularity among the Ṣūfīs. The Persian editor mentions the following commentaries on this treatise: the Arabic commentary attributed to ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. in 533/1138-9 but often associated in legends with Bābā-Ṭāhir); another Arabic commentary by an unknown author; the Arabic and Persian commentaries by Mullā Sulṭān ʿAlī Gunābādī: the Persian commentary was printed in 1326/1906 but is very rare. The editor of the *Armaghān* expresses the hope of being one day able to publish the "Brief Sayings" accompanied by one of the commentaries.

The Arabic manuscript 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. contains the first 8 chapters of the maxims of Bābā-Ṭāhir in an abridged form (fol. 100b-105b), as well as a commentary on them (fol. 74a-100a) entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya fī Ishārāt al-Hamadāniyya*.

The manuscript seems to be in the hand of the author of the commentary, Djānī Beg al-ʿAzīzī, who began his work in Shawwāl 889 and ended it on 20th Shaʿbān 890/1 September 1485. The commentary was written at the request of a certain Shaykh Abu 'l-Baḳā who had possessed the *Ishārāt* of Bābā-Ṭāhir since 853/1449-50. He had let them fall into the well of Zamzam at Mecca but the manuscript was miraculously recovered. The *ʿulamāʾ* had dissuaded Abu 'l-Baḳā from writing a commentary on the text on account of its profundity and obscurity. Finally Abu 'l-Baḳā engaged Djānī Beg to accomplish this task. The commentary deals with the text of the maxims of Bābā-Ṭāhir word by word.

Bābā-Ṭāhir—saint. As is the case with the majority of the mystical poets (ʿAṭṭār, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Ḥāfiẓ), there are numerous legends of the life and miracles of Bābā-Ṭāhir. It is related that when Bābā-Ṭāhir had asked the students of the *madrasa* of Hamadān to show him the way to acquire knowledge, the students as a joke told him to spend a winter night in the icy water of a tank. Bābā-Ṭāhir carried out the advice and next morning found himself enlightened and exclaimed: *Amsaytu Kurdiyyan wa-aṣbaḥtu ʿArabiyyan* ("last night I was a Kurd and this morning I have become an Arab"). This story was heard by Žukowski in Tehran and by Heron Allen's informant at Būshīr; it is widely current in Hamadān (cf. the preface to the *Dīwān*, 17 and the manuscripts from Hamadān). This Arabic utterance is found in the preface to the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, where however it is referred to an unknown (mystic?) ancestor of Ibn Akhī, a Turk of Urmiya. In the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* of Djāmī, ed. Nassau Lees, 362-363, the phrase is attributed to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Bābūnī (a Gūrānī tribe, see Ibn Athīr, ix, 247).

Other pious legends represent Bābā-Ṭāhir as making the snow on Mount Alwand melt by the ardour of his spiritual fire, tracing with the point of his great toe the solution of an astronomical problem which had been put him, etc. (Žukowski, Heron Allen, Leszczynski, preface to the *Dīwān*, manuscripts from Hamadān).

Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, 344, already knew that the adepts of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect were in the habit of "praising exceedingly and giving pride of place to the names of famous Ṣūfīs, notably of Bābā-Ṭāhir whose poems in the Lur dialect are highly esteemed, and of his sister Bibi Fatima" etc. The discovery of the religious work *Sarandjām* has enabled us to locate Bābā-Ṭāhir in the theogony of the sect. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] believed in 7 manifestations of the divinity, each of which was accompanied by a retinue of 4 angels, each of whom had special duties. Bābā-Ṭāhir is regarded as one of the angels of the third period and the incarnation of Azrāʾīl and Nuṣayr. The mystic stage to which the period of Bābā Khoshīn generally corresponds is the *maʿrifa*. The events of this cycle take place in Luristān and Hamadān. The manuscript of the *Sarandjām* recounts the visit of the "King of the World" to Bābā-Ṭāhir in Hamadān. Bābā Khoshīn is meant by the "King of the World" but the legend seems to be inspired by memories of the episode of Tughrīl (see above). Bābā-Ṭāhir and Fāṭima Lärä ("the thin") of the tribe of Bärä Shāhī (of the Gūrān country?), who was in his service, fed the whole army of the King with a *čār-yak* of rice. The latter tempts Bābā-Ṭāhir with all the treasures of the world but he only desires the "beauty of the King". Fāṭima wants to follow the King of the World; she lays her head on his knees and gives up the ghost. The King consoles Bābā-Ṭāhir for his loss

and promises that on the day of the Last Judgement he will reunite him to Fāṭima so that they shall be like Laylā and Madjnūn. 13 poetical fragments (mutilated but in the style of Bābā-Ṭāhir) are scattered through the text (cf. *Minorsky*, 29-33, 99-103; these facts have been utilised by Leszczynski, *op. cit.*, 18-25). Fāṭima Lārā, who is mentioned in the text is buried beside Bābā-Ṭāhir. According to the custodians of the tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir, she is not to be confused with another Fāṭima also buried in the same *buḳʿa* (?). Gobineau and A. V. W. Jackson mention the sister of Bābā-Ṭāhir, Bībī Fāṭima or Fāṭima Laylā. Āzād-i Hamadānī (*Dīwān*, 16-21) speaks of the tomb of the *dāya* "nurse" of Bābā-Ṭāhir: everyone seems to endeavour to translate into the language of everyday life the mystic relations of Bābā-Ṭāhir to Fāṭima.

The quatrain already quoted at the beginning of this article (*alf, alif-ḳadd*) may reflect some high aspiration of Bābā-Ṭāhir.

Bibliography: The MSS. containing the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir are as follows: Ḳonya Museum no. 2547 (848/1444): 2 *Ḳiṭʿas*, 8 *du-baytī*, see M. Mīnuwī, *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tehrān, iv/2, 1325, 54-9; Asiat. Soc. Bengal, Pers. no. 923, Catal. Ivanow, 424 (a *madjmūʿa* of 1000 [1592]); Preuss. Staatsbibl., Catal. Pertsch, 727, no. 697 (written in 1820 and used by Leszczynski): 56 quatrains; Bibl. Nat. de Paris, pers. 174, Cat. Blochet, ii, 290-292 (collection made by Bakhsh ʿAlī Ḳarabāghī, dated 1260 [1844]): 174 quatrains and a *ghazal*. In the library of the mosque of Sipāhsālār in Tehrān, Žukowski found a manuscript, *Ḥālāt-i Bābā-Ṭāhir bā-indimām-i ashʿārash*, but the title does not correspond to the contents of the MS. The MSS. of the mystical treatises of Bābā-Ṭāhir are as follows: Bibl. Nat. de Paris, Arab 1903 (Blochet, *o.l.*, ii, 291) and the Oxford MS. Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Bodleian Lib.*, no. 1298, fol. 302b-343. The anthologies which mention the poet are: ʿAlī Ḳuli Khān Wālih, *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 1161/1748, cf. Leszczynski, 10; Luṭf ʿAlī beg, *Ātashkada*, 1193/1779, Bombay 1277, 247 (25 quatrains); ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Shāh, *Ṣuḥuf-i Ibrāhīm*, 1205/1791, unique MS. in the Preuss. Staatsbibl., Pertsch, 627, no. 663 (utilised by Žukowski and Leszczynski); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*, Tehrān 1295, i, 326 (10 quatrains); idem, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehrān 1303, 102 (24 quatrains); 57 quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir were published at Bombay in 1297 and 1308 (with those of ʿUmar Khayyām); 32 quatrains (with the *Munādjāt* of Anṣārī) at Bombay 1301; 27 quatrains (with those of Khayyām) at Tehrān 1274; the *ghazal* of Bābā-Ṭāhir is given in the appendix to the *Dīwān* of Shams-i Maghribī, Tehrān 1298, 158, in the appendix to the *Munādjāt* of Anṣārī etc.. The *Dīwān* of Bābā-Ṭāhir (cf. text) with the *Kalimāt-i ḳiṣār*, a preface by the editor, a biography by Maḥmūd ʿIrfān, a description of the tomb of Bābā-Ṭāhir by Āzād-i Hamadānī, etc. were published as a supplement to the 8th year of the magazine *Armaghān*, Tehrān 1306/1927, 1-124.— Huart, *Les quatrains de Bābā-Ṭāhir ʿUryān en pehlévi musulman*, in *JA*, series viii, vol. vi, Nov.-Dec. 1885, 502-545; Žukowski, *Koye čto o B. Ṭāhirĕ Golīshĕ*, *Zap.*, 1900, xiii, 104-108 (bibliography, 3 anecdotes, 2 new quatrains one of which = no. 146 of the *Dīwān*), cf. also *Zap.*, ii, 12; E. Heron Allen, *The Lament of Bābā-Ṭāhir*, London 1902 (text of 62 quatrains, transl. by the editor and verse by Elisabeth Curtis Brenton); Browne, i, 83-87, ii, 259-261; Mīrzā Mahdī Khān (Kawkab), *The quatrains of Bābā-Tahir*, in *JASB*, 1904, no. 1, 1-29 (new edition of the quatrains of Heron Allen [+ 1 quatrain] with important corrections and a very interesting commentary); Huart, *Nouveaux quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir*, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay 1908, 290-302 (28 quatrains and 1 *ghazal*) completing the collection of 1885 recently discovered: in an extract from the *Kashkūl al-Fuḳarāʾ* of which the original is in the Muḥammadiyya mosque (Fātiḥ) of Constantinople, in the *Dīwān* of Maghribī and in an album (*djung*). This second collection of quatrains published by Huart contains sundry pieces, the translation of which is not certain; Minorsky, *Materiali* ("Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des croyances de la secte persane dite les Ahl-i Ḥaqq ou ʿAlī-Ilāhī"), vol. xxxiii, of the *Trudi Lazarew. Instituta*, Moscow 1911, 29-33 (transl. of the passages from the *Sarandjām*), 99-103 (Persian text of the intercalated poems and notes); G. L. Leszczynski, *Die Rubāʿiyāt des Bābā-Ṭāhir ʿUryān oder Die Gottesträncn des Herzens, aus d. west-medischen* [*sic*!] *Originale*, Munich 1920 (biographical and bibliographical, verse transl.); K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten v. Khunsār*, etc., in *Kurd.-pers. Forsch. v. O. Mann*, series iii, vol. i, Leipzig 1926, introduction, xxxvii-lv (complete study of the question of the language of Bābā-Tāhir, bibliography); A. J. Arberry, *Poems of a Persian Ṣūfī, being the quatrains of Bābā-Ṭāhir*, Cambridge 1937, (60 *dubaytī* translated into excellent five-lined stanzas in the style of A. E. Housman). (V. MINORSKY)

BABADAGHI, a town in the Dobrudja, now part of Rumania. Its Turkish name refers to the semi-legendary dervish (Baba) Sarl Saltlḳ, who is said to have led a number of Anatolian Turcomans to the Dobrudja in the mid-thirteenth century, and to have settled with them in the neighbourhood of Babadaghl. (On this settlement see Paul Wittek, *Yazijioghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, 1952 XVI, 639 ff.). There are several tombs of Sarl Saltlḳ in various towns; the most generally accepted is that of Babadaghl. What appears to be the first reference to it occurs in a passage in the travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who mentions 'Bābā Salṭūḳ' as the furthermost outpost of the Turks, and briefly describes the saint that is buried there. Though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's 'Bābā Salṭūḳ' cannot be located with certainty, it seems likely that it is the place later known as Babadaghl. He passed that way in about 1332-3.

According to Ewliyā Čelebi, the town was first conquered for the Ottomans by Bayezīd I, and was consecrated by Bayezīd II as a *waḳf* for Sarl Saltlḳ and his followers. Two documents relating to the *waḳf* of Bayazīd, of 1078/1667 and 1111/1699, are listed in the catalogue of the Topkapl Sarayl (*Arşiv Kllavuzu*, Istanbul 1938, i, 52). The area was no doubt occupied by Bayezīd I in the course of his Danubian campaigns, but its final annexation by the Ottomans would seem to date from the year 819/1416-7, (ʿĀshiḳpāshāzāde, chapter 75; Neshrī, ed. Unat Köymen, Ankara 1957, ii, 534 ff.; Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 284; cf. Osman Turan, *Tarihl Takvimler*, Ankara 1954, 21, 57). The region was settled by Bayezīd with Tatar colonists (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa; cf. Hammer-Purgstall*, i, 629).

In 945/1538 Sultan Suleymān stayed there for four days, during his Rumanian campaign, and visited

the tomb of Sarî Saltîḳ (*Mohačnāme*; Hammer-Purgstall*, ii, 152). At this time it seems to have been included in the *sandjaḳ* of Silistre, though it was not large enough to be listed as a town (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları, Belleten*, xx, 1956, 254-5, 266-7). In the late 16th and early 17th centuries the town and district suffered greatly from the depredations of the Cossacks and even, on occasions, of the Crimean Tatars. As a result many of the Turkish population left and migrated southwards. During the reign of Murād IV the construction of a fortress was begun, under direction of Kodja Kenʿān Pasha, but by the time that Ewliyā Čelebi wrote (ca. 1652) the fortress was not manned and only the foundation walls and towers were standing. During the 17th century Babadaghî became the concentration point for Ottoman armies marching north, and in war-time served as winter quarters for the Grand Vizier. The town, which from 1001/1593 constituted a *voyvodalîḳ* in the *eyalet* of Özü, was described by Ewliyā as a flourishing commercial centre, with 3000 houses, 380 shops, and many gardens (but no closed market—*bezzāzistān*). Its status was that of a pasha's appanage (*pasha khāṣṣî*). Ewliyā names three large mosques (*djāmiʿ*)—Ulu Djāmiʿ, built by Bayezīd II, near the convent of Sarî Saltîḳ; ʿAlī Pasha Djāmiʿi, in the market place; Defterdār Derwīsh Pasha Djāmiʿi; and three *ḥammāms* including those of Bayezīd II and ʿAlī Pasha. (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa reports 5 mosques and only 2 baths). There were also several *masdjids*, three *madrasas*, 20 boys' schools (*mekteb ṣibyānî*) 8 Khāns and 11 dervish convents (*tekke*) of which the largest and most prosperous was that of Sarî Saltîk. His *türbe* was a place of pilgrimage. It was built by Bayezīd II (or, according to another version, by the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray). The chief industries, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, were cloth, bows, and arrows; its specialities were grapes, white bread, yoghurt, and grape-juice.

In 1809, during the Russo Turkish war, the town was occupied by the Russian general Pozorovsky. It was returned to Turkey in 1812 but was ceded to Rumania in 1878. At the time of its transfer Babadaghî was a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of Tulča in the *wilāyet* of Tuna.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 362-70; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, tr. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 27); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 416; Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, i, 368-9; Kemālpashazāde, *Mohāč-name*, ed. and tr. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1859, 80 ff., 177; Hammer-Purgstall, index; Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, Bucarest 1889-1939 index; *IA* s.v. Dobruca (by Aurel Decei). See also BUGHDAN, DOBRUDJA, SARÎ SALTÎK.

(B. LEWIS)

BABAESKI (Bābā-yi ʿatîḳ) or Babaeskisi, a small town in eastern Thrace, situated 50 km. S.E. of Edirne, on the railway line which links Kîrklareli to the Edirne, Istanbul main line. At the time of the Byzantine empire it was called Bulgarophygon; its present name is derived from the Turkish dervishes (*baba*) who settled there, as at other places, during the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans.

Babaeski was a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Viza in the 17th century, and was later attached to the *sandjaḳ* of Kîrkkilise (Kîrklareli). Taday it is one of the *ḳaḍās* of the *wilāyet* of Kîrklareli; its population in 1945 was 5,936. The population of the whole region, numbering 37,607 (1945), is mainly occupied in agriculture.

The town has two mosques, one dating from the time of Meḥemmed II, and the other built by the architect Sinān in the name of the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pasha Semiz [*q.v.*]. A stone bridge, built during the reign of Murād IV on the river Ergene, to the west of the town, also deserves mention as a historic monument.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs ül-Aʿlam*, ii, 1178; article *Baba* in *IA* (by M. Fuad Köprülü); *Türk (Inönü) Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 480 ff.; T. Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asîrlarda Edirne ve Paşa livasî*, Istanbul 1952, 207 ff., 502 f.

(E. KURAN)

BĀBĀʾÎ, the name of a religio-social movement which disturbed the Turkomān centres of Asia Minor a few years before the Mongol invasion, and which seems to have been of great importance in the general history of the social and cultural development of the Turkish people. It can only be understood by reference to certain general features of the development of the Saldjūḳid state of Rūm. By the 7th/13th century, the latter had become a state with a strong administrative and cultural framework, the product of Iranian influence, based on the Muslim and mainly Sunnī population of the towns; the Turkomān element of the rural areas and the frontiers, which had remained far more faithful to the old Turkish traditions and had been penetrated to a much greater extent by heterodox doctrines, was thus becoming more and more isolated. At the very moment when the rift between the State and the Turkomān element was widening in this way, the Turkomāns, as the result of the influx of their Turkomān cousins who had been pushed back first by the Khwārizmians, then by the Mongols, received simultaneously reinforcement in numbers and the seeds of future troubles, in the form of doctrines stemming from Central Asia. This was the environment in which shortly before 638/1240 a *baba* (popular preacher), Isḥāḳ, better known under his self-assumed title of «rasūl (Allāh)», who came from the Kafarsūd region on the Syrian border, began preaching to the Turkomāns both of the region south of the eastern Taurus, and of the region of Amasya, and then of all the intervening and surrounding districts. In 638, taking advantage of the fact that the breach between Kay-Khusraw and the Khwārizimians, the remnants of whom, after finding a temporary home in Asia Minor, had taken refuge in Djazīra, had weakened the régime, Bābā Isḥāḳ raised the standard of revolt. He successively defied several large Saldjūḳid armies, and was only finally defeated and captured by the employment of «Frankish» mercenaries; even then the movement was not completely suppressed.

Little is known of the distinctive features of the movement. The adepts wore a red cap (as did, later, the *kizil-bash*), black robes, and sandals. Isḥāḳ called himself a prophet, and allied himself to the extremist forms of Shīʿism which were prevalent in Irano-Turkish popular circles; his precise relations with another Bābā, of Khurāsānī origin, Ilyās, and with the *ḳalandars* (Djawāliḳī) of Asia Minor, are yet to be established. At all events, the movement was fundamentally opposed to the aristocratic movement of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and the Mawlawīs.

Although so little is known about it, the Bābāʾî movement must have been of great importance, since it is mentioned, apart from the Saldjūḳid chronicler Ibn Bībī (phot. MS. ed. 498-502, Houtsma's summarised ed. 227-231), by the contemporary Arab from Damascus Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (éd. Jewett 845),

the Franciscan missionary Simon of St. Quentin (in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum*, xxxi, 139-40), and, a little later, by the Syriac historian Bar Hebraeus (ed. trans. Budge, 405-6). The basic problem is to establish the connexion between this movement and, on the one hand, the creation of the Ḳaramānid principality of Taurus, and, on the other hand, in the second half of the century, the religious group of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh; Eflaki (amend Huart's trans., i, 296, following Köprülü, *Orig.* (see bibl. below), 407) explicitly connects the latter, which was destined to have such important developments, with the Bābāʾī movement. There are doubtless other popular creeds of the period of the Mongol Protectorate which are worthy of consideration. Although the texts are so vague, there is little doubt that the Bābāʾī movement was at the head of currents which the dislocation of the Saldjūḳid state later rendered irresistible, and it is this which gives it its importance.

Bibliography: The sources are quoted in the article. The principal modern works are those of M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında Ilk Mutaṣawwiflar, Anadoluda Islamiyet* (*Edebiyat Fak. Mecm.* ii, 1922), *Les Origines du Bektachisme* (Internat. Congress on the Hist. of Religions, 1923), *Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine Âid Notlar* (*Türkiyat Mecm.* ii), and *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 935. For more recent works, see A. Gölpinarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin*[2], 1952, and O. Turan, *Selçuk Türkiyesi Din Tarihine Dair Bir Kaynak*, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağani*, 1953.

(CL. CAHEN)

BĀBAK, head of the Khurramī sect [see KHURRAMĪS]; his name is an arabicised form of the Iranian Pāpak. The son of an oil-merchant from al-Madāʾin (or, according to some, the descendant of Abū Muslim), he was following an obscure calling in Ādharbaydjān when he was noticed by Djāwīdhān b. Sahl, head of the Khurramīs, who died shortly afterwards. Bābak claimed that the spirit of Djāwīdhān had entered into him, and began to stir up the people living in the region of al-Badhdh, a place, not extant to-day, situated in the mountainous region of Arrān, not far from the Araxes [see ĀDHARBAYDJĀN, map]. He imparted new vigour to this religious and social movement, derived in part from Mazdakism, and employed particularly violent methods. It appears that his operations date from 201/816-7, and that they were assisted by the rebellious schemes of the governor of Armenia, Ḥātim b. Hartama, and facilitated by the various difficulties in the eastern province which followed al-Maʾmūn's return to Baghdād.

In 204/819-20, al-Maʾmūn sent against Bābak Yaḥya b. Muʿādh, who attacked him without success on several occasions, as did other commanders whose efforts were attended by no better fortune. By the end of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate the revolt had spread as far as the Djibāl, and first concern of al-Muʿtaṣim was to exterminate the insurgents in this region. In 220/835, he placed al-Afshīn [*q.v.*] in charge of operations against Bābak. This commander rebuilt the fortresses on the al-Badhdh road which Bābak had destroyed, and, despite the defeat suffered by Bughā the Elder at Hashtād-Sar, succeeded in surprising one of the rebel leaders, Tarkhān. Then, reinforced by troops under Djaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ and by Abū Dulaf's volunteers, he established in 222/837 a camp, protected by mountain scouts, from which he harassed the fortress of al-Badhdh. After an unsuccessful attack by the volunteers, al-Badhdh was taken and sacked on 9 Ramaḍān 222/15 August 837 as the result of an assault by the troops from Farghāna. Bābak fled, and after being handed over to al-Afshīn by the Armenian elder Sahl b. Sunbāt, with whom he had taken refuge, was sent to Samarrā where he arrived on 3 Ṣafar 223/4 January 838. Al-Muʿtaṣim had him paraded on an elephant and executed with extreme cruelty; his body remained hanging on the gallows, which gave its name to a quarter of the town.

The capture and execution of Bābak did not put an end to the Khurramī movement, which continued to give evidence of its existence during the 3rd/9th century; the devotees of the former rebel, calling themselves Bābakiyya, continued in the 5th/11th century, at al-Badhdh, to wait for the Mahdī and to practise certain special rites.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī; Yaʿḳūbī; Ṭabarī (English tr. by Elma Marin, *The Reign of al-Muʿtaṣim*, New Haven 1951, index); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, l.c., 75; *al-Fihrist*, 342-44 (and G. Flügel, in *ZDMG*, 23, 1869, 531-42); Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 256-262; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma* (ed. Schefer), 200 ff.; Schwarz, *Iran*, viii, 1127-34; G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens .....*, Paris 1938, 229-80; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 61-4 and 201-3; *IA*, s.v. (by Osman Turan).

(D. SOURDEL)

BĀBALYŪN (Babylon), a town in Egypt. The name Babylon, denoting the mediaeval Egyptian town in the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo, is, according to Casanova, the Graëcised form of an ancient Egyptian Pi-Hapi-n-On through assimilation to the Asiatic βαβυλών which was familiar to the Greeks. This etymology is not quite free from objections but there is no doubt that some ancient Egyptian place-name underlies it. By the name is meant the ancient town and fortification of the Greeks which — situated on the borders of Upper and Lower Egypt — commanded the interior. Even to the present day portions of the ancient fortification have survived in the Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿa. Babylon's position was much more favourable, and its importance greater, in ancient times, as the Nile then flowed further to the East. At the time of the conquest of Egypt by ʿAmr, the decisive battles were fought here. With the fall of Babylon (21 Rabīʿ II 20/9 April 641) the fate of Egypt was settled. The Arab military camp which later developed into the city of Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr was then pitched near this place, important from the military point of view, and the remains of the old fortress were used in its construction. As far as we know from papyri, a distinction was still made between Babylon and Fusṭāṭ at the end of the 1st/7th century. In Fusṭāṭ lived the Muhādjirūn where their *khiṭaṭ* were marked out. In Babylon were the great corn-merchants and the seat of the administration. The arsenal on the island of Rōḍa which is also mentioned in papyri, was closely connected with the fortress. The original distinction between Fusṭāṭ and Babylon was naturally soon lost. The name Babylon fell out of use among the Arabs and only survived among the Copts, its application by them being being extended, for the Copts occasionally used Babylon to describe the whole of the great series of towns from Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿa through Fusṭāṭ and Cairo to Maṭariyye-Heliopolis. This usage then spread to western writers. This is why Babylonia, with varying orthography, appears as a name for Cairo in the numerous commercial treaties between

Egypt and Western States, written in Latin and published by Amari. The name may also be found in the contemporary literature of Europe as well as in charters; for example in the works of the traveller Mandeville and of Boccaccio who calls Saladin "Soldano di Babilonia".

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 450; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *IFAO* ed., v., 6-13; Abū Ṣāliḥ (ed. Evetts and Butler), fol. 23[b]; Casanova, *Les Noms Coptes du Caire et des Localités voisines*, in *BIFAO*, i, 26; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Egypte à l'époque copte*, 75 and *passim*; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii, 45; *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, 98; *Zeitschr. für Assyr.*, xx, 84, 91; Caetani, *Annali*, iv, A.H. 21 § 143; A. R. Guest, *The Foundation of Fustat*, in *JRAS* 1907, 49 ff.; Michele Amari, *I Diplomi Arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino*, Florence 1863; U. Monneret de Villard, *Recherche sulla Topografia di Qaṣr eš-Šamʿ*, *Bull. Soc. Royale de Géog. d'Egypte*, xii-xiii. (C. H. BECKER)

BĀBĀN, the name of an important family and dynasty of ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān. It rose early in the 11th/17th century from an obscure origin in the Pīshdār country in the person of one Aḥmad al-Faḳīh, whose son became a power, and his grandson Sulaymān Beg a major power, in the Shahrizūr area. They made their home at Ḳara Čolān, which remained the Bābān head-quarters until the foundation of Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*] in 1198/1783; and in spite of an unsuccessful invasion of Persia, and chequered fortunes in his own newly-created principality, Sulaymān Beg gained a measure of recognition from the sultan and transmitted a princely position (or at least princely pretensions) to his sons. Under his grandson Bakr Beg, early in the 12th/18th century, Bābān rule, always insecure and unaccompanied by any regular administration, stretched from the Lesser Zāb to the Sirwān (Diyālā).

In spite of the violent fall of Bakr Beg and the re-assertion of Turkish authority, the Bābān prince of the time (Khāna Pasha) gave important military help to the *wāli* of Baghdād in the struggle against the Persians (1136-1160/1723-1747). Under his nephew Sulaymān Pāshā (1167/1754) Bābān rule covered the *sandjaḳ* of Koy, Khāniḳīn and wide areas of Western Persia; but it remained precarious, resented by the Turkish authorities in the ʿIrāḳī *wilāyets*, threatened by rivals in the same family, and weakened by ceaseless intrigues with (and by) Persian supporters of this or that candidate. In these conditions, even valuable services rendered from time to time to the pashas of Baghdād could not secure consistency in Turkish policy towards the Kurdish principality, nor a respectful attitude by the latter; even the greatest of the Bābāns—notably ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha, in power (with interruptions) from 1204/1789 to 1227/1812—fell victims every few years, or months, to the constant vicissitudes of frontier warfare and intrigue, and the rivalries among their brothers and cousins. Their territory was more than once occupied by Persian or Turkish forces.

The final eviction of the Bābān rulers, which was anyhow inevitable under the modernising policy of the Turkish Government after 1246/1830, was the easier since the appearance of signs of Turko-Persian accord—frontier agreements were reached between the two powers in 1239/1823 and 1264/1847—and the destructive rivalries of the sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha. In spite of a brief "Indian summer" when new weapons and modern military methods were introduced in the Bābān armed forces, the centralising efforts of the mid-century *wālis* of ʿIrāḳ prevailed finally in 1267/1850, when the last of the Bābān princes left Sulaymāniyya. Numerous descendants of the family survive.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, (Oxford, 1925). ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿAshāʾir al-ʿIrāḳ*, vol. II, (Baghdād, 1366/1947). Muḥ. Amīn Zakī, *Taʾrīkh al-Sulaymāniyya wa-anḥāʾihā* (Baghdād 1951). (S. H. LONGRIGG)

BĀBAR [see BĀBUR]

BABBAGHĀʾ (and also *babghāʾ*) «parakeet(s)» «parrot(s)». The form is the same for both the male and the female, and represents the singular or the collective. Etymologically, according to Djāḥiẓ, the name is derived from the bird's cry. It occurs in languages of Romance origin, for example the Provençal *papagaï*, Spanish *papagayo* and Old French *papegai* (and the *papagan* of the *Roman de la Rose*). In the 3rd/9th century, ʿIrāḳ only knew those varieties of psittacids which were native to the Indian Archipelago; al-Danūrī mentions in addition to green and red parrots, a white crested species. Poets, in the Orient, sometimes describe this gorgeous bird; the silence of their rivals in Spain is noticeable at least until the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*[2], iii, 516, vii, 170; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo n.d., i, 166; H. Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse, en arabe classique*, 2nd ed., Paris 1953, 242-6. (R. BLACHÈRE)

AL-BABBAGHĀʾ "the Parrot", the soubriquet under which is celebrated the Arab poet and letter-writer Abu 'l-Faradj ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Naṣr, born 313/925, died 397/1007. The ethnic appellation al-Makhzūmī which was given to him implies fictitious Arabian descent. A native of Naṣībīn, al-Babbaghāʾ seems to have attached himself to the entourage of the Ḥamdānid amīr Sayf al-Dawla, when the latter was established at Aleppo, and therefore after 333/944. He sang the praises of this amīr, and achieved prominence in the literary milieu which existed in this town. A fervent admirer of al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], he met the latter again at Baghdād; after residing for a short time at Mosul, he himself settled at Baghdād, where he eventually died.

At the end of the 4th/10th century, the poetical works of al-Babbaghāʾ, according to Ibn al-Nādim, comprised a collection of three hundred pages; of these poems, only the extracts selected by al-Thaʿālibī are known to us. The same anthologist also quotes long and significant passages from his letters. As a panegyrist, al-Babbaghāʾ belongs to the neo-classical school, such as is represented by al-Buḥturī or al-Mutanabbī. In his elegaic or bacchic pieces, on the other hand, al-Babbaghāʾ is not without a certain distinctive charm. He is however, chiefly remarkable for the virtuosity and richness of his letters in rhymed and cadenced prose. In this genre, and in his own period, he stands out as a master.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 169; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 11; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 298; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 64[b]; Badīʿī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-Munabbī ʿan Ḥaythiyyat al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1308, in the margin of ʿUkbarī's comm. on the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī), 73 ff.; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus 1903, i, 11 ff., 173-204, 220, ii, 158, 291; R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IV[e]/X[e] s.: al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 134, 141, 155; Z. Mubarak, *La Prose arabe au IV[e] s.H.*, Paris 1931, 129 ff.; idem, *al-Nathr al-Fannī*, Cairo 1934, i, 286-96, ii, 226-42; for the rest of the bibliography,

see Brockelmann, I, 90, S I, 145; M. Canard, *Receuil de textes relatifs à l'émir Sayf al-Daula*, Algiers-Paris 1934, 300-1 and n. 1.

(R. Blachère)

BĀBIL. Ancient Arab writers used to give the name "Bābil" to the city of Babylon as well as to the country of Babylonia. The city's ruins lie some 54 miles due south of Baghdād on the Baghdād-Ḥilla road. Those writers differed, however, in determining the boundaries of the country. Some of them extended its limits over a vast area, whereas others restricted it to a lesser area. According to Muslim historians and geographers, the original city of Bābil had been devastated long before the Islamic conquest, and there was then in its place a small village which had the name of Bābil. This village is reported to have existed down to the ʿAbbāsid epoch in the 4th/10th century. For instance, Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions that, in his time, Bābil was a small village. He also remarks that "Its buildings are considered the most ancient ones in ʿIrāḳ and the city itself was founded by the Canaanite kings who adopted it as their state seat, and it was settled by their successors as well. The remains of its imposing buildings speak of its past grandeur".

Abu 'l-Fidā', who cites the above-mentioned account of Bābil by Ibn Ḥawḳal, adds: "It was in it that Ibrāhīm was thrown into the fire. And in these days it is no more than desolate ruins on which stands a small village".

In the 7th/13th century, Al-Ḳazwīnī described the ruins of Bābil and mentioned the quarrying of its bricks by people for building their houses—a practice which has continued until recent years—. In this connexion, he states: "Bābil: the name of a village which formerly stood on one of the branches of the Euphrates in ʿIrāḳ. Currently, people carry off the bricks of its ruins, and there exists a well known as 'the Dungeon of Dānyāl' which is visited by Jews and Christians on certain yearly occasions and on holidays. Most of the population hold the opinion that this dungeon was the well of Hārūt and Mārūt".

Al-Bakrī refers to the Tower of Bābil, which he designates as *Al-Madjal*. He says, following earlier writers, that this tower (identified by modern archaeologists as a *ziggurat*) was built by Namrūd in Bābil and that it rose some 5000 cubits aloft in the sky, and that this building is the authentic tower referred to in the Ḳurʾān, xvi, 26, the relevant text of which appears hereunder:

"Those before them did indeed devise plans, but Allāh demolished their building from the foundations, so the roof fell down on them from above them, and the chastisement came to them from whence they did not perceive".

There has been much controversy among Muslim writers about the history and authenticity of Babylon. Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī, however, summarises the various notions and legends prevailing among them on this city. For instance, it is said that Noah was the first to build and settle in this city after the Deluge. The Persians say, as related by Yazdidjird b. Mihmāndār, that it was the king al-Ḍaḥḥāk who has built this city. Ibn al-Kalbī says that the city's area was 12 × 12 *farsakhs*, that the Euphrates flowed beneath its walls until Bakhtanaṣṣar (Nebuchadnessar) diverted its waters to their present course, as a precaution against the possible collapse of the city walls, and that Bābil continued to prosper until it was destroyed by Alexander the Great.

The information previously possessed on Babylon's history and culture, following its downfall, was in a state of confusion and contrasts, as set forth above. Actually, they had no other established reference on this subject but the relevant accounts mentioned in the Old Testament, statements related by some of the ancient Greek historians of the classical period and sagas transmitted by uninformed people.

The real facts about this city were not discovered until the arrival of archaeologists at its ruins early in the 19th century A.D.; they brought to light innumerable relics and artifacts, among which were tablets with cuneiform inscriptions. Upon deciphering these writings, practically all of the facts about this city were set in the right order, thus putting an end to the numerous previous legendary and unfounded accounts; these are now replaced by established facts, which are found in the many works on this city in various European languages.

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(G. Awad)

BĀBĪS, followers of the religion founded by the Bāb [*q.v.*]. The history of the Bābīs has been and still is, at least in the East, one of persecution. It can be divided into two phases: the first, from the foundation of the new faith (1260/1844) up to the persecutions following the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1268-9/1852-3), which seemed as though they would crush the new movement for ever, a period characterised by a frequently violent attitude on the part of the Bābīs themselves; the second, which might be called 'pacifist', from that date to the present day, a period which has seen the schism of the Bābīs into two factions of unequal numbers and importance. After the first dissemination of the faith following the declaration of the founder's mission (see Bāb) and the first persecutions, which the Bābīs in various localities resisted with force, the most important event in the history of the community is the convention of Badasht (1264/1848), at which the Bābīs, abandoning their initial precautions, openly declared their total secession from Islam and the *sharīʿa*; in this a major rôle was played by the famous Bābī heroine, the beautiful and cultured poetess Zarrīn-Tādj, better known by the names of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn and Djanāb-i Ṭāhira ('H. H. The Pure'), born at Ḳazwīn, the daughter of the erudite theologian Mullā Ṣāliḥ. There, first among Persian women, she dared to show herself unveiled to her brothers of the Faith, a living example of the abrogation of the Islamic *sharīʿa*. After the convention, in which many of the principal Bābīs, among them the future Bahā' Allāh [*q.v.*], took part, Mullā Ḥusayn of Bushrūya (see Bāb) ensconced himself with a small troop of Bābīs in the

sanctuary of Shaykh Tabarsī near Bārfurūsh, where with another 'Letter of the Living', Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bārfurūshī called Ḳuddūs, he resisted heroically the troops of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (shortly afterwards succeeded by Muḥammad Shāh), even making succesful sorties; but eventually Mullā Ḥusayn was killed, and Ḳuddūs and the other survivors surrendered when it was promised that their lives would be spared, though they were in fact vilely and cruelly massacred (Ramaḍān 1265/July-August 1849). Shortly afterwards, at Nayrīz in Fārs, another heroic Bābī insurrection took place, led by one Sayyid Yaḥyā-i Dārābī, who had been converted by the Bāb at Shīrāz (see BĀB) and who had assumed the name of Waḥīd; the Bābīs, barricaded within the old citadel of the town, defended themselves bravely, with the sympathy of the population, for several days until they were all massacred (January 1850). Almost at the same time there occurred an insurrection of even greater magnitude at Zandjān. The Bābīs, under the leadership of Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī-i Zandjānī surnamed Ḥudjdjat ('the Proof'), barricaded themselves in the citadel called Ḳilʿa-i ʿAlī Mardān Khān. After various turns of fortune the Bābīs, who numbered more than 3,000, were cruelly massacred (February 1850). Four months prior to the execution of the Bāb, Tehran also had her heroes, the so-called 'seven martyrs of Tehran', one of whom was the tutor and uncle of the Bāb; their heroic conduct in the face of most horrific punishment is a glorious chapter in the history of the Bābī faith. The unsuccessful attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (28 Shawwāl 1268/16 August 1852) by two Bābīs maddened by the persecutions led to a new reign of terror, to which numerous personalities of the Bābī faith fell victims. Among these was the poetess Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn, strangled after long imprisonment. The principal Bābīs, among whom were Bahāʾ Allāh (Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī) and his half-brother Ṣubḥ-i Azal (Mīrzā Yaḥyā Nūrī) were banished to ʿIrāḳ. The persecutions continued, however, sporadically throughout Persia. The Bahāʾī tradition speaks of about 20,000 martyrs, including those killed in battle. After the declaration of the Garden of Riḍwān and, later, that of Adrianople (see BAHĀʾ ALLĀH), dissensions arose between those who were henceforth called Bahāʾī [*q.v.*] and the followers of Ṣubḥ-i Azal, who adhered to the letter of the *Bayān* and maintained that the Bāb had nominated Mīrzā Yaḥyā as his successor. The Bahāʾīs, on the other hand, maintained, and still maintain, that it was a question of only a temporary nomination and *pro forma*, and that, in any case, Ṣubḥ-i Azal never had the right to oppose 'Him Whom God Shall Manifest, who is', according to them, Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī, Bahāʾ Allāh. The Azalīs remained always in the minority, however, and even the number of 50,000 which some authorities have ascribed to them seems in fact to be somewhat exaggerated.

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BĀBUR, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, soldier of fortune, first of the Mughal rulers in India, diarist and poet, was descended on his father's side in the fifth generation from Tīmūr and through his mother Ḳutlūk Nigār Khānum in the fifteenth degree from Čingiz Khān. He was born on 6 Muḥarram 888/14 February 1483 and succeeded his father ʿUmar Shaykh as *Mīrzā* of Farghānā in Ramaḍān 899/June 1494.

Bābur inherited his father's struggle with his kinsmen for the towns and fertile areas of Central Asia. By Rabīʿ I 903/November 1497 he had fended off the attempts by his elder paternal uncle Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā of Samarḳand and by his elder maternal uncle Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Tashkent to deprive him of his father's position in Farghānā, and using quarrels among his cousins had occupied Samarḳand. Four months later lack of booty and conspiracy at Andīdjān, his headquarters, forced him to let Samarḳand go. Andīdjān he soon recovered and then as soon lost to the Mughals under Tanbal who nominally were supporters of his brother Djahāngīr. In 905/1498-99 Bābur divided Farghānā with his brother, married and was forestalled in a race for Samarḳand by Shaybānī Khān Uzbak (Özbeg). Next year he took the city by surprise, only to be starved out by Shaybānī Khān after losing the battle of Sar-i Pul in Ramaḍān 906/April-May 1501. Bābur, having relinquished Andīdjān to his brother when he took Samarḳand, now became a fugitive nomad, dependent for his personal safety on ties of kinship.

His uncles, grudging hosts, the Khāns of Tashkent and northern Mughalistān, furnished him with troops against Tanbal and finally marched to his support. Tanbal however appealed to Shaybānī Khān who routed and executed the Khāns at Arčiyān in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 908/June 1503.

For nearly a year Bābur wandered with a small following among the nomads of remote Sukh and Hushyār, safe in their hospitality. But Shaybānī Khān's continuing success decided Bābur to seek a headquarters outside the main area of Uzbak interest. In Muḥarram 910/June 1504 he turned for Kābul, an uncle's possession until 907/1501, but then in Arghūn hands. Joined by other refugees from the Uzbaks, Bābur, with his brother, secured Kābul and successfully asserted his claims to tribute from the surrounding Afghān tribes. By 911/1506 Bābur could leave Kābul for Herāt, in response to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyḳarā's appeal for aid against the Uzbaks.

The death of Sulṭān Bāyḳarā and the ineffectiveness of his sons allowed Shaybānī Khān to conquer most of Khurāsān, so that Bābur recrossed the Hindū Kush empty-handed. In 913/1507 he took Ḳandahār from the Arghūns, but withdrew towards India rather than defend it personally when Shaybānī Khān besieged the new acquisition. But Shaybānī Khān came into conflict with Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī,

who defeated and slew him at Marw on 1 Ramaḍān 916/2 December 1510.

Bābur thereupon occupied Samarḳand for the third time, in Radjab 917/October 1511, but as a client of Shāh Ismāʿīl, making an outward profession of Shīʿism and probably striking coins in the name of his Ṣafawid overlord. (The numismatic evidence on this is equivocal. See bibliography). His acceptance of Shīʿism cost him popular support, and when defeated by the Uzbaks at Kul-i Malik in Ṣafar 918/May 1512, he could not hold the city. On the defeat at Ghudjuwān on 3rd Ramaḍān 918/12th November 1512 of the brutally intolerant Ṣafawid general Nadjm-i Thānī, whom Bābur hastily abandoned, Bābur's last attempt to win the city nearest his heart ended.

After two years adventuring in the Ḳunduz area Bābur returned to Kābul, his centre thenceforth for enterprises to the more promising east and south. Several attempts to retake Ḳandahar from the Arghūns ended in its occupation by negotiation in Djumādā II 928/May 1522. This secured, Bābur turned more vigorously towards Hindūstān, probed by minor expeditions since 922/1516.

The victor at Ḳandahar was invited into Hindūstān by Dawlat Khān Lodī of Lahore and ʿĀlam Khān, uncle of Ibrāhīm Lodī, sultan of Delhī, to help them against Ibrahīm. On his second advance, having dispossessed Dawlat Khān and utilised ʿĀlam Khān to attract Afghān support, Bābur destroyed the forces of Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat in Radjab 932/April 1526. He occupied Delhī and Āgra and his forces pressed as far eastwards down the Ganges as Djawnpūr and Ghāzīpūr. Bābur's victory at Khānuā over Rānā Saṅgā of Čitor in Djumādā I 933/March 1527 secured the Rādjasthānī flank, while victory over the eastern Afghāns in Shaʿbān 935/May 1529 at the junction of the Gogra and Ganges extended his paramountcy in Hindūstān up to Bengal. He died on 6 Djumādā I 937/26 December 1530, at Āgra. Several years later his body was moved to its present grave in one of the gardens of Kābul.

Bābur had been born a member of a class of political entrepreneurs, some still semi-nomad, who competed within Central Asia for the power to draw revenue from herdsmen and agriculturalists and from the craftsmen and traders of an area enriched by the caravan traffic between China, India and ʿIrāḳ. His career, like that of his rivals and enemies, was based upon the loyalties and antagonisms of family and clan rather than those of linguistic or national states. His birth gave him entry to the ruling élite; his tournament successes depended upon his attractive personal qualities—resilience and resource, courage, a cheerful and cultivated humanity—and the qualities of his partners. He was a cautious general who learnt much from the great Uzbak commanders, and applied the lessons of organised discipline and the techniques of field defences and entrenchment, musketry and artillery, and of the encircling movement with telling effect in his Indian career. His experience enabled him to hold together small collections of defeated but still personally ambitious Tīmūrids, and the even less reliable Mughals, who had gathered around him in Kābul, until success gave him the undisputed power to command.

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(J. B. Harrison and P. Hardy)

Literary Works. 1. *Bābur-nāme*. In this famous autobiography, written in Čaghatāy Turkish, Bābur tells his story from childhood to the last years of his life, with no attempt to conceal his weaknesses, his mistakes, or his defeats. It is in no sense an *apologia pro vita sua*; indeed, so matter-

of-fact and unemotional is the tone of the work that the casual reader might not recognise it as the memoirs of a skilful and valiant soldier and the founder of a dynasty, which closer study reveals it to be. It cannot be said that Bābur is impartial in his picture of himself, his friends, or his enemies. For example, we can see that his feelings got the better of him in his evident desire to belittle the important and worthy Shaybānī Khān. But despite occasional injustices of this nature, the *Bābur-nāme* is far more reliable than the general run of such works. The author's keen powers of observation and his analytical mind are apparent in his descriptions and explanations of works of art, of flora and fauna, of the group-psychology of peoples, and the characters of individuals. As a literary work, the simple and chaste language of the *Bābur-nāme*, its natural style, its colourful and lively descriptive passages, are some of the reasons which justify our regarding it as one of the finest examples not only of Čaghatāy but of Turkish prose generally.

2. *ʿArūḍ risālesi*. It was known that Bābur had written a Čaghatāy treatise on prosody, from the *Bābur-nāme*, certain copies of his *Dīwān*, and the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Badāʾūnī (Calcutta 1868, i, 343), but the work did not come to light till 1923, when it was discovered by M. Fuad Köprülü in a Paris manuscript (E. Blochet, *Cat. des MSS turcs*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. *Supp*. no. 1308). It does not differ greatly from similar works in Persian; its chief importance is that on certain *ʿarūḍ* verse-forms used by the Turkish poets its information is fuller than that given by Nawāʾī in his *Mīzān al-Awzān*. Bābur gives both Persian and Turkish examples of metres in general use, including some from his own poems, but only Turkish examples of metres of his own invention. At the end of his *Dīwān* he states that the *ʿArūḍ risālesi* was finished 2 or 3 years before the completion of the conquest of India; *i.e.*, between 932 and 934/1525-8.

3. *Mubayyan*. A *mathnawī* in *khafīf* trimeter catalectic (*faʿilatun mafāʿilun faʿilun*), completed, according to a reference in the *ʿArūḍ risālesi*, in 928/1521-2. It deals with some problems in Ḥanafī law, together with some matters relating to campaigning. This simple didactic work is of no artistic importance, but it does show that Bābur was interested in *fiḳh* and was a sincere Ḥanafī. Till recently it was known to Orientalists as *Mubīn*; A. S. Beveridge so refers to it, even though she mentions that the Indian historians Abu 'l-Faḍl and Badāʾūnī read the title as *Mubayyan* (and that Sprenger called it *Fiḳh-i Bāburī*). *Mubīn* is in fact the name of a commentary on this work, written by Bābur's secretary, Shaykh Zayn.

4. Translation of *Risāle-i Wālidiyya*. The author of this work on Ṣūfī ethics was Khᵂāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrārī, the great Central Asian Ṣūfī and spiritual aide of the Tīmūrids. As the title implies, he wrote it at his father's insistence. Bābur's Čaghatāy translation was made in 935/1528-9, and forms part of his *Dīwān*. It is a *mathnawī* of 243 lines in *Ramal* trimeter catalectic (*faʿilātun faʿilātun faʿilun*). Though pleasantly and simply written, it has no aesthetic merit, but is of interest as showing Bābur's Ṣūfī leanings.

5. The *Dīwān*. The bulk of this is in Turkish, but some of the poems are in Persian. The verse-forms represented include the *ghazal*, *mathnawī*, *rubāʿī*, *ḳiṭʿa*, *tuyugh*, *muʿammā*, and *mufrad*. We find in it the various verses whose composition he mentions in the *Bābur-nāme*. The existing copies are not arranged in the classical *Dīwān* manner; the poems are set down in no apparent order. In the technique of versification Bābur was not inferior to any of the 15th-century Čaghatāy poets, not even Nawāʾī, and he expresses his thoughts and feelings in an unaffected language and style. Side by side with Ṣūfī songs of love and wine there are poems on everyday themes. Signs of the influence of earlier poets, especially Nawāʾī are not wanting, but there are no slavish imitations. Though Bābur had a taste for literary artifices and poetic *tours de force* (there are 29 of the latter in the *Dīwān*), and though, in obedience to the fashion prevailing at the time in both Persian and Turkish literature, he wrote numerous *muʿammā*s (the *Dīwān* includes 52), the greater part of his work is simple, sincere, and natural. He wrote a number of *tuyugh*s, a verse-form peculiarly Turkish, as well as some *rubāʿīs* of great beauty. Among his *türkü*s, which belong to popular poetry, we find one poem in syllabic metre (cf. *MTM*, i, 27). He was capable of writing Persian poems—there are over 20 in the *Dīwān*—but his affection for his mother-tongue is evident in the preponderance of Čaghatāy. Further, in his poems he often refers to the valour of the Turks, and the fact that he is one of them. In this respect he was following the intellectual and literary trend which had begun with Nawāʾī in the previous century and which prevailed not only in Khurāsān but at all the Tīmūrid courts. The literary influence of Bābur was responsible for the subsequent rise of poets writing in Čaghatāy both among his descendants and among their courtiers. Certainly the literary historian must assign Bābur a leading position among the Čaghatāy poets after Nawāʾī.

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(2) *ʿArūḍ risālesi*. Text not yet published. For the information it affords on Turkish verse-forms, see M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934, 40-44.

(3) *Mubayyan*. A long extract based on a defective MS is contained in I. N. Berezin *Turetskaya chrestomatia*, Kazan 1867. See Köprülü, *op. cit.*, 244-6, for details of a full and accurate MS. of 937/1530-1, in his private collection.

(4) Translation of the *Risāla-i Wālidiyya*. Text, extracted from the Istanbul copy of the *Dīwān*, published by Köprülü in *MTM*, i, 113-24.

(5) E. Denison Ross, *Dīvān-i Bābur Pādishāh*, in *JASB* 1910, contains a facsimile of a meagre Rampur MS, at that time the only one known. A fuller copy discovered some years later (Paris,

Bibl. Nat. Supp. turc. 1230) formed the basis for A. Samoylovich, *Madjmūʿa-i Ashʿār-i Bāber Pādishāh*, Petrograd 1917. A number of additional poems were published by Köprülü in *MTM* for 1331/1913 (nos. 2, 3, 4) from a MS. now in Istanbul University Library (no. 3743). Although the end is missing, this MS. has almost twice the content of Samoylovich's edition, including, *inter alia*, 118 *ghazals* and 104 *rubāʿīs* in Turkish, and 3 *ghazals* and 18 *rubāʿīs* in Persian.

(M. Fuad Köprülü)

BABYLON, Egypt [see BĀBALYŪN].

BABYLON, Mesopotamia [see BĀBIL].

BĀD-I HAWĀ, literally 'wind of the air'; in Ottoman fiscal usage a general term for irregular and occasional revenues from fines, fees, registration charges, and other casual sources of income. The term does not a appear in the *Ḳānūns* of the 9th/15th century, but is found in a *Ḳānūnnāme* of Gelibolu of 925/1519, where mention is made of penalties and fines, bride-tax, fees for the recapture of runaway slaves, 'and other *bād-i hawā*' (Barkan 236). It also appears, in similar terms, in *Ḳānūnnāmes* of Ankara (929/1522-Barkan 34), Ḥamīd (935/1528-Barkan 33), Aydīn (935/1528-Barkan 14), Malatya (937/1530-Barkan 110), and of the Gypsies of Rumeli (937/1530-Barkan 248). In the two last-named it is included among the *Rusūm-i ʿurfiyye*. During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries it is found in *Ḳānūns* and registers from all over the Empire. In free tīmārs (*Serbest tīmār*) the *bād-i hawā* belonged to the tīmār-holder. In other tīmārs it was either shared by the tīmār-holder with the *Khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] or, more frequently, reserved entirely to the *Khāṣṣ*, in which case it might be either retained as Imperial *Khāṣṣ* or granted as *Khāṣṣ* to the governor (see BAYT AL-MĀL). The name, which seems to convey the same meaning as the English word windfall, may be connected, as Inalcık suggests, with the much disputed Byzantine *aerikon*.

Bibliography: *Kānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿUthmān*, *TOEM*, Suppl., Istanbul 1329, 38-9; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki Ve Mali Esasları, I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943; Halil Inalcık, *Sûret i Defter i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, xxvii-xxviii, xxxii-xxxiii; (Inalcık mentions a detailed *ḳānūn* on *bād-i hawā* in a manuscript in the library of the Turkish Historical Society, No. 34, p. 117).

(B. Lewis)

BADĀʾ (Ar.), appearance, emergence; in theology: the emergence of new circumstances which cause a change in an earlier divine ruling. (Dozy, *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*, 223, gives the term too wide a meaning, as "*mutabilité de Dieu*"). There are three sorts of *badāʾ* as it refers to the knowledge, the will or the command of God (Shahrastānī, 110). The possibility of *badāʾ* is, in opposition to the divergent Sunnī doctrine, always treated in the chapter on the divine knowledge in the textbooks of Shīʿite theology, but without reaching a definitive formula. In its extreme form which assumes the mutability of God's will it is taught in the ultra-Shīʿite sects (Badāʾiyya); the moderate Imāmiyya school is careful to use words which exclude or at least minimise the possibility of change in God's knowledge (see below). The former could employ the doctrine of the Shīʿite theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] that God's knowledge does not exist till the object of it exists; what does not yet exist (*maʿdūm*) cannot be known and therefore His knowing follows His not-knowing as soon as things exist (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 49), subtleties which appear in modern times in the Shīʿite Shaykhī sect (*RMM*, xi, 435 ff.). This idea allows for a knowledge in God corresponding to fresh phenomena and a change of mind determined by them. Muslim historians of the sects agree that the idea of *badāʾ* was first suggested by Mukhtār [*q.v.*] and then became part of the creed of the Shīʿite Kaysāniyya (*al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, 36; cf. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā in M. Horten, *Die philos. Probleme der spek. Philosophie in Islam*, Bonn 1910, 124). The origin of this idea is also ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawf (Ṭabarī, ii, 732). When Mukhtār had to fight the decisive battle of his career against the superior force of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, he (or ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawf) announced that God had revealed to him that victory was certain. When the alleged oracle was proved false by his defeat, one of the two said, referring to *Sūra* xiii, 39, that something had intervened (*badā lahu*) which had made God change His mind.

During the calamities which befell the Shīʿite community this idea was accepted as a convenient explanation of the failure of the hopes and prophecies of the defeated imāms. It had been God's purpose that the deliverance (*faradj*) and victory of the lawful imāmate should take place at a certain moment; He had however changed His plan on grounds of expediency. His promises were an encouragement; had the Shīʿa known that victory would come only after one or two thousand years, they would have lost heart. This principle also serves to explain the change in the legitimate succession of the imāms when, in place of the predestined Ismāʿīl, his brother Mūsā al-Kāẓim succeeded Djaʿfar as the seventh imām. They ascribe to Djaʿfar the words, "God has never been led by a new consideration (to change His mind) as in the case of my son Ismāʿīl" (*mā badā li'llāhi kamā badā fī Ismāʿīl ibnī*). To many Shīʿite theologians this crass application of *badāʾ* might have seemed discreditable; so the speech of Djaʿfar has been made more tolerable by changing *ibnī* to *abī*; God's change of mind is hereby transferred from the son to the ancestor of the imām, to Ismāʿīl the son of Abraham, the expected *dhabīḥ*; God released Abraham from offering the sacrifice which He had originally ordered.

The most important arguments adduced by the Shīʿa in support of *badāʾ* are: A) passages in the Ḳurʾān: xiii, 39; xiv, 11/10b (these are the strongest proofs); lv, 29b; the frequent assertion that God will change His resolve to punish sinners when they repent vii, 152/153; stories like the sparing of the people of Yūnus x, 98; the sacrifice of Ismāʿīl xxxvii, 101/102-107; Moses' talk with God prolonged from 30 to 40 nights, vii, 138/142; B) traditions telling that by the practice of certain virtues (*e.g.*, honouring one's parents) the allotted span of life might be lengthened and the appointed destiny (*al-ḳaḍāʾ al-mubram*) might be changed; the prayer of ʿUmar that "God might strike his name out of the book of the damned and write it in that of the blessed" Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326, 7); C) pious legends from which it is plain that misfortunes threatening individuals may be averted by acts pleasing to God; D) the doctrine of the abrogation of divine laws (*naskh*) which is a tenet of Sunnī doctrine; *badāʾ* is creative cancellation and cancellation is legislative *badāʾ*.

As Shīʿite theology in general is influenced by Muʿtazilite speculation, so the Muʿtazilite argument

based on *al-aṣlaḥ* (the most expedient) is connected with *badāʾ*, that God in His dealings with men is guided by expediency and the common good. Accordingly it considers *badāʾ* from the point of view that divine decrees may change with changes in the demands of the general good (*taḳdīrāt al-umūr tatabaddal bi-tabaddul al-maṣāliḥ*). Moderate Shīʿites had to exercise much ingenuity in evading the theological antinomies which this conception implies in order to reconcile the assumption of the appearance of new determining moments in God's knowledge, as expressed by *badāʾ*, with a belief in His absolute omniscience, in the eternity of His knowledge which is identical with His being, as most Muʿtazilites believed; and to meet the objection of the orthodox to the assumption that God might be ignorant of the end of things (*ʿawāḳib al-umūr*) which the admission of *badāʾ* implies (cf. Djurdjānī on Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, Leipzig 1848, 346). The effort to meet the objections raised from this angle led them, in spite of their protests against the Jews and Sunnites who denied *badāʾ*, to devise formulae which would meet these objections and to accuse their Sunnite opponents of crediting them with a false idea of *badāʾ* which was invented by the Sunnites. Their contention is that the term *badāʾ* is not be understood in its literal meaning but metaphorically (*madjāzᵃⁿ*); they reject the view that *badāʾ* implies a change in the divine knowledge or regret for what has happened. God does not will absolutely what He has announced but only so far as it is determined by the common good. In fact, the difference between the Shīʿite and Sunnite theologians is only an idle war of words for the former explain that a future *badāʾ* is decreed in the eternal foreknowledge of God which includes all particulars (*ʿalā wadjh al tafṣīl*). A remarkable way of reconciling *badāʾ* with the doctrine of the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, *Sūra* lxxxv, 22) is the assumption of two tables of fate, one on which the unalterable decrees of fate are set out and a *lawḥ al-maḥw wa 'l-ithbāt* (cf. *Sūra* xiii, 39) which contains those decrees which may be altered by the emergence of new causes (Dildār ʿAlī, i, 114 foot), a view which has also penetrated into Sunnī circles and given rise to esoteric mystic subtleties (*kalimāt ʿadjība wa asrār ghāmiḍa*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, 5, 310). Therefore two kinds of divine knowledge must be distinguished; *ʿilm maḥtūm*, the unalterable knowledge the details of which God makes known to prophets and angels, and *ʿilm makhzūn*, the knowledge entrusted by God to no one, which concerns matters in suspense (*umūr mawḳūfa ʿind allāh*) (Kulīnī 85). Thus God knew that He would not punish the people of Yūnus but did not tell him so that he might worship God wholeheartedly while in the fish. A contrary view is that "angels write on *lawḥ al-maḥw wa 'l-ithbāt*".

The Shīʿa lays great stress on the concept of *badāʾ*; ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first to teach it; an imām is made to say, "none can serve God better than by acknowledging *badāʾ*" for repentance, prayer and humbling oneself before God to get forgiveness of sins or change of destiny have no meaning if *badāʾ* it not real. Yet this doctrine is always the object of attack by opponents. Even Sulaymān b. Djarīr, one of the Shīʿite Zaydī sect, reproached the Imāmites with embracing two errors, *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] and *badāʾ* (Shahrastānī, 119 foot). The bitterest opponents of *badāʾ* were the Jews who based their rejection of the abrogation of divine law (*naskh al sharīʿa*) on the fact that this proposition implies the recognition of *badāʾ* as was shown by the Jewish theologian Yaḥyā b. Zakariyya al-Kātib al-Ṭabarānī in his controversy with al-Masʿūdī (*al-Tanbīh*, 113, l. 15; for اعبلا read البداء). In the 3rd/9th century *badāʾ* seems to have been one of the problems for testing sagacity and shrewdness because of the difficulties it raised which could only be resolved by hair-splitting. This can be inferred from Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ* (ed. Pellat, §§ 74, 189; however see *ibid.*, index, s.v. RFḌ).

Bibliography: Al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Istanbul 1929, 39; Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad al-Kulīnī, *al-Uṣūl min al-Djāmiʿ al-Kāfī*, Bombay 1302 A.H., 84-6; Dildār ʿAlī, *Mirʾāt al-ʿUḳūl fī ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, Lucknow 1318-19 A.H., i, 110-121 (the utterances and definitions of the most moderate Shīʿite authorities on *badāʾ* are quoted in full; I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, Newhaven 1909 = JAOS xxix, 2, 72.

(I. Goldziher-[A. S. Tritton])

BADAJOZ [see BATALYAWS].

BADAKHSHĀN, also frequently written Badhakhshān and sometimes in the literary language (with the Arabic plural inflection) Badakhshānāt, a mountainous region situated on the left bank of the upper reaches of the Āmū-Daryā or more accurately of the Pandj, the source of this great river; the adjective derived from this noun is *Badakhshānī* or *Badakhshī*. J. Marquart (*Ērānshahr*, 279) gives this name the meaning of "region of Badhakhsh or Balakhsh, a type of ruby, which, it is said, is only found in Badhakhshān, on the Kokča". It is more probable, however, that the word Balakhsh (whence the French Balais, the English Balas) is a dialectal form which originally denoted the region and which only later came to be used to denote the type of ruby in question. Yāḳūt (i, 528) gives the form Badakhshān as the one most popularly used for the name of the region. Marco Polo also gives the same form. The mines from which the rubies were extracted were situated, as is already asserted by Marco Polo, outside Badakhshān proper—in Shughnān on the right bank of the Āmū-Daryā; during the historical period, however, the country was usually subject to the same power as Badakhshān. The rubies (Ar. *laʿl*, Pers. *lāl*) of Badakhshān were famous in the Middle Ages throughout the Muslim world. In Persian poetry, the expression "*lāl-i badakhshī*" or "*lāl-i badakhshānī*" often denotes in a figurative sense wine or the lips of the Beloved. In Central Asia, this expression is today in universal popular use. The region which contains the mines in question is at present a dependency of the territory of Bukhārā, which is subject to Soviet rule. Nevertheless the mines are worked with the same primitive methods as before, and still have not acquired any importance for the European precious-stone market.

The Kokča or Kökče, called Khirnāb in the *Ḥudūd al ʿĀlam* (written in 372/982-3), a tributary of the Āmū-Daryā, waters Badakhshān. From the economic point of view, the valley of the Kokča and its tributaries alone have always played an important part for the region. In this area were situated the towns of Badakhshān—doubtless near the present capital of Faydhābād—Djirm and Kishm. The last two, which are mentioned in the earliest Arab documents, have preserved their names to this day. The lapis lazuli of Badakhshān, equally famous in the Middle Ages, came from mines situated on the upper reaches of the Kokča. The trade in these gems is at present a monopoly of the Afghān government,

and they are only exported to India. In addition, Badakhshān possesses iron and copper mines.

The first mention of the name of Badakhshān occurs in the Chinese documents of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., in Hüan čuang in the form Po-tʿot-čoangna, the ancient pronunciation of which, according to Schlegel, was Pat tok-tsʿong-na, in Tʿang-shu in the form Paàtʿo-shān, in the Encyclopaedia *Če-fu-yeun-koci* in the form Pu-tʿo-shan. The Chinese described the country as forming part of Tuho-lo (Tukhāristān). The Arabs also gave two meanings to the word Tukhāristān; in the strict sense, Tukhāristān was only the region situated between Balkh and Badakhshān, in the wide sense, it comprised all the regions east of Balkh and on both banks of the Āmū-Daryā. The name clearly derives from the Tokharians who made their appearance in the 2nd century A.D. and conquered the Graeco-Bactrian empire. In the 5th century A.D., these same territories were occupied by the Hayṭal (the Hephthalites of the Byzantines); in ʿAwfī's Anthology, compiled in the 7th/13th century, we find a story which describes how a king of the Hayṭal conferred on his son the domain "of Djirm and Badakhshān" (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 91). In the 6th century A.D., the Turks put an end to the empire of the Hayṭal; at the time of the first Arab incursions the ruler of Tukhāristān (in the wide sense) bore, according to Arabic and Chinese documents, the Turkish title of Yabghu [*q.v.*] (in Arabic Djabghūya); the princes of every country, including also the prince of Badakhshān, were his vassals. We have no precise information on the date of the conquest of Badakhshān by the Arabs and the manner in which Islam was introduced there. Al-Ṭabarī only mentions the name of the country once. Among the events of the year 118/736, he describes a campaign against "Kishm in the country of Djabghūya" and against more distant places. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 288), Djirm in Badakhshān was the city which marked the frontier of Islam on the trade route to Tibet via Wakhān. In the same passage, a Turkish prince, otherwise unknown, called Khumār Beg (this is the correct form of the name), is described as "king of Shiḳinān and Badakhshān". Al-Iṣṭakhrī (278) describes Badakhshān as the "territory of Abu 'l-Fatḥ"; this is doubtless a reference to the prince Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Yəftalī, whose son Abū Naṣr, according to Samʿānī (W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 69) and Yāḳūt (iv, 1023), fought against Ḳara-Tegīn, the lieutenant of the Sāmānids (d. 340/951-2, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 157, 370). Apart from these facts, we know nothing of the political situation of Badakhshān during this period. In the 5th/11th century, the poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw brought Ismāʿīlī doctrine to Badakhshān and preached it there with success. His tomb on the upper reaches of the Kokča is still shown today. His teachings have been preserved to this day in Badakhshān and the frontier regions. In the second half of the 6th/12th century, Tukhāristān in the wide sense (with Badakhshān) came under the rule of a side branch of the house of Ghūr, which resided at Bāmiyān and which, like the other branches of this dynasty, was dispossessed at the beginning of the 7th/13th century by the Khwārizm-shāh Muḥammad.

Badakhshān escaped the fury of the Mongol invasion and remained up to the 9th/15th century in the hands of its national dynasty. The legend which traces the descent of this royal family from Alexander the Great was first quoted by Marco Polo, and is subsequently frequently mentioned by the Muslim historians. Muḥammad Ḥaydar (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. E.D. Ross, 203) attributes to the daughter of the last ruler the statement that her ancestors had been kings of Badakhshān for 3,000 years. Tīmūr himself and his successors only succeeded after hard battles in obtaining recognition of their suzerainty, and the country was only annexed to the Tīmūrid empire by Tīmūr's great-grandson, Abū Saʿīd. The last prince, Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad Badakhshī, had previously renounced obedience to the ordinances (*Dastūr al-ʿAmal*) left by Alexander the Great, in order to compose, under the pseudonym of Lālī, a Persian *dīwān* (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, 147). He submitted without resistance to the army sent by Abū Saʿīd, and went to Harāt; his son fled to Kāshghar; Mīrzā Abū Bakr, son of Abū Saʿīd, was named prince of Badakhshān. Shortly afterwards, the prince returned from Kāshghar; Abū Bakr was driven out, and Badakhshān had to be conquered afresh. With this object, Abū Saʿīd had Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad executed in 871/1466-7 (Dawlatshāh, 453). It follows that, on the inscription discovered in 1885 by the British, according to which this Muḥammad constructed a stone bridge in 884/1479-80 (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, 221), the date has doubtless been misread. Abū Bakr was later driven out of Badakhshān by his brother Sulṭān Maḥmūd, prince of Ḥiṣār. Up to the conquest of Ḥiṣār by the Özbegs (beginning of the 16th century), Badakhshān continued to form part of its territory. A national movement arose in Badakhshān against the Özbeg conquerors. At the head of this movement were Mubārak Shāh and Zubayr Rāghī. It is said that they took as their base a fortress situated on the left bank of the Kokča, which still today bears the name of Ḳalʿa-i Ẓafar ("Victory Fort") given to it by Mubārak Shāh. The Özbegs were driven back; the Tīmūrid Nāṣir Mīrzā (brother of Bābur), whose aid had been invoked by the insurgents, was proclaimed ruler of Badakhshān (end 910/February 1505), but, unable to come to terms with the leaders of the rebellion, was driven out two years later. In 913/1507-8, Sulṭān Ways Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā, went to Badakhshān with the consent of Bābur and was received at Ḳalʿa-i Ẓafar. Shortly before, Mubārak Shāh had been killed by his comrade Zubayr. The latter, who tried to keep power in his own hands even after the arrival of the new sovereign, was removed by assassination. Shortly afterwards, Shāh Raḍī al-Dīn, leader of the Ismāʿīlīs of Kuhistān, made his appearance in Badakhshān, gathered round him the followers of this sect, and subjugated part of the country. However, he was put to death in the spring of 1509, and his head taken to Ḳalʿa-i Ẓafar and presented to Mīrzā-Khān. The latter died in 926/1520 on the throne of Badakhshān. Bābur summoned Sulaymān the son of Mīrzā-Khān, who was still a minor, and replaced him in Badakhshān by his own son Humāyūn. In 935/1528-9, Humāyūn was recalled by his father and sent to India. After an unsuccessful attempt by Saʿīd Khān, ruler of Kāshghār, to seize possession of the country, Sulaymān was recognised as prince of Badakhshān both by Bābur and by Saʿīd Khān (1530). Sulaymān reigned until 983/1575; driven out in the first half of that year by his grandson Shāhrukh, he retired to India and thence to Mecca, but later returned to his own country. In 1584, Badakhshān was conquered by the Özbegs under ʿAbd Allāh Khān. Sulaymān and Shāhrukh were forced to flee to India, but

returned later and made several attempts to repel the conquerors. At the beginning of the 17th century there occurred another insurrection, provoked by Badīʿ al-Zamān, son of Shahrukh. In 1665, the Tīmūrids occupied both Balkh and Badakhshān, but in the autumn of 1669 the two countries were finally ceded to the Özbegs.

The Özbeg empire in the 17th century was still divided into several independent states. In Badakhshān, a dynasty was set up founded by Yār Beg, who built the town of Faydhābād. The representatives of this dynasty also, claimed descent from Alexander the Great, a claim which they still maintained in the 19th century. Like the other Özbeg princes in present-day Afghānistān, these princes bore the title of Mīr, an abbreviation of Amīr. In 1822, Mīr Muḥammad Shāh was dethroned by Murād Beg, ruler of Ḳunduz. Mīrzā Kalān, a dependant of Murād Beg, was despatched as prince of Badakhshān. After the death of his sovereign, he declared himself independent and even became for a time master of Ḳunduz. His son and successor, Mīr Shāh Nizām al-Dīn, died in 1862. The latter's son Djahāndār Shāh, from 1867 onwards had to contend for his throne with another prince of the same dynasty, Maḥmūd Shāh. In 1869, Djahāndār was decisively repulsed and, after one last effort, he withdrew in 1872 to Russian territory, andUčkurgan in Farghāna was allotted to him as his place of residence. An annual pension of 1500 roubles was assigned to him. In 1878, however, he was assassinated at Učkurgan by unknown assailants. In 1873, the Afghān government deposed Maḥmūd Shāh; he was sent to Kābul, where he remained until his death. His territory was annexed to Afghānistān, and formed part of the province of Turkistān.

From 1725 onwards, there are reports in Russia of the rubies and lapis lazuli of Badakhshān and also of its alleged gold and silver mines. In 1735, "the conquest of the rich country of Badakhshān" is mentioned as one of the aims of Russian policy in Central Asia, but Russian penetration only really began after 1876. In 1885, Post Pāmīrskii was founded on the Murghāb, and in 1891-2, after an armed encounter at Yeshil-Kul, the Russians occupied the whole of eastern Pāmīr, which became the "district of Pamir" of the region (*oblast'*) of Farghāna, administered by the leader of the Russian military detachment in Pāmīr.

On 11 March 1895, an exchange of notes between the British and the Russians in London delimited the frontiers of Pāmīr between Afghānistān and the principality of Bukhārā under Russian protectorate; Badakhshān proper was left in the hands of the rulers of Afghānistān, while the territories of western Pāmīr lying north and est of the Pandj returned to Bukhārā.

The revolution of 1918 abolished the principality of Bukhārā, but Soviet power did not become firmly established in Pāmīr until 1925, after four years of fighting between the "White" elements and the *basmačis* [*q.v.*].

Autonomous region of Soviet Gorno-Badakhshān.

On 2 January 1925, the two parts of Pāmīr (east and west) were reunited in a "Special Region of Pāmīr", attached administratively to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkistān (founded on 14 October 1924), in December of the same year its name was changed to the Autonomous Region of Gorno-Badakhshān, forming part of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Tādjikistān (which on 5/12/1929 became the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tādjikistān). Its capital is Khārogh (Khorog).

Gorno-Badakhshān comprises all the territory of Soviet Pāmīr; it is bounded in the north by the Trans-Alaï chain, in the east by Chinese Sinkiang, in the south by the Afghān possessions and in the west by the Pandj and by the Darwāz and Academy chains. Its area is 61,800 sq. km.—In 1951, the Autonomous Region was divided into 7 districts (*tuman* = "zone"):

1. Shughnān (administrative centre Khārogh), comprising the Ghund valley.

2. Ishkāshim (administrative centre Ishkāshim), comprising the upper vallay of the Pandj and the former territories of Wakhān, Ishkāshim and Ghārān, up-stream from the confluence of the Pandj and the Shākh-dara.

3. Rosht-Ḳalʿa (administrative centre Rosht-Ḳalʿa) in the Shākh-dara basin.

4. Rōshān (administrative centre Rōshan) in the Pandj valley downstream from Khārogh.

5. Bartang, comprising the basin of the Bartang river and its tributary the Kudara, as far as Lake Sarez.

6. Murghāb (administrative centre Murghāb, the former Post Pamirskii) comprising the whole of eastern Pāmīr.

7. Wanč (administrative centre Wanč), comprising the Wanč and Yāghulām valleys.

In 1954, the Bartang district was abolished, and its territory incorporated in the Roshān and Wanč districts.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the total population of Pāmīr (Russian and Bukhāran) did not exceed 20,000: since 1925, as the result of improved communications and the introduction of new agricultural techniques, it has increased appreciably. At the 1926 census, there were 28,924 inhabitants, and at the 1939 census, 41,769. In 1956 the total population was in the region of 62,000.

Ethnically, Gorno-Badakhshān comprises two quite distinct regions: 1) the high plains of eastern Pāmīr are inhabited by a small number of Kirghiz nomads. In 1926, there were 2,660 belonging to the Ičkilik tribes, made up of the following clans: Kesek, 1,400: Teit, 800: Ḳipčaḳ, 300: Naiman, 100. In 1939, their number did not exceed 5,000, or about 11% of the total population of the region. These Kirghiz are nominally Sunnīs of the Ḥanafī rite. 2) In the valleys of western Pāmīr live Iranian peoples whom their Tadjīk neighbours call "Ghalča", and the Russians "Gornyje tādjiki" (an inaccurate term, which causes confusion with the Tādjīk of the mountainous regions of Darwāz, Ḳarategin and Zarafshān), or "Pāmīrsku Narody" ("Peoples of the Pāmīr"). The inhabitants themselves call themselves "tādjīk", a term which also leads to confusion, and call their neighbours in Darwāz who speak Tādjīk, people who speak Persian" (*pārsī-gūy*). Their total number is estimated at more than 50,000 or 85% of the total population of the Autonomous Region. They are for the most part Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*], apart from a small number of the Bartang, the majority of the Yāzghulāmī, and all the Wančī, who are Ḥanafī Sunnīs.

The people of the Pāmīr constitute several groups:

1. *The Shughnāno-Rōshān group*, numerically the most important (35-40,000 people), comprising: a) the Shughnī (Hugnī), numbering 20-30,000, in the districts of Shughnān [*q.v.*] and Rosht Ḳalʿa (valleys

of the Ghunid, Pandj and Shākh-dara); b) the Rōshānī: about 8,000 in the Rōshān district north of the Shughnī (Pandj valley); c) the Bartang: about 2,000 in the Bartang district (valley of the river Bartang), and d) the Oroshor (300 in 1925). These four peoples speak closely-related dialects.

2. *The Wakhī* (Wukh, Wakhagd) [*q.v.*], numbering 6-7,000, living in the district of Ishkāshim situated in the southern part of Soviet Pāmīr, the high valleys of the Pandj and the Wakhān-Daryā (a similar number of Wakhī live in Afghānistān).

3. *The Yāzghulāmī* (Yuzdom, Zgamik), whose number does not exceed 2,000, distributed among 13 villages situated in the valley of the river Yāzghulām (Wanč district).

4. The Ishkāshimī (Ishkāshumī), numbering 400 in Soviet Badakhshān (1,500-2,000 of their brothers, who speak the Zēbākī and Sangličī dialects, live in Afghānistān), living in one village only, Rym, on the upper Pandj (Ishkāshim district).

Finally, in the extreme north of the Autonomous Region, in the valley of the river Wanč, live the *Wanči*, who are completely tādjīkised and whose language has not been in use for more than a century.

The peoples of the Pāmīr belong to the eastern Iranian linguistic group; none of the languages is fixed by writing, despite an abortive attempt by the Soviet authorities in 1931 to give the Shughnī a Latin alphabet and make it a literary language (in 1931 a Shughnī primer for children was published in Stalinabad (A. Djakov: *Xugnoni alifba Kudaken čat*, and in 1936 Tādjīkistān State Publications published the first works in Shughnī: cf. *Revolutsia i Natsional'nosti*, No. 4/1936, 92).

Tādjīkī is the language of civilisation (administration, courts, schools, the Press), and bilingualism (local dialect + Tādjīkī) is general. Some languages, such as Ishkāshimī, are fast disappearing and only survive as "domestic languages", others (Bartangī, Rōshānī ....) are strongly tādjīkised; on the other hand Yāzghulāmī, which is extremely isolated, and Wakhī are putting up a more effective resistance.

In 1954, Gorno-Badakhshān possessed seven newspapers; two of these were regional organs appearing at Khārōgh: *Krasnyj Badakhshān* (in Russian) and *Badakhshān-i Surkh* (in Tādjīkī); four were local papers in Tādjīkī, namely the *Rōshān-i Surkh* (at Rōshān); *Ḥaḳīḳat-i Wanč* (at Wanč) and the *Bayraḳ-i Surkh* and a Kirghiz paper at Murghāb.

Tādjīk influence was also exerted through teaching. In 1954, there were in the region some 200 schools, of which 11 were secondary (decennial schools, and a teaching institute at Khārogh with a total of 12,000 pupils.

Formerly extremely isolated, Gorno-Badakhshān has since 1934 been connected with the Farghāna valley by a motor road (the Osh-Murghāb-Khārōgh road, 740 km. in length), completed in 1940 by the Khārōgh-Stalinabad road which follows the Pandj valley. The economy of the region nevertheless is still of a traditional type: nomadic stock-breeding (ovines, caprines), terrace horticulture, and silk production in the western part of the region. The country is rich in deposits, some of which have been exploited for a very long time: lapis lazuli and malachite in the Shākhdara valley, precious stones, gold and copper (near Porshniv).

The capital of the region, Khārōgh (927 inhabitants in 1926, 2-3,000 in 1954) has a few small industrial undertakings.

Bibliography: Cf. especially *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. E. D. Ross, ed. N. Elias, London 1895, and *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, in *Gibb Memorial Series* I, London and Leiden 1905; the passages dealing with Badakhshān are indicated in the index. Of the MS. works, the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn* of 'Abd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī [*q.v.*], is especially useful. On the Ghūrid empire, cf. *The Tabaḳāti Nāṣiri of Aboo-Omar ... al-Jawzjānī*, Calcutta 1864; Raverty, *The Tabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, London 1881. Information concerning the regions situated on the upper reaches of the Oxus in the 19th century has been collected with the greatest care, based on the accounts of English travellers, by J. Minajew, *Swjedjenija o stranach po verchovjam Amu Darji*, St. Petersburg 1879. Barthold was in addition able to consult the narratives of two Russian travellers of the year 1878, which are not generally available. On the state of these regions, on the eve of the Revolution, cf. especially Count A. Bobrinskoj, *Gortzy verchovjev Pjandza*, Moscow 1908, partly based on R. Leitner, *Dardistan in 1866, (1889 and 1893)*, and idem, *Dardistan in 1895*. In 1957 the Academy of the sciences of the Tadjik SSR published an excellent work by A. M. Mandel'štam; *Materyalī k Istoriko-geografičeskomi obzaru Pamira i pripamirskich oblastec*, Stalinabad 1957 (vol. liii of the proceedings of the Inst. of hist., arch. and ethnology of the Acad. Sci. Tadjik SSR), containing the descriptions of the Pamir by Greek, Chinese and Arab historians and geographers to the 10th century.

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(W. Barthold-[A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère-d'Encausse])

BADAL (Turk. Bedel: plural *bedelāt*), a term used under the Ottoman régime to denote a contribution made by a tax-payer *in lieu* of his performing some service for the government or furnishing it with some commodity. Certain categories of the sultans' subjects were excused payment of dues and taxes on condition of their discharging such duties. If they failed to fulfil their obligations, however, or if the government forwent its rights in this regard, instead of again becoming liable to ordinary taxation, they were required to make special "substitute" contributions; and it may have been in description of these that the term *bedel* first came into use.

From the end of the 16th century, when the Ottoman central treasury was frequently short of funds and generally pursued short-sighted policies, harassed *Defterdārs* were often tempted to forgo services or supplies from those bound to render or furnish them—even though these might later have to be bought at equal cost—in order to exact such cash contributions *in lieu*. By the middle of the 17th century quite half the cash revenues accruing to the *Mīrī* were obtained from *bedelāt* of many different kinds (see the "budget" of Ṭarkhundju Aḥmed Pasha in the *Tekālīf Ḳawāʿidi* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, i, 327 ff., and the *ʿOsmanlı Taʾrīkhi* of Aḥmed Rāsim, ii, 214 ff., notes). Of these one of the best known, from its being of wide-spread application, was the *bedel-i nüzūl*, apparently exacted *in lieu* of the supplies and accommodation with which, according to an original arrangement, inhabitants of places through which travelling officers and officials passed were obliged to furnish them free. This became so general a contribution that it is linked in some accounts with the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*].

Two or three other "old-régime" *bedels* may be mentioned as of particular interest. One is the *bedel-i djizye* paid by the Hospodars of the Danubian principalities and the republic of Ragusa. This was a contribution received *in lieu*, not of any service, but of the payment of *djizya* [*q.v.*] by the individual Dhimmīs [*q.v.*] of those territories. A second was called *bedel-i tīmar*. It was first exacted in 1069/1659 —apparently from *tīmar*-holders who were no longer performing the military duties in return for which they held their fiefs, to the extent of as much as half their revenues, and even if it did not become a permanent impost was still in force five years later. Another levy on fief-holders was first imposed somewhat later and long continued, viz. the *bedel-i djebeli*, which, as its name indicates, was paid by those of them whose revenues exceeded a certain sum, originally 40,000 *akčes* a year, in lieu of their maintaining and appearing in the field accompanied by one or more armed and mounted retainers.

Although many ancient usages were abandoned under the new régime of Maḥmūd II and his successors, recourse was still had to *bedels* in several connexions during the second half of the 19th century. Thus in 1272/1856 what was later usually referred to as the *bedel-i ʿaskerī* was instituted under the name of *iʿāne-i ʿaskeriyye*. By the famous *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn* of that year [see art. ʿAbd al-Madjīd] the Ottoman reformers sought to abolish all legal distinctions between the sultan's Muslim and his Dhimmī subjects, and to this end both abrogated the collection of *djizya* from the Dhimmīs and declared them now for the first time liable for military service. In practice, however, the Porte did not wish to employ Dhimmīs as soldiers, any more than the Dhimmīs wished so to be employed themselves; and it was decided that the Dhimmīs should instead pay this *bedel*, which thus became to all intents a substitute for the *djizya*. At first collected by government agents from individuals, its collection was later delegated, until its abolition in 1907, to the leaders of each religious community concerned.

Two other late contributions of this kind were alike called *bedel-i naḳdī*, "cash payment *in lieu*". The first was instituted by a decree of 1302/1886, from which date it might be paid by men conscribed by lot for military service by way of exemption either from serving altogether or else from serving more than a shortened term. The sum payable for total exemption was then fixed at 50 Ottoman gold pieces. By another decree of 1332/1914 those paying this *bedel* (still of the same amount) were obliged to perform six months' service and were then relegated to the reserve. The practice of selling exemption was even continued under the republican regime, a decree of 1346/1927 fixing the payment for a shortened term of service at 600 *liras*.

The second *bedel-i naḳdī* was a payment accepted from persons in the provinces who were obliged by law to maintain roads in their area in lieu of this service.

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(H. Bowen)

BADAL [see abdāl and naḥw].

BADAN [see djism].

BĀDARĀYA [see badrā].

BADĀʾŪN (Budāʾūn or Badāyūn), an ancient town, about a mile east of the river Sot and headquarters of the district of the same name in India, situated in 28° 2′ N. and 79° 7′ E.; it is variously spelt by native historians as Bēdāmaʾūn, Bhadāʾūn and Badāwan. Population (1951) was 53,521.

Little authentic is known about the town before the advent of the Muslims towards the end of the 6th/12th century when Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], the *walī ʿahd* of Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām in India, invaded and captured it in 594/1197-8 (Fakhr-i Mudabbir, ed. Ross, 24). Tradition, however, ascribes its fall in 421/1030 to the pseudo-historical figure, Ghāzī Masʿūd Sālār [*q.v.*], said to be a nephew of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Tādj al-Dīn Yildūz, after his defeat by Iltutmish near Lahore in 612/1215, was sent to Badāʾūn as a captive where he died in 628/1230. It served as a military station during the Khaldjī period. In 690/1291 Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī came to Badāʾūn with a large army in order to quell the revolt of Malik Čadjdjū. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, however, did not favour the idea of retaining it as an army base. Consequently the refractory tribes all round rose in revolt. Fīrūz Tughluḳ marched down to Badāʾūn in 787/1385, crushed the revolt, appointed Ḳabūl Khān Shirwānī as the military governor and retired. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the

last king of the Sayyid dynasty, abdicated from the throne of Delhi in 855/1451 (Aḥmad Yādgār, *Taʾrīkh-i Shāhī*, Bibl. I nd. 257, 10) and passed the rest of his life in Badāʾūn where he died in 883/1478.

Under Akbar the town was formed into a *sarkār* of the *sūba* of Delhi in 964/1556; and a mint was established where only copper-coins were struck. In 979/1571 a great fire broke out, consuming the entire town, in which a large number of the residents perished.

The town lost its importance during the reign of Shāhdjahān when the *sarkārs* of Badāʾūn and Sambhal were amalgamated under the new name of Katehr with head-quarters at Bareilly. With the decline of the Mughal power the town lapsed to the Rohillas. After the rout of the Rohillas under ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, it was possessed by the Nawābs of Awadh in 1192/1778 from whom it was wrested by the British in 1216/1801. During the Mutiny of 1857 the town was seriously disturbed; the central prison was raided and the European quarter burnt.

Badāʾūn is the birth-place of the historian ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*] and the famous Indian divine Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*]. Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī [*q.v.*] is also said to have been born here but this statement is debatable. The old town contains several buildings of archaeological interest: the old fort, now in ruins, Masdjid Ḳuṭbī, the Djāmiʿ Masdjid Shamsī, built by Iltutmish in 620/1223 and, numerous other mosques and tombs, including the mausoleum of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the run-away Sayyid king of Delhi.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BADĀʾŪNĪ, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, scholar and historian at the court of Akbar the Mughal. Born at Tōda (in the old princely state of Djaypūr) in 947/1540, Badāʾūnī spent his early life at Basāwar about 18 miles to the north east of Tōda, being taken to Sambhal in 960/1553 to pursue his studies under Shaykh Ḥātim Sanbhalī and Shaykh Abu ʾl-Fatḥ. In 966/1558-9, Badāʾūnī went with his father Mulūk Shāh to Āgra and continued his education there under Shaykh Mubārak Nāgawrī, father of Abu ʾl-Faḍl and Fayḍī. He also read Ḥanafī jurisprudence under Ḳāḍī Abu ʾl-Maʿālī. After the death of his father in 969/1562, Badāʾūnī moved to Badāʾūn and thence, in 973/1565-6 to Patiyāla where he entered the service of Ḥusayn Khān as the latter's *ṣadr*. He remained with Ḥusayn Khān for 9 years, moving with him to Lucknow and Gānt u Gōla. In 981/1574 they quarrelled and parted. During the intervening years Badāʾūnī continued his religious education by visiting such saints as Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn of Ambethī, Shaykh Aban of Amroha, Shaykh Allah Bakhsh of Garmaktesar and Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Sikandra.

In 981/1574 Badāʾūnī was presented to Akbar through the good offices of Djalāl al-Dīn Ḳūrchī a *manṣabdār* of 500 and Ḥakīm ʿAyn al-Mulk a court physician. Impressed by Badāʾūnī's ability as a controversialist, in 982/1574-5 Akbar appointed him an imām and ordered him to bring horses to the brand as a *manṣabdār* of 20. Badāʾūnī's failure to match Abu ʾl-Faḍl's efforts in this sphere (the latter had come to court about the same time as Badāʾūnī) embittered him and led him to accept a *madad-i maʿāsh* of 1,000 *bīghās* (originally at Basāwar but transferred in 997/1588-9 to Badāʾūn). Badāʾūnī's failure after this error of judgment to gain the preferment he considered he deserved, undoubtedly influenced his view of events at Akbar's court and of the religious activities in which Abu ʾl-Faḍl was prominent. For absenting himself from attendance on Akbar, Badāʾūnī nearly forfeited his grant, being saved largely by the good offices of Khwādja Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, whom he had met at Āgra in 967/1559. Akbar continued however to employ Badāʾūnī on literary work from 982/1574 onwards. His date of death is variously given, (see Storey, i/1 437) but as Storey points out (i/2, 1309) "1024/1615 must be nearest to the truth, if the reference to the death of "Ẓuhūrī" and "Malik" Ḳummī is not a later insertion in the notice of "Ẓuhūrī" in the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, iii, 269".

Badāʾūnī's literary work comprised: (1) *Kitāb al-Ḥadīth*, now lost, a collection of 40 traditions on the merit of waging holy war, presented to Akbar in 986/1574; (2) *Nāma-yi Khirad-afzā*, a translation of the *Singʾ hāsan battīsī*, a collection of 32 tales about Rādja Bikramādjīt of Mālwa, ordered by Akbar in 982/1574; (3) *Razm-nāma*, a translation of the *Mahābhārata*, undertaken at Akbar's request in 990/1582; (4) A translation of the *Rāmāyana* begun at Akbar's command in 992/1584 and submitted to him in 997/1589; (5) Part of *Taʾrīkh-i Alfī*, a general history of Islam down to the thousandth year, commissioned by Akbar in 993/1585 the first two volumes of which were revised by Badāʾūnī in 1000/1591-2; (6) *Nadjāt al-Rashīd*, a work on Ṣūfism, ethics and the Mahdawī movement of Badāʾūnī's day; (7) A rewriting and abridgement of a translation by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad Shāhābādī of a history of Kashmīr (probably the *Rādja-taranginī*); (8) A part of a translation into Persian of Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*; (9) A translation in epitome of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, requested by Akbar in 1000/1591-2; (10) The completion of *Baḥr al-Asmār*, a translation into Persian of a Sanskrit tale, apparently the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, made earlier for Sulṭān Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Kashmīr. Akbar ordered this task in 1003/1595; (11) *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, a general history of the Muslims in Hindūstān from

Subuktigīn to 1004/1595-6, commenced in 999/1590, followed by biographies of shaykhs, scholars, physicians and poets. Until 1002/1593, the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* is based largely on Khwādja Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, with characteristic asides by Badāʾūnī. The work is noted for its hostile comments on Akbar's religious activities. Its existence was apparently kept secret until at least the tenth year of Djahāngīr's reign, (Mullā ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nahāwandī, author of *Maʿāthir-i Raḥīmī*, did not know of it when he completed his work in 1025-1616). According to the *Mirʾāt al-ʿĀlam*, by Shaykh Muḥammad Baḳā Sahāranpūrī, composed in 1087/1667, Badāʾūnī's children asserted to Djahangīr that they did not know of the existence of the work (*British Museum Add. MS.* 7657, folio 452 a-b). Badāʾūnī himself hints at an intention to conceal the work (*M. al-T.*, iii, 398).

Bibliography: Storey, i/1, 435-40 and i/2, 1309. For another copy of the *Razm-nāma* see G. Meredith-Owens, *British Museum Quarterly*, xx, 3, 62-63. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Darbāri-i Akbarī*, Lahore 1939, 412-462. (P. HARDY)

BADAWĪ [see AḤMĀD AL-BADAWĪ and BADW]

AL-**BADAWIYYA** [see AḤMAD AL-BADAWĪ[

BADAWLAT, a title of the chief Yaʿḳūb-Beg of Kāshghar [*q.v.*].

BĀDGHĪS or **BĀDHGHĪS**, a district in the north-western part of modern Afghānistan, in the province of Harāt; the name is explained as being derived from the Persian *bādkhīz* ("a place where the wind rises") on account of the strong winds prevailing there. By the geographers of the 4th/10th century only the district to the north-west of Harāt, between this town and Sarakhs, is called Bādghīs. The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, probably writing from personal knowledge, describes it as a prosperous and pleasant place of three hundred villages. Later the name was extended to the whole country between the Harīrūd and the Murghāb; at any rate it is used in this sense as early as the 4th/13th century by Yāḳūt. There have never been any cities in Bādghīs and its small towns and fortresses have never been of great importance. At the time of the Arab conquests Bādghīs became known as a Hephthalite stronghold and it is said that Nīzak Tarkhān the Hayṭal [*q.v.*] retreated there after the loss of Harāt. Yāḳūt writes of it as *dār mamlakat al-Hayāṭila*, but this can only refer to the very end of the period of Hephthalite power. Even under the Ṭāhirids and the Sāmānids Bādghīs remained a hotbed of sedition.

At the present day Ḳalʿa-i Naw is regarded as the chief town. The rivers, including the tributaries of the Murghāb, still contain, as a thousand years ago, only small streams of brackish water; for the irrigation of the cultivated fields the people are dependent on wells and rainfall. The soil is noted for its fertility and the pistachio woods mentioned by the Arabs have survived to a certain extent to the present day. Besides these the excellent pastures of the country are famous; Ferrier (1845-6) describes the pastures of Ḳalʿa-i Naw as the best in all Asia. The wars between the Persians and the Mongols of Central Asia in 678/1270 arose out of a dispute for the possession of the pasture grounds of Bādghīs. The modern population consists mainly of Tādjīks, Djamshīds and Hazāras, and of nomadic tribes from the surrounding country who bring their flocks for seasonal grazing.

Bibliography: W. Barthold, *Istorisko-geograficeskij obzor Iran*, St. Petersburg 1903, 33 ff.; idem, *Turkestan*, 198, 349; Le Strange, 412 (with list of authorities); J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, index; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 39 ff., for the Hephthalite connexion; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 104.

(W. BARTHOLD-[F. R. ALLCHIN])

BADĪʿ is an Arabic adjectival noun which denotes the idea of originality. In the active sense it means Creator or Originator, hence its use as an Attribute of God. In the passive sense it means 'discovered' or 'invented', and from this, it became a name for the innovations of the ʿAbbāsid poets in literary figures, and later for trope in general; *ʿilm al-badīʿ* was that branch of rhetorical science which dealt with the beautification of literary style. Some ʿAbbāsid poets of the 2nd/8th century, like Bashshār, Muslim b. al-Walīd, and al-ʿAttābī, tended to depart in certain respects from the established ways of the classics and especially in the use of poetical artifices, such as metaphors and similes, on a scale unprecedented in pre-Islamic poetry. Hence, there arose among some ʿAbbāsid circles of critics, the idea that this art was a *badīʿ*, an innovation or a new creation. The word began to be used in that wide undefined sense in the critical writings of the 3rd/9th century. It occurs in more than one place in the writings of al-Djāḥiẓ; in one of them the author quotes a line of poetry containing a figurative expression and says: "and this is what *rāwīs* call *badīʿ*" (*Al-Bayān waʾl-Tabyīn*, Cairo 1948, i, 51, iv, 55). The first author to attempt a treatment of *badīʿ* as a literary art and to define what he took to be its principal categories, was the caliph-poet Ibn al-Muʿtazz (247-296 : 861-908). In a book entitled *Kitāb-al-Badīʿ*, Ibn al-Muʿtazz tried to show—by quoting copious examples from the Ḳurʾān, the Traditions, speeches of Bedouins, and early classical poetry, that what the moderns called *badīʿ* was not a creation of Bashshār and his contemporaries. These merely extended the already known art of literary figures in their poetry until it became widely used, and was given the name *badīʿ*. Then came the poet Abī Tammām (d. 231/850) who was very fond of this art and used it extravagantly with varying results. The author treats of *badīʿ* in five principal categories: metaphor, alliteration, antithesis, conformity of ends with beginnings, and order of discourse. Having explained them and quoted illustrative examples of good and bad in each, Ibn al-Muʿtazz points out that *badīʿ* as a term for poetical artifices, is known to poets and critics, but that philologists and scholars of ancient poetry do not use the term. He then asserts that nobody before him had treated the art of *badīʿ*, nor anticipated him in his work, which he completed in the year 247/861. He was, however, aware that the artifices of *badīʿ* could be reduced to less, or extended to more than the above five categories. For this reason, and to increase the instructive value of his book, he went on to add twelve more artifices of the embellishment of speech. Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (275-337/888-968, a contemporary of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the author of probably the first Arabic book bearing the title of *Naḳd al-Shiʿr*, i.e. "The Criticism of Poetry", dealt with twenty qualities of poetical art, including some of Ibn al-Muʿtazz's categories, without mentioning the technical term *badīʿ*. But a century later another critical writer, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1004) carried the development of *badīʿ* a step further by augmenting the number of its categories to thirty-six, making use of the seventeen of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. In his book *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, i.e. "The Two Arts (of Prose and Poetry)", perhaps the first systematic

book on the whole field of Arabic rhetoric, al-ʿAskarī devoted a long section to the explanation of *badīʿ* and the enumeration of its kinds and categories. Al-Rummānī (296-386/908-996), a Muʿtazilī rhetorician, considers *balāgha* [*q.v.*] or eloquence as one of seven directions in which ḳurʾānic *iʿdjāz* can be seen, and without mentioning *badīʿ*, he includes some of the figures of speech as categorie· of *balāgha*. But the Sunnite al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) in his *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, devotes a long chapter to the *badīʿ* of speech, maintaining that *badīʿ* could help to appreciate, but could not sufficiently explain *iʿdjāz*. Ibn Rashīḳ, the author of *al-ʿUmda*, "On the Excellencies and Requirements of Poetry", illustrates in his book more than sixty categories under the heading 'The Invented and the *badīʿ*'. Ibn Khaldūn points out that Ibn Rashīḳ's *ʿUmda* had a great influence in the Muslim West, in North Africa and Spain, where the use of *badīʿ* was highly appreciated and practised. The turning point however in the history of Arabic rhetoric in general, and of *badīʿ* in particular, as a separate science of stylistics came at the hands of al-Sakkākī (555-626/1160-1228), who in his book *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* built a logical system for the classification of the instrumental sciences of literature, making use in the section on rhetoric of the solid philosophical foundations laid down earlier by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). From al-Sakkākī's time down to the present, books on Arabic rhetoric have revolved round the compact text of his book, its abbreviations and the long and detailed commentaries on those texts. Notable among the epitomisers and the commentators of the *Miftāḥ* were al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (666-739/1267-1338) and al-Taftāzānī (722-793/1322-1390). This period was characterised in literature by ingenuity in using ornaments of style and by love for the art of *badīʿ*. Some poets of the period delighted in using all kinds of figures of speech in one and the same poem. Such poems, called *badīʿiyya*, were composed by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and others. In that period, the sciences of rhetoric were clearly and rigidly delineated. Thus, aspects of literary structure became the domain of the science of *maʿānī* or "Concepts", while figures such as metaphor and simile, having to do with ways of literary expression, were relegated to the science of *bayān* or "Exposition". The artifices of the ornamentation and embellishment of speech remained the instruments and categories of *badīʿ*.

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AL-BADĪʿ AL-ASṬURLĀBĪ, Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (also Yūsuf), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, illustrious Arab scholar, physician, philosopher, astronomer and poet, who distinguished himself particularly for his knowledge and construction of the astrolabe and other astronomical instruments. The date of his birth is not known. In 510/1116-17, we find him at Iṣfahān in intimate contact with the Christian physician Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Tilmīdh. Later he lived in Baghdād, where the exercise of his art, so it is said, brought him a considerable fortune under the Caliph al-Mustarshid. According to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, astronomical observations were made under his direction in 524/1130 in the palace of the Saldjūḳid sultans at Baghdād. It is probable that the tables of Maḥmūd composed by him and dedicated to the Sulṭān Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (1118-31) are the result of these observations. He died at Baghdād in 534/1139-40 and it is said (Abu 'l-Faradj is the sole source of this tradition) that he was buried in a state of coma. As regards his poetical works, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī maintains that they were "beautiful and excellent", Ibn Khallikān that they reached the limits of lechery and obscenity. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa give examples of his best pieces. In addition to a *Dīwān* of his own poems, al-Badīʿ al-Asṭurlābī published a selection of the poems of Ibn Ḥadjdjādj in one volume, divided into 141 chapters and entitled *Durrat al-Tādj min shiʿr Ibn Ḥadjdjādj* (Brockelmann, S I, 130). The praise which the Arab biographers liberally bestow on al-Badīʿ al Asṭurlābī, should not lead us to place his merits too high. The historians and biographers of the 7th/13th century possessed too little mathematical and astronomical knowledge to enable them properly to appreciate the really eminent services which the scholars of the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries rendered these sciences. They thus frequently fell into the error of extolling to excess the work of scholars closer to them in time, to the detriment of the works which mark the zenith of Arab science. Nowhere are the praises of al-Battānī, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ and al-Bīrūnī sung so eloquently as those of al-Badīʿ al-Asṭurlābī, though the former are scholars of much greater distinction than the latter.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 339; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, ii, 186 (trans. de Slane, iii, 580); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 280; Abu 'l-Faradj (ed. Ṣalḥānī), 366; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales* (ed. Reiske and Adler), iii, 441-483; Hammer, *Literaturgesch. d. Araber*, vi, 431; H. Suter, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x, 117; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 241-242; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, ii, 204; F. Rosenthal, *Al-Asṭurlābī and as-Samawʾal on Scientific progress*, in *Osiris* 1950, 555-564. (H. Suter)

BADĪʿ AL-DĪN, surnamed Ḳutb al-Madār (axis of the Universe) and popularly known as Shāh Madār, is the Methuselah of Indian hagiological literature and one of the most celebrated saints of India. He is said to have been born at Aleppo in 250/864, and to have been descended from Abū Hurayra [*q.v.*], one of the companions of the Prophet. The statement in the *Mirʾāt-i Madārī* that he was a Jew and embraced Islam at al-Madīna is not supported by other authorities. Like his descent, his date of birth is also controversial, the *Tadhkirat al-Muttaḳīn* gives it as 1 Shawwāl 442/16 Feb. 1051; the *Mirʾāt-i Madārī* has 715/1315, which is most probable. According to the *Kitāb-i Aʿrās* and *Mihr-i*

Djahāntāb his father Sayyid ʿAlī was a descendant of Muḥammad al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*].

Among his numerous spiritual mentors was Ṭayfūr al-Dīn, a Syrian mystic. He received a good education but was specially well-versed in various occult sciences such as alchemy and natural magic.

A widely-travelled person, Shāh Madār performed the pilgrimage to Mecca several times, once in the company of Ashraf Djahāngīr al-Simnānī [*q.v.*]. During his travels he visited al-Madīna, Baghdād, Nadjaf and Kāẓimayn before sailing for India when he met with a shipwreck. In India he travelled from place to place and ultimately settled at Makanpūr, a village 40 miles from Cawnpore, where he died on 10 Djumādā I, 844/7 October, 1440.

In spite of the bitter controversy that *ḳāḍī* Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī [*q.v.*] carried on with him, Shāh Madār was held in great esteem by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī (804/1401-848/1444), the sultan of Djawnpūr, patron of the *ḳāḍī*.

He was a person of great beauty and kept his face veiled for fear that people, dazzled by his appearance, would prostrate themselves before him. To this day his imposing mausoleum built by Ibrāhīm Sharḳī, attracts a very large number of people who, from all parts of India, march to Makanpūr, on the occasion of his *ʿurs*, carrying tall bamboos draped with colourful bunting and rags called "*Shāh Madār kī čariyān*".

Strange and supernatural feats, are ascribed both to the saint and his followers, known as Madārīs, who are generally seen performing in the streets and lanes of every city and village in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. A Madārī now, in common parlance, has come to mean a street-performer.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BADĪʿ AL ZAMĀN [see AL-HAMADHĀNĪ].

BADĪHA [see IRTIDJĀL].

BADĪL [see ABDĀL].

BĀDĪNĀN [see BAHDĪNĀN].

BĀDIS, a town (now in ruins) and anchorage on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco. It is 68¼ m. (110 km.) south-east of Tetuan, between the territory of the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] and the Rīf [*q.v.*] properly so-called. It is situated on the territory of the Banū Yaṭṭūfat (*vulgo*: Bni Yiṭṭōft) near the mouth of a torrent named Tālā-n-Bādis (*vulgo*: Tālembādes). An attempt has been made to identify it with the *Parietina* of the Itinerary of Antoninus; but this ancient place-name could equally well refer to the more sheltered cove of Yallīsh (= Iris on our maps) which is only 7 km. to the south-west.

The town of Bādis and its port formed part of the kingdom of Nukūr, and later of the Idrīsid principality of the Banū ʿUmar. The Almoravids, the Almohads and the Marīnids used it as a naval base and devoted their energies to fortifying it.

The author of the *Maḳṣad* (end of the 7th/13th century) and especially Leo Africanus (beginning of the 10th/16th century), describe Bādis as a township of 600 households. Under the Marīnid Abū Saʿīd (709-31/1310-31), it paid 1000 *dīnārs* in taxes, as did Melilla and Larache. The port possessed an arsenal where foists and other kinds of galleys were built of cedar-wood from the neighbouring mountains; it was frequented by Venetian merchantmen, and was the terminus of the shortest route from Fez to the Mediterranean, via the mountain of the Banū Khālid. The population devoted themselves to trade, fishing (sardines) and also to piracy on the coasts of Spain. The governor of the Rīf had his residence there; his authority extended over the coastal towns from Yallīsh to Wādī Nukūr, and also over certain tribes of the interior: Buḳḳūya, Banū Manṣūr, Banū Khālid, Banū Yadīr.

Less than 100 metres out to sea there were two small rocky islands, the larger of which was called Ḥadjar Bādis, the Peñon de Velez of the Spanish. In 1508 the latter, in order to put an end to the activities of the pirates, occupied it and fortified it. In 1520, however, they lost it as the result of treachery. In 1526, the Waṭṭāsid sultan Abū Ḥassūn, deposed by his brother, received as an appanage the Rīf, with his seat at Bādis, whence he acquired his surname of al-Bādisī [*q.v.*, No. 3]. In 1554, he ceded the town and the Peñon to his Turkish allies from Algiers: the latter made it a lair for corsairs operating in the region of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Saʿdid sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib bi'llāh was alarmed by this activity, and feared that the Turks might use Bādis as a base from which to undertake the conquest of Morocco. In 1564, he forced the Moroccans to evacuate the town and the Peñon, which he handed over to the Spanish. The Moroccan population retired into the interior, to the *ḳaṣba* of Snāda.

The old town of Bādis is now in ruins. After the Rīf war (1927), the Spanish attempted, without much success, to establish nearby a small settlement called Villa Jordana. The Peñon still belongs to Spain and constitutes a sovereign territory: Peñon de Velez de la Gomera. The Spanish corruption of the name of the town, Velez, perhaps has its origin in the existence, opposite, on the European coast, of a town called Vélez (de) Malaga (Ar. Bālish).

Bādis in Morocco must not be confused with Bādis in Algeria, no longer extant, which lay to the south of Awrās [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Bādisī, *Al-Maḳṣad*, 245; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, ii, 272, French trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 274-6 and index; *R.Afr.*, 1872, 119-24; A. Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, i, 87-9; A. J. Onieva, *Guia*

turistica de Marruecos, Madrid 1947, 506; for the detailed history of the town and the Peñon in the 16th century, consult the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1st series, (Saʿdid dynasty) archives of Spain, France and Portugal.

(G. S. Colin)

BĀDĪS b. **ḤABŪS** [see zīrids of spain].

BĀDĪS b. al-Manṣūr b. Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, alias Abū Manād Bādīs Naṣīr al-Dawla, third Zīrid of Ifrīkiya, enthroned on 16 Rabīʿ I 386/8 April 996. Entrusting eastern Ifrīkiya to a devoted Arab vice-amīr, he set about containing a powerful Zanātan offensive which, from 386/996 onwards, pushed forward from Tiaret to Tripoli. In 389/999, he faced the amīr of the Maghrāwa, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, who had as allies Fulful b. Saʿīd, chief of the Zanāta, and his own great-uncles. He finally defeated them (391/1001), his triumph being mainly due to his great-uncle Ḥammād b. Bulukkīn. From 395/1004-5 onwards, the latter repelled a new Zanātan offensive. From 390 to 406/999-1016, the Zīrid also fought in Tripolitania against Fāṭimid intervention and against Yānis, Fulful b. Saʿīd and Warrū b. Saʿīd. While the Zanātan menace gradually abated in the south-east, in the west he had to suppress the revolt of Ḥammād, founder of Kalʿa in 398/1007-8. In the course of this campaign, which commenced at the end of 405/May 1015, after having won a decisive victory at Chélif (1 Djumādā 406/17 October 1015), but failed to take Kalʿa which had been beseiged for six months, Bādīs died on 30 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 406/10 May 1016. The creation of the Ḥammādid state had begun, and the anti-Shīʿite disturbances at Tunis (406/1015-6) portended the break with the Fāṭimids which occurred under his son and successor al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 239, 247-66 (French trans. Fagnan, i, index); al-Nuwayrī, ed. G. Remiro, ii, 122-33, 138; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo 1353, vii, 182, 198-200, 218, 276-77 (French trans. Fagnan, index); Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 17, 40-1, 145, 157-9, 171-2, 179, vii, 33, 41 (*Histoire des Berbères*, iv, index); Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 86-7; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 131-2; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 179; *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 33-42; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, 76, 78-9; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, in *Centenario M. Amari*, ii, 454, 460, 461; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim*, iii, 175-6; H. R. Idris, *Sur le retour des Zīrides à l'obédience fāṭimide*, in *AIEO*, Algiers 1953, 27; idem, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides* (in preparation).

(H. R. Idris)

al-**BĀDISĪ**, ethnic adjective referring to the town of Bādis [*q.v.*], and borne by three notable Moroccan personalities:

1. Abū Yaʿkūb Yūsuf al-Zuhaylī al-Bādisī, saint and savant of the 8th/14th century, who is buried outside the town. The author of the *Makṣad* (cf. *infra*, 2) devoted a notice to him (cf. trans,, 146 and 218). Ibn Khaldūn regarded him as the last of the great Moroccan saints (cf. *Prolegomena*, trans., ii, 199; *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 230). Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, ii, 273; ed. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 274) speaks of his shrine which is still venerated: Sīdi Bū Yaʿkūb.

2. ʿAbd al-Ḥakk al-Bādisī, still living in 722/1322. He is the author of a collection of the lives of the saints of the Rīf entitled *Al-Makṣad al-Sharīf fi Dhikr Ṣulaḥāʾ al-Rīf*, which has come down to us in two editions which differ appreciably from the point of view of vocabulary; annotated trans. by G. S. Colin in *Archives marocaines*, vol. 26 (1926).

3. ʿAlī, son of Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Waṭṭāsī. His normal *kunya* was Abu 'l-Ḥasan, but he is known by the hypocoristic name of Abū Ḥassūn. His father, while still young, was entrusted with the government of the Rīf, with his residence at Bādis, and, when he was deposed, he received the same province as an appanage. He lived there from 1526 to 1549; hence his surname al-Bādisī, and title "king of Velez" given to him by European chroniclers.

Bibliography: See the article Waṭṭāsids.

(G. S. Colin)

BĀDIYA [see Supplement].

BĀDJ, the Arabicised form given to the Persian *bāzh* in the Islamic period (al-Sayyid Addī Shīr, *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ al-Fārisiyya al-Muʿarraba*, Beirut 1908). From the 10th to the 14th century *bāzh* is more common; thus it is the usual form in the *Shāh-nāma* (though *bādj* occurs too), and the phrase *bazh u sāw* is not infrequent, while the expression *bāzh-i rūm* is used there with reference to the tribute and indemnity paid to the victorious Persians by the rulers of the Eastern Roman empire (Fritz Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935). The Ghaznawid poet Bahrāmī uses *bazh*, whereas the 15th-century poet Bābā Fighānī uses *bādj* (see Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft Iklīm*, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta 1939, i, 267), and it was in the latter form that the word entered Turkish. After the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans the word was borrowed by the Bulgars and Serbs (Karl Lokotsch, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1927), and it is used in Armenian with the same form and meaning (Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, 34).

Asadī, in his dictionary (*Lughat-i Furs*, ed. P. Horn, Berlin 1894), defines the word simply as *kharādj*. ʿAbd al-Kādir Baghdādī (*Abdulqādiri Bagdādensis lexicon Šahnāmianum*, ed. Salemann, St. Petersburg 1895) explains it as meaning 'customs-dues, tithe, and tax': the words *bāzhbān*, *bāzhkhʷāh* and *bāzhdār* he explains as 'desiring toll, customs-officer', and *bāzhgāh* as 'place where customs-dues are levied' (all four words occur in the *Shāh-nāma*). In the Turkish translation of the *Burhān-i Kāṭiʿ*, in addition to the meanings 'tithe, tax, customs-dues', it is stated that the word was also applied to money and gifts received by suzerains from vassal rulers. In Turkish texts generally, as in Persian, the meaning is 'tax'. The word became current as a fiscal technical term among the Turks, because a number of Turkish states were founded in the Persian area, beginning with the Ghaznawids and Saldjūks, and because the Saldjūk administration preserved Sāmānid and Ghaznawid traditions. It will also be recalled that Persian was the official language of Asia Minor under both Saldjūks and Īlkhānids. A study of the available documents shows that as well as being used for 'tax' in general, the word was applied to various forms of tax. The poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw, describing Aleppo in his *Safar-nāma* (ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 10), says that it was a *bādjgāh* (*i.e.*, customs-post) between the cities of Syria, Rūm, Diyārbakr, Egypt, and ʿIrāk. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, in a *risāla* containing his views on politics and finance, presented to the Ilkhānid Abāḳā (Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, *Ilhanîler devri idârî teşkilâtîna dâir Nasîreddin Tûsî'nin bir eseri*, in *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecm.*, ii, 13; M. Mīnovī and V. Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, in *BSOS* x, 3, 1941, 763), uses it in the general sense; Yaltkaya translates it as 'customs-dues' in this somewhat ambiguous passage, but as customs-dues had been levied from ancient times it is certain that there would be nothing shameful in a ruler's

exacting them. As the context indicates, and as Minorsky rightly shows, the *bādj* here referred to must be the *rāhdārī* ('traveller's protection tax') levied in the Ilkhānid dominions in return for maintaining peace and security on caravan-routes and lakes. The historian of the Ilkhānid period, Rashīd al-Dīn (*Ta'rīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. Karl Jahn, *GMS*, London 1940, 280 ff.), when describing measures taken to safeguard the great caravan-routes in Ghāzān's time, speaks of *bādj* taken from travellers at certain specified places, according to a fixed scale. He also uses the word of a tax of one-third, when discussing Ghāzān's agricultural reforms. A century later, the historian Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī uses *bādj* together with *sāw*, *kharādj*, and *djizya*, *i.e.*, loosely in the sense of 'tax, impost' (*Ẓafar-nāma*, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta 1888, ii, 378). At the end of that century the historian Khwāndamīr (*Dastūr al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1317/1938-9, 463) mentions *bādj* along with the *tamgha* taken from merchants, *zakāt*, and *kharādj*, but apparently as a general term only, for he gives no information about its nature. The early Ṣafawid historian Ḥasan Rūmlū states that some neighbouring tribes had long paid *bādj* to the rulers of Harāt (*Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, i, 337.

To establish the sense of such a word, legislative texts are clearly of more use than historical texts, but the oldest relevant ones, those of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū, have not come down to us in their original forms. Thanks however to the tenacity of tradition, common in medieval Turkish and Muslim bureaucracies, we find Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū laws surviving, at most slightly altered, in Ottoman *ḳānūns* (as is expressly stated in the Ottoman fiscal *ḳānūns* for the eastern Anatolian *wilāyets*, formerly subject to the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū), and in them the word *bādj* occurs frequently (cf. W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens* im 15. *und* 16. *Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, 1950, 177-201). These laws were first discussed by I. H. Uzunçarşılı (*Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhâl*, Istanbul 1941, 213, 276, 302),) who sets out to explain such expressions as *bādj-i tamgha* and *bādj-i buzurg*. He states, on the basis of the *Farhang-i Shu'ūrī* and the *Sharaf-nāma*, that the *tamgha* was branded on animals and that *bādj* was a tax peculiar to land customs, and he notes that *bādj-i buzurg* was the name of two taxes, one levied on subject rulers and princes, the other on commercial goods in transit and articles brought from village to city. He explains *bādjdār* as 'a guardian of roads, taking money from caravans in return for maintaining the security of the roads, in the Ilkhānid period'. But in this he is incorrect: the *bādjdār* was a tax collector, in the Ilkhānid and Djalā'irid periods, who collected tolls at certain places, according to a tariff fixed by the central government (this tariff is mentioned in Italian sources for oriental trade in the Ilkhānid period: see G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1929, 184, 189). The 'guardian of roads' was quite distinct; he was the *tutḳavul* (Persian *rāhdār*), paid by the central government and under the orders of a senior military commander. At times when the central government was weak, however, lawless men assumed this title and took protection-money arbitrarily from caravans, thus combining the functions of *rāhdār* and *bādjdār*. The vagueness of I. H. Uzunçarsılı's explanation of the terms *bādj-i tamgha* and *bādj-i buzurg* is due to his reliance on dictionaries rather than on *ḳānūnnāmes*. It is possible to get a clearer and more accurate picture from a set of *ḳānūns* of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlū period, published by Ömer Lûtfi Barkan (*Osmanlı devrinde Akkoyunlu hükümdari Uzun Hasan Beye ait kanunlar*, in *Tarih vesikalari* i, no. 2, 91-106; no. 3, 184-97). These *ḳānūns*, termed *yasa* under the influence of the Ilkhānid administrative tradition, relate to the regions of Diyārbakr, Mārdīn, Erghanī, al-Ruhā' (Urfa), Erzindjān, Kharpurt (Harput), Čermīk, and 'Arabkīr, and are mainly of the time of Uzun Ḥasan. From a study of them the following facts emerge: *bādj* is generally used for 'tax', as in the expression *bādj-i tamgha*. The meaning of *tamgha* is quite plain; it is the tax levied on all kinds of goods bought and sold in cities, on woven stuffs and slaughtered animals, and is normally referred to as 'black tamgha' (*tamgha-i siyāh*). *Bādj-i buzurg* was the customs-duty levied on goods in transit through or imported into the country; such goods, when sold in the market, were also liable to 'stamp duty' (*bādj-i tamgha*). It is expressly stated in the *ḳānūn* of Erghanī that *tamgha* was levied on the buying and selling of immovable property; *i.e.*, the word is here used in the general sense of 'tax'. It is apparent that *bādj* in these *ḳānūnnāmes* is not a technical term.

This observation is confirmed by the use of the word in Ottoman literary texts. Sa'd al-Dīn uses it in the general sense when he says that the *bādj* and *kharādj* in 14th-century Rūm were not onerous as they were in Persia (*Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, 214). So too a number of Ottoman poets use it as synonymous with *kharādj* in the phrase *bādj u kharādj*. On the other hand, the word is used as a technical term in some historical texts and above all in the early *ḳānūn-nāmes*. 'Āshiḳpashazāde (*Ta'rīkh* 19; ed. F. Giese, 21), remarking that in the time of 'Othmān Ghāzī *bādj* to the amount of 2 *aḳčas* was levied on every load of goods sold in the market of Ḳaradja-ḥiṣār, explains that this was in the nature of a municipal tax peculiar to large towns; it was in fact identical with the *tamgha* which, as we have seen, was levied under the Īlkhānids and in the various states which carried on their fiscal tradition. In the *ḳānūnnāme* of the Conqueror, apart from the non-technical use, we find *bādj* applied to a sales-tax confined to large towns. This *ḳānūnnāme* lays down that *bādj* is not levied on immovable property such as land, houses, shops, and mills, but on goods sold in markets; not however on anything sold in villages. It specifies the amount of *bādj* to be levied on the sale of all sorts of goods, including slaves (who in the eyes of Islamic law are movable property), and makes it clear that sometimes only one party is liable to pay, sometimes both. It also prescribes the amount of *bādj*—generally 20%—to be levied on goods from abroad (*e.g.*, from 'Frenk' and 'Dobrovenedik' = Dubrovnik = Ragusa), but there is a clause which states that this will depend on the terms of contracts made with these countries. The text however is a little doubtful and corrupt, so no positive conclusions can be drawn (F. Kraelitz, *Kanunname Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers*, in *MOG*, Vienna 1921, i, 26, 30 ff.). But it is safe to say that the reference here is not to customs-duty levied on goods coming across the frontier, for the term *gümrük* occurs in numerous official documents of the period, and customs-duties seem not to be described as *bādj* (idem, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922, no. 2, 4). It may therefore be conjectured that when goods entered the Ottoman dominions they paid customs-duty (*gümrük*), and when they were brought to a city and sold, they paid a separate *bādj*.

The word is used in the *ḳānūnnāme* of Suleymān just as it was during the 15th century; indeed, some paragraphs concerning *bādj* are taken unaltered from the *ḳānūnnāme* of the Conqueror (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Supplement to TOEM, Istanbul 1329, 21 ff., with the *ḳānūnnāme* of the Conqueror, 30 ff.), though there are some additional ordinances too. It is clear from these two *ḳānūnnāmes* that *bādj* meant both a specific municipal tax (*iḥtisāb resmi*) and 'tax' in general: the latter meaning being seen in such expressions as *bādj-i bāzār*, *bādj-i aghnām*, *bādj i tamgha*.

It is still in use among the Turkish people of eastern Turkistān in the general sense (cf. F. Grenard, *Le Turkestan et le Tibet*, Paris 1898, 263, 265. In the dialects of Kāshghar and Yarḳand the meaning is 'customs-duty' (G. Raquette, *English-Turki Dictionary*, Lund-Leipzig 1927, 24, 119).

Bibliography: Sources have been shown in the text, in default of a full study of the word. Osman Nuri, when dealing with the *iḥtisāb* taxes (*Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, Istanbul 1922, i, 364-70) confines himself to quoting relevant passages from ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, Neshrī, the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Suleymān, and another *ḳānūn-nāme* of unspecified date. (M. Fuad Köprülü)

BĀDJ, the birthplace of Firdawsī, a small village in the vicinity of Ṭūs. The name is not found in any of the Arab geographers, and is mentioned only by ʿArūḍī-i Samarḳandī (*Čahār Maḳāla*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *GMS* i, 47, 190).

(M. Fuad Köprülü)

BĀDJA, a town and district of Muslim Spain, modern Beja in S. Portugal, the classical Pax Julia. The Roman origin of Bādja is referred to by the geographer al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], who speaks of its fine wide streets. Abundant honey was obtained there, and its water was specially suitable for tanning (E. Lévi-Provençal, 'La „Description de l'Espagne" d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī", in *Al-Andalus*, XVIII, 1953, 87). Bādja is frequently mentioned from the time of the Arab conquest. When Seville fell, its defenders withdrew to Bādja, whence they later returned and gained a temporary advantage (*Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, 16, 18). Bādja became one of the militarised zones (*kuwar mudjannada*) of Muslim Spain. In 146/763 at Bādja the commander of the Egyptian *djund*, al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Mughīth revolted, donning the black dress of the ʿAbbāsids and displaying a black banner sent from the East by al-Manṣūr (*Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, 101-102; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, 32-33). In 230/844 Bādja is said to have been attacked by Norse Vikings (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 223). At Bādja later, local chiefs disputed the authority of the central government (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ed. Cairo 1944, I, 271, 298), and eventually the Ṭayfūrids, a local family of notables, enjoyed independence for a time (Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Cairo 1953, I, 403). At another time Bādja was ruled from Silves, till about 432/1040, when it passed to the ʿAbbādids of Seville (Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 192-193). The town was probably more important in early times than afterwards. It is not described by al-Idrīsī (548/1154). Its most famous son was the theologian Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī [*q.v.*]. Bādja in Spain is sometimes called Bādjat al-Zayt (see below).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *La péninsule ibérique au Moyen-Age d'après le Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, Leiden 1938, 45-46; Arabic text, 36-37. (D. M. Dunlop)

BĀDJA (ancient Vaga; modern orthography: Béja), important town in Ifrīḳiya, situated about 100 km. west of Tunis. Its population at the present time is nearly 23,000. Resting against the fertile slopes of the valley of the Médjerda, it constitutes "the most considerable town of the region, which existed in ancient times and has continued to exist down to our time ..... its strategic position, of supreme importance, on the road from Tunis to Algeria, was constantly emphasised throughout the Muslim period" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 300).

Capital of the province richest in cereal crops, it was for this reason called the "granary (*hūrī*) of Ifrīḳiya", just as it was called, throughout the Middle Ages, Bādjat al-Ḳamḥ ("Bādja of the corn") to distinguish it from the other towns, in Africa and Spain, which bore the same name (see below).

The celebrated geographer al-Bakrī gives an exact and detailed description of the town which is still valid today, apart from certain changes in place names which took place at a later date. "Bādja", he says, "is three days" journey from al-Ḳayrawān. A large town, encircled by several streams, and built on a high cowl-shaped hill named ʿAyn Shams ("the spring of the sun")". This spring still feeds the town and bears the same name. The other important monuments which he mentions are: the ramparts, which were later augmented by a second, exterior wall enclosing new quarters of the town; the citadel (still to-day *al-Ḳaṣaba*) "an ancient building, solidly built of great blocks of stone" (a Byzantine fortress, built by Count Paulus at the time of Justinian, as is indicated by a Latin inscription of that period. It was frequently repaired during the Ḥafṣid, Turkish and Ḥusaynid periods); and the Great Mosque which, "solidly built, has the city walls for the *ḳibla*". The town also possessed "five baths (*ḥammām*), a large number of caravanserais (*funduḳ*), and three open spaces (*riḥāb*) where food markets were held". The environs of the city were, he says, "full of magnificent gardens watered by streams".

At the time of the siege of Carthage by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān, about 76/695 part of the Byzantine garrison took refuge at Bādja and entrenched itself there. After its capture by the above-mentioned Umayyad general, Bādja subsequently became an important strategic centre for the Arab *djund*. Al-Harawī states that Maʿbad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the cousin of the Prophet, died there, and that his tomb is to be found in the meadow (*mardj*) of the town.

Al-Yaʿḳūbī, who visited Ifrīḳiya in the 3rd/9th century, tells us that "the population of Bādja is descended from the soldiers of the old ʿAbbāsid army and from non-Arab autochthonous elements".

Al-Ḳalḳashandī, quoting an ancient source, notes that the tribe of the Banū Saʿd, among whom the Prophet was brought up, had been scattered across many lands, and that in his own time there only remained a small group of them, who lived at Bādja in Ifrīḳiya alongside the ʿAbbāsid troops.

Under Aghlabid dominion, the city became the important capital of the whole North-Western district of Tunisia. Powerful officials, belonging to the family of the *wazīrs*, the Banū Ḥumayd, relations and allies of the amīrs, succeeded one another as heads of its government, and strove to preserve it as a rich and lucrative fief; ḳāḍīs, chosen from among the most famous jurists of the capital, were nominated to this high office; experienced generals assumed command of the militia and the Aghlabid allies. And there is reason to think that the veterans of this

militia, who continued to dwell in this region, gave the name of their tribe, Ḳuḍāʿa, to an important commune (*shaykha*) of Bādja, which retains this name to the present day.

During the Fāṭimid period, the town was sacked, pillaged and partly burnt by the Berber troops of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], "the man with the ass", in 335/946. But it quickly recovered its prosperity, by virtue of its agricultural products. At the time of the Hilālī invasion (5th/11th century), it received groups of the Riyāḥī tribe, which settled in the surrounding countryside, and the town passed successively from the hands of nomad chiefs to the Zīrid princes of Bougie (al-Bidjāya). With the advent of the Ḥafṣids, the town recovered a measure of its former prosperity and frequently served as a refuge for rebels against government.

During the Turkish period (10th-11th/16th-17th centuries), Bādja had a garrison of janissaries who left their posterity there. A Ḥanafī mosque was built inside the town. From the time of the Ḥusaynids, Bādja became once more a large semi-Bedouin agricultural market town, where a governor (*ʿāmil*) represented the authority of the Beys. Certain monuments were built, notably a citadel 1 km. west of the town, called "*Bārdo*" after the name of the famous palace of the Beys on the outskirts of Tunis.

Bādja was the birthplace of a number of scholars, jurisconsults, poets, and local historians. Reference will only be made here to the al-Ḳalshānī family, which supplied 9th/15th century Tunisia with seven or eight eminent ḳāḍīs and jurists, and to Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, who wrote an eye-witness account of the history of the first four Ḥusaynid Beys (from 1705 to 1768 A.D.).

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, ed. Nadjaf 1918, 107 (French trans. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 211); Bakrī, Ar. text 59, French trans. 119; Yāḳūt, Cairo ed, ii, 25; Idrīsī, Ar. text 115, French trans. 134; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 53; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, i, 340; Leo Africanus, iii, 119; Muḥammad Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *Akhbār Awlād ʿAlī Turkī* (ms. coll. Abdul-Wahab), French trans. V. Serres and Lasram, Tunis 1897.

Two other Tunisian centres were also named Bādja: BĀDJAT AL-ZAYT ("Bādja of the oil"), so called in order to distinguish it from its homonym in the north. It a was town in the district of Ruṣfa (the ancient Ruspae of the Romans and Byzantines), situated, in the heart of the olive-tree forests of the Tunisian Sahel, on the road from Mahdiyya to al-Djān, 13 km. east of the latter centre. The commune (*shaykha*) in which it was located still bears the name of Wādī Bādja (governorate of Mahdiyya) It seems that it prospered up to the time of the Hilālī invasion, and then declined and completely disappeared during the Ḥafṣid period. Its site, however, with its numerous ruins, notably of a vast hydraulic installation (*fasḳiyya*), still exists. It is mentioned several times by al-Mālikī and Yāḳūt, who quote passages from Ibn Rashīḳ in his anthology of the poets of al-Ḳayrawān.

Bibliography: Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-Nufūs*, ii, 79-81 (MS. coll. Abdul-Wahab); Yāḳūt, Cairo 1323/1906, ii, 25; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt*, iii, (Zaytūna MS.).

BĀDJA AL-ḲADĪMA ("the ancient"), a hamlet no longer in existence today, but whose ruins are still visible. It was situated near the present-day town of Mannūba north-west of Tunis. It possessed a mosque, a school (*kuttāb*), a market and a certain number of dwellings. Its chief claim to fame was that it was the birth-place of a great Tunisian mystic (*walī*), Abū Saʿīd Khalafa b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī al-Badjī, born in 551/1156, died 6 Shaʿbān 629/8 June 1231, the pupil of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb of Tlemcen; he was buried in the village of Djabal al-Manār, and has since become known from Marsa to Carthage as Sayyidī Abū Saʿīd (Sidi Bou Said).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥawwārī, *Manāḳib Abī Saʿīd al-Bādjī* (MS. coll. Abdul-Wahab). (H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

BĀDJADDĀ, in the Arab middle ages, a small strongly fortified town in Mesopotamia, south of Ḥarrān, a short distance east of Balīkh, situated on the road to Raʾs al-ʿAyn, with famous gardens. It is no longer mentioned by the geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th 10th centuries. The Aramaic name (בֵּי גַדָּא) denotes "house of fortune"; cf. perhaps, an ʿAyn-gaddā = "source of fortune" in the Damascene and the Gadda of the Tabula Peutingeriana in Syria. See thereon Nöldeke in the *ZDMG*, xxix, 441.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 453; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 174, 72, where Bādjaddā, not Bādjuddā is to be read; Le Strange, 105. (M. STRECK)

BĀDJALĀN. Both surviving branches of this formerly larger tribe are now settled in ʿIrāḳ. The main branch occupies the area of Bin Ḳudra and Ḳuratū, north of Khānaḳīn. An offshoot, known variously as Badjlān, Bādjwān or Bēdjwān, is to be found in the Shabak [*q.v.*] area on the left bank of the river Tigris opposite Mawṣil. Although the tribe has always been known as a Kurdish one this is only so in the wide sense that all nomads of the Zagros area, including the Gūrān [*q.v.*] and the Lurs, are considered by their neighbours to be Kurds. In fact, all Bādjalānīs appear to speak a dialect of the (Iranian, but not Kurdish) Gūrānī language—a pointer, failing evidence to the contrary, to their Gūrānī origins.

A great number of Bādjalān nomads paid homage to the Ottoman Grand Vizier at Mawṣil in 1039/1630 (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, s.a.). For a time the tribe gave its name to a *sandjāḳ*, Bādjwānlī, between the two rivers Zāb (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 435). The present Bēdjwān community may stem from this section. According to their own traditions (Rawlinson, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1839, ix, 107; Minorsky, in *EI*¹, s.v. *Lak*) part of the tribe retired from the Mawṣil area in the 12th/18th century to Luristān (Pīsh-i Kūh), where it became assimilated to the Lakkī Kurds. Another group had settled in the plain between Gīlān and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, the chieftains residing first in Zuhāb and, after its decline, in Khānaḳīn. Early in this 14th/20th century the two main sections of the Bādjalān were astride the Turco-Persian frontier, the Djumūr in the Zuhāb area and the Ḳāzānlū near Bin Ḳudra. The Persian sections seem since to have concentrated on the Ḳuratū area.

Bibliography: K. Hadank, *Mundarten der Gûrân, besonders das ... Bâdschälânî*, bearbeitet von ..., Berlin, 1930; D. N. MacKenzie, *Bājalānī*, in *BSOAS*, 1956, xviii, 418.

(D. N. MACKENZIE)

AL-**BADJALĪ**, AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. WARSAND, founder of a sect among the Berbers of Morocco, whose adherents are called Badjaliyya. Al-Bakrī states that he appeared there before Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] came to Ifrīḳiya (before 280/893). Al-Badjalī came from Nafṭa (Nefta) and found many adherents among the Banū La-

mās. His teaching agreed with that of the Rawāfiḍ, but he asserted that the Imāmate belonged only to the descendants of al-Ḥasan. So al-Bakrī and Ibn Ḥazm state, in opposition to Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. de Goeje, 65), who says that he was a Mūsawī i.e. he recognised the Imāmate of Mūsā b. Dja'far, a descendant of Ḥusayn. The Badjaliyya were afterwards conquered and exterminated by 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal wa Niḥal*, iv, 183; Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale* (ed. de Slane), 161; Friedländer, in *JAOS*, xxix, 75. (ED.)

BĀDJARMĀ, or BĀDJARMAḲ, under the 'Abbāsid Caliphate was the name of a district east of the Tigris between the Lesser Zāb in the North and the Djabal Ḥamrīn in the South. The chief town in the middle ages was Kirkūk (Syr. Karkhā de Bēth Slōkh). It formed a district of the province of Mosul (cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 97, 7). Bādjarmā is an Arabic rendering of the Aramaic Bēth (Be) Garma while Bādjarmaḳ goes back to some Middle Persian form of the name of the district, like Garmakan. The latter word comes from the Gurumu, a nomadic people mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions, the Γαραμαῖοι of Ptolemy.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faḳīh, 35, 21;179, 5; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 94; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 265, 333; Yāḳūt, i, 454; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 44, 45, 253; M. Streck, Art. *Garamaioi* in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* (where further references are given). (M. STRECK*)

BĀDJARWĀN, (1) A town and fortress in Mūḳān (Ādharbāydjān) lying S. of the river Aras (Araxes), between Ardabīl and Bardha'a in Arrān. Bādjarwān is mentioned several times in the accounts of the Muslim conquest. Its capture by al-Ash'ath b. Ḳays al-Kindī seems to have been the signal for the final collapse of resistance throughout the province (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326). It was occupied by Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī during his campaign against the Khazars in 112/730 (D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 72-74). After the Umayyad period Bādjarwān is seldom mentioned. It is still named by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in the 8th/14th century as a stage in the road to the N.W. frontier, though it was then in ruins. (2) A town of Diyār Muḍar in al-Djazīra, near the R. Balīkh, between Ḥiṣn Maslama and al-Raḳḳa.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 105, 175-176, 230-231. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BĀDJAWR, tract of mountainous country in the Dīr, Swāt, and Čitrāl agency of the Peshāwar division, West Pākistān. It is bounded on the north by Dīr; on the east by Dīr and Swāt; on the south-east and south by the Utmān Khēl and Mamund territories; and on the west by Afghānistān. It has an area of about 5,000 square miles and is intersected by five valleys—the Čahārmung, Bābūkara, Watalai, Rūd, and Sūr Kamar. In the absence of any census the population has been estimated at 100,000. Bādjawr is the home of the Tarkanrī Pathāns who claim to be akin to the Yūsufzais. They are divided into four sections: the Ismā'īlzai, 'Īsāzai, Salarzai, and Mamunds. The Salarzai and Mamunds are also found across the Durand boundary in Afghānistān. Like the tribes of Dīr, they are Sunnī Muslims but are unusually susceptible to the influence of their mullahs. The Khān of Nawagai claims to be the hereditary chief of all the Bādjawri tribes. The history of this area is almost inextricably interwowen with that of Dīr and Swāt. The fort of Bādjawr was taken by Bābur in 1519 (*vide* A. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, 367-73). Akbar's forces were cut to pieces by the Yūsufzais in 1585. In the reign of Awrangzīb they constantly attacked the Mughal frontier outposts. They fought against the British in the Ambeyla campaign of 1280/1863 and during the frontier conflagration of 1314-15/1897. (C. COLLIN-DAVIES)

BADJDJĀNA, (Sp. Pechina), ancient Spanish town which is to-day no more than a small country town. The Rio Andara (Wādī Badjdjāna), which descends from the southern watershed of the Sierra Nevada, flows through Badjdjāna and discharges itself into the sea 6$^{1}/_{4}$ m. (10 km.) lower down, near the watch-tower (*Māriyyat Badjdjāna*), the site of the town which, under the sole name of al-Māriyya (Sp. Almería), became the most active and flourishing Mediterranean port in al-Andalus. The groups of sailors settled between Alicante and Aguilas were in the habit of proceeding in the autumn towards the African coast, where they passed the winter, and of returning in the spring to the Peninsula, with huge cargoes; a number of them settled in the North African ports and founded, *inter alia*, the new Ténès, in 262/875. The canton of Pechina was then occupied by the Arabs of the Yemen, who had been charged by 'Abd al-Raḥmān II with the task of maintaining a *ribāṭ* to protect the coast against possible attack by the Madjūs [*q.v.*]; in return, he had granted them possession of the fertile valley of the Andarax. Andalusian sailors returning from Ténès came to terms with these Arabs in order to found a sort of maritime republic, and made Badjdjāna the capital of a small state. A large mosque built by the Arabs, and the ramparts erected by the sailors, made it a town which, as a result of the trade of its fleet, which anchored at Almería, rapidly increased in size and prosperity. But after thirty-seven years of semi-independent existence, during which it was threatened by the Arab league at Elvira, it was incorporated in 310/922 in the Umayyad community; it maintained its prosperity during the first half of the 4th/10th century, until 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, in 344/955, made Almería the capital of the region and put in hand important town-planning schemes there. During the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the importance of Badjdjāna declined still further, and in the 5th/11th century it was no more than a humble village, while Almería became the capital of one of the kingdoms of the *taifas*.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. sept.*, text 81, French trans. 163; Idrīsī, text 200, French trans. 245; Yāḳūt, i, 494-5; Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, 136-7; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Péninsule ibérique*, 45-8; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 348 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Una Crónica anónima de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir*, Madrid-Granada 1950, § 44. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-**BĀDJĪ**, Abu 'l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf, a distinguished theologian and literary figure in 11th-century Spain. Born in 403/1012 of a family from Baṭalyaws (Badajoz) which had emigrated to Bādja, modern Beja in S. Portugal (Ibn Bassām, cited Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 511), he frequented the schools at Cordova, gained some success as a poet and in 426/1035 travelled to the East. He was absent from Spain for 13 years, three of which he spent at Mecca, in the service of the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Dharr al-Harawī, who had been educated at Harāt, Balkh and other places in Khurāsān, and with whom al-Bādjī now studied

Mālikī *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, accompanying him regularly to his home in al-Sarawāt, *i.e.*, the mountainous country between al-Tihāma, Nadjd and al-Yaman. Later al-Bādjī passed to Baghdād, where for another three years he continued his studies, though so poor that he is said to have been obliged to earn his living as a night-watchman. We hear of him also at Mawṣil, where according to one account (Maḳḳarī, i, 507, cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, i, 200, no. 449) for a year he applied himself to the recently-invented *kalām* (scholastic theology), at Aleppo and Damascus, and in Egypt. He returned to Spain in or about 439/1047 as poor as when he left it, but with greatly extended views. About this time, at the instance of the Spanish *faḳīhs*, he disputed in the island of Majorca with the celebrated Ibn Ḥazm, who in the sequel withdrew into private life and according to Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, ed. Cairo 1953, i, 405) had to suffer the burning of his books. Even after his return al-Bādjī worked at a trade (gold-beating). At other times he acted as notary, or as *ḳāḍī* in provincial towns. But gradually his reputation established itself, and he died a rich man. His relations with the then holders of power, i.e., since the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* ('Party Kings'), attracted comment at the time and appear to have been principally due to al-Bādjī's desire to induce them to unite and live at peace among themselves (Maḳḳarī, i, 511). His proposals to this end, made in person, were on the whole badly received, except at Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) on the N.E. frontier, where the strength of the Christian kingdoms was fully appreciated. Al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd of Saragossa (reigned 1046-1081) sent for al Bādjī, and evidently he remained with al-Muḳtadir for a considerable time, since it was at Saragossa that his works appeared (Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, ed. S. al-Ḥarāʾirī, 215). Al-Bādjī died at Almería in 474/1081, *i.e.*, in the same year as his patron.

If the main political purpose of his life remained unrealised, al-Bādjī was a prolific author of books, including a Commentary (*sharḥ*) on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, which especially in its short form, entitled *al-Muntaḳā*, enjoyed high estimation. Of his other works there have been printed (1) a *Reply* (*Djawāb*) to the so-called *Letter of the Monk of France* (*Risālat al-Rāhib min Ifransa*), for which see D. M. Dunlop, *A Christian Mission to Muslim Spain in the 11th Century*, in *Al-Andalus*, xvii, 1952, 259-310. The *Reply* shows much dialectical ability, and repeatedly refers to *kalām*. (2) *The Epistle on Definitions* (*Risāla fi 'l-Ḥudūd*), principally in *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, edited by Djawda Hilāl in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos en Madrid*, (*Ṣaḥīfat al-Maʿhad al-Miṣrī*), Vol. ii, Madrid 1954, Arabic section, 1-37.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 419, and S I, 743-744; M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, i, Madrid 1927, 200-208. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BADJĪLA, an Arab tribe, reckoned along with Khathʿam as a subdivision of Anmār; the *nisba* is Badjalī. Badjīla is sometimes said to be a woman, but her place in the genealogy is vague (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, 101-3; also *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858, ii, 134). Some genealogists held that Badjīla was a Yemenite tribe; others made Anmār the son of Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 279, art. 'Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh'; Ibn Durayd, ed. Wüstenfeld, 101 f.). The tribe was sometimes taunted with this uncertainty about their ancestry (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 143). Along with Khathʿam, Tamīm, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays they raided ʿIrāḳ under Shāhpūr II (c. 310-379), but suffered severely when he counter-attacked. In Muḥammad's time they were found in a part of the mountain chain of the Sarāt some distance south of Mecca. As a result of feuds with neighbouring tribes and between the clans of Badjīla (such as Aḥmas, Ḳasr, Zayd b. al-Ghawth, ʿUrayna), the tribe became scattered, and many parts of it had to seek protection (*djiwār*) from stronger tribes (cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyall, i, 115 f.). Towards the end of Muḥammad's life Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī came to him with 150 men professing Islam, and was sent to destroy the idol Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa at Tabāla, which was worshipped by Badjīla and Khathʿam. Djarīr performed various other commissions efficiently, and under Abū Bakr and ʿUmar was an important military leader. He and the men of Badjīla who followed him seem to have been independent allies of the caliph for a time, and by treaty with ʿUmar were to receive a quarter of what was captured, that is, presumably of the lands in the Sawād (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 253, 267), but three years later they were persuaded to give up their lands and to receive instead a stipend. ʿUmar ordered sections of Badjīla which were under the protection (*djiwār*) of other tribes to attach themselves to Djarīr (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, l.c.; also *Usd al-Ghāba*, l.c.). It is stated that at this time ʿArfadja b. Harthama of Bāriḳ, a part of the Azd, though only a *ḥalīf* of Badjīla, was its *sayyid*. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, who was prominent in the later Umayyad period, belonged to Badjīla, though his adversaries questioned this (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 205).

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847; *Aghānī*[1], xiii 4 f.; *ZDMG* xxii, 667; Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān* (ed. Boucher and Hell), nos. 82, 256, 279, 644.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

BADJIMZĀ or Bagimzā, in the time of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, was a village north-east of Baghdād, some 8 miles from Baʿḳūbā, where the caliph al-Muḳtafī bi-Amr Allāh put to flight the troops of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Muḥammad II under Alp Ḳush Kūn-i Khar in 549/1154.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 497, 706; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 129; Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 237 ff.

(ED.)

BĀDJISRĀ. This was a small town in ʿIrāḳ, situated some 10 *farsakhs* to the north-east of Baghdād and a short distance due south of Bāʿḳūbā on the left bank of the Nahrawān river, which attained the name of Tāmarrā on its arrival at Bādjisrā. The town is described by the Arab geographers as being a prosperous and pleasant recreational centre with many date groves and a considerable population, but it was laid waste in the time of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, author of the *Marāṣid*, who died in 739/1338. The name Bādjisrā, which is derived from Syriac, means "house of the bridge" i.e. the location of the bridge.

The modern village named "Abū Djisrā", however, is not the same town. Apparently, the name of this village is inferred from the ancient nomenclature of Bādjisrā. Modern Abū-Djisrā is one of the larger villages in the Miḳdādiyya (Shahrābān) *ḳaḍāʾ* in the Diyālā *liwāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ. According to the 1947 census, its inhabitants totalled 768 in number.

There are various references to Bādjisrā in the histories. It is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in the

annals of the years 68/688, 334/945-6, 439/1047, 488/1095 and 496/1102-3. During the last three of these, the town was subjected to plundering. In the annals of the year 597/1201, Ibn al-Sāʿī mentions the death of Mithḳāl, an attendant of the daughter of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Al-Mustandjid, al-Fīrūzādjiyya, who was the administrator of the prefecture of Bādjisrā. Bādjisrā is the birth place of a number of poets and men of letters, and some of them are mentioned by Yāḳūt.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 454; Ibn ʿAbd al-Haḳḳ, *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1954, i 147; Ibn Serapion (ed. Le Strange), in *JRAS*, 1895, 19; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 175; Ibn Rusta, 90; al-Muḳaddasī, 115; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 53; Miskawayh, *Tadjārub* (Amedroz), ii, 84; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 242, viii, 337, ix, 367, x, 166, 244; idem, *al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb*, i, 82; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 43; Le Strange, 59; *Sumer*, viii, 1952, 249; A. Sousa, *Rayy Sāmarrā*, Baghdād 1948, 363.

(G. Awad)

BADJKAM (Abu 'l-Ḥusayn), properly Bäčkäm (an Iranian word which passed into Turkish, meaning the tail of a horse or yak, see Benveniste in *JA*, 1948, 183), name of a Turkish amīr who was initially a *ghulām* in the service of Mākān and subsequently in that of another Daylamite, Mardāwīdj, master of Gīlān, Ṭabaristān and the Djibāl. When Mardāwīdj's Turkish *ghulām*s, provoked by his bullying, killed their master in 323/935, Badjkam placed himself at their head and fled with them. After offering his services to Ḥasan b. Hārūn, the ephemeral governor of the Djibāl appointed by the *wazīr* Ibn Muḳla, he directed his steps towards Baghdād, in the expectation of being taken into the Caliph's army. He was rejected, however, owing to the jealousy of the Ḥudjarī guards. Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who was then governor of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, took him into his service with his Turks, and he was henceforth called Badjkam Rāʾiḳī. He became the leader of a large band consisting of his *ghulām*s and other Turks and Daylamīs who came from the Djibāl at his summons.

When, at the end of 324/beginning of November 936, Ibn Rāʾiḳ was appointed by the Caliph al-Rāḍī to the office of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, Badjkam became his chief lieutenant both in his struggle against the undisciplined guards of the Caliph, Sādjīs and Ḥudjarīs, and against the ambitious governor of al-Ahwāz (Khūzistān), Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Barīdī. Upon his arrival in Baghdād, Ibn Rāʾiḳ at once proceeded to take rigorous measures against the Sādjīs; then at the beginning of 325/end of November 936, having gone down to Wāsiṭ with the Caliph, with the effective help of Badjkam he rid himself of the Ḥudjarīs who had accompanied the Caliph. Badjkam and Ibn Rāʾiḳ then returned to Baghdād where Badjkam was appointed Prefect of Police and governor of the Eastern provinces (February 937). Ibn Rāʾiḳ had been unable to come to terms with al-Barīdī, whose aim was to seize Lower ʿIrāḳ and then to take the place of the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, and it was therefore decided to institute military operations against him. Though Ibn Rāʾiḳ suffered defeat and was unable to prevent al-Barīdī's entering Baṣra, Badjkam enjoyed greater success; after two brillant victories over al-Barīdī's troops, who considerably outnumbered his own, he took the whole of Khūzistān and al-Barīdī was obliged to flee to Baṣra. Then, recalled by Ibn Rāʾiḳ, he rejoined the latter on the Baṣran front where they were both nearly taken prisoner. Al-Barīdī, however, had gone to Fārs to ask the help of the Būyid ʿAlī (ʿImād al-Dawla), who sent his brother Aḥmad (Muʿizz al-Dawla) to recover Khūzistān. At the request of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, Badjkam agreed to return thither, provided he might enjoy full sovereignty there. However fortune changed and he had to retreat before the Būyid and return to Wāsiṭ, whilst Ibn Rāʾiḳ left for Baghdād to find the money requested by Badjkam to pay his troops (326/beginning 938). Badjkam remained at Wāsiṭ, without attempting to recover Khūzistān from the Būyid, as was Ibn Rāʾiḳ's wish.

Henceforth it was Badjkam's idea to revolt against Ibn Rāʾiḳ and take his place. Perturbed by developments, Ibn Rāʾiḳ had just become reconciled with al-Barīdī. So as to detach the latter from Ibn Rāʾiḳ and make sure of his support, Badjkam now promised that once he became master of the capital, he would give him the governorship of Wāsiṭ which, shortly before, al-Barīdī had unsuccessfully attempted to take from Badjkam by force. An agreement to this effect was concluded. Moreover the former *wazīr* Ibn Muḳla, wishing to revenge himself on Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who had confiscated his property, started to correspond with Badjkam, encouraging him in his resolve, and recommended him to the Caliph al-Rāḍī as a successor to Ibn Rāʾiḳ. Al-Rāḍī adopted Ibn Muḳla's views and secretly encouraged Badjkam, as can be seen from an account given by the historian al-Ṣūlī, a confidant of the Caliph and of Badjkam (42-44, trans. i, 89-90), though he nevertheless handed Ibn Muḳla over to Ibn Rāʾiḳ. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 326/September 938, Badjkam, who had marched on the capital on the pretext of coming to ask for the pay for his troops, entered Baghdād, in spite of the efforts of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who had tried to stop him on the Nahr Diyāla by flooding it with the waters of the Nahrawān canal and destroying a bridge. At Baghdād, whilst Ibn Rāʾiḳ sought refuge in flight, the Caliph at once appointed Badjkam *amīr al-umarāʾ*.

Badjkam, the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, had to contend with the Ḥamdānid of Mawṣil, Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, who was not fulfilling his financial obligations. At the beginning of the year 327/October-November 938, Badjkam marched against him with the Caliph, and entered Mawṣil after having crushed Ḥamdānid resistance below the town, but was unable to take Ḥasan, who fled into the Djazīra, where Badjkam pursued him to no avail. Badjkam's troops were unremittingly harrassed at Mawṣil. Thereupon, as Ibn Rāʾiḳ had taken advantage of these circumstances to make a sudden irruption into Baghdād, Badjkam negotiated with the Ḥamdānid and likewise with Ibn Rāʾiḳ. A treaty was concluded at the end of 938 with the Ḥamdānid who offered to pay over an initial sum as part of the tribute. Ibn Rāʾiḳ agreed to leave Baghdād and to accept as compensation the governorship of the Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt, the Diyār Muḍar, the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*]. He left Baghdād on the 28th of January 939 and the Caliph and Badjkam returned to the capital at the beginning of February 939.

Badjkam then had to parry the menace from the Būyids which overshadowed Lower ʿIrāḳ, and this led to a closer though ephemeral understanding between Badjkam and al-Barīdī. The latter received the governorship of Wāsiṭ and carried out a successful operation against the Būyid in Susiana. He then obtained the office of *wazīr*, but remained at Wāsiṭ, his functions at Baghdād being performed only by a delegate. In 328/939-940, Badjkam married one

of his daughters. The Būyid had not relinquished his ambitions and had obtained the support of another of his brothers, Ḥasan (Rukn al-Dawla), master of the Djibāl. The latter marched on Wāsiṭ and set up his camp on the left bank of the Tigris opposite the town, though he was obliged to withdraw, when the arrival of Badjkam and the Caliph was announced. On the other hand, the army sent against the same Ḥasan in the Djibāl by Badjkam was defeated.

It was not long, however, before dissension arose between Badjkam and al-Barīdī, who did not conceal his intention of becoming *amīr al-umarā'* and who was very careful not to support the expedition sent by Badjkam into the Djibāl. At the end of 328/August 940, Badjkam removed him from the office of *wazīr* and decided to carry out an expedition against Wāsiṭ. For some time he had been worried by the behaviour of al-Barīdī and, in July, he abandoned the plan he had formed of going to fight the Būyid in the Djibāl and returned hastily to Baghdād. Then he marched against Wāsiṭ and entered the town abandoned by al-Barīdī. Badjkam remained there until his death. He was there when the Caliph al-Rāḍī died in Rabīʿ I 329/December 940. The Caliph al-Muttaḳī confirmed him in the office of *amīr al-umarā'*. In April 941, Badjkam left Wāsiṭ at the request of his lieutenants, who were operating against the forces of al-Barīdi in the region of Madhār to the south-east of Wāsiṭ, and who had suffered a reverse. It was his intention to join them, but upon arriving at Bādhbīn, he received the news that al-Barīdī had been defeated. He decided to go back. On the way, whilst hunting, he met a party of Kurdish brigands, whom he engaged in combat. He received a blow from the lance of a Kurd who struck him from behind, and died on the 21 Radjab 329/21 April 941.

Badjkam, the Turkish slave, had received his training at the hands of Mākān, to whom he was always very grateful. He understood Arabic, though he hesitated to speak it for fear of making mistakes, and employed an interpreter. He was, however, respected by men of letters, and enjoyed the company of men like al-Ṣūlī and the physician Sinān b. Thābit, who have left us invaluable recollections of him and to whom he granted generous pensions. Covetous of power and money, he did not hesitate to resort to dissimulation and ruse, corruption and torture to attain his ends; he was at times cruel, though his bravery was legendary, and was more upright in character than Ibn Rā'iḳ: so it was that the Caliph al-Rāḍī preferred him to Ibn Rā'iḳ. He was attentive to the well-being of his subjects and had gained the affection of the people of Wāsiṭ, though those of Baghdād held him of less account. He founded a guest-house (*dār ḍiyāfa*) at Wāsiṭ at a time of famine and a hospital at Baghdād. He offered the Ḳarāmiṭa large sums of money to restore the Black Stone to Mecca, but without success. At the request of the Shīʿis he had the mosque of Barātha, which had been destroyed on al-Muḳtadir's order, rebuilt. From the time he spent in Iranian lands, he retained the custom of celebrating the Iranian feasts such as the Sadhak and the Nawrūz. On the coins struck in his effigy, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 341.

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BĀDJŪRĪ (or Baydjūrī), Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, a Shāfiʿī scholar and author. Born in 1198/1783 in Bādjūr, a village in the Manūfiyya province of Egypt (ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, ix, 2), he studied at al-Azhar, became a very successful teacher there, Rector (*shaykh al-Azhar*) in 1263/1846, and died in 1276/1860. The most popular items in his very extensive but wholly derivative literary production are: (1) a *Risāla fī ʿIlm al-Tawḥīd*; (2) *al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, a commentary on the *K. al-Shamā'il* of al-Tirmidhī; (3) a gloss on the commentary of Muṣannifek on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī; (4) a gloss on the *Fatḥ al-Ḳarīb* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al Ghazzī, a commentary on the *Taḳrīb* or *Mukhtaṣar* of Abū Shudjāʿ (transl. by E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897; cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, 367 ff.); (5) a commentary on the *ʿAḳīda al-Ṣughrā* or *Umm al-Barāhīn* of al-Sanūsī; (6) a gloss on a commentary on the *Djawharat al-Tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Lāḳānī; (7) a gloss on the commentary of al-Shinshawrī on the *Urdjūza* of al-Raḥbī, known as Ibn al-Mutaḳḳina (transl. by J. D. Luciani, *Traité des successions musulmanes*, Paris 1890); (8) a gloss on al-Akhḍarī's commentary on his own *al-Sullam al-Murawnaḳ*; (9) a commentary on the *Kifāyat al-ʿAwāmm* of his teacher al-Faḍālī; (10) a commentary on the *Mawlid* of al-Dardīr; (11) a commentary on *al-Tarṣīf fī ʿIlm al-Taṣrīf* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā al-Murshidī; (12) a gloss on a commentary on the *Farā'id al-Fawā'id fi 'l-Istiʿāra* of al-Laythī al-Samarḳandī; (13) a commentary on a versification of the *Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn Ādjurrūm.

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BADR, or Badr Ḥunayn, a small town south-west of Medina, a night's journey from the coast, and at the junction of a road from Medina with the caravan route from Mecca to Syria. It lies in a plain, 5 m. (8 km.) long and 2½ m. (4 km.) broad, surrounded by steep hills and sand-dunes, and was a market centre.

Here occurred on 17 (or 19 or 21) Ramaḍān, 2 A.H. (= 13 or 15 or 17 March, 624) the first great battle of Muḥammad's career. Though there is a wealth of detail in the early sources, it is difficult to give a clear account of the battle and the events which led up to it. It is generally held that the earliest and most reliable version is that contained in a letter from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (preserved in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1284 ff.), though even this

has some material which seems to be legendary. Muḥammad received information that a rich caravan was returning from Syria to Mecca, led by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, chief of the clan of Umayya. He collected a force of slightly over 300 men (about 80 Emigrants, the rest Anṣār), and marched to the neighbourhood of Badr in hopes of intercepting the caravan. Abū Sufyān on his side had sent a request to Mecca for a force to protect the caravan while it traversed the region easily accessible from Medina. Since the Meccans are said to have spent over a week on the way from Mecca to Badr, Abū Sufyān must have sent his request some time beforehand, though the sources assert that he only did so after hearing of Muḥammad's preparations.

The Meccan force, commanded by Abū Djahl of the clan of Makhzūm, consisted of about 950 men from all the clans of Ḳuraysh. Before they reached Badr they received a message from Abū Sufyān to say that, by forced marches along a route closer to the coast than the usual one, he had eluded the Muslims. Abū Djahl, however, despite the disapproval of some senior men and the withdrawal of the contingents from the clans of Zuhra and ʿAdī decided to go forward to Badr and make a display of strength. He and his supporters doubtless considered that they were so strong that Muḥammad would not venture to attack (cf. Ḳurʾān viii, 47/49).

Muḥammad does not appear to have known of the expedition under Abū Djahl until the evening before the battle when some of his men captured a Meccan water-carrier at the wells of Badr. The camp of the Meccans was still out of sight behind a hill. This fortuitous encounter may have made it easier for Muḥammad to persuade all his followers to fight, since in the circumstances it would have been dishonourable to withdraw. On the following morning Muḥammad moved quickly and seized the wells, filling all with sand except that nearest the enemy, where he stationed his men. The enemy was thus forced to fight for his water supply willy-nilly. All that can be said of the course of the battle is that there appear to have been some single combats followed by a general melée. What is certain is that the Meccans suffered a catastrophic defeat. Nearly seventy of them were killed (including Abū Djahl and a dozen of their leaders) and nearly seventy taken prisoner and later ransomed for considerable sums; only about fifteen Muslims were killed.

This was a disaster for Mecca, but not a crippling one. The loss of many leading men was grave, but perhaps the most serious aspect was the loss of prestige. To recover prestige it was essential that they should punish Muḥammad. For the Muslims it seemed a vindication of their faith, brought about for them by God (cf. Ḳurʾān viii, 17, 42/43); they believed that He had sent his angels to their assistance viii 9,12).

Muḥammad spent much time in prayer and received assurances that he would be victorious (viii, 7, 9). The Muslims looked on this as the punishment long foretold for the unbelievers. According to a probable suggestion (R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, 118 ff.; *Introduction to the Qurʾān*, Edinburgh 1953, 136-8), the word *furḳān* applied to Badr means 'deliverance from judgement' (cf. Ḳurʾān, viii, 29, 41/42). The Muslims were thus confirmed in their faith and led to exaggerate their own importance—an exaggeration which resulted in a spiritual crisis after the reverse at Uḥud (Ḳurʾān, viii, 65/66; contrast 66/67). Muḥammad himself from this time onward was in a much stronger position in Medina. The self-confidence induced in the Muslims by their victory, and the prestige they thus acquired, were factors without which Islam could hardly have developed as it did. Those who had fought at Badr as Muslims—the Badriyyūn—came to be regarded as an aristocracy of merit, and in most versions of the *dīwān* of ʿUmar are said to have constituted the highest class of Muslims.

Muḥammad undertook a second expedition to Badr in Shaʿbān or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 4 A.H. (= Jan. or April 626) in accordance with a promise given to Abū Sufyān as he retired from Uḥud. Both Muḥammad and the Meccans had much larger forces, but there was no fighting, though the Muslims did good trade.

Badr is mentioned by the geographers of Arabia; e.g., Yāḳūt, i. 524 f.; al-Bakrī, 141f.; al-Muḳaddasī, 82 f.; al-Masʿūdī, 237. The traveller J. L. Burckhardt examined the site with the battle in mind (*Reisen in Arabien*, 1830, 614-19).

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BADR (Pīr), Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Badr-i ʿĀlam, a saint of the Djunaydiyya order, venerated by the people of Bihar and Bengal. In Bengal he enjoys the reputation of sharing with Pānč Pīr of Sonargaon the dominion of the waters. While putting to sea the sailors of Bengal utter the invocation: "*Allāh, Nabi, Pānč Pīr, Badr, Badr.*" Pīr Badr originally belonged to Meerut (in Uttar Pradesh) where his great grandfather, Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Zāhid (d. 704/1304) had established a great mystic centre. His grandfather, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaḳḳ-gū was killed by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-752/1325-1351) for criticising his religious views. Pīr Badr received his spiritual training at the feet of his father, Fakhr al-Dīn II, and the Suhrawardī saint, Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī. Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā invited him to Bihar but he reached there after the former's death in 782/1380. He first married into a Hindu family of Bihār and later entered into matrimonial relationship with the ruling house of Djaunpur. During his travels in East Bengal he converted a large number of Hindu sailors to Islam. He also helped in the establishment of Muslim power at Sonargaon. He sojourned for sometime in Čittagong where his *čilla*, in the western quarter of Bakhshī Bazar, is regarded as the palladium of the city and is visited by Hindu and Muslim sailors alike. Authority over the seas and rivers is considered a special spiritual attribute of his family. Fakhr al-Dīn Zāhid is reported to have rescued a party from sinking into the river Yamunā. It is said that Pīr Badr reached Čittagong 'floating on a rock'. He died on 27 Radjab 844/22 December 1440 in Bihār where his mausoleum is known as Čhotī Dargāh (the mausoleum of Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Manerī being known as Bari Dargāh).

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BADR B. **ḤASANWAYH** [see ḤASANWAYH, BANŪ].

BADR AL-**DAWLA** [see ARTUḲIDS].

BADR AL-**DĪN** [see LUʾLUʾ].

BADR AL-**DĪN** B. **ḲĀḌĪ SAMĀWNĀ**, eminent Ottoman jurist, Ṣūfī and rebel. Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā was born in 760 AH/3 Dec. 1358 in Samāwnā (which corresponds to the former Greek εἰς ʾΑμμόβουνον near Adrianople). He was the eldest son of the judge Ghāzī Isrāʾīl, who was one of the oldest fighters for the faith of his time, and traced his ancestry back to the Saldjūḳs. His mother was Greek, and took the name Melek after her conversion to Islam. Badr al-Dīn spent his youth in Adrianople (which had been conquered in spring 1361). He was taught the basis of Islamic religion and law by his father and, later on, by the jurists Yūsuf and Shāhidī. His subsequent studies took him to Brusa, in the company of his friend Mūsā Čelebi, better known as Ḳāḍīzāde-i Rūmī, a brilliant mathematician and astronomer. Up to 1381, he studied logic and astronomy in Konya under a certain Fayḍ Allāh. After that, Badr al-Dīn went to Jerusalem, where he worked under the otherwise not particularly well known Ibn al-ʿAṣkalānī (not the famous Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī), then he went to Cairo, attracted by the teaching of such famous scholars as Mubārakshāh al-Manṭiḳī, the physician Ḥādjdjī Pasha, the philosopher and lawyer ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, and a certain ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. In about 1383, Badr al-Dīn went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. After his return to Cairo, the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ appointed him as tutor to his son Faradj, who was to succeed him. By some fateful chance, Badr al-Dīn met the Ṣūfī Shaykh Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī at the Mamlūk court, and under his overpowering influence he (a former opponent of the Ṣūfīs) himself accepted Ṣūfism. After some years of monastic life in Cairo, Badr al-Dīn travelled to Tabrīz in 1402-3—possibly attracted by the fame of the Ṣafawiyya in Ardabīl—and there he came to the notice of Tīmūr Lang, who had just returned from Anatolia and attempted to take Badr al-Dīn with him to Central Asia. This he avoided by fleeing. He became Shaykh of his monastery and successor to Ḥusayn Akhlātī (who had died in the meantime), but as a result of differences with his brethren he decided to leave Cairo and undertake a missionary journey to Asia Minor and Rumelia. He succeeded in gaining the sympathy of the princes of Konya and Germiyān, and also in attracting Ḥāmid b. Mūsā al-Ḳayṣarī, a member of the Ṣafawid order and later teacher of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Walī [*q.v.*]. Following the success of his Ṣūfī convictions, Badr al-Dīn gradually developed into an open heretic: he propagated the idea of common ownership, and developed in a consistent and daring way the ideas of the heretic Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. The crowds of impoverished people whom he attracted in Asia Minor must have been considerable. Christians, too, came over to him, and it is said that he was in touch with the Genoese ruler of Chios. Finally, Badr al-Dīn landed again in Adrianople, where he retired for seven years to lead a life of solitude and study. Around 1410, and against his will, he was made military judge by the claimant to the Sultanate, Mūsā, but after the victory of Sultan Meḥemmed I near Čamurlu (1413), he was dismissed from his post and banished to Izniḳ under rather humiliating circumstances. There he wrote and taught, and Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*]—who later became famous as Shaykh of the Bayrāmiyya—is said to have been one of his pupils for a short time. It was probably there, too, that he became connected (in ways which are not yet clear) with the communist underground movement of a certain Bürklüdje Muṣṭafā, and a certain Torlaḳ Hū Kemāl, which led to the extensive rebellion in 1416, as whose ideological head Badr al-Dīn appears. Whilst on the one hand the biography of Badr al-Dīn (which was written by his grandson Khalīl) asserts his complete innocence in all these events, the official Ottoman historians, on the other hand, accuse him of active participation—even of leadership in the rebellion. At the time when Bürklüdje Muṣṭafā and Torlaḳ Hū Kemāl started their attack in western Asia Minor (where, to begin with, they had considerable success), Badr al-Dīn left Izniḳ and reached Rumelia with the secret help of the discontented prince of Sinope. After the rebellion of Bürklüdje Muṣṭafā and Torlaḳ Hū Kemāl had been most cruelly suppressed, the revolt in Rumelia also collapsed and Badr al-Dīn was caught by troops of the Sultan and dragged to Serres in Macedonia, where Sultan Meḥemmed I was fighting the "false Muṣṭafā" (Düzme Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*]). After a somewhat questionable trial, Badr al-Dīn was publicly hanged as a traitor in Serres on 18 Dec. 1416. The rôle played by Badr al-Dīn in this rising is still by no means clear. It is certain, however, that his ideology was in sympathy with it, and that his ideas did have an enduring influence. There is documentary evidence that there were followers of the Badr al-Dīn movement in Rumelia even under Süleymān the Magnificent. After the death of their hero, many of them turned to the now politically active Ṣafawiyya, whilst others merged into sundry sects, especially the Bektāshiyya. The most famous of Badr al-Dīn's descendants—beside his three sons Aḥmad, Ismāʿīl and Muṣṭafā—was his grandson Khalīl (the son of Ismāʿīl) who was Badr al-Dīn's biographer.

As a writer, Badr al-Dīn was extremely prolific. He wrote close on 50 extensive works, most of them on matters of law. His most important Ṣūfī works are the *Wāridāt* and the *Nūr al-Ḳulūb*.

Bibliography: F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Dīn, der Sohn der Richters von Simāw* in: *Der Islam*, xi (1921), 1ff. and the supplements in: *Der Islam*, xvii (1928), 100 ff., and *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien* (14th-15th century) *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* No. 34, Brünn-Munich-Vienna 1944, 80 ff.; M. Şerefeddin [Yaltkaya], *Simavna Ḳadisi Oghlu Sheykh Bedr al-Din*, Istanbul 1925; idem, article *Bedreddin* in *IA* (with details concerning Badr al-Dīn's religious views); H. J. Kissling, *Das Menāqybnāme Scheich Bedr ed-Dīn's, des Sohnes des Richters von Samāvnā*, in *ZDMG*, C (1950) 112 ff. (based on the *Menāḳibnāme* of Khalīl, edited by F. Babinger 1943); idem, *Zur Geschichte des Derwischordens der Bajrāmijje* in: *Südostforschungen* xv (1956) 237 ff. (concerning the connexions between Badr al-Dīn and the Ṣafawiyya, Khalwatiyya and Bayrāmiyya). Further matter in the above-mentioned works.

(H. J. KISSLING)

BADR AL-**DJAMĀLĪ**, a Fāṭimid commander-in-chief and vizier. The formerly brilliant Fāṭimid empire was on the verge of downfall under the incapable Caliph Mustanṣir (427-487/1036-1094). The Saldjūḳs were pressing forward into Syria, in Egypt

the Turkish slave-guards were fighting with the negro-corps, a seven years' famine was exhausting the resources of the country; all state authority had disappeared in the general struggle; hunger and disease were carrying off the people, licence and violence were destroying all prosperity and it appeared as if the Fāṭimid kingdom must disappear in a chaos of anarchism. Then, on the call of the Caliph, the Syrian general Badr al-Djamālī took command of the government as well as of the army and with great though brutal vigour brought order into affairs again and indeed a second period of splendour to the Fāṭimid empire.

Badr was an Armenian slave of the Syrian *amīr* Djamāl al-Dawla Ibn ʿAmmār, whence his name al-Djamālī. He must have been born about the beginning of the 5th/11th century, for at his death in 487/1094 he was over 80 years old. Even before he became vizier he had made a great name for himself in Syria. He was twice appointed Governor of Damascus, but fell into difficulties each time on account of his stringent measures with the pampered troops. He then became commander-in-chief of ʿAkkā and in this capacity had to fight against the troops of Malik-shāh. He had an Armenian bodyguard for himself and the soldiers he commanded were also to be relied on. He took them with him on being summoned by the Caliph in 466/1073 to deliver him out of the hands of the despotic Turkish officials. The latter never suspected the reason of Badr's coming to Egypt, fell into the trap prepared for them and were all murdered in one night. Badr thereby became master of the situation. Now followed his appointment as commander-in-chief or *Amīr al-Djuyūsh* (in the popular language *Mirgūsh*), as chief justice, chief preacher and vizier. The most popular of these titles was the first; the Djabal al-Djuyūshī is still a common appellation of the Muḳaṭṭam commanding Cairo on the spur of which Badr built a mosque, a *mashhad* in which according to popular belief at the present day the Sīdī Djuyūshī lies buried. After quieting the capital he re-established order to the east then to the west of the Delta. Alexandria had to be taken by storm. The task of conquering Upper Egypt was also difficult as the Arab tribes had set themselves up as independent there. In Syria he was not so fortunate. Affairs were mismanaged here, and Damascus fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳs about the end of the year 468/1076. The Fāṭimids were never to regain it. In the following year the victorious Saldjūḳ general Atsïz appeared before Cairo itself, but Badr had time to collect his troops and drive back the Saldjūḳs. In spite of repeated attempts in the years 471/1078-9, 478/1085-6, and 482/1098-90, he was not successful in regaining Damascus and Syria, and at his death only a few towns in the South of Syria were still in the possession of the Fāṭimids. His strength in Syria was weakened by unrest constantly breaking out in Egypt, inspired by one of his sons.

Of his activity as a governor we know little, but it is praised on all sides. Under his rule the annual revenue of Egypt from taxation was increased from about 2 to about 3 million dīnārs. These large receipts enabled him to put into practice the lessons learned from the Saldjūḳ invasion. Cairo was invested by him with its second wall, and the three strong city gates which are admired to this day, the Bāb Zawīla (Zuwayla), the Bāb al-Naṣr and the Bāb al-Futūḥ, were built. In Rabīʿ I 487/March-April 1094 Badr's active and successful career came to its close, after he had arranged that his son al-Afḍal Shāhānshāh [*q.v.*] should succeed him in all his offices. The Caliph Mustanṣir, who had then been reigning for 60 years, died a few months later.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; Ibn Muyassar; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm* (Cairo) v, index; Ibn al-Sayrafī, *Al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-Wizāra*, Cairo 1924; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 380 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iv, 64; Ibn al-Athīr, 19, 40, 60, 68 ff.; 151 ff.; 160 ff.; M. van Berchem, *Corpus Inscript. Arab.*, *l'Égypte*, No. 11, 32, 33, 36-39; 516, 518 and the bibliography cited there; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿat al-Wathāʾiḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*, i, Cairo 1958, index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Faṭimiden-Chalifen*, 264 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 150 ff.; Marcel, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, period of Mustanṣir; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii, index; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Pennsylvania 1955, i, index; G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe* (vol. iv of G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*), Paris n.d., 245-54; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Egypte*, *MIFAO*, lii, 132-158; idem, *Précis d'Histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 186-188.

(C. H. BECKER)

BADR AL-KHARSHANĪ, amīr, probably a native of Kharshana in Cappadocia, sometimes designated (through a factitious genealogy?) by the name of Badr b. ʿAmmār al-Asadī. Chamberlain to the caliph al Ḳāhir and in high favour under al-Rāḍī, he followed the *amīr al-umarā* Ibn Rāʾiḳ ([*q.v.*]; Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdânides*, Algiers 1951, 411-24), when the latter was charged with the government of Djazīra and Syria-Palestine. Badr became lieutenant of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, received the government of the *djund* of Jordan, and resided at Tiberias (beginning of 328/end of 939); about this time he was extolled by the panegyrist al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*]. During the conflict between Ibn Rāʾik and the Ḥamdānid amīr of Mawṣil Nāṣir al-Dawla, Badr too returned to ʿIrāḳ, won short-lived favour under the caliph al-Muttaḳī, but had to flee as the result of intrigues and take refuge at al-Fusṭāṭ, in Egypt, with Muḥammad the Ikhshīdid [*q.v.*]. He died there at the end of 330/942.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1301, viii, 119, 139; Mishkawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, in *GMS*, v, 84, 405, 509; R. Blachère, *Un Poète arabe du IVe/Xe siècle, Abou t-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbi*, Paris 1935, 95-105. (R. BLACHÈRE)

BADRA, a small town of east-central ʿIrāḳ (43° 53′ E, 33° 7′ N), near the Persian frontier, with a population of 6000, practically all Shīʿī Muslims of mixed Arab and Lurish blood. It is the headquarters of a *ḳaḍāʾ* (with dependent *nāḥiya* of Zarbāṭiyya) in the *liwāʾ* of Kūt al-Amāra. Apart from one new official quarter, Badra shows little modern development, with narrow streets, poor houses, and salty water. Grain cultivation and fruit and date gardens are extensive, and the "Baydrāyā" date famous; irrigation is from the Gallāl stream, rising in Persia.

The town has continuity with medieval Bādarāyā (that is, Bayt Darāyā, a tribe-name), which is frequently mentioned in Syriac literature and by the Arab geographers; with Bākusāyā it fell in the district of Bandanīdjīn, east of the Nahrawān [*q.v.*] canal-system and on the borders of Djibāl province. It had greater medieval than modern development, was considered a seat of learning, and was the

scene of a settlement by Khusraw I Anūsharwān of captives from northern Syria. Mounds near and in modern Badra represent the older city, which was ruined by floods, pestilence or war.

Bibliography: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, *passim*; Yāḳūt, i, 459; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 69; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1879, 101; the same, *Gesch. d. Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, 239; Le Strange, 63 f., 80; E. Herzfeld, in *Memnon*, 1907, 126, 140; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī, *al-ʿIrāḳ ḳadīm*ᵃⁿ *wa-ḥadīth*ᵃⁿ, Ṣaydā 1948.

(S. H. Longrigg)

BADRKHĀNĪ, Thurayyā (1883-1938) and Djalādat (1893-1951), sons of Amīr Amīn ʿAlī, eldest son of Badr-khān (died 1868), Prince of Bohtān (Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar) of the ʿAzīzān family, who fought against the Turks for the independence of Kurdistān (1836-1845). The two brothers, born at Maḳtala (Syria) died, the first in Paris and the second, as the result of an accident, in Damascus. Both devoted their lives to the Kurdish national cause, Thurayyā in the sphere of organisation and political propaganda and Djalādat mainly in the cultural field.

Thurayyā, after having obtained the Diploma in Agronomical Engineering at the University of Constantinople, began to lead a turbulent life, in which is mirrored the history of the national struggle of his people. In 1904 he was found guilty of plotting against the security of Turkey and sent to prison. He spent two and a half years in prison and in exile. After the Young Turks' *coup d'état*, he returned to Constantinople and started his newspaper "*Kurdistān*" in Kurdish and Turkish. In 1919, the newspaper was suspended and he was again thrown into prison, and condemned to death for having taken part in the preparation of a military revolt. He was pardoned and in 1910 banished. In 1912, however, he returned to the capital, where he organised a secret Kurdish revolutionary committee. He was condemned to death, and for the third time saw the inside of a prison. He made his escape and finally left Turkey in 1913. During the 1914 war, Thurayyā recommenced the publication of his newspaper in Cairo, where he also organised a Committee for Kurdish independence, which played a rôle in the drawing up of the Treaty of Sèvres (1919-20). As this diplomatic instrument, which envisaged an international Kurdish statute, remained a dead letter, Thurayyā resumed his revolutionary activities after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), and in 1927, together with his supporters, he joined the National Kurdish League *Khoybūn*, which had just come into being. He returned to Syria in 1929, but in 1930 (the year of the great Kurdish revolt in Turkey) he was prohibited from living in the territories under French mandate and was obliged to expatriate himself to Paris, where he represented the *Khoybūn*. Among other things, the Kurdo-Armenian reconciliation dates from this period, and found in him a convinced and clever architect. In general terms, Amīr Thurayyā was the first Kurdish patriot to conduct a campaign in accordance with a programme and with modern political arguments, both by word of mouth and in print. Several pamphlets by him in various foreign languages are known.

Djalādat's career was less eventful than that of Thurayyā. He held a master's degree in Law of the University of Constantinople and completed his studies in Munich. In 1927, he was elected the first president of the Khoybūn. In 1930, he took part in an attempted Kurdish rising in Turkey, which he entered with Hādjō Aghā. After the failure of this undertaking he settled in Damascus. There he devoted himself to literary work and from 15 May 1932 to 1935, and again in 1941-43, published the review *Hawār* (Summons), in French and Kurdish. (Djalādat produced a Kurdish alphabet in Latin characters, which began the work of unification of *Kurmāndjī* Kurdish). Furthermore, the review contributed to the rebirth of the popular literature, sought to reconcile the tribal chieftains and the men of letters, whom the former held in suspicion, and prepared educational material, publishing "booklets" (spelling-books, readers and books on religion; in all 12 appeared). During the last war, Djalādat also published the review *Runāhī* (Light).

Bibliography: autobiographical notice of the Amīr Thurayyā; W. G. Elphinston, *The Emir Jaladet Aali Bedr Khan*, in *RCAS*, 1951, 91-3; M. Shalīta and Y. Malik, *Dhikrī al-Amīr Djalādat Badr Khān* (1897-1951), n.p.or d.; P. Rondot, *Les Kurdes de Syrie*, in *France Méditerranéenne et Africaine*, i, 1939; *Sharaf-nāma*, Cairo ed., 156-191; Muḥ. Amīn Zakī, *Taʾrīkh al-Duwal waʾl-Imārāt al-Kurdiyya*, Cario 1945, 363-6; B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, s.v. (B. Nikitine)

BĀDŪRAYĀ, under the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate a district south-west of Baghdād, the land south of the Nahī Ṣarāt, a branch of the Euphrates canal Nahr ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. The Ṣarāt separates it from the Ḳaṭrabbul district; the southern part of the western half of Baghdād (the so-called town of al-Manṣūr) as well as the suburb of Karkh were situated within the bounds of the district of Bādūrayā; the latter formed, like the district of Ḳaṭrabbul, a subdivision of the circle of Astān al-ʿĀlī.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, iii, 119, 120; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7, 9, 235, 237; Balādhurī, *Futuḥ*, 250, 254, 265; Yāḳūt, i, 460; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geogt.* (1900), i, 16, 10, 25; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (1900), 50-1, 315; Le Strange, 31, 66, 67, 80, 82.

(M. Streck *)

BĀDŪSBĀNIDS (Pādusbānids), minor Caspian dynasty, noteworthy for its longevity (45-1006/665-1599) as well as for that of its princes, some of whom reigned for 50 years. Its power in Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān) extended to Rustamdār, Rūyān, Nūr and Kudjūr. Its origins are traced to Gāwbāra who came from Armenia in the time of Yazdigird III, who appointed him governor. He had two sons, Dābūya and Bādūsbān, established respectively in Gīlān and Ṭabaristān, the former being the eponymous ancestor of the Dābūwand dynasty (40-144/660-701), and the latter that of the Bādūsbānids. The history of this latter dynasty is given in an excellent résumé by Rabino [see afrāsiyābids], including a genealogical table with some forty names with numbers indicating their order. There exists, furthermore, a *Tarīkh-i Rūyān* (*T.R.*) by Mawlānā Awliyā Allāh of Āmul, written foi Fakhr al-Dawla Shāh Ghāzī b. Zīyār (died 786/1384) which does not cover the whole of the period of the dynasty as described in Rabino. On the other hand, it contains abundant details on the internal life of the dynasty, so that these two sources, therefore, admirably complement each other. We learn, for example, that two major revolts took place in Ṭabaristān against the Arab occupation; one in the time of ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlā, was the joint work of the *iṣfahbad* Shahrwīn Bāwand and Shahrīyār Bādūsbān

with Wandād Hormizd of the Sūkhrā clan (*T.R.*, 46); the other broke out at Djālūs (Čālūs) and was savagely repressed (*T.R.* 52). These risings appear to have been provoked by the burden of excessive taxation.

In some cases, for example the revolt of Māzyār [*q.v.*], religious movements have served as a pretext. Shīʿism was only imposed as late as the middle of the 9th/15th century by Kayūmarth (no. 36 in Rabino). The resistance opposed by Iranian national feeling to all foreign usurpation is less evident in respect of the Īlkhāns. Their reign is portrayed as a period of well-being (*T.R.*, 122). Nevertheless, the destruction caused by the Mongols (*T.R.*, 130) and by Tīmūr (Rabino) is not passed over in silence.

The protection of the Saldjūḳids was sought from time to time: Hazārasp sought that of Toghrul, for example (*T.R.*, 103). Khwārizm (*T.R.*, 106, 107), the Ṣaffārids (*T.R.*, 70) and the Sāmānids (*T.R.*, 74, 76) are mentioned in various episodes, the latter for the most part in connexion with the ʿAlid Sayyids. As for the internal struggles, which are purely of local interest, the Bādūsbānids were sometimes in alliance with their neighbours and sovereigns, the Bāwand, and at other times were against them. After a number of conflicts with the Buwayhids, a *modus vivendi* was found which maintained the peace (nos. 13, 14 in Rabino).

The Ismāʿīlīs, heretics (*malāḥida*), are the object of violent diatribes (*T.R.*, 90), but when needed, their help was sought (*T.R.*, 100, 10). Both the Bāwand (Shams al-Mulūk) and the Bādūsbānids (Shahrākīm b. Nāmāwar) contributed to their final defeat by the Mongols at the siege of Gird-i Kūh (*T.R.*, 110). Other characteristic features are the Iranian custom of wearing the hair long (curled or plaited) and special head-dresses (*T.R.*, 135) as well as non-Muslim personal names: Shīrzād, Bahman, Rūzāfzūn, Farīdūn, Gudarz, Pashang, Iridj, etc. The name Bādūsbān should be connected with Bāwand and Bāḥarb. Note *awlād-i dūsbān* (*T.R.*, 35). There are verses cited in the Ṭabarī dialect (*T.R.*, 111, 114), Arabic (*T.R.*, 121, 129) and Persian (*T.R.*, 74, 75, 77, 108). The Muslim aspect appears in the names of pious men (*T.R.*, 7, 54, 93, 112, 116) and of religious foundations. As regards geography, there is ample toponymic data. Attention must be drawn to the old name of Māzandarān, *farshwād-djard* (*T.R.*, 27, 28) (V. Minorsky disputes this).

Bibliography: Cf. the art. Afrāsīyāb, Bānū, and: Awliyā-Allāh Āmulī, *Taʾrīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. ʿAbbās Khalīlī, Tehran 1313/1934 (cf. pages given in parentheses); B. Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, 4 parts, St. Petersburg 1850-58; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932; idem, *The Guran* in *BSOS*, 1943 (on the Guran *gā (v) bāra (k)*; Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad, *Awrāzān*, Tehran 1333/1954 (for the Ṭāliḳān dialect); Mahdī Muḥaḳḳaḳ, *Ismāʿīliyya*, in *Yaghmā*, 1337, no. 2.

(B. Nikitine)

BADW. I. Pastoral nomads of Arabian blood, speech, and culture are found in the Arabian Peninsula proper and in parts of Iran, Soviet Turkestan, North Africa, and the Sudan. This article is limited to their way of life in their home territory. Unlike primitive hunting and gathering, pastoral nomadism is a sophisticated system of exploiting land incapable of cultivation. Later to arise than agriculture, pastoralism utilises seven species of domestic animals: the sheep, goat, and ox, domesticated in Neolithic times as part of the herding and sowing complex of Western Asia; the ass, domesticated by early Bronze Age times for transport; and the camel, horse, and water buffalo, introduced during historic times.

Hunting peoples living off gazelle, oryx, ibex, ostrich, bustard, and quail were probably the desert's sole occupants until about 5,000 B.C. As Neolithic cultivators began to settle the edges of the waste, its seasonal wealth of herbage enticed shepherds and goatherds to lead their flocks out a certain distance during the winter and spring. After the camel had been introduced around 1100 B.C. full-time nomads found it possible to live out on the desert throughout most of the year, summering at wells or on the edges of oases and perennial streams. With the riding horse, introduced after 500 B.C., and perhaps as late as the time of Christ, Arabian camel nomads acquired an animal from whose back they could fight each other efficiently, and the golden age of Arabian life on the desert could begin.

The enormous number of unexplored archaeological sites in the Arabian desert, the advance of dessication since the introduction of the camel, and historical references in pre-Islamic literary sources indicate that the Arabian nomads for the most part are descended from farmers, traders, and caravan men who took to pastoralism during the early centuries of this era, as both business and the landscape deteriorated, just as cowboys and pastoralists in the United States, Canada, and Australia are descended from agricultural and urban peoples who took advantage of newly opened territories. The period during which Arabian nomadic life developed and crystallised lay between the time of Jesus and that of Muḥammad.

Four kinds of nomadism are practised in Arabia. In the Djibāl al-Ḳarā, in Ẓufār, on the Indian Ocean, peoples who speak Semitic languages of the Mahri-Socotran group graze hump-backed cattle on grass provided by the abundant rainfall of the summer monsoon. In cultivated regions of southern ʿIraḳ special families of herdsmen raise water-buffaloes, pasturing them in reaped and fallow fields. These people live in semi-cylindrical houses of poles and matting, which they move about seasonally over short distances. On the desert fringes, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Kuwayt, whole clans and tribes of shepherds mounted on donkeys drive their sheep and goats from pasture to pasture. Out in the middle of the desert the Bedouin proper herd their camels, migrating to the areas of recent rainfall in winter and spring and remaining near sources of permanent water in summer.

These four kinds of nomadism are dependent on the different physiological needs and capacities of the animals herded. Humped cattle need green grass and daily water, water-buffalo streams or irrigation ditches to wallow in. While sheep and goats can graze on died vegetation part of the year, they move slowly and cannot be kept more than a day or two from water. Camels can go as long as seventeen days without water in 100° F. heat, and can drink 30 gallons at a time. Their ability to withstand the rigours of the desert are due not only to their capacity for holding water but also to their ability to preserve it: a camel can tolerate an increase of up to eleven degrees F. over normal body temperature without much water loss through sweating. They also store energy in the form of fat in their humps. The Arabian horse, when it is kept

on the desert, is watered on transported water, and fed grain, being treated with the same solicitude as human beings. Sheep, goats, cattle, water-buffaloes, and camels all produce milk. Goat hair is used for tents, sheep and camel wool for clothing. All these animals are eaten, except horses. The horse provides nothing but the kinds of transport directly concerned with warfare and prestige. As social status combined with independence is the most important of all considerations to a desert Arab, the horse is honoured accordingly.

The most ancient dwellers on the desert are the Ṣulaba [*q.v.*], probably descended from early hunters, and representing a phenotypically homogeneous desertadapted Mediterranean racial strain. In northern Arabia they dwell among the noble Bedouin, whom they serve as guides, tinkers, and workers in wood. At times they also hunt. Their women provide entertainment. Second in probable antiquity are the shepherd tribes, as for example the S̲h̲arārāt and the Muntafiḳ confederations. These are in the most part dependent on the camel nomads because of their relative immobility and hence defencelessness. Individuals of these tribes serve the camel nomads as hired herdsmen. Members of the noble tribes own camels, drive and ride them on migrations, and guard and defend them while grazing. In the heat of summer they sometimes pick dates in oases, or even go pearl-fishing.

These tribesmen are also served by blacksmiths, mostly negroid, who come out from the settled places, and by Negro slaves. Shopkeepers from the towns sometimes set up special tents in the Bedouin camps to vend their wares, while travelling agents of large camel-purchasing companies buy up young camels which will be collected upon reaching the desired state of maturity. Much of this business takes place at camel markets like that of Burayda in Nad̲j̲d. Members of the noble tribes often visit the cities of Saʿudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, ʿIraḳ and Kuwayt where some of them maintain town houses. Many have taken to settled life, and some have risen to high offices in the various Arab countries.

The material culture of the Bedouin is designed around mobility. The black tent of goat-hair is loosely woven, to permit circulation of air, yet its fibres swell when wet to keep out the rain; in summer it provides an area of much-needed shade, open on the sides to the breeze; in winter, with sides and rear closed it is warm. Except for special tents used only as *dīwāns*, or reception halls, it is divided by a curtain into a family section, occupied by women and children, and the guest section in which the head of the household receives his male friends. Kitchen utensils are of metal and wood, but each family usually owns a set of small porcelain coffee cups carefully packed in a compartmented wooden box. Arab clothing, loose and flowing, is warm in winter and cool in summer, as it protects the skin both from the cold and from the hot, dry wind; the man's headcloth, and the woman's headdress and veil, also help to keep dust and sand out of the eyes, nose, and ears. Most of the Bedouin's outfit is purchased, including the cotton cloth for his underclothing, his tools, and his containers. So is much of his food, including wheat, rice, dates and coffee. Only milk and meat are produced locally.

Like other Semites, the Bedouins lay great stock in genealogies, and consider kinship of paramount importance in human relations. The preferred mating being with the father's brother's daughter, descent is patrilineal. Divorce is easy, polygyny both serial and contemporary. Bedouin women, often unveiled, in many cases married more than once, have more freedom than their sisters of the towns and oases. Beyond the immediate family is a group of kin which usually goes out to pasture together; several such groups will spend the hot season together; this is usually the limit of the kin responsible for mutual vengeance. Beyond this is the tribe, finally the confederation. Among the Bedouin proper, also called Aʿrāb, two main lineages are recognised, those descended from Ḳaḥṭān, who lived before Abraham, and the ʿArab al-Mustaʿriba, descended from Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, who was daughter of a king of Ḥid̲j̲āz. The Bedouin proper include the ʿAnaza confederation, of which the Ruwalā is the best known tribe, the S̲h̲ammar, the Āl Murra in and on the borders of the Empty Quarter, the ʿUd̲j̲mān, and the Banū K̲h̲ālid. All of these tribes follow a strict code of chivalry when fighting one another.

Being mobile camel-owners, these aristocrats are concerned chiefly with the use of winter and spring grazing lands, the locations of which vary from year to year with the whim of the rains. In each camp the work is done mostly by dependents — slaves, Ṣulaba, hired herdsmen, and blacksmiths, all of whom are considered non-combatants. A Bedouin s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ entertains lavishly in a large tent where food is always available to his followers and guests. The ritual of coffee drinking is highly formalised and nearly always in progress. Members of other tribes fleeing vengeance seek the protection of his "face". Travellers cross his territory under the protection of his guards. In inter-tribal warfare, which most frequently arises over pasture rights, he will often lead his men into battle in person. Bravery, generosity, and good judgment are the qualities traditional in such a leader, who does not inherit his office directly, but is chosen, often after a sharp contest, from the paramount family. Before trucks, buses, railroads and airplanes took over the desert carrying trade, the Bedouins guided, protected, and raided caravans, including the huge pilgrim processions.

The Bedouins are Muslims, characteristically Sunnite. Many (especially in Eastern Arabia) follow the Mālikī code, but the Wahhābīs universally follow the Ḥanbalī. The Bedouins generally are said to spend less time and effort in religious devotions than townsmen but the conditions are sometimes reversed. In some of their rituals can be seen a survival of veneration for ancestors.

The political situation of the Bedouins varies from period to period. When the central governments to which the tribal territories are officially assigned are weak, the paramount S̲h̲ayk̲h̲s rule virtually as kings, and even cities have paid them tribute. At times when the central governments are strong, their authority becomes purely local. At the present time Bedouins are found within the political boundaries of Saʿudi Arabia, Yaman, Aden Protectorate, Masḳaṭ, Trucial Oman, Kuwayt, ʿIraḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Egypt and the North African states. For the most part these governments endeavour to keep their nomads at home. In some countries this effort has been implemented by programmes to settle some of them on newly irrigated land, and new water-tanks along the Tapline are used by a number of tribes, including the Ruwalā.

Part of one tribe, the Dawāsir, whose home in southern Nad̲j̲d, moved to the Persian Gulf and onto the island of Baḥrayn. In 1923 they crossed

back to the mainland, and settled in al-Khubar and Ḍammām. During the last three decades some of the Dawāsir, having worked for the Arabian American Oil Company, have set up in businesses of their own, including construction and transportation.

Today the Bedouins are in a state of transition. Some still concern themselves with camel breeding for the meat, skin, and wool markets; others are truckers, machinists, and skilled operators of oil producing machinery, and are sending their children to school and college. They are showing themselves just as adaptable to the machine age as they were to life on the desert when an earlier opportunity called them.

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(CARLETON S. COON)

II. THE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF NOMADISM IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT

(a) Goat and Sheep Nomadism.
(b) The Nomad on Horseback.
(c) Bedouin Nomadism in Arabia.
(d) The Appearance of Camel Nomadism in North Africa.

(a) *Goat and Sheep Nomadism.*

The expressions "nomad" and "nomadism" lose their scientific practicability, if they are not used in their restricted meaning: "roaming from place to place for pasture" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*). Nomadism is unsettled roaming, pasturing herd animals. Roaming gatherers and hunters as well as a population with a shifting agriculture (*ladang*, *milpa*, see Gourou) should not be called nomadic. If we follow the succession of "agricultural origins" of the Old World in C. O. Sauer's conception (1952) taken over and elaborated by the authors in two papers (1956, 1957), nomadism in this restricted sense began much later than planting and breeding "household animals", *i.e.* dog, pig, and fowl. (Sauer distinguishes between household animals and herd animals).

The still hypothetical sequence of creative centres of domestication and cultivation, according to Sauer's interpretation, began along the river banks and coasts of moist tropical forest round the Bay of Bengal, where a rather sedentary fishing folk, which in addition hunted and collected plants and mussels, began to breed these "household animals" (dog, pig, fowl) and to plant tubers and fruit shrubs and trees (cf. also E. Hahn, Hettner, Menghin, Werth 1950, 1954, Dittmer, Smolla).

Cultivation of seed plants ("millets"—this is a term including the diverse species of small seed cereals—as well as pulse and oil plants) was then added in the winter-dry forest, which is easily burnt down, and in the wooded steppe, at first in India. These plants supply proteins and oil, making man more independent of animal food, especially of fish.

In this progressive succession of cultures, in which man became "the lord of creation", the next step seems to have been the breeding of goats and (then) sheep in the mountain areas north-west of India, round the Hindukush. This was probably incited by a near contact between seed-planters and mountain hunters, among whom the wild goat or sheep was a holy animal. A culture thus resulted in which herding was added to seed-planting and hunting. It may be regarded as a primary stage of

farming, as a goat and sheep farming culture ("*Kleinvieh-Bauerntum*"), if we understand the meaning of farming to be a combination of tilling and herding.

Results of the ethnological expedition of A. Friedrich (Jettmar 1957b) strongly support this hypothesis, especially for the goat. In the remote valleys of the Shin of Gilgit, the *markhor*, the wild goat with screw-shaped horns, and the ibex are holy animals, "herded by goddesses". The domestic goat, an offspring of the wild goat of the same region, partakes in this holiness. The economy of the Shin consisted in a scanty growing of millet, but an intensive breeding of goats and an important hunting of the *markhor* and ibex. Jettmar brings several indications for the thesis that the domestication of the goat took place in these regions. The experience of domestication—of this tremendous intervention in the balance of nature—must have always implied a profound religious emotion. Jettmar calls this a religious shock of domestication (cf. E. Hahn).

The growing of the two-rowed barley (*Hordeum spontaneum*) as the first large seed grain ("*Halmgetreide*") may have already been developed in that region. Probably in this stage, if not earlier, small-scale irrigation was started.

But only the thesis of the following great step, which largely diversified social and economic modes of living, is more or less archaeologically proved up to now: in the highlands and the mountains of Western Asia, somewhere between Western Iran and Syria, cattle were bred and primitive wheat (emmer, *Triticum dicoccum*; einkorn, *T. monococcum*; and possibly spelt, *T. spelta*) was grown as an addition to the basic goat and sheep farming. It was the foundation of a complete farming culture ("*Vollbauerntum*"), which later became the basis of early civilisation in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

These four main nuclei of creative cultures which reared animals and plants were based on one another. They may be looked at as only one moving centre, appearing near the Bay of Bengal and progressing finally to the highlands and mountains round Mesopotamia. Each of these four stages sent out waves of dispersion over large parts of the world. In comparison with these creative centres, all other regions seem to have been more or less stagnant areas, where elements of these waves were taken up or transformed or rejected, according to cultural or climatic circumstances.

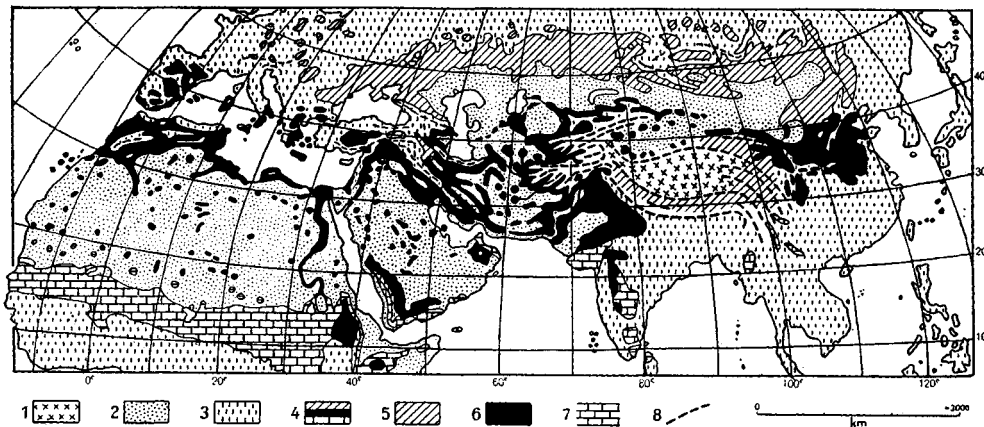
The first data we can use for inserting this succession into a frame of absolute time are the radiocarbon data for the pre-pottery settlements with complete farming near Ḳalʿat D̲jarmo in the hills east of Kirkūk, c. 4750 B.C., a settlement without irrigation (Braidwood), and those of the fortified irrigating settlement of Jericho, in the 7th millennium. W. F. Albright doubts the latter date (oral communication). The emmer grown at Ḳalʿat D̲jarmo was still nearer to the wild form than to the later cultivated form (Helbaek, Schiemann by letter). This might show that no very long time had passed since the beginning of emmer cultivation. The oldest strata of oasis settlement known in Jericho are said to go back into the early 7th millennium B.C., but we are not yet informed by Kenyon and Zeuner about the domesticated animals (except the goat) and cultivated seed plants there. The Natufian culture of Palestine (Garrod, Bate) is probably older than the oldest strata of Jericho. Like Sauer and Albright (1949, 129), we suppose that seed agriculture, probably growing some species of millet, was already carried out during the Natufian stage (cf. Clark, Narr 1956).

On the other hand we now know with considerable certainty that the 9th millennium B.C. was a very cold period globally (glacial advance of "Salpausselkae" in North rn Europe, of "Schlern" in the Alps, of "Mankato" in North America as far as the Great Lakes, of the moraines round the piedmont lakes of East Patagonia), in which the snow line was about 800 metres and more lower than at present (Caldenius, Firbas, Deevey, Gross, Kathjens, Butzer). But from about 5500 to 2500 B.C. temperatures were higher all over the globe than they are now, so that the snow line, timber line and potential cereal line were situated about 400 metres above the present ones (Thermal Maximum, *Mittlere Wärmezeit*). It seems improbable to me that a herding culture took its origin in the mountains north-west of India in a time of glacial advance or of very heavy glaciation. I suppose that this happened in the period of glacial retreat, perhaps in its first half. This glacial retreat took place throughout the whole period from 8100 to 5500 B.C. Temperatures rose rather quickly, and the timber line and cereal line climbed up to those high elevations mentioned above. But natural oases in the deserts round the mountain chains of Central Asia always became smaller and scarcer, as they were fed by rivers derived from retreating glaciers continually diminishing in size. Towards and during the Thermal Maximum, a sheep breeding culture was able to spread over Tibet, where the climate was much more favourable then. This culture was not purely nomadic (cf. Hermanns, Kussmaul). It probably began to grow the sixrowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare, i.e., hexastichum*), the wild form of which probably is *Hordeum agriocrithon*, which has been found round Lhasa and in Eastern Tibet, (Freisleben, Schiemann 1948, 1951). It seems that the cultivated varieties of six-rowed barley all derive from this form. They spread over China and India; and from India they seem to have taken their way to South Arabia and Abyssinia (which became a secondary centre of variation) and thence to Upper Egypt, where cultivated emmer had entered from Syria and was grown in Upper Egypt beside six-rowed barley in the late 5th millennium B.C. (Caton Thompson and Gardner, Brunton, Libby, Arnold, Kees).

It seems that the route from the Hindukush and Eastern Iran by South Arabia to Africa has been of great importance for the spreading of cultures—and also of tribes (Poech)—during long periods, and especially during the periods of the spreading of early seed planting as well as of goat and sheep farming. There are no wild goats in Arabia and Abyssinia. But the veneration and ritual hunt of of the ibex was also spread in these countries. The idolisation of the ibex was common in South Arabia in the last millennium B.C. The ibex god Taʾlab was protector of goats and sheep (Beeston, Höfner). Up to date, ibex hunting has been a ritual act in Ḥaḍramawt (van der Meulen - von Wissmann 177 f.). The ibex seems to have had a similar position in the Badarian and early Naḳāda cultures of Upper Egypt after 4000 B.C. (Brunton, tables), in the latter beside the bull. We must also mention that Agatharchides (about 130 B.C.; C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Min.*, i, 153) describing the nomadic Troglodytes near the western coast of the Red Sea (known as Blemmyes and Bed̲jā), writes that they call bulls and rams their father, cows and sheep their mother.

The early cultures of goat and sheep farming with millets and of a complete cattle farming with large-seed cereals were more or less restricted to the climates and vegetations from light forest and wooded steppe to semi-desert as well as to the natural and artificial oases. All of these mostly have a light and rich soil, which is easily cultivated (map 1). The wooded steppe is good for both agriculture and pasture. The dry steppe is a rather good pasture. It is arable, but agriculture depending on rainfall is endangered in dry years. The desert steppe or semi desert is too dry for this kind of agriculture. It can be used, however, as a meagre pasture for goats and sheep, but not for cattle. Good pasture is also found in highlands above the cereal line.

In areas of desert steppe where oases do not exist or are scarce, pastoral folk herding sheep and goats, but not cattle, could branch off from the steppe-farming tribes and become independent nomads. However, such nomadic people breeding had either to depend on oases or other settled areas or to herd in tillable regions of the Fertile Crescent. On the attitude of the Egyptians towards this roaming population and on their frontier control in the East cf. Kees, 64 ff., 106 f., esp. papyrus Petersburg 1116 A, l. 51 f. "He (the Asiatic) never lives in the same place and his feet are wandering since the time of Horus, he fights and is neither victor, nor is he defeated". The difference between nomads, semi-nomads, partial nomads, steppe farmers and farmers of small oases was much smaller and occupational overlapping was more common than in later periods (see W. F. Albright, 1946, 181 ff., esp. 1949, 239 ff. on the Israelites in the desert, the patriarchs and the ʿApiru or K̲habiru). In many of these cases, it is better to speak of pastoralism than of nomadism.

In no part of Asia does there ever seem to have spread any complete cattle nomadism, such as exists in parts of Africa south of the Saḥārā, except yak nomadism in the highlands above the timber line

Map 1. Oasis and steppe regions of the Dry Belt of the Old World, classified according to their thermal conditions.

1-highland desert; 2-desert, semi-desert; 3-forest; 4-oasis, steppe and wooded steppe; 5-steppe with cool summer and cold winter; 6-oasis and steppe with long, hot summer; 7-steppe, tropical, no frost; 8-mountain chain.

g̲hanam in the semi-desert must always have lived an impoverished life compared with tribes of moister zones or of regions interspersed with oases. In these latter regions, parts of a tribe may have been agricultural, other parts pastoral ("partial nomadism"). Thus a pure nomadism was carried out by a branch of a steppe-farming or even oasis-farming clan or social unit. (This way of living somewhat resembles South-European transhumance.) W. F. Albright (1946 a, b, 1949, 147, 154, 162 f., 257) supposes that the Semitic neighbours of the Sumerians were such pastoral tribes, partly nomadic, when the Sumerians, at the outset of civilisation, began to irrigate Lower Mesopotamia. The western Semites (Amorites) pressed on the Babylonians mainly from 2100 to 1900 B.C. These ancient nomads differed from any modern form of society in Arabia, Bedouin, semi-nomad or Ṣlaib (Ṣulaba). They possessed goats, sheep and donkeys. Hunting and robbing the harvest were important for them. They travelled and attacked on foot. This made a complete crossing of the desert impossible for them, except in spring. They did not dare to move more than a day's journey (30 km.) from a watering place. In summer they in Tien-shan and Tibet. Cattle are not fitted for semi-desert grazing. They also find difficulty in grazing in winter in a steppe with a frozen snow cover, as in West Siberia (cf. Potapov, and Hančar, 390).

We have recognised that pastoral life has been an essential part of the farming cultures since their origin. We saw that the earliest domestication of herd animals and pasturing was probably developed in the Hindukush area by seed planters surrounded by mountain hunters of ibex and wild goat (and perhaps sheep), and that this was an invention correlated with deep religious emotion, an invention by which these seed planters became steppe farmers. Because of the pastoral branches of their clans, these steppe farmers must have been of greater mobility and more migratory than the seed planters had been. But only in places, where herdsmen of sheep and goats entirely split off from their kinship or group and gave up agriculture, may we speak of complete nomadism.

When an oasis became more extensive and its settlement larger, its population became increasingly sedentary. The new excavations of pre-pottery Jericho show that such irrigating villages were fortified like towns very early, in Jericho perhaps

in the 7th millennium (Kenyon, Zeuner). This may have been the first germ of what became early civilisation in the 4th millenium B.C. in the delta oases of Mesopotamia, where large irrigation schemes needed collaboration, centralisation and the formation of states, where mass labour was required as well as division, specialisation and intensification of labour, and where technical inventions sprang up (wheel, cart, plough). As a result of this development, the intensity of contrast between steppe farming and oasis civilisation was continually growing, while the common offspring is displayed by the Magna Mater and bull idols worshipped in both of them.

Meanwhile steppe farming with all its pastoral traits had spread via Asia Minor to south-eastern Europe and to the light oak forests of Central Europe (Danubian culture, since c. 4000 B.C., according to radiocarbon data). And since the 3rd millennium it began to infiltrate from the Tripolye culture (west of the Dnieper river) into the wooded steppes of Russia and Siberia, which then were occupied by an advanced hunting population (Hančar). All these regions were unfit for oasis economy because of their cool or short summers (map 2).

I think it is a quality of the largely hypothetical sequence of creative centres, which step by step gain and enlarge the domination by man of other organisms, that it corresponds excellently with the succession of cultures presented by several ethnologists, *e.g.*, by Dittmer. It also has the advantage of making parallel inventions largely unnecessary (Sauer).

We cannot treat here the hypothesis of Flor, W. Schmidt, Pohlhausen and others, in which the reindeer represents the earliest domesticated herd animal, so that nomadism begins among hunters breeding the dog, in the boreal conifer forest (taiga, muskeg) of Eurasia and spreads to the south. Since lately Jettmar (1952/3) and others have shown that impulses for reindeer domestication came from horse breeding, which itself was a rather late acquirement (compare below), the number of adherents of this hypothesis became small. The foundation of Hančar's suggestion that the reindeer was employed as a trailing and riding animal about 5,000 B.C. (547 and table 63) has broken down too. Jettmar (1957a) and Okladnikov show that the finds in the Lena region manifesting the riding of the reindeer are not from the 2nd millennium B.C., as Hančar supposed, but from 700-500 B.C. (cf. below).

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(b) *The Nomad on Horseback.*

Among the Equines, the African donkey (*Equus* subgen. *Asinus*) and the South-West and Central Asiatic onager (*Equus* subgen. *Hemionus*) were early in use as transport animals. Hančar's opinion is that the find of bones of one onager in Ḳalʿat Djarmo (about 4750 B.C.) is important in this connexion. According to Hančar, a subordinate breeding of the horse (*Equus* subgen. *Caballus*), which was wild in the steppes and light forests of the North, can be recognised in the early 3rd millennium B.C. in the Tripolye farming culture in the wooded steppe between the Carpathians and the Dnieper river.

A decrease of temperature and probably an increase of precipitation (cf. Tolstow, and Butzer's different view) since about 2400 B.C. depressed the snow line in Central Asia and thus considerably enlarged the oasis areas of Tūrān, so that farming and herding as well as oasis civilisation could expand in that region (which before had been a desert of greater aridity). At least for some centuries, this desert seems to have lost its function as a strong barrier (Wissmann 1957). The advanced hunters of the North and the farmers and the oasis civilisation of the South came into contact along an extensive border. It seems that by this meeting an amalgamation took place, and a new vital and vigorous culture was growing, in which, since the early 2nd millennium, the horse, the war-chariot (with its origin probably some re in the South-West Asiatic highlands round Armenia), and Indo-European peoples played an important rôle. During this process, the veneration of the deer, which had had a central position in the religious perceptions and the myths of the northern hunters, was replaced by that of the horse, which was also brought into contact with the old South-west Asiatic chthonic fertility and bull (*bucranion*) worship (Kussmaul 1953b).

If we take this broad cultural process as a whole, we may say that by it civilisation was often relieved from oasis seclusion, where it had been in danger of stagnating and of becoming barren. Here also, we can distinguish steppe-farming and oasis-farming branches. When the Shang, who belonged to this cultural complex (Kussmaul 1953a), occupied China from Central Asia about 1500 B.C. and became its ruling class, they had been mainly oasis farmers (Eberhard, Franke, Bishop, Wissmann and Kussmaul 1956, 1957). The Aryans however, when destroying the Indus civilisation in about the same period, must have been steppe farmers, but cannot be called nomads.

According to excavations, the breeding of the Bactrian camel as a transport animal seems to have been started in Tūrān in the second half or the last quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Walz, and especially Hančar). This is a few centuries earlier than the time in which we know of horse breeding in this region. Even in Mesopotamia, reliable proofs of horse domestication only begin about 2000 B.C. or shortly before (Boessnek, Hančar).

In the northern wooded steppe and marginal light forest with its rich black soil (*chernosem*) from Russia to Siberia, agriculture gradually became important beside hunting and herding. In the middle of the 2nd millennium, even Western Siberia was inhabited by a comparatively dense farming population (*Andronovo culture*). In such a region without oases, pure steppe farming with large herds offers good conditions for a social gradation as well as the formation of clans, of a warlike nobility and of dynastic leadership (Kussmaul). This farming in the black soil belt was then penetrating more and more into the open steppe, where inevitably its pastoral and migratory branch was increased and strengthened (Hančar).

However, the first people to find out that fighting on horseback was of great advantage were probably that kind of farming tribes with a strong pastoral branch, which lived in highlands and mountain basins, where the war chariot must have been of comparatively little use. This perhaps took place in Transcaucasia or even in the Carpathians (Kussmaul, Jettmar). Probably, these tribes still remained what we have called steppe-farmers. Hančar considers the northern border of the Tien-shan Mountains and the Altai Mountains as the regions of origin of horse riding (397). But Jettmar 1957 shows clearly that Hančar's main argument in this question broke down (cf. above). Reindeer riding was begun later than horse riding. In most other questions, Hančar's important basic work remains untouched.

Only when horse-riding spread into the open steppe of the North, that incisive revolution sprang up which we may call equestrian nomadisation. Once aware of the great superiority of fighting on horseback over the older ways of fighting, especially in war chariots, "North Iranian" tribes, probably between the rivers Volga and Irtysh, the Scythians and their neighbours, the Sakians, gave up steppe-farming life entirely and specialised in the breeding of herd animals, especially horses. Perhaps about 900 or 800 B.C. they became the first horse-riding

nomads, the first archers on horseback (Hančar, 390 f.). They were the first to break into the neighbouring countries, disseminating panic among sedentary populations. When we use the word nomad, we usually think of this equestrian type. This disastrous transformation overwhelmed not only the open steppe but also the wooded steppe with its dense farming population. It even attracted hunting tribes of the taiga forest to join the new way of life. The distinct social gradation of the steppe farmers now became the base for the appearance of leaders of high political and military ability in assembling hordes of growing size. The poorer farmers and hunters were probably forced to join the "aristocracy" of horse-breeders, so that a horde organisation, unknown before, was brought about which grew by raiding, sacking, killing and enslaving other populations, and by winning over vassals, especially other hordes of horsemen, owing to admiration or fear. The warm climate and the refined oasis civilisation of the South, known to some returned men through their service as mercenaries, as well as the mild climate and open plains of the West, ending in Roumania and Hungary, attracted invasions.

It is improbable that the predecessors of the Scythians in Southern Russia, the Cimmerians, were completely nomadic already. They seem to have been steppe farmers with a strong pastoral branch and with dangerous mounted warrior bands (Kussmaul 1953a, ii 302, Hančar 101). Perhaps the early Medes can be mentioned in this connexion, at the time when they superseded the highland farmers of Īrān (cf. von der Osten). Even the Achaemenids did not abandon knightly ideals, "horse-riding, archery, and love of truth".

Eastward, through the gap of Dzungaria along the foot of the Altai Mountains, nomadisation worked like a chain-reaction of explosions. The "North Iranians", especially the Scythians, were followed by the Wu-sun, who probably lived in Central and Eastern Tien-shan. We may suppose that in this period herdsmen, hunters and farmers of the open and wooded steppes surrounding Mongolia were forced to take up nomadic life. It is possible that the pressure of the Wu-sun against the population of the oasis chain of Kan-su caused the last invasion of a farming people into China, the Zhung, which led to the breakdown of the dynasty of the Western Chou (770 B.C.). The first nomadism to be traced in Chinese reports is that of the Hsiung-nu from about the 5th century B.C. These were neither Iranians nor "Proto-Turks". According to Ligeti, their language seems to have been isolated. The Yenissei-Ostyaks may have taken over features of the Hsiung-nu language, when both were neighbours. In their habitat between ancient China and the Gobi Desert, the Hsiung-nu had taken over en bloc a considerable group of elements of the culture of the North Iranian nomads. Some of the traits of the life of the Hsiung-nu prove their former dependence on China. Others show their old cultural relations to the non-nomadic primitive tribes of Manchuria (Kussmaul). During centuries of fierce wars, in which the Chinese defended themselves against the Hsiung-nu and built the Great Wall, again the Chinese took over a part of the cultural elements derived from the North Iranians, *e.g.*, iron, cavalry, trousers, the concept of heaven as a tent. There is an old Chinese proverb: Horseback forms state.

Map 3 shows how the spark of nomadisation caught one tribal organisation after the other along the borderland between forest and desert north-east of China during and after the time of the Hsiung-nu empire. Agrarian and urban China, itself in a country of loess and steppe, counterbalanced or endured the pressure or became vassal or partly subdued or even marginally transformed into pasture, all this during long periods of alternate defence and retreat and of regaining ground for agriculture. As the object of this article is a synopsis of the history of the origin of nomadism, we cannot deal with the growth of more or less short lived nomadic realms and empires, which in their tendencies saw a model in the universalistic and cosmological state doctrine of the Chinese Empire. Nor can we deal with those tremendous migrations and invasions into the West, during which the Dry Belt served as a corridor, through which the invaders broke into the countries of old oasis civilisation in South-west Asia or into the beginnings of forest civilisation in mediaeval Central and Western Europe, where they were one cause of the Migration of Nations (Grousset, Spuler).

All these movements destroyed what had been left of steppe farming in the plains of the open and wooded steppe. The hilly and mountainous regions surrounding Mongolia in the north, however, with a pattern of steppe, meadow and forest, became areas of retreat and regeneration of a population which made its living by hunting, by cattle-breeding, and also by farming (cf. Lattimore). The ruins of a defence wall cutting off the north-eastern corner of the steppes of Mongolia near the Gan and Argun rivers (Plaetschke) show that such a farming population must have been quite numerous sometimes. We may trace on map 3 how again and again in such hilly border regions of the forest new nuclei of horde formation sprang up among hunting, herding and farming groups, who led a simple life under hard conditions. In these we find some able man, endowed with the gifts of leadership, organising a heterogeneous horde by raiding, robbing and winning vassals. Sometimes the name of a clan, little known before, became the name of a growing power or even of a vast empire. By some lucky chance, a *Secret History of the Mongols* has been preserved (Haenisch), which is the story of the life of Čingiz K͟hān and his clan, and of how he founded the Mongol Empire. It was written by a Mongol in A.D. 1240 as a plain first hand report. In the time of his forefathers, the semi-sedentary clan living in the Kentei Mountains owned but a few horses, cattle and sheep. There was some scanty agriculture. Wild vegetables were collected. Hunting on horseback was important. However, the neighbours in the open steppes outside the mountains were true horse-riding nomads with large flocks and herds. Some had become sated with raiding and addicted to the luxuries of civilisation with which they had become familiar during their raids. From hiding places in the valleys and forests of the Kentei hills, the incipient clan of Čingiz K͟hān robbed among the rich nomads of the plains. The booty consisted of horses, cattle and sheep, women, children and servants. Thus the clan turned entirely nomadic, growing by the acquisition of new vassals, an association taking its name from the leader's clan, growing in strength according to the looting ability of the leader. Finally, well-known tribes and peoples lost their independence as well as their name and merged with the great "Mongol" unit.

Virtually no region on the margin of the dry belt

of Mongolia, which once had been the cradle of such a fast growth of nomadism and then had been thoroughly nomadised, ever repeated the formation of a new nomadic aggregation.

The empty spaces of the Dry Belt were terribly enlarged by the destructive incursions and migrations of the mounted nomads. Steppe farming was annihilated in Eurasia except in mountainous regions, if we do not include in this term the agriculture of North China and parts of India. Oasis civilisation was disastrously weakened and reduced. It is true that the larger nomadic states contributed to the interchange of materials and ideas across the continent. But this interchange would certainly have been stronger in a peaceful development. Yet we do not know to what extent suffering may be necessary to save from degeneration and decay that which is sound and good in man's mind.

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(H. von Wissmann and F. Kussmaul)

(c) *Bedouin Nomadism in Arabia.*

There are indications that the wild one-humped camel (the wild dromedary) lived in North Africa and the Near East until the 3rd millennium B.C., and that it became extinct later on except in Arabia. We do not know when this process of extermination ended in North Africa.

A cord made of camel hair has been found from the 3rd dynasty in Egypt. An Egyptian relief published by James (1955) shows the dromedary among wild animals. Judging from its style, it belongs to the New Kingdom. The camel was domesticated neither in the valley of the Nile, where the local climate is detrimental for its health, nor in any desert region of North Africa. This question is treated thoroughly by Walz (1951).

Agatharchides (in two versions, cf. C. Müller, *Georgr. Graec. Minor.* i, 179) and Artemidorus (Strabo xvi, 4, 18) give reports of the Red Sea coast of Arabia which inspire confidence. In these reports they also write that, in the hinterland of the coast of present Northern Ḥidjāz, there are herds of wild animals, of "cattle", onagers (ἄλλων ἡμιόνων; ἀμύθητος ἀριθμὸς ἡμιόνων καὶ βοῶν), wild camels (καμήλων ἀγρίων), deer and gazelles, and also numerous lions, "panthers" and wolves. All three descriptions were probably taken over from one original perhaps of Ariston, c. 280 B.C. (cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* report, later, 14). Musil (1926, 302 ff.) believes that these camels probably were not really wild ones. (He mistakes onagers, "half-asses", for mules, and is right in saying that mules cannot be wild.) Littmann

1 forest

2 wooded steppe, good for pasture and agriculture

3 dry steppe, good pasture, rain-agriculture endangered

4 semi-desert, meagre pasture

5 desert

6 pasture above timber-line

7 above timber-line (rock, desert, ice)

8 margin of possible rain-agriculture

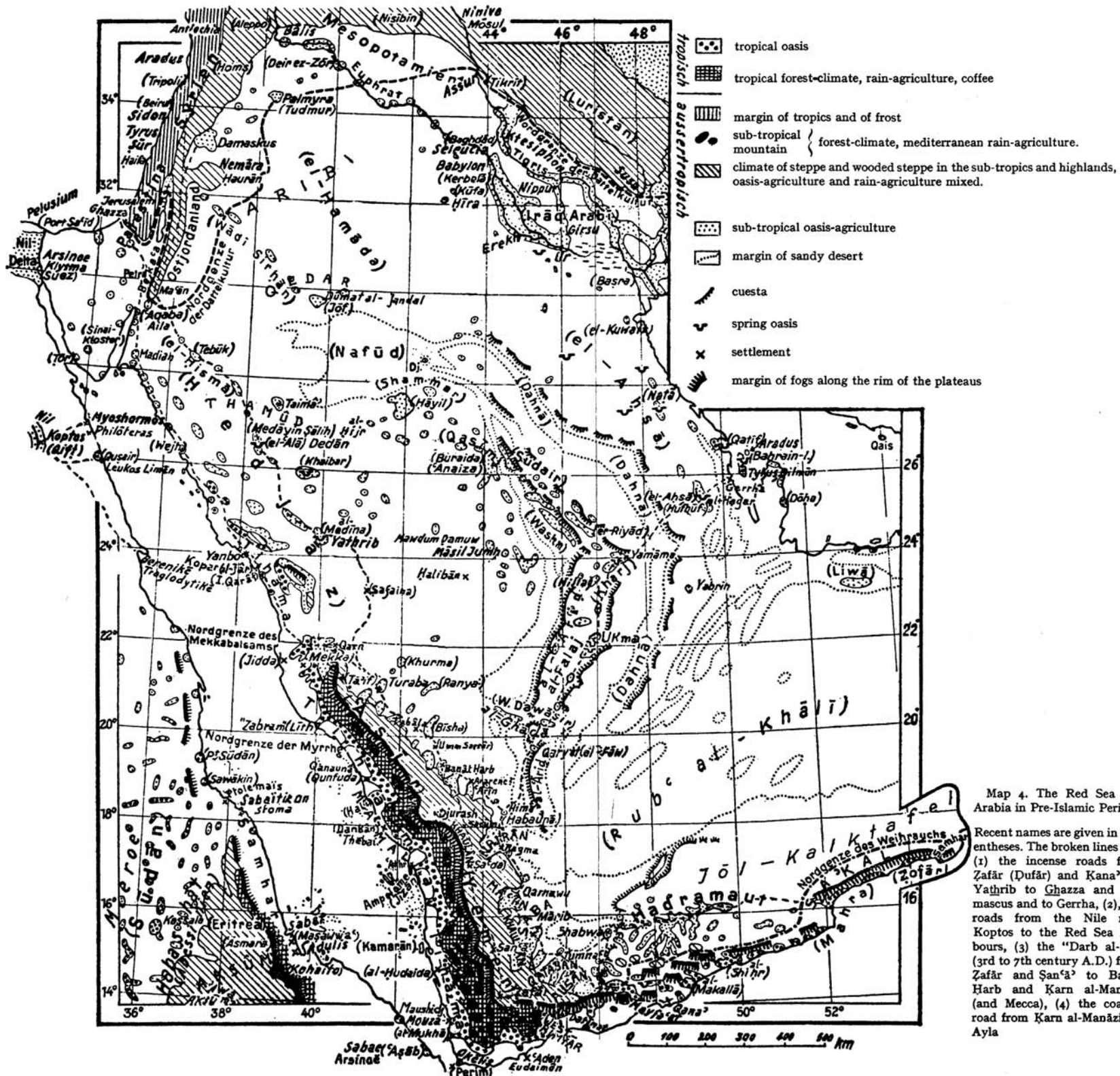
9 oasis

10 former oasis

0 1000 km

F. Kussmaul

Map 2. The zones of vegetation and the oases of the Dry Belt of Inner Asia.

Map 3. The spreading of explosive outbursts of horse-riding nomadism with feudal state-building. The previous population had an economy of agriculture, herding and hunting, concentrated in the wooded steppes (cf. map. 2). The Roman numerals show the succession of the outbursts. The dates are approximate.

Map 4. The Red Sea and Arabia in Pre-Islamic Periods.

Recent names are given in parentheses. The broken lines are: (1) the incense roads from Ẓafār (Ḍufār) and Ḳanaʾ via Yathrib to Ghazza and Damascus and to Gerrha, (2), the roads from the Nile near Koptos to the Red Sea harbours, (3) the "Darb al-Fīl" (3rd to 7th century A.D.) from Ẓafār and Ṣanʿāʾ to Banāt Ḥarb and Ḳarn al-Manāzil (and Mecca), (4) the coastal road from Ḳarn al-Manāzil to Ayla

(1940, 3) has demonstrated that the rock-drawings which are found in connexion with Thamūdean (cf. below) graffiti show—besides domesticated animals: *camels*, horses and dogs—hunted animals in great quantities: gazelles, "wild cattle" (oryx), ibexes, wild boars, hares, ostriches, lions, wolves, hyenas. Only once is a goat shown. No sheep and no domesticated cattle are drawn. The nomads between Midian and the Ḥawrān must have been fervent hunters, but not much interested in sketching their *ghanam* (goats and sheep). Also Xenophon (*Anabasis*, i, 5, 1 ff.) speaks of onagers, wild cattle (oryx), ostriches and bustards, and he describes the hunting of onagers on horseback. So perhaps there still were also wild dromedaries in desert Arabia in the 3rd century B.C.

We cannot tell where in Arabia the one-humped camel was first domesticated. Albright supposes that this was done in South Arabia, somewhere round the great southern desert (1958, note 5). Nothing is known about the dromedary as a domesticated herd animal before the 11th century B.C. (Albright, Walz 1951, 1956, against Dussaud 207): Judges, 6-8 says that Midianites, Amalekites, and the sons of the east made ingressions on camel's back into Palestine across the Jordan river. This was about in the first half of the 11th century B.C., and, according to Albright and Walz, is the earliest date for a mention of the domesticated dromedary. It is the time when iron was introduced into Palestine. Albright (Arch. 1953, 227, note 31) is of the opinion that the dromedary was effectively domesticated in Arabia between the 16th/15th and the 13th/12th centuries B.C. The spreading of Semites to South Arabia goes probably back to a still earlier time: the reliefs of the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut (about 1495 B.C.) show that the Orientalid sub-race of the Mediterranean races (Mediterranean *sensu stricto*—Orientalid—Iranian—Indid—Gondid; cf. von Eickstedt, Biasutti, Coon, Field 1956, Pöch), which must have been a very old race among the North Arabian Semites (Moscati), was already represented then in South Arabia, at least among the reigning class (Dr. Hella Poech, oral comm.). This agrees with the supposition of Conti Rossini (101, cf. 47) that the names of the chiefs of Punt mentioned by Hatshepsut and by Ramses II were Semitic (Parihu—*fariḥ*; Nahas—*naḥḥās*; cf. Brunner-Traut, 307; Wissmann 1957). That Punt was located at least partly on the Arabian side of the sea also becomes probable, I think, when we draw conclusions from the somatical features of people of Punt in Egyptian reliefs as early as the 5th dynasty (Sahurē, cf. Kees, 59). These features are similar to those of the Egyptians (cf. Pöch 1957).

W. F. Albright estimates that, in the desert climate along the interior foot of the highlands of Yaman, civilisation was beginning about the 15th century B.C. He assumes that this was due to an immigration from the north. His dating is partly based on the fact that the excavation in Hadjar b. Ḥumayd (cf. below) has shown that 4-5 metres of probably agricultural (irrigational) silt had been deposited before the foundation of that settlement. This foundation took place c. 1000 B.C. While 8 metres of silt were deposited during the existence of the settlement from c. 1000 B.C. to c. 200 A.D., the lower 4-5 metres may represent about half a millennium (R. Le Baron Bowen, 67, 117; Albright 1958).

It is peculiar that camel-riding and horse-riding both seem to have begun to spread in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., camel-riding from Arabia, horse-riding probably from the mountains of Transcaucasia. Hančar suggests that an increasing demand for sumpter animals for the transport of metals may have been a stimules to the intensification of horse breeding in mountain regions (397). Also the breeding of the one-humped camel in Arabia must have been accelerated in connexion with a growing demand for transport between South Arabia on one side, the Mediterranean lands and Mesopotamia on the other, a transport of frankincense, myrrh, precious stones and gold from South Arabia, of Indian and East African goods from the South and of cloth, products of civilisation and *objets d'art* (Segall 1957) and perhaps iron wares from the north. The introduction of waterproof plaster for irrigation works and cisterns in South Arabia, which had spread before in Syria since about 1200 B.C., must have impelled agricultural development "probably not before the 10th century B.C." (Albright 1958).

While the excavations of N. Glueck in Ezion-Geber (Smithson. Inst., Ann. Rep. 1941. Publ. 3651, 1942) prove that the reports of the navigation of Solomon and Ḥīrām to the gold land of Ōfīr refer to historical facts, the story of the queen of Saba' (Shebā), which is told in relation with the Ōfīr expeditions in 1 Kings 9-10, must also have some historical background (cf. Albright 1958, 3). At least it shows that camel caravans were travelling between South Arabia and Palestine in the 10th century B.C. Saba', Ofīr and Ḥawīlā are named one after the other as brothers in Genesis 10 (9th or 8th century, cf. Albright, *Arch.* 1953, 327), beside Ḥaṣarmāweth, among the sons of Yoḳṭān, son of 'Ēber. I can support the hypothesis that the gold-land of Ōfīr (1 Kings 9-10, 22[49]; 1 Chron. 29[4]; 2 Chron. 8[18], 9[10]; Job 22[24], 28[16]; Psalms 45[10]; Isaiah 13[12]) was in south-west Arabia on the Red Sea coast: in 'Asīr round Dhahabān (Sprenger, Moritz, Delbrueck 12, Wissmann 1957, 1959; cf. Glaser 357-384, Albright Arch. 1953, 212, note 14). In Somaliland, where some authors put Ōfīr, the outcrop of crystalline rock and of its dikes, the matrix of gold, is much smaller than in 'Asīr (cf. *Carte Géol. Afr.* 1952). On Saba' sending gold cf. 1 Kings 10, Isaiah 60[6], Ezech. 27[22], Psalm 72[15] (but cf. J. Ryckmans 1958).

The most plausible identification of the gold-land of Ḥawīlā of Gen. 2[11], 10[7], 10[29], 25[18], 1. Sam. 15[7] in my opinion as well as that of Niebuhr, C. Ritter, Sprenger, Moritz and others, is that with Khawlān. This name is known from inscriptions, from al-Hamdānī, and is still used today. North Khawlān bordered on Ōfīr. South Khawlān adjoined Saba'. That North Khawlān was highly renowned in Greece for its rich gold mines, probably at about 400 B.C., is explicitly stated by Agatharchides (C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor.*, 184 f; Wissmann 1957, esp. 1959).

In the genealogy of Genesis 10, the South Arabians are considered as being descendants of both Kūsh and 'Ēber. The descendants of 'Ēber and his son Yoḳṭān were settled as far as "Sefār, the mountain towards the East". Commonly, this Sefār is thought to be Ẓafār, the capital of the Ḥimyar in Yaman. But this town was probably founded about 109 B.C. (cf. below), when the Ḥimyar had occupied this region. It lay on a hill in the highlands of south-west Yaman and is not "a mountain towards the east". Fresnel, C. Ritter, Rödiger, Tkač and others suppose —and I believe they are right—that Sefār was Ẓafār (or Ḍufār), a town and region east of Ḥaḍramawt and Mahra-Land, which, however, is not known by this name in pre-Islamic inscriptions or literature, but only since the early Arab geographers. It is the best frankincense region of South Arabia. The eastern

mountain promontory and cape of this region is really the last region from which in antiquity ships left the coast to use the monsoon in the direction of India (Schoff, Frisk, *l.c.* later). It is also the last area of South Arabia towards the East with a settled, non-nomadic population. East of it, the great desert touches the sea as far as ʿUmān (cf. Lagarde 61, note; Vollers, *Ztschr. f. Assyr.* 22, 223 f. is of the opinion that Sefār of Gen. 10 is to be identified with Safārī in Baḥrayn. But this "*balad*" [Yāḳūt 3, 96, citing Ibn al-Faḳīh] was neither frontier place nor mountain.)

I think one may conclude that the "Table of Peoples" (Yahwist[8]) means by the "sons of Yoḳṭān" the agricultural peoples of South Arabia (map 4); and I suppose that in Gen. 25^{18}, the camel nomads of central and north-west Arabia were comprehended as the sons of Yis͟hmāʿēl, and in Gen. $37^{25, 28}$ and Judges 8^{24} as Yis͟hmāʿēlites. Gen. 25^{18}: "And they (the sons of Yis͟hmāʿēl) lived from Ḥawīlā as far as S͟hūr, which is east of Egypt, on the way to As͟hūr". They lived, it seems, in the triangle of desert-steppe between the agricultural countries of South Arabia (K͟hawlān), Egypt and Assyria (cf. Skinner, *Internat. Crit. Comment.*, and Kautzsch-Bertholet).

Certainly, troops mounted on an animal so well adapted to the desert, capable of enduring thirst so well and of travelling long distances so quickly, as is the camel, must have enjoyed great superiority when fighting against war-chariots drawn by horses. Albright says (*Stone Age* 1946, 120; *Arch.* 1953, 97): "Arab nomadism is conditioned by the domestication of the camel, which makes it possible for Bedu to live entirely on their herds of camels, drinking their milk, eating camel curds and camel flesh, wandering through regions, where only the camel can subsist, and making rapid journeys of several days, if need be, through waterless desert. The camel eats desert shrubs and bushes, which even sheep and goats will not touch".—Over long distances a riding camel is three times as quick as a horse. It can cover 300 km. in one day. The load of a caravan camel may weigh as much as 200 kg., that of a horse up to 150 kg. Arabia has not only bred races of transport camels and of riding camels of the lowlands but also stocks of mountain camels capable of going on fairly steep paths, as in ʿAsīr (Tamisier ii, 31, 47, 197) or in ʿAwāliḳ country and Ḥaḍramawt (own experience). When coming from the plains to an *ʿaḳaba* (pass) of the mountains, the camels of a caravan must be changed near the foot of the *ʿaḳaba* from one breed to an other. In Arabia, only the western slope of the Yaman highlands seems to be too moist for camel breeding. We must consider that, before the time of camel domestication, the donkey (and perhaps the onager) was the only transport animal in Arabia (cf. above). It is peculiar that the Bactrian camel, which had been domesticated in Tūrān about a millennium earlier than the time when the domestication of the calmer dromedary must have taken place in Arabia, never became important for riding but only for transport.

It looks as if the domestication of the dromedary went hand in hand with its employment for riding. This cannot be said of any other animal. Since excavations in Arabia did not go down to strata of early periods, our knowledge is based only on historical data. We are not yet able to see the source of an impulse for this domestication. Walz (1956) opposing Wiesner (1955) insists on the statement that the domestication of the one-humped camel was totally independent of the breeding of the Bactrian camel and the horse. It seems, however, that parallel inventions are rare in prehistory and history (Sauer *l.c.*, 2). The horse was in use in Mesopotamia since at least about 2000 B.C.; but troops riding on horseback are not mentioned there before 1130 (Nebuchadnezar I of Babylonia; Thomson in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 109 ff.). As the Bactrian camel was bred in southern Tūrān since at least about 2100 B.C., it is improbable that it was not brought to Mesopotamia and farther south now and then in those turbulent periods of the early and middle 2nd millennium B.C. This may have given an impulse for the domestication of the one-humped camel.

A camel's head, part of a pottery jar found in the excavation of Had͟jar b. Ḥumayd in Bayḥān (ancient Ḳatabān) in South Arabia by W. F. Albright, was approximately dated by him to belong to the 8th (or 9th) century B.C. (van Beek 1952, 17, Walz 1956, footnote 54, Albright, letter 1957). The publication of a radiocarbon date for a low stratum of Had͟jar b. Ḥumayd (van Beek 1956) shows that Albright's preliminary palaeographical dating of a monogram found during this excavation is not too early but may be perhaps even a century late.

A relief of a dromedary rider from Tell Ḥalāf is from the 9th century (Walz). The first cuneiform records of camel-riding nomads seem to be the "Aramaean Bedouins" fighting against a vassal of Assur Naṣirpal in 880 B.C. A little later, 854 B.C., "Gindibu the Arab", from an Aribi district, fought against Salmanassar III, leading a troop of thousand camels. The article AL-ʿARAB (1) by A. Grohmann contains a summary on the Aribi country and the Arabs in the 9th to 7th centuries B.C. from cuneiform data. In this period, Aribi is the northernmost part of Arabia between Syria and Mesopotamia, including the Palmyrene and Wādī Sirḥān. The Arabs are its nomadic and oasis inhabitants. The central oasis Adummatu is, according to Grohmann and Musil (1927 531 f.), Dūmat al-D͟jandal in the D͟jawf. The "kings" are chiefs partly of oasis settlements, partly of nomadic tribes. This state of affairs is also meant in Jeremiah 25^{24}: "The kings of Arabia and all the kings of the Arabs who live in the desert". (The first mention of ʿArāb in the Bible is in Isaiah in the late 8th cent. B.C.). Bāzu, against which Assarhaddon undertook a long expedition in 676 B.C., is, according to Weidner's latest discoveries, in Eastern Arabia, in the hinterland of Dilmūn (Baḥrayn), not as Musil (1927, 482 f.) thought, in Wādī Sirḥān (Albright, letter).

It is evident that the caravan roads, especially the "incense road" from G͟hazzat on the Mediterranean and from Damascus by Maʿān (Musil 1926, 243), Daydān (al-ʿUlāʾ) and Yat͟hrib (al-Madīna) to Ragmat (Nad͟jrān), Maʿīn and Sabaʾ (cf. Albright 1953, Wissmann 1957, Segall 1957) played an important political rôle, *e.g.*, when in 732 B.C. queen Samsī of Aribi joined a great coalition including the state of Sabaʾ, the king of Damascus, the important oasis of Taymāʾ and tribes near Taymāʾ and Daydān against Tiglath-Pilesar III. The first sovereign of Sabaʾ named in cuneiform inscriptions, probably a *mukarrib* (priest-king), brings tribute to Sargon II in 715 B.C. (cf. Albright, in *BASOR* 143, 1956, 10; idem, 1958; Wissmann 1957). The tributes received by Assyrian kings in this period from different queens and kings of the northern half of Arabia show that long-distance caravan traffic must have been considerable. Cattle, gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant skins, ivory and cloth were transported (Caskel 1954).

It must be emphasised that South Arabia, which was represented by Saba' since at least the 10th century (cf. Albright, in *BASOR*, 1952, note 26, 1958), was a country with a numerous and farming population and with but little and unimportant nomadism, a country producing aromatic goods, especially frankincense (Exodus 30[34], 1 Kings 10, Isaiah 60[6], Jer. 6[20], cf. J. Ryckmans 1958). South Arabia certainly introduced Indian and East African wares to its ports, and it must have already monopolised the traffic on the "incense roads" to the north-west and by central Arabia to the north-east (map 1) in this period to some degree. (On the strength of Saba' in the 8th to 6th centuries, cf. von Wissmann 1957). Perhaps the Chaldaeans lived in ʿUmān in those periods and mediated between Saba' and Mesopotamia (and India?), before they occupied Mesopotamia, where Chaldaean kings begin in 625 B.C. (cf. Albright, in *BASOR*, 1952).

Albright suggests (cf. van Beek 1952) that no time was more opportune for the commercial expansion of Saba' westwards into Ethiopia than about the 10th century B.C. "Egypt, which previously enjoyed exclusive trading rights in Ethiopia and Punt by land and by sea, was unable to maintain its commercial relations with the south after the fall of the New Empire." According to Albright, *boustrophedon* Sabaean inscriptions in the temple 'Awa[m] or modern Yeḥā on the plateau of northern Ethiopia east of Aksūm (Littmann 1913, Nos. 27-32 and D. H. Müller, *Epigraph. Denkmäler*, Yeha 5) palaeographically belong to the 5th century (letter from W. F. Albright, March 1957, cf. Conti Rossini 102). An inscription on the base of a rather archaic statue recently found in Maḳallē (Caquot and Drewes) seems to be somewhat earlier. So, even in the new chronologies of A. F. L. Beeston (in *BSOAS* 1954) and Pirenne (1956 b), who emphasise a "rejuvenation" of the early South Arabian chronology, the 5th century B.C. would not be too early. Sabaean colonisation was already firmly established in this region at that time. The probable name of the temple of modern Yeḥā, 'Awa[m], was also the name of the great oval temple of the state god of Saba' near Mārib. In a remarkable *boustrophedon* inscription on an incense altar of Maḳallē in Abyssinia (Caquot and Drewes, 30-32), a "mukarrib of Daʿmat (place near later Aksūm) and Saba'" dedicates (the altar?) to Almaḳah, which was the main state god of South Arabian Saba'. J. Ryckmans suggests that, in a period before the first known Sabaean inscriptions of Mārib and Ṣirwaḥ (which probably date, from the 8th century B.C.; Wissmann 1957), the centre of Saba' was in the mountains and highlands of present southern Yaman, round Dj̲abal Baʿdān and Dj̲abal Ḥumaym (—Dh̲āt Baʿdān and Dh̲āt Ḥumaym were the most important sun goddesses of Saba'—), and that the region of Mārib in the north-east as well as North Abyssinia in the West were both colonised from this area (J. Ryckmans 1958; cf. Albright 1958).

Glaser (387 ff.) and von Wissmann-Höfner suppose that Ḳana' and ʿAdan, the best natural ports of South Arabia on the Indian Ocean, are named as Kannē and ʿĒden in Ezekiel 27[23] (early 6th cent. B.C.). Ezekiel says: "Ḥārān and Kannē and ʿĒden" (M:) "merchants of Sh̲ebā" or (S:) "they were thy merchants". Mostly all three places are identified in Northern Mesopotamia, where an ancient Ḥārān is well known (cf. Cooke, *Int. Crit. Comment.*). Isaiah 37[12] and 2 Kings 19[12] mention this northern Ḥārān along with the Bēnē ʿĒden: "Gozan, Ḥārān, Reṣef (in Palmyrene) and Bēnē ʿĒden in Tel'assar". But al-Idrīsī mentions Ḥārān al-Ḳarīn in South Arabia between North Kh̲awlān and "Bīs̲h̲at Buʿtān", (which name is a mistake for Bays̲h̲; Grohmann ii, 1933, 131). The location is in the Tihāma lowlands north of the present northern frontier of Yaman, somewhere near present Abū ʿArīsh. Ritter (*Arabien* i, 189, 193) and Büsching supposed that this is the Ḥārān mentioned in Ezekiel. The difficulty is that Ḳudāma and Ibn Kh̲urradādh̲bih do not mention a place of this name on that route, but al-ʿUrs̲h̲s̲h̲ (Abū ʿArīs̲h̲s̲h̲) instead. I suspect that there is some mistake in al-Idrīsī's text. But there are different places named ḤRN in Ancient South Arabian inscriptions: Ḥirrān near Ḳaʿṭaba north of ʿAden, Ḥirran south-west of Maʿīn and Ḥirrān north of Dh̲amār (on the last cf. W. B. Harris, 272 ff.). Perhaps the Septuagint (S) translators changed the text from "merchants of Sh̲ebā" into "they were thy merchants", because they knew the northern, but not the southern Ḥārān and ʿĒden and therefore could not understand the meaning. In connexion with "merchants of Shebā", one should consider that Saba' (Sh̲ebā) was a state, not a town, and that the three places mentioned may have belonged to this state.

Ezekiel 38[13]: "Sh̲ebā, Dedh̲ān, merchants of Tarsh̲īsh̲" (Tartessos or Sardinia) shows opposite outposts of Ezekiel's *terra cognita*. (Dedh̲ān is the Daydān of South Arabian inscriptions.)

Considering this important position of South Arabia in this period and its central place in the oldest seafaring area, that of the Indian Ocean, we must keep in view that the North and Central Arabian home of camel nomadism was surrounded by civilised agrarian countries, on all sides where it was not touched by the sea.

The difficulties of crossing the desert with long distances between watering-places could only be mastered after the domestication of the camel. The desert routes of greatest importance for traffic were those between Mesopotamia and Syria. But also the difficulties in crossing Arabia from Mesopotamia and from the Mediterranean coasts to the fertile highlands of South Arabia could more easily be overcome by camel caravans. The springs and wells of the northern part of Arabia became important as resting places of caravans and as commercial and political centres. As the nomads were breeding the camels needed for the caravans, their tribes were interested in a peaceful traffic and it was expedient for them to join coalitions among each other and with the oasis town kingdoms on the main routes.

Since Tiglath-Pilesar III (748-725), north-western Arabia, including the northern part of the incense road from Daydān to Gh̲azzat may have become more tightly bound to Assyria, and later to Neo-Babylonia, after each conquest. It seems to be of great importance for the cultural and religious development of the "Arabs", that Nabūna'id (Nabonidus) of Babylonia conquered Taymā' in 550 B.C. and that he reigned there for eight years and made an expedition as far as Yath̲rib. He built a palace and temple in Taymā' and made this place the centre of an archaistic religion and cult round the Aramaean moon god Sīn, perhaps with the sun disc resting in the crescent as the main symbol of this religion (Musil, 1928, 224 ff., Moortgat, Segall). There should be investigations on the close resemblances between this cult and that of South Arabia and Ethiopia. SYN was the state god of Ḥaḍramawt since the earliest inscriptions of this state. (Albright

1952, note 8, brings reasons for an early introduction of this god into Ḥaḍramawt). ʿĒzānā of Abyssinia changed the crescent and disc for the cross on his coins when he turned to Christianity (4th cent. A.D.) (Littmann 1913, i, 60).

The exceptional temporary position of Taymāʾ may have stimulated the other town states of the oases of Arabia Deserta to partake to some degree in the civilisations of the surrounding countries in the north-east, the north-west and the south, while trying to preserve or to re-establish always again a certain amount of independance. Different scripts were used and developed. Even the clansmen of the nomadic tribes knew how to write. Nevertheless, pure camel nomadism was common. Agatharchides and Artemidorus (Diod. in C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor.* 184, Strabo xvi, 4, 18) in their accounts on the tribe of the Debai in the lowlands (Tihāma) of ʿAsīr write: "They live merely from their camels. From these they fight, on these they travel. Their food is camel milk and camel meat".

The scripts of the rock graffiti of the nomads of Arabia Deserta, which are spread from near the Ṣafāitic area south of Damascus and from the Sinai peninsula to the borders of Naḏjrān in South Arabia, form a unit though with strong regional (and probably temporal) variations. They have been classified as T̲h̲amūdean scripts, although but a part of these graffiti have been written by the tribe of T̲h̲amūd in its area round Daydān (Littmann 1940, van den Branden, J. Ryckmans 1956). In many respects these scripts are (and remained?) more archaic than the scripts of the settled populations, which were altered by their adaptation for monumental inscriptions (cf. J. Pirenne 1955, 44 ff.). Related graffiti are even found in South Arabia especially along the desert margins (cf. Höfner, and Jamme 1955). That all "Thamūdean" inscriptions seem to have been written by nomads shows that the nomadic tribes must have had some awareness of interdependence and a certain spirit of solidarity and that their life was separated and rather independent from the oasis town states.

It is evident that this situation of camel nomadism in Arabia was very different from what we know of horse-riding nomadism in the northern steppes of Eurasia. One main reason for the strong difference certainly is that the long and hard winters of the north do not permit more than one extensive crop and hinder the development of oases, although humidity is greater. Where the sub-tropical desert is dotted with oases of restricted size as in many parts of Arabia north of the line from Wādī Bays̲h̲ to Naḏjrān and to the Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī, it seems that a balance of power could result there to some degree between the nomadic tribes on the one hand and the merchant town states on the other, while probably the farmers of the oases had often to live in bondage to townsmen or to nomads.

The history of nomadism in Arabia is closely connected with the word Aʿrāb. In Semitic languages and pre-Islamic times, this word was only used for inhabitants of the Bedouin and oasis regions north of the Rubʿ al K̲h̲ālī. It especially meant the camel nomads but also included the oasis dwellers. Even Muḥammad used the word *aʿrāb* only for Bedouin. Only the Greeks have transmitted this name to the whole peninsula, probably already after the expeditions of Darius (Scylax). Theophrastus (372-287) calls Arabia τῶν Ἀράβων χερρόνησος (*Hist. Plant.* ix, ch. 2, § 2). Eratosthenes (late 3rd century B.C., Strabo XV, 4, 2) gives its division into Arabia Eudaimōn and Arabia Erēmos (Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta of the Roman period). But already Euripides mentions "Arabia eudaimōn" in his Bacchae (16-18), and Aristophanes (Aves 144 f.) a "polis eudaimōn on the Erythraean Sea", both in the late 5th century B.C. The South Arabians never called themselves ʾAʿrāb.

We have no knowledge about the pre-Islamic history of the nomadic tribes south of the Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī, north and east of Ḥaḍramawt and west of ʿUmān. To day, they are genuine camel nomads possessing some *g̲h̲anam*, just as those of the North. They still have holy rocks and holy places near wells, where they bury their dead (van der Meulen, own experience, Thesiger). But they do not live in tents. They have tropical clothing and south-semitic dialects. In mountain regions they use caves for shelter. They do not possess horses. Unlike the northern *badw* they have stayed outside of known coalitions.

The fate of camel nomadism in Arabia was closely connected with that of caravan trade. So the decline of this trade must have been of great importance for the nomad. This decline slowly set in in the 4th or 3rd century B.C., when the tolls, which had to be paid on the road were constantly increased because of the political division of South Arabia into different states (Pliny xii, 14, 65). It became stronger when, from round 115 B.C., the straits of Bāb al-Mandab were opened for direct traffic from Egypt to India. The overland incense traffic almost vanished, when this oversea traffic from the Roman Empire to India became important from about 48 B.C. (Strabo, ii, 5, 12, *ibid.*, xvii, 1, 13, Pliny, vi, 23, 104). This must have been a hard blow for the kingdoms of South Arabia and even more for the Bedouins who took part in the overland traffic and sold camels for this.

The name Arrhabitai (Aʿrāb) was used by the great Abyssinian (Aksūm) king who erected the Monumentum Adulitanum (cf. below, section d), of which we know the Greek version, probably before the middle 2nd century A.D. This is in his account of the submission of the Ḥiḏjāz and ʿAsīr north of the Sabaean and south of the Roman frontiers. Here "Arrhabitai" seems to signify the population of the hinterland of the Kinaidokolpitai who, according to Cl. Ptolemy, lived on the coast of Ḥiḏjāz and of ʿAsīr.

Aʿrāb Bedouins had begun to interfere in the conflicts in South Arabia towards the 2nd cent. A.D. (J. Ryckmans 1951, 215 f., 1956). In the inscription Nāmī 71 to 73, ʾAʿrāb and Kh-m-y-s are mentioned together several times. Perhaps Kh-m-y-s (K̲h̲umays ?, probably derived from k̲h̲ums) means the regular army (M. Höfner, letter), while Aʿrāb means contingents of northern Bedouins on camels and on horseback. The inscription Nāmī 71 to 73 belongs to the third century A.D. (king Alhān Nahfān; cf. Mordtmann-Mittwoch 218-220). The inscription "Ryckmans 535", belonging to the same period, shows that camels and horses were used in the South Arabian armies (G. Ryckmans, in *Muséon*, 1936, 154 f.; on the chronology of this period, cf. v. Wissmann 1957). It should be investigated if there are earlier convincing indications of camel troops in South Arabia (cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, 10, 46). (The inscription "Ingrams 1" does not point to such conditions. The preliminary translation we used in v. Wissmann-Höfner, 333, was wrong; cf. Drewes).

In 328 A.D., the inscription of al-Namāra, east of

Djabal Ḥawrān, in the Syrian desert (*RES* 483), tells us: "This is the grave of Imraʾ al-Ḳays (mrʾ/Ḳys) b. ʿAmr, the king of al the Aʿrāb, who..... and advanced successfully (?) to the siege of Nadjrān, the capital of Shammar" (Lidzbarski). We see that Imraʾ al-Ḳays calls himself king of all Aʿrābs, although he is not in possession of Nadjrān on the north-eastern margin of agricultural South Arabia, but perhaps king of most of those Bedouin tribes who live in tents, i.e. Aʿrāb. Nadjrān is at that time a town of "Shammar", probably Shammar Yuharʿish (cf. Pirenne 1956, Jamme 1957, J. Ryckmans 1957, 22, note, Pirenne 1957, 59, note 4), who assumed the title of "King of Sabaʾ and Dhū Raydān and of Ḥaḍramawt and of Yamnat" (Dhū Raydān stands for the Ḥimyar. Yamnat probably is a name of the coastal region south of Ḥaḍramawt; Wissmann 1959). This title means that Shammar was or claimed to be king of the entire agricultural country of South Arabia.

In the early 5th century, when great parts of Northern Arabia belonged to the domain of the South Arabian king Abikarib Asʿad, who according to tradition undertook a campaign into Persian territory, the title was enlarged and now was worded as follows: "King of Sabaʾ and Dhū Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yammat and of their (*pluralis majestatis*) ʾAʿrāb in the highlands (Central Arabia) and the Tihāma (lowlands of Ḥidjāz and ʿAsīr)". Again only inhabitants of Desert Arabia are meant by *aʿrāb* (cf. map 4).

The constant wars between Rome and Persia and between Ethiopia and Sabaʾ and the economic decline of the Mediterranean regions, the rising competition of sea traffic—from which South Arabia had become eliminated—against overland traffic and trade, the decay of feudalised South Arabia and its internecine feudal and religious wars in the 3rd to 6th centuries A.D. gave rise to great insecurity in Arabia (cf. Beeston 1954, Sidney Smith, J. Ryckmans 1956 b). In the regions of steppe climate in the fertile cresent, nomadic tribes intruded into country of rain agriculture. Even oasis areas decayed or were given up entirely, especially in South Arabia along the borders of the desert, and in Ḥaḍramawt (cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, 121 f, Le Baron Bowen), where camel nomadism penetrated from the north by invasions as well as by gradual infiltration. A renowned example is the neglect, bursting and dilapidation of the dam of Mārib, the old capital of Sabaʾ, and the total breakdown of this town and its oasis. In Yaman and ʿUmān, the strong feudalisation of the highland farmers, the *ḳabāʾil*, in their fortified castle-like dwellings, led to an extreme dissipation of power and even to anarchy, as well as to tribal organisation and to feuds similar to those of the barbarised camel nomads. Gradually the nomadic population became more and more migratory over long distances in Arabia. Such migrations of entire tribes were mainly directed from South to North. In the South a part of the farming population became nomadic, while in the north the wars between Rome and Persia probably attracted such nomads, as could not sell their camels for the declining caravan trade, to serve in camel troops on the side of one of the two opponents. The Arab proverb: "Al-Yaman is the womb (the cradle) of the Arabs, and al-ʿIrāḳ is their grave", already suits this period. Nevertheless there have also been migrations in the opposite direction, like that of the Kindites into Ḥadramawt in the 6th century A.D. which according to al-Hamdānī amounted to more than 30,000 men (Forrer, 134 ff.). With the decline of power of the surrounding states, which were based on agriculture and had a much higher population density, Bedouin influence was rising. Caskel (1953) demonstrates that, before this period of barbarisation, the social and economic way of living, which we call Bedouin, did not fully obtain the character familiar to us by the descriptions of Doughty, v. Oppenheim and Lawrence. Writing now disappeared among the nomads, but oral tradition flourished.

It would be interesting to know when the combined use, during a *ghazw*, of the camel for the riding over long distances and of the horse for final attack, was employed for the first time, a skilful practice which was still carried out by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd. King Malchus (Malik) II of the Nabataeans (al-Anbāṭ) sent 1000 horses and 5000 foot for the assistance of Titus in his attack on Jerusalem about 67 A.D. (Hitti, 68). The rock-drawings accompanying the Ṣafāitic inscriptions in the Ḥarra south-east of Damascus (2nd to 4th centuries or longer; cf. Littmann 1940) show that these true Bedouins made their razzias combining horse and camel. We also hear from Ammianus Marcellinus (4th cent. A.D.) that the Blemmyes made their raids in that way (xiv, 4, 3).

In South Arabia, the horse seems to have been always of smaller importance than in the north. Nevertheless we hear that among the presents sent by Yithʿaʾamar of Sabaʾ to Sargon in 715 B.C. there were horses. The Periplus Maris Erythraei (until 80 A.D.) tells that horses were shipped from Egypt to Mouza (Maushidj; cf. Wissmann 1959) by the Greek merchants. Strabo (XVI, 4, 2 and 26), when giving a short but good report on the agriculture of South Arabia, says that horses were lacking, and that their functions were carried out by camels. We have but few presentations of horses from South Arabia, which seem to be importations or copies from the north or to belong to late periods. Probably the horse only became of greater importance in South Arabia since Bedouin troops were used, *i.e.*, since at least the 3rd century A.D. The inscription G. Ryckmans 535 (in *Muséon*, 1956, 140 ff.) from the late 3rd century A.D. tells us that horses and camels were used in South Arabian armies, and that there were horsemen beside the regular troops.

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d) *The Appearance of Camel Nomadism in North Africa.*

It is surprising that the state and civilisation of the great river oasis of Égypt blocked for so long a period the spread of camel breeding and camel nomadism. It exercised a strong frontier control and showed an aversion against the Asiatic nomad. There is no specifically Egyptian word for "camel" (Albright 1950; cf. Préaux).

It has been supposed that the Sabaeans introduced the camel into the lowlands of North Ethiopia, when they colonised this country, perhaps some time in the beginning of the last millennium B.C., bringing with them the plough, terracing, and artificial irrigation. We have mentioned above that the colony was firmly established and probably old in the 5th century B.C. Even Conti Rossini supposed such an early introduction of the camel (103, 106). Yet he did not find any proof. There is no mention of the camel in the "Sabaean" inscriptions of Ethiopia (cf. above); but this again does not mean much, as the number of these inscriptions is still small. However, we may not forget that even today the camel has not been introduced into the highlands of Ethiopia, but has only spread in the lowlands and on the lower slopes. Near the harbours of northern Ethiopia, this area is a narrow strip of land, just as in Western Yaman.

There is one piece of information and one linguistic fact from which we may probably conclude that the Sabaeans did not introduce the camel to the African side of the Red Sea: Agatharchides (perhaps about 130 B.C.) gives a good and detailed description of the nomadic Troglodytes behind the African coast of the Red Sea north of Ethiopia (the later Blemmyes or Bedjā). He does not mention any breeding of camels but only of cattle and goats (Diodor., cf. C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor.* i, 153). Probably Agatharchides has taken over his story from a much earlier description (cf. von Wissmann 1957).

The linguistic fact is that the name of the camel in the Geʿez language as well as in all the Semitic languages of Ethiopia is *gamal* as in the North Semitic languages and in Egypt, while ancient South Arabia merely used the word "*ʾibil*" for it (Höfner by letter). It is only in one single inscription of the 3rd century A.D. (G. Ryckmans, Nr. 535) and then in the 6th century A.D. (Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās, G. Ryckmans, Nr. 507) that the word "*gamal*" turns up in South Arabian inscriptions. The first known mention of the camel in the Ethiopic language is in the 4th century A.D. in Littmann, *Aksum* 9 (1913).

We do not hear anything of the presence of the camel from hieroglyphs or from Greek or Roman authors or any sculpture or rock drawing either in Egypt or in any part of North Africa in the Hellenistic period. There is one exception, however: When Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246) repaired the old roads from Koptos on the Nile to the Red Sea (173 km.) and opened a longer road from the same place to his new harbour town Berenikē Troglodytikē (380 km.) by founding eleven stations, he did this not only for foot passengers but also for merchants travelling on camels (Strabo XVI, 4, 24, XVII, 1, 45, 65. Pliny, h.n. VI, 102, 168; Berenikē Troglodytikē in 23° 51 in the Bay of Sikkhat Bandar al-Kabīr). Strabo says that Koptos became a town belonging to Arabs as well as Egyptians, and that Arabs worked in the mines between Koptos and Myos Hormos. Pliny also mentions Arab tribes in the region of Berenikē. Philadelphus had reopened the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. He founded naval bases along the western coast of the Red Sea (cf. below). It is probable that the caravan camels and their Arab owners were introduced by Philadelphus and were transported by him to Philotera, to Myos Hormos and to Berenikē Troglodytikē over sea from the coast of Northern Ḥidjāz (Ritter II, 703). Ptolemy II seems to have put this coast of Northern Ḥidjāz under his influence by establishing friendly relations with Daydān on the incense road, thus being able to divert the incense traffic which until that time had followed the road from Sabaʾ and Maʿīn to Ghazzat on the Mediterranean, from Daydān to a new harbour on the Red Sea (T-sh-y-t ?) and then by boat to Egypt (cf. Tarn, appendix by Sidney Smith; Delbrueck). As Daydān was a colony of the kingdom of Maʿīn, which had developed north of Sabaʾ, the sarcophagus inscription of an incense trader of Maʿīn, living in Memphis, probably of 264 B.C. (Albright 1953, note 12), confirms this connection. This trader brought myrrh and other wares to Egypt on his own ships, and he brought byssos clothes to Arabia (Rhodokanakis, Kortenbeutel). As Ptolemy II and his successors were able to transport elephants on large boats on the Red Sea, they were easily able to transport camels. The Arabs who were brought to Egypt with their camels probably knew how to write the so-called Thamūdean script of northern Ḥidjāz. Numerous Thamūdean inscriptions have been found in the eastern desert of Egypt, especially along the roads (Littmann 1940, 3, Green, J. Pirenne by letter).

We now may ask again, how the camel was brought to Ethiopia. There are two possibilities, I think. It was introduced either by Ptolemy II or his successors, or by the kings of the Ḥabashāt, of Aksūm, in about the 2nd century A.D.

Ptolemy II founded the fortified town of Ptolemaïs Thērōn on the northernmost part of the Ethiopian coast (cf. the stele of Pithom in Egypt). One of the stelae found in Adulis south of modern Maṣawwaʿ by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Winstedt) reported that Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221) and his father hunted elephants in that region. We do not know when *Berenikē hē kata Sabas* (Strabo xvi, 4, 10, Berenikē Epidirēs of Pliny VI, 29, 170; Conti Rossini against Kortenbeutel) was founded near modern ʿAssab, and when this southern Berenikē was replaced by a colony called Arsinoē (Conti Rossini 60 ff., map, Strabo xvi, 4, 14, Pitschmann, Arsinoē, Pauly-Wissowa). We only recognise that the Ptolemies put the whole African coast of the Red Sea more and more under their naval influence and power. Ptolemaic shipping and trade were under strict state control. Before this time, Sabaʾ may have had still influence in its old Ethiopian colony, especially on the coast, in spite of its difficult position in South Arabia between the new strong states of Maʿīn in the North and Ḳatabān in the South, Ḳatabān reaching as far as Aden and the Bāb al-Mandab straits. There was a Sabaïtikon Stōma south of Ptolemaïs Thērōn (Artemidorus according to Strabo), there was a place called Sabat (Shabat ?) opposite the island of Maṣawwaʿ (Strabo, Pliny, Cl. Ptolemy), and there was "the wealthy town of Sabai", probably in the bay of modern ʿAssab (Strabo xvi, 4, 8-10, cf. Conti Rossini, Map pl. 16). On account of the internecine wars in South Arabia, the Ptolemies must have found it rather easy to interfere on the Ethiopian coast. As they

transported elephants in large boats from this coast to Egypt; they may have brought camels to the inhabitants of this coast from Northern Ḥidjāz. Before about 115 B.C., the Ḳatabānian harbour of ʿAden was an important place of trans-shipment, where freights came from Egypt and India (cf. von Wissmann 1957). When at that time the new state of Ḥimyar replaced Ḳatabān in ʿAden and ʿAden was destroyed, Ptolemaic ships were more and more successful in sailing directly to India.

It seems that the kingdom of Aksūm (Ethiopia), which is for the first time mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (about 82-96 A.D.), was a powerful state already at that time and learned much from Graeco-Roman navigation in the Red Sea. Then a king of Aksūm, who probably lived in the mid 2nd century A.D. (Winstedt; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* V, 599; Mordtmann-Mittwoch 6) according to the Monumentum Adulitanum, which he erected, built a great empire from the frontiers of Egypt to Somaliland (cf. Dittenberger, 287-296; Littmann 1913, i, 42 ff.). He conquered the coast of Arabia and its hinterland from Leukē Kōmē in Northern Ḥidjāz as far south as the frontier of the Sabaean kingdom (Wādī Baysh in southern ʿAsīr; Wissmann *l.c.*, 1959). He mentions that he used a navy for this conquest. His name is not known. The Monumentum shows that Aksūm had become a sea power at that time, perhaps supported by Rome. The Monumentum was written in the Greek language and script. Already in the first century A.D. (Periplus) Aksūm had cultivated the Greek language. So it may also have been the king of the Monumentum Adulitanum, who introduced the camel to Ethiopia from his colony in Northern Ḥidjāz. That period must have been a time of quickly rising national consciousness in Ethiopia, in which an official Ethiopian script was probably developed, based on the monumental and cursive Sabaean scripts and influenced by the Greek (left to right, numerals) and the "Thamūdean" script (cf. J. Ryckmans 1955, Ullendorff, Drewes). In the third century, the South of the Red Sea seems to have been under Ethiopian supremacy, while direct trade between the Roman Empire and India had become reduced (Sir M. Wheeler, Wissmann 1957).

The first African people who became camel breeders after those Arab tribes, which had been probably introduced to Berenikē Troglodytikē and Myos Hormos by Ptolemy II, seem to have been the Blemmyes or Bedjā (Pauly-Wissowa, "Blemmyes", by Sethe). According to Strabo xvii, 786, 819, and Ethiopian inscriptions, they lived south-east of Syene between the Nile and the Red Sea. In Strabo's time they were "not very numerous or warlike" (xvii, 1, 53), breeding sheep, goats and cattle. They were no danger for the Empire then. In the following centuries, however, they must have learned camel breeding from their Arab neighbours to such a degree that they became real, and "excellent", raiding camel nomads. Under Decius (249-251 A.D.), their camel razzias became difficult for the Roman Empire. Twenty years later, they were already completely masters of the roads between the Nile and the Red Sea. The trade from Egypt to India on that route had become totally dependent on the good will of the Blemmyes (cf. Bensch, 264 f.). Under Probus (276-284) the Blemmyes temporarily occupied Koptos and Ptolemaïs. Diocletian had to pay tributes to them in 296 on the frontier near Syene. This emperor had called the "Nobatae" (Nobades, i.e. Nubians ?) for help against the Blemmyes and had given them the Dodekaschoinos as a base of settlement (Procopius, Persian War XIX. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Nubai").

In the fourth century A.D., the Blemmyes and the Arab tribes of Egypt with their camels and now also horses became always more dangerous to the Empire by their raids (Ammian. Marcellin. xiv, 4, 3). The Empire had to draw up troops of camel riders against them. At the time of emperor Valens (rd. 370), new Arab tribes migrated across the Isthmus of Suez and occupied the northern part of the "Arabian" Desert east of the Nile, probably as far as the latitude of Thebes. They must have reinforced camel nomadism and fighting on camel's back in the regions round Egypt.

On the rock drawings he discovered in the "Arabian" Desert east of the Nile, H. A. Winkler recognised a "Blemmyan" group, in age between that of cattle breeders and that of the Islamic era. That this group must be dated in this period seems to be certain (Greek and Coptic letters, Hellenistic influence, typical brands). It mostly shows armed people (with bow, spear, sword and rectangular shield) riding on camels or also on horseback. Here, the camel is the main livestock, shown beside horse, donkey and cattle. Winkler says (1938, 41): "In all the former rock drawings peace prevails. In the pictures of the camel-owners all is war. And war they brought, wherever they went".

The author of this article is not qualified to describe the development of nomadism in the dry belts of Africa. When taking the rock drawings as a basis, it looks as if there has been an early period of cattle-breeders, not only in the steppes of the Sūdān and East Africa, but also in the regions of the Ṣaḥārā. Even if we admit that the climate may have periodically been a little moister than at present, it may be doubted whether horned cattle were the main livestock in those desert regions, for which they are not well fitted, although it may be that cattle were introduced earlier than sheep and goats. It seems probable to me that, when nomadic life was completely installed, cattle as holy animals were represented on the rocks although they were of secondary importance in the nomadic economy compared with the goats and the sheep. We may remember that the "Thamūdean" rock drawings in Western Arabia show the hunted animals and the camel, but very little of goats and sheep, although we can be sure that the nomads of those regions then possessed flocks of these animals.

According to Lhote 1953, rock drawings show that in the area of Ghadamēs, Fezzān, Tasīlī and Ahaggar, the horse and a war chariot were introduced in an early period, according to Lhote's hypothesis about 1200 B.C. by "Sea Peoples" from the Aegaean region. Among those war chariot people riding was developed at some time later on without rein and snaffle, just in the way ancient authors describe horse riding of the North African nomads of their own time (Strabo, Polybius, Silius Italicus). In the middle of the 3rd century B.C. riding had fully replaced the use of the war chariot in North African wars. Nomadic razzias were carried out on horseback.

It is curious that we know nothing about the ways the camel was introduced into North-West Africa and the Ṣaḥārā. In literature the camel appears for the first time there in Caesar's *De bello Africano* (c. lxxiii, 4) for the year 46 B.C., when 22 camels were among the booty taken from king Juba. But Juba was a man with wide and varied scientific, especially geographical, interests, and a collector in

the Hellenistic style. It seems probable that he had imported these animals to try out their usefulness in North Africa. Only in Cyrenaica the camel may have been bred in greater numbers in that period: It is shown on coins of the mint of L. Lollius, a commander in Cyrenaica under Pompey. Then there is a hiatus. From the 2nd or perhaps 3rd century, a statuette of a camel rider and a relief showing a hippodrome with a race of chariots drawn by camels were found in the necropolis of Hadrumetum (Sousse, Tunisia). The next indication in literature, however, is for the year 363 A.D. The Roman *comes* of the province of Africa demands 4000 transport camels from the inhabitants of Leptis Magna on the Syrte (Ammian. Marcellin. xxviii, c. 6, 5, xxix, 5, 55). About 400 A.D. there is the report of Synesius that herds of camels and horses then formed the wealth of the inhabitants of Cyrenaica. In the 5th century reports on camel breeding become always more abundant in North Africa, mainly in the regions round the Syrtes.

Most authors, especially Gautier (190 ff.), Gsell and others have concluded from these rather meagre sources that the camel was eventually introduced to North Africa across the Mediterranean Sea. When, however, we consider the position of the Blemmyes in Upper Egypt in the 3rd century A.D. (cf. above), the chain of oases west of Egypt also seems to be a probable route. Besides, we must not forget that any way south of the Libyan Desert remained outside the area of which we have historical reports.

Perhaps future linguistic research as well as excavations may give us help in solving these questions. In the language of the Bedjā (Blemmyes) the main name of the camel is *ḳām* (*kắm*), in northern Nubia it is *kam* (*kamti*) (Professor Dr. O. Rössler by letter). The Tibbu call the camel *góni*, and this name seems to have been spread by them far over the eastern part of the Sūdān, where Tibbu are told to have introduced the camel (Bensch 171 according to Barth). So in the Mandāra Mountains (northern Cameroons) the camel is called *gôme*, the male camel *elde gôme* (Barth, ii, 534, footnote). Even the Masai call the camel *en-tomes* (Nandi, *tombes*). In the Berber languages including that of the Tawārik, a main designation of the camel is *algh*ə*m* or *alem*. From *algh*ə*m* the Haussa name *raḳumi* and the Nupe name *ṛakum* are certainly derived (O. Rössler). All these names do not seem to be derived from Arab names, but there are other names showing such an etymology.

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(H. von Wissmann)

III. Pre-Islamic Arabia

(a) Sources.
(b) History.
(c) Political Relationships.
(d) Moral Outlook.
(e) Religion.

(a) *Sources*. Our knowledge of the Bedouin in pre-Islamic Arabia is derived mainly from two sources. Firstly, there has been preserved a certain amount of pre-Islamic poetry. Secondly, there are commentaries on this poetry and on old Arab proverbs, composed by Muslim scholars of the second Islamic century and later, and containing much traditional material about events in pré-Islamic times; this

material was also collected by other scholars in special works. The authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry has been denied by modern scholars, notably by D. S. Margoliouth and Ṭaha Ḥusayn, but their theories have not been accepted by the majority of scholars who, while admitting some falsifications, consider that on the whole pre-Islamic poetry has been faithfully transmitted (cf. A. J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, London 1957, 228-45). Similarly, the historical traditions, though once regarded by Western scholars as worthless, are now mostly held to have some factual basis and to reflect the conditions of life in the Djāhiliyya, even though they are insufficient for a proper history. In certain points this traditional material is confirmed by statements of the Ḳur'ān or inferences from these, and is both confirmed and supplemented by the numerous inscriptions found in Arabia by modern archaeologists.

(b) *History*. From the dawn of history nomads from the Arabian steppe have been pressing on the surrounding lands of settled civilisation. At some periods the pressure has been greater and the penetration of the settled lands deeper, and the nomads have been said to come in "waves". In pre-Christian times Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs and Nabataeans entered Syria and ʿIrāḳ, while in the six centuries before the Hidjra there was further pressure from Arabs and Palmyrenes. The nomads would come first of all to raid, but frequently they would themselves settle (*e.g.*, the Tanūkh in ʿIrāḳ about 225 A.D.). Close relations between settled nomads and those still in the desert facilitated trade. Only nomads could conduct caravans of merchandise across deserts, and only strong bodies of nomads could guarantee the safe transit of such caravans. Thus in the history of the Byzantine and Sāsānian empires the nomads appear in the two rôles of raider and trader.

The two empires tried in various ways to defend themselves from the hostile and predatory incursions of nomads. The most effective way was found to be the employment of semi-nomadic rulers on the imperial frontiers to ward off from the settled lands raiding parties from the heart of the steppes. In ʿIrāḳ this rôle was played by the Lakhmid kings of al-Ḥira from about 300 A.D. to the end of the dynasty in 602. On the Byzantine frontier the corresponding rôle was played by the Ghassānids, but they were later in attaining importance (it was in 529 that Justinian granted certain titles to the Ghassānid king), and apparently had only a camp for capital, not possessing any city comparable to al-Ḥīra. This system of defence was altered shortly before the Muslim invasions. In al-Ḥīra a Persian resident controlled the Arab chief who succeeded the Lakhmids, while the Byzantine subsidies to the Ghassānids seem to have ceased with the Persian invasion (613-629) and not to have been restored afterwards.

While it is clear that the nomads of Arabia were extensively involved in commerce, the details have not yet been closely studied. The nomads were in contact not only with the Byzantine and Persian empires, but also with the Ḥimyarite kingdom in South Arabia (until it was overthrown by the Abyssinians about 525). The prosperity of South Arabian civilisation was dependent on trade, and with a decline in its trade (perhaps through the loss of control of the Red Sea) the civilisation declined. Arab tradition speaks of the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib as marking the break up of South Arabian culture, but archaeological discoveries point to a series of breakdowns of the irrigation system, and the presumption is that these are symptoms of the decline of South Arabia and not its cause. Arab tradition further connects with the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib the northward movement of many nomadic tribes (together with their abandonment of a settled life, it would seem). At the same time overland trade by camel caravan between the Yemen, Syria and ʿIrāḳ began to flourish, and by 600 A.D. this was largely under the control of the Ḳuraysh of Mecca. The Ḳuraysh themselves had the city of Mecca as headquarters and to this extent were no longer nomads, but their commerce required alliances and other relationships with many nomadic tribes. The convoying and guaranteeing of caravans thus made important contributions to the livelihood of the nomads, and the fairs at which the merchandise brought by the caravans changed hands enabled the nomads to obtain many goods not produced in the steppe. Altogether the nomadic economy of pre-Islamic Arabia was far from being insulated and autarkic.

(c) *Political Relationships*. The social and political units among the Arabian nomads were groups of varying sizes. Western writers usually refer to these as 'tribes' or, in the case of the smaller groups and subdivisions, 'sub-tribes' and 'clans', but those terms do not correspond exactly to Arabic terms. There are a number of words in Arabic for such social and political units, but the commonest usage is to refer to a tribe or clan simply as Banū Fulān ('the sons of so-and-so').

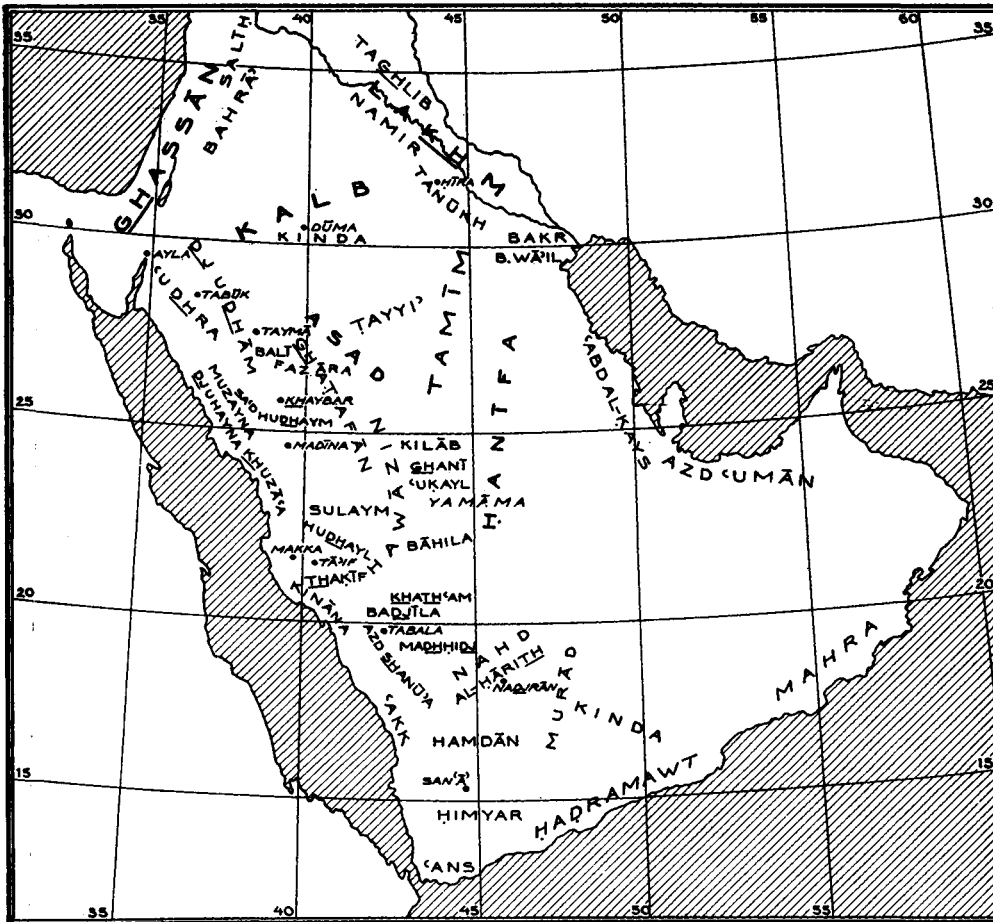
The structure of these pre-Islamic tribes has not yet been adequately studied in the light of recent advances in social anthropology. They are presented in Arab tradition as being primarily constituted by kinship in the male line, though there are certain exceptions to this. A person not related to a group by blood (not a *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ṣamīm*) could enjoy some of the privileges of membership, above all protection. He might do so as an 'ally' (*ḥalīf*), a 'protected neighbour' (*djār*), or a 'client' (*mawlā*). The parties to an 'alliance' (*ḥilf*) were formally equal, but when a single individual lived as an ally among a tribe or clan, he tended to fall into a subordinate or dependent position. 'Neighbourly protection' (*djiwār*), on the other hand, implied some superiority, at least of a temporary kind, in the person granting it; it could be either temporary or permanent. The status of 'client' was acquired by a slave on his emancipation. Attached to the tribe were slaves; male Arabs could become slaves through being captured in raids when children; and there were also Abyssinian slaves. A man could be expelled from his tribe for killing a kinsman or for conduct harmful to the tribe, and might wander alone (as a *ṣuʿlūk*) or else attach himself to another tribe as *djār*, etc.

There are strong reasons, however, for thinking that the traditional view that the members of the tribe or clan in the strict sense were patrilineally related is not a complete account of the matter, even though some tribes were so constituted. Firstly, there are numerous traces of matriliny among certain Arab tribes in Muḥammad's time, and also some facts which suggest that it was being superseded by patriliny. Though it is uncertain how extensive matriliny was and what it involved in practice, there is sufficient evidence to cast doubts on the value of the purely patrilineal genealogies found in the works of the later Muslim scholars. It seems possible that, in some cases where matriliny prevailed, the later

scholars, finding no patrilineal genealogy for a member of the group, argued that he must have been a *ḥalīf*; perhaps this is how to explain the fact that the head of the clan of Zuhra et Mecca was a *ḥalīf* (al-Akhnas b. Sharīḳ).

Secondly, it has been argued that some of the tribal names were originally the names of groups with a local or political basis, and did not indicate common descent (cf. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, iii, 72-79). This has probably happened in some cases, and it is then the later genealogists who have transformed group names into eponymous ancestors; but

Some of the weaker tribes near Mecca had thus become largely dependent on Ḳuraysh. Some still weaker ones had banded themselves together and were known as the Aḥābīsh, probably meaning "mixed multitudes" (the view of Lammens that the Aḥābīsh were Abyssinian slaves contradicts statements in Ibn Hishām, 245, and Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 81 and has little to recommend it; cf. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 81 and M. Hamidullah in *Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, i, 434-47).

The affairs of a tribe were usually settled in an

TRIBAL ARABIA

Prepared by P. Cachia

it would be hazardous to explain all genealogies in this way. What may be taken as certain is that the structure of desert tribes was constantly changing. Some tribes would prosper, would become too numerous to function effectively as a unit, and would split up into two or more sub-tribes. This is probably the explanation of the fact that the Arabs of Muḥammad's time had names for certain groups consisting of several tribes (cf. Nallino, *op. cit.*, 76). On the other hand, where a tribe did not prosper, it dwindled in number, and then had a choice between becoming dependent on some stronger tribe, allying itself with other weak tribes or simply disappearing.

assembly or meeting (*madjlis*) of all the members. All might speak, but most weight attached to the words of men of recognised authority. The leader or chief of the tribe, the *sayyid*, was appointed by acclamation in the assembly. He usually came from the family considered most honourable, but there was no law of primogeniture. In the harsh conditions of the desert it was essential that the chief should himself be able to lead effectively and a minor could not have done this. The *sayyid* had certain duties, especially in respect of the relations of the tribe (or clan) to other tribes (or clans). He could make treaties which bound the tribe, and was responsible

for ransoming prisoners and for seeing that blood-wit was paid. He usually also claimed the right of entertaining strangers, and he was expected to help the poor of his tribe. In return for these duties he had the privilege of receiving a fourth part of any spoils taken in raids. Disputes between members of a group would normally be referred to their *sayyid*. Disputes between members of groups which had no common *sayyid* often led to fighting, but sometimes were referred to an arbiter (*ḥakam*); there were one or two men in different parts of Arabia who were outstanding for their wisdom and impartiality, and these were frequently asked to arbitrate. Apart from such voluntary submission to the decision of an arbiter and from membership of an alliance of tribes, each main tribe was an independent political unit. Occasionally the *sayyid* of a strong tribe through the force of his personality and through military prowess, established his ascendancy over a number of other tribes, so that they entered into alliance with him and carried out his orders; but this was resented, and the alliance broke up on the removal of the forceful personality.

(d) *Moral Outlook*. The life of the Badw was set in natural conditions of great harshness. At most times the means of sustenance were less than sufficient for the population. There was therefore a constant tendency for the strong to seize the means of sustenance, especially the camels, of the weak. This led to the organisation of the nomads into tribes and clans with a high degree of group solidarity. The larger groups were stronger, but the need to scatter at certain times to find pasturage for the camels made it difficult for groups beyond a certain size to act effectively as units. Hence, as noted above, the tendency of large and prosperous tribes to split up.

The razzia (*gh̲azw*, *gh̲azwa*) or raid to capture camels was almost a sport with the Badw, and bloodshed was avoided. When hostility deepened, however, raiding changed its character; adult males were killed, and women and children captured and then held to ransom or sold as slaves. The *lex talionis* was universally recognised, and served to check wanton and irresponsible killing, since it was a matter of honour for a tribe to protect or avenge its members and those attached to it. In the older days a life had to be avenged by a life, but in Muḥammad's time there was a tendency, which he tried to develop, of substituting for the life the payment of a blood-wit (*diya*), normally a hundred camels for an adult male. It was sometimes felt, however, to be unmanly thus 'to substitute milk for blood'.

The qualities admired by the Badw were those required for success in the hard life of the steppe. Loyalty to the kinship-group had a high place, and involved readiness to help one's kinsman against a stranger on any occasion. With this was coupled fortitude or manliness (*ḥamāsa*), which denoted 'bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in revenge, protection of the weak and defiance of the strong' (R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, 79).

The poets played an important rôle in the life of the pre-Islamic Arabs. The ode (*ḳasīda*) usually contained either *mafāk̲h̲ir*, boastings, that is, praise of one's own tribe for its fortitude and other virtues, or *mat̲h̲ālib*, revilings (also *hid̲j̲āʾ*, satire), that is, dispraise of one's enemies. It was held that human excellence or the lack of it was to a large extent inherited. A hero's deeds showed the heroic qualities of his family, clan and tribe. Great store was thus set on the reputation of the group. The power of the poet to convince his tribe of its own worth and to lower the morale of the enemy was very great. Poets had probably more power in pre-Islamic Arabia than the press in modern times. The Arabs felt there was something supernatural or magical about them.

Although descent counted for so much, it is not clear (as noted above) to what extent this was reckoned patrilineally and to what extent matrilineally. Four types of pre-Islamic marriage are described by al-Buk̲h̲ārī (67, 37, 1; translated in Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 378); two of these, though provision for determining paternity is described by al-Buk̲h̲ārī, seem to belong to a primarily matrilineal system. The sources, moreover, suggest that al-Buk̲h̲ārī's account is not exhaustive. Certainly it was common for the woman to live with her kinsmen, and for her husband merely to 'visit' her for short periods—for example, when their tribes happened to be camped close to one another.

(e) *Religion*. Pre-Islamic poetry suggests that for the nomadic tribes a quasi-religious dynamic was produced by a belief in the human excellence of the tribal stock. Regard for honour or reputation (*ḥasab*) was the driving force in much of their activity. In this sense it may be said that the real religion of the Badw was a tribal humanism. The widespread belief in fate among the Arabs was not so much a religious belief as a factual belief, *viz*. a belief that the world was so constituted that, as often as not, human efforts to avert disaster would be thwarted by circumstances. Fate was not worshipped as a deity.

Apart from this there were a number of cults observed by the Arabs, each centred at a particular shrine (see arts. AL-LĀT, MANĀT, etc.). Some of these were of social importance, since round the shrines was a sacred area (*ḥaram*), while the institution of the sacred month was administered from the Kaʿba at Mecca. Such sacred times and places, in which blood feuds temporarily ceased, made it possible for many Badw to come together for trade and other purposes. On the whole, however, these cults seem to have little religious importance, properly speaking, in the life of the Badw.

Christianity had spread widely in Arabia when Muḥammad began to preach, and some nomadic groups were at least nominally Christian. Judaism was also found, and some of those called 'Jews' in the records were probably Arabs who had adopted Judaism; but, though they had close relations with Badw, none of them appears to have been nomadic.

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BAENA [see BAYYĀNA].

BAEZA [see BAYYĀSA].

BAGGĀRA [see BAḲḲĀRA].

BĀGH [see BUSTĀN].

AL-**BAGHAWĪ**, ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-ḤUSAYN B. MASʿŪD B. MUḤ. AL-FARRĀʾ (or IBN AL-FARRĀʾ), a doctor of the Shāfiʿī school, traditionist, and commentator on the Ḳurʾān. His *laḳabs* were Rukn al-Dīn and Muḥyi ʾl-Sunna. He came from the village of Bagh or Baghshūr near Harāt (cf. al-Samʿānī, f. 86a). Al-Farrāʾ (furrier) comes from his father's occupation. He studied *fiḳh* under the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marw al-Rūdhī, becoming his favourite pupil; and heard traditions from a number of traditionists. He was noted for piety and asceticism, and observed ceremonial purity while teaching. Although he wrote on various subjects, the work for which he is most famous is his *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna* (or *al-Dudjā*), which consists of a collection of traditions arranged according to their subject-matter. In each chapter he first gives traditions which are sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) meaning by these traditions from the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim; then traditions which are good (*ḥasan*), meaning traditions which he has taken from the books of Abū Dāʾūd, al-Tirmidhī, and other *imāms*. In many chapters he also includes traditions which have only one authority at some stage of the *isnād* (*gharīb*), and even traditions which are weak (*ḍaʿīf*). But he claims that he includes none which are rejected (*munkar*), or spurious (*mawḍūʿ*). The *isnāds* are dispensed with, but the arrangement according to the degree of authority is a sufficient guide to what is accepted. Al-Baghawī declares that his purpose was to provide material for religious people which would help them to live a life pleasing to God. Editions have been published in Būlāḳ, 1294, and Cairo, 1318. This work has been very popular, especially in the edition arranged by Walī al-Dīn (d. 743/1342) with the title *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*. It has frequently been printed; an English translation was published by A. N. Matthews (Calcutta 1809-10), and another, with some arrangement of the text, by Maulana Fazlul Karim with the Arabic and English in parallel columns (Calcutta 1938-9). Al-Baghawī's other extant works are listed in Brockelmann. He died in Marw al-Rūdh in 516/1122, but Ibn Khallikān mentions also 510/1117. Al-Dhahabī says he may have been eighty years of age, but al-Subkī suggests that he may have been nearly ninety.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Tadh. al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 52 f.; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, iv, 214 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, No. 177; Yāḳūt, *passim*; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iv, 48 f.; Brockelmann, I, 447 ff.; S. I., 620 ff.; Sarkis, *Dict. encyc. de bibl. arabe*, 573 f.; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 263, 270 f. (J. ROBSON)

BAGHBŪR [see FAGHFŪR].

BĀGHČE SARĀY (Turkish: «Garden Palace»), in Russian orthography : BAKHČI-SARAY, the capital of the Krim Tatar state throughout the entire (including the dependent) rule of the Girāy dynasty [*q.v.*] from about 1423 to 1783, lies in lat. 44° 45′ N. and long. 33° 55′ E., 32 km. south-west of Simferópol′, in a narrow, 7 km. long, gorge of the Čürük Ṣu ("Foul Water"). Bāghče Sarāy arose between the old administrative centre of the Crimea, Eski Yurt, in the west, where the Krim Khāns were buried until the 10th/16th century and the ancient Karaite settlement, Čufut Ḳalʿe ("fort of the Jews") in the east (in Karaite: Ḳïrḳ Yer, "40 Places"); it developed from an extensive burial ground that the most important of the Krim Khāns, Menglī Girāy [*q.v.*] began in 1503-1504 (909 A.H., according to an inscription) with the building of a "Garden Palace", completed in 1519. Around this palace there developed gradually a new settlement which was named after it Bāghče Sarāy and was constructed in a loose and haphazard fashion, a characteristic that has remained true of the site even down to the present time. The remnants of older Christian buildings are said to have been used for the construction of a stone mosque and a dervish cloister. The Zindjirli ("Chains") *madrasa*, established at that time, has survived even until today (*Ḳrym Medjmūʿasï*, Istanbul 1918, no. i, 16-19 and no. x, 188 ff.; Bodaninskij, 19 ff.; Seydamet, 36-40). Thereafter the two neighbouring settlements fell gradually into decay. Yet the name Ḳïrḳ Yer was still retained on the coinage; only from 1644 does the name Bāghče Sarāy appear on coins, that town continuing to be thereafter the sole mint in the land. A peace was concluded at Bāghče Sarāy in 1092/1681 between the Krim Tatars, the Turks and the Russians, the Dnieper being recognised as the frontier between their respective dominions. By this peace the Krim Tatars and the Turks at last agreed to the incorporation of the Ukraine territories on the left bank of the river and the Cossack lands into the Muscovite state.

When Bāghče Sarāy was devastated in the course of a Russian incursion (1736), a quarter of the town, including the palace, the chief mosque and the precious library that Selīm Girāy I (four times Khān between 1671 and 1704) had founded, suffered destruction. Only 124 bound volumes of documents survived; they were later deposited at St. Petersburg by V. D. Smirnov (cf. K. Inostrancev, in *Zapiski Vost. otd. Arkh. ob-va*, vol. xviii, p. XVIII). The town was rebuilt, however, in the following years, during a period of renewed cultural efflorescence in the Crimea. The palace arose once more and was extended (1737-1743); it is now surrounded on three sides by a wall surmounted with various buildings. A new Council Hall (*Dīwān*) was erected in 1743, adorned with rich decoration, sculptures, arcades and paintings. The library was revived with the aid of bequests from Istanbul.

As a consequence of the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1774 the numerous Greek-Orthodox and Armenian elements in the population of the town (about one third of the inhabitants) were resettled in 1779, against the wish of the Tatars, on territories already at that time under Russian rule, i.e., northward on the Sea of Azov and in the region of Rostov on the Don (New Nakhdjovān: Nakhičeván, in Russian). The result was that Bāghče Sarāy became an almost exclusively Tatar town and this distinctive character was expressly confirmed after the incorporation of the Crimea into Russia by Catherine II in 1783. Bāghče Sarāy, in 1787, numbered 5,776 inhabitants (3,166 of them, men; the women, as it would seem, being in part passed over in silence in the census) living in 1561 dwelling-houses; there were also 31 stone mosques, one Orthodox and one Armenian-Gregorian church, two synagogues, two baths and 16 caravanserais. 110 wells were fed, through underground canals, from 32 springs in the mountains. In 1794 Čufut Ḳalʿe still had 1162 Karaites, with two synagogues and a school; only in the 19th cent. did this town become almost wholly deserted. Bāghče Sarāy, in 1881, numbered 13,377 inhabitants, amongst whom were 697 Karaites and 210 Rabbanite Jews, together with a very small number of Greeks, Armenians and Gipsies; the population had fallen by 1897 to 12,955.

The town retained its importance even in the

19th century. It developed a great craft activity (famed morocco leather in red and yellow, candles, soap, agricultural implements, shoes, treatment of sheepskins, and, in the 20th cent., essential oils). Bāghče Sarāy was, moreover, the centre of national and cultural aspirations in the Crimea. Here, from 1883, the notable Russo-Turkish pioneer Ismā'īl Bey Gaspīralī (Russian: Gasprinsky, 1851-1914) published the important paper *Terdjümān* ("Interpreter"), the language of which was intended to form a compromise between the various Turkish dialects and thus to further co-operation between those who spoke them; in actual fact the language of the paper was very largely Ottoman (cf. G. Burbiel, *Die Sprache Ismā'īl Bey Gaspyralys*, Thesis, Hamburg 1950 (typescript); G. von Mende, *Der nationale Kampf der Russlandtürken*, Berlin 1936 (Index); Cafer Seydamet, *Gaspīralī Ismail Bey*, Istanbul 1934). In the following year Gaspīralī founded at Bāghče Sarāy a model school which became, until 1905, the pattern for some 5000 Muslim primary schools in Russia. The palace of the Khāns, on the occasion of a visit of Catherine II, had already been restored by G. Ye. Potyomkin and was thereafter maintained, on archaeological grounds, as the "sole great example of Tatar building within the Russian state".

Bāghče Sarāy became once more an administrative centre in the time of Crimean independence (1918-1920). During the German occupation of 1941-1944 it attained, however, no political importance. None the less, Bāghče Sarāy suffered heavily, when Soviet troops retook the town in April 1944; the palace of the Khāns was damaged, but is now restored (in part?) and serves both as an Oriental Museum and (since 1950) as a monument in honour of the Russian general Suvorov, who had his headquarters here. As a result of the forcible "re-settlement" of the Krim Tatars (1944-1945) Bāghče Sarāy has wholly lost its former character. The present number and composition of the inhabitants are no longer given in the *Bol'shaya Sovyetskaya Enciklopediya*, iv (1950), 333; nor are details to be found there on the other conditions now prevailing in the town.

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Čufut Kal'e: A. Harkavy, *Die alt-jüdischen Denkmäler auf der Krim* (1871); *Zapiski Odessk. Ob-va Ist. i. Drevn.*, XII.

V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoye Khanstvo ....*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1887, Odessa 1889; Dżafer Seydamet, *Krym*, Warsaw 1930; B. Spuler, *Die Krim*, Berlin 1944. Cf. also the bibliographies to the articles Girāy and Crimea. (B. Spuler)

BAGHDĀD. Baghdād is situated on both banks of the Tigris, at 33° 26 18″ Lat. N. and 44° 23 9″ Long. E. respectively. Founded in the 8th century A.D. it continued to be the centre of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate till its fall, and the cultural metropolis of the Muslim world for centuries. After 1258 it became a provincial centre and remained under the Ottomans the centre of the Baghdād *wilāyet*. In 1921 it became the capital of modern 'Irāk.

History.

The name Baghdād is pre-Islamic, related to previous settlements on the site. Arab authors realise this and as usual look for Persian origins (cf. Makdisī, *al-Bad'*, iv, 101; Ibn Rusta, 108). They give different hypothetical explanations, the most common of which is "given by God" or "Gift of God" (or the Idol). (see Khaṭīb, i, 58-9 (Cairo); Yākūt, i, 678-9; Abu 'l-Fidā', i, 292; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manākib*, 6; Bakrī, i, 169; Ibn al-Faķīh, Mashhad MS. f. 29 *b*). Modern writers generally tend to favour this Persian derivation (cf. Salmon, *Introduction*, 23-4; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 10-11; Streck, *Landschaft*, i, 49-50; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 153; W. Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, i, 178; *JRIA*., i, 46-94). Others tend to give the name an Aramaic origin meaning, "the home or enclosure of sheep" (Y. Ghanīma and A. Karmalī in *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv, 27; vi, 748. Note Ṭabarī's reference to Sūķ al-Baķar, "the cow market", on the site of Baghdād (iii, 277). Delitzsch favours an Aramaic origin without explaining the meaning (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 206, 238).

A legal document of the time of Hammurabi (1800 B.C.) mentions the city of Bagdadu (Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* No. 197 l. 17.) This indicates that the name was in use before Hammurabi and definitely before any possible Persian influence. Bag and Hu are rendered by the same sign. However a boundary stone from the time of the Kassite King Nazimaruttaš (1341-1316 B.C.) mentions the city Pilari on the bank of "Nah. Sharri" in the district of Bagdadi (De Morgan, *Délégation en perse*, i, 86-92). This with the mention of Bagdatha several times in the Talmud makes Bag the more acceptable reading (Obermeyer, *Landschaft Babylonien*, 1929, 147 ff.; Jewish Encyc., *Baghdad*). Another boundary stone of the reign of the Babylonian king Marduk-apaliddin (1208-1195 B.C.) mentions the city Baghdād (*Délégation en Perse*, iii, 32-39).

Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) plundered places amongst which was Bagda(du) (*Synchronistic History*, iii L. 12 = K BI, 200). In the 8th century B.C. Baghdād became an Aramaean settlement. Tiglatpilasser III (745-727 B.C.) mentions Bagdadu in connexion with an Aramaean tribe (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 238).

From this it is only fair to admit that the origins of the name are not clear. The fact that Bag was adopted by the Iranians about the 8th century B.C. to denote "God", and that it figured in personal names does not change the situation (*Reallexikon*, i, 341).

Al-Manṣūr called his city Madīnat al-Salām (city of peace), in reference to paradise (Ķur'ān, vi, 127; x, 26). This was the official name on documents,

coins, weights etc. Variations of the name, esp. Bughdān and appelations such as Madīnat Abī Dja'far, Madīnat al-Manṣūr, Madīnat al-Khulafā' and Al-Zawrā' were used (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 29*b*; Yāḳūt, i, 678; Ibn Rusta, 108). Zawrā' seems to be an old name as the *Fakhrī* states (*al-Fakhrī*, 145; cf. Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 41). For later explanations see Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh* (Cairo), 312; Yāḳūt, ii, 954). Arab authors state that al-Manṣūr built his city where many pre-Islamic settlements existed, the most important of which was the village of Baghdād, (see Ṭabarī, ii, 277; and i, 2067; Ibn Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 7; Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldan*, 237), on the west bank of the Tigris north of Ṣarāt (Ṭabarī, iii, 277). Some consider it of Badūryā and refer to its annual fair (Khaṭīb, i, 25-7; Ibn Djawzī, *Manaḳib*, 6; Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 275) and this would help to explain why Karkh was later the quarter for merchants. A number of old settlements, chiefly Aramaean, were on the western side in the vicinity of Karkh. Among these is Khaṭṭābiyya (by Bāb al-Shām), Sharafāniyya, and north of it Wardāniyya which became within al-Ḥarbiyya quarter, Sūnāya near the junction of Ṣarāt with the Tigris (later al-'Atīḳa) Ḳaṭuftā at the corner where the Rufayl canal flows into the Tigris, and Barātha where the Karkhāya canal branches from the 'Īsā canal. Three small settlements were between the Karkhāya canal and Ṣarāt, *i.e.*, Sāl, Warthālā (later Ḳallā'īn quarter) and Banāwrā. Karkh itself (Aramaic *karkha* meaning a fortified town) takes its name from an earlier village, which Persian traditions attribute to Shāpūr II (309-379 A.D.) (Mustawfī, 40; see Ṭabarī, iii, 278 9; Khaṭīb, 27, 33, Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 342-3, Yāḳūt, iii, 613 and Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 7).

According to Xenophon the Achaemenids possessed vast parks in the district of Baghdād (at Sittake). Arab authors refer to two such gardens (cf. Khaṭīb, 28; Mustawfī, 40). Near the mouth of the 'Īsā canal, there was a Sasanian Palace (*ḳaṣr Sābūr*) where al-Manṣūr later built a bridge. The old Ḳanṭara (*al-ḳanṭara al-'atīḳa*) across the Ṣarāt canal, south-west of the Kūfā gate, was Sasanian. On the eastern side, Sūḳ al-Thalāthā' and Khayzurān cemetery were pre-Islamic. There were some monasteries in the area which are pre-Islamic like Dayr Mārfathion (al-Dayr al-'Atīḳ) where al-Khuld palace was built, Dayr Bustān al-Ḳuss, and Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ near which Shaykh Ma'rūf was buried. (Ṭabarī, iii, 274, 277; Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 36-37a; Khaṭīb, 46, 28; Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 312; Dhahabī, *Duwal*, i, 76; Mustawfī, 40).

None of these ancient settlements attained any political or commercial importance, so that the city of al-Manṣūr may be regarded as a new foundation. Baghdād is very often confused with Babylon by European travellers in the middle ages and sometimes with Seleucia, and appears in their accounts as Babel, Babellonia, etc. The erroneous application of the later name to Baghdād is likewise common in the Talmudic exegetic literature of the Babylonian Geonim (in the 'Abbāsid period) as well as in later Jewish authors. Pietro della Valle who was in Baghdād (1616-7) was the first to refute this error, widely spread in his time. Down to the 17th century the name Baghdād was generally known in the West in the corrupted form Baldach (Baldacco) which might be derived from the Chinese form of the name (cf. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 138; ii, 124; Travels of Marco Polo, ed. Frampton, 29, 126).

The 'Abbāsids turned to the east and looked for a new capital to symbolise their *dawla*. The first caliph, al-Saffāḥ, moved from Kūfa to Anbār. Al-Manṣūr moved to Hāshimiyya near Kūfa, but he soon realised that the turbulent pro-'Alid Kūfa was a bad influence on his army, while Hāshimiyya was vulnerable as was proved by the Rāwandiyya rising (cf. Yāḳut, i, 680-1; Ṭabarī, iii, 271-2; Fakhrī (Cairo), 143). He looked, therefore, for a strategic site.

After careful exploration, he chose the site of Baghdād for military, economic and climatic considerations. It stood on a fertile plain where cultivation was good on both sides of the river. It was on the Khurāsān road and was a meeting place of caravan routes, and monthly fairs were held there, and thus provisions could be plentiful for army and people. There was a net of canals which served cultivation and could be ramparts for the city. It was in the middle of Mesopotamia, and enjoyed a temperate and healthy climate and was fairly safe from mosquitoes (Ya'ḳūbī, 235-8; Ṭabarī, iii, 271-5; Yāḳūt, i, 679-80; *Manāḳib*, 7-8; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, 119-120; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 426-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, 7; Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 449; *Fakhrī*, 143-5). Apocryphal stories about its merits and al-Manṣūr's destiny to build it found circulation later (cf. Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 237; *Fakhrī*, 144; Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 234-5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 7-8).

Baghdād was to succeed Babylon, Seleucia and Ctesiphon and to outshine them all.

Ya'ḳūbī (278-891), and Ibn al-Faḳīh (290/903), give early detailed descriptions of Baghdād by quarters, while Suhrāb (c. 900 A.D.) describes the net of canals in the area. The city with its fortifications and its inner plan looks like a big fortress. There was first a deep ditch, 40 *dhirā'* (= 20.27 m.) wide, surrounding the city, then a quay of bricks, then the first wall 18 *dhirā'* (= 9 m.), at the base, followed by a space 56.9 metres in width (= 100 *dhirā'*, see for measures Rayyis, *Kharādj*) left empty for defensive purposes. Then came the main wall of sun-burnt bricks—34.14 metres high, 50.2 metres wide at the bottom and 14.22 metres at the top—with great towers numbering 28 between each two gates except those between the Kūfa and Baṣra gates which numbered 29. On each of the gates a dome was built to overlook the city, with quarters below for the guards. Then came a space 170.70 metres wide where houses were built. Only officers and loyal followers (*mawālī*) were allowed to build here, and yet each road had two strong gates which could be locked. Then came a simple third wall enclosing the large inner space where only the caliph's palace (Bāb al-Dhahab), the great mosque, the *dīwāns*, houses of the sons of the caliph, and two *saḳīfas*, one for the chief of the guard and the other for the chief of police, were built. To ensure control of the city and to facilitate communications internally and with caravan routes externally, the city was divided into four equal parts divided by two roads running from its equidistant gates. The Khurāsān gate (also called Bāb al-Dawla) was to the N.E., the Baṣra gate to the S.W., the Syria gate to the N.W. and the Kūfa gate to the S.E. To get to the inner circle, one had to cross the ditch and to pass five doors, two at the outer wall, two huge doors at the great wall and one door at the inner wall (see Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, i, 238-242; Ṭabarī, iii, 322-3, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 9-10; Khaṭīb, 9-12; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 427-8, 439; Ya'ḳūbī, ii, 449; Ibn al-Faḳīh, MS, f. 33a).

Ancient imperial traditions are also noticeable in the plan. The seclusion of the caliph from his people, the grandiose plan of the palace and the mosque to show the greatness of the new *dawla*, the division of the people in separate quarters which could be

locked and guarded at night—all testify to that.

Al-Manṣūr granted some devoted followers and captains tracts of land by the gates outside the city, and gave his soldiers the outskirts (*arbāḍ*) to build and granted some of his kinsfolk outlying places (*aṭrāf*) (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 449-50; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 240).

The glory of the Round City was the Green Dome, 48.36 metres high, towering over the palace with a mounted horseman on top. It fell in 329/941 on a stormy night, probably struck by a thunderbolt (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 229, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 317-18; *Manāḳib*, 11; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 270; Khaṭīb, 11). However its walls lasted much longer, and they finally crumbled in 653/1255 A.D. (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 303, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, viii, 67). Marble and stone were used in the building of the Bāb al-Dhahab, and gold decorated its gate. It continued to be the official residence for about half a century, and though Rashīd neglected it, Amīn added a new wing to it and built a "*maydān*" around it. During the siege of Baghdād in 198/814 it suffered much damage. Then it ceased to be the official residence and was neglected (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 303).

The mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Manṣūr) was built after the palace and thus was slightly divergent from the Ḳibla (cf. Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 265, Ibn al-Athīr, v, 439). In 191/807 Rashīd demolished it, and rebuilt it with bricks. It was enlarged in 260-1/875 and finally in 280/893. Muʿtaḍid added another court to it and renewed parts of it (*Muntaẓam*, v, 21, 143). The mosque had a minaret (Khaṭīb, v, 125) which was burnt in 303/915 (*Muntaẓam*, vi, 130), but was rebuilt again (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 284). It continued to be the great mosque of Baghdād during the period of the caliphate. It was flooded in 653/1255 and survived this and the Mongol invasion.

The plan of Baghdād reflects social ideas. Each quarter had a responsible personage, and generally had a homogeneous group, ethnically (Persian, Arabs, Khwārizmians), or by vocation. Soldiers had their homes outside the walls, generally north and west of the city, while merchants and craftsman had their centres south of the Ṣarat in Karkh (see Ibn al-Faḳīh, MS. f. 37b; 33b, 29b).

Markets play a prominent part in the plan of Baghdād. Initially, along each of the four ways from the great wall to the inner wall were high arched rooms (*ṭāḳāt*) where shops were put, thus constituting four markets (cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 322). Besides, the Caliph ordered that each of the four sections outside the wall should have ample space for markets, so that each section should have a great market (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 242). Safety considerations prompted al-Manṣūr in 157/773 to order the removal of markets from the Round City to Karkh. He wanted to keep the turbulent populace away from the city and to ensure that gates of quarters are not left open at night for the markets, and to guard against possible spies infiltrating into the city. He drew a plan for the markets to be built between the Ṣarāt and ʿĪsā canals (Ṭabarī, iii, 324-5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 13-4; Yāḳūt, iv, 254).

Each craft or trade had its separate market or road (*darb*). Among the markets of Karkh, were the fruit market, the cloth market, the food market, the money—changers' market, the market of book-shops, the sheep market (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 241, 245, 246, 253; Iṣṭakhrī, 84, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 242; Khaṭīb, 22, 31, 67, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 26-28). With the growth of the city we hear of merchants from Khurāsān and Transoxania, Marw, Balkh, Bukhārā, Khwārizm, and they had their markets at Ḥarbiyya quarter, and each group of these merchants had a leader and a chief (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 246-248). It seems that each craft had its chief chosen by the government (see Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-Iḳtiṣādī*, 81).

There is a tradition that al-Manṣūr wanted to pull down a part of the white Palace in Ctesiphon to use the bricks in his buildings, but that he stopped because expenditure did not justify the operation. Another report attributes to al-Manṣūr the idea of repairing that palace, but says that he did not have the time to carry it through. Both traditions are reminiscent of the Shuʿūbiyya controversy. The city was built mainly of sun-burnt bricks.

Yaʿḳūbī reports that the plan was drawn in 141/755 (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 238) but work started on 1 Djumādā 145/2 Aug. 762 (Khwārizmī's report in Khaṭīb 2; cf. Wiet, Yaʿḳūbī, 11, n. 4). Four architects worked on the plan of the city. Ḥadjdjādj b. Arṭāt was the architect of the mosque (Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 265, 237; Yaʿḳūbī, 241). Al-Manṣūr assembled 100,000 workers and craftsmen to work in the construction (Yaḳubī, 238, Ṭabarī, iii, 277). A canal was drawn from Karkhāya canal to the site to provide water for drinking and for building operations (Yaʿḳūbī, 238). It seems that in 146/763 the palace, mosque and dīwāns at least were completed and al-Manṣūr moved to Baghdād (Ṭabarī, iii, 313, Khaṭīb, 2). By 149/766 the Round City was completed (Ṭabarī, iii, 353; Khaṭīb, 2-3).

The 'Round City' of al-Manṣūr is a remarkable example of town planning. It was circular so that the centre was equidistant from the different parts and could be easily controlled or defended. Arab traditions consider this design unique (Yaʿḳūbī, 238; Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 33b; Khaṭīb, 67; Dhahabī, *Duwal*, i, 76). However, the circular plan is not unfamiliar in the Near East. The plan of Uruk is almost circular (V. Christian, *Altertumskunde*, ii, table 13). Assyrian military camps are circular enclosures. Creswell enumerates eleven cities that were oval or circular, amongst which are Ḥarrān, Agbatana, Hatra and Dārābdjird. Dārābdjird bears a remarkable resemblance to the city of Manṣūr in its plan (Creswell, *Early Muslim Arch.* (short), 171-3; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, table 161).

It is likely that the architects of the Round city knew of such plans. Ibn al-Faḳīh indicates that the choice of the plan was between the square and the circle and that the latter is more perfect (*Buldān*, MS, f. 33b). It is however more probable that the idea of the circular fort was responsible for the plan. Ṭabarī states "al-Manṣūr made four gates (for the city) on the line of military camps" (Ṭabarī (Cairo), vi, 265).

There are different reports on the dimensions of the city of al-Manṣūr. A report makes the distance from the Khurāsān gate to the Kūfa gate 800 *dhirāʿ* (= 405.12 metres) and from the Syrian gate to the Baṣra gate 600 *dhirāʿ*, (= 303.12 metres), (Khaṭīb, 9-11; Ibn al-Faḳīh, MS, f. 33b). Another report from Wakīʿ makes the distance between each two gates 1200 *dhirāʿ* (= 608.28 m.) (Khaṭīb, 11). Both reports underestimate the size of the city. A third report given by Rabāḥ, one of the builders of the city, gives the measurement as one mile between each two gates (or 4000 *dhiraʿ mursala* or 1848 metres: D. Rayyis, 278; Khaṭīb, 8. This estimate is given in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manākib*, 9; Yāḳūt, i, 235; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i, 341; Irbilī, *Tibr*, 54). This is confirmed by the measurement carried by the orders of Muʿtaḍid and reported

by Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī (Khaṭīb, 5; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i, 341). This makes the diameter of the city 2352 metres. Yaʿḳūbī's estimate of the distance between each pair of gates outside the *khandaḳ* as 5000 black *dhirāʿ* (or 2534.5 metres) becomes probable in this light (*Buldān*, 238-9).

Various reports are given of al-Manṣūr's expenditure on the city. One report makes the cost 18 million, understood to mean dīnārs (Khaṭīb, 5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib* 34; Yāḳūt, i, 683; Irbillī, *Tibr*, 543). A second puts it at a hundred million dirhams (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i, 341). However the official report based on caliphal archives states that al-Manṣūr spent on the Round City four million, eight hundred and eighty three dirhams (Ṭabarī, iii, 326; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, 121; Khaṭīb, 5-6; see also Ibn al-Athīr, v, 419; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 34). This is understandable if we take into account the low cost of labour and provisions and the strictness of al-Manṣūr in supervising his accounts.

In 157/773 al-Manṣūr built a palace on the Tigris below the Khurāsān gate, with spacious gardens, and called it al-Khuld. The place was free of mosquitoes and noted for the freshness of its air. The name was reminiscent of paradise (Ṭabarī, iii, 379; Khaṭīb, 14; Yāḳūt, ii, 783; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 12; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 71; Ibn al-Faḳīh f. 37b).

Strategic considerations, al-Manṣūr's policy of dividing the army, and lack of space soon led the caliph to build a camp for his heir al-Mahdī on the East side of the Tigris. The central part was the camp of al-Mahdī (later called Ruṣāfa after a palace built by al-Rashīd), where his palace and the mosque were built, surrounded by the houses of officers and followers. The commercial side was soon expressed in the famous *sūḳs* of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ. The military side is shown by a wall and a ditch surrounding the camp of al-Mahdī. Work started in 151/768 and ended in 157/773. Ruṣāfa was almost opposite the city of al-Manṣūr (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 251-3; Iṣṭakhrī, 83-4; Khaṭīb, 23-5; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 12-13; Muḳaddasī, 121; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ii, 16; Yāḳūt, ii, 78).

Baghdād expanded rapidly in buildings, commercial activities, wealth and population. People crowded into east Baghdād, attracted by al-Mahdī's gifts, and later by the Barmakids who had a special quarter at the Shammāsiyya gate (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 251; *Aghānī* (Būlāḳ), vi, 78, v, 8; Ibn Khallikān (Būlāḳ), ii, 311). Yaḥyā the Barmakid built a magnificent palace and gave it the modest name Ḳaṣr al-Ṭīn (*Aghānī*, v, 8). Djaʿfar built a great luxurious palace below eastern Baghdād, which was given later to al-Maʾmūn. At the time of al-Rashīd, the eastern side extended from the Shammāsiyya gate (opposite the Ḳaṭrabbul gate) to Mukharrim (its southern limit is the modern Maʾmūn bridge) (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 253-4). On the other side al-Amīn returned from the Khuld palace, where al-Rashīd resided, to Bāb al-Dhahab, renewed it and added a wing to it and surrounded it by a square (cf. Djahshiyārī, Cairo 1938, 193, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 152). Queen Zubayda built a mosque on the Tigris (called after her) near the Royal palaces and another splendid mosque at her Ḳaṭīʿa north of the city (Yāḳūt, iv, 211; Ibn Khallikān, 188; *Mustaṭraf* (Būlāḳ ed.), i, 289). She also built a palace called al-Ḳarār near al-Khuld (cf. Khaṭīb, i, 87).

The western side expanded between the Ḳaṭrabbul gate in the north and the Karkh quarter, which in turn extended as far as great ʿĪsā canal (this flowed into the Tigris at the present Tulūl Khashm al-Dawra); to the west it almost reached Muḥawwal (*Mashriḳ*, 1934, 89; cf. poem in Yāḳūt, i, 686; Masʿūdī, vi, 454, Ṭabarī, iii, 874, 876). Poets extol the beauty of Baghdād and call it "paradise on earth". Its wonderful gardens, green countryside, its splendid high palaces with sumptuous decorations on the gates and in the halls, and their exquisite rich furniture were famous (cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 873, 874; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 237; Yāḳūt, i, 686).

Baghdād suffered a severe blow during the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. War was brought to the city when it was besieged for fourteen months (Masʿūdī, vi, 456). Exasperated by the stubbornness of the defence, Ṭāhir ordered the destruction of the houses of the defenders, and many quarters "between the Tigris, Dār al-Raḳīḳ, (north of the Khurāsān gate), the Syrian gate, the Kūfa gate up to Ṣarāt, the Karkhāya canal and Kunāsa" were devastated (Ṭabarī, iii, 887). The work of destruction was completed by the rabble and the lawless volunteers and the *ʿayyārūn*. The Khuld palace, other palaces, Karkh, and some quarters on the east side suffered heavily. "Destruction and ruin raged until the splendour of Baghdād was gone", as Ṭabarī and Masʿūdī put it (see Ṭabarī, iii, 870-879, 925-6; Masʿūdī, vi, 454-459; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 188 ff.). Chaos and trouble continued in Baghdād until the return of al-Maʾmūn from Marw in 204/819. Al-Maʾmūn stayed at his palace, enlarged it considerably to add a race-course, a zoo, and quarters for his devoted followers (Yāḳūt, i, 807). Then he gave this palace to Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl —to become al-Ḥasanī palace—who bequeathed it to his daughter Būrān. Baghdād revived again under al-Maʾmūn. Al-Muʿtaṣim built a palace on the eastern side (Yaʿḳūbī, 225; cf. Khaṭīb 47). Then he decided to look for a new capital for his new Turkish army. Baghdād was too crowded for his troops and both the people and the old divisions of the army were antagonistic to his Turks and he feared trouble. During the period of Sāmarrā (836-892) Baghdād missed the immediate attention of the caliphs (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 208; Irbillī, 161) but it remained the great centre of commerce and of cultural activities.

Baghdād also suffered from Turkish disorders, when al-Mustaʿīn moved there from Sāmarrā and was besieged by the forces of al-Muʿtazz, throughout the year 251/865-6. At this period, Ruṣāfa extended to Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ (up to modern Samawʾal St.). Al-Mustaʿīn ordered the fortification of Baghdād; the wall on the eastern side was extended from the Shammāsiyya gate to Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ, and on the western side from Ḳaṭīʿāt Umm Djaʿfar around the quarters up to Ṣarāt, and the famous Ṭāhir Trench was dug around it (Ṭabarī, iii, 1851). During the siege, houses, shops and gardens outside the eastern wall were devastated as a defensive measure (Ṭabarī, iii, 1571) and the eastern quarters of Shammāsiyya, Ruṣāfa and Mukharrim suffered heavily.

In 278/892 al-Muʿtamid finally returned to Baghdād. He had asked Būrān for the Ḥasanī palace, but she renewed it, furnished it to suit a caliph and handed it to him (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 144). Then in 280/893, al-Muʿtaḍid rebuilt the palace, enlarged its grounds and added new buildings to it, and built prisons on its grounds (*maṭāmīr*). He added a race-course and then surrounded the area with a special wall. It was to be Dār al-Khilāfa and remained, with additions, the official residence (Khaṭīb, 52; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 53; *Manāḳib*, 15; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, viii, 15; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 85; Irbillī, 173).

Then he laid the foundations of the Tādj palace on the Tigris nearby, but later saw much smoke from the city. He decided to build another palace, two miles to the north-east. He built the magnificent and

lofty al-Thurayyā, linked it with an underground passage to the Ḳaṣr (al-Ḥasanī), surrounded it with gardens, and brought water to it from the Mūsā canal (see the description of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān* (Beirut ed. 1913), 138-9). He also ordered, in order to keep the air pure, that no rice and palm trees be cultivated around Baghdād (see Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 142). The Thurayyā lasted in good condition till 469/1073-4 when it was swept by the flood and ruined (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 15; Yāḳūt, i, 808). The ruin of the Round City started now. Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the demolition of the City wall; but when a small section was pulled down, the Hāshimites complained, as it showed ʿAbbāsid glory, so al-Muʿtaḍid stopped. People however gradually extended their houses at the expense of the wall and this led ultimately to the demolition of the wall and the ruin of the City (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 74-5).

Al-Muktafī (289-295/901-907) built the Tādj with halls and domes, and a quay on the Tigris. He built a high semi-circular dome on its grounds, so that he could reach its top mounted on a donkey. (Khaṭīb, 48; Irbillī, 175, Yāḳūt, i, 80; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 144). In 289/901 al-Muktafī pulled down the palace prisons and built a Friday mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr) which became the third Friday mosque, until the time of al-Muḳtadir (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 3, Khaṭīb, 62).

Al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-932) added new buildings to the Royal palaces and beautified them fabulously; he paid special attention to the zoo (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*) (cf. Khaṭīb, 48, 53). Khaṭīb's detailed description for the year 305/917-18 is striking. The strong wall surrounding the palaces and the secret passage from the audience hall of al-Muḳtadir to one of the gates were necessary defensive measures (see Khaṭīb, 51) Among the wonders was *dār al-shadjara*, a tree of silver, in a large pond with 18 branches and multiple twigs, with silver or gilt birds and sparrows which whistled at times. On both sides of the pond were 15 statues of mounted horsemen which moved in one direction as if chasing each other (54). There was a mercury pond 30 × 20 *dhirāʿ* with four gilt boats and around it was a fabulous garden. The zoo had all sorts of animals. There was a lion-house with a hundred lions. There was the Firdaws palace with its remarkable arms. Twenty three palaces were counted within the Royal precincts (cf. Khaṭīb, 53-55; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 144).

Baghdād reached its height during this period. The eastern side extended five miles (1 mile = 1848 m.) from Shammāsiyya to Dār al-Khilāfa in the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭakhrī, 83). Ṭayfūr (d. 893) reports that al-Muwaffaḳ ordered the measurement of Baghdād before 279/892; its area was found to be 43,750 *djarīb* of which 26,250 *djarīb* were in east Baghdād and 17,500 *djarīb* in west Baghdād (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 44b; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 243). Another version of Ṭayfūr makes eastern Baghdād at the time of al-Muwaffaḳ 16,750 *djarīb* (1 *djarīb* = 1366 sq.m.) and western Baghdād 27,000 *djarīb*; this is more probable, as west Baghdād was still more important then. Another version puts the area at 53,750 *djarīb*, of which 26,750 *djarīb* were east and 27,000 *djarīb* west (Khaṭīb, 74). It is more likely that the last figure represents the period of al-Muḳtadir when much expansion took place in east Baghdād. In all these reports the length of Baghdād on both sides was almost the same. For the first figure, considering the length of Baghdād as stated by Iṣṭakhrī and by Ṭayfūr, Baghdād was, in 279/892, about 7¼ km. in length and 6½ km. in width, while under al-Muḳtadir (320/932) it was about 8½ km. in length and 7¼ km. in width.

Baghdād's geographical position, its active people (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 39, Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ii, 11), the encouragement of the state to trade (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, 590) and the prestige of the caliphate, soon made Baghdād the great centre of commerce (see Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-Iḳtiṣādī*, 143-157). Markets became an essential feature of its life, in Ruṣāfa and esp. in Karkh. Each trade had its market, and among those were the fruit market, the cloth market, the cotton market, the market of booksellers which had more than a hundred shops, the money-changers' market and the *ʿaṭṭārīn* market in Karkh. Markets for foreign merchants were at Sūḳ Bāb al-Shām. On the eastern side, there was a variety of markets including Sūḳ al-Ṭīb for flowers, a food market, the goldsmiths' market, the sheep market, a booksellers' market, and a market for Chinese merchandise (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 241, 246, 248, 254; Iṣṭakhrī, 48, Khaṭīb, 22, 65 ff., 36, 69; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 26, 27-8; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 242). Since the time of al-Manṣūr a *muḥtasib* was appointed to watch over markets, to prevent cheating and to check on measures and weights (cf. Khaṭīb, 20; Ṣābī, *Rasāʾil*, 114, 141-2; Māwardī, 141-2). The *muḥtasib* also supervised baths and possibly watched over mosques (Khaṭīb, 78). He also prevented subversive activities.

Each market or craft had a chief appointed by the government. In a craft there were the *Ṣāniʿ* and the *Ustādh* (cf. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, i, 255; cf. Essays of Djāḥiẓ (ed. Sandūbī), 126). Baghdād exported cotton stuffs and silk textiles esp. kerchiefs, aprons, turbans, crystals turned on lathes, glazed-ware, and various oils, potions and electuaries (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 11a; Muḳaddasī, 128). Baghdād manufactured shirts of different colours, turbans of thin texture and celebrated towels (Dimashḳī, *Tidjāra*, 26). Its thin white cotton shirts were peerless (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 254). The *saḳlaṭūn* (silk stuff), the *mulḥam* and *ʿattābī* stuffs (of silk and cotton) of Baghdād were famous (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 38; Nuwayrī, i, 369; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 35; Muḳaddasī, 323; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 261). Excellent swords were made at Bāb al-Ṭāḳ (ʿArīb, 50). It was famous for its leather manufacture and for the manufacture of paper (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 251).

A great incentive to commerce and industry was the development of the banking system in Baghdād as shown in the activities of the *ṣarrāf*s and *djahbadh*s. The *ṣarrāf*s had their own markets esp. in Karkh (cf. Djahshiyārī, 228) and primarily served the people, while *djahbadh*s served mainly the government and its officials.

Baghdād grew international in population. Its inhabitants were a mixture of different nations, colours and creeds, who came for work, trade, as recruits for the army, slaves, and for other careers. It is noticeable that the populace began to play an important part in its life (see Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 85-6; Miskawayh, i, 74-5; Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh* (Berlin), 130). On their revolt against the rise in prices in 307/919, and their efforts to keep order in 201/816 during the confusion which followed the murder of al-Amīn (see Ṭabarī, iii, 1009-1010; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 228-9 and vii, 13-14). The activities of the *ʿayyārīn* and *shuṭṭār* began at this period (see Ṭabarī, iii, 1008, 1586; Masʿūdī, vi, 457; 461 ff.).

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Baghdād. Estimates of mosques and baths are obviously exaggerated (300,000 mosques and 60,000 baths under al-Muwaffaḳ, 27,000 baths under al-Muḳtadir, 17,000 baths under Muʿizz al-Dawla,

5,000 under Aḍud al-Dawla, 3,000 baths under Bahā' al-Dawla; Khaṭīb, 74-6; Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 59b; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa*, MS. 27-30). Baths were counted in 383/993 and found to number 1500. Traditions stress that each bath serves about 200 houses (Ibn al-Faḳīh f. 59b, 60a; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, MS. 29). If the average number in a house was five, then the population of Baghdād was about one million and a half. Al-Muḳtadir ordered Sinān b. Thābit to examine doctors and to give licences only to those qualified, and the result was that 860 doctors were given licences (Ibn al-Athīr viii, 85; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa i, 221 f., 224, 310; al-Ḳifṭī, 194 f.). If we add doctors serving in government hospitals and those who did not have licences, the number would probably reach a thousand. The number of people who prayed on the last Friday of the month at the mosque of Manṣūr and that of Ruṣāfa were judged by measuring the area for prayer to be 64,000 (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 62a; see also Ṭabarī, iii, 1730). The number of boats about the end of the 3rd/9th century was calculated to be 30,000 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 24). From those figures and the area of Baghdād we can estimate the population of Baghdād in the 4th/10th century at a million and a half. Itlīdī, a contemporary, gives this estimate too.

There were aristocratic quarters such as Ẓāhir, Shammāsiyya, al-Ma'mūniyya and Darb ʿAwn. There were poor quarters like Ḳaṭīʿat al-Kilāb, and Nahr al-Dadjādj (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, 23, 106). Houses were of two stories, and those of the common people were of one storey. Those of the rich had baths and were usually divided into three quarters surrounded by a wall—the ladies' quarters, the reception rooms, and the servants' quarters. Special attention was paid to gardens (*Aghānī*, ii, 73, iii, 31, ix, 144, v, 38, xvii, 129; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 32). Carpets, divans, curtains and pillows were noted items of furniture (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 36). Fans and specially cooled houses and *sardābs* were used in summer (see Dj. Mudawwar, *Haḍārat al-Islām*, 117, 30). Inscriptions and drawings of animals and plants or human faces decorated entrances (*ibid.*, 29; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 7, 36).

A special feature of the life of Baghdād is the vast number of mosques and baths as indicated.

Baghdād was the great centre of culture. It was the home of Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools of law. It was the centre of translations, in Bayt al-Ḥikma and outside, and of some scientific experimentation. Its mosques, especially Djāmiʿ al-Manṣūr, were great centres of learning. The large number of bookshops which were sometimes literary salons, indicates the extent of cultural activities. Its poets, historians, and scholars are too numerous to mention. One can refer to the History of Baghdād by Khaṭīb to see the vast number of scholars, in one field, connected with Baghdād. Not only caliphs, but ministers and dignitaries gave every encouragement to learning. The creative period of Islamic culture is associated with Baghdād. Later in this period, public libraries as centres of study and learning were founded, the most famous being the Dār al-ʿIlm of Abū Naṣr Sābūr b. Ardashīr. When the *madrasa* appeared, Baghdād took the lead with its Niẓāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya and influenced the *madrasa* system both in programme and architecture.

Much attention was paid to hospitals, especially in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Of these, the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida (306/918), al-Bīmāristān al-Muḳtadirī (306/918) and al-Bīmāristān al-ʿAḍudī (372/982) were famous. Ministers and others also founded hospitals. Doctors were at times subject to supervision (see above).

Under al-Rashīd there were three bridges in Baghdād (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 510). The two famous ones were by Bāb Khurāsān, and at Kārkh (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 542, Djahshiyārī, 254; Ṭabarī, iii, 1232). Al-Rashīd built two bridges at Shammāsiyya, but they were destroyed during the first siege (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 20; Ibn al-Faḳīh f. 42a). The three bridges continued to the end of 3rd/9th century (Ibn al-Faḳīh, f. 42a). It seems that the northern bridge was destroyed and Iṣṭakhrī talks of two bridges only (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib* 20, Iṣṭakhrī, 84). In 387/997 Bahā' al-Dawla built a bridge at Sūḳ al-Thalāthā' (Mishraʿat al-Ḳattānīn) to become the third bridge. This indicates a shift of emphasis from N. Baghdad to Sūḳ al-Thalāthā' (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 171; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 20; Khaṭīb, 71-2).

Life in Baghdād was stable until al-Amīn. The first siege brought out turbulent elements in the *ʿāmma*. Flood and fire also began to play their rôle from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century. Flood in 270/883 ruined 7,000 houses in Karkh. In 292/904 and 328/929 Baghdād suffered considerably from flood (Ṭabarī, iii, 2105; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 371, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 157 and 266). In 373/983 flood swept beyond the Kūfa gate and entered the city (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 278; Khaṭīb, 16). The neglect of canals, especially during the '*Amīr al-Umarā*' period (324 334/935-945), was responsible for floods and for the ruin of the Bādūrayā district (Miskawayh, ii, 1.9; Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 106, 225, 137-8). Consequently, whereas scarcities and plague were rare before 320/932 they were recurrent after that (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 177, 187, 338). The scarcity of 307/919 was a result of monopoly and was quickly overcome. Scarcities occurred in 323/934, 326/937, 329/940 (with plague), 330/941, 331/942 (with plague), 332/943, 337/948 and life became unbearable (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 61, 104, 236, 251; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 282, 311; Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 125; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, iii, 270, 274).

In 308/920 and 309/921 Karkh suffered considerably from fire (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 89, 95). In 323/934 the fire of Karkh swept over the quarters of the *ʿaṭṭārīn* (the drug sellers), the ointment sellers, jewellers and others and its traces could be seen years after (Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 68).

The Buwayhid period was rather hard for Baghdād. Muʿizz al-Dawla (in 335/946) first repaired some canals at Bādūrayā and this improved living conditions (Miskawayh, ii, 165). A period of neglect followed and many canals which irrigated west Baghdād were in ruins. ʿAḍud al-Dawla (367-372/977-982) had them cleared up, and rebuilt bridges and locks (Miskawayh, ii, 406; iii, 69; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518). Then we hear no more of such activities.

Building activities were limited. In 350/961 Muʿizz al-Dawla built a great palace at the Shammāsiyya gate with a large Maydān, a quay, and beautiful gardens. For this palace he took the seven iron doors of the Round City and spent about a million dīnārs (11 million dirhams). However, it was pulled down in 418/1027 (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 70-1; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 397-8; ix, 256). ʿAḍud al-Dawla rebuilt the house of Sabuktakīn, chamberlain of Muʿizz al-Dawla, at upper Mukharrim, added spacious gardens to it, and brought water to it by canals from Nahr al-Khāliṣ at great expense. It became the Dār al-Imāra or official residence of the Buwayhids (Khaṭīb, 58-9; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 77-8; cf. Miskawayh, iii, 124).

ʿAḍud al-Dawla found Baghdād in bad shape. He ordered that its houses and markets be renewed and spent much money in rebuilding its Friday mosques; he repaired quays by the Tigris, and ordered the wealthy to repair their houses on the Tigris and to cultivate gardens in ruined places which had no owners. He found the central bridge narrow and decayed and had it renewed and broadened (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 558; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 114; Miskawayh, ii, 404-406). In 372/982 he built the ʿAḍudī Hospital, appointed doctors, supervisors, storekeepers to it, and provided it with plenty of medicines, potions, instruments and furniture. *Waḳf*s were allotted to it for its upkeep (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 112-114).

However, Baghdād declined under the Buwayhids (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 66 makes it in 345/956 one tenth of its size under al-Muḳtadir). The city of al-Manṣūr, was neglected and had no life then (Muḳaddasī, 120). Most of the quarters of W. Baghdād were in bad shape and had shrunk. The most flourishing section of W. Baghdād was Karkh, where the merchants had their places of business. Thus the western side is now called Karkh (Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 241-2; Muḳaddasī, 120).

The eastern side of the city was more flourishing, and dignitaries generally resided there (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 240). Here, the bright spots were the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ where the great market was, the Dār al-Imāra at Mukharrim and the caliph's palaces at the southern end (cf. Muḳaddasī, 120; Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 240-1; Iṣṭakhrī, 84). Odd houses reached Kalwādhā. Ibn Ḥawḳal saw four Friday mosques: the mosque of al-Manṣūr, the Ruṣāfa mosque, the Barāthā mosque, and the mosque of Dār al-Ṣulṭān (241). Then in 379/989 and 383/993, the Ḳaṭīʿa mosque and the Ḥarbiyya mosque became Friday mosques (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 671, Khaṭīb, 53-4, Ibn al Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 21-2, Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 48).

Ibn Ḥawḳal saw two bridges, one out of order (i, 241). It seems there were three bridges at the time of Muʿizz al-Dawla (one at the Shammāsiyya gate (near his palace), the other at Bāb al-Ṭāḳ and the third at Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ. The first was transferred to Bāb al-Ṭāḳ, making two there, then one went out of order (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 20).

Baghdād suffered much from the turbulence of the *ʿāmma*, from sectarian differences encouraged by the Buwayhids, and from the *ʿayyārūn*. Our sources talk much of the ignorance of the *ʿāmma*, their readiness to follow any call, their good nature and their lawlessness (cf. Masʿūdī, v, 81, 82-3, 85-7; Ghazālī, *Faḍāʾiḥ*, 53, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 31-2; Baghdādī, *Firaḳ*, 141). In 279/892 al-Muʿtaḍid forbade *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and fortune-tellers to sit in the streets or mosques, and forbade people to congregate around them or to indulge in controversies (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, v, 122, 171). Before the Buwayhids, the Ḥanbalīs were the source of trouble. They tried at times to improve morals by force (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 229-30, 84-5, 157-8; Ṣūlī, *Rāḍī*, 198). At this period, sectarian troubles multiplied and caused much loss in property and people. The Buwayhids made the 10th of Muḥarram a day of public mourning, ordered the closing of markets, and encouraged the populace to make processions with women beating their faces (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, vii, 15). On the other hand, the Ghadīr on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja was made a day of celebrations. This led the Sunnīs to choose two different days, each eight days after the ones mentioned (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 110). Conflicts between the Shīʿīs and the Sunnīs became usual occurences at this period, starting from 338/949 when Karkh was pillaged (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 363). In 348/959, fights between the two groups led to destruction and fire at Bāb al-Ṭāḳ (*ibid*, 390). In 361/971 troubles in Karkh led to its burning and 17,000 people perished, 300 shops, many houses and 33 mosques were burnt down (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 207; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 60). In 363/973 fire burnt much of Karkh (Miskawayh, ii, 327). In 381/991 troubles broke out and fire recurred in many quarters (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 31). In 1016 the Nahr Ṭābiḳ, Bāb al-Ḳuṭn and much of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarters were burnt (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 102; see also viii, 184, ix, 25-6, 32, 58). In 422/1030 many markets were ruined during the troubles (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 55). More damage and confusion was caused by the *ʿayyārūn* who were especially active throughout the last quarter of the 4th/10th cent. to the end of this period (on their activities during the two sieges of Baghdād see Ṭabarī, iii, 877, 1008-1010, 1552, 1556-7; Masʿūdī, vi, 450 ff.). Historians misunderstand their activities and show them as robbers and thieves. But their movement is a product of their hard living conditions and of political chaos. Their rise was against the wealthy and the rulers, and this explains why their activities were directed primarily against the rich, the markets, the police and the dignitaries (cf. Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ii, 106, 107-8; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 174, 220; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 115). They had moral principals such as honour, and help to the poor and to women, co-operation, patience and endurance. The *Futuwwa* later was somewhat related to their movement (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 392; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 113-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 77; Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ii, 180). In the 4th/10th century they were organised, and among the titles of their chiefs were al-Mutaḳaddim, al-Ḳāʾid, and al-Amīr, and they had special ceremonies for initiation (see *Muntaẓam*, viii, 49, 151, 78, Miskawayh, ii, 306, Ḳushayrī, *op. cit.*, 113; Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ii, 109). However they were divided into Shīʿīs and Sunnīs (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 78-9).

The *ʿayyārūn* kept people in constant terror for life and property. They levied tolls on markets and roads or robbed wayfarers and constantly broke into houses at night. They spread havoc by sword and fire and burnt many quarters and markets esp. Bāb al-Ṭāḳ and Sūḳ Yaḥyā (in east Baghdād) and Karkh, as those were the quarters of the wealthy. People had to lock the gates of their streets, and merchants kept vigil at night. Disorder and pillage made prices high (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 151, 220, viii, 21-2, 44, 47-50, 54-5, 60, 72-5, 79, 87, 142, 161). A preacher prayed in 421/1030 "O God! Save the state from the populace and the rabble" (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 44). Burdjumī, a notorious *ʿayyār* leader, practically ruled Baghdād for four years 422-425/1030-1033, and spread havoc (*ibid*, 75-6). The government was powerless (cf. 49) and they were left to levy taxes and tolls to avoid their terror (*ibid.*, 78). Many people left their quarters and departed for safety (*ibid.*, 142). Their terror continued till the advent of the Saldjūḳs (*ibid.*, 161).

In 447/1055 Tughril Bey entered Baghdād, and the Saldjūḳs reversed Buwayhid policy and encouraged the Sunnīs (cf. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, v, 59). In 450/1058 Basāsīrī, a rebel, seized Baghdād in the name of the Fāṭimids (cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 186; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 87). He was defeated and killed by the Saldjūḳ forces in 451/1059 (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 187-8). During this period Baghdād assumed a shape which thereafter changed but little.

In 448/1056 Tughril Bey enlarged the area of Dār

al-Imāra, pulled down many houses and shops, rebuilt it and surrounded it with a wall (Ibn al-Djawzī, viii, 169). In 450/1058 it was burnt down and rebuilt again (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 778). It became known as Dār al-Mamlaka. It was rebuilt in 509/1115, but was accidentally burnt in 515/1121 and a new palace was built (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 16; *Muntaẓam*, ix, 223). Malikshāh enlarged and rebuilt the mosque of Mukharrim, which was near the palace, in 484/1091 and was hence called Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān. It was repaired in 502/1108 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 159), and was finally completed in 524/1129 (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ii, 211; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*; 23; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, v, 135).

Life centered in E. Baghdād around the caliphal palaces. Al-Muḳtadī (467-487/1074-1094) encouraged building; and the quarters around the palaces—such as Baṣaliyya, Ḳaṭīʿa, Ḥalaba, Adjama, etc. flourished. He also built the Riverain-palace (Dār Shāṭiʾiyya) by the old Tādj palace (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 293; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 156; cf. Le Strange, 253; cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 21). In 524/1129 the Tādj palace was pulled down and rebuilt (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 14). These quarters were not walled and they suffered much from the flood in 1070. In 488/1095 al-Mustaẓhir built a wall around the so called Ḥarīm quarters. Then in 517/1123 al-Mustarshid rebuilt it with four gates and made it 22 *dhirāʿ* in width. The flood of 554/1159 surrounded the wall, made a breach in it, and ruined many quarters. The breach in it was repaired and a dyke was begun, and completed later around the wall (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 34; idem, *Muntaẓam*, x, 189-190). Other attempts to rebuild the wall or repair it took place under al-Nāṣir and al-Mustanṣir (Ibn Fuwaṭī, 16, 111). This wall set the limits of East Baghdād till the end of Ottoman period.

Baghdād was in decline during this period and lived on its past glory. From the 2nd half of the 5th/11th century, there were many changes in its topography. Many quarters in western Baghdād were ruined, and waste land replaced previous gardens or houses (cf. Khaṭīb, 67 and Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 74-5). This probably explains the increase in the number of Friday mosques. The old quarters of Shammāsiyya, Ruṣāfa and Mukharrim were neglected (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 241).

Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdād around 567/1171, talks of the greatness of the caliphal palace, with its wall, gardens, a zoo and a lake. He speaks highly of the ʿAḍudī Hospital with its sixty doctors, and a sanatorium for the mad. He found 40,000 Jews in Baghdād with 10 schools for them (*Itinerary*, ed. and tr. A. Asher, New York, 1840-2, i, text 54-64, tr. 93-105; Arabic tr. by E. H. Haddad, Baghdād 1945, 131-8). Ibn Djubayr described Baghdād in 581/1185. He noticed the general decline, and criticised the arrogance of its people (218). Much of the eastern side was ruined, yet it had seventeen separate quarters, all with two, three or eight baths (225). The caliphal quarters, with magnificent palaces and gardens, occupied about a quarter or more of the area (226-7). This side was well populated and had excellent markets (228). Ḳurayya was the largest quarter, (very likely between the modern al-Aḥrās bridge and Raʾs al-Ḳarya) and near it the suburb (*rabḍ*) of Murabbaʿa (probably by Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī now). It had three Friday mosques, Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān, north of the wall, and the Ruṣāfa mosque about a mile north of the latter (228-9) and Djāmiʿ al-Khalīfa. There were about thirty *madrasas* (colleges), all housed in excellent buildings with plenty of *wakf* and endowments for their upkeep and for the students' expenses. The most famous *madrasa* was the Niẓāmiyya which was rebuilt in 1110 (229).

He describes the wall, built by al-Mustarshid, surrounding Sharḳiyya as having four gates—1. Bāb al-Sulṭān to the north (later called Bāb al-Muʿaẓẓam). 2. Bāb al-Ẓafariyya (N.E.), later, Bāb al-Wasṭānī. 3. Bāb al-Ḥalaba (E.), later Bāb al-Ṭillisim. 4. Bāb al-Baṣaliyya (S.), later al-Bāb al-Sharḳī. The wall surrounded Sharḳiyya in a semi-circle reaching the Tigris at both ends (229). He talks of the populous quarter of Abū Ḥanīfa, while the old quarters of Ruṣāfa, Shammāsiyya, and most of Mukharrim were ruined (cf. 226; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 241). In western Baghdād ruin spread everywhere. Of quarters here, he mentions Karkh as a walled city, and the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter which contained the great mosque of al-Manṣūr and what remained of the old city (225). By the Tigris was the Shāriʿ quarter which constituted with Karkh, Bāb al-Baṣra and Ḳurayya the largest quarters of Baghdād (225). Between al-Shāriʿ and the Bāb al-Baṣra was the quarter of Sūḳ al-Māristān, like a small city, with the famous ʿAḍudī hospital which was well staffed and provisioned (225-6). Of other quarters he noticed the Ḥarbiyya quarter as the northernmost, and the ʿAttābiyya, famous for its silk-cotton *ʿattābī* cloth (226). Ibn Djubayr (229) talks of 2000 baths and eleven Friday mosques in Baghdād.

At the time of al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-1134) there was one bridge near the ʿĪsā canal, later moved to Bāb al-Ḳurayya. During the period of al-Mustaḍī (566-575/1170-1179) a new bridge was made at Bāb al-Ḳurayya, and the old one was returned to its place by the ʿĪsā canal. Ibn Djubayr saw the first bridge only, but confirms that there were usually two bridges and Ibn al-Djawzī, who wrote just before the fall of Baghdād, confirms this (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manaḳib*, 20; Ibn Djubayr, 225).

Half a century later, Yāḳūt (623/1226) gave some useful data. He shows western Baghdād as a series of isolated quarters each with a wall and separated by waste land of ruins. Ḥarbiyya, al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī in the north, Čahār Sūdj with Naṣīriyya, ʿAttābiyyīn and Dār al-Ḳazz south-west, Muhawwal to the west, Ḳaṣr ʿĪsā to the east, and Ḳurayya and Karkh in the south are the noted quarters.

In East Baghdād, life centered in the quarters around Ḥarīm Dār al-Khilāfa which occupy about a third of the area enclosed in the walls. Of the large flourishing quarters were Bāb al-ʿAzadj with its markets, al-Maʾmūniyya next to it, Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ, Nahr al-Muʿallā and Ḳurayya (Yāḳūt, i, 232, 441, 444, 534, 655, ii, 88, 167, 234, 459, 512, 783, 917, iii, 193-4, 197, 231, 279, 291, 489, iv, 117, 252, 255, 385, 432, 457, 713-4, 786, 841, 845).

Friday mosques increased in Gharbiyya (W. Baghdād) at this period, indicating the semi-independent status of quarters. Ibn al-Djawzī mentions six between 530/1135 and 572/1176 in addition to Djāmiʿ al-Manṣūr (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 23, see also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī). The mosques of Karkh were repaired by Mustanṣir (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 15), and Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr was renewed in 475/1082, and again by al-Mustanṣir in 673/1235 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 3; Le Strange, 269). The Ḳamariyya mosque (still present) was built in 626/1228 (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 4).

The strength of Ṣūfism is shown by the large number of *Ribāṭ*s [*q.v.*] built during the last century of the caliphate. They were built by the caliphs or their relatives (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 2, 74, 75, 79, 80, 87, 117, 261, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 11, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 77, 33, xii, 27, 67-8).

Much attention was given to the founding of *madrasas* (colleges). This movement could be explained initially by the religious revival among S͟hāfiʿīs, and by political and administrative needs; but it was continued as a cultural movement. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr saw thirty *madrasas* in east Bag͟hdād (Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, 229; see also M. D̲j̲awad, in *Review of the Higher Teachers' College*, Bag͟hdād, vol. v, 110 ff., vol. vi, 86 ff.). Other *madrasas* were founded after Ibn D̲j̲ubayr's visit (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 24-5, 53, 128, 308, Ibn al-At͟hīr, xi, 211). The most famous were the Niẓāmiyya founded in 459/1066, the *madrasa* of Abū Ḥanīfa founded in the same year (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 245-6, still existing as Kulliyat al-S͟harīʿa) and al-Mustanṣiriyya, founded by al-Mustanṣir in 631/1233 and continued till the 17th century. All those *madrasas* specialised in one of the four schools of law, except the Mustanṣiriyya and the Bas͟hīriyya (founded in 653/1255) which taught the *fiḳh* of the four schools (see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 308; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 245-6, 246-7; Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 38; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī 53-4, 58-9; cf. ʿAwwād in *Sumer*, i, 1945). There was a *maktab* (school) for orphans established by S͟hams al-Mulk (son of Niẓām al-Mulk) (Iṣfahānī, *Seljuks*, 124-5). In 606/1209 guest-houses (*dār ḍiyāfa*) were built in all quarters of Bag͟hdād to serve the poor in Ramaḍān (Ibn al-At͟hīr, xii, 286; other references, *ibid.* 184; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 94).

Bag͟hdād suffered at this period from fire, flood and dissension. In 449/1057 Kark͟h and Bāb Muḥawwal quarters and most of the markets of Kark͟h were burnt down. In 451/1059 much of Kark͟h and old Bag͟hdād was burnt (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 81; Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 5). The quarters and markets near the Muʿallā canal and Dār al-K͟halāfa were burnt more than once (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 35, 67, 318; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 241, ix, 61, 148, 184, x, 35). In 551/1156 fire spread from neighbouring quarters to Dār al-K͟hilāfa and neighbouring *sūḳs* (Ibn al-At͟hīr, xi, 143; there were other fires in those quarters in 560/1164, 569/1173, 583/1187 Ibn al-At͟hīr, xi, 270, 372; *Muntaẓam*, x, 212).

The *ʿayyārūn* were fairly active in Sald̲j̲ūḳ days. They pillaged shops and houses and caused insecurity (see between 449/1057 and 537/1142 Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 139, 234; Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 204, 383, xi, 29, 26, 59, 63).

The troubles of the *ʿāmma* and their sectarian fights (Ḥanbalīs against S͟hāfiʿīs and Sunnīs against S͟hīʿīs) continued to give rise to much bloodshed and destruction. Ibn al-At͟hīr reports a temporary conciliation in 502/1108 and adds "Evil always came from them (*i.e.*, the *ʿāmma*)" (x, 329; see also x, 80, 259, 104, 108-109, 112, 117-8). This was short-lived, and quarrels and fights continued and became terrible under al-Mustaʿṣim (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 360, xi, 271, 344, xii, 133, 216). In 640/1242 fights took place between the Maʾmūniyya and Bāb al-Azad̲j̲ quarters which involved the Niẓāmiyya market, and between Muk͟htāra and Sūḳ al-Sulṭān quarters, and between Ḳaṭuftā and Ḳurayya (in W. Bag͟hdād) quarters; many were killed and shops pillaged (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 175-7; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, ii, 554). By 653/1255 things had deteriorated considerably. Fights took place between Ruṣāfa (Sunnī) and K͟huḍayriyyin (S͟hīʿī), and soon people of Bāb al-Baṣra supported Ruṣāfa while Kark͟h supported the others (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 298-9). These quarrels also indicate the spirit of competition between quarters which increased by the lack of government control. When fights renewed between Kark͟h and Bāb al-Baṣra, the soldiers sent to stop it, pillaged Kark͟h and that made the situation worse (*ibid.*, 267-277). The climax came in 654/1256, when someone was killed by the people of Kark͟h, and the soldiers, sent to keep order, were joined by crowds of the *ʿāmma* and pillaged Kark͟h, burnt several places in it, killed many and took away women. Reprisal followed, but the tragedy was not forgotten (*ibid.*, 314-315). The *ʿayyārūn* were very active at this time. They pillaged shops, robbed houses at night and even the Mustanṣiriyya was twice robbed (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 378, 254, 260, 262).

The government was too weak to keep order. Floods recurred, indicating the weakness of government and the neglect of irrigation. In 641/1243 floods reached the Niẓāmiyya and its neighbourhood and ruined some quarters. In 646/1248 floods surrounded east Bag͟hdād, destroyed a part of the wall, and reached the quarters of Ḥarīm. It also flooded Ruṣāfa and many of its houses fell. West Bag͟hdād was submerged, and most houses fell except part of Bāb al-Baṣra and Kark͟h. Houses on the river collapsed. Floods entered Bag͟hdād in 651/1253, and again in 653/1255 when a great number of houses collapsed and cultivation was damaged. The worst flood was in 654/1256 when both sides were surrounded by water and the flood even entered the markets of east Bag͟hdād, Dār al-K͟hilāfa and the Niẓāmiyya (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 186-7, 267, 229-233, 277, 304, 317-19). Thus nature and man joined hands to eclipse Bag͟hdād.

Two years later, Bag͟hdād was invaded by the Mongols. On 4 Ṣafar 656/10 Feb. 1258 the Caliph al-Mustaʿṣim made an unconditional surrender. Its people were put indiscriminately to the sword, for over a week. Large numbers of the country people who flocked to Bag͟hdād before the siege shared its tragic fate. Estimates of the number killed vary between 800,000 and two million, the estimate mounting with the lapse of time (*Fak͟hrī*, 130; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 281; D͟hahabī, *Duwal*, ii, 121; Ibn Kat͟hīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 202). The Chinese traveller Ch'ang Te states (1259) that several tens of thousands were killed; his information is obviously from Mongol sources (Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 138-9). It is thus difficult to give any figure, but it probably exceeded a hundred thousand. Many quarters were ruined by siege, looting or fire, and the mosque of the caliphs, and the shrine of Kāẓimayn were burnt down (Ibn al-Fuwaṭi, 327-330; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, 27). Bag͟hdād was however spared from complete devastation, and the *fatwā* exacted from the *ʿulamāʾ* that a just *kāfir* is better than an unjust *imām* probably helped. Before leaving, Hülegü ordered the restoration of some public buildings. The supervisor of *waḳf* rebuilt the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-K͟hulafāʾ and saw to it that schools and the *ribāṭs* were reopened (Ibn al-ʿIbrī, 475; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 337). Culture suffered much, but it was not uprooted. Bag͟hdād became a provincial centre in all respects.

Until 740/1339-40 Bag͟hdād remained under the Īlk͟hānids and was administered by a governor with a *S͟hiḥna* and a military garrison (cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 331).

The Mongols registered the population of Bag͟hdād in tens, hundreds, and thousands for the sake of taxation. A poll-tax was imposed on all except the aged and children; it continued to be levied for about two years (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 339; cf. D̲j̲uwaynī, (trans. Boyle), i, 34). Bag͟hdād began to revive gradually, as its administration was chiefly entrusted to Persians; much of this is due to the policy of ʿAṭāʾ Malik al-D̲j̲uwaynī, governor for about 23 years (657/1258-681/1282). Under him, the minaret of D̲j̲āmiʿ al-K͟hulafāʾ and the Niẓāmiyya market

were rebuilt, and the Mustanṣiriyya was repaired and a new water system added (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 371). The mosques of Shaykh Maʿrūf and Ḳamariyya were repaired (*ibid.*, 408; ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ*, i, 267, 296).

Some of the old schools resumed work, especially the Niẓāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya, the Bashīriyya, the Tatashiyya and Madrasat al-Aṣḥāb (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Cairo 1918, i, 140-1; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 182, 385, 396; ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 318). Djuwaynī's wife founded the ʿIṣmatiyya school for the four schools of law, and a *ribāṭ* near it (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 377). The Īlkhān Takūdar (881/1281) sent a message to Baghdād asking for the return of endowments to schools, and mosques, as under the ʿAbbāsids, probably a pious wish (Karmalī, *al-Fawz*, 12). The Īlkhāns' policy led to outbreaks against non-Muslims. They patronised Christians, and exempted them from the *djizya*. They rebuilt churches and opened schools. This led to an outbreak against them in 665/1263. The Jews rose to prominence under Arghūn (683-690/1284-1291) through Saʿd al-Dawla the Jewish finance minister, who appointed his brother governor of Baghdād. In 690/1291 Saʿd al-Dawla was killed and the populace in Baghdād fell on the Jews. Under Ghāzān, non-Muslims suffered through dress distinctions, the reimposition of the poll-tax and the attitude of the mob, and many adopted Islam (cf. ʿAmr Ibn Mattī, *Kitāb al-Madjdal*, 120-122, 125; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 354; 465-6; 483; Waṣṣāf, ii, 238; Karmalī, *op. cit.*, 14-15, 21; ʿAzzāwī, i, 349, 513). Uldjaytū stirred up trouble when he vacillated between Shīʿism and Sunnism. The Īlkhāns tried to impose the *čao* (paper money) [*q.v.*], but it was very unpopular in Baghdād and was finally abolished by Ghāzān in 697/1297 (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 477, 492).

During this period we have the accounts of three geographers: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (c. 700/1300), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (727/1327 and Mustawfī (740/1339).

The author of the *Marāṣid* states that nothing remained of western Baghdād except isolated quarters, the most populated of which was Karkh (201). He mentions the Ḳurayya quarter, the populous Ramliyya quarter, the Dar al-Raḳīḳ market, Dār al-Ḳazz standing alone where paper was manufactured, and the Bāb Muḥawwal quarter which stood as an isolated village (*Marāṣid* (Cairo ed.), 146, 201, 507, 773, 1088). He refers to the ʿAḍudī hospital, and indicates that nothing remained of al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī, Nahr Tābiḳ and Ḳatīʿa quarters, while Tūthā quarter looked like an isolated village (*Marāṣid*, 280, 837, 397, 1403). Of East Baghdād, the *Marāṣid* states "when the Tartars came, most of it was ruined. They killed its people and few were left. Then people from outside came" (201). He states that the Ḥalaba, Ḳurayya and Ḳatīʿat al-ʿAdjam were populous quarters (*Marāṣid*, 417, 1088, 1110).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa follows very closely after Ibn Djubayr. However he mentions two bridges in Baghdād and gives new details about the excellent baths in the city (Cairo ed. 1908, i, 140-1). He states that mosques and schools were very numerous, but they were in ruins (*ibid.* i, 140).

Mustawfī's data is significant. His description of the wall of East Baghdād agrees with that of Ibn Djubayr. It had four gates, and encloses the city in a semi-circle with a circuit of 18,000 paces. Western Baghdād, he calls Karkh; it was surrounded by a wall with a circuit of 12,000 paces. He found life easy in Baghdād and people pleasant, but their Arabic was corrupt. He found Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs dominant in Baghdād, though adherents of other sects were numerous. *Madrasas* and *ribāṭs* were numerous, but he noted that Niẓāmiyya was "the greatest of them all" while Mustanṣiriyya was the most beautiful building, (*Nuzha*, 40-42). It is possible that the Sitt Zubayda tomb belongs to this period, and the lady concerned could be Zubayda, the grand-daughter of the eldest son of Mustaʿṣim (ʿAzzāwī, i, 406).

In 740/1339 Ḥasan Buzurg established himself in Baghdād and founded the Djalāyirid dynasty which lasted till 813/1410. The Mardjān mosque dates from this period. From its inscriptions, we know that Mardjan, a captain of Uways, started building the *madrasa* with its mosque under Ḥasan Buzurg and finished the building under Uways in 758/1357. This *madrasa* was for the Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs (text of inscriptions in Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 45 ff.; Massignon, *Mission*, ii, 1 ff.). Only the gate of the *madrasa*—or mosque later—remains now.

Beyond this we hear of flood, siege or troubles which caused much damage and loss.

Baghdād was twice taken by Tīmūr, first in 795/1392-1393 when the town escaped with little damage, and second in 803/1401 when its population was indiscriminately put to the sword, and many of its public (ʿAbbāsid) buildings and quarters were ruined. This was the devastating blow to culture in Baghdād. In 807/1405 Aḥmad the Djalāyir returned to Baghdād, restored the walls destroyed by Tīmūr, and tried to repair some of the buildings and markets, but his time was short.

In 813/1410 Baghdād passed to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkomāns who held it till 872/1467-8, to be followed by Āḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkomāns. Baghdād sank still deeper under the Turkomāns and suffered considerably from misrule. Many of its inhabitants left the city, and the ruin of the irrigation system accounts for the recurrence of flood with consequent devastation. Under the year 841/1437 Maḳrīzī says "Baghdād is ruined, there is no mosque or congregation, and no market. Its canals are mostly dry and it could hardly be called a city" (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, iii, 100. see ʿAzzāwī, iii, 79 ff.; Karmalī, 61 ff.). In addition, tribalism spread and tribal confederations begin to play their turbulent rôle in the life of the country.

In 914/1507-8 Baghdād came under Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, and a period of Perso-Ottoman conflict for the possession of Baghdād opened, typified in the Baghdādī song "between the Persians and the Rūm, what woe befell us". On Shāh Ismāʿīl's orders, many Sunnī shrines, esp. those of Abū Ḥanīfa and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī, were ruined, and many of the leading Sunnīs were killed. However, he started building a shrine for Mūsā al-Kāẓim. He appointed a governor with the title *Khalīfat al-Khulafāʾ* (ʿAzzāwī, iii, 336-343). Many Persian merchants came to Baghdād and increased commercial activity. After a brief space in which the Kurdish chief Dhu 'l-Faḳār seized Baghdād and announced his allegiance to Sulṭān Sulaymān Ḳānūnī, Shāh Ṭahmāsp seized the town again in 936/1530. In 941/1534 Sulṭān Sulaymān entered Baghdād. He built a dome on the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa, with the mosque and *madrasa*, rebuilt the mosque, *tekke* and tomb of Gīlānī and had guest-houses for the poor at both mosques. He also had the shrine and mosque of Kāẓimayn, started by Shāh Ismāʿīl, completed (*Sulaymān-nāma*, 119, Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 426; Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 117; ʿAzzāwī, iv, 28 ff.). He ordered landed property to be surveyed and registered, and organised the administration of the province (Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 41). The administration was entrusted to a governor (pasha), *defterdār* (for

finances), and a Ḳāḍī. A garrison was stationed in Baghdād with the janissaries as its backbone.

Few buildings were erected during the following period. In 978/1570 Murād Pasha built the Murādiyya mosque in the Maydān quarter. The Gīlānī mosque was rebuilt. Čigalazāde built a famous inn, a coffee house and a market. He also built Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaghā or Djāmiʿ al-Khaffāfīn, and rebuilt the Mawlawī *tekke*, known now as the Āṣafiyya mosque (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 116, 128-132; cf. Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 30-1, 62-4). Ḥasan Pasha built the mosque known after him, also called Djāmiʿ al-Wazīr (*Gulshan-i Khulafā* 66; Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 419). He also made a rampart and a ditch around Karkh to protect it from Bedouins.

Europeans travellers begin to visit Baghdād at this period. They speak of it as a meeting place of caravans, and a great centre of commerce for Arabia, Persia and Turkey. Caesar Frederigo (1563) saw many foreign merchants in the city. Sir Anthony Sherley (1590) saw "excellent goods of all sorts and very cheap" (Purchas, viii, 384). It had a bridge of boats tied by a great chain of iron and when boats passed up or down the river, some of the boats of the bridge were removed until the traffic had passed (Ralph Fitch in 1583, Hakluyt, iii, 282-3). Rauwolf (1574) saw streets narrow and houses miserably built. Many buildings were in ruins. Some public buildings like the Pasha's residence and the great bazaar or exchange were good. Its baths were of low quality. The eastern side was well fortified with a wall, and a ditch, while the western side was open and looks like a great village (Rauwolf, *Travels*, in Ray's collection, London 1605, i, 179 ff.). The city walls were built of bricks and had subsidiary works including four bastions on which heavy bronze guns in good conditions were mounted (Texeira, *Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31). The circuit of the walls is given as two to three miles. John Eldred (1583) noticed that three languages were spoken in Baghdād, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (Hakluyt, iii, 325). Ralph Fitch (1583) found Baghdād not very great but very populous. The Portuguese traveller Pedro Texeira (1604) estimated houses in east Baghdād at twenty to thirty thousand. There was a mint in Baghdād in which gold, silver and copper coins were struck. There was a school of archery and another of musketry maintained by the government (*Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31).

Following the insurrection of Bakr the Subashī, Shāh ʿAbbās I conquered Baghdād in 1032/1623. School buildings and Sunnī shrines, including the mosques of Gīlānī and Abū Ḥanīfa, suffered destruction. Thousands were killed or sold as slaves and others were tortured (Kātib Čelebi, *Fadhlaka*, ii, 50; *Khulāṣat al-Āthār*, i, 383; ʿAzzāwī, iv, 178-182). In this period the Sarāy (government house) was built by Ṣafī Ḳulī Khān, the Persian governor. Baghdād was regained by the Ottomans in 1048/1638 under the personal command of Sulṭān Murād IV. He had the shrines, especially the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa and Gīlānī, rebuilt. On his departure, the Bāb al-Tillisim was walled up and continued thus until it was blown up by the retreating Turks in 1917. His Grand Vizier put the Ḳalʿa (castle) in good repair.

Further information comes from travellers of this period, like Tavernier (1652), Ewliya Čelebi (1655) and Thevenot (1663). The wall around east Baghdād was almost circular in shape. It was 60 *dhirāʿ* high and 10-15 *dhirāʿ* broad, with holes for guns. It had large towers at the principal angles, of which four were famous at this period—and smaller towers at short distances from each other. On the large towers brass cannons were planted. The wall was completed on the river side for proper defence (the map of Naṣūḥ al-Ṣilāḥī drawn for Sulṭān Sulaymān in 1537 already shows this wall. A. Sousa, *Atlas of Baghdād*, 12). There were 118 towers in the wall on the land side and 45 on the river side (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1657), *Djihān-nümā*, 457 ff.; Ker Porter (1819) reports 117 towers of which 17 were large (*Travels*, 265); cf. Buckingham, *Travels*, 372). The wall had three gates on the land side, (as the Tillisim gate was walled up): Bāb al-Imām al-Aʿẓam in the north at 700 *dhirāʿ* from the Tigris, Ḳaranlïk Ḳapu (Bāb Kalwādhā) or the dark gate in the south at 50 *dhirāʾ* from the Tigris, and Aḳ Ḳapu (al-Bāb al-Wasṭānī) or the white gate in the east. The fourth gate was at the bridge. Ewliya Čelebi measured the length of the wall and found it 28,800 paces in slow walking or seven miles (1 mile = 4,000 paces), while Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa makes its length 12,200 *dhirāʿ* or two miles (Niebuhr and Olivier consider the length of East Baghdād two miles). Wellsted thought the circuit of the walls 7 miles. Felix Jones, who surveyed Baghdād in 1853, gives the circuit of the walls of East Baghdād including the river face as 10,600 yards or about 6 miles (Olivier, *Voyage*, ii, 379-80; Wellsted, *Travels*, i, 255; Felix Jones, 318; cf. Rousseau, 5 and Tavernier, 84).

The wall was surrounded by a ditch, sixty *dhirāʿ* in width, with water drawn from the Tigris. At the north-western corner of the wall stood the Ḳalʿa (inner castle), from the Bāb al-Muʿaẓẓam to the Tigris; it was encompassed by a single wall with little towers upon which cannon were planted. Barracks, stores of ammunition and provisions as well as the treasury and the mint were there. The Sarāy, where the Pasha resided, stood below the castle; it had spacious gardens and fair kiosks. On the other end of the bridge at Karkh stood a castle called Ḳushlar Ḳalʿasī or Birds' castle, with a gate on the bridge (Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 416; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Nümā*, 457-50; Tavernier, 64; Thevenot, *Voyage*, ii, 211). Ewliya Čelebi refers to the numerous mosques of Baghdād and mentions nine important mosques. Of the schools, two were the largest, the Mardjāniyya and Madrasat al-Khulafāʾ (Mustanṣiriyya). Of the many inns two were good. He mentions eight churches and three synagogues, and gives exaggerated figures for *tekkes* (700) and *ḥammāms* (500). The bridge of boats had 37-40 boats according to the height of the river, and some boats in the middle could be removed either for safety at night, or for river traffic, or as a military precaution. The main languages of the city were Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Baghdād had the best carrier-pigeons.

However Baghdād was still in decline; its population was at the low figure of 15,000 (Tavernier, *Travels*, London 1678, 85-6; Ewliya Čelebi, *Siyāḥat*, iv, 420 ff.; Thevenot, *Voyage*, ii, 211).

Baghdād was governed by 24 pashas between 1048/1638-1116/1704 and there was no room for real improvement. The pashas were semi-autonomous, and the power of the janissaries was great. The power of the tribes rose and gradually became a threat to the life of the city.

Little was done beyond repairs to the city walls or mosques. Küčük Ḥasan Pasha (1642) built three towers near Burdj al-ʿAdjam. Khāṣṣakī Muḥammad Pasha rebuilt Ṭabiyat al-Fātiḥ and repaired the walls after the flood of 1657. Aḥmad Bushnāḳ repaired the towers especially Burdj al-Djāwīsh (Čaʾush) and built Burdj al-Ṣābūnī (1687). Mosques received some attention. Deli Ḥusayn Pasha (1644) rebuilt the

Ḳamariyya mosque. Khāṣṣakī Muḥammad (1657) built the Khāṣṣakī mosque at Raʾs al-Ḳarya. Ṣiliḥdār Ḥusayn Pasha (1671) rebuilt al-Faḍl mosque which became known as Djāmiʿ Ḥusayn Pasha and surrounded the shrine of ʿUmar Suhrawardī by a wall and brought water to it by a canal. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha (1674) repaired the Djāmiʿ Shaykh Maʿrūf and completed the dam started by his predecessor to protect Aʿẓamiyya from flood. Kaplan Muṣṭafā (1676) rebuilt Djāmiʿ al-Shaykh al-Ḳudūrī which became known as Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaplāniyya. ʿUmar Pasha (1678) repaired the mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa and allotted new *waḳfs* to it. Ibrāhīm Pasha (1681) renewed Djāmiʿ Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī, and Djāmiʿ al-Sarāy. Ismāʿīl Pasha (1698) rebuilt Djāmiʿ al-Khaffāfīn (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 27, 64, 109, 116, 143, *Gulshan-i Khulafā*, 102, 103, 105, 106, Ālūsī, *Masādjid*, 37, 57-8). Aḥmad Bushnāḳ (1678) built the famous Khān Banī Saʿd, while Ṣiliḥdār Ḥusayn Pasha built a new bazaar near the Mustanṣiriyya.

The beginning of the 18th century saw the *eyalet* of Baghdād terribly disorganised, the janissaries masters of the city, the Arab tribes holding the surrounding country, and peace or security for trade non-existent. The appointment of Ḥasan Pasha in 1704, followed by his son Aḥmad, inaugurated a new period for Baghdād. They introduced the Mamlūks (*Kölemen*) to check the janissaries and laid the foundation for Mamlūk supremacy which lasted till 1831. The janissaries and Arab tribes were controlled, order was restored and the Persian threat averted. Ḥasan Pasha rebuilt the Sarāy Mosque (Djadīd Ḥasan Pasha). He abolished taxes on firewood and on foodstuffs, and relieved quarters from exactions following murders (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, vol. i, pt. I, 1193-4; Sulaymān Fāʾiḳ, *Ḥurūb al-Irāniyyin*, MS. f. 18-19; idem, *Tāʾrīkh al-Mamālik*, MS. f. 4; *Ḥadīḳat al-Zawrāʾ* (abridged), MS. 9; *Gulshan-i Khulafā*, 225). Aḥmad Pasha continued on the lines of his father and enhanced greatly the prestige of Baghdād. Nādir Shāh besieged Baghdād twice, in 1737 and 1743, and though the city suffered much in the first siege, Aḥmad Pasha held out and saved the city. When Aḥmad Pasha died in 1747, Constantinople tried to reimpose its authority on Baghdād but failed, because of Mamlūk opposition. In 1749 Sulaymān Pasha was the first Mamlūk to be made governor of Baghdād. He was the real founder of Mamlūk rule in ʿIrāḳ. Henceforth the sultan had to recognise their position and generally to confirm their nominee to the governorship. Ḥasan Pasha, who was brought up at the Ottoman court (slave household), wanted to follow its example; he established houses and initiated the training of Circassian and Georgian Mamlūks and sons of local magnates in them. Sulaymān now expanded this and there were always about 200 receiving training in the school to prepare officers and officials. They are given a literary education and training in the use of arms, the art of chivalry and sports, and finally some palace education, to create an élite for government (Sulayman Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālik*; *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ*, 8). A governing class was formed, trained, energetic, and compact. But their weakness came from jealousies and intrigues. Sulaymān Pasha subdued the tribes and assured order and security, and encouraged trade. ʿAlī Pasha followed in 1175/1762 and ʿUmar Pasha in 1177/1764 (*Taʾrīkh-i Djewdet*, i, 339-40). In 1766 the establishment of a British residency in Baghdād was sanctioned by Bombay (*Gazetteer*, i, 1225). In 1186/1772 a terrible plague befell Baghdād and lasted six months; thousands perished, others migrated, and commercial activities came to a standstill (*Gazetteer*, i, 324).

Security made Baghdād a great commercial centre. An eye-witness wrote in 1774, "this is the grand mart for the produce of India and Persia, Constantinople, Aleppo and Damascus; in short it is the grand oriental depository" (*Gazetteer*, i, 1243).

Dissension and weak leadership among the Mamlūks led to a period of troubles, of tribal chaos, and the Persian conquest of Baṣra. It ended when Sulaymān Pasha the Great became governor (1193/1779) and combined Baghdād, Shāhrizūr and Baṣra. The tribes were checked, peace was restored and Mamlūk power revived (*Taʾrīkh-i Djewdet*, ii, 146, 157, 158; Ṣūfī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālīk*, 19 ff., 54 ff., S. Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālīk*, f. 16-7).

Sulaymān Pasha repaired the walls of east Baghdād, and built a wall around Karkh and surrounded it with a ditch. He rebuilt the Sarāy. He also built the Sulaymāniyya school and renewed the Ḳaplaniyya, Faḍl and Khulafāʾ mosques. In addition, he built the Sūḳ al-Sarrādjīn. His *kahya* started building the Aḥmadiyya mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Maydān) to be completed by the *kahya's* brother (ʿUthmān b. Sanad, (abridg. ed.), 70-73, 76-7). His last year (1802) saw a plague in Baghdād (*Gazetteer*, i, 1285; Yāsīn Efendi al-ʿUmarī, *Gharāʾib al-Athar*, 64). Ḳüčük Sulaymān (1808) abolished execution except when religious courts decided it, and forbade confiscations and cancelled dues to courts, and allotted salaries to judges (S. Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālīk*, f. 16; *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ*, 250).

Dāwūd Pasha came (1816) after a troubled period. He controlled the tribes and restored order and security. He cleared up some irrigation canals, established cloth and arms factories, and encouraged local industry. He built three large mosques, the most important being the Ḥaydar-Khāna mosque. He founded three *madrasas*. He also built a *sūḳ* by the bridge. He organised an army of about 20,000 and had a French officer to train it. His energetic and intelligent administration brought prosperity to the city. However, he had to impose heavy taxes in Baghdād. Dāwūd's fall and the end of the Mamlūks came about as a result of Maḥmūd II's centralising and reforming policy, aided by a terrible plague, scarcity, and flood, which affected most of the city population (1247/1831) (*Ḥadīḳat al-Zawrāʾ* (abridg. ed.), MS. f. 43-44, 53, 55-56; A. R. Suwaydī, *Nuzhat al-Udabāʾ*, MS. f. 41-42; *Mirʾāt al-Zawrāʾ*, 59; S. Fāʾiḳ, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālik*, MS. f. 39-52; *Gazetteer*, i, 1316; Frazer, *Travels*, i, 224-5; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 80-1).

The administrative system of Baghdād was copied on a small scale from that of Constantinople. The Pasha held supreme military and administrative power. As the head of the administration was the *katkhudā* (or *kahya*) who was like a minister. He was assisted by the *defterdār*, who was director of finances, and by the *dīwān efendisi* or chief of the chancellery. There was the commander of the palace guards and the aghā of the janissaries. There was the ḳāḍī as the head of the judiciary. The Pasha called the *dīwān* which included the *kahya*, the *defterdār*, the *ḳāḍi*, the commander and other important personages, to discuss important issues. In the palace there were houses, with teachers and instructors (*lālāt*) to educate the Mamlūks (Djewdet, ii, 287, iii, 204, ʿUthmān b. Sanad, 31-2, 56, 39; Rousseau, 25 ff.). The Mamlūk army was of 12,500 and in case of need it could be raised to

30,000 by local levies and contingents from other parts of the *wilāyat* (S. Fā'iḳ, *Mamālik*, f. 51-2).

European travellers of this period give some data on Baghdād. Some notice that the walls were constructed and repaired at many different times, the old portions being the best (Buckingham, *Travels* (1827), 332; see Felix Jones, *Memoir*, 309). The enclosed area within the walls (east) according to Felix Jones' measurement was 591 acres (cf. Dr. Ives, *Journey*, London 1778, 20; Rousseau, *Description*, 5). The wall on the river seems to have been neglected and houses were built on the bank (Olivier, *Voyage* (1804), ii, 379). A large part of the city within the walls, particularly in the eastern side, was not occupied. The section near the river was well populated but even there gardens abounded so that it appeared like a city arising from amid a grove of palms (Niebuhr, ii, 239; Buckingham, 373, Wellsted, *Travels* (1840), i, 255). The Sarāy was spacious, enclosing beautiful gardens, and was richly furnished (Rousseau, 6; Ker Porter, 263).

The western side Karkh, was like a suburb with numerous gardens. It was defenceless at first, (Rousseau, 5; Ives, 28), until Sulaymān Pasha the Great built its wall. It had four gates—Bāb al-Kāẓim (N.), Bāb al-Shaykh Maʿrūf (W.), Bāb al-Ḥilla (S.W.), and Bab al-Kraimāt (S.). The walls were 5,800 yards long, enclosing an area of 246 acres (F. Jones, 309). (Ker Porter (1818) found it well furnished with shops along numerous and extensive streets (Ker Porter, ii, 255; al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī, *Riḥla*, 31). Moreover it was not so populated as the eastern side, and generally inhabited by the common people (Niebuhr, ii, 244; Rousseau, 4). The bridge of boats was 6 ft. wide and people use it or use "guffas" to cross the river (Ker Porter, ii, 255; Niebuhr, ii, 243; al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī, 243).

The population gradually increased in this period. Rousseau (c. 1800) estimates it at 45,000, Olivier at 80,000, while the inhabitants put the figure at 100,000 (Rousseau, 8; Olivier, ii, 385); Buckingham (1816) made the estimate 80,000 (*Travels*, ii, 380)). Ker Porter (1818) puts the figure at 100,000 (*Travels*, 265). Al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī echoes local views in saying that there were 100,000 houses in Baghdād of which 1,500 were Jewish and 800 were Christian (*Riḥla*, 24). By 1830 the estimate is brought to 120,000-150,000 (Frazer, i, 224-5 and Wellsted). There was a mixture of races and creeds. The official class was Turkish (or Mamlūk), the merchants primarily Arab, and there were Persians, Kurds and some Indians (Buckingham, 387; Niebuhr, ii, 250; Ker Porter, ii, 265; Wellsted, i, 251). There were numerous bazaars in Baghdād especially near the bridge, and the grand ones were vaulted with bricks, while the others were covered with palm trees. There were many *khāns*, 24 *ḥammāms*, five great *madrasas*, and twenty large mosques and many small ones (Buckingham, 378-9; Ives, 273; al-Munshī' al-Baghdādī, 31; Niebuhr, ii, 230; Wellsted, i, 257; Olivier, ii, 382).

The streets were narrow, and some had gates closed at night for protection. Houses were high, with few windows on the streets. The interior consists of ranges of rooms opening into a square interior court usually with a garden. *Sardābs* were used to avoid heat in summer, while open terraces were convenient for the late afternoon. In summer people slept on the roof (cf. Buckingham, 380). Baghdād had some industries especially tannery and the fabrication of cotton, silk and woolen textiles (Rousseau, 9-10).

From 1831 to the end of the Ottoman period, Baghdād was directly under Constantinople. Some governors tried to introduce reforms. Meḥmed Rashīd Pasha (1847) was the first to try to improve economic conditions. He formed a company to buy two ships for transport between Baghdād and Baṣra, the success of which led to the corresponding British project. Nāmiḳ Pasha (1853) founded the *damir-khāna* which could repair ships (Chiha, 54, 58-9; *Gazetteer*, i, 1360, 1365-6, 1372). Midḥat Pasha (1869-1872) introduced the modern *wilāyet* system. The *wālī* had a *muʿāwin*, or assistant, a *mudir* for foreign affairs, and a *ma'mūn* or secretary. The *wilāyet* was divided into seven *sandjaks* headed by *mutaṣarrifs*, Baghdād being one of them (*Gazetteer*, i, 1442, 1447-8). He abolished some obnoxious taxes—the *iḥtisāb* (octroi duty) on all produce brought to the city walls for sale, the *ṭālibiyya*, a tax on river crafts, *khums ḥaṭab*, or 20% on fuel, and *rūs 'bkār*, a tax on irrigation wheels for cultivation, and replaced it by a *ʿushr* on agricultural produce (*Gazetteer*, i, 1442). In 1870 Midḥat founded a tramway linking Baghdād with Kāẓimayn, and it continued for 70 years (ʿAlī Ḥaydar Midḥat, *Life*, 51). He established (1869) the first publishing house, the *wilāyet* printing press in Baghdād, and founded *al-Zawrā'*, the first newspaper to appear in ʿIrāḳ as the official organ of the provincial government; it continued until March 1917 as a weekly paper (ʿAzzāwī, vii, 241; Ali Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midḥat Pasha*, London 1903, 47 ff.; Ṭarrāzī, *Arabic Press*, i, 78; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 81). With the exception of a few French Missionary schools, there were no modern schools in Baghdād. Between 1869-1871, Midḥat established modern schools, a technical school, a junior (*Rushdi*) and a secondary (*Iʿdādi*) military schools, and a junior and secondary civil (*Mulkī*) schools (*Zawrā'* No. 182; ʿAzzāwī, viii, 21; *Sālnāme-i Baghdād* (1900), 454; Chiha, 100-102). Midḥat pulled down the city walls as a step towards its modernisation. He completed the Saray building started by Nāmiḳ Pasha (Chiha, 66).

The education movement started by Midḥat continued after him. The first junior girls' school was opened in 1899 (*Sālnāme*, 1318). Four primary schools were opened in 1890, and a primary teachers' school in 1900 (*Sālnāme-i Maʿārif*, Istanbul 1900; S. Fayḍī, *Niḍāl*, 58-9). By 1913 there were 103 schools in ʿIrāḳ, 67 primary, 29 junior (*Rüshdī*), 5 secondary and one college, the law college (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, 1913, 335). Five printing presses were founded between 1884-1907. Newspapers appeared in Baghdād after 1908 and by 1915, 45 papers were issued by different people.

Wālīs followed Midḥat in quick succession and little was achieved. In 1886 conscription was established (for Muslims only). In 1879 the hospital built by Midḥat was finally opened (*Zawrā'*, No. 810). In 1902, a new bridge of boats, wide enough for vehicles to pass, and with a cafe on the south side, was constructed (Ālūsī, 25; *Handbook*, ii, 374). In 1908 Baghdād sent three representatives to the Ottoman Parliament (ʿAzzāwī, viii, 165). In 1910 Nāẓim Pasha constructed a bund surrounding east Baghdād to protect it from floods (ʿAzzāwī, viii, 200-1). He was the last energetic *wālī*.

Administration was headed by the *wālī* assisted by a council, about half of which consisted of elected members, and the rest were appointed (*ex-officio*). About two of the elected members were non-Muslims. The *wālī* was assisted by a *ḳā'im maḳām* (*Zawrā'*, No. 1369; *Sālnāme* 1292 A.H.). Among important offices were the *Maʿārif* directorate, the *Tapu* directorate, the registration office, and the civil

courts (*Sālnāme* (1300), 82-96). Until 1868, Bag͟hdād was the centre of the three *eyālets* of Mawṣil, Baṣra and Bag͟hdād. In 1861, Mawṣil became separate and in 1884 Baṣra was separated and Bag͟hdād became the centre of three *Mutaṣarriflik*s (Chiha, *Province*, 85).

The plague and flood of 1831 left terrible marks on Bag͟hdād. Most of the houses of East Bag͟hdād were ruined and two thirds of th space within the walls was vacant, while most Kark͟h was ruined. The walls on both sides had great gaps opened by the flood. The city was in a miserable state compared to the days of Dāwūd Pas͟ha (Frazer, *Travels*, i, 269, 233-4, 252).

Southgate (1837) noticed that the city was slowly recovering from the calamity, and put the population at 40,000. But he saw the *madrasa*s neglected and their allowances not properly used (Southgate, *Narrative*, 2 vols. 1851, II, 180, 165-6; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 80-1).

When Felix Jones surveyed Bag͟hdād (1853-4) things had improved. He mentions 63 quarters in East Bag͟hdād, 25 quarters in Kark͟h, most of which still retain their names (*Memoir*, 339; cf. Frazer, 233-4).

The population of the city increased steadily after the middle of the 19th century. In 1853 they were about 60,000 (Felix Jones, 315, 329). In 1867, the male population of Bag͟hdād is given as 67,273 (*Lug͟hat al-ʿArab*, 1913). In 1877 they were all estimated at 70 to 80 thousand (*Persian Gulf Gazetteer*, 8; Geary, *Through Asiatic Turkey*, 1878, i, 126). In the 1890s the estimate was 80 to a 100 thousand (Harris, *From Batum to Baghdad*, 299; Cowper, *Through Asiatic Turkey*, 270). In 1900 they were put at 100,000 (Chiha, *Province*, 165; see *Sālnāme* (1320 A.H.), 136-7, 181).

Another estimate for 1904 is given at 140,000 (*Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 89). By 1918, the population is given as 200,000 (*Handbook*, ii, 334; Alūsī, *Ak͟hbār Bag͟hdād*, 280-1; cf. R. Coke for the figure 185,000 in 1918, *Bag͟hdād*, 298). Travellers were impressed with the great admixture of races, the diversity of speech and the rare freedom enjoyed by non-Muslims and the great toleration among the masses (Jones, 339; Olivier, ii, 388-9). This mixture left its imprint on the dialect of Bag͟hdād (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Ḳāmūs Lahdjat Bag͟hdād* MSS.).

However, Arabic was the common language. The Arab population was increased by the advent of tribal elements (Geary, *op. cit.* i, 136, 214). Usually people of one creed or race congregated in a particular quarter (cf. F. Jones, *Memoir*, 339). The Turks generally occupied the northern quarters of the city, while Jews and Christians lived in their ancient quarters north and west of Sūḳ al-G͟hazl respectively. Most of the Persians lived on the west side but Kark͟h was mainly Arab (F. Jones, 339; *Persian Gulf*, 9, 79-80; *Handbook*, ii, 381; Southgate, ii, 182). Though people of the three religions spoke Arabic their dialects differed (*Lug͟hat al-ʿArab*, 1911, 69-71).

At the turn of the century there were still some industries. Among the textiles of Bag͟hdād were silk stuffs, cotton fabrics, stuffs of wool-silk mixture, striped cotton pieces, and coarse cotton cloth for head-scarves and cloaks, sheets and women outer garments. The silk fabrics of Bag͟hdād were famous for their colour and workmanship. An excellent dyeing industry existed. Tanning was one of the principal industries, and there were about 40 tanneries at Muʿaẓẓam. Carpentry and the manufacture of swords were advanced. There was a military factory for textiles (*Handbook*, i, 231; *Sālnāme* (1300), 79, 136).

The Bag͟hdād bazaars were covered, or uncovered like Sūḳ al G͟hazl. At the eastern bridgehead was the chief place for trade in the bazaars of the Sarāy, Maydān, S͟hordja and the cloth bazaar rebuilt by Dāwūd Pas͟ha. Some bazaars had crafts with their own guilds and usually the bazaar was named after it, such as Sūḳ al-Ṣafāfīr (coppersmiths) Sūḳ al-Sarrādjīn (saddlery), Sūḳ al-Ṣāg͟hā, (silversmiths), Sūḳ al-K͟haffāfīn (shoemakers) etc. (Ewliya Čelebi, iv, 22; *M.G.T.B.*, i, 22-3).

There were two important streets, one from the North Gate to near the bridge, and the other from the South Gate to the end of the main bazaar. In 1915 the North Gate was connected with the South Gate by a road, now known as Ras͟hīd street (*Handbook*, i, 377; *Sālnāme* (1318 A.H.), 599-600).

In 1922 Nāmiḳ Pas͟ha tried to repair some of the streets (*Sālnāme* (1318 A.H.), 60). In 1307/1889 Sirrī Pas͟ha transfered the Maydān to an open square with a garden (see *Sālnāme* (1321), 76).

In 1285/1869 Midḥat formed a municipal council by election and orders were issued to clear the streets. In 1879 municipalities were formed and orders were issued for achieving cleanliness and drainage (*Zawrāʾ*, No. 231, No. 878, No. 817, No. 1774, *Lug͟hat al-ʿArab*, i, 17; *Sālnāme* (1300), 136). Lighting with kerosene lamps was adopted and given to a contractor, but in fact only streets with notable residents were lit (*Zawrāʾ*, No. 490, no. 837) (see further BALADIYYA.)

At the beginning of the 20th century the city of Bag͟hdād covered an area of about four sq. m. The remains of the city wall on the East side demolished by Midḥat formed with the river a rough parallelogram about 2 miles long with an average width of over a mile. About a third of this area was empty or occupied by graveyards or ruins, and towards the south much space was covered by date groves. Kark͟h began further upstream than East Bag͟hdād but it was much smaller in length and depth (*Handbook*, ii, 276). In 1882 there were 16,303 houses, 600 inns, 21 baths, 46 large mosques (*djāmiʿ*) and 36 small mosques (*masdjid*), 34 children's *maktab* and 21 religious schools, 184 coffee-shops and 3,244 shops (*Sālnāme* (1300), 136). In 1884 the figures were: 16,426 houses, 205 inns, 39 baths, 93 *djāmiʿ* and 42 *masdjid*s and 36 children's *maktab*s (*Sālnāme* (1302), 335).

In 1903 Bag͟hdād had 4,000 shops, 285 coffee-shops, 135 orchards, 145 *djāmiʿ*, 6 primary schools, 8 schools for non-Muslims and 20 convents (*tekke*), 12 bookshops, one public library, 20 *maktab*s for boys, 8 churches, 9 tanneries, one soap factory, 129 workshops for weaving, 22 textile factories (*Sālnāme* (1321), 179). By 1909 houses reached 90,000 in number. There were 3 private printing presses, 6 churches and 6 synagogues (*Sālnāme* (1324), 223).

S͟hukrī al-Alūsī described 44 mosques in East Bag͟hdād and 18 in Kark͟h (Alūsī, *Masādjid*; Massignon, *Mission*, ii, 63-5).

The temperature in Bag͟hdād ranged from 114° to 121° F. in summer, and from about 26° to 31° F. in winter, but it sometimes rose to 123° F. in summer and fell to 20° F. in winter.

Bag͟hdād produced some distinguished poets during the Ottoman period, like Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*], D͟hihnī [*q.v.*], Ak͟hras and ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-ʿUmarī; historians like Murtaḍā, G͟hurābī and M. S͟hukrī Ālūsī; jurists like ʿAbd Allāh Suwaydī and Abu 'l-T͟hanā al-Alūsī (see Alūsī, *al-Misk al-Adhfar*, Bag͟hdād 1930).

Modern Bag͟hdād has changed considerably, especially since the thirties. It has expanded to link

up with Aʿẓamiyya and Kāẓimayn to the north, with the eastern bund to the east, with the great bend of the Tigris to the south, and with the al-Maṭār al-Madanī and with nearby suburbs like Manṣūr and Maʾmūn cities. There are 76 quarters in Karkh and Rusāfa, 8 in Aʿẓamiyya, 4 in Karradh Sharkiyya and 6 in Kāẓimayn (Sousa, *Atlas Baghdād*, 21-5). The population of the Baghdād municipality in 1947 was 466,733; it had mounted to 735,000 by 1957.

Traditional styles of building gave way to houses, built on western lines, in areas beyond the old city, while the old sections are being gradually transformed. The bridge of boats is gone, and four permanent bridges have been constructed.

The process of modernisation, both material and social, is too rapid to be recorded here.

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BAGHDĀD KHĀTŪN, daughter of the *amīr al-umarā* Amīr Čūbān, niece of the Īlkhānid ruler of Persia Abū Saʿīd (*regn.* 717-736/1317-1335) (her mother was Abū Saʿīd's sister), and wife of Amīr Ḥasan the Djalāʾirid, commonly known as Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg, whom she married in 723/1323. In 1325 A.D. Abū Saʿīd, quoting as precedent the *yāsā* of Čingiz Khān, attempted to force Shaykh Ḥasan to divorce Baghdād Khātūn in order that he might marry her himself, but was frustrated by Amīr Čūbān. In October or November 1327 A.D. Amīr Čūbān was treacherously put to death at Harāt by Ghiyāth al-Dīn the Kurt at the instigation of Abū Saʿīd, who was then able to carry out his design and marry Baghdād Khātūn. Baghdād Khātūn attained a position of great influence, and was given the *laķab* of Khudāwandigār ("sovereign"). In 732/1331-2 Shaykh Ḥasan was accused of conspiring with his former wife Baghdād Khātūn to murder Abū Saʿīd. This caused an estrangement between Abū Saʿīd and Baghdād Khātūn, but the following year, when the accusation was proved to have been false, he restored her to favour. In 734/1333-4 Abū Saʿīd married Baghdād Khātūn's niece Dilshād Khātūn, and promoted her above his other wives. This aroused the jealousy of Baghdād Khātūn, and, when Abū Saʿīd died suddenly on 13 Rabīʿ II 736/30 November 1335, Baghdād Khātūn was suspected of having poisoned him, and was put to death by the amīrs. Another version is that she was put to death because she had corresponded with Özbek, khān of the Golden Horde, and had incited him to invade Persia.

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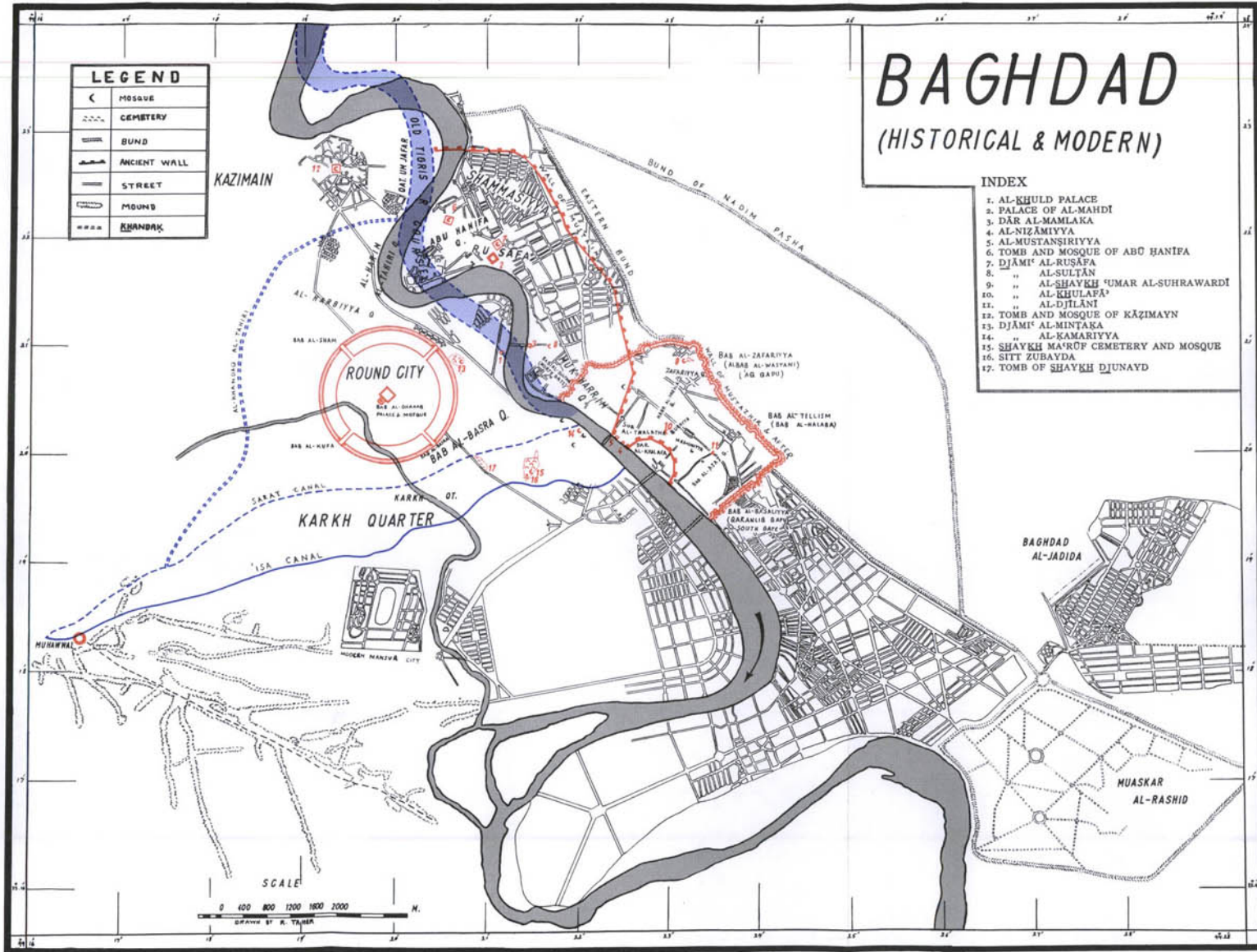
The site of the Round city was determined by old canals, especially the ʿĪsā canal and the Ṣarāt canal. The bed of the ʿĪsā canal is still known as ʿĪsāwī or Dāwūdī, and the canal which flows into the city could be seen until the present Khirr canal, but the lower part is obliterated. But we know that the main bridge in the 5th/11th century was at Mashraʿat al-Rawāya by the ʿĪsā canal, and this *mashraʿa* was opposite Sūḳ al-Thalāthāʾ below the modern Maʾmūn bridge (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 169; idem, *Manāḳib Baghdād*, 20; cf. Massignon, *Mission*, ii, 104-5). However, I have resorted to the application of the spectrograph on the Area survey of Baghdad and found the course of the ʿĪsā canal to the Tigris as indicated on the map (at modern Shawwāka), which agrees with the above remarks.

The Ṣarāt canal flowed into the Tigris near the Bāb al-Shaʿīr. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh (Mashhad MS.), the Bāb al-Shāʿīr was near the Sharīʿa where boats coming from Mosul stopped. Sharīʿas did not change and the Sharīʿa referred to could only be at present day Ḳamariyya.

The Round City had its southern limit near tne Ṣarāt canal and it was at the junction of this canal with the Tigris. The village of Sunāya was outside its wall, near the northern section (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 24), and this village was very probably where present day Minṭaḳa is. Therefore Minṭaḳa is the eastern limit of the Round City, which was not directly on the Tigris. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal put Baghdād between the Ṣarāt canal and the Bāb al-Tibn, thus considering the Trench of Ṭāhir as the northern boundary. This Trench included al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī and left only Ḳaṭīʿat Umm Djaʿfar beyond (Khaṭīb, 79; *Manāḳib*, 28). As the al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī Quarter was mostly swept by the Tigris through its change of course (as the author of the *Marāṣid* states) its limit could not be higher than 33° 22′ N. Lat. and thus the Round City must have its northern limit at about 33° 21′.

Mahdī Camp (Ruṣāfa) was almost opposite the Round City. The Shammāsiyya quarter was opposite the Ḥarbiyya quarter, while the Shammāsiyya Gate was almost opposite the Ḳaṭrabbul Gate (Iṣṭakhrī, 83; Ṭabarī, iii, 1576). Shammāsiyya was north and east of the quarter of Abū Ḥanīfa. Below Abū Ḥanifa's quarter was the Caliphal Cemetery and next came the Ruṣāfa mosque. Digging and soil analysis indícate that this Cemetery was slightly above the former Royal Sporting Club. The Ruṣāfa mosque was about a mile north of Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān at Upper Mukharrim which could not be above modern ʿAywāḍiyya and so the Mosque would be at the northern limit of Sāḥat ʿAntara.

Mustanṣiriyya was the southern limit of Mukharrim and the beginning of the Sūḳ al-Thalathāʾ, which terminated at the Djāmiʿ al-Khulafā (traceable by the Sūḳ al-Ghazl minaret). Thus the Royal palaces (Ḥarīm Dār al-Khilāfa) start and extend over Ḳurayya — which still keeps its name — and end at the suburb (*rabḍ*) at Murabbaʿa — which also still keeps its name, (cf. Ibn Djubayr). This puts Harīm Dār al-Khilāfa between about Samawʾal street and Djāmiʿ Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī. In digging the foundations of the new building of the Rāfiḍayn Bank, about fifty yards from Samawʾal St., a kitchen was struck, very likely that of Dār al-Khilāfa (Djahshiyārī, Cairo 1938, 189, 195; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 73; Yāḳūt, i, 587; iii, 195; cf. Massignon, *Mission*, 89; *Sūmer*, ii, 197). The limit of the Mustaʿīn wall eastwards corresponds approximately to the Nāẓim Pasha Band as is shown from digging foundations of new houses.

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AL-**BAGHDĀDĪ**, ʿABD AL-ḲĀHIR B. ṬĀHIR, ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, d. 429/1037. His father took him to Nīshāpūr for his education and there he made his home. Most of the scholars of Khurāsān were his pupils and he could teach 17 subjects, especially law, principles, arithmetic, law of inheritance and theology. He left Nīshāpūr because of rioting by Turkmens and went to Isfarā'īn where he soon after died. He was learned in literature as well as in law, was rich, helped other scholars and his books on law, arithmetic (one survives) and the law of inheritance were highly praised. He wrote several books on theology; *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* is lost; *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, a systematic treatise, beginning with the nature of knowledge, creation, how the Creator is known, His attributes, etc. is rather like *al-muḥaṣṣal* of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī, but gives the views of the sects on each subject. It cannot be identified with any of the books named by al-Subkī. The tone throughout is objective, unlike that of his other book *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*. This takes each sect separately, judges all from the standpoint of orthodoxy and condemns all which deviate from the strait path. It is not a plain tale of facts, like Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, but a polemic. In spite of a chapter heading "Socrates and Plato" it deals only with Islam though it brands some aberrations as unworthy of the name. It ends with an exposition of orthodox belief. Two books, which presumably went into greater detail, The *Errors of Abu 'l-Hudhayl* and the *Errors of Ibn Karrām*, are lost. It is fair to say that he draws from doctrines, which he condemns, conclusions never envisaged by their authors.

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AL-**BAGHDĀDĪ**, AL-KHAṬĪB [see AL-KHAṬĪB, AL-BAGHDĀDĪ].

BAGHL, mule (pl. *bighāl*, fem. *baghla*; but some think that *baghl* denotes the hybrid without distinction of sex, and that *baghla* is a singulative form which applies both to the male and female); the same word denotes both the hinny, the offspring of a stallion and a she-ass (cf. however *kawdar* in al-Masʿūdī, ii, 408; *contra*: al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bighāl* 120; al-Damīrī, s.v.; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index, s.v.), and the mule, the offspring of a he-ass and a mare, the morphological characteristics of the two varieties being midway between those of the he-ass and those of the stallion, with however a tendency to be influenced by the mother's side. Ḳārūn (Korah; see al-Damīrī) or Ṭahmūrath (see al-Ṭabarī/Balʿamī, trans. Zotenberg, i, 101) was the first to bring about this cross-breeding, but the Ḳur'ān (xvi, 8) naturally attributed the creation of the mule to God. Muḥammad himself possessed mules (notably Duldul, which lived up to the time of Muʿāwiya), so that although the *ḥadīths* forbidding the consumption of the flesh of the mule (like that of the ass) may be authentic, those concerning the interdict on the mating of asses and mares have less chance of being so; at all events, it was not observed, and the mule industry did not suffer by reason of it. The postal service used these animals, and eminent men and women of noble birth did not disdain to ride on them, in spite of their stubbornness and obstinacy, because their even gait and surefootedness made them valued mounts.

Men of an inquiring mind have been especially interested in this hybrid and its sterility; the Arab zoologists, however, thought that the she-mule was by nature fertile, but that it could not retain the male (*lā taʿlaḳ*), or that it was too small-boned to give birth without losing its life; in order to prevent accidents of this sort it was sometimes "sewn up" (*maktūba*). But al-Damīrī relates that in 444/1052 a she-mule gave birth to a black filly and a white mule.

The size of its head and penis, its longevity (due to continence), its sterility, its obstinacy and other characteristic traits of the mule are proverbial, and the words *baghl* and *baghla* enter into a large number of everyday expressions (for an account of the she-mule of Abū Dulāma, which became proverbial by reason of its defects, see M. Ben Cheneb, *Abū Dolāma*, Algiers 1922; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bighāl*, 100 ff.). Certain parts of the body of the mule, notably its teeth, hair, hooves, and blood, were used in the preparation both of drugs, and of charms and amulets. To see a mule in a dream was interpreted as a sign of a voyage, or of longevity, degeneracy, sterility, etc.

In addition to the other meanings collected by the Arabic dictionaries and Dozy, it is worth noting that the word *baghla* (pl. *baghalāt*) denoted in Egypt female slaves born of unions between Ṣaḳāliba and another race (see al-Djāhiz, *Bighal*, 66).

Bibliography: In addition to the usual works on zoology (in this category the dictionary of Damīrī is a fundamental work), pharmocopoeia, oneiromancy, etc. (see for example the bibliography of the article AFʿĀ), which give a certain amount of information, particular attention is drawn to the fact that mules, doubtless because of their curious origin, prompted Djāḥiz to write a special study, *al-Ḳawl fi 'l-Bighāl* (ed. Ch. Pellat, Cairo 1375/1955), which is a sort of supplement to the *K. al-Ḥayawān*, and in which the author quotes chiefly anecdotes and verses illustrating the character and usefulness of these animals. (CH. PELLAT)

BAGHLĪ [see DIRHAM].

BAGHRĀS, the ancient Pagrae, guarded the Syrian end of the Baylān pass on the road from Antioch to Alexandretta across the Amanus, and was thus a place of transit and a strategic position of importance. This region, which had been laid waste at the time of the first wars between the Arabs and the Byzantines, was furnished with colonists by Maslama; this initiated a recovery, and Hishām built a small fort there; it was naturally included in the region of the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*] organised by Hārūn al-Rashīd behind the Syro-Cilician *thughūr*, and there existed there at the time of al-Balkhī a hospice for travellers, which is said to have been founded by Zubayda. The actual fortification of Baghrās was the work of Nicephorus Phocas who had reconquered Cilicia and was planning the reconquest of Antioch (357-8/968), and Michael Bourtzes set out from Baghrās when the following year he in fact occupied Antioch. Baghrās was occupied, without striking a blow, by Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumish and then by the

Crusaders. About the middle of the 6th/12th century it was captured by the Templars, but in 1188 was seized for a short time by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in 1191 was taken by the Armeno-Cilician Leo, and was only surrendered by the latter to the Templars in 1216. The Templars evacuated the town in 1268 following the capture of Antioch by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars. From then onwards Baghrās protected the frontier of the Mamlūk state against the Armeno-Cilician kingdom, as long as the latter continued to exist, and formed a special military command depending on the province of Aleppo. Baghrās is still mentioned incidentally in the operations conducted by the Mamlūk sultans for the protection of their northern frontier up to the time of the Ottoman conquest, after which it fell into ruins. Only a small village exists there to-day. The fortress, which has never been the object of a proper archaeological investigation, was of average importance, and seems to have been the work of the Byzantines and Mamlūks rather than of the Templars or Armenians.

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BAGIRMI, name in the 19th century of a negro Muslim State, situated on the right bank of the Shari, S.E. of lake Chad. In Barth's time (1852) the capital was Massenya. There were a certain number of tributary regions within its orbit, lying between 10° and 12° N. and 15° and 18° E. This historical name is no longer in official use to-day; only a district of Massenya exists, the other tributary regions having been either attached to the district of Bousso or to that of Melfi.

The regions which once bore the name Bagirmi form a vast plain at an elevation of 1000 ft., sloping gently away towards Lake Chad. The level expanse of alluvial soil is only broken by barren dunes and in the East, in the canton of Bekakire, by isolated rocks. These regions are situated at the extreme limits of the Sahel and Sudan savannah zones. The year is divided into two seasons, a dry season, cold in winter, very hot in the spring and autumn, and the other, the summer, hot and damp. Rainfall fluctuates around 700 mm. (28 ins.), but there is excessive evaporation. The Shari is the only permanent river; the others (Baḥr Errguig, Baḥr Nara) only flow from August to December.

The region's economy is based on cultivation and stock breeding. The main crop is millet (bulrush millet and guineacorn), which forms the basic food; maize, cultivated around the oases, provides a complementary crop in the intervening periods. In addition, peas, manioc, gombo, sesame and peanuts are also grown. Cotton growing has been introduced in the S.E. part of the region, along the river Shari. Pasturage, though of mediocre quality, makes possible the breeding of cattle, sheep and goats.

The population is made up of very diverse elements: negroes (Bagirmese, Bornuese, Sara, Massa), Arabs (Yessié, Dekakiré, Ouled Moussa), Fulani and Bororo Fulani; in 1956, the total number of the inhabitants of the region amounted to 70,500 with a population density of 6.4 per sq. m.

The sedentary negroes (with the exception of the Massa, cattle herdsmen) live by crop raising, food gathering and fishing. The nomadic Fulani migrate as far as the Logone and Lake Chad, the Bororo Fulani as far as the Ati and Musoro districts. The semi-nomadic Arabs move between their villages, where in the rainy season they cultivate the ground, and the banks of the Shari, to which they resort at the end of the dry season.

With the exception of the Massa and the Sara, who have remained animists, these peoples were converted to Islam three hundred and fifty years ago under the influence of Fulani missionaries and Hausa merchants. Islam, however, has only made a somewhat superficial impression.

The state of Bagirmi, founded in the 16th century, at the outset enjoyed considerable prosperity; then, at the beginning of the 19th century, as the result of wars with the Wadai, it began to decline. In 1870 the Sulṭān of the Wadai took Massenya and expelled the Sulṭān Abū Sekkine. The latter's successor, Gaourang, threatened by Rabah (see *Bornu*), placed himself under the protection of France (1897), which resulted firstly for the Bagirmi in the terrible reprisals of Rabah, then, when the latter had been defeated and killed at Kousseri (22 April 1900), in the final pacification under French administration. The Sulṭān was retained for outward appearances, but his authority limited to the Massenya canton. Massenya, the capital, was an important town in Barth's time, enclosed by walls 7 miles in circumference. It was partly destroyed in 1870 and then abandoned at the time of Rabah's invasion. It was rebuilt once more 20 km. (12½ m.) to the S.E. It is, however, no more than a large village with a population of 1,700 inhabitants. Indeed the whole district lies remote from the main currents of trade. Only a small proportion of the local produce—ground-nuts, butter, skins—, is taken to the markets at Bongor, Bokoro and Fort Lamy.

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BĀH, one of a number of terms in the Arabic language denoting coitus. *Fiḳh*, in the main, uses the term *waṭʾ*. In principle, *bāh* is *ḥarām* (as well as sexual indulgences of a minor character) if the partners are not married to each other, or united by the bond of ownership (master and slave-concubine); if this is not the case, the penal law intervenes to punish *zināʾ*—most commonly by death (see ḤADD, ZINĀʾ, MUḤṢAN), at least in theory. On the other hand, according to a celebrated *ḥadīth*, *waṭʾ* performed in a legal manner is an "alms" in the eyes of God. *Fiḳh* considers most practices permissible for the married couple, with perhaps a restriction regarding *waṭʾ fī duburihā*. *Bāh* is, in principle, permitted at all times, except in certain circumstances of a ritual character (by day

during the month of Ramaḍān, or when one is in *iḥrām* during the *ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, a well-known text of the Ḳur'ān says: "Your wives are a tilth for you, so go to your tilth as you will" (ii, 231), and the Ḳur'ānic prohibition (ii, 230) of intimate relations during the menstrual period is not enforced by penalties, at least not in this world. *Fiḳh* does not forbid the sight of the partner's nakedness, but on the other hand, according to tradition, the Prophet in the matter of *waṭ'* behaved with the greatest modesty, both in this respect and in others. As regards the legality of contraceptive practices, see the article ʿAzl. *Fiḳh* does not place any interdict on relations with a partner who has not reached the age of puberty provided that the act is physically possible. The schools are not in agreement on the question whether the wife can demand the performance of the conjugal duty: in the Mālikī school, the forsaken wife has the right to claim a divorce. On the other hand, the husband can always require his wife to be at his service, because *waṭ'* constitutes the very essence of *nikāḥ* [*q.v.*]; *fiḳh* is here in agreement with etymology (*nikāḥ*—marriage, and coitus).

Bibliography: See bibliography to the article ʿAzl; add: O. Pesle, *La femme musulmane.*

(G. H. Bousquet)

BAHĀ' ALLĀH. — Founder of the new religion which took the name of Bahā'ī from his own name (literally, 'Glory, Splendour, of God'). In Persian it is known commonly as *Amr-i Bahā'ī*, 'Bahā'ī Cause', or *Amr Allāh*, 'Cause of God'; the adjective *amrī* is used of publications, matters and facts pertaining to the Cause, *e.g.*, *nashriyyāt-i amrī* 'religious publications', etc. Bahā' Allāh is generally called by his disciples *Djamāl-i Mubārak*, 'The Blessed Beauty' and *Djamāl-i Ḳidam*, 'The Ancient Beauty'. His name was originally Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī (from Nūr, in Māzandarān, the place of origin of his family). He was born at Tehran on 2 Muḥarram 1233/12 November 1817 of a noble family which had given several ministers to the Persian court. According to the Bahā'ī tradition, and to what he himself declares in his writings, he never attended any school. His was a profoundly religious personality, and he relates in one of his works (*Lawḥ-i Ra'īs*) how, right from his infancy, he was moved to religious thinking after a performance of puppets which, after the show with all its ostentation was over and they had been redisposed in their box, suggested to him the thought of the fallibility and the vanity of human power. After the declaration of the Mission of the Bāb [*q.v.*] in 1260/1844, he was one of his first disciples, and shared the fate of the Bābīs. Bahā' Allāh never knew the Bāb personally and, to judge by a phrase in the *Kitāb al-Shaykh*, 122, he had never even read the *Bayān*, which he knew by heart. In 1852, after the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, he was arrested and thrown into the prison at Tehran known as *Siyāh Čāl* ('the black hole'), where he stayed from August of that year until 12 January 1853. In his work *Kitāb al-Shaykh* ('book of the Shaykh', known also as *Lawḥ-i Ibn-i Dhi'b*, 'Epistle of the Son of the Wolf') he narrates the story of his journey, fettered, from Niyāwarān to Tehran, and his interesting mystical experience in the prison in the long nights he passed without sleep on account of the heavy chains which fastened his neck, hands and feet. It seemed to him, he tells us, that he heard a voice which cried to him, 'Truly, We shall succour Thee, by the means of Thee Thyself and Thy pen. Be not afraid . . . Thou art in security. Soon God will raise up the treasures of the earth, namely those men who shall succour Thee for love of Thee and Thy name, by which God shall bring to life the hearts of the Sages'. At other times it seemed to him that a great torrent of water was running from the top of his head to his chest 'like a powerful river pouring itself out on the earth from the summit of a lofty mountain'. The Bahā'īs consider this experience as the first beginnings of the prophetic mission of their founder. Banished with all his family to ʿIrāḳ after all his possessions had been confiscated, he dwelt at Baghdād, where his spiritual influence over the Bābī exiles continued to increase, whereas that of his half-brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā—known by the name of Ṣubḥ-i Azal, which the Bāb had given him [v.s.v. bāb]—was on the decline. From 1854 to 1856 Bahā' Allāh took himself to Kurdistān, where he lived as a nomadic dervish on the outskirts of Sulaymāniyya. When he returned to Baghdād, his growing influence, and the numerous visitors he received even from Persia, caused the Persian consul to request his immediate exile to Constantinople. A short while before his departure on 21 April 1863, in the garden of Nadjīb Pāshā near Baghdād—called by the Bahā'īs *bāgh-i riḍwān*—Bahā' Allāh declared himself, to a select number of his followers, to be He Whom God Shall Manifest (*man yuẓhiruhu 'llāh*) as predicted by the Bāb. The exiles arrived at Constantinople in August, and after some months were sent to Edirne where they arrived in December. At Edirne Bahā' Allāh openly declared his prophetic mission, sending letters (known, like all Bahā' Allāh's letters, by the name of *lawḥ*, pl. *alwāḥ*, 'tablets') to various sovereigns, inviting them to support his Cause. At this time the great majority of Bābīs came out in his favour. The dissensions with the minority, who followed Ṣubḥ-i Azal, gave rise to some incidents, which impelled the Ottoman government to banish those who henceforth called themselves Bahā'īs to Acre (ʿAkkā), and the others to Cyprus. In August 1868 Bahā' Allāh and his family arrived at ʿAkkā. A stricter imprisonment in the fortress lasted until 1877, after which Bahā' Allāh was authorised to transfer himself to a country house which he had rented at Mazraʿa. From 1288/1871 to 1290/1874 Bahā' Allāh was engaged on writing the fundamental book of his religion, *Kitāb-i Aḳdas*, the "Most Holy Book". About 1880 he was allowed to transfer to the neighbourhood of Bahdjī, not far from ʿAkkā, where he died, after an illness lasting some days, on 29 May 1892. In 1890 he had received at Bahdjī Professor E. G. Browne, the only European who met him personally and on whom Bahā' Allāh made a deep impression. For the doctrine of Bahā' Allāh see bahā'ī.

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(A. Bausani)

BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA [see BUWAYHIDS],

BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN AL-ʿĀMILĪ [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ].

BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN ZAKARIYYĀ, commonly known as Bahāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ, a saint of the Suhrawardī order, was born at Kot Karor (near Multān) in 578/1182-83 according to Firishta. He was one of the most distinguished *khalīfas* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] and is the founder of the Suhrawardī order in India. After completing his study of the Ḳurʾān according to its seven methods of recitation at Kot Karor, he visited the great centres of Muslim learning in Khurāsān, at Bukhārā and Medina, and in Palestine—in order to complete his study of the traditional sciences. While in Medina he learnt *ḥadīth* with an eminent traditionist, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Yamanī, and spent several years in religious devotions at the mausoleum of the Prophet. After visiting the graves of the Israelite prophets in Palestine, he reached Baghdād and became a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. At this time he was, as his master said, 'dry wood ready to catch fire', and so after seventeen days' instruction, the latter appointed him his successor and ordered him to set up a Suhrawardī *khānaḳāh* in Multān. He lived and worked in Multān for more than half a century and his *khānaḳāh*—a magnificent building where separate accomodation was provided for all inmates and visitors—developed into a great centre of mystic discipline in medieval India. He died in Multān on 7 Ṣafar 661/21 December 1262.

Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn's order flourished most vigoriously in Sind and the Pandjāb, though he had attracted some disciples from Harāt, Hamadān and Bukhārā. As a mystic teacher he was known for his *nafs-i gīrā* (intuitive intelligence) which helped him in apprehending and controlling the minds of his disciples. He differed from contemporary Čishtī mystics in several matters: (i) He did not allow all sorts of people to throng round him. The *Djawāliḳs* and *Ḳalandars* seldom obtained access to him. "I have nothing to do with the generality of the public", he is reported to have remarked. (ii) He lived in an aristocratic way and had granaries and treasuries in his *khānaḳāh*. (iii) He did not observe continuous fasts but ate and drank in the normal manner. (iv) While among the Čishtīs the custom of *zamīn-būs* prevailed, he never permitted anybody to bow before him. (v) He believed in keeping close contact with the rulers and the bureaucracy. (vi) He did not believe in mystic songs (*samāʿ*).

Bahāʾ al-Dīn exercised great influence on mediaeval politics. He helped Iltutmish (607-633/1210-1235) in establishing his hold over Multān and accepted from him the honorific title of *Shaykh al-Islām*. In 644/1246 when the Mongols besieged Multān and the ruler of Harāt joined them, the Shaykh offered 100,000 *dīnārs* to the invaders and persuaded them to raise the siege.

The Shaykh lies buried in Multān in an imposing tomb, surmounted by a hemispherical dome and decorated with fine enamelled tiles.

Bibliography: No Suhrawardī accounts of Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā were available even in the early 16th century when Shaykh Djamālī brought into his *Siyar al-ʿĀrifīn*, Delhi 1311 A.H. all he could get from the Čishtī sources. For originals see, Ḥasan Sidjzī, *Fawāʾid al-Fuʾād*, Newal Kishore 1302 A.H., 5, 6, 10, 29 ff.; Ḥamīd Ḳalandar, *Khayr al-Madjālis* (ed. K. A. Niẓāmī), Aligarh 1956, 131, 137, 283; Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, Delhi 1302 A.H., 77, 91, 158; Sayf b. Muḥammad, *Taʾrīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, Calcutta 1943, 159-58; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, Newal Kishore 1915, 452. See also, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, Delhi 1309, 26-7; M. Ghawthī, *Gulzār-i Abrār* (As. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow 98 f 18); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čishtī, *Mirʾāt al-Asrār* (MS. personal collection 494-97); Ghulām Muʿīn al-Dīn, *Maʿāridj al-Wilāyat* (Personal collection) Vol. i, 389-98; E. D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, Lahore 1902, 339 f. (K. A. Nizami)

BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN ZUHAYR, Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Muhallabī al-Azdī (generally known by the name of al-Bahāʾ Zuhayrʾ, celebrated Arab poet of the Ayyūbid period, born 5 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 581/27 February 1186 in Mecca. Whilst still very young, he went to Egypt, where at Ḳūṣ (Upper Egypt) he studied the Ḳurʾān and letters, finally settling at Cairo towards 625/1227. Al-Bahāʾ Zuhayr was in the service of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, son of the sultan al-Kāmil, and in 629/1232 accompanied him on an expedition to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. In 637/1239, whilst returning to Egypt after his father's death, al-Ṣāliḥ was betrayed by his troops at Nābulus and handed over to his cousin al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, who imprisoned him. The poet remained faithful to his master in adversity and spent sometime at Nābulus. When al-Ṣāliḥ ascended the throne of Egypt, he appointed him *wazīr* and showered honours upon him. In 646/1248, he is to be found at al-Manṣūra at the side of his sovereign, who was fighting against the seventh Crusade (St. Louis). As the result of a misunderstanding, the poet fell into disgrace, and, in the death of his master, went to Syria, where he addressed his best panegyrics to the sovereign of Damascus, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, but without success. He returned to Cairo a disappointed man; there he experienced solitude and poverty, and died in 656/1258.

His *Dīwān*, preserved in Paris (MS 3173 of the B.N.) and elsewhere, and edited in Cairo (1314), is known. Palmer produced a fine edition with an English translation. In this *Dīwān* he is shown as being a poet very often sincere and a true musician in verse. His choice of words, of form, manner and metre, the effects of rhythm and harmony,

everything shows a very mature taste. Without rejecting the poetics of his time or his rhetoric with its numerous figures, the poet in him scarcely allows a glimpse of the rhetorician.

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BAHĀʾ AL-ḤAḲḲ [see BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN ZAKARIYYĀʾ].

BAHĀDUR. A word common to the Altaic languages, equally well represented in Turkish, Mongol and Tunguz dialects. Its adjectival meaning is "courageous, brave", but it is universally used as a substantive with the meaning "hero". It also frequently occurs as a surname and an honorific title.

The earliest occurrence is in the Chinese history of the Sui Dynasty, written in the early 7th century. The Chinese transcription 莫賀咄 *mo-ho-to* suggests a trisyllabic **baγatur* which, transcribed βαγατούρ, was in use also among the Proto-Bulghars in the 9th century. An Uyghur runic ms. which could originate in the 8th-10th centuries has *bātur* and it is this bisyllabic form which is general in Turkish dialects. *e.g.* Osmanli *batur*, Kazakh, Bashkir *batir*, Özbek *botir*, Tuvin *mādir*, Chuvash *pattăr*, etc. Some Turkish dialects have the trisyllabic form, e.g., Coman *baγatur*, but it is possible to see in them borrowings from Mongol. Beside the form already mentioned, Özbek has also *baqodir*.

The word is attested in the earliest Mongol documents (13th century), always in the trisyllabic form, though the Chinese sources of the Mongol epoch usually transcribe 拔都 *pa-tu* for *bādu[r]*. Classical Mongol has *baγatur*, and variants exist probably in all the dialects. *e.g.* Kalmuck *bātr*, modern literary Khalkha *bataar*, Monguor *Bātʾuṛ*. Among Tunguz forms one could mention Manchu *baturu*, Evenki *bahatir*, Even *bāgtir* and *bukatiṛ*.

It is impossible to state the directions in which borrowings were made, but it seems probable that either the Turkish or the Mongol trisyllabic forms were original, and that the Tunguz forms are, originally, Mongol loan-words. Inter-borrowings within the same group must have been frequent.

Bahādur is, clearly, a word of civilisation. It travelled far into the north and can be met in various Samoyede and Finno-Ugrian languages, in Siberia as well as in Europe, *e.g.* Ostiak *matur*, Hungarian *bátor* (11th century). These, and some of the Slavonic forms, *e.g.* Russian *bogatir* are borrowings from Turkish or Mongol. Persian *bahādur*, borrowed from Mongol, had a wide-spread use as a title or a surname among Muslim dynasties. As it was also used by the Great Mughals, it penetrated into Anglo-Indian, in the sense of a "haughty or pompous personage, exercising his brief authority with a strong sense of his own importance" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*).

The word found its way into Western European sources. Roger, Canon of Várad, writing in 1244, gives *Bochetor* as the name of one of the Mongol generals taking part in the campaign against Hungary. The Portuguese ambasador to Tīmūr, Clavijo (1404), has *Bahadur*. (D. SINOR)

BAHĀDUR KHĀN [see FĀRŪḲĪ].

BAHĀDUR SHĀH [see NIẒĀM SHĀH].

BAHĀDUR SHĀH I. Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam was the second son of the Emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr by his second wife Raḥmat al-Nisāʾ, Nawāb Bāʾī, daughter of Rādjā Rādjū of Radjawri in Kashmir. She was also the mother of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, who died in prison, 1087/1676, and Badr al-Nisāʾ Begum (1647-1670), who was a *Ḥāfiẓ*. She died in 1691. Muʿaẓẓam was born at Burhānpur in the Deccan on 30 Radjab 1053/14 October 1643. His full titles were: Abū Naṣr Sayyid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh Bādshāh. From the time of his elder brother's defection to Shāh Shudjāʾ in 1068/1658 he was the prospective heir apparent, and was regarded as such on Muḥammad Sultān's death in 1087/1676 In Shaʿbān 1086/October 1675 he received the title of Shāh ʿĀlam.

From 1663 he was actively employed by his father in the Deccan and against the Kingdom of Bidjāpūr. In 1093/1683-4 he led an army through the Konkan to Goa, then being besieged by the Maratha rādjā Shambādjī. But having fallen out with the Portuguese, he found his supplies cut off and made a disastrous retreat. He was then employed against Bidjāpūr and the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda. Awrangzīb, already suspicious of Prince Muʿaẓẓam's lack of rancour against his rebel son Akbar, interpreted an attempted mediation between his father and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan of Golkonda as a plot against himself. Muʿaẓẓam, now known as Shāh ʿĀlam, was arrested with his sons on 4 March 1687. At first treated with great rigour, the Prince found the severity of his treatment gradually relaxed, until in April 1695 he was released and appointed *Ṣubadār* of Agra. In 1699 he became governor of Kābul province which he held at the time of his father's death, his eldest sons holding Taṭṭha and Multān.

On receiving the news of his father's death on 18 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1118, 22 March 1707, Prince Muʿaẓẓam moved with great speed. He proclaimed himself by the title of Bahādur Shāh when near Lahore, offered to honour his father's will by leaving his brother Aʿẓam Shāh the Deccan provinces, and arrived near Agra on June 12. On 18 Rabīʿ I 1119/18 June 1707, Aʿẓam Shāh and his son Bīdār Bakht were killed in a great battle near Jajau and Bahādur Shāh was master of the empire. Kām Bakhsh, the youngest son of Awrangzīb, was defeated and killed near Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, on 3 Dhu ʾl-ḳaʿda 1120/13 January 1709.

The short reign of Bahādur Shāh was occupied by three problems, the Marathas, the Radjputs and the Sikhs. On the advice of Dhu ʾl-Fiḳār Khān, Shāhū, the grandson of Shīwadjī, was released and sent back to Māhārashtrā with a Mughal *manṣab* of 7000. His arrival there provoked a civil war between his supporters and those of Tāra Bāī, the regent widow of his uncle Rādjā Rām.

In the cold weather of 1707-8 Bahādur Shāh regulated the succession of Amber and reduced the Rādjpūt Rādjā of Jodhpūr to submission. But while campaigning against Kām Bakhsh the revolt flared up again. On his return in 1710 the emperor found himself confronted with a Sikh rebellion and had to make a compromise settlement with the Rādjpūts. The last Sikh *gūrū*, Govind Singh, was a supporter of Bahādur Shāh, but was murdered in the Deccan in 1708. The Sikh revolt in the north was then

revived by a man known as Banda who killed Wazīr Khān, seized Sirhind and terrorised the east Pandjāb. Bahādur Shāh stormed Lohgarh and defeated but did not capture Banda in 1710-11. The last few months of his life were spent in Lahore where he died on 20 Muḥarram 1124/27 February 1712. The throne was immediately disputed between his four sons, Muʿizz al-Dīn Djahāndār Shāh, ʿAẓīm al-Shān, Rafīʿ al-Shān and Djahān Shāh, the first of whom was successful.

Irvine describes Bahādur Shāh as "although not a great sovereign .... a fairly successful one". He was courteous, learned, pious, brave, capable and equable in temper. He was generous and found it difficult to refuse a request, a trait which earned him the nickname of *bī-khabar* or heedless one. Not much is known of Bahādur Shāh's family life, but the names of three wives have survived: Mihr al-Nisā Begum, who accompanied her husband's body to Delhi, ʿAzīz al-Nisā Khānum and Nūr al-Nisā Begum.

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(T. G. P. SPEAR)

BAHĀDUR SHĀH II, the last Mughal Emperor of India. He reigned as titular sovereign from 1253/1857 to 1274/1857 He was in fact, a pensionary of the East India Company, his actual authority being restricted to the limits of the Red Fort or *Ḳalʿa-i muʿallā* of Delhi. Mughal authority, by virtue of which the British held Bengal from 1765, was never formally disowned by them, but the Charter Act of 1833 asserted British sovereignty over British held territories in India. On May 11, 1857, Delhi was seized by mutinous troops from Meerut who compelled the unwilling Bahādur Shāh, then nearly 82, to accept nominal leadership of the revolt. After four months of unenthusiastic headship he retired to Humāyūn's Tomb on the assault of Delhi by the British in September. With his favourite wife Zīnat Maḥāl and their son Mīrzā Djewān Bakht he surrendered to Lieut. Hodson on a promise of his life. After much indignity and a trial of doubtful legality he was exiled by the British Government to Rangoon in Burma, where he died on 13 Djumādā I 1279/7 November 1862. Descendants of his are still to be found there.

Bahādur Shāh was born on 27 Shaʿbān 1189/24 October 1775. He was the second son of Akbar Shāh II (1221-1253/1806-1837) and Lāl Bāī. He was eleventh in direct succession from the emperor Bābur. In 1827 he was described as "the most respectable, the most accomplished of the Princes" by Charles Metcalfe, then Resident of Delhi. He had a tall spare figure, a dark complexion with strongly marked aquiline features. Like his grandfather Shāh ʿĀlam, he was a poet of some note, using the pen-name of Ẓafar. The poet Dhawḳ was his literary preceptor and Ghālib attended his Court. His plaintive *ghazals* were long current in Delhi. He was also a calligrapher and musician of merit, and showed taste in repairing buildings and laying out gardens. His full title was Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh.

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(T. G. P. SPEAR)

BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, sulṭān of Gudjarāt 932/1526-943/1537. Second son of Muẓaffar Shāh II (917/1511-932/1526), Bahādur Shāh, on bad terms with his elder brother Sikandar, left Gudjarāt in 931/1525 and, travelling via Čitor and Mewāt to the court of Ibrahīm Lodī was present, as an onlooker, at the battle of Panipāt between the sultān of Dihlī and the Mughal Bābur.

Hearing of the death of his father and the accession of Sikandar, Bahādur Shāh hastened towards Gudjarāt to be greeted at Čitor with the news of the assassination of Sikandar by Khwūsh Ḳadam, ʿImād al-Mulk. Rapidly gaining support from the Gudjarātī Muslim nobles, Bahādur Shāh assumed the insignia of the sultanate at Anhalwāra-Patan on 26th Ramaḍān, 932/6th July 1526.

Bahādur Shāh was the last vigorous sultan of independent Gudjarāt. In 935/1528 he attacked Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar in alliance with Muḥammad II of Khāndēsh and ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk of Berār occupying Aḥmadnagar in 936/1529. The Niẓām Shāh appears to have accepted the overlordship of Gudjarāt until 938-9/1532 at least, but statements in the Arabic and Persian histories that he read the *khuṭba* and struck coins in the name of the Gudjarāt sultan have not found corroboration in the discovery of such coins.

In 937/1531 Bahādur Shāh attacked Maḥmūd II of Mālwa, occupying Mandū. In 938/1532-3 he captured the Rādjpūt strongholds of Ujjain, Bhīlsā and Rāīsīn together with their chief Silhādī. In Ramaḍān 941/March 1535 Gudjarāt forces, at the second attempt, captured Čitor.

Meanwhile however, in the autumn of 941/1534 war had broken out between Bahādur Shāh and the Mughal Humāyūn; Bahādur Shāh had given refuge to the Lodī Afghāns and to Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā son-in-law to Bābur, who had escaped from confinement by Humāyūn in the fort of Bayāna.

Defeated by the Mughals at Mandasōr and Mandū, and with much of his treasure captured by Humāyūn at the fall of Čāmpānīr in Ṣafar 942/August 1535, Bahādur Shāh turned to the Portuguese for help.

In 937/1531, the Portuguese, under Nuno da Cunha, governor of Goa, had been defeated in their attempt to capture Dīw. In Djumādā II 941/

December 1534, however, in return for a promise to aid Bahādur Shāh against the Mughals, the Portuguese obtained Bassein and in Rabīʿ II/October 1535 the right to build a fort at Dīw where Bahādur Shāh himself had taken refuge. The nominal Portuguese assistance to the Gudjarāt sultan did not prevent Humāyūn from capturing Bahādur Shāh's capital of Aḥmadābād.

Humāyūn's withdrawal from Gudjarāt in 942/1536 to face the threat from Sher Khān enabled Bahādur Shāh to recover most of his dominions from the now disunited, dispersed and disaffected Mughal forces.

Bahādur Shāh then turned to recover the rights surrendered to the Portuguese at Dīw. In an atmosphere fraught with mutual suspicion of bad faith, Bahādur Shāh rashly visited Nuno da Cunha on his flagship at Dīw and, hurriedly returning to the shore after sensing treachery, was slain by the following Portuguese forces. His death occurred on 3 Ramaḍān 943/13 February 1537.

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(P. Hardy)

BAHĀʾĪ MEḤMED EFENDI, Ottoman jurist and theologian. Born in Istanbul in 1004/1595-6, he was the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, a Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Rumelia, and the grandson of the historian Saʿd al-Dīn. Entering upon the *cursus honorum* of the religious institution, he became *mudarris* and molla and was appointed ḳāḍī first in Salonica and then, in 1043/1633-4, in Aleppo. A heavy smoker, he was reported by the Beylerbey Aḥmed Pasha, with whom he was on bad terms, and in 1044/1634-5 was dismissed and exiled to Cyprus as a punishment for what was then regarded as a serious offence. Towards the end of 1045 (early 1636) he was pardoned and in Muḥ. 1048/May-June 1638 appointed Molla of Syria; in Ṣafar 1054/April 1644 he was transferred to Edirne, and in Rab. I 1055/May 1645 became Ḳāḍī of Istanbul. After brief terms as Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anatolia and of Rumelia, he was appointed Shaykh al-Islām for the first time in Radjab 1059/July-Aug. 1649. According to the prejudiced evidence of his rival Karačelebizāde, he was chosen because he was so enfeebled by excessive indulgence in narcotics that the Grand Vezir and the Sulṭān Wālide thought they would be able to do as they pleased with him. His subsequent vigour, and his firmness in resisting certain of their demands, give the lie to this accusation. The favour which he showed to the Mewlewī and Khalwatī orders soon brought him into conflict with the orthodox religious party, which also objected to his approval of tobacco and coffee and his toleration of the dervish use of music and dancing. His fall, however, was due not to their efforts but to other causes. In Djum. I 1061/April-May 1651, in the course of a dispute which arose out of a question of jurisdiction involving the British Consul and the Ḳāḍī of Izmir, Bahāʾī Efendi placed the British ambassador in Istanbul under house arrest. For this breach of diplomatic usage he was dismissed and exiled to Midilli. He remained, however, at Gelibolu and Lampsaca, and was reinstated in Ram. 1062/Aug. 1653; he continued in office until his death, of a quinsy, on 13 Ṣafar 1064/3 Jan. 1654. He was buried in Fātiḥ.

Bahāʾī was known both as a poet and as a scholar, and left a number of poems and fetwās. His best-known ruling was that in which he pronounced smoking lawful, thus ending the prohibitions and repressions of the early 17th century. He was himself a heavy smoker, and his contemporary Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa remarks of him that had it not been for this self-indulgence he might have become one of the most eminent scholars of the country. Bahāʾī's authorisation of smoking, however, was due, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, not to his own addiction but to a concern for what was best suited to the condition of the people, and to a belief in the legal principle that the basic rule of law is licitness (*Ibāḥa aṣliyya*).

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(B. Lewis)

AL-**BAHĀʾĪ** [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ].

BAHĀʾĪS, adherents of the new religion which was founded by Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*], and of which the forerunner, according to Bahāʾī doctrine, was the Bāb [*q.v.*]. The foremost authority on the Bahāʾī religion, and its disseminator in Europe and America, was ʿAbbās Efendī, the eldest son of the founder, better known among the Bahāʾīs as ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (Servant of Bahāʾ). Born on 23 May 1844 at Tehran, he accompanied his father on his journeys and in his exile, and at his death was recognised by the great majority of the Bahāʾīs as the authorised exponent and interpreter of his father's writings Centre of the Covenaut and "Model of Bahāʾī Life", in accordance with Bahāʾ Allāh's will (*Kitāb ʿAhdī*); this will, however, was contested by ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's brother Muḥammad ʿAlī, who set up a rival group within the Bahāʾī organisation and contrived to compromise his brother with the Ottoman authorities, who were hostile to the Bahāʾīs. He was released from prison in 1908 under the amnesty granted by

the new Ottoman Government of the Young Turks, and in 1910 began his three great missionary journeys. The first was to Egypt (1910), the second to Europe (Paris and London, 1911), and the third to America and Europe (1912-13). From New York he made his way across the entire United States in eight months to Los Angeles and San Francisco, stopping in the main towns and preaching in evangelical churches, synagogues, masonic halls, etc. In September 1912 he returned to Europe, and from England went again to Paris, then to Germany, Austria and Hungary. Finally at the end of 1913 he returned from Paris to Palestine. The first Bahāʾī group in America had formed as early as 1894, and on 10 December 1898 the first American Bahāʾī pilgrims arrived at Acre. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ's journey, one of the objects of which had been to counter the propaganda of his brother's supporters, also notably strengthened the community of American adherents. In addition to this he formed Bahāʾī groups in the European countries he passed through. In 1920 the British Government appointed him Knight of the Order of the British Empire. He died on 28 November at Ḥayfā and was buried beside the Bāb, in the great mausoleum which was completed in 1957. In his will he had appointed Shoghi Efendi (Shawḳī Efendī) Rabbānī, the oldest of his grandsons (the eldest son of his eldest daughter) as "Guardian of the Cause of God" (*Walī-yi Amr Allāh*). Shoghi Efendi, who died on 3 Nov., was born at Ḥayfā in the last years of the last century. He studied at Oxford and in 1936 married the American Mary Maxwell, who took the name Rūḥiyyè Khānum. From 1923 onwards he lived in Ḥayfā in Israel, the world administrative centre of the faith.

The Bahāʾī religion, while it claims to be "scientific" and opposed to dogma, has more clearly defined theological, philosophical, and social doctrines and forms of worship than some Orientalists have thought. I give them briefly below on the basis of the sources cited in the bibliography.

Religious doctrines. 1. God. A completely transcendent and unknowable entity. "Every road to Him is barred". The Bahāʾīs are opposed to mystic pantheism. Mystics have only given form to their own imaginings. "Even the loftiest souls and the purest hearts, however high they may fly in the realms of science and mysticism, can never pass beyond that which has been created inside themselves" (*mā khuliḳa fī anfusihim bi-anfusihim*) (*Lawḥ-i Salmān*).

2. Creation. The unknowable essence of God makes itself manifest and creates that which is not God. The Bahāʾī idea of the beginning of things falls between that of creation and that of emanation. We could speak of *eternal creation*, seeing that the Bahāʾī texts tend to keep the term *khalḳ* (creation), but at the same time maintain that since the attribute of *khāliḳ* (creator) is co-eternal with God, there has never been a time when the world did not exist. Thus the world is eternal (*Lawḥ-i Ḥikmat*).

3. A special form of the manifestation of God is that which features in the Prophets (The Bahāʾī technical term is *maẓāhir-i ilāhiyya*, divine manifestations, rather than *rusul* or *anbiyā*). Thus the concept of *ḥulūl* (incarnation in the full sense of the word) is not accepted. In this connexion the letter of Bahāʾ Allāh to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*Lawḥ-i Sulṭān*) is particularly interesting, as is the *Kitāb al-Shaykh*, in which he describes his own mystic experience in the prison of Siyāh Čāl at Tehran. The Prophet has two differing conditions: he is a man, but also a very clear mirror in which God is reflected. Thus in a certain sense it is not wrong to call him God, by way of abbreviation. The status of such a being as could be called "prophetic" is radically different from that of man; it falls between man's status and that of God. According to Bahāʾī doctrine no man, however perfect he may become, will be able to attain prophetic status (or better, that of "manifestation"), just as no animal, perfect as it may be of its kind, can aspire to human status. The manifestation of God through the Prophets never ceases. The manifestations of the Divine are successive. The first prophet is Adam, then come the traditional prophets of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Zoroaster also is considered a true prophet, though the Buddha and Confucius are seen rather as great masters of the spiritual life. After Muḥammad come the Bāb (considered by the Bahāʾīs as a true independent manifestation of God whose specific mission lasted only nine years), and Bahāʾ Allāh. The Bahāʾīs allow that other prophets better adapted to advanced stages of human progress may come after him, but "not before a thousand years" (*Aḳdas*). The prophetic periods are grouped together in larger cycles; with the Bāb the cycle begun by Adam ends and the Bahāʾī cycle begins. The latter is destined, according to doctrine, to last at least 500,000 years. It is thus inexact to consider the Bahāʾī religion as syncretistic. Although it accepts all the prophetic religions as essentially true, it claims that it is the one best adapted to the present time, and that it includes in itself all its predecessors.

4. Man. Bahāʾī psychology is somewhat complex. ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ (*Mufāwiḍat*) distinguishes five types of "spirit": animal spirit, vegetable spirit, human spirit, the spirit of faith, and the Holy Spirit. The spirit of faith is given by God, and alone confers true "eternal life" on the human spirit (we are thus a long way from a purely philosophical conception of the immortality of the soul). "Faith" is essential to Bahāʾī spiritual life. The text of the first verse of the *Aḳdas* runs as follows: "The first commandment of God to his servants is knowledge of the Dawn of His revelation, and the Dayspring of His Decree (*i.e.*, of the Prophet), who is his appointed Representative in the created world (*fī ʿālam al-amr waʾl-khalḳ*). He who has attained this knowlege has attained all good. He who knows it not is of the world of error, even though he performs all (good) works". Faith in God (which, God being by definition unknowable, can only be faith in His manifestation, the Prophet) confers immortality on the believer, who continues in the worlds beyond his eternal journey towards the unknowable Essence of God (excessive interest in these worlds on the part of Bahāʾīs is discouraged; they are explicitly forbidden to take part in spiritualist meetings). Paradise and Hell are symbols, the first of which stands for the true believer's journey towards God, and the second the fruitless path towards annihilation of him who knowingly rejects the Faith and performs evil works. In the context of this progressive view of the world beyond Bahāʾīs are allowed, and advised, to pray for the dead. Equally, the idea of reincarnation in this world is firmly rejected.

On the phenomenon of man Bahāʾī doctrine accepts the theory of evolution, not, however, as propounded by Darwin, but rather in the traditional mystic sense already present in the *mathnawī* of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. "Man was always man throughout his evolution", even though

he may have passed through a series of stages of development.

Moral and social principles. The Bahāʾīs accept the ancient formula attributed to ʿAlī: "All private matters belong to the human sphere, all concerns of society to the divine". Hence the great emphasis in Bahāʾī doctrine on the improvement of society, a task which is the charge of the Bahāʾī world administration (see below).

The moral and social tenets of the Bahāʾīs are classified by ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ under the following twelve headings: 1. Unity of the human race. 2. Need for an independent search for Truth. 3. Essential unity of all religions. 4. Need for religion to promote unity. 5. Need for science and religion to be in harmony. 6. Equal rights and duties for the two sexes. 7. Opposition to all kinds of prejudice: national, religious, political, economic, etc. 8. Attainment of world peace. 9. Obligation to provide universal education, accessible to all. 10. Solution on a religious basis of the social problem, with the abolition of the extremes of excessive wealth and degrading poverty. 11. Use of an auxiliary international language. 12. Constitution of an International Tribunal.

The forms of administration and organisation which we now describe in brief conduce according to the Bahāʾīs to the realisation of these aims:

The Bahāʾī religion has no public ritual, nor any sacraments or private rites of a sacred character. The only religious duties of the Bahāʾīs are: 1. To assemble every 19 days on the first day of each Bābī month (the Bāb's calendar was adhered to by Bahāʾ Allāh) for a communal celebration, called by the Western Bahāʾīs the "19th day's Feast", and by the Persians *ḍiyāfat-i rūz-i nūzdahum.* It consists of readings of prayers and sacred texts (and even of passages from the Bible, the Ḳurʾān, and other sacred texts if desired), followed by deliberations more properly administrative in character, when the community's financial affairs are reviewed, important announcements are made, etc. A small meal is then taken together, "even if nothing more than a glass of water", in accordance with the Bāb's decree. 2. To fast 19 days, *i.e.,* the entire Bābī month of ʿAlāʾ, from 2 to 21 March, the Bahāʾī New Year's Day. The fast is of Islamic type, requiring abstention from all food and drink, etc., from dawn till sunset. 3. To practise complete abstention from all alcoholic drink. 4. To pray three times a day, morning noon, and evening, according to short, set formulae. The obligatory prayers (written in Arabic by Bahāʾ Allāh) may be recited in any language. Some are preceded by ablutions, which are much simpler than Islamic ablutions, consisting only of washing the face and hands and reciting two very short prayers.

Apart from this the *Aḳdas* lays down precise rules for the division of inheritances (a portion of which falls to the teachers), levies a tax of 19 per cent on revenues, and prescribes numerous other rules and penal, civil and religious laws, which are followed in part only by the eastern Bahāʾīs. Marriage is monogamous: although the *Aḳdas* allows bigamy, the provision was cancelled by ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ ("Model of Bahāʾī Life", on the basis of an explicit declaration by Bahāʾ Allāh). For a marriage to be valid the onsent of the couple's parents is required. Divorce is allowed, but discouraged.

The controlling bodies of the Bahāʾī community are of two kinds, administrative and instructional, the first being made up of elected councils and the second of persons and associations appointed from above. The two types come together at the summit of organisation in the person of the Guardian (*Walī-yi Amr Allāh*). The administrative bodies are as follows: 1. The local spiritual assembly (*Bayt al-ʿAdl-i Maḥallī*). These are formed wherever there are at least nine Bahāʾīs. They are of nine members elected by universal suffrage. Election is considered as an act of worship, and the Bahāʾī concept, unlike that underlying the electoral system of the parliamentary democracies, does not imply responsibility of the elected towards their electors, since the latter are merely instruments of the will of God. Elections are held each year during the period from 21 April to 2 May (Riḍwān festival). At the present time there are local assemblies in more than 200 countries throughout the world. 2. Where there is a sufficient number of local assemblies a "Convention" of 19 members elected by universal suffrage elects a national spiritual assembly (*Bayt al-ʿAdl-i Millī* or *Markazī*) also of nine members, not necessarily from among its own members but from all adherents of the faith. There are at the present time more than twenty of these. 3. When sufficient national assemblies have been formed their members will elect a universal spiritual assembly (not necessarily from among themselves but from all adherents).

This assembly will be called *Bayt al-ʿAdl-i ʿUmūmī,* Universal House of Justice. Its president will be the Guardian, by virtue of his office, and for the term of his life. The task of the Universal House of Justice will be to function as supreme administrative body and court, and in addition to frame in accordance with the needs of the time laws not laid down by the *Aḳdas* or the other writings of the Founder; these laws it will have the power to abrogate should need arise.

The jurisdiction of the different Assemblies is absolute within their sphere of competence and fully binding on all believing Bahāʾīs, who should in theory bring before their Assembly even their private affairs and differences (in the first instance the local Assembly would be concerned, subsequently the national if the question proved insoluble).

Alongside these elected administrative systems, which are graded from the bottom up, is the instructional system, graded from the top down and made up of appointed members. At its head is the Guardian, whose powers, however, are interpretative only and not legislative. He has legislative powers only as a lawful member of the Universal House of Justice, on the same basis as the other members. The Guardian's position is hereditary, but his eldest son is not necessarily appointed his successor. He names his successor in his life-time from among the members of his family. Immediately below the Guardian in the instructional order come the "Hands of the Cause of God" (*Ayādī-yi Amr Allāh*), of whom he appoints a varying number. The "Hands of the Cause" elect among themselves a Council of nine members whose duty is to assist the Guardian and confirm his choice of successor. The Hands of the Cause appoint their own subsidiaries in their turn, who assist them in their work of instruction and dissemination of the doctrine and spirit of the Faith ("Auxiliary Boards").

The Bahāʾīs consider such a complex administrative system as of divine origin. This system is in fact outlined in the *Aḳdas,* with additions and improvements by ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ, and by the present Guardian, Shoghi Efendi, in the matter of appointing assistants for the Hands of the Cause. For the Bahāʾīs such a system is not merely a means of internal administration of the Community's affairs, but the

prototype of the ideal world government of the future, which will eventually arise after a long process of peaceful evolution. The Bahā'īs do not accept the separation of Church and State, but maintain that in the absence of priests and sacraments the Bahā'ī fusion of religion and administration will take on a different character from that of the traditional theocracies. Every Bahā'ī is thus formally forbidden to belong to a political party or to secret societies and obedience to due authority is obligatory. The Bahā'ī religion having a strong pacifist trend, members of the Bahā'ī community are advised to avoid military service, at least in lands where conscientious objection is recognised by law. We could also speak of a strong trend towards vegetarianism, based on a short speech made by ʿAbd al-Bahā', during his stay in America, in which he states that he favours the creation of a way of life in which it would no longer be necessary to kill other living beings for food; but he would not force others to accept his view. Likewise he speaks critically of hunting. He advises strongly against smoking, without formally forbidding it.

Although the Bahā'īs have no public form of worship the *Aḳdas* recommends the erection of *Mas͟hriḳ al-Ad͟hkār* (literally "place where the uttering of the name of God arises at dawn"), a kind of temple of circular plan surmounted by a dome of nine sections, and open to the faithful of every creed, all being free to pray there as and when they wish. ʿAbd al-Bahā' emphasises that to every temple there should be attached a high school for giving instruction in the different sciences, a hospital, an orphanage, a dispensary, and other institutions useful to society. On 10 May 1912 he himself laid the first stone of the *Mas͟hriḳ al-Ad͟hkār* at Wilmette (Illinois), on the shore of Lake Michigan near Chicago. This impressive structure cost more than two million dollars and was officially consecrated in the presence of the Guardian's wife in June 1953. Long previously, in 1902, another *Mas͟hriḳ al-Ad͟hkār* had been erected at ʿIs͟hḳābād in what is now Soviet Türkmenistan but we have no exact information on the present state of this building. Other Bahā'ī buildings are the *Ḥaẓīrat al-Ḳuds* (literally Enclosures of Holiness), which are administrative centres of no sacred character, and finally the tombs of the Founders, all grouped together at the world centre of the Faith near Mount Carmel in Israel. The tomb of Bahā' Allāh is at Bahd͟ji and the bodies of the Bāb and ʿAbd al-Bahā' rest in the great mausoleum called *Maḳām-i Aʿlā*, on the slopes of Mount Carmel. The Bahā'īs also consider as sacred localities the *Riḍwān* garden near Baghdād (see *Bahā' Allāh*), and the house of the Bāb at S͟hīrāz, etc. The mausoleum of the Bāb (*Maḳām-i Aʿlā*), surrounded by splendid gardens, is the goal of frequent pilgrimages by European and Eastern Bahā'īs.

It is very difficult to give figures for the numbers of professing Bahā'īs in their communities in the different countries of the world. The central core is in Persia, where different estimates of their number vary from more than a million down to about five hundred thousand. In the city of Tehran there are about thirty thousand. The United States of America come next (about ten thousand), and in Europe, Germany (one thousand); Bahā'īs in other countries can be counted in hundreds. In Iran even now (1958 they are not a recognised religious minority and often suffer persecutions of varying severity. Among other things they are forbidden to print books and newspapers. All official Bahā'ī publications in Persia are cyclostyled. Recently (1955-58) great progress has been made in Africa (especially Uganda) where the number of Bahā'īs exceeds three thousand.

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited under Bahā' Allāh, see; On ʿAbd al-Bahā': S. Lemaître, *Une grande figure de l'Unité, ʿAbdu 'l-Bahā'*, Paris 1952; M. H. Phelps, *Life and teaching of Abbas Effendi*, London 1912 (German trans. *Abdu 'l-Baha Abbas, Leben und Lehre*, Stuttgart 1922); Lady Blomfield, *The Chosen Highway*, London 1940; M. Hanford Ford, *The Oriental Rose, or the Teachings of Abdul Baha*, New York 1910. Account of his journey to Europe and America: Maḥmūd Zarḳānī, *Kitāb Badā'iʿ al-Āt͟hār fī Asfār Mawlā al-Ak͟hyār*..., Bombay 1914-1921 (2 vols.). His chief works: *Makātib-i ʿAbd al-Bahā'*, Cairo 1910-1921 (3 vols.); *al-Nūr al-Abha fī Mufāwiḍāt Ḥaḍrat ʿAbd al-Bahā'* (records of conversations, collected by Laura Clifford Barney in Acre), Cairo 1920; (English trans. by L. Clifford Barney, *Some answered questions*, London 1908; French trans. by I. Dreyfus, *Les Leçons de Saint Jean d'Acre*, Paris 1929); *K͟hiṭābāt-i Mubāraka-yi Ḥaḍrat-i ʿAbd al-Bahā' dar Awrūpā wa-Amrīkā*, Tehran 99 (Bahā'ī era)/1942; *al-Risāla al-Madaniyya*, Cairo 1329/1911 (a works written by ʿAbd al-Bahā' before 1292/1875, English trans. by Dāwūd, *The Mysterious forces of civilization*, Chicago 1918); *D͟javāb-i Prōfessōr-i Almānī Dr. Forel* (Reply to Professor Forel), Cairo 1922; *Alwāḥ wa Waṣāyā-yi Mubāraka-yi Ḥaḍrat-i ʿAbd al-Bahā'*, Cairo 1342/1924 (important on the question of the succession). — Anthologies: *Tablets of ʿAbdu 'l-Bahā'* ed. Windust, New York 1930 (3 vols.); *The wisdom of ʿAbdu 'l-Bahā'*, New York 1924; *ʿAbdu 'l-Bahā' on Divine Philosophy*, ed. Chamberlain, Boston 1918; *Selected writings of ʿAbdu 'l-Bahā'*, Wilmette 1942.

Of the works of Shoghi Effendi, who writes in English as well as in Arabic or Persian, the most important in English is *God passes by*, Wilmette 1945. Noteworthy for its rich and elegant Perso-Arabic style is the *Lawḥ-i Ḳarn*, Bombay n.d., a letter sent to the eastern Bahā'īs on the occasion of the first centenary of the foundation of the Faith (1944).

On Bahā'ī doctrine: J. E. Esselmont, *Bahá'-ulláh and the New Era*, London 1923 (with several other enlarged editions, the last printed at Wilmette in 1946); R. Jockel, *Die Glaubenslehren der Bahá'i-Religion*, Darmstadt 1951 (cyclostyled), containing a very large bibliography of eastern and occidental works; Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Gulpāyagānī (or Abu 'l-Faḍl D͟jarfād͟hḳānī) has produced interesting and stimulating controversial work in Arabic and Persian. We may cite from his writings: *al-Ḥud͟jad͟j al-Bahiyya*, Cairo 1343/1925 (English trans. by ʿAlī Ḳulī K͟hān, *The Bahā'ī proofs*); *Mad͟jmūʿa-yi Rasā'il*, Cairo 1339/1920.

The *Mā'ida-yi Āsmānī*, Tehran 104 (Bahā'ī era/1947, (6 vols.), is a vast anthology of the Founders' doctrinal writings.

Miscellaneous statistics and information on the life of Bahā'ī communities throughout the world are given in the biennial publications sumptuously edited in America, *The Bahā'ī World* (12 volumes published up to the present time, from 1925 to 1957). (A. Bausani)

BAHĀR [see kayl].

BAHĀR, Muḥ. Taḳī (1885-22 April 1951), Persian poet and politician, born at Mas͟hhad of a family originating from Kās͟hān. In 1904, on the

death of his father, the poet Ṣabūrī, Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh conferred upon him the *laḳab* borne by his father, *Malik al-S̲h̲uʿarāʾ-i Āstāna-i Raḍawi-i Mas̲h̲had*. From 1906 Bahār joined the camp of the Liberals (*aḥrār*) and his first works appeared in *al-Ḥabl al-Matīn*, published in India; moreover he very soon started his own review *Naw Bahār* (1909), which quickly became famous, firstly at Mas̲h̲had and then in Tehran, where he established himself permanently after a short exile in Constantinople (1915-6). Upon his return, he founded a club (*and̲j̲uman*) bearing the name *Dānis̲h̲kada*, with the review of the same name. He was several times a deputy in the Mad̲j̲lis, but retired from political life after the *coup d'état* of 25 February 1921 and devoted himself to the study of the old poets. After teaching the science of style at the Teachers' Training College and then at the University, he returned to political life and was Minister for National Education in an ephemeral cabinet (1946); he was also elected President of the national section of the Stockholm Peace Movement.

He is considered in Persia to be the greatest poet of his time. He is extolled for the charm of his intellect, his brilliant qualities as a conversationalist and for his gift of impassioned oratory. He succeeded in reviving Persian poetry, dormant since the Mongols, and in discovering the masters of the Ṣaffārid and Sāmānid periods. He knew only his mother-tongue, but that he knew to perfection.

The work left by Bahār is rich and varied (his last works were published in the review *Yag̲h̲mā* between 1946 and 1951). It is greatly to be regretted, however, that his work on prosody, *Taṭawwur-i Naẓm*, was not completed and that his *dīwān*, written in his own fine calligraphy, has only been printed in part. His main work deals with style and was published in 3 volumes from 1942 to 1948. He also composed *risālas* on Firdawsī, Mānī and al-Ṭabarī; *manẓūmas* (*čahār k̲h̲iṭāba, kārnāma-i zandān*); translations from Pahlawī and a novel. In addition, he wrote a brief history of the political parties, of which the first volume alone has been published. Finally he collaborated in publishing linguistic works and manuals (*dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, 2 vols.) as well as in the edition of certain books, (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sīstān*, *Mud̲j̲mal al-Tawārīk̲h̲ wa 'l-Ḳiṣaṣ*, etc.).

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BAHĀR-I DĀNES̲H̲ [see ʿināyat allāh ḳanbū].

BAHĀRISTĀN [see d̲j̲āmī].

BAHĀRLŪ, name of a Turkish tribe in Persia. In particular, the name refers to the ruling family of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū federation of Türkmen tribes (also called Bārānī). It is most probable that the name ("those of Bahār") is connected with the village of Bahār (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 290: *W. hān*, read *Vahār*) situated at 13 kms. north of Hamadān. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 107 (Eng. transl. 106) the castle of Bahār served as residence to Sulaymān-s̲h̲āh b. Parčam Īwāʾī, who later became one of the three chief ministers of the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim and was executed by the Mongols of Hülegü k̲h̲ān (2 Ṣafar 656/Feb. 8 1258), cf. D̲j̲uwaynī, (Annex), iii, 290. See especially the excursus on the family of Sulaymāns̲h̲āh by M. Ḳazwīnī, *ibid.*, iii, 453-64. The *nisba* Īwāʾī clearly points to Sulaymān-s̲h̲āh's connexion with one of the basic Og̲h̲uz tribes: *Ivā* (or *Īvā*), see Maḥmūd Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *Dīwān Lug̲h̲at al-Turk*, i, 56. The reasons of Sulaymān-s̲h̲āh's expatriation from his principality of Bahār to Bag̲h̲dād are unknown, but there are definite indications that even before the arrival of the Mongols the Īvā had spread northwards towards Erbil and Marāg̲h̲a. The K̲h̲wārazm-s̲h̲āh D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn had to repress their depredations on the roads leading to Tabrīz (winter 623/1226), see Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 302; Nasawī, 126. The presence of an Īvāʾī is mentioned even in K̲h̲ilāṭ (627/1230). These stages lead us to the region where the Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū federation of tribes was formed. Even the emblem on some Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū coins reminds one of the tribal *tamg̲h̲ā* of the Iva. On the other hand the connexion of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū rulers with Hamadān is confirmed by the survival of their epigons in those parts. For a long time the region of Hamadān was called *Ḳalam-raw-i ʿAlī S̲h̲akar*, after the name of the important Ḳarā-Ḳoyūnlū amīr.

At present splinters of the Bahārlū tribe are scattered throughout southern Persia, see Sykes, *Ten thousand miles*, 81, 302.

Bibliography: See V. Minorsky, *The clan of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers* in *Mélanges F. Köprülü*, 1953, 391-5, and *BSOAS*, 1955, xvii/1, 69-71. (V. Minorsky)

BAHĀWALPŪR, a town in West Pakistan with a population of 60,000, situated near the left bank of the river Sutled̲j̲, at a distance of about 500 miles north of Karachi, with which it is connected by means of a railway. It has a museum, a library and several educational institutions, and is the administrative, commercial and educational centre of the region in which it lies.

Formerly, it was the capital of the Bahāwalpūr state, which was founded by the Dāʾūdpota family of Sind. The town itself was founded by the second ruler of the dynasty, Muḥammad Bahāwal K̲h̲ān, in 1748. The ruling dynasty has sometimes been called ʿAbbāsiyya after a certain local ancestor ʿAbbās; the name has nothing to do with the ʿAbbāsids of Bag̲h̲dād or Egypt. The ruling family became independent of the Afg̲h̲ān kings towards the end of the 18th century, and made a treaty with the British in 1838. The state had an area of 15,918 square miles, and stretched for about 300 miles along the left bank of the Sutled̲j̲, the Pand̲j̲nad and the Indus, extending into the desert for a mean distance of 40 miles. The chief crops were then, as now, wheat, rice, cotton and millet, which were entirely dependent on irrigation from the boundary rivers. According to the census report of 1941, the total population of the state was 1,341,209, and the majority of the people were Muslims — D̲j̲āts, Rad̲j̲-pūts and Balučīs. The state of Bahāwalpūr ceased to exist as a separate political entity in 1955, when it was incorporated in West Pakistan.

Bibliography: S̲h̲ahāmet ʿAlī, *The History of Bahāwalpūr*, London 1848; *Bahawalpur State* (*Panjab States Gazeteers*, vol. xlv) Lahore 1935; Dawlat Ram, *Mirʾāt Dawlat ʿAbbāsiyya*, Amritsar 1851; M. ʿAzīz al-Raḥmān, *Ṣubḥ Ṣādiḳ* 2nd ed., 1943; M. Aʿẓam Hās̲h̲imī, *D̲j̲awāhir ʿAbbāsiyya* (Persian; still in MS); C. H. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India*, ix, Calcutta 1892. (Sh. Inayatullah)

BAḤDAL b. Unayf b. Wald̲j̲a b. Ḳunāfa belonged to the clan of the Banū Ḥārit̲h̲a b. D̲j̲anāb, which was also called *al-Bayt* or the aristocracy of Kalb. A Christian like the great majority of his tribe, his chief claim to fame is that he was the father of

Maysūn, mother of Yazīd I. His nomad clan lived to the south of the ancient Palmyra, whither Maysūn afterwards brought the young Yazīd, and where the Umayyads reunited after the congress of Djābiya and the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ. Baḥdal was thus the founder of the great prosperity of the Kalbites while the Umayyad dynasty lasted, though he did not himself take an active part in politics. As one of his sons was accused of being a Christian under the caliphate of Yazīd I, Baḥdal must have died a a Christian, probably before the battle of Ṣiffīn, in which one of his sons commanded the Ḳuḍāʿa of Damascus, and at an advanced age. His sons succeeded him and became the first persons in the state; in consequence the partisans of the Umayyads were called Baḥdaliyya. His grandson Ḥassān, guardian of the sons of Yazīd I, after the death of Muʿāwiya II even dared to cherish the project of succeeding him. The undue preponderance of the Baḥdalites and the Kalbites contributed largely to the division of the Arabs into two parties, that of Ḳays and that of Yemen, after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 204, 468, 471, 577; Ibn Durayd (ed. Wüstenfeld), 316; *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), 261, 318-319, 659; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ii, 305; Dīnawarī (ed. Guirgass), 184, 275; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 305; A. Musil, *Ḳuṣair ʿAmrā*, 151.

(H. LAMMENS)

BAHDĪNĀN, BĀDĪNĀN, the Kurdish territory to the north and north-east of the Mawṣil plain. From the latter years of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, circa 600/1200, until the middle of the 13th/19th century the area was a principality ruled from ʿAmādiya ([*q.v.*], Kurdish *Āmēdī*). It included ʿAḳra (Kurd. *Ākrē*), Shūsh, and the Zēbārī lands on the Great Zāb river to the east and Dahūk, and occasionally Zākhū, to the west. The principalities of Bōhtān and Ḥakārī bounded it in the north, and that of Sōrān in the south.

The eponymous Bahāʾ al-Dīn family came originally from Shams al-Dīnān (Kurd. *Shamdīnān*, [*q.v.*]). Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 106 ff., relates the history of the principality for two centuries from the time of the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh to 1005/1596. The Amīr Ḥasan, under the aegis of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, extended his rule to Dahūk and the Sindī area north of Zākhū. His son Sulṭān Ḥusayn was confirmed in authority by Sulṭān Sulaymān the Magnificent. Ḥusayn's son Ḳubād was deposed and killed by a Mizūrī tribal force, but his son Saydī Khān regained power with Turkish help. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century the ruler of Ardalān, under Shāh ʿAbbās, placed a governor in ʿAmādiya for a short time. There is then little record of the state for another century. Under Ottoman suzerainty the family appears to have reached its zenith with the reign of Bahrām Pasha the Great, 1138-81/1726-67. Bahrām's son Ismāʿīl Pasha, 1181-1213/1767-97, had to cope with his rebellious brothers, who established themselves at various times in Zākhū and ʿAḳra. Murād Khān, son of Ismāʿīl, was driven from ʿAmādiya by his cousin Ḳubād, with the help of the Bābān pasha of Sulaymāniya. Once again the Mizūrī tribe rose to bring about the downfall of a Ḳubād in 1219/1804 and ʿĀdil Pasha, son of Ismāʿīl, was confirmed in power by the Djalālī pasha of Mawṣil. He was succeeded in 1223/1808 by his brother Zubayr. In 1249/1833 Muḥammad Pasha Kōra, the "Blind Pasha" of Rawāndiz, captured ʿAḳra and ʿAmādiya, deposing the ruler Saʿīd Pasha, and proceeded to take Zākhū. Although his sway only lasted a few years the Bahdīnān family never fully recovered its power and in 1254/1838 the area was finally incorporated in the *sandjāḳ* of Mawṣil.

The name Bahdīnān is still applied to the area occupied by the following great Kurdish tribes: Barwārī, Dōskī, Gullī, Mizūrī, Raykānī, Silayvānī, Sindī, and Zēbārī.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925; Ṣiddīḳ al-Damlūdjī, *Imārat Bahdīnān al-Kurdiyya*, Mosul 1952.

(D. N. MACKENZIE)

BĀHILA. A settled and semi-settled tribe in ancient Arabia. The centre of their territory, Sūd Bāhila (Saud? — "corrected" in Hamdānī by an uninformed copyist into Sawād), extended on both sides of the direct route (described by Philby in *The Heart of Arabia*, vol. ii) from Riyad to Mecca. It is sufficiently well defined by the localities al-Ḳuwayʿ, Djazālā = Juzaila, al-Ḥufayr = Hufaira and the mountains al-Ḳatid = al-Djidd and (Ibnā) Shamāmi = Idhnain Shamal. The clan Djiʾāwa (Djāwa) lived further westward at the western foot of the Thahlān = Dhalan and in the south-east corner of the later Ḥimā Ḍariya near the Ghanī, another group further to the south in the oasis of Bīsha. To this group may have belonged the Banū Umāma, guardians of the sanctuary of Dhu ʾl-Khalaṣa near the neighbouring Tabāla. An old verse (ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, Suppl. 16.2) runs: ". . . . I will . . . . not visit the fair, even though Jasr and Bāhilah journey thereto to sell their wares" (Jasr also in the oasis of Bīsha). What kind of wares? Pottery? — clay was rare in Arabia.

The genealogy of the tribe is somewhat complicated: Bāhila is the mother of one son of Mālik b. Aʿṣur and, through *nikāḥ al-maḳt* with the other son, Maʿn by name, the mother of two of the latter's sons and foster-mother of ten other sons. These other sons stem from two different mothers. Such artifices are familiar to the genealogists. Here only their accumulation is remarkable. This accumulation points indeed to the local separation of the groups of the Bāhila and also to a political opposition between the two greatest of their clans, the Ḳutayba and the Wāʾil. The connexion with Aʿṣur makes of the Bāhila, who are also called, moreover, Bāhila b. Aʿṣur, brothers of the Ghanī. As we have seen above, they were in fact neighbours, of the Ghanī. Unfortunately, the period when the sobriquet Ibnā Dukhān for both these tribes originated is not certain. The Bāhila stood partly under the protection of the Kilāb and partly under that of the Kaʿb branch of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Only one warrior from amongst them is known, al-Muntashir, and this one because Aʿshā Bāhila (no. 4) made an elegy over him. We know of another episode from al-*Nābigha al-Djaʿdī*, no. ix. Both instances lie shortly before the rise of Islam. Two documents of the Prophet have been handed down in Ibn Saʿd, i. 11, 33, the first for the Bāhilites in Bīsha, the second for a chieftain of the Wāʾil.

The history of the tribe becomes clear for the first time under Islam. Their exodus from Arabia was directed predominantly towards Syria (even the Bāhila in Khurāsān came there mainly with troops from Syria) and, for the rest, towards Baṣra. Bāhila (and Ghanī) tribesmen had a substantial share in the war of revenge fought by the Ḳays against the Kalb after the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 126). The Bāhila also developed an abundance of talents of

all kinds. The most important are the philologist al-Aṣmaʿī and the general Ḳutayba b. Muslim. A second exodus of the Bāhila from Arabia is to be distinguished from that of the *muhādjirūn* — an exodus which brought a part of those who had remained behind in Arabia to the lower Euphrates, firstly towards al-Ḥufayr a short distance before Baṣra; from there they penetrated into the sandy tract of al-Ṭaff, which was situated over against the Baṭāʾiḥ, and after the Zoṭṭ had settled [in the Baṭāʾiḥ] in 837, they began to infiltrate into the Baṭāʾiḥ. In 871 the Bāhila there suffered punishment from troops which were on the march to meet the Zandj. The result was that the Bāhila took the side of the Zandj. Nothing more is known about them. Hamdānī (p. 164) is the last who mentions the Bāhila in their native territory; yet this passage is hardly earlier than the parallel passage about Sūd (Saud) Bāhila (*ibid.*, 147 ff.), the original source of which is set by de Goeje in about the year 250/864. Before that time there occurred the over-running of central Arabia by the Numayr. Only vague traces of a change of dwellings the Bāhila in central Arabia are found in the literature.

Bibliography: Aʿshā Bāhila, in *The Dīwān of al-Aʿshā*, ed. R. Geyer; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al Aṣnām*, 36; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Brit. Museum MS, fol. 184r-186r; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr waʾl-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 23,9 and 1028,1 and 3; M. Frh. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. iii, Wiesbaden 1952, 14 and 184. (W. CASKEL)

BAHDJAT MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI, Ottoman scholar and physician, grandson of the Grand Vezir Khayrullah Efendi and son of Khʷādja Meḥmed Emīn Shukūhī. Born in 1188/1774, he entered upon the ladder of the religious institution, becoming a *mudarris* in 1206/1791-2. Specialising in medicine, he rose rapidly, and in 1218/1803 became chief physician to the Sultan (Ḥekīmbashî or, more formally, *Reʾīs-i Eṭibbā-i Sulṭānī*). In 1222/1807 he was dismissed from this office, but was reappointed in 1232/1817. In 1237/1821 he was disgraced and banished, but was reinstated in the same year. In 1241/1826, after the destruction of the janissaries, he served as a member of the palace council presided over by Maḥmūd II. Besides these he also held a series of important religious and legal appointments, including those of Molla of Izmir (1221/1806) and of Egypt (1236/1820-1), Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anatolia (1237/1821-2) and of Rumelia (1247/1831-2). He died in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1249/March-April 1834 and was buried at Üsküdar.

Bahdjat Efendi was one of the last physicians of the old school, who combined the study of medicine with those of theology and law, and its practice with an *ʿilmiyye* career. At the same time he was one of the pioneers of the new medicine, of European type, in Turkey. It was under his supervision, and that of his brother the Ḥekīmbashî ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Molla, that a new hospital and also a new medical school were opened, with imported European teachers. He is said to have studied European languages under the chief dragoman Yaḥyā Efendi, and although his own medical work, as exemplified in his *Hazār Asrār*, remained largely traditional, he was responsible for a number of important translations of Western medical and scientific books, including Jenner's booklet on vaccination, Buffon's Natural History, and other works on cholera, syphilis, and milk-scab. His interest in the West was also shown by his Turkish translation of the history of the French occupation of Egypt by Al-Djabartī.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 31; *ʿOthmānlî Müʾellifleri*, iii, 209 f; Fatīn, *Tedhkire* 29 f; A. Süheyl Ünver, *Osmanlî Tababeti ve Tanzimat hakkînda yeni Notlar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 936-9; A. Adnan-Adîvar, *Osmanlî Türklerinde Ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 194 5; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, ii, Istanbul 1940, 280 ff. For a contemporary impression see Adolphus Slade, *Record of Travels in Turkey* etc., i, London 1832, 332-3. (B. LEWIS)

AL-**BĀHILĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. RABĪʿA, i.e. of the Bāhila tribe, Arab general, called Dhū ʾl-Nūr (Ṭabarī, i, 2663) or, according to Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1303, iii, 50), Dhu ʾl-Nūn, from the name of his sword. He commanded the van of Surāḳa b. ʿAmr, who was directed to Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb) by ʿUmar in 22/642 (Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*). The main incident reported in the proceedings of the Muslims, now in force at the Caucasus for the first time, was an interview between ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī and the Persian commandant at Darband, who made his submission (Ṭabarī, i, 2663-2664; cf. 2667, 2669-2671). A treaty granted to him, together with 'the inhabitants of Armenia and the Armans', witnessed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī, his younger brother (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, 400), is cited by Ṭabarī (i, 2665-2666). On the death of Surāḳa in the same year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān succeeded to the chief command and received instructions from ʿUmar to proceed northward against the Khazars. He advanced through the passes at the east end of the Caucasus as far as Balandjar, which seems to have been raided repeatedly within the next few years (Ṭabarī, i, 2667-2668; 2890). In 32/652 he was again in Khazaria, besieging Balandjar (Ṭabarī, i, 2889 ff.; also 2668 ff.). After sharp engagements round the city, the Khazars made a sortie and were joined by their other forces. The ensuing battle was a total Muslim defeat. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was struck down as he tried to rally his men. His brother Salmān b. Rabīʿa took up the standard and managed to lead off some of the survivors to Bāb al-Abwāb. The Khazars are said to have preserved the body of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and made use of it in prayers for rain (Ṭabarī, i, 2669, 2890). His defeat and death mark the end of the first Arab-Khazar war. According to some (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 204; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 221) Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī was the Arab general killed at Balandjar.

Bibliography: D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 47-57. (D. M. DUNLOP)

AL-**BĀHILĪ**, ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. ḤĀTIM AL-BĀHILĪ, Arab philogist and author, a pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and Abū Zayd, belonging to the school of Baṣra, lived first in Baghdād, then in Iṣfahān and finally settled in Baghdād again where he died in 231/855. As a rule he followed in his works the footsteps of his predecessors and like them wrote a book on trees and plants, camels, cereals and palm-trees, horses, birds and locusts, of which latter he was the first to treat. His works on proverbs, on proper names, and on the errors in the language of the common people, must also have contained many notes of great value to us, but unfortunately like all his other writings they have perished.

Bibliography: G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 81; *Fihrist*, i, 56; *ZDMG*, xii, 595. (J. HELL)

AL-BĀHILĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN [see AL-ḤUSAYN AL-KHALĪʿ].

BAḤĪRA [see BUḤAYRA].

BAḤĪRA, a she-camel or a ewe with slit ears. The Ḳurʾān and ancient poetry (cf. Ibn Hishām, 58) show that the ancient Arabs used to carry out certain religious ceremonies with respect to their cattle, which consisted firstly in letting the animal go about loose without making any use of it whatever, and secondly in limiting to males permission to eat its flesh (after it had died). In the various cases the animals bore special names (*Baḥīra, Sāʾiba, Waṣīla, Ḥāmī*; on these names cf. Wellhausen as cited below). The lexicographers are not quite agreed on the point in which cases a camel or sheep had its ear slit. According to some, it was after it had borne ten young ones, according to others when its fifth young one was female etc.—The Ḳurʾān abolished these customs and stigmatised them as arbitrary inventions, Sūra v, 102: "God has made neither *baḥīra* nor *sāʾiba*, nor *waṣīla*, nor *ḥāmī*; but the unbelievers have invented lies against God, and the greater part of them do not understand"; Sūra vi, 139: "and they say: these cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof but whom we wish (so they say); and [there are] cattle on whose backs it is forbidden [to ride] etc."; verse 140: "and they say: that which is in the bellies of these animals, is only for our men and forbidden to our wives; but if it be born dead then both partake of it. He will reward them for their attributing [these things to him] for He is wise and knowing".

Bibliography: The commentaries on the Ḳurʾānic passages quoted above; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, v. 105 ff.; Freitag, *Einleitung i. d. Studium d arab. Sprache*, 238 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], 112 ff.; Rasmussen, *Additamenta*, 66 of the Arab. text, 60 trans. (A. J. WENSINCK)

BAḤĪRĀ. the name of a Christian Monk. Ibn Saʿd and Ibn Hishām offer two parallel traditions, confirmed by al-Ṭabarī (i, 1123 ff.), according to which Muḥammad, when either nine or twelve years old, whilst accompanying the Meccans' caravan to Syria, in the company of Abū Bakr or Abū Ṭālib, found himself in the presence of a Christian monk or hermit, who is said to have revealed the young man's prophetic destiny, either by finding on him the stigmata of prophecy, or by noting the miraculous movement of a cloud, or the behaviour of a branch, which persisted in affording him shade, irrespective of the course of the sun. The recluse acquainted Abū Bakr (or Abū Ṭālib) with these marvels, admonishing him to preserve the child from the malice of the Jews (Ibn Saʿd) or from the violence of the Rūm (al-Ṭabarī, third tradition, 1123). The monk, says Ibn Saʿd, was called Baḥīrā (Aram. *Bakhīra*, the elect). Though Ibn Saʿd, coinciding with al-Ṭabarī, declares that the monk knew Muḥammad because he had found the announcement of his coming in the unadulterated (*tabdīl*) Christian books, which he possessed, (this myth in another later form in the Pseudo-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Shām*, Cairo 1954, 16, 1. 9-12), the *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* of al-Rāzī (iv, 436, i 30 ff.) says, commenting on the word *Ḳassīsīn*, (Ḳurʾān v, 82), that it meant the "Chiefs of the Christians" and that according to ʿUrwa b. Zubayr, it was one of these who remained in the authentic tradition of the Gospels, inspite of the corruption introduced into them by the other Christians, by effacing the announcement of Muḥammad's mission (cf. the long polemic on the word *faraklīṭ*). In 851, in his *Risālat fiʾl-Radd ʿala ʾl-Naṣārā*, Djāḥiẓ (cf. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 57-8) stresses (Finkel, *Three Essays*, Cairo 1924, 14, 1. 17) that the Christians, of whom the passage of the Ḳurʾān (v, 82) speaks with benevolence, are not members of the Byzantine Church, either Jacobite or Melkite, but merely those of the type of Baḥīrā or of "the monks who served Salmān al-Fārisī". The outcome of all this was that, both at the end of the 2nd/8th century and in the first part of the 3rd/9th century, the tradition, as it then stood, concurred in recognising in the monk Baḥīrā, the witness, chosen at the heart of the most important scriptural religion, of the authenticity of the Prophet's mission. Thus Islam provided a remedy for the absence of a textual promise concerning its founder, and this point, as is known, formed one of the essential arguments of the Christian polemic.

The tradition assumed a material form to the extent that the town of Boṣrā, where the meeting is said to have taken place, at a very early date showed the "monastery of Baḥīrā", and still continues to do so (al-Harāwī, *Guide des lieux de Pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 17; (transl. 43) H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria, Bosra*, 265-270).

Djāḥiẓ's attitude shows that, for a Muslim of the 3rd/9th century, Baḥīrā was a historical personage, in spite of all the objections raised (Sprenger, ZDMG, xii, 238-249). The age at which Muḥammad met this witness, 12 years of age, is the same as that of Jesus at the time of his first supernatural undertaking, the discussion with the doctors (Luke ii, 42-49), and here can be seen an attempt at polemical influence.

Whilst Baḥīrā is a witness and a guarantor in the Muslim tradition, for the Christian polemic against Islam, both in Arabic and in Greek, he is the heretical monk, whom Muḥammad met at the beginning of his career, and who became his inspirer and involuntary accomplice (*Anon. contre Mahomet*, in *Patr. Graeca*, civ, 1449b) in the composition of the Ḳurʾān, this "false Scripture". The name given him varies according to the authors' sources of information and according to their allegiance. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī calls him Sergius and says that he subsequently had himself called Nestorius (ed. Anton Tien, 76-77). Further on, in what appears to be an interpolation of the primitive "apologia", this personage is duplicated: "Sergius surnamed Nestorius and John surnamed Baḥīrā". It must be noted that al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 146) on the other hand, makes a synthesis of the two names Sergius and Bahira. The Byzantine polemists after the 3rd/9th century knew the name Baḥīrā, which they wrote Baeira or Pakhyras (Bart. d'Edesse, in *P.G.*, CIV, 1429 ff.). Whilst for ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī he is a Nestorian, he is an iconoclast (*Ann. de l'Inst. de Philologie et Hist. Or.*, Brussels, iii, 1935, 9) in the famous "Apocalypse of Baḥīrā" (R. Gottheil, *A Christian Baḥira Legend*, in *ZA*, 1898-1903). As a heretic, he is referred to both as a Jacobite (Anonymus, in *P.G.*, CIV, 1446) and as an Arian (Const. Porphyr. *De Adm. Imp.*, in *P.G.*, CVIII, 192 = Euth. Zigab., *P.G.*, CXXX, 1333 c. Sometimes his allegiance is not specified (Theophanes, in *P.G.*, CVIII, 685, b-c = Cedrenus, *P.G.* CXXI, 809 a-b). For all the Christian authors, his work coincides with what is veracious in the Ḳurʾān, whilst all the erroneous statements derive from subsequent compilers, such as ʿUthmān (Barth. of Edessa, in *P.G.* CVI, 1428-32) or even

contemporaries, perverse Jews (ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, ed A. Tien, 77-8, cf. *ZDMG*, xii, 699-708).

The Apocalypse of Baḥīrā, which exists in Syriac and Arabic, the textual history of which still remains to be established, and the chronology of which is disputed (cf. G. Levi della Vida and J. Bignami-Odier, (see bibl.), 132, no. 3 and 133 no. 1, with A. Abel, *Ann. Inst. Phil. et Hist. Or.* Brussels 1935, iii, 7-9 and *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 29 and n.), places the monk in the centre of a pamphlet, which assembles the indications of the ancient Danielesque apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius (Kmosko, in *Byzantion*, 1931, 273-296), and cleverly combines them with the Christian arguments on the apocryphal origin of the Ḳurʾān and with the various aspects of the doctrine of the Mahdī (Graf, *Gesch. der Arab. Christ. Lit.*, *Studi e Testi*, Roma, 133, 147-9). This work met with success in the Christian circles of the Orient, and up till the period of the Crusades, which even resulted in its being translated into Latin (Levi della Vida and Bignami-Odier, *op. cit.* 132-3 and 139-48, M.-T. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, in *al-Andalūs*, xvi, 1951, i, 118, 130 ff.). But even before the Crusades, the main theme of the false prophet inspired by a "wise man" was known in the West, as is attested by the work in verse, directed against Islam, under the name of *Historia Machumeti*, attributed to Hildebert (Guy Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence* (1010-1077) *est-il l'auteur de la Vita Machumeti?*, *Patr. Lat.*, cxxii, 1343-1366, Latomus, 3, Brussels 1957 and U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo Studio dell' Islam in Europa nel xii e xiii secolo*, *Studi e Testi*, 110, 34-5).

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(A. Abel)

BAHISHI [see Djanna].

BANĪẒAT al-BĀDIYA [see Malik Hifnī Nāsif].

BAHLŪL (Amīr), the name of three notable Kurdish figures, according to M. E. Zakī (*Mashāhīr*, 144): 1. A member of the Sulaymāniyya family, amīr of the Mayyāfariḳīn branch, son of Alwand Bey b. Shaykh Aḥmad. He was for a long period in the service of Iskandar Pasha, the *wālī* of Diyārbakr. Subsequently, he was for a time in command of the fortress al-Iskandariyya (between al-Ḥilla and Baghdād), and after that the sultan Yawuz Selīm entrusted to him the stronghold of Mayyāfāriḳīn. A man of great personal bravery, he perished in a fight with Shāhsuwār Bey. 2. Son of Amīr Djamshīd, chief of the Dunbulī, tribe and resident at Tauris. Died in 760/1359. 3. Son of Amīr Farīdūn, also a chief of the Dunbulī, governor of Ṭabaristān and Dāghistān. A contemporary of Shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣafawī, and one of his most loyal supporters, he fell in the battle between Ḥaydar and Shāh Khalīl Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in 880/1475-6.—There is also a Bahlūl Pasha who was the Turkish governor at Bāyazīd up to 1236/1821. He was dismissed in that year, and died four years later. Wagner (ii, 297 ff.) devotes several pages to him in a commendatory vein.

Bibliography: M. E. Zakī, *Mashāhīr al-Kurd wa Kurdistān*, Baghdād 1945; M. Wagner, *Reise nach Persien und dem Lande der Kurden*, Leipzig 1852.

(B. Nikitine)

BAHLŪL LŌDĪ [see Delhi Sultanate].

BAHMAN [see Taʾrīkh].

BAHMANĪS. A line of eighteen Muslim sultans who ruled, or claimed to rule, in the Deccan from 748-933/1347-1527, after a group of Muslim nobles led by Ismāʿīl Mukh had successtully rebelled against the sultan of Dihlī, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. The more vigorous Ḥasan Gangu supplanted Ismāʿīl and was proclaimed Sulṭān ʿAlā al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh. (On the latter's origin see Major W. Haig, *Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty*, *ASB* LXXIII Pt. 1 (Extra No.) 1904, 463; *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1938, 304-8; H. K. Sherwani, *Gangu Bahmani*, in *Journal of Indian History*, xx, Pt. 1, April 1941, 95 ff.).

Table of the Bahmanī sultans.

(a) Sulṭāns with their capital at Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga:

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh	748/1347
Muḥammad I	759/1358
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mudjāhid	776/1375
Dāwūd I	779/1378
Muḥammad II	780/1378
Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tahamtan	799/1397
Shams al-Dīn Dāwūd II	799/1397
Tādj al-Dīn Fīrūz	800/1397

(b) Sultans with their capital at Muḥammadābād-Bīdār:

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I	825/1422
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II	839/1436
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥumāyūn	862/1458
Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad III	865/1461
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad III	867/1463
Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd	887/1482
Aḥmad IV	924/1518
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn	927-1521
Walī Allāh	929/1523
Kalīm Allāh	932/1526

(Coins and inscriptions suggest the last named *roi fainéant* may have lingered in exile claiming the throne until 943/1536-7. See E. E. Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings of the Deccan*, in *IC*, ix, 1935, 168 ff.; and *Inscriptions of Bīdjāpūr*, *Mem. Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 49).

During most of its history the Bahmanī Kingdom was limited to the table-land of the Deccan. Geographically, the Vindhya range may be said to be the northern edge of Southern India with the Narbada river flowing almost parallel to it. But the country south of this quasi-barrier may be divided into three distinctive parts: (i) Malwā, with its general slope towards the West; (ii) the Deccan table-land proper which, along with Berār, forms the pivot of the lavaic crescent where the ancient undisturbed rock begins to extend over the centre of the peninsula; and (iii) what is called "South India" which extends from the northern edge of the Mysore plateau and the line of the Tungabhadra southwards. The lavaic uplands end abruptly in the Western Ghāts which

have always tended to form a natural limit to the ambitions of the rulers of the Deccan table-land. Although the Bahmanīs early managed to reach the sea at Dābul and Čowl they could never rule the coastal plain beyond the Ghāts effectively, and the south-western extremity of this lavaic country, Goa, had to be conquered and reconquered a number of times. While the table-land has a sheer fall of nearly 4,000 feet in the West, it has a very gentle slope eastward, and it takes more than 300 miles to reach the same level as the eastern coast line. It may be mentioned here that the importance of Golconda, which played such an important part during the later medieval period of Deccan history, and with it, of Ḥaydarābād, lies in the fact that Golconda and a part of Greater Ḥaydarābād stand on the last prominent spurs of the table-land before the undulating plain begins. The effective southern limit of the Bahmanī kingdom was the river Tungabhadra, the natural geographical limit of the Deccan, but it should be remembered that the Krishna—Tungabhadra Doāb was always a bone of contention between the Bahmanīs and their southern neighbours, the Rāyas of Vid̲j̲ayanagar in much the same way as it had been a bone of contention between the Western Čalukyas and Rashtrakutas, and between the Yādavas and Hoysalas in ancient times.

The Bahmanī sultans continually struggled to extend the area of their military and revenue paramountcy and this involved them in war against the sultanates of Malwā and Gud̲j̲arāt in the north and Vid̲j̲ayanagar in the south and in efforts, complicated by the intervention of Vid̲j̲ayanagar and the Hindu chiefs of Orissa, to assert their suzerainty in Telangāna, south and east of the Godavarī.

In the north, a successful war between S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I and Hus̲h̲ang S̲h̲āh of Malwā over Kherla in 832/1428 followed in 834/1430-31 by an unsuccessful war against Gud̲j̲arāt in alliance with the Rad̲j̲a of Jhalawār ended in stalemate. In 866/1461-2, Maḥmūd K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī of Malwā, in alliance with the Gad̲j̲apati Rad̲j̲a of Orissa, Kapilendra, succeeded in occupying Bīdar itself; the Bahmanīs were saved by the intervention of Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh Bēgada of Gud̲j̲arāt. War again occurred in 872/1468 over Mahūr and Ellichpūr, but although Khērla was temporarily occupied by the Bahmanī forces, a peace, which proved to be lasting, restored the *status quo ante*, between Malwā and the Bahmanīs.

In the south, confict over the fertile Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab with Vijayanagar was endemic. War occurred in 750/1349, 755/1354, 767/1365, 800/1398, 808/1406, 823/1420, 825/1422, 847/1443 and 886/1481 with varying fortunes, and the Doab region remaining a no-man's-land between the two powers, until after the accession of the Vidjayanagar ruler, Krishna Deva Rāya in 915/1509, when the region was virtually incorporated into the Vid̲j̲ayanagar dominions.

In the west, despite Bahmanī claims to Dābul and Čowl, the Bahmanīs were unable to control the coastal region west of the Ghāts and were impotent to prevent continuing depradations by the Rad̲j̲as of Khelna and Sangameshwar, until the *wazīr*, Maḥmūd Gawān, succeeded in occupying Sangameshwar and Goa in 876/1471 and 876/1472.

In the east, the Bahmanīs raided Telangāna successfully in the reign of Muḥammad I and again in 820/1417 and 827/1424 when Warangal was captured, and a Bahmanī governor established, but the local Hindu chiefs could usually rely upon help from Orissa. The Orissan general Hamvīra captured Warangal in 864/1460, but succession troubles in Orissa enabled the Bahmanis in campaigns between 882/1477-8 and in 885/1480, to extend their hegemony, though briefly, to the Bay of Bengal. Telangāna was then divided into two provinces centring on Warangal and Rajahmundry.

While ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman S̲h̲āh was the founder of the dynasty it was Muḥammad I who organised it. The central Government was divided into three main departments dealing with civil, military and judicial matters respectively. The civil department was centered in the *wakīl-i salṭanat* or Prime minister who was assisted by *wazīrs* or ministers and *dabīrs* or secretaries. In the same way the judiciary consisted of the *ḳāḍīs* or judges and the *muftīs* or interpreters of law, while peace and security of the cities was kept by the *kōtwāl* or Commissioner of Police and *muḥtasib* or the censor of public morals. On the military side the Commander-in-Chief had a number of subordinate officers at headquarters such as the officer at the head of *bārbardārān* who mobilised irregular forces in times of emergency, the *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* or the paymaster, the officer in charge of the *k̲h̲āṣṣa k̲h̲ēl* or the body-guard of the sulṭan, a well-equipped and well-drilled force of 4,000 soldiers, and the officer in charge of 200 *yakka-d̲j̲awānān* or *silāḥdārān* who handled the sultan's personal arms.

The whole kingdom was divided into four *aṭrāf* or provinces and each *ṭaraf* or province was placed under a *ṭarafdār* or governor. The *ṭarafdār* was originally responsible both for the civil and the military administration of the province and the *ḳilʿadārs* or commanders of the forts were placed under him. The four provinces of the Kingdom were centered round Dawlatābād, Berār, Aḥsanābād—Gulbarga and Muḥammadābād—Bīdār (which included the small part of Telangāna which was under the Bahmanīs in the beginning). Out of these the province of Gulbarga, which was centered round the capital of the state, was naturally regarded as the most important and its *ṭarafdār* was generally one who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the ruler.

The century which followed the establishment of the dynasty saw a great expansion of the kingdom which finally extended from sea to sea, and Maḥmūd Gāwān, who was now *wazir*, set to work not only on the redivision of the kingdom but also on the reform of the whole provincial administration. Firstly he redivided the kingdom into eight in place of four *aṭrāf*. Berar was divided into two charges, namely Gāwil and Mahūr, part of the area surrounding Junnar was removed from Dawlatābād province and formed into a separate *ṭaraf*, Rad̲j̲āmandrī was created a province distinct from the rest of Telangāna and Bid̲j̲āpūr was carved out of the old province of Gulbarga. The power of the *ṭarafdār* was also greatly curtailed. A *ṭarafdār* was previously supreme in both civil and military affairs of his province and could not only appoint *ḳilʿadārs* but also increase or decrease the number of soldiers on permanent duty according to his will and thus spend or save as much money as he liked out of the *d̲j̲āgīr* set aside for military expenses. Maḥmūd Gāwān curtailed the power of the *ṭarafdārs* considerably. It was decreed that in future *ḳilʿadārs* would be appointed by the central government and a *ṭarafdār* was entitled to have only one fort under his direct command. Moreover every person who was responsible for the payment of salaries of soldiers was made accountable for the money he drew

from the *djāgīr* or *manṣab* as the case may be.

Another method by which the sulṭān was brought in direct relationship with the work of the provinces was that under which a large tract of land was set aside in every province as the royal demesne. Orders were also issued for a systematic measurement of land, fixation of boundaries all over the state and a general enquiry about the record of rights and assessment of revenue.

All these schemes however, proved to be still-born when Maḥmūd Gāwān was murdered. Another attempt in the same direction was made twenty years later in 901/1495-96 by the minister Ḳāsim Barīd, the progenitor of the Barīd-shāhis of Bīdār [*q.v.*]. Under these reforms the smaller *manṣabdārs* were ordered to enrol themselves in the royal bodyguard and were henceforth called *sarkārdārs* or *ḥawāladārs*. This was only a half-hearted measure and affected only the small *djāgīrdārs* and *manṣabdārs* while the great nobles were left untouched. The great power and authority which the *ṭarafdārs* were left to enjoy after the nullification of earlier reforms was one of the causes of the disintegration of the Kingdom and its resolution into five succession states, namely Bidjāpūr, Aḥmadnagar, Golconda, Berār and Bīdar [*q.v.*].

The large influx of Persians and others from overseas created a peculiar political problem in the Deccan, for it divided the Muslim population of the State into two contending groups, viz. the *dakhnīs* or the older colonists and the *āfāḳīs* (sometimes called the *gharīb al-diyār*) or the new settlers. Their struggles were largely responsible for the downfall of the Bahmanī Kingdom.

Bibliography: Storey I, 1, 739; J. S. King, *History of the Bahmanī dynasty*, founded mainly on *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, III; T. W. Haig, *Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty* (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, lxxiii, Extra No. 1904, I); E. E. Speight, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings of the Deccan*, in *IC*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan, IX, 1935, 168 ff.); Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Riyāḍ al-Inshā*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan, 1948; H. K. Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmanī Wazīr*; idem, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan: An Objective Study*.

(H. K. SHERWANI)

MONUMENTS. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh's new kingdom at Gulbarga was open to attack from all sides, by the Rādjās of Vidjayanagara, Telangāna and Orissa, by the Gōndhs, and by the rival sultans of Khāndesh, Mālwā and Gudjarāt; the first buildings of the new régime are consequently entirely military, surrounding the kingdom: to the north, Eličpur, Gāwilgaṛh, Narnālā (Bahmanī inscriptions, T. W. Haig, *EIM* 1907-8, 11) in Berār, also Māhūr; on the west, Parenda, Naldrug, Panhālā and Gulbarga itself; in the centre, Bīdar, Golkondā and Warangal; on the south-west, Mudgal and Rāyčūr. Many of these were existing Hindū, often Gōndh, fortifications hastily occupied and modified; some were rebuilt later by Aḥmad Shāh Walī al-Bahmanī after his transformation of Bīdar [*q.v.*] fort, and during the reign of Muḥammad III in consequence of Maḥmūd Gāwān's policies. (References in Ferishta, *passim*).

Gulbarga. The fortifications are well preserved, with double walls 16 m. thick, surrounded by moat often 30 m. wide, well provided with bastions —many with barbettes added later for the use of artillery—and hornworks, large and compound crenellations, machicolations and barbizans. The one major structure standing intact within the walls is the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, built 769/1367 by a hereditary Persian architect, Rafīʿ b. Shams b. Manṣūr al-Ḳazwīnī (inscr., Haig, *EIM* 1907-8, 2), of a type unknown elsewhere in India, without open *ṣaḥn* but completely roofed over forming a pillared hall whose only illumination comes from the open side aisles and the clerestory of the central dome. The side aisles are characterised by their very wide span with unusually low imposts, an arch pattern used elsewhere in Gulbarga. Two mosques of nearly the same period at Delhi [*q.v.*] are partially covered; but this type was not imitated, presumably since the *līwān* and *minbar* were obstructed from the view of most of the congregation. The other Bahmanī monuments at Gulbarga are the two groups of tombs. The first, near the south gate of the fort, includes those of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (759/1358), Muḥammad I, to whom the Shāh Bāzār Masdjid, an unpretentious building in the contemporary Tughlukian style of Delhi, is attributed (776/1375), and Muḥammad II (799/1397); the first two of these show the battering walls and weak semicircular dome of the Delhi Tughlaḳian style; that of Muḥammad II shows a similar dome, stilted below the haunch, to that of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. To the east of the city is the *Haft Gunbad*, including the tombs of Mudjāhid and Dāʾūd c. 781/1380, Ghiyāth al-Dīn (c. 799/1397) and Fīrōz (c. 823/1420); some of these are two adjacent domed chambers on a single plinth. That of Ghiyāth al-Dīn shows some Hindū influence in the *miḥrāb*, and that of Fīrūz in the carved polished black stone exterior pilasters, the dripstones and brackets; the interior of the latter is quasi-Persian in its paint and plaster decoration similar to the contemporary Sayyid and Lōdī tombs at Delhi. Of other buildings, the *dargāh* of Banda Nawāz (*Rawḍa-i Buzurg*), c. 816/1413, shows the characteristic wide arch with low imposts.

Bīdar. The Bahmanī tombs at Ashtūr, 1½ miles east of the town, are on a larger scale, with loftier and sometimes more bulbous domes, than those at Gulbarga. None of these has battered walls, and none is double. The finest, that of Aḥmad Shāh Walī (d. 839/1436), shows the characteristic later Bahmanī arch, stilted above the haunch, and is of great importance on account of its superb calligraphic decoration which includes two *shadjrās* of the saint Niʿmat Allāh al-Kirmānī [*q.v.*]. That of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II (862/1458) has striking encaustic tile-work and, unusually, some arches struck from four centres. That of Maḥmūd, 924/1518, has its walls decorated with arched niches one above the other, more characteristic of post-Bahmanī architecture. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid, called also Solah Khamba (= 'sixteen pillar') *masdjid* and Zanānī *masdjid* (827/1423-4), of the reign of Aḥmad I but erected during Prince Muḥammad's viceregency before the transfer of the capital — the earliest Muslim building at Bīdar — and the royal palaces (Takht Maḥal, etc.; cf. Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, Persian MSS. Soc. ed., 70-1), and the *madrasa* of Maḥmūd Gāwān, all works executed under the Bahmanīs, are, in view of their subsequent redecoration and rebuilding by the Barīdīs [*q.v.*], described under Bīdar [*q.v.*]. The *Čānd minār* at Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] dates from the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, and it may be observed that the earliest ʿĀdil Shāhī building at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*], Āsen Beg's *masdjid* (918/1512-3) bears an inscription indicating Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī as ruler — presumably still acknowledged as paramount in spite of Yūsuf's recent independence.

The walls of Bīdar fort are Bahmanī; those of the town date from the Barīd Shāhīs.

Bibliography: For the Deccan plateau forts, see G. Yazdani in *Hyderabad Archaeological Department Annual Report*, 1331-3F./1921-4 A.D., 2; *ibid.*, Appx. A, 17-27, "Parenda: an historical fort"; Māhūr fort, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1327F./1917-8, 8; Yazdani, Note on the antiquities of Kalyānī, *Hyd. Arch. Dept.* Report, 1334F./1934-5 A.D., Appx. A, 19-23, also *EIM* 1935-6; Warangal fort, *ibid.*, 6.; Yazdani, Note on the survey o. Mudgal fort, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1345Ff/1935-6 A.D., 25-7. See also Sir John Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, Chap. xxiii in *Cambridge History of India*, 1928, 630 ff. For Gulbarga see J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised edition; E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, 1913, 60-3; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Feriod)*, Chap. xiii; Hyd. Arch. Dept., *Report* for 1915-6; for inscriptions, T. W. Haig, Inscriptions at Gulbarga, *EIM* 1907-8. For Bīdar see bibliography under that head, specially G. Yazdani, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, OUP 1947 (full references and extensive plates, plans, inscriptions, etc.). For Bīdar as a fortified city, see S. Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

BAHMANYĀR, ABU 'L-ḤASAN BAHMANYĀR B. AL-MARZUBĀN, a famous pupil of Avicenna, died in 458/1067. Avicenna's *K. al-Mubāḥathāt* mainly consists of philosophical questions raised by Bahmanyār and answered by the master. Since he was a Zoroastrian, Bahmanyār's acquaintance with Arabic was imperfect. His *Mā baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa* and *K. fi-Marātib al-Wudjūd* were published in Leipzig in 1851 (and in Cairo in 1329 A.H.). His comprehensive interpretation of Avicenna's philosophy called *K. al-Taḥṣīl* (or *al-Taḥṣīlāt*) and consisting of logic, metaphysics and physics plus cosmology, was also published in Cairo in 1329 A.H. An extract (*faṣl*) also exists (see Brockelmann, SI, 828) from his work on the existence of souls and active intelligences. Bayhaḳī (*Tatimma*, 91) also mentions a *K. al-Zīna* on logic by him, a work on ultimate happiness, and one on music, and adds that he wrote many other treatises.

Bibliography: Besides references given in this article, see also Niẓāmī Samarḳandī, *Čahār Maḳāla* (ed. Ḳazwīnī), 252, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al- Anbā'*. (F. RAHMAN)

AL-**BAHNASĀ**, a famous town in mediaeval times, in Middle Egypt, situated between the Baḥr Yūsuf and the foothills of the Libyan range, 15 km. west of Banī Mazār, a railway station 198 km. south of Cairo. It is the ancient Oxyrhynchus, in Coptic Pemdje.

During the Byzantine period it was a flourishing city, renowned for its churches and numerous monasteries. According to a Coptic legend, the Virgin and the Child Jesus are supposed to have stayed there during the Flight from Egypt. Certain Muslim exegetes have found a verse of the Ḳur'ān (XXIII, 52), to corroborate this tradition, which is of Christian origin.

At the time of the Arab invasion, it was a fortified place with thick walls; the Greek garrison seem to have exhibited dauntless courage in its defence, which was long remembered, since their resistance inspired a popular romance, the *Conquest of Bahnasā*.

At first the capital of a pagarchy (*kūra*), the place enjoyed an astonishing prosperity in the Middle Ages. Bahnasā gave its name to a province at the time of the administrative reorganisation carried out at the behest of the Fāṭimid *wazir* Badr al-Djamālī at the end of the 5th/11th century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes it as a great city surrounded by numerous gardens. Khalīl Ẓāhirī still speaks of it as a large town, but it is already suggestive to note that Ibn al-Djīʿān, who knew the province, passes the town over in silence. Henceforth it was never anything more than an insignificant township, which, in the 19th century was included in the province of Banī Suēf (Suwayf), before belonging to that of Minya. The sands had covered it: about the year 1890, debris of all kinds, granite columns, fragments of capitals, of sculpture, pottery and bricks could be seen lying on the ground there; it is now no more than a confused heap of ruins, according to a recently published guide-book.

This lamentable situation may well be the result of the progressive deforestation of the region. Under the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids, the forests, classed as domain, were exploited by a State administration to furnish wood for naval construction: Maḳrīzī is here relying on an account by Ibn Mammātī, but adds: "This has all completely disappeared and one no longer hears anyone speak of this organisation, as private persons have had the trees cut down."

The town's prosperity was above all assured by its woven products. All kinds of cloths were manufactured there, from the most precious fabrics, such as silks figured with gold, down to the most ordinary wares: curtains, tent coverings, ships' sails. Fabrics of great size were woven there in wool, linen and cotton, with pictures in fast colours, portraying all kinds of beasts, "from the insect to the elephant". According to Idrīsī, fabrics originating from Bahnasā bore the name of the town and it is a fact that in the Museum of Muslim Art in Cairo there is preserved a piece of multi-coloured wool, with pictures of small hares framing a human head on which the name of Bahnasā can be read. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still praises its excellent woollen cloth in the middle of the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: In addition to the authors cited in J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 51, 173-191, see Ibn Ḥawḳal², 159; Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 50-51; Ibn Mammātī, 81, 344-345; Yaʿḳūbī, trans. Wiet, 186; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, i, 92-93, 307, 310, 312; ii, 103, 108-109; iv, 126; Jean Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, 55; idem; *Organisation militaire de l'Egypte byzantine*, 40, 140; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, ii, 43; trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 26, 101; Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 381, 397; Ẓāhirī, 32; trans. 50; Isambert, *Itinéraire de l'Orient, Egypte*, 467; Baedeker Guidebook, Fr. ed., 1908, 199-200; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, x, 2-5; *EI*¹, Fr. ed., supplement, 267; *RCEA*, iii, no. 939. (G. WIET)

BAḤR [see ʿARŪḌ].

BAḤR (Ar.), sea and also large perennial river.— The articles which follow treat of the principal seas known to the Arabs, but it is convenient to note here that in Islamic cosmology, on the basis of a conception generally related on the authority of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*], the mountain Ḳāf [*q.v.*], which encircles the terrestial sphere, is itself surrounded by seven concentric intercommunicating seas; these seas bear respectively the following names: Nīṭas (or Bayṭash), Ḳaynas (or Ḳubays), al-Aṣamm, al-Sākin, al-Mughallib (or al-Muẓlim), al-Mu'annis (or Marmās) and finally al-Bāḳī. But it is probable that these names correspond to geographical realities;

in fact Nīṭas (and its variant form) is an orthographic corruption of Bunṭus (= πόντος = the Black Sea); and Ḳaynas (and its variant) derives from Uḳiyānūs (= ὠκεανός = the [Atlantic] Ocean); for the other names, a tentative identification will be found in P. Anastase-Marie de St. Elie, *Nus͟hū' al-Lug͟ha al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1938, 83-4, and al Ḏj̲āḥiẓ. *Tarbiʿ* (ed. Pellat), s.v. *Bunṭus*.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmog.*, 104; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyʾā*, Leiden 1922-3, 9; see also the bibliography to the article ḲĀF. (Ed.)

AL-**BAḤR** AL-**ABYAḌ** [see BAḤR AL-RŪM].

BAḤR ADRIYĀS, name of the Adriatic in Arabic geographical works. (Ed.)

AL-**BAḤR** AL-**ASWAD** [see BAḤR BUNṬUS, ḲARA DENIZ].

BAḤR AL-**BANĀT** i.e, "the Maidens' Sea", a name given by the Arabs to the Archipelago off the west coast of the Persian Gulf. Idrīsī calls it Baḥr al-Kit͟hr.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 390, 589ff.

BAḤR BUNṬUS, the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, for which BAḤR NĪṬAS (NĪṬAS͟H) is a stereotyped error (same ductus of letters with different pointing and vocalisation). From the names of adjacent peoples or cities it was also called Baḥr al-K͟hazar or Sea of the K͟hazars (Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 105, perhaps by confusion with the Caspian, Baḥr al-K͟hazar, [*q.v.*]), Baḥr al-Rūs (Sea of the Russians), Baḥr al-Burg͟har or Baḥr al-Burg͟haz (Sea of the Bulgars), Baḥr Ṭarābazunda (Sea of Trebizond), Baḥr Nīṭas͟h al-Armanī (the Armenian Pontus), Baḥr al-Ḳusṭanṭīniyya (Sea of Constantinople) and Daryā-yi Gurziyān or Sea of the Georgians (only in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*). The name al-Baḥr al-Aswad (Black Sea) appears only in later times.

According to Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 66-67), writing in 345/956, it extends from Lāziḳa (Greek Lazikē) in the E. to Constantinople, a distance of 1300 miles, with a breadth of 300 miles. It is connected with the lake or sea of Māyuṭis (Sea of Azov, [see BAḤR MĀYUṬIS]). Among the rivers which flow into it are the Ṭanāis (Don) and the Danube. From Baḥr Bunṭus issues K͟halīd͟j al-Ḳusṭanṭīniyya (Strait of Constantinople), *i.e.*, Bosporus, Sea of Marmora and Dardanelles, which issues in Baḥr al-Rūm or Sea of the Greeks (Mediterranean). The length of the strait is 350 miles. In a parallel account written earlier (*Murūd͟j*, i, 260-262) Masʿūdī gives the length of Baḥr Bunṭus as 1100 miles and the course of the Don as about 300 *farsak͟hs*. The same general account is found in Ibn Rusta, 85-86 (about 290/903). It was thought by some, *e.g.*, Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih (103) that Baḥr Bunṭus issued from Baḥr al-K͟hazar (Caspian). Masʿūdī denies this (*Murūd͟j*, i, 273), saying simply that the two seas are connected (*Tanbīh*, 67). According to *Murūd͟j*, ii, 18 ff., the route from Baḥr Bunṭus to Baḥr al-K͟hazar was via K͟halīd͟j Nīṭas (Strait of Kertch), the Don and the Volga, using the Don-Volga portage, *i.e.*, the route called elsewhere the 'K͟hazarian Way'. Masʿūdī himself, who shows much greater interest in Baḥr Bunṭus than geographers of the Balk͟hī-Iṣṭak͟hrī school, speculated on a direct connexion between the Black Sea and the Atlantic. This view was later held by al-Bīrūnī (Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd͟jāʾib*, 104).

apAs time passed new place-names on Baḥr Bunṭus Mipear, *e.g.*, after the Sald͟jūḳ conquest of Asia Sānor the cities, formerly Greek, Sinūb (Sinope) and msūn (Amisus) mentioned by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. Similarly Nuwayrī can mention the Ḳipc͟hāḳ cities, Sūdāḳ and Ḳrim, the first of which, built in the 7th/13th century, for a time gave its name to the sea (Baḥr Sūdāḳ). For Ottoman times, see ḲARA DENIZ.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, Yāḳūt, i, 306-307, 401, 499, 746: Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 13, 392-393; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, i, 246-247; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 32, 181-183. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BAḤR FĀRIS, the Persian Gulf, in which Masʿūdī includes the Gulf of ʿUmān; Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal apply the name to the whole Indian Ocean (Baḥr al-Hind). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* distinguishes the K͟halīd͟j-i ʿIrāḳ, the Persian Gulf, from the K͟halīd͟j-i Pārs, the Gulf of ʿUmān and the Arabian Sea. Masʿūdī gives its width at the narrowest place as 150 *mīl*; the Strait of Hormuz is actually some 29 miles across. In the Muslim geographers the modern al-Aḥsāʾ was called Baḥrayn, the name Uwāl being given to one of the islands now called Baḥrayn, Hindarābī was Abrūn, Kis͟hm was Lāft, D͟jazīra Banī Kāwān, or Barkawān, and S͟hayk͟h S͟huʿayb was Lāwān, Lān or Lār.

Masʿūdī relates that one ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, aged 350, told K͟hālid b. al-Walīd that he had seen al-Nad͟jaf covered by the sea, and ships sailing to the mouth of the Euphrates below al-Ḥīra. Masʿūdī evidently believed the geographical fact if not the story. Most scholars have assumed that silt brought down by the rivers has been gradually filling up the Baḥr Fāris. The history of ʿAbbādān seems to support this. Muḳaddasī and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* speak of it as on the coast, Nāṣir-i K͟husraw as 2 leagues from the sea at low tide, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as 3 miles from the sea; it is now over 30. It has, however, been claimed (G. M. Lees and N. Falcon, *The Geological History of the Mesopotamian Plains*, *GJ*, 1952) that, though the level of the land has risen locally and though rivers have changed their courses, (see DID͟JLA, FURĀT, KĀRŪN), the area between the Arabian massif and the Persian mountains is one of tectonic subsidence, mitigated but not counteracted by the deposit of silt. The Tigris and Euphrates leave most of their silt in the marshes above al-Ḳurna and the Baḥr Fāris is materially affected only by the silt carried by the Kārūn. There is no geological evidence that the head of the Baḥr Fāris has been N.W. of its present position since the Pliocene Age; it is even possible that it has been further to the S.E. in historical times. (See also correspondence in *GJ*, 1954).

The position of the Baḥr Fāris has given it great but varying importance. Its history is very imperfectly known. A number of local chronicles are still in MS. and the story of the competition of the alternative trade routes through the Red Sea and across Central Asia has yet to be studied. Only the salient facts are given here; for further details see the articles on individual ports. Commerce was flourishing before the Arab conquest and Persians were already engaged in trade with China. The identification of the "Po ssu" of Chinese records with Persians has been questioned, as the name can also refer to a Malayan people. It is, however, established by a reference (*Chou T'ang Shu*, viii, 19) to a Po ssu embassy of 103-4/722, which brought lions as a gift; the lion is not found in Malaya. The revolt of Huang Ch'ao and his sack of Canton (264-5/878) dislocated the trade. Voyages from Persia to China appear to have ceased in the 4th/10th century. There is no indisputable evidence that Chinese ships came to the Baḥr Fāris before the Ming voyages of the early 9th/15th century. In early Muslim times the chief port was Sīrāf, near Ṭāhirī. It declined under the

later Būyids and hegemony passed to the Arab Banū Ḳayṣar of Ḳays (originally Kī͟s͟h, Kīs), afterwards subject to the Salg͟hurid Atabegs of Fārs. In 626/1229 the ruler of Hormuz, a vassal of Kirmān, captured Ḳays. The Banū Ḳayṣar then came to an end and in the next century the primacy of Hormuz was unchallenged. Following an attack by Čagatay bands in 699/1300, the capital was moved from the mainland to the island of D͟jirūn. Thus, as the commercial importance of ʿIrāḳ declined, the trading contre of the Baḥr Fāris was displaced to the south.

The importance of Hormuz, which was visited by Odoric of Pordenone and Marco Polo, among many others, was well known in mediaeval Europe. About 893-4/1488-9 it was visited by Covilhã, the agent of the King of Portugal, who was collecting information about the trade routes of Asia. It is not known whether his report reached Lisbon (see BAḤR AL-ḲULZUM). The Portuguese were more successful in the Bar Fāhris than in the Red Sea, partly because it was nearer to their base in India, and partly because neither Persia nor the Ottoman empire controlled its coasts effectively. Even Baṣra was often semi-independent under Muntafiḳ s͟hayk͟hs. Albuquerque received the submission of Hormuz in 913/1507, but the disaffection of his captains forced him to withdraw. He established effective control in 921/1515 when he murdered the powerful *wazir*, Raʾīs Ḥāmid, and built a strong fort. The Portuguese intermittently held Baḥrayn and intervened in the affairs of Baṣra. After the Ottoman capture of Bag͟hdād (941/1534) Turkish influence began to be felt in al-Aḥsāʾ, especially at al-Ḳaṭīf. ʿAbbās I encouraged potential rivals to the Portuguese, and English and Dutch factories were founded during his reign. In 1031/1622 he constrained an East India Company fleet to assist him in taking Hormuz. The S͟hāh then founded Bandar ʿAbbās, known to Europeans as Gombroon, and Hormuz decayed rapidly. The Portuguese still visited Baṣra and for a time held a fort at D͟julfa (Raʾs al-K͟hayma), but they practically disappeared from the Baḥr Fāris when they lost their foothold in ʿUmān in the middle of the century. At this time the Dutch enjoyed commercial supremacy which they began to lose to the English under the last Ṣafawids. In the anarchy of Ḥusayn's reign the ʿUmānīs captured Baḥrayn and Kis͟hm, from which Nādir S͟hāh expelled them; his own intervention in ʿUmān ended in disaster (1157/1744). In 1179/1766 the pirate chief of Bandar Rīg captured the last Dutch stronghold in the Baḥr Fāris, K͟hārak. Towards the end of the century Arab dynasties, the Āl K͟halīfa and Āl Ṣabbāḥ respectively, established themselves in Baḥrayn and Kuwayt; the latter profited commercially from the Persian occupation of Baṣra (1190/1776-1193/1779). The influence of the French, now the only rivals of the British, was eliminated when they lost Mauritius (1225/1810).

British intervention in the politics of the Baḥr Fāris. aimed at suppressing the slave trade and the piracy which became better organised with the extension of Wahhābī influence. The principal pirates were Raḥma b. D͟jābir of Kuwayt, and Sulṭān b. Ṣaḳr of the Ḳawāsim (D͟jawāsim); this tribe held what came to be called the Pirate Coast. The pirate fleet came to include 63 large ships and was able to threaten Būs͟hīr, which had now displaced Bandar ʿAbbās as the chief port of the Baḥr Fāris. In 1224/1809 the Indian Government sent a force which bombarded Raʾs al-K͟hayma and drove the Ḳawāsim inland. They returned about a year later and resumed their depredations. In 1235/1819 a strong force from Bombay, joined by an ʿUmānī contingent, again captured Raʾs al-K͟hayma, and destroyed the forts and shipping along the coast. The chiefs and the S͟hayk͟h of Baḥrayn then (1235/1820) signed a treaty renouncing piracy and slave-raiding. This was followed by supplementary treaties and in 1269/1853 they accepted maritime peace in perpetuity under British protection. At first the most important state was the Ḳawasim principality of Raʾs al-K͟hayma with which al-S͟hāriḳa (S͟hard͟ja) was closely connected and at times united. In the half century after the permanent treaty the dominant personality on the coast was Zayd b. K͟halīfa, the Banū Yās S͟hayk͟h of Abū Ẓabī; commercially the most prosperous port became Dubayy, belonging to the cognate Āl Bū Falasa. The other states were ʿAd͟jmān, Umm al-Kuwayn, and after 1285/1868 Ḳaṭar. Kalbā and Fud͟jayra on the coast of the Gulf of ʿUmān were for a short time recognised as having separate status; the former was incorporated in al-S͟hāriḳa in 1951. In recent years the presence, or suspected presence of oil on land or under the sea bed has given significance to frontiers which have rarely been defined with precision.

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ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT. (Cf. RAʾS AL-KHAYMA, AL-SHARIḲĀ; DUBAYY, ABŪ ẒABĪ) (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

BAḤR AL-GHAZĀL: (1) A tributary of the Baḥr al-Djabal (upper White Nile) forming an outlet-channel for an extensive swampy area. The swamps are fed by numerous rivers (e.g. Tondj, Djūr) originating in the Nile-Congo divide, and by the Baḥr al-ʿArab which forms the southern limit of Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*] nomadism. The Baḥr al-Ghazāl channel extends 144 miles from Mashraʿ al-Rīk (the name is variously spelt and derived) to its confluence with the Baḥr al-Djabal at Lake No, which it enters from the west at lat. 9° 29′ N.

(2) The region formed by the basin of the streams which ultimately supply the Baḥr al-Ghazāl channel. This is a rough triangle bounded on the north by the Baḥr al-ʿArab, on the south-west by the Nile-Congo divide and on the south-east by the river Rohl or Naʿām. The permanent swamp (Ar. *sadd*) in the lower courses of these streams (as in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl channel and the Baḥr al-Djabal) forms a barrier, as the Arabic implies, which long sealed the region from access by the Nile. The western part of the region consists of ironstone plateau, between which and the *sadd* lies an area of flood-plain. The indigenous pagan negroids are, in the north and east, mainly semi-nomadic, cattle-herding Dinka. Tribes of the plateau include, in its northern portion (Dār Farīt), the Farūḳī and the Kreish; further south and now divided by the frontier of the Belgian Congo are the Azande (Niam-Niam; Ar. *Namānim*).

(3) A province of the Republic of the Sudan, approximating to the above region, with an area of 82,530 sq. miles and a population of 991, 022. It is divided into four districts and has its capital at Wau. *History of the region*: Burckhardt (1814) mentions Dār Fartīt as an area supplying the Dār Fūr slave-trade. Penetration of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl from the Nile began after the expeditions of Salīm Ḳabūdān to the Baḥr al-Djabal (1839-42). Traders, including Europeans, entered the Baḥr al-Ghazāl from the Nile in the 1850s seeking ivory, but as this became difficult to obtain, slave-raiding proved a profitable alternative. The penetration of ivory-traders into Dār Fartīt helped the slave-traders (*djallāba*) from Kordofān and Dār Fūr. The slave-trade grew after 1860, when the Europeans sold their stations to their "Arab" assistants. These men, Ṣaʿīdīs, Copts, and others, who came by the Nile (*al-Baḥr*) were known as *Baḥḥāra*. They had armed retainers, usually Danāḳla recruited in the north or slave-troops (*bāzinḳir*), and fortified stations (*zarības*). They were virtually sovereign in the areas where they held a monopoly of trade.

The leading figure in the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl was the Sudanese, al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr. Setting up as an independent trader in 1858, he moved westwards into unexploited country, ultimately reaching the Niam-Niam, where he formed a private army. Expelled from their territory, he established his rule over Dār Fartīt (1865). In 1866 he made an agreement with the Rizayḳāt Baḳḳāra in the north which opened the trade-route to Dār Fūr via Shakkā. Khedive Ismāʿīl was now seeking to suppress the slave trade and to bring both the Baḥr al-Djabal and the Baḥr al-Ghazāl under Egyptian control. In 1869 the administration at Khartoum authorised an expedition under an adventurer from Dār Fūr named Muḥammad al-Bulālī (or al-Hilālī), which was defeated by al-Zubayr. His prestige grew and the importance of the north-western outlet which he controlled increased as a result of Sir Samuel Baker's expedition to the Baḥr al-Djabal (1869-73). However, while al-Zubayr was fighting the Niam-Niam (1872), the Rizayḳāt attacked traders on the Shakkā route, Al-Zubayr's consequent hostilities against the Rizayḳāt led to an embroilment with their suzerain. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Dār Fūr. Al-Zubayr thereupon concerted plans with the Egyptian authorities to attack Dār Fūr. He was appointed governor of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Shakkā. In 1874 Dār Fūr was conquered.

The next year al-Zubayr went to Cairo, where he was detained by the Khedive. His son, Sulaymān, remained in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, where Egyptian authority was ineffective. In 1877 C. G. Gordon, the governor-general, appointed Sulaymān governor of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. A quarrel with a rival resulted in Sulaymān's revolt. He was defeated and killed in 1879 by Gordon's Italian assistant, R. Gessi, who succeeded him as governor and strove to pacify the province until his recall in 1880. Gessi's successor, the Englishman, F. M. Lupton, was confronted with the repercussions of the Mahdist revolt. After the Mahdī's capture of al-Ubayyiḍ and victory at Shaykān (1883), he was cut off from assistance. Many of his officers were northern Sudanese who sympathised with the Mahdī. In April 1884 Lupton surrendered the provincial headquarters, Daym al-Zubayr, to a Mahdist force under Karam Allāh Kurḳusāwī. No effective Mahdist administration was established and Karam Allāh withdrew his army to Dār Fūr in 1886.

The Baḥr al-Ghazāl then became an object of European imperial expansion. Two expeditions from the Congo Free State entered Dār Fartīt in 1894 and the chief of the Farūḳī tribe accepted Congolese protection. Thereupon the Mahdist governor of Dār Fūr, Maḥmūd Aḥmad, sent al-Khatīm Mūsā to expel the Europeans, who had however already withdrawn since the Franco-Congolese agreement of August 1894 brought the Baḥr al-Ghazāl within the French sphere of expansion. A French expedition under J.-B. Marchand crossed the region and reached the White Nile at Fashoda in July 1898, whence they withdrew in December in consequence of the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan. An Anglo-French agreement (21 March 1899) marked the relinquishment of French claims to the Baḥr al-Ghazāl, the Congo-Nile watershed being the dividing-line between the two spheres of influence. The frontier was defined finally in 1924.

The re-establishment of administration began with the arrival of an expedition under W. S. Sparkes at Mashraʿ al-Rīk in December 1900. The following years saw the opening of communications as the *sadd* was cleared and roads made. Patrols for exploration and pacification were sent out and government posts established. Roman Catholic missionary activity began in the western Baḥr al-Ghazāl in 1903; the Anglicans started work in the eastern areas in 1905. The missions laid the foundations of an educational system, which has been increasingly subject to governmental control since 1925. Sporadic tribal troubles occurred for many years, otherwise the recent history of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl has been uneventful.

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BAḤR AL-HIND is the usual name amongst the Arabs for the Indian Ocean, which is also called Baḥr al-Zandj from its W. shores or—the part for the whole—al-Baḥr al-Ḥabashī. The expression Baḥr Fāris also sometimes includes the whole ocean.

According to Ibn Rusta, 87, its E. shores begin at Tīz Mukrān, its W. at ʿAdan. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, transl. ii, 27 = text, 22, gives Baḥr al-Ṣīn as its E boundary, al-Hind as the N. and al-Yaman as the W., while the S. is unknown.

The various parts of the ocean bear special names derived from various lands and islands. If we neglect the N. arms, Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and Baḥr Fāris in the narrower sense, which are dealt with in separate articles, we have first Baḥr al-Yaman stretching along the S. coast of Arabia with the Khuryān Muryān (Kuria Muria) islands and Suḳuṭrā. On the African coast we have, beginning at the strait of Bāb al-Mandab, first the land of Barbarā, i.e. Somaliland to the harbour of Marka, then the land of the Zandj [see BAḤR AL-ZANDJ] with the towns of Barawa, Malinda, Munbasa and the island of Zanzibar, i.e. roughly Kenya and Tanganyika Territory as far as the island of Ḳanbalū. Sufāla is joined tc Ḳanbalū, and finally at an uncertain distance is al-Wāḳwāḳ (Madagascar).

If one sets out from Baḥr Fāris at Tīz Mukrān, one comes to the coast of al-Sind with the delta of the Indus (Mihrān) and the commercial town of al-Daybul. On the shores of Baḥr Lārawī (*i.e.* the sea of Lār or Gudjarāt on the W. coast of India) lie the towns of Kanbāya (Cambay), Sūbāra, Ṣaymūr and Sindābūra (Goa). The archipelago of al-Dībadjāt (the Laccadives and Maldives) separates Baḥr Lārawī from Baḥr Harkand (Bay of Bengal with the waters to the S.). 'Harkand' has been explained as a miswriting in Arabic for Tamralipti (Reinaud) or Harikel (Marquart, cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 241). Idrīsī simply notes that the name is Indian (Jaubert, i, 63).

The last port on the Malabar coast is Kūlam Malī (Quilon), the outermost of its islands is Sarandīb (Ceylon). The route to the E. Indies appears to have lain straight across Baḥr Harkand to the island of al-Rāmnī which is washed by the waters of Baḥr Harkand and the Baḥr Shalāhiṭ. Al-Rāmnī (al-Rāmī, al-Rāmīn = al-Lāmarī, whence the sea there is called Baḥr Lāmarī) is Sumatra, to be more accurate N. W. Sumatra (Cf. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, 34), while Shalāhiṭ is S. Malacca. Voyagers sailing to China must have kept somewhat further N., for they touched at the islands of Lanḳabālūs or Landjabālūs (the Nicobars) to the N. of which are placed the Andamān islands, and from there reached Kalāh Bār (Kedah) on the Malay peninsula. The strait of Malacca is therefore called Baḥr Kalah (Kalāh Bār), while Baḥr Shalāhiṭ, when it is distinguished from it, appears to be the sea adjoining it on the S. We have now reached the land of the Maharādj, the centre of which is the land of al-Zābadj. This name originally denoted Central and S. Sumatra, where Srıbuza (Ferrand's reading) = Palembang is to be sought for, then its use was extended to include Java (Djāba) and in its political application it includes a series of smaller islands and the coast of Malacca. Beyond these islands is Baḥr Kardāndj or Kadrandj, the Gulf of Siam, which is continued on the coast of Ḳimār (Khmer = Cambodia) in Baḥr Ṣanf (Champa), the sea of Annam and the waters adjoining it on the S. Passing the island of Ṣundurfūlāt (?Hai-nan), we reach the Baḥr Ṣankhay (China Sea), where Khānfū (Hang-Chu, Canton) is the great emporium for the trade with the West. The knowledge of the Arabs concerning al-Shīlā, al-Sīlā (Korea) and the Wāḳwāḳ islands (?Japan) was vague and limited.

The notions of the Arabs of the 10th century concerning Baḥr al-Hind become more and more vague as one goes to the E. and S. and the interpretation of their statements more uncertain. In many cases they have merely followed their Greek predecessors. They have in addition utilised the accounts of their own voyages. Details from different sources were never properly assimilated to form a uniform picture. Sometimes Baḥr al-Hind appears to pass into the 'Sea of Darkness', in which mariners driven out of their course are said to be tossed about for ever. Sometimes it is believed that it joins the 'Black Sea' or 'Sea of Pitch' (al-Baḥr al-Ziftī) on the N. of Asia. Sometimes again E. Asia and S. Africa appear to be connected, as the use of the name al-Wāḳwāḳ [*q.v.*] for Japan (or Sumatra, cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 228) as well as for Madagascar shows. This idea is supported by Idrīsī, according to whom the Zābadj islands are opposite to the land of the Zandj.

The voyages of the Persians and Arabs, who availed themselves of the monsoons, had as their starting-place the Persian Gulf. Sīrāf and Ṣuḥār are important harbours there. The most important commercial centres appear to have been the land of the Zandj, to which merchants sailed even from al-Zābadj—Madagascar was ultimately colonised from the Malay islands—and al-Zābādj itself, which had relations with China. The commerce of the Muslims with China came to a standstill in 264/878 after the sack of Canton in the course of a rebellion (Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan al-Sīrāfī in G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân*, 75 ff.; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 302-308). But trade relations seem to have recovered to some extent, and became active again under the Mongols, as Ibn Baṭūṭa's account of his voyage shows.

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BAḤR KHWĀRIZM [see ARAL SEA].

BAḤR AL-KHAZAR, 'the Sea of the Khazars', the common Arabic designation for the Caspian, which was also called AL-BAḤR AL-KHAZARĪ, 'the Khazar Sea', and has had a number of other names, al-Baḥr al-Khurāsānī, 'the Khurāsānian Sea'; Baḥr Djurdjān, 'Sea of Djurdjān'; Baḥr Ṭabaristān, 'Sea of Tabaristān', etc., local names often being applied to the whole (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 263). Al-Dimashḳī mentions that in his time (circa 723/1320) the Turks called it Baḥr Ḳurzum, 'Beaver Sea' (ed. Mehren, 147), hence as we learn from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzha*, 239, transl. 231) some people misnamed the Caspian Baḥr al-Ḳulzum, which properly signifies the Red Sea (Sea of Clysma). Al-Muḳaddasī refers to the Caspian simply as al-Buḥayra, 'the Lake' (*BGA*, iii, 353, 361), perhaps identifying it with the Aral Sea (Buḥayra Khwārizm). The prevailing designation, Baḥr al-Khazar, refers to the kingdom of the Khazars, who in the early Middle Ages occupied the shores of the sea N. of the Caucasus to the mouth of the Atil (Volga) and yet further N. and E. Geographers of the school of al-Balkhī devote the greater part of their account of Baḥr al-Khazar to a description of the Khazar kingdom.

Under the Caliphate the Muslim possessions on Baḥr al-Khazar never extended beyond the Caucasus in the W. and Djurdjān in the E. and included, as one travelled S. then E. from Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*], Shirwān, Adharbāydjān with Muḳān, Djīlān (Djīl), Ṭabaristān (later called Māzandarān) and Djurdjān. N. of the Atrak which marked the boundary of the last-named province lay the desert of the Ghuzz Turks, and beyond that again, perhaps on the other side of the Ust Urst plateau, were the lands of the Khazars.

The principal rivers entering Baḥr al-Khazar were the Djām (Djim, Emba) and Djaykh (Ural) in the N., the Atil (Volga) in the N.-W., and the combined stream of the Kur (Cyrus) and Aras (Araxes) in the W., with the Djurdjān and Atrak in the S.-E. corner. It is a remarkable fact, apparently well established (cf. Le Strange, 455-8), that from the time of the Mongol invasion of Khwārizm in 617/1220 for several centuries the main stream of the Djayḥūn (Oxus, Amu Darya), which till then had flowed into the Aral Sea, passed to the Caspian. The river thus resumed its ancient course, known from accounts of the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Since some time in the 16th century it has changed course once again, and now flows into the Aral Sea as formerly.

The principal islands of the sea, as given by Ibn Ḥawḳal and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, were Siyāhkūh or Siyāhkūya, usually taken as present-day Mangishlak, and the 'Island of Bāb al-Abwāb', which cannot now be identified with certainty (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 193). With the exception of its S. and part of its W. shores the coast-line of Baḥr al-Khazar is generally low. The ranges of the Great Balkhān and Little Balkhān E. of Krasnovodsk, though not very high, are a conspicuous feature on the landward side. A modern estimate of the length of the Caspian is 760 miles. Al-Masʿūdī gives 800 miles in length, in breadth 600 miles or more (*al-Tanbīh*, 60), but the latter figure is greatly exaggerated. Al-Masʿūdī is well aware of the fact that Baḥr al-Khazar is unconnected with Baḥr Māyuṭis (Sea of Azov) and Baḥr Nīṭas (Black Sea) (*Murūdj*, i, 273-4).

For a long time the Khazars served as middlemen between the peoples of the North and the inhabitants of the lands of Islam. There is plenty of evidence of mercantile activity in both directions, for which the water-way was the Atil (Volga) and Baḥr al-Khazar itself. Eventually Russian warships began to make the descent of the Atil through Khazar territory to the Caspian, and the presence of these marauders is a feature of the history of this part of the world for a considerable period from before A.D. 900. The Mongol invasions brought about the rise of new Muslim dynasties N. as well as S. of the Caspian. It is long since the Russian advance put an end to the power of the Khānates of the steppes, and at present Russia controls more of the coastline of the sea than did the Khazars at the zenith of their power.

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(D. M. DUNLOP)

BAḤR AL-ḲULZUM, formerly much the commonest Arabic name for the Red Sea, from Ḳulzum [*q.v.*], the ancient Clysma, near Suez; the article is usually omitted when the name of the town is written alone, but retained when the sea is mentioned. It was also called Baḥr al-Ḥidjāz, a common name which survived to modern times, al-Khalīdj al-ʿArabī, and, in Turkish, Shāb deñizi (Şap denizi), "the Coral Sea". The names Khalīdj Ayla, strictly the Gulf of ʿAḳaba, and Baḥr al-Yaman, properly applicable to the southern part of the Red Sea only, were at times used for the whole sea. It was sometimes considered to end at the strait of Bāb al-Mandab, and sometimes, as by Yāḳūt, to include the Gulf of Aden, known as Khalīdj Barbarā or al-Khalīdj al-Barbarī. Owing to European influence it is now almost always called al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar or an equivalent (Kızıl Deniz, etc.).

The Baḥr al-Ḳulzum presents great difficulties to the navigator because of contrary winds, currents and submerged reefs. The northern part was considered more dangerous than the southern, the neighbourhood of Raʾs Muḥammad, the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula, being especially feared because of the meeting of winds from the Gulfs of Suez and ʿAḳaba. It has always been customary for local shipping to sail close to the shore and anchor at night. Because of these difficulties and the consequent risk of missing the monsoon that would take them home, ships from India rarely ventured as far

north as Suez, but generally unloaded their goods at Aden, Djidda or, in the 11th/17th century, at Mukhā. It was the caravan trade with Djidda that gave Mecca its commercial importance in the 9th/15th century. Much merchandise, however, was merely transshipped to smaller vessels; according to Abū Zayd the local craft used for this at Djidda were known as Ḳulzum ships. Arab navigators thus had wide experience of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and their nautical treatises show sound practical knowledge; Ferrand considered the relevant sailing directions in Ibn Mādjid's *Kitāb al-fawāʾid* to be unsurpassed, except for their errors of latitude, by any European directions for sailing ships for the area. The Muslim geographers give the length of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum as 30 days' sail, or as from 1400 to 1500 *mīl*; this figure is fairly accurate, but their estimate of the maximum breadth, 700 *mīl*, is more than three times too great.

The whole area within the strait of Bāb al-Mandab was thought to have once been a fertile country, until a certain king cut a channel through which the ocean could flow and destroy his enemy's territory. Another legend connected with the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum is that there is a magnetic mountain south of Ḳulzum, because of which local ships had to be constructed without any iron parts. This is perhaps a fanciful explanation of the fact that the local craft of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and the western part of the Indian Ocean used to be made of planks, sewn, not nailed, together; this practice is now confined to small craft in the more remote places. The Baḥr al-Ḳulzum was also believed to contain an island inhabited by al-Djassāsa, "the spy", a creature which collected information for al-Djadjdjāl. The sea in which Pharaoh and his army were drowned was assumed to have been some part of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. According to Yāḳūt the incident took place at Ḳulzum, according to others, including Ḳalḳashandī, at Birkat al-Gharandal, on the coast between Ḳulzum and al-Ṭūr, known as Surandala or Arandara to mediaeval Christian pilgrims.

In spite of difficulties to navigation, the lack of good harbours and the aridity of the littoral, the position of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum ensured its commercial importance. It must have been crossed in the south by the Semitic invaders of northern Abyssinia and again, some centuries later and in the reverse direction, by the Abyssinian invaders of S.-W. Arabia. In early Muslim times piracy was rife in this region. Under the Banū Ziyād of Zabīd, according to Masʿūdī, there was constant trade between the Arabian and African shores and there were Muslim settlements in Africa paying tribute to native rulers. Communication between the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and the Nile valley and the Mediterranean was at one time facilitated by a canal, sometimes called the Pharaonic, or Trajan's canal, known to the Arabs as Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn, which entered the sea at Ḳulzum. Part of this canal, the Wādī Ṭūmīlāt, had once been a natural branch of the Nile extending to Lake Timsāḥ; as the level of the land rose it became useless for navigation. It was cleared several times in antiquity and again by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who used it to send corn ships to al-Djār, then the port of al-Madīna, in the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The Khalīfa is said to have refused to let ʿAmr dig a canal from Lake Timsāḥ to the Mediterranean lest it should enable Byzantine ships to enter the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum ʿAmr's canal was navigable only when the Nile was high; it was again cleared in the time of al-Mahdī, but fell into disuse soon after, though water sometimes flowed along it when there was an exceptional flood.

The trade of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum benefited from the increased power of Egypt under the Fāṭimids and the corresponding decline of ʿIrāḳ. The Crusades, stimulated the demand for oriental products in Europe, and this transit trade became a factor of great importance to Egyptian prosperity. In 578-9/1182-3 Renaud de Châtillon conveyed prefabricated ships from the Mediterranean coast to Ayla where they were assembled and launched to harry this commerce. The Franks attacked ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] but were defeated at sea by Ḥusām al-Dīn Luʾluʾ and those who contrived to land in the Ḥidjāz were annihilated. According to Abū Shāma, Ṣalāh al-Dīn ordered that no prisoner should be allowed to survive, so that there should be no one who could give information about the passage of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. Later, attempts were made in Europe to ruin this trade by an embargo, but in spite of Papal injunctions, it was never applied effectively. In the early 8th/14th century Guillaume Adam advocated that a Christian naval force should occupy Suḳuṭrā [*q.v.*] and blockade the entrance to the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. About 893/1488 Pero da Covilhã, who sailed from al-Ṭūr to Aden and later visited Mecca and al-Madīna, collected information about the trade route for the King of Portugal; he was himself detained in Abyssinia and it is not known whether his report ever reached Lisbon. Having reached India by sea in 903/1498, the Portuguese attempted forcibly to divert the entire transit trade of the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and the Persian Gulf to the Cape route for their own profit. In the ensuing war against first the Egyptians and then the Ottoman Turks they secured naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. In 919/1513 Albuquerque, who hoped to join the Abyssinians in an attack on Mecca, unsuccessfully besieged Aden and then entered the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum. His fleet was becalmed at Kamarān and suffered very heavy casualties. His successor had the same experience and, although in 947-8/1541 D. Estevão da Gama sailed within sight of Suez and landed a small force at Maṣawwaʿ (Massawa) to assist the Abyssinians against the Somali Muslim invader, Aḥmad Grañ, the Portuguese never seriously challenged Turkish domination within the strait of Bāb al-Mandab. After the middle of the 10th/16th century Portuguese ships did not often visit the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum and Portuguese travellers, mostly missionaries going to Abyssinia, usually sailed in disguise on native ships. Early in the 11th/17th century English (1018/1609) and Dutch (1025/1616) ships began to trade at Mukhā; they did not often sail further north. Though Mukhā [*q.v.*] attained temporary importance as an outlet for the coffee of al-Yaman (see KAHWA) the Indian and Far Eastern trade now mostly followed the Cape route. In the next century the need for rapid communication between London and Paris and the growing European possessions in India resulted in renewed interest in the Baḥr al-Ḳulzum route, of which a very early example is the journey of Daniel. A general realisation of its strategic and commercial significance may be said to date from Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and to have culminated in the opening of the Suez Canal (1286/1869).

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 153; Muḳaddasī, 11; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 237; iii, 34, 35; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 52; Idrīsī, 164; Yāḳūt, i 503; iv, 158; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣubḥ*, 224; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324-26, i, 24-26; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-*

ʿAdjāʾib, Cairo 1316, 96 ff.; Abū Zayd, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn waʾl-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948; G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, passim; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*; A. Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, Cairo 1929, etc.; G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, has material on the history of the Sudanese coast. On the policy of the Fāṭimids regarding the eastern trade, B. Lewis, *The Fāṭimids and the Route to India*, in *Istanbul Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi*, 1950. On Renaud de Châtillon, Sir D. Newbold, *The Crusaders in the Red Sea and the Sudan*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1945, reprinted in *Antiquity*, 1946; E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, i, 20-26; G. Adam, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi* is printed in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens*, ii, 1906. Portuguese accounts are too numerous to be listed in detail. There are important references in the works of Barros, Couto, Castanheda, Correa, Góis, Osorio, the letters of Albuquerque, the *Comentarios* by Albuquerque the younger, the works of F. Alvares and Castanhoso on Abyssinia, the *Roteiro* of D. João de Castro and in Beccari's collection, *Rerum aethiopuarum scriptores occidentales inediti*, Rome, 1905-17; annotated English translations of Albuquerque's *Comentarios*, and of Alvares and Castanhoso have been published by the Hakluyt Society. For the first half of the 10th/16th century, R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, is a convenient guide to the material. On the Dutch, P. van den Broecke, *Korte Historiael ende Journaelsche Aenteyckeninghe* etc., Haarlem, 1634 (translation and further references in *JRAS*, 1951, 64-81, 170-181); H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*. For early English contacts see Sir W. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, giving many further references. On Daniel's journey, *A Journal or Account of William Daniel*, London 1702, reprinted and annotated in Sir W. Foster, *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century*, Hakluyt Soc., 1949. (C. H. Becker-[C. F. Beckingham])

BAḤR LŪṬ, "Lot's Sea", is the modern Arab name for the Dead Sea which is usually called by the Arab Geographers *al-buḥayra al-mayyita* "the Dead Sea", *al-buḥayra al-muntina* "the stinking Sea", *al-buḥayra al-maḳlūba* "the overturned Sea" (because it is situated in *al-arḍ al-maḳlūba*, "the land that has been overturned", the *arḍ ḳawm Lūṭ*), *buḥayrat Ṣoghar* (*Zoghar*) "the Sea of Zoghar", also "the Sea of Sodom and Gomorra". The Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw (5th/11th century) appears to be the first geographer to know the name *buḥayrat Lūṭ*.

The name Baḥr Lūṭ refers to the story in Genesis xix which is often referred to in the Ḳurʾān though the sea itself is not named.

To the present day, names in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea—e.g. Djebel Sudum (Usdum)—and legends current locally, recall the catastrophe related in Genesis xix. These are certainly founded less on popular than on learned tradition.

Geography. Between the steep and barren slopes of the "desert of Judah" and the mountainous land of Moab lies the Dead Sea, like a blue mirror 1150 feet below sea-level from north to south. Its length is about 50 miles, its mid-breadth 8 miles and it has no exit.

The deepest part of its bottom is 2600 feet below sea level. An isthmus (*lisān* "tongue") running out from its east shore separates the southern, quite shallow part from the northern basin. While on the East and West shores the mountains rise up from the shore to a height of over 3000 feet, in the north, at the mouth of the Jordan the land is low-lying, and in the south, where on the east shore of the *sabkha* Pentapolis (Genesis xiv and xix) is to be sought for, it only rises slowly into *al-Ghawr* and *al-ʿAraba*. The composition of its water, so extraordinarily rich in salt, is unsuited to organic life and is even an impediment to navigation. On only a few places on the shore, inhabited oases of almost tropical character have survived.

Geology. The Dead Sea fills the deepest part of the Great Syrian system of depressions which was formed at the close of the Tertiary period. In the periods of alternate drought and rain of the diluvial epoch, the great floods filled the greater part of the Jordan valley and a part of the ʿAraba with an inland sea; this was never connected with the Red Sea. There being no exit to this basin the water, which, to begin with, flowed partly from springs rich in minerals, came in course of time, by evaporation to contain a high percentage of salt of peculiar composition. In the dry period of historic times the sea has dwindled into the area it at present occupies. In the last century a gradual ri ing of the level of the sea has been definitely ascertained. Tectonic disturbances have affected the surrounding district down to the present day. It is to one of the most recent of these that the origin of the southern basin is due.

The procuring of asphalt from the Dead Sea, as in antiquity (cf. the name *lacus Asphaltitis*) seems to have been an important business in the middle ages, also. The asphalt was used as a protection against insects in vineyards. It was also used for many medicinal purposes. To the waters of the sea itself, healing powers were also ascribed.

The rich products of the oasis of Zoghār (near the modern *ghawr al-Ṣāfiya*) were borne across the Dead Sea. The Frankish Crusaders also sailed on it.

Bibliography: All earlier material has been collected and made use of in Meusburger, *Das Tote Meer* (Programme, Brixen 1907-1909); Arab accounts: Iṣṭakhrī, i, 64; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 123 ff.; Muḳaddasī, 178, 184 ff.; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 118; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 79; Yaʿḳūbī, 329; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 73 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 96; Idrisī, *ZDPV*, viii, 3; Yāḳūt, i, 516, ii, 934; Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren), 108; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 228; Ibn Bayṭār (trans. Sontheimer, Stuttgart 1842), ii, 309 ff.; cf. also the Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. Schefer), 17 ff. and the Turkish Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 516, 519, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 555; the Muslim sources have been collected and translated in G. Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, 64-7, 286-92 and A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 15-18.

(R. Hartmann)

BAḤR AL-MAGHRIB [see baḥr al-rūm].

BAḤR MĀYUṬIS or Buḥayra Māyuṭis, the Classical Lake Maeotis, modern Sea of Azov. Other forms of the name are Māwṭīs (Māwṭīsh). Baḥr Māyuṭis is constantly mentioned with Baḥr Nīṭas, *i.e.*, Baḥr Bunṭus, [*q.v.*], to which it is joined by Khalīdj Nīṭas (Strait of Kertch).

According to Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 66), Buḥayra

Māyuṭis is 300 miles long and 100 miles broad. These dimensions, which are considerably exaggerated, were earlier given by Ibn Rusta (86). Masʿūdī also states that it lies at the extremity of the inhabited world towards the N. in the vicinity of Tūliya (Thule). The opinion which places Thule N. of the Sea of Azov is shared by Ibn al-Faḳīh (8), according to whom one of the four principal seas (cf. article BAḤR AL-RŪM, 4th paragraph) is that which lies 'between Rome and Khwārizm (as far as) the island of Tūliya. No ship was ever placed upon it'. (Ibn al-Faḳīh reckons al-Baḥr al-Khazarī or Caspian separately). Elsewhere Masʿūdī says that the river Ṭanāis (Tanais, Don), which takes it rise in a great lake (unnamed) situated in the N., flows into Baḥr Māyuṭis after a course of about 300 *farsakhs* through cultivated countries (*Murūdj*, i, 261). The great lake in the N., with which Baḥr Māyuṭis is evidently confused, had already been mentioned by al-Kindī, his pupil al-Sarakhsī and others (*Murūdj*, i, 275). It came to be identified with Baḥr al-Warank, properly the Baltic. Hence in a Syriac map of about 1150 A.D. the Sea of Azov is called 'Warang Sea' (A. Mingana, cited *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 182; cf. ʿĀlī *Kunh al-Akhbār*, i, 100).

Masʿūdī, who shows more interest in Baḥr Māyuṭis and Baḥr Nīṭas than geographers of the school of al-Balkhī, [*q.v.*], maintains that properly they form a single sea. He is concerned also to refute on the testimony of travelling merchants those who say that Baḥr al-Khazar, *i.e.*, the Caspian, communicates directly with Baḥr Māyuṭis (*Murūdj*, i, 273). There is only the river route, via the Strait of Kertch, the Don and the Atil (Volga), using the Don-Volga portage, *i.e.*, the so-called 'Khazarian Way' (cf. *Murūdj*, ii, 18 ff.). His own account of Baḥr Māyuṭis is by no means free from error, cf. above. He also appears to think that its waters are of greater extent and depth than those of Baḥr Nīṭas or Black Sea (*Murūdj*, i, 273), which is the reverse of the case. Confusion is also introduced by the fact that Masʿūdī occasionally speaks of Baḥr Māyuṭis as Baḥr al-Khazar (*e.g.*, *Tanbīh*, 138), following popular usage.

In later times Baḥr Māyuṭis was called Baḥr Āzāḳ, in Ottoman Turkish Azak Denizi.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 180-183, and index.

(D. M. Dunlop)

AL-**BAḤR** AL-**MUḤĪṬ**, i.e. 'the Encircling Sea', also called Baḥr Uḳiyānūs al-Muḥīṭ, or simply Uḳiyānūs, the circumambient Ocean of the Greeks ('Ωκεανός). By some it was named al-Baḥr al-Akhḍar, 'the Green Sea'. It was regarded as enclosing the habitable world on all sides, or at least on three sides, W., N. and E. (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 26), since the S. boundary of the inhabited world was the equator. According to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] reported by Ḳazwīnī (*Cosmography*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 104), seven seas encircled the earth, of which the last enclosed all the others.

There was general agreement that the principal seas were directly connected with al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, with few exceptions, notably the Caspian (Baḥr al-Khazar), but not the Black Sea (Baḥr Bunṭus or more usually Nīṭas, [*q.v.*]), which was supposed to be an arm or 'gulf' of al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, like Baḥr al-Maghrib, Baḥr al-Rūm, Baḥr Warank (Baltic), Baḥr al-Zandj, Baḥr Fāris, Baḥr al-Hind and Baḥr al-Ṣīn (the last four corresponding to the Indian Ocean and part of the Pacific). In general, these arms or 'gulfs' were thought of as forming an Eastern and Western system (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 504), meeting or at least approaching each other at the isthmus of Suez. There was some doubt as to whether the 'gulfs' were supplied from al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ (the prevailing opinion), or *vice versa*, given that nearly all the rivers of the world flowed into it.

But while in theory al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ was the circumambient Ocean, it frequently signifies simply the Atlantic. From another point of view, the Atlantic adjacent to Spain and N. Africa formed part of Baḥr al-Maghrib (Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, i, 123). In the sense of the Atlantic al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ is synonymous with al-Baḥr al-Muẓlim or Baḥr al-Ẓulma or al-Ẓulumāt (Sea of Darkness), applied to the N. Atlantic as descriptive of its bad weather and dangerous character (Jaubert, *Géog. d'Edrisi*, ii, 355-356, cf. Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 124). Conspicuous among the islands of al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, apart from Thule (usually taken to be the Shetlands), which the Arabs knew from translations of Ptolemy, were the Fortunate Islands (Canaries) and Britain (Barṭāniyya, with variants). A persistent tradition, which seems to go back to a Classical source, gives the British Isles as 12 in number (Nallino, *Al-Battani*, text, 26; cf. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 68).

The Arabic authors agree that al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ is impassable for ships (*e.g.* al-Kindī, cited Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 500, speaking apparently of the Arctic Ocean, cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 275; Battānī, *loc. cit.*; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 504; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, T.I. Paris 1925, 187-8). Perhaps this assertion is to be taken as applying in principle to the mythical circumambient Ocean. It is in any case certain that Muslim ships sailed in Atlantic waters. After a descent of the Norsemen on Spain in 229/844 the Atlantic coast was patrolled by Umayyad squadrons, perhaps as far as the Bay of Biscay. In 355/966 the coast of Spain, at Lisbon and Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis (Alcacer do Sal), was attacked by Danish Vikings, who were met and defeated at Silves by the Umayyad fleet. In 387/997 the fleet brought the infantry of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] from the Atlantic port of Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis already mentioned to Burtuḳāl (Oporto) by sea. (For these events, see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, Cairo 1944, 157, 218, 224, 393, 441).

In these instances coastal operations are presumably intended. Therea re also some indications of ocean voyages in the Atlantic. Apart from the reported journey of Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl to the court of the 'king of the Norsemen' after A.D. 844—variously localised in Jutland or Ireland—(refs. in Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Sup. I 148; also H. Munis, *Contribution à l'étude des invasions des Normands en Espagne*, in *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Etudes Historiques, Egypte*, Vol. ii, fasc. 1, 1950), we read also of Khashkhāsh of Cordova, who embarked in ships upon al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ and returned with rich booty (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 258, cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.* iii, 342, n.), and of the Adventurers (*al-mugharrirūn* —so read) of Lisbon, who sailed for many days W. and S. into the Atlantic and after whom a street was named in their native town (Jaubert, Géog. d'Edrisi, ii, 26-7, cf. i, 200). An account of whaling in the neighbourhood of Ireland (Ḳazwīnī, *Cosmography*, ii, 388, quoting the 11th century Spanish geographer al-ʿUdhrī) may also be mentioned here.

(D. M. Dunlop)

BAḤR AL-**RŪM**, 'the Sea of the Greeks', or AL-BAḤR AL-RŪMĪ, 'the Greek Sea', i.e. the Mediterranean, both names being in use from an early date to denote especially the E. Mediterranean, where Byzantine fleets were liable to be encountered. As

the Muslim conquests extended, these names were applied to the whole Mediterranean, for which Baḥr al-Rūm is still in use. The Mediterranean was also called al-Baḥr al-S̲h̲āmī, or Baḥr al-S̲h̲ām, 'the Sea of Syria', and Baḥr al-Mag̲h̲rib, 'the Sea of the West'.

The sea thus variously named began, according to Arabic geographers, considerably to the W. of the Strait of Gibraltar (al-Zuḳāḳ) and was a gulf of the Western Ocean (al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ al-Mag̲h̲ribī). Legend had it that Baḥr al-Rūm was originally formed in what had hitherto been dry land, after the Strait had been cut, by the Banū Dalūka, descendants of a Queen Dalūka who was supposed to have ruled Egypt after the Pharaoh of the Exodus (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 398), in order to interpose a barrier between themselves and the king of the Greeks (al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Ad̲j̲ā'ib*, 123), or the Strait was cut and al-Baḥr al-Rūmī was joined to al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ by Alexander the Great at the request of the original Spaniards (Is̲h̲bān), who wished to be separated from the Berbers (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, i, 231-232). A detailed account of the fabulous bridge which Alexander built on this occasion, with diagrams, is actually given by al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 137).

Descriptions of Baḥr al-Rūm regularly begin in the W. and proceed E.-wards, usually along the S. shore from Salā or even al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā, past Ṭand̲j̲a (Tangier) and Sabta (Ceuta) to Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) and Alexandria, then past the mouths of the Nile, N. along the Syrian coast to Antākiya (Antioch) and its harbour al-Suwaydiyya, on to al-T̲h̲ug̲h̲ūr (the Frontiers), then continuing W.-wards along the coast of Bilād al-Rūm (Asia Minor) to Constantinople, al-Arḍ al-Ṣag̲h̲īra ('the Little Land', *i.e.*, mainland Greece), Balbūnus (the Peloponnese), Ḳallauriya (Calabria), al-Ankuwarda (Lombardy), Ifrand̲j̲a (France), and S. again towards al-Andalus (Spain) (*e.g.*, Ibn Ḥawḳal ed. Kramers, 190-1). It is understood that a man could in theory at least make the circuit of Baḥr al-Rūm till he reached a point in Spain opposite to where he started from, and that the countries lying to the S. of the sea are Muslim, while those to the N. are Christian. The dimensions of Baḥr al-Rūm are variously given. Al-Mas'ūdī offers one estimate: length, 5,000 miles, more or less; breadth, from 600 to 800 miles, but knows of another, said to be that of the celebrated al-Kindī and his pupil al-Sarak̲h̲sī: length, 6,000 miles; breadth, 400 miles (*al-Tanbīh*, 56, cf. *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 259). Ibn al-Faḳīh, 7, estimated the length of al-Baḥr al-Rūmī as 2,500 *farsak̲h̲s* from Anṭākiya (Antioch) to D̲j̲azā'ir al-Sa'āda (the Fortunate Isles, Canaries), breadth 500 *farsak̲h̲s*, and was quoted to that effect by al-Muḳaddasī, 14. Al-Mas'ūdī in one place mentions that practical sailors disagreed with the philosophers and increased the dimensions of al-Baḥr al-Rūmī (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 282). (The actual length is about 2,400 miles; greatest breadth, about 1000 miles.) A nearly exact estimate of the length of the Mediterranean was made by the astronomer al-Marrākus̲h̲ī in the 7th/13th century (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, Introd., CCLXXVII).

Baḥr al-Rūm is always regarded as one of the earth's principal seas. Al-Muḳaddasī says that he knows only two, a Western, *i.e.*, the Mediterranean, and an Eastern, *i.e.*, the Indian Ocean, called by him al-Baḥr al-Ṣīnī, 'the Chinese Sea'. He mentions that to these al-Balk̲h̲ī added al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, 'the Circumambient Ocean', and al-D̲j̲ayhānī a fourth and fifth, *viz.*, Baḥr al-K̲h̲azar, 'the Sea of the K̲h̲azars' (Caspian) and K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ al-Ḳusṭanṭiniyya, 'Gulf of Constantinople', *i.e.*, the approaches to the Black Sea. Al-Muḳaddasī points out that his own view corresponds with the Ḳur'ān (Sūra lv, 19 ff.): 'He has left unconnected the two seas which meet. Between them is a barrier which they do not transgress etc.' As al-Muḳaddasī, 16, puts it, the 'barrier' is the isthmus between al-Faramā' (Pelusium) and al-Ḳulzum (Clysma, mod. Suez), and it divides Baḥr al-Rūm from al-Baḥr al-Ṣīnī. He mentions that some interpreted another Ḳur'ānic text (Sūra xxxi, 26): 'If the trees in the world were pens, and the sea were filled thereafter by seven seas etc.' with reference to the five already mentioned *plus* al-Maḳlūba, 'the Inverted (Lake)' (Dead Sea) and al-K̲h̲wārizmiyya, 'the K̲h̲wārizmian (Lake)' (Aral Sea). Another more reasonable list of the 'Seven Seas' is: Green Sea or Eastern Ocean, Western Ocean, Great Sea or Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea and Aral Sea (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 51-3). Al-Mas'ūdī in one place follows al-D̲j̲ayhānī in giving five: Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea and Circumambient Ocean (*al-Tanbīh*, 50-241) and elsewhere says that most people reckon four (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 271), Black Sea and Caspian presumably counting as one, but cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 4-8. However many the seas were taken to be, the general view was that the Ḳur'ānic "meeting of the two seas' (*mad̲j̲ma' al-baḥrayn*, Sūra xviii, 59/60) was at the isthmus of Suez, though some thought in this connexion of al-Zuḳāḳ (Strait of Gibraltar).

The different parts of Baḥr al-Rūm had special names, *e.g.*, Baḥr Tīrān, 'the Tyrrhenian Sea' (al-Rāzī); D̲j̲ūn al-Banādiḳiyyīn, 'the Gulf of the Venetians' (Ibn Ḥawḳal) or al-K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ al-Banādiḳī, 'the Venetian Gulf' (al-Idrīsī), in effect the whole of the Adriatic; K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ al-Ḳusṭanṭiniyya, 'Gulf of Constantinople', the approaches to the Black Sea. The Black Sea itself was Nīṭas, a stereotyped mistake for Bunṭus (Pontus), which perhaps survived in some MSS. The Sea of Azov was Māyuṭis (Maeotis). It was correctly realised that the two last-named seas were connected with each other and Baḥr al-Rūm, but uncertainty and error attended the attempts made to explain the relative positions of the Black Sea and the Caspian (Baḥr al-K̲h̲azar, [*q.v.*]) and *a fortiori* the Black Sea and the Baltic (Baḥr al-Warank, 'Sea of the Warangians') or the Arctic Ocean, of which the Arabs can scarcely have had direct information. The tendency to regard the seas last mentioned as connected with Baḥr al-Rūm is illustrated in the maps of Ibn Ḥawḳal.

Various islands of Baḥr al-Rūm came to be known at an early date. Ḳubrus (Cyprus) and Arwād (Aradus), the little island off the Syrian coast, were the first to be occupied, under Mu'āwiya, and before his death (60/680) Rhodes, Crete and even Sicily had been attacked. Several other Mediterranean islands are mentioned by Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 112. The geographers of the tradition of al-Balk̲h̲ī give few islands in Baḥr al-Rūm. Al-Muḳaddasī, 15, in 375/985 speaks only of the three large islands Sicily, Crete and Cyprus. Al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 70, earlier had mentioned the same three, with the addition of a fourth, D̲j̲abal al-Ḳilāl (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 392), identified by Reinaud (*Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, v, 27) with Fraxinetum, now Garde-Freinet on the French mainland E. of Marseilles, from which between circa 894 and 972 the Arabs raided as far as Switzerland (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, chapter 5). This identification is confirmed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 304, who mentions the place as being 'in the territories of France, in the hands of fighters for

the faith' (*bi-nawāḥī Ifrandja bi-aydī al-mudjāhidīn*). It appears on Ibn Ḥawḳal's map as an island (always in ed. 2 Djabal al-Fulāl, cf. also *Marāṣid*, i, 99) opposite a large river, evidently the Rhône. (On the same map Genoa also is shown as an island.) Other islands in the sea are mentioned by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, 124-125). The best description which we have of them is in the text and maps of al-Idrīsī (see Bibliography).

Features of Baḥr al-Rūm which attracted attention were the comparative absence of tides and the recession of the coast, both noted by al-Masʿūdī (*al-Tanbīh*, 70, 132), the latter phenomenon at Ephesus (unconfirmed). Al-Masʿūdī notices the volcanic activity of Mt. Etna (Djabal al-Burkān, Aṭma Siḳilliyya, *Murūdj*, ii, 26; *al-Tanbīh*, 59). He also tells us that Hārūn al-Rashīd wished to join Baḥr al-Rūm to Bahr Ḳulzum (Red Sea), but was dissuaded from the attempt by Yaḥyā b. Khālid the Barmecide, who represented that if he did so, the the Greeks would pass through and interfere with the pilgrimage to Mecca (*Murūdj*, iv, 98-99).

Though at first the Greeks retained command of the sea even after their defeats on land, this was soon lost to them by a series of Muslim naval successes of which the Battle of the Masts (Dhāt al-Ṣawārī) is the most famous (fought off the Lycian coast in 34/655). It appears that former Byzantine naval installations in Syria and Egypt, and trained personnel, were now employed against them, to secure the command of the E. Mediterranean foi the Arabs. This they for the most part retained throughout the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid period, during which Constantinople was attacked repeatedly. There appears to have been some resurgence of Greek naval power in Hārūn's Caliphate (cf. *supra*), when the Byzantine warships which brought Muslim prisoners for ransom to al-Lāmis, Lamus (Cilicia) in 189/805 made a considerable impression (al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 189). In 311 or 312/923 or 924 a Muslim fleet with units from al-Baṣra and Syria sailed from Ṭarsūs under an admiral (*mutawallī al-ghazw fiʾl-baḥr*) and operated successfully in the N. waters of al-Baḥr al-Rūmī, reaching Venetian territory and making contact with a detachment of Bulgars, some of whom returned with them to Ṭarsūs (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 16-17; Ibn al-Athīr, s. anno 311). Yet later under al-Muḳtadir (Caliph 295/908-320/932) Greek ships regularly made extensive raids on the coast of Syria, and it was in his Caliphate that the command of the E. Mediterranean was lost (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. De Goeje, 131-2; ed. Kramers, 197). By 345/956 apparently (al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 141) the Muslims had no fleet in these parts.

In the W. of Baḥr al-Rūm, after the invasion of Spain in 92/711, some of the most spectacular Muslim exploits took place comparatively late. Mention has been made of the long occupation of Fraxinetum. Bari in S. Italy was captured in 226/840-841 by a freedman of the Aghlabids of N. Africa, who at this time were very active, and was practically an independent state for many years (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 234-5, followed by Ibn al-Athīr, s. anno). In 228/842 during the siege of Massīnī (Messina) by an Aghlabid general the people of Nābal, or Nābul (Naples) requested protection, and joined forces with the Muslims (Ibn al-Athīr, s. anno). Shortly afterwards Rome and Venice were threatened, the former on more than one occasion. Malta fell in 255/869 (Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 201). As late as 323/934 Genoa was attacked and taken by an armament from Sicily, where the Fāṭimids were now in possession (al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, s. anno). Thereafter the Muslim threat to Italy subsided.

Baḥr al-Rūm was never a Muslim lake, since even at the heyday of their power the Arabs never controlled its northern shores. From the time of Charlemagne onwards there is evidence of Christian maritime enterprise. This gradually increased in importance as the centuries passed, in spite of the decline of Byzantium and the renewed Muslim advance, when the Ottoman Turks in the 10th/16th century came to control the coast of Baḥr al-Rūm, by them usually called the White Sea (Ak Deniz), from the Peloponnese to Algeria.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī 68-71; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. De Goeje, 128-37, ed. Kramers, 190-205 with the maps facing pp. 8 and 66, as well as that on p. 193; Muḳaddasī 14-19; Yāḳūt, i, 504-5; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, 123-7; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, i, 231-236; Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, i, 5-6, ii, 1-13, 16-19, 35-48, 68-135, 226-304, etc. (by far the fullest account, but less useful for the early period); for Idrīsī's maps, K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, Stuttgart 1926 and later; Anonymous Chronicle of Sicily in Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, text 165-176; transl. 70-74; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, ed. 6, Princeton 1956, index.

(D. M. Dunlop)

In the Ottoman Empire the Mediterranean was known as Ak-deniz, the White Sea, whence the Persian Baḥr-i Safīd and Daryā-i Safīd and, probably the colloquial Greek ἡ ἄσπρη θάλασσα. Iu Ottoman usage it included—and seems at times to have been restricted to—the Aegean sea, the islands of which were called Djezāʾir-i Baḥr-i Safīd. The name, which appears to have no Greek, Byzantine, or Islamic precedents, is of uncertain origin. It may have arisen in contrast to Kara-deniz, the Black Sea, on the other side of Istanbul. A full cartographic treatment of the Mediterranean Sea will be found in the famous Atlas presented in 930/1523 to Sulṭān Sulaymān by Pīrī Reʾis [*q.v.*]. There are also descriptions in the travels of Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, i, 40 ff. and viii, *passim*), in the maritime history of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Tuḥfat al-Kibār*, 3 ff., English trans. by J. Mitchell, 3 ff.), and in his *Djihānnumā* 76.

[Ed.]

BAḤR AL-ʿULŪM ("Ocean of the Sciences"), honorific title of Abu ʾl-ʿAyyāsh ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Laknawī, a highly distinguished Indian savant of the 19th century. He claimed descent from the famous Khwādja ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī Harawī, whose descendant Shaykh ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn (ʿAbd al-ʿAlī's tenth ancestor) came from Harāt to India, and now lies buried at Barnāwa (between Muthrā and Delhī). The next generation settled in Sihālī, a town near Lucknow. Under Awrangzīb the family shifted to "Farangī Maḥall", Lucknow, (for which see Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira*[2] 168; cf. *al-Nadwa*). ʿAbd al-ʿAlī's grandfather Mullā Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (d. 1103/1691) and his father Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 1161/1748; Āzād, who met him in Lucknow in 1148/1736 praises him highly, see *Subḥat al-Mardjān*, Bombay 1303, 94) were noted men of learning, and were the real founders of the fame of the family in India—a family in which learning had flourished for centuries, from generation to generation. Born in Farangī Maḥall in 1144/1731-32, ʿAbd al-ʿAlī studied with his father, and completed the usual course of Islamic studies with him at the age of seventeen. After the death of

his father he continued his studies with Mullā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sihālawī al-Fatḥpūrī (d. 1175/1761), a pupil of his father (see Brockelmann S II, 624). He started his career as teacher and author in Lucknow, but because of a Sunnī-Shīʿī dispute, had to quit Lucknow, and moved first to Shāh-djahānpūr, where he stayed for twenty years, then to Rāmpūr (cf. Nadjm al-Ghanī, *Akhbār al-Ṣanādīd*, Lucknow 1918, i, 600, 596), where he stayed for four years, later to Buhār (in Bardwān, Bengal), and finally to Madrās, at the invitation of the Nawwāb of Karnātak (Nawwāb Wālādjāh Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (d. 1210/1795), originally of Gopamaū, near Lucknow). He went to Madrās accompanied by six hundred scholars (*ridjāl al-ʿilm*). The Wālādjāh showed him high regard, and showered favours on him and his companions, built a large *madrasa* for him, and gave stipends to his companions and pupils who collected there from far and near. The Nawwāb's successors continued to show him the same favour till the end of the rule of Wālādjāhīs and the establishment of British rule in Madrās, and even then the monthly provisions and gifts continued to be offered him, as also to the other teachers and students of his *madrasa*. He never returned to Lucknow, and died in Madrās on 12 Radjab 1225/13 August 1810, and was buried close to the Mosque of the Wālādjāhs in that city. (For his children see Alṭāf al-Raḥmān, *Aḥwāl* 64 f. and for his distinguished pupils, *Ḥadāʾiḳ, loc. cit.*). It was the Wālādjāh who gave him the title of *Baḥr al-ʿUlūm* (as usually stated, but cf. Alṭāf al-Raḥmān, *Aḥwāl*, 65, where it is stated that Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*] gave him this title), also the title of *Malik al-ʿUlamāʾ*. The former is better known in North India, the latter in South India.

Apart from teaching him the religious sciences, his father had initiated him into esoteric sciences also (Alṭāf al-Raḥmān). He belonged to the mystic school of Ibn al-ʿArabī and had complete faith in the truth of the Shaykh's expositions as given in the *Fuṣūs* and the *Futūḥāt*. In fact his *Sharḥ Mathnawī-i Mawlawī-i Rūm* (Lucknow 1873, 3 vols.) only aims at explaining the "secrets" contained in the *Mathnawī* in the light of the Shaykh's above two works (see the Mullā's Arabic introduction to the *Sharḥ*). He also wrote a Commentary on a section of the *Fuṣūṣ* (viz. *al-Faṣṣ al-Nūḥī*, Brockelmann S I 793). Even on his death-bed he stated he was realising the truth of the Shaykh's doctrines (*Aghṣān*).

He is praised for his courage, generosity, self-denial and ascetic character. He spent most of his long life in teaching and writing, and wielded a profound influence on his contemporaries in India, whom he excelled in versatility of erudition and critical acumen. "The like of him was not to be seen in India of the later times" (*Nuzha*). His fields of specialised study were *fiḳh* and *uṣūl* on the one hand, and the philosophical sciences on the other. He wrote many works in Arabic—unusually good classical Arabic, and in Persian. As a rule they are, according to the fashion of his time, commentaries, glosses and super-glosses on most of the usual text books.

Some of his other more important works are given below:

a) *Philosophy*: *Sharḥ Sullam al-ʿUlūm* (the *Sullam* is a work on logic by Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, (d. 1110/1707), Delhī 1891; *al-Taʿlīḳāt* (or *Minhiyya*) *ʿalā Sharḥ Sullam al-ʿUlūm* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 365); *al-Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ḥāshiya al-Zāhidiyya al-Djalāliyya*, Lucknow 1872, (*JASB* vii, 695); *al-Hāshiya ʿalā al-Hāshiya al-Zāhidiyya al-Ḳuṭbiyya*, Delhi 1292/1875, Brockelmann S II 293; *al-Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ṣadrā* (a super-gloss on Ṣadrā al-Shīrāzī's Commentary on Abharī's *Hidāyat al-Ḥikma*), Lucknow 1846 (Brockelmann S I 840, *JASB loc. cit.*); *Taʿlīḳāt ʿala al-Ufuḳ al-Mubīn* (Brockelmann S II 580); *al-ʿUdjāla al-Nāfiʿa* (Brockelmann S II 625 l. 4 where read 399 instead of 499).

b) *Dogma and Scholastic Theology* (*Kalām*). *al-Ḥāshiya ʿala 'l-Ḥāshiya al-Zāhidiyya ʿala al-Umūr al-ʿĀmma* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 338); *al-Hāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿAḳāʾid al-Dawwānī* (*ibid.*); *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Mabādī* (*ibid.*); *al-Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* (*ibid.*; Brockelmann S II 290) Lucknow 1876.

c) *Principles of Jurisprudence* (*Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*). *Fawātiḥ al-Raḥamūt* (*Sharḥ* of the *Musallam al-Thubūt* of Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī (d. 1119/1707 (Brockelmann S II 624); *Risāla al-Arkān al-Arbaʿa* (*fiḳh*) (Brockelmann S II 625); *Tanwīr al-Manār Sharḥ al-Manār* (in Persian) (Brockelmann SII 264); *Takmila Sharḥ-i Taḥrīr* (a Supplement to his father's Commentary on Ibn Humām's *Taḥrīr fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Zubayd Aḥmad 283, *JASB* vii, 695); *Sharḥ Fiḳh Akbar* (Rahmān ʿAlī[2], 123).

d) *Ḥadīth*. *Risāla fī Taḳsīm al-Ḥadīth* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 262).

e) *Mathematics*. *Sharḥ al-Midjiṣṭī* (Zubayd Aḥmad, 382).

f) *Ethics*: *Risāla al-Tawḥīd al-Kāfiya li 'l-Ṣūfī al-Muttaḳī* (in Persian) (Raḥmān ʿAlī 123, *Ḳāmūs al-Mashāhīr* s.v. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī).

g) *Arabic Grammar*: *Hidāya al-Ṣarf*.

Bibliography: Walī Allāh Farangī Maḥallī, *al-Aghṣān al-Arbaʿa li 'l-Shadjarat al-Ṭayyiba dar Aḥwāl-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Farangī Maḥall Kamālᵃⁿ wa Nasabᵃⁿ wa ʿIlmᵃⁿ*, Nadwa MS. (in Lucknow, ff. 50-53) (the Lucknow edition of 1298/1881 is not available to me); Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, Bhopāl 1295/1878, 927; Faḳīr Muḥammad Jhelumī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, Lucknow 1891, 467; Alṭāf al-Raḥmān, *Aḥwal-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Farangī Maḥall*, 1907, 64 f.; ʿAbd al-Bārī, *Āthār al-Uwal*, 24 (not available to me); ʿAbd al-Awwal Djawnpurī, *Mufīd al-Muftī*, Lucknow 1326/1908, 135 f; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*[2], Lucknow 1332/1932, 122; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lucknawī (Ḥakīm), *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir* (notice in the unpublished part of the work in the author's family library); *al-Nadwa* (*Journal of the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ*, Lucknow, April-June 1907); M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, *The Life and Works of Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, in *JASB*, New Series vii/1911, 693-5; Brockelmann, S II 624 (and index); Zubayd Aḥmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Allāhābād 1946, index.

(MOḤAMMAD SHAFĪʿ)

BAḤR AL-ZANDJ. By the Baḥr al-Zandj the Arabs mean the W. part of the Indian Ocean, Baḥr al-Hind [*q.v.*] which washes the E. coast of Africa from the Gulf of Aden *i.e.*, the Khalīdj al-Barbarī to Sufāla and Madagascar, which was as far as the scanty knowledge of the Arabs extended. The name is derived from the adjoining coast, which is called the Bilād al-Zandj or Zanguebar, 'land of the Zandj'. The name Zandj is applied by the Arabs to the black Bantu negroes, who are sharply distinguished from the Berbers and Abyssinians. The name Zandj is very old, even Ptolemy knows of Ζίγγις (or Ζήγγισα) ἄκρα and Cosmas Indicopleustes of τὸ καλούμενον ἐκεῖ Ζίγγιον, but Herzfeld's reading in an inscription of the Sāsānid Narsī *Zhandafrīk shāh* (*Paikuli*, I, Berlin, 1924, 119) is not now accepted (cf. W. B. Henning in *Studies presented to Vladimir*

Minorsky = *BSOAS.*, Vol. XIV, 1952, Part 3, 515). The name itself has been explained as from Persian *Zang, Zangi* (Zoroastrian Pahlawī *zangik* 'negro'), but perhaps it is of local origin. Nowadays it is applied to the island of Zanzibar and to a tributary of the Zambesi which bears the name of Zangue. The Arab notices of the coast and sea of the Zandj are more than scanty and partly contradictory. The sea was feared and avoided. Only the Arab travellers Masʿūdī and Ibn Baṭūṭa sailed across it, but they tell us more about the land and its people than about the sea itself. Whales and whaling are sometimes mentioned, and it is remarkable that the word used for whale (*wāl, uwāl*) resembles the form of the name in the languages of N. Europe (Sulaymān the Merchant, Arabic text edited by Langlès, 4, 138-141, in Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans etc.*, Paris 1845, transl. G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân*, Paris 1922, 30, 132-133; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 234, 334). It is clear that the Arabs imagined the coast to run in quite a different direction from what it actually does. W. Tomaschek gave reconstructions of their cartographical notions in his *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Moḥîṭ* (Vienna 1899). Notices by the Arab geographers of the sea and land of the Zandj were collected by L. Marcel Devic (*Le Pays des Zendjs*, Paris 1883). See also *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 471 ff., and T. A. Shumovsky, *Tri neizvestnie Lotsii Akhmada ibn Mâdzhida, arabskogo Lotsmana Vasko da Gamii*, Moscow 1957. Navigation on this part of the Indian Ocean is regulated by the periodic monsoons, whence the ancient relations between S. Arabia and N.-W. India and the E. African coast. For further information see the articles BAḤR AL-HIND and ZANDJ.

(C. H. BECKER-[D. M. DUNLOP])

BAḤR AL-ẒULUMĀT [see AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ].

BAHRĀʾ (*nisba* Bahrānī), a tribe of the Ḳuḍāʿa group, sometimes reckoned a part of Djudhām, which emigrated northwards to the Euphrates and then to the plain of Ḥimṣ. Like their Euphrates neighbours Taghlib and Tanūkh, they became Christian, but were converted after Taghlib, probably about 580. A deputation came to Muḥammad at Medina in 9/630 and became Muslims; but the tribe as a whole remained hostile and attached to Byzantium. In 8/629 Bahrāʾ had been among Heraclius' Arab allies who confronted Muḥammad's Muʾta expedition; in 12/633 they were summoned to help the people of Dūmat al-Djandal when Khālid b. al-Walīd approached; and they were in the Byzantine military coalition of 13/634, along with Kalb, Salīḥ, Tanūkh, Lakhm, Djudhām and Ghassān. However, they became Muslims when Syria was conquered.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, 132; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 417, 427; Ṭabarī, i, 1611, 2060, 2081, 2114, 2122; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, treaty no. 115; Wāḳidī (Wellhausen), 235, 311; Ibn Khallikān, no. 46; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 146. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

BAḤRAIN [see AL-BAḤRAYN].

BAḤRAḲ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR B. MUBĀRAK B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, S. Arabian scholar and Ṣūfī. b. 869/1465 in Saywūn, d. 930/1524 in India. After studies in ʿAden and Zabīd he was ḳāḍī of Shiḥr for some time, then settled in ʿAden and found favour with its governor, the Amīr Mardjān. After the death of his patron in 927/1521 he went to India and obtained the patronage of the sultan of Gudjarāt Muẓaffar Shāh, but he soon had to leave the court and died in Aḥmadābād, perhaps poisoned.

In his great literary production he treats of theological as well as profane themes. Apparently original works are: *Mawāhib al-Ḳuddūs fī Manāḳib Ibn al-ʿAydarūs* (cf. Serjeant, *Materials*, 586; on this teacher of his see art. ʿAYDARŪS, No. 2); *Ḥilyat al-Banāt wa ʾl-Banīn fīmā yuḥtādju ilayhi min Amr al-Dīn*; *ʿIḳd al-Durar fī ʾl-Īmān bi ʾl- Ḳaḍā wa ʾl Ḳadar*; *al-ʿIḳd al-Thamīn fī Ibṭāl al-Ḳawl bi ʾl-Taḳbīḥ wa ʾl-Taḥsīn*; *al-Tabṣira al-Aḥmadiyya fi ʾl-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*; *Tartīb al-Sulūk ilā Malik al-Mulūk* (cf. Brockelmann, I, 444); *al-ʿUrwa al-Wathīḳa ḳaṣīda* (*Wuthḳā*), with comm. *al-Ḥadīḳa al-Anīḳa* (Brockelmann, II, 555). Abridgements: *al-Asrār al-Nabawiyya* < *al-Adhkār al-Nawawiyya, i.e., Ḥilyat al-Abrār* (Brockelmann, I, 397); *Dhakhīrat al-Ikhwān* < *K. al-Istighnāʾ bi ʾl-Ḳurʾān*(?); *Mutʿat al-Asmāʿ* < *al-Imtāʿ fī Aḥkām al-Samāʿ* of al-Adfuwī (Brockelmann, S. II, 27); he also abridged al-ʿAskarī's *K. al-Awāʾil* (Brockelmann, S. I, 194), al-Sakhāwī's *al-Maḳāṣid al-Ḥasana* (Brockelmann II, 32) and al-Mundhirī's *al-Targhīb wa ʾl-Tarhīb* (Brockelmann, I, 627). Commentaries: *al-ʿAḳīda al-Shāfiʿiyya* on al-Yāfiʿī's famous *ḳaṣīda* (Brockelmann, II, 228); *Tuḥfat-al-Aḥbāb wa-Ṭurfat al-Aṣḥāb* on al-Ḥarīrī's *Mulḥat al-Iʿrāb* (Brockelmann, I, 489); *Nashr al-ʿAlam fī Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAdjam* (Sarkis, 533; in reality an abridgement of al-Ṣafadī's comm.); on Ibn Mālik's *Lāmiyyat al-Afʿāl* (*ibid.*, cf. Brockelmann, I, 300; S. I, 526). In minor *risāla*s he treated of arithmetic, astronomy and medicine. Specimens of his poetry are given by al-ʿAydarūs and al-Saḳḳāf (v. infra).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S. II, 554 f.; al-ʿAydarūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, 143-151; al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, i, 121 ff.; Sarkis, col. 532 f. (O. LÖFGREN)

BAHRĀM (derived, *via* the Pahlawī *varahrʾn*, from the Avestan *verethragna*), the name of the Zoroastrian god of victory (cf. Benveniste and Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna*, chap. 1, particularly 6 and 22); from his name is derived that of one of the principal sacred fires of Iran, Varhrān, or (more recently) Vahrām (*ibid.*, 72); he presides over the 20th day of the solar month which bears his name and which has kept it in the Persian calendar recorded by al-Bīrūnī (*ibid.*, 83; al-Bīrūnī, *Cronol.* 53).

This name Bahrām or Vahrām) was that of five rulers of the Sâsânid dynasty (the 4th, 5th, 6th, 12th, 14th). Very little is known about the reign of Vahrām I (273-276 A.D.); he gave the Zoroastrian clergy full powers against Mānī, who was executed, and died in 276 A.D. A bas-relief of Shāpūr depicts the investitute of Vahrām (A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 226-7). Under his son and successor, Vahrām II (276-93 A.D.), war again broke out between Rome and Iran; the sudden death of the emperor Carus, who had reached Ctesiphon, compelled the Romans to retreat; nevertheless Vahrām ceded to them Armenia and Mesopotamia in order to obtain peace (283 A.D.) and free his hands to suppress the revolt of his brother who, as governor (*kushānshāh*) of Khurāsān, had ambitions of carving out a great kingdom for himself; Vahrām II appears on several bas-reliefs (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 228 f.). His son and successor, Vahrām III, was defeated by his great-uncle, during the four months of his reign (293 A.D.). Vahrām IV (388-99 A.D.), son of the great Shāpūr II, was a feeble prince, like his uncle and elder brother who had preceded him on the

throne; the feudal lords regained the initiative of which they had been deprived by Shāpūr II; under Vahrām IV, Armenia was partitioned between Rome and Iran which kept the larger portion. Vahrām V (420-38 A.D.), surnamed Gūr ("the onager") on account of his vigour, after spending his youth in the care of al-Mundhir I, the Lakhmid king of the Arabs of Ḥīra, had to regain the throne, with the aid of this king, from the nobles who had put his elder brother to death and proclaimed ruler a prince from a side branch of the family; he made himself popular by his benevolence to all, his tax remissions his bravery, his love-affairs and his hunting exploits (commemorated by poets and illuminators of manuscripts); he left the great dignitaries a large measure of initiative in the direction of affairs (notably to Mihr-Narsa); he himself led an expedition against the barbarians of the Marw district; because of persecution, many Christans took refuge on Byzantine soil; this caused a short war, unfavourable to Iran, as the result of which freedom of worship was granted to Christians in Iran, by treaty (422 A.D.); it is not known whether Vahrām V died a natural death, or as a result of a hunting accident.

In addition to these five kings, a usurper named Vahrām Čūbīn, who claimed to be descended from the Arsacid kings, became in 589 A.D. the leader of a formidable insurrection, during the reign of Hormizd IV, who was a distinguished prince, tolerant in matters of religion, but had set the feudal lords against him self because he firmly maintained his rights against them; Čūbīn, who had gained military successes against the peoples north and east of Iran, but had been dismissed after his defeat by the Byzantines, rebelled, and seized power after the assassination of the king; the latter's son, supported by the Byzantines, the Armenians and a section of the Persians, broke the long resistance of Vahrām, who took refuge among the Turks and was killed soon afterwards; his powerful personality ensured the perpetuation of his name: a popular romance, in the Pahlawī language, related his exploits, before the historians and poets of the Islamic period (see A. Christensen, *Romanen om Bahrâm Tschôbîn, Et Rekonstruktionsforsøg*, Copenhagen 1907). Several other personalities have borne this name (Christensen, *Sassanides*, index, s.v. *Vahrâm*).

Bibliography: Christensen's book supersedes earlier works, which he uses and quotes in the notes. For a history of Bahrām Gūr in verse, see Firdawsī, *Le Livre des Rois*, trans. J. Mohl, 1878, v, 442-558, vi, 1-64; Niẓāmī, *The Haft Paikar*, trans. C. E. Wilson, London 1924; on Bahrām Čūbīn, see Firdawsī, *op. cit.*, vi, 460-568, vi, 1190. Photographs of bas reliefs in Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, Paris 1884, v; *Survey of Persian Art*, iv, pl. 156, 157, 159, 162.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

BAHRĀM, Christian Armenian general who served the Fāṭimids in Egypt and was *wazīr* of the sword from 529-31/1135-7 to the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (525-44/1130-49).

The circumstances and date of his entry into Fāṭimid service are unknown. Many Armenians, in the 5th/11th century, went to Egypt, taking advantage of the fact that the wazīrate was on several occasions held by men of Armenian origin such as Badr al-Djamālī (466-87/1074-94), his son al-Afḍal (487-515/1094-1121), the latter's son (525-6/1130-1) and Yānis (526/1131-2). Perhaps these circumstances brought Bahrām to Egypt. According to tradition, he came from a region where an important Armenian colony had been established, Tell Bāshir north-east of Aleppo. A nobleman of Tell Bāshir, he was driven from there by a revolution and had to leave the country. It seems that he came from a noble Armenian family which claimed to trace its descent to the Pahlavuni, and was the brother of the Armenian catholicos of Egypt, Gregory, who arrived in Egypt and was consecrated there in 1077 or 1078. At all events, Bahrām followed a military career, and became commander of an Armenian corps, and then governor of the western province of the Delta (al-Gharbiyya).

As a result of the rivalry between the Caliph's two sons Ḥaydara and Ḥasan, and the seizure of power by the latter in the capacity of *wazīr*, a military revolt broke out, and Ḥasan, unable to deal with it, summoned Bahrām to his aid. When Bahrām arrived with his Armenian troops, Ḥasan had already been assassinated. The Caliph entrusted the wazīrate to Bahrām, although he was a Christian (Djumādā II 529/March 1135), and the curious situation then obtained of a Christian, who was *wazīr* of the sword and absolute master in Egypt, bearing the titles of Sayf al-Islām and Tādj al-Dawla. The pro-Armenian policy of Bahrām, who encouraged the immigration of his compatriots and secured their installation in important posts, provoked a popular reaction and a military revolt led by the governor of al-Gharbiyya, Riḍwān. Bahrām, abandoned by the Muslim troops in his army, had to leave Cairo (Djumādā I 531/February 1137), and marched towards Ḳūṣ where his brother Vasak was governor. Vasak, however, had been assassinated by the populace, and Bahrām, after exacting a bloody revenge for murder of his brother, left Ḳūṣ. Riḍwān, who had been appointed *wazīr*, sent an army against him, but, by an arrangement to which the Caliph was doubtless not a stranger, Bahrām was allowed to retire to a monastery near Ikhmīm where he remained until 533/1139. As the Caliph was displeased with Riḍwān, he recalled Bahrām, who was by then a sick man, to Cairo, and installed him in his palace; he consulted him frequently, but did not give him the title of *wazīr*. Riḍwān was forced to flee.

Bahrām died in the palace on 24 Rabīʿ II 535/7 December 1140, mourned by the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ, who followed his funeral cortège as far as the Monastery of the Ditch, outside Cairo, where he was buried.

Bibliography: Ibn Muyassar, *Ann. d'Égypte*, 78-80, 82-4; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 262; Ibn al-Athīr, x s.a. 531; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches and Monasteries*, ed. and transl. Evetts, 6a, 84a; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, iv, 72-3; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, v, 239-40, 241-2; Maḳrīzī, i, 205, 357, ii, 502; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vi, 457-63, viii, 260-2, xiii, 325-6; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ed. 1321., ii, 131; Michael the Syrian, French transl. Chabot, iii 240; Renaudot, *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, 505-7, 509; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 307; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 168-9; G. Wiet, *Précis de l'Hist. d'Egypte*, 192-3, 327; idem, *L'Egypte arabe* (*Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, iv), 273-5; De Lacy O'Leary, *A Short history of the Fatimid Khalifate*, 224; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Al-Fāṭimiyyūn fī Miṣr*, 214-17, 293; M. Canard, *Un vizir chrétien à l'époque fatimite, l'Arménien Bahrâm*, in *AIEO* Algiers xii (1954), 84-113; idem, *Une lettre du calife fâtimite al-Ḥâfiẓ .... à Roger II, Atti del Convegno Inter-*

nazionale di Studi Ruggeriani, Palermo 1955, 136 f.; idem, *Notes sur les Arméniens en Egypte à l'époque fāṭimite*, in *AIEO Algiers* xiii (1955), 143-57. (M. CANARD)

BAHRĀM SHĀH, sultan of Ghazna, c. 510-552/1117-1157, son of Masʿūd and great-great-grandson of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, was born not earlier than 477/1084. On the death of his father in 508/1115, Bahrām's elder brother Malik Arslān disposed of other claimants to the throne and obliged Bahrām to flee first to Tikīnābād, then to Kirmān and eventually to the court of the Saldjūḳ Sandjar where he found a welcome. Sandjar led an army against Malik Arslān, defeating him near Ghazna in Shawwāl 510/February 1117 and forcing him to withdraw to the Ghaznawid possessions in Hindūstān. Installed at Ghazna as a tributary by Sandjar, Bahrām defeated Malik Arslān, who had gathered forces from the Pandjāb, imprisoned him and in 512/1118, slew him. In 512/1119, Bahrām Shāh twice marched into the Pandjāb to subdue Muḥammad Abū Ḥatīm, governor of Lahore.

As a protégé of the Saldjūḳs and unable to draw upon the resources of a Maḥmūd to enable him to mount major expeditions in Hindūstān, Bahrām's rule appears to have been uneventful until 529/1135 when he attempted to throw off Sandjar's overlordship only to be compelled to acknow.edge it again within the year.

About 543/1148, a violent quarrel broke out between Bahrām and the chiefs of Ghūr and Fīrūzkūh. Bahrām poisoned the Ghūrid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, whereupon the latter's brother Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī occupied Ghazna. Bahrām recaptured it and slew Sūrī with ignominy. In 546/1151 the latter's younger brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn ('Djahān-Sūz') defeated Bahrām Shāh and burnt Ghazna. Bahrām took refuge in Hindūstān and although he was able to take advantage of an *imbroglio* between 'Djahān-Sūz' and Sandjar to re-occupy the remains of Ghazna before his death, the descendants of Maḥmūd of Ghazna were never again able to regain and keep their authority in the area around their old capital. (For a discussion of the chronological problems surrounding the last years of Bahrām Shāh's reign see Ghulām Muṣṭafa Khān's article, named in the bibliography).

Bahrām Shāh enjoyed a great reputation as a patron of the arts and figures in later *adab* literature. Among the *literati* who adorned his court were the poets Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī, Sanāʾī, Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān and the translator into Persian of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, Abuʾ l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh.

Bibliography: Ibn Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 353-6, xi, 17-18, 89-90, 108; Minhādj b. Sirādj Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 23-24, 112-114; Mīr Khwānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ*, Lucknow 1874, iv, 748, 797; Firishta, i, 85-89; Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-Ḥarb waʾl-Shudjāʿa*, British Museum MS. Add. 16, 853, fols. 19b-21b, 23a-23b, 107b-109a, 170a-172b; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, index, 382, ii, index, 435; Muḥammad Niẓām al-Dīn, *Introduction to the Djawāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmiʿ al-Riwāyāt of Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAwfī*, Gibb Mem. Ser., London 1929, index, 312; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, ii, London 1869, 199; Ghulām Muṣṭafā Khān, *A History of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin*, in *IC*, xxiii, 1 & 2, Jan. & April, 1949, 3, July, 1949, Mehmed Altay Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu Imparatorluğu Tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1954, 306-10, 361-75. (P. HARDY)

BAHRĀM SHĀH B. TUGHRUL SHĀH, the Saldjūḳid, was raised to the throne of Kirmān by the Atabeg Muʾayyad al-Dīn Rayḥān in succession to his father on the latter's death in 565/1170 but soon afterwards had to make way for his elder brother Arslan Shāh [*q.v.*]. The two brothers thereupon fought with one another with varying success till the death of Bahrām Shāh in 570/1174-5.

Bibliography: Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Azmān fi waḳāʾiʿ Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad Mahdī Balzānī, Tehran 1947, 50 ff.; Houtsma, *Receuil*, i, 35 ff.; *ZDMG*, xxxix, 378 ff. (ED.)

BAHRĀM SHĀH, AL-MALIK AL-AMDJAD, b. Farrukh Shāh b. Shāhānshāh b. Ayyūb, grand nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was appointed by the latter to succeed his father at Baʿlbak when the latter died in 578/1182 (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*, Bodl. MS. Marsh 425, 36r°, followed by Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*[1], Cairo, 33-4), and kept Baʿlbak when the Ayyūbid territories were divided up after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. From then on he seems always to have been a faithful vassal of the Ayyūbid ruling at Damascus (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, years 599, 603, 606, 618, 623). At the end of his life, however, he was faced with rivals who found support in the ambitions of al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān of Bānyās, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil; al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd of Damascus defended him against them, but, when al-Malik al-Kāmil and al-Malik al-Ashraf settled their differences in order to seize Damascus from Dāʾūd, Bahrāmshāh was sacrificed; after ten months of blockade, al-Ashraf annexed Baʿlbak, and Bahrāmshāh went to Damascus (626/1228); the following year he was assassinated by a slave who bore a grudge against him (Ibn Wāṣil,years 625-627; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, ed. Jewett, 441).

Among his contemporaries, Bahrāmshāh was famous less as a prince than as the most eminent man of letters among the Ayyūbids; he had a small court of scholars, and himself composed a *dīwān* of poetry, which has been preserved but not published (J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyubides*, 221 and n. 3).

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AL-**BAḤRAYN,** "the Two Seas", a cosmographical and cosmological concept appearing five times in the Ḳurʾān (once in the nominative, xxxv, 12). The two seas are described as being one fresh and sweet, and one salt and bitter (xxxv, 12; xxv, 53). Fresh meat and ornaments are taken from the two seas, and on them boats are seen (xxxv, 12). Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, xxv, 55) says the fresh and sweet denote the waters of rivers and of rain, the salt and bitter the waters of the sea.

The two seas are divided by a barrier, called a *barzakh* (xxv, 53; lv, 20) and a *ḥādjiz* (xxvii, 61). Muslim scholars provide several explanations for this concept, among which is the view that there is a sea in heaven and a sea on earth separated by a barrier (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvii, 61). Most views are more geographical, with the preponderant number assuming the two seas to be the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea. The Ḳurʾān, however, mentions seven seas in xxxi, 27.

The junction of the two seas, *madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, is mentioned only once in the Ḳurʾān (xviii, 60). Some commentators regard the location as the meeting place of the Persian Sea and the Roman Sea (*v.* Bayḍāwī, Ṭabarī, Nasafī, Zamakhsharī, etc.).Others

have the two seas meeting at Bāb al-Mandab [*q.v.*], at the connexion between the Sea of Jordan and the Red Sea, or at the Straits of Gibraltar (*e.g.*, Ḳurṭubī). As Wensinck points out in "al-Khaḍir" in *EI*[1], "A far fetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍir, the two seas of wisdom".

After the capture of Constantinople, Meḥemmed II assumed the title *Sulṭān al-barrayn wa 'l-baḥrayn*, "Sulṭān of the two lands and the two seas", and this was among the titles used by succeeding Ottoman rulers.

Bibliography: In addition to the commentators, J. H. Kramers, *Djughrāfiyā* in *EI*[1], Suppl.; *idem*, *Geography and Commerce*, in *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1947; *idem*, *L'influence de la tradition iranienne dans la géographie arabe* and *La littérature géographique classique des Musulmans*, in *Analecta Orientalia*, Leiden 1954; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites*, Amsterdam 1918. (W. E. MULLIGAN)

AL-**BAḤRAYN** (officially written Bahrain) is a British protected state in the Persian Gulf consisting of an archipelago of the same name lying between the peninsula of Ḳaṭar and the mainland of Saudi Arabia, as well as another group of islands, of which Ḥuwār is the largest, just off the west coast of Ḳaṭar. The Ruler of al-Baḥrayn and the Ruler of Ḳaṭar disagree regarding the status of a small area surrounding al-Zubāra in north-western Ḳaṭar.

The variety of explanations, none of them convincing, of the name al-Baḥrayn in the Arabic sources indicates that its origin remains unknown. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times the name applied to the mainland of Eastern Arabia, embracing the oases of al-Ḳaṭīf and Hadjar (now al-Ḥasā) [*qq.v.*]; later it was restricted to the archipelago offshore [*cf. History* below].

The largest island (Uwāl or Awāl in the older Arabic sources; now called al-Baḥrayn) is about 30 miles long and 12 miles at its greatest breadth. The capital, al-Manāma, on the northeastern coast, is connected by a causeway 1½ miles long with the town and island of al-Muḥarraḳ to the northeast. Other islands are Sitra, from which an oil loading wharf extends to deep water; al-Nabīh Ṣāliḥ; Umm al-Ṣubbān; Djidā, once a quarry and now a penitentiary; and Umm Naʿsān (also called al-Naʿsān).

The climate is hot and humid, though rainfall averages only about 7 cm. a year. A number of flowing springs (*ʿuyūn*) support an arc of relatively extensive cultivation along the coast of the northern half of the main island from al-Zallāḳ to Djaww, as well as on several of the other islands. Sweet water also bubbles up through the salt water of the Gulf from springs (*kawākib*) not far offshore. Dates, alfalfa, and vegetables are the principal crops, and some cows are kept for milking.

Geologically the island of al-Baḥrayn is an elongated anticlinal dome of sedimentary rocks. The centre of the island has a basin, 12 miles by 4, out of which the hill of al-Dukhkhān rises to a height of about 450 feet. Oil is produced here by the Bahrain Petroleum Co. (Bapco), owned by American interests. Production since 1367/1948 has averaged approximately 30,000 barrels a day, but the Bapco refinery processes over 200,000 barrels a day, most of which is crude oil shipped by submarine pipeline from Saudi Arabia. Bapco's offices and residences for foreign staff are at al-ʿAwālī.

Oil has replaced pearling as the principal industry of al-Baḥrayn. About 500 pearling boats worked out of al-Baḥrayn annually before the slump in pearl prices in 1348/1929 caused by the world-wide economic depression and the increasing use of Japanese cultured pearls. Now only a handful of boats are engaged in pearling, though fishing still affords a livelihood to many people, with most fish caught in tidal weirs. Boat building and repair and sail and net making remain minor industries, along with the manufacture of pottery, whitewash, and plaster.

A free port was opened in 1377/1958 to increase the entrepôt trade fostered by a 5% ad valorem customs rate for all but luxury items. An excellent natural harbour was created in 1375/1955 when a channel was dredged from the deep water of Khawr al-Ḳulayʿa to the open sea. The airport on al-Muḥarraḳ is served by scheduled international flights and is the headquarters of Gulf Aviation Co., in which the Government has an interest, and which flies to many points in the Persian Gulf.

The population of al-Baḥrayn in 1369/1950 was 109,650, with 61% in the towns of al-Manāma (39,648), al-Muḥarraḳ, and al-Ḥidd. There are Persian. Indian, and Pakistani communities, as well as over 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Muslims comprise 98% of the population, about half being Shīʿīs (mostly Djaʿfarī Twelvers, with some Shaykhīs) and the remainder, including the ruling family, Sunnīs (mainly Mālikīs, with some Ḥanbalīs). The Sunnīs are concentrated in the largest towns, and the Shīʿīs in the agricultural villages. The Shīʿīs here, as in al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Ḥasā in Saudi Arabia, are called *Baḥārina* (sing. *Baḥrānī*). To avoid confusion, Sunnī residents of al-Baḥrayn ordinarily now use the *nisba Baḥraynī* for themselves. The Shīʿīs appear to be descendants of early inhabitants of the area, and there seems to be no justification for the hypothesis that they are of Persian origin. A good number of the Sunnīs of al-Baḥrayn are Arabs or the descendants of Arabs onze resident on the Persian coast; such are known as Huwala.

History

For nearly a century investigators have sought the secrets of the early history of al-Baḥrayn in the burial mounds scattered to the number of perhaps 100,000 over the northern half of the main island. In 1296/1879 Capt. E. Durand opened one of the largest tumuli and several smaller ones; others were later probed into by Mr. and Mrs. T. Bent, F. Prideaux, and P. Cornwall. E. Mackay excavated and reported on a series of different types of tumuli. Several mounds, one of which was probably a temple complex, have been studied by members of a Danish archaeological expedition which began work in 1373/1953 under P. Glob and T. Bibby. The early excavators supposed that the tombs were of Phoenician origin, but this theory is no longer generally accepted. Materials found in the mounds, as well as those found by the Danish party in other sites such as near the ruined Portuguese fort of Ḳalʿat ʿAdjādj and at Bārbār, include bronze and iron objects, seal stones, alabaster vessels, ivory fragments, and bitumen-lined clay coffins. Similar tumuli occur in central Nadjd and along the Arabian coast, where a large one at Djāwān, north of al-Ḳaṭīf, excavated in 1371/1952 by F. Vidal, has been dated *c.* A.D. 100. The multitude of mounds spread over such an area indicates the persistence of mound building over a long period of time. Many of the mounds are certainly much older than Djāwān.

Various scholars follow H. Rawlinson (*JRAS* 1880) in identifying al-Baḥrayn with Dilmun of

the Mesopotamian cuneiform records, but this identification has not been established with certainty; *e.g.*, S. Kramer (*BASOR* 1944) considers southwestern Iran the most probable location of Dilmun.

Greek and Latin sources give meagre information on the ancient mainland coast of al-Baḥrayn, where the port of Gerrha lay, the exact site of which remains undetermined. The few South Arabian inscriptions discovered so far contribute little to the history of the region before Islam.

Arab tradition speaks of some of the Lost Arabs in al-Baḥrayn. Among the early historical tribes was al-Azd of Ḳaḥṭān, many of whose members moved on to Oman; other members joined the confederation of Tanūkh, said to have been formed in al-Baḥrayn. Among later emigrants were adherents of ʿAdnānite tribes such as Tamīm, Bakr, and Taghlib, the last two of which were receptive to Christianity. At the time of the Prophet, ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] of ʿAdnān had become the dominant element in the population.

The Sāsānids, beginning with Ardashīr I, intervened in al-Baḥrayn, which was subject to a Persian *marzbān* when the Prophet sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al Ḥaḍramī eastwards to secure the land. When the *ridda* broke out and a descendant of the Lakhmids in al-Baḥrayn rejected the Caliphate, many of ʿAbd al-Ḳays under al-Djārūd, a converted Christian, did not desert Islam, and al-ʿAlāʾ defeated the rebels at Djuwāthā in al-Ḥasā. Muslim forces crossed over to the island of Dārīn opposite al-Ḳaṭīf and possibly to Uwāl as well.

In the 1st/7th century the Khawāridj under Nadjda b. ʿĀmir and Abū Fudayk [*qq.v.*] maintained a bastion of their power in al-Baḥrayn. Christianity and Judaism had not yet died out completely; the Nestorians were still active enough to hold a synod at Dārīn in A.D. 676. ʿAbbāsid rule was introduced during the next century, but the Arabic sources fail to tell much about its extent or effectiveness.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the inaugurator of the revolt of the Zandj [*q.v.*], a man who may have stemmed from ʿAbd al-Ḳays, embarked on his career of turbulence in al-Baḥrayn before moving on to ʿIrāḳ. In 281/894-5 Muḥammad b. Nūr, the ʿAbbāsid Governor of al-Baḥrayn, led an expedition against the Ibāḍite Imamate of Oman.

The Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] found devoted followers among both townspeople and Bedouins in al-Baḥrayn. In 317/930 the Black Stone was brought from Mecca to al-Baḥrayn, where it was kept for two decades. A victory by al-Muntafiḳ in 378/987-8 revealed the weakness of the Ḳarmaṭians, but they were still in control when Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Baḥrayn 65 years later. In 450/1057-8 Abu ʾl-Bahlūl al-ʿAwwām Ibn al-Zadjdjādj of ʿAbd al-Ḳays defied them by reestablishing orthodox Islam on Uwāl in the name of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph. The tribe of ʿĀmir Rabīʿa of ʿUḳayl [*q.v.*], guardians of the island for the Ḳarmaṭians, suffered defeat in a naval battle at Kaskūs, an island off al-Ḳaṭīf. Within the next few years the final downfall of the Ḳarmaṭians came at the hands of a new dynasty indigenous to al-Ḥasā, the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*] of ʿAbd al-Ḳays, aided by the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ.

Although no definite date can be set for the transfer of the name al-Baḥrayn from the mainland to the nearby archipelago, from this point on it may be convenient to restrict the history of al-Baḥrayn to the islands bearing this name today.

In the early period of the ʿUyūnids, who at times kept their capital at al-Ḳaṭīf, the islands of al-Baḥrayn came under their authority. When the unruliness of ʿĀmir Rabīʿa undermined the ʿUyūnid power, al-Baḥrayn became tributary to the Ḳayṣarids of Djazīrat Ḳays [*q.v.*] in the eastern Persian Gulf. In 633/1235 al-Baḥrayn and al-Ḳaṭīf were occupied by the forces of Abū Bakr b. Saʿd, the Salghūrid Atābeg of Fārs, but in 651/1253 al-Baḥrayn regained independence under the ʿUṣfūrids [*q.v.*], a clan of ʿĀmir Rabīʿa.

The Ṭībīs, merchant princes of Djazīrat Ḳays, brought al-Baḥrayn back within the orbit of their island, but their supremacy soon faded with the rise of New Hormuz farther east. About 730/1330 Tahamtam II of Hormuz annexed both Djazīrat Ḳays and al-Baḥrayn, and some 15 years later Tūrānshāh of Hormuz came to al-Baḥrayn in person. The first mention of al-Manāma, the present capital, occurs at this time.

In the mid-9th/15th century ʿĀmir Rabīʿa produced a new dynasty, the Djabrids [*q.v.*], the foremost of whom, Adjwad b. Zāmil, incorporated al-Baḥrayn in his domains and promoted the ascendancy of the Mālikī element over the Shīʿī. The splendid reign of this Bedouin prince carried the fame of al-Baḥrayn as far afield as Egypt and Portugal.

The Portuguese reached al-Baḥrayn from the Indian Ocean as early as 920/1514, but did not seize it until a few years later, when in alliance with Hormuz they overthrew Adjwad's uncle Muḳrim. Their fitful rule of about 80 years placed much reliance on Persian Sunnīs as local governors. In the mid-10th/16th century the Ottomans challenged Portuguese hegemony in the Persian Gulf, but their admirals, better corsairs than administrators, won no permanent foothold in al-Baḥrayn.

In 1011/1602 the Persians under Shāh ʿAbbās I took al-Baḥrayn, which they retained, with certain interruptions, for over 150 years. Persian sovereignty was not always accompanied by strong Persian influence, as the instruments of policy were often chiefs of the Huwala or other Arabs settled on the Persian coast, such as Djabbāra of Ṭāhirī and Nāṣir and Naṣr Āl Madhkūr of Būshahr in the 12th/18th century.

In 1197/1783 Aḥmad b. Khalīfa of Banū ʿUtba (al-ʿUtūb), Arabs who had migrated from Nadjd to Kuwayt and thence to al-Zubāra in Ḳaṭar, drove Naṣr Āl Madhkūr from al-Baḥrayn and inaugurated the rule of the House of Khalīfa, which has endured to the present. The energetic merchants of al-Baḥrayn with their valuable pearl resources contested the primacy recently won by Muscat in the transit trade of the Persian Gulf, thus provoking attacks by the Ibāḍite rulers of Muscat during the next 45 years. The first attack, in 1216/1801, brought Āl Saʿūd of Nadjd to the defence of Āl Khalīfa, but political domination by Āl Saʿūd was not prolonged and the Mālikī proclivities of the Sunnīs of al-Baḥrayn yielded little to the Ḥanbalism of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

Āl Khalīfa in 1235/1820 concluded with the British Government the first of a series of treaties which by 1332/1914 placed al-Baḥrayn fully under British protection, giving the British control of foreign affairs and exclusive rights in the development of natural resources. The growth of British influence has been the subject of repeated Persian protests for more than a century, and the Iranian Government still presses a vigorous claim to sovereignty over al-Baḥrayn. Although the Ottomans occupied the Arab-

50°30'
al-Deyr
Samāhīdj
al-Busaytīn
Airfield
Kalālī
AL-MUḤARRAḲ
al-Muḥarraḳ
'Arād
(causeway)
al-Ḥidd
Ḥālat Abū Māhir
Ḥālat Nu'aym
al-Manāma
Kal'at 'Adjādj
Khawr al-Ḳulay'a
Djazīrat Abū Shāhīn
Umm al-Shadjar
al-'Izl
Bārbār
Djannūsān
al-Dirāz
Sanābis
Manī
al-Budayyi'
Banī Djamra
al-Markh
Djidd Ḥafṣ
al-Zandj
Sūḳ al-Khamīs
Bilād al-Ḳadīm
al-Djufayr
UMM AL-ṢUBBĀN
DJIDĀ
Ḳureyya
Sār
'Ayn 'Adhārī
Umm al-Ḥaṣam
Tūblī
Salmābād
AL-NABĪH ṢĀLIḤ
'Ayn al-Ḥakīm
SITRA
Oil Wharf
al-Khāridjiyya
Wādiyān
UMM NA'SĀN
al-Djasra
'Ālī
Būrī
al-Hamla
al-'Ikr
Tank Farm
Nuwaydirāt
al-Rifā' al-Shamālī
al-Ma'āmīr
Dūmistān
al-Rifā' al-Gharbī
al-Rifā' al-Sharḳī
Karzakkān
Refinery
Ḥālat Umm al-Bayḍ
al-Fārisiyya
al-'Akāriyya
al-Mālikiyya
al-'Awālī (BAPCO Hdqrs.)
PERSIAN
Dār Kulayb
Ra's Abū Djardjūr
'Askar
Djazīrat al-Shaykh
al-Zallāḳ
Ra's Ḥayyān
al-Dukhkhān (Djabal)
Wasmiyya
26°00'
Djaww
GULF
al-Dūr
al-Mutalā
al-Rumaythā
AL-BAḤRAYN
0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
KILOMETERS
ROADS
MAIN
SECOND CLASS
TUMULI
Ra's al Barr
50°30'

ian coast and Ḳaṭar in the second half of the 13th/19th century and thus encircled al-Baḥrayn until the First World War, the presence of the British prevented them from absorbing the islands.

After an absence of over a millennium, formal Christianity returned to al-Baḥrayn in 1310/1893 when missionaries of the American Dutch Reformed Church founded a station. In 1351/1932 oil was discovered on the main island in the first of the prolific fields on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf.

From 1354/1935 to 1378/1958 al-Baḥrayn was the principal British naval base in the Gulf, and in 1365/1946 the seat of the British Political Residency in the Persian Gulf was moved from Būs̲h̲ahr to al-Baḥrayn. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Salmān b. Ḥamad, who acceded to the rule in 1361/1942, concluded an amicable agreement with King Saʿūd of Saudi Arabia in 1377/1958 fixing a marine boundary between the two countries, the first precisely defined boundary in any of the waters lapping the Arabian Peninsula.

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(G. RENTZ and W. E. MULLIGAN)

AL-BAḤRIYYA. a Mamluk regiment in Egypt. Most of the Ayyūbid sultans had mamlūks in their service, but it was only Sulṭān al-Ṣāliḥ Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Ayyūb (637-47/1240-9) who recruited them in very great numbers. He seized the opportunity of the influx in the Muslim markets of Turkish slaves from the Ḳipčāḳ steppe and neighbouring areas who were uprooted from their homelands by the Mongol advance and created from amongst them a regiment of picked bodyguards numbering between 800 and 1000 horsemen. He called this regiment al-Baḥriyya because he stationed its members on the island of al-Rawḍa on the Nile river (Baḥr al-Nīl).

The Baḥriyya displayed at a very early date all the positive and negative characteristics of a mamlūk military society, viz. exceptional military ability and valour and unity against outsiders on the one hand, and internal dissension on the other. It was they who won the battles of al-Manṣūra (647/1249) and ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt (658/1260), but six years before the last-named battle a split tore their ranks which threatened their very existence. A short time after Aybak, one of their number, became sultan they tried to dethrone him, but failed. As a result their leader, Aḳṭāy, was killed and some 700 of them had to escape from Egypt and entered the service of various Ayyūbid rulers in Syria and of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ ruler of Asia Minor.

After the death of Aybak group after group of the exiled Baḥriyya returned to Egypt, but they never regained their early position because of the ageing of their members and the thinning of their ranks. The last one of them died in 707/1307. The name Baḥriyya, however, persisted up to the 9th/15th century, for it was applied to various garrisons of the Syrian fortresses, the reason being that the original Baḥriyya performed garrison duties, especially in the reign of the Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn.

The importance of the Baḥriyya regiment lies in the fact that its formation had ultimately led to the creation of the Mamlūk sultanate. It is wrong, however, to call the early part of Mamlūk rule (648/1250-784/1382), in which the Ḳipčāḳī element was predominant, by the name of "the Baḥrī period". The common name in Mamlūk sources for that period

is Dawlat al-Turk, to distinguish it from the Circassian period (784-922/1382-1517) which they call Dawlat al-Djarkas (see D. Ayalon, *Le régiment Bahriya dans l'Armée Mamelouke*, in RÉI 1952, 133-41).

(D. AYALON)

BAḤRIYYA, a group of oases in the Lybian desert. The Baḥriyya is the most northerly of the Lybian desert. The Wāḥāt Baḥriyya (also singular), *i.e.*, the northern oases, are distinguished from the Wāḥāt Ḳibliyya, the southern oases, *i.e.*, the Dākhla [*q.v.*] and Khārga [*q.v.*]. Between these two groups lie the little oases of Farafra (included in the Dākhla by some), or al-Farāfira, called al-Farfarūn by al-Bakrī and al-Yaʿḳūbī. The three large oases are also distinguished as inner, middle and outer; the inner is the Baḥrīyya which is also called the small. It is sometimes also called the Bahnasiyya as it used to be visited by the people of Bahnasā. Bahnasā al-Ṣaʿīd and Bahnasā al-Wāḥāt are distinguished as early as al-Bakrī (*Mughrib*, 14). According to Boinet Bey's *Dictionnaire Géographique*, the Baḥriyya is a district of the province of Minia. It contains about 6000 inhabitants, and consists of four townships: al-Bāwiṭ (ī), al-Ḳaṣr, Mandīsha, and al-Zabū.

The Baḥriyya, like the other oases, has the reputation of being exceedingly fertile and in the middle ages its dates and raisins were famous. Cereals, rice, sugar-cane and especially indigo were also cultivated there, and alum and green vitriol found, though the latter is not specially mentioned as being found in the Baḥriyya, since all the notices of this sort refer to all the oases together. The fertility of the oasis is due to hot springs containing various chemicals.

Only scanty information is available for the history of the Baḥriyya. In the year 332/943-4 the oases are said to have been under the rule of a Berber prince ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and to have been independent. Under the Fāṭimids we hear of an Egyptian governor Abū Ṣāliḥ. In the time of al-Maḳrīzī and al-Ḳalḳashandī, that is, under the Mamlūks, they were not governed directly by the state but by feudal tenants. At all periods the oases have suffered from the predatory raids of Arab and Berber nomads while the more southern ones (perhaps also the Baḥriyya?) were sometimes the object of forays by the Kings of Nubia. It is only in modern times that they have been placed in closer relationship to the Egyptian government. In the seventies they were visited by Schweinfurth and since then European travellers have often gone there.

In earlier times the oases must have been very much more important than they are now, as witness the remains of several ancient temples, built by the Romans, and of a church of the 6th century A.D. The Coptic Church appears to have been in a flourishing condition till a late period. We hear of solemn processions with the body of one of the disciples which was carried through the streets in a shrine (*tābūt*) by a team of oxen. No doubt St. Bartholomew is meant (al-Bakrī, 14 should no doubt thus be emended,) or perhaps also St. George or both.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique* (ed. de Slane), 14 *et seq.*; Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 44; Abū Ṣāliḥ (ed. Evetts), fol. 93ᵃ, 75ᵃ; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 234 f.; Ḳalḳashandī (transl. by Wüstenfeld), 102; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, v, 11 f.; ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, xvii, 29 f.; Baedeker, *Egypt*⁸, 207; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Egypte*, 290; Schweinfurth, *Prof. Dr. Aschersons Reise nach der kleinen Oase* (*Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, vol. xxii, 264); Guides Bleus, *Égypte*, Paris 1956, 507-8.

(C. H. BECKER)

BAḤRIYYA, I. The navy of the Arabs until the time of the Fāṭimids [see Supplement].

II. The navy of the Mamlūks. The Mamlūk sultanate came into being a long time after Christian Europe had established its uncontested naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. Throughout that sultanate's existence this supremacy had been much strengthened. Under such circumstances there was little chance for Mamlūk sea power to demonstrate its existence. Mamlūk naval activities occupy a prominent place in the sources, mainly in connexion with Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Baybars' ill-fated expedition to Cyprus in 669/1270, with Sulṭān Barsbāy's expeditions to the same island and to Rhodes in the years 827-829/1424-6, 847/1443, and with the expeditions against the Portuguese in 913/1507 and 921/1515. Otherwise such activities are mentioned only on very rare occasions. Thus it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to write the history and describe the structure and functioning of whatever navies the Mamlūks possessed. Source references to some technical aspects of Mamlūk naval power will be given in the bibliography.

The deficiency of Mamlūk sources in technical information on the navy is, however, largely compensated for by the insight they give us into the socio-psychological factors which dictated the Mamlūks' attitude towards the navy. As these factors have by no means been limited to Mamlūk society alone, their examination might be of benefit to the general history of Islam in the Middle Ages.

The two following and closely connected subjects will be briefly discussed here: (a) the attitude of the Mamlūks towards the navy and its consequences; (b) their policy towards their ports and coastal fortifications.

(a) As might be expected from a military society of horsemen the attitude of the Mamlūks towards the sea was extremely negative. Even Baybars I was no exception to this rule, in spite of his unusual grasp of wide strategical problems and in spite of the fact that he cared for the navy more than any other Mamlūk sultan and that in his days Mamlūk sea power had reached its peak. After the disaster which his flotilla suffered in 1270 off the coast of Limasol, he wrote a letter to the king of Cyprus in which he stressed the superiority of a victory on land won by horsemen over a victory on the sea won by oarsmen, and then he succinctly defined the essential difference between the might of Islam and the might of the maritime powers of Christian Europe as follows: "Your horses are ships, while our ships are horses" (*antum khuyūlukum al-marākib wa naḥnu marākibunā al-khuyūl*) (*Sulūk*, i, 594, note 3). Not less illuminating was his reaction immediately on receiving the tidings about that disaster. He thanked God for the light punishment He allowed the evil eye to inflict upon him after having won so many victories. For all he had to sacrifice in order to save his land army from the evil eye was a certain number of ships and their crews, which were composed of fellahin and of common people (*al-fallāḥīn wa 'l-ʿawāmm*) (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 194, ll. 24-29; *Sulūk*, i, 594, ll. 2-3; *al-Nahdj al-Sadīd*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xii, 542, ll. 2-5). There can hardly be any doubt that elements of higher social status than the two above-mentioned ones served in the navy as well,

but in all probability they did not include the Mamlūks, who occupied the highest rung in the social ladder. When Baybars' flotilla was wrecked off Limasol, the Franks succeeded in capturing the whole naval command of the Mamlūk sultanate, including the captains (*rayyis*) of all the three Egyptian ports: Alexandria, Damietta and Rosetta. A very long list of the prisoners' names had been preserved in Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī's famous biography of Baybars (Edirne, Selimiye, 1557, chronicle of the year 673 A.H. cf. the Turkish translation by Şerefüddin Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941, 46, where however the list of names is omitted). This list does not contain a single name of a Mamlūk. Of all the prisoners not even one was considered important enough to be honoured with a biography. Nor is that all: Mamlūk historical literature contains many thousands of biographies, none of which is dedicated to a naval commander. Al-Maḳrīzī's statement that the designation *usṭūlī* ("man of the navy") was considered an insult in the Ayyūbid period after Saladin's reign (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 197, 11. 2-2) is true for the Mamlūk period as well.

The scarcity of wood and metals also greatly contributed to the weakness of Mamlūk sea power. The "forests" of Egypt, always covering only a small area, practically disappeared under Mamlūk rule as a result of neglect. In north-western Syria and in the vicinity of Beirut there were small forests which supplied wood for shipbuilding. From about the middle of the 9th/15th century the Mamlūks imported great quantities of timber from Ildjūn in south-eastern Anatolia, which they carried in their own ships under the protection of heavy escorts of Mamlūk soldiers. The contemporary sources hardly mention imports of timber from Europe, which must however, have been considerable.

The only source of iron-ore in the whole Mamlūk sultanate was a small mine located near Beirut, the output of which was mainly absorbed by the local shipyard. Other metals were not to be found at all within the sultanate's boundaries.

Yet in spite of the great handicap caused to shipbuilding by the scarcity or absence of raw materials, this factor was only of secondary importance compared with the Mamlūks' aversion to the sea.

As a matter of fact a permanent Mamlūk navy did not exist at all. Whenever a flotilla was constructed, it was only to exact reprisals for a very damaging and humiliating act of aggression by the Frankish corsairs. When a new flotilla was built, the older one had already ceased to exist for a very long time. Under such circumstances it was impossible to maintain a naval personnel worthy of its name. No wonder, therefore, that the Franks attacked the coasts of Islam at will and got away unscathed. The attacks usually caught the Muslims unawares, and when they did sound the alarm it was, in most cases, a false one.

With the advance of the years Mamlūk sea power became even more insignificant, not only because of the general decline of the realm, but also—and mainly—because of the increasing employment of firearms in sea warfare. In the Mediterranean, the pressure of the Franks on the Muslim shores was greatly intensified. In the Indian Ocean small squadrons of a new type of ocean-going Portuguese ships armed with superior artillery easily annihilated the Mamlūk warships sent against them, and thus paved the way for European domination of the sea routes to India and the Far East for many centuries.

(b) The steadily deteriorating naval power of Islam drove the Muslims after many hesitations to the destruction of the Syro-Palestinian ports and coastal fortifications. As a result of the Crusades, the Muslims came slowly to realise that this was their only alternative. The destruction was started by the Ayyūbids, but was mainly accomplished by the Mamlūks. The turning-point was the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (583/1187) and the events which followed it in the next few years. These proved to the Muslims that however decisive their victory over the Franks might be on land, the Franks could always easily turn the tables upon them by means of their naval supremacy. ʿAsḳalān, destroyed by the personal order of Saladin in 587/1191, was the first victim of that policy, which was followed up after that with unswerving determination.

When the Mamlūks rose to power, they wiped out one after the other the fortifications of the Syro-Palestininian coast, and destroyed many of its ports from about the middle of the 13th century and up to the year 722/1322, in which Ayās near Alexandretta had been conquered. Of the numerous coastal fortresses (*ḳilāʿ*, sing. *ḳalʿa*) none was left. A few towers (*burūdj*, sing. *burdj*) were constructed on the ruins of some of them, mainly in order to keep watch on the sea and resist the first onslaught of a possible Frankish attack.

In addition, the Mamlūks tried to strengthen their coastal defences by settling near the coast Kurds, Khwārizmians, Turcomans, Oirats, etc., who sought refuge in the sultanate and were called *Wāfidiyya*. This attempt, however, failed, generally speaking, for the *Wāfidiyya* soon assimilated with the local population and disappeared as a separate entity. Only the Turcomans are mentioned for quite a long period as guardians of the coast.

The port-towns of the Syro-Palestinian coast declined very greatly. Some of them entirely disappeared, others became small fishing ports and only very few recovered fairly quickly.

The most thoroughly destroyed and the most desolate part of the coast was the section stretching from the south of Sidon and up to al-ʿArīsh, *i.e.*, roughly speaking the shores of Palestine. ʿAsḳalān, Arsūf, Caesarea and ʿAthlīth, remained in ruins up to recent times. The revival of Haifa started many years after Mamlūk reign, whereas Jaffa and Acre were only insignificant hamlets under Mamlūk and early Ottoman rule. The nearness of that part of the coast to Jerusalem and the flatness and comparative wideness of the plain adjoining it—which make it an ideal area for landing troops from the sea—were undoubtedly the main reasons for its thorough destruction.

The only towns which recovered from the blow fairly quickly were Beirut and Tripoli, but their defences were far weaker than those which they had had in the past. Thanks to the historian Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, we know much more about Beirut's system of defence than about that of any other Syro-Palestinian port. The picture revealed of the weakness of that system is very depressing indeed (*Taʾrīkh Bayrūt*, 28-42, 45, 67-9, 90-4, 100-112, 134, 168, etc.).

The Egyptian coast, on the other hand, was left almost intact. In the first half of the 13th century Tinnīs was permanently destroyed, but Damietta was very soon rebuilt after having been destroyed. The reason for the preservation of the Egyptian ports and coastal fortifications were: first, that Egypt was invaded by the Crusaders only for very short periods; second, that trade with the outside world was vital

for the country's existence (economic considerations undoubtedly played a decisive rôle in the revival of Beirut and Tripoli as well); third, all the picked units of the Mamlūk army were concentrated in Egypt (or more precisely in Cairo). They could easily be rushed from the capital to any point on the Egyptian coast.

From the above it should not be concluded that the Mamlūks devoted much of their attention to the Egyptian coast. Alexandria and the other Egyptian ports were garrisoned by third-rate troops, including members of the declining non-Mamlūk regiment of the *ḥalḳa* and Bedouins of the neighbourhood, equipped with most primitive weapons. When the Royal Mamlūks were forced to garrison these ports in times of great danger, they stayed there only for very short periods. Even the most severe blow which the Franks inflicted on Alexandria in 1365 did not bring about any substantial change in its system of defence.

In the inner parts of their realm, and I mean mainly the mountain region of Syria and Palestine, the Mamlūks pursued a totally different policy. There they rebuilt systematically the fortresses which were damaged or destroyed either by the Mongols or as a result of the fighting with the Crusaders. The term *ḳalʿa*, which has entirely disappeared from the coast, is encountered very frequently in the interior even in remote and little known places.

Bibliography: Studies: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatına Medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 463-465; M. M. Ziada, *The Mamluk Conquest of Cyprus in the Fifteenth Century*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, University of Egypt, vol. i (1933), 90-104, vol. ii (1934), 37-57; cf. also the rich bibliographical notes in this article; D. Ayalon, *The Wāfidīya in the Mamluk Kingdoms*, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. xxv, 1951, 89-104; idem, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, London 1956, 77-82 (on the naval struggle between the Mamlūks and the Portuguese). Sources: on the Egyptian (including Mamlūk) navy and shipyards, al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 189-197. On the expeditions to Cyprus and Rhodes, in addition to notes in Ziada, *op. cit.*: Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm* (ed. Popper), vi, 590 ff., vii, 122 ff.; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr*, 61 ff., 87 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, B. M. MS. Add. 2321, f. 361b-364b. On terminology connected with the navy, the crews, ship construction, numbers of ships, etc.: Ibn Mamātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, 339-40; Zettersteen (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, 56, ll. 12-24; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abī al-Faḍā'il, *al-Nahdj al-Sadīd* (in *Patrologia Orientalis*), vol. xiv, 628, l. 6, 629, l. 4; Abu'l-Fidā', *K. al-Mukhtaṣar*, iv, 6, ll. 26-29; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, xiv, 320, ll. 12-19; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, i, 56, ll. 6-13, 77, ll. 16-17, 80, ll. 9-10, 102, ll. 14-15, 203, ll. 12-13, 354, ll. 12-14, 451, ll. 11-13, 594, ll. 2-4, 615, ll. 4-10, 875, ll. 6-10, 928, ll. 1, 8, 17, ii, 33, ll. 4-5; idem, *Nudjūm* (ed. Cairo), vi, 38, ll. 6-7, 369, ll. 10-11, vii, 157, ll. 8-10, 226, l. 8; *ibid.* (ed. Popper), v, 199, ll. 18-20, vi, 402, 590, ll. 20-28, 591, l. 9, 607, l. 18, 608, l. 1, 615, l. 18, vii, 134, ll. 12-13, 208, l. 12, 210, l. 13, 548, ll. 4-7, 725, in the notes; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, ii, f. 56a; idem, *Ḥawādith*, 341, ll. 4-15, 346, l. 11, 347, l. 15; idem, *Tibr*, 47, ll. 15-16; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh al-Duwal wa 'l-Mulūk*, ix, 265, l. 16; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ al-Zuhūr* (ed. Kahle), iv, 103, ll. 1-6, 212, ll. 2-4, 215, l. 19, 216, l. 1, 238, ll. 8-9, 243, ll. 18-19, 246, ll. 10-11, 276, l. 16, 366, ll. 9-10, 466, ll. 18-21, v, 81, ll. 19-24; Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, 31, l. 16, 33, ll. 14-15, 34, l. 1, 34, l. 8, 35, l. 7, 36, ll. 1-3, 36, ll. 20, 38, l. 12, 38, ll. 16-19, 101, l. 14, 102, l. 1, 181, 238; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, iv, 438, l. 18, 439, l. 1; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv, 63, l. 18; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 26, ll. 1-18, ii, 189, ll. 12-15, 195, ll. 6-8; al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, 139-140, 142, ll. 2-7; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Inbā'*, BM. MS. Add. 7321, f. 362, ll. 8-10. On the sources from which shipbuilding timber was supplied: *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 110, 1, 37, 111, l. 7, 204, 272, ll. 7-9, ii, 185, ll. 5-8, 194, ll. 10-13; *Nudjūm* (ed. Popper), vii, 486, l. 7, 487, l. 4, 492, ll. 14-16; *Ḥawādith*, 96, l. 11, 97, l. 4, 115, ll. 10-11, 129, ll. 8-11, 255, ll. 3-5, 301, ll. 4-5, 470, ll. 2-9; Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 315, ll. 23-25, 320, ll. 12-19; Ibn Iyās, ii, 54, ll. 19-20, 59, ll. 11-12, 63, ll. 17-26, iii (ed. Kahle), 141, iv, 163, 164, 183, l. 21, 184, l. 1, 185, 191; *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, 295; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 124, ll. 3-7, viii, 226, xii, 172, xiv, 68; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii, 234, ll. 20-21. (D. AYALON)

iii. The Ottoman navy. From the foundation of the Ottoman state to the time of Bāyazīd I (1389-1402), the sea of Marmara and part of the Aegean seaboard lay within its boundaries. For the crossing into Rumelia, use had been made of transports belonging to the principality of Ḳarasi, stationed on the coast of the Ḳapīdaghī peninsula. The need for a fleet was felt in the first years of Bāyazīd's reign, when by occupying the principalities of Ṣārūkhān, Aydin, and Menteshe, which held the coast-lands of western Asia Minor, he reached the Mediterranean. The fleets of the occupied principalities were utilised, and at the same time an arsenal was established at Gallipoli, and naval activity began in the Aegean. Gallipoli was ranked as a *sandjaḳ* and became the centre of the Ottoman admiralty. Subsequently a number of other *sandjaḳs* were added to it, to form the *eyālet* of the Ḳaptan (Kapudan) Pasha. Ships were built not only at Gallipoli but also on the shores of the sea of Marmara, the Aegean and at some points on the Black Sea coast, and naval activity increased.

The first Ottoman sea-battle occurred in 819/1416, against the Venetians, the Ottoman Ḳaptan Pasha being Čalī Bey, *sandjaḳ beyi* of Gallipoli. In this battle, which took place between the island of Marmara and Gallipoli, the Ottoman navy was defeated and Čalī Bey was killed, while the Venetian admiral Pietro Loredano was wounded in the eye. The following year peace was made, through the mediation of the Byzantine emperor.

After this the Ottoman navy steadily progressed. First it brought under its influence some off-shore islands in the Aegean that had been colonised by the Genoese, and later, in 860/1456, it took the harbour of Enez and the islands of Imbros, Thasos, Samothrace, and Lemnos, and in 866/1462 Lesbos. Shortly after this date there began the series of hard-fought battles with Venice. The island of Euboea, an important Venetian base, was taken in 815/1470, and the Ionian islands in the last years of the reign of Meḥemmed II.

The Ottoman empire was already making its naval strength felt when Khayr al-Dīn ('Barbarossa'), the Bey of Algiers, entered its service. His skill brought it to the highest degree of maritime power, and with the battle of Preveza (4 Djum. I, 2 September 1538) it won the mastery of the Mediterranean. Defeat at Lepanto (979/1571) cost the Ottoman empire its fleet, but thanks to the *odjaḳlıḳ* system (whereby a given region was responsible for supplying an arsenal with

one particular ship-building commodity; *e.g.*, the island of Thasos had to provide pine-wood for the ship-yards of Lemnos: see I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı* Ankara 1948, especially footnote to p. 449), a new fleet was created in so short a time as five months, and with the help of this the Venetians were compelled to make peace and sign a — for them — inglorious treaty.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the Ottoman fleet was weakened by the haphazard appointment of men with no naval experience to the *ḳaptan-pas̲h̲alïḳ*, the command of the naval forces. From the beginning of the 17th century the Venetian fleet replaced its oar-driven galleys by sailing galleons, while the Ottoman navy persisted in the use of oars. Partly for this reason and partly because the ships' crews were pressed men with no interest in seafaring, it had so little success that the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos fell into enemy hands.

Eventually, in 1682, during the grand vizierate of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a of Merzifon (1676-83), the principle was accepted that sailing galleons should form the basis of the fleet (a principle that had long been applied by the navy of Algiers, an Ottoman dependency). Thus a balance was achieved with the Venetians in the Mediterranean, and in 1106/1695 the island of Chios was recovered from them. A *ḳānūn* relating to galleons, their commanders and crews, was promulgated in 1701.

During the 2nd half of the 18th century no battle was fought against the Venetians, whose power had weakened, but the main naval activity in the western Mediterranean passed to the French and English fleets. In the course of the Russo-Turkish war which began in 1182/1768, the Russian fleet, which the English had developed in the Baltic, entered the Mediterranean and in 1184/1770 succeeded in virtually annihilating the Ottoman fleet in the harbour of Čes̲h̲me. After the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynard̲j̲a in 1188/1774, prominence was given to naval matters, and a school of engineering was opened in the Arsenal, staffed by experts brought from Europe. In the reign of Selīm III (1789-1807) great importance was attached to equipping the fleet by up-to-date methods, as a result of the zeal of Küčük Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a. The school of naval engineering was enlarged, and a school of military engineering founded. In the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808-39) the navy was not neglected, but a variety of causes, internal and external, impeded its development. Nevertheless training was given at the school of naval engineering to commanders and naval architects. As a result of the revolt of the Peloponnese, and the help afforded to the rebels by Britain, France, and Russia, the Ottoman fleet was destroyed in Navarino Bay in 1243/1827. Despite this disaster naval activity did not cease, and in 1244/1828 a naval academy was opened on Heybeliada. The Ottoman navy attained a position of strength during the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76), in consequence of the importance attached to it, as also to the army, by this sultan. In the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) however, the fleet, that had been built up with great enthusiasm, fell into neglect, as part of the prevailing remissness; in the result, the Ottoman empire, which had long coastlines on three continents, suffered severe territorial losses.

In the period of oared vessels, the principal types of Ottoman ships were the *ḳādïrg̲h̲a* (galley), *ḳālïte* (galliot), and *firḳate* (frigate). The individual commanders were known as *reʾīs*, squadron-commanders as *ḳaptan*, and the commander-in-chief of the fleet as *Ḳapudān-i deryā*. The great galley of the *Ḳapudān-i deryā* or Ḳaptan Pas̲h̲a was called *bas̲h̲tarda*. The *ḳādïrg̲h̲as* were of two classes: *k̲h̲āṣṣa ḳadïrg̲h̲alarï* and *bey ḳādïrg̲h̲alarï*. The former were constructed by the government, the latter by the *sand̲j̲aḳ beyis* of the *eyālet* of the Ḳaptan Pas̲h̲a.

After the introduction of sailing vessels as the basis of the fleet, it was entrusted to three admirals under the *Ḳapudān-i deryā*. They were, in order of seniority, the *ḳapudāna* (Admiral), the *patrona* (Vice-Admiral), and the *riyāle* (Rear Admiral). The principal sailing vessels, in descending order of size, were the *ḳurvet*, the *firḳateyn*, and two kinds of galleon known as the *ikï ambarlï ḳapaḳ* and the *üč ambarlï*. The crews of galleons were called *ḳalyond̲j̲u*, and included *aylaḳd̲j̲ïs* (temporary sailors), *marinars* (who were prisoners of war), *g̲h̲abyars* (who attended to the sails), *ṣanʿatkārs* (craftsmen: painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, caulkers), and *sudag̲h̲abos* (gunners).

Next in rank to the Kaptan Pas̲h̲a in the Istanbul arsenal came the *tersāne ketk̲h̲udāsï* and the *tersāne emini*, and after them officers of the second and third rank. The accountant of the arsenal had the title of *D̲j̲ānib efendi*. Till the introduction of sail, the *tersāne ketk̲h̲udāsï* ranked as Vice Admiral and occupied himself with the discipline of the arsenal. The *tersāne emïni* was trained at the Bāb-i ʿĀlī and had control of supplies, income, and expenditure for the fleet and arsenal. This office was abolished in 1830 and its duties were entrusted to the Kaptan Pas̲h̲a.

In 1841 new ranks were instituted for both army and navy. In 1851 the Navy Ministry (*baḥriyye neẓāreti*) was created, with charge of the financial and administrative functions formerly exercised by the *tersāne emïni*. The title of *Ḳapudān-i deryā* was abolished and a fleet command council was set up. In June 1876 the title of *Ḳapudān-i deryā* was restored. Finally, in 1881, the offices of minister and commander-in-chief of the navy were combined in one man, of the rank of *müs̲h̲īr*. This arrangement continued till the end of the Ottoman empire.

In 1922, after the establishment of the government of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, the Navy Ministry (*baḥriyye vekâleti*) was formed. In 1927, when this ministry was abolished, naval affairs were made the responsibility of the Ministry of National Defence, and have since been administered by a department headed by a permanent undersecretary (*müstes̲h̲ar*).

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1928; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, index (s v. korsaren); J. Deny, *Riyāla*, in *EI*[1]; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, letter 20. (I. H. UZUNÇARŞILI)

BAḤSHAL, ASLAM B. SAHL AL-WĀSIṬĪ AL-RAZZĀZ, author of a History of Wāsiṭ. Nothing is known of his life except the names of some of his authorities, among them Wahb b. Baḳiyya (155-239/772-853), supposedly his maternal grandfather (but cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 488), and the approximate date of his death, between 288/901 and 292/904-05.

The History of Wāsiṭ has come down to us in an incomplete manuscript in Cairo (Taymūr, *ta'rīkh* no. 1483) which had an interesting history and possesses considerable association value. It is the oldest preserved history intended to serve as an aid for *ḥadīth* scholars in evaluating the reliability of transmitters. Starting with a rather brief discussion of the early history of Wāsiṭ and its environs, it deals with the religious scholars who had some connexion with Wāsiṭ and were also linked to the author by an uninterrupted chain of transmitters. The biographies are arranged chronologically according to generations of scholars (here *ḳarn*, for the more common *ṭabaḳa* "class"). They contain little personal information but restrict themselves as a rule to the name of the scholar, his authorities and students, and one (and, occasionally, more than one) of the traditions he transmitted. The work represents, if not the beginnings, at least an early simple stage of what was soon to become one of the most elaborate types of historico-biographical literature in Islam.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 256; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1325, i, 98; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, i, 388, cf. also his *Mu'djam al-Mufahras*, MS. Cairo, *muṣṭ. al-ḥadīth* no. 82, 102; Brockelmann, S I, 210; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952, 83, 144 f., 406. (F. ROSENTHAL)

BAḤTH, infinitive of the Arabic root *b.ḥ.th*; from its original meaning, "to rake, to dig, to turn over soil (in order to search for something)", there later developed its meaning of "to look for, examine, consider", in the intellectual and speculative sense. *Baḥatha* became in this respect almost a synonym of *naẓara*, and, in fact, the two terms *baḥth* and *naẓar* are often found in association (*e.g.*, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 368; *ahl al-baḥth wa'l-naẓar*, "specialists in philosophic inquiry and controversy"). A *Kitāb al-Baḥth* formed part of the corpus of writings attributed to Djābir b. Ḥayyān, who dates from the 3rd/9th century (cf. Brockelmann SI, 429). Since that time, *baḥth*, with its plural *abḥāth*, appears in the titles of numerous works precisely in the sense of "study, examination, inquiry" (also in the form *mabḥath*, pl. *mabāḥith*, which denotes not only the object of the inquiry but the inquiry itself) and in this strengthened form it is often used in modern Arabic, in the technical and scientific sense of "study": *e.g.*, *Mabāḥith 'arabiyya* of Bishr Fāris, Cairo 1939. (F. GABRIELI)

BAHURASĪR [see AL-MADĀ'IN].

AL-**BAHŪTĪ**. SHAYKH MANṢŪR B. YŪNUS AL-BAHŪTĪ, frequently referred to by the name of AL-BAHŪTĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, is usually considered as one of the most eminent doctors of Ḥanbalism in the first half of the 11th/17th century, and also as the last major representative of this school in Egypt. A native of the village of Bahūt in the Mudīriyya Gharbiyya, al-Bahūtī belonged to a family which gave several other *'ulamā'*, who enjoyed a certain notoriety, to Ḥanbalism. The following are cited among the best known of his teachers: Muḥammad al-Mardāwī (died 1026/1617) *Mukhtaṣar*, 96), also an Egyptian Ḥanbalī, and the traditionist and lawyer 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahūtī (*Mukhtaṣar*, 104), who was reputed to be well versed in the four major schools of *fiḳh*. Manṣūr al-Bahūtī also counted a Shāfi'ī among his teachers, 'Abd Allāh al-Danawsharī. Little is known of his life, except that he devoted himself in Cairo to teaching *fiḳh* and that he gave numerous legal opinions (*fatāwā*). His biographers praise his devotion and his charitable disposition. His teaching appears to have enjoyed great success; numerous students came to him for their training, in fact not only from Egypt, but from Syria and Palestine as well. Among his chief disciples two members of his own family are cited, Muḥammad al-Bahūtī and Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Surūr al-Bahūtī, and the Syrian Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣāliḥī. He died in Cairo in Rabī' II/105/July 1641, apparently at a very advanced age, and was buried in the *turba* of the *Mudjāwirūn*.

Manṣūr al-Bahūtī's work, which is still used today in Egypt for teaching Ḥanbalism, is devoid of any great originality on the part of the author. It stands, in the history of Ḥanbalism, as a prolongation of the work of Mūsā al-Ḥudjāwī (died 968/1560) (cf. Brockelmann, II, 325 and S II, 447) and that of Shaykh Taḳī al-Dīn al-Futūḥī, better known under the name of Ibn al-Nadjdjār (died about 980/1572) (cf. Brockelmann, S ii, 447). The Palestinian al-Ḥudjāwī, who was *muftī* in Damascus where he taught at the 'Umariyya and at the Mosque of the Umayyads, had composed a resumé of the *Muḳni'* of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (died 620/1222), under the title of *Zād al-Mustanḳi'*, and a manual of Law, the *Iḳnā'*, which has become a classic in Ḥanbalism of the late period. Muḥammad al-Bahūtī wrote a commentary on the first of these works with the title *al-Rawḍ al-Murbi' bi-Sharḥ Zād al-Mustanḳi'* (Cairo 1352, 2 vols.). He also left a commentary on the *Iḳnā'* (published at Cairo in three volumes). Shaykh Tādj al-Dīn al-Futūḥī, who received his training in Cairo, combined the *Muḳni'* of Muwaffaḳ b. Ḳudāma and the *Tanḳīḥ* of Ḥasan al-Mardāwī (died 910/1504-5; *Mukhtaṣar*, 77-78), in a single manual entitled *al-Muntahā*, which speedily achieved considerable success. We are also indebted to Manṣūr al-Bahūtī for a *sharḥ* on the *Muntahā* (Cairo, 3 vol.) and for a *ḥāshiya*, gloss on the same text.

He also wrote a commentary on the *Mufradāt* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Maḳdisī (died 820/1417; *Mukhtaṣar*, 65), a long poem in which the points of doctrine peculiar to Ḥanbalism are expounded. This commentary was published at Cairo, by the Salafiyya press, in 1343/1924 (and the actual text was again reprinted by the same publishers the following year, with brief notes taken from al-Bahūtī's commentary). Lastly, a commentary on the *Muḳni'* is attributed to him (cf. *RAAD*, xii, 631).

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BAHW, an Arabic word primarily designating an empty and spacious place extending between two objects which confine it, has acquired, in the architecture of the Western Muslim World,

somewhat varied meanings, which are, however, related to the intial meaning of the word.

To this primary sense of the term, the *Lisān al-ʿArab* adds the following apparently derivative meaning: *bahw* is a tent or pavilion chamber situated beyond the rest, which suggests the idea of a pavilion differing from that which it preceeds both in situation and by its spaciousness and height.

One of the first examples of the use of the word which enables us to determine its meaning, is to be found in the description of the great mosque of al-Ḳayrawān by al-Bakrī. He speaks of the *Ḳubbat bāb al-bahw*, which de Slane translates: "Cupola of the door of the pavilion". We have no difficulty in identifying this cupola as the one which rises before the hypostyle chamber, in the middle of the narthex gallery opening on to the courtyard; it would, however, seem more appropriate to translate: "Cupola of the door of the central nave" and to recognise in *bahw* the term designating the axial nave leading to the *miḥrāb*, which differs clearly from the others by its spaciousness, its being closed by the largest door and preceded by the cupola.

The arrangement of the naves at right angles to the wall of the *ḳibla* and the adoption of a main nave occupying the centre, an arrangement which we are amply justified in considering as being inspired by pagan and Christian basilicas, is mainly encountered in the West, which explains why *bahw* almost exclusively belongs to the vocabulary of Western Muslim Architecture. Attested in al-Ḳayrawān in the 5th/11th century, the term is still used at Tunis to designate the central nave of the great mosque. The name *Bāb al-buhūr* given to the door preceding this nave is a most likely corruption of the original term.

In Spain, the term *bahw* seems to be less strictly used. It is to be found in the description given by al-Maḳḳarī of the Umayyad palace built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. The main building of the palace comprised 5 naves extending lengthways. The central nave, larger than the other four, was closed by a door called *bāb al-bahw*. The throne of the sovereign was situated at the end of this nave and there he gave audience. There it was that al-Ḥakam II received King Ordono IV and caused him to be seated before him. However, the adjoining naves, also comprised in the ceremonial chamber, seem to have been to some extent confused with the central nave and are also at times referred to by the term *bahw*.

This confusion is emphasised by Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl, quoted by al-Maḳḳarī in relation to the great mosque of Cordova. Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwāl applies the word *bahw* to the 19 naves of the great mosque as an exception, being careful to add that they are normally called *balāṭ*, which is in fact the term most usually applied to the naves of a mosque. Al-Maḳḳarī, describing the mosque of Ucles, refers to the central nave by the expression *al-balāṭ al-awsaṭ*.

The sense of a nave extending lengthways and playing the role of a ceremonial chamber, as suggested by the description of the Umayyad palace, explains the use of *bahw* to indicate an audience chamber. There were two such chambers in the palace of Cordova to which Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb applies this term. According to al-Tid̲j̲ānī, at Gabès, in the castle built by Ibn Makkī, an audience chamber was provided with a *bahw* where the master of the palace was seated. We naturally identify this place of honour with the *iwān*, the central alcove, of Mesopotamian origin, which is to be encountered in the houses of Fusṭāṭ of the Ṭūlūnid period and which was likewise known to Eastern Barbary from the 4th/10th century. This deep recess, the place of honour, set into the back wall of a large chamber, still exists in Tunisian and Algerian houses: in Tunisia it bears the name *ḳbū*, in Algeria, however, the name *bahw* seems to be not unknown.

Bibliography: See especially the very complete work by A. Dessus Lamare, *Étude sur le bahwu, organe d'architecture musulmane*, in *JA* 1936, ii, 529-547. Main sources: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and trans. de Slane, 1912-191; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ed. Dozy, Dugat, Krehl and Wright, i, 1251 ff.; Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319/1901-2. (G. Marçais)

BAIKAL, in eastern Turkish (by folk-etymology) *Bai kül*, 'the rich lake'; in Mongolian *Dalai nor*, 'the ocean lake'; the deepest lake (1741 m.), and the largest mountain lake in the world, between 51° 29′ and 55° 46′ north, and 103° 44′ and 110° 40′ east, surrounded by high mountain ranges, 635 km. long, and varying from 15 to 79 km wide, with an area of 31,500 sq. km. Flowing into it are the Selenga, the Barguzin and the upper Angara, and flowing out is the Angara at Yenisey. The Lake Baikal railway (307 km. long, with 40 tunnels) — a branch of the Trans-Siberian railway — was completed round the southern part of it (between the Angara exit and the Selenga delta) in autumn 1904.

It appears that Lake Baikal was not known to Muslim geographers in Mongol times. It is mentioned only by Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Tawārīk̲h̲* (ed. Berezin iii 180) (Trudl Vost. otd. Imp. Ark̲h̲eol. Ob-va XIII). Here, the people living on its shores are called Barḳūt (*-t* is the Mongol plural ending), and the region around it Barḳūd̲j̲īn (Tūkūm), which is recalled by the river Barguzin. The lake became known in Russia in the first half of the 17th century, and in western Europe shortly afterwards.

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BAILO [see bālyōs].

al-**BAʿĪT̲H̲**, nickname of a satirical poet of Baṣra named K̲h̲idās̲h̲ b. Bis̲h̲r al-Mud̲j̲ās̲h̲iʿī. Though held to be the greatest orator of the Tamīm, Ibn Sallām places him in the second class of the great Islamic poets. The critics, however, consider that his relative obscurity was only due to the renown of D̲j̲arīr; al-Baʿīt̲h̲'s activity is in fact associated with that of the two rivals D̲j̲arīr and al-Farazdaḳ: for many years he exchanged invectives with the former, but was obliged to call the latter to his assistance, who, moreover, does not always treat him gently (he also refers to him by the nickname *Ibn ḥamrāʾ al-ʿid̲j̲ān* "son of the woman with the red perineum", an allusion to his mother's humble origin; she was a slave from Sid̲j̲istān). Yāḳūt places his death in 134/752, but as he adds: "during the Caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik" (who reigned from 88 to 98/705-15), this date cannot be given credence.

Bibliography: D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, ed. S̲h̲ākir, 472-3; *Naḳāʾiḍ D̲j̲arīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, passim; *Dīwāns* of D̲j̲arīr and Farazdaḳ, passim; Ibn Sallām,

Ṭabaḳāt, index; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 147; Ibn ʿAsākir, v, 122-4; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 56, 108; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 52-5; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

BAḲĀʾ WA-FANĀʾ. The Ṣūfic terms *fanāʾ* (passing-away, effacement) and *baḳāʾ* (subsistence, survival), refer to the stages of the development of the mystic in the path of gnosis. These categories, partly antithetical and partly complementary, are more or less equivalents of such other pairs as *sukr* (intoxication) and *ṣaḥw* (sobriety), *djamʿ* or *waḥda* (unity) and *tafriḳa* or *kathra* (separation, plurality), and *nafy* (negation) and *ithbāt* (affirmation).

The doctrine has been developed especially since the execution, in Baghdād in A.D. 922, of al-Ḥallādj who declared "I am God", when the Ṣūfīs turned to the task of a more sober description of the mystic experience in an effort to exonerate al-Ḥallādj from the un-Islamic idea of identifying the human ego with God and to demonstrate that Ṣūfism was not only truly Islamic but is the true Islam. Even though some Ṣūfīs, in their moment of ecstasy, have not been able to guard against utterances similar to that of al-Ḥallādj, especially in their poetry, they have usually categorically denied both the incarnation of God in man and the total mergence of the individual and finite human ego in God. Two allied definitions have been offered of *fanāʾ*: (1) the passing-away from the consciousness of the mystic of all things, including himself, and even the absence of the consciousness of this passing-away and its replacement by a pure consciousness of God, and (2) the annihilation of the imperfect attributes (as distinguished from the substance) of the creature and their replacement by the perfect attributes bestowed by God. It is quite obvious that *fanāʾ*, unlike the Indian Nirvana, is not a mere cessation of individual life, but the development of a more ample and perfect selfhood, thanks to the utter change of attributes wrought by the influence of God, and is more like the Greek ἔκστασις, provided one guards against the total fusion of man and God.

Accordingly, *baḳāʾ*, keeping the two definitions of *fanāʾ* in view, means (1) persistence in the new divinely bestowed attributes (*baḳāʾ biʾllāh*), and (2) a return to the mystic's consciousness of the plurality of the creaturaly world. The second follows from the first, since being with God means also being with the world which has been created by God and in which He is manifested, however imperfectly. The Ṣūfīs generally regard this state of *baḳāʾ* as being more perfect than that of mere *fanāʾ* and this is the meaning of their dictum that sobriety supervenes on intoxication. This "return" to the world—which is, they emphatically state, not a simple return to the pre-*fanāʾ* state of the mystic, since his experience has given him an altogether new insight—means to perceive its inadequacies and to endeavour to make it more perfect.

The doctrine of *baḳāʾ* throws into bold relief the distinction between the mystic and the prophetic consciousness. Whereas the ordinary mystic stops at *fanāʾ* and does not even wish to return to the world, it is the function of the prophet—the mystic par excellence,—to be constantly both with God and with the world, to transmute the course of history through the implementation of the religio-moral divine Truth.

Bibliography: Besides the works of the Ṣūfīs—of which the *K. al-Lumaʿ* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj and the *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb* of al-Hudjwīrī, are the most important on the subject, the most helpful account in any Western language is in R. A. Nicholson's *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, especially the last chapter. According to al-Hudjwīrī, the author of the doctrine was Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, but it was further developed by Djunayd and others no doubt under the criticism of the orthodoxy. A radical, forceful and lucid statement was developed, as a criticism of Ibn al-ʿArabī, by the 17th century Indian Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī whose Persian *Maktūbāt* have not been studied at all in the West.

(F. RAHMAN)

AL-BAḲʿA [see AL-BIḲĀʿ].

BĀḲALAMŪN [see ABŪ ḲALAMŪN].

BAḲAR. In medieval Arabic literature, the term is not confined to the prevalent meaning of *cattle* (*bos*), in contrast to more recent usage and to the application of corresponding forms in other Semitic languages. Arab authors distinguish between the domestic kind, *baḳar ahlī* (= cattle), and the wild kind, *baḳar waḥshī*, the latter being variously identified, either with the *mahā* (*Oryx beatrix*; Nuwayrī, ix, 322) or the *ayyil* ([*q.v.*]; so according to the description in Ḳazwīnī) or with a group of animals (referred to by Lane, 234, as *bovine antelopes*) which comprises, according to Damīrī, in addition to these two species, also the *yaḥmūr* (roedeer) and the *thaytal* (bubale antelope). The distinctive epithet, however, is not always added, so that *baḳar* alone (or its nom. unit. *baḳara*) may also stand for several wild animals. This applies, for instance, to ancient Arabic poetry (see, e.g., Djāḥiẓ, v, 218²) and its commentaries, to the respective data in the dictionaries (Ibn Sīda treats *baḳar* in the *Kitāb al-Wuḥūsh*!) and even to zoological writings (*e.g.*, Djāḥiẓ, ii, 199⁹; iv, 399³). In works on the solution of dreams, where *baḳar* holds an important place, it is difficult to determine the exact meaning in every case. Different traditions seem to have been intermingled also in pharmacological works. Here, the horns of *baḳar* are frequently mentioned, while some Arab authors describe the *baḳar ahlī* as a hornless animal. In the Ḳurʾān, where the term mainly occurs in biblical tales, the meaning is always cattle or cow. In addition, the term is found in ancient proverbs and in the *ḥadīth*.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anām*, s.v.; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 160, 164-66, 169-70, ii, 30 (transl. L. Kopf, *Osiris* xii [1956], 463 [index]); ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* (Siddiqi), 421 ff.; Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jayakar i, 315 ff, 327 ff); Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*², index; Hommel, *Säugethiere*, index s.v. *Rindvieh*; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 1 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 70, 75, 81, 94 (transl. Kopf, 43, 50, 57, 70); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, 105 ff.; Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 74 f.; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 32 ff.; Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab al-Kalām*, bāb 33; Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, bāb 62, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 380 ff.; Malouf, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Stephenson), 4 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ix, 322, x, 120 ff., A. D. Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure to the Great Nafud in Quest of the Oryx*, London 1935.

(L. KOPF)

BAḲAR, ʿĪD [see BAYRAM and ʿĪD].

BĀḲARGANDJ (Backergunge), formerly a district in East Pakistan with headquarters at Bārīsāl, (now itself a district comprising Bāḳargandj), lying between 21° 54′ N and 91° 2′ E; Area: 4,091 sq. m., of which 51 sq. m. are covered with water. The

population in 1951 was 3,642,185, of whom 2,897,769 were Muslims. The area was known as Bākla (Ismāʿīlpūr) and constituted a *sarkār* in Mughal times prior to its occupation by Āghā Bāḳar, a prominent person at the Mughal Court at Dacca, owing allegiance to the Nawāb of Murshidābād, and a land-owner of Buzurgummīdpūr, in 1154/1741 when he successfully suppressed a revolt of the local Hindu landlords. He took as his headquarters a flourishing market-town which he named Bāḳargandj (mart of Bāḳar) 13 miles to the south-east of Bārīsāl. On his death in 1167/1753 the entire estate passed on to Rāja Ballabh Rāy' of Bikrampūr, a *diwan* [*q.v.*] of the Nāib Nāẓim of Dacca. The area was several times raided by the Maghs, a predatory Burmese tribe, during the 12th/18th century. The Marāt'hās penetrated into Bāḳargandj in 1162/1747-9 but were repulsed with the aid of Portuguese settlers. An agriculturally rich area, it supplied Murshidābād with rice during the terrible famine of 1184/1770. It is also famous for its fruit orchards. In 1238/1828-9 the district was visited by Karāmat ʿAlī Djawnpūrī, a follower of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*], who along with Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh and his son Dūdū Miā preached *djihād* against the Feringhees (Europeans). The movement collapsed with the death of Dūdū Miā in 1279/1862. The bulk of the population speaks a form of Bengālī, known as Musalmānī, with a preponderance of Arabic and Persian words.

The district, in addition to being subject to heavy floods and cyclones, is noted for a strange atmospheric phenomenon, the "Barisal Gunds", sounds resembling the discharge of cannon and occuring at regular intervals. The occurrence still remains unexplained.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. vi, (1908) 167 ff.; A. H. Beveridge, *Backergunge*, Calcutta 1876; *Bengal District Gazetteer*, (Bakarganj), Calcutta 1918, 16-27, 32-3, 124, W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Calcutta 1875; *Settlement Reports of the Dakhin Shahbazpur and Tushkhati Government Estates*, Calcutta 1896, 1898; Syed Muhammed Taifoor, *Glimpses of Old Dhaka*, Dacca 1952, 131-2, 147; Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Dhaka*, Dacca 1957, index.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BĀKHAMRĀ, a place in medieval ʿIrāḳ, the exact situation of which cannot now be fixed. According to al-Masʿūdī it belonged to the Ṭaff [*q.v.*], the frontier district between Babylonia and Arabia, and was 16 parasangs (about 60 miles) from Kūfa. Yāḳūt says it was nearer to Kūfa than to Wāsiṭ. Bākhamrā is famous in the history of the ʿAbbāsids for the decisive battle which took place there in 145/762 (while the Caliph was designing the new city of Baghdād) between the army of al-Manṣūr, commanded by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and the troops of the ʿAlid Ibrahīm b. ʿAbd Allāh in which the latter, after initial success, fell by an arrow-wound. The campaign thus terminated had represented a severe danger to al-Manṣūr's position. The Aramaic place-name means "wine-vaults", and recalls the analogous name of Ḳaryat al-ʿInab (grape-town) of a place in Palestine, North West of Jerusalem. Bākhamrā has no other claim to interest.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 458; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 194; Weil, *Chalifen*, ii, 55 (wrongly vocalised Bachimra); Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate* (ed. T. H. Weir 1915), 456.

(M. Streck-[S. H. Longrigg])

BĀKHARZ (also known as Guwākharz), a region in Khurāsān between Harāt and Nīshāpūr (south of Djām on the river Harāt), regarded as being particularly fertile-; famous in the 10th century for its export of grain and grapes (and in the 14th century for its particularly good water melons as well). Mālīn (variants: Mālin and Mālān) was the capital of the region, and in the 10th century it had a population of considerable size. According to descriptions of that time, it was situated on the site of the Shahr-i Naw of today. The region included 128 villages, Djawdhaḳān among them. Yāḳūt explains the name (probably on the basis of folk-etymology) as Bād-har-rah ('wind in all places'). al-

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī 319; al-Faḳīh 278 Hamadhānī 318; Ibn Rusta 171; al-Yaʿḳūbī airo (= *BGA* III, V, VII twice); Yāḳūt, i, 458 (= Cbier edition 1906: ii, 28), ii, 145, iv, 398 (= Bar de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse* 74 f.); Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, *Mir'āt al-Buldān* i, 150; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 68, ii, 156; Le Strange, 357.

(B. Spuler)

AL-BĀKHARZĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (or Abu'l-Ḳāsim) ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ṭayyib, Arab poet and anthologist, a native of Bākharz. After receiving a good education in his father's house, he studied in particular Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* and, at Nīsābūr, attended the lectures of al-Djuwaynī (ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], where he made the acquaintance of al-Kundurī [*q.v.*]; the latter, when he became *wazīr*, took him to Baghdād as a secretary; previously, he had for some time been an official at Baṣra. Subsequently, he was admitted to the chancellery, and later returned to his native place, where he was killed by a sabre stroke in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 467/June-July 1075.

The most famous work of al-Bākharzī is a letter of solace addressed to his benefactor al-Kundurī, on the subject of his castration. His *dīwān* is lost, and only a few *muḳaṭṭaʿāt* have been published as an appendix to his *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr wa ʿUṣrat Ahl al-ʿAṣr* (Aleppo 1349/1930); the latter work is an anthology which is a continuation of the *Yatīma* f al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*] and comprises seven sections: Bedouin poets and poets of the Ḥidjāz; Syria, Diyārbakr, Ādharbaydjān, Djazīra and Maghrib; ʿIrāḳ; Rayy and Djibāl; Djurdjān, Astarābādh, Dihistān, Ḳūmis, Khwārizm, Transoxania; Khurāsān, Ḳuhistān, Sidjistān, Ghazna; *adab* authors. Another selection of his poems, entitled *al-Aḥsan*, is preserved in MS. in London. His poetry, which was but little appreciated at Baghdād despite the flattering opinions of the critics, is on the whole mediocre and artificial.

Bibliography: Introd. of the *Dumya*; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 57b; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Bākharz*; idem, *Irshād*, v, 121-28 = *Muʿdjam*, xiii, 33-48; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1899, ii, 58-9; Browne, ii, 355 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 466; ʿAlī Āl Ṭāhir, *La Poésie arabe en Irak et en Perse sous les Seldjoukides*, Sorbonne thesis 1954 (unpublished,) index.

(D. S. Margoliouth*)

AL-BAKHRĀ', ancient site of Palmyrena, well known in the Umayyad period. Al-Walīd II is known to have stayed there on several occasions and died there in 126/744. The Arab sources describe the military camp (*fusṭāṭ*) which the Persians are said to have erected there in former times and the inner castle (*ḳaṣr*) where the Companion al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr lived and in which the Caliph, besieged by the rebels, took refuge. The site has been identified with the ruins of al-Bkhara, standing 25 km. to the south of Palmyra, visited and described by A. Musil in 1908, and, although the name is frequently deformed in the Arabic texts (especially into al-

Baḥrāʾ or al-Naḏjrāʾ), the reading al-Bakhrāʾ is not open to doubt since it is "guaranteed by the etymological speculations of the chroniclers, who derive it from the root *bakhara*" (H. Lammens). The traces of a vast walled enclosure, furnished with towers 159 m. by 105 m., are accompanied to the north and the south by remains of dwellings around numerous wells, bearing testimony to the fact that from Roman times here was to be found, if not an "ancient castle of the *limes*" as H. Lammens maintained, at least a "fortified watering place" (A. Poidebard) on the Bosra-Palmyra desert road, which subsequently became an Umayyad palace. It was not long before the site was abandoned and those mediaeval authors who still indicate the existence of a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) of al-Bakhrāʾ, are no longer able to place it exactly.

Bibliography: A. Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, 88, 141-43, 234, 286-87, 290-96, fig. 38 (plan); A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris 1934, 52, 59, 66-67; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 1595; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 324; idem, *Murūdj*, vi, 2; Yāḳūt, i, 523; Bakrī, *Das geographische Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 141.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BAKHSHĪ, a word figuring from Mongol times (13th century) in Iranian and Turkish literature, particularly in historical literature. Like the Uighuric original, it begins by denoting the Buddhist priest or monk (= Thibetan: Lama). During the time when the Īlkhāns (*q.v.*) were favourably disposed to, or gallawers of, Buddhism, the number and influence of the *bakhshī* in Iran was considerable. In Iran, central Asia, India and the Crimea — after the suppression of Buddhism in Iran (in 1295) — *bakhshī* denotes only a scribe who wrote Turkish and Mongol records (which were kept to begin with in Uighur script = generally *bitikči*). In the 16th century doctors (surgeons) were called by that name. Where lamas exist, *i.e.*, among the Kalmucks, Mongols, and Mandjurs, the name *bakhshī* retained its original meaning of 'Buddhist priest' up to the 20th century. Amongst the Turkomāns — and in the 15th and 16th centuries also amongst the Anatolian Turks — the name *bakhshī* came to mean a wandering minstrel; in Kirghiz it came to mean conjurer (Shaman), as also in the dialect forms *baḳsi* and *baḳsa*.

The etymology of the word *bakhshī* is disputed: it used to be almost generally accepted (*e.g.*, by W. Barthold and E. Blochet) as deriving from the Sanskrit word *bhikshu*, but this view has been opposed by P. Pelliot and others, who would derive it "almost certainly" from the Chinese *po-che* (*po-shī* 'wise', 'well read').

Bibliography: Cf. excursus in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, edited by M. É. Quatremère, i (1836), 184-99; M. F. Köprülü in *IA* II (1944-49), 233-38 (with bibliography); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran* [2], Berlin 1955, 184, 547 (with a bibliography concerning the etymology); W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Südsibiriens*, vol. iii/text, 46 ff.; R. Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, Berlin, no date (1928?).

(B. SPULER)

BAKHSHĪSH, or *bakhshish*, verbal noun from the Persian *bakhshīdan*, 'to bestow', and used not only in Persian but also in Turkish and post-classical Arabic to denote a gratuity bestowed by a superior on an inferior, a 'tip', or a 'consideration' thrown into a bargain, and also, though improperly, of bribes, particularly those offered to judges or officials. A notable application of the term under the Ottoman régime was to the gratuity bestowed by a sultan at his accession on the chief personages of state and the Janissaries and other troops of the standing army—the *djulūs bakhshīshi*. This involved the Ottoman central treasury in vast expenditure, which in the period of Ottoman decline it could ill afford.

Bibliography: Seyyid Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj al-Wuḳūʿāt*, ii, 98; Aḥmed Rāsim, *ʿOthmānlî Taʾrīkhī*, i, 359-361, notes.

(H. BOWEN)

BAKHT KHĀN, Commander-in-Chief of the 'rebel' native forces, with the unusual and pompous title of 'Lord-Governor Bahādur General Bakht Khān', during the military uprising (also known as the Mutiny) of 1857 in India, was born at Sulṭānpūr (Awadh) C. 1212/1797, where his father ʿAbd Allāh Khān, a lineal descendant of Ghulām Ḳādir Rohilla, had settled after the dispersal of the Rohillas following the death of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd Allāh Khān had married a princess of the deposed Awadh ruling family and thus claimed close relationship with Royalty (C. T. Metcalfe, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, London 1898, 146). At the age of 20 (c. 1233/1817) he joined the 8th Foot Artillery, better known as the Bareilly Brigade, as a *Ṣūbādār*, in which capacity he served continuously for forty years until the outbreak of the Mutiny. He has been described as "a most intelligent character" always very "fond of English society". The field-battery, of which he was the Commander, had served at Djalālābād during the First Afghān War, winning many distinctions and decorations for outstanding service.

He leapt into prominence after the sudden and carefully planned sepoy-rising at Bareilly on 31 May 1857, when all British resistance collapsed and Khān Bahādur Khān, a grandson of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, was proclaimed the ruler of Rohilkhand as a viceroy of the Mughal Emperor. Bakht Khān then marched to Delhi at the head of his artillery brigade and practically assumed all power. It was at his instance that a *fatwā* declaring a *djihād* against the British was signed by the leading *ʿulamāʾ* of the capital including Ṣadr al-Dīn Āzurda [see ĀZURDA, ṢADR AL-DĪN] and Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Khayrābād [*q.v.*]. During the siege of Delhi he had some sharp and bitter encounters with the British and loyal forces, which ultimately succeeded in driving the rebels out of the city. With the fall of Delhi in September 1857, Bakht Khān left the town in disgust, failing to persuade the effete emperor Bahādur Shāh II [*q.v.*] to accompany him and his battered battalion to Awadh. His movements thereafter have not been precisely recorded. He is reported to have camped first at Djalālābād (Distt. Hardōī), then at Bilgrām [*q.v.*] and Mīrzā Ghāt. He is finally reported to have joined the forces of Bēgam Ḥaḍrat Maḥall at Lucknow, and was killed in action on 10 Ramadān 1275/13 May 1859. According to another version he fled to Nepal, disguised as a religious mendicant, and perished with other leaders of the revolt, now described by patriotic authors as the First War of Independence.

Bibliography: Charles Ball, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, London n.d., 508; T. Rice Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, London 1898, 352-3; J. W Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, London 1870, iii, 643; *Punjab Government Record Office Publications*: *Monograph no. 15*; *Parliamentary Papers*, London 1859, xviii, 22; *Insurrection in the East Indies presented to both Houses*

of Parliament, London 1858, 104; Nadjm al-Ghanī Rāmpūrī, *Akhbār al-Ṣanādīd*, Lucknow 1904, vol. ii; Sayyida Anīs Fāṭima Barēlwī, *1857 kē hirō*, Aligarh 1949, 65 ff.; V. D. Savarkar, *The War of Independence 1857*, Bombay 1947, 295 and index; Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, Delhi 1957, 83-4, 101-2, 371 and index; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *1857 kē Mudjāhid*, Lahore 1957, 104-120; Intiẓām Allāh Shihābī, *Mashāhir-i Djang-i Āzādī*, Karachi 1957, 242-45; Ẓahīr Dihlawī, *Dāstān-i Ghadr*², Lahore 1955, 135, 140-3; Shams al-ʿUlāmā' Munshī Dhakā' Allāh, *ʿUrūdj-i ʿAhd-i Salṭanat-i Inglishiya*, Dihli 1904, 676, 686, 696; Ḥasan Niẓāmī, *Dihlī kī djānkani*, Dihli 1925; F. Cooper, *The Crisis in the Punjab*, London 1858, 201; G. Bourchier, *Eight months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army* ...., London 1858, 44; Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar, *Ḳayṣar al-Tawārīkh*, Lucknow 1896, ii, 312; Ra'īs Aḥmad Djaʿfarī, *Bahādur Shāh Ẓafar awr unkā ʿahad*, Lahore n.d., 835-53; Sir William Muir, *Intelligence Records of the Indian Mutiny of 1857*, (ed. Coldstream), Edinburgh 1902, ii, 311.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BAKHTĀWAR KHĀN, a favourite eunuch, confidant and personal attendant of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] who entered his service in 1065/1654 while the latter was still a prince. In 1080/1669 he was appointed *Dārōghā-i Khawāṣṣān*. He died after a short illness at Aḥmadnagar on 15 Rabīʿ I, 1096/1685 after faithfully serving Awrangzīb for 30 years. His death was personally mourned by the Emperor who led the funeral prayers and carried the bier for some paces. His dead body wa brought to Delhi where he was buried in a tomb that he had built for himself in a township, named after him Bakhtāwarpūra, now called Bastī Nabī Karīm.

Bakhtāwar Khān was a great patron of art and learning. It was through his good offices that, among others, Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn of Bhāgalpūr, one of the compilers of the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*], gained access to the Court.

From his early youth he was an ardent student of history and had cultivated an elegant style of writing. The author of the *Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿid Khān, was in the service of Bakhtāwar Khān as his private secretary and accountant.

It was Bakhtāwar Khān who was entrusted in the year 1085/1674 with the task of ensuring, through legal rules, that the royal astrologers would not prepare horoscopes and almanacs any more.

Towards the end of the *Mir'āt al-ʿĀlam* (1078/1667), a general history rich in biographical material, the writer, who is none other than Bakhtāwar Khān, gives a detailed account of his achievements. He claims the authorship of the following: (i) *Čār Ā'ina* or *Ā'ina-i Bakht* (1068/1657), containing an account of the four battles fought by Awrangzīb which won him the throne (Browne, *Suppt.* 145); (ii) *Riyāḍ al-Awliyā'* (1090/1679), lives of Muslim saints and notables in four *čamans* (*Rieu* iii, 985a; *Āṣāfiyya* 1:320 No. 115; Browne *Suppt.* 728 (Corpus 126); (iii) Selections from: *Ḥadīḳa* of Sanā'ī, *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr* of ʿAṭṭār, *Mathnawī* of Rūmī and *Tā'rīkh-i Alfī*. His *bayāḍ*, which contains select verses of eminent poets with their biographies and extracts from the writings and compilations of celebrated divines and mystics, is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Delhi Fort. He is also the author of *Ta'rīkh- Hindī*, a history of India from Bābur to Awrangzīb (Princeton 468, Storey 517). A book of Fatāwā, a compendium of Ḥanafī law and a literary *pot-pourri*, called *Hamdam-i Bakht*, were compiled for him by different authors.

Among the works of public utility founded and erected by him, he mentions the township of Bakhtāwarpūra, a number of mosques, caravanserais, including that of Bakhtāwarnagar, on the way to Farīdābād), some bridges and cubicles for students. He also laid out gardens, one in Lahore near the Shalīmār and the other in Agharābād, three miles from Shāhdjahānābād (Dehli).

Bibliography: *Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (Bib. Ind.) 253 and index; *Mirʿāt al-ʿĀlam*, last *afzāyish*, *namūd* iii (as reproduced in OCM(S) Feb.-May, 1954); *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir* v, 89; Storey 132-33; Bindrāban Dās: *Tadhkirat al-Umarā'* (*s.v.*); *Rieu*, i 125-6; Bānkīpūr Cat. vi 477; Elliot and Dowson, vii 150-3; *OCM*, Nov. 1928.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BAKHTĪ, Pen-name of Sulṭān Aḥmad I; cf. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 208.

BAKHTIGĀN, the largest salt lake in the province of Fārs, Iran. It is located *ca.* 50 km. east of Shīrāz at an altitude of *ca.* 1550 m. The size of the lake varies with the seasons, but at the greatest it is *ca.* 100 km. N-S, and 30 km. E-W. The water is very salty and the lake is exceedingly shallow. The lake is the basin of the Kurr or Band-i Amīr River.

In mediaeval Arabic geographical literature we find scant mention of Lake Bakhtigān. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 53, refers to it as Lake Djūbānān, Iṣṭakhrī, 122, gives a variant Badjakān, and an alternate name Badjfūz, while Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers), 277, has al-Bakhtikān. The five lakes (*buḥayrāt*) of Fārs province are listed by Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī, 446, as follows: 1. Bakhtigān, belonging to the district (*kūra*) of Iṣṭakhr; 2. Dasht Arzan in the district of Sābūr; 3. Tawwaz in the Sābūr district at Kāzarūn; 4. Djankān near Shīrāz, Lake Mūr in Ibn Ḥawḳal; 5. Bāsfahūya (Muḳ.- Bāshfūya, Ibn Ḥawḳal has al-Basfariyya) in the Iṣṭakhr district.

At the present Lake Bakhtigān is called Nīrīz. The other lakes have been identified by Herzfeld as: 2. Lake of Dasht-i Ardjān; 3. the Lake of Famūr or Shīrīn or Kāzarūn; 4. the Lake of Shīrāz or Mahārlū. The name Bāsfūya is probably the name of part of Lake Bakhtigān and perhaps identical with Badjfūz. This lake has always had several sections connected by narrow arms of water, and the northern part was called Bāsfūya or Djubānān, while the south was properly Bakhtigān or Nīrīz. The lake has been surveyed by Capt. H. L. Wells.

Bibliography: In addition to the geographers above, cf. Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld), 3, 838; H. L. Wells, *Surveying Tours in Southern Persia*, *Proceedings RGS*, 5 (1883), 138; Le Strange, 277-9; Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfyā-yi mufaṣṣal-i Irān*, i, Tehran 1932, 89-92. (R. N. Frye)

BAKHTĪSHŪʿ [see BUKHTĪSHŪʿ].

BAKHTIYĀR, prince, son, heir apparent (344/955) and successor (356/967) of Mu'izz al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ, with the *laḳab* of ʿIzz al-Dawla. He appears to have had little talent for government, which, unlike his father, he entrusted to *wazīrs* (chosen without any great discernment) so as to be free to amuse himself, though he still impeded the conduct of affairs by his impetuous verbal or active intervention. At the beginning of his reign he continued his father's policy of hostility to the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib of Mawṣil and to the autonomous chieftain

of the Baṭīḥa, ʿImrān b. Shāhīn. Furthermore, confronted with the new problem of Fāṭimid expansion in Syria, he drew close to the Ḳarāmiṭa, who now sought to counter it. Bakhtiyār, however, was incapable of maintaining discipline among his troops, a prerequisite for the stability of the regime. Quarrels between the Daylamites and Turks became embittered and ended in an open breach between Bakhtiyār and the latter, which was further complicated by popular struggles in Baghdad between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, in which the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] intervened. He was then obliged to appeal to his cousin in Fars, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who noting the incapacity of the prince whom he had saved, conceived the idea of taking his place and was only temporarily prevented from doing so by the opposition of his father, Rukn al-Dawla, head of the Būyid family; upon the latter's death, he was able to revive his plan and Bakhtiyār, who had ranged himself with Abū Taghlib and ʿImrān b. Shāhīn against him, was defeated and slain (366-7/967-8); the account of their struggles has been given in the article ʿAḍud al-Dawla. During the course of the struggle, the Caliph al-Muṭīʿ had been replaced by al-Ṭāʾiʿ, a protegé of the Turks, for which reason he did not support Bakhtiyār in earnest.

Bibliography: cf. the articles BUWAYHIDS and ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA. The chief source is naturally Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, which is based on the lost History of Hilāl al-Ṣābī; among the secondary chronicles, special mention must be made of Yaḥyā of Antioch, *Patrol. Or. XXIII*, especially 354 f. An exceptional place, furthermore, is also occupied in our documentation by what has been preserved of the letters of al-Ṣābī (Abū Isḥāḳ), partial ed. Shakīb Arslān, Caliphal point of view) and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf, analysed by Cl. Cahen in *Studi Orientalistici ... Levi della Vida*, i, 83-98 (point of view of ʿAḍud al-Dawla); cf. also that of Ibn ʿAbbād, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shawḳī Ḍayf, 1947, i, no. 7. (CL. CAHEN)

BAKHTIYĀR KHALDJĪ [see MUḤAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR KHALDJĪ].

BAKHTIYĀR-NĀMA, also known as the History of the ten Viziers, Muslim imitation of the Indian history of Sindbād or of the seven viziers [see *Sindibād*]. Like its prototype, the book consists of a story in the framework of which other tales are inserted, which are here closely connected with the basic story. The subject is brief; the son of King Āzādbakht is abandoned on the road, shortly after his birth, by his parents, who are fleeing; found and brought up by brigands, in the end he is taken prisoner by the king's soldiers. The King, who likes him, takes him into his service under the name of Bakhtiyār. When finally he has raised him to a high position, the King's viziers who are jealous, take advantage of an accident to slander him before the King; whereupon Bakhtiyār and the queen are thrown into prison. To save herself, the queen explains that Bakhtiyār wanted to seduce her. For ten days each of the ten viziers in turn tries to persuade the King to have Bakhtiyār executed; the latter, however, is constantly able to gain respite from execution by means of a story appropriate to his situation. As finally it is to take place on the eleventh day, the leader of the brigands who had reared Bakhtiyār, appears and informs the King that Bakhtiyār is his son. Thereupon the viziers are executed and Bakhtiyār becomes king in his father's place, who abdicates in his favour.

Originally the work was composed in Persian. Nöldeke (see *Bibliography*), in the course of examining the various versions and their chronology, which had already been established by R. Basset, published and translated extracts from the oldest known Persian version (MS. dated 695/1296)—composed in a masterly and resounding style, the author of which asserts that he composed the work for a prince of Samarḳand, not so far identified, but who lived, according to Nöldeke, during the second half of the 6th/12th century. The later versions, Arabic (one of which is inserted in the *One Thousand and One Nights*) and Persian, more simplified in style, differ in the order of the stories and the narrative details. With these can be placed the Uygur version (ms. of 838/1435) and the Persian versian in verse by Panāhī (9th/15th century; see *Bibliography*: Bertels). The Malay version and the Persian version in verse by Katkhudā Marzubān (1210/1795; Éthé, *Cat. Persian MSS. India Office*, no. 1726) are more recent. The purpose of the stories, taken as a whole, is to demonstrate the disadvantages and dangers of hasty decisions. Magical factors and the supernatural make virtually no appearance. The prose is generally free from excesses and prolixity.

Bibliography: Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii, 13-17 (editions and translations) viii, 78-89 résumés of the stories); A. Jaubert, *Notice et extrait de la version turque du Bakhtyar Nāme, d'après le ms. en caractères ouïgours* (*JA* 1872); Éthé, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 323-325; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, XLV, 97-143; G. Knoes, *Historia decem Vezirorum et filii regis Azad Bacht* (Arab text, 1807); R. Basset, *Histoire des dix vizirs*; *Bakhtiār-Nāmeh*, 1883 French trans. with important introduction: "... this recension agrees absolutely with the addition given by Habicht in the 1000 and 1 Nights" vi, 191-343); Ouseley, *The Bakhtiyar nāmeh* ....; Persian text with English translation, 1801 (trans. re-edited with introduction and notes by Clouston, 1883); Lescallier, *Bakhtyar Nameh ou le favori de la fortune*, trans. from Persian, 1805 (more extensive text and of greater literary merit; a pleasing trans.); J. E. Bertels, *Bakhtiār-Nāme, persidskij teksti Slovar*, Leningrad 1926 (ed. of a popular version with vocabulary); idem, *Novaja versija Bachtiār Nāme*, in *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1929, 249-276; M. Fuad Köprülü, in *IA* (s.v.). (J. HOROVITZ-[H. MASSE])

BAKHTIYĀRĪ. The Bakhtiyārīs are a conglomeration of mixed races who migrated in the 10th century A.D. from Syria to Īrān, where up to the 15th century they were known as the "Great Lurs"; they assert that they are not Iranian by origin. Although it is presumed that their ancestors migrated from Bactria, whence the word Bakhtiyārī, there is no confirmation of this hypothesis. They are probably of Kurdish descent.

By persuasion they are Shīʿī Muslims and their language is of Iranian origin, yet they speak a patois of their own. Their population has almost reached the 400,000 mark.

Their land is called the Bakhtiyārī country, and extends from Iṣfahān to Maydān-i Naftūn in Khūzistān, a mountainous region, where rich oil fields are situated.

The Bakhtiyārīs are divided into two major groups, the Haft-Lang and the Čahār-Lang. The most important, the Haft-Lang, consists of 55 subtribes, while the Čahār-Lang group has 24 subtribes. There is a sprinkling of Lurs and Arabs among them, for example: Mowri, Talikī, Bawadī,

Gandalī, Čarburī, Mīrzāwand, Livissī, Kutekī, etc.

Being a gregarious people, they live "on the country," trekking long distances twice a year in search of grass, and hence they are called also the grass-folk.

The wealthy khāns or chieftains have their own residences in town. They possess also summer resorts where they live during the hot season. Although destitute of any bookish education, they maintain their *mīrzās* or clerks. Nevertheless, they have recently awakened to the great importance of education, and are now sending their sons to Europe for an academic education; this tendency seems to be growing.

The Bakhtiyārī woman is unveiled and goes about freely within the tribal area. As a khān's wife, she will attend to certain tribal cases during the khān's absence, and her findings and decisions are lawful and binding.

The tribeswomen weave their tents and also *kilīms*, while their characteristic foot-gear, called *giwa*, is made by the tribesmen. Each tribal subdivision has its own so-called "healing man", who administers some herbs and in certain cases has recourse to incantations.

The Bakhtiyārīs have their own customs relating to birth, marriage, and death; divorce is practically unknown to them. They have their own particular poems, love songs and dirges, and also interesting games and a great variety of delightful folk-stories.

Bibliography: V. Melkonian, *The Bakhtiaris*, 2nd ed. Basra 1954; D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Popular Verse of the Bakhtiārī of S. W. Persia*, in *BSOAS*, xvi, 1954, 542-555, xvii, 1955, 92-110.

(V. Melkonian)

BĀĶĪ, Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-, Turkish poet. Born in Istanbul of modest family (933/1526). His father Meḥmed was a *müʾadhdhin* at the Fātiḥ mosque. After working as an apprentice to a saddler, Bāķī began his regular studies in a *madrasa* where he had the good fortune to have as teachers some of the leading scholars of the time and many brilliant fellow students, including the historian Saʿd al-Dīn. He greatly profited from these invigorating surroundings, and the appreciation and encouragement of the old poet Dhātī whose shop was a sort of literary club for men of letters. In 962/1555 the sultan Suleymān returned from his Persian campaign and the young poet submitted a *ķaṣīda* to him. This gave him an entrée into the court and upper-class circles of the capital. His rapid and brilliant academic career and the favour of the Sultan who sent his own poems to Bāķī to be corrected and asked him to write *naẓīras* to them aroused the jealousy of even his best friends and soon he found himself involved in the intrigues of the court. The death of Suleymān to whom he was deeply attached moved him profoundly and he wrote the famous elegy which is his masterpiece. After a temporary eclipse, Bāķī continued his rise in the *ʿulamāʾ* career, thanks partly to Soķullu's protection, and won the favour of Selīm II and his successor Murād III. On his return to Istanbul after a period of office as *ķāḍī* of Mecca then of Medina, he was made, with intervals of disgrace, successively *ķāḍī* of Istanbul, *ķāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu and later of Rumeli, and then was retired without becoming *Shaykh al-Islām*, a hope which he had long cherished. The new sultan Meḥemmed III appointed him again *ķāḍīʿasker* of Rumeli, recognising thus his long services and his great reputation as the most distinguished poet, the *Sulṭān al-Shuʿarāʾ*, of his time. The aging poet, whose ambition grew at the chance of reaching his goal, the highest office of his profession, took part in embittered court intrigues. The Grand Vezir Khādim Ḥasan Pasha strongly recommended Bāķī for the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*, but the Sultan preferred his own tutor Khodja Saʿd al-Dīn. Bāķī's death in 1008/1600 was widely mourned and he was given a State funeral, the *Shaykh al-Islām* leading the funeral prayer.

Serious, dignified and with a keen sense of justice in his professional career, Bāķī was, in his private life, a man of the world, gay, a bon vivant, sociable, extremely witty, fond of jokes, repartee and the exchange of satire, even with friends. These characteristics made him many enemies and rivals, but also secured many powerful friends and protectors, thus smoothing the way to rapid progress in his career.

Apart from a few treatises, mostly on religious matters, Bāķī's main work consists of his *dīwān*. Unlike most poets of the classical period he wrote no *mathnawīs*. The easy and happy life of the upper classes of the 16th century Istanbul, the colourful landscape, the gay and picturesque scenes of the pleasure resorts in and around the Capital are vividly reflected in Bāķī's poems. in his *ghazals*, minutely tooled with the care of a jeweller, he turns constantly to a favourite theme of *dīwān* poets: In this dream-like and swiftly changing world all is ephemeral: The beauties of nature, youth, happiness, high estate are all doomed to perish. So, love, drink, and be merry while you can. "Forgo not this opportunity, for the pleasures of this world are as fleeting as the season of roses". Unlike Fuḍūlī, Bāķī's temperament was not inclined towards religious enthusiasm and his lyrics do not lend themselves to mystical interpretation, although he often makes use of Ṣūfī terminology. Bāķī is the unequalled master of form. His perfect versification, meticulous choice of words, skilful use of onomatopoeic effect achieve a fascinating musicality which caused him to be recognised, by both his contemporaries and successors as the greatest *ghazal* writer of Turkish literature. In his hand the Turkish of Istanbul found its best expression in classical poetry. His great popularity and influence never diminished, and his pure and fluent style paved the way for Yaḥyā and Nedīm. In his prose works Bāķī avoided fashionable precious and ornate language, producing some of the best specimens of natural, unadorned, well-balanced style.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of ʿAhdī, ʿĀshiķ Čelebi, Ķinalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, and the biographical section in ʿĀlī's *Kunh al-Akhbār*, s.v.; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, passim; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, passim; Naʿīmā, Taʾrīkh, passim; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 360; idem, *Baki's des grössten türkischen Lyrikers, Diwan*, Vienna 1825; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 133; R. Dvořák, *Bâkî's Divan, Ghazalijjat*, 2 vols, Leiden 1908-1911; J. Rypka, *Bâkî als Ghazeldichter*, Prague 1926; idem, *Sieben Ghazele aus Bâkî's Divan übersetzt und erklärt*, in AIUON, N.S. 1940, 137-148 M. Fuad Köprülü, *Divan Edebiyati Antolojisi*, Istanbul 1934, 259-320; idem in *IA*, s.v. (with critical bibliography); Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Baki Divani*, Istanbul 1935; idem, *Türk Şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, II, 714-797; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 337-346.

(Fahir İz)

BAĶĪ B. MAKHLAD, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, celebrated traditionist and exegete of Cordova, probably of Christian origin, born in 201/817, died in 276/889. Like many Spanish Muslims, he visited the principal cities of the Orient, where he frequented the society of representatives of various *madhāhib*, in particular Ibn Ḥanbal; on his return to Cordova, he displayed such independence in doctrinal matters

(some count him however as a Shāfiʿī and he is regarded as having introduced the Ẓāhirī doctrines into Spain) and opposition to *taḳlīd*, that he soon found himself regarded with hostility by the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ*; he was even nearly condemned to death on a charge of heresy, and owed his escape solely to the intervention of the *amīr* Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86), who allowed him freely to dispense his eclectic teaching. His chief works, all of which are lost, are a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, which Ibn Ḥazm considered superior to that of al-Ṭabarī, and a *musnad* in which the traditions were classified according to their subject under the names, themselves arranged in alphabetical order, of the Companions who had handed them down. Baḳī, whose biography was written by the prince ʿAbd Allāh al-Zāhid, enjoyed at the end of his life a reputation for piety bordering on holiness, nd Ibn Ḥazm considered him, in the sphere of the Traditions, the equal of al-Bukhārī and other illustrious traditionists.

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 277; Ḍabbī, no. 584; Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 281; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iii, 277-82; Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla* (French trans. Pellat in *al-Andalus*, 1954, §§ 17, 35); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ii, 112 ff.; Nubahī, *Marḳaba*, passim; *Khushanī*, *Ḳuḍāt*, index; *Maḳḳarī*, *Analectes*, index; I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 260; idem, *Ẓâhiriten*, 115; M. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, 29, n. 2, 4; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; Brockelmann, S I, 271, and the references in H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, xx, note.

(CH. PELLAT)

KHWĀDJA **BĀḲĪ BIʾLLĀH**, ABU 'L-MUʾAYYID RAḌĪ AL-DĪN, also called ʿAbd al-Bāḳī or Muḥamma Bāḳī b. ʿAbd al-Salām Uwaysī Naḳshbandī, was born at Kābul on 5 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 971/16 Dec. 1563 and died at Delhi on Saturday, 25 Djumādā II 1012/2 July, 1603. He received his early education from Ṣādiḳ Ḥalwāʾī, in whose company he went to Samarḳand to pursue his studies further. It was during his stay there that he cultivated a taste for *taṣawwuf*. On the invitation of some of his friends, who held high posts in India, he left for that country, but instead of entering the Imperial army, as intended, he began to search for mystics and *ṣūfīs*. After a short sojourn in India he returned to Mā Warāʾ al-Nahr to receive formal initiation into the Naḳshbandī order from Khwādja Muḥammad Amkangī, a great *ṣūfī* of his times. Back in India again in 1008/1599 he decided to settle down at Delhi. His influence soon spread and Aḥmad Sarhindī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī [*q.v.*] accepted him as their teacher.

He is the author of: (i) *Silsilat al-Aḥrār*, a collection of his *rubāʿiyyāt*, which have been commented upon by Aḥmad Sarhindī (*Oriental College Magazine*, viii/4, 41); (ii) *Kulliyāt*, a collection of his poems, including a *mathnawī*, which has been partially reproduced in the *Zubdat al-Maḳāmāt* (p. 66), (MS. in the I.O., D.P. 1095). A collection of his letters (I.O. D.P. 1058*h*) has been published: (*Maktūbāt-i Sharīf-i Ḥaḍrat-i Khwādja Bāḳī biʾllāh Dihlawī*, Lahore 1923). A commentary on the Ḳurʾān is also attributed to him, but no MS. seems to exist.

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BAḲĪʿ AL-**GHARḲAD** (also called Djannat al-Baḳīʿ or simply al-Baḳīʿ), is the oldest and the first Islamic cemetery of al-Madīna. The name denotes a field which was originally covered with a kind of bramble called *al-gharḳad*; there were several such Baḳīʿs in al-Madīna. The place is situated at the south-east end of the town, at a short distance from the Prophet's tomb, outside the town-wall, now demolished, through which a gateway, Bāb al-Baḳīʿ gave admittance to the cemetery (see the map of Madīna in Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 173). The first to be buried in al-Baḳīʿ, from among the *muhādjirūn*, was ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn (a Companion of the Prophet) who died in 5/626-7. The bramble-growth was cleared and the place consecrated to be the future graveyard of the Muslims who died at al-Madīna. The Prophet's daughters, his infant son Ibrāhīm, his wives (*ummahāt al-muʾminīn*) and his descendants, with the exception of al-Ḥusayn are also buried here. The burial-place of Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*] is, however, disputed. Among the other notables buried here are ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Mālik b. Anas [*qq.v.*], his teacher Nāfiʿ, Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya (the Prophet's wet-nurse) and al-ʿAbbās, an uncle of the Prophet. It gradually became an honour to be granted a last resting-place here among the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] the Imāms and Saints. The graves of the famous dead had grand cupolas and domes built over them; the domes of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās for example, rose to a considerable height, as Ibn Djubayr tells us. When Burckhardt visited the place after the invasion of the Wahhābīs, he found it one of the most wretched cemeteries of the East. Like the grave of Ḥamza at Uḥud and the first mosque in Islam at Ḳubāʾ, a Medinese suburb, al-Baḳīʿ is one of the sacred places which the pilgrims to al-Madīna consider it an act of piety to visit.

During the life-time of the Prophet al-Baḳīʿ was a very small place; the graves of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya not being within its precincts. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was buried originally in Ḥashsh Kawkab, which was included in al-Baḳīʿ by the Umayyads much later. Even the enclosure where some of those killed during the Umayyad occupation of al-Madīna were buried fell outside its present

boundaries. The domes and mausolea destroyed by the early Wahhābīs in 1221/1806 were restored by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], sulṭān of Turkey, to be destroyed again in 1926 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd. This action of the Saʿūdī monarch gave rise to a serious agitation in India, and a deputation was sent to Mecca to lodge a strong protest. The king, however, did not yield and the graves are still without any tombs; they have insignificant head-stones without any inscriptions or epitaphs. Rutter, who saw it in 1926, shortly after the second Wahhābī occupation, compares it with the ruins of a town affected by an earthquake. In 1954 cemented paths were laid, by the orders of King Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, all over the cemetery for the use and convenience of visitors.

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(A. J. Wensinck-[A. S. Bazmee Ansari])

BĀKĪKHĀNLĪ, ʿAbbās-Kuli Aghā, better known under the Russian form of the name, Bākīkhānov, and his literary pseudonym Kudsī, Ādharbāydjānī historian, poet and philosopher, son of Mīrzā Mamed Khān, ruler of Bākū, driven from his throne by his brother Muḥammad Kulī Khān. He was born on 10 June 1794 in the village of Emir-Hadjian in the Khānate of Bākū, and died in 1847 at Kūba. After a thorough education in Persian and Arabic, in 1820 Bākīkhānlī was appointed officer interpreter at Tiflis in the headquarters of General Ermolov, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies in the Caucasus. There he learned Russian, through which language he became well acquainted with western literature. Shortly afterwards, he undertook a long journey which led him to Shīrwān, Armenia, Dāghistān, Georgia, Turkey and Persia. During the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian wars, Bākīkhānlī, who was a convinced advocate of rapprochement with Russia, was a staff officer at General Paskievič's headquarters. In 1833 he made a second journey, visiting the Northern Caucasus, Russia, the Baltic States and Poland. From 1834 onwards, he devoted himself to literature and published a large number of works in Ādharī, Persian and Arabic. His most important work is : *Gülistān-i Irem* (1841) which traces the history of Dāghistān and Shīrwān from ancient times down to the treaty of Gulistān. A Russian translation of this valuable work was published in 1926 by the Association for the Study of Ādharbaydjān in Bākū, with a preface by S. Sīsoev and a biography of the author by M. G. Bakharnī; the Ādharī text appeared in 1951 at Bākū (Edition of the Academy of Sciences of the Ādharbaydjān *SSR*).

His other works are: *Riyāḍ al-Kuds* (in Ādharī), abridged biography of the principal Saints of Islam; *Kānūn-i-Kudsī*, Persian grammar; *Kashf al-Gharāʾib* (in Persian), containing a description of the discovery of America; *Tahdhīb-i Akhlāk* (in Persian), treatise on Ethics and Moral Philosophy according to Arab, Greek and European authors; *ʿAyn al-Mīzān* (in Arabic), treatise on scholasticism and logic; *Asrār al-Malakūt* (in Persian and Arabic), treatise on astronomy, published at Tiflis; *Naṣīḥat-nāma* (in Persian), collection of moral precepts.

Finally several poems in Arabic, Ādharī and Persian, some of which have been published in the newspaper *Feyūzat* of Bākū (no. 28 of 1907), as well as a translation of Krīlov's fables into Ādharī.

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(A. Bennigsen)

AL-BĀKILLĀNĪ (i.e. the greengrocer), the ḳāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. al-Kāsim, in most of the sources Ibn al-Bākillānī, but in popular usage (and Ibn Khallikān) simply al-Bākillānī, Ashʿarī theologian and Mālikī jurisprudent, said to have been a major factor in the systematising and popularising of Ashʿarism.

The date of his birth is unknown. He died on 23 Dhuʾl-Kaʿda 403/5 June 1013. Born in Baṣra, he seems to have spent most of his adult life in Baghdād. Visits to Shīrāz and the Byzantine court are mentioned, and for a time he exercised the office of ḳāḍī outside the capital. He studied *uṣūl al-dīn* under disciples of al-Ashʿarī and is said to have attracted many to his own lectures. Various anecdotes are related to illustrate his skill in disputation. Kāḍī, writer, disputant, lecturer—these headings sum up his life as we know it from our rather inadequate sources.

A list of his works (to which the editors add three titles) is given by the ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. Six of these fifty-two works are known to be extant. The *Iʿdjāz al-Kurʾān*, printed several times, is regarded as a classic work on the subject. The *Tamhīd* is the earliest example we have of a complete manual of theological polemic. The *Inṣāf* contains two parts: a version of the Sunnī creed with brief explanations, and a detailed discussion of the increation of the Kurʾān, the *ḳadar*, the vision of God, and intercession (*shafāʿa*). The *Manāḳib* (incomplete) is a defence of the Sunnī position regarding the Imamate (Caliphate). The *Intiṣār* (incomplete) is chiefly concerned with textual integrity of the Kurʾān. The theme of the *Bayān* (incomplete) is the apologetic miracle which vindicates the claim to prophethood.

Study of these works does not enable us to define precisely the author's contribution to the development of Ashʿarī *kalām*. For we do not know enough about the work of his contemporaries and predecessors, e.g. Ibn Fūrak, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾīnī, and al-Ashʿarī himself. Thus it is now clear that much of what once might have been attributed to al-Bāḳillānī already existed in al-Ashʿarī's *Kitāb al-*

luma'. Ibn Taymiyya called al-Bāḳillānī "the best of the Ash'arī *mutakallimūn*, unrivalled by any predecessor or successor" (*Shadharāt*, iii, 169), but this praise is not disinterested. Ibn Khaldūn's assertions (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 40), and the affirmations of Macdonald (*Development of Muslim Theology etc.*, 200-201), seem to be unwarranted, since al-Bāḳillānī certainly did not introduce the doctrines of atomism and accidents. There is evidence of some originality in his discussion of the apologetic miracle. But the main virtues of his works appear to be those proper to careful and industrious compilation. His metaphysic is not profound, but he was clearly aware of the cardinal apologetic importance of such questions as the validity of tradition and the possibility of the apologetic miracle. Undoubtedly he did much to propagate Ash'arism, and he is mentioned fairly frequently by later writers.

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(R. J. McCarthy)

AL-**BĀḲIR** (A.) the Splitter, i.e. the Investigator, a name of the Imām Muḥammad b. 'Alī [*q.v.*].

BAKKĀ', pl. *bakkā'ūn*, *bukkā'*, "weepers", ascetics who during their devotional exercises shed many tears. Older Islamic asceticism and mysticism are characterised by a strong consciousness of sin, by austere penance, humility, contrition and mourning. Laughter was denounced. An outward sign of this attitude is the act of weeping. The Ḳur'ān (Sūra xvii, 109: "and they fall down on their chins, weeping", and Sūra xix, 58: "when the signs of the Merciful were recited before them, they fell down, prostrating themselves, weeping"), and then, above all, the *ḥadīth* acknowledge and commend the shedding of tears during devotional exercises. The Prophet Muḥammad is said to have wept audibly at times in the course of the ritual prayers. A similar behaviour is reported of the first Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Of weeping ascetics or those who at least commended the practice of weeping, a long list might be compiled from the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* of Abū Nu'aym. To this class belonged such well-known names as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Sīrīn, Mālik b. Dīnār, Abu 'l-Dardā' (who even wrote a special work called *Kitāb al-Riḳḳa wa 'l-Bukā'*), Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ, Ḥabīb al-'Adjamī, 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh al-Rāzī, etc. Yet there were but few who in fact bore the by-name of *al-bakkā'* or were at least designated as weepers, amongst them being Yaḥyā al-Bakkā' (in Baṣra; *Ḥilya* 2,347), Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bakkā' (*Ḥilya* 7,385), Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf, Muḥammad b. Sūḳa, 'Abd al-Malik b. Abdjar, Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murra (these four in Kūfa: *Ḥilya* 5, 4 and 5, 91), Sayyār al-Nabādjī (designated as *bākī*; *Ḥilya* 10, 166), Haytham al-Bakkā', Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz (Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 5), Hishām b. Ḥassān (Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning*, 85 f.), Ibrāhīm al-Bakkā' (Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 87). Famous for their weeping are also Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī, Ghālib al-Djahḍamī, Kahmas, Muḥammad b. Wāsi'. These *bakkā'ūn* did not, however, represent a special "class", as R. A. Nicholson (*E.R.E.* 2, 100), A. J. Wensinck (*Some Semitic Rites*, 86), L. Massignon (*Essai*, 167), H. Lammens (*L'Islam*, 152), Ch. Pellat (*Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 94) and R. Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v. *bakkā'*) seem to suppose. *Bakkā'* continued rather to be an appellative term applicable to all those who wept copiously, and given to an individual only occasionally as a by-name; it is comparable to some degree with the term *ḥammād* found in *Ḥilya* 5, 69 as a designation for one who in joy and sorrow sings the praise of God. Therefore mention is also made of *bakkā'ūn* amongst the ancient Israelites (Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, 2, 284; *Ḥilya*, 5, 164). Muḥammad b. Wāsi', himself a great weeper, deemed it absurd to call himself *bakkā'* (*Ḥilya*, 2,347).

Abu 'l-Dardā' gives three reasons for his weeping: fear of the fate that awaits us directly after death, the impossibility of striving further towards one's own salvation, and the uncertainty as to the verdict that will be made on the Day of Judgement (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3, 151; var. Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn*, 2, 359). Yazīd b. Maysara enumerates in general seven reasons for weeping: joy, sorrow, anguish, pain, hypocrisy, gratitude to and fear of God (*Ḥilya*, 5, 235). Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz even names eighteen reasons, all of them subordinate, however, to three kinds of weeping: away from God, towards God, and with God (Sarrādj, *al-Luma' fi 'l-Taṣawwuf*, ed. Nicholson, 229).

In the centre of the weeping of the *bakkā'ūn* are the fear of God (*khashyat Allāh*), the Day of Judgement, doubt as to the verdict of God, the tortures of Hell. Often there is weeping over one's own sins, over specific personal weaknesses, over the wasted bygone years or the irrevocable past during the period of probation on earth; it can also arise from compassion for others, for those who err in their religion and for the dead who are no longer able to better their fate, or it arises from yearning for one's abode in Heaven, for God, and so on. They often wept in the expectation — and here too the *ḥadīth*, in a certain measure, could be adduced as an authority — of God's indulgence and kindness, of His protection on the Day of Judgement, of safeguard from Hell, of remission of one's own or even of other people's sins, of the attainment of Paradise, and of reward. Just as the beggar who can weep has a greater chance of success (Karl Hadank, *Die Mundarten von Khunsār*, etc., cix), so too the spiritual beggar, through weeping, hopes to arouse the compassion of God and thus, perhaps, to undergo

here and now some part of his future punishment. "Between Hell and Paradise", one text has it (*Ḥilya*, 7, 149), "there lies a vast desert that only the *bakkāʾ* traverses".

Prayer (including ritual prayer), thinking of God, reciting Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, sermons, edifying stories, pious discourses, meditative contemplation — these constitute the occasions for weeping. We learn that the pious Muslim would pass the night and weep until morning in solitary meditation over one or the other of those passages of the Ḳurʾān that deal mainly with the punishment of the sinner. At times there is weeping in prayers of supplication, often at the Kaʿba, clinging to the *kiswa* or before the Black Stone, frequently too in burial grounds at the sight of the tombs. Ḳurʾān-readers (*ḳurrāʾ*), reciters of the *ḥadīth* preachers and narrators of edifying stories (*ḳuṣṣāṣ*, sing. *ḳāṣṣ*) during their performance give free course to their tears, and often incite their audience to weep, or they just make them shed tears. One *ḳāṣṣ* is said to have asked his audience, before each discourse: "Lend me your tears!" (*Ḥilya*, 5, 112). Special gatherings (*maḥāḍir*, sing. *maḥḍar*) were held, in which there was much weeping, followed by a meal (*Ḥilya*, 2, 347). Two pious Muslims, encountering each other, might enter into a discourse about religion and shed tears over it. Muḥammad b. Sūḳa and Ḍirār b. Murra are said to have met regularly each Friday for this purpose (*Ḥilya*, 5, 4 and 5, 91). Badīl, Shumayt and Kahmas came together on one occasion in the house belonging to one of them and said: "Let us weep today over the cool water (that we shall be lacking on the Day of Judgement)!" (*Ḥilya*, 6, 213). The long lament of a weeper (with the characteristic *wayḥi*) can be found in *Ḥilya*, 4,255-260, the much shorter lament of a supposed Israelite in *ʿUyūn*, 2, 284, and a religious discussion between three weepers in *Ḥilya*, 10,163.

The most incredible stories are reported concerning the amount of tears that a weeper was able to shed: one of them wept at times for three days and nights on end, others cried until their beards or their cushions were soaked, others again drenched entire sacks of sand with their tears. The tears of one weeper were heard splashing on his feet; another, after weeping, sat in such a puddle that he was thought to have carried out his ablutions there. One of them, pouring out tears on the ground, caused grass to sprout; another wept on purpose into a drain (*sarāb*). In some weepers the flow of tears furrowed deep lines in their cheeks, others had their eyelashes and eyelids fall off, others again had their ribs deformed, and their eyes became weak-sighted or blind. Cases of fainting and even of death are mentioned.

The ability to weep was held to be a special privilege (*faḍīla*) and a sign of true religious fervour and divine grace. "Not every seeker can weep" (ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī Harawī, *Rasāʾil*, Tehrān 1319, 51). Abū Bakr, at the sight of some Yemenites who were weeping at a recital of the Ḳurʾān, called out: "Thus were we too, until our hearts were hardened" (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 3, 151). ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Ḳays once struck himself in despair on the eyes and exclaimed: "Dry, paralysed, never to be wet again!" (*Bukhalāʾ*, 5). For Dārānī, the inability to weep is a sign of abandonment by God (Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 81). Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn al-Rāzī saw in the fact that he no longer wept during the reading of the Ḳurʾān a sign that his countrymen might perhaps be right to call him a *zindīḳ* (*Ḥilya*, 10, 240).

On the other hand, Thābit al-Bunānī regards the gift of weeping as a sign that God grants his prayers (*Ḥilya*, 2, 323). Muḥammad is said to have entreated God to grant him "two raining eyes that weep a flood of tears" (*Ḥilya*, 2, 296 f. and 2, 280; Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites*, 89). In this connexion, the *ḥadīth al-tabākī*: "Weep or at least attempt to weep (or: at least pretend to do so)!" enjoys general acceptance.

Among the ascetics four objections or, at least reservations have been raised against the practice of weeping. First of all, weeping was not an action. Secondly, it could be considered as relieving the load of grief and an unburdening of the heart and as such was rejected. In this connexion Sufyān b. ʿUyayna is said to have developed the technique of holding back the tears in his eyes by raising his head and thus, he said, retaining his sorrow longer within him (*Ḥilya*, 9,327). Thirdly, weeping was something outward and could therefore be simulated. The false tears of Joseph's brothers (Sūra 12,16) are mentioned as an example of this danger. Reference was also made to the supposed *ḥadīth*: "The believer weeps in his heart, the hypocrite in his skull". Since weeping is an outward manifestation, it never receives in the Ṣūfī manuals a chapter to itself, but is treated only in passing in the chapters on sadness (*ḥuzn*), contrition (*khushūʿ*) and the like. The 27th chapter of ʿAṭṭār's *Mukhtārnāma* (*dar ṣifat-i girīstan*) is a special case, which does not necessarily belong here. Fourthly, many later Ṣūfīs have held it to be a sign of weakness to let themselves be overpowered by their feelings to the point of weeping.

This is not the place for a full account of the weeping of the Ṣūfīs in the *samāʿ* and at the tombs of saints, the shedding of tears amongst pilgrims at the sight of Mecca, in ʿArafa and at the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, the weeping of the Shīʿites over their Imāms or at their tombs, the weeping of the *tawwābūn* (those addicted to repentance) or of the Khawāridj, etc. But it may be indicated here that the weeping of the *bakkāʾūn* is one of the most evident links that bind together the pious asceticism of the Muslims with that of the Christians. From the early-Christian *gratia lacrimarum*, through the Coptic and Syrian monks (Shenute, Ephraem, John of Ephesus, Isaac of Nineveh, etc.), a direct line runs to the Islamic *bakkāʾūn* — an instance of the well-known bifurcate development: a common root in early Christianity, with, thereafter, one branch in Western Christendom (Augustine, Cassian, etc.), and the other in the East. The eastern current divides thereafter into three branches: one represents the Eastern Christian con- tinuation through Thomas of Margā down to Barhe- braeus, etc., the other is the Jewish offshoot (Wensinck) and the third constitutes the weeping in Islamic asceticism. Islam has, it is true, overlaid and indeed absorbed within itself other oriental forms of weeping (cf. the "weeping of the Magians" over Siyāwush, in Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, 21; the weeping over Tammuz ?). Nonetheless, the Muslims themselves were well aware that their pious weeping had its origin in the Jewish-Christian sphere and illustrated it with such examples as the tears of Adam, Noah (Nūḥ: etymology *nāḥa*), Jacob, David, Solomon, John the Baptist, Jesus and numerous monks. The *ḥadīth al-tabākī* might even go back to an utterance of Isaac of Nineveh (translated by Wensinck, 235): "If thou art no mourner in thy heart, let at least thy face be clad with mourning".

The *bakkāʾūn* mentioned by Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed.

Wüstenfeld, 2,895 f., do not fall into the category of the weepers discussed in this article.

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BAḲḲĀL, etymologically "retailer of vegetables", this word has become the equivalent of the present English "grocer" taken in its widest sense. With the latter significance it has passed into Persian and Turkish, and, from Turkish, into the Balkan languages.

In its etymological meaning, the word was known in the Spanish Arabic of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, glossed by *olerum venditor*. But in the dialect of Granada (end of the 9th/15th century), it corresponded to the Castilan *regaton* (= *regrattier*) "retailer of foodstuffs in general", which was also rendered by *khaḍḍār*.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the *baḳḳāl* of the Moroccan towns was essentially a retailer of fats: oil, preserved butter, meat preserved in fat; he sold, in addition, honey, soft soap, olives in lemon juice, tea sugar and candles.

It is doubtful whether this extension of the word *baḳḳāl* is of long standing. Nearly everywhere, before the 20th century, the grocer (*sensu lato*) was named either after the basic foodstuff which he sold (with or without vegetables), or after certain methods of his trade.

Algiers had its *sakākiri* "sugar-seller"; Tunis its *ʿaṭṭār* [*q.v.*], literally "perfume-seller". As regards the Cairo of the first half of the 19th century, E. W. Lane only knew the *zayyāt* "seller of oil, butter, cheese, honey, etc.". In Syria, the usual term was *sammān* "seller of preserved butter".

Elsewhere, the grocer of the towns (*sensu lato*) was often considered as being the "shopkeeper", the fundamental "seller". At Granada, *baḳḳāl* and *khaḍḍār* were equivalent to *sūḳī* "market seller"; and the feminine *sūḳiyya* had as its Arabic synonym *khaḍḍāra* and as its Castilian equivalent: *havacera* "seller of beans". In earlier days, in Constantine and Tunis, the *sūḳī* used to sell oil, preserved butter, honey, dates, pickled olives, etc.

Considered as being the "shopkeeper" *par excellence*, the grocer also received the name of *ḥawāniti* (with variants) among the rural populations of Algeria and Constantine. The East, sporadically, used the terms *dakākinī* and *dukkāndjī*.

Arabic-speaking Spain had *muʿālidj*, lit. "treating, developing", with the sense of "retailer of fruit and vegetables". Dozy's translation, in his *Supplément*, should be corrected on this point.

The retailer of vegetables is called, according to the country, *khaḍḍār*, *khuḍrī* or *khuḍārī*. Spices are, in general, sold by the *ʿaṭṭār*, in addition to perfumes (*ʿiṭr*) and drugs; his trade comprises also small items of stationery, haberdashery and hardware.

For various reasons, the calling of grocer is often followed by people having the same ethnic origin.

In the towns of Morocco (except at Tetuan, until recently), the *baḳḳāl* is almost exclusively a Berber (pl. *shulūḥ*) of Sūs, of the Ammeln tribe. In Algeria, the people of the Mzāb enjoy the same *de facto* monopoly. In the East, the modern *baḳḳāl* is often a Greek.

Bibliography: W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 233; Dozy, *Suppl.*, under words mentioned in the article. (G. S. COLIN)

BAḲḲAM (A.) Sappan wood, an Indian dye-wood obtained from the *Caesalpinia Sappan L.* Al-Dīnawarī remarks that the word frequently occurs in ancient Arabic poetry, although the tree concerned (in Lewin's ed. read *khashab shadjar* instead of *shadjar* according to later quotations) is not found in Arabia. It is a native of India and the country of the Zandj. Its stem and branches are red being used, in decoction, as a dye.

The word is said to derive from Sanskrit *pattanga* and probably entered Arabic through the Persian. Its foreign origin was recognised by the Arab philologists who based their view on the assertion that the paradigm concerned was not otherwise attested in the language. As an Arabic equivalent they generally indicate *ʿandam* which, however, rather denotes the dragon's-blood, a red gum exuding from certain trees. The wrong identification can be attributed to the fact that both *baḳḳam* and *ʿandam* were used as a red dye.

Muslim pharmacologists indicate several medicinal applications of the sappan wood. It brings about the cicatrisation of wounds, desiccates ulcers and stops bleeding. Its juice makes the skin tender and embellishes its colour. The root yields a poison which works quickly.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The Book of Plants* (Lewin), no. 80 and p. 23; Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 74; Ghāfiḳī (Meyerhof-Sobhy), no. 123; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 103; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* xi, 212; Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, index s.v.; idem, *Die Flora der Juden* iii, 128 f.; idem, *ZS* I (1922), 145 f.; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Colin), 139f.

(L. KOPF)

BAKKĀR, a fortified island in the river Indus lying between the towns of Sukkur and Rohri. Its importance was noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭā who visited it during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. In 1522, Shāh Beg, the founder of the Arghūn dynasty, made

it his capital. When, in 1540, his son, Shāh Ḥusayn, refused to grant an asylum to the fugitive emperor Humāyūn the latter unsuccessfully attempted to capture this island fortress In 1574, in the time of Akbar, it was annexed to the Mughal empire. The best and fullest account of the Mughal conquest of Sind is to be found in the *Ta'rīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī* of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, an inhabitant of Bakkār. In 1736 Bakkār was captured by the Kalhora rulers of Sind. It later fell into the hands first of the Afghāns and then of the ruler of Khayrpur. It was occupied by the British in 1839 and became their chief arsenal in Sind during the First Afghān War (1839-42). From 1865 to 1876 it was used as a jail.

Bibliography: A. W. Hughes, *Gazetteer of Province of Sind* (1876); E. H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of Province of Sind* (1907). (C. Collin Davies)

BAḲḲĀRA. Arabic-speaking nomads of the Sūdān, occupying territories from Lake Chad to the White Nile between 9° and 13° N. Their livelihood is the herding of cattle (*baḳar*), whence their name. The dry season is spent in the southern river-lands. With the rains, they move northwards to the seasonal grasslands. Grain sown on this journey is harvested on the return. Baḳḳāra origins are obscure; the genealogies reflect existing groupings rather than give evidence of descent. They are probably connected with the Djuhayna, who irrupted into Nubia from Egypt in the 14th century. From the Nile, nomadic groups apparently made their way by the 17th century to the lands between Waddāī and Lake Chad. Fusion with other elements from North Africa may account for the tradition of a Hilālī origin among some Baḳḳāra. Penetrating southwards into regions unsuitable for camel-breeding, they turned to cattle. Groups pushing eastwards, to the south of the cultivated areas of Waddāī, Dār Fūr and Kordofān, (which were under Islamised dynasties) formed an Arab wedge between these sultanates and the pagan tribes who retreated southwards. The Baḳḳāra were uneasy vassals of these sultanates to which they paid tribute, migrating on occasion beyond the power of their overlords. Slave-raids on the southern pagans and consequent intermarriage have affected the physical type of the Baḳḳara. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the powerful Rizayḳāt Baḳḳāra were under the suzerainty of Dār Fūr. Their quarrel with the Sudanese slave-trader, al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr, led to the Egyptian conquest of Dār Fūr in 1874. The Baḳḳāra assisted Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] to overthrow Egyptian rule but proved refractory to the Mahdist administration. The Khalīfa 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], himself a Baḳḳārī of the Ta'āīsha tribe, used the Baḳḳāra as troops and selected from them his chief assistants. In 1888-9 he compelled the Baḳḳāra of Dār Fūr to migrate to Omdurman and its vicinity, both to support his power against the *awlād al-balad* [*q.v.*] and to bring them under closer supervision. This migration and their losses in fighting and epidemics weakened the Baḳḳāra. During the Reconquest (1896-8) many regained their old homelands as broken tribes. They gave little trouble to the Condominium government (1899-1955) and this régime saw the gradual resettlement of the Baḳḳāra and their integration into the administrative system.

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BAḲLIYYA, name given to a group of Muslim dissenters in the Sawād of lower 'Irāḳ, associated with the Ḳarmaṭians. A certain Abū Ḥātim, about 295/907-8, is said to have forbidden them garlic, leeks, and turnips, as well as the slaughtering of animals, and to have abolished religious observances. They rose in the area of Kūfa and Wāsiṭ under several leaders, notably Mas'ūd b. Ḥurayth and 'Īsā b. Mūsā nephew of 'Abdān, at the time of Abū Ṭāhir's Euphrates expedition in 316/928-9. Their white banners bore Ḳur'ānic inscriptions recalling the liberation of the Israelites from Pharaoh's oppression. After initial successes they were put down by Muḳtadir's general Hārūn b. Gharīb. They were evidently also called Būrāniyya.

Bibliography: al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 391; 'Arīb al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1897, 137; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 136; Nuwayrī, in Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, Vol. i, Introduction, ccx; I. Friedländer, *Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *JAOS*, xxix, 110-11 (referring to Ibn Ḥazm on a certain Bawārī); M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes de Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, Leiden 1886, 99-100. (M. G. S. Hodgson)

BAKR, the Ṣū Bāshī. A military commander and district-governor in central 'Irāḳ, Bakr achieved by 1029/1620, by unscrupulous brutality, an outstanding personal military and civil position under a weak Pasha of Baghdād. Successful in the field, he replied to a conspiracy of his enemies in the capital by strong counter-action, established effective control of the province, and petitioned the Sultan for official investiture as Beylerbeyi, which title he now assumed. It was refused, and an army from the nearest loyal province, Diyārbakr, marched on Baghdād to restore legitimacy and order. Fierce exchanges took place for some weeks between the loyalist and the usurping forces, after which Bakr decided, with cynical treachery, to invite Shāh 'Abbās of Persia to re-occupy 'Irāḳ, thus compelling Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad, of Diyārbakr, with great reluctance, to confirm him as Pasha of the province, since he alone could now prevent a shameful cession of Ottoman territory. The loyalist forces withdrew, those of Persia approached the city. Bakr refused to open the gates, and after negotiations full of callous duplicity the Shah reduced it by siege. This was ended by the treacherous surrender of the city by the Ṣū Bāshī's own son. Baghdād was sacked, hundreds massacred and Bakr put to a terrible death; 'Irāḳ remained under Persian rule until its reconquest by Sulṭān Murād in 1048/1638.

Bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern 'Iraq* (1925), 51-7, and authorities quoted by him (p. 51 footnote): especially Murtaḍā Naẓmizāda, *Gulshan-i Khulafā* (Longrigg, 327). (S. H. Longrigg)

BAKR b. WĀ'IL, ancient Arabic group of tribes in Central, East, and (later) Northern Arabia. The Bakr belonged to the same people—later known as Rabī'a—as the 'Abd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. Their place in the tribal genealogy is three grades lower than that of these. The Tha'laba (b. 'Ukāba) are to be re-

garded as the core of the Bakr. Joshua Stylites (§ 57) mentions them under the year 503 as being the leading tribe of the northern Arabian Kinda Empire, and shortly afterwards they appear in a South Arabian inscription (Ryckmans 510, *Le Muséon* 1953). In the genealogy of Bakr, the Tha'laba are on a level with the tribes of 'Idjl and Ḥanīfa b. Ludjaym, with the Yashkur b. Bakr three grades above them. The Tha'laba were themselves subdivided into the Banū Shaybān, Dhuhl, Taymallāt (Taymallāh), and Ḳays. The Bakr tribes lived in the area of al-Yamāma. At that time, this embraced al-'Irḍ = Wādī Ḥanīfa, and its tributaries Luḥā (Shaib Ha on the maps), Nisāḥ, and al-Sulayy, the district of al-Khardj to the south, and the district of al-Witr with its tributaries north of the watershed. Al-Ḥadjr, the capital of al-Yamāma (near al-Riyāḍ of today) was originally in the hands of the Ḥanīfa. Later on, members of other Bakr tribes settled there too. The second largest town, Djaww (Djaww al-Yamāma, later al-Khiḍrima), south-east of al-Ḥadjr, was also largely inhabited by the Ḥanīfa, who likewise owned the oases Ḳurrān and Malham on the far side of the watershed. Colonies of the Ḥanīfa could be found further to the north-west in the regions of al-Washm and al-Sudayr. The Dhuhl b. Tha'laba lived, in (Ḳaryat Banī) Sadūs, named after one of their sub-tribes, on a *wādī* which runs into the Witr, the Ḳays b. Tha'laba among other places, in Manfūḥa, to the south of Riyāḍ. There is also evidence of villages of the Yashkur, 'Idjl and Shaybān. Djaww and al-Ḥadjr were sites of an ancient culture, which is linked with the vanished tribes of Ṭasm and Djadīs in later legends. epics. Baityles (obelisks) could still be seen in Ḥadjr in early Islamic times, but in Djaww these had been destroyed during the raid by a member of the southern Arabian dynasty of Ḥassān (al-A'shā, no. 13, 16-21).

Date palms were cultivated in all oases, but in the 'Irḍ valley and in al-Khardj grain was grown. In good years corn was sent to Mecca, but in bad years it was not even sufficient for local consumption (Mutalammis, ed. Vollers, no. 5, 8; al-A'shā, no. 19, 24; 23, 22-23; Ibn Hishām, 997 f.). As the Bakr villages were rather close together, there were sometimes feuds between them during which the palm groves were burned down (al-A'shā, no. 15, 56-57; 38, 9-11; Yāḳūt, *s.v.* al-Muḥarraḳa, (below Sadūs). Some Bakr escaped these conditions by leaving and becoming mercenaries (Aws b. Ḥadjar, ed. Geyer, no. 14; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 119), many took up the nomadic life—which was later on embraced by considerable parts of their tribes.

It is possible that this movement was started by the appearance of the Kinda in the second half of the 5th century (amend art. 'ABD AL-ḲAYS, line 13: from 6th to 5th century). We have no definite information about the routes which the nomadic Bakr followed at that time, although later sources (Ryckmans 510; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 430, 13) indicate that they went to the west (and east?) of al-Yamāma. During this period there was a long feud between the Bakr and their brother tribe, the Taghlib, which only came to an end in the middle of the 6th century, in a peace concluded under the patronage of Mecca, in Dhu 'l-Madjāz, outside the Ḥaram (al-Ḥārith b. Hilliza, *Mu'allaḳa*, ed. Arnold, 66). The Yawm Kulāb I (a battle between two heirs of the Kinda empire, in about 530, at Thahlān, S.-W. of Duwādamī) is rightly regarded as an episode in that feud. Shortly afterwards, the Taghlib—whose zone of migration was then from Sādjir in the upper Sirr, to Naṭā'i near the Persian Gulf (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, 430, 13; Ḥārith, *Mu'.*, 79)—left central Arabia, and settled in the steppes on the near side of the lower Euphrates, where, possibly, some of them had already settled earlier on. The Bakr followed them, but they stopped before Baṭn Faldj. Place names mentioned then and afterwards by the poets seem to show that the routes taken by the nomadic Bakr in the following decades ran from north to south. The area which was later vacated by the Taghlib and Bakr on the near side of the Ṭuwayḳ bend was probably before 530 interspersed with Tamīm, whose home was along both sides of the Tasrīr. After 530, they spread over the Ṭuwayḳ to eastern Arabia. Since the nomadic routes of both groups crossed, peace had somehow to be maintained, and there is in the next decades in fact little mention of fights between the Bakr and the Tamīm.

A number of outstanding Shaykh families emerged in the period in which the changing relationships between the Bakr and the Taghlib, the Tamīm, and the kings of the Kinda and of al-Ḥīra, demanded leaders of political experience. The hero of E. Bräunlich's *Bisṭām ibn Qais* (Leipzig 1923) is a member of one of these families, the Dhu 'l-Djaddayn. Connexions with al-Ḥīra were responsible for an early development of poetry, especially amongst the Ḳays b. Tha'laba, as witness the works of al-Muraḳḳish (the legend concerning him appears for the first time in Ṭarafa, *Six Poets*, no. 13, 14-19, an imitation by a later poet of al-Ḥīra; *N.B.* the 'younger Muraḳḳish' never existed, as is evident from al-Farazdaḳ, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 200, 15, to mention only one witness), those of 'Amr b. Ḳamī'a [*q.v.*], who never journeyed to Byzantium with Imra' al-Ḳays, those of Ṭarafa, and those of al-A'shā, who lived on into the 7th century. Poetry also flourished among the Yashkur, to whom al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza belonged.

The nomadic Bakr entered a new period when the Taghlib vacated the steppes on the lower Euphrates, migrating up the river, after their chief, 'Amr b. Kulthūm had killed the king of al-Ḥīra, 'Amr b. Hind in 569-70. About 580, a poet says (*Muf.*, no. 41, 11): "And Bakr—all 'Irāḳ's broad plain is theirs: but if so they will, a shield comes to guard their homes from lofty Yamāma's dales". Some ten years later, the Tamīm, and especially the Yarbū', began to press forward, in order to pitch their tents in al-Ḥazn during the spring. This gave rise to mutual raids, some of which, taking place between 605 and 615) have been described by Bräunlich (in the above mentioned book). A great deal is known concerning the tribes of the nomadic Bakr at this period, and also something about the area they covered. The tribes concerned were the Shaybān, 'Idjl, Ḳays, and Taymallāt b. Tha'laba. The 'Idjl went as far as what later became the Kufan pilgrim route in the west, and as far as Tuḳayyid in the east; the Shaybān pitched their tents to the north and south of the line al-Kāẓima (near the Bay of Kuwayt)—Ra's al-'Ayn = al-Busayya (?)—Salmān, and the Ḳays b. Tha'laba south-east of these, between al-Musannāh (Yāḳūt, erroneously al-Muthannāh) and Ra's al-'Ayn (al-A'shā, no. 14, 20; 29, 24). The Taymallāt, Ḳays and 'Idjl formed the confederation of Lahāzim, in order not to be overwhelmed by the Shaybān. It is not exactly known where the northern Bakr wintered, but the Ḳays b. Tha'laba appear

to have alternated—at least in the eighties—between al-Yamāma and the north (al-Aʿshā, no. 32, an early poem, especially v. 48). The Shaybān occasionally went as far as the oases of Baḥrayn in eastern Arabia, whilst the ʿIdjl appear to have remained in the north. During the summer, the tribes congregated where water could be found on this side of the Ṭaff between ʿAyn Ṣayd and Abū Ghar. It is in this area that the famous battle of Dhū Ḳār, in which the Dhuhl b. Shaybān repelled the advance guard of the Persian knights of Hāmarz [q.v.] was fought around the year 605 (al-Aʿshā, no. 40). In spite of this, the Bakr soon came under Persian influence again. At the same time, the hostility between Bakr and Tamīm in the north spread to Central Arabia, where the prince of Djaww, Hawdha b. ʿAlī, of the Banū Ḥanīfa, a vassal of the Persians, was hard pressed by the Tamīm. until the Persian governor of Baḥrayn drastically broke their valour (see al-Aʿshā, no. 13, 62-69). This brings us up to Islamic times.

Christianity was accepted by some of the Bakr in the north as well as in the south, particularly among the ʿIdjl, and (within the Shaybān) among the Dhu 'l-Djaddayn. Al-Aʿsha and Hawdha b. ʿAlī were also Christians. The adherence of Yamāma to Musaylima [q.v.] shows that Christianity had not taken root there, but the position in the north was quite different: the case of the former Ghazu leader, Abdjar b. Djābir, who died a Christian in Kūfa in 641, can hardly have been exceptional among the ʿIdjili. The Dhu 'l-Djaddayn also retained their Christian faith. The paganism, about which there is an interesting passage in ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa, no. 2, 9-15, is hardly mentioned by the later poets, unless one counts al-Aʿsha, no. 39, 47, whilst the idol Muḥarriḳ in Salmān (Yāḳūt iv, s.v. Muḥarriḳ) is not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī's *K. al-Aṣnām*.

Muḥammad had tried to get in touch with Hawdha b. ʿAlī even before the conquest of Mecca, but his message met with a cool and haughty reception. His successor in al-Ḥadjr was Musaylima. Thumāma b. Uthāl of the *sira* and the *ridda* is, strangely enough, missing in the genealogy of Ibn al-Kalbī, which is based, in this respect, on a Bakrite authority. Information on the *ridda* in eastern Arabia, which spread from the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba. can provisionally be found in Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 20 ff. Meanwhile the Bakr in the north had taken advantage of the disputed succession in Ctesiphon (628-632) in order to raid the cultivated land (as they had done before Dhū Ḳār). A leader of the Dhuhl b. Shaybān, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, distinguished himself on this occasion, and when he heard of the defeat of the *ridda*, he joined Islam, thereby consolidating his leadership. Together with Khālid b. al-Walīd he brought about conditions which later led to the capitulation of al-Ḥīra. When the Muslims were placed on the defensive, after Khālid's departure to Syria early in 634, he covered the retreat in the Battle of the Bridge, in the autumn of 634. His last great deed took place a year later at Buwayb, after which he succumbed to his wounds. Bakr (and Tamīm ?) also prepared the ground for the conquest of what later became the province of Basra. ʿIdjl and Ḥanīfa took part in the battle of Nihāwand in 642. The Bakr reached Khurāsān with troops from Baṣra, and in 715 there were 7000 of them there (Ṭabarī, ii, 1291). In both places they were partly responsible for the extension of the ancient tribal feuds, which continued there on a larger scale. Together with the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, they formed the Rabīʿa group in Baṣra, and later they joined the Azd ʿUmān who immigrated around 680. As the Tamīm in Baṣra were associated with the Ḳays group (ahl al-ʿĀliya), a rift again occurred. Hostility subsided, however, after some fighting between the two parties on the occasion of the death of Yazīd I in 684; and after Mālik b. Mismaʿ (a member of the leading family of the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba) had declared himself in favour of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, in 690, the Bakr kept the peace. The position was rather different in Khurāsān, where a bloody feud broke out in 684 between Bakr and Tamīm, followed by permanent friction between the Rabīʿa-Azd and the Ḳays-Tamīm, which continued until here, too, the Bakr produced a sensible leader (Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn). Their last remarkable personality was the general and statesman Maʿn b. Zāʾida [q.v.], of the Dhuhl b. Shaybān.

Whilst the Bakr disappeared early from the steppes of Baṣra, they remained for a longer time near Kūfa. The ʿIdjl retained their nomadic area, and later extended it towards the north-east; the Shaybān, however, migrated towards the north-west, as far as the waters of al-Laṣaf, not far from Kūfa, and later moved largely to the area of Mosul, in the north, where they settled along both banks of the Tigris. Three verses that have strayed into the *dīwān* of ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa (no. 16) describe the homesickness of a girl on this trek into foreign lands, to the Sātīdamā (possibly the Djabal Maḳlūb, opposite the town); and reports of Abū Mikhnaf (Ṭabarī, ii) concerning the noble leader of the Khāridjites, Shabīb b. Yazīd (of the Dhuhl b. Shaybān; killed in 697) describe the curious vacillation between Bedouin life and urban civilisation at that time. The Bakr spread thence to the north as far as Diyār Bakr (a late name) and Ādharbaydjān.

The Shaybān developed once again into a large nomad tribe. In spring and summer, they pitched their tents between the Upper and the Lower Zāb, in winter they moved as far as the area below Kūfa. During the 9th century, they carried out frequent raids into the plain of Mosul, which resulted in a campaign against them in 893, led by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid. In the 11th century, they advanced into the cultivated land of ʿIrāḳ, but disappeared at the beginning of the next century. The name Rabīʿa began to supplant the tribal names Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays in Baṣra and in Khurāsān, and the names Bakr and Taghlib in the eastern Djazīra = Diyār Rabīʿa. This also happened in Arabia. The royal family of Āl Suʿūd traces its family tree back to the Rabīʿa.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, MS. London, 193a-226b; MS. Escorial, 1-49; Ṭabarī, see indices; *Naḳāʾid Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, see indices; the Arabic geographers; M. Frh. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1952, 211 f., 351 f.; Ulrich Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, Wiesbaden 1958 (= *Schriften der Frh. von Oppenheim-Stiftung*, no. 3). (W. CASKEL)

AL-BAKRĪ [see BAḲRIYYA and ṢIDDĪḲĪ].

AL-BAKRĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH [see ABŪ ʿUBAYD].

AL-BAKRĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD, appears to be the most acceptable form of the name of the alleged author, or final *rāwī*, of historical novels dealing with the early years of Islam, who also is credited with a *mawlid* and a fictional life of Muḥammad. The

earliest biography devoted to him is to be found in al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1325, i, 53. Al-Dhahabī indignantly describes al-Bakrī as a liar and inventor of untrue stories, whose books were available at the booksellers (and, presumably, enjoyed good sales). Considering the additional facts that a MS. of one of his works (Vatican Borg. no. 125) is dated in 694/1295 and that authors who lived as late as the end of the thirteenth century are quoted in the biography of the Prophet (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab. Hss. . . . zu Berlin*, no. 9624), al-Bakrī would seem to have lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century. While this conclusion must remain highly speculative for the time being, there exist no cogent reasons for doubting the historicity of al-Bakrī's elusive personality. If the occasional epithet of "Baṣran Preacher" can be relied upon, he was active in ʿIrāḳ.

It is by no means certain that all the works attributed to al-Bakrī go back to one and the same author. For instance, the biography of Muḥammad quotes actual books and authors, while the other works are vague and confused in their references to sources and prefer fictitious names in the rare cases where transmitters are mentioned. Furthermore, it apparently was not yet known to al-Dhahabī, and a reference to it was added by Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, i, 202, in the biography he copied from al-Dhahabī. The relationship of the various works or recensions to each other has not yet been investigated, and in order to reach safe conclusions, it will be necessary to study all the numerous MSS. preserved in widely dispersed libraries.

Bibliography: Knowledge of al-Bakrī in the West begins with L. Marracci, cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*, ii, 115. Cf., further, R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur*, Tübingen 1930, 155-58; Brockelmann, I, 445; S I, 616 (basic but disfigured by many mistakes). A *fatwā* forbidding the reading of his biography of Muḥammad, by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī, *al-Fatāwī al-Ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1353/1934, 116. See further MAGHĀZĪ and TAʾRĪKH. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-BAKRĪ, B. ABI 'L-SURŪR, name of two Arab historians of the notable family of Egyptian shaykhs of the Bakriyya *ṭarīḳa* (of the Shādhilī order).

1. MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SURŪR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, d. 1028/1619. His works include, in addition to a universal history in two parts (*ʿUyūn al-Akhbār, Nuzhat al-Abṣār*, also abridged under the title of *Tuḥfat* (or *Tadhkirat*) *al-Ẓurafāʾ*), several histories of the Ottoman Turks (*Fayḍ al-Mannān, al-Durar al-Athmān fī Aṣl Manbaʿ Āl ʿUthmān*, and *al-Minaḥ al-Raḥmāniyya* with an appendix on Egypt entitled *al-Laṭāʾif al-Rabbāniyya*), one on the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (*al-Futūḥāt al-ʿUthmāniyya*), and a work on the attempt of Muḥammad Pasha, *wālī* of Egypt, in 1017/1608-9 to suppress the tax called *ḥaḳḳ al-ṭarīḳ* (*al-Tafrīdj al-Kubrā fī Dafʿ* (or *Rafʿ*) *al-Ṭalba*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 388; S II, 412; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 552; Babinger, 147; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, nos. 2619, 4981, 8458, 9325, 13152; Ismāʿīl Pasha Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, Istanbul 1955, ii, 216. For his father Abu 'l-Surūr (d. 1007/1598-9), see Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣa*, i, 117.

2. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABIʾL-SURŪR, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, son of the above, b. ca. 1005/1596, d. ca. 1060/1650. In addition to a universal history (*Samīr al-Aṣḥāb*) and two general histories of Egypt (*al-Rawḍa al-Maʾnūsa*, and *al-Rawḍa* (or *al-Nuzha*) *al-Zahiyya fī Wulāt Miṣr al-Ḳāhira al-Muʿizziyya*), a third history of Egypt entitled *al-Kawākib al-Sāʾira* covers in fuller detail the Ottoman period down to 1045/1634. This work, unpublished as yet, was translated by S. de Sacy (*Le Livre des Étoiles errantes*) in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, i, 1788, 165-280 (a German translation from the French was published by G. Hanisch, Hildburgshausen 1791), and was used extensively by J. J. Marcel for his *Histoire d'Égypte* (Paris 1848), together with a continuation of the work to 1168/1754 by Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm (cf. Marcel, *op. cit.*, XXV). His other works include a history of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (*al-Tuḥfa al-Bahiyya*), an abridgement of al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* entitled *Ḳaṭf al-Azhār* (this work is sometimes attributed to his uncle Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan, d. 1087/1676: cf. Muiḥbbī, *Khulāṣa*, iii, 465), a biography of the Ṣūfī shaykh al-ʿAdjamī al-Kurānī (*al-Durr al-Djumānī*) and a Ṣūfī treatise (*Durar al-Aʿālī*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 383; S II, 409; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 565; Babinger, 188; works mentioned in the article. (STANFORD J. SHAW)

AL-BAKRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ AL-ASHʿARĪ ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM SHAMS AL-DĪN, Arab poet and mystic, born 898/1492, lived a year alternately in Cairo and a year in Mecca, and died in 952/1545. Besides his *Dīwān* (Bibl. Nat, Paris, *Catalogue des mss. ar.* by de Slane, no. 3229-3233; *Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Pers. and Turk. Mss. in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge, 1870, no. 55-7), a collection of mystical poems entitled *Tardjumān al-Asrār* (Vollers, *Katalog der islam. usw. Hass. der Universitätsbiblioth. zu Leipzig*, no. 573; Derenbourg, *Les mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, no. 439), and several small Ṣūfī treatises (of which the MS. Gotha no. 865 contains a collection) he composed a romantic history of the conquest of Mecca in verse, called *al-Durra al-Mukallala fī Fatḥ Makka al-Mubadjdjala*, (Cairo 1278/1861, 1282/1865, 1293/1876, 1297/1879, 1300/1882, 1301, 1303, 1304); as well as a work of sukstantially historical content entitled *Dhakhīrat al-ʿUlūm wa Natīdjat al-Fuhūm* (Pertsch, *Die ar. Hdss. zu Gotha*, no. 1578).

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-Djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, iii, 127; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 520; Brockelmann, II, 334, 382, S II, 481-2. (C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-BAKRĪ, MUṢṬAFĀ B. KAMĀL AL-DĪN B. ʿALĪ AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-KHALWATĪ MUḤYI 'L-DĪN, Arab author and mystic, born in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1099/Sept. 1688 at Damascus, being left an orphan at an early age, was brought up by his uncle and entered the Dervish order of the Khalwatiyya. In the year 1122/1710 he made his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem; there he wrote his prayer-book *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳudsī* and procured a certificate from ʿAlī Ḳarabāsh of Adrianople, that it was not a *bidʿa*, as one of his opponents had said, to read this book aloud at the end of the night. He returned in Shaʿbān of the same year (October 1710) to Damascus, but repeated this pilgrimage more frequently in succeeding years and made the acquaintance in Jerusalem of the vizier Rāghib Pasha, whom he accompanied on a journey to Cairo. Under the protection of this patron he set out from Jerusalem early in 1135

(Oct. 1722) to Istanbul and reached it on 17 Sha'bān/24 May 1723. Four years later he returned to Jerusalem. After making the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1148/1735 which he had planned as early as 1129/1717 but had given up on account of a quarrel with his uncle, he went to Istanbul for the second time in 1148/1735. From there he returned by ship, via Alexandria and Cairo. In the following year, in connexion with a second pilgrimage, he went to Diyār Bakr where he stayed eight months. After spending other eleven months in Nābulus, he again returned to Jerusalem in Shawwāl 1152/Jan. 1740. He died on 18 Rabī' II 1162/8 April 1749 in Cairo when on his third pilgrimage. His numerous mystic treatises, prayers and poems which are given by Brockelmann (see *infra*, cf. also *al-Ḥikam al-Ilāhiyya wa'l-Mawārid al-Bahiyya*, see Vollers, *Katalog der islam. usw. Hdds. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig* no. 850 ii, and *al-Waṣiyya al-Djalīla lil-Sālikīn Ṭarīḳat al-Khalwatiyya*, ibid. iv; E. Littmann, *A List of Arabic Mss. in Princeton University Library*, no. 351 b.) are all still unprinted except a *Madjmū' Ṣalawāt wa' Awrād* (Cairo 1308). He also wrote an account of his first journey from Damascus to Jerusalem in 1122/1710 entitled *al-Khumra al-Ḥasiyya fi 'l-Riḥla al-Ḳudsiyya* (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Hdss. zu Berlin*, no. 6149). A journey to Damascus and his stay there were described in his *al-Mudāma al-Sha'miyya fi 'l-Maḳāma al-Sha'miyya* (ibid. 6148).

Bibliography: al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar fi A'yān al-Ḳarn al-Thānī 'Ashar*, Cairo 1291-1301, iv, 190-200; al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-Athār fi 'l-Tarādjim wa'l-Akhbār*, Būlāḳ 1297, i, 125-126; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīḳiyya al-Djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1306, iii, 129; Brockelmann, II 348, s II, 477.

(C. Brockelmann)

BAKRIYYA, a Dervish order which, according to d'Ohsson, took its name from Pīr Abū Bakr Wafā'ī, who died in Aleppo in 902/1496 or 909/1503-4. According to Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, 271, they are a branch of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*].

BAKRIYYA, a collective noun denoting all those who claim descent from Abū Bakr. In Egypt, the head of this family, the Shaykh al-Bakrī, has, since 1811, been the *naḳīb* of the descendants of the Prophet (*ashrāf*), and, since 1906, the *shaykh al-mashāyikh*, that is to say, the *shaykh* of all the religious orders. See *RMM*, iv, 241 ff.; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde musulman*[4], 1954, 274.

BAḲṬ, lat. *pactum*, hell. πάκτον. In the Hellenistic world used both for a compact of mutual obligations and its connected payments. The Arabs designated with this expression what they regarded a tribute yielded by Christian Nubia. This country, because of its geographical situation and the bellicosity of its inhabitants, withstood the first impetus of the Muslim conquest, and after hard fighting under 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (20 or 21/642-3), who ultimately had to recall his troops, his successor, 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, 'Uthmān's governor over Egypt, made a treaty with Nubia (31/652) on a bilateral basis, falling outside the normal *ṣulḥ* treaties known by the jurists. The two contracting parties agreed on bestowing free passage through the respective countries, while the right to take up fixed abode was to be prohibited. The Nubians bound themselves to repatriate fugitive *coloni*, slaves, and poll-tax paying *dhimmis*. Besides they agreed to defray the costs of the maintenance of a mosque to be built in Dunḳula (Dongola). Moreover they were to deliver annually 360 slaves, originally at least their own prisoners of war, and the custom developed that they paid a further 40 head for the Arab officials taking care of the transaction. The Muslims, on the other hand, were obliged to yield a corresponding amount of wheat and other cereals, and textiles. The Muslim jurists of a later time could not fit this into the frame of the system, and a tradition—or at least an interpretation of an existing one—sprang up that the Muslim quota originated from the restitution of the 40 slaves, after having been exchanged for wine and other supplies, as appears from the exposition of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. C. Torrey, 189). The political state is otherwise called a *hudna*, truce. Mālik b. Anas thought it a juridical *ṣulḥ*, but a majority of his colleagues knew that it was only a treaty of non-aggression, and that the Muslims were not bound to defend Nubia against any third party. The treaty was confirmed by subsequent rulers; al-Ṭabarī makes special mention of 'Umar II (*Annales*, Ser. 1, v, 2593). Later the Nubians seem not to have paid their part very punctually, probably because of lack of prisoners of war, with the consequence that they had to replace the wanting number with their own countrymen. The animals for zoological gardens and for medical experiments which are included in the quota in later times may have made up for such deficiencies. Under al-Mahdī and al-Mu'taṣim we hear of readjustments; under the latter, when Nubia was on the verge of breaking the contract, it was found out that the tribute of the Nubians fell below what was paid by the Arabs. That the latter could not muster the force for altering this radically is seen from the fact that a lenient course was followed, allowing the Nubians to pay the stipulated quota every third year only. On the other hand, the request to have the garrison in al-Ḳaṣr on Nubian territory withdrawn was not granted. That was the place where the quotas were handed over. It was only under Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī (674/1276) that Nubia was subjugated for good, and part of it came fully under Muslim rule, while native petty princes maintained a more or less free position. After that time Islamisation went on rapidly, and no doubt the term *baḳṭ* fell into desuetude, having lost its meaning under the altered circumstances.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270 i, 199 f., Cairo 1324, i, 322 ff.; Balādhurī, *Futuḥ*, 236 ff.; E. M. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, ii, 42 ff.; C. H. Becker, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxii, 141 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, new ed., 1942 s.v. *pactum*.

(F. Løkkegaard)

BĀKŪ, a town and district on the W. shore of the Caspian Sea, on the peninsula of Apsheron (Ābshārān). The name is currently said to be from Persian *bādkūba*, 'wind-beaten', which is appropriate to the local conditions, but this derivation is not certain. The form Bākū appears already in the 4th/10th century (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*). Another early, authentic pronunciation is Bākūyah (Abū Dulaf, al-Bākuwī). Other forms (Bākūh, Bākuh) are found in the Arabic geographers.

The early history of Bākū is obscure, though the locality seems to be mentioned in antiquity (cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 97). It is perhaps to be identified with the Gangara or Gaetara of Ptolemy (*Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, I, ii, 929). Bākū is not apparently mentioned in accounts of the early Muslim conquests, nor by Ibn Khurradādhbih (3rd/9th century), but thereafter it comes fairly into view

and is known by name to the 10th century Muslim geographers, being mentioned by Abū Dulaf in his *Risāla al-Thāniyya* (cf. V. Minorsky in *Oriens*, v, 1952, 25). Abū Dulaf claims to have reached Bākūyah, as he calls it, from the S. and found there a spring of petroleum, the lease (*ḳabāla*) of which was 1000 *dirhams* a day, with another well adjacent producing white petroleum, which flowed unceasingly day and night and whose lease (*ḍamān*) was also 1000 *dirhams*. These details are repeated in several much later accounts, notably those of Yāḳūt, i, 477, and al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, 389. About the same time as Abū Dulaf, al-Masʿūdī several times mentions Bākū. He gives an account of a Russian raid on the Caspian littoral *circa* 301/913-914, in the course of which the invaders reached 'the naphtha (or petroleum) coast in the country of Shirwān, which is known as Bākuh' (*Murūdj*, ii, 21). Al-Masʿūdī also speaks of Bākū as a place to which ships went back and forward from Djīl (Djīlān), Daylam, etc. on the Caspian, if not also from Atil [*q.v.*], the Khazar capital on the Volga (*ibid.*, 25). In the *Tanbīh*, a later work (written in 345/956) he again speaks of Bākū, its 'white naphtha' and its volcanoes (*āṭām*) (*BGA.*, viii, 60).

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (written in 372/982 but making use of earlier sources) knows of Bākū as a borough or small town, lying on the sea-coast near the mountains. All the petroleum in the Daylamān country came from there (*Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, 145, cf. 411: the Daylamites used it for a kind of flame-thrower). In another passage (*ibid.*, 77) the waters of the Kur and Aras rivers are said to 'flow between Mūḳān and Bākū to join the Khazar sea (Caspian)', where regions rather than cities are perhaps intended. Since it lay N. of the Aras, Bākū was usually reckoned as in Shirwān, but according to al-Muḳaddasī, 376, in 375/989, who appears to be the first to mention its excellent harbour, Bākū was distinct from Shirwān and both were included in Arrān, to which al-Muḳaddasī gives a much greater extension than most Muslim writers (*ibid.*, 51, 374). Al-Iṣṭakhrī (*circa* 340/951) mentions Bākū and already knows of its troleum (190).

The best description of mediaeval Bākū is by a native of the place, ʿAbd al-Rashīd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bākuwī, who wrote in 806/1402, shortly after the campaigns of Tīmūr in this quarter. The town was built of stone, actually on rocks, close to the sea, which at the time of writing had carried away part of the walls and reached the vicinity of the principal mosque. The air was good, but there was shortage of water. Since in consequence the district was infertile, provisions had to be brought from Shirwān and Mūḳān, though there were gardens situated at a distance from the town, producing figs, grapes and pomegranates, to which the inhabitants went in summer. There were two well-built fortresses in the town, of which the larger, on the seaward side, had resisted the attacks of the Tatars, although the other, which was very high, had been partially destroyed during the sieges. Day and night, in winter, high winds blew, sometimes so strongly as to sweep men and animals into the sea. At Bākū there were petroleum wells from which daily more than 200 mule-loads were drawn. A by-product in the form of a hard yellow substance was used as fuel in private houses and baths. At a *farsakh* from the town was a perennial source of fire, said to be a sulphur-mine, near which was a village inhabited by Christians, who made and sold lime. There were also salt-mines, the produce of which was exported to other countries. Nearby was an island to which people went to hunt sharks. The skins when suitably prepared were filled with petroleum, after which they were loaded on ships to be taken to the different countries. There was also a considerable trade in silk. In some years a great fire was seen emerging from the sea, visible for a day's journey. The inhabitants were Sunnī Muslims.

Politically, Bākū at most times appears to have been subject to the Shirwān Shāhs. The last dynasty of Shirwān Shāhs came to an end only in 957/1550, when the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp occupied Shirwān. After vicissitudes in the course of which it belonged for a short time (1583-1606) to the Ottoman Turks, Bākū finally became a Russian possession in 1806.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. al-Muhalhil's Travels in Iran* (containing the Arabic text and translation of his *Second Risāla*), Cairo 1955, 35, cf. 72; al-Bākuwī, *Talkhīṣ al-Āthār wa-ʿAdjāʾib al-Malik al-Ḳahhār*, transl. De Guignes, *Notices et extraits*, ii, 509-510; Le Strange, 180-1.

(D. M. Dunlop)

Bākū under Russian domination, was at first very slow to develop. In 1807 the town had only 5,000 inhabitants, grouped in the old citadel.

The naphtha deposits, the exploitation of which was a monopoly of the former masters of Bākū, became Crown property and the first drilling took place in 1842 on the Apsheron peninsula. In 1872 exploitation became free and the deposits were sold by auction.

This periods marks the beginning of the town's rapid growth. This development was favoured by the building in 1877-78 of the pipe-line connecting Bākū with the oil fields of the Apsheron peninsula. In 1883 the town was connected by railway with Transcaucasia and the interior of Russia. Finally in 1907 the pipe-line was completed linking Bākū with Batum on the Black Sea. In 1859 Bākū had still only 13.000 inhabitants, but in 1879 the "oil rush" brought the number up to 112.000. On the eve of the Revolution, Bākū, which provided 95% of all Russia's oil, had already a population of 300,000.

During the Revolution, Bākū achieved the status of capital of independent Ādharbaydjān (31 July 1918 to 28 April 1920). Taken by the Red Army on 28 April 1920, it was henceforth the capital of the Ādharbaydjān Soviet Socialist Republic. Under the Soviet régime, the town continued to grow. In 1939 it was the fifth town of the Soviet Union with 809,300 inhabitants (about a third of whom were Russian and a third Armenians). It is now a great modern industrial city, centre of the oil industry. Bākū is also an important University centre, the seat of the State University and of the Ādharbaydjān Academy of Sciences. (A. Bennigsen)

BAʿḲŪBA, more correctly (but not now currently) Baʿḳūbā, from the Aramaic Bāyaʿḳūbā, or Jacob's House, a town situated 40 miles N.E. of Baghdād (40° 37′ E, 33° 45′ N), on the site of a very ancient pre-Islamic settlement, was in Caliphate times described as on the west bank of the Nahrawān-Diyālā (*q.v.*) main canal. It formed an important station on the Baghdād-Khurāsān trunk road, and served as chief town of the Upper Nahrawān district. Under ʿAbbāsid rule the place was highly prosperous, its date and fruit gardens famous, and the surrounding country fertile and populous, with scores of villages.

Modern Baʿḳūba is an ʿIrāḳī provincial town with an Arab mixed Sunnī and Shīʿī population of some

8,000. It is the headquarters of the *liwā* of Diyālā with dependent *ḳaḍā*s of Mandali, Khāliṣ, Khāniḳīn, and Baʿḳūba itself; the last-named *ḳaḍā* contains the important *nāḥiya*s of Kinʿān and Maḳdādiyya (formerly Shahrubān). The town is prosperous, partly transformed by modern buildings, streets and services, and good communications; the Baghdād-Irbīl line of ʿIrāḳ Railways here crosses the Diyālā by a high-level bridge.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 472, 672; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 294; the same, *Annal. moslem.*, ed. Reiske, iv, 690; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Hist. des Mongols*, ed. Quatremère, 278 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 119; (Rousseau), *Descr. du Pachalik de Bagdad*, 80; Binder, *Au Kurdistan, en Mésopotamie et en Perse*, Paris 1887, 319 ff.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, 1908, 357 ff.; S. H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

BĀKUSĀYĀ, a town and lesser administrative district under the ʿAbbāsids. With four others it formed part of the rich and populous circle (*astān*) east of Tigris, that of Bāzīyān Khusraw, in which the town of Bandanīdjīn (now vanished without trace) was a principal headquarters. Bākusāyā is usually grouped with the adjacent district of Bādarāyā [*q.v.*] (the modern Badra) by the Arab geographers, and like it enjoyed good water from the hills which mark the present Persian frontier. A modern village, within Persia, known as Baksaiyyeh, a few miles S.E. of Badra, almost certainly marks the site of Bākusāyā. The latter name strongly suggests the Syriac Bā-Kussāyē, and would indicate the home or district of the Kussāyē, the Greek κοσσαῖοι and the Kaššu (modernised into Cassites) of the Babylonian inscriptions. The domicile of these people was entirely in the Zagros range, and this identification is tempting. Nothing remarkable is recorded regarding the town or its inhabitants, in which (as in modern Badra) Lurish or other Iranian strains doubtless prevailed. The district is malarial, but in modern times produces a race of famous weight-lifting porters.

Bibliography: *BGA*, passim; Yāḳūt, i, 477; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach d. Arab. Geog.*, i, 15; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), 61, 91; Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, xxviii, 101; idem, *Geschichte der Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden* (1879), 239; G. Westphal, *Untersuch. über die Quellen u. die Glaubwürdigkeit der Patriarchenchroniken Mari ibn Sulaiman etc.*, Strassburg 1901, 121; Le Strange, 63, 80.

(M. STRECK-[S. H. LONGRIGG])

BAʿL is an old Semitic or even Proto-Semitic word with the central meaning of "master, owner" and has been widely used in the sense of "local god" (fertiliser of the soil) and "husband" (in a society predominantly masculine). In the last century attention was vigorously drawn to the importance of this last meaning by W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885 (2nd. ed. London 1903); but his thesis that the term itself had been borrowed by the Arabs from the Northern Semites could not be substantiated. The various meanings of the word have continued to exist in Classical Arabic with, however, a very variable vitality according to sense, period and area.

1.—In the sense of "master (of)", *baʿl* was ousted in Arabic by various synonyms, so that, unlike the Hebrew *baʿal*, it does not make an appearance in numerous compounds. It has survived better in the sense of "husband, spouse (of)", thanks most probably to the use made of it in three Ḳur'ānic passages (ii, 228; xi, 72; xxiv, 31 twice) in the singular and in the plural (*buʿūla*; subsequently Classical Arabic usually uses *buʿūl* or *biʿāl*). The meaning "master" was still strongly felt: *baʿlī* "my spouse", in xi, 72, renders the Biblical *adōnī* (in the mouth of Sarah, Genesis, xvii, 12; Targum Onkelos: *ribbōnī*). For the feminine, Classical Arabic has the forms *baʿl* or *baʿlat*. Several verbal forms developed from this connubial meaning.

2.—The Ḳur'ān, xxxvii, 125 (story of Elijah; cf. I Kings xviii, and the art. *Ilyās*) has contributed still more definitely to perpetuating the memory in Islam of *Baʿl* as a pagan deity, in spite of all the confusion and reticence of the commentators. This meaning of the word, it is true, could not hope to enjoy much success in Muslim thought as such; it is to be encountered incidentally in the medieval authors in connexion with the etymology of Baʿalbakk [*q.v.*] with fictitious details concerning an ancient idol at this place. What is more remarkable is the unconscious survival of the idea of the god *Baal* in the two following cases:

a) The verb *baʿil*^a and the adjective *baʿil*, "(to be) lost in astonishment", that is to say originally, as Nöldeke has shown (*ZDMG*, 1886, XL, 174), "(to be) possessed by Baal".

b) The terms *baʿl* and *baʿlī* to convey the idea of unwatered tillage: in a verse attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, a Companion of the Prophet, (*LA*, xiii, 60), we read: *hunālika lā ubālī nakhla baʿlin, wa lā saḳyin* ..... In an expression of this kind, *baʿl* may retain something of the original meaning, not understood by the author of the *Lisān*: that of the god (male) fertilising the land (female) by rain or sub-soil water. The contrast between watered land (with terms from the same root as *sḳy*) and "dwelling or field of Baal" is well attested in the Targum and the Talmud (Jastrow, *Dict. of the Talmud*, *b ʿl* and *sh ḳ y*; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3], London 1927, see *Index*; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Gütersloh 1932, ii, 32-33).

In Classical Arabic of the early centuries of the Hidjra, however, the term *baʿl* is to be encountered on several occasions meaning on its own —and not in a compound expression open to several interpretations—"unwatered cultivated land". In the works on jurisprudence, it is to be found with this meaning, mainly in relation to the prescribed tithe (*zakāt*, *ṣadaḳa*) on agricultural produce. Muslim Law, both Shīʿī and Sunnī, does in fact reduce this impost to a half tithe or a twentieth where the crop is dependent on artificial irrigation requiring some exertion; in contrast, the *zakāt* is actually a tenth when the produce of a *baʿl* is involved. In this connexion, the term appears in various recorded *ḥadīth*s from the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik (2nd/8th century) onwards (see Bādjī, *Muntaḳā*, ii, 157-158), repeated in the 3rd/9th century in works on *fiḳh*, such as the Shāfiʿī *K. al-Umm* (ii, 32) and the Mālikī *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn (ii, 99, 108). In an almost identical form, these *ḥadīth*s are to be found in Abū Dāwūd (*Sunan*, no. 1596-1598) and in the early specialists on fiscal and land law (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries): Yaḥyā b. Ādam (*K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo ed. 1347 AH., no. 364-395, where an illuminating variant, no. 381, has "that which Baʿl has watered", thus reproduced in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 70), Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām (*K. al-Amwāl*, Cairo ed. 1353 AH., no. 1410-1421),

Ḳudāma b. Dja'far (*K. al-Kharādj*, part 7, ch. VII, *apud* De Goeje, *Glossaire* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 14; the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* of al-Khwārizmī on that point is merely a résumé of this work). Likewise in the Fāṭimid *fiḳh* already established in Ifrīḳiya (4th/10th century): ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, Cairo ed. 1951, i, 316; and naturally also in many later books.

These texts evoke, as regards the use of *baʿl*, the two ensuing comments: a) the word seems to be linked with Madinese and perhaps also Yemenite traditions, but appears to be unknown to the oldest ʿIrāḳī traditions (probably because ʿIrāḳ is primarily a land of irrigation); Ḥanafism, of ʿIrāḳī origin, does not normally employ the word, though on this point it states the same rule as the other *madhāhib*.

b) The *ḥadīth*s containing this term insert it in an enumeration in which the *baʿl* appears to be distinct from lands watered by spring water, rain or surface drainage. Among the commentators and lexicographers, some nevertheless maintain that *baʿl* applies to all unwatered cultivated lands; others, influenced by the letter of the *ḥadīth*s and perhaps by dialectal usages, offer a series of rather more restrictive interpretations revolving round the idea of unwatered land under dry cultivation: for some, it only applies to cases where plants obtain water through their roots beneath the surface alone (detailed argument in *LA*, *loc. cit.*; see also W. R. Smith, *Lectures...*, 98-99 and Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 121).

Among words possessing the same or an adjacent meaning which frequently replace or accompany *baʿl* in the enumeration mentioned above, particular attention should be paid to the term *ʿaththarī* (for example in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Zakāt*, chap. 55), which it would be difficult to refrain from explaining by the name of the deity ʿAthtar (= Astarte, Ishtar): a male stellar god in the Arabian and South Arabian pantheon, ʿAthtar exercised an influence on the fertility of the land and was at times qualified by the name *baʿal* (Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris 1903, 133-136; Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarab. Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen 1927, i, index; Jamme, in *Le Muséon* 1947, 85-100; G. Ryckmans, in *Atti Accad. Lincei* 1948, 367; idem, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 2nd. ed. Louvain 1951, 41 and passim; Jamme, in Brillant and Aigrain, *Hist. des Religions* [1956], iv, 264-5). The assimilation tht > thth is attested in Classical Arabic and the semantic parallelism with *baʿl* here is striking.

The occurrence of *baʿl*, still with the same meaning, must also be noted in some versions of the stipulations which the Prophet is stated to have imposed as a land code in the year 9 AH., either on the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal (through its leader Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik), or on the neighbouring Kalbite tribes (through their leader Ḥāritha b. Ḳaṭan); see Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 1, 259-269 (event discussed by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, appendix VII, and by W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 362-5).

It is again to be met with, in connexion with the land tax (*kharādj*), in the great treatises on public law of the 5th/11th century: *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* by the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʿlā (Cairo ed. 1938, 151) and by the Shāfiʿī Māwardī (trans. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 314). In calculating this tax, they recommend that account be taken of the source of the water: this envisages four categories of cultivated land, among which the *baʿl* is very closely defined, approximately as above, in contrast to land irrigated or adequately watered by rainfall.

The geographer al-Muḳaddasī, in the 4th/10th century, uses the term on three occasions (*BGA*, iii, 197, 474), dealing with agricultural production near Ramla, Alexandria and in Sind, always in the phrase (*ʿalaʾl-baʿl*; this, however, does not suffice as a proof of the use of the term outside Syria-Palestine, the author's country of birth. In this geographical area where, "in spite of the the illusion of an abundance of water, dry cultivation constitutes the basis of traditional agricultural exploitation" (J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie*, Paris 1946, 144), at the present day we find: *arḍ baʿl* contrasted as in former times with *arḍ saḳy* (G. Dalman, *op. cit.*, 30; already mentioned by E. Meier in *ZDMG*, 1863, xvii, 607).

Here is a special case of the use of this term in medieval Egypt: in Cairo under the Mamlūks, perhaps already under the Fāṭimids, a park near the Khalīdj, which subsequently became a public promenade, was called *bustān al-baʿl*, then *arḍ al-baʿl*; see Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed. 1270 AH., ii, 129, who takes *baʿl* here expressly in the geographical sense.

The Muslims of Spain, "exactly like the Spanish peasants of today ... made a distinction between *secano* (Ar. *baʿl*) land and *regadio* (Ar. *saḳy*) land, the former being especially reserved for cereal cultivation" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, Paris 1953, iii, 270). The famous agronomist of Seville Ibn al-ʿAwwām (6th/12th) confirms this distinction (*K. al-Filāḥa*, ed. Banqueri, Madrid 1802, i, 5). It appeared in contracts, especially those of plantation leases or *mughārasa*: the notarial formula of Ibn Salmūn for example, *K. al-ʿIḳd al-Munaẓẓam*, Cairo ed. 1302 AH., ii, 21-22, in the 8th/14th century, has the two adjectival forms *baʿlī* and *saḳ(a)wī*.

These two forms do in fact appear to have had a tendency in modern times to become nouns, perhaps in certain regions because of the model provided by *ʿaththarī*. *Baʿlī* has been noted alongside *ʿaththarī* in the dialects spoken in Southern Arabia: Landberg, *Glossaire Datînois*, Leiden 1920, i, 186, where *ʾatharī* must almost certainly be emended to *ʿath(th)arī*. At a first glance it is not always easy to determine whether *baʿlī* is at present used as an adjective or a noun in the East and in North Africa. It is frequently attached—more so than its opposite *saḳwī*— to the name of a vegetable or a fruit: in such a case it stresses the good quality. At Fez, the feminine *baʿliyya* is applied to a succulent fig, whereas *baʿlī* describes a man, avaricious, dry and hard as the land bearing the same name (information by L. Brunot).

As in the case of so many other elements of the vocabulary of spoken Arabic, it is to be regretted that we are far from knowing with sufficient exactitude the areas in which the words *baʿl* and *baʿlī*, unknown to extensive Arabic speaking districts, are in fact used. The precise distribution of these words would be informative from various points of view. (R. Brunschvig)

BĀLĀ (Persian "height, high") I. — Since 1262/1846 the term for a grade in the former Ottoman Civil Service, to which the Secretary of State (*mustashār*) and other senior officials belonged; he was addressed in correspondence as *ʿuṭūfetlü efendim ḥaḍretleri* (Further details in the article by M. Cavid Baysun in *IA*, ii, 262 ff.).

Bibliography: in M. C. Baysun (see above).

(Fr. Taeschner)

II. — Originally the name of a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* and *sandjaḳ* of Ankara (Central Anatolia) with the village of Karalî (Ḳara ʿAlî, now written Karaali) as its centre. It is now the name of the new chief town of the *ḳaḍā*, 39° 35′ N. Latitude, 33° 4′ E. Longitude and is situated 48 kms. south east of Ankara on a ridge of hills called Kartal Dağî, between two valleys, through which flow tributaries of the Kîzîl Irmak (Halys), at the point where the road from Ankara branches off in one direction to Kirşehir and Kayseri, and in the other to Aksaray and Konya. Population 1142 (1945); that of the *ḳaḍā*, 27,096. The inhabitants of the *ḳaḍā* are principally Yürüks and refugees (*muhādjir*) from the Caucasus and the Balkans.

Bibliography: Ali Cevad, *Coğrafya Lûğatî*, 149; *Ḳamūs ül-aʿlām* II. 1206; *Sālnāme* of the Vil. Ankara 1325/1907; *IA*. ii. 263 (by Besim Darkot).

(Fr. Taeschner)

BĀLĀ-GHĀT ("above the *ghāts* or passes"), a name given to several elevated tracts in central and southern India. It was usually applied to the highlands above the passes through the Western Ghāts. On the east side of the Indian peninsula it was the term used to distinguish the Carnatic plateau from the Carnatic Pāʿīnghāt or lowlands. In Berār it was the name of the upland country above the Adjanta pass, the most northerly part of the table-land of the Deccan. It was also applied to the hilly country of western Ḥaydarābād. In 1867, the name was given to a newly formed district of the Central Provinces. To-day it forms a district of Madhya-Pradesh (area: 3,614 square miles; population (1951) 693,379).

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*; C. E. Low, *Balaghat District* (1907).

(C. Collin Davies)

BĀLĀ ḤIṢĀR ("High Castle"), in the popular tongue Ballî Ḥiṣār ("Honey Castle"), village in Central Anatolia, in the Sivriḥiṣār *ḳaḍā*, *wilāyet* of Eskişehir, 14 kms. south of Sivriḥiṣār, having only 363 inhabitants in 1935. Ruins of Perssinûs in the neighbourhood with a Roman temple to Cybele.

Bibliography: Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 473-479; G. Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, 198 ff.; *I.A*. ii, 268 f. (by Besim Darkot).

(Fr. Taeschner)

BĀLĀ ḤIṢĀR, a general term applied, in Pākistān and Afghānistān, to citadels built on archaeological mounds and often commanding a panoramic view of the settlement, whether town, city or village, around. Among the most famous are the fort at Pēshāwar (Pākistān) and that in Kābul, the capital of Afghānistān.

The fort at Pēshāwar, lying on the northern outskirts of the present city and covering an area of 44,000 sq. yds., with double thick walls and strong bastions, is of considerable antiquity. It was first built on the present site in 925/1519 by Bābur during his incursions into India through the Khyber Pass. It served as a halting-place for the Mughal Emperors on their way to and from Kābul, where another fort of the same name already existed. Soon after its construction by Bābur the fort was destroyed by the neighbouring wild Afghan tribes, who considered it a threat to their age-long freedom. It was, however, rebuilt by Humāyūn in 960/1553 under the supervision of Pahlawān Dōst, the Superintendent of Lands, and Sikandar Khān Uzbeg was appointed as its commander. It was, the same year, attacked by the Dalazak Afghāns but they were repulsed by Sikandar Khān. In 994/1586, during the reign of Akbar, it was the scene of a great fire which consumed a huge quantity of merchandise. It remained in the possession of the Mughals till 1079/1668 when it was captured by the Afghāns under Aymal Khān, but they were soon expelled by the Imperial forces and the fort was regarrisoned.

It was captured by Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*] in 1151/1738 but on his death in 1160/1747 the Sadōzaīs, under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], became its master. His son Tīmūr Shāh made the fort his place of residence. When the Sikhs captured Pēshāwar in 1240/1824 the fort was dismantled and the rubble was sold. Harī Singh Nalwa, the Sikh general, realising its strategic importance rebuilt, it in 1834 with cob and mud and named it Sumērgarh. In 1848 the British occupied Pēshāwar and constructed a stronghold in its place. It is now garrisoned by Pākistān troops.

Bibliography: *Memoirs of Babur*, Eng. trans. Leyden and Erskine, London 1831, i, 254, ii, 111, 158-60; W. Erskine, *History of India under Babur and Humayun*, London 1854, ii 420-1; *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. trans. Blochmann, i 608, iii 528; 725-33, 750, 800, 802, 812, 850, 867, 956-57, 984; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Eng. trans. B. De, Calcutta 1936, ii 130, 602; al-Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Eng. trans., Calcutta 1924, ii 366; Gōpāl Dās, *Tāʾrīkh-i Pēshāwar* (in Urdu), Lahore c. 1870, 53, 153; *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, Lahore, 1897-8, 56-7, 364-65; S. M. Jafar, *Peshawar: Past and Present*, Peshawar 1946, 95-102.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BAʿLABAKK, a small town in inland Lebanon, situated at about 3,700 ft. on the edge of the high plain of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*], surrounded by an oasis of gardens watered by the large spring of Raʾs al-ʿAyn, which emerges at the foot of the Anti-Lebanon range. The freshness of its climate and the beauty of its vegetation have won the admiration of Arab authors, who have always extolled its *ghūṭa* as reminiscent of that at Damascus. Various hypotheses have been made as to the etymology of its name, in which the Semitic *Baal* [see Baʿl] can be seen, but none seems entirely satisfactory.

Baʿlabakk is chiefly famous for the ancient ruins still visible on its site, which was doubtless occupied from a very early date. It was particularly flourishing at the time the locality was given the Greek name of Heliopolis, when the vogue of the cult there celebrated of the Heliopolitan trinity (Zeus, Aphrodit and Hermes, avatars of Syrian gods) led to the construction of imposing sanctuaries, to be attributed in the Middle Ages to the strength of Solomon. Even today the main group of monuments impresses us with its two temples of colossal dimensions, its two courtyards preceded by large gateways and its perimeter with its massive foundations. During the Arab period these buildings were made into a strong fortress, the lay-out of which was established by the German archeological expedition of 1900-1904, but certain parts of this have since been sacrificed in restoring the earlier condition of the site or in carrying out new excavations.

Commanding both the surrounding districts and the main road from Damascus to Ḥimṣ, the town of Baʿlabakk had an eventful history. Its importance was chiefly military from the time when Christianity dealt the prosperity of its sanctuaries a mortal blow, and the Arabs, after their conquest, began to use its "acropolis" as a citadel or seat of the master of the region. In 16/637 the Muslims commanded by Abū ʿUbayda annexed it after the conquest of Damascus and just before conquering Ḥimṣ, under the terms of

a treaty we know of from al-Balādhurī, and it later became part of the Umayyad *djund* of Damascus, then passed into ʿAbbāsid control until the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz installed a governor in 361/972. Temporarily occupied by the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskès in 363/974, and by the prince of Aleppo, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, in 416/1025, it fell into the hands of the Saldjūḳid Tutush and his sons in 468/1075, and during the domestic struggles of the Būrid period belonged in turn to the governor Gumushtakīn, Būrī and his son Muḥammad, then finally to the celebrated Onor, from whom Zenkī seized it for a time and entrusted it to Ayyūb, the future father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in reconquering it in 549/1154, and had to rebuild its walls after the devastation caused by the terrible earthquake of 565/1170. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in his turn seized the fortress from his old master's successors, in 570/1174, and gave it in fee successively to various members of his court or family, notably to his grand-nephew al-Malik al-Amdjad Bahrām-shāh, who held it from 578/1182 until 627/1230, in which year it was seized from him by al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the master of Damascus. After various Ayyūbids had again contended for its possession, it was conquered by the Mongols before passing into Egyptian control in 658/1260. Then, under the Mamlūks, it became the chief town of an area in the third northern border district of the province of Damascus, and its governor, whose authority did not extend over the entire Biḳāʿ, was in a position of direct dependance on the *naʾib* of Syria, who himself confirmed his appointment. The town seems to have become less important from that time onward, and the main Mamlūk mail routes, Damascus-Ḥimṣ and Damascus-Tripoli, thenceforward passed it by in favour of the Ḳalamūn route, as the commercial roads of the modern era were also later to do. In 922/1516 it passed under Ottoman control, together with the whole of Syria, and remained in the hands of petty rulers, notably of the Harfush family, until the Porte set up a regular administration in 1850.

The struggles for its possession in the Būrid, Zengid and Ayyūbid periods, when to hold the town seems to have been the pre-requisite for control of southern Syria, explain why Arab building there consisted chiefly in continually improving a system of defences set up mainly to fill the original gap at the south-west corner, between the *podia* of the two ancient temples. Of the four periods of work which have been distinguished, the second is characterised by a shifting of the fortified entrance from the west side to the south, and can be dated either in the reign of Muḥammad b. Būrī, who effectively defended Baʿlabakk, or in that of Zenkī, who according to inscriptions and written documents took measures to improve the state of the citadel. In the reign of Bahrām-shāh new towers reinforced the new facade. Lastly the time of Ḳalāʾūn was marked by work in a more advanced style, in particular the massive tower at the south-east corner of the small temple and the barbican round the old south gate.

Inscriptions, studied in conjunction with the archeological remains, allow us to date with certainty various features of an ensemble which must be considered among the most interesting relics of Arab military architecture of mediaeval Syria. From the same period date also the small mosque at Raʾs al-ʿAyn and notably the large mosque in the town, built not far from the citadel with materials from an older building, and characterised by its prayer hall with its four naves and its imposing minaret. Both mosques are inscribed with texts from Mamlūk decrees. Other monuments which have now disappeared, *madrasas*, *ribāṭs*, hospices, convents and ḥadīth schools, are mentioned in earlier descriptions of the town.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

AL-BALĀDHURĪ, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Djābir b. Dāwūd, one of the greatest Arabic historians of the 3rd/9th century. Little is known of his life. Neither the year of his birth nor that of his death is directly attested. From the dates of his teachers, it is evident that he cannot have been born later than the beginning of the second decade of the 9th century A.D.; for the date of his death, Muslim authors suggest, as the latest and most likely date, ca. 892 A.D. As he is said to have been a translator from the Persian, Persian origin has been arbitrarily assumed for him, but already his grandfather was a secretary in the service of al-Khaṣīb in Egypt Djahshiyārī, fol. 162a). He probably was born, and certainly spent most of his life, in Baghdād and its environs. His studies led him to Damascus, Emesa, and Antioch, and in ʿIrāḳ he studied, among others, with such famous historians as al-Madāʾinī, Ibn Saʿd, and Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī. He was a boon companion of al-Mutawakkil; his influence at the court appears to have continued under al-Mustaʿīn, but his fortunes declined sharply under al-Muʿtamid. The statement that he was a tutor of the poet, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, appears to be the result of a confusion of our historian with the grammarian, Thaʿlab, and the story that he died mentally deranged through inadvertent use of *balādhur* (*Semecarpus Anacardium L.*, marking-nut), a drug believed beneficial for one's mind and memory, is meant to refer not to him but to his grandfather, but even so, it constitutes a puzzle for which no satisfactory explanation is offered by the sources.

The two great historical works that have survived have won general acclaim for al-Balādhurī's reliability and critical spirit.

1. His *History of the Muslim Conquests* (*Futūḥ al-Buldān*) is the short version of a more comprehensive work on the same subject. The work begins with the wars of Muḥammad, followed by accounts of the *ridda*, the conquests of Syria, the Djazīra, Armenia,

Egypt, and the Maghrib, and lastly, the occupation of ʿIrāḳ and Persia. Remarks of importance for the history of culture and social conditions are interwoven with the historical narrative; for instance, al-Balādhurī discusses the change from Greek and Persian to Arabic as the official language in government offices, the quarrel with Byzantium concerning the use of Muslim religious formulas at the head of letters originating in Egypt, questions of taxation, the use of signet-rings, coinage and currency, and the history of the Arabic script. The work, one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Arab conquests, was edited by M. J. de Goeje, *Liber expugnationis regionum*, Leiden 1863-66, and reprinted repeatedly later on. English translation by P. K. Hitti and F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, New York 1916 and 1924; German translation (continued to p. 239 of de Goeje's edition) by O. Rescher, Leipzig 1917-23.

2. His *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, a very large work which was never completed, is genealogically arranged and begins with the life of the Prophet and the biographies of his kinsmen. The ʿAbbāsids follow the ʿAlids. The ʿAbd Shams, among whom the Umayyads claim a disproportionate amount of space, follow the Banū Hāshim. Next, the rest of the Ḳuraysh and other divisions of the Muḍar are dealt with. The Ḳays, in particular the Thaḳīf, occupy the closing portion of the work; the last biography of any size is that devoted to al-Ḥadjdjādj. Though a genealogical work in outward form, the *Ansāb* are really *ṭabaḳāt* in the style of Ibn Saʿd, arranged genealogically. This method of arrangement is not rigidly adhered to; for the most important events of the reigns of individual rulers are always added to the corresponding chapters. The *Ansāb* thus are one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Khawāridj, A portion of the work was discovered in an anonymous MS. and identified and edited by W. Ahlwardt. *Anonyme arabische Chronik, Bd. XI*, Leipzig 1883. A complete MS. of the work was discovered by C. H. Becker in Istanbul, MS. ʿAshīr Efendi 597-98 (table of contents by M. Hamidullah, in *Bull. d'Ét. Or.* xiv, Damascus 1954, 197-211). Of the edition of the work sponsored by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Vol. ivB (ed. M. Schlössinger, 1938-40) and Vol. v (ed. S.D. Goitein, 1936, with an important introduction) have been published. O. Pinto and G. Levi Della Vida have translated *Il Califfo Muʿâwiya I secondo il "Kitâb Ansâb al-Ašrâf"*, Rome 1938. Cf. also F. Gabrieli, *La Rivolta dei Muhallabiti nel ʿIrâq e il nuovo Balâdurî*, in *Rendiconti, R. Accad. dei Lincei, Cl. sc. mor., stor. e ilol.*, vi, 14, 1938, 199-236.

In spite of all al-Balādhurī's merits, his value as a historical source has been occasionally overestimated in certain respects. It is not correct to say that he always gives the original texts, which later writers embellished and expanded; it may be with much more truth presumed, from the agreement of essential portions of his works with later more detailed works, that al-Balādhurī abridged the material at his disposal in a number of cases, though he often remained faithful to his sources. Al-Balādhurī's style aims at conciseness at the expense, at times, of the artistic effect. We seldom meet with fairly long stories, though they do occur. In the *Futūḥ*, al-Balādhurī continued the old method of dividing up the historical narrative and presenting it in separate articles, and in the *Ansāb*, he attempted to combine the material of the books of classes (Ibn Saʿd) and of the older chronicles (Ibn Isḥāḳ, Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madāʾinī), with a third sort of style, namely, the genealogical literature (Ibn al-Kalbī).

Bibliography: The oldest biographical source is the historian of Baghdād, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (not preserved). ʿUbayd Allāh and all the other old Arabic sources were utilised by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 127-32; some additional references can be found in the late compilation published in the introduction of de Goeje's edition of the *Futūḥ*. Cf. Brockelmann, I, 147 f.; S I, 216.

(C. H. BECKER-[F. ROSENTHAL])

BALADIYYA, municipality, the term used in Turkish (*belediye*), Arabic, and other Islamic languages, to denote modern municipal institutions of European type, as against earlier Islamic forms of urban organisation [see MADĪNA]. The term, like so many modern Islamic neologisms and the innovations they express, first appeared in Turkey, where Western-style municipal institutions and services were introduced as part of the general reform programme of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*].

(1) TURKEY.

The first approaches towards modern municipal administration seems to have been made by Sultan Maḥmūd II, among the reforms following the destruction of the Janissaries. In 1242/1827 an inspectorate of *iḥtisāb* (*Iḥtisāb Neẓāreti*) was set up, which centralised certain duties, connected with the inspection of markets, weights and measures, etc., hitherto performed by members of the ʿUlamāʾ class (see MUḤTASIB); in 1245/1829, with the same general aims of centralising control and ending the laxness of the Imāms (in Luṭfī's words: *"we-imāmlarïñ musāmaḥa edememesi ičün"*), the system of headmen (*Mukhtār* [*q.v.*]) was introduced in the town districts of Istanbul. Until then, there had been headmen in villages (*Kōy Ketkhudāsï* in Muslim villages, *Kodja bashï* among the Christians), but not in towns, where the duties of keeping the registers of the male population and recording movements, transfers and the like were the responsibility of the ḳāḍīs and their deputies, or the Imāms. Under the edict of 1245/1829, these duties were transferred to the *mukhtārs*, of whom two, first and second, were to be appointed to every town quarter (*maḥalle*). Luṭfī tells us that this innovation aroused some comment among the populace of Istanbul, who said: "Village headmen have been set up in the quarters of the town. Next thing we shall have *sālyāne* registers!" (Luṭfī, ii, 173). A little later, the mukhtār was reinforced by committee of elders (*Ikhtiyār Heyʾeti*) of 3-5 persons; in time, this system was extended to other cities of the Empire.

In 1247/1831 the office of Commissioner of the City (*Shehremīni* [*q.v.*]) which had existed since the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, was abolished; some of its functions, relating to the care of public buildings, were transferred to the newly established Directorate of Buildings of the Domain (*Ebniye-i Khāṣṣa*), (Luṭfī, iii, 165; *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye* i, 980 and 1365, quoting the decree in the official gazette, *Taḳwīm-i Waḳāʾiʿ* vii, 1247, no. 2).

The next phase began in the year 1271/1854, when two changes were initiated. The first of these was the creation of a new *Shehremānet* for Istanbul. Despite the name, this bore little resemblance to the earlier institution; it was rather an adaptation of the French *préfecture de la ville* and was chiefly concerned with the supervision of the markets, the control of prices, etc. The prefect was to be assisted by a City

Council (*Shehir Medjlisi*) drawn from the guilds and merchants. The *Iḥtisāb Neẓāreti* was abolished and its duties handed over to the prefecture. This change in nomenclature seems to have had little immediate effect, and complaints were made about official neglect of municipal problems. A few months later, therefore, another decision was taken by the High Council of Reform (*Medjlis-i ʿĀlī-i-Tanẓīmāt*), to establish a municipal commission (*Intiẓām-i Shehir Komisyonu*). A leading spirit in the commission was Antoine Allion, a member of a rich French banking family that had settled in Turkey at the time of the French Revolution. The other members were drawn chiefly from the local Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities, together with some Muslim Turks, including the *Ḥekimbashī* Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi, one of the first graduates of Sultan Maḥmūd's medical school. The Commission was instructed to report on European municipal organisation, rules and procedures, and to make recommendations to the Sublime Porte.

A number of factors had combined to induce the Ottoman government to take these steps. European financial and commercial interests in Istanbul had been growing steadily, and a new quarter was developing in Galata and Beyoghlu (Pera), with buildings, apartment houses, shops, and hotels, in European style, and with increasing numbers of horse-drawn carriages of various kinds (see ARABA). All this created a demand, which was put forward by the European residents, with the support of the Europeanised elements among the local population, for proper roads and pavements, street-cleaning and street-lighting, sewers and water-pipes. The presence in Istanbul of large allied contingents from the West during the Crimean War gave a new impetus and a new urgency to these demands, and in the new phase of reform that began in 1854 some attention was given to the problems of municipal organisation and services in the capital. A good example of the attitude of the Turkish reformers to these questions will be found in an article, published in the newspaper *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, by the poet and publicist Ibrāhīm Shināsī [*q.v.*] on the lighting and cleaning of the streets of Istanbul (reprinted in Abū 'l-Ḍiyā [Ebuzziya] Tewfīḳ, *Numūne-i Edebiyyāt-i ʿOthmāniyye*, [1st ed. Istanbul 1296/1878], 3rd ed. Istanbul 1306, 227-235.

The record of the proceedings of the High Council of Reform on these matters reflect clearly the various preoccupations of the Ottoman government. The creation of a city prefecture, under the recently created Ministry of Commerce, was in part an attempt to meet a real need by installing the relevant European apparatus. There was also the usual desire to impress Western obsevers.

The Commission sat for four years, and reported to the High Council of Reform. Its chief recommendations were for the construction of pavements, sewers, and water-pipes, regular street-cleaning, street-lighting, the widening of the streets where possible, the organisation of separate municipal finances, the imposition of a tax for municipal purposes, and the appointment of the commission to apply municipal laws and regulations (*maḍbaṭa* of 27 Safar 1274/17 Oct. 1857, in *Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1402-3).

In 1274/1857 the High Council decided to accept these recommendations, but to limit their application for the time being to an experimental municipality, to be established in Beyoghlu and Galata. This district, though the first to be organised, was officially named the sixth district (*altïndjï dāʾire*), possibly, as ʿOthmān Nūrī suggests (*Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1415, n. 93), because the sixth *arrondissement* of Paris was believed to be the most advanced of that city. The reasons for this step are set forth in a *maḍbaṭa* of 21 Rabīʿ I 1274/9 Oct. 1857 (*Medj. Um. Bel.* i, 1416-8). Municipal services and improvements were badly needed, and should be provided; the cost should not fall upon the state treasury, but should be met by a special levy from the townspeople who would benefit. It would be excessive and impracticable to apply the new system to the whole of Istanbul at once, and it was therefore decided to make a start with the sixth district, consisting of Beyoghlu and Galata, where there were numerous properties and fine buildings, and where the inhabitants were acquainted with the practice of other countries and were willing to accept the expense of municipal institutions. When the merits of these institutions had been demonstrated by this example and had been generally understood and recognised, a suitable occasion would be found to apply them generally. The *maḍbaṭa* refers explicitly to the large number of foreign establishments and the preponderance of foreign residents in the district.

The constitution and functions of the municipality of the sixth distict, also known as the model district (*numūne dāʾiresi*) were laid down in an *irāde* of 24 Shawwāl 1274/7 July 1858. The Municipal Council was to consist of a Chairman and twelve members, all appointed by Imperial *irāde*, the Chairman indefinitely, the others for three years. The Council would elect two of its members as vice-Chairmen and one as treasurer. All were to be unpaid. The permanent officials were to be an assistant to the Chairman, a Secretary-General, two interpreter-secretaries, a civil engineer, and an architect. All these were to be appointed by the Council and receive salaries. The terms of reference of the Council were defined generally as "all that concerns cleanliness and public amenities (*neḍāfet we nüzhet-i ʿumūmiyye*)", and more specifically as roads and streets, sewers, pavements, street-lamps, sweeping and watering the streets, widening and straightening the streets, water-supply, gas, inspection and condemnation of ruinous and dangerous buildings, inspection and control of food supplies, control of prices, inspection of weights and measures, supervision of public places such as theatres, markets, hotels and restaurants, schools, dance-halls, coffee houses, taverns, etc. The Commission was further given the right to assess, impose, and collect rates and taxes, and raise loans, within limits laid down, and also to expropriate property in certain circumstances. The Chairman was to submit his budget to the Commission for discussion and inspection, and then to the Sublime Porte for ratification, without which it would not be valid.

From this it will be seen that the measures of 1271-4/1854-8, while accepting and providing for the discharge of certain new responsibilities in relation to the town, hardly represent an approach to the European conception of municipal institutions. There is still no recognition of the city as a corporate person. for such an idea remained alien to Islamic conceptions of law and government; nor was there any suggestion of election or representation. What was created was a new kind of administrative agency, appointed by and responsible to the sovereign power, but with specified and limited tasks and with a measure of budgetary autonomy. Such special commissions were by no means new in Ottoman administration (see EMIN). The novelty lay in the kind of function entrusted to it.

The municipal commission of the model sixth district seems to have done good work. Among other achievements, it made a land survey of the district, laid out two municipal parks, opened two hospitals, and introduced many improvements for the health, security and convenience of the residents. All of which did not prevent the official historiographer Luṭfī Efendi from condemning it in the most scathing terms (cited by ʿOth̲mān Nūrī in *Şehircilik*, 127). The movement towards the introduction and extension of Western-style municipal services continued, however. In 1285/1868 a municipal code of regulations (*belediyye niẓāmnāmesi*) was issued, the intention of which was to extend the commission system to the rest of the 14 districts of Istanbul. Each was to have a municipal committee of 8-12 members, who would choose one of themselves as Chairman. A general assembly for all Istanbul (*D̲j̲emʿiyyet-i ʿUmūmiyye*) of 56 members was to be formed, consisting of 3 delegates from each district, as well as a Council of the Prefecture (*Med̲j̲lis-i Emānet*) of six persons, appointed and paid by the Imperial government. These two bodies were to function under the Prefect (*S̲h̲ehremīni*), who was to remain a government official. The elaborate provisions of this code seem to have remained a dead letter until 1293-4/1876-7 when, under the impetus of the constitutional movement, new codes were issued for the capital and for provincial towns. The Istanbul code of 1293/1876 was in effect a rearrangement of the earlier one, with a few changes, the most important of which were the increase in the number of districts from 14 to 20, and the change in the property qualification of members from an annual income of 5,000 piastres to an annual tax payment of 250 piastres. Perhaps the most significant innovation in the new code was less in its provisions than in the fact that it was promulgated, not by the Sublime Porte, but by the short-lived Ottoman parliament. However, the wars and crises that followed caused it to be as ineffectual as its predecessors. (An exception was the Princes Islands, where a seventh district was constituted: Saʿīd Pasha, *K̲h̲āṭirāt*, Istanbul 1328, i, 5; *Med̲j̲. Um. Bel.* i, 1457). Finally, in 1296/1878, a new and more realistic version was published, which in time was put into operation. This divided the city into ten municipal districts. The elaborate apparatus of councils and committees provided by the earlier codes was abolished. What was left was an appointed Council of Prefecture to assist the Prefect, and a government-appointed director (*müdür*) for each of the 10 districts. This system remained in force until the revolution of 1324/1908.

In the provinces the policies of the reformers were much the same. The earlier authority of the *aʿyān* and the *S̲h̲ehir ketk̲h̲udasī* [*qq.v.*] had been abolished. The *muk̲h̲tār* system, inaugurated by Maḥmūd II, was introduced into the urban districts of most of the larger towns, and the *wilāyet* law of 1281/1864 laid down regulations for their election (chapters iv and v). In the *wilāyet* law of 1287/1870, provision was made for the establishment of municipal councils in provincial cities, along the same general lines as in the code for Istanbul. There is no evidence that anything much was done about this. Some attempt, however, seems to have been made to implement parts of the provincial municipal code (*wilāyāt belediyye ḳānūnu*) of 1294/1877. According to the law, every town was to have a municipal council, consisting of 6 to 12 members, according to the population. They were to sit for four years, with elections every two years to choose half the members. The doctor, engineer, and veterinary surgeon of the region were *ex officio* advisory members. Membership was restricted to those paying 100 piastres a year in tax. One of the members of the Council became mayor (*belediyye reisi*), not by election but by government appointment. The budget and estimates were to be approved by a municipal assembly (*D̲j̲emʿiyyet-i Belediyye*) meeting twice yearly for this purpose. This assembly was responsible to the General Council of the province (*Med̲j̲lis-i ʿUmūmī-i Wilāyet*) (*Med̲j̲. Um. Bel.* i, 1664 ff.).

After the Young Turk Revolution a new attempt was made to introduce democratic municipal institutions. The law of 1293/1876, with some amendments, was restored, and a serious attempt made to put it into effect. The experiment was not very successful. The personnel of the district committees, though enthusiastic, were inexperienced, and there was little co-operation between districts for common purposes. In 1328/1912 a new law finally abolished this system. In its place a single Istanbul municipality, called *S̲h̲ehremānet*, was established, with nine district branch offices (*S̲h̲uʿbe*), each directed by a government official. The Prefect was assisted by a 54 man general assembly, to which 6 delegates were elected from each of the nine districts. In this as in so many other respects, the new régime was returning to a more centralised system of government. Despite many difficulties, some important progress was made by the Young Turks in improving the amenities of Istanbul. A new drainage system was planned and constructed, improvements were in policing and fire-prevention, and the famous packs of dogs that had for long infested the Turkish capital were finally removed.

The first municipal measure of the republican government was a law of 16 Febr. 1924, setting up a prefecture (*S̲h̲ehremānet*) in Ankara (*Ḳawānīn Med̲j̲mūʿasī* ii, 218). The first prefect was Ali Haydar, and he was assisted by a general assembly of 24 members. The constitution followed broadly that of Istanbul, but with some changes, the general purport of which was to restrict the autonomy of the municipality in financial and security matters and place it more strictly under the control of the Ministry of the Interior.

On 3 April 1930, a new law of municipalities was passed (*Resmi Gazete* 1471, 1580; *OM*, 1930, 551). The old names of *S̲h̲ehremānet* and *S̲h̲ehremīnī* were abolished, and replaced by *Belediye* and *Belediye reisi*, usually translated mayor. Under Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the offices of Prefect and Governor of Istanbul had in fact been exercised by the same person. The Young Turks, by a law of 1325/1909, had formally separated the prefecture from the governorship. The new law laid down that in Istanbul, though not elsewhere, the office of mayor should be combined with that of Vali, the *vilayet* and *belediye* administrations, however, remaining separate. Under the law, municipalities, like villages, have corporate legal identity and legally defined boundaries. The 165 articles of the law provided a systematic code of rules for the election and functioning of municipal bodies, and with some modifications remained in force to the present day. Under these rules, municipalities are administered by a Mayor, a Permanent Commission, and a Municipal Council. The Mayor is elected by the Council, which itself is elected directly by universal suffrage for a term of four years. Towns with from 2,000 to 20,000 inhabitants are called *kasaba*, those with more than 20,000 are called *şehir*. The size of the

Council depends on the number of inhabitants, the minimum being 12 members, for fewer than 3,000 inhabitants. The Council meets three times a year, at the beginning of February, April and November. At other times it is replaced by a permanent commission (*daimi encümen*) consisting of three of its own members reinforced by the permanent officials of the municipality. The functions of the municipality include public health (hospitals, dispensaries, preventive medecine, sanitary and food inspections, etc.), public services (trams, buses, gas, electricity), town planning and engineering (roads and bridges within the town, public parks and gardens, street-lighting and cleaning, sewage, water-supply, etc.); in times of shortage, it is also entrusted with the distribution of commodities in short supply. It has its own enforcement agency (*zabita*). The municipality imposes taxes and has its own budget; its permanent staff, however, are civil servants.

Bibliography: the richest collection of material for the history of municipal institutions in Turkey will be found in ʿOth̲mān Nūrī (= Osman Ergin), *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1330-1338; the first volume contains an elaborately documented history of municipal institutions in Islam and in Turkey, the second reproduces the texts of Ottoman laws and edicts on municipal matters, the remaining three deal with specific topics such as municipal contracts and privileges, health, public works, etc. For a brief general introduction to the subject by the same author, see Osman Ergin, *Türkiyede Şehirciliğin Tarihî Inkişafi*, Istanbul 1936. The texts of laws relating to municipal matters will be found in the *Destūr*, Istanbul 1872-1928, in the *Ḳawānin Medjmūʿasi* and *Kanunlar Dergisi* (1920 ff.), and in the *Resmi Gazete*. (French translations in G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905-6; Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, Constantinople 1874-8; *La Législation turque*, Istanbul 1923 ff.). Descriptions of the organisation of the *S̲h̲ehremānet* and the provincial municipalities will be found in the general and provincial yearbooks (*sālnāme*) of the Ottoman Empire, the last of which appeared in 1328/1912. On the municipal laws of the republic see *La Vie Juridique des Peuples*, vii, *Turquie*, Paris 1939, 57 ff; Albert Gorvine, *An Outline of Turkish Provincial and local Government*, Ankara 1956. (B. Lewis)

(2) Arab East.

Town councils of the earlier period of reform, such as the *madjlis Dimas̲h̲ḳ* which Ibrāhīm Pasha established during the Egyptian occupation of Syria, 1832-40 (A. J. Rustum, *al-Maḥfūẓāt al-Malakiyya al-Miṣriyya: Bayān bi-Wat̲h̲āʾiḳ al-S̲h̲ām* Beirut 1940-43), and a council appointed by Nūr al-Dīn Pas̲h̲a, a reforming *muḥāfiẓ*, at Sawākin in 1854 (J. Hamilton, *Sinai*, 1857), were unrelated to any legislative policy and were short-lived.

The Ottoman municipal legislation of 1281-94/1864-77 was applied throughout the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire except in certain frontier regions and in Egypt where municipal development was following a different course. The new municipalities flourished where the *wālī* of the province was sympathetic to the *tanẓīmāt*, and languished where he was not. Thus, under the guidance of Aḥmad Midḥat Pas̲h̲a, Bag̲h̲dād in 1869-72 and Damascus in 1878-80 experienced an intensive if brief period of urban development involving the demolition of city walls, re-alignment of streets and construction of covered markets and other public buildings. Participation of public-spirited local notables furthered urban reform. Mosul under its seigniorial families has had a continuous municipal history since 1869. Sectarianism hindered the smooth working of several municipalities in the communes (*nāḥiya*) of the autonomous *sandjaḳ* of Mt. Lebanon, and in Jerusalem where the complicated religious situation demanded that the chairman of the municipal council should be a Muslim. A weakness in all Ottoman provincial municipalities was the ineffectiveness of the municipal police (*belediyye čaʾus̲h̲lari*, Ar. *s̲h̲urṭat al-baladiyya*).

In spite of its shortcomings, which the consuls of the Powers were quick to report in their despatches, the Ottoman municipal organisation showed a remarkable ability to survive the disintegration of the Empire after the world war of 1914-18 when the withdrawal of Ottoman rule left a vacuum in local government in the Arab lands. To preserve continuity during the transitional period, the British in ʿIrāḳ, Palestine and Transjordan, and the French in Syria and Lebanon, continued to administer the Ottoman municipal code for several years until they introduced changes which reflected the influence of the Mandatory Powers. In 1922 a *muḥāfiẓ* was appointed for Baghdad who was at once executive head of the *liwāʾ* of Baghdad and chairman of the city municipal council; the two offices were separated in 1923. The Ottoman Law (*wilāyāt Belediyye Ḳānūnu*) of 27 Ramaḍān 1294/1877 was not however repealed until the promulgation of Law no. 84 of 1931 (*Idārat al-baladiyyāt*). The Palestine Government did not finally break with the Ottoman system until the issue of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934. Conditions in Transjordan limited the councils to consultative functions, and the Municipalities Law of 1925 permitted the head of the municipality of the capital to be appointed from outside the municipal council, a situation existing also, and more recently, at Damascus.

In Lebanon the Ottoman Law of 1877 was replaced by a Municipal Decree of 1922 under which the minister of the interior took over the supervisory duties of the former Ottoman *wālī*. In 1924 Beirut was given special status as a capital city and an organisation based on that of Paris though, from that year until the end of the French mandate, chairman and council continued to be appointed by the minister. By Legislative Decree no. 5 of 1954 the special status of Beirut was abolished and a municipal council of twelve members, of whom half were elected, was set up. The chairman, appointed from its members, is head of the municipal legislature. the *muḥāfiẓ*, representing the state, is head of the city executive. The Syrian municipalities, including that of Damascus, are governed by a *Ḳānūn al-baladiyyāt* promulgated by Decree no. 172 of 1956.

The chairmen of the municipalities of Damascus, Beirut, Bag̲h̲dād and Ammān are styled *amin al-ʿāṣima* to emphasise their particular importance in relation to the seat of the government; elsewhere the original designation, *raʾīs al-baladiyya*, is retained. In the capitals the chairman is appointed by the council of ministers. In other municipalities he is chosen either by the municipal council or by the minister of the interior who usually has a department (*maṣlaḥa, mudīriyya*) in his ministry which supervises municipal affairs. In Egypt and the Sudan special ministries of town and rural affairs have been created.

Egypt developed its own local government tradition. Owing to the presence of the European consuls and a European merchant community, Alexandria possessed the beginnings of municipal government as early as about 1835 when a consultative *madjlis al-tanẓīm* (*conseil de l'ornato* in Levantine parlance) was formed. This was followed in 1869 by a municipality having an appointed president and a partly elected council. The Khedive Ismāʿīl and his successors witheld municipal privileges from Cairo until 1949, though municipal commissions with restricted powers had long existed in the Egyptian provinces.

An ordinance of 1901 empowered the governor-general of the Sudan to establish municipal councils, but this measure was not implemented. In 1921 a consultative council was founded in the neighbouring towns of Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North, with regional committees in each town. The formation in 1942 of the first municipal council at Port Sudan was followed in other towns. In 1945 the three regional committees at the capital were replaced by municipal councils, and a bill containing provision for further decentralisation became law in 1951.

In Arabia municipalities were established by the Ottoman Government in Madīna, Jedda, Ṭāʾif and Yanbūʿ about 1870. In Mecca the maintenance of the simple public services was divided between the ʿAyn al-Zubayda water board (*taʿmīrāt ḳomisyonu*) and a general-purposes council. These institutions had no roots in the Ḥidjāz and disappeared in the war of 1915-19. In 1926 the Saudi Goverment issued an administrative instruction providing for elected municipal councils of notables and merchants in Mecca, Madīna and Jedda, with technical management boards in each of these towns composed of the director of the municipality and his heads of department.

A municipal authority was in existence in Aden by 1855, and an Aden local authority was established in 1900, though the elective element was not admitted to the Fortress until 1947. In 1953 the Fortress township authority was reconstituted as the Aden municipality with an appointed president and an official majority on the council, but with a broadened electoral basis and control over its own budget. Baḥrayn municipalities have each a *rāʾīs madjlis al-baladiyya* appointed by the Ruler, a partly-elected council, and a permanent director (*muʿāwin, sikritayr*). Kuwayt municipality is managed by a *mūdīr* responsible to the *raʾīs al-baladiyya*, a member of the ruling family. The Arabic-speaking communities of Muṣawwaʿ and Ḥarar have taken only a small part in town management. By decree of 1893, rescinded in 1901, the Italian Government instituted a municipal board at Muṣawwaʿ with an insignificant representation of appointed natives and a narrowly limited competence. Two measures passed by the Ethiopian Government: Administrative Decree no. 1 of 1942, extended by Municipalities Proclamation no. 74 of 1945, provided for elected town councils.

Municipalities in the Arab East do not usually exercise direct control over electricity and water supply, and rarely over urban transport, undertakings which are operated either by concessionary companies, now mostly in process of nationalisation, or by boards under the authority of the central government, with or without municipal representation. Municipal councillors are chosen by direct suffrage of the electors, not by inferior councils in town wards as in two-tier systems of municipal representation. Municipalities vary in the degree of publicity in which they pursue their activities. Those in the more politically advanced centres, such as Damascus, Beirut, Baghdād, Cairo and Alexandria, disclose their budgets and explain their policies; others are less communicative. The press is excluded from council meetings, and the somewhat negative attitude of the citizens to local, in comparison with national, affairs results in relatively small polls at council elections, though the inhabitants of Palestine under British mandate, denied an active part in national affairs, frequently vented their feelings in municipal politics. Municipalities also differ in the strictness with which they enforce building restrictions and traffic control, and in the importance which they attach to welfare and public amenities. Only in Egypt have women the right to be municipal electors and to be elected on municipal councils; women municipal employees are everywhere few.

In no state is there a nation-wide local government service with its own traditions existing parallel with the national civil service. Local government is considered as a regional branch of the central government, having no juridical or real financial independence. Yet the growing wealth and technical complexity of the larger municipalities, as well as their record of administrative maturity and good government, have in practice increased their civic autonomy.

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(R. L. Hill)

(3) North Africa — (i) Tunisia

In Tunisia the first *baladiyya* appeared in the reign of Muḥammed Bey, who set up by a decree of 30 August 1858 a municipal Council to administer the affairs of the town of Tunis, composed of a president, a secretary and twelve members chosen from among the foremost people in the land, a third of whom gave up their seats each year. The chief responsibilities of this council were to do with public moneys, roads, the acquisition for the public benefit of land needed for widening roads, and the issuing of building permits. The council received its administrative authority, which was only vaguely defined, from the sovereign. The constitution of the Tunis municipal council was altered after the setting up of the French protectorate, by a decree of the bey dated 31 October 1883. Two years later a decree of 1 April 1885 promulgated a municipal charter for the whole of Tunisia, and was soon followed by another decree (10 June 1885) which determined that all municipal councillors in Tunis were to be appointed by the government, listed the matters the municipal councils were competent to deal with, and organised the administration of the country through these bodies. Two subsequent reforms have been made, one by a decree of 10 August 1938 which relaxed the rule whereby consent had to be granted for all deliberations by the municipal councils, and the other by a decree of 15 September 1945, which provided for an elected municipal council in Tunis, composed of an equal number of Tunisians and Frenchmen.

But the institution as a whole was profoundly modified by the bey's decree of 20 December 1952, which defined the commune: a collective body under public law, with civil status and financially autonomous, responsible for the conduct of municipal affairs. The deliberating body of the commune is the municipal council, elected for six years by direct suffrage by two electoral bodies, who appoint the Tunisian and the French councillors respectively. Half the members vacate their seats every three years. Of 64 communes in all, 39 appoint an equal number of Frenchmen and Tunisians to their municipal councils, the others appointing a majority of Tunisians, or Tunisians alone. The elections are held on a general basis of universal suffrage, with the proviso that Tunisian women, unlike Frenchwomen, do not have the right to vote. The municipal council holds four ordinary sessions annually. Its competence is restricted and does not extend to all the business of the commune. There is still administrative supervision centrally by the Minister of State and locally by the *Ḳāʾid*, who has now taken the place of the French civil inspector. The executive body of the commune is made up of a president appointed by decree from among the *Ḳāʾid*s other than the *Ḳāʾid* responsible for the commune concerned, and a vice-president and deputies elected by the municipal council from among its members. This arrangement preserves the earlier relationship vis-a-vis the Tunis municipal council, elected for six years. The executive body of the commune is the *Shaykh al-Madīna*, president appointed by the municipal council of the town of Tunis, and assisted by two vice-presidents, one French and one Tunisian.

Tunisia's communal organisation was changed after it became independent, under the municipal law of 14 March 1957. This new statute raised the number of communes to 94. The municipal councils are now elected directly in one ballot from a list of candidates, for three years, the electors being Tunisians of both sexes aged twenty and over. The minimum age for candidates is 25. Frenchmen can no longer be members of the municipal councils, but the law provides that Frenchmen and foreigners who have the right to vote may be appointed by the Tunisian government, which will fix the number of such persons for each commune.

Administrative supervision is exercised by the Minister of the Interior, and by the governors centrally and locally.

Two other important innovations must be mentioned: the president and deputies are now elected by the council. But the president of the commune of Tunis is still appointed by decree of the Prime Minister, the president of the council, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior. On the other hand the municipal councils now deal with all the business of the commune. (Ch. Samaran)

(3) North Africa — (ii) Morocco

Before 1912 there were no municipalities nor municipal life in Morocco in the sense these words have had in some European countries since the Middle Ages, a sense inherited from Roman tradition. The towns had no finances of their own; the expense of public services was met in large measure by the revenue of religious foundations or *ḥubūs*, and building or improvements were dependent on the good will of the prince, who would levy the required sums on the public treasury. Nor were there any representative assemblies of citizens; the governor or *ʿāmil* held his power directly from the sultan, and the *muḥtasib* was not "the merchants' provost", as is often stated, as they did not elect him. A wise governor would take the advice of prominent people in his area, but was not bound to do so.

The first modern municipal body set up by the French Protectorate was that of Fez (*al-madjlis al-baladī*), instituted by the *dahir* of 2 September 1912. It comprised a council of fifteen members with right of vote, seven officials appointed on special grounds and eight other prominent men elected for two years. This organisation survived until the municipal charter of 1917.

A *dahir* of 1 April 1913 set up "municipal commissions in the ports of the Sharīfian empire". It was recapitulated and clarified by the *dahir* of 8 April 1917. Nineteen towns were given the status of municipalities (1,822,746 inhabitants according to the census of 1951-52). The *dahir* determines the municipal authorities: the pasha or governor, still appointed by the central authority, and under the direction of a senior municipal services official, then from 1947 of an urban affairs delegate; and a municipal commission with right of discussion only, appointed and not elected, and made up of one French and two Moroccan sections (one Muslim, one Jewish). The municipalities provide services under the direction of the Head of municipal services: administrative, public works, sanitary and fiscal. They have budgets drawn from their own resources (direct and indirect taxes, revenues from land and excise, a share in the profits from services given).

Casablanca, like Fez, was given a special organisation, but only in 1922. The municipal commission, though still appointed, now had power to vote, and the French section now elected a French vice-president with special powers.

The system of municipalities was reformed in 1953 by the *dahir* of 18 September, which abolished the special organisations at Fez and Casablanca. The

main change it introduces is to set up elected, not appointed, municipal commissions, still of Moroccans and Frenchmen equally. The commission manages the affairs of the city, though approval of its decisions by the central supervising authority is required.

The administrative provisions of this statute have been given effect, but not those relating to elections. This was prevented by the political crisis of 1953. The old appointed commissions remained, and were dissolved when Morocco became independent.

The government of independent Morocco has made no change in the legislation on municipalities. Only French control and the commissions have gone, naturally enough. A new representative system is being prepared. It will relate not only to the towns, but envisages the setting up throughout the country of rural communes which would replace the old tribes or divisions of tribes, and would be run by elected councils. At the time of writing this law has not yet been promulgated. It seems to be inspired in large measure by the *dahir* of 6 July 1951, which set up elected "*dj̲amāʿas*" with power of vote, usually within the framework of the tribe or tribal division.

In Algeria, the municipal organisation reproduces, in the towns and villages, the system in force in France. The old "mixed communes" administered by officials appointed by the government and subordinate to the sub-prefects have everywhere been replaced by "communes with full powers".

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(4) Persia

In the 19th and early 20th century the chief city official after the governor was the *beglerbegī*; under him were the *dārūg̲h̲a* and *kalāntar*; and over each of the quarters in the larger cities was a *kadk̲h̲udā*. In the bazaar the craft guilds enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy in internal affairs. The streets of the city were narrow, mostly unpaved, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, and unlit at night. There was, however, little demand for municipal reform and even after the grant of the constitution in 1906 scant attention was paid to the establishment of municipalities on modern lines. A Municipal Law was passed on 20 Rabīʿ II 1325/2 June 1907 but remained largely in abeyance owing to the fact that inadequate financial provisions had been made for municipal development. In 1919 during the premiership of Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāʾī a commission was set up to evolve a scheme for a municipality for Tehran on modern lines but proved abortive (J. M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia*, London 1922, 240). In 1922 Dr. Ryan, an American, was engaged as municipal adviser to Tehran; he died in 1923 and was not replaced (A. C. Millspaugh, *The American Task in Persia*, New York and London 1925, 21, 212). During the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh (1925-41) considerable development took place in municipal affairs, and by 1927-8 there were some 134 municipalities in existence. By the Municipal Law of 1309 P./1930 the head of the municipality (*raʾīs-i idāra-i baladiyya*) was designated by the Ministry of the Interior. He was responsible for the execution of projects for municipal development and municipal administration; his duties included the supervision of weights and measures, control of the guilds, and the regulation of food supplies, prices and rents. The law also provided for an elected municipal council of 6-12 members. Its term of office was two years; its duties were to supervise the activities of the municipality, approve the municipal budget, and propose through the head of the municipality to the Ministry of the Interior the levy of municipal dues. Much progress was made in the field of town planning under Riḍā S̲h̲āh but the high degree of centralisation and the close control of the Ministry of the Interior over municipal affairs meant that the local communities had little real responsibility for or control over municipal affairs. In 1328 P./1949 new legislation increased the size of the municipal council so that it was composed of 6-30 members and extended its term of office to four years. Its main functions were unchanged but its powers were somewhat increased. The head of the municipality was appointed by the Ministry of the Interior from among three candidates submitted by the council; he was dismissed in the event of the municipal council passing a vote of no confidence in him. The increase in the power of the municipal council was, however, offset by the fact that in the event of a disagreement between the governor-general and the municipal council the former could have recourse to the Ministry of the Interior whose decision in such a case was final. Subsequently modifications were made in the position of the municipality and the municipal council by Administrative Orders (*lāyiḥa-i ḳānūnī*) dated 11 Ābān 1331 P./1952 and 25 K̲h̲urdād 1332 P./1953 issued during the premiership of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ, and the Law of 11 Tīr 1334 P./1955. In some respects the position of the municipal council was strengthened, but its freedom of action was limited by the fact that its dissolution could in certain circumstances be demanded by the Ministry of the Interior; in the event of there being no municipal council the Ministry of the Interior was deemed the council's successor. Under the Second Seven-Year Plan Law, approved in March 1956, Persia was divided into three areas for municipal development, for each of which a firm of consultants was allotted responsibility (F. C. Mason, *Iran, Economic and Commercial Conditions in Iran, August* 1957, HMSO 1957, 74-5). The *baladiyya* became known during the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh as the *s̲h̲ahrdārī* and the *raʾīs-i baladiyya* as the *s̲h̲ahrdār*.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

(5) India

The indigenous village communities of India controlled by village councils or *pančāyats* represented a form of local self-government but they had practically ceased to function during the anarchy accompanying the decline of the Mughal empire. Albuquerque, the Governor of the Portuguese possessions in India between 1509 and 1515, had retained the existing village communities in his administration of Goa. In 1674 Gerald Aungier had also made use of the ancient *pančāyats* in Bombay. To a certain extent the *pančāyat* system had survived in the territories of the Maratha Peshwa and traces were discernible elsewhere. This led Mountstuart Elphinstone in Bombay and Thomas Munro in Madras to advocate the preservation of these village councils where possible. Their representations however were little attended to and the institutions of local self-government introduced by the British in the middle of the nineteenth century were of a foreign type. Until the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1919 they resembled the French rather than the British system, for the district officer of British India like, the French prefect of a department, rigorously controlled the provincial authorities.

There was far too much official interference and British administrators aimed more at efficient local government under official control than any genuine system of local self-government under popular control.

The development of municipal institutions under British rule began in the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. As early as 1687, by order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, a municipal corporation and mayor's court were established in Madras. Similar bodies were set up in Calcutta and Bombay in 1726. These courts however were intended to exercise judicial rather than administrative functions. By the Charter Act of 1793 the governor-general was authorised to appoint justices of the peace for the municipal administration of the Presidency towns. In addition to their judicial duties they were to appoint watchmen and scavengers and levy a sanitary rate for this purpose. This worked with a certain amount of success in Bombay but not in Calcutta or Madras. The justices of the peace were government nominees and it was not until 1872 that the ratepayers of the Presidency towns were allowed to elect their own representatives.

Between 1842 and 1863 a series of regulations extended municipal institutions to other towns. After the 1861 Councils' Act municipal government was remodelled by the local legislatures. The need for associating Indians in local self-government was laid down by a resolution of Lord Mayo's government. The governor-generalship of Lord Ripon (1880-84) witnessed a great extension of local self-government which it was hoped would be a means of political education for Indians. At the same time rural boards, similar to the municipal boards, extended the system to the rural areas. It was not until the introduction of dyarchy under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms that local bodies were handed over to popular control and elected ministers became responsible for the administration of local self-government.

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(C. Collin Davies)

(6) Malaya and Singapore

The municipalities in Malaya, as in other parts of the British Commonwealth, are adapted from the local government system of England. The first appearance of such institutions in the area took place in the Straits Settlements of Malacca, Penang and Singapore. In 1827 the genesis of municipal institutions in the Straits Settlements was introduced in the form of a Local Committee concerned with the management of roads and drainage in Penang. This was soon followed by similar Committees in Singapore and Malacca. In 1856 the Government of India (East India Co.) enacted a law for the establishment of Municipal Commissions of the three 'stations' of Singapore, Malacca and the Prince of Wales Island (Penang). In 1858 the meetings were held twice monthly and were open to the public. The Municipal Commissions of the station of the Prince oi Wales Island (Penang) became the Municipal Commission of George Town in 1888. By the turn of the century there were three Municipal Commissions for the town of Singapore, George Town in Penang and the town and fort of Malacca. Each Commission had a full time president appointed by the governor and a number of official members and non-official members who were chosen in the early stages by electoral procedure. This procedure was later restricted to only half the commissioners leaving the other half to be nominated by the governor. By 1913 when the Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements was enacted electoral procedure was completely abandoned and all the commissioners were nominated to represent local opinion, business associations and religious or racial groups. The system of nomination continued until after the Second World War when the electoral procedure was re-introduced first in Singapore (1949) and later in Penang and Malacca. At this stage only two thirds of the commissioners were elected by general adult suffrage. By 1957 the Municipal Commissions became City Councils (*Madjlis Bandar Raʿaya*) in Singapore and George Town which had become cities with fully elected councillors who in their turn elected their president who is styled 'mayor' (*dato' bandar*).

The Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements stipulated that a member of a Municipal Commission must be able to speak and read English since it was the language officially recognised. This stipulation together with the system of nominating commissioners tended to reduce public interest in the affairs of the Council. After 1957 the Chinese, Tamil and Malay languages were recognised as official languages together with English for the purposes of the Sintapore Council meetings. In Malacca and Penang Malay, the national language of the Federation of Malaya, was also recognised with English. This helped to break the barriers between the public and the Council and it opened the door to the non-English educated members of the community to stand for election with accompanying tendencies towards radicalism.

The Municipalities of Singapore, George Town and the town and fort of Malacca have always exercised all functions expected of a local authority. In addition to this they were allowed to own undertakings for the supply of water, gas and electricity.

With the spread of British administration into the Malay States and the peninsula another type of local government emerged. This was called the Town Board. It was first established in the Federated Malay States of Perak, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. The non-federated Malay States adopted similar institutions with local modifications in nomenclature and powers. It must be noted that the Town Boards were less of a local government and more of a central government functioning locally. They were totally dependent upon the authority of the State and all their employees were officers of the State. Unlike the Municipal Commission they were not legally independent of the central government but agents of it. The president and the members were appointed by the central authority for an indefinite period and not for four years as was the case with the Municipal Commission. Again at variance with the Municipal Commissions Town Boards extended their authorities beyond the boundaries of the towns to the neighbouring villages.

The first attempt at the creation of municipalities

in the true sense within the Malay States came after the establishment of the Federation of Malaya in 1948. The Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements was enacted for the whole Federation which by now comprised the nine Malay States together with the Settlements of Penang and Malacca. Singapore was left out of the Federation. In the same year the Town Board of Kuala Lumpur, the Federal capital, was transformed into a municipality. It retained its former responsibilities including those of the administration of the outlying villages around it. A distinction however was made between an inner municipal area and an outer municipal area. The former referring to the town proper and the latter to the villages around it. From then onwards changes began to take place. Town Boards became Town Councils (*Madjlis Bandaran*). Electoral Procedure was introduced. Greater authority was vested in these Councils and great interest in local affairs became apparent. In fact local elections in Malaya have become equal in importance to their counterparts in other highly developed countries in the sense that they have become a testing ground for the opposing national political parties.

At present Municipalities (Berbandaran) in the Federation of Malaya are still in a state of transition. The Municipal Ordinance is not fully implemented all over the Federation. (Apart from George Town City Council and the Municipalities of Kuala Lumpur and Malacca 27 of the larger towns in the Federation have elected Town Councils, 12 of which are financially autonomous and the others are moving in the same direction.) It is expected that the Ordinance will be emended to give greater scope for local variations retaining however the basic essentials of a modern municipality.

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(M. A. Zaki Badawi)

(7) Indonesia

We do not know much about political life or the kind of government in the ancient pre-Islamic cities and towns of Indonesia, either in such royal centres as the capitals of *old* Mataram or *later* Modjopahit, or in commercial urban centres like Tuban, Gresik or Palembang.

There is no evidence, up to now, that there ever was any form of really local government or autonomy vested in locally-rooted public institutions. When, from the 7th/13th century onwards, Islam gradually penetrated almost the whole of Sumatra and Java and in many other regions of the archipelago, this lack of local public institutions in the towns and cities (neither big nor numerous) continued. Both European and non-European sources of the 16th and 17th centuries tell us that the inhabitants of cities or urban emporia were ruled by servants of the sultans or princes and that their towns never were considered to be a juridical entity. Neither in remote past nor in more recent times did the indigenous towns of Indonesia have any creative influence on the development of law as did the towns and cities of Western Europe, through *their* law-giving authorities or special *municipal* courts.

In towns that came to be ruled by the Dutch East Indian Company or were founded by this chartered body (as Batavia) some urban institutions of 17th century Western type were created, of which the *weeskamer* (council for the affairs of orphans) perhaps may be mentioned because it has survived the Company itself. It reappears in the general legislation of the 19th and 20th century on the civil law of Europeans and non-Indonesian inhabitants of the archipelago.

When after the downfall of the Company and after the end of the British interregnum these islands became a part of the new kingdom of the Netherlands (1816) a highly centralised and exclusively official system of government was introduced. This system remained unaltered until the end of the 19th century, when under the influence of prominent colonial specialists some ideas of "decentralisation" began to carry the day. Though in 1894 and in following years several bills were conceived—which did not pass the parliament—it was not before 1903 that the so-called *Indische decentralisatiewet* (Act for decentralisation) was promulgated.

This act had a double aim: first, to pave the way for the creation of local and regional public councils; secondly to procure the financial means to be used by these councils. (The regional councils will not be dealt with here). So this act did not aim at reforms in the great diversity of Indonesian rural and truly indigenous institutions: in that field everything continued to be founded on customary law (*ʿādat*) and special legal regulations made for it. This new chapter of the legislation prescribed (*inter alia*) how to set up *urban* municipalities.

Large cities, like Batavia (now Jakarta, Djakarta), Surabaya, Semarang, Bandung and many other places of urban character as well, were westernised in many respects. The great majority of Europeans and Chinese, and several other non-Indonesian groups lived there; even the Indonesian inhabitants often were of different origin, *ʿādat* and language. Western business and industrial activity had its headquarters there. In these great half-western, half-eastern agglomerations the usual problems that are to be found in big cities everywhere were encountered. They

could be better served and solved by municipal authorities and services than by the general civil service officials of the central government. Further legislative measures, issued by the governor-general in 1905, carried out what the fundamental act aimed at, and Batavia became a municipality. In its initial phase the members of its municipal council were appointed by the governor-general and not elected.

The resident of Batavia was officially the council's chairman. Meester-Cornelis and Buitenzorg (now Djatinegara and Bogor) also obtained municipal councils in 1905. This new system gradually developed so that all the cities and big towns in Java as well as many towns elsewhere (Medan, Pamatangsiantar, Padang, Makassar, Menado, etc.) became municipalities, while since 1918 the members of these councils could be elected by qualified inhabitants.

Since 1925 every *male* citizen of an urban municipality in Java who had attained his majority, had a yearly income of at least 300 guilders, and could read and write in Dutch, Malay or any vernacular, was given the vote. In the outer provinces other rules might be in force. These new urban municipalities were made corporate bodies. The rather limited activities of urban municipalities comprised such items as roads, streets, parks, sewage-systems, fire-service, public utility works, public health service and so on. Municipal regulations could be made. In 1916 a new ordinance enabled the government to appoint burgomasters (*burgemeesters*) for those cities or towns that were deemed to need such an official (as in the Netherlands, the burgomaster was to be appointed by the central government). Their salaries were paid by the central government; a percentage of it was to be reimburred by the municipal treasury. As these urban municipalities were considered western-type enclaves in the territory of *ʿādat* law it seemed convenient, at least during the first two decades of their existence, to appoint only European burgomasters. The *wethouders* (aldermen) were chosen by the council from among its own members. They formed under the chairmanship of the burgomaster the executive committee of the council. Only in the last decade before the second world war did the government start appointing Indonesians as burgomaster.

In the present Republic of Indonesia the principle of decentralisation as well as that of autonomy and local government is maintained in article 131 of its provisional constitution. New legislative measures however to give practical effect to this principle are not yet in force. For Java at least, an act of 1948 (nr. 22) promulgated by the *former* republic of Indonesia (*vulgo*: the Jogja-republic) has systematised the autonomous parts of the territory in three ranks: 1) provinces, 2) *kabupatèn* or regencies and big cities 3) small urban municipalities and rural unities. As a consequence of article 142 of the abovementioned provisional constitution (*undang-undang dasar Republik Indonesia*, promulgated 17 August 1950) all earlier regulations not explicitly abolished or altered are to be considered as decrees or regulations of the republic. So the essentials of the prewar legislation as to urban municipalities are still in force, although the burgomasters are now officially called *walikota*, and the municipal council has influence on the appointment of these magistrates while the members of the councils are to be elected by all inhabitants of both sexes who have passed their 18th birthday or married at an earlier date. (The special and temporary situation in Jakarta where the 24 members of the council are appointed by the government, need not be discussed here).

Bibliography: Ph. Kleintjes, *Staatsinstellingen van Nederlands-Indië*, 5th edition (1929), vol. ii, chapter XIX; H. Westra, *De Nederlandsch-Indische staatsregeling*, 2nd edition (1934) 218 ff.; J. H. Logemann, *Het Staatsrecht van Indonesië*, 1954, 158-192; A. A. Schiller, *The formation of federal Indonesia*, 1955, 138-147. (J. Prins)

BALĀGHA (A.), Abstract noun, from *balīgh* effective, eloquent (from *balagha* "to attain something"), meaning therefore eloquence. It presupposes *faṣāḥa*, purity and euphony of language, but goes beyond it in requiring, according to some of the early definitions, the knowledge of the proper connexion and separation of the phrase, clarity, and appropriateness to the occasion. Even though those definitions are not infrequently attributed to foreign nations such as the Persians, Greeks or Indians, the demand for skill in improvisation and the recurring references to the *khaṭīb* (or orator) in connexion with the discussion of the concept make it abundantly clear that it originated in the Arabian milieu. The transfer of the concept to the written word and hence to literary criticism and, beyond this, its widening to denote a three-pronged science are the essential facts in the rather complicated history of the term.

Grammar and lexicology, the primary concerns of the early critic, became in the course of the ninth century, when stylistic perfection had been accepted as a desideratum in official pronouncements, integral parts of the education of the *kātib*. The period appreciated systemisation not excluding the analysis of aesthetic experience. Acquaintance with the conceptual apparatus of Greek thought assisted in the articulation of critical insights even though the impulse toward a theory of *balāgha*, or aesthetic effectiveness on the verbal level, seems to have been germane to the Arab tradition which was then stimulated by an increased interest in structure and development of poetry and by the need to rationalise the aesthetic implications of the theological postulate of the uniqueness (*iʿdjāz*) of the Ḳurʾān. The motivation for the first work exclusively devoted to certain formal characteristics of artistic expression, the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz (written in 887/88; ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935), was the justification of the 'new' or 'modern' style, *al-badīʿ* [*q.v.*], of which the second half of the ninth century had witnessed the victorious surge. This justification Ibn al-Muʿtazz sought to accomplish by means of the proof that the figures of speech whose generous employment appears to have been the most prominent (and hence the most frequently criticised) feature of the modernistic style in the eyes of the public, were without exception traceable in the Holy Book as well as in classical literature. The reason why Ibn al-Muʿtazz divided the eighteen figures of which he furnishes examples into the two categories of *badīʿ* (five kinds) and *maḥāsin* (thirteen) still eludes us. We know, however, that the second part of his work (which deals with the *maḥāsin*) was added by the author after the first had encountered a certain amount of criticism. (W. Caskel, in *OLZ*, 1938, 146-47, sees the rationale for the distinction in the fact that it was only in the employment of the *badīʿ* figures that 'modern' poetry differed from the classical tradition.)

The use of the notion of the 'rhetorical figure' in the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān antedates the work

of Ibn al-Muʿtazz; the method is fully developed in Ibn Ḳutayba's (d. 889) *Taʾwīl mus̲h̲kil al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. A. Ṣaqr, Cairo 1373); this fact may help us to understand why the doctrine of tropes and figures was the earliest aspect of *balāg̲h̲a* to attract systematic investigation.

Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar's (d. 922?) *Naḳd al-S̲h̲iʿr* is inspired by another tendency; Ḳudāma searches for an objective standard in the evaluation of poetry. Rhetorical figures are only one of the elements with which the poet and his critic have to deal. Like many of his Arab and Greek predecessors Ḳudāma was led, especially in his discussion of the defects of poetry, into problems that to our mind come within the purview of grammar and logic. The orderly fashion in which he coordinates the several viewpoints may have contributed to the three-fold structuring of the *ʿilm al-balāg̲h̲a* at which the scholastic age of Muslim critical thought was to arrive. Not much later than Ḳudāma one Ishāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb, a *kātib*, wrote (in or after 335/946-7) the *Kitāb al-Burhān fī wud̲j̲ūh al-bayān* (identical with the *Kitāb Naḳd al-nat̲h̲r* that had been attributed variously to Ḳudāma and to Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-G̲h̲āfiḳī, d. 1262; it awaits publication; it is known only through an article of ʿAlī Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *RAAD*, 1949, 73-81; cf. the discussion of the problem by S. A. Bonebakker in the introduction to his edition of *Naḳd al-S̲h̲iʿr*, Leiden 1956, 15-20). Isḥāḳ continues the discussion of 'the various ways of expressing things which D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, had initiated; he criticises the limitations of his predecessors and, from our point of view, indicates one of the directions in which the final systemisation of *balāg̲h̲a* was to occur. This system slowly takes shape in works like the *Kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 1005).

The struggle between the Ancients and the Moderns which dominates literary life from the middle of the ninth to the close of the eleventh century kept the interest in stylistic analysis alive. Toward the end of this period, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī (d. 1078) refined to a degree never reached by any Arab (or Persian) critic before or after him the comprehension of the psychological roots of the aesthetic effect. In his *Asrār al-Balāg̲h̲a* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954) his principal concern is with simile, metaphor and analogy—later to become the domain of the *ʿilm al-bayān*. D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī succeeded in explaining the (logical and) psychological foundations of the aesthetics implicit in the aspirations especially of the later phases of Arabic (and Persian and Turkish) poetry. His is the merit of having been the first to investigate the 'fantastic aetiology', the very life of Persian poetry in particular (although its technical designation, *ḥusn al-taʿlīl*, is found only more than a century later in Sakkākī). D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī's other important work, *Dalāʾil al-iʿd̲j̲āz*, unquestionably spurred the rise of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* as an integral part of rhetoric.

After D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī the scholastics hold the field. In the third part of his encyclopaedia of the sciences, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, Sakkākī (d. 1226 or 1229), gives the *ʿilm al-balāg̲h̲a* the organisation which it was to retain to the present. In his treatment it comprises three branches: the *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, 'notions', dealing with the different kinds of sentence and their use; the *ʿilm al-bayān*, 'modes of presentation', with the art of expressing oneself eloquently and without ambiguity—both are concerned with the relation of thought to expression and with the different ways to express the 'same' idea which the poet or writer has at his disposal; one must never forget that the *ʿilm al-balāg̲h̲a* as all Arab literary theory is primarily a *Kunstlehre*, an *ars dicendi*, and not an aesthetics in Plato's or our own sense, i.e., a *Schönheitslehre*. (At this point a distinct analogy may be drawn to Muslim treatment of political theory which, conspicuous exceptions such as Māwardī's (d. 1058) *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* notwithstanding, is concerned with the conduct of the ruler and his administrators rather than with the nature of kingship and administration). The third branch is the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* which deals with the embellishment of speech and defines a large number of tropes classifying them in general on the ancient model in σχήματα διανοίας, *maʿnawī*, and λέξεως, *lafẓī*.

A tendency to proliferation of the figures identified is unmistakable. Where Sakkākī (and his commentators al-Ḳazwīnī, better known as *k̲h̲aṭīb Dimas̲h̲ḳ* (d. 1338), and al-Taftazānī (d. 1389), whose, works *Talk̲h̲īṣ al-Miftāḥ*, and *Muk̲h̲taṣar al-Talk̲h̲īṣ*, have come to supersede Sakkākī's as the standard textbooks of rhetoric) list thirty *maʿnawī* figures (some subdivided further) and seven *lafẓī*, Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (d. 1350), *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid* has eighty-four *maʿnawī* alone.

The *Muʿd̲j̲am fī maʿāyīr as̲h̲ʿār al-ʿAd̲j̲am* of the Persian S̲h̲ams-i Ḳays (*fl.* 1204-30) is the first and a fairly successful attempt to apply Sakkākī's system to a literature other than Arabic.

A contemporary of Sakkākī's commentators, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1349), inaugurated the fashion of the so-called *badīʿiyya*, a poem composed to illustrate the various figures of speech. The genre whose most celebrated representative is perhaps the *Badīʿiyya* of Ibn Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a al-Ḥamawī (d. 1434) has been cultivated down to quite modern times.

It is difficult to find the Hellenising strain in the theory of *balāg̲h̲a* its proper place in this presentation; for with the significant exception of Ḳudāma (cf. Bonebakker, *op. cit.*, 36-44) it has always remained on the edge of the developmental sequence. Both the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle found translators; the translation of the *Poetics* by the Nestorian, Abū Bis̲h̲r Mattà b. Yūnus (d. 940), has found three editors (Margoliouth, Oxford 1887; Tkatsch, Vienna 1928-32; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1953), that of the *Rhetoric* has remained unpublished. Concern for these works has been confined to the *falāsifa*. Avicenna included an abridgement of the *Rhetoric* in the section on logic of his *S̲h̲ifāʾ* (ed. S. Sālim, Cairo 1954) and Averroes summarised the *Poetics* (edd. F. Lasinio, Pisa 1872; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1953). But the literary background that served as the vantage-point for Aristotle's ideas remained alien to the mediaeval Muslim. Respect for the protophilosopher rather than a desire to influence Arab literature or the reduction to theory of its techniques and aspirations motivated such occasional studies as were accorded those much-misunderstood works. What Averroes observed with regard to Greek epic narrative in metrical form (in connexion with *Poetics* xxiii), that "all this is peculiar to them (i.e., the Greeks) and nothing like it is to be found among ourselves", could fairly be extended to the tradition of Greek literature and its theory as a whole—even though a good many motifs, conventions and definitions of tropes did find their way (in contrast to other Greek bequests apparently *not* through the mediation of the Syriac tradition) into Arabic literature and theory.

Bibliography: A. F. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik*

der Araber, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, with extracts from al-Suyūṭīs (d. 1505) versified presentation *ʿUḳūd al-Djumān*; Bonebakker's introduction to his ed. of *Naḳd al-Shiʿr*; Ritter's introduction to his ed. of *Asrār al-Balāgha*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (Flügel), ii, 32-39; G. E. von Grunebaum, *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism*, Chicago 1950; *JNES* 1944, 235-53; *Journal of Comparative Literature* 1952, 323-40 (German tr. *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 101-29. 130-50); *Indiana University Conference on Oriental-Western Literary Relations*, Chapel Hill., N.C., 1955, 27-46; J. Kraemer, *ZDMG* 1956, 259-316 (where most of the older literature on the 'Hellenisers' is referred to; additions, *ZDMG* 1957, 511-518. (A. Schaade-[G. E. von Grunebaum])

BALAK, Nūr al-Dawla Balak b. Bahrām b. Artuḳ, one of the first Artuḳids, known chiefly as a tough warrior. He appears in history in 489/1096 as commander of Sarudj on the Middle Euphrates. This locality being taken from him by the Crusaders in the following year, and his uncle Ilghāzī having been appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ by Sulṭān Muḥammad, he accompanied him, and is found in the following years struggling vainly for the little towns of ʿĀna and Ḥadītha, against Arabs, or protecting the Baghdād-Iran road from the attacks of Kurds and Turkomāns. After Ilghāzī's disgrace in 498/1105 he returned to Diyār Bakr, the headquarters of the family, as did his uncle, and in 1110 accompanied him on an expedition in Syria in which Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī of Akhlāṭ also took part. On Ilghāzī and Sukmān's quarrelling he was carried off a prisoner by the latter. He was soon set free on the death of Sukmān, and in 1113 took advantage of the death of the Turkomān chief Djabuk to occupy Pālū on the eastern Euphrates (Murād Ṣū). The princess mother of Tughril-Arslan, the young Saldjūḳid of Malaṭya, who had need of a protector against the Saldjūḳid of Ḳonya Masʿūd, married Balak, making him the young prince's *atabeg*. Strengthened by this alliance, Balak was now able to take the Khanzit with its chief settlement the stronghold of Khartpert, which remained his chief residence (about 1115). The encroachments which he made on the territory of Mengüdjek in the north led him into a war against the latter and his ally Gavras, the Byzantine duke of Trebizond; with the help of the Dānishmandid Gümüshtakin he crushed them (1118), and incorporated in his principality the little tributary valleys on the right of the Murād Ṣū as far as Tshimishkezek and Mizgard, while in the meantime his protegé Tughril-Arslan had taken the province of Djahān, towards Marʿash, from the Armenian vassals of the Franks of Edessa. In 516/1122 he attacked Gerger on the Euphrates, and won military glory by capturing in quick succession Count Joscelin of Edessa and King Baldwin II of Jerusalem who had hastened to its relief. After the death of Ilghāzī, who had become master of Aleppo, one faction in this town considered Balak a better man to oppose the Franks than the sluggish Badr al-Dawla Sulaymān, the dead man's son; Balak laid claim to the succession, by a combination of plunder and cunning occupied the town, and at once attacked the Frankish territories east of the Orontes. He then learnt that with the help of local Armenians his Frankish prisoners at Khartpert had risen and seized the fortress; hastening back he recaptured it and executed them without mercy, with the exception of Joscelin, who escaped, and Baldwin, whom he held for ransom. It seems that the Shīʿīs of Aleppo then tried to shake off his overlordship in his absence; he took measures against them, and exiled their chief Ibn al-Khashshāb. To strengthen his hold on the district of Aleppo he attacked the too independent Turkish governor of Manbidj, who called on Joscelin for assistance. He defeated Joscelin, but was killed by an arrow during the siege (518/1124). After his death Khartpert soon passed into the control of his cousin Dāʾūd of Ḥisn-Kayfā, whose son married Balak's daughter and only heiress.

Balak is hardly known except for his martial exploits. The most one can add is that he lessened the effect of his depredations on enemy lands by making forced transplantations of peasants, who brought the conquered lands back to productivity again. He was still basically a Turkomān chief, but endowed with a striking personality which made him in his last days one of the first champions of the Muslim revival against the Crusaders.

Bibliography: The sources are the same as those for the general history of Syria and Mesopotamia in the period in question, and more particularly for Irāḳ Ibn al-Athīr, for Upper Mesopotamia the same writer and Ibn al-Azraḳ (unpublished), for Syria Ibn al-Ḳalānisī and Ibn Abī Ṭayyī (in Ibn al-Furāt, unpublished); apart from these, the Frankish historians of the Crusade, Orderic Vitalis (ed. le Prévost), the Armenian Matthew of Edessa and the Michael the Syrian (ed. trans. Chabot). Among modern works see the histories of the Crusades, esp. Grousset, i; C. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940 (with study of sources), and by the same scholar, *Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtuḳides*, in *JA*, 1935. See also J. Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Artuḳide Balak* in *Ars Islamica* v-2, 1938, and the article Artuḳids. (Cl. Cahen)

BĀLAḲ b. **ṢĀFŪN**. [see ʿŪdj b. ʿAnāḳ].

BALAKLAVA, in the Tatar language Balïklava (with the folk-etymological meaning of "fishery", "fishing-place"), a small port in the Crimea, on a deep inlet of the Black Sea. Balaklava, which is not visible from the open sea, lies 16 km. south of Sevastópol'.

The town was known to the Greek geographers (Strabo, etc.) under the name of *Palakion* on the sea-inlet Συμβόλων λιμήν and was inhabited by Taurians, who used it also as a place of refuge. It came later under Roman and Byzantine rule and during the 9th-13th centuries acted as the centre of a modest exchange-trade with the Russians. The Genoese settled here in about 1360 and founded a Roman Catholic bishopric; the entire southern shore of the Crimea as far as Kaffa (Feodosiya) was made over to them by Byzantium in 1380. The town, at that time, bore the name of *Cembalo* (probably from Symbolon) and was strongly fortified; remnants of the walls were still to be seen in the 19th century. An attempt of the Greek inhabitants, in 1433-1434, to rid themselves of Genoese rule miscarried. Balaklava fell in 1475 under the control of the Crimean Tatars and remained so until 1783, forming the southern limit of their lands over against the territories under direct Ottoman rule (cf. Muḥammad Riḍā, ed. Kazem-Beg, 92: with reference to a date c. 1540). The town, during this period, was only of commercial importance. The Tatars, who had gradually settled in the town, left it after its subjection to Russia (1783) and were replaced by Greeks from the Aegean Islands who, in the war of 1768-1774, had joined the Russians. These people

formed a battalion of their own from 1795 to 1859. An engagement was fought near Balaklava on 25 October 1854, during the Crimean War. Today Balaklava is a small market-town occupied with fishing and vine-growing.

Bibliography: P. Köppen, *Krîmskiy Sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1837, 210-227 (with a plan); V. Smirnov, *Krîmskoye Khanstvo* ...., St. Petersburg 1887, index; E. S. Zevakin and N. A. Penčko, *Iz istorii social'nikh otnosheniy v genuezskikh koloniyakh Sev. Pričernomor'ya v XV veke*, in *Istoričeskiye Zapiski*, 1940, no. 7; Brockhaus-Yefron, *Enciklopedičeskiy Slovar'*, vol. 4 (II A), St. Petersburg 1891, 783 ff.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya*², iv (1950), 102 ff. Cf. on Balaklava in ancient times Pauly-Wissowa, XVIII/2 (1942), col. 2498 (Ernst Diehl) and 2nd Ser., vol. iv A I (= 7), (1931), col. 1097 (E. Oberhummer—with a full discussion about the site). Cf. on Balaklava under Genoese rule B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943, 240 ff., 267, and 395 ff. (with further bibliographical references). (B. SPULER)

BALʿAM B. BAʿŪR(Ā), Bilʿam b. Beʿor of the Hebrew Bible. The Ḳurʾān does not mention him, unless perhaps in an allusion in vii, 175 [174], 176 [175]. The commentators and historians keep the main elements of the Biblical story in their accounts of him (Numbers xxii-xxiv, xxxi, 8) and following the Jewish Aggada which likewise has given other features of his portrait, make him responsible for the fornication of the Israelites with the daughters of Moab and Midian (Numbers xxv); note that he tends to absorb the figure of Balaḳ, who appears rarely in the Muslim sources. Some traditions deviate from the Hebrew sources in making Balʿam an Israelite or in dating him in the time of Joshua, an anachronism which despite Sidersky does not go back to a Samaritan tradition. — The statements of the *tafsīr* on Kurʾān vii, 175 [174] are used by the mystics, at least since Muḥāsibī, to make of Balʿam the prototype of the spiritual man led astray by lust and pride.—The Ps.-Balkhī attributes to Balʿam somewhat confused philosophical views on the eternity of the world.— On the identification of Balʿam with Luḳmān (a tradition taken up by Petrus Alphonsi) see *EI*¹, s.v. *Luḳmān*.

Bibliography: R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, 649-650; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 21; Muḥāsibī, *Riʿāya*, 256 ff., 282; Ṭabarī, i, 508-510; idem, *Tafsīr*, ix, 76 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 99-100; Ps.-Balkhī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh*, i, 51/53, 75/77, 91/90, 141/130, 145/134; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, 133, 196; Kisāʾī, *Vita Prophetarum*, 227; Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 293; Petrus Alphonsi, *PL*, clviii, 673; Sidersky 104-108 (on the Samaritan connexion, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, ed. Th. W. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1848, 3/133-8/138). (G. VAJDA)

BALʿAMĪ, the *nisba*, *i.e.*, generic name, of two Sāmānid *wazirs*, father and son, of whom the latter, as translator of the famous History of Ṭabarī, is at present better known. The reference of the name is uncertain. Samʿānī (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 90 r.) mentions the explanation of Ibn Mākūlā (Brockelmann, I, 354) that it is from Balʿam, 'a town in the land of the Greeks' (*balad min diyār al-Rūm*), not otherwise known, but which is perhaps the same as 'Balaam', mentioned by Priscus (*Excerpta de Legationibus*, ed. Bonn, 165) in A.D. 472, or that it is from Balʿamān, a locality at Balāshgird near Marw, the opinion of al-Maʿdānī (cf. Samʿānī, fol. 536 r.). Both authorities indicate that the ancestor of the Balʿamīs was an Arab tribesman of Tamīm in the early days of Islam, but by the former he is said to have accompanied Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and by the latter, Ḳutayba b. Muslim.

(1) The father, ABU 'L-FAḌL MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH (sometimes ʿABD ALLĀH AL-BALʿAMĪ AL-TAMĪMĪ, is said by Samʿānī more than once (fols. 90 r. and 262 v.) to have been *wazir* to the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (279-295/892-907), but there appear to be no notices of his activity until the reign of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (301-331/913-942). He became *wazīr* to Naṣr probably about 310/922 (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 241), his immediate predecessor having been, according to Muḳaddasī (337), Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Yaʿḳūb al-Naysābūrī. In this year he was at Astarābād (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 96), and is thereafter mentioned repeatedly (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 196, 207, cf. Muḳaddasī, 317), till he was replaced by the younger Djayhānī in 326/937-938 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 283, but cf. Muḳaddasī, 337). Iṣṭakhrī (260) mentions his houses at Marw, and a gate in Bukhārā was named after him, Bāb al-Shaykh al-Djalīl (*ibid.*, 307), the same apparently as that which in later times was called 'Shaykh Djalāl'. The sources agree as to his capacity, and he was a patron of men of learning. He is said by Samʿānī (fol. 262 verso) to have considered the poet Rūdagī without a peer among the Arabs and Persians. He died, according to Samʿānī (fol. 90 r.), in the night of 10 Ṣafar 329/14 November 940.

(2) ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-BALʿAMĪ, son of the foregoing, was appointed *wazir* to ʿAbd al-Malik I b. Nūḥ (343-350/954-961) towards the end of his reign through the influence of the *ḥādjib* Alptagīn (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. M. Nāẓim, E. G. Browne Memorial Series, 1928, 42). He did not inherit his father's practical ability. Muḳaddasī (338) calls him Amīrak Balʿamī, with the diminutive, and mentions that he was twice *wazīr* to ʿAbd al-Malik's successor al-Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ (350-366/961-976), from whom he received instructions in 352/963 (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, i, 69) to compose the translation of Ṭabarī which has made him famous. This is one of the earliest prose works in modern Persian and inaugurates the long and brilliant series of Persian historical writings.

Balʿamī did not attempt to bring the history down to his own time. He omits the *isnād*s (chains of authorities) and alternative versions of the same event characteristic of Ṭabarī, presenting a continuous account derived from these. The same method was followed by later Arabic historians such as Ibn al-Athīr (cf. G. Weil, *Geschichte der Caliphen*, iii, X ff.). The result is a work substantially shorter than the original (4 volumes in Zotenberg's French translation and one volume in the Lucknow edition, as against the 15 volumes of the Leiden Ṭabarī). Yet Balʿamī's History is not simply an abbreviation of Ṭabarī. Occasionally he gives substantial additional information, as in the case of a series of episodes in the fighting between the Arabs and Khazars from 104/722 onwards (text in B. Dorn, *Nachrichten über die Chasaren*, see *Bibliography*), the source of which appears to be the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (cf. Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad bin Aʿṣam al-Kūfī'nin kitab al-futūḥu*, *Ankara Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-cog. Fak. Dergisi*, 1949, 255-282; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 58). Most surviving MSS. of Balʿamī represent a later redaction, the approximate date of which is indicated by a short appendix, giving a cursory account of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs down to the death of al-Mustaẓhir and accession of al-

Mustarshid (512/1118). According to B. Spuler (*The Evolution of Persian Historiography*), the translation of Ṭabarī into Persian under the Sāmānids served no mere cultural purpose, but was intended to show the Persians that the destiny of their nation was linked with orthodox Islam.

Balʿamī died, according to Gardīzī (ed. M. Nāẓim, 46), in Djumādā II, 363 (February 27th-March 27th, 974). The much later date for his death indicated by ʿUtbī (*Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī*, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1286, i, 170), who says that he was appointed *wazīr* by Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr for a short time after the fall of Bukhārā in Rabīʿ I/382 May 992, seems less likely.

Bibliography: Storey, 61-65, 1229; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabarī*, lithographed Lucknow, 1291/1874 (other Indian editions in Storey); B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völker*, iv: *Tabary's Nachrichten über die Chasaren* (text of Balʿamī with German translation and notes), *Mem. Russ. Acad.*, 6th Series, *Political Science etc.*, St. Petersburg, 1844, vi, 445-601; H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de ... Tabari traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-ʿAli Moʿhammed Belʿami*, 4 vols., Paris, 1867-1874 (reprinted Paris, 1958).

(D. M. Dunlop)

BĀL-ʿANBAR. [see TAMĪM].

BALANDJAR, an important Khazar town, lying on a river of the same name, N. of the pass of Darband, *i.e.*, Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*], at the E. extremity of the Caucasus. Its site is probably to be identified with the ruins of Endere near Andreyeva. Balandjar appears to have been originally the group-name of its inhabitants (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 894-896, and 'Barandjār' below). According to Masʿūdī (*al-Tanbīh*, 62), Balandjar was the Khazar capital before Atil [*q.v.*] on the Volga, but in the accounts which we have there is no evidence that this was so. Balandjar was the subject of repeated attacks by the Arabs in the first Arab-Khazar war, and in 32/652 underwent a full-scale siege, which ended disastrously for the assailants. It was again besieged by the Arabs under Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī in 104/722-723, and this time was captured. Most of the inhabitants are said to have emigrated. It is readily understandable that many of them moved N. Two hundred years after this the traveller Ibn Faḍlān (310/922) came across thousands of 'Barandjār' among the Volga Bulgars. According to the figures given by Ibn al-Athīr (*sub anno* 104) for the amount of the booty distributed after the siege—300 *dīnārs* per horseman in an army of 30,000—Balandjar at the time of its fall must have been a place of great wealth. From this point its importance appears to have declined, and after the close of the second Arab-Khazar war in 119/737 it is scarcely mentioned.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 452-454; A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, AKM, XXIV, Leipzig 1939, 191-193, 298-299 nn.; D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index, s.v. *Balanjar*; M. Artamonov, *Ocherki drevneishei istorii Khazar*, 93.

(D. M. Dunlop)

BALANSIYA (VALENCIA), a town in Spain, the third in size as regards population, which exceeds 500,000, lying on the east of the Peninsula, 3 miles from the Mediterranean and from its port, el Grao. It is connected with Madrid by two railway lines, one via Albaceta, 306 m. (490 km.) in length, the other via Cuenca, 251 m. (402 km.) in length, and by road (218 m. = 350 km.); the distance as the crow flies is however only 188 miles. Valencia is the capital of the province of the same name and the diocese of an archbishop. Its situation is a striking one, in the centre of the fertile Huerta de Valencia, which is watered by the Turia or Guadalaviar (Ar. *Wādī 'l-abyaḍ*, the "White River") and is the site of part of the lake of Albufera [see BUḤAYRA]. Unlike Cordova or Toledo, the old capital of Valencia has seen its importance grow with the years and it remains the capital of the Spanish Levante, the *Shark al-Andalus* of the Muslim period. It is still known officially as Valencia del Cid in memory of the part played in its history by the celebrated Castilian hero.

Valencia was founded by the Romans in 138 B.C. After the death of the rebel Viriathus, the consul D. Junius Brutus established a colony there of veterans who had remained faithful to Rome. The inhabitants later took the side of Sertorius and in 75 B.C. Pompey partially destroyed the town which began to return to prosperity under Augustus. It was taken by the Visigoths in 413 and became Muslim in 714, when Ṭārik [*q.v.*] established himself there and at Saguntum, Jativa and Denia.

In the political history of Umayyad Spain, Valencia seems only to have been a place of minor importance. The country of which it was the capital soon became arabicised by the settlement of Kaysī colonies: the capital of Spanish Levante thus was one of the most active centres of Arab culture throughout the whole period of the Muslim occupation; on the other hand in the mountains along the Valencian littoral there were little islands of people of Berber origin. Valencia at this time was the capital of a province or *kūra*, as we know from the eastern writer al-Mukaddasī and the Spaniard al-Rāzī (see Yākūt, s.v.) and the residence of a governor (*wālī*) appointed by the caliph of Cordova. It is only from the 5th/11th century, with the break up of the caliphate, that, becoming the capital of an independent Muslim state and very soon one of the principal objectives of the Christian *reconquista*, Valencia began to occupy a more and more important place in the Spanish and Arabic chronicles of the mediaeval history of Spain that have come down to us.

The Muslim kingdom of Valencia was founded in 401/1010-11 by two enfranchised ʿĀmirids, Mubārak and Muẓaffar, previously in charge of the irrigation system of the district who declared themselves independent and shared the power. After a very short reign Mubārak died and Muẓaffar was driven from Valencia; the inhabitants of this town then chose another "Slav" [cf. ṢAKĀLIBA] to rule them, called Labīb, who placed himself under the suzerainty of the Christian count of Barcelona. The principality of Valencia soon passed into the hands of a grandson of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who, like his grandfather, assumed the *lakab* of al-Manṣūr; he had previously been a refugee at the court of the Tudjībid Mundhir b. Yaḥyā at Saragossa. The reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which lasted till his death in 452/1061 brought an era of peace and prosperity to Valencia. He recognised the authority of the caliph of Cordova, al-Kāsim b. Ḥammūd, who gave him the right to bear the titles al-Muʾtamin and Dhu 'l-Sābikatayn, and kept on good terms with the Christian kingdoms of Spain. His son ʿAbd al-Malik succeeded him and took the title al-Muẓaffar. He was still a youth at his accession and the vizier Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz acted as regent. Very soon afterwards, Ferdinand I of Castile and Leon attacked Valencia and almost captured the town, after

inflicting a severe defeat on the Valencians who made a sortie to attempt to drive off the besiegers. ʿAbd al-Malik sought the assistance of the king of Toledo al-Maʾmūn b. Dhu ʾl-Nūn [*q.v.*] but the latter came to Valencia and soon dethroned the young king (457/1065). The principality of Valencia was then incorporated in the kingdom of Toledo and al-Maʾmūn left the vizier Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz there to govern it. When al-Maʾmūn died in 467/1075 he was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā al-Ḳādir, whose great incapacity soon became apparent. Valencia then gradually recovered its independence; al-Ḳādir sought the help of Alfonso VI, king of Castile, to bring the town under his authority again but he ended by having to surrender his own capital to him in 478/1085. For the course of events and part played in them by the great Castilian hero Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, the Cid of history and legend, cf. the article AL-SĪD.

On their arrival in Spain, the Almoravids tried to regain the kingdom of Valencia for Islām but their efforts against the Cid were fruitless. When he died in 492/1099 his widow Ximena was still able to offer some resistance to the attacks of the Almoravids, led by Mazdalī. But in the end she abandoned Valencia after first of all setting it on fire and the Muslims entered it on 15 Radjab 495/5 May 1102.

Governors appointed by the Almoravids succeeded one another at Valencia until the middle of the 6th/12th century when the town gradually began to resume its independence in the troubled period which preceded the coming of the Almohads into Spain, and it linked its fortunes with those of Murcia whose series of ephemeral rulers it recognised. In 542/1147, Ibn Mardanish was proclaimed king of Valencia but four years later his subjects rebelled against him. Under the nominal suzerainty of the Almohads, Valencia continued in the hands of local princes until it finally fell into Christian hands, two years after Cordova, when James I of Aragon took it on 28 Sept. 1238.

Bibliography: All the Arab geographers who have dealt with Muslim Spain devote more or less attention to Valencia: cf. al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, text 191, transl. 132; Yāḳūt, i, 730-732; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, text 178, transl. 258; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, s.v.—On the Muslim history of Valencia, cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 111; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères* and *ʿIbar*, iv; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*; the biographers of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*. Cf. also F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa 1899; González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931, idem, *L'Espagne Musulmane du Xeme siècle*, Paris 1932; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929 (very important); A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guias Calpe), Madrid 1923.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

BALARM, Palermo, surrendered to the Arabs after a short siege in Radjab 216/August-Sept. 831, four years after their arrival in Sicily, and straightaway it appears as the strong point of Muslim domination in the island. It was there that the governors made their seat in the name first of the Aghlabids, and then of the Fāṭimids of Africa, who, however, had to send expeditions more than once to re-establish their authority over the rebel colony; such were the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab in 287/900, sent by his father, and that of Abu Saʿīd in 304/916-17, which was sent by the Fāṭimid Mahdī, who built the citadel of Khāliṣa (Calsa) opposite the old town. In 336/948 the Fāṭimid governor al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Kalbī seized power at Palermo, and established a genuine local dynasty under Fāṭimid suzerainty, which lasted till about 442/1050. The period of Kalbite supremacy is for Palermo as for the whole of Sicily the most brilliant of the Arab era. In 445/1053 the last Kalbite, Ṣamṣām, who had climbed to power after a period of turbulence and unrest and a direct intervention by the African Zīrids, was driven from the town, which thenceforward managed its affairs through its *djamāʿa* or municipal council. During this time the ties between the capital and the rest of the country loosened, and finally disappeared. It was thus that Palermo played no special part in the defence of Muslim Sicily against the Normans, and awaited more or less in apathy the arrival of her conquerors beneath her walls, where, however, she defended herself vigorously. She surrendered at last to Robert and Roger d'Hauteville after a five months' siege, at the beginning of Rabīʿ II 464/January 1072, thus becoming Christian again after one hundred and forty years of Muslim domination. But the Arab character of Palermo was only very gradually obscured; although the great mosque was straightway given over to Christian worship and the Muslims lived from then on as subjects of the Normans, it was more than a century before every trace of an Arab population and Arab monuments and customs disappeared. As late as 580/1184 the traveller Ibn Djubayr saw at Palermo districts reserved for Muslims, and mosques, schools and markets frequented by them, and heard much Arabic spoken. The condition of these Muslims in the capital of the Norman kingdom, which had been reasonable enough under the tolerant rule of the two Rogers, grew worse under their successors (there was an anti-Muslim riot or pogrom in 556/1161) and became intolerable in the disturbances which followed the death of William II (1190). By the end of the 6th/12th century the Arab colony in Palermo had almost ceased to exist, although some Muslims of rank managed to remain there in the court of Frederick II.

For the description of Arab Palermo we have the precious account of Ibn Ḥawḳal, who visited the town in 361/972, and those of Ibn Djubayr and al-Idrīsī, two centuries later during the period of Norman supremacy. The Kalbid capital as Ibn Ḥawḳal knew it was divided into five parts: the Ḳaṣr (Cassaro), that is the old town surrounded by walls, the Khāliṣa (Calsa), founded by the Fāṭimids and also walled, and the open districts of the Ḥārat al-Masdjid and the Ḥārat al-Djadīda in the south, and the Ḥārat al-Ṣaḳāliba in the north. The population of Palermo in the days of the Kalbites is estimated by Amari at three hundred or three hundred and fifty thousand. The remains that we have from the period of Arab domination (not counting the famous monuments of Norman-Saracenic art) are very scanty: the site of a mosque beside the church of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, and some old work inside the royal palace (Torre pisana) which has recently been brought to light.

Bibliography: M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1933-38, *passim*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. De Goeje, BGA, I, 82-87; Ibn Djubayr

ed. Wright-De Goeje, GMS, v, 331-333; Idrīsī, ed. Amari and Schiaparelli, *L'Italia nel libro del Re Ruggero*, Rome 1883, 22-23 (text), 25-27 (trans.); G. M. Columba, *Per la topografia antica di Palermo*, in *Centenario Amari*, Palermo 1910, ii, 395-426; U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* (Arabic text), Cairo 1958, 146-8.

(F. GABRIELI)

BALĀSĀGHŪN or BALĀSAĶŪN, a town in the valley of the Ču, in what is now Kirghizia. The medieval geographers give only vague indications as to its position. Barthold, *Otčet o poyezdke v Sredniya Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, 39, suggests its identity with Aķ-Peshin in the region of Frunze. A. N. Bernshtam, *Čuyskaya dolina* in *Materialī i issledovaniya arkheologii S.S.S.R.*, No 14 (1950), 47-55, agrees with Barthold and gives a description of the site. The town was a Soghdian foundation and in Kāshgharī's time, *i.e.*, in the second half of the 11th century, the Soghdian language still survived alongside Turkish. According to Kāshgharī Balāsāghūn was also known as Ķuz-Ordu or Ķuz-Ulush. The former name is also found in the Chinese account of the Ķara-Khitay, and a variant of Ķuz-Ulush — Ķuz-Balīgh or Ghuz-Balīgh, *balīgh* like *ulush* meaning "town" — was according to Djuwaynī still current in the 7th/13th century.

According to a story in the *Siyāsat-nāma* (ed. Schefer, 189) a religious war was planned about 330-1/942-3 against the "infidel Turks" who had conquered Balāsāghūn. These must have been the Ķara-Khānids immediately prior to their conversion to Islam. Balāsāghūn afterwards became the headquarters of the first Ķara-Khānid invasion of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr under Bughra Khān b. Mūsā (d. 382/992-3). Shortly after 416/1025-6 the ruler of Balāsāghūn, Ṭoghan Khān, brother of the Ķara-Khānid ruler of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, ʿAlī Tegin, was driven out of his territory by other members of the dynasty ruling in Kāshghar (Bayhaķī, ed. Morley, 98 and 655, ed. Ghanī and Fayyaḍ, 91 and 526). Balāsāghūn seems afterwards to have belonged to the same ruler as Kāshghar. The poet Yūsuf Khāṣṣ-Ḥādjib, author of the *Ķutadghu Bilig*, the oldest poem in the Turkī language, was born in Balāsāghūn (462/1069-70); the Bughra Khān to whom it is dedicated must be Bughra Khān Hārūn, who ruled over Kāshghar, Khotan and Balāsāghūn, first with his brother Toghrïl Khān and then, for 29 years till 496/1102-3, alone.

About 1130 Balāsāghūn was conquered by the Ķara-Khitay [*q.v.*] and the ruler of the town, who had appealed to their leader (the Gür-Khān) for help against the Ķanghlï and Ķarlïgh nomads, was deposed. The real seat of the Ķarā-Khitay still remained the territory on the Ču while native princes ruled as vassals of the Gür-Khān in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr and Kāshghar as well as in the districts of Semirechye north of the Ili.

When the army of the Gür-Khān was defeated by Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh in Rabīʿ I 607/August-September 1210, on the Talas, the inhabitants of Balāsāghūn, expecting the speedy arrival of the victor, refused the defeated army admittance to the town. After a 16 days' siege it was taken by the Ķara-Khitay and plundered for three days, during which time, according to Djuwaynī, "47,000 of the chief notables were counted among the slain."

Balāsāghūn is seldom mentioned during the Mongol period. Barthold's assumption that it was taken without resistance by Čingiz-Khan's general Djebe in 1218, in the course of his operations against Küčlüg, the Nayman ruler of Ķara-Khitay, is based on a misreading of the name Ghuz-Balīgh as *gho balīgh* "good town". In the account of Timur's campaigns Balāsāghūn is never mentioned; like all the towns on the Ču, Ili and Talas it must have been destroyed during the endless wars and struggles for the throne in the 8th/14th century. Muḥammad Ḥaydar, writing about the middle of the 10th/16th century, knew about Balāsāghūn only from books; of the town itself no trace was then to be found.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted above: W. Barthold, *Turkestan*; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; Kāshgharī, *Divanü Luġat-it-Türk Tercümesi*, transl. B. Atalay, 3 vols., Ankara 1939-41; Djuwaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *The Taʾrikh-i Rashidi*, ed. N. Elias, transl. E. Denison Ross, London 1895.

(W. BARTHOLD-[J. A. BOYLE])

BALĀṬ (Ar.), a word with a number of varied meanings due to its dual etymology, Latin or Greek as the case may be. Deriving from *palatium* it means "palace" (Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 167; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, i, 142 and 145; Muķaddasī, 147, and Ibn Ḥawķal[2], 195, mentioning the *Dār al-Balāṭ* at Constantinople; cf. M. Canard, *Extraits des sources arabes*, ap. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/2, Brussels 1950, 412, 423 and n. 2). Deriving from πλατεῖα (through the intermediary of Aramaic), it has two principal meanings corresponding to those of the Greek term, denoting "a paved way", an old Roman road for example (see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, i, 164), "flagging" or, in the form of the noun of unity *balāṭa*, a "flag-stone" of any kind of material serving to pave the ground or to bear a monumental or memorial inscription (see for example, Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Ins al-Djalīl*, Cairo ed. 1253 AH., 372), whence the meaning of "stele", or "portico" or "colonnaded gallery", more especially the "nave" of a mosque (see for example Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. de Goeje, 190).

The word *balāṭ* occurs in various rural and urban toponyms, both in the Muslim West (see infra) and East, where it is especially frequent in Syria-Palestine. The following are the main occurrences: the town of al-Balāṭ in Northern Syria, which was adjacent to a Roman highway (M. Canard, *Histoire des Hamdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 218),—the al-Balāṭ quarter of Aleppo, the name of which recalled the old monumental thoroughfare (J. Sauvaget),—the former village of Bayt al-Balāṭ in the *ghūṭa* of Damascus,—the village of Balāṭa or Bulāṭa in Palestine (the name of which could also derive from the Latin *platanus*),—the Bāb al-Balāṭ in Jerusalem (cf. J. Sauvaget, *Les perles choisies*, Beirut 1933, 99 n. 1),—the paved square of al-Balāṭ in Medina,—the quarter of Balat in Istanbul [*q.v.*],—the village of Balat, adjacent to the ruins of ancient Milet in Asia Minor and corresponding to the Saldjūķid town of Palatia (see Pauly-Wissowa, under *Miletos*).

Bibliography: E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, ii/1, Paris 1845, 277 n. 3, to be supplemented by J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris 1941, n. 112 and *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947, 69, n. 2. For the toponyms, see Yāķūt, i, 709.

(D. SOURDEL)

BALĀṬ, now a small village on the site of the ancient Miletos in Caria. The word Balāṭ derives from "Παλάτια", the name used for this locality at least from the first years of the 13th century. Balāṭ

came under the control of the Begs of Menteshe [*q.v.*] towards the close of this century and, because of its favourable situation near the mouth of the river Maiandros (Büyük Menderes), served them as a point of departure for their raids into the Aegean Sea and, later, as a commercial centre of some importance. The Venetians had a church and a consulate there by 1355. Balāṭ flourished at this time on the traffic in such commodities as saffron, sesame, wax, alum from Kutahya, slaves from the islands of the Archipelago, etc. The Ottoman sulṭan Bāyazīd I confirmed to the Venetians their privileges at Balāṭ, when, in the winter of 791-2/1389-90, he took over the coast-lands of Menteshe. Tīmūr Beg, after his defeat of the Ottomans at Ankara in 804/1402, set on the throne Ilyās, a member of the local dynasty. This prince was forced, however, to become a vassal of Sulṭān Meḥemmed I in 818/1415 and by 829/1425-6 Menteshe had been absorbed once more, and this time definitively, into the Ottoman state. Balāṭ, during the course of the 15th century, began to sink into a long and slow decline, due in no small measure to its fever-ridden climate and to the gradual silting of the river estuary. None the less, an active, although no doubt diminishing commerce was still associated with Balāt, when Ewliyā Čelebi passed through this region in 1671-1672. Balāṭ, now assigned to the *kaza* of Söke in the province of Aydîn, lies today approximately 9 km. from the sea and had in 1945 a population of about 700 people.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, xv, Stuttgart 1932, cols. 1619-1621, s.v. Miletos; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1923, i, 544 ff. and ii, 353 ff.; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Heft 2), Istanbul 1934, 185 (index); K. Wulzinger, P. Wittek, F. Sarre, *Das Islamische Milet* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), Berlin and Leipzig 1935 (cf. also F. Taeschner, in *OLZ*, vol. 39, Berlin 1936, no. 10, cols. 621-623); ʿAlī Djawād, *Djoghrāfiyā Lughātī*, Pt. i, Istanbul 1313 A. H., 191; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, Istanbul 1935, 146 ff.; *IA*, s.v. *Balat* (Besim Darkot). (V. J. Parry)

BALĀṬ. In Spain, of the various meanings of the word *balāṭ*, the most general seems to be "pave ment"; it was thus used to denote the Roman roads of the Peninsula, as witness the vocabulary attributed to Raimundo Martín. The now ruined town of Albalat, on the border of Romangordo, adjoining a ford across the Tagus, near the Almaraz bridge, must take its name from one of these roads. The battlefield of Tours and Poitiers, called Balāṭ al-Shuhadāʾ [*q.v.*] after the Roman road, would seem to confirm this meaning. But it is extremely doubtful whether such a concrete meaning applied to the whole *iḳlīm* which, according to al-Idrīsī, comprised a large part of present-day Spanish Estramadura, with Alange, Medellín, Trujillo and Cáceres, in addition to the Albalat already mentioned. On the other hand, the numerous Spanish place-names, Albalat, Albalate and their derivatives and diminutives, Albadalejo, Albalatillo, could better be explained by *al-balad*, or *al-balād* "place, terrain or locality"; thus, Albalat de la Ribera, near the river Júcar, Albalat dels Sorells, near Valencia, and Albalat dels Tarongers, in the Sagunto region, do not seem to have any connexion with Roman roads, and seem only to be names of hamlets or villages; the numerous Albalates which exist in the provinces of Teruel, Huesca, Guadalajara, Ciudad-Real, Toledo and the Ajarafe of Seville, must be interpreted in the same way. The derivation from *platea* or *palatium*, applicable to place-names in Jerusalem, Syria and Medina, is not found in al-Andalus.

In addition to the *iḳlīm* of al-Balāṭ in Muslim Spain, there was another *iḳlīm* in the Portuguese zone, al-Balāṭa, situated in the Faḥṣ Balāṭa, a huge plain between Lisbon and Santarem; this *iḳlīm* contained, apart from these two towns, the town of Cintra, and its territory corresponded to present-day Ribatejo. The name given to it by al-Idrīsī coincides with that of Vallada, a small town in the commune of Azambuja; el-Campo de Vallada, a translation of Faḥṣ Balāṭa, is also quoted, although its extent is less than that attributed to it by al-Idrīsī; its etymological derivation from *plata* or *vallata* appears to be neither well-founded nor acceptable.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, text: 175-8, translation: 211, 225-6; Yāḳūt, i, 709; E. Saavedra, *La Geografia de España del Edrisi*, 51-2; David Lopes, *Estudo dos nomes geographicos do territorio muçulmano, que depois foi português*, 47.

(A. Huici Miranda)

BALĀṬ AL-SHUHADĀʾ: an expression used by the Arab historians for the Battle of Poitiers, which was fought between Charles Martel, at the head of the Christian Frankish armies, and the governor of Muslim Spain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiḳī in Ramaḍān 114/October 732.

Neither the name of Poitiers nor that of Tours are mentioned by the Arab authors of the Middle Ages. As for the expression *Balāṭ al-shuhudāʾ*, its occurrence is only recorded from the 5th/11th century onwards and only in Andalusian historians: Ibn Ḥayyān (died 469/1075), quoted by al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Leiden, ii, 9, l. 15-16; Cairo 1949, iv, 15, 1.4 (the same author also called it *Waḳʿat al-Balāṭ*: Leiden, ii, 9, 1.4; Cairo 1949, iv, 14, 1.9); the Anonymous Chronicle entitled *Akhbār Madjmūʿa*, which dates from the 5th/11th century (ed. Lafuente y Alcantara, Madrid, 1868, text, 25; Spanish trans. 36 and no. 2); and subsequently in Ibn Bashkuwāl (died 578/1183), quoted by al-Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, Leiden, ii, 9, l. 16-17; Cairo, iv, 15, l. 5, but with the variant: *Ghazwat al-Balāṭ*; Ibn ʿIdhārī (died end of the VI/XII century), *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i, 37; ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 51; trans. Fagnan, i, 49, but the historian dates the event from 115, instead of from 114; Ibn Khaldūn (died 808/1406), *al-ʿIbar*, Būlāk, iv, 119, l. 6, with lacunae which can be supplemented from the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and from the integral quotation by al-Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, Leiden, i, 146, l. 3; Cairo, 1949, i, 220, l. 15; al-Maḳḳarī (died 1041/1632, supra under Ibn Bashkuwāl and Ibn Khaldūn: the first passage has been translated by Lafuente y Alcantara, *Apendices* to *Ajbar Machmûa*, 198, and the second by Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. ii (London 1843), 37 and note 27.

In the other Arab historians of the Middle Ages, a simple allusion is made to the effect that the Muslims and their leader ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "died a martyr's death there [for Islām]" (*yustashhadu* or *ustushhida*): Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (died 257/871), *Futūḥ Ifriḳiya waʾ l-Andalus*, ed. A. Gateau[2], Algiers 1948, text 120, l. 11; French trans. 121, l. 22; al-Ḍabbī (died 599/1202), *Bughyat al-Multamis*, ed. Codera and Ribera, Madrid 1885, no. 1021, 353, l. 2 (with 115 as the date); Ibn al-Athīr (died 630/1233), v, 130 and 374; transl. Fagnan, *Annales*, Algiers 1901, 60, l. 6 and 94, l. 1-2.

The task confronting the modern historians, both

Arab and especially European, has mainly been to explain the term *Balāṭ* [*al-Shuhadāʾ*] and to determine the exact site of the battle. *Balāṭ* [*q.v.*] is borrowed from the Graeco-Latin and appears to render both *platea*: "wide paved road, paved public square", and *palatium*: "palace". It has been rendered, as regards the Battle of Poitiers, by "pavement" and by "highway". *Pavé* [of the martyrs]: Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France, et de France, en Savoie, en Piémont et dans la Suisse, pendant les 8ᵉ, 9ᵉ et 10ᵉ siècles de notre ère.*, Paris 1836, 49; Pascal de Gayangos, *op. cit.*, ii, 33 and 37: "pavement of the martyrs"; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, 1913, ii, 138; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers* . . ., i (1875), 280, n. 3; M. Mercier and A. Seguin, *Charles Martel et la Bataille de Poitiers*, 1944, 17, 19, 26, 27, 39; C. F. Seybold, in *EI*, i, 55 (S.V. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān . . . al-Ghāfiḳī*). Chaussée [of the martyrs]: Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 1861, i, 252; 2nd. ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, 1932, i, 158 and n. 1; Lafuente y Alcantara, *op. cit.*, 36: *Calzada*; Fr. Codera, *Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona* . . ., 1909-1920, 191: *Calzada*; Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*. ., ii (1920), 9-10: *Calzada*; G. Marçais (and Ch. Diehl), *Le monde oriental de* 395 *à* 1081, 1936, 340 and n. 1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, 1950, 62: "Highway" (or Roman road) of the Martyrs for the Faith".

Study of the texts and examination of the terrain in the region lying between Poitiers and Tours have led the investigators to the largely concurrent conclusions, admirably summed up by Professor Lévi-Provençal in the following words: [the battle took place] "near to a Roman road which linked Chatellerault with Poitiers, about twenty km. north-east of the latter town, probably at a place which is today still called Moussais-la-Bataille . . . in October 732 or Ramaḍān 114 . . . more exactly . . . between the 25th and the 31st of October 732" (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 61-62).

Bibliography: In addition to the works and studies mentioned in the body of the article, the references should be consulted which are given by E. Lévi-Provençal in the 2nd. ed. of the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* by Dozy, Leiden, 1932, i, 158, note 1, and in his own *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, Paris-Leiden 1950, i, 59-62. To this may be added: H. Zotenberg, *Note sur les invasions arabes dans le Languedoc d'après les sources chrétiennes et les historiens musulmans*, in Dom Cl. Devic and Dom J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, Toulouse 1875, ii, 549-558 (Christian sources: 549-554; Arabic sources: 555-558). The bibliography given by M. Mercier and A. Seguin, at the end of *Charles Martel et la Bataille de Poitiers*, Paris 1944, 93-99, containing 135 references, should also be consulted. See also the following modern Arab authors who base their studies almost exclusively on Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins* . . . (Paris, 1836; English tr. by H. K. Sherwani in *IC* iv/1930 and v/1931), which is well over a century old: Shakīb Arslān, *Taʾrīkh Ghazawāt al-ʿArab fī Faransā wa Suwisarā wa Iṭāliyā wa Djazāʾir al-Baḥr al-Mutawassiṭ*, Cairo 1352/1933, 48, 56, 57, 84, 85, 92-103: *Wāḳiʿat Balāṭ al-Shuhadāʾ*; M. ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿArab fī Isbāniyā* . . ., Cairo 1924, 55-59; idem, *Mawāḳif ḥāsima fī taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Cairo 1347/1929, 16 and 114; idem, *al-ʿArab fī Ghālis wa Suwisarā*, in the Cairo review *al-Risāla*, no. 72 (19 November 1934), no. 73 (26 November 1934), and no. 74 (3 December 1934); Ḥasan Murād, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿArab fiʾl-Andalus*, Cairo 1348/1930, 27 (does not use the Arabic term); Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Maʿāriḳ al-ʿArab fiʾl-Sharḳ waʾl-Gharb*, Beirut 1944, 55-56; Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *Āthār Zuhūr al-Islām fiʾl-Awḍāʿ al-Siyāsiyya waʾl-Iḳtiṣādiyya waʾl-Idjtimāʿiyya fiʾl-Baḥr al-Abyaḍ al-Mutawassiṭ*, in *al-Madjalla al-Taʾrīkhiyya al-Miṣriyya*, published by the Société Egyptienne d'Études Historiques, Cairo, lv, fasc. I (May 1951), 67-68, with Bibliography, 68, n.l.

Lastly, the following two works should be noted: the Arabic translation by ʿAlī al-Djārim, under the title of: *al-ʿArab fī Isbāniyā*, Cairo 1366/1947, 27-28, of S. Lane-Poole's *The Moors in Spain*, London 1887, 2nd. ed. 1920; and the historical romance of Djurdjī Zaydān (d. 1332/1914), *Sharl wa ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*: *Riwāya Taʾrīkhiyya Gharāmiyya*, Cairo 1904, 4th. ed. 1926, 181, 185, 218, 218, 223, 230.

In conclusion, it is perhaps of interest to note that al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), is absolutely silent on the Battle of Poitiers (there is nothing in his *Taʾrīkh al-Umam waʾl-Mulūk* (*Annales*), *sub anno* 114, or in the two or three preceeding or following years); likewise Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (died 367/977), in his *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*. (H. Pérès)

BALĀṬUNUS, mediaeval name of a Syrian fortress now in ruins and called Ḳalʿat al-Muhaylba, which was built on one of the first spurs of the Djabal Anṣāriya, and, with the castle of Ṣahyūn, commanded the plain of al-Lādhiḳiya and guarded the road from the Orontes to Djabala, "its port" according to al-Dimashḳī.

According to the Arabic sources, it is supposed to have been begun by the clan of the Banu 'l-Aḥmar, then continued by the Byzantines who obtained possession of it and, in the time of Basil II, based the protection of the coastal region, in which they had taken up their quarters, partly upon it. It again passed under Arab control, but after the First Crusade, was to fall into the hands of Roger of Antioch, who bestowed it on the lord of Saône as a fief, and it remained in the hands of the Franks from 512/1118 to 584/1188. At this latter date, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made himself master of it and in the ayyūbid period it became temporarily part of the Kingdom of Aleppo of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir. After the Mongol invasion which had encouraged the efforts of a local family to establish their independence, it was obliged to surrender to Baybars in 667/1269 and became in the Mamlūk period the centre of one of the six districts of the *niyāba* of Tripoli.

It is not known when it fell into ruins and relinquished its ancient name (derived from the Latin *Platanus*) for the present term, which for a long time prevented its identification.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 710; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwa el-Ladkije*, in *ZDPV*, xiv, 180; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1914-15, 283-88; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 150; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 416; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 113 and 226; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites*, Tours 1940, index.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BALĀWĀT. This is a small village lying some 16 miles south-east of Mawṣil on the Dayr Mār Bihnām-Kara Kosh road. It is mentioned by Yāḳūt under "Balābādh", which he describes as follows: "It is a village situated east of Mawṣil in the province of Nineveh and can be reached by a short journey

from Mawṣil. It is frequented by caravans and there exists in it a *Khan* for travellers. It lies between Tigris and the Zāb rivers". Balāwāt is one of the villages in the Ḥamdāniyya *nāḥiya* in the Mawṣil *Liwā'* of ʿIrāḳ. The majority of its inhabitants are of the Shabak faith (cf. Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *al-Shabak*, 10). Balāwāt's only claim to fame is the existence of a historical mound some few steps from it. This mound is known as "Tell Balāwāt", and is one of the Assyrian historical sites excavated in the 19th century; Hormuzd Rassām, of Mawṣil, discovered there in 1878 the bronze gates of the palace of the Assyrian king Shalmanessar III (859-824 B.C.). These gates were taken to the British Museum, London. The inscriptions and scenery contained thereon illustrate the first third of the reign of this king, and also clarify some of the conditions prevailing in the 9th century B.C. From some of the Assyrian texts, it appears that the ancient name of Tell Balāwāt was Imgur-Enlil.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 707; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1954, i 214; E. Abdāl, *al-Lu'lu' al-Naḍīd*, Mosul 1951, 213; Pinches, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vii 1882, 83-118; Birch & Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat* (1880-1902); H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, New York 1897, 200 ff.); Billerbeck & Delitzsch, *Die Palasttore Salmanassars II*, Leipzig 1908; King (L.W.), *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmanesar King of Assyria*, London 1914. (G. AWAD)

BALAWHAR [see BILAWHAR WA YŪDĀSAF].

AL-**BALAWĪ**, ABŪ MUḤ. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤ. AL-MADĪNĪ, Egyptian historian; the dates of his birth and death are not known, but we can reasonably assume that he lived in the 4th/10th century. He belonged to the Arab tribe Baliyy, a branch of the Ḳuḍāʿa, who were scattered in different parts of the Ḥidjāz, Syria and Egypt.

The earliest biographical notice is that given in the *Fihrist*, which names several books. All of them are lost, but Al-Balawī's *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn* was discovered in about 1935 by the late Muḥ. Kurd ʿAlī. He edited it with a long introduction and useful commentary (Damascus 1939). Kurd-ʿAlī took al-Balawī for an Ismaʿīlī writer, a point of view which has been proved wrong by Ivanow, by Abū ʿAbd-Allāh al-Zindjānī, and by the late ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbādī.

There are other short biographies of al-Balawī in the later books of biography such as al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*, al-Nadjāshī's *Kitāb al-Ridjāl*, al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl* and Ibn Ḥadjar's *Lisān al-Mīzān*. These all agree in saying that he was a 'liar' (in relating *ḥadīth*) and that he cannot be relied upon because he forges *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḥadjar adds that he is "the author of al-Shāfiʿī's journey which was elaborated and beautified by him, but most of its contents were invented".

His book *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* is now considered the most important source for the study not only of the history of this great ruler but also of the history of Egypt, the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate and the Near East in general in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. It is more detailed than other sources on the same subject, such as *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* by Ibn al-Dāya (abridged by Ibn Saʿīd in *al-Mughrib*), *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a* by the same author, *Akhbār Sībawayh al-Miṣrī* by Ibn Zūlāḳ and *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa 'l-Ḳuḍāt* by al-Kindī.

Al-Balawī says in the introduction that he was asked to write a history of the Ṭūlūnids in greater detail than the earlier work by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Dāya, but he does not name the person who asked him to write this book. There are indications, however, that he was a statesman or a man of letters of the Ikhshīdid period. For instance, al-Balawī mentions in his book the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Muḳtadir, who was killed in the year 320/932, and this means that the book must have been written after this year (al-Ikhshīd began his rule in Egypt in in the year 323/934-5). It is obvious too that al-Balawī wrote his book after the death of Ibn al-Dāya, and we know that the latter died after the year 330/941-2. The manuscript which was discovered by Kurd ʿAlī bears the title *Kitāb Sīrat Āl Ṭulun*, but only contains the biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

There is great resemblance between al-Balawī's work and that written by Ibn al-Dāya, although the former is more detailed. Kurd ʿAlī says that al-Balawī copied from his predecessor but it seems more likely that both of them depended mostly upon the same main source, which was the official documents preserved in the first chancery office (*Dīwān al-Inshā'*) founded in Egypt by Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn (see the *Sīrat* of al-Balawī, 100-1, 111, 122, 224, 228-9).

The *Sīrat* ot al-Balawī is an invaluable source for many reasons. One of the oldest Muslim historical works written in Egypt, it sheds new light on the history of institutions, such as the *kharādj*, the police, justice, espionage, the post, etc. It also contains a number of official documents relating to that period.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī Ḥula al-Maghrib*, vol. i of the part concerning Egypt, ed. Zakī Muḥ. Ḥasan, Shawḳī Ḍayf and Sayyida Ismāʿīl Kāshif, Cairo 1935; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo (no date); al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa*, Calcutta 1853; al-Nādjāshī, *Kitāb al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317/1899-1900; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl fī Naḳd al-Ridjāl*, Lucknow 1884; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329-31 A.H.; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbādī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn li-Abī Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh .... al-Balawī* (review in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, Alexandria University, vol. i, 1943, 1-9). (G. E. SHAYYAL)

BALBAN [see DELHI SULTANATE].

BALDJ B. **BISHR** B. ʿIYĀḌ AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, an Arab military leader, of a brave but haughty disposition, commanded the Syrian cavalry in the army sent against the Berbers in 123/741 by the Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, under the leadership of Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ, Baldj's uncle. After their arrival in Ifrīḳiya (in Ramaḍān 123/20 July-18 August 741), the violence and arrogance Baldj and his Syrians earned them the bitter hostility of the African Arabs, especially the Anṣār, who had fled westwards in a body after the battle fought in the Ḥarra in 63/683. So it was that when near Tilimsān the Syrian army was united with the African army (together amounting to some 60,000 men), they all but came to blows through the arrogance of the Syrians and a quarrel which arose between Baldj and the commander of the African troops Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda. The Berbers, however, so as to exhaust the enemy, withdrew right up to the river Sebū, at the extreme limit of the Maghrib. Just before the encounter with the Berber army, Kulthūm withdrew the command of the African contingent from Ḥabīb, who was well-versed in Berber fighting methods, but whose counsel was arrogantly rejected

by Baldj, and entrusted it to two Syrian officers, a measure which still further increased the resentment of the Africans. As a result, the Arabs suffered a complete defeat at Baḳdūra (or Nabdūra on the Sebū to the North of Fās, comp. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 294, rem. 1). Baldj himself, by his over-confidence and the impetuosity of his attack, which resulted in his becoming separated in the action from his foot-soldiers, was the real cause of the disaster (in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 123/17 October-14 November 741). At the head of some 7,000 horsemen, he fought his way through to Ceuta, where he withstood a protracted siege by the Berbers, until the day when the governor of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan [*q.v.*], an Anṣārī, brought him over to Spain with his Syrians to use him against the Berbers who were in revolt there. Precautions, moreover, were taken on both sides: Baldj undertook to leave Spain as soon as the Berber revolt had been repressed; he was to give hostages as a guarantee. On his part, the governor ʿAbd al-Malik promised the Syrians that when the time came for them to depart, they would be taken back to North Africa all together and not in separate groups, which would make them extremely vulnerable; and that, furthermore, they would be landed at a point on the coast of the Maghrib, where the hinterland was effectively under Arab control. The intervention of Baldj and his horsemen was decisive; the Berber rebels had formed themselves into three columns. Baldj countered swiftly and scattered the first group in the direction of Medina-Sidonia. The second band was dispersed in the Cordova region. The third and most numerous column, engaged in laying siege to Toledo, was severely defeated at the battle of Wādī Salīṭ, (the *arroyo* of Guazalete, a small tributary of the left bank of the Tagus). Thenceforth, the governor ʿAbd al-Malik's only desire was to send his too burdensome auxiliaries back to Africa. But he did not adhere to his word, and tried to interpret the stipulations of the agreement contracted with him in the manner least favourable to the Syrians. When he sought to re-embark them for Ceuta the enraged *djundīs* swiftly surprised the weak garrison of Cordova, expelled the governor ʿAbd al-Malik from his palace and installed Baldj in his place. In spite of his predecessor's advanced age, he made the mistake of having him put to torture. An encounter between the two parties took place a little later, in Shawwāl 124/August 742, at Aqua Portora, a few leagues to the north of Cordova, where the Syrians were the victors, in spite of the bravery of the governor of Narbonne, who mortally wounded Baldj with his own hand.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, i, 137 ff., 151 French trans., i, 217, 238 ff.); Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 41-43, ii, 30-32; Maḳḳarī, ii, 11-13; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i, 244-265; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 291-297, 302-306; Müller, *Der Islām*, i, 449-450; Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique septentr.*, i, (1888), 231-232, 234-235; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hisham*, 114-117; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 44-47.

(M. Schmitz-[A. Huici-Miranda])

BALEARIC ISLANDS [see mayurḳa].

BĀLFURŪSH [see bārfurūsh].

BALHARĀ (al-Balharay or Ballaharā < Ballaharāya, Prakrit form of 'Vallabha-rāja', meaning 'the beloved king') represents the title of the kings belonging to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan (c. A.D. 753-975), whose capital was at Mānyakheṭa, now Malkhed (Ar. *Mānkīr*), south of Gulbarga (Mysore). Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Rusta's information that Balharā meant 'the king of kings' or 'the king of the kings of India' is incorrect. Ibn Khurradādhbih's Balharā almost certainly pertains to Govinda III (A.D. 793-814); Sulaymān's to the same prince or to his son Śarva or Amoghavarsha (A.D. 814-878); al-Masʿūdī's to Indra III (A.D. 914-922); and that of Ibn Ḥawḳal also to Amoghavarsha. The later references are mostly repetitions of the information supplied by the earlier authorities. Arab writers generally acclaim these rulers as 'the greatest king of India' or 'the most illustrious', and epithets like 'the king of kings' or 'the supreme king of India' seem to reflect the glory and political supremacy of princes like Govinda III or Indra III. However, some authors present an exaggerated account of the extent of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom (*e.g.*, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn* 'beginning from the sea-coast called *Kumkam* (Konkan) and continuing overland up to China'; some authors 'have somewhat misunderstood Sulaymān [i.e. the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn*] in saying that *Kumkam* was the name of Ballah-rā's country', see *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 238 n. 2). But generally the descriptions of the kingdom are confined to the coastal towns of Bombay, with which Muslim merchants and travellers were familiar, and in which large numbers of Muslims had settled. Arab writers are unanimous in stating that the Balharās loved the Arabs more than any other prince of India did, and that Islam was protected and openly practised in their kingdom. They even appointed Muslims as governors or heads of Muslim communities living in their kingdom. From their accounts it appears that the Arabs were aware, though not fully, of the sanguinary wars that took place between these princes, the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras (*al-Djurz*) of the North and the Pālas (*D.hmy*) of Bengal. The love of the Rāshṭrakūṭas for the Arabs and their liberal attitude towards Islam, as well as the immense praise and glorification of the Rāshṭrakūṭas by the Arabs, must have arisen from the Rāshṭrakūṭas' considering the Muslims as allies against the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras, who were inimical to the Arabs of Sind, and from the presence of large numbers of Muslims living in their kingdom.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 16, 67; Sulaymān the Merchant, *Akbār aṣ-ṣīn wa 'l-Hind, Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, ed. Jean Sauvaget, Paris 1948, 12, 23; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 177-8, 382-3, 253-4; ii, 85-6; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; Ibn Rusta, 134-5; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 238; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, R. C. Majumdar (General Editor), BVB, Bombay 1955, 16-17; *Collected Works* of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, iii, ed. N. B. Utgikar, Poona 1927, 106-7.

(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

BAL-ḤĀRITH [see ḥārith b. kaʿab].

BĀLI, one of the Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia. It lay to the east of Lake Awasa and the Ganale Doria, and extended to the Webi Shabelle near longitude 40 E., with a narrow piece stretching north of the Webi Shabelle to the edge of the Danākil lowlands, the railway marking approximately the northern boundary. The first mention of Bāli seems to be in the epinikia in honour of ʿĀmda Ṣyon king of Ethiopia, 1312-42 (I. Guidi, *Rend Lin*, 1889, nos. viii and ix) where Bāli is described as part of the king's dominions. In the middle of the 14th century al-ʿUmarī described Bāli as being 20 days' journey in length and six days in breadth, under a king who was tributary to the king of Ethiopia and possessed an army of 40,000 horsemen. A century later al-Maḳrīzī repeats al-

ʿUmarī's account, including the statement that the people of Bāli were Ḥanafīs. Till about 1542 the state remained tributary to Ethiopia, when ʿAbbās the ruler made himself independent of Gālāwdēwos king of Ethiopia.

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1927, 2, 18; Maḳrīzī, ed. Rinck, Leyden 1790, p. 15; Perruchon, *Les Chroniques de Zarʾa Yaʿeqôb et de Baʾeda Mâryâm*, Paris 1893; Conzelman, *Le Chronique de Galāwdēwos*, Paris 1895. (G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD)

BALI [see DJĀWA].

BALIABADRA, Turkish name for Pátrai, Patras (fourth largest town on the Greek mainland and the largest on the Morean peninsula), situated on the gulf of the same west of the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth (Turkish *Kordos*, [*q.v.*]), capital of the Nomos Achaia, seat of a bishop. It had about 85,000 inhabitants in 1951. The name Baliabadra comes from Παλαιαὶ Πάτραι, or rather Παλαιά Πάτρα (*Pâtra* is even today the colloquial name for the town), *i.e.*, Old Pátra(i), apparently because from the 14th century onwards New Pátra(i) denoted the fortress under whose protection the old settlement was. Nikiphoros Gregorás (IV.9.4) describes it explicitly as φρούριον τὸ τῶν Νέων Πατρῶν ἐπικεκλημένον. The adjective would not, therefore seem to have been added to distinguish Old Patra(i) from Νέαι Πάτραι, a place near Lamía (Turkish Zitun , conquered by the Ottomans in 1393, which was itself more usually known as Patratzik (Πατρατζίκ, from the Turkish Badradjik) although today, as in antiquity, it is once again known as Hypati. In the west, Old Pátra(i) is known as Patras (from 'ς τάς Πάτρας, compare the Italian Patrasso).

Additional data concerning its pre-Ottoman history can be found in the works of A. Bon, E. Gerland, Wm. Miller, D. A. Zakythinos, cf. bibliography at the end of the article. Only the following facts need be mentioned here: at the division of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, the town became the seat of the Latin duchy of Achaia, and also the seat of an archbishop. In 1408, it became Venetian. On 1 July 1428, the town was threatened—but not captured—by Palaeologue princes who were quarrelling amongst themselves. On 20 March 1429, the despot Constantine repeated the attack on the town. During the course of this attack, the population turned away from the Latin archbishop Pandolfo Malatesta, and their notables swore an oath of allegiance to the Greek despot on June 5th in the Church of St. Andrew. The fortress continued to hold out, and did not surrender to the Greeks until May 1430 (Zakythinos, i, 206 ff.). At the time, Sulṭān Murād II objected to the taking of Pátrai, asking the Greeks to refrain from occupying it, as the inhabitants desired to pay their tribute to him. Sphrantzis, the first governor of Pátrai (later a historian), negotiated with the Porte, and eventually succeeded in obtaining the Sultan's consent (Sphrantzis, 152-3). It was, apparently, not until 17 years later that Murād II made an attempt to gain Pátrai for himself. According to Dukas (ed. Vas. Grecu [Bucharest 1958], 278,[19]), he advanced in the winter of 1446/7 "as far as Pátrai and Klarentza" (the Kyllíni of today), on which occasion he may have succeeded in taking the open town by a surprise attack, but it is hardly likely that he also overcame the almost impregnable fortress above. Cf., however, Hammer-Purgstall, i, 473. The country all around was laid waste at the time, and some 60,000 people were led off into slavery. When the despot Constantine became Emperor of Byzantium in 1448, his brother Thomas took possession of north-western Morea, that is to say, of the whole of Achaia, including Pátrai and Klarentza, where he may well have held court (cf. Zakythinos, i, 242). Meḥemmed II, the Conqueror, went in person to Pátrai, in summer 1458, arriving from Mouchli (cf. E. Darkó in the Πρακτικά of the Academy of Athens, vi, Athens 1931, 22-29). He found it deserted and derelict. The inhabitants had fled to Venetian possessions on the Morean peninsula. This time, the fortress surrendered after a short resistance (cf. Kritoboulos, in the edition of C. Müller, FHGraec, V, Paris 1870, 123, also F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, 176 ff. (French edition 1954, Italian edition 1957). The sultan considered Pátrai a suitable place for his commerce with the West, and he therefore invited the population to return, granting special privileges and tax reductions (cf. Kritoboulos, in the above mentioned book, 123; and Zakythinos (see above), i, 258). Later, early in 1459, there were Greek attempts to regain the town, but these failed (cf. Chalkokondyles, ed. I. Bekker, 457 f.). Pátrai remained, now as Baliabadra, an Ottoman possession for more than 350 years, without, however, regaining the great position it had once held in the times of the Roman Emperors, when there was a flourishing trade with Italy. Baliabadra became a Turkish provincial town and administrative centre, but was without any commercial significance. Attempts made by Venice to regain the town repeatedly failed. In summer 1464, Iacopo Barbarigo, Provveditore of Morea, made an ill-fated attempt on the town, which was successfully repulsed by Turakhan-oghlu ʿUmar-Beg (cf. s.v. and also Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 84 f.). In September 1532, however, the imperial admiral Andrea Doria captured the practically unprotected Pátrai without fighting, but the re-occupation was only temporary (cf. J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii, 734 f.). In 1685, the Venetian general landed in Pátrai (with an army which largely consisted of German mercenaries) in order to drive the Turks from Morea. On 24 July 1687, Baliabadra (abandoned by the Ottomans and partly blown up by them) fell into the hands of F. Morosini's troops, after a heated battle (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 132); but this reoccupation, again, did not lead to any permanent re-establishment of Venetian rule in Morea. In the middle of April 1770, the town was taken by surprise by a horde of Greeks, who were shortly afterwards either killed or taken as slaves by the Albanians and Turks. At that time, Baliabadra once again went up in flames, and only a few families saved themselves and their possessions, fleeing to the Ionian islands (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 931). The first big Greek rebellion against Turkish rule in Pátrai started on 6 April 1821. On this occasion, the archbishop of Pátrai (since 1806) Germanós (1771-1826) led the battle for liberation. On 15 April 1822, the Ottomans stormed the town for the last time under the leadership of Yusuf Mukhliṣ Pasha (from Serres), who razed the town to the ground. French troops came to the assistance of the Greeks and took possession of Pátrai in 1828, being relieved by the Bavarians in 1833. Since then, the town has been rebuilt in a regular checkerboard plan and has once again developed into a flourishing port, linked more recently with Athens (cf. ATINA) overland by the Peloponnesian Railway (230 km.).

Until the middle of the 18th century, whilst Baliabadra was under Ottoman rule, it had only once been described by a western traveller, viz.

Master Thomas Dallam (1599-1600), see *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. by I. Theod. Bent (London 1893; Hakluyt Society, vol. LXXXVII), 86. The first such description dates from 1740, when Richard Pococke (*A Description of the East*, ii/2, London 1745, 176 f.) mentions it as an unhealthy town in a swampy plain, seat of a Greek archbishop, with 12 parish churches, each with 80 Christian families, some 10 Jewish families and roughly 250 Turkish ones "who are not the best sort of people". At that time there were an English Consul General, a French Vice-Consul (the Consulate was in Modon), and a Venetian and a Dutch Consul in Pátrai. The description of the town by Dr. Richard Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, Oxford 1776) in 1764, is much the same. The description by the Ottoman globe-trotter Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥetnāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 288-292), who was there in 1080/1669, is much more extensive. He noted a mosque near the market (*čarshu*), donated by Meḥemmed II, and one of Bāyazīd II in the citadel (*ič ḳalʿa*), also the mosque of the Kyaya (Ketkhudā Dj.), and not far from this, the mosque of Sheykh-Efendi, that of Ibrāhīm Čavuš, and finally the mosque at the Dabbāgh-khāne (*i.e.*, tannery). Furthermore there were at that time three smaller houses of prayer (*masdjid*), four Dervish monasteries (that of Sheykh-Efendi amongst them), and three baths (*ḥammām*). Ewliyā Čelebi mentions places of pilgrimage near Baliabadra, amongst these the one of Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ Baba [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, 'Sveti Nikola', and the one of 'Jovani-Baba'—doubtless old Christian places of pilgrimage. In his description, Ewliyā Čelebi calls Baliabadra "ballu (ballī) Baliabadra", *i.e.*, "Baliabadra rich in honey"; compare "ballu Badra" (*'Anonymus Giese'*, 141_{18}). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, translated by J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, 124 f.) gives only a few details concerning the port and administration in Baliabadra.

The fever-ridden, swampy plains to the north, east and south-east of the town (cf. R. Pococke, in the above mentioned book, ii/2, 176), have long since been dried up. Commerce is largely concerned with currants, oil, and wine, as well as silk (which was already cultivated in Ottoman times, as is also described by Pococke), and this has made Pátrai into a flourishing trading centre. According to Ludwig Steub, *Bilder aus Griechenland*, Leipzig 1885, 230, in 1822, Pátrai consisted solely of the ruins of five mosques, fallen down churches, derelict houses, and only a few repaired and inhabited dwellings.

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(FR. BABINGER)

BĀLIGH (A), major, of full age; *bulūgh*, puberty, majority; opp. *ṣaghīr*, minor, *ṣabī*, boy, *ṣughr*, minority. Majority in Islamic law is, generally speaking, determined by physical maturity in either sex (the Shāfiʿīs explicitly lay down a minimum limit of nine years); should physical maturity not manifest itself, majority is presumed at a certain age: fifteen years according to the Ḥanafīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, eighteen years according to the Mālikīs (various other opinions are ascribed to the old authorities). Within these limits, the declaration of the person concerned that he or she has reached puberty, is accepted. Majority is one of the conditions of full legal capacity; the minor is subject to a legal disability (*ḥadjr*) and to the guardianship of his father or other legal guardian [cf. WILĀYA]. The major who is of sound mind (*ʿāḳil*), is *mukallaf*, i.e. obliged to fulfil the religious duties, and therefore also responsible in criminal law. But majority (together with soundness of mind) does not by itself produce contractual capacity, the capacity to dispose of one's own property; in order to have this effect, it must be accompanied by *rushd*, discretion or responsibility in acting. The father or other legal guardian must not only encourage the minor to fulfil his religious duties regularly, but test his *rushd* when he approaches puberty, and hand over his property to him only when he shows that he possesses it (cf. Ḳurʾān iv, 6). The other schools of religious law do not lay down a time limit for this, but the Ḥanafīs fix the age at which his property must be handed over to him in any case, at 25 years, an obvious adoption of the *legitima actas* of Roman law. The Mālikīs, in the case of a woman, make this kind of capacity dependent, in addition to majority and *rushd*, either on the consummation of marriage, or on a formal act of emancipation by the father or other legal guardian, or on becoming an "old spinster" (*ʿānis*); a somewhat similar opinion is also held by some Ḥanbalīs. Islamic law envisages a gradual transition from the status of minor to that of major, as exemplified by the *mumayyiz*, the "discerning minor", and the *murāhiḳ*, the "minor on the point of reaching puberty".

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(ED.)

BĀLIK, Turko-Mongol word for "town" = or "castle" (also written BĀLIḲ and BĀLIGH); appears frequently in compound names of towns, such as Bīshbāliḳ ("Five Towns", at the present day in ruins at Gučen in Chinese Turkestan), Khānbāliḳ (the "Khān's Town"), Turko-Mongol name for Pekin (also frequently used by European travellers in the middle ages in forms like (Cambalu), Ilibāliḳ (on the River Ili, the modern Iliysk) etc. As the town of Bāshbāliḳ is mentioned as early as the Orkhon inscriptions (2nd/8th century), Bāliḳ, in the meaning of town, is one of the oldest of Turkī words, as is the word Bāliḳ "fish", which is similarly pronounced and is common to all Turkī dialects.

Bibliography: R. Rahmeti Arat, *IA* (s.v.).

(W. BARTHOLD.)

BĀLIKESRĪ, Balīkesir, a town of north-western Asia Minor, in the region known in ancient times as Mysia. The name Bālikesrī derives from the Greek "Παλαιοκάστρον". Al-ʿUmarī, in his *Masālik al-*

Abṣār, refers to this locality as "Akīrā" (= "Ὀχυρά", a name current in the period of the Comneni). The Roman Hadrianuthera is believed to have been situated in this same district. Bālikesrī was one of the chief towns in the emirate of Ḳarasī [*q.v.*], which came into being when the Turks wrested this area from the Byzantines in the years around 699-700/1300. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled through Asia Minor c. 730-1/1330, judged Bālikesrī to be a beautiful and well-populated place. The amīrate of Ḳarasī was soon absorbed into the Ottoman state, a process which began in about 735-6/1335 and appears to have been gradually completed during the reign of Orkhān Ghāzī. Ḳarasī, under Ottoman rule, long remained a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu, until in the reign of Maḥmūd II it was attached to the *wilāyet* of Khudāvendigār. It is now a separate province with Bālikesrī as its administrative centre. Bālikesrī, situated at the foot of the Yïlan-dagh ("mount of the serpent"), confronts a fertile plain noted for its production of cereals, vegetables and fruit. Its population was estimated in 1945 to be a little less than 34,000.

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(V. J. Parry)

BALĪNŪS. Silvestre de Sacy was the first to state that this name means Apollonius. The above form and Balīnās are the most frequently used ones. Other forms are Abullūniyūs (*Fihrist*, 266, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 61), Abūlūniyūs (Cheikho's personal MS. of Ibn Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, 1912, 28, 16), Afullūniyūs (*ibid.*, 29,1), Afūlūniyūs (Barhebraeus, ed. Salhani, 118), Ablīnas (*Fihrist*, *l.c.*), ʿlūsūs (*ibid.*, 263, 21, cf. Plessner, *Der* οἰκονομικός *des Neupythagoreers 'Bryson'*, 1928, 4 f.; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Contribution*, ii, 273 n. 3), Abūlūs (Yaʿḳūbī, i, 165) Ablūs (Ps. Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, 1933, 107 ff.; the meaning Apollonius is proved by the fragment of a Hebrew translation in Cod. Adler 1920). For other forms see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 270, n. 6.

In Islam, two persons named Apollonius are known, the famous mathematician Apollonius of Perge in Pamphylia (ca. 200 B.C.) and a sage whose personality is based on the Greek tradition about Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia (1st cent. A.D.).

Apollonius of Perge appears in the biographical sources (not in the MSS. of his works) almost invariably with the epithet al-Nadjdjār (the carpenter), the origin of which has not yet been explained satisfactorily. Since G. Flügel, *al-Kindi*, 1857, 53 it has been customary to render this by "the geometer", and as a matter of fact, Apollonius was already in antiquity called "the great geometer". Also Euclid was called the geometer, and Ibn al Ḳifṭī, 62 (E. Kapp's quotation *al-muhandis*, in *Isis*, xxii, 1934, 161 n. 20 is wrong) calls him al-Nadjdjār in the heading of his article, but states afterwards that Euclid was a carpenter by vocation. However, no other place is known where *al-nadjdjār* appears as the translation of geometer, and no dictionary gives this translation.

A detailed discussion of the Arabic translations of, and commentaries on, Apollonius' famous *Conica* and his other works has been given by M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, l, 1896, 180-187; cf. also G. Sarton, in *IHS*, i, 173-175 and indexes of all three volumes; Brockelmann, S, index s.v. *Apollonios v. Perga* (instead of 852 read 856); M. Krause, *Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker*, 1936.

With regard to Apollonius of Tyana, there are considerable contradictions in the various sources, and the tradition about the *ṣāḥib al-ṭilasmāt*, as he is usually called (beside *al-ḥakīm*) has even, to a certain degree, influenced the reports concerning Apollonius of Perge. Our oldest source, Yaʿḳūbī, i, 165 rightly relates that Apollonius lived under the reign of Domitian (81-96), and the same is related by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 73, and Barhebraeus, *l.c.* But the same Yaʿḳūbī speaks on p. 134 of "Balīnūs al-nadjdjār who is called the orphan, and he is the *ṣāḥib al-ṭilasmāt*, etc.". The confusion lies not only in the use of the epithets of both Apollonius for one and the same person, but also in the addition "the orphan": in the preface of the *Sirr al-Khalīḳa* (see below) Balīnūs calls himself "an orphan inhabitating Tyana" (cf. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 273 n. 3). In the *Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar* (see below) Aristotle tells Alexander that he had received the book from Apollonius (the text in J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1926, 72). Here Apollonius appears as a contemporary of Philip and his son Alexander, and so he does in al-Balʿamī's Persian version of Ṭabarī (cf. Zotenberg's French translation, i, 510 f.; the whole passage is missing in the Arabic Ṭabarī) and in Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nāma* (cf. W. Bacher, *Nizâmî's Leben und Werke*, 1871, 67 ff. and Persian text, 28; W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1905, 45). This anachronism with regard to Apollonius the talisman-maker has, in its turn, influenced Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's dating of Apollonius of Perge; his article about the latter begins (p. 61): "Apollonius the carpenter, mathematician of ancient time, much earlier than Euclid; he wrote the book *Conica*". And in his article on Euclid, 63, Euclid, a carpenter of Tyre, explains and accomplishes for an unnamed Greek king two books of Apollonius on irregular polyeders (this is in fact the subject of Euclid's *Elementa*). On 65 he speaks, on the contrary, of a commentary on Euclid's 10th book by an ancient (*ḳadīm*) Greek man named Balīs (the variant readings show with almost absolute certainty that he speaks of Apollonius). Now, Apollonius of Perge lived about 80-100 years after Euclides. (Kapp, *op. cit.*, 163-168 does not even point out this confusion!).

In Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *Ādāb al-Falāsifa*, an Apollonius appears in two places: in part i ch. 5 the saying engraved on his seal is reported, and of part ii the whole ch. 17 is dedicated to his apophthegms. None of these dicta is characteristic of either of the two Apollonius; but Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī points to Apollonius of Tyana, when he, in the first paragraph of ii, 17 ("The pen is the most powerful sorcerer") substitutes "talisman" for "sorcerer".

Also the six *sermones* in the *Turba Philosophorum*

attributed by Steinschneider (*Europ. Uebers. aus dem Arab.*, II, SBAk. Wien, 1905, 67 ff.) and Ruska (*Ṭ. Ph.*, 1931, 23 ff.) to Apollonius of Tyana are no more characteristic of him than do the other alchemistic *sermones* of their respective orators.

Of the Arabic books connected with the name of Apollonius of Tyana the following are preserved in this language either in full or partly or in quotations of some length:

1. *K. al-ʿIlal* or *Sirr al-Khalīḳa*, parts of which were edited and translated by Sivestre de Sacy (*Notices et Extraits*, iv, *an.* 7/1798-99, 108 ff.) and J. Ruska (*Tab. Sm.*, 124-163). The latter also proved that the famous alchemist text known as *Tabula Smaragdina* has its original place at the end of this book; and P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 303 has shown that the whole book is to be a commentary of that text. About the Latin translation by Hugo Sanctalliensis, cf. Ruska, 177 ff. The analysis of the book by Kraus, 270-303 led to its dating in the time of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn and shew its close relation to the Syriac *Book of Treasures* by Job of Edessa (ca. 817 A.D.), ed. Mingana, 1935, as well as to the Greek περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου by Nemesius of Emesa (5th cent. A.D.). Cf. now also L. Massignon, in A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, i, 1944, 395 f., and the additions in the 2nd ed., 1950: A. E. Affifi, in *BSOAS*, xiii, 1949-51, 847 ff. Kraus also showed the great influence of this book on Djābir Ibn Ḥayyān; the latter wrote a considerable number of books on different subjects *ʿalā raʾy Balīnās*, cf. Kraus, i, index, s.v. *Balīnās*; J. W. Fück, *Ambix*, iv, 1951, § 12 and Commentary), parts of them were edited by Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān, Textes choisis*, 1935.

2. *Risāla fī Taʾthīr al-Rūḥāniyāt fi 'l-Murakkabāt*, MS. Istanbul, Asʿad 1987 (Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv, 1931, 551 f.), Wehbi 892 (courtesy of H. Ritter), Chester Beatty (cf. J. Bowman, *Glasgow Univ. Or. Soc., Transactions*, xiv, 1950-52); for other MSS., see Kraus, ii, 293 n. 5.

3. *al-Mudkhal al-Kabīr ilā ʿIlm Afʿāl al-Rūḥāniyāt*, in all MSS. following no. 2, Hebrew translation in Paris, MS. Hebr. 1016 and Steinschneider MS. 29 (cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 846 f. and Plessner, *l.c.*).

4. *K. Talāsim Balīnās al-Akbar li-Waladih ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* (!), Paris MS. 2250, fol. 84-134, identical with *K. Balīnās li-Ibnih fi 'l-Ṭilasmāt*, Berol. Pet. I 66, fol. 41v-72v (Ahlwardt 5908).

5. A *Kitāb Ablūs* (vocalisation uncertain) *al-Ḥakīm* is one of the sources of the lists of images to be engraved on the stones of the planets, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, 107-124. Whether this book is the *Liber de imaginibus* quoted by Albertus Magnus, *De libris licitis* (cf. F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, 1956, 58 ff.), is still an open question.

6. The Hermetic book *Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar* given to Alexander by Aristotle who received it from Apollonius has been elaborately discussed and partly edited and translated by Ruska, *Tab. Sm.*, 68-107; it contains also some of the talismans located by Apollonius in several towns. The connexion between the prologue and the Babylonian report on the Flood has been stated by Plessner, in *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 52 ff.

(For the Arabic texts belonging to the above nos. 1 and 6 as published by Ruska, cf. Plessner, in *Islamica*, xvi, 1927, 83 ff.).

7. In no. 3, the author alludes several times to his *Risālat Sal-siḥr*, which is as yet unknown in Arabic; but perhaps the Hebrew *Mlekhet muškelet* (Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.*, 848, cf. also *ZDMG*, xlv, 1891, 444) has something to do with it.

8. Al-Ḳazwīnī quotes in many places of his *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt* (see the list in Bacher, *op. cit.*, 70 n. 26) a *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ* by Balīnās, which has not yet been traced, Steinschneider judges the title to be a fiction (*Hebr. Übers.*, 845 n. 7).

The vast number of medieval Latin and vernacular texts ascribed to Balīnūs (Belenus and the like) cannot be dealt with here, cf. Steinschneider, *Europ. Übers.*, Index, and Carmody, *op. cit.*, index. But there is no doubt that some of the authors whose books are published or analysed in the *Lapidario del rey D. Alfonso X*, reproduced and partly edited by J. F. Montaña, 1881, are translations of Arabic books attributed to Apollonius; cf. the full list in Sarton, ii, 837. Here belong: 1. Abolais (never deciphered, cf. G. O. S. Darby, in *Osiris*, i, 1936, 251 ff.), 4. Yluz, 5. Belyenus and Ylus, 6. Plinius and Hermuz (Hermes). A comparison of these names with the forms of the name of Apollonius in Arabic at the beginning of this article will furnish sufficient evidence.

The Greek *Apotelesmata Apollonii Tyanensis*, simultaneously edited by F. Nau, *Patrologia, Syriaca*, I 2, 1907, 1363 ff., and F. Boll, *Cat. Codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, vii, 1908, 175 ff. contains passages of which the Latin translation from the Arabic can be traced in Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 12 C XVIII (Carmody, 73), and even an English translation in Sloane 3826. For another Latin (Vatican) MS. cf. Carmody, *l.c.* Similar texts, also translated from Arabic, in Sloane 3848. The name of the disciple of Apollonius to whom the Greek text is dedicated has been identified with that of the author of a text edited in Syriac and Arabic by G. Levi Della Vida, *La Dottrina e i Dodici Legati di Stomathalassa, Atti Acc. Naz. Lin., Cl. Sci. mor. stor. fil.*, viii/iii, fasc. 8, Rome 1951.

Another pupil of Apollonius is the famous Artefius (not Arletius, as in Brockelmann, S I, 429, nor Atrefius, as in the additions in vol. iii, 1208), the author of *Clavis sapientiae*, the Arabic original of which, *Miftāḥ al-Ḥikma*, has been discovered by Levi Della Vida, and described in *Speculum*, xiii, 1938, 80-85; cf. Kraus, 298 f.

Bibliography: On Apollonius of Perge, see also H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*; M. Krause, *Stambnler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker*; M. Steinschneider, *Euklid bei den Arabern* (*Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik, Historisch-Literarische Abteilung*, vol. xxxi, 1886). (M. Plessner)

BĀLIS, former town in northern Syria, which was both a port on the Western bank of the Euphrates and an important stage, 100 km. from Aleppo and at the entrance to the Djazīra, of the road from Antioch and the Mediterranean leading, via al-Raḳḳa, to Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ. The commercial and agricultural prosperity of the town was doubtless due to its situation at a point of intersection of river and land highways, and in a warm valley where the irrigation possibilities favoured the development of husbandry.

Known in antiquity under the Aramaic and Greek names of BYT BLS and Barbalissos, indicated both in the *Table de Peutinger* and the *Notitia Dignitatum* and, after the administrative division of the province of Syria which took place towards the middle of the 11th century A.D., belonging to the *Augusta Euphratensis*, it played the rôle of a

frontier town which was to continue in the Byzantine period, when it was several times pillaged by the Persians. It suffered particular damage during the campaign of Khusraw II Anushirwān and was rebuilt by the efforts of Justinian. Previously, the hagiographers had made it the site of the martyrdom of Bacchus, a famous saint of the area, whose relics are said to be preserved there.

Occupied by the Arabs as the result of a treaty concluded with Abū ʿUbayda after the capture of Aleppo and abandoned at that time by certain elements of the population, in the Umayyad period Bālis formed part of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and was subsequently, under al-Rashīd, attached to the territory of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*]. It continued to retain its strategical importance for a long time in the vicinity of the Byzantine territories. The famous general Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik took an interest in it to the extent of having a canal excavated and improving the production of the land. He established himself there and it was to remain the property of his descendants. In 245/859 the town suffered from an earthquake which affected the whole of Northern Syria; subsequently it shared the fate of the cities of the area, escaping from Caliphal control and entering the orbit of the Ṭūlūnids, then that of the Ḥamdānids, until the Saldjūḳids, in their turn, extended their authority to the region. Its economic decline, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, who, however, still mentions rich grain harvests, dates apparently from the end of the reign of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla; but the brief information given by the geographers should not make us forget the signs of prosperity, borne out by archaeological remains, right into the Ayyūbid period. At the time of the Crusades, it was subject especially to indecisive incursions by the Franks, after which it continued to pass from hand to hand of various Muslim masters, among whom can be cited at the end the Ayyūbids al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr (who seems to have held it at least from 607/1210-11, the date inscribed on the minaret which he had erected). At this time various indications seem to show that the population of Bālis, where several *mashhads* were venerated in connexion with the memory of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn, was mainly Shīʿite. Subsequently the destruction wrought by the Mongol invasion destroyed the locality, which did not even appear in the administrative organisation of Mamlūk Syria.

At the present day the ruins of Bālis lie five km. from the small modern village of Meskéné on a plateau overlooking the valley of the Euphrates which flows at quite a distance from the site. The fortified enclosure can still be identified, with its monumental doors, the remains of a brick praetorium doubtless dating back to the times of Justinian and the site of the great mosque, indicated by the beautiful octogonal brick minaret, erected on a rectangular base and bearing four series of ornamental inscriptions. The numerous mounds where abundant potsherds are to be found, have never been systematically excavated, but trial soundings carried out about 1925 revealed interesting sculptured plaster decorations with inscriptions dated 464/1072 and 469/1076-77.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, see Barbalissos; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, part. 452-53; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, part. 314-20; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, Paris 1940, index; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i. Algiers 1951, 88 and 226; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1910-11 (with an epigraphical contribution from M. van Berchem), i, 2-3, 114 and 123-29; G. Salles, in *Mémoires du IIIe Congrès int. d'art et d'arch. iraniens*, Leningrad 1935, 221-26; *Répertoire chr. d'épigraphie arabe*, no. 2678, 2712 and 3828; J. and D. Sourdel, in *Annales arch. de Syrie*, iii, 1953, 103-105; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 417; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 150-51; *BGA*, *indices*; Ṭabarī, iii, 52, 1440, 2028, 2200; Yāḳūt, i, 477 ff.; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, i and ii, index; Ibn Shaddād, *Description d'Alep* (ed. Sourdel), index; al-Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 61. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BĀLISH (Persian: "cushion"), Turkish: *yastuḳ*, a 13th century Mongolian monetary unit, which was in use particularly in the eastern part of the Empire. It is, however, also mentioned frequently by the Īlkhāns [*q.v.*] in Īrān. In China it appears as late as the 14th century. The *bālish* was coined in gold and in silver, and (according to Djuwaynī, *GMS* i, 16, and Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay, 22), corresponded to 500 *mithḳāl* (according to W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, 1-8, on the basis of numismatic observations: 4. 3 g. each; Djuwaynī, trans. J. A. Boyle, i, 22, writes *loc. cit.* of 50, instead of 500 *mithḳāl*). According to this assessment, *a bālish* would weigh 2.15 kg., and this would agree with a Western report by William of Rubruquis, ed. Rockhill, 156, which states that one silver *bālish* corresponds to 10 (Cologne) marks, *i.e.*, 2.338 kg.

W. Hinz assesses the gold value (taking 1 g. of gold at a price of 2.88 gold marks) at 6,192 gold marks. If we assume the relative value of gold to silver (according to Ahmet-Zeki Validi (now Togan), *Moğollar devrinde Anadolun'un iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuasî*, i, 1931, 1-42), to be 12 : 1 (cf. also B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], 1955, 556 corresponding to 303[7]), then one silver *bālish* corresponds to 516 gold marks.

According to Djuwaynī (*loc. cit.*) a silver *bālish* has the value of 75 Ruknī dīnārs of 2/3 standard (so-called after the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, 934-976); thus the value of such a dīnār would be 6.88 DM.).

Other statements of the same period do not indeed agree with Djuwaynī, but this may be due partly to fluctuations in value. According to Djūzdjānī (Djawzadjānī), *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, trans. Raverty, 1110, the *bālish* corresponded to 60 1/3 dirhams; Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay, 22, quotes the gold *bālish* at 2,000, the silver *bālish* at 200 dīnārs (which corresponds to a proportion of 10 : 1 for gold : silver at that time). One *bālish* in paper money (*čao*) was worth 10, or (according to Waṣṣāf, 506) only 6 dīnārs (this is an indication of the rapid fall in value of the *čao*). W. Barthold assumed that here the silver dīnār worth 3 *mithḳāl* is meant (cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv, 464).

Bibliography: Rashid al-Din ed. Quatremère, i, 320 f., note 120 (compilation of relevant parts of sources, although seen from the erroneous point of view that the *bālish* does not denote a definite sum of money but a "great quantity" of money); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], Berlin 1955, 304 f. with notes; W. Barthold/W. Hinz, *Die pers. Inschrift .... zu Ani*, in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 241-269; W. Hinz, in *Islam*, xxxii (1959) (note on Boyle's translation of Djuwaynī); concerning *yastuḳ*, cf. P. Pelliot in Tʿoung-Pao, no. 27 (1930), 190-2, *ibid*, 32 (1936), 80; idem, *Notes sur ... la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1950, 8. (B. Spuler)

BĀLISH, Belesh, Span. Vélez, a toponymic of Berber origin encountered on the coast of the Rif and at various places in the Iberian peninsula with the spellings بالش، بَالِش and بلش. Al-Bakrī mentions the port of Bālish after those of Bādis and Būḳuya, opposite Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera, on the Rif coast. Another Bālish, unidentified, is to be found beside the Guadalquivir after leaving Cordova in the direction of Tudmīr and Murcia. Al-Idrīsī gives the name Bālish to the Mar Menor of Murcia, a large lake formed by the waters brought down by various swift streams, situated 57 miles from Alicante and which is navigable by shipping. The Vélez, which the same author includes in the *iḳlīm* of Badjdjāna (Pechina), with Almería, Berja and Purchena, is Velez-Rubio, 105 km. from Almería and 42 from Lorca, in the valley of the Guadalentín, a tributary of the Sangronera. A prehistoric cemetery, rock paintings and numerous coins, art objects and Roman inscriptions have been found amongst the ruins of its fortifications. It formed part of the *kūra* of Tudmīr and revolted with Ibn Ḥafsūn [*q.v.*] against the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh, being subsequently subdued by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 313/925. When the Infante, the future Alfonso X the Wise, took Lorca, it marked the frontier of the Kingdom of Granada. It was taken by Alonso Yáñez Fajardo in 1437, but again passed into the hands of the rulers of Granada in 851/1447, and the Naṣrid ruler al-Zaghall Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad XII resided there; it was finally taken by Ferdinand III in 893/1488, who, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, ceded his overlordship to Pedro Fajardo, the first Marquis of both the towns of Vélez, el-Rubio and el-Blanco. Situated 5½ km. from Vélez-Rubio is Vélez-Blanco, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants, belonging to the same marquisate of the Vélez; on the ruins of the Roman citadel and the Moorish alcazaba rising on the hill above the two towns of Vélez, Pedro Fajardo erected a magnificent castle of imposing proportions and elaborateness, the shell of which is still preserved.

Another Vélez is that of Benaudalla (Ibn ʿAbd Allāh), in the province of Granada (ward of Motril), on the left bank of the Guadalfeo river, on the side of a small hill called el-Castillo, and possessing some 5,000 inhabitants.

Finally in the province of Málaga, 34 km. from the capital and three km. from the sea, on the left bank of the river Vélez or Benamargosa, is the town of Vélez-Málaga, with some 30,000 inhabitants. Very little is known to us, however, of its history in the Muslim period. Alfonso el Batallador, in his expedition through Andalusia in 519/1126, after reaching Granada and crossing the Sierra Nevada, advanced up to Vélez-Málaga, without being able to take it.

When in 283/896, the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh was besieging one of these Vélez—it is not known which one—a number of infantrymen and cavalrymen of the regular Umayyad army, attracted by the inducement of better pay held out to them by Ibn Ḥafsūn, went over to the rebel's service. Dozy, who refers to this event without citing his source, confuses Bildj (now Vilches) with Belesh (Vélez), and situates it at Vélez-Rubio. The toponymic has passed to Latin America and is to be found at various places in Colombia, Uruguay and the Argentine; it is also a fairly common surname in Spain.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, 175, 194 of the text, 209, 235 of the trans.; Bakrī², 90; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 103, 843; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*², ii, 185; *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya*, 78 of the text, 114 of the trans. Huici; F. Palanques, *Hist. de Velez-Rubio*.
(A. Huici Miranda)

BALIYYA (Ar. pl. *balāyā*), a name given, in the pre-Islamic era, to the camel (more rarely the mare) which it was the custom to tether at the grave of its master, its head turned to the rear and covered with a saddle-cloth (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index), and to allow to die of starvation; in some cases, the victim was burnt and, in other cases, stuffed with *thumām* (Ibn Abiʾ l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-Balāgha*, iv, 436). Muslim tradition sees in this practice proof that the Arabs of the *djāhiliyya* believed in the resurrection, because the animal thus sacrificed was thought to serve as a mount for its master at the resurrection, while those who rose from the dead without a *baliyya*, and were therefore of inferior status, went on foot. According to another tradition, however, the same term also denoted a cow, a camel or a ewe which was hamstrung at the grave of the deceased and allowed to die of hunger; in this way, it appears, the primitive symbol of belief in the resurrection seems to have become a funeral sacrifice, which paved the way for the funeral feast (*waḍīma*).

Bibliography: *L.A.*, s.v.; Shahrastānī, ii, 439 f.; Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-ʿArab*, ii, 307 ff.; G. W. Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arab, Sprach*, 368; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 180 f.; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 141; H. Lammens, *L'arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 176; idem, *Moawia*, 341; J. Chelhod, *Le Sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 117.
(J. Hell-[Ch. Pellat])

AL-BALḲĀʾ, name given by the Arab authors either to the whole of the Transjordanian territory corresponding approximately to the ancient countries of Ammon, Moab and even Gilead, or to the middle part of it, having, depending on the period, ʿAmmān, [*q.v.*], Ḥusbān or al-Ṣalt as its chief town. Although a certain lack of precision still persists to-day in the use of the term, its geographical meaning is usually restricted to the limestone plateau (average altitude from 700 to 800 m.), comprised between the Wādī 'l-Zarḳāʾ (or Jabbok) in the North and the Wādi 'l-Mūdjib (or Arnon) in the South. This is a region of tabular relief on the desert side, but the ground is considerably broken along the subsidence zone of the Dead Sea and the Jordan (peak of Nabī Ushaʿ (1,096 m.) near al-Ṣalt in the North, Mount Nebo (835 m.) in the vicinity of Mādabā), where the erosive action of rain has promoted the escarping of especially deep ravines; as a whole it is an arid land, but at the bottom of depressions and on the plains it affords possibilities of cultivation, which explain the praise bestowed on its fertility and the abundance of its villages in bygone times.

In the Hellenistic period the principal divisions were Peraea, on the Western fringe, with Gadara (near al-Ṣalt) as its metropolis, the territory of Philadelphia (ʿAmmān), a town attached to the Decapolis, and the northern end of the Nabatean kingdom. Under Trajan, in 106 AD., the new province of Arabia extended over it, taking in Nabataea, which had also extended northwards to Bostra. On the other hand in the Byzantine period, the Arnon acted as the boundary between the province of Arabia, which then included the bishoprics of Philadelphia, Esbus (Ḥusbān) and Mādabā, and the new Palestina Tertia, created in the Southern part of the country.

This region, conquered by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān

shortly after the fall of Damascus and the peaceful surrender of ʿAmmān, retained its former prosperity under the Umayyads, and numerous caliphal and princely residences were situated there (al-Mshattā, al-Zīza, al-Ḳasṭal, Umm al-Walīd, for example, without counting the castles scattered further towards the East such as Ḳusayr ʿAmrā, al-Kharāne, Ḳaṣr al-Ḥallabāt or Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūba). At this period the term al-Balḳā' had a wide connotation, still attested later by Yāḳūt, and the reports of the chroniclers also included in it towns of the ʿAdjlūn like Arbad (Irbid), where Yazīd II died (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1464), or of the Ma'āb like al-Mu'ta [*q.v.*]; the corresponding administrative district was provided with its own *ʿāmil* and was in direct dependence on the *djund* of Damascus before experiencing a variety of fortunes throughout the Middle Ages. The testimony of al-Yaʿḳūbī, who distinguishes two sections, the Ghawr (main town: Jericho) and the Ẓāhir (main town: ʿAmmān), in this "canton of the colony of Damascus", may in fact be contrasted with that of al-Muḳaddasī, a century later, for whom al-Balḳā' is dependent on the territory of Filasṭīn; likewise, in the Ayyūbid period, Abu 'l-Fidā' connects it with the Sharāt, whilst al-Harawī deals separately with this country and the Balad Ma'āb. Finally, during the period of Mamlūk domination, the district of al-Balḳā' (main town: Ḥusbān) belonged in principle to the southern march of the province of Damascus, though sometimes it was recognised as possessing a second *wilāya*, that of al-Ṣalt, and it appears to have depended temporarily, in entirety or in part, on the *niyāba* of al-Karak.

The favourite etymology of the Arab geographers, who link the name of al-Balḳā', in which, however, the feminine of the adjective *ablaḳ* "variegated" can be perceived, with that of an eponymous hero, a descendant of the Banī ʿAmmān b. Lūṭ, evokes the Ammonites of Biblical tradition and the memories of Lot, localised in a region where the "town of the Giants" of the Ḳur'ān, v, 25/22, (identified with ʿAmmān) and the Cave of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* [*q.v.*], were also placed.

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BALKAN, the Balkan peninsula. The word *Balkan* means mountain or mountain range and, in the form of *Balkanlık*, rugged zone in Turkish. The etymology of the word is now linked with *balk*, mud, and the diminutive suffix, *-an* in Turkish (according to H. Eren). There is a mountain called *Balkhan* in Türkmenistan. The word *Balkan* was used first by the Ottomans in Rumeli in its general meaning of mountain, as in Kodja-Balkan, Čatal-Balkan, and Ungurus-Balkanı (the Carpathians). But specifically it was applied to the Haemus range of the ancient and mediaeval geographers, who thought that it separated the barbaric north from the civilised south. When considered as a historical and cultural entity the Balkans can be given different boundaries in the north. The Romans built their main defence line on the Danube with the extension of Trajan's walls between Černa-Voda and Constanza in the Dobruja. The boundary of the Byzantine empire in the north reached as far as the Danube and the Drava rivers (under Justinian I and Basil II). Finally by the treaty of 848/1444 the Ottomans and the Hungarians agreed reciprocally not to cross over the Danube, and up to the 17th century this river remained as the northern boundary of the Ottoman province of Rumeli, which included the whole peninsula south to this river. Both the Roman and Ottoman empires tried also to establish their control over the flat country on both sides of the Danube. Its lower part always became a passage for the Turco-Mongol peoples who invaded the Balkans one after another from the 5th up to the 13th century A.D., namely the Huns., Avars, Bulgars, Pečeneks, Kumans and Tatar-Kıpčaks. The Avar invasions are thought responsible for the penetration and settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans in the 6th century. Then the native Vlachs and Albanians had to retire to the mountains and lived there a pastoral life for many centuries to follow. Toward 680 A. D. the Bulgars, a Turkish people from north of the Black Sea, settled on the lower Danube and, as a military aristocracy ruling over the Slavs, they created the first powerful state to rival the Byzantine empire in the Balkans. Their conversion to Christianity (864) had far-reaching consequences for the history of the peninsula because the Byzantine church and the Byzantine concept of the state gave definitive shape not only to Bulgarian Czardom but also through it to the states that emerged subsequently in the Balkans (see F. Dölger, *Byzanz und europäische Staatenwelt*, 261-282).

The first Muslim geographers who spoke of the Balkans are contemporary with these important developments. Ibn Khurradādhbih, whose information, like that of others, was derived from the reports of the three observers of the the end of the 3rd/9th and the middle of the 4th/10th centuries (see Z. V. Togan, *Balkan*, in *IA*) said that the country west of the Byzantine themes of *Tafla*, *Trākiyya* and *Maḳadoniyya* was the *bilād al-Saḳāliba* and that in the north the *arḍ Burdjan* (Bulgars). In the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* the Danube is called *Rūd-i Bulgharī* and the Balkan range *Kūh-i Bulgharī*).

It seems that Islam first appeared in the Balkans with the Anatolian saint Sarı-Saltuḳ [*q.v.*], in 662/1264. After the incursions of the Anatolian Turks of the Ghāzī principalities in Western Anatolia in the first half of the 8th/14th century, the Ottomans finally settled firmly on the European shores of the Dardanelles in 755/1354. Even in the first period of the Ottoman expansion distinction must be made between the activities of the Ghāzī leaders who made continuous warfare in the *Udj*, the frontiers, and the Ottoman central government which was also concerned with the welfare of its subjects.

Perhaps the most important factor of the Ottoman conquest was the strong immigration movement into the Balkans from Anatolia in the 14th century which turkicised Thrace and Eastern Bulgaria (see *Studia Islamica*, ii, 103-129). At that time the small Ottoman state was regarded rather as a useful adjunct in the complicated struggle among the small Balkan states, but, growing in power, the Ottoman sultan soon became the suzerain of his former allies. When later these attempted to form a common front or called on Western Christendom for help, they were disappointed (Čermanon 773/1371,

Kossova 791/1389). Bayezīd I inaugurated a new policy by establishing direct control over the vassal countries. He had the ambition of establishing a unified empire in the Balkans. He conquered the whole of Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thessaly between 1393 and 1396, and attempted to seize Constantinople, the traditional capital. The victory of Tīmūr over Bayezīd (804/1402) had important consequences for the Balkans. Abandoning most of their Anatolian possessions, the Ottomans then considered the Balkans as their real home, and, Adrianople (Edirne) became the real capital city of the sultans from then on. A fresh exodus of the Anatolian Turks into the Balkans followed Tīmūr's invasion. The successors of Bayezīd I abandoned his imperial policy and Serbia and Byzantium enjoyed some freedom of action until Sulṭān Meḥemmed II conquered Constantinople (857/1453), and resumed the policy of unification with energy and success. In 864/1459 Serbia, in 864/1460 Morea and in 867/1463 Bosnia came under direct Ottoman rule. But these Ottoman successes were due to more important factors than the military ones.

In the struggle against the Ottoman conquest and centralisation policy, the feudalised princes and local lords in the Balkans had turned their eyes to the West, with a readiness to make concessions not only from their territories but also on religious matters. Thus in the first half of the 15th century, while Hungary was establishing its suzerainty over Bosnia, Serbia and Wallachia, Venice had seized the most important points on the Albanian coasts, in the Aegean Sea and the Morea, and, after taking Salonica, she coveted Constantinople. Representing Catholicism and seeking political and economic domination, the Western powers and their feudal sympathisers in Byzantium and the Balkans were regarded with hostility by the masses at large and by the Orthodox clergy. The Ottomans profited from the alienation of the common people from their Western or native lords. They assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox church and tried to drive Catholicism out of the Balkans. Even before the installation of Gennadius as oecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople in 1454, the Orthodox priests were recognised and granted pensions and even *tīmārs* by the Ottoman state everywhere. On the other hand when the Latins were driven out of the Balkans in the second half of the 9th/15th century the native merchants, Muslims, Greeks and Ragusans, as well as Jews, replaced them in trade and finance. Ragusa under Ottoman protection surpassed its mediaeval importance in the Balkan trade. Perhaps most important of all was the fact that the Ottoman land and tax system (see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ) brought about a real change in the life of the Balkan peasantry. The Byzantine emperors in the 10th century had made great efforts to uphold the central power by protecting the peasantry against the magnates in the provinces who were constantly trying to enlarge their lands and power. With the Comneni, this struggle had ended in favour of the landed aristocracy, and under the Palaeologi, the central government had lost all its authority. But with the Ottoman state a strong centralised government was established again in the Balkans and this government tried to abolish feudal practices and to prevent any local control over the peasantry. For example the old feudal services such as three days of forced labour, and the obligation to provide wood, hay and straw for the seigneur, were all converted by the Ottomans to one simple tax called *čift-resmi* [*q.v.*]. As the direct agents of the sultan, the *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] and the *ḳapi-ḳulus* [*q.v.*] in the provinces secured the strict application of the laws. Thus it was no wonder that the Christian peasantry remained indifferent to the fate of their lords in their struggle against the Ottomans and until the 11th/17th century no serious rebellion is recorded among the Balkan peasants. It must also be noted that the Ottomans followed a conservative policy towards the previous social classes in the Balkans by adapting their status to the Ottoman system. The pre-Ottoman upper aristocracy, who mostly possessed *pronoia*, were included by the Ottomans in the *tīmār* system or, later, taken into the sultan's court to become high officials. The members of the lower aristocracy, especially *voiniks* (in Turkish *voynuḳ*), who previously were the backbone of the empire of Stephan Dushan, were reorganised in *bölüks* [*q.v.*] in the greater part of the Balkans by the Ottomans and formed a section of the Ottoman army up to the 16th century, when they lost their usefulness and were made simple *reʿāyā*. Other military groups, nomad *Eflaḳs*, and *Martolos* were incorporated into the Ottoman forces in the provinces (see my *Fatih Devri*, i, Ankara 1954, 145-184). Even the *reʿāyā* had access to the ruling class through the *Devshirme* institution. In the classification of the *reʿāyā* [*q.v.*]—that is, the peasants, Muslim or Christian, a system similar to the pre-Ottoman system seems to have been followed and the Byzantine *paroikoi*, who were divided into *zeugarate* and *boïdion* as well as the *eleutheroi*, appear to have survived under the Ottomans with different names, and several Byzantine taxes actually continued in the Ottoman taxation system as *rusūm-i ʿurfiyya* or *ʿādet-i ḳadīma*. These taxes were assigned to the *tīmār*-holders, and the Ottoman *tīmār* system which was the foundation-stone of the empire in the first period acquired its final form in the Balkans. In conclusion we can speak of a continuity of Balkan history in its basic forms under the Ottomans. It was true that national cultures lost their former centres of development, but the peasantry and the church remained in existence and became the foundations of the national states in the 19th century.

During the 10th/16th century the Balkan peninsula enjoyed one of the rare periods of peace and prosperity in its history; everywhere new lands were brought under cultivation, the population increased (5 million about 1535), cities developed, as we can observe in the regular Ottoman land and population surveys, *defters*, preserved in the Turkish archives (see *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi*, Istanbul, no. 4, 11, 15). After Greek, Turkish became a common language of civilisation in the Balkans.

As Sir T. W. Arnold has already emphasised (*The Preaching of Islam*, London [1st ed. 1896] 3rd ed. 1935, 145 ff.) conversions to Islam in the Balkans were not in general the result of a state policy or the use of force. However, three periods in this respect should be distinguished. Up to Bayezīd II's time the Ottoman state followed a very liberal policy in the matter of religion. In this period voluntary conversions took place among the nobility incorporated in the Ottoman *ʿaskarī* [*q.v.*] class especially among the Bogomils in Bosnia. After Bayezīd II, the Ottoman state became more conscious of being a Muslim state and more careful in the application of the *sharīʿa*. From the 11th/17th century onwards, to begin with as a result of the activities of the Franciscan missions in the Balkans, which were supported by the Hapsburgs and the Venetians

for political purposes, the Ottomans had recourse to certain coercive measures against the Christians in Serbia, Albania and Danubian Bulgaria. This brought about some mass conversions in these countries. In 1690 the Patriarch of Peč took refuge in southern Hungary with 37,000 Serbian families. Large-scale conversions took place among the Albanians during the subsequent centuries [see ARNAWUTLUḲ]. The third important islamised area is found on the Rhodope region where Bulgarian-speaking Muslims are called *Pomaḳs* [*q.v.*].

For further developments in the Balkans under the Ottomans in the subsequent periods see RUMELİ.

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(HALIL INALCİK)

BALKAR, a Muslim people of the Central Caucasus, whose origins are the subject of contradictory hypotheses. For some the Balkar are descendants of Bulghar driven back towards the mountains in the 12th-13th century; according to others, their ancestors were the Khazar pushed back towards the upper Terek in the 11th century; finally, others see in the Balkar Ibero-Caucasians or indeed Turkicised Finns. The Balkar traditions say that their ancestors, once living on the steppes of the Kuban, were driven back towards the mountains by the Čerkes tribes (Adīghes), whence in turn they drove away and partially absorbed the Ossets.

Prior to 1946, the habitat of the Balkar, on the northern slopes of the main range of the Caucasus, included the high valleys of the tributaries of the Terek lying between the Elbruz to the West and the Ossete country to the East. The Balkar people (numbering 33,307 in 1926, of whom only 2% were urban dwellers, 42,666 in 1939), are divided into 5 tribes.

In the 16th century the Balkar were subdued by the Kabard and thenceforth adopted the forms of material civilisation of their sovereigns, copying their feudal structure, which persisted practically intact until the Russian conquest. It had five classes: 1. the princes, *tawbii* (analogous to the *pshə* of the Adīghes); 2. the nobles, *uzden* (*uorkh* among the Adīghes); 3. the free peasants, *karakash* (*tl'fakashaw* among the Abaza); 4. the serfs liable to corvée duties, *čagar* (*og* among the Kabard); and 5. the slaves, *kazakh* (*unawt* among the Kabard).

Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī rite was introduced among the Balkar at the end of the 18th century by the Crimean Tatars and the Nogai of the Kuban, but pre-Islamic survivals (Christian and animist) still persisted at the beginning of the 20th century.

Russian penetration of the high valleys of the tributaries of the Terek, begun at the end of the 18th century, was completed in 1827 by the conquest of the Balkar country, but was not followed, as in the case of the Adīghes, by rural colonisation; the Russian authorities preferred to favour the setting up of villages of Kumīk, Ossets and mountain Jews in the midst of the Balkar country.

Soviet Balkaria. — The Soviet régime, temporarily proclaimed in December 1918, was finally established in March 1920. By a decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee dated 21 January 1921, the Balkar *okrug* was attached to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Mountain-dwellers (Gorskaya ASSR). On 1 September 1921, the Balkar country, joined to the Kabarda, became the Autonomous Kabardino-Balkar Region of the RSFSR, and on 5 December 1936 became the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR. Balkaria was briefly occupied by the German armies during the second world war, was suppressed as an administrative formation by decree of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 25 June 1946, and the Balkar people was deported to Central Asia. A part of it (the valley of the Baksan) was attached to the Georgian SSR and the remainder to the Kabardinian Autonomous SSR. A new decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 9 January 1957 re-established the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR and authorized the deported Balkars to return to their country.

The Balkar language, which is simply a dialect of Ḳaračay [*q.v.*], belongs to the Ḳipčaḳ group of Turkish languages. It has been strongly influenced by Ossetic and the neighbouring Ibero-Caucasian languages: Kabard, Čečen and Abaza.

Balkar-Ḳaračai, previously not a written language, was endowed in 1920 with a slightly modified Arabic alphabet (ى = ı, ۆ = ö), replaced in 1925 by the Latin alphabet; the first works were published in Balkar-Ḳaračay in the following year: a collection of poetry by ʿUmar ʿAliev and a Chrestomathy (*Bilim*) by Askhat Bidjiev. Also in 1926 the first newspaper, *Karakhalḳ*, of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Region made its appearence at Nalčik, with alternate pages in Adīghe and Balkar-Karačay. In 1931 the first daily, *Tawlu-Djashaw*, in Balkar-Karačay was published at Mikoyan-Shakhar, the administrative centre of the Karačay Autonomous Region (now Klukhori). Finally in 1938 the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet.

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(A. BENNIGSEN)

BALḲAYN [see ḲAYN].

BALKH, an important city in ancient and mediaeval times, now a village, located in what is today northern Afghānistān, ca. 67° E. Long. (Greenw.) and 36° 45′ N. lat. It was located on the Balkh river, now dry.

Ancient Bactria was the name of a province of the Achaemenid Empire as well as its chief city. In the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius we find the form Bāxtriš, in the Avesta Bāχδī, and in Greek Βάκτρα. Perhaps the original form was *Bāχdrī, from the name of the river (cf. Markwart, *Catalogue*, 34). Balkh after the conquests of Alexander the Great was a centre of the Greco-Bactrians, then of the Kushans and Hephthalites. In pre-Islamic times the city was a Buddhist centre with a famous cloister, the Nawbahār, the head of which, Barmak [*q.v.*], seems to have exercised political control over the city. Balkh was also famous in Zoroastrian tradition and there must have been five temples there before Islam. The city, at least from the time of Alexander the Great, was protected by great walls. The various traditions on the founding of Balkh, as found in Arabic and Persian sources, are discussed by Schefer and Schwarz (refs. below), where it is apparent that the Arabs knew of the antiquity of the city.

In 32/653 the Arab commander al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] raided Balkh and obtained tribute (Balādhurī, 408). The area was not conquered until the war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya was decided in favour of the latter. In 43/663-4 Balkh was reconquered by Ḳays b. al-Haytham or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura (cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 69). On this expedition, or the first one of al-Aḥnaf, the Nawbahār shrine is said to have been destroyed by the Arabs (Le Strange, 422). During part of this period a local prince, called Nēzak Ṭarkhān, occupied Balkh and caused much trouble to the Arabs (cf. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 41-2). Unfortunately, the events and chronology of this area under the early Umayyads are confused in the Arabic sources. There were frequent revolts against Arab rule and it is not until the time of Ḳutayba b. Muslim (d. 96/715) that Balkh could be considered subdued. The city seems to have suffered considerably from warfare, and there are indications in Ṭabarī that the city was in ruins about 705 A.D. (Schwarz, 436). The Arabs did not reside in Balkh but maintained a garrison at Barūḳān, two farsakhs from Balkh until the governor of Khurāsān Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī moved the garrison to Balkh rebuilding the city in 107/725. In 118/736 Asad transferred the capital of Khurāsān from Marw to Balkh with the result that Balkh prospered. Abū Muslim had to capture and recapture Balkh from the Syrian troops of the garrison loyal to the Umayyads who were helped by local troops, but his lieutenant Abū Dāʾūd al-Bakrī finally secured Balkh and Ṭukhāristān for the ʿAbbāsids.

Under the ʿAbbāsids the governors of Khurāsān became practically independent, and in Balkh the descendants of the princes of Khuttal held sway (cf. *Ērānšahr*, 301). One of them, Dāʾūd b. ʿAbbās al-Bānīdjūrī, succeeded his father as governor of Balkh, and was driven from his capital by Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in 256/870. In 287/900 ʿAmr b. Layth was defeated and captured near Balkh by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, and Balkh passed under Sāmānid rule. It is Balkh in the 4th/10th century which is described by the geographers in Arabic as *umm al-bilād* "the mother of cities". The later Sāmānid governors of Balkh such as Fāʾiḳ, Alptakīn and Subuktakīn were virtually independent. During the rule of Maḥmūd of Ghazna 387-421/997-1030, Balkh was captured once by Īlak Khan in 397/1006, but Maḥmūd shortly recaptured it. Although Balkh was in the centre of the arena of warfare between the Saldjūḳs and the Ghaznawids, and was threatened with capture by the former after their victory at Dandānḳān in 431/1040, it was not until 451/1059 that they definitely occupied the city. The city changed rulers several times during Saldjūḳ rule and at the end of Sandjar's reign it fell into the hands of the Ghuzz Turks, and was destroyed by them in 550/1155. The Ḳarā Khitāy rulers then included Balkh in their domains from about 560-1/1165 A.D. In 594/1198 Bahāʾ al-Dīn Sām of Bāmiyān occupied Balkh for the Ghūrids and in 603/1206 Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh captured it. Shortly thereafter, in 617/1220, although Balkh surrendered to Čingiz Khān, the city was destroyed and its inhabitants massacred. It took long to recover from this blow, for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the early 8th/14th century describes the ruins of the city.

Balkh regained some of its past splendour under the Tīmūrids, and some of the masterpieces of Tīmūrid architecture were erected in Balkh. The citadel of Balkh which had been razed by Tīmūr was rebuilt by this son Shāh Rukh in 810/1407. The end of Balkh as a great centre, however, was forecast by the discovery (ca. 1480 A.D.) of the "so-called" grave of ʿAlī in the vicinity of Balkh. In 886/1481 a shrine was erected at the site ca. 20 km. to the east. By the 19th century around this shrine had developed the present city of Mazār-i Sharīf at the expense of Balkh. In 912/1506 Shībānī Khān of the Özbeks conquered Balkh. Bābūr held the city for a short time as did the Ṣafawids under Shāh Ismaʿīl, but most of the time Balkh remained in Özbek hands. The Özbeks controlled the area until the rise of Nādir Shāh, except for a short period when Shāh ʿAbbās and the Ṣafawids obtained the allegiance of the local khān, and from about 1641 to 1647 when the Mughals occupied it. In 1737 Nādir Shāh suppressed a revolt against his rule by the Özbeks of Balkh, but after Nādir's death the district passed again under local Özbek rule. This was soon followed by submission to Aḥmad Shāh Durranī and the Afghāns about 1752. In the early 19th century the area of Balkh was raided several times by the Özbek Khān of Bukhārā, but from 1841 it remained in Afghān hands.

The importance of Balkh came in great measure from its geographical position on a fertile plain, the meeting place of trade routes from India, China, Turkistān, and Iran. It was natural that a great centre should exist between the Oxus River and the Hindu Kush Mountains. At the present time the ruins of Balkh occupy a large area, and the site of so much promise actually has been very disappointing to archeologists. At the present day the village of Balkh has only a few thousand inhabitants. The visible monuments of Balkh include the ruins of extensive walls (ca. 10 km. perimeter) enclosing the modern village, and two shrines on the square of the present village. One is the Green Mosque in Tīmūrid style but probably built at the end of the 16th century A.D. by an Özbek Khan, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. Facing it is the tomb-shrine of Khwāja Abū Naṣr Parsā, a Ṣūfī of the 16th century. A nearby *madrasa*, erected by Saʿīd Subḥān Ḳulī Khān (d. 1702), has only one arch left. In the northeast section inside the walls, are the ruins of the shrine of Khwāja ʿAkkashāh Walī from the late Tīmūrid period. In summer the area of Balkh is very hot and dusty, in the winter the area is almost a swamp.

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London 1933, 434-43. The text of a Persian history *Faḍā'il-i Balkh* with historical notes is given by Ch. Schrefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, i, Paris 1883, 56-94, 65-103; Le Strange, 420-3; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 337; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 76-9. For the history of Balkh under the Özbeks see A. A. Semenov, *Mukim-Khanskaya Istoriya*, Tashkent 1956, passim. For photographs and a plan of the present site see A. Foucher, *La vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, i, Paris 1942, 59, and O. von Niedermeyer, *Afganistan*, Leipzig 1924, 48, 64. For a summary of the monuments see E. Caspani, *Afghanistan Crocevia dell'Asia*, Milan 1951, 240-2, and further D. Wilber, *Annotated Bibliography of Afghanistan*, New Haven, Conn., 1956, 177-8.

(R. N. FRYE)

BALKHĀN, two mountain ranges east of the Caspian Sea, which enclose the dried-out river-bed of the Özboi (cf. Āmū Daryā). To the north of this river lies the Great Balkhān, a high plateau of limestone, difficult of access, with steep slopes; the highest elevation is at the Düinesh Kalʿe, about 1880 metres. The Little Balkhān, south of the Özboi and cut with numerous ravines, attains (in the west) a height of no more than 800 metres. These mountains, where according to Muḳaddasī, 285, l. 14 ff., wild horses and cattle lived, were searched for iron by the surrounding peoples. The area became, in about 420-2/1029-31, a place of retreat for Türkmen tribes coming from Khurāsān (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix, 267). During the following centuries the region was thickly settled with Türkmens and lost more and more its economic importance. The establishment of Russian harbours on the Balkhān inlet of the Caspian Sea (after 1869) and the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway (after 1881) restored to this area a certain importance, which declined, however, after the building of the Orenburg-Tashkent line (1905).

Bibliography: Brockhaus-Yefron, *Enciklopedičeskiy Slovar*, vol. 4, St. Petersburg 1891, 834; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya*[2], iv (1950), 167 ff. (W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

BALKHASH, after the Aral [*q.v.*], the largest inland lake of Central Asia (18,432 sq. km.), into which the Ili and several other less important rivers flow. The lake's existence was unknown to the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372/982-983; comp. J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, xxx, makes the Ili (Īlā) flow into the Issīḳ-Ḳul. Of all the Muslim authors, Muḥammad Ḥaydar is the only one, to our knowledge, who, towards the middle of the 10th/16th century (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. by E. D. Ross, 366) describes lake Balkhash. The author gives the lake, which then marked the boundary between the country of the Özbegs (Özbegistān) and that of the Mongols (Mughalistān), the name of Kökčä-Teñiz or blue lake, and describes it as a body of fresh water. But he greatly exaggerates its length and breadth and considers the Volga (Itil) as a derivative of Balkhash. Nevertheless, Muḥammad Ḥaydar's statement on the taste of the waters of the lake is important. In point of fact, all the modern geographers have looked upon Balkhash as a salt lake. It was only in 1903 that the investigations undertaken by the Turkistan section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, completed in 1931 by the works of the State Institute of Hydrology and in 1941 by those of the Institute of geological Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, established that a part of the waters of the lake is fresh water.

The Kalmuks were the first to give the lake its Mongol name of Balkhash. They did in fact dominate in these regions in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. The name "Balchas" occurs with a reproduction of the lake, very exact for the period, on a map by the Swedish non-commissioned officer J. G. Renat, who spent seventeen years in the country of the Kalmuks, from 1716 to 1733. Comp. *Carte de la Dzoungarie dressée par le suédois Renat pendant sa captivité chez les Kalmüks de 1717 à 1733*, ed. Russ. Imp. Geog. Society, St. Petersburg 1881.

The appearance of the neighbourhood of Balkhash is extremely desolate and arid and until the October Revolution the lake had never played a rôle of any economic importance. Its development began in 1936 with the building of a large industrial city, Balkhash, on the bay of Bertis on the Northern shore of the lake. (W. BARTHOLD-[A. BENNIGSEN])

AL-BALKHĪ, ABU'L-ḲĀSIM (ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. MAḤMŪD), also known as Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī, the Muʿtazilite. Born at Balkh, he lived for a long time at Baghdād, where he was the disciple of the Muʿtazilite Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ. He founded a school at Nasaf, converted to Islām a number of the inhabitants of Khurāsān, and died at Balkh at the beginning of Shaʿbān 319/August 931. Among his disciples were Ibn Shihāb (Abu'l-Ṭayyib Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad), who died after 350/962, and al-Aḥdab (Abu'l-Ḥasan). Among his works are mentioned the *Kitāb al-Maḳālāt* and the *K. Maḥāsin Khurāsān*, in which he speaks of Ibn al-Rawandī.

He defended the optimistic Muʿtazilite thesis which states that God cannot abandon the better for that which is less good. Man, he says, can and must do that which is better, whereas God cannot, because there is nothing superior to Him to oblige Him to do better than that which He has done. In agreement with the Muʿtazila, he did not recognise in God attributes distinct from His essence. He held that non-existence capable of existing is a well-determined thing outside existence, namely a simple essence. He considered the atom as inextensive and devoid of qualities of its own; the qualities of the body derive from the aggregate of the atoms, which are therefore not essential but accidental. He distinguished between sensation and impression: man, he says, perceives by his reason the sensible objects which affect his different senses; but the senses by themselves can perceive nothing; they are the routes by which organic impressions reach the reason. The voluntary act, he says, presupposes hesitation and decision, which are characteristic of Man, an imperfect being, whereas in God such an act is totally absent. —The imāmate, he says, must return to the Ḳuraysh, but if a conspiracy is suspected, a non-Ḳurayshite can be elected imām.

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238, 240, 343; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Munya wa'l Amal*, Ḥaydarābād 1316/1902, 45-51; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1929, 4, 247; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. iv, 154; Djalabī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, Istanbul 1286/1867, 312; Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥa al Islām*, Cairo 1360/1941, vol. iii, 141; Brockelmann, I, 343; A. N. Nader, *Le Système philosophique des muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, Djār' Allāh Zuhdī, *al-Muʿtazila*, Cairo 1366/1947, 153. (ALBERT N. NADER)

AL-**BALKHĪ**, ABŪ ZAYD AḤMAD B. SAHL, a famous scholar known today principally for his geographical work, was born at Shāmistiyān, a village near Balkh in Khurāsān, about 236/850. He died upwards of 80 yeards old in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 322/October 934. His father was a schoolmaster from Sidjistān. As a young man, wishing to study the doctrine of the Imāmiyya sect to which he belonged, al-Balkhī travelled on foot to ʿIrāk with the pilgrim caravan. He remained there for eight years, becoming a pupil of the celebrated al-Kindī and visiting the neighbouring lands. In later life he refused to cross the Djayhūn (Oxus) to go from Balkh to Bukhārā, when invited by the *amir* of the latter place.

During the years which al-Balkhī spent in ʿIrāḳ his studies included philosophy, astrology and astronomy, medicine and natural science (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 145-6). For a time he was torn between his earlier sectarian religious allegiance and the tenets of judicial astrology, then much in vogue, but he finally became strictly orthodox in his opinions, and pursued the study of the religious sciences side by side with 'philosophy'. He is cited as an almost unique example of one who was equally expert in both, and he is named by Shahrastānī (*Milal*, ed. Cureton, 348) among the philosophers of Islam. He himself relates that he lost his patron, the general Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marw-al-Rūdī, through the publication of one of his books and Abū ʿAlī al-Djayhānī, also his patron, the *wazir* of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad, through the publication of another, though the general was a Ḳarmaṭian and the *wazir* a Dualist. (This Abū ʿAlī was the son of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Djayhānī, [*q.v.*], the geographer, who is perhaps here meant, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 12). Yet the works of al-Balkhī on religious subjects were much praised by competent judges, especially his *Naẓm al-Ḳur'ān*, evidently a work of *tafsir* (*Irshād*, i, 148). Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, i, 142-3, cf. 150) gives the titles of 56 out of 'about 60' works of al-Balkhī, *i.e.*, he adds 13 titles to the 43 listed in the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 138). Of these Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa mentions less than half-a-dozen, and in our own time, apart from a *Kitāb Maṣāliḥ al-Abdān wa 'l-Anfus* (for which see Brockelmann, S I, 408), al-Balkhī is known by a single work, apparently no longer extant as such.

This is the so-called *Ṣuwar al-Aḳālīm*, otherwise *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (neither title in the list of his works in Yāḳūt), which is generally admitted, since De Goeje's monograph appeared (see *Bibliography*), to be the basis of the geographical works of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, and thus to mark the beginning of what has been called the classical school of Arabic geography. It seems to have been a world-map divided into 20 parts, with short explanatory texts (Muḳaddasī, 4). It has been suggested by Barthold (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, preface, 18, n. 5, cf. V. Minorsky, *ibid.*, xv) that al-Balkhī in his book may simply have added an explanation to maps by Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (Brockelmann, SI, 387). Al-Balkhī's fame as a geographer depends solely on this work, which in any case can scarcely be said to have been completely original, in view of the *ṣūra Ma'mūniyya*, also apparently a series of maps, mentioned by Masʿūdī *tempore* al-Ma'mūn (Caliph 198-218/813-833) (*Tanbīh*, 33). Al-Balkhī's interest in geography may have been due to his teacher al-Kindī, for whom a translation of Ptolemy's treatise on the subject was specially made (*Fihrist*, 268), and another of whose pupils, Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, wrote a *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* (*Tanbīh*, 67), apparently the first of several geographical works in Islam with that title. Though Muḳaddasī (68, 260) observes that al-Balkhī did not travel widely, he admits that he was an expert, especially for his own province, mentioning in particular his familiarity with the *dīwāns* (*i.e.*, registers of taxes) of Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 307). This is consistent with what we read elsewhere of al-Balkhī having acted as a secretary (*kātib*) to one of the Sāmānids (*Irshād*, i, 147). His work is cited also by Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 115).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 125, 141-152; al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, ed. Muḥammad Shafiʿ, 26-27; M. J. de Goeje, *Die Iṣṭaḥrī-Balḫī Frage*, *ZDMG*, xxv, 42-58; J. H. Kramers, *La question Balḫī-Istaḫrī-Ibn Ḥauqal et l'Atlas de l'Islam*, in *Acta Orientalia*, x, 9-30; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Preface, 15-23; V. Minorsky, *A False Jayhānī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949), 93-94.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

BALKUWĀRĀ [see SĀMARRĀ].

BĀLṬA LĪMĀNĪ, situated on the European shore of the Bosphorus between Boyacl-Köyü and Rumeli Hisarī, takes its name from Bālṭa-oghlū Sulaymān Beg, the commander of the Ottoman fleet at the time of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. It is in fact the ancient Phaidalia and was also known as Gynaikōn Limēn (Portus Mulierum). Gyllius (mid-16th cent.) refers to it as the ". . . . sinum Phidaliae, et portum mulierum . . . .", which the Greeks called Sarantacopa from the wooden bridge there across the marshlands (". . . . quem Graeci nostrae aetatis appellant Sarantacopam . . . . ita nuncupatus a ponte ligneo . . . . quo paludes transeuntur cannis plenae . . . ."). Bālṭa Līmānī, in the 18th and 19th centuries, was a resort popular with the wealthier classes of Istanbul. Several international treaties were signed at Bālṭa Līmānī in the first half of the 19th century: the Anglo-Turkish agreement of 16 August 1838, which accorded to England large commercial privileges with a most-favoured nation clause and also decreed the abolition of trade monopolies in all the territories under Ottoman suzerainty, the pact of friendship, commerce and navigation (3 August 1839) between Belgium and the Porte, and the Russo-Turkish convention of 1 May 1849, which modified the organic regulations of 1831 relating to the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.

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(V. J. PARRY)

BALṬADJĪ: a name given to men composing various companies of palace guards under the Otto-

man régime down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The term was used alternatively with the equivalent Persian *tabardār*, both words meaning, literally 'axe-man', and hence 'woodcutter', 'pioneer', 'halberdier'.

It would appear that originally the *balṭadjïs*, whose corps was recruited from the *ʿAdjemī Oghlans* [*q.v.*], were employed in connexion with the army in the felling of trees, the levelling of roads, and the filling of swamps, but that even before the conquest of Constantinople some of them were posted as guards to the imperial palace at Adrianople. Thereafter, with the foundation at Istanbul in turn of the 'Old' and 'New' *Sarays*, Galaṭa Sarayï, and the *saray* of Ibrāhīm Pasha, other companies of *balṭadjïs* were formed for each. The men of all these companies except that of the New, later called the Ṭopḳapï, Saray, were admitted, after a certain length of service, to the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries, whereas those of the Ṭopḳapï Sarayï enjoyed the privilege of entry into the *Sipāh* and *Silāḥdār bölüks* [*q.v.*] of the standing cavalry. The men of this privileged company were known as *zülüflü balṭadjïlar*—that is to say "blinkered" *balṭadjïs*—for the curious reason that, since one of their duties was to carry the wood required for heating the imperial *ḥarem* into that forbidden precinct, on the occasions of their performing this duty, in order to prevent their inadvertently catching sight of the ladies of the establishment, they wore "blinkers" made of cloth or gold lace hanging down on either side of their faces from their tall pointed caps (the Persian *zulf* signifying 'a lock of hair'), as well as special jackets furnished with exceptionally wide upright collars.

Upon the closure in 1675 of the sarays of Galaṭa and Ibrāhīm Pasha, their *balṭadjï* companies were abolished. By this time also recruitment by *dewshirme* had all but ceased. The remaining companies were mostly recruited therefore from free-born Anatolian Muslims, though the relatives of palace servants were also sometimes admitted into them. The *Zülüflü Balṭadjïs* were suppressed by Muṣṭafa III but revived by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, and remained in being until the palace service as a whole was reorganised by Maḥmūd II. They were commanded by a *kāhya* (*kedkhüdā*) responsible to the sultan's principal page, the *Silāḥdār Agha*.

Twelve *ḳalfas* of the *Zülüflü Balṭadjïs*, distinguished by their literacy, had various special duties. Thus they would bring out, and stand behind, the sultan's throne at his accession and upon *bayrams* [*q.v.*]; guard the Prophet's Standard (*sandjagh-ï sherīf*) and read the Ḳurʾān beneath it on campaign; take charge of the belongings of the *ḥarem* ladies every year when they and the sultan removed to one of the summer *köshks*; and—from the seventeenth century—present officiants of the Sulṭān Aḥmed mosque with sherbet, rose-water and incense at the yearly celebration of the Prophet's Birthday (*Mewlūd*).

Each of the chief officers of the palace, moreover, had one or more *Zülüflü Balṭadjïs* in attendance on him; and two important offices in the palace service were filled by *ḳalfas* of the corps: that of the head cook of the *Kush-khāne* (the imperial kitchen) and his second in command.

The *Balṭadjïs* of the Old Saray, which from the late fifteenth century was the residence of the sultans' mothers, were responsible down to the seventeenth century to the *Ḳapï Aghasï* [*q.v.*] and thereafter to the *Ḳïzlar Aghasï* [*q.v.*], to whom those who could acquire enough learning in the Bayāzīd *medreses* might act as confidential secretaries or as clerks for the *awḳāf* of the Holy Cities, whereas other senior members of this corps might serve the Wālide Sulṭān and other princesses as chief coffee-makers (*ḳahwedji-bashï*).

A number of Grand Viziers were former *balṭadjïs*, of whom perhaps the best known are Balṭadjï Meḥmed Pasha, who defeated Peter the Great on the Pruth in 1711, and Newshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha, the last minister of Aḥmed III.

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BALTISTĀN, known to Muslim writers as Tihbat-i khurd or Little Tibet, lying between 34° and 36° N and 75° and 77° E between Gilgit and Ladākh, extends some 150 miles on either bank of the Indus, covering an area of 8,522 sq. miles. A mountainous country, it has some of the highest peaks in the world: Godwin Austen (K 2), 28,250 ft., conquered in 1953; Gasherbrum, 26,470 ft., conquered in 1958, and Haramosh, 24,000 ft. Skārdū the chief town, was electrified in 1951. It has an airstrip, a modern hospital and a number of schools. A new *bāzār* has been recently built.

The Baltīs were converted to Islam in the 8th/14th century partly by Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī of Srinagar (Kashmīr) and partly by his *khalīfa*, Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh. They are polygamous and of the Shīʿite persuasion. Their neighbours, the Hunzas, are followers of the Āghā Khān. The language used by the Baltīs is a mixture of Ladākhī and Tibetan but has a sprinkling of Arabic and Persian words, indicative of the influence of Islam.

The old rulers of Baltistān are known as Rādjās or Giālpōs, the most famous being ʿAlī Shīr Khān who flourished in the 10th/16th century and also built a fort at Skārdū. His expeditions to neighbouring regions still form the theme of many a native folk-song. In the early 11th/17th century another Giālpō, ʿAlī Mīr, chief of Skārdū, invaded and conquered the home-land of the Baltīs. The last of the Giālpōs, Aḥmad Shāh, lost his independence to the Dogra general, Zōrāwar Singh in 1840, when Baltistān was annexed to the Kashmīr State, then ruled by Gulāb Singh. It came under the British sway in 1846 by the Treaty of Amritsar when it was placed under the Wazīr Wizārat of Ladākh.

In February 1948, the people of Baltistān rejected the suzerainty of the Mahārādja of Kashmīr and requested the Pākistān Government to take over control of the area. Since then it is being administered by the Chief Adviser, Kashmīr and Baltistān. It has made general progress; almost the entire area now has a net of pony tracks. Skārdū is linked with Rawalpindi by air. An airmail service has also been introduced between Baltistān and Pākistān. Improved educational, medical and other facilities have been provided raising the standard of living of the people. Large amounts have also been sanctioned for the economic development (specially the construction of roads) of the area.

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183-8 and *passim*; *Bulletin No.* 9 of the Pākistān Society, London, July 1957, 21-23; G. T. Vigne, *Travel in Kashmir, Ladab, Iskardu,* London 1892. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BALŪČ (Balōč) of the USSR, elements who emigrated from Khurāsān at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, whose emigration in fact continued after 1918. They are sometimes erroneously confused with the Gipsies of Central Asia (see Lūlī]. At the 1926 census, 936 Balūč were counted; this figure underestimates their true number, as some of them were reckoned with the Turkmen and others with the Čingānes; on the other hand, the estimate made by Grandé (*Spisok narodnostey SSSR,* in *Revolyutsiya i Natsional'nosti,* no. 4 of 1936, 74-85), who assessed them at 10,000 in 1933, is excessive. The Balūč inhabit the SSR of Türkmenistān, in the region of Marī. They are Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī rite and speak the Makrānī dialect of Balūčī; this, however, is disappearing, gradually ceding ground to Türkmen, which is used as the literary language, and to Tādjīk. Until 1928, the Balūč were nomads, but between 1928 and 1935 they were settled and grouped in stock-rearing Kolkhozes. Their carpets, the manufacture of which is a craft, are justly famous. (A. Bennigsen)

BALŪČISTĀN (Balōčistān), land of the Balōč.

A. Geography and History. The exact boundaries of Balōčistān are undetermined. In general it occupies the S.E. part of the Iranian plateau from the Kirmān desert east of Bam and the Bashagird Mts. to the western borders of Sind and the Pandjāb. This arid and mountainous country with a predominantly nomadic population is divided between Iran and Pakistān. At present Balōč are also found in Sind and the Pandjāb, in Sīstān and a few nomads in the USSR near Marw, [see above].

The rivers of Balōčistān are small and unimportant. One may consider the country a plateau with the rugged Sulaymān range in the East and several mountain ranges in the West, the most spectacular peak of which is the volcano Kūh-i Tāftān (13,500 ft.). The town of Īrānshahr (formerly Fahradj) is the capital of Persian Balōčistān with Kalāt the most important centre in the East. The seaports, such as Tīz, Pāsnī and Gwādar, formerly active, now have lost their importance.

The population of the area, including Brahōīs, is uncertain, hardly more than two million today. Although the Balōč are the majority of the population, with the Brahōīs the largest minority, there are also Djaṭs and other Indian elements on the eastern coast, and negroid people in the port towns especially in Persian Balōčistān. The Balōč are divided into two groups separated from each other by the Brahōīs in the Kalāt area which accounts for the two major dialects.

The earliest mention of the area, called Maka, is in the Old Persian cuneiform inscription of Darius at Behistun and Persepolis. Other names occur in classical sources, but very little is known of the country in pre-Islamic times. It is probable that Iranian speakers were late in coming to Balōčistān and the southern and eastern parts of Balōčistān were predominantly non-Iranian until well after the Islamic conquests. The Balōč probably entered Makrān (*i.e.*, western Balōčistān) from Kirmān about the time of the Saldjūḳ invasion of Kirmān.

Kirmān was conquered by the Muslims in 23/644 in the caliphate of ʿUmar. In the mountains of Kirmān they met Ḳufṣ or Kōč and Balūṣ or Balōč who were marauding nomads. At this time the Zuṭṭ or Djaṭs were in Makrān, which was not conquered by the Arabs. In the time of Muʿāwīya, ca. 44/664, the towns of Makrān were occupied and war was waged with the Mēds of the coast, while raids extended as far as Sind.

In the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (86/705) in the inter-Arab struggles the ʿAlāfī Arab faction was driven into Sind to be followed in 89/707 by Muḥ. b. Ḳāsim with an Arab army. It is difficult to identify the places he captured but Muslim rule was extended by him through Balōčistān to Sind. It is probable that the Arabs maintained their influence only on the coast, but we have very little information about the entire area throughout the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Maḥmūd of Ghaznī maintained authority over Ḳusdār (the Kalāt plateau) acc. to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī.*

The Balōč and the Koč tribes during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphates raided from Kirmān, spreading into Sīstān and Khurāsān. According to Yāḳūt the Balōč were decimated by ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Būyid (338-372/949-982). They continued their depredations until Maḥmūd of Ghaznī sent his son Masʿūd against them, who defeated them near Khabīs. Shortly after this time the eastward movement of the Balōč began, for they left Kirmān and went into Makrān. It is possible that the strong centralised government of the Saldjūḳs made raiding unprofitable for the Balōč who consequently moved eastward. Two centuries later the Balōč are found in Sind. In the Kalāt highlands the Brahōī confederacy, including some Balōč and Afghān tribes, kept the main body of Balōč from inundating the area, and the Balōč then moved into Sind and the Pandjāb. No permanent kingdom was established but each tribe was under its own chief and inter-tribal fighting was common.

The first tribes of which any records have survived are the Rinds under Mīr Čākur and the Dōdāīs under Mīr Sohrāb who appeared at the court of Shāh Ḥusayn Langāh at Multān, who ruled from 874-908/1467-1502. The tradition is that Mīr Čākur and his Rinds came from Sibī and took service with Shāh Ḥusayn. Other Balōč followed and, according to ballads, there was war between the Rinds and Dōdāīs. In these legends the memory of the migration of the Balōč to India is preserved.

The Dōdāīs and Hōts, another Balōč tribe, spread up the Indus valley and Bābar met them as far north as Bhērā and Khushāb in 1519. The towns of Dēra Ismaʿīl Khān and Dēra Ghāzī Khān were founded by the sons of Sohrāb Dōdāī in the time of Shēr Shāh, who confirmed their possession of the lands of the lower Indus valley. According to tradition these Balōč aided Humāyūn in his reconquest of Dihlī and were in the good graces of the Mughal rulers.

The only history we have of Balōčistān in the later period concerns the Brahōī confederation. The Brahōī confederation began to expand in the 17th century under the Kambarānī chiefs. At the end of the century one of these rulers, Mīr ʿAbd Allāh extended his power west throughout Makrān and south to the sea. Nādir Shāh of Persia regarded the Brahōī Khāns with favour, for after his Indian conquests he awarded them lands in Sind taken from the Indian Kalhōras.

Aḥmad Shāh Durranī established his authority over Makrān, and the Brahōī Khān recognised him as his suzerain. This Brahōī, Naṣīr Khān, extended his rule over Las-Bēla including Karāčī. He organised

the Brahōīs into the two main groups of Sarāwān and Djahlāwān. Each tribe had to supply the Khān with troops at the Khān's request but were otherwise free from taxes.

Naṣīr Khān became so powerful that he defied his suzerain Aḥmad Shāh who defeated him in 1172/1758 and besieged him in Kalāt. Peace was made on condition that Naṣīr Khān retain his independence but agree to render military service to Aḥmad Shāh, which he did. Naṣīr died in 1210/1795 and was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd Khān who was unable to retain the extensive dominions of his father. Western Makrān was lost and some Balōč tribesmen took Karāčī. Maḥmūd died in 1821 and was succeeded by his son Miḥrāb Khān. The latter mixed in Afghan affairs which brought him in conflict with the British. In 1838 a force under Gen. Wiltshire was sent against Kalāt which was stormed and Miḥrāb Khān was killed. After much confusion and a second occupation of Kalāt by the British, the son of Miḥrāb was recognised as Khān at the end of 1841 with the name Naṣīr Khān II. In 1854 the Khān signed a treaty, accepting a position of subordination to the British Government, but his authority over the tribes declined. He died in 1857, and the disorders and revolts which followed his death filled the years until 1876 when Capt. Sandeman brought about a treaty which recognised Kalāt as a protected state in the India Empire. The establishment of Quetta as a military centre and the building of a railroad in Balōčistān in the 1880's kept the country pacified.

The boundary between Kalāt and Persia was laid down in 1872 and revised in 1895-6, but for the most part the Balōč tribes disregarded the frontier.

Much less is known of Persian Balōčistān. Although the Balōč tribes owed allegiance to the Ṣafāwids and Ḳādjārs in fact they were independent. Raiding parties of Balōč terrorised the settlements of Kirmān and Khurāsān until the 1930's. The Nahrōī tribe today is perhaps the most important in Persian Balōčistān and Sīstān, but it is difficult to obtain information about the various tribes, who perhaps know very little themselves about their history and present status.

There are many ballads and stories on Balōč history, many apocryphal, though some, telling of eponymous ancestors, may contain actual history.

Bibliography: For travellers' accounts, see the literature in A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 137-140, 175, and *passim*. On ethnography, cf. M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race*, London 1904, and Mockler, *The Origin of the Baloch*, in *JRASB*, 1895. History is poor; for the early periods the sources are only scattered notices in the standard Arabic histories and geographies; for later history see Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, London, 1867-77, esp. vols. 1, 2 and 5; H. Raverty, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl. and notes, London 1881; Thornton, *Life of Sir R. Sandeman*, London 1895. (R. N. FRYE)

B. Language. — § 1. *Linguistic history*.

Within the main division of Iranian languages, based on the treatment of the simple I(ndo)-E(uropean) palatals **k̂* and **ĝ* into a Western, Persic, and an Eastern group, Bal(ūčī) belongs to the latter, cf. *āsk* 'gazelle': N(ew) P(ersian) *āhū*; *zān-* 'to know': NP *dān-*; *burz* 'high': NP *buland*. The Balūčīs are thought to have migrated to their present habitat from the shores of the Caspian Sea. One therefore looks for orientation on the ancestor of Bal. to the two of the known Middle Iranian languages which are nearest to that area, *viz*. M(iddle) P(ersian) (belonging to the Western group) and P(arthian) (belonging to the Eastern group), whose meeting point lay to the South of the Central Caspian region.

Bal. ranges with P not only in the treatment of the simple IE palatals (cf. also the special development of IE **k̂u̯* in *āsin* 'iron': P *ʾʾswn*: MP *ʾʾhwn*), but also, *e.g.*, of O(ld) Ir(anian) *ǰ* (*ǰan-* 'to strike': P *jn-*: MP *zn-*), *-d-* (*pād* 'foot', *gidān* 'tent': P *pʾd*, *wdʾn*: MP *pʾy*, *wyʾn*), *-rd-* (*zirdē* 'heart': P *zyrd*: MP *dyl*), *-sč-* (*paš-tara* 'later': P *pš*: MP *ps*), *du̯-* (*iptī* 'other': P *bdyg*: MP *dwdyg*), and *xwā-* (*w(h)aš* 'sweet, happy': P *wxš*: MP *xwš*); ¶ it agrees with MP *e.g.*, in the development of OIr. *y-* (*ǰitā* 'separate': MP *jwd*: P *ywd*; *ǰuz-* 'to move': P *ywz-*), *-zg-* (*maǰg* 'brain': MP *mgj*, cf. NP *maγz*), and *θr* (*sai* 'three', *pusaγ* 'son': MP *sh*, *pws*: P *hry*, *pwhr*); ¶ and differs from both MP and P, *e.g.*, in the treatment of OIr. *x-* (*kand-* 'to laugh': MP *xn-*: P *xnd-*; *sōtka* 'burnt': MP, P *swxt*; *bakš-* 'to give': MP, P *bxš-*), *f* (*hapt* 'seven': MP, P *haft*; *kōpag* 'shoulder', cf. MP, P *kōf* 'mountain'), *-θ-* (*mētag* 'house', cf. P *myh*: 'vacillating'), *-k-* (*gōkurt* 'sulphur': MP *gwgyrd*; *makask* 'fly': P *mgs*), *-č-* (*ač* 'from': MP *ʾz*: P *ʾž*), *-p-* (*āp* 'water': MP, P *ʾb*), *-t-* (*gwāt*, v. below), *wă-* (*gwāt* 'wind', *gwarak* 'lamb': MP, P *wʾd*, *wrg*), *wĭ-* (*gīst* 'twenty': MP, P *wyst*; *gidān*, v. above), *xwai-* (*hēd* 'sweat', cf. MP *xwybš*, P *wxybyh* 'own'), *-šm-* (*čamm* 'eye': MP, P *čšm*), *-šn-* (*tunnag* 'thirsty': MP *tyšng*, cf. P *tšynd* 'thirst'), and the preverb *fra-* (*ša-*: MP, P *fra-*).

Apart from phonological matters, Bal. agrees with P against MP in avoiding the Iḍāfat construction, and using, *e.g.*, *kap-* for 'to fall' (P *kf-*: MP *ʾwptʾd-*), *gwaš-* for 'to say' (P *wʾc-*: MP *gw-*), *ātka* for 'gone' (P *ʾgd*: MP *ʾmd*), and *girōk* for 'lightning' (cf. P *wrwc*: Pahlavī *rwcʾk*); however, the Bal. present of 'to do' is *kan-* (MP *kwn-*, against P *kr-*), and while MP has *rw-/rp(?)-*, P *šw-* for 'to go', Bal. uses the former stem in the present, the latter in the past; for the present of 'to sit' (MP *nšyy-*, P *nšyd-*) and 'to see' (MP, P *wyn-*) Bal. goes its own way with *nind-* and *gind-*; on the other hand the passive construction of transitive verbs in the past tenses is characteristic of all three languages.

The ancestor of Bal. was thus neither P nor MP, but a lost language which, while sharing a number of characteristic features with either, and some with both, had a pronounced individuality of its own. This language may have been a variety of Median speech since the Kurdish dialects, which have a noteworthy affinity with Bal. (v. P. Tedesco, in *Monde Oriental*, xv, 252), are to be traced, in V. Minorsky's opinion (*Travaux du XXe Congrès des Orientalistes*, 143 ff.) to ancient Median. However, such distinctive straits of Bal. as are also met with in Ormurī (*e.g. ša-* < *fra-*, and *gwa-* < *u̯a-*, the latter development to be found also in Khūrī, see V. Minorsky in *BSOAS* xix, 61, n.l. and, according to I. Gershevitch, in the dialects of Rūdbār, Rūdān, and parts of Baškard), may have been borrowed from an Iranian substratum in territories to which the Balūčīs had moved, see G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, i, 316 f. Moreover, since Middle Iranian times Bal. has borrowed on a considerable scale from Persian. At a more recent stage loanwords from Sindhī, Brahūī, and Pašto have penetrated into Bal.

For a different classification of Iranian dialects, using different criteria, see now W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranisch* (*Handbuch des Orientalistik*), 89 ff.; note Khwārizmian *ša-* < *fra-*, *ibid.*, 114.

§ 2. *Dialects.*

Bal. dialects are divisible geographically and linguistically into two great groups: Western and Eastern, separated from each other by a strip of territory inhabited by Brahūī-speakers, extending from Quetta in the North to Las Bela in the South.

A) Western. The Western dialects (also called 'Southern' or 'Makrānī') are spoken principally in the Makrān, their territory extending from Biyābān north of Cape Jāsk in Persian Balūčistān (abt. long. 57°) eastwards to Ras Malan in the Sind (abt. long. 66°), thence northwards to the Afghan frontier, and thence along this frontier westwards into Kirmān. The map in the *LSI*, x, 327 (v. bibl.) shows a territory where there live mixed Balūčīs and other language speakers, extending from the north-west corner of the Makrān along the Persian-Afghan frontier northwards into Russian Turkestan, in the province of Marw. Details of these Marw Balūčīs remained obscure until 1927-28, when I.I. Zarubin first investigated their language. They number about 10,000 (mainly in the *rayons* of Yolotan, Bāiram ʿAlī, and Kuibyshev.)

B) Eastern. The Eastern dialects (also called 'Northern') are spoken by tribes in an area extending from Karāčī northwards through the Sulaymān mountains approx. to Dera Ismāʿīl Khān.

C) The principal dialect differences are given by Geiger, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, I², 232. It may be noted further that:

1. The W(estern) stops *k p t g b d* and the affricates *č, ǰ* are changed in the E to the corresponding spirants *x f* θ γ β δ and *š, ž* when following a vowel, except in pre-consonantel position (for examples, v. *LSI*, x, 338).

2. W *ū* (*būta* 'was', *nūn* 'now', *mālūm* 'known') becomes E *ī* (*bīθa*, *nīn*, *mālīm*).

3. The W pronouns *hamā* 'same', *šumā* 'ye', are in E *hawā*, *šawā*. Further dialect subdivision:

A) Western. Information regarding the distribution and character of these dialects is too scanty to permit of more than broad outlines.

I. Kēčī dialects, spoken in the district of Kēč, in South-Central Makrān and west of a line from Kēč to Gwādar on the coast. A variety of this dialect is also spoken by about 10,000 Balūčīs in Karāčī, who are probably recent emigrants.

II. Panǰgūrī dialects, spoken in the district of Panǰgūr in NE Makrān, and east of a line from Kēč to Gwādar.

III. The dialect of the Marw province.

There are many similarities, both lexical and grammatical, between the Panǰgūrī and Marw dialects. Comparison of P(anǰgūrī), M(arw) and K(ēčī) shows:

1. P, M *ū* (P *hūk*, M *ūk* 'swine') becomes K *ī* (*hīk*);
2. OIr *-xt-* becomes K *-tk-* (< **kt-*) but P *-xt-*, *-ht-*, and M *-t-* (< **-ht-*: M drops *h* in all positions);
3. Gen. sing. of nouns: in K *-a*, *-ēg*, *-īg* or no ending: P, M *-ē*, *-ai*;
4. Voc. sing.: in K *-a* or no ending; P, M *-ē*, *-ī*.
5. 1st sing. pres-fut. in K *-ān*: P, M *-in*;
6. K *pit*, *māt*, *brāt* ('father, mother, brother') correspond to P, M *pis*, *mās*, *brās*;
7. The 1st sing. of the suffixed verb 'to be' is K *-ān*, but P, M *-un*.

Lexically, we have K *lōg* 'house', but P, M *gis*; K *ās* 'fire', P *āč*, M *ātiš*; K *haik* 'egg', but M *ā(murg)*; especially characteristic of M and P are the verb *di-* 'to strike' and the adverbs in *-ingō*, *-angō*. K and P have many more Sindhī loanwords, but rather less Persian than has M.

B) Eastern.

I. The purest E. dialects are spoken in an area stretching from Quetta through Loralai to include Dera Ghāzī Khān and south to include Marrī and Bugtī territory, into the Upper Sind Frontier.

II. The Kasrānī dialect, north of Dera Ghāzī Khān up to Dera Ismāʿīl Khān. This dialect has been strongly influenced by neighbouring Indian languages: cerebralisation is common, normal E θ becomes δ, *-ptʿ-* becomes *-tt-* (*kʿatta* 'fallen'), *gw-* becomes *gu-*; and it has a large number of Indian loanwords (principally Sindhī and Lahndā).

III. The dialects of Sind, south of Jacobābād. These are much more mixed with and influenced by Sindhī than the others; typical of them is the Käččʿēǰī-Bōlī, spoken by about 100,000 in a district north of Karāčī. In it all E θ, δ become *s*, *z*; cerebralisation is a general rule, voiced stops are usually aspirated, and final vowels are affixed to words ending in a consonant.

The E dialects have been much better studied than the W, and reference to the bibliography must suffice here for them.

Bibliography: G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol x, 327 ff. The bibl. given on p. 335 is complete up to 1921. See, on E dialects, especially Gladstone, Dames, and Mayer.

Add to the *LSI* list:

G. Morgenstierne, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, v (1932), 36-53; idem, in *Acta Orientalia*, xx (1948), 253-292; idem, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, (1932), 9-10; G. W. Gilbertson, *The Balochi Language*, Hertford 1923; idem, *English-Balochi Colloquial Dictionary*, Hertford 1925; I. I. Zarubin, *K Izučeniyu Beludžskogo Yazyka i Folʾklora*, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, v (1930), 653 ff.; idem, *Beludžskiye Skazki*, part i (1932) and part ii (1949) (Akademiya Nauk, SSSR); V. S. Sokolova, *Beludžskii Yazyk*, in *Očerki po Fonetike Iranskikh Yazykov*, i, 1953, 7-77 (Akademiya Nauk, SSSR); S. N. Sokolov, *Grammatičeskii Očerk Yazyka Beludžei Sovetskogo Soyuza*, in *Trudy Instituta Yazykoznaniya*, vi (1956), 57-91 (Akademiya Nauk, SSSR).

(J. Elfenbein)

BALYEMEZ, the name given to a large calibre gun. The term is encountered in Ottoman chronicles and other works and is still to be found occasionally in relatively late sources (down to the 19th century). Balyemez cannon were first introduced into the Ottoman army in the time of Sulṭān Murād II. Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, who undertook regular large-scale military operations, made great use of such guns. He caused the Transylvanian Urban, a noted cannon-founder, to construct a special siege gun of the Balyemez type, for the purpose of breaching the walls of Constantinople. The technique of gun-casting became available to the Ottomans through Western and, above all, German specialists. The production of a Balyemez gun was described in some detail by Kritobulos, the Greek panegyrist of Meḥemmed II. Since guns were at that time employed only in siege warfare, the Turks, as a rule, used to cast them on the spot; there is but seldom any reference to the transport of guns already cast. The name Balyemez ("that eats no honey") is in all probability a jesting and popular transformation of the German "Faule Metze" (the famous cannon of the year 1411 which, together with the "Faule Grete", altered the entire conduct of war, as it stood at that time). The word came to the Ottomans, as a technical term, through the numerous German gun-

founders in the Turkish service. It passed also, from the Turkish, into various languages of south-east Europe. The nickname Balyemez, occasionally given to Ottoman army commanders, is a secondary derivation from the name of the gun.

Bibliography: H. J. Kissling, *Baljemez*, in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 333-340, where further bibliographical references will be found [see also MĀRŪD and TOP]. (H. J. KISSLING)

BĀLYŌS, Bālyoz (originally Baylōs), the Turkish name for the Venetian ambassador to the Sublime Porte—in Italian, *bailo* (Venetian ambassadors at Byzantium had borne this title since 1082; other *baili* were at Tyre and Lajazzo/Payas near Alexandretta). The Venetians, immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, sent off as *bailo* Bartolommeo Marcello, who on 18 April 1454 made with the Porte a commercial treaty which renewed the agreement already existing with the Ottomans since 1408. Under this new treaty Venice had the right to maintain at the Sublime Porte a bailo with his seat in Pera and with the power to issue passes for Venetian merchants and to exercise in relation to those merchants certain legal functions. The representatives of Venice sat in Constantinople, except in time of war, until the fall of the Republic in 1797; their tenure of office lasted, during the 17th and 18th centuries, in principle for three years. There were moreover special ambassadors to the Porte who also bore the name of *bailo*. The *baili* played, in the 16th and 17th centuries, an important rôle politically; several amongst them, in times of tension or of war, were thrown into prison (as a rule in Yedikule). The reports (*relazioni*) which they submitted to the *Signoria* bear witness to their perspicacity. These reports have been published in two series: (i) E. Albèri, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. iii: Turchia, 3 vols., Florence 1840-1855; and (ii) N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneti ne' secolo decimosettimo*, ser. V: Turchia, Venice 1866, 1872.

List of the Baili: Cf. (i) Barozzi and Berchet, *op. cit.*, i, 9 ff.; and (ii) B. Spuler, *Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel*, Pt. iv, in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, i, (1936), 229-247 (with additional references).

With the generalised meaning of European diplomatic or consular agent, the word is also encountered in some Arabic dialects and in Swahili.

Bibliography: W. Andreas, *Staatskunst und Diplomatie der Venezianer im Spiegel ihrer Gesandtenberichte*, Leipzig 1943; H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 3 vols., Vienna 1905-1934; M. L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as revealed in despatches of the Venetian Baili* (*Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. xxvii, no. 3), Urbana, Illinois 1944. Cf. also the standard works on Ottoman history and, in addition, M. Cavid Baysun, article in *IA*, ii, 291-295. (B. SPULER)

BAM (Arab. Bamm). District and town in the VIIIth *ustān* of Persia. In the middle ages the district was one of the five into which the province of Fārs was divided. The town is situated in an oasis on the south-western fringe of the great desert of the Dasht-i Lūṭ. Bam is 1257 km. from Tehran and 193 from Kirmān; Zāhidān, on the further side of the Dasht-i Lūṭ, is 324 km. distant. Standing at an altitude of 1,100 metres, Bam is hot in summer, but the winter climate is temperate. Situated as it is on the most practicable of the routes linking south-west Persia with Sīstān, Afghānistān and Balōčistān, the town has, ever since its foundation in Sāsānid times, been a place of some strategic and commercial importance. Since the 4th/10th century Bam has been noted for its citadel, which was for long regarded as impregnable; this citadel has often served as a bastion against invaders and marauders from the east. During the war between the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. Layth [*q.v.*] and the Ṭāhirids in 260/873, the fortress was used as a prison. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 125, describes Bam as it was in the latter part of the 4th/10th century: "Bam, a town with a healthy climate . . . in its *shahristān* stands a strong fortress. It is larger than Jiruft and possesses three cathedral mosques . . . . one belongs to the Khāridjites, another to the Muslims, and the third is in the fortress. From it come cotton stuffs (*karbās*), turbans (*ʿamāma*), Bam-turbans (or kerchiefs, *dastār-i bamī*) and dates". Similar details are given by Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī. In those days the citadel, which was in the centre of the town, contained part of the bazaars. The houses were of sun-dried brick. There were a number of baths, the best known being in the street or lane of the willows (*zuḳāḳ al-bidh*).

In 1131/1719 Maḥmūd, the Ghalzay leader, captured Bam, but abandoned it some months later owing to a revolt in Ḳandahār. In 1134/1721 he captured the town again and it remained in Afghān hands until their power was shattered by Nādir [*q.v.*] in 1142-3/1729-30. It was doubtless in order to guard against possible future attack from the east that Nādir greatly strengthened the defences of the town.

It was at Bam that Āghā Muḥammad Khān captured the gallant Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, the last of the short-lived Zand dynasty, in 1210/1795: in order to celebrate his success the Ḳādjār erected a pyramid there consisting of the skulls of 600 of his adversary's followers (R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia from the beginning of the XIXthCentury to the Year* 1858, 75). In 1256-7/1840-1 Bam came into prominence again, when Āghā Khān Maḥallātī occupied it during his revolt. In the old town, which is now almost entirely in ruins, the only building of interest, apart from the striking citadel, is the shrine of the Imām Zayd b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. The modern town, which is some 500 metres to the south-west of the old one, has a population of 13,500; it is divided into four quarters by two broad avenues (*khiyābān*) which intersect in the centre. As in former times, the principal products of Bam and the surrounding district are dates and cotton-stuffs.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article: Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 223; Muḳaddasī, 465; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 206 and 208; Ibn Khurradādhih, 49, 54, 196, 242; Ibn Rustā, 106, 286, 308; al-Bakrī, 162 ff.; Yāḳūt, *sub verbo*; Abuʾ l-Fidā, 336; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 76; E. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, London 1816, 192-204; K. E. Abbott, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxv, 42-3; Sir F. J. Goldsmid, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxvii, 284-5; O. B. St. John, in *Eastern Persia*, London 1876, I, 85-86; E. Smith, in *Eastern Persia*, I, 241-244; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ii, 252-4; Le Strange, 312; Razmārā and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii, 51-2; A. Costa and L. Lockhart, *Persia*, London 1957, 38-9 and plates 75-78. (L. LOCKHART)

BAMAKO, chief town of the territory of the Sudan (French West Africa), on the Niger, at the

junction of the two navigable stretches of the river, at the end of the Dakar-Niger railway, served by an important aerodrome. Formerly a trading post on the routes between the Sahel and the Southern region, and between the Sudan and Senegal, Bamako occupies a central position in French West Africa which is the reason for its flourishing state: the population of the town, numbering 800 in 1883, had risen to 37,000 in 1945, and today (1958) has reached 100,000 (of whom 4,000 are Europeans). It owes its importance to its administrative and political rôle.

Bamako was founded by a Bama hunter and named by his Niaré successor, who came from Kaarta, Bama-ko = "after Bama" (the etymology "river of the crocodiles" is incorrect). The size of the original village increased as there came to it first fishermen, and then men from Draa (the Dravé) and Touat (the Touré) who brought with them Islam; the town thus comprised four quarters: Niaréla, Touréla, Bozola, and Dravéla, the basis of the present city.

In a short time Bamako, a bridgehead on the Niger, became a French political objective; after the war of 1870, a move was made in its direction, and it was occupied in 1883 by Col. Borgnis-Desbordes. From then on, as a base for French operations in the Sudan, its population was constantly swelled by groups of Senegalese and Sudanese. In 1904, the railway reached the town, which became in 1907 the chief-town of Upper Senegal and Niger: a large administrative, military and medical (Institutes of Leprosy and Tropical Ophthalmology) centre grew up, and the town also tended to become a university (Federal School of Public Works) and cultural (French Institute of Black Africa) centre.

Bamako is an Islamic city, but its Islam is africanised, lax, and often tainted with animist survivals. Far from being a centre of religious expansion, the city has always been under the influence of the ancient Muslim towns in the region and of families of Moorish marabouts. The Ḳādiriyya and the Tidjāniyya have long been established there; at first in the majority, the Ḳādiriyya were supplanted by the ʿUmariyya; between the two wars, Hamallism, in a more sober form, developed there; at the present time there has come into being a reformist group which proposes to purify the local form of Islam. It is possible to foresee Bamako, following its present bent, seeking to assume a leading rôle in an Islamic revival. In conclusion, it should be noted that Bamako has a small Christian community and is the seat of an archbishop.

The town, originally built of mud, does not possess any ancient historical monuments.

Bibliography: Scanty. Information should be sought in official publications and in historical works on the Sudan. (M. Chailley)

BAMBĀRA [see mande and sūdān].

BĀMIYĀN, in the Arabic sources frequently al-Bāmiyān, a town in the Hindu-Kush north of the main range in a mountain valley lying 8,480 feet above sea level, through which one of the most important roads between the lands of the Oxus watershed and the Indus leads; the town is therefore naturally important as a commercial centre and was important in the middle ages as a fortress also. Although the valley, that of the Kunduz river, really belongs to the Oxus watershed and is separated from Kābul by high mountain passes, *e.g.*, the Shibar and Unnai, its political association has often shifted from north to south. In recent centuries Bāmiyān has tended to belong to Kābul and Ghazna rather than to the Oxus territories, and the pass of Aḳribāṭ to the north-west of Bāmiyān has marked the boundary between Kābulistān and Afghān Turkistān.

The early history of Bāmiyān is obscure. Rare coins of the Kushāns have been reported there but no monuments or other remains of that period have been discovered (J. Hackin, in *JA* 1935, 287 ff.). The Chinese sources, of which the earliest are scarcely earlier than the 6th century A.D., century, usually transcribe the name Fan-yen-na or Far-yanh (see J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 215 ff.; and P. Pelliot's note in J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris 1928, 75). According to Marquart the "Older Middle Iranian" form was Bāmīkān. The valley and town at this date are described by the Chinese pilgrim Hüan-Čuang who found there a great centre of Buddhism with more than ten monasteries and over a thousand monks. He noticed that the language, coinage, script and religious beliefs current differed but little from those of Turkistān. The royal town was on the cliff above the valley, south-west of the great Buddha figures. These two colossal figures, which have for centuries excited the wonder of travellers, both Arab (cf. especially Yāḳūt, i, 481) and European, have recently been described in detail, together with many of the associated caves and fresco paintings. Their age is still uncertain but the weight of evidence indicates that the early work, including the two great figures, dates from the latter half of the 6th or early 7th century A.D., and that the excavation and painting of caves continued well into the 8th. During this period Bāmiyān appears to have been ruled by a dynasty, perhaps of Hepthalite origin, but certainly subject to the prince (Yabghu) of the Western Turks. This dynasty was still ruling in the first quarter of the 2nd/8th century and still professed Buddhism (cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, 291-2, and Hackin, *loc. cit.* 1928, 83).

The prince of Bāmiyān bore the title *Shēr* (written *Shīr* or *Shār*) which Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān* 289) erroneously translates "lion"; the word means "king" and is to be derived from the old Persian *khshathriya* (Marquart, *loc.cit.*,). Islam was first adopted by these princes in the time of the ʿAbbāsids, according to Yaʿḳūbī's geography (*loc.cit.*) in the reign of al-Manṣūr, according to the same author's history (ed. Houtsma, ii. 479) in that of al-Mahdī. The relations of this dynasty to the lands south and north of the Hindū-Kush are not quite clear. According to Yaʿḳūbī Bāmiyān belonged to Ṭukhāristān, *i.e.*, the lands of the Oxus territory, which is probably confirmed by Ṭabarī's statement (ii. 1630.1) that about 119/737 a foreigner from Bāmiyān ruled in Khuttal (north of the Oxus); on the other hand Iṣṭakhrī (277) says that the district (*ʿamal*) of Bāmiyān only included the lands south of the Hindū-Kush with the towns of Parwān, Kābul, and Ghazna. Under the later ʿAbbāsids the members of the dynasty of Bāmiyān, like many Central Asian princes, held influential positions at the court of Baghdād; Ṭabarī (iii, 1335) tells us that a Shēr of Bāmiyān was appointed governor of Yaman in 229/844. There was still a large Buddha temple in Bāmiyān in which there were also idols in the 3rd/9th century. This temple was destroyed by the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb and the idols brought to Baghdād in 257/871 (cf. the comparison of Ṭabarī, iii, 1851 and *Fihrist*, 346, by Barthold in *Oriental. Stud.* (*Nöldeke-Festschrift*), i, 187).

The native dynasties seem to have been finally

overcome by the Ghaznawids. A branch of the house of the Ghūrids ruled in Bāmiyān for half a century (550-609/1144-1212). Bāmiyān was then the capital of a kingdom which comprised all Ṭukhāristān and some districts north of the Oxus, and stretched to the north-east as far as the borders of Kāshghar. Like the other lands of the Ghūrids, this kingdom also was incorporated in the kingdom of Muḥammad Shāh of Khwārizm in the beginning of the 7th/13th century; Bāmiyān was granted with Ghazna and other lands to Djalāl al-Dīn the eldest son of the Khwārizmshāh (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, text 25, transl. 44). Soon afterwards followed the destruction of the town by the Mongols (618/1221). Mütügen, a grandson of Čingiz Khān, fell at the siege of the town; in revenge for his death the conqueror razed the town to the ground and exterminated its inhabitants; the place received the name of Mo-baliḳ (evil town) or, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, Mo-ḳurghān (evil fortress) and was still uninhabited 40 years later in the time of the historian Djuwaynī. For the past few centuries Bāmiyān has always been combined with Ghazna and Kābul; like these towns it belonged, down to the 12th/18th century, to the empire of the Mughals, and afterwards to the newly formed Afghān kingdom of which it is still a part.

At present Bāmiyān is a district town connected by motorable roads with both Kābul and Kunduz. The population of the valley belongs mainly to the Hazāra stock, but there are also villages of Tādjīks. The inhabitants speak two languages, Persian and Pashtu (Afghān), but the former is the more widely spoken. The modern settlement lies immediately beneath the cliff with the great images. About two miles south-east lies the ruined fortress of Gulgula, situated on a prominence on the south of the valley. This has been generally recognised as the town built on a hill which Čingiz Khān destroyed, and is probably also the strong fortress referred to by Yāḳūt and Yaʿḳūbī. Whether it is also the site of Hüan-Čuang's royal town is not clear, as the pilgrim states that it lay on the cliffs south-west of the images. No remains have been reported in this direction.

Bibliography: The geographical position is discussed by A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, Paris 1942. The Buddhist monuments are described by J. Hackin and A. & Y. Godard in *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris 1928; and J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles Recherches à Bāmiyān*, Paris 1933. Hackin's views on the dating should be compared with those of B. Rowland, *Wall Paintings in India, Central Asia and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938, particularly when corrected by Bachhofer, *Art Bulletin*, 1938, 230 ff. Hackin (*loc.cit.* 1928) includes most of the Chinese and European travellers' reports, but Marquart (*loc. cit.*) and Chavannes (*loc.cit.*) are still indispensable. The Hepthalite connections are discussed by R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Paris 1948. For the later history see Barthold, *Turkestān*, 2nd ed., London, 1928. On the Ghūrids of Bāmiyān see *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (ed. Nassau Lees), 101 ff.; *ibid.* transl. Raverty, 142 ff. On the Mongol conquest, see the text of Djuwaynī (*Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-Kushāy*) in Schefer, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii. 142 ff.; and d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 294 ff.

(W. Barthold-[F. R. Allchin])

BAMPŪR, a district and small town in the VIIIth *ustān* of Persia (corresponding approximately to the province of Kirmān and Persian Balōčistān). For administrative purposes, Bampūr and its district come under Īrānshāhr (formerly Fahradj), situated 23 kilometres to the east. Bampūr, which has a population of 5,000, is chiefly remarkable for its citadel which crowns an eminence 100 feet in height. The inhabitants, who are Sunnīs and are Balōčī-speaking, are mostly engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The surrounding district, which is well supplied with water, is very fertile and produces corn and dates.

After the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747, Naṣīr Khān, the Governor of Balōčistān, transferred his allegiance to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], of Afghānistān, but later became independent. Persian authority over Bampūr was not restored until 1849.

Bibliography: H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, London 1816, 330; *Eastern Persia*, by O. St. John, B. Lovett, E. Smith and Sir F. Goldsmid, i, 76, 206-7; Le Strange, 330; Sartīp H. A. Razmārā and Sartīp Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Vol. viii, 47.

(L. Lockhart)

BĀN (A. and P.), the ben-nut tree (*Moringa aptera Gaertn.*). Dioscorides knew of its existence in Arabia and other neighbouring countries. Galen, speaking of a remedy obtained from the tree, says that it was imported from the Arabs. Abū Ḥanīfa reports that the fruit, called *shūʿ*, was a commodity greatly in demand which was bought and paid for in advance even before being ripe. The wood, because of its lightness, was used for tent-poles. On account of the high and slender growth of the *bān* and the softness of its wood, Arab poets used the word as a simile for a tender woman of tall stature.

The fruit, known to the Greeks as βάλανος μυρεψική and to the Romans as *glans unguentaria*, was put to various medicinal uses. Especially the fine oil, extracted from the seeds, was applied against several skin diseases. The juice of the fruit, mixed with vinegar and water, was given to horses as a remedy for cardialgia. In addition to its application in medicine, the oil of the *bān* was much used in the manufacture of perfumes.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The Book of Plants* (Lewin), no. 75; Achundow in *Hist. Stud. aus d. pharmakol. Inst. zu Dorpat*, iii, 165, 349; Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 61 f.; Ghāfiḳī (Meyerhof-Sobhy), no. 118; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 145 f.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, 79 f.; Ḳazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 249; Kindī, *Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿIṭr* (transl. Garbers), 59 ff., 181 ff.; Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 124, 525, iv, 525; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, xi, 215 f., xii, 78 ff. (cf. Wiedemann in *Arch. f. d. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. d. Techn.*, iv, 419 ff.); *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Collin), no. 382.

(L. Kopf)

BANĀKAT, more correctly B/Pinākath (thus in Muḳaddasī, 277, l. 1; in Sogdian: Bi/unēkath, "chief town", "capital"), but in Djuwaynī, i, 47 Fanāka(n)t—a small town at the confluence of the Ilak (today the Āhangarān/Angren), flowing from the right, with the Jaxartes (Iranian: Khashant—cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 118, 210 ff., and also *ibid.*, 72, where it is named Ūzgand). It lies almost south-east of Tashkent (Čāč/Shāsh) and was once a flourishing place (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 118), possessed however no walls and had its mosque in the bazaar (Muḳaddasī, 277; cf. also al-Khʷārizmī, in C. A. Nallino, *al-Ḫuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della geografia di Tolomeo*, Rome 1895, 36, and Yāḳūt, i, 740). The town was conquered in 616/1219 by a Mongol force, 5000 strong according to the sources, under the command of Ulagh Noyon and Süktür, its inhabitants

being either slain or else carried off to serve as assault troops in further sieges; there is no mention that its buildings were destroyed (Djuwaynī, i, 70-74; Mīrkhwānd, ed. Jaubert, 140).

It is clear that, during the following centuries, Banākat fell into decline, for in 794/1392 it was "rebuilt" by Tīmūr and named, after his own son, "Shāhrukhiyya" (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Ilāhdād, Calcutta 1885-1888, ii, 636). The place is mentioned in the period from the 15th to the 17th century as a strong fortress, but later it sank once more into decay. Ruins (now bearing the name "Sharkiyya") are still to be seen and were examined for the first time in 1876 by a Russian expedition.

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*, 169; Le Strange, 482 (with a wrong date for the rebuilding of the town); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1955, 28, 417 ff. On the name itself, cf. J. Markwart, *Wehrōt und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 162-163, note; and V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, xvii/2 (1955), 262. (B. SPULER)

BANĀKITĪ, (for the vocalisation, see the preceding article), FAKHR AL-DĪN ABŪ SULAYMĀN DĀWŪD B. ABI'L-FAḌL MUḤAMMAD, Persian poet and historian (d. 730/1329-30). According to his own account, he was made *malik al-shuʿarāʾ*, or "king of poets", in 701/1301-2 by the Mongol ruler of Persia, Ghāzān Khān. Dawlatshāh (*Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, 227) records one of his poems. His historical work, entitled *Rawḍat ūli 'l-Albāb fī Tawārīkh al-Akābir wa 'l-Ansāb*, was written in 717/1317-8, under the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd; the preface is dated 25 Shawwāl 717/31 Dec. 1317. Apart from a few very brief remarks on the events of recent years, it is a résumé of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn, the arrangement of the subject matter being different. According to E. G. Browne (iii, 101), the range of the second half of the work affords evidence not only of a wider conception of history (probably under the influence of Rashīd al-Dīn), but also of a spirit of real tolerance towards non-Muslim peoples and of a real knowledge of these peoples, doubtless promoted by the position which the author held at the court of the Īlkhān. Blochet (*Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols* ..., Gibb. Mem. Series, xii, 98) seems to assert that the Chinese sources of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* are indicated only by Banākitī and not by Rashīd al-Dīn; Rashīd's text which contains these indications was, however, published as early as 1886 by V. Rosen (*Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orient. du Ministère des Aff. Étrang.*, iii, *MSS. persans*, St. Petersbourg 1886, 106-107). The *Rawḍat* is divided into nine parts: prophets and patriarchs; ancient kings of Persia; Muḥammad and the Caliphs; Persian dynasties contemporary with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs; the Jews; the Christians and the Franks; the Indians; the Chinese; the Mongols. The eighth part (China) was published in 1677 (Berlin; then, in 1679, at Jena) by A. Muller, in Persian and Latin, under the erroneous title of *Abdallae Beidawaei Historia Sinensis* (later translated into English by S. Weston: *A Chinese Chronicle, by Abdallah of Beyza* ..., London 1820); Quatremère, however, proved that it belonged to the *Rawḍat* of Banākitī.

Bibliography: Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse ... par Rashīd al-Dīn*, Paris 1836, lxxxv, lxxxvi and 425; H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, iii, 55 ff.; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, i, 79 ff. Other references in Storey, section ii, fasc. 1, 80-81.

(W. BARTHOLD-[H. MASSÉ])

BANAT [see TEMESVAR].

BANĀT NAʿSH [see NUDJŪM].

BĀNAT SUʿĀD (Suʿād has departed) are the opening words of a *ḳaṣīda* or ode, composed by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad. The events which led to its composition may be briefly stated as follows. After the fall of Mecca in 8 A.H., Kaʿb's brother Budjayr, who had embraced Islam, warned him of the fate which had overtaken some of the poets there, and urged him to come in to Medina or seek asylum elsewhere. Kaʿb replied in verses disapproving of his brother's conversion. Threatened by the Prophet, Kaʿb in despair came to Medina at last and presented himself before the Prophet, who was then seated in the mosque after the morning prayers surrounded by his companions. Kaʿb succeeded in obtaining the Prophet's pardon; and in token of his gratitude recited in public his famous poem, in which he lauded the generosity of his benefactor. The Prophet was so pleased with it that he bestowed his own mantle (*burda*) on the poet. The poem is, therefore, often called *ḳaṣīdat al-burda*.

The poem consists of 58 verses, and in its general features conforms to the usual pattern of the pre-Islamic Arabian ode. Numerous commentaries have been written on it. It was first published by Lette at Leiden in 1740, and subsequently by Freytag with a Latin translation (Halle 1823) and also by Th. Nöldeke in his *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum*, Berlin 1890, 110 ff. R. Basset edited it with a French translation and two commentaries, Algiers 1910. An English translation will be found in R. A. Nicholson's *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, Cambridge 1922. There is also an Italian translation by G. Gabrieli (Florence 1901) and a German translation by O. Rescher (Istanbul 1950).

The poem of Kaʿb inspired another famous hymn in praise of the Prophet, *viz.*, the *ḳaṣīdat al-burda* ("Mantle Ode") of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 67 ff., 887-93 (= A. Guillaume, *The Life of Mohammad*, Oxford 1955, 597 ff., and Weil's translation ii, 255 ff); Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje; ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1364 A. H., 104-107; *Aghānī*, xv, 147-51; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.; W. Muir, *Life of Mohammad*³ 436-7; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 223-4; G. Gabrieli, *al-Burdatān*, Florence 1901; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de Bibliographie Arabe*, col. 1562; Brockelmann, I, 32-33; S I, 68-70, where other editions, translations, and commentaries are listed. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

BANBALŪNA, Pampeluna, Span. Pamplona, a town in the north of Spain, chief-town of the province of Navarre, with a present population of about 80,000. No Arab geographer has left us an accurate description of Pampeluna in the late Middle Ages. The *Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, which devotes most space to it, depicts the town as the capital of the land of the Basques (*Vascones*, Ar. *Bashkunish* [*q.v.*]), a group of mountain tribes established on the southern slopes and at the western end of the Pyrenees, not far from the Atlantic Ocean. Their territory bounded, in the West, the land called *al-Alaba wa 'l-Ḳilāʿ* [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, of Alava and the Castles (the original Castille); in the East, it reached the mountainous regions inhabited by the Gascons (Ar. *Glashkiyūn*) and the people of Cerretania or Cerdagne. Pampeluna was taken by the governor ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj in 121/739; it rebelled against Cordova and, in 161/778, was taken by the Franks in the course of Charlemagne's expedition. It passed under the sway of the Franco-Gascons for a number of

years and, from about 825 A.D. onwards, became the capital of an independent principality with Iñigo II in close connexion with the powerful Mūsā b. Mūsā, who was his maternal uncle and at the same time his brother-in-law and father-in-law. In 227/842, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II led the Umayyad forces as far as Pampeluna, which was sacked. In 245/859, bands of Scandinavian pirates, the Norsemen, penetrated as far as Pampeluna and took prisoner the king García Iñiguez. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III succeeded in taking possession of the town for a time in 312/924, in the course of his campaign against Navarre, and demolished it. Other attempts by Muslim armies against Pampeluna were made in 322/934 and during the dictatorship of the two ʿĀmirid *ḥād̲j̲ibs* al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Idrīsī, ed. and Span. trans. by Saavedra (*La España de Edrisi*), 59-73; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, ii, 180/259-60; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, Spain, no. 51; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mug̲h̲rib*, ii, index; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leiden 1932, index; Lévi-Provençal, *Du nouveau sur le royaume de Pampalune au LXᵉ siècle*, in *Bulletin hispanique*, lv, no. 1, 1953.

(E. Lévi-Provençal-[A. Huici Miranda])

BAND ("bond"), a Persian word denoting anything which is used to bind, attach, close or limit, both literally and figuratively (*e.g.* sadness, preoccupation),; it has also passed into Arabic and Turkish. In Persian, it has various meanings when used in compounds (*e.g.*, *band-i angus̲h̲t*, the phalanx; *band-i pā*, ankle-bone; *dar-band*, defile, inlet; *dast-band*, bracelet; *rū-band*, head-veil; *band-i s̲h̲ahryār*, the name of a musical air). It denotes in particular dams (*band-i āb*) built for irrigation purposes: for instance, the Band-i Ḳayṣar, built across the river Kārūn at S̲h̲ustar by order of the Sāsānid king S̲h̲āpūr I (3rd century A.D.), several arches of which were carried away by floods about 1880; on the other side of S̲h̲ustar, on the way from Ahwāz, the Band-i Gargar (the Mas̲h̲ruḳān of the Arab geographers), on a lateral drain of the Kārūn, which was excavated during the Sāsānid period; the Band-i Miyān ("middle dam"), constructed during the same period and several times restored, notably at the beginning of the 19th century by a son of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (hence its other name: Band-i Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā); some 40 kms. downstream from S̲h̲ustar, near Band-i Ḳīr ("bitumen dam"), are the ruins of a great dam of the same period (on these dams, see *EI*¹, s.v. *Kārūn*, 825²-826, and *Guide Bleu*, *Moyen-Orient*, 1956, 718-721). In addition to these, the Band-i Amīr (or Band-i ʿAḍudī) on the Kurr (formerly the Cyrus; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 477, n. 2), about 80 km. north of S̲h̲īrāz, was constructed in the 4th/10th century at the order of the amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla of the Būyid dynasty; on the same river were built the Band-i Rāmd̲j̲ird and the Band-i Ḳaṣṣār ("the fuller's dam"), which were restored by Fak̲h̲r al-Dawla Čawlī, atābak of Fārs under the Sald̲j̲ūḳs (on these three dams, cf. the interesting passage in Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī, *Fārs-nāma*, Gibb. Mem. Series, 151-152). Near Kās̲h̲ān, in a mountain gorge, is situated the Band-i Ḳuhrūd, built under the Ṣafawids (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 72; de Sercey, *La Perse en 1839*, 230). In Turkey, nine dams contribute to Istanbul's water supply: on the heights overlooking Büyükdere (on the European side of the Bosphorus), north of Bahçeköy, the *bend* of Maḥmūd I (Mahmut bendi), built in 1732, and the *bend* of the mother of Selim III (Valide bendi), 1796; some five km. further away, in the neighbourhood of the forest of Belgrat, four other *bends* from which water flows, as required, into the Bas̲h̲ Ḥawz (Baş Havuz) or cistern of Pyrgos, and thence towards the city via two aqueducts—the most notable being the Büyük bend ("great dam") built in the 6th/12th century by Andronicus I and restored by several sultans, and the Paşaderesi bendi, the work of the same Byzantine Emperor (details of these dams: *Guide bleu*: *Turquie*, 1958, 171-2).

Bibliography: Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, 105-112, fig. 97 and 98 (S̲h̲ustar, Dizfūl); *Survey of Persian Art*, i, 570 (bridges), and ii, 1226 (*id.*); Polak, *Persien*, i, 161; E. G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, 186; Binning, *A Journal of . . . Travel in Persia*, ii, 365-6; R. Walsh, *Voyage en Turquie*, 16 (map of the reservoirs); Andréossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace*, 416; P. de Tchihatchef, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople*, 49.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

BĀNDĀ, town in Uttar Pradesh (India), situated in Lat. 25° 28′ N and Long. 80° 20′ E; headquarters of the district of the same name. Pop. (1951) 30,327. The town, otherwise unimportant, attracted notice during the Sepoy Revolt of 1857 when its last ruler, Nawāb ʿAlī Bahādur II, put up a hard fight against the British. The town, however, finally surrendered in April 1858. A mere village till the end of the 12th/18th century, it began rapidly to expand when S̲h̲ams̲h̲īr Bahādur, said to be a natural son of the Pēs̲h̲wā Bād̲j̲ī Rāo I (1139-53/1726 40), by one of his concubines who had adopted Islam, made it the chief town of his estate conferred on him by the Pēs̲h̲wā. S̲h̲ams̲h̲īr Bahādur, who fought on the side of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat (1175/1761), was seriously wounded and subsequently died at Bharatpūr. His son, ʿAlī Bahādur I, subjugated many places in Bundhelkhand, with the help of the Sindhia of Gwalior. He was succeeded by his son, D̲h̲u 'l-Faḳār Bahādur, who entered into an agreement with the British in 1227/1812 and was awarded the title of Nawāb and confirmed into his *d̲j̲āgīr* of Bāndā. An ill-built town, it has a very large number of places of worship, both Muslim and Hindu. The congregational mosque, the largest in the town, was built by the last Nawāb, ʿAlī Bahādur II. A patron of learning, he has been praised by the Indian poet in Urdū and Persian, Mīrzā G̲h̲ālib.

Bibliography: *Imp. Gaz. of Ind.*, s.v. Banda; G̲h̲ulām Rasūl Mihr, *1857 Kē Mud̲j̲āhid*, Lahore 1957, 168-171; *District Gaz. of the United Provinces*, Banda, Vol. XXI, Allāhābād 1909.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BANDA ISLANDS, a group of small islands in Indonesia, Long. 130° E., Lat. 4° 32′ S., inhabited by less than 10,000 people of mixed origin who are partly Muslims. From the view point of institutions these Muslims are not different from those in other parts of Indonesia [*q.v.*]. The islands, however, played an important part in the history of the struggle between Islam and Christendom, as the nutmeg trees which are grown there attracted the Portuguese. They arrived in 1511 in Malacca whence they sailed to the Banda Islands a year later, thus transplanting the Iberian war, which had ended a few years earlier, to South and South-East Asia. The Dutch appeared on the scene in 1599. From 1619 to 1942 the islands were under Dutch control, from 1942 to 1945 occupied by the Japanese. (C. C. Berg)

BANDA NAWĀZ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD [see sayyid muḥammad].

BANDAR (Bender), a Persian word which has passed into Turkish, denoting a seaport or port on a large river; it has passed into the Arabic of Syria (Barthélemy) and Egypt in the sense of market-place, place of commerce, banking exchange (Bocthor, Vollers) and even workshop (Cuche). *Shāh-bandar*, in Persian, means customs officer, collector of taxes; in Turkish, it means consul and, formerly, a merchants' syndic. In compounds, it occurs in Persian geographical nomenclature: on the Caspian Sea (southern shore), Bandar-Pahlawī (formerly Enzeli); Bandar-Gaz, the safest harbour in the region; some 50 kms. to the north, Bandar-Shāh, the terminus of the Trans-Iranian railway—the other terminus being Bandar-Shāhpūr, on the Persian Gulf; other ports on the shores of the Gulf are: Bandar-Daylam, Bandar-Rīg, Bandar-Būshīr [see BŪSHAHR], Bandar-Maḳām, Bandar-Linga, Bandar-ʿAbbās (see following article).

Bibliography: P. Schwarz, *Iran in Mittelalter* (index: *bandar*). On the places mentioned: *Guide bleu: Moyen-Orient* (index: Bandar); R. Vadala, *Le golfe Persique*, Paris 1920, *passim*.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

BANDAR ʿABBĀS, a Persian port situated in the VIIIth. *ustān* (which comprises part of Fārs and Kirmān). The town, which is on the coast of the mainland 16 km. north-west of the island of Hormuz [*q.v.*], stands on bare, sandy ground rising gradually to the north; it has a frontage of 2 km. along the shore. The position of Bandar ʿAbbās at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and the fact that it is the terminal point of trade-routes from Yazd and Kirmān to the north and Lār, Shīrāz and Iṣfahān to the north west have made it a place of some strategic and commercial importance. Owing to the shallowness of the sea, large vessels cannot berth alongside the quay or jetty and have to anchor some distance offshore and load or discharge their cargo by means of lighters.

There are grounds for believing that the town is situated on or near the site of the small fishing village of Shahrū (see Iṣṭakhrī, 67) or Shahruvā (see the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 124 and 375). When the neighbouring island of Djarūn (or Djarrūn) ceased to be so called and was given instead the name of Hormuz at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the former name was transferred to Shahrū. When Hormuz developed into a great commercial centre, the importance of Djarūn as the point of transhipment for goods in transit between the island and the mainland gradually increased. Early in the 10th/16th century the Portuguese established themselves on Hormuz and subsequently also on the adjacent stretch of mainland, and Djarūn, or Gamru, as it then came to be called, thus passed into Portuguese hands. In 1615 the Persians recovered Gamru from the Portuguese and seven years later, with the naval aid of the English East India Company, they also drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz. In gratitude for its services, Shāh ʿAbbās I allowed the Company to set up a factory in Gamru (or Gombroon, as the English usually called it) and not only exempted it from customs dues there, but also gave it the right to receive half the customs dues. An additional reason for the granting of these privileges was the Shāh's desire that the town should become the chief port in his realm: it was in token of this desire that he named the port Bandar ʿAbbās after himself. The Shāh's hopes were soon realised; with the advent not only of the English East India Company, but also of the Dutch East India Company and the French, the port became the most important in Persia. When Chardin was there in 1674, he stated that the town contained between 1,400 and 1,500 houses; he also remarked upon the bad climate and its deadly effect upon the European residents (*Voyages*, Paris 1811, viii, 508, 511-512).

The overthrow of the Ṣafawīd monarchy by the Ghalzay Afghāns in 1722, followed by the Russian and Turkish invasions and numerous internal revolts, paralysed the trade of the country and brought stagnation to Bandar ʿAbbās. The expulsion of the Afghāns led to a temporary revival of prosperity, but this was soon nullified by Nādir's exorbitant tax-collectors. Furthermore, his creation of a naval base at Būshahr [*q.v.*] dealt another blow at the supremacy of Bandar ʿAbbās, and it was not long before the former port became the leading one of the country. When Plaisted was at Bandar ʿAbbās in 1750, he found that nine out of every ten houses were deserted (*Journal from Calcutta .... to Aleppo in the Year MDCCL*, London 1758, 11). A few years later the Dutch and English East India Companies abandoned Bandar ʿAbbās, thus causing it to decline still further.

In 1793 the town, together with a coastal strip 150 km. in length, was leased to the Sulṭān of ʿUmān, in whose hands and those of his descendants it remained until its reversion to Persian control in 1868.

In recent times Bandar ʿAbbās has recovered something of its former prosperity, thanks to the construction of motor roads from Kirmān and Yazd and also from Shīrāz. The modern town has a population of some 11,500 (this total undergoes quite considerable seasonal fluctuations). Living conditions have improved with the provision of a piped water supply from ʿIsīn, 16 km. to the north-west. The main thoroughfare, the Khiyābān Riḍā Shāh-i Kabīr, runs through the town approximately parallel with the shore, at a distance of some 200 m.; the governmental and most of the municipal buildings are in the central part of this avenue. The chief mosques are the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ (for the Shīʿa) and the Masdjid-i Galla-Dārī (for the Sunnīs). Modern industry is represented by a fish-canning plant.

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BANDAR PAHLAWĪ, principal port (*bandar*) of Iran on the Caspian Sea, situated at 37° 28′ N and 49° 27′ E. Formerly called Enzeli, the town was

renamed in honour of the Pahlawī dynasty by its founder Riḍā Shāh who came to the throne in 1926. Bandar Pahlawī itself lies on a tongue of land to the west of an inlet between the Caspian Sea and a freshwater lake called Murdāb. To the east of the inlet is the older settlement of Ghāziyān. From Bandar Pahlawī a bridge carries the motor road across the inlet and into Ghāziyān, from there the road proceeds to Rasht, the principal commercial town of the Caspian littoral region, and then on to Tehran, a total distance of 364 km.

In the early 19th century there were only a few hundred houses at the site, in the first decade of this century about 9,000 people, and the present population is given at 48,500. Persian, Gīlakī (a local dialect) and some Turkish are spoken. The inhabitants are Shīʿīs. There are no monuments of any interest or real antiquity in either Bandar Pahlawī or neighbouring Ghāziyān.

During the second quarter of this century the inlet mentioned above has been developed into a shallow, but sheltered, harbour. In the period March 1951-March 1952 some 298 ships entered or left the port. Between 1930 and 1940 there was considerable transit traffic of goods and passengers from Bandar Pahlawī through the USSR and to Europe, but in recent years nearly all the trade has been directly with Russia.

Owing to its proximity to Russia the port town has been the scene of international incidents. In 1722 Russian troops landed on the south side of the Murdāb and again in 1804 another force landed at Enzeli. In March 1920 Soviet troops, following a British force retreating from Baku, landed at Enzeli and later gave support to the establishment of a short lived Soviet Republic of Gīlān. During the Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran Bandar Pahlawī sheltered a Soviet garrison from 1941 until May 1946.

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BANDIRMA, a port on the Sea of Marmara, near the site of the ancient Cyzicus. The mediaeval Greek name for the town was Panormos. Villehardouin mentions a castle called "Palorme", which the Latin Crusaders fortified in 1204. It was used thereafter as a base for their operations against the Greeks in north-west Asia Minor. Under Ottoman rule Bandirma was included in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳarasī [*q.v.*]. According to the evidence of travellers who visited the town in the 16th-17th centuries, most of its inhabitants seem to have been not of Turkish, but of Greek or Armenian descent. Much of Bandirma was burnt down in 1874. It now forms part of the province of Balīkesir and is an active commercial centre, exporting the varied products of the hinterland—cereals, sheep and cattle, boracite, sesame, etc. The population of Bandirma in 1950 stood at a little less than 19,000.

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BANDJ, an arabicised Persian word, originally from the Sanskrit, denoting a narcotic drug, more exactly the henbane (*hyoscyamus*). The meaning of the Sanskrit *bhaṅgā* is really "hemp" (*cannabis sativa L.*), *i.e.*, the variety which grows in southern climes which contains in the tip of its leaves an intoxicating resinous substance (Arabic *ḥashīsh*), whence the Zend *banha* "drunkenness". In Persian the loanword *bang* was applied to the henbane and for this reason Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, in his Arabic translation of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides, (c. 235/850) equated it with the Greek ὑοσκύαμος. With this meaning, the word *bandj* is found in the early Persian medical writers who, as a rule, write in Arabic (al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā) and in more modern Persian medicine in Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī (4th/10th century), while it appears to be unknown in the old Arabic poetry, as al-Bīrūnī in the chapter on *bandj* in his pharmacology (MS. in the Bursa library) gives no quotations from the poets, which he would not otherwise have omitted to do. The early physicians of western Islām (Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān, Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān, Ibn al-Djazzār and others) also identified *bandj* with henbane and called it in Arabic *saykarān*, which however Aḥmad al-Ghāfiḳī (an Arab physician of Spain of the 6th/12th century) in his pharmacology considers wrong. *Shakhrōnā* is however the Syriac term for henbane and the Arabic *saykarān*, *sīkrān*, *shūkrān* etc. is derived from it; but the later Arab botanists used the name for another henbane (*hyoscyamus muticus*) which drives the taker mad, and also for the hemlock (*cicuta*). In modern times the word *bandj* (in the popular dialect of Egypt *bing*) is used for every kind of narcotic and the verb *bannadja*, "to narcotise" and also to "send to sleep, to anaesthetise", infinitive *tabnīdj*, "narcosis" etc. is derived from it.

Bibliography: Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 162; *TA*, ii, 10; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ, i, 273; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya*, Būlāḳ, i, 117; L. Leclerc, *Traité des simples par Ibn el-Beithar*, Paris 1877, i, 271; Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 258; Löw, *Flora der Juden*, iii, 359; Meyerhof and Sobhy, *The Abridged Version of "the Book of Simple Drugs" by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī*, fasc. ii, Cairo 1933, 324 *ff*; Renaud and Colin, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, Paris 1934, 35; Dymock, Warden and Hooper, *Pharmacographia Indica*, London-Bombay-Calcutta 1890-1893, ii, 626 and ii, 318 *ff*; E. G. Browne, *A chapter from the History of Cannabis Indica*, in *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal*, March 1897.

(M. Meyerhof)

BANDJARMASIN, town on the southern coast of Kalimantan (Borneo, Indonesia), at Lat. 3° 18′ S. and Long. 114° 35′ E. It has been known from the 14th century onwards as a centre of inter-island trade and capital of a small principality. It was the capital of a residency in the Dutch period (1859-1942) and during the Japanese occupation. The population of approximately 300,000 is Muslim, though the influence of the Javanese civilisation is considerable, especially among the members of the nobility.

(C. C. Berg)

BANGĀLA, a geographical term, derived from the word Bang, originally denoting a non-Aryan people of this name and later applied to their homeland in the southern and eastern parts of Bengal, now in East Pakistan. Abu 'l-Faḍl, in his *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, remarks "The original name of Bengal was *Bang*. Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province called *Āl* (Sanskṛit—*Āli*). From this suffix the name Bengal took its rise and currency". But both the words, Bang and Bangāla (or sometimes Bhangālah) were used in Sanskṛit records. It is generally supposed that Bangāla was a smaller division, limited to the southern districts of East Bengal, while Bang was a wider unit. This distinction is purely hypothetical. Among the early Muslim historians, Minhādj al-Sirādj, in his *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, uses Bang, and Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī, in his *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, employs *Diyār-i Bangāla*, or *ʿArṣa-i Bangāla*, for the same region of East Bengal—a geographical division which maintained its integrity till about the middle of 14th century A.D.

Shamsī Sirādj ʿAfīf, in his *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, gives to Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh the titles of Shāh-i *Bangāla* (the king of Bangāla), and *Shāh-i Bangāliyān* (plural of Bangālī) meaning the king over the people of Bengal. As Ilyās Shāh united for the first time both the kingdoms of eastern and western Bengal under him, he well deserved the titles, given by ʿAfīf, and it is after him that Bangāla came to denote a wider geographical region, comprising the whole Gangetic Delta; and this is the sense in all subsequent writings, Persian chronicles, Chinese travel accounts, and European works. But the Hindus began to use the older term Gawḍa for this whole region.

From the middle of 16th century A.D., the city of Bangāla is mentioned in some of the European accounts, and also marked in their maps. But no local tradition or record speaks of such a city. Its position in the old maps is never identical, nor do the descriptions of different authorities tally with one another. Probably the important ports, or the capitals, visited by the Europeans, were variously called the city of Bangāla by different authorities. The mint "*Gawr-Bangāla*", occurring in the coins of the Mughal emperor Akbar, may refer to the city, or the country, of Gawḍa in Bangāla (or *ʿurf* Bangāla), more probably the latter.

The kingdom of Bangāla grew out of the original Muslim conquest of Lakhnawtī (north-west Bengal) to which were added Satgāon (part of south-west Bengal) and Sonārgāon (east Bengal). Ilyās Shāh integrated these three regions into an independant Muslim Sultanate in A.D. 1352. His descendents ruled, with occasional revolutions, till A.D. 1484, when they were supplanted by their Abyssinian guards and officers. Within about ten years the oppressive Abyssinian rulers were overthrown by their own popular minister ʿAlā al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh, an Arab of noble lineage, who ushered in an age of peace and prosperity for the kingdom. The independence of Bangāla was finally crushed in 1538 when Shīr Shāh annexed it into his Indian Empire, but its unity continued as a *ṣūba* (province) even under the Mughals, from 1576 onward.

The political unity of Bangāla led to the cultural cohesion of the people who were called Bangālī, a term also applied to the local language which developed its literature in this period.

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(A. H. Dani)

BANGANAPALLE, a small state in south India prior to its merger in the Madras State in 1948. It had the distinction of being the solitary State south of the Tungabhadra ruled by a Muslim chief, in this case belonging to the Shīʿī persuasion. In 1948 it had an area of 275 sq. m. and a population of 44,631. The State lay between latitudes 15° 3′ and 15° 29′ N. and longitudes 77° 59′ E. and 78° 22′ E.

Banganapalle has had a chequered history. The ruling family claims descent from a minister of Shāh ʿAbbās II of Persia on the paternal, and from a minister of the Emperor ʿĀlamgīr on the maternal, side. The ancestor of the family, Mīr Ṭāhir ʿAlī, migrated from Persia to Bīdjāpūr. A number of family quarrels arose there resulting in his murder. His widow and four sons sought refuge with the Mughal *fawdjdār* of Arcot. One of these sons married the grand-daughter of the *djāgīrdār* of Banganapalle, and thus came in contact with what was to be the home of the family.

Banganapalle itself changed hands a number of times. In 1643 it became subject to Bīdjāpūr along with a large part of the Vijayanagar territory; but soon the Bīdjāpūr hegemony gave place to Mughal rule and the rule of the Āṣaf Djāhs. The *djāgīrdār*, Ḥusayn ʿAlī, paid allegiance to Ḥaydar ʿAlī of Mysore and fought many a battle under his banner. But when Tīpū Sulṭān succeeded his father he resumed the *djāgīr* on a mere pretext. On Ḥusayn's death his widow took refuge with the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, and one of the representatives of the family is said to have defeated Tīpū's *fawdjdār* in 1790 and taken possession of the town. The *djāgīr* came under British supremacy by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1800. It remained under the Madras Presidency till 1839 when it was taken over directly by the Government of India.

By the *sanad* of 1862 the British Government guaranteed succession according to Muslim Law in case a ruler died childless. In 1867 the hereditary title of *Nawāb* was conferred on the *djāgīrdār*. In 1897, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, the Nawāb was addressed as 'Your Highness'. The last ruling Nawāb, Mīr Faḍl-i ʿAlī Khān, died soon after the merger, and the title now devolves on his eldest son Mīr Ghulām ʿAlī Khān.

Bibliography: A. Vadivelu, *The Aristocracy of Southern India*, Madras 1903; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*; *The Indian Year Book and Who is Who*, 1948; *Banganapalle State, its Ruler and Method of Administration*. (H. K. Sherwani)

BANGKA, island in Indonesia near the East coast of southern Sumatra, between Lat. 1° and 4° S. and at Long. 106° E. It owes its fame to its tin mines and tin trade which attracted foreign merchants from early times. The economically weaker part of the population is Indonesian and Muslim of the normal Indonesian type. The most important part of the population consists of Chinese immigrants.

(C. C. Berg)

BANHĀ, a town in the Nile Delta, situated on the Damietta branch, one of the main stations on the railway between Cairo and Alexandria and

45 kilometres north of Cairo. In mediaeval times, it formed part of al-Sharḳiyya province and is today the chief town of al-Ḳalyūbiyya province, with some thirty thousand inhabitants. The Arabic name is a transcription of Coptic *Panaho.*

The locality occupies a place in the traditional history of the diplomatic relations between the Prophet and the enigmatic Muḳawḳis, the so-called sovereign of Egypt. Among the presents which the latter sent to Muḥammad, honey from Banhā is mentioned, and it is the recollection of just this detail which its nickname *Banhā al-ʿasal,* "Banhā of the honey", is supposed to evoke. The story may also well be an embellished explanation of an actual fact, for one of the earliest geographers, al-Yaʿḳūbī, states plainly that the village of Banhā produces famous honey. Yāḳūt, in turn, extols the quality of this honey, which was one of the glories of Egypt.

The description given by al-Idrīsī seems to allow of the following translation: "Banhā al-ʿasal forms an extensive domain, its lands planted with trees and producing much fruit; the cultivated fields succeed one another without a break; opposite, on the Western bank of the Nile, stands the main centre, which has given it its name".

Banhā does not appear to have played a rôle in history. At the end of the last century, "it was exporting considerable quantities of the commodity to which it owed its name, as well as oranges and mandarins, which were highly esteemed".

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 48, 50; Yaʿḳūbī, 337 (trans. Wiet, 193); Ibn al-Faḳīh, 67; Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, 152; Ibn Mammātī, 110; Yāḳūt, i, 748; Chauvet and Isembert, *Guide de l'Orient, Malte, Égypte,* 293; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte,* 50. (G. Wiet)

BANĪ SUWAYF (Beni Suef, Beni Souef) a town in Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, 75 m. (120 km.) south of Cairo. According to al-Sakhāwī (902/1497) the old name of the town was Binumsuwayh, from which popular etymology derived the form Banī Suwayf (the منفسويه of Ibn Djīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya,* 172, and the منقوسنه of Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār,* v, 10, ought probably to be read بنمسويه). In still more ancient times the capital of this district was Heracleopolis Magna, 10 m. (16 km.) west of Banī Suēf, which only attained importance under Muḥammad ʿAlī.

From the time of the division of Egypt into provinces (*mudīriyya*), Benī Suēf became the chief-town of the second province of Upper Egypt, comprising three districts (*markaz*), and gave its name to this province. The town, numbering to-day 70,000 inhabitants, is an agricultural centre of considerable importance, with a certain amount of commercial and industrial activity. Situated on the railway and the main road which follow the Nile, it is linked by a track to the Coptic monasteries on the Red Sea. The *maḳām* of the Shaykha Ḥūriyya, situated in the oldest mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Baḥr, is venerated locally.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda,* ix, 92 ff.; A. Boinet Bey, *Dict. géog. de l'Egypte,* Cairo 1899, 120; *Guides Bleus, Egypte,* 1956, 251. (C. H. Becker*)

BANĪḲA, (plur. *banāʾiḳ*), an Arabic word which has been subject to considerable semantic evolution.

In early Arabic, its meaning is disputed by the lexicographers (cf. Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ,* iv, 84-85; *TA,* s.v.). The primitive meaning seems to have been "any piece inserted (*ruḳʿa*) to widen a tunic (*ḳamīṣ*) or a leather bucket (*dalw*)". In the case of the *ḳamīṣ,* according to some authorities, *banāʾiḳ* were "snippets" of material, in the form of very elongated triangles, inserted vertically below the armholes, along the lateral seams of the garment, to give greater fullness. According to others, they were pieces inserted on both sides of the fore-part of the collar (*ṭawḳ*) to take the buttons and button-holes. As equivalents, the dictionaries give *libna, dikhrīṣ* and *dj.r.bān*; *banīḳa* (and its variant *binaḳa*), like the two latter words, may be of Persian origin.

In the Arab West, *banīḳa* is at times employed for a kind of man's tunic, though more frequently it is applied to an element of women's hair-covering. Spanish has retained *albanega* "a hair-net for gathering and covering the hair" and the Arabic of Tetuan still uses the word with a very similar meaning. At Algiers, it is a kind of square head-dress, provided with a back flap, which women use to cover their heads to protect themselves against the cold when leaving the *ḥammām* (= *bnīḳa*).

In its final development, the word, in the towns of Morocco, has come to mean "a small cell, a closet serving as an office for a "minister", in the old *makhzen* [*q.v.*]; a dark padded cell (in a prison for the insane); a small room or lumber-room (in a flat)". According to oral tradition, the *banīḳa* was originally a silk scarf in which all ministers coming to the Council carried their documents.

For the semantic evolution, compare with that of the French "*pointe*" and also (ministerial) portfolio and cabinet.

Bibliography: For the Moroccan ministerial *bniḳas,* cf. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui* (= 1903), chap. XI. (G. S. Colin)

BĀNIYĀS (or *Buluniyās*), the ancient Balanea, which also bore the name of Leucas; attempts have several times been made to identify it with an "Apollonia which never existed on this site" (R. Dussaud). It is today a small township on the Syrian coast situated some fifty kms. to the south of Latakiya. This ancient Phoenician settlement, which became a Greek city minting its own coinage and, later, the seat of a bishopric, was incorporated in the *djund* of Ḥims at the time of the Arab conquest. It was, however, especially at the time of the Crusades, that its small harbour, protected by a fortress and dominated by the mighty castle of Marḳab [*q.v.*] on its rocky spur, was for a long period a scene of activity. Occupied by the Franks in 503/1109, Valenia, the position of which was strengthened by the taking of Marḳab in 512/1118, was one of the important fiefs of the principality of Antioch, at the extremity of the county of Tripoli and, after it was entrusted together with Marḳab to the Hospitallers in 572/1186, remained one of the last centres of resistance to the Muslim conquest. The attacks to which it was subjected, especially by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, until its conquest by Ḳalāʾūn in 684/1285, so completely ruined it that during the Mamlūk period it entirely lost its administrative role to the advantage of Marḳab, and its site and gardens alone retained the attention of the Arab geographers. The present town does not even possess archaeological remains evocative of its ancient prosperity.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie,* Paris 1927, especially 127-29; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Balanaia*; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord,* Paris 1940, index (see under Boulouniâs); J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites,* Tours 1940,

index (see under Banyas); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, especially 424 and 504; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 133; *BGA*, indices; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 334 (which already has Bāniyās); Yāḳūt, i, 729, iv, 500; Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 255; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 209.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BANIYĀS, the ancient Paneas, owed its name to the presence in the vicinity of a sanctuary of Pan, established in a grotto and sanctifying one of the main sources of the Jordan. The present place, situated 24 km. north-west of al-Ḳunayṭra, on the road running along the southern frontier of the Syrian Republic, occupies a pleasant site, with plentiful water and rich vegetation, in a smiling valley of Mt. Hermon. Its neighbourhood, moreover, has always been praised by Arab writers for its fertility, and especially for its lemons, cotton and rice cultivation.

The town, though doubtless possessing an older history, is only mentioned since the Hellenistic period. It was embellished by Herod the Great and especially by his son Philip, who bestowed on it the name of Caesarea in honour of Augustus. It was then called Caesarea Philippi (to distinguish it from Caesarea in Palestine), then Caesarea Paneas. Later on the second part of the name survived alone. In the 4th century A.D. it became the seat of a bishopric, dependent on the province of Phoenicia, and the Arab conquest, when it is known to have served the army of Heraclius as a base before the battle of the Yarmūk, made it the chief town of the district of al-Djawlān. Somewhat later al-Muḳaddasī emphasises the prosperity of the township and the surrounding villages, into which inhabitants of the *thughūr* had emigrated. At the time of the Crusades, however, when the position of Bāniyās, lying at no great distance from Tyre, between Damascus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, acquired strategic importance, its history became more eventful and its successive masters applied themselves to fortifying the castle of al-Ṣubayba, whose ruins still dominate the town today.

Ceded in 520/1126 by Tughtakīn, Atabek of Damascus, to Bahrām, leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, who were then active in Syria, it was handed over to the Franks in 524/1130, following the death of Bahrām and the violent action undertaken at Damascus against the followers of the sect. Recovered by force of arms by Būrī in 527/1132 and delivered up to Zankī, it was then besieged by the Franks who, with the help of the Damascenes, reincorporated it in their possessions in 534/1140. Nūr al-Dīn, after being repulsed twice in succession, Baldwin III and his army coming to the assistance of the threatened garrison on each occasion, finally made himself master of Bāniyās and its citadel in 559/1164 and his adversaries, in spite of their efforts, never succeeded in setting foot there again.

Bāniyās then played the role of a frontier stronghold between the countries of Islam and the territory of the Franks who, in Ibn Djubayr's time (580/1184), peacefully shared the exploitation of the surrounding plain with the Muslims. It was presented by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to his son al-Afḍal and then passed into the hands of various Ayyūbid princes, who improved its defences, as is still born out by several extant inscriptions. Baybars, in his turn, was to carry out the restoration of a fortress, the continued importance of which is emphasised by the Mamlūk authors, who even make it the residence of an amīr, independent of the governor of the place. At this period, Bāniyās was the chief town of a *wilāya* forming part of the *niyāba* of ʿAdjlūn, in the south of the province of Damascus. It was, however, soon to decline to its present state of a small township.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, especially 390 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Paneas*; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-38, i, 161-62, 476-78, ii, 297-98; M. van Berchem, *Le château de Bâniyâs et ses inscriptions*, in *JA*, 1888, 440 f.; M. G. Hodgson, *The Order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 104-07; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, especially 418-19; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques*, Paris 1951, 13-14; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, i, Pennsylvania 1955, index; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 179; *BGA*, *indices*; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, 300; Abu'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 249; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 200; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, especially 65 and 179; Ibn al-Athīr, x, xi and xii, index; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, index; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahan, index.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BANJALUKA (alternative spelling Banja Luka), a town in Yugoslavia, in the north-western part of Bosnia, situated on both sides of the river Vrbas. It is a centre of culture and commerce of considerable importance in the district, has been on a railway line since 1873, and had 42,233 inhabitants in 1956, of whom about one third were Muslims (in 1948 the number of inhabitants was 31,223, of whom 9,951 were of "unspecified nationality" (*i.e.*, Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims who did not declare themselves as either Serbs or Croats). Apart from the quarter called "Novoselija" which developed in the 12th/18th century, and more modern parts ("Varoš" and "Predgradje"), the town consist of two other parts —an upper city, ("Gornji Šeher")—where a fortress, or settlement, existed before the Turkish conquest (1527 or 1528)—and a Lower City ("Donji Šeher") which was built in the second half of the 10th/16th century. Both these parts contain survivals of the Ottoman rule. Of the 27 mosques of the town, two should be especially mentioned: the oldest of them, built immediately after the Turkish Conquest, stands in the Upper City and is called the Emperor's Mosque ("Hunkarija" or "Careva džamija"), which was subsequently repaired and rebuilt three times (the building to be seen at the present day is said to date from the year 1824/25). The most beautiful one in the Lower City is the Mosque "Ferhadija džamija" built in 1579 by Ferhād Sokolović, governor of Bosnia at the time. The *maḥallas* (*i.e.*, quarters) of "Gornji Tabaci" and "Donji Tabaci", in the Upper City, recall the tanner's trade—the principal trade in nearly all Balkan towns in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the Lower City, on the banks of the Vrbas, there is a citadel ("Kaštel") which was built during the reign of Murād III (1595-1603) as the town's second fortress.

The statement which is found first in Ewliya Čelebi, that the first part of the name "Banjaluka" is the Serbo-Croat word "Banja" (bath), is merely an example of folk-etymology, based on the fact that there are hot sulphur springs in the town. The name is actually formed from the archaic possessive adjective of the noun "Ban" (a governor, in this case of the Hungarian King), and the word "Luka" (meadow by the river). It thus means the meadow of the Ban.

After the fall of the kingdom of Bosnia (in 1463) the Hungarians acquired the area of Jajce. It is probable that Banjaluka was built at that time (it is mentioned for the first time in 1494) to serve as a fortress for the newly built Jajce-Banates. Immediately after the fall of Jajce, Banjaluka was conquered by the Turks (in 1527 or 1528). Under Turkish rule Banjaluka gained in importance, especially after the residence of the governor of the *sandjaḳ* of Bosnia was moved from Sarajevo to Banjaluka in the middle of the 10th/16th century. The quick rise of the town was largely due to the merits of the first governors who resided in Banjaluka, in particular Ferhād Sokolović, a cousin of the Grand Vizier Meḥmed Pas͟ha Sokolović (Sokolli). Ferhād Sokolović was governor of Bosnia from 1574, and became Beglerbeg of the newly formed Pas͟halik of Bosnia in 1580. Banjaluka remained the seat of the Beglerbeg of Bosnia until it was moved to Sarajevo in 1638.

In 1661, when Ewliya Čelebi visited Banjaluka, it was a flourishing town with two fortresses, 45 *maḥalla*s, 45 mosques, and several *madrasa*s and baths, with 300 shops and a Bezistān. The town itself (which numbered 3,700 houses) was then the seat of the representative (*Ḳāʾim-maḳām*) of the Vizier of Bosnia.

Banjaluka was conquered for a short time in 1688 by the Austrians under the Margrave of Baden, and they burnt down some parts of the town in their retreat. During the 1737 war, Banjaluka was besieged by the Prince of Hildburghausen, but was relieved by the Bosnian Vizier ʿAlī Pas͟ha Ḥekīmog͟hlu as the result of the victory of August 4th. This war was described by ʿOmar Efendi of Novi (Babinger, 276-277). Since then, Banjaluka has developed more or less unhindered, although it could not regain its former greatness until the end of Turkish rule. There were 37 *maḥalla*s and 1,126 houses liable to taxes in Banjaluka in 1851. From then on it was the capital of one of the six Bosnian *sandjaḳ*s (districts).

At the time of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia (1878), Banjaluka capitulated (without offering resistance) as early as 31st July. Nevertheless, there was a battle with the Bosnian Muslims on 14th August. The town remained under Austrian rule until 1918, when it became part of Yugoslavia.

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(B. Djurdjev)

BANKING [see djahbadh and ṣayrafī].

BĀNKĪPŪR, the Western suburb of the city of Patna, the ʿAẓīmābād of the Muslim historians, situated in 25° 37′ N. and 85° 8′ E. on the right bank of the Ganges. The great landmark of Bānkīpūr is the brick-built beehive-shaped silo or grain storehouse constructed by Warren Hastings after the terrible famine of 1769-70. In Oriental circles the town is famous for its fine collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, some of which are extremely rare. The Bānkīpūr library, called in the Trust Deeds "The Patna Oriental Public Library", and also known as the "K͟hudā Bak͟hs͟h Library", contains many valuable books on Islamic literature. The founder, Mawlawī K͟hudā Bak͟hs͟h, (d. 1908) an advocate by profession, was a native of Čhaprā (Bihar) who dedicated his entire life to the collection of rare manuscripts from such ancient centres of culture as Cairo, Damascus, Beirut and places in Arabia, Egypt and Persia. It was Lord Curzon, Governor-General of India (1899-1905) who commissioned Sir Edward Denison Ross to reorganise the Library and to prepare a systematic catalogue. So far 31 volumes, describing some 4,000 MSS. out of a total number of over 6,000, have been published, as a result of sustained and patient collaboration between Sir Edward Denison Ross, ʿAbd al-Muḳtadir, ʿAẓīm al-Dīn Aḥmad, ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid and Masʿūd ʿĀlam Nadwī.

Bibliography: V. C. Scott O'Connor, *An Eastern Library*, Glasgow 1920; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur, Calcutta* 1908-1939; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 382-3.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BANNĀʾ [see bināʾ].

AL-BANNĀʾ, aḥmad b. muḥammad [see al-dimyāṭī.

AL-BANNĀʾ, Ḥasan, founder and Director-General of al-Ik͟hwān al-Muslimūn, was born in the year 1906, the son of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Bannāʾ al-Sāʿātī. In addition to carrying on his trade of watch-maker, his father was a keen student of the traditional Islamic sciences and the editor of the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal.

Paternal influence was of the greatest significance in shaping the formative years of Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ and his early education followed the ancient pattern of that of the sons of the *ʿulamāʾ*—the memorising of the Ḳurʾān and the study of *ḥadīt͟h*, *fiḳh* and *lug͟ha*. In addition to his conservative religious upbringing he appears to have possessed an innate spiritual bent, for at an early age he became drawn towards Ṣūfism and was initiated into the Ḥaṣāfiyya order when he was fourteen years of age.

After a period at the Junior Teachers' School at Damanhūr he entered the Dār al-ʿUlūm in Cairo, at that time an independent teachers' training College. Even at Damanhūr his precocious capacity for organisation and impulse towards active proselytising had shown themselves in his founding of al-Djamʿiyya al-Ḥaṣāfiyya al-K͟hayriyya. At the Dār al-ʿUlūm he developed further his thesis that the sicknesses of Islamic society could only be cured by a return to the regenerative springs of the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīt͟h* and *sīra*. Together with a group of fellow-students he began to spread the Islamic mission by preaching in the mosques and meeting-places of Cairo.

On completing his course of training in 1927 he was posted to Ismāʿīliyya as a government schoolteacher and in the following year founded the Muslim Brotherhood. He remained at Ismāʿīliyya until 1933, preaching, lecturing, pamphleteering and perfecting the organisational structure of his movement on the cell principle. During this period he travelled indefatigably up and down the Canal Zone and offshoots of the Ismāʿīliyya headquarters sprang up between Port Saʿīd and Suez.

Following upon his transfer to a teaching post in Cairo, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ entered upon a period of intense activity and the movement rapidly gained ground throughout Egypt. Subsequent to 1936, when he espoused the cause of the Palestine Arabs, he became increasingly involved in the political arena, lobbying successive prime ministers with pleas for action and reform. The years of the Second World War saw a hardening of the attitude of the government towards Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ. Under both Sirrī Pas͟ha and al-Nuḳrās͟hī he was arrested for

brief periods and the activities of the Brotherhood severely curtailed. In the immediately post-war period tension between them and the government increased, culminating in their suppression following the murder of al-Nuḳrāshī in December 1948. A few months later, in February 1949, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ was himself assassinated.

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BANNĀʾĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN SHĪR ʿALĪ BANNĀʾĪ HARAWĪ, Persian poet, the son of a mason (*bannāʾ*) of Harāt, hence his choice of the pseudonym "Bannāʾī". He spent his youth in the entourage of the famous poet and Maecenas of the period ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], but fell into disgrace on account of his bitter jests, and had to take refuge at the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] prince Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb (884-896/1429-1491), at Tabrīz. After a reconciliation with ʿAlī-Shīr, he returned to Harāt, but he had to leave his company once more in order to go to Samarḳand, to the court of the Tīmūrid prince Sulṭān ʿAlī (902-953/1497-1546), son of Sulṭān Aḥmad (823-899/1468-1494), son of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd (855-873/1451-1468), who ruled over Transoxania. He composed in his favour a *ḳaṣīda* in the dialect of Marw, with the title of *Madjmaʿ al-Ḳarāyib*. He was also the court poet of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who ruled over this region between 899 and 900 (1494-5). In 906/1500-1, when Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān [*q.v.*] (Shaybak Khān: Shāhī Beg Özbek) occupied Samarḳand, he remained for a time in prison and later became the official poet of his court and chief military judge (*ḳāḍī ʿaskar*), and at the same time one of the favourites of his son Muḥammad Tīmūr. After the death of Shaybānī Khān on 30 Shaʿbān 916/2 December 1510, he returned to Harāt, his native town, but he was slain during the massacre at Ḳarshī, perpetrated in 918/1513 by Nadjm al-Dīn Yār Aḥmad Iṣfahānī, known as Nadjm-i Thānī, on the orders of Shāh Ismaʿīl the Ṣafawid. Bannāʾī tried his hand at all types of poetry. He wrote at first under the pseudonym Ḥālī, and in addition to his *dīwān*, still unpublished (in which he constantly tried to imitate Ḥāfiẓ), he has left two epics: 1) *Shaybānī-nāma*, on his patron's campaigns; 2) *Bāgh-i Iram* or *Bahrām-u-Bihrūz*, a poem several times incorrectly attributed to the great Ṣūfī poet Sanāʾī (as a result of the word Bannāʾī being corrupted to Sanāʾī) and published in a collection with the works *Afḍal al-Tidhkār Dhikr al-Shuʿarā wa ʾl-Ashʿār* and the *Tadhkira* of Nawāʾī, at Tashkent in 1336/1918. He was also a musician, a composer, the author of two small works on music and a fine calligraphist.

Bibliography: Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*, two 16th century. Persian translations, edited with an introduction and annotations etc. by ʿAlī Asghar Ḥikmat, Tehran 1945, 60, 232-3; Sām Mīrzā Ṣafawī, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī* (section v), ed. in the original Persian, with index, Persian and English prefaces, variants and notes by Mawlawī Iḳbāl Ḥusayn, Patna 1934, 27-30; *ibid.*, complete Tehran edition 1314/1936, 98-100; Said Naficy, *Taʾrīkhča-yi Mukhtaṣar-i Adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, in *Sāl-nāma-yi Pārs*, 1326, 12-13. (SAID NAFICY)

BANNĀNĪ (also AL-BANNĀNĪ), name of a family of Jewish converts to Islam of Fès (Fās), which from the 12th/18th century has produced a number of eminent religious scholars and still belongs, together with a few other families of Jewish extraction, to the aristocracy of Islamic learning in Fès. Its most important members are:

(1) ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. ḤAMDŪN (d. 1163/1750). He is considered the last great representative of the older school of Fès in which he occupies a key position, uniting in his person the main traditions of Māliki scholarship in the Maghrib (cf. J. Berque, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1949, 88), combining with them the Māliki traditions of the East where he also studied, and forming a great number of disciples. His *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] is an important source on the legal studies in Fès in his time. His commentary on the *al-ḥizb al-kabīr* of al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*] testifies to the lasting connection of his family with the Shādhilī *ṭariḳa*. His main work is a commentary on the *K. al-Iktifāʾ* of al-Kalāʿī, on the military expeditions of the Prophet and of the first three Caliphs. His son ʿAbd al-Karīm composed a biography of him.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, ii, 257; Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, i, 146-148; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, i, 160-162; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyya*, i, 353; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 312 f.; Brockelmann, S II, 686.

(2) ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN B. MASʿŪD (d. 1194/1780). He wrote a gloss (completed in 1173/1759-60) on al-Zurḳānī's [*q.v.*] commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of *Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ*, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar al-Manṭiḳ* of al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*], a commentary on the *Sullam* of al-Akhḍarī [*q.v.*], often printed, and a reputed *Fahrasa*.

Bibliography: al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, ii, 257; Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, i, 161-163; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, i, 162 f.; al-Naṣirī al-Salāwī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, iv, 129; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-Nūr*, i, 357; Sarkīs, i, 590; Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens*, 146, n. 7; Brockelmann, II, 325, 615, S II, 98, 355, 706.

(3) MUSTAFĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-KHĀLIḲ, wrote in 1211/1796 a gloss on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] on rhetoric, printed several times, also with notes of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Anbābī (d. 1313/1895).

Bibliography: Sarkīs, i, 590; *Catalogue Cairo*², ii, 181; Brockelmann, i, 355, S i, 518.

(4) MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿARABĪ B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. ḤAMDŪN (d. 1245/1829-30), a grand-nephew of no. 1, became Mālikī muftī of Mecca.

Bibliography: Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, i, 163 f.

(5) MUḤAMMAD, called FIRʿAWN (d. 1281-82/1865), author of a *K. al-Wathāʾiḳ* which was printed several times, also with the commentary of ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Hawārī (d. 1328/1910).

Bibliography: Berque, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1949, 102; Sarkīs, i, 590.

(6) For other members of the family Bannānī, see Ben Cheneb and Lévi-Provençal, *Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions de Fès*, in *R. Afr.*, 1921 and 1922 (index by H. Pérès and A Sempéré, in *Bull. Études Arabes*, no. 32, 1947, *s.v.* Bannānī); Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt*, i, 589-591; Muḥammad b.

Muḥammad Makhlūb, *Shadjarat al-Nūr*, i, 431; ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Fāsī, *Riyāḍ al-Djanna*, ii, 20 ff., 100 f.

(7) Not to the family Bannānī belong ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djād Allāh al-Bannānī (d. 1198/1784), who derives his *nisba* from a village in the neighbourhood of Monastir (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-Nūr*, i, 342; Sarkīs, i, 591; Brockelmann, II, 109, S II, 105), and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibrāhīm al-Warrāḳ (earlier than 900/1495), whose *nisba* is uncertain (Brockelmann, S I, 585).

(J. Schacht)

BANNŪ, town and headquarters of the district of the same name in West Pakistan, situated in 33° 0′ N. and 70° 36′ E. Population in 1951 was 27,516 for the town and 307,393 (district).

The present town was founded by Lt. Edwardes Herberts in 1848 on a strategic site and named Edwardesābād. The name, however, did not become popular and soon fell into disuse, giving place to Bannū, the old name of the valley derived from the Bannʿučīs, an Afghān tribe of mixed descent. The valley, strewn with ruins of great antiquity, was, according to local tradition, overrun by the armies of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who razed all Hindu strongholds to the ground. A century later the valley was peopled by the surrounding hill-tribes, the Bannūčīs, the Marwats and the Niāzāīs. For two centuries thereafter it remained under the loose sway of the Mughals. It was conquered in 1738 by Nādir Shāh Afshār and subsequently over-run by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. In 1823, the Sikh ruler of Lahore, Randjīt Singh, occupied the valley to be constantly harried by the Afghāns. It was, however, formally ceded to the Sikhs in 1838. After the first Sikh War (1845-46), the valley came under the British influence. In 1847/48, Lieut. Edwardes, as a representative of the Sikh Durbar of Lahore, marched on the valley along with a large army under Gen. van Cortlandt. In 1849 with the annexation of the Pandjāb, Bannū passed on to the British. Contrary to expectations, it remained absolutely peaceful during the military uprising of 1857.

The valley has yielded finds of great archaeological value, among them being coins with Greek or pseudo-Greek legends. The Akra mound near the town is reputed to be of great antiquity.

After its construction in 1848 the Bannū fort was named Dalīpgarh, after Mahārādjā Dalīpsingh, a grandson of Randjīt Singh. As usual a town soon grew up around the fort. It is now the centre of considerable trade. The town is expanding fast and large sums have been recently sanctioned by the Government for the economic development of the area.

Bibliography: S. S. Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London 1876; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 392-402; *Bannu Gazetteer*, Peshawar 1907; T. L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*; E. Herberts, *Punjab and the Frontier*, 2 vols., London 1851; H. L. Nevill; *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*, London 1912, index; George Dunbar, *Frontier*, London 1912, 49-69; *Bābur-nāma* (transl. A. S. Beveridge), index. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BANTAM or **BANTEN** [see djāwa].

BANŪ, followed by the name of the eponymous ancestor of a tribe, see under the name of that ancestor.

BANŪ ISRĀʾĪL, "the Children of Israel".

1. This designation of the Jewish people occurs in the Ḳurʾān about forty times. The terms *Yahūd*, Jews, and its derivatives as well as *Naṣāra*, Christians, appear only in the Medinese period, although they had been widely used in pre-Islamic poetry and certainly were familiar to every Arab townsman (Joseph Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 144 ff. and 153 ff.). On the other hand, *Banū Isrāʾīl* never occurs in authentic pre-Islamic poetry (*ibid.*, 91). It would therefore seem to follow that the exclusive use of this term during the Meccan period has something to do with the Prophet's original knowledge of, and attitude towards, the monotheistic religions preceding him.

In most of the Meccan verses, the *Banū Isrāʾīl* appear in connexion with Moses and the stories which are paralleled in the Biblical book of Exodus or its aggadic amplifications; they are, in chronological order according to Noeldeke-Schwally: xx, 47, 80, 94 (dissensions among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, see below); xliv, 30; xxvi, 17, 22, 59; xvii, 2, 103; xl, 53; xxxii, 23-24; x, 90; vii, 105, 134, 137, 183. This explains also the form of the name: "the *Children of Israel*", as in the book of Exodus, and not "Israel", as was common usage in Jewish literature in the period preceding Muḥammad (with few exceptions; see *Tarbiz* 3(1932), 413, n. 15a.)

However the *Banū Isrāʾīl* were more than the "people of Moses" (vii, 147, 158.; xxviii, 76). In Sura xvii, which bears the name of *Banū Isrāʾīl* (but also *al-Isrāʾ*), 4-8, the destruction of the First and the Second Temple is described as the fulfilment of a heavenly decree included in the "Book" (perhaps an allusion to Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28), while liii, 59 makes Jesus appear among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*.

Finally, there are a number of Meccan passages which clearly indicate that the *Banū Isrāʾīl* were also understood to denote persons living in Muḥammad's own time. Doubtful is xlvi, 10: "If a witness from the *Banū Isrāʾīl* testified about (a message) similar to this [Revelation (Muḥammad's or another part of the Ḳurʾān?)] and believed"—a verse generally regarded by Muslim tradition as alluding to the Jewish convert ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām (see the sources collected in Ṭabarī's commentary, vol. 26, 6-9). For as the word "(a message) similar" shows, the reference is probably to "the book of Moses" (xlvi, 12), as indeed Ṭabarī himself thought possible, although he rejected that interpretation.

However xxvi, 197 "Is it not a proof for them (the Meccans) that the scholars (or: knowledgeable men) of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* know it (the content of Muḥammad's message)?" hardly makes sense without the assumption that the persons referred to were known to his hearers; the more so as the following verses, xxvi, 198-9, allude to missionary activities of non-Arabs. Likewise xvii, 101 "Ask the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" is to be compared with such passages as x, 94 "If you (M.) are in doubt concerning what We sent down to you, ask those who read the Book before you," cf. xxi, 7; xvi, 43; xxv, 59; ii, 211 (xliii, 45 is no proof to the contrary, as in xxi, 7 and xvi, 34 the Meccans are addressed).

In any case, the *Banū Isrāʾīl* must be regarded as contemporary with Muḥammad in those Meccan verses in which reference is made to their dissensions, which will be settled either by the Ḳurʾān xxvii, 76, or on the day of resurrection, xxxii, 23-5; xlv, 16-17; x, 93. This use of the term is even more evident in al-Madīna, where the *Banū Isrāʾīl* are admonished to believe in Muḥammad's message and warned of the consequences of their disbelief (ii. 40 f.), or where they are censured for their behaviour, obviously actually observed (ii, 83-85: they fight one another, but ransom those that were taken captives).

In order to establish which group of contemporary monotheists were meant by *Banū Isrāʾīl*, one has to bear in mind that already in the Meccan Sura xliii, 59 (see above) Jesus appears among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*. and does so rather frequently in Medinese passages iii, 49; v, 72-74, 78; lxi, 6. In lxi, 14 it is said explicitly that one group of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* believed in him and another did not. Cf. also v, 110, where God protects him against the *Banū Isrāʾīl*.

However, when in v, 12-13 the *Banū Isrāʾīl* are opposed to "those that say we are Christians", v, 14; or are censured in v, 70 together with "Those that say the Messiah, son of Maryam, is God", v, 72, it seems indeed that the Ḳurʾān, where addressing Muḥammad's contemporaries as *Banū Isrāʾīl*, meant Jews. To this interpretation point also the references to the dietary laws in iii, 93 and the quotation from the *Mishna* (*Sanhedrin* 4, 5), which is introduced as an injunction imposed by God on the *Banū Isrāʾīl*. The Muslim commentators indeed explained the Ḳurʾānic diatribes against the *Banū Isrāʾīl* as directed against the Jews of al-Madīna, with whom Muḥammad had so many dealings.

From this use of the name *Banū Isrāʾīl* it does not follow that the word or the ideas connected with it had come to Muḥammad from Jews. On the other hand, the form of the word (*Isrāʾīl*, not *Yisrāʾīl*) does not prove that it is derived from Syriac, for the Hebrew spelling with *Y* and *Śīn* was merely traditional, while the pronunciation of initial *yi* as *i* was as common among Jews as among some other Aramaic-speaking peoples.

In any case, it is most likely that the term *Banū Isrāʾīl* became known to Muḥammad together with the general ideas on revelation and prophecy centering around it: there was only one true religion laid down in a heavenly book; that book had been "sent down" through Moses "before Muḥammad" xlvi, 12, 29; xi, 17. However, instead of uniting the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, its very revelation caused dissension among them xxxii, 23-25; xlv, 16-17; x, 93. The same happened to the followers of Christ xlii, 13-14. Finally, Muḥammad's own mission, which was destined to settle "most" of the dissensions of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* xxvii, 76, was not recognised by Jews and Christians ii, 120 (see *ib.* 111, 113), so that it, too, had the effect of dividing humanity xcviii, 3. This tragic discord was explained as brought about by God's own inscrutable decree xli, 45; xi, 110 (Moses' book); x, 19 (humanity originally was one *umma* or religious community); xvi, 93 (God could unite humanity in one *umma*, but He "chooses" whom He likes xlii, 13). This conception was in a way reminiscent of the *Midrash* applied to the history of the ancient *Banū Isrāʾīl*. Aaron, when rebuked by Moses for making the Golden Calf, excuses himself by explaining that he did so in order to avoid the *Banū Isrāʾīl* becoming divided xx, 94.

Muḥammad, as the son of a caravan city, knew of course about Jews and Christians. However, the idea that these two had their common origin in the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, the numerous stories about them and the belief that the various religions should rightly be one, are too specific to have come from this source. As only the term *Banū Isrāʾīl* or other general designations for the earlier book religions occur during the whole of his Meccan period, it seems most probable that this use of the term is to be traced to a monotheistic tradition which emphasised the common rather than the dividing aspects of the monotheistic religions.

2. In the *ḥadīth*, *Banū Isrāʾīl* denotes both the old Israelites, *e.g.*, when ʿUmar is compared to a king of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* (Hezekiah), Ibn Saʿd iii, I, 257, l. 2 ff., or when David's Araonah (Samuel II 24, 21) is referred to, Ibn Sa'd iv, I, 13, l. 23, and also the Jews and Christians in general, *e.g.*, in the chapter "What was said about the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" in Bukhārī (60) *Anbiyāʾ*, 50. Although, by chance, only Jews are mentioned there separately, Christians are referred to by implication in a story about a *rāhib*, which normally denotes a monk. A story about Djuraydj, "who was a monk among the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" is reported by Abu'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī in his *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* 260.

The question why the ancient *Banū Isrāʾīl*, the chosen people, Sūra ii, 2, 47, 122; xliv, 32; xlv, 16, should have disappeared, considerably occupied the mind of the Muslims. Their answers to this question echoed of course their own tribulations, such as deviations in the fields of theology and religious law ("the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" perished, because they practised *Raʾy* [see AṢḤĀB-AL-RAʾY]), or public morals "because their women indulged in wigs" (Bukhārī (60) *Anbiyāʾ* 54) or "in high heels" (Fāʾiḳ, ii, 366, quoted by Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 391 a).

For the Muslims regarded those *Banū Isrāʾīl* as their brothers, as in the famous *ḥadīth* Farḳad-Hudhayfa: "What excellent brothers are the *Banū* to you: They (experienced) the bitterness and you the sweetness," quoted *e.g.*, by Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ iii*, 50, l. 5. The saying obviously refers to "the burden and the chains", *i.e.*, the many religious obligations which were incumbent on the *Banū Isrāʾīl* (both Jews and Christians according to Sūra vii, 157), cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth* 142, ult.

In a *ḥadīth* quoted by Sahl al-Tustarī in his *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, 57, the Muslims even identify themselves with the *Banū Isrāʾīl*: "We are the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, we, the sons of Naḍr b. Kināna. We do not follow our mother (who was the wife of both Kināna and his father Khuzayma, see Ibn Hishām 1-2) nor our fathers (*i.e.*, Naḍr, Kināna, Khuzayma); with "we" the Arabs are meant."

However, as in the Ḳurʾān, *Banū Isrāʾīl* denotes in the *ḥadīth* also contemporary Jews and Christians and is thus synonymous with *Ahl al-Kitāb* and similar expressions. Cf. the very often quoted saying of Muḥammad: "*ḥaddithū ʿan Banī Isrāʾīl walā ḥaradj*" "Relate traditions which come from the *Banū Isrāʾīl* without scruples", cf. *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, i, 445 b, s.v. *ḥrdj*, and Wensinck, *Handbook*, 231a; al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1310, 101 (1312, 105).

Again, as in the Ḳurʾān, when used of contemporaries, *Banū Isrāʾīl* mostly means Jews. Cf. the characteristic story about the wigs of the women of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* which is given in Bukhārī (60) *Anbiyāʾ* 54, the first time (ed. Krehl ii 376) with a general reference to the *Banū Isrāʾīl* but a second time (Krehl ii 380, l. 10) in a detailed story about the Caliph Muʿāwiya, who, while visiting al-Madīna, was disgusted to find the women there wearing wigs (a habit which they might have adopted from their Jewish neighbours). "I have nobody seen doing this", the old Caliph said, "except the Jews". Thus the familiar picture of the *Ḥabr min aḥbār Banī Isrāʾīl* (*e.g.*, Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* ii, 372, l. 22 = Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* ii, 359, l. 13) is to be understood as describing a rabbi; and when Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. *thny* I 136 refers to "the rabbis, *aḥbār*, of the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, after Moses "who compiled the *Mishna* (*al-mathnāt*)" he means of course Jews.

It is from this usage of *Banū Isrāʾīl* that the word *Isrāʾīlī*, Israelite, was derived as a more polite designation for a Jew than Yahūdī. We find this term already in full use in the third/ninth century, *e.g.* Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* 79, 7 (the Israelites in ʿIrāḳ); 113, 3 (Israelite translators of the Bible); 219, 9 (Israelites divided into three sects), cf. also *ibid.*, 105, 7; 112, 18; alongside with Yahūd 113, 9; 184, 14. Similarly, Muslim scholars and men of letters refer in this way to their Jewish colleagues, *e.g.*, Isḥāḳ al-Israʾīlī, the famous doctor and author (M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. d. Juden*, Frankfurt 1902, 38-45); Jewish converts to Islām also, such as the poet Ibn Sahl al-Israʾīlī of Seville (Brockelmann S. I, 483) were styled thus.

A later, scientifically minded, age tried to distinguish with more precision between *Banū Isrāʾīl* and *Yahūd*. Al-Ḳalḳashandī xviii, 253, quoting ʿImād al-Dīn (*i.e.* Abuʾl-Fidā), states that *Banū Isrāʾīl* are the ancient Jews by race, while the term *Yahūd* includes also the many converts to Judaism from Arab, Rūm and other stocks. This statement is not without foundation in the usage of ancient sources. Thus Ibn Saʿd, viii, 85, l. 27 says with regard to Ṣafiyya, the Jewish wife of Muḥammad, that she was from the *Banū Isrāʾīl i.e.*, from pure Jewish stock, a descendant of the high priest Aaron.

As is natural, to an ancient people such as the *Banū Isrāʾīl* things were ascribed which originally had nothing to do with them. Thus a Maghribī handbook on agriculture advises against doing farmwork on certain days, because they were the days of punishment (*ridjz*, cf. Sūra 7, 162) inflicted on the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, see J. M. Millás-Vallicrosa, in *Andalus* 19 (1954), 132.

The most important aspect of the image of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* in Muslim literature is the piety attributed to them. "The pietists (*ʿibād, mutaʿabbidūn*) of the *Banū Isrāʾīl*" is a common expression, cf. *e.g.*, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī, *Ghunya* ii 62, Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* ii 373, l. 4 ff. Of a man who devoted himself to worship and ascetism it was said that he was like the *Banū Isrāʾīl*, Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* vi, 146, 20-22. Many of the stories about the pious men of the *Banū Isrāʾīl*— quite a number of which have found their way into *Alf Layla wa-Layla*— can be traced in the Talmud and the Midrashim, such as the beautiful parable about the pious Ḥayy of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 23, which is an almost literal rendering of Babylonian. Talmud, Taʿanīth 23. Cf. ISRĀʾĪLIYYĀT, where also an attempt is made to explain, why pietism was connected with *Banū Isrāʾīl*.

Bibliography:—in the article. See also S. D. Goitein, *The Banū Isrāʾīl and their Controversies, a study on the Qoran* (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* iii, (1932), 410-422; J. Horovitz, *Enc. Jud.* 8, 569 ff. and the literature noted there. (S. D. GOITEIN)

BANŪR, an ancient town (East Pandjāb, India) situated in 30° 34′ N. and 76° 47′ E., 9 miles from Ambālā and 20 miles from Sirhind. The old Sanskrit name was Vahnīyūr which became, during the course of centuries, Banīyūr and finally Banūr. The ruins extend right up to Čhat [*q.v.*] (another ancient town, now in ruins) 4 miles away. It was first mentioned by Bābur when it was, and still continues to be, famous for its white jasmine flowers and the otto distilled from them.

Another ancient name of Banūr, according to tradition, was Pushpā Nagarī or Pushpāwatī (lit. city of flowers) but it bears no resemblance to its present name. During the rule of the Sayyid dynasty (817-55/1414-51) the town seems to have gained in importance and even just before the establishment of Pākistān (1947) was peopled mainly by *sayyids* who, like the *sayyids* of Bilgrām, trace their descent to Abū 'l-Faraḥ of Wāsiṭ, said to have migrated to India after Hūlāgū's sack of Baghdād (656/1258). The tomb of Malik Sulaymān Khān, father of the Sayyid ruler Khaḍir Khān (817-24/1414-21) existed till 1947 when the local Muslims migrated *en masse* to Pākistān. Sayyid Ādam al-Banūrī, [*q.v.*] (d. Madina, 1053/1643) one of the leading *khulafāʾ* of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] was a native of this town. It was overrun early in the 12th/18th century by the Sikh adventurer Banda Bayrāgī, and passed into the possession of the Singhpūriyā Sikhs. It was occupied in 1177/1763 by Ālā Singh, the chief of Patiala and remained in the possession of his descendants till 1956 when the State was eventually merged into the new province of East Pandjāb. It was defended by two forts, Mughal and Sikh, which are still extant as ruins.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

AL-BANŪRĪ, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH ĀDAM B. S. ISMĀʿĪL, one of the premier *khulafāʾ* of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], was a native of Banūr [*q.v.*]. He claimed descent from Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*], but it was disputed on the ground that his grandmother belonged to the Mashwānī tribe of the Afghāns and he too lived and dressed after the fashion of the Afghāns. His *nasab* was again questioned when in 1052/1642 he was in Lahore accompanied by 10,000 of his disciples, mostly Afghāns, by ʿAllāmī Saʿd Allāh Khān Chinyōtī, the chief Minister of Shāhdjahān, and by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkōtī [*q.v.*], who had been deputed by the Emperor to ascertain from the saint the reason of his visit to Lahore in the company of such a large force. Not satisfied with the explanation of the *Shaykh*, the emperor ordered him to quit Lahore, go back to Banūr and proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Madīna.

During the early years of his life he served in the Intelligence branch of the Imperial army but gave up service after some years having felt a strong urge to take up a life of piety and spirituality. He first became a disciple of Ḥādjdjī Khiḍr Rūghānī Buhlūlpūrī and on his advice later contracted his *bayʿa* with Aḥmad Sirhindī. During the transition period he visited a number of places including Multān, Ambāla, Pānīpat, Shahābād, Sirhind, Lahore and Sāmāna in search of derwishes and mystics.

There are conflicting statements in the *Nikāt al-Asrār*, a collection of his *malfūẓāt*, and the *Manāḳib al-Ḥaḍarāt*, his authentic biography, regarding his educational attainments. While the *Nikāt* describes him as an "*ummī ʿāmmī*" the *Manāḳib* records that he read primary books like the *Mīzān al-Ṣarf* and *Munshaʿib* with Mullā Ṭāhir Lāhawrī, a well-known scholar of his days. His military assignment, however, suggests that he was fairly well educated.

He died at al-Madīna on Friday, Shawwal 13, 1053/December 25, 1643 and was buried in al-Baḳīʿ near the tomb of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. During his life-time he wielded great influence and at the time of his death more than 400,000 persons owed spiritual

allegiance to him. His meagre religious education, rigid attitude and contempt for State dignitaries was constantly criticised, but he remained steadfast in his mission and won over to his side both scholars and laymen like Muḥammad Amīn Badakhshī, ʿAbd Khāliḳ Ḳaṣūrī, Shaykh Abū Naṣr Ambālawī, his brother Masʿūd and Shaykh Muḥammad also of Ambāla. Among his *khulafāʾ* are counted more than a hundred persons, including Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd Allāh of Akbarābād, spiritual guide of Shah ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, father of Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*[and Sayyid ʿAlam Allāh, one of the ancestors of Aḥmad Barēlwī [*q.v.*].

An incidental reference in the *Nikāt al-Asrār* reveals that he was 46 when the book, as internal evidence shows, was compiled during his sojourn in the Ḥidjāz in 1052-3/1642-3. This means that he was born c. 1005-6/1506-7. His youngest son, Muḥammad Muḥsin, was born at Gwalior in 1052/1642, while he was on his way to Mecca, a fact which further supports the view that he died at no very advanced age.

He is the author of: i) *Nikāt al-Asrār*, dealing with abstruse mystical problems and their *Ṣūfic* exposition, interspersed with personal experiences of the author in the spiritual field and casual biographical references; ii) *Khulāṣat al-Maʿārif* (in 2 vols.) is more or less a continuation of the former. The entire work is in Persian and is still in MS. He is also the author of a commentary on *al-Fātiḥa* which forms the first part of the *Natāʾidj al-Ḥaramayn*, compiled by Muḥammad Amīn Badakhshī, who claims to have lived for fifty years in the Hedjaz and also accompanied Ādam al-Banūrī on his pilgrimage to the holy cities.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BANYAR, a confederation of South Arabian tribes, mainly Banū ʿĀmir, Banū Yūb (Ayyūb), Āl ʿAzzān and Āl ʿUmar, living north of Kawr ʿAwdhilla (cf. art. ʿAwdhalī) in al-Ḍāhir, Markha and Wādī Maʿfarī (also called W. Banyar). The Banyar once belonged to the Sultanate of al-Raṣṣāṣ in Miswara; their chief town is al-Bayḍāʾ [cf. art. BAYḤĀN]. Here is the residence of the common head (*ʿāḳil*) of all Banyar, while the Banū Yūb in the north are said to have an *ʿāḳil* of their own in al-Farsha. The Banyar territory corresponds, roughly speaking, to that of the MḌHY in inscriptions (cf. art. Maḍhḥidj).

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(O. Löfgren)

BANZART, (Bizerta), a town on the Northern coast of Tunisia. It stands on the site of the ancient town of Hippo Diarrytus, the memory of which is perpetuated in the modern name. Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman and Byzantine in succession, it was taken by Muʿāwiya b. Hudaydj in 41/661 and again occupied, simultaneously with Carthage, by Ḥasan b. Nuʿmān. In the 4th/10th century, it is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal as the capital of the province of Saṭfūra (north of Tunis), although at the time it was practically deserted and in ruins. It recovered from this decline. In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī speaks of the stone wall surrounding the town, as well as of its great mosque, bazaars, baths and gardens. Fish is cheaper there than elsewhere. The lake (*buḥayra*) offers wonderful fishing, different kinds of fish stocking it in turn. Not far from the roadstead, called the *Marsā al-kubba*, and from the town, there are some forts (*Ḳilāʿ Banzart*), which served as a *ribāṭ*, a place of retirement for men of piety and a refuge for the local people, when they feared a Christian landing.

Following the invasion of the nomadic Hilāl and the abandonment of al-Ḳayrawān by the Zīrid sultan al-Muʿizz, Banzart became virtually independent; soon, however, it was forced to pay tribute exacted by the Arabs holding the countryside, as a guarantee against being pillaged by them. Taking advantage of the rivalries which reft the population, the Arab chieftain al-Ward al-Lakhmī entered Banzart and there set himself up as the ruler. He endowed his capital with the requisite institutions and made the town relatively prosperous. His son succeeded him and the Banu 'l-Ward dynasty continued in Banzart until the Almohad invasion (554/1159). The seventh of this line, the amīr ʿĪsā, made his submission to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, Banzart was occupied by the Banū Ghāniya Almoravids and from that time entered on a decline, confirmed at the beginning of the 16th century by Leo Africanus. However, it received some Muslim emigrants from Spain, who founded the "suburb of the Andalusians" and, like all ports of the Barbary coast, it turned its attention to privateering. Having repudiated the authority of the Hafṣids of Tunis, in 240/1534 it submitted to Khayr al-Dīn, the master of Algiers. Charles V took it in the following year and it remained in the hands of the Spaniards until 280/1572. Banzart having once again become a Turkish town, its corsairs became an ever increasing danger. Their depredations provoked reprisals on the part of the Christian powers, namely naval expeditions by the Knights of Malta and bombardments, that of 1122/1785 by the Venetians almost completely destroying the town. The suppression of privateering and the

silting up of the harbour brought about Banzart's ruin. Bizerta, now no more than a wretched village, was taken by the French in 1881. Considerable works were undertaken, which made it a great port, accessible to the largest ships, equipped with a military arsenal and defended by modern forts.

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(G. Marçais)

BĀʾOLĪ, Urdū and Hindī word for step-well, of which there are two main types in India, the northern and the western. The northern variety is the simpler, consisting essentially of one broad flight of stone steps running from ground level to below the waterline, the whole width of the site; subsidiary flights may run opposite and at right angles to these below water-level, thus constricting the cistern itself into successively smaller squares, and these may be supplemented by cross-flights reducing the final cross-sectional area of the cistern to an octagon. The sides other than that composed of the main flight are vertical, of stone or, less commonly, of brick. The whole site is usually rectangular—the *bāʾolī* outside the Buland darwāzā at Fatehpur [*sic*] Sīkrī, associated with Shaykh Səlim Čishtī is a notable exception, the nature of the terrain having made an irregular polygon the only shape possible—with apparently no consistency in orientation: *e.g.*, the *bāʾolī* at the *dargāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyya, near Humāyūn's tomb, Delhi, runs north and south in alignment with the shrine, while that at the *dargāh* of Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Mahrawlī, near Lālkot, Old Delhi, runs east-west and is not aligned with any major structure. Such *bāʾolīs* are functional structures, from which water may be drawn and in which ablutions may be carried out, and into which men dive, often from a height of 20 metres, to recover alms cast in by pilgrims. They are usually unadorned, but often of a monumental beauty on account of their size: *e.g.*, that of Niẓām al-Dīn is 37.4 m. long by 16.2 m. broad, and some 20 m. deep from ground level to average water-level.

Bāʾolīs are found at the principal shrines associated with Čishtī *pīrs*; besides the examples already noted, a fine rock-cut *baʾolī* is at the *dargāh* of Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī at Ajmer. The reason for this particular association is not clear. Other *bāʾolīs*, smaller but of similar type, are not uncommon at other Islamic sites in N. India, concerning which there is no reason to suppose any Čishtī connexion. Pre-Islamic examples are not recorded.

The western variety, generally known by the Gudjarātī word *vāv*, is of high artistic and architectural merit as well as functional; it is more elaborate than its northern counterpart, consisting of two parts: a vertical circular or octagonal shaft, from which water may be drawn up as from an ordinary well, and a series of galleries connected by flights of steps, with pillared landings on the lower galleries supporting the galleries above; passages from each landing run to the shaft, where there are frequently chambers which form a cool retreat in the hot season. Such structures are known in Gudjarāt from pre-Muslim times: Mātā Bhavānī's *vāv* near Aḥmadābād, the best preserved Hindū prototype, is probably 11th century A.D. (Burgess, *ASWI*, viii, 1-3); Bāī Ḥarīr's *vāv* in Aḥmadābād, which bears a Sanskṛit inscription of A.D. 1499 and an Arabic one of 8 Djumādā I 906/30 Nov. 1500, has ornament very similar to that of the tracery in the niches of the minarets of local mosques. The *vāv* at Adāladj (*ibid.*, 10-13) is cruciform, with three main flights down to the first landing. Other *vāvs* occur scattered throughout Gudjarāt from Barawdā (Baroda) northwards; one of these, at Māndvā on the left bank of the Vātruk, is of peculiar construction, having a brick circular shaft with chambers in three storeys on one side reached by spiral stairs within the wall of the shaft itself.

The northern *bāʾolīs* are not dated; that at the *dargāh* of Niẓām al-Dīn is said (Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Athār al-Ṣanādīd*, Lucknow edition 1900, 42) to have been built by the Shaykh (636-725/1238-1325) himself, and it is probable that other examples date from the same approximate period.

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(J. Burton-Page)

BĀONĪ, formerly a petty Muslim state in the Bundelkhand Agency of Central India, is now administered as part of Madhya Pradesh (area: 122 square miles; population: 25, 256, of which only 12% are Muslims). Its rulers were descended from ʿImād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-Dīn, the grandson of Āṣaf Djāh, the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. About 1784 Ghāzī al-Dīn came to terms with the Marāthās who granted him a *djāgīr* of 52 villages, the name Bāonī being derived from *bāwan* (fifty-two). This grant was later recognised by the British. Because of his loyalty during the 1857 revolt, the nawāb was granted a *sanad* 1862 guaranteeing the succession. In 1884 the nawāb ceded lands for the Betwā canal and received the usual compensation. There is little else of historical importance to record.

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(C. Collin Davies)

AL-BĀRA, place in northern Syria, belonging to what is called the region of the "dead towns", in the centre of the limestone plateau, some fifteen kms. west of the important township of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. In the Middle Ages, as attested by the Arabic and Western texts, it served as a fortified cathedral town and its site is still marked today by extensive ruins, among which the modern villages of al-Kafr and al-Bāra (names corresponding to the ancient Greek and Syriac terms, *Kapropēra* and KPRʾD BRTʾ) rise on both sides of a *wādī*. In bygone days, local trade as well as the olive oil and wine industries ensured the growth of this "town of Apamea, situated between the two dominant massifs of the Djabal Zāwiya, at a point which had to be passed through" (G. Tchalenko) and, in the Byzantine period, contained a complex assembly of churches, monasteries and living quarters. It continued to flourish

after the Arab conquest. But at the time of the Crusades, it was coveted from many sides, being taken in succession by Tancred and Raymond of Saint-Gilles in 492/1098, reconquered by Riḍwān in 496/1102, then left to the Franks by the treaty of 514/1120, to be reoccupied in 516/1123 by Balak and again by Nūr al-Dīn in 543/1148. Sorely tried by these struggles and by the ravages of the Turkomāns, it declined in the 6th/12th century, and thenceforth no longer appeared in the lists given by the Arab geographers. The importance of its medieval fortress, known under the name of Ḳalʿat Abī Safyān (see ABŪ SAFYĀN), has already been noted but other remains, inscriptions and small mosques likewise bear witness to its persistent vitality at the beginning of the 5th/11th century when, from various indications, it has been concluded that its Muslim population were for the most part S̲h̲īʿīs.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

AL-**BARĀʾ** B. ʿĀZIB B. AL-ḤĀRIT̲H̲ AL-AWSĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ, a Companion of the Prophet. He was too young to take part in the Battle of Badr, but he accompanied Muḥammad on numerous other expeditions and later took part in the wars of conquest; he brought Rayy and Ḳazwīn under Muslim dominion. He later espoused the cause of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and fought under his banner at the Battle of the Camel [see AL-D̲J̲AMAL], at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], and at al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*]; the famous *ḥadīt̲h̲* of G̲h̲adīr K̲h̲umm [*q.v.*] was related on his authority. After his retirement to Kūfa, he lost his sight towards the end of his life, and died about 72/691-2.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-**BARĀʾ** B. MAʿRŪR, a Companion of the Prophet. Among the seventy-five proselytes who appeared at the ʿAḳaba in the summer of 622 at the pilgrims' festival to enter into alliance with the Prophet, the aged S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr of K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ was one of the most important, and when Muḥammad declared he wished to make a compact with them that they should protect him as they would their wives and children, al-Barāʾ seized his hand, promised him protection in the name of all present, and sealed the compact. In the same assembly, the so-called second ʿAḳaba, twelve men were chosen as preliminary representatives (*naḳīb*) of the new community in Yat̲h̲rib, and on this occasion al-Barāʾ was appointed chief of the Banū Salima. He is also famous in the history of Islām, for having changed the direction of praying, even before Muḥammad, by turning towards the sanctuary of Mecca. When Muḥammad reproved him, saying that Jerusalem was the true *ḳibla*, he obeyed him, but on his deathbed ordained that his corpse should be turned towards Mecca. He died in Medīna in Ṣafar, a month before Muḥammad's arrival there, after bequeathing to the Prophet one third of his estate.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii, Part 2, 146 ff.; Ibn His̲h̲ām, i, 294 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 1217 ff.; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ii, 76-78; idem, *Usd al-G̲h̲āba*, i, 173 ff.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 89; Caetani, *Annali*, index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

BĀRA SAYYIDS, the descendants of Sayyid Abu 'l-Faraḥ of Wāsiṭ near Bag̲h̲dād, who with his twelve sons emigrated to India in the 7th/13th century and settled in four villages near Patiāla in the *sarkār* of Sirhand in the *sūba* of Dihlī. The four main branches of the family were named after these four villages. Sayyid Dāʾūd settled in Tihanpūr; Sayyid Abu 'l-Faḍl in Čhatbanūr or Čhatraurī; Sayyid Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil in Kūndlī; and Sayyid Naẓm al-Dīn Ḥusayn in Jagner or Jhajari. From this area they later migrated into the Muẓaffarnagar district of the Ganges-Jumna *doāb*. The Kundlīwāl branch settled in Majhera; the Čhatbanūrī branch near Sambalhera; the Jagnerī branch in Bidaulī and Patri; and the Tihanpūrī branch in Dhāsrī and Kumhera.

The derivation of the term *bārha* is uncertain. Some derive it from *bāhir* (outside), because the Sayyids, disgusted with the debaucheries of the Mīna *bāzār* at Dihlī, preferred to live outside the city. Others derive it from the fact that the Sayyids, being S̲h̲īʿīs, were followers of the twelve (*bāra*) Imāms. The authors of the *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī* and the *Tuzūk-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī* derive the name from the twelve villages in which they settled in the district of Muẓaffarnagar. This is the most probable explanation. The contention of H. M. Elliott and M. Elphinstone that one of the Sayyid settlements was named Bāra has been shown to be incorrect (see W. Irvine, in *JASB* 1896, 175).

Sayyid settlements in the district of Muẓaffarnagar can be traced back to the middle of the 8th/14th century. From the reign of Akbar onwards the Bāra Sayyids took part in every important campaign and became renowned for their courage. The Tihanpūrī branch was the most important. To this branch belong the famous Sayyid brothers, Ḥasan ʿAlī and Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the king-makers of the first two decades of the 18th century. They rose to prominence in the service of ʿAẓīm al-S̲h̲ān, the son of Muʿaẓẓam al-Dīn who became the emperor Bahādur S̲h̲āh. For their gallantry at the battle of Jājau (1707), which gave the throne to the father of their patron, the elder brother, Ḥasan ʿAlī, afterwards known as ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān, was entrusted with the government of Allāhābād and the younger brother with that of Patna. On the death of Bahādur S̲h̲āh in 1712, distrustful of the power of their enemies at Dihlī, they overthrew D̲j̲ahāndār S̲h̲āh and replaced him by Farruk̲h̲-siyar. As his ministers they enjoyed the highest dignities that the emperor could confer. ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān was appointed *wazīr* of the empire with the title of Ḳuṭb al-Mulk. Ḥusayn ʿAlī became first *bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* with the title of *amīr al-umarā*. They are generally given the credit for being the first to abolish the *d̲j̲izya* after the death of Awrangzīb, but the latest researches disclose that they were merely continuing the policy already introduced by the *wazīr* D̲h̲u 'l-Fiḳār K̲h̲ān (see *Jizyah in the Post-Aurangzeb Period* by S. Chandra, in *Proceedings of*

the Indian History Congress, Ninth Session, 320-326). Farru<u>kh</u>-siyar was an ingrate who plotted against his benefactors. His efforts came to naught and eventually, in the seventh year of his reign, he was deposed, blinded, and finally executed by the infuriated Sayyids. The Sayyids next raised two miserable puppets to the throne, Rafīʿ al-Dara<u>dj</u>āt and Rafīʿ al-Dawla, both of whom were consumptive youths who died in the year 1719. In the same year the Sayyids crowned Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh as Emperor. The administration of the six Deccan provinces was entrusted to Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the younger Sayyid brother, but he was soon recalled to Dihlī by ʿAbd Allāh, whose position was being undermined by court conspiracies in which the Emperor was involved. It was at this juncture that Niẓām al-Mulk, leader of the Turānī nobles and for that reason opposed to Sayyid predominance at Dihlī, deemed it advisable to abandon Mālwā, of which he was governor, and establish himself in the Deccan. This naturally alarmed the Sayyids who took immediate steps to coerce him, but before their forces had marched many miles beyond Āgra, Ḥusayn ʿAlī was assassinated and in a very short time ʿAbd Allāh was overthrown by a powerful combination of Turānī and Īrānī nobles at Dihlī. This took place in 1720. In 1737 the descendants of the two brothers were slaughtered or dispersed when the Rohillas sacked Jansath. From this date their power rapidly declined. After the establishment of British paramountcy many Sayyids returned to their former villages only to fall victims to the wily money-lenders.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl-i ʿAllāmī, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, translated by H. Blochmann, vol. i, Calcutta 1873. Blochmann used the family history, the *Sādāt-i Bārha*, written 1864-69 by one of the Sayyid family; E. T. Atkinson, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, vol. iii, Allāhābād 1876; S. Chandra, *Early Relations of Farrukh Siyar and the Sayyid Brothers*, in *Aligarh Medieval Indian Quarterly*, vol. ii, nos. 1 and 2, 1954; C. C. Davies, *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii/1957, Ch. xxiii, *Rivalries in India*; W. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, in *JASB* 1896: this contains detailed references to the original Persian sources; H. R. Neville, *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, vol. iii, *Muzaffanagar*, Allāhābād 1903, reprinted 1922.

(C. Collin Davies).

BĀRĀ WAFĀT is a term used in India and Pakistan for the 12th day of Rabīʿ I, observed as a holy day in commemoration of the death of the prophet Muḥammad. It is compounded of *bārā* (in Urdū = twelve) and *wafāt*, death. On this day, portions of the Ḳur'ān (*Sūra Fātiḥa*) and other works in praise of the Prophet's excellences are read in private houses and mosques, and sweet dishes are prepared, partaken of and also given away along with fruit as alms. Most of the ceremonies described in Herklots' *Islam in India* in connexion with Bārā Wafāt are now things of the past. It is now a day of rejoicing rather than mourning for the Muslims, who consider 12th Rabīʿ I at the same time as the birthday of the Prophet. As such it is known as ʿĪd Milād al-Nabī and is observed as a public holiday in Pakistan.

Bibliography: *Islam in India*, composed under the direction of G. A. Herklots; revised edition by W. Crooke, OUP 1921, 188.

(Sh. Inayatullah)

BARĀ'A. I. — This substantive is derived from the Arabic root *b r'*, which is frequently used to denote the general idea of "release, exemption" (from a duty, from an accusation—therefore "innocence"—, from risk, from responsibility), a meaning to be found repeatedly in the Ḳur'ān. With this is connected the notion of "freedom from disease, cure", which is equally expressed by this root in classical Arabic. There is undoubtedly good reason to distinguish, as a borrowing from North-Semitic, the meaning, also Ḳur'ānic, of "create", when speaking of God (Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 76).

The word *barā'a* itself occurs twice in the sacred book. In Sūra liv, 43, it means without doubt "immunity, absolution". On the other hand its interpretation, when it occurs as the first word of Sūra ix (and one of the titles given to this Sūra) is a matter of some difficulty: "*Barā'at*ᵘⁿ of Allāh and his prophet towards those polytheists with whom you have concluded a treaty". The following verse, which accepts a sacred truce of four months, might give rise to the supposition that the reference here is to an immunity. But the traditional interpretation explains this *barā'a* on the basis of verses 3-5, according to which Allah and his prophet will be "unbound" (*barī'*) in regard to the unbelievers, whom the Muslims will then be able to kill with impunity (see the translation and notes of Blachère). The *barā'a*, refers then to the "breaking of the ties"—the religious and social ties—, a kind of dissociation or excommunication, the dire consequences of which are exactly the opposite of an immunity. *Barī'*, indeed, is the term used for a person or persons who have broken off all relations with an individual or a group, mainly with fellow-tribesmen; the term *barā'a* enters into those phrases which mean "to exile or to remove from the protection of the law" (for the *tabri'a*, an Ibāḍī penal sanction, see below), and the *yamīn al-barā'a* is the oath, condemned by the *ḥadī<u>th</u>* (notably Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, no. 3258), but still in evidence today, by which a person renounces on his own behalf, if he should swear falsely, adherence to Islam or the protection of God. The <u>Sh</u>īʿīs advocate the "repudiation" (*barā'a*) of the enemies of ʿAlī and his descendants. as opposed to the "attachment" due to this line; *contra* the whole practice of *barā'a-walāya*, see the condemnation of the Ḥanbalī school *apud* H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 162. The evil implications of the *barā'a*, thus understood, justify, in the view of certain Muslim scholars, the exceptional absence of *basmala* at the begining of Sūra ix.

In legal terminology, *barā'at al-<u>dh</u>imma*, or simply *barā'at* is the "absence of obligation". *Bayʿ al-barā'a*, for example, is the sale without guarantee wherein the seller is freed from any obligation in the event of the existence, in the sale-object, of such a defect as would normally allow the sale to be rescinded (see Santillana, *Instituzioni*, ii, 149, for a striking resemblance of formulae in this regard between Muslim Egypt and Christian Tuscany). Hence the term *tabri'a* is variously used for all sorts of declaratory or constitutive acts which absolve from responsibility. One may cite the *tebriya* of the present-day Moroccan Bedouin. This is an "indemnity paid by the parents of the murderer to those of the victim for continuing to live within the tribe" (Loubignac, *Textes arabes des Zaër*, Paris 1952, 359); see the similar use of *barā'a* < *barāh* noted in the Bethlehem region (Haddād, in *ZDPV*, 1917, 233).

The following derived technical terms may be noted here.

1. *Mubāra'a*: a form of divorce by mutual agreement where husband and wife free themselves by a reciprocal renunciation of all rights (Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge*, 85; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 272; cf. Averroes, *Bidāya*, ed. Cairo 1935, ii, 66, who gives an accurate definition by way of comparison with some similar forms of *ṭalāḳ*).

2. *Istibrā'* or "confirmation of emptiness", with two quite distinct connotations: a) temporary abstention from sex-relations with a slave-girl, in order to verify that she is not pregnant, on the occasion of her transfer to a new master or a change in her circumstances [see ʿABD], and b) an action of the left hand designed to empty completely the urethra, before the cleaning of the orifices or *istind̲j̲ā'* which must follow satisfaction of the natural needs (*LA*, i, 25; Abu 'l-Ḥasan on the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd, ed. Cairo 1930, i, 144).

Proceeding now to the general theory of law as found in the classical works, the notion of *barā'a* is there to be found in the maxim, generally accepted by orthodoxy and vindicated by As̲h̲ʿarī doctrine: *al-aṣl barā'at al-d̲h̲imma*, "the basic principle is freedom from obligation". This means, according to the standpoint one adopts: "The only obligations to which man is subject are those defined by God", or: "In the absence of proof to the contrary the natural presumption is freedom from obligation or liability".

In its first sense this *barā'a aṣliyya* embodies a theological notion: it contradicts the Muʿtazilite thesis which is founded upon the rationality of the legal values (*aḥkām*) of a certain number of human acts, and which holds that, before the promulgation of the revealed law, all those other acts which do not admit of a rationalist assessment are all illicit (according to some) or all permissible (according to others) or unqualified (according to a third group). See G̲h̲azālī, *Mustaṣfā*, ed. Cairo 1937, i, 40-42, 127-132; or better: Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, ed. Cairo 1914, i, 130-135. Both these works refute the Muʿtazilite thesis. But for almost the totality of the orthodox scholars (two exceptions are indicated, for the Mālikīs, by Bād̲j̲ī, *Is̲h̲ārāt*, ed. Tunis 1351 A.H., 123, 130-131;—the work of Lapanne-Joinville in *Travaux Semaine Intern. Droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 85, calls for certain corrections), the legal values are based, absolutely and exclusively, upon the revealed law; before this law and outside it, human acts have no *ḥukm*; and this kind of fundamental indifference, which must not be confused with permissibility, denies the notion of any obligation.

In its second sense, which, however, the authors do not attempt to distinguish from the first (the confusion is obvious in the S̲h̲āfiʿī and Ḥanafī works entitled *al-As̲h̲bāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir*: Suyūṭī, ed. Cairo 1936, 39, Ibn Nud̲j̲aym, ed. Cairo 1298 A.H., 29), the *barā'a aṣliyya*, whether combined or not with the principle of the "continuance of facts" (*istiṣḥāb ḥāl*), comes to support in theory innumerable solutions—whether strict legal rules or legal presumptions—throughout the whole field of *fiḳh* (Lapanne-Joinville, *op. cit.*, 82-88; Brunschvig, in *Studi ... Levi Della Vida*, i, 75).

However, the word *barā'a* has been increasingly employed in a concrete sense to denote written documents of various kinds (pl. *barā'āt* or *barawāt*) by virtue of a semantic development which starts from the idea of "discharge", or doubtless, to be more precise, "financial, administrative discharge" (K̲h̲wārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. Cairo 1930, 37; Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 159; Spuler, *Iran in frühislam. Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 338, -458). This first sense is to be found, in the context of transactions concerning customs duties, in the treaties concluded with the Christian powers since the Middle Ages, notably by the Ḥafṣids (14th-15th centuries); the Latin or Roman versions have: *albara*, or *arbara* (Mas-Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1866-72: refer to the glossary). Equally, one can see there the sense of "official licence" which the word had come to acquire. It was by now quite readily applied to what we would term a "licence, certificate, diploma", to various written documents originating from administrative bodies or addressed to them: for example "a demand for payment or a billeting order", "a passport" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 63), "a label to be attached by the *amīn*" to a piece of merchandise (Saḳaṭī, *Manuel de Ḥisba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 61), "a request or petition to the sovereign" (Brunschvig, *Berbérie Orientale*, ii, 144, n. 3). The languages of the Iberian peninsula have collected and preserved meanings of the same kind: the Catalian *albarà*, the Castillian *albalá*, the Portuguese *alvará*.

Neo-classical Arabic knows the term *barā'at al-tanfīd̲h̲* for the consular *exequatur*, and *barā'at al-t̲h̲iḳa* for the diplomatic "credentials" (the dictionaries of Bercher and Wehr).

In the colloquial Arabic of N. Africa, *barā'a* > *brâ* is widely used, often in the diminutive form *bréyya*, with the meaning of a simple "letter, missive, note", (whence the Berber *brát*, with the same meaning). At Fez, semantic development has led to the name of *bréyya* being given, in Arabic, to a pastry consisting of a pâté enclosed in a pastry-case which is folded in the same way as a letter (Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, *Glossary*, Paris 1952, 40).

Finally we must note the expression, very common in the East, "night of the *barā'a*" (Arabic: *laylat al-barā'a*, Turkish: *berat gecesi*, Persian: *s̲h̲ab-i barāt*) to describe the night of mid-S̲h̲aʿbān, a religious festival (see the paper by H. H. Erdem, *Berat Gecesi hakkında bir tedkik*, Ankara 1953). Here the precise meaning of *barā'a* escapes the author, since none of the explanations offered by traditional interpretation or by Western scholarship are convincing: "immunity" (for those beings whose lot is favourably cast on that night), "revelation" (to Muḥammad of his prophetic mission by the archangel Gabriel), "creation" (of the world: referring to the Hebrew *berī'a*, Plessner, art. RAMAḌĀN in *EI*[1]). It would first be expedient, in order to orientate etymological research, to determine, with such precision as is possible, the antiquity of the expression and the circumstances of its origin, for it is not commonly encountered in the mediaeval texts which deal with the mid-S̲h̲aʿbān celebration.

Under the Ottoman Turks the administrative use of the term was particularly developed in the form *berat* [*q.v.*] (*berāt*), which they distinguished from *berāet*, (*berā'et*).

Bibliography: in the text of the article.

(R. BRUNSCHVIG)

II. — The theme of the *barā'a* was particularly developed by the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites with their religious zeal and their emphasis on separatism. In opposition to the *wilāya*, which is the dogmatic duty of solidarity and assistance to the Muslim, the *barā'a* was for them the duty to repudiate all those who did not deserve this title. Throughout the heresiologists can be found the particular applications given by

the numerous sects to the principle of *barāʾa*. It is only by means of the Ibāḍī catechists that we can arrive at a direct and full exposition. The oldest text which has come down to us, that of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Dj̲annāwunī (6th/12th century), imposes on a man who has reached puberty, and is in his right mind, repudiation of a) all the *kāfirūn* of both worlds, living and dead, known or unknown; b) the unjust *imām*; c) those who are censured (*madhmūmūn*) in the Ḳurʾān and acknowledged rebels (*mawṣūfūn bi 'l-maʿṣiya*); d) the man who, personally known, has committed a grave sin.

A decision concerning the children of persons subject to the *barāʾa* was postponed until they attained their majority. The *barāʾa* was cancelled in respect of the sinner who had carried out the *tawba*.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Dj̲annāwunī, *Kitāb al-Waḍʿ fi 'l-Furūʿ*, Cairo 1303, 110 ff.; E. Sachau, *Über die religiösen Anschauungen der Ibaditischen Muhammedaner in Oman und Ost-Afrika*, in *MSOS As.* 1899, 67 ff.; A. de Motylinski, *L'Aqida des Abadhites*, in *Rec. XIVe Congr. des Or.*, 409 ff.

(R. Rubinacci)

BARABA, steppe of Western Siberia, situated in the *oblast'* of Novosibirsk of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, between lat. 54° and 57° North, and bounded on the East and West by the ranges of hills which skirt the banks of the Irtîsh and the Ob'. This steppe, which extends for 117,000 sq. km., has numerous lakes, most of which are salt; the biggest is Lake Čanî. The ground, which is partly marshland, also has some fertile zones, but it is essentially a cattle-rearing region. It has a cold continental climate.

The population (over 500,000 inhabitants in 1949) is unequally distributed; its density, which reaches 6 to 9 inhabitants per sq. km. in the central and southern part, does not exceed 1 to 1.8 in the North. It is made up of a majority of Russian and Ukrainian colonists, with a Tatar minority, some of whom have emigrated from the Volga at a recent period, whilst others are autochthonous.

The latter, whom the Russians call "Baraba Tatars" or *Barabintsî*, form a small community near to the other Tatar groups of Western Siberia (Tobol Tatars, Tümen Tatars [*q.v.*]), which, however, shows signs of disappearing. Their very complex ethnogenesis gives rise to contradictory hypotheses. It appears that they issued from autochthonous Ugrian peoples who became partly turkicised when they made contact with the Turkish tribes who emigrated at the time of the foundation of the Siberian Empire. This turkicisation, which continued during the 16th/17th centuries, was completed in the 19th century with the large-scale influx of Tatar immigrants from the Middle Volga.

From the conquest of the Siberian Empire by the Russians under Ivan IV until the time of Peter the Great, the Baraba steppe separated Russia from the Empire of the Kalmuks. The frontier region contained between the towns of Tara (on the Irtîsh) and Tomsk (to the East of the Ob') was then called "Baraba district" (*Barabinskaya volost'*); the indigenous population, in addition to speaking their own language, spoke Ḳazan Tatar and Kalmuk, and initially paid tribute to the Russians and the Kalmuks, though later to the Russians only. In the 18th century a large number of exiles from European Russia were settled in the Baraba as colonists. At the end of the 19th century, when the Trans-Siberian railway had been built, the steppe was systematically developed with the help of a new wave of Russian and Ukrainian colonists.

The autochthonous Tatar population, which in the 17th century was established in villages, was pushed back at the end of the 18th century towards the sterile zones of the steppe. Since then, its numerical importance has steadily declined. According to the data collected by Radlov in 1865, there were then 4,635 "Baraba Tatars" in existence. At the census taken in 1897, 4,433 were counted and, in 1926, only 39, the remainder having had themselves re-classified as "Kazan Tatars".

The Baraba Tatars at present occupy a small number of villages (wholly Tatar or Tatar-Russian) near the lakes Sabrali, Yurtush and Mangîsh and in the basin of the river Om', especially in the Kuybishev district (formerly Kainsk), along the Trans-Siberian railway.

The islamisation of the Baraba, which commenced in the 10th/16th century with Central Asia (Khwārizm and Bukhārā) continued as the result of the activities of the Tatar merchants and missionaries of Ḳazan, who made their way up the Irtîsh. However, it seems most probable that it was only in the 19th century, after the Ḳazan Tatar colonists had established themselves in Western Siberia, that the majority of the autochthonous Tatars adopted Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī rite.

Radlov saw several old men who remembered their fathers making pagan sacrifices in the manner of the inhabitants of the Altai and being dressed differently from the Muslims.

The Baraba Tatar dialect, which has not been studied much as yet, possesses certain phonetic peculiarities: (*ts* in the place of *č* for example). It has almost entirely given way to Ḳazan Tatar and Russian.

Like the Russians, the Baraba Tatars live by agriculture, stock breeding and fishing; trapping animals for fur has greatly diminished.

Bibliography: W. Radlov, *Obraztsi Narodnoy Literaturî Tyurkskikh Plemen*, iv, St. Petersburg 1878; idem, *Phonetik der nördlichen Turkensprachen*, Leipzig 1882; idem, *Narečiya Tyurkskikh Plemen Živushčikh v Yužnoy Sibiri i Djungarskoy Stepi*, i-x, St. Petersburg 1866-1907; S. K. Patkhanov, *Statističeskie Dannîe Pokazivayushčiya Plemmenoy Sostav Naseleniya Sibiri, Yazîki i Rodî Inorodtsev*, in *Zap. Imp. Rus. Geog. Obshč. po Otdelu Statistiki*, St. Petersburg 1912, xi/i; idem, *Spisok Narodnostey Sibiri*, St. Petersburg 1923; N. A. Aristov, *Zametki ob Etničeskom Sostave Tyurkskikh Plemen i Narodnostei, Svedeniya ob ikh Čislennosti*, in *Živaya Starina*, St. Petersburg 1896, fasc. iii-iv; N. Kostrov, *Kainskaya Baraba*, Tomsk 1874; A. v. Middendorf, *Baraba*, St. Petersburg 1871; S. P. Suslov, *Zapadnaya Sibir*, Moscow 1947.

(W. Barthold-[A. Bennigsen])

BARĀBRA (for Barābira; sing. Barbarī): Nubian-speaking Muslims inhabiting the Nile Banks between the First and Third Cataracts. The term includes the Kunūz, Sukkūt and Maḥas. The name Barābra is not commonly used by these peoples of themselves, and is stated by Lane (i, 177, col. 3) to be a late and modern application of the term used by earlier writers for the Berbers of the Maghrib. The Danāḳla [*q.v.*], who live above the Third Cataract, are linguistically and physically allied to the Kunūz but do not regard themselves as Barābra. The territory now inhabited by the Barābra formed the northern part of

the Christian Nubian kingdom of Maḳurra, which entered into treaty-relations with ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd in 31/652. Arab settlement began with a migration of Rabīʿa into the Aswān region in 869. After the defeat of Abū Raḳwa (396/1006), the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim is said to have conferred the title of Kanz al-Dawla on the *Shaykh* of Rabīʿa at Aswān (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa'l-Iʿrāb ʿammā bi-arḍ Miṣr min al-Aʿrāb*, ed. and tr. F. Wüstenfeld, "*El-Macrizi's Abhandlung über die in Aegypten eingewanderten arabischen Stämme*", *Göttinger Studien*, ii, vii, 434-5, 475, Göttingen 1847), whence the Barābra of the vicinity, resulting from Arab-Nubian intermarriage, are known as Banī Kanz or Kunūz. In the 8th/14th century the kingdom of Maḳurra disintegrated under Arab pressure; intermarriage took place and Islam superseded Christianity. After Selīm I's conquest of Egypt, garrisons of Bosniak troops (locally called Ghuzz) were established at Aswān, Ibrīm and Sāy, while the Barābra territory was placed under a *kāshif*. In spite of intermarriage and the adoption of Nubian speech, the Ghuzz remained a distinct group until the 19th century. In the 18th century the northern Barābra were under the suzerainty of Ḥumām Abū Yūsuf, the powerful *shaykh* of the Hawwāra. On the eve of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's invasion of the Sudan, the Barābra *Kāshiflik* was held jointly by three brothers whose headquarters were at Darr. The Ghuzz enclaves of Aswān, Ibrīm and Sāy were under their own *āghās*. Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī, the founder of the Khatmiyya order, travelled from Aswān to Dunḳulā a few years before Muḥammad ʿAlī's conquest and won many adherents. The poverty of the Barābra territory has been a stimulus to emigration. In the 16th century Maḥasī colonies were formed on the Blue Nile by immigrants who had a reputation as holy men and established Ḳur'ānic schools. From the 18th century travellers have noted the "Berberine" servants in Cairo.

Bibliography: H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, i, 12-34, 155-190 and Index; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949. Both these works contain extensive bibliographical references. The condition of the Barābra in the early 19th century is fully described in J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819. (P. M. Holt)

BARADĀ, referred to by Naʿamān the leper (Kings, ii, 5, 12) by the name of Abana, and by Greek and Latin authors called Chrysorrhoas, is the most important perennial river of the eastern slopes of the Anti-Lebanon. It has determined the site of Damascus and permitted the development of the Ghūṭa.

It owes its existence to the high peaks which dominate the gap between Zabadānī and Sarghāya. At the foot of a limestone cliff over 1,000 m. high, a copious Vauclusian spring forms a vast lake on the Western side of the Zabadānī hollow at the foot of the Djabal Shaykh Manṣūr. It is the overflow from this lake which gives birth to the Baradā, which meanders over the gentle slope of the Zabadānī plain, receiving the waters from many springs in the area. After setting out peacefully on its course, the Baradā turns eastwards, following the axial change of direction of the eastern branch of the Anti-Lebanon. At Takiyya (hydro-electric station), it starts upon its fall. It then assumes the aspect of a racing torrent bounding through an enclosed gorge, the walls of which are formed of pliocene and eocene conglomerates. At Sūḳ Wādī Baradā (ancient Abīla) the gorge widens a little and then, 30 km. from its source, ʿAyn Fīdja empties into it. This spring, situated only a few metres above the level of the Baradā, almost doubles the volume of the river. It is an overflow spring with a large and very regular flow of water, welling up in the cretaceous limestone; above the grotto is a Roman temple. At low-water, it brings down 5 cub. m. of water per second and without this influx the Baradā might well dry up during the summer. Part of this spring is harnessed and piped down to provide Damascus with drinking water. Though the Baradā races impetuously towards Damascus, man's intervention checks its impetus and brings it under control. Without the skill of man, the Baradā would have hollowed out a sluggish bed through the centre of the Damascus depression; its valley would have been no more than a narrow ribbon of greenery in the midst of parched steppes, finally loosing itself in swamps. Through the ages, man has diverted the river into successive channels, flowing at different levels parallel to the main bed of the river, before reaching the outskirts of Rabwa. There, at the foot of the Ḳāsyūn, the six main canals, called *nahr*, fan out. By means of manifold ramifications, their waters carry life-giving moisture to the arid land, transforming an area of over 25 km. in length by 15 km. in breadth in the basalt depression of Damascus, filled with marl brought down in the form of deposits by the river, into a fertile oasis. The Baradā, which irrigates nearly 10,000 hectares of orchards and gardens, has pushed back the desert to a distance of 20 km. from the mountains; beyond the Ghūṭa, the Mardj is covered by extensive cultivation and from December to June displays a carpet of green meadows.

Water not absorbed by irrigation passes on towards the steppe where, in a trough devoid of outlet, it becomes stagnant in the marshes of ʿUtayba.

Going downstream the following canals lead out of the Baradā: at Ḥamā, on the left bank, the Nahr Yazīd, of Nabatean origin, restored by the Caliph Yazīd I, goes to swell the Nahr Thawra. At Dummar, on the right bank, N. Mizzāwī carries water to the market-town of Mazza; then, still on the same bank, the Dārānī which supplies Kafar Sūs and Dārayā; after that, on the left bank, the N. Thawra, of Aramaean origin, which by itself irrigates nearly half the oasis. On the threshold of Rabwa, two canals, in the main urban, diverge: the Ḳanawāt, of Roman origin and restored by the Umayyads, swells the older watercourse: the N. Bānās (literary form) or Bāniyās, an Aramaean creation. About 670, Arnulf mentions *magna IV flumina*, which are those existing in 724 under Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik: Yazīd, Thawra, Bānās and Ḳanawāt, and in the 6th/12th century, in Ibn ʿAsākir's time. According to a plan of Damascus prepared by German travellers in 1572, the Baradā is shown as a navigable waterway.

In the town, the Ḳanawāt, the Bānās and the Baradā itself provide water for *ḥammāms*, mosques, fountains and houses (drinking water has only recently been piped from ʿAyn Fīdja) to pass on again into the countrydise. A most ingenious system of irrigation has made possible the creation of an artificial oasis of exceptional fertility. The manifold canals diverted from the Baradā weave a close network watering the villages and the vegetation of the Ghūṭa. The Baradā plays a major rôle, making up for the lack of adequate regular rainfall (Damascus receives only about 200 mm.). It imparts humidity

to the atmosphere, gives rise to the autumnal and and spring mists and renders plant and animal life possible and thus, the human habitat.

Yāḳūt (i, 389) indicates a village with the name of Baradā to the East of Ḥalab. Lammens recognised it as Barad in the Djabal Simʿān. He also indicates (iii, 69) a canal called Baradā, excavated at al-Ramla by the Umayyad Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīna Dimashḳ*, *PAAD*, 1951, 145-148; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 378-79; Kurd ʿAlī, *Ghūṭa Dimashḳ*, *PAAD*, 1952, 114-119; P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolumitana*, 276; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, 57-59, 265 f.; Wultzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, 1924, ii, 37; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 1927, 287 f.; R. Tresse, *Irrigation dans la Ghouta de Damas*, in *REI*, 1929, 459-533; L. Dubertret, *L'hydrologie .... de la Syrie et du Liban ...*, in *Rev. Géogr. Phys. et Géol. dyn.*, 1933, vi, 439; J. Sauvaget, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas*, in *REI*, 1934, 427; R. Thoumin, *Géographie humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, 1936, 52-90; M. Ecochard and and Cl. Le Cœur, *Les Bains de Damas*, in *PIFD*, 1942; L. Dubertret, *Aperçu de Géographie Physique sur le Liban, l'Anti-Liban et la Damascène*, *Notes et Mémoires* iv, 1948, 191. (N. Elisséeff)

BARADĀ or baradān, the ancient Cydnus, now Djayhūn, a river rising in Cappadocia, which flows towards the West, irrigates the gardens near Marʿash and those of Ṭarsūs, brings down alluvial deposits to the low-lying plain of Cilicia and empties into the sea on the Western side of the Gulf of Alexandretta. In ancient times, small ships sailed up it as far as Ṭarsūs.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 264; Yāḳūt, i, 389, iii, 526; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 63, 378, 419; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 146-151. (N. Elisséeff)

BARADĀN, a town in ʿIrāḳ in ʿAbbāsid times. According to the Arab geographers it was situated some 15 miles north of Baghdād on the main road to Sāmarrā and at some distance from the east bank of the Tigris, a little above the confluence of the Nahr al-Khāliṣ and the latter. The Khāliṣ canal, a branch of the Nahrawān (or Diyāla) flowed immediately past Baradān. The caliph al-Manṣūr held his court here for a brief period, before he definitely resolved on building a new capital on the site of the modern Baghdād (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 256). There was a bridge in Baghdād, a street and a gate (after this a cemetery also) in the eastern half of the town called after Baradān which was two post stations distant; cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (1900), 360 (index). When the author of the *Marāṣid* made his extract from Yāḳūt (about 700/1300), Baradān was quite desolate and unknown. It is doubtless to be sought for in the present mound of ruins at Badrān, the position of which agrees admirably with the statement of Arab authors. Arab sources suggest that the name Baradān is arabicised from the Persian *barda-dān* ("the place of the prisoners"), which suggests the possibility of a Jewish colony settled here presumably by Nebuchadnezar.

Bibliography : *BGA*, *passim*; Yāḳūt, i, 551 ff.; *Marāṣid*, *Lex. geogr.* (ed. Juynboll), i, 168; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, ii, 230 ff.; Le Strange, 50; Weil, *Chalifen*, ii, 569; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* (1861), ii, 311; Černik, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg.-Heft 44, 34, 36*, 38. (M. Streck-[S. H. Longrigg])

BARĀDŪST (Brādust), name of two Kurdish districts. The first in the south, between Ushnū, Rāyat and Rawāndūz, with Kāni Resh as its chief town, perched on a crag, at an altitude of 4,372 feet. In the north it borders on Girdī (Shamdīnān), in the West on Shirwān and in the East on Bilbās. The massif of Ḳandīl (C. J. Edmonds, 244, n.) constitutes the framework of the district. The sources of the Little Zab (Lāven, then Kalu in the Persian section) are situated in this region. The famous Urartu stele of Kel-i Shīn is likewise situated there, on the pass of the same name. There is another Barādūst, called Ṣūmāy Barādūst, lying to the North, between Targavar and Ḳotūr, with Čehrīk Ḳalʿa as the principal residence (B. Nikitine, 79, 263). It was there that Bāb was held before his execution at Tabrīz. The early history of Barādūst is not well known to us. According to M. E. Zakī (*Taʾrīkh*, 388, 389), the founders of this principality were the Ḥasanwayhids (348-406/959-1015) in the person of Nāṣir al-Dawla Badr and his three sons. Ghāzī Ḳirān b. Sulṭān Aḥmad was the most famous *amīr* of this line. At the outset he opposed Shāh Ismāʿīl, but subsequently his relations with him improved. The Shāh bestowed the *laḳab* of Ghāzī Ḳirān on him and gave him the districts of Targavar, Ṣūmāy and Dūl as an *iḳṭāʿ*. Thus it was that this valiant *amīr* remained independent as regards internal affairs until the famous battle of Čāldirān (920/1514), after which, like others of the Kurdish *amīrs*, he rallied to the Ottoman sultan. The latter recognised his worth and gave him numerous districts, *nawāḥi*, in the *wilāyets* of Arbil, Baghdād and Diyārbakr. The amirate of Ṣūmāy was founded by Shāh Muḥammad Bek b. Ghāzī Ḳirān, whose descendants ruled it down to the extinction of this branch. In 395/1005, the *amīr* of Ṣūmāy was called Awliyā Bek. As for Targavar, the *amīrs* of this branch likewise derived from the Barādūst tribe. Sharaf Khān says that Nāṣir Bek b. Khārīn Bek b. Shaykh Ḥasan was *amīr* of this region in his time (10th/16th century). The *amīr* Khān Yakdas was the most famous representative of this branch. He had defended himself in the fortress of Dimdim, which became one of the main themes of Kurdish folklore. He was *amīr* at the beginning of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, against whom he revolted, shutting himself up inside the fortress. These events took place in 1017. Among the other Kurdish chieftains of Barādūst, may be mentioned in the south Fayḍ Allāh Bey, referred to by Layard (373, 374), and Yūsif Bek, who made himself famous by his fight against Mīr Muḥammad of Shamdīnān. In spite of their being bound by an agreement, he killed him treacherously, whence is derived the saying "*Barādūst bir ay dūst*". (Barādūst friend of a month ...). In the north, there was Ṣādiḳ Khān, who played a rôle in the accession of the Ḳādjār dynasty. Later, he rose against Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1211/1796). Closer to us in time, Ismāʿīl Aghā Ṣimḳo ʿAbdoy must be mentioned, well known during and on the morrow of the first world war on the Russo-Turkish front and in ʿIrāḳ. In February 1918, Ṣimḳo lured the Nestorian Patriarch Benyamīn Mār Shimʿūn into a trap and had him assassinated. For a while, Ṣimḳo remained master of the whole region West of Lake Urmiya, but in 1922 a Persian punitive expedition expelled him from the region. He sought refuge near Rawāndūz and a few years later tried to return to Persia and re-establish his position, but was killed near Ushnū (C. J. Edmonds, 252, 305, 313, 315, 365). Among the main tribes of Barādūst, that which bore this

name has lost its importance. At present, the Bālakī tribe is the most powerful in the South, numbering some ten thousand families. Their territory in the massif of Ḳandīl is difficult of access. Its centre is the township of Rāyat. Formerly, the amīr Sohrān was dominant there; it was his custom to take a man from each family to incorporate in his army. When Sohrān's line died out, the tribe regained its independence, which it still retains down to the present time (1956). Its present chief is ʿAzīz Bek (M. E. Zakī, *Khulāṣa*, 392). In the north, the Shiḳāḳ constitute the main tribe, who number some 2,000 families (M. E. Zakī, *Khulāṣa*, 413). According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Djewdet*, quoted by M. E. Zakī (*ibid.*, 238), both they and the Ḥaydarānlū shared a common origin. Their original habitat was in the neighbourhood of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

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BARĀHIMA (Brahmans). The Arabs' knowledge of the Brahmans and Brahmanism was, with the exception of al-Bīrūnī, very scanty (probably their acquaintance with Buddhists, called Sumaniyya —cf. the term *Ṣamanaioi* applied to them by later Greeks like Alexander Polyhistor—was more direct since these were spread in Persia and eastern ʿIrāḳ). In Muslim theological works, the doctrine most persistently attributed—from Ibn Ḥazm to Tahānawī (in his *Dictionary of Technical Terms*)—to the Brahmans is a denial of Prophecy. The accounts given in Ibn Ḥazm and al-Shahrastānī are probably versions of the same argument. According to the former, the Brahmans say that if God wanted to lead people aright through the prophets, why does He not compel the reason of each individual to the truth?. According to the latter, they base their denial of prophecy on the self-sufficiency of the human reason. Al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, 51-2) says that the Hindus deny the need of prophets in connexion with the Law and Ritual which they regard as having been established once and for all by the Rishīs, their wise and holy men,—but affirm their need for the spiritual weal of mankind at special times when evil becomes rampant.

As for the derivation of the word Brahman, Ibn Ḥazm says that they claim descent from an ancient king called Barahmī (or Barhamī); al-Masʿūdī thinks they have descended from Brahman, a king who, with the help of sages, founded the Hindu religion, astronomy and other sciences. Al-Bīrūnī refers to the Hindu myth that the Brahmans have originated from the head of Brāham (or Brāhim) which signifies Nature and that they are thus regarded as the choicest part of mankind. Tahānawī, *op. cit.*, asserts that they claim descent from Ibrāhīm, the Prophet, a doctrine which possibly reflects a much later Hindu opinion which wanted to claim this Judaic-Christian-Islamic figure as its own.

The only authentic source is undoubtedly al-Bīrūnī, who, although he wrote his work in Ghazna (about 1030 A.D.), had stayed in the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent, learnt Sanskrit, translated many works from that language and had acquired an intimate knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion, law, literature, society and sciences, such as astronomy. In the preface he complains that no reliable work on Hindu India existed, that even Abuʾ l-ʿAbbās al-Īrānshahrī who had written accurately about Judaism and Christianity had failed to do so with regard to Hinduism and that he himself undertook to write this work at the instigation of his master Abū Sahl ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAlī b. Nūḥ. (Al-Masʿūdī mentions the works of Abū ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī and al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī). Al-Bīrūnī first narrates the difficulties which beset a foreign student: the difficulty and artificiality of the written Sanskrit, the utter difference between Hinduism and Islam and the almost total social Hindu taboos against foreigners, etc. Then follow six sections on Hindu Religion and Metaphysics and so on. The author gives a detailed description of the manners of the Brahmans their way of life, etc.

In the works of Muslim travellers in India it is usually the *Yogis*, their practices and way of life that gains prominence; there is little about Hindu philosophy or the Brahmans. The practices of *Yoga*, as a way of attaining spiritual bliss or knowledge, have sometimes aroused curiosity, but have generally been regarded as suspect if not altogether damnable. (F. Rahman)

BARAHŪT [see barhūt].

BARAK [see Supplement].

BARAḲ BABA, a Turkish dervish who acquired some celebrity in the time of the Il-Khāns. He is said to have been a disciple of the famous Sarī Saltuk [*q.v.*], and is mentioned in connexion with the Bābāʾī, Bektāshī, and Mewlewī movements. His followers were called Baraḳīs; his *Khalīfa* was Ḥayrān Emirdji. A story preserved by Yazīdjīoghlu ʿAlī makes him a Saldjūḳ prince, converted to Christianity by the Greek patriarch and then reconverted to Islam by Sarī Saltuk, who transmitted his supernatural powers to him and gave him the name Baraḳ. The Arabic sources describe him as a native of Tokat (the *Būḳāt* in the printed text of Ibn Ḥadjar should be amended accordingly), and say that his father was a high officer and his uncle a well-known scribe. From Turkey he travelled to Iran, where he is said to have exercised some influence on Ghāzān and Öldjaytu. In Djum. I 706/Nov. 1306 he arrived with a party of disciples in Damascus, where his dress and behaviour were sufficiently remarkable to win him a place in the Arabic chronicles of the Mamlūk Empire. He visited Jerusalem, but was prevented from visiting Egypt, and then returned to Iran. In 707/1307-8 he prevailed on Öldjaytu to send him on a mission to Gaylān, where he was killed.

The Turkish name Baraḳ is sometimes, by confusion with the Arabic *Burāḳ* [*q.v.*], misspelt thus. The form *berrāḳ*, given by Huart, is also mistaken. The name is in fact a Turkish word for a special kind of dog, identified by Köprülü as a 'hairless dog' (*Chamanisme* 14-15, n. 26) and by Pelliot as a 'long-haired, more or less fabulous dog' (*Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, Paris 1950, 57-8). The name is not infrequent among Mongols and Turks in the 13th-15th centuries (for some examples see G. Moravczik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Budapest 1942-3, s.v.

βαράκος and παράκ; see also BURĀḲ ḤĀDJIB and BURĀḲ KHĀN).

Bibliography: Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifīn*, tr. Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22, ii, 324; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 28-9 (Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, ii, 267-8); Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, i, 473-4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo, viii, 169-70; *Manhal Safi* (Wiet, n. 638); ʿAynī, *ʿIḳd al-Djumān*, cited by Ḥusayn Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasya Taʾrīkhi*, 460-4. Baraḳ Baba has been studied by M. F. Köprülü, who sees in his teachings and conduct an expression of the influence of Turco-Mongol Shamanism on Islam. See his *Türk Edebiyyatînda ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, Istanbul 1918, 235 and n. 1; *Anadoluda Islāmiyyet*, *Dār al-Funūn Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasî*, ii, 1922, 392-4; *Anadolu Selcuklulari tarihinin yerli Kaynakları*, *Belleten*, vii, 1943, 431 n. 1.; *Influence du Chamanisme turco-mongol* ...., Istanbul 1929, 14-17. See further P. Wittek, *Yazîjîoghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, *BSOAS*, xlv, 1952, 650, 658-9; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre hayatı*, Istanbul 1936, 38-49 (not seen).

(B. LEWIS)

BARAKA, blessing. In the Ḳurʾān, the word is used only in the plural: *barakāt*, like *raḥma* and *salām*, are sent to man by God. It can be translated by "beneficent force, of divine origin, which causes superabundance in the physical sphere and prosperity and happiness in the psychic order". Naturally, the text of the Ḳurʾān (*kalāmu-llāh*) is charged with *baraka*. God can implant an emanation of *baraka* in the person of his prophets and saints: Muḥammad and his descendants are especially endowed therewith. These sacred personages, in their turn, may communicate the effluvia of their supernatural potential to ordinary men, either during their lifetime or after their death, the manner of transmission being greatly varied, sometimes strange. God, however, can withhold his *baraka*.

Among agricultural peoples, a *baraka* is recognised in cereals, causing them to multiply miraculously. *Baraka* is to be met with, here and there, attributed to the most diverse objects. Already in the Ḳurʾān, the olive tree and the 27th Ramaḍān are *mubārak*.

In practice, the word ended up by taking the secular meaning of "very adequate quantity": *mā fīhi baraka*. It is used in the vocabulary of the Almohads in the sense of "gratuity which is added to a soldier's pay". The Maghribī dialects have various uses of the word in the adverbial sense of "enough".

Derivatives of the word *BRK* occur in numerous formulas of politeness: expressions of thanks, compliments, euphemisms; they are often associated in the context with derivatives of the root *SʿD*. The rather obscure *tabārakallāh* (Ḳurʾān, lxvii, 1) is commonly used as a prophylactic against the "evil eye".

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(G. S. COLIN)

BARAKA KHĀN [see BERKE KHAN].

BARAKĀT, the name of four Sharīfs of Mecca.

(1) Barakāt I b. Ḥasan b. ʿAdjlān belonged to the seventh generation after Ḳatāda b. Idrīs [see AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT; MAKKA], the founder of the last line of Sharīfs. As a youth Barakāt was associated with his father in the rule (809-21/1407-18), which was challenged by several cousins. The father abdicated because of his age in 821/1418, though he lived on until 829/1426. After being confirmed in office by Barsbāy, the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, who had made himself the supreme authority over Mecca, Barakāt reigned until 845/1442 in the face of opposition by his brothers. Unseated then by other members of the line, he returned to power in the last years of his life (851-9/1447-55). During Barakāt's time the Mamlūk sultan Čaḳmaḳ appointed an Inspector (*nāẓir*) for the Holy Cities and established a garrison of 50 horse in Mecca. A noteworthy increase in Indian trade and the number of Indian pilgrims went hand in hand with greater Egyptian control in the Red Sea. Barakāt visited Cairo in 851/1447. He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad (regn. 859-903/1455-97).

(2) Barakāt II b. Muḥammad, a grandson of Barakāt I, shared the rule with his father from 878 to 903/1473-97. From 903 on he struggled against his brothers Hazzāʿ and Aḥmad Djāzān. In 908/1503 Barakāt was sent to Cairo in chains, leaving the way open for another brother, Ḥumayḍa, to become Sharīf. Restored in 910/1504, Barakāt remained the lord of Mecca until his death in 931/1525. From 910 to 918/1504-12 his brother Ḳāytbāy was associated with him, and thereafter his young son Muḥammad Abū Numayy II. The new threat of the Portuguese prompted the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī to delegate Ḥusayn al-Kurdī with a military force to protect Djidda, which he enclosed with a wall and towers. Upon the entry of Selīm Yavuz into Cairo, Barakāt sent Abū Numayy (*aet. c.* 12) in 923/1517 to wait upon him, and the Ottoman conqueror recognised the status quo in Mecca. For some reason Selīm did not take advantage of this opportunity to make the pilgrimage, though the first Ottoman *maḥmal* was sent out in 923 and the first shipment of wheat for the population of Mecca went by sea from Suez to Djidda. Barakāt was succeeded by Abū Numayy (regn. 931-74/1525-66), from whom all the subsequent Sharīfs of Mecca were descended.

From the first half of the 11th/17th century to the 14th/20th century, three clans among the progeny of Abū Numayy II contended with each other over the Sharīfate: Dhawū Zayd, Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh, and Dhawū Barakāt. The eponym of Dhawū Barakāt was Abū Numayy's son Barakāt, who never held the office of Sharīf himself.

(3) Barakāt III b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, a great-grandson of the eponym of Dhawū Barakāt, was the first of this clan to wear the dignity, acceding in 1082/1672. His installation was the work of a North African, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī, an enemy of Dhawū Zayd and an intimate of the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Aḥmad Köprülü. During the first part of Barakāt's tenure Muḥammad b. Sulaymān instituted a number of radical reforms designed to improve the lot of the foreign elements and the poorer classes in Mecca at the expense of the old aristocracy. With the death of Köprülü in 1087/1676 the reformer's star declined. Barakāt stayed on as Sharīf until his death in 1093/1682, being succeeded by his son Saʿīd (regn. 1093-5/1682-4).

(4) Barakāt IV b. Yaḥyā, a grandson of Barakāt III, ruled less than two months (1135-6/1723). After the abdication of his father, he was defeated by Dhawū Zayd, whereupon he and his father fled to Syria.

The last Sharīf of Dhawū Barakāt was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn, a nephew of Barakāt IV, whose

reign was almost as brief as his uncle's. Placed in power in 1184/1770 by Muḥammad Abū Dhahab, the general sent to the Ḥidjāz by ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*] of Egypt, he lacked the strength to maintain himself after Abū Dhahab's withdrawal. From then on the Sharīfate remained the exclusive property first of Dhawū Zayd and then of Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh.

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, ed., *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Göttingen 1857-61; Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām*, Cairo 1305; Aḥmad al-Sibāʿī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, Cairo 1372; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague 1888-9. (G. Rentz)

BARAKZAY [see AFGHĀNISTĀN].

AL-**BARĀMIKA** or Āl Barmak (Barmakids), an Iranian family of secretaries and *wazīrs* of the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs.

1. Origins. — The name *Barmak*, traditionally borne by the ancestor of the family, was not a propei name, according to certain Arab authors, but a word designating the office of hereditary high priest of the temple of Nawbahār, near Balkh. This interpretation is confirmed by the etymology which is now accepted, deriving the term from the Sanskrit word *parmak* — "superior, chief". The term Nawbahār, moreover, likewise derives from Sanskrit (*nōva vihāra*—"new monastery") and evokes the name of the famous Buddhist monastery, visited in the 1st/7th century by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouan Ts'ang, at Po-Ho, another name for Balkh (Hiouen Thsang, *Mémoires*, trad. St. Julien, i, Paris 1857, 30-32). Furthermore, some of the Arab geographers likewise affirm that the Nawbahār was dedicated to the worship of idols (*ʿibādat al-awthān*); the description of it left by Ibn al-Faḳīh (322-25) also corresponds in the main with that of a *vihāra* and describes a monument, which can be recognised as the characteristic Buddhist *stupa*, in spite of the distortion of its name. The later authors (Yaḳūt, iv, 819; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 198), who make this sanctuary a Zoroastrian Fire-Temple, were doubtless influenced by the tradition which envisaged the Barmakids as the descendants of the ministers of the Sāsānid Empire (see especially Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, trans. Schefer, 224). It is difficult to ascertain when these imaginary interpretations, universally disseminated in subsequent literature (especially local literature, see *Faḍāʾil Balkh*, ap. Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, i, Paris 1883, 71), which have been accepted for too long by modern scholarship, arose. The view has sometimes been held that they may have seen the light of day in al-Manṣūr's reign. It would, however, be more accurate to consider them as being much later than that period.

We possess little precise information on the Nawbahār and its high priests during the first century of Islām. The lands attached to the temple, amounting to some 1,500 sq. km., are known to have been the property of the family, who appears subsequently to have retained them, at least in part, whilst the rich village of Rawān, near Balkh, belonged to Yaḥyā b. Khālid personally (Yāḳūt, ii, 742).

According to al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 409), the Nawbahār, centre of national resistance, was attacked and damaged under Muʿāwiya, probably shortly after 42/663-64; al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1205) says the native prince Nīzak still prayed there in 90/708-09. In 107/725-26, under Hishām, according to al-Ṭabarī, Balkh was raised from its ruins by the efforts of Barmak on the order of the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh; what had happened to the temple is not known, but there are no grounds for supposing that it was rebuilt as a Fire-Temple, as is sometimes assumed. As for the last Barmak, the father of Khālid, he is a figure known to us by information which is to a large extent legendary.

Thus it is that he is held to have possessed medical knowledge and to have treated, among other patients, the Umayyad prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Ṭabarī, ii, 1181). One tradition, moreover, intended perhaps to benefit the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, makes the latter, who with his brother Ḳutayba had participated in the repression of the revolt of Balkh in 86/705, and not Barmak, the real father of Khālid (Ṭabarī, *lob. cit.*). Furthermore we do not know whether Barmak, who was again in Balkh in 107/725-26, had previously gone to the Court of the Caliphs, as has been maintained, and had there embraced Islam. However that may be, his sons left Khurāsān for ʿIrāḳ, where they settled at al-Baṣra and there became clients of the Azd tribe (L. Massignon, in *Westöstliche Abh. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954, 159 and 168). There Khālid seems to have been the first to be converted, followed by his brothers Sulaymān and al-Ḥasan.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, Paris 1912, 25-36; S. Nadvi, in *Isl. Culture*, vi, 1932, 19-28; H. W. Bailey, in *BSOS*, xi, 1943, 3 (on the word *barmak*) and the references given above. (W. Barthold-[D. Sourdel])

2. Khālid b. Barmak.—Practically nothing is known of Khālid's activities until the moment he appeared, towards the end of the Umayyad period, in the ranks of the Hāshimite movement; he was then entrusted with the distribution of the plunder in Ḳaḥṭaba's army. Shortly after that, the new Caliph al-Saffāḥ entrusted the management of the *dīwāns* of the army and land-tax (*al-djund waʾl-kharādj*) to him, and then the control of all the bureaux, so that, as one chronicler says, he played the role of a *wazīr*; attached to the personal service of the Caliph, he had the honour of seeing his own daughter suckled by al-Saffāḥ's wife whilst his own wife acted as foster-mother to his sovereign's daughter. Under al-Manṣūr, Khālid continued to play an important role, without however being, as is too frequently averred, the right hand of the Caliph. He seems to have remained for at least a year director of the office of land taxation, though he was soon ousted from the central administration by the intriguer Abū Ayyūb. Appointed governor of Fārs, he appears to have stayed there for about two years. Later we see him at Baghdād persuading the Caliph, according to a well known tradition, to refrain from destroying the Īwān Kisrā, participating in 147/764-65 in the manœuvres which led to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā agieeing to renounce his rights to the succession, proffering advice to Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muʿāwiya, who was returning from al-Rayy. Subsequently appointed governor of Ṭabaristān, he remained there for about seven years (coins struck in his name between 150/767 and 154/771 are known), took possession of the fortress of Ustūnāwand near Damāwand and made himself popular with the inhabitants of these regions, where he founded the new town of al-Manṣūra. It was probably about this time that his grandson al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā became the "foster-brother" of Hārūn, the son of al-Mahdī. Finally in 158/775, shortly before al-Manṣūr's death, a heavy fine seems to have been imposed on Khālid, but he was pardoned and appointed governor of the province of al-Mawṣil, where a Kurdish revolt had broken out. At the beginning of the Caliphate of al-

Mahdī, we find him in Fārs and, in 163/779-80, he appears to have further distinguished himself, at the same time as his son Yaḥyā, during the siege of Samālū in Byzantine territory, though he died shortly afterwards in 165/781-82, approximately in his 75th. year.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, 37-43; Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 444; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314; Yāḳūt, i, 224; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo ed. 1948, i, 295-96; J. Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1946, lxxvi.

3. The *Wizāra* and the fall of the Barmakids.—When Yaḥyā b. Khālid was chosen as *wazīr* by Hārūn al-Rashīd, he already had a fairly long career behind him. After assisting his father in his various governorships, Yaḥyā had been appointed in 158/775 governor of Ādharbaydjān. He was still at Khālid's side in Fārs at the beginning of al-Mahdī's Caliphate, and in 161/778 he had became secretary tutor to Prince Hārūn, in the place of Abān b. Ṣadaḳa, and had accompanied the Prince on the Samālū expedition, on which he had been especially entrusted with the commissariat of the army. A little later, when his pupil had been acknowledged as the second heir and appointed governor of the western provinces as well as of Ādharbaydjān and Armenia, Yaḥyā had administered this part of the empire. After the death of al-Mahdī, though he was confirmed in his office, he found himself the object of the hostility of the new Caliph al-Hādī, who accused him of supporting Hārūn against him and of encouraging him to maintain his rights to the succession, which very nearly brought about his downfall. The very night, however, when Yaḥyā, who had been thrown into prison, was, we are told, to have been executed, al-Hādī was found dead and certain reports suggest that the Queen-mother al-Khayzurān, who supported Hārūn, was not unconnected with the occurrence.

In any case, as soon as Hārūn had been hailed as Caliph, he hastened to summon Yaḥyā and entrusted him with the direction of affairs, investing him, according to tradition, with a general delegation of authority. The able secretary received the title of *wazīr* and from the outset associated his two sons al-Faḍl and Dja'far with his administrative and governmental duties. They frequently presided with him and also appear to have been styled *wazīr*. Yaḥyā remained in office for seventeen years, from 170/786 to 187/803, this period being referred to by some authors as "the reign of the Barmakids" (*sulṭān Āl Barmak*). Engaged in "righting wrongs" in the name of the Caliph, he was likewise empowered to chose his own secretaries, who acted as his delegates, and was in practice head of the administration; even the office of the Seal, initially withheld from him, was soon placed under his control. Tradition likewise has it that al-Rashīd handed his personal seal over to him, a symbol of the new authority enjoyed by the *wazīr*. This seal, entrusted to Dja'far, subsequently returned to Yaḥyā, who relinquished it when he set out to stay in Mecca in 181/797; it was then entrusted to al-Faḍl and afterwards to Dja'far, being taken back by Yaḥyā after his return.

Yaḥyā's two sons, al-Faḍl and Dja'far, were not satisfied with merely seconding their father. They likewise enjoyed important responsibilities. Al-Faḍl who was the eldest and, moreover, Hārūn's "foster-brother", played a major rôle in the early years. In 176/792 or perhaps even earlier, he was placed at the head of the Western provinces of Iran and was sent by the Caliph against the 'Alid Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh, who had revolted. He obtained the latter's submission by negotiation. In the following year he was appointed governor of Khurāsān, where he played the role of a conciliator and a builder. He pacified the country of Kābul and recruited a local army, part of which, we are told, was sent to Baghdād. Upon his return to Court, he left a deputy in his province, which he retained until 180/796. In 181/797, he appears to have been in charge of the government during his father's absence. Nevertheless, he was the first to lose the Caliph's favour. He gravely displeased Hārūn and was deprived of all his offices, except his appointment as tutor to Prince Muḥammad al-Amīn, for whom he had obtained recognition as heir-apparent in 178/794.

As for Dja'far, whose eloquence and legal erudition the authors are fond of stressing, in 176/792 he received the governorship of the western provinces, though he remained at Court, which he only left in 180/796 in order to suppress the risings in Syria. He was next appointed temporarily governor of Khurāsān and was placed in charge of the caliphal bodygard as well as being entrusted with the direction of the Post Office and of the offices of the Mint and textile manufactures (in fact his name appears on the coins struck in the East from 176/792 and, subsequently, also on those of the West). He was likewise tutor to Prince 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn, who was proclaimed second heir in 182/798. But above all he was the Caliph's favourite, if not his Ganymede as has often been supposed, and willingly took part in his pleasure parties, of which his brother, on the other hand, disapproved.

Thus with Yaḥyā's two sons entrusted with the tutelage of the two princely heirs-apparent, between whom an actual division of the empire was contemplated, power might have remained in the hands of the Āl Barmak for a long time, had al-Rashīd so permitted. The Caliph, however, on returning from the Pilgrimage which he accomplished with his suite in 186/802, suddenly decided to put an end to their domination; during the night of Saturday the 1 Ṣafar 187/28-9 January 803, he had Dja'far executed, al-Faḍl and his brothers arrested, Yaḥyā placed under observation and the property of all the Barmakids (with the exception of Muḥammad b. Khālid) confiscated. Dja'far's remains were left exposed in Baghdād for a year. Al-Faḍl and Yaḥyā himself, whose wish had been to share his sons' fate, were conducted to al-Raḳḳa as prisoners; there Yaḥyā died in Muḥarram 190/November 805, 70 years of age, and al-Faḍl in Muḥarram 193/November 808, aged 45 years.

The brutal fall of the Barmakids came as a surprise to their contemporaries, who had no satisfactory explanation to account for it and therefore invented various fictitious reasons, such as the story of 'Abbāsa [*q.v.*], which have too long been given credence. The origin of their fall still remains partly a mystery for modern historians; but it can hardly be seen as the result of a sudden caprice on the part of the Caliph. Even if it was not "prepared well beforehand", as W. Barthold said, it was at least contemplated long in advance by a sovereign who had come to endure the tutelage of his ministers with increasing impatience and who at times accused them of pursuing a policy contrary to his own interests.

The vizierate of the Barmakids was not really the period of perfect harmony which came to be portrayed in later legend. In spite of what has been said on the matter, causes for disagreement did exist

between the Caliph and his former tutor, whose hands were never completely free to govern. Not only was he obliged in the early years, as W. Barthold has already pointed out, to render account to al-Khayzurān, who, nevertheless, constantly gave him her support as long as she lived, but later he was often forced to come to terms with al-Rashīd's wishes and to resort to that cleverness for which he was so highly reputed. In some cases he was not even successful in imposing his views, and the man appointed to replace al-Faḍl in Khurāsān in 180/796 was appointed against his advice. At other times he found himself having to plead highly compromised causes. Thus we see him hastening from Baghdād to al-Raḳḳa in 183/799 to divert the sovereign's ire from al-Faḍl and succeeding only at the cost of condemning his son's behaviour. Very early on also, intrigues had contributed to weaken his position and the Caliph, upon the death of his mother, had been eager to bestow honours on the accomplished courtier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, in whom he had for long begun to take an interest and whom, furthermore, he appointed *ḥādjib* in 179/795 in the place of the Barmakid Muḥammad b. Khālid; the new dignitary exercised a growing influence at Court, where he stigmatised the shortcomings of his enemies and provoked the resentment of al-Rashīd against them.

The Caliph's relationships with Yaḥyā's sons were similarly not always harmonious. Al-Rashīd did not think well of the pro-ʿAlid policy of al-Faḍl, who does not seem to have been endowed with the same flexibility as his father. He was removed from power in 183/799, four years before the final disgrace of his family. Even Djaʿfar, who apparently enjoyed the Caliph's complete confidence, retaining his influence with him the longest, was not secure from the suspicions of a restive master and was reproached upon occasion for abusing his powers.

It was, of course, quite normal for the attitude of al-Rashīd towards the Barmakids to become modified during the seventeen years of their supremacy. The Caliph, at his accession, when he was 23 years old, was content to follow his mother's advice and to relieve himself of certain responsibilities, by entrusting them to Yaḥyā. Later, however, this humiliating situation began to weigh upon him, the more so since the desire to impose his own will increased with the years, whilst the Barmakids, filling the most important posts with their relatives and clients and preparing themselves to institute some kind of hereditary vizierate, constituted an actual State within the State. At the same time, they had amassed great wealth, which excited the cupidity of the sovereign and to which their proverbial generosity continually called attention. Yet if the different reasons are adequate to explain their fall, nevertheless the brutality of the treatment inflicted on Djaʿfar was doubtless the ransom for the affection which was bestowed on him by the Caliph and which may perhaps have postponed the inevitable outcome.

On the other hand, imputations of impiety, which are sometimes levelled at the Barmakids during the period of their ascendency, do not seem to have contributed to the disgrace which befell them. Such accusations do not even appear to have had any basis in fact. These secretaries of Iranian origin did, it is true, display a special interest in the literary masterpieces which came from Iran and India, as well as in the various philosophical and religious doctrines, which they liked to hear discussed; but these were tastes widely disseminated in Baghdād society of the period and were not necessarily accompanied by heterodox opinions. The Barmakids, moreover, had completely adapted themselves to the usages of the ʿAbbāsid Court at which they lived; they thought highly of Arabic poets and writers and, like so many other *mawālī*, displayed an ostentatious generosity, inspired by ancient Bedouin traditions. Though they frequently assumed a conciliatory attitude towards the inhabitants of the provinces or of certain tributary states, they appear to have made no attempt to favour al-Maʾmūn, the "son of the Persian woman", at the expense of his brother. They seem primarily to have served the Caliphate effectively and loyally, pacifying Eastern Iran, repressing the risings in Syria and even Ifrīḳiya, obtaining the submission of rebels, including ʿAlids, directing the administration in an orderly fashion, guaranteeing to the State important resources, undertaking works of public interest (canals of Ḳāṭūl and Sīḥān), setting wrongs aright with equity in accordance with the requirements of Islamic law and reinforcing the judicial administration by the institution of the office of the great ḳāḍī. Doubtless by their behaviour they accentuated the process of iranisation which became evident from the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid regime, imparting to the vizierate a style which did not fail to attract subsequent imitators; in spite of their new prerogatives and exceptional prestige, however, their influence was a highly personal thing, as was the tragedy which terminated it. It does not appear that they ever sought to transform the vizierate in accordance with a hypothetical Sāsānid model.

The activity of the Barmakids was not merely political and administrative. An important cultural and artistic achievement is also due to them. Indeed they acted as patrons of poets, distributing rewards for their panegyrics through the intermediary of a special office created specifically for the purpose, the *dīwān al-shiʿr*; they favoured scholars and gathered theologians and philosophers in their home, in assemblies (*madjālis*) which have remained famous. They encouraged the arts, and as great builders, left numerous palaces in Baghdād, the most famous of which, that of Djaʿfar, subsequently became the Caliphal residence.

Neither did the influence of the Barmakids disappear with their fall. It continued to be exerted during the ensuing years through the medium of the *wazīrs* and secretaries who came to power under al-Maʾmūn and who, for the most part, were their former clients and dependants, as in the case of the famous al-Faḍl b. Sahl. It is actually known that, at the time of their ascendency, the ministers of al-Rashīd had gathered around themselves a group of especially competent *kuttāb*, whom they had trained in their methods, and the following Caliphs were unable to dispense with them.

Finally *adab* literature laid hold of the Barmakids, stressing their edifying and remarkable traits of character, often with some exaggeration (Yaḥyā's "wisdom" and his gift for foretelling events, al-Faḍl's haughtiness and ostentatious generosity, the elegant language of Djaʿfar) whilst some stories, such as those later to be incorporated in the collection of the *Thousand and One Nights*, popularised the figure of Djaʿfar, the *wazīr* and intimate companion of al-Rashīd.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside* (appearing shortly); Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd*, Cairo ed. 1945-53, iii, 26-34; Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Masʿūdī, index; Ibn Khallikān, *s.v.*

4. Other members of the Barmakid family. —Yaḥyā had a brother, Muḥammad b. Khālid, who was *ḥādjib* from 172/788 to 179/795 and was the only one spared by the Caliph when they fell.

In addition to al-Faḍl and Dja'far, he had two other sons, Muḥammad and Mūsā, who though less brillant, nevertheless played a role at Court. The latter, known for his military bravery, was governor of Syria in 176/792. They were thrown into prison in 187/803 with their father and brother, but were released by al-Amīn who showed himself generous towards them. Mūṣā remained in 'Irāḳ and fought in the Caliphal army, subsequently rallying to al-Ma'mūn, who later appointed him governor of Sind. He died in 221/835, leaving a son 'Imrān who succeeded him and distinguished himself in several expeditions. Muḥammad, on the other hand, had joined the Court of al-Ma'mūn at Marw, where he had been preceeded by his son Aḥmad and his nephew al-'Abbās, the son of al-Faḍl.

Of the numerous descendants of the Barmakids, one especially was famous as a musician and man of letters: Aḥmad b. Dja'far, surnamed Djaḥẓa [*q.v.*], grandson of Mūsā b. Yaḥyā and intimate companion of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, 101 ff.; Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, Cairo ed., 297-98.

5. The nisba *al-Barmakī*.—This *nisba* was also born by persons not belonging to the Barmakid family. A first category comprises their clients and their manumitted slaves with their descendants. Others were natives of the quarter of Baghdād which had received the name of *al-Barāmika*. They included the singer Danānīr, the man of letters Muḥammad b. Djahm, an astrologer who was present at the siege of Samālū, a *wazīr* of the Sāmānids and an envoy of the Ghaznawids.

A number of dynasties, both in Iran and North Africa, were later to claim descent from the Barmakids (Sarbadārān in Khurāsān, Borāmik at Touat). Finally a tribe, from whom the dancing-girls called Ghawāzī were recently still being recruited in Egypt, claimed to be descended from them; doubtless the reputation of these dancing-girls has imparted to the word *barmakī* the pejorative sense which it sometimes assumes in modern Egyptian.

Bibliography: L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, 105 ff. (D. Sourdel)

BARAN, an old name for Buland-Shahr [*q.v.*].

BARANĪ, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, historian and writer on government under the Delhī sultanate. Born not later than 684/1285, (and probably earlier as he was old enough to remember witnessing convivial parties and to have read the whole of the Ḳur'ān in the reign of Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī (689-95/1290-6), Baranī was well connected with Delhī ruling circles. His father, Mu'ayyid al-Mulk, was *nā'ib* to Arkalī Khān, second son of sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī, becoming *nā'ib* and *khwādja* of Baran in the first year of the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī. Baranī's paternal uncle, Malik 'Alā' al-Mulk was *kōtwāl* of Delhī under 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī and a prominent royal counsellor. His maternal grandfather, *sipah-sālār* Ḥusām al-Dīn, *wakīl-i dār* to Malik Barbak, was appointed to the *shahnagī* of Lak'hnawtī by Sulṭān Balban.

Baranī himself became, for seventeen years and three months, a *nadīm* of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725/1325-752/1351). The *Siyar al-Awliyā'* describes him as an entertaining conversationalist and as having been a friend of the poets Amīr Khusraw and Amīr Ḥasan.

At the beginning of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88) Baranī was banished from court and, according to his own statement in the *Na't-i Muḥammadī*, was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Pahtēz. It is a possible hypothesis that he was associated with the attempt of Khwādja-Djahān Aḥmad Ayāz to place a minor son of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ on the throne while Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ and the army were extricating themselves from Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's expedition against Thatta in Sind.

Baranī spent his remaining years in penurious exile, writing both in the hope of being restored to favour and of atoning for the sin to which he ascribed his misfortunes. He died not long after 758/1357 and was buried near the grave of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' at Ghiyāthpūr. Four of Baranī's works, the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, the *Na't-i Muḥammadī* and his translation of anecdotes on the Barmakids, the *Akhbār-i Barmakiyyān*, are known at present to be extant.

Baranī is a significant (though in the total context of medieval Islam, not original) figure in Indo-Muslim thought on government. Holding the first four caliphs to have been the only truly godly rulers in the history of the community, Baranī aimed in the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, a work of the *Fürstenspiegel* type, and in the *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, to educate the *de facto* rulers of the day, the sultans, in their duty towards Islam in a corrupt age. In the form of *dicta* by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī* advises sultans to enforce the *sharī'a*, to curb unorthodoxy (*scil.* especially *falsafa*), to abase the infidel, to employ only pious servants and to remain inwardly humble towards God though governing with the pomp and circumstance of pre-Muslim Persian kings, that is, in opposition to the ascetic *sunna* of the Prophet and the orthodox caliphs, as Baranī, under Ṣūfī influence, conceived them.

The avowedly didactic *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, dedicated to Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, shows what happens in history when the precepts in the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī* are disregarded. It covers the period from the beginning of the reign of Balban (664-86/1266-87) to the sixth year of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ. The account of each sultan of Delhī is treated as a parable in which success or failure is explicable in terms of the sultan's adherence to or deviation from Baranī's politico-religious theories. For example, Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī is depicted as a successful sultan in so far as he subjugated the Hindus, overcame sedition, forbade strong drink and reduced the cost of living, but as an impious one since, Baranī says, his motives were worldly, he neglected his own religious observances, wished to become a prophet, appointed low men to office and avoided the company of the religious —in particular of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' whose *mayāmin* and *barakāt* were the true cause of the glory of the reign. Thus 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī dies of suspected poisoning and within four years his family is exterminated. Baranī's *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* is not an annal or chronicle; it is an important example of didactic historiography in Islam. (See further Ta'rīkh).

Bibliography: Storey, I, 1, 505-9 and I, 2, 1311; *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, Éthé No. 2563; *Na't-i Muḥammadī*, Riḍā Library Rāmpūr, MS. No. Ta'rīkh 127; *Akhbār-i Barmakiyyān* or *Ta'rīkh-i Āl-i Barmak*, lith. Bombay 1889; S. H. Baranī, *Ziauddin Barani*, in *IC*, Jan. 1938, 76-97;

Shaykh ʿAbdur Rashīd, *Ziā ud-dīn Barnī*, in *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh 1942, 248-78; A. B. M. Habibullah, *Re-evaluation of the Literary Sources of Pre-Mughal History*, in *IC*, April 1941, 209-13; S. Nurul Hasan, *Saḥīfa-i Naʿt-i Muḥammadī of Ẓia al-dīn Barnī*, in *Medieval Indian Quarterly*, I, 3 & 4/1954, 100-05; S. Moin ul-Haq, *Some Aspects of Ḍiya al-dīn Barnī's Political Thought*, in *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, iv/1, Jan, 1956, 3-26; P. Hardy, *The Oratio Recta of Baranī's Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī — Fact or Fiction?*, in *BSOS*, xx/1957, 315-21. (P. Hardy)

al-**BARĀNIS,** name of one of the two groups of tribes which together constitute the Berber nation [*q.v.*], that of the other being the Butr. It represents the plural of the name of their common eponymous ancestor: Burnus; for a possible origin of this name see Butr.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Barānis comprised five great peoples: Awraba, ʿAdjīsa, Azdādja, Maṣmūda-Ghumāra, Kutāma-Zawāwa, Ṣanhādja, Hawwāra. Whether, however, the last three belong to this group is a matter of controversy; they are considered by some to be descendants of Ḥimyar and therefore non-Berbers. Neither they nor the Maṣmūda will be dealt with here.

The most ancient habitat of the Barānis in the true sense of the term is the massif of the Awrās, the northern province of Constantine and the two Kabylias where they used to live as sedentary mountain dwellers. At the time of the first Arab invasion, in the first quarter of the 1st/7th century, the Awraba of the famous Kusayla [*q.v.*] had to abandon the Awrās, after the defeat and death of their chief. They went to northern Morocco, where they established themselves from the massif of the Zarhūn to the river Wargha; the names of some of their old tribes are to be met with today along the banks of this river: Ludjāya, Mazyāt(a), Raghīwa. The rôle they played in connexion with Idrīs I [*q.v.*] is known.

We possess no information on the conditions in which some of the Barānis arrived and established themselves to the North of Taza. At all events, al-Bakrī indicates some of the Barānis and Awraba in contact with the kingdom of Nukūr [*q.v.*]. In the present tribe (in dialect ʾl-Brāneṣ, ethnic ʾl-Barnōṣi) which contains a sub-group called the Werba, the memory of the prince of the Awraba who received Idrīs I (at Walīla!) has been retained and even the remains of his palace are shown there?

The Barānis-Awraba participated in the expeditions launched from Morocco against the Iberian Peninsula; some of them settled there and bequeathed their name to the Djabal al-Barānis, now the Sierra de Almadén, to the North of Cordova.

Some of the Barānis (from the North of Taza) formed part of the "Rif" contingents who took Tangier (1684). A village of the *faḥṣ* of this latter town bears their name.

As for the Azdadja (and Misiṭṭāsa) Barānis, nothing is known of the reasons for their establishing themselves in the region of Oran; some of the Misiṭṭāsa still live in the region of Bādis [*q.v.*]. There is the same lack of information concerning the Kutāma of Morocco.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*,[2] i, 169-170 and 272-299; E. F. Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, 1927, 211-214; Anon., *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen-Age*, trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, 64, 80; Leo Africanus, trans. Épaulard, 305; Trenga, *Les Branès*, in *AM*, I, 3 and 4; G. S. Colin, *Le parler arabe du Nord de la région de Taza*, in *BIFAO*, xviii (1920), 33; idem, *Sayyidī Aḥmad Zarrūq al-Burnūsī*, in *Rivista della Tripolitania*, 1925. (G. S. Colin)

BARANTA, a term used in the eastern portion of the Turkish world (Teleut, Kirgiz, Kazak etc.) though today regarded as old-fashioned (for the forms of the word cf. *baramta*, *barïmta*, *barumta*, *parïntï*; the forms *barumtav* and *barumtay*, encountered in some sources, are not yet fully understood, while Šeykh Suleymān's *barant* and H. K. Kadrī's *baratta* must be mistakes), generally with the meanings 'foray, robbery, plunder, pillage, looting'; 'for one who is owed money or has been wronged to get his own back by raiding his adversary's livestock'; hence 'cattle-lifting'. For related terms, cf. *barïmtačï* (-*šï*), 'cattle-lifter, marauder' (*parïntïdjï*, 'robber'); *barïmtala*-, 'to get one's own back by driving off other people's livestock, to capture on foray'; *barïmtalaš*-, 'to quarrel together about property' (*djardï menen djoldas bolgončo, bay menen barïmtalas*, 'rather than be friendly with a poor man, quarrel with a rich').

The term has passed into Russian with the same meaning: *baranta*, 'revenge, retaliation; taking reprisals for a robbery by driving off cattle; foray, incursion' etc., and the derivatives *barantar*ʹ, *barantovščik*, 'participant in a hostile incursion, robber'; *barantovïy*, 'pertaining to a foray'; *barantovat*ʹ, 'to raid' etc.

M. Vasmer (*Russ. etym. Wb.*, Heidelberg 1950), noting that the Russian *baranta* is used in eastern Russia and the Caucasus, indicates that it has been taken from Turkish, into which language it has passed from Mongol. See in the Mongol dictionaries *barïm*, *barïmda*, 'clutching with the hand', *barïmdalagu*, 'to be seized, held fast, to preserve, to keep'; *barïmdalal*, 'the act of holding fast, of tightening' etc. Cf. in particular G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.* (Helsinki 1935): *bärm̥tə* 'to seize, hold fast, assault, attack'; *b. keχə*, 'to go on a foray in order to take from one's adversary a surety for future engagements'; *bärm̥tl̥χъ*, 'to take, hold fast' (cf. *bärā̆*, *bärātē̆*, etc.).

It is clear that among the nomad Turkish peoples this term once represented a specific legal concept; in Turkish as in Mongol it involves the notion of 'pledge, surety', and our sources show that *baranta* was done only with a specific purpose and subject to certain rules. It is *baranta* when a man who has been wronged appropriates a quantity of his adversary's property in order to recover his due; the return of the property depends on the result of ensuing litigation between the parties. It is likely that reciprocal *barantas* sometimes covered a wider group. The rule demanded that the use of *baranta* to redress a wrong should be in daylight and with prior notice. *Baranta* at the same time afforded an opportunity for young men in the nomad society to display their bravery, skill and resourcefulness; to earn the appellation of 'hero', and to be held in honour. With the changing bases of social life, and changing economic conditions, *baranta*, like many another institution rooted in customary law, has lost its importance: the term has suffered a gradual diminution and has come to mean simply 'theft'.

In the limited areas where the old customs are still preserved, however, the *baranta* system survives, and the laws of the land feel the need to take cognisance of it. *E.g.*, on 16 October 1924 the Russian

central administrative organ (VTSIK) studied the system of *baranta* in connexion with offences against the customary law in the Republic of Kazakstan and the Oyrat Autonomous Region, under three heads: simple, armed, and tribal.

Bibliography: Apart from works mentioned in the text, see V. Barthold and A. Inan in *IA* (art. *Baranta*); Radloff, *Wb.* (1893-1911), Budagov, *Sravn. slov. tur.-tat. nar.*, Petersburg 1869; Bukin, *Rus.-Kirg. slov.*, Tashkent 1883; Ganizâde, *Rus.-tat. slov.*, Baku 1902; K. K. Yudaxin, *Kırgız sözlügü* (Turk. tr. by A. Taymas), Ankara 1945; A. N. Čudinov, *Sprav. slov.*, Petersburg 1901; N. V. Goryaev, *Sravn. etimol. slov. russ. yaz.*, Tiflis 1896; I. Y. Pavlovsk, *Russko-nemetsk. slov.*, Leipzig 1911; Kovalevskiy, *Mong.-russ.-frans. slov.*, Kazan 1846; I. J. Schmidt, *Mong.-Deutsch-Russ. Wb.*, Petersburg 1835; F. Boberg, *Mong.-Engl. Dict.*, Stockholm 1954; *Sibirsk. sovietsk. entsiklop.*, (1929); *Entsiklop. slov.*, Petersburg, 1801 and 1805; *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, Leipzig 1929. (R. Rahmeti Arat)

BARĀTHĀ, the name of a residential quarter on the western side of ancient Baghdād to the south of the quarter of Bāb Muḥawwal, originally some 3 kms. from ancient Baghdād. There used to be in Barāthā a mosque, designed for the prayer of the Shīʿī sect, which Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228) mentions as being totally demolished. He also remarks that the quarter itself was destroyed without trace. This mosque was built in 329/941; later on it was pulled down by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph Al-Rāḍī Billāh; later still, it was reconstructed and maintained its normal function until after 450/1058, when it was finally abandoned.

Prior to the building of Baghdād, Barāthā was a village where, as the Shīʿīs claim, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib passed by and performed prayers on the site of the mosque. The name Barāthā, derived from the Syriac word Baraytha, has the meaning of "outer".

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 532-4; *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1954, i, 174; Al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī* (ed. Dunne), Cairo 1935, 136, 192, 198, 285 (French transl. by M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index), Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (the topographical introduction) (ed. Salmon), Paris 1904, 116-7, 148-51, 168; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 241; Yaʿḳūbī, Buldān 244; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib Baghdād* (ed. al-Atharī), Baghdād 1342 A.H., 21, 22; Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *Al-Shabak*, Baghdād 1954, 270-81; ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣbahānī, *Taʾrīkh Masdjid Barāthā*, Baghdād 1954, 21; G. Le Strange, *Baghdād during the Abbāsid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 153-6, 320; Streck, *Babylonien nach den Arab. Geographen*, i, 52, 71, 90, 94-5, 152-3; Fränkel, *Die Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, xx. (G. Awad)

BARAWA (Brava), a coastal town of Italian Somaliland. The inhabitants, c. 9000, are mostly of the Tunni tribe of the Digil Somali, who displaced the Adjurān and are mingled with Boran Galla. The soil is comparatively fertile; skins, grain and butter are marketed and leather is worked. Barawa is perhaps Yāḳūt's Bāwarī, which exported amber, and Idrīsī's B·rwa (var. M·rwa) on the pagan frontier; other Islamic geographers do not mention it. Barros, following a Kilwa chronicle now lost, says Zaydīs from Al-Aḥsāʾ founded it soon after Maḳdishū; Stigand's informant attributed it to the Khalīfa ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān in 77/696-7. In the 8th/14th century it was subject to Pate. The Chinese visited "Pu la wa" about 821/1418. In 908-9/1503 12 shaykhs captured by Rui Lourenço Ravasco made Barawa tributary to Portugal. In 912/1507 Tristão da Cunha and Albuquerque stormed and burnt it; Barawa mustered 4-6000 defenders and afforded rich booty. It recovered temporarily but decayed after the rise of the Galla. Portuguese suzerainty was recognised intermittently. Portuguese writers describe it as a republic, governed by 12 shaykhs; Guillain mentions a council constituted by the heads of 5 Somali and 2 Arab tribes with a monarch elected for 7 years, whom, he was told, it had once been the custom to kill after that time. Barawa was nominally subject to the Āl Bū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] who asserted their authority against the Mazrui c. 1238/1822, but tribute was sometimes paid to Somali chiefs. For about 2 months in 1292/1875-6 it was occupied by the Egyptians. The Anglo-German declaration of 1303/1886 recognised Bū Saʿīdī rule. Three years later Italy announced a protectorate over the coast and Barawa was subsequently leased to her (see somaliland). Harbour works were begun in the hope of making it the port of the Djub (Juba) region but were later abandoned.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 485; Idrīsī, 1st climate, pt 7; Storbeck in *MSOS* 1914; *J.Afr.S.* 1914-15, 158; *Ming Shih* ch. 326; *Tʿoung Pao* 1933, 297 and 1938-9, 354; J. Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch Ost-Afrika*, gives the important Portuguese references; Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores* vol. x, 382; C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale* tom. i, 572-3 tom. iii, 158 ff.; C. H. Stigand, *The Land of Zinj*; R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders* and *The Exploitation of East Africa*; G. Piazza, *La regione di Brava nel Benadir*; *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*. (C. F. Beckingham)

BARBĀ, a name given by the Egyptians to all the temples and ancient monuments. This statement by Ibn Djubayr is corroborated by Yāḳūt, according to whom *barbā*, "which is a Coptic word", is applied to solidly constructed ancient buildings of pagan times, which served as laboratories for magic: they were wonderful buildings, full of paintings and sculptures. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, in turn, noted the excellence of the construction of these temples, the balanced proportions of their forms, the prodigious volume of the materials employed, end was astounded by the great multitude of inscriptions, figures, sunk carving and relief sculpture. In the eyes of some Arab writers, these various representations served a utilitarian purpose, namely to reproduce the techniques and tools of various crafts and to preserve a description of the sciences for future generations.

The Christian historian of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Severus of Ashmūnayn, employs the word *barbā* in the very precise sense of pagan temple, in contrast to the buildings of the Christian cult. The Arabic word *barbā* is, in fact, a transcription of the Coptic *p'erpé*—"temple", and usage has endowed it with a classical plural *barābī*. The expression *barbā* is also reported by Leo Africanus.

Many authors recount impossible stories concerning these temples, either that they tell of the means of defending the country against external enemies by means of talismans or that these talismans help in discovering treasures, which they take a greater delight in elaborating.

The only relatively serious description, from the pen of Ibn Djubayr, concerns the temple of Akhmīm, which no longer exists.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i, 353; ii, 188; Ṣāʿid,

Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam, trans. Blachère, 85; Ibn Djubayr, 61, trans. Broadhurst, 53 ff.; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 182; Yāḳūt, i, 165, 531; Leo Africanus, ed. Épaulard, ii, 537; Maḳrīzī, ed. *IFAO*, i, 162; S. de Sacy, *Observations sur le nom des Pyramides*, in *Bib. des arabisants français*, i, 243-250; Quatremère, *Recherches dur la langue et la littérature de l'Egypte*, 278-280; *L'Égypte de Murtadi, Introduction* by G. Wiet, 98-114. (G. Wiet)

AL-**BARBAHĀRĪ**, AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. KHALAF ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-BARBAHĀRĪ, a famous Ḥanbalī theologian, who died at Baghdād at a great age. He was both a traditionist (*ʿālim*), and a jurist (*faḳīh*), being, above all, one of those popular preachers (*wāʿiẓ*), who, in the history of the Caliphate during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, played so important a rôle in the struggle of Sunnism against the Shīʿī missionaries (*duʿāt*) and who, without exhibiting the least spirit of compromise, successfully managed to oppose the progress of Muʿtazilite and semi-Muʿtazilite-inspired theology (*kalām*).

Al-Barbahārī was schooled in Ḥanbalī doctrine by Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (died 275/888) [*q.v.*] (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 423-425; *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, 56-63; *Ikhtiṣār*, 32-34) who was supposed to have been one of Ibn Ḥanbal's favourite disciples and one of the most assiduous reporters of the great imâm's *responsa*, both in the field of jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and, more generally, in that of moral theology (*akhlāḳ*), the rules of civility (*ādāb*) and of religious beliefs (*ʿaḳāʾid*). The famous mystic Sahl al-Tustarī (died 283/896), who founded the Sālimiyya school (cf. *EI*[1], iv, 119) and who was to exert an influence on several other major representatives of Ḥanbalism, was likewise his teacher.

Al-Barbahārī is the author of a profession of faith, the *Kitāb al-Sunna*, the text of which has been transmitted to us in great measure by the ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (ii, 18-43), and which recalls that composed by Aḥmad Ghulām Khalīl (died 275/888), an opponent of the extremist Ṣūfism of Abū Ḥamza and al-Nūrī (died 297/910) and himself an author with Ḥanbalī affinities (cf. L. Massignon, *Textes inédits*, 212-213). Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (died 329/941) is held to have composed his own *Ibāna* after a discussion with al-Barbahārī, an assertion which a comparative study of the two professions of faith does not show *a priori* to be inadmissible.

Al-Barbahārī's profession of faith is primarily a polemic work denouncing the multiplication of suspect innovations (*bidʿa*) and energetically enjoining a return to the precepts of the "old religion" (*dīn ʿatīḳ*), as it was understood at the time of the first three Caliphs, before the schism which followed the assassination of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and the succession of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The principle underlying this restoration resides in imitation (*taḳlīd*) of the Prophet, of his companions and their pious successors, among whom al-Barbahārī frequently cites, with Ibn Ḥanbal, Mālik b. Anas (died 179/795), ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (died 181/797), Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (died 187/803) and Bishr b. al-Ḥārith (died 227/842). Al-Barbahārī does not condemn the use of reason (*ʿaḳl*); on the contrary he perceives therein a grace diversely distributed by God among his creatures and necessary to final salvation. Neither does he entirely reject what is *bāṭin* as opposed to what is *ẓāhir*, that is to say, what is inward and profound in contrast to what is outward and in conformity with the letter of the text, provided this *bāṭin* has its basis in the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. What he condemns above all else are the pernicious deviations, which result from the personal and arbitrary use of reasoning (*taʾwīl*; *raʾy*; *ḳiyās*) in the domain of religious beliefs. His theodicy, on the problem of the divine attributes (*ṣifāt*), is limited to an attempt to reproduce the data of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna.

Politically, he appears as an energetic defender of the rights of Ḳuraysh to the Caliphate, though he none the less reminds believers of the duty incumbent on them to obey all established authority, except where disobedience to God is involved. He is particularly severe in his condemnation of all attempts at armed revolt (*khurūdj bi 'l-sayf*), considering in fact that the re-establishment of the Law should be effected by appeal to public opinion, by the duty of missionary preaching (*daʿwa*), of enjoining the Good (*amr bi 'l-maʿrūf*) and of proffering good counsel (*naṣīḥa*). This re-establishment of the Law, in a world in which Islam had split up into numerous sects, was incumbent especially on the "people of the *ḥadīth*", on the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa*, whose triumph God had definitely assured. True to his doctrine, al-Barbahārī conducted so vigorous a personal action against *bidʿa* and against the sects (*firḳa*), especially against Muʿtazilism and Shīʿism, that he was at times accused of entertaining political ambitions.

Indeed, al-Barbahārī's influence is to be discovered behind several popular demonstrations and insurrections which broke out in Baghdād between 309/921 and 329/941. He was not unconnected with the opposition encountered by al-Ṭabarī who, in 309, was invited by the *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā to come to discuss with his Ḥanbalī opponents points of doctrine which separated them and who, in 310, had to be buried at night in his own house because of the hostility of the mob (cf. on these incidents, especially *Bidāya*, xi, 132 and 145-146).

In 317/929 there was a brawl in Baghdād involving considerable bloodshed between al-Barbahārī's followers and their adversaries, arising from the interpretation given to verse xvii, 81/79: "Perchance thy Lord will send thee to a sojourn worthy of praise (*maḳām maḥmūd*)". Al-Barbahārī's disciples maintained that this was to be interpreted as meaning that on the Day of Resurrection, Gold would seat the Prophet on His throne, whilst, for their adversaries, who followed the doctrine of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Khuzayma, this was merely a question of the great intercession (*shafāʿa*) of the Prophet in favour of believers culpable of grave faults on the Day of Judgement (cf. *Bidāya*, xi, 162-163).

In 321/923, during the Caliphate of al-Ḳāhir, when the question arose of having Muʿāwiya cursed from the pulpit, a measure aimed directly at Ḥanbalī doctrine, the *ḥādjib* ʿAlī b. Yalbaḳ ordered a search to be made for al-Barbahārī, who managed to conceal himself, though a number of the Ḥanbalī theologian's disciples were exiled to Baṣra (*Kāmil*, viii, 204; *Bidāya*, xi, 172). The measures then taken by the Caliph al-Ḳāhir for the re-establishment of morality were designed in some degree to appease the Ḥanbalī critics.

Although the supporters of al-Barbahārī do not seem to have played a direct rôle in 322/934 at the time of the trials of al-Shalmaghānī and of Ibn Muḳsim, nevertheless the Ḳurʾān reader Ibn Shannabūdh, likewise accused of publicly teaching Ḳurʾānic readings divergent from those of the recension of ʿUthmān, was brought to trial by the

wazīr Ibn Muḳla and sentenced (cf. al-Ṣūlī, trans. M. Canard, i, 109 and 145), apparently as the result of a noisy demonstration by the Ḥanbalīs of Baghdād.

The agitation by al-Barbahārī's supporters reached its apogee in 323/935, at the beginning of al-Rāḍī's Caliphate, still under the vizierate of Ibn Muḳla, on the eve of Ibn Rāʾiḳ's appointment as *amīr al-umarāʾ*. Muslim historians (al-Ṣūlī, i, 114; *Kāmil*, viii, 229-231; *Bidāya*, xi, 181-182) depict the Ḥanbalīs looting shops, intervening in commercial transactions to impose the prescriptions of the Law, attacking the wine-sellers and singing-girls, smashing musical instruments, pushing their way into private dwellings and denouncing to the Prefect of Police any man found in the street with a woman, not being her *maḥram* (cf. K. V. Zettersteen, *EI*[1], iii, 1169, s.v. RĀḌĪ). The Caliphal authorities then prohibited al-Barbahārī's supporters from meeting and teaching and the Muslims from praying behind an imām following the Ḥanbalī doctrine. As the ardour of al-Barbahārī's supporters did not diminish, a decree by the Caliph al-Rāḍī (text in *Kāmil*, viii, 230) was issued in 323, condemning Ḥanbalism and excluding it from the Muslim community; it accused it of developing an anthropomorphist theodicy (*tashbīh*) and of forbidding the visiting of the tombs of the great imāms (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*). This condemnation only prevented Ḥanbalī demonstrations for a while.

Al-Barbahārī's supporters resumed their agitation with violence in 327/939 under the amīrate of Badjkam; they molested people going to the *maḥyā* festival, that is to say the ceremonies organised in some mosques during the night of the 14th/15th Shaʿbān (cf. al-Ṣūlī, i, 204 and 205). The Prefect of Police issued orders for al-Barbahārī to be found, but once again he concealed himself, though one of his lieutenants, a certain Dallāʾ, was executed.

The likelihood of disarming the hostility of al-Barbahārī's supporters was further diminished by the fact in 328/940 the amīr Badjkam had the mosque of Barāthā rebuilt. This mosque had been demolished under the Caliphate of al-Muḳtadir and was considered by Sunnīs as the "nest of Shīʿism" (cf. al-Ṣūlī, i, 142 and 208). When in 329 the amīr Badjkam was assassinated by a band of Kurdish brigands, the Ḥanbalīs noisily gave vent to their satisfaction, attempted to demolish the mosque of Barāthā and also attacked the quarter of the money-changers and bankers, in the Ḍarb ʿAwn, which was at the heart of the financial and commercial life of the ʿAbbāsid metropolis (al-Ṣūlī, ii, 16 and 19). The Caliph al-Muttaḳī was obliged to have a number of Ḥanbalīs arrested and to place the Shīʿī mosque under a heavy guard.

At this juncture, in Radjab 329/April 941, al-Barbahārī died in the house of Tūzūn's sister, where he had hidden himself and where he was buried (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 44-45; *Bidāya*, xi, 201).

Al-Barbahārī's influence also manifested itself in several contemporary Ḥanbalī doctors, especially Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī (died 387/997), who met him at Baghdād on a number of occasions and who drew inspiration in his *Ibāna* from his *ʿaḳīda*. His influence is likewise to be encountered, through the medium of Ibn Baṭṭa, on the ḳāḍī Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (died 458/1066) and several of his disciples, especially the Sharīf Abū Djaʿfar al-Hāshimī (died 471/1078), who instigated several violent popular demonstrations against *bidʿa*.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḥusayn b. al-Farrāʾ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 18-45; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 201-202; Nābulusī, *Ikhtiṣār Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1350, 299-309; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 319-323; H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, in *PIFD* 1958, xxviii-xli and index.

(H. LAOUST)

BARBAROSSA [see KHAYR AL-DĪN].

BARBASHTURU, an ancient city on the R. Vero, a tributary of the Cinca, N.E. of Saraḳusta (Saragossa), in the approaches to the Central Pyrenees (modern Barbastro). It lay 50 km. almost due E. of Washḳa (Huesca). Barbashturu is stated by Ibn Ḥayyān to have become Muslim at the time of the conquest of Spain, and to have remained in Muslim hands continuously thereafter for upwards of 360 years. It became a bastion of the defences of al-Thaghr al-Aʿlā (the 'Upper Frontier'), in which sytem it formed a link between Saraḳusta and Lārida (Lérida).

In an account of the expedition of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar in 396/1006 against Pampeluna, Barbashturu is mentioned as the last place in the lands of Islam (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 12). At the time of its capture in 456/1064 (see below) it belonged to the Banū Hūd of Saraḳusta, and evidently contained a large population and substantial wealth, though the figures given by the Arabic historians who, following Ibn Ḥayyān, describe this event, appear to be exaggerated. In the summer of 1064, a Christian force estimated at 40,000 men presented itself before Barbashturu. These included Normans under Robert Crespin — the name is given by a Latin chronicler—and others, who with Papal support were engaged in what has been described as *una cruzada antes de las cruzadas*, 'a crusade before the Crusades'. After a siege of more than a month they succeeded in taking the town. Though the part played by the Christians of Spain is obscure, and though Barbashturu was retaken after a year, its fall marked a stage in the reconquest of the country. It was spoken of by contemporaries as an event without parallel, the greatest disaster which had ever happened in Muslim Spain, and Ibn Ḥayyān's painful reflections on the state of al-Andalus were prompted by what had taken place there (cited in Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 254-255).

It was characteristic of the disunity among the Spanish Muslims that the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtaḍid sent only 500 horsemen to al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd of Saraḳusta, his nominal ally, then assembling forces for a counter-stroke, though urged to march in person by al-Hawzanī, a noble of Seville (Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, I, 234). Thanks to a corps of crossbowmen, al-Muḳtadir b. Hūd succeeded in retaking the town. Yet Barbashturu was not destined to remain much longer in Muslim hands. It was finally taken for the Christians by Pedro of Aragon in 1101, an event which seems to have been known to Yāḳūt (cf. *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, s.v.).

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, iii, 225-228, 253-255; al-Maḳḳari, *Analectes*, ii, 749 ff.; R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*[3], ii, 335 ff.; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, i, 163 ff.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

BARBAṬ [see ʿŪD].

BARCELONA [see BARSHALŪNA].

BARDASĪR [see KIRMĀN].

BARDESANES [see DAYṢĀNIYYA].

BARDHAʿA, Armenian Partav, modern Barda, a town S. of the Caucasus, formerly capital of Arrān, the ancient Albania. It lies about 14 miles from the

R. Kūr (2 or 3 *farsakh*s according to the Arabic geographers; Masʿūdī says inaccurately 3 miles, *Murūdj*, ii, 75) on a river of its own (Muḳaddasī, 375), the modern Terter (Tharthūr, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 560). It was built, according to Balādhurī (194), by the Sāsānid Ḳubād (ruled A.D. 488-531). This is varied by Dimishḳī (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 189), who mentions as founder a mythical Bardhaʿa b. Armīnī (?), earlier than Ḳubād. The Arabs attempted to explain the name as from Persian *barda-dār*, 'place of captives', from the original purpose to which it was put.

Bardhaʿa served the Sāsānids and the Arabs later as a frontier fortress against invasion from the N. and W. At the time of the Arab conquest it was taken after a short resistance by Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī (Balādhurī, 201), probably before 32/652, the date of the Arab debacle at Balandjar [*q.v.*]. Thereafter Arrān, the province of which Bardhaʿa and its territory formed part, was usually joined with Armenia, sometimes with Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, under a single governor. In the Caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik its fortifications were reorganised by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim (Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, i, 40, *sub anno* 86/705) and perhaps further improved by Muḥammad b. Marwān a little later (cf. Balādhurī, 203). After this Bardhaʿa was well fitted to be 'the spearhead of Muslim domination and policy in those parts' (V. Minorsky) and is mentioned repeatedly during the second Arab-Khazar war and later under the ʿAbbāsids. As late as the 10th century the population retained their own Arrān dialect (Iṣṭakhrī, 192).

When Iṣṭakhrī wrote (circa 320/932), Bardhaʿa was at the height of its prosperity, though decline was soon to set in. It covered an area of several miles in length and breadth in a fertile and well-watered region, and in mere size challenged comparison with Rayy and Iṣbahān. In the district of Andarāb, beginning a mile or two from the town, gardens and orchards extended continuously in every direction for a day's journey or more. Hazel-nuts and chestnuts of the finest quality and a local fruit resembling that of the service-tree were to be found in abundance. Bardhaʿa also produced superior figs, and especially silk, the latter exported to Khūzistān and Fārs. The mulberry-trees on which the silkworms fed were public property and according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (see below) most of the population had a hand in silk-production. Of several kinds of fish caught in the R. Kūr was one called *sarmāhī* or *shūrmāhī* (Persian = 'salt-fish'), which when salted was also exported. The mules of Bardhaʿa mentioned by Muḳaddasī (380) were appreciated as far away as Central Asia (at Samarḳand in 416/1025, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 283). These and other commodities, such as the furs from the North mentioned by Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 63), madder and caraway-seeds (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 143), were no doubt mostly offered for sale at the Sunday market (*sūḳ al-kurakī*, from Κυριακή, the Lord's day, reflecting the Christian religion of the inhabitants earlier), situated in the suburbs outside the Gate of the Kurds (Bāb al-Akrād), to which visitors came even from ʿIrāḳ. The public treasury at Bardhaʿa dated from Umayyad times (Ibn Ḥawḳal), and according to the older fashion was in the Friday Mosque, beside which stood the palace of the governor.

This description serves also as the basis of Ibn Ḥawḳal's account nearly 50 years later (367/977), the chief difference being that Ibn Ḥawḳal knows of the capture and occupation of Bardhaʿa by the Russians in 332/943. A notice of this remarkable event is given by Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 308-10) and in greater detail, evidently from eye-witnesses, by Ibn Miskawayh (*The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, ii, 62-67; English translation, v, 67-74, reprinted in N. K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*, Cambridge 1946, 138-144). The Russians, whose number is not given but who must have numbered at least several thousand, appeared in the Caspian, undoubtedly from the Khazar country on the Volga, as on other occasions (cf. D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 209 ff.; 238 ff.), and having sailed up the R. Kūr, defeated the forces of al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad, the Musāfirid ruler of Ādharbaydjān, and gained possession of Bardhaʿa. The Russian occupation continued for many months (a year according to Yāḳūt, ii, 834), and they were only dislodged with the greatest difficulty, after an epidemic had decimated their numbers.

Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the ill effects of the Russian invasion but, as is now clear from the second edition of his work (see *Bibliography*), he does not ascribe the catastrophic decline of Bardhaʿa in his time, illustrated by a report that there are now only five bakers in the town where formerly there were 1200, mainly to devastation caused by the Russians. Rather this was due, he tells us, to 'the injustice of its rulers and the management of lunatics' (1st ed., 241), phrases which are amplified and explained in his second edition (336) as fiscal molestations which have 'eaten up it and its people', and to 'the neighbourhood of the Georgians (al-Kurdj)' (2nd ed. 337, 339). The latter appears to have reference to interference from the direction of Gandja (Djanza), later Elizavetpol, only 9 *farsakh*s distant from Bardhaʿa (Yāḳūt, i, 559), where the Shaddādids ruled in the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century. Otherwise the misgovernment and excessive taxation of which Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks must probably be ascribed to the Daylamite Musāfirids, unwilling to see Bardhaʿa recover its former position to the detriment of Ardabīl. Bardhaʿa may have revived somewhat, since an attack upon it by a king of the Abkhāz is said to have provoked reprisals by the Saldjūḳ Alp Arslān in 461/1067. But it is scarcely mentioned in the Mongol period, and in the long interval which has elapsed since then can hardly have been much more than it is today, a village in the midst of ruins.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 182-184; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 1st ed. (De Goeje) 240-1, 2nd ed. (Kramers), 336-339; Muḳaddasī, 375; Yāḳūt, i, 558-561; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, 344; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, indices; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, 16-17, 65, 104, 117; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

BARDJAWĀN, ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ, a slave who was for a while ruler of Egypt during the reign of al-Ḥākim. He was brought up at the court of al-ʿAzīz, where he held the post of intendant (*Khiṭaṭ* ii, 3; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, iv, 48; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 201). He was a eunuch, and was known by the title *Ustādh* [*q.v.*]. His ethnic origin is uncertain—Ibn Khallikān calls him a negro, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī simply a white (*abyaḍ al-lawn*), al-Maḳrīzī either a Slav or a Sicilian, the readings Saḳlabī and Siḳillī both occurring in the MSS. of the *Khiṭaṭ* (cf. S. de Sacy, *Chrestomothie*, i, 130).

Bardjawān was appointed guardian of the young heir to the Caliphate by al-ʿAzīz, and on the latter's death in Ramaḍān 386/October 996, he proclaimed

his ward as the Caliph al-Ḥākim. His rôle was at first limited to the guardianship of the young sovereign, the effective power in the state resting with the *Wāsiṭa* [*q.v.*] Ibn ʿAmmār al-Kutāmī, the leader of the Berber troops and faction. Ibn ʿAmmār's power was no doubt irksome to the young Caliph and his guardian; the supremacy of the Berbers undoubtedly angered the Turks and other Easterners in the army, and probably also the general Egyptian population. Bardjawān threw in his lot with the Easterners, and in 386/996 wrote to Mangutakin, the Turkish governor of Damascus, inviting him to come with his army and save Egypt and also the person of the Caliph from the tyranny of the Berbers. Mangutakin, with Turkish, Daylamite, Negro, and local Arab support, advanced against Egypt, but was defeated near ʿAskalān by a Berber force sent by Ibn ʿAmmār and commanded by Sulaymān b. Djaʿfar b. Fallāḥ. Bardjawān was compelled for the moment to submit to Ibn ʿAmmār, but a little later the support of Djaysh b. Ṣamṣāma, a disaffected Berber officer, enabled him to challenge Ibn ʿAmmār again, this time successfully. In an open clash Ibn ʿAmmār was defeated and driven into hiding, while Bardjawān took his place as *wāsiṭa* and effective master of the state (28 Ram. 387/4 Oct. 997). Bardjawān dealt leniently with the defeated Berbers in Egypt, but the breaking of their power proved to be permanent. In Damascus the Berber governor was dismissed and his Kutāmī troops massacred. A period of disorder followed in Syria, which was ended by vigorous action on the part of Bardjawān. Arab rebels were suppressed in Palestine and Tyre, and Byzantine attacks by land and sea repelled. Diplomatic negotiations ended with a ten-year truce between the Byzantine and Fāṭimid Empires. In the West, Bardjawān conquered Barḳa and Tripoli, both of which were placed under eunuch governors. The latter conquest was of brief duration.

Emboldened by these successes, Bardjawān adopted a high-handed attitude to the Caliph, even going so far, according to some sources, as to restrict his riding on horseback and his expenditure on gifts (Nuwayrī, Bar-Hebraeus). Nuwayrī tells a revealing story, according to which Bardjawān used to call al-Ḥākim 'the lizard' (*wazgha*); this nickname rankled, and when al-Ḥākim summoned Bardjawān to his death, the message ran: 'Tell Bardjawān that the little lizard has become a large dragon, and wants him now'. Al-Ḥākim's resentments were encouraged by another slave eunuch, Abu 'l-Faḍl Raydān al-Saḳlabī, who warned the Caliph that Bardjawān was trying to emulate the career of Kāfūr, and proposed to deal with him as Kāfūr had dealt with the Ikhshīdids. Bardjawān was stabbed to death by the hand of Raydān, and by order of the Caliph, in the night between 26th and 27th Rabīʿ II 390/5 April 1000 (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who does not, however, mention the exact day; Ibn Khallikān; al-Maḳrīzī; Ibn Muyassar—the reading *sabʿin*, instead of *tisʿin*, is an obvious error; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, followed by Ibn al-Athīr, gives the year as 389).

The killing of Bardjawān aroused the anger of both the populace and the Turks, who no doubt feared a revival of Berber rule. The Caliph, however, appeared to the armed crowd above the door of his palace, and defended his action; accusing Bardjawān of plotting against him, he appealed for help in his youth and inexperience. Letters to the same effect were also sent out. In the Druze epistle *Al-Sīra al-Mustaḳīma*, by Ḥamza, there is an interesting passage in which the execution of Bardjawān by the youthful caliph, without fear of the anger of the troops, is presented as an act of unprecedented daring, presaging the miraculous quality of al-Ḥākim's rule (*al-Muḳtabas*, v. 306).

Bardjawān is said to have been a man of taste and a lover of the pleasures of this world. His house was a meeting place of poets and musicians. On his death, he astonished his contemporaries by the size and variety of the wardrobe, library, stables, and establishment which he left. A street in Cairo was named after him.

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(B. Lewis)

BARDO [see Tunisia].

BAREILLY (Barēlī) a district town in the Uttar Pradesh, India, situated in 28° 22′ N. and 79° and 24′ E. stands on a plateau washed by the river Rāmgangā. Population (1951): 194,679. Founded in 944/1537, the town derives its name, according to tradition, from Bās Dēō, a Barhēlā Rādjpūt by caste. It is popularly known as Bāns Bareilly, partly to distinguish it from Rāē Barēlī, the birth-place of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*], and partly due to the proximity of a bamboo (*bāns*) jungle.

During the reign of Akbar, a fort was built here to check the depredations of the Rādjpūt tribes of Rohīlkhand. As usual a town gradually grew up round the citadel, and, by 1005/1596, it had developed into a *pargana* head-quarters. It remained of little importance till the reign of Shāh Djahān when it was made the capital of Kētehr (the old name of Rohīlkhand). In 1068/1657, a new city was founded by Makrand Rāy, who was appointed governor in place of ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, who had held the office since 1038/1628. During the Mughal period the city was ruled by a governor. After the death of Awrangzīb in 1119/1707 the Hindus of Bareilly turned out the Mughal governor, refused to pay the tribute, and assumed power. They, however, soon fell out among themselves, and invited ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, the Rohilla chieftain, to assume the reins of power. He soon extended his sway right up to Almōrā in Kumāon but in 1158/1746 Muḥammad Shāh, King of Delhi, marched against him and took him a prisoner to Delhi. He, however, soon won back his freedom and returned to the governorship of Bareilly in 1160/1748. On his death in 1162/1749 he was succeeded by Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, who after some sharp encounters with Awadh forces, strengthened by Mahratta contingents, became the unquestioned ruler of Rohīlkhand. In 1184/1770 Nadjīb al-Dawla defeated Raḥmat Khān with the help of Mahratta troops under Sindhia and Holkar. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla,

however, came to the rescue of the Rohillas but soon afterwards fell upon them, killing their chief, Raḥmat Khān. In 1188/1774 Saʿādat Yār Khān was appointed governor of Bareilly under the Awadh *wazīr*. In 1216/1801 the town was ceded to the British, when entire Rohīlkhand fell into their hands. In 1220/1805 Amīr Khān Pindārī raided Bareilly but was driven off with heavy losses. In 1232/1816 the residents rose against the imposition of a local tax but were dealt with an iron hand. In 1253/1837 and 1257/1842 serious Hindu-Muslim riots took place. The town was badly disturbed during the "Mutiny" of 1273/1857 when Khān Bahādur Khān, grandson of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, was proclaimed governor. After the fall of Delhi in September 1857, Tafaḍḍul Ḥusayn Khān, Nawāb of Farrukhābād, Nānā Ṣāhib from Bitʾhūr and the Mughal prince, Fīrūz Shāh, the rebel leaders, made the city their stronghold. They were, however, defeated, and the city was re-occupied by the British on 5 May 1857. In 1287/1871 a Hindu-Muslim riot again took place and since then several religious riots have occurred. With the establishment of Pakistan in 1366/1947 the bulk of the Muslim population migrated from Bareilly.

'General' Bakht Khān [*q.v.*] of the Bareilly Brigade, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces during the "Mutiny", was a native of this town. Aḥmad Riḍā Khān (d. 1340/1921), a theologian and scholar whose followers formed themselves into the *Ḥizb al-Aḥnāf*, popularly known as the *Barēlwīs*, also belonged to this town. The *Ḥizb al-Aḥnāf* is a sub-sect of the Ḥanafīs, who, contrary to other Sunnīs, believe that the Prophet possessed prescience or knowledge of the future. It is an article of faith with the *Barēlwīs* and has occasioned much strife among the *ʿulama*ʾ in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

The only building of note is the tomb of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, constructed by his son, Dhuʾl-Faḳār Khān, in 1189/1775. This tomb has been repaired several times, the last in 1891-2 by the British Government.

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BĀRFURŪSH, formerly Bārfurūshdih ("the village where loads are sold") and renamed Bābul in 1927, is the chief commercial town in the second *Ustān* (Māzandarān). It is situated four miles to the east of the Bābul river, midway between the foot of the Elburz range and the coast; it is 12 miles from Bābul-i Sar (formerly Mashhad-i Sar), the port at the mouth of the Bābul river.

The town was founded at the beginning of the 16th century on the site of the ancient city of Māmṭīr or Māmaṭīr (see Melgunov, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 177). Shāh ʿAbbās I used to visit the town and he laid out a garden to the south-east called Bāgh-i Shāh or Bāgh al-Iram. Bārfurūsh remained a place of little importance until the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*].

In recent years many new buildings, including administrative offices, a hospital and a number of schools, have been erected. The population in 1950 was 39,096.

Much silk, cotton and rice are produced in the neighbourhood.

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(L. Lockhart)

BARGHASH b. Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, sultan of Zanzibar, succeeded his brother Madjīd, 7 Oct. 1870, and reigned till his death, 27 March 1888. He tried to seize power on his father's death in 1856, and again in 1859 when he was defeated by British intervention and sent to Bombay for two years. The British supported his accession but he at once resisted their efforts to suppress the Slave Trade, for he relied partly on the Ibāḍī Mlawa faction which was hostile to all European intervention in such affairs. In 1873 Barghash was obliged to suppress all slave markets and prohibit all export of slaves, even to other parts of his realm; he was then invited to London. In 1876 the movement of slave caravans on land was forbidden. To enforce this policy Lloyd Mathews began training African troops in 1877. The British agent Kirk won Barghash's confidence and became the dominant personality in Zanzibar till he left in 1886. In the African hinterland Barghash had inherited wide claims and some prestige but very little power. In 1877 the failure of negotiations with Sir Wm. Mackinnon for a concession for the development of the country between the coast and Victoria Nyanza ruined Barghash's best chance of enforcing his authority in the interior. In 1881 his proposal that Britain should guarantee the throne to his family and should exercise a regency if he died leaving a minor as heir was rejected. In 1884 the German agent Peters concluded twelve treaties with chiefs whose suzerain Barghash claimed to be; their territories lay along the trade route to Tabora and Ujiji. In 1885 Germany took them and the Sulṭān of Witu under her protection. Barghash's protest was met by the visit of five German warships and an ultimatum which lack of British support forced him to accept. A commission of British, German and French representatives then met to determine the extent of territory over which his authority would be recognised. Under British pressure Barghash accepted their decision (for details see bū saʿīd). His health was now broken and he died immediately on his return from a visit to ʿUmān. Barghash was an able and energetic ruler who did much for Zanzibar, supplied it with pure water, organised the import of cheap grain and worked hard to restore the clove industry after a cyclone in 1872. Contemporary Europeans often called him xenophobe but his position was extremely difficult. Britain, whom he was powerless to resist, especially after the collapse of France in 1870, forced him to adopt an anti-slavery policy highly unpopular with his subjects and at the same time gave him no support against the Germans.

Bibliography: R. N. Lyne, ***Zanzibar in Contemporary Times***, 1905; Emily Rüte (Barghash's sister who eloped with a German), ***Memoiren einer arabischen Prinzessin***, 1886; R. Coupland, ***The Exploitation of East Africa***, 1939, giving references to British official sources and the private papers of British officials.

(C. H. Becker-[C. F. Beckingham])

BARGHAWĀṬA, a Berber confederation belonging to the Maṣmūda group, established in the Tāmasnā [*q.v.*] province, extending along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, between Salé and Safi, from the 2nd/8th to the 6th/12th century.

They were an important confederation, able, according to the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī, to put more than 12,000 cavalry into the field simultaneously. They appear to have played a certain political rôle up to the arrival of the Almoravids (second half of the 5th/11th century). Prior to this time, our information on the Barghawāṭa is almost exclusively due to the Eastern traveller Ibn Ḥawḳal (second half of the 11th/10th century) and the geographer al-Bakrī (second half of the 5th/11th century); several subsequent chroniclers merely reproduce the latter's narrative with slight variations of detail (see Bibliography). Al-Bakrī says that he derived his information from statements, evidently preserved in Spain, made by a Barghawāṭa emissary to the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam II, who came to Cordova on a mission in Shawwāl 352/October-November 963. Indications of the rôle played by the Barghawāṭa at the time of the conquest of Morocco by the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin are to be found in the memoirs of al-Baydhaḳ (*Doc. inéd. d'Hist. almohade*) and in the *History of the Berbers* of Ibn Khaldūn (see bibliography). In addition to the political importance of the Barghawāṭa confederation, they practised a special religion, which was nevertheless clearly derived from Islam; al-Bakrī alone gives us some meagre information on this subject, and the other chroniclers confine themselves to reproducing this.

Undeniably the Barghawāṭa's appearance in history is connected with the Khāridjite revolt of Maysara; the populations known under the name Barghawāṭa (several chroniclers affirm without adequate proof that this was not their contemporary name) embraced the Khāridjite cause and in 127/744-745, if we are to believe a number of them, grouped themselves round an individual called Ṭarīf, whose origin is much disputed: some introduce him as a chief of the Zanāta and Zuwāgha Berbers, some as deriving from a Berber group in Southern Spain (Barbāṭ, the distorted pronounciation of which was supposed to give Barghawāṭ), whilst others even accord him a Jewish origin. The Sunnī authors, it should be noted, sometimes display a tendency to attribute such an origin to the strongest personalities of the dissident sects: e.g. the Shīʿī Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 204). Nobody, however, says that Ṭarīf was descended from a family established in the Tāmasnā in early times. Whether or not he was the promoter of a doctrine derived from Sunnī or Khāridjite Islam, he certainly does not seem to have professed it. His son Ṣāliḥ may perhaps have been the progenitor of the new belief after living and studying in the East. If we accept the chronology of al-Bakrī, completed by Ibn Khaldūn, Ṣāliḥ came to power about 131/748-749 and transmitted it to his son al-Yasaʿ about 178/794/795. It was only the latter's son Yūnus who, openly professed and spread the new doctrine during his 43 years reign, from 228/842-843 to 271/884-885. We possess no information on the relationships which must have existed at this period between the Idrīsids and the Barghawāṭa; nobody mentions any conflict between them. Nevertheless, there is an indication of a bloody battle supposed to have been won near the Wādī Baht by Abū Ghufayl, Yūnus's nephew and successor (271-300/912-913). The Barghawāṭa would thus appear to have attempted to take advantage of the decline of the Idrīsids to extend their domination and propagate their doctrine.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century, they appeared to Ibn Hawḳal as infidels against whom the Sunnīs tended to conduct a holy war from the *ribāṭs* of the region of Salé. Their economy seems to have been prosperous, as they maintained commercial relations with Fās, Aghmāt, Sūs, and Sidjilmāssa. They attempted to open diplomatic relations with the Caliphate of Cordova. Soon, however, they were subjected to a series of attacks by Djaʿfar al-Andalusī, a client of the Umayyads, in 367/977-978, by Buluggīn b. Zīrī, viceroy of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya, from 368 to 372/982-983, and by Wāḍiḥ, the manumitted slave of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, in 389/998-999. The decline of the Caliphate of Cordova enabled them to recover their breath, but about 420/1029, they were subjected to attacks by Abu 'l-Kamāl Tamīm, chief of the Banū Īfran, who conquered them. His death in 424, gave them a new respite until the arrival of the Almoravids in 451/1059. After putting up a fierce resistance, which cost ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, the spiritual leader of the new conquerors, his life, the Barghawāṭa were completely defeated and destroyed. Some, however, still remained in the Tāmasnā when the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin undertook the subjugation of Morocco after the conquest of Marrakesh (541/1147). Since they had embraced the cause of rebels against the new authority, the Almohad chief sent several expeditions against them and finally got the better of them in 543/1148-1149. From that date their group ceased to exist and gradually their name disappeared: Leo Africanus (beginning of the 10th/16th century) no longer quotes their name, though he knows that the Tāmasnā was formerly inhabited by "heretics".

Their doctrine, according to the glimpse which al-Bakrī affords of it, appears as a Berber distortion of Sunnī Islam with a number of Shīʿī infiltrations and an entirely Khāridjite austerity as regards morals. Ibn Ḥawḳal stresses the ascetic life and good morality of the Barghawāṭa. Moreover, the institution of numerous prayers (five during the day and the same number at night) frequent fasts, very complete ablutions, the harshness of punishments inflicted on thieves (death), fornicators (stoning) and liars (banishment) can be ascribed to Khāridjite strictness. On the other hand, the fact that Ṣāliḥ promised that he would return when the seventh chief of the Barghawāṭa had assumed power and declared that he was the Mahdī who would fight against the Antichrist (*al-dadjdjāl*) at the coming of the end of the world with the help of Jesus, can be considered a sign of Shīʿī influence. The month's fast in Radjab or Shawwāl, the communal prayer instituted in Thursday, the food taboos (no heads of animals, no fish, eggs or cocks), and the rules of marriage are merely distortions of Muslim Law, as was the existence of a Ḳurʾān in the Berber language of 80 sūras, bearing names of prophets, animals etc. The continual use of the Berber language, the frequent resort to astrology and magic (healing by means of applications of the saliva of members of the family of Ṣāliḥ) bear witness to the influence of the Berber milieu on the faith of the Barghawāṭa. It is to be regretted that apart from a few ritual expressions and the beginnings of a sūra cited by al-Bakrī, we possess no original documents on this religion. In such circumstances it is impossible to arrive at an accurate idea of it.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 82-83 (tr. de Slane, *J.A.*, 1842, i, 209-212); Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. Sept.*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 134-141 (tr. of idem, Algiers 1913, 259-271); ***Fragments***

hist. sur les Berb. au Moyen Age, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 15, 18, 36, 47, 52, 58, 74, 77, 80; Ibn ʿIdhārī, (tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, i, 324-331); *Doc. inéd. d'Hist. almohade*, ed. and trans. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1928, 106-107, trans. 176-177; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. and trans. Tornberg, Uppsala 1843-1846, 82-84, trans., 112-114; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, trans. de Slane, Algiers 1852, ii, 124-133, iii, 222; Leo Africanus, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 157-162; G. Marcy, *Le Dieu des Abāḍites et des Barġwāta*, in *Hesp.* 1936, 33-56; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938, i, 170-175; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, 126-128.

(R. Le Tourneau)

BARHEBRAEUS [see Ibn al-ʿIbrī].

BARHŪT (also Barahūt or Balahūt), a *wādī* in Ḥaḍramawt, in one wall of which is the famous Biʾr Barhūt, now known to be a cave rather than a well. The *wādī*, which lies east of the town of Tarīm, empties into al-Masīla, the lower stretch of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, from the south. At the mouth of Barhūt is Ḳabr Hūd [see hūd], the most sacred shrine in southern Arabia, which is the object of a *ziyāra* every Shaʿbān.

Early Islamic traditions describe Biʾr Barhūt as the worst well on earth, haunted by the souls of infidels. Barhūt probably came to be known throughout Arabia because of its association with the tomb of Hūd, rather than vice versa (cf. Wensinck, citing von Kremer, in *EI*[1], ii, 328); it is unlikely that a mere cave would have acquired such notoriety. The true nature of Biʾr Barhūt was first revealed by D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, who explored it in 1931. About 300 feet above the floor of the valley they found "a typical limestone cave, with nothing whatever volcanic about it. The curious but innocuous smell inside does not come from sulphurous vapour; it is probably due to the dust from the weathering of the rock or, perhaps, to bats". An examination of the main corridor and various side corridors failed to disclose any noteworthy remains.

Bibliography: For the old erroneous beliefs regarding Biʾr Barhūt, see the references cited by J. Schleifer in *EI*[1], i, 654, to which should be added C. von Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i, Leiden 1901, 432-47, 481-4. For the cave, see D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut*, Leiden 1932.

(G. Rentz)

BARĪD, word derived from the Latin *veredus*/ Greek *beredos* (of uncertain origin, perhaps Assyrian) "post horse", usually applied to the official service of the Post and Intelligence in the Islamic states, and likewise to the mount, courier and post "stage". The institution of the state postal service was known to the Byzantine and Sāsānid Empires, from which it would appear the first Caliphs only required to borrow it, its foreign origin being confirmed by a partly Persian terminology. The *barīd* operated from the Umayyad period and ʿAbd al-Malik is considered as having strengthened its organisation, once he had re-established internal order. From the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid regime, the Post was one of the most important governmental services and its direction was entrusted to intimates of the Caliph, such as Djaʿfar the Barmakid, or to Palace eunuchs. The various Caliphs developed the system of stages which, in the middle of the 3rd/9th century, covered the whole Empire.

The actual organisation of the post in the ʿAbbāsid period is sufficiently well known thanks to the works of Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ḳudāma, composed for the use of the secretaries of state in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, which provide lists of stages. The Empire contained no less than nine hundred and thirty stages (*sikka*, also called *ribāṭ* in Iran and *markaz al-barīd* in Egypt), theoretically, situated two *farsakhs* (12 km.) apart in Iran and four (24 km.) in the western provinces; officials (*murattabūn*) were responsible for ensuring the transport of the post (*al-kharāʾiṭ*) within the times allotted. The messengers (*fuyūdj*, *furānik*) used mainly mules in Iran and camels in the West, but sometimes horses as well. The organisation, however, remained flexible and several times a Caliph, a *wazīr* and even an ordinary governor were to be found temporarily strengthening the postal service on a particular route for political or military reasons. Pigeons were also employed for sending urgent news. The Post being an official service, it only transmitted private letters as an exception to the rule. The mounts also served to carry men, when these were agents of the State, and we even find the new Caliph al-Hādī availing himself of the services of the *barīd* to return to Baghdād from Djurdjān after the death of his father (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 547 and al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo ed., 167).

The Postmasters (*aṣḥāb al-barīd*), who came under the authority of the director of the department of the Post (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-barīd*) were not restricted in their duties to the transmission of official letters emanating either from local officials or from the central services. Thanks to a text of al-Ṭabarī relating to the Caliphate of al-Manṣūr and to a diploma of investiture preserved by Ḳudāma, we are acquainted with the duties of these officials. They had to provide the central government with all necessary information on the state of their province and agents' activities, on the attitude of the commissioners for land taxation and Crown lands and that of the ḳāḍīs, and on the monetary and economic situation. Their supervision extended also to the governor of the district, as is shown by the episode of Ṭāhir's [*q.v.*] autonomy in Khurasān and, in some cases, they were also entrusted with the duty of redressing grievances (Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 25). In Baghdād the reports assembled by the director of the *dīwān* were communicated directly to the Caliph, at least in the early period. In addition, there was a director of intelligence (*khabar*), entrusted with the supervision of the officials and officers of the capital, including the *wazīr* himself when necessary (Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 24); this office, which seems to have been independent of the Postal Service properly so-called, was entrusted to eunuchs or amirs enjoying the sovereign's confidence.

If we are to credit the account in the *Taʿrīf* of al-ʿUmarī, the Buwayhids "cut off" the *barīd* so as to deprive the Caliph of his means of gaining information, thus bringing him more surely under their tutelage. It was in fact in their time that "runners" (*suʿāt*) first appear in the East. Gradually the postal service seems to have become increasingly disorganised until its suppression by the Saldjūḳids (455/1063), after which extraordinary "emissaries" alone were used. At the time of the Crusades, the Zangids and Ayyūbids had no real postal service at their disposal, but made use of runners, swift cameleers and pigeons.

In the Mamlūk State, the postal service for a time recovered its former importance, and its workings are known to us through texts and archaeological remains. Its reorganisation was the work of Baybars, who not only drew upon the example of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, but also on that of the Mongol Empire, with which he had to contend. The Mamlūk *barīd*, an organ of the State closely linked with the Holy War, therefore, assumed primarily a political and military rôle, although later it was adjusted to favour commercial traffic. Directed initially by the sultan himself, it later passed into the hands of the secretaries of state, recruited from the famous family of the Banū Faḍl Allāh, who imparted to it a bureaucratic character, before passing back to the amīr *dawādār*. In addition to couriers (*barīdī*) commanded by a *muḳaddam al-barīdiyya* and recruited among the mamlūks of the sultan's household, the personnel included stage grooms (*sāʾis*) and "outriders" (*sawwāḳ*). The postal service first operated in Egypt and on the Cairo-Damascus route (a distance normally covered in a week) and was subsequently extended to the towns of the Syrian coast and the fortresses on the Taurus borders. The stages for changing horses, theoretically four *farsakhs* apart, were first established in public caravanserais. Then special buildings were erected for the purpose, of which the almost universal type, apart from architectural improvements, corresponded to the requirements of "stabling the sultan's horses and housing the small number of men in charge of them" (J. Sauvaget). The routes were then adjusted to ensure a quicker and more regular service. At the same period, the reception of the couriers by the sultan was surrounded by a special ceremonial and their badge of office, known from its employment in Mamlūk heraldry, was given a more sumptuous appearance. Pigeon post and a system of visual signalling were also developed. The invasion of Tīmūr (803/1400), however, destroyed ihts organisation and swift cameleers and runners were again used for carrying official mail.

The institution of the Post existed in the various Muslim states, where it met practical requirements and harmonised with the ethical principles of the Ḳurʾān, the inviolability of letters and state secrets; its form, however, was not always very developed. In Muslim Spain in the 4th/10th century, the State postal service had not the same importance as it possessed in the East; it employed messengers mounted on mules and Sudanese runners (*raḳḳāṣ*), which reveals the sketchy character of the organisation, and was directed by a *ṣāḥib al-burud*, a high official, who seems also to have had a network of agents at his disposal to provide intelligence. In the Ḥafṣid state in eastern Barbary, the Post assumed a more rudimentary aspect; the couriers had to provide their own mounts, and there were no fixed stages where they could change them. The Post also existed in Ṣafawid Iran as well as in the Ottoman Empire (see further POSTA, RAḲḲĀṢ, TATAR, ULAḲ).

Bibliography: In addition to the occasional references in the chronicles of the ʿAbbāsid period, see especially Ṭabarī, iii, 435; Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo ed., 42; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *passim*; Ḳudama b. Djaʿfar, *K. al-Kharādj*, ed. De Goeje, 184, and Köprülü MS, f. 15-16; N. Abbott, *The Ḳurrah Papyri*, Chicago 1938, 15-16; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 464-471; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 28-29; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1941, 65.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-BARĪDĪ, *nisba* made especially famous by three brothers, sons of a postmaster of al-Baṣra, and called Banu 'l-Barīdī for that reason. They played an important rôle at Baghdād and in ʿIrāḳ during the Caliphate of al-Manṣūr and his successors. Shīʿī tax-farmers and military leaders, they distinguished themselves by their ambition and acts of prevarication and had eventful careers, very characteristic of the period preceding the advent of the Buwayhids.

The eldest of the three brothers, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad, appeared on the political scene during the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (315-316/927-928). Dissatisfied with the subordinate offices to which he and his brothers were then appointed, he obtained from the next vizier, Ibn Muḳla, against a gratuity of 20,000 dirhams, the tax-farm of the province of al-Ahwāz for himself and lucrative appointments for his brothers. When arrested two years later, upon the fall of Ibn Muḳla, these tax-farmers, who had rapidly grown rich, were capable of meeting a heavy fine as the price of their liberty. Somewhat later, under the following Caliph al-Ḳāhir, Abū ʿAbd Allāh again became influential. He financed the expedition against the former supporters of al-Muḳtadir and recovered the tax-farm of al-Ahwāz, still retaining it, in spite of numerous vicissitudes, at the beginning of the reign of al-Rāḍī (322/934), after having benefited from Ibn Muḳla's return to power. Appointed secretary to the chamberlain Yāḳūt, he succeeded in getting rid of him (324/936), and becoming the sole master of al-Ahwāz, where he unscrupulously amassed considerable wealth, constantly deferring payment of the moneys due to the central government, whilst at Baghdād he was represented by his brother Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb.

The *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ibn Rāʾiḳ soon undertook to subdue this undisciplined governor and occupy al-Ahwāz, but al-Barīdī was astute enough to take refuge with the governor of Fārs, the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Buwayh, whose support he obtained. In 325/937, he succeeded in becoming reconciled with Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who again granted him the tax-farm of al-Ahwāz and the governorship of the province. When, subsequently, Ibn Rāʾiḳ was faced with a rival in the person of the Turk Badjkam, al-Barīdī alternativly allied himself with them both and in 326/938, when Badjkam had prevailed, Abū ʿAbd Allāh obtained the vizierate, at the same time retaining his province and paying tribute to the Caliph. He was soon deposed, but after Badjkam's death, at the beginning of the reign of al-Muttaḳī (329/941), the Barīdīs entered Baghdād in force and Abū ʿAbd Allāh recovered the vizierate, which he retained until a military mutiny obliged him to return to Wāsiṭ. The following year (330/942), Abū ʿAbd Allāh entrusted his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusayn with the command of an army which succeeded in occupying Baghdād, forcing the Caliph and Ibn Rāʾiḳ to take refuge with the Ḥamdānids at al-Mawṣil. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, however, incurred such bitter hatred that he was soon hounded from Baghdād and Wāsiṭ by the Ḥamdānid troops. The three brothers held out at al-Baṣra in spite of the costly war which they had to conduct against the ruler of ʿUmān, who landed and occupied al-Ubulla. These adventures had exhausted Abū ʿAbd Allāh's

resources and he did not hesitate to have his brother Abū Yūsuf assassinated in Ṣafar 332/November 943 for the simple purpose of possessing himself of his wealth. However, he himself died shortly afterwards in Shawwāl 333/June 944 and was replaced by his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. The latter had to protect himself against the intrigues of his uncle Abu 'l-Ḥusayn who, seeking to obtain the governorship of al-Baṣra for himself, was in the end condemned to death and executed in Baghdād at the end of 333/944. He was then obliged to fight the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla who, in 336/947, expelled him from al-Baṣra. Forced to flee to the Carmathians of al-Baḥrayn, his political rôle came to an end. He died in 349/960. Abū ʿAbd Allāh had four other sons, to whom incidental references are made in the chronicles.

Bibliography: Buḥturī, *Diwān*, i, 217; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, trans. Canard, Algiers 1946-1950, i, 103 n. and ii, 40 n. 4; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 88, 104, 107, 147; idem, *Faradj*, 1938 ed., i ,165; ii, 119-120 and 164; ʿArīb, ed. De Goeje, 138; Miskawayh, ap. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1920-21, index; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, index; H. Derenbourg in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 193-196; Zambaur, 15; L. Massignon, in *ZDMG*, 1938, 380; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdānides*, i, Algiers 1951, 440-443 and 510-511.

(D. SOURDEL)

BARĪD SHĀHĪS. A dynasty founded by Ḳāsim Barīd, who was originally a Turkish slave sold to Muḥammad Shāh III, the 13th of the line of the Bahmanids [*q.v.*]. A man of outstanding personality, a good calligrapher and musician, he also proved his mettle on the battlefield and rose to be the *kotwal* in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, and after the death of Malik Ḥasan Niẓām al-Mulk, arrogated to himself the office of chief Minister of the tottering Bahmanī State. He had often to contend with the more powerful fiefholders of the Kingdom who had become virtually independent at Bīdjāpūr, Aḥmadnagar and Golkonḍa, but his chief strength lay in his being always at the capital, Bīdar [*q.v.*]. Ḳāsim died in 910/1504 and was succeeded by his son Amīr Barīd. The authority of the Bahmanī Sulṭāns had been shattered by Ḳāsim, and what was left of it was now put an end to by his successor, till, after the flight of the last titular monarch, Kalīm Allāh he became supreme at Bīdar. But he had to cope with the power of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjapūr who actually occupied Bīdar after routing the Barīdī ruler. The citadel was restored after a while, but only after the forts of Ḳandhār and Kalyānī had been annexed to Bīdjāpūr. Amīr Barīd tried to bring at least the small fiefholders under the direct control of the centre, much as Maḥmūd Gāwān had done [*q.v.*] but he was not successful. He died in 950/1543 and was succeeded by his son ʿAlī.

ʿAlī Barīd was a lover of literature, art and architecture and the Rangīn Maḥal within the fort at Bīdar and his own well-proportioned mausoleum are two outstanding monuments to his taste. He was blessed with a long reign. He was the first of the Barīdīs who adopted the royal title, although he was content with the epithet *al-Malik al-Mālik*, which appears in beautiful mother of pearl inlay in the Rangīn Maḥal. He was of the four allied monarchs who finally put an end to the power of Rāma Rāya, the regent of Vijayanagar, in 1565 and was put in command of the left wing of the allies along with Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh. He died in 987/1579.

The fortunes of the dynasty came quickly to a close after ʿAlī Barīd. He was followed by Ibrāhīm and then by Ḳāsim II who was succeeded by his infant son known as Mīrzā ʿAlī Barīd Shāh. A relative, known as Amīr Barīd Shāh II put him aside and occupied the throne. He was succeeded by a ruler who is called in a bilingual inscription Mīrzā Walī Amīr Barīd Shāh. It was in his reign that the Barīdī dynasty came to an end and Bīdar annexed Bīdjāpūr in 1028/1619.

Very few Barīdī coins have been found. Although Ferishta says that even Ḳāsim Barīd struck his own coins the only coins known so far are either the Bahmanī coppers with the punch-marked legend *Amīr Shāh*, which are attributed to Amīr Barīd II or else copper *fils* and half *fils* with "Amīr Barīd al-Sulṭān" but without any date. These are all in the Ḥaydarābād Museum.

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(H. K. SHERWANI)

II. — Monuments. All the monuments of this dynasty are in the town of Bīdar [*q.v.*]; as successors to the well established Bahmanī dynasty they inherited many fine structures, and their building activity was more a matter of adaptation and rebuilding than of the erection of any major structures. The progress of the Barīdī style is well illustrated in their tombs, which form a royal necropolis some 6 km. west of the city walls, and occupy a large area on account of the vast garden-enclosures of each tomb. Page references in the following account are to G. Yazdani, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947.

The tomb of Ḳāsim I, d. 910/1504, is a small insignificant building with a plain conical dome, p. 149. That of his successor, Amīr Barīd I, was left incomplete on his sudden death in 949/1542, without a dome; there are two storeys of arches on each façade, pierced by a central arch running through both storeys, all stilted at the apex as in the earlier Bahmanī buildings (pp. 150-1). The reign of ʿAlī Barīd (949-87/1542-79) saw much building activity: large scale improvements to fort and city fortifications, including the mounting of many more large guns; rebuilding of the Rangīn Maḥal, with fine mother-of-pearl inlay work and intricate wood-carving in which Hindū patterns are mixed with Muslim designs (44-9); much alteration of the Tarkash Maḥal, especially the upper storey, in which the chain-and-pendant motif, characteristic of Barīdī work from now on, is apparent (pp. 57-9); and ʿAlī's tomb, very well sited, with an imposing gateway having wide arches with low imposts and upper rooms decorated with a profusion of small cusped niches. Each wall of the tomb consists of one open arch, through which the fine sarcophagus of polished black basalt is visible; the interior is thus very bright and airy, and is embellished with good encaustic tile work (verses from ʿAṭṭār, Ḳurʾānic texts, in *Thulth*), though not over-elaborated. Since the tomb is open on all sides there is no *ḳibla* enclosure, and attached to the tomb there is a separate mosque with slender minarets a vaulted ceiling, and fine cut-plaster decoration on the façade. Tomb, gateway and mosque have the trefoil parapet which originates in the late Bahmanī period (pp. 151-60). The tomb of Ibrāhīm (d. 994/1586) imitates that of his father on a smaller scale

but is incomplete and presents surfaces of lime-laid masonry. Carved corner jambs show the Hindū *čakra* as part of their decoration (pp. 160-1). Both these tombs have a large dome, not stilted but recurved at the base to form a three-quarter orb, which appears somewhat top-heavy for the structure. This constriction of the dome is characteristic of the contemporary buildings of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī and ʿĀdil Shāhī [*qq.v.*] dynasties at Golcondā and Bīdjāpur also. The single opening is reverted to in the tomb of Ḳāsim II, which is better proportioned, but the open design is apparent in the dome over the *miḥrāb* of the Kālī ('black') *masdjid*, pp. 196-7. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid of the town (see Bīdar), a late Bahmanī building, was restored during the Barīdī period (chain-and-pendant motif in spandrels of the façade), pp. 103-4.

From the time of ʿAlī Barīd the buildings become more ornate in their minor detail, and the influence of the Hindū mason becomes more apparent; in some Barīdī buildings—*e.g.*, the Kālī *masdjid*—the forms used in stone often seem more appropriate to wood-work. Much of the later work shows that meretricious character often apparent in the buildings of a dynasty in decline.

Bibliography: Fuller details of many of the above buildings are given in the article on Bīdar, [*q.v.*]. See particularly Yazdani, *op. cit.*, for full references, extensive plates, drawings, plans, etc, and bibliography given in article Bīdar.

(J. Burton-Page)

BĀRIḤ (Ar.), a term applied to a wild animal or bird which passes from right to left before a traveller or hunter; although opinions differ on this point, this is generally interpreted as a bad omen, because, it is said, it presents its left side to the hunter who does not have time to take aim at it; an animal which passes from left to right (*sāniḥ*) is on the contrary of good omen. The *nāṭiḥ* approaches from the front, and the *ḳaʿīd* from the rear.

Bibliography: Freytag, *Einleitung*, 163; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 202; Doutté, *Magic at religion*, 359; Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index; *L.A.* s.v.; Maydānī, under *man lī bi-l-sāniḥ baʿd al-bāriḥ*.

(Ed.)

BĀRIMMĀ [see ḥamrīn, djabal].

BARĪRA, a slavewoman who had arranged to buy her freedom in nine (or five) annual instalments, appealed to ʿĀʾisha who agreed to pay the whole sum. The owners were willing to sell her, but insisted on retaining the right of inheritance from her. When the Prophet heard this he told her to buy her, for the right of inheritance belonged to the one who set a person free. ʿĀʾisha therefore paid the money and set Barīra free. She remained as ʿĀʾisha's servant and is said to have died during the Caliphate of Yazīd I (60-64/680-683). In the tradition of the lie she was consulted regarding ʿĀʾisha (cf. Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*, 15). Three *sunnas* are connected with her: (1) The Prophet said the right of inheritance belongs to the one who sets a person free. (2) She was given her choice about staying with her husband Mughīth who was a negro slave, and when she refused in spite of the Prophet's plea for Mughīth she was told to observe the *ʿidda* period appropriate for a divorced woman. Mughīth is said to have followed her in the streets of Medina weeping. (3) Once when the Prophet came in when meat was being cooked and was given something else to eat he asked the reason. On being told that the meat was *ṣadaḳa* given to Barīra, he said it was *ṣadaḳa* to Barīra but a gift to him, meaning that one who had received *ṣadaḳa* could give some of it as a present to another. Barīra is said to have warned ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān that if he became ruler he must avoid shedding innocent Muslim blood.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, art. Barīra; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 708; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (No. 177 in *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ*), *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 403; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1280/1863-4, v, 409 f. (J. Robson)

BARḲA, a word applied by the Arab writers both to a town—now al-Mardj—and to the region which belonged to it, that is to say Cyrenaïca, a broad African peninsula jutting out into the eastern Mediterranean between the gulf of Bomba and that of the Great Syrtis, situated, therefore, between long. 20° and 30° east of Greenwich and the parallels 30° and 33° of latitude. To the east begins the Marmarica, whilst the vast eastern Libyan Sahara stretches away to the south.

The relief is made up of plateaux, resulting from the folding, in the Miocene age, of thick layers of Cenomanian limestone and lower Tertiary; they slope gently towards the south, where the Saharan table has not been raised up, giving way to low alluvial plains and falling away to the sea in graded levels. The high plateau, the Djabal Akhḍar (Green Mountain) rises from 500 to over 600 metres, reaching its highest point at 868 to the south of the ruins of Cyrene. An intermediate plateau, from 250 to 400 metres, narrow in the north, then widens out to the west and south-west; it contains al-Mardj and dominates the coastal plain of Benghāzī, which is also of limestone. That Cyrenaïca is not a desert like its vast hinterland is due to the influence of sea and altitude: its temperatures are moderate in summer and it enjoys relatively high rainfall. January and July-August temperatures are 13.5° C. and 25.8° at Benghāzī, at sea-level, 10.4° and 23.9° at al-Mardj at an altitude of 285 metres, and 8.4° and 22.3° at Cyrene, situated at 621 metres, where snow is not unknown. Rainfall, slight on the western littoral (266 mm. at Benghāzī) and inadequate for almost all cultivation without irrigation as the local soils are often heavy, increases in the northern parts of the first plateau with 471 mm. at al-Mardj, and especially on the second, where more than 500 and even 600 mm. fall in the region of Cyrene. In contrast, rainfall declines towards the east (300 mm. at Derna) and, very rapidly, towards the south-east and the south. Likewise, the *wādīs* running down towards the Sahara only have water after the heaviest rains and end in vast enclosed depressions; of the very short and deeply embanked Mediterranean tributaries, only the *wādī* Derna has a perennial flow of water. The waters filter away into the limestone of the plateaux and only reappear in a few "Vauclusian" springs at the base of certain escarpments. The plateaux have a "carstic" relief, with swallow-holes, sink-holes, extensive areas without surface drainage and grottos. The high plateau, the Djabal Akhḍar, still supports, to the south of al-Mardj and Cyrene, several fine forests of horizontal cypress *Cupressus sempervivens*, var. *horizontalis*), green oaks, Aleppo pines and Phoenician junipers; in the main, however, it is covered by low forest and a scrub of mastics and wild olives. Cyrenaïca comprises 110,000 hectares of forest and scrub. The clearings, extended by man, afford good pasturage and fertile brown and grey land for cultivation. This very limited good region quickly passes on the coast and to the south into scanty heath dominated by a few junipers and broken

by increasingly extensive stretches of steppe. The large rocky outcrops enclose somewhat narrow areas of red clay soils, relatively fertile, but for the most part requiring too much water for so slight a rainfall. 55 kilometres to the south-east of Benghāzī and 60 to the south of Derna, begins the Sahara, with its very scanty pasturages and light soils.

"Serviceable" Cyrenaïca, a narrow fertile region and one favourable to sedentary life, isolated by the steppes of the Marmarica and Syrtica and by the vast Libyan desert, has always been a dependency of the East. A land of nomadic Libyans, it became the sole African dependency of the Greek world with the five colonies of the Pentapolis founded between the 7th and 5th centuries B.C.: Cyrene, the first to be created, and admirably situated in the heart of the Djabal Akhdar, its port Apollonia (Marsā Sūsa), Barkè (al-Mardj), Euhesperidis (Benghāzī) and Teuchira (Tocra). It was subsequently attached to Ptolemaïc Egypt, at which time Ptolemaïs (Tolmeta) and Darnis (Derna) originated. As a Roman province, it was beset by frequent disturbances and was far from prosperous. In the 4th century A.D., it was attached to the Eastern Empire and formed part of the Byzantine Empire down to the 7th century, without ever recovering its activity of the Greek period. On the eve of the Arab conquest, its agriculture was receding before the advance of pastoral life. Cyrenacïa was occupied by the Arabs after two campaigns conducted by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in 22/642 and 643. Subsequent expeditions crossed it, gradually reaching and conquering the Maghrib. Thus it became a major thoroughfare, both military and commercial, from Egypt westwards, either via the southern depression and oases such as Awdjīla or by the detour of the northern plateaux. The Berber tribes, the Lawāta, the Hawāra and the Awrigha, intermingled with Arab elements, took increasingly to stock-breeding, which spread at the expense of agriculture: exports to Egypt then consisted of live-stock, wool, honey and tar Bakrī, trans. de Slane, 15); Barka remained the only considerable centre. The region, linked to Egypt, was, like the latter, dependent in turn on Damascus, Baghdād and then the Fāṭimids. The Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym invaders, who, in the 5th/11th century left Egypt and spread over the Maghrib, crossed the Barka region, which gradually became completely bedouinised. In Ibn Khaldūn's time, in the 8th/14th century (*Histoire*, trans. de Slane, i, 164-165), its towns and villages were ruined and the population, the ʿAzza, were shepherds leading a nomadic existence from the region of the oases in the south to the northern plateaux and cultivating barley; Barka and Bernīk (Benghāzī), however, still continue to be mentioned as well as the oases of Awdjīla and Adjdābiya. The region, in theory at least, continued to depend on Egypt and, like the latter, was occupied by the Turks in the 10th/16th century. It was, however, placed under the authority, more nominal than real, of the governors of Tripoli, whom the Karamanlī dynasty supplanted from 1711 to 1835. Barka disappeared and, at the beginning of the 19th century, Cyrenaïca, a European term, apart from the southern oases, only possessed two centres, which owed their existence to foreign immigration: Benghāzī, ancient Euhesperidis, originated at the end of the 15th century, from an immigration of Tripolitanians, and Derna, on the site of ancient Darnis, founded somewhat earlier by Andalusians, owed its modest rise to the Bey Muḥammad, who, in the 17th century, reorganised the irrigation: it has become a small palm oasis beside the sea with pretty gardens. In the interior, al-Mardj arose from the construction of a Turkish fort in 1840 on the site of Barka. In the second half of the 19th century, however, Cyrenaïca came under the *de facto* authority of the great Sanūsiyya confraternity, an effective politico-religious power based on a sound commercial organisation. Finally, in 1897, Muslims from Crete, fleeing before the Greek conquest, founded the modest Marsā Sūsa on the ruins of Apollonia.

When the Italians landed at Benghāzī and Tripoli in 1911, they found it, except for these modest urban centres, to be entirely a country of Bedouin, without a single village outside the oases. The population was made up entirely of semi-nomadic and nomadic herdsmen, living only in tents. The tribes formed two main groups, the Mrābṭīn (Murābiṭūn) and the Saʿādī. The Mrābṭīn are thought to have a Berber origin and comprise two groups: the Barāghīth to the west, whose main tribes are the Maghārba (Syrtic), the ʿUrfa and the ʿAbīd (al-Mardj), and, on the other hand, the Harābī, who include the Dorsa, on the littoral, the Hasa, the ʿAylet Fāʾiḍ and the Brāʿsa north and south of the central Djabal Akhdar and especially the ʿAbeidat on the plateaux south of Derna and the Gulf of Bomba. As regards the Saʿādī, they lay claim to purely Arab origins: they are the Fwāsher and the Awāghir on the steppes of the south-west, the minor tribes of the Marmarica and the nomads of the Awdjīla-Djalo region. Outside the urban centres, the entire population were Sunnī Muslims of the Mālikī rite; all spoke Maghribī type Arabic dialects, except the inhabitants of Awdjīla in the south, the first Berber-speaking locality to be encountered going westwards.

It was not until the end of 1931, after determined resistance by the Bedouin and Sanūsiyya, that the Italians became masters of the whole of Cyrenaïca with its hinterland. They did their utmost to colonise it. The first colonists settled, in rather hazardous conditions, on the unpropitious Benghāzī plain and in the vicinity of al-Mardj. Systematic effort, however, was directed towards the exploitation and settlement by Italians of the Djabal Akhdar, where, between 1934 and 1939, a dozen villages were founded. "Demographic" and then "mass" colonisation was extended over a total of 80,000 hectares, producing wine and olive oil. On the 9th January 1939, Cyrenaïca, like Tripolitania, was integrated with its hinterland in Italian territory. By this time, the Italians had begun to provide Cyrenaïca on a large scale with the equipment and services of a colonial country in the course of modernisation: a railway line from Benghāzī to al-Mardj and Solūk (164 km.), a network of roads in the west and the north, ports (especially at Benghāzī), aerodromes, educational establishments and hospitals, postal services, works to supply water, notably a pipe-line over 200 km. with pumping stations, reservoirs and branch conduits to serve the villages of the Djabal Akhdar, etc. Cyrenaïca entered the war period in full development. But all Italians left the country in the face of the final victorious offensive of the British Eighth Army in November-December 1942 and it then came under British Military Administration. The British then placed Idrīs, the leader of the Sanūsiyya, at the head of the amīrate of Cyrenaïca and, in 1951, assisted him to accede to the throne of the Libyan Federal Union, which, with Cyrenaïca, comprises Tripolitania and

Fazzān. Nothing remains of the agricultural work of the Italians; the country has reverted to pastoral life, with a little barley being grown, and the villages have fallen into ruin. Likewise nothing survives of the few industrial undertakings (fish canning-factories, breweries and distilleries, boot and shoe factories), which they had set up at Benghāzī. Exports now only include a few products derived from stock breeding, salt and sponges harvested by the Greeks in the Gulfs of Bomba and the Great Syrtis. Cyrenaïca, prolonged by its immense Saharan hinterland, stretching to lat. 20° and embracing the oases of Kufra, covers 855,400 km² (out of a total of 1,759,500 for the whole of the Federal Union of Libya), though it contains only 291,350 inhabitants, almost all in the North (out of a total of 1,091, 800). Its average yearly production is 360,000 quintals of cereals (barley and wheat), and it has a stock of between 450 and 500,000 sheep, 350 and 400,000 goats, 30 and 35,000 head of cattle and 20,000 camels. Sparsely populated, very poor in spite of the fertility of some of the regions in the north, deficient in financial resources and administrative personnel, Cyrenaïca is dependent on the financial and technical help provided by Great Britain, by the United Nations and the United States.

Bibliography: see LIBYA. Also F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris 1952; P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana*, Rome 1943; E. de Agostini, *Le popolazioni della Cirenaica*, Tripoli 1925; G. Narducci, *Storia della colonizzazione della Cirenaica*, Milan 1942; W. B. Fisher and K. Walton, *The Aberdeen University expedition to Cyrenaica in* 1951, in *Scottish geogr. mag.*, 1952-1953; N. A. Ziadeh, *Barka*, Beirut 1950. (J. DESPOIS)

BARKAʿĪD, in ʿAbbāsid times one of the sequence of small towns on the main route between Niṣībīn and Mawṣil, in the Djazīra province, the others being Adhrama to the west, and Bāʾaynāthā and Balad (where the Mawṣil-Sindjar road bifurcated south-westward) to the east. Barkaʿīd, of which the modern Tall Rumaylān, north of the railway line (and near to Tall Kochek station thereon) may possibly mark the site, was probably just inside the Bec de Canard (eastward extremity of the modern Syrian province of Djazīra), and lay some 50-55 miles from Niṣībīn, and 80 from Mawṣil. It is described by a number of Arab geographers as a place of considerable scale, especially in the 3rd/9th century, with its walls and three gates, excellent springs, 200 shops (largely wine-shops) and busy traffic. It was, in its best days, the country-town of the district of Bakāʿ, which covered most of the country between Mawṣil and Niṣībīn. It continued as a recognised staging-post until the 7th/13th century, but much diminished in scale by reason of the natural anxiety of travellers and caravans to avoid a place always notorious—indeed proverbial—for its population of thieves and robbers; Barkaʿīd declined, therefore, to mere village status while its better reputed neighbours (notably, it is said, Bāshazzā, on an alternative route) increased.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, particularly Vol. vi, 214, Note f. (also 164); Yākūt, i, 571 ff., 701; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Takwīm*, ii, 294; Ḥarīrī's 7th. *Makāma*; Le Strange, 99; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 162-3; F. Tuch in *ZDMG*, i, 62-64; M. v. Oppen heim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persisch. Golf* (1900), ii, 143-144; 167-8 (de Goeje's Note).

(M. STRECK-[S. H. LONGRIGG])

BARKŪK, AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR SAYF AL-DĪN, Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt. He was the first of a new series of rulers, to whom history refers as Circassians in memory of the country where they were originally purchased as slaves, and as Burdjī [see BURDJIYYA], because Barkūk was the first to have belonged to a regiment with their barracks in the dungeons (*burdj*) of the Cairo Citadel.

Barkūk provided the link between the two dynasties of Mamlūk sultans: before ascending the throne, he ruled Egypt as Marshal of the Armies, *atâbak al-ʿasākir* [*q.v.*], during the turbulent reigns of two sultans, both minors, of the line of Kalāwūn.

Purchased in the Crimea, Barkūk, unlike the rest of the Mamlūks, was no son of an unknown father but could state in his monumental inscriptions that he was the son of Anas; the latter was invited to come to Egypt, where he occupied a position of some standing.

Sold to the all-powerful Ylbughā ʿUmarī, the Marshal who had succeeded in breaking the ill-fated Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan, Barkūk was for a short while imprisoned after the execution of his master. He passed into the service of the Court, but was soon involved in the conspiracy which ended in the assassination of Malik Ashraf Shaʿbān in 778/1377.

He was then promoted to be Marshal of the Armies by Malik Manṣūr ʿAlī, a seven year old child. He had to contend with the ambitions of his fellows, and there was continual warfare, from which he finally emerged the victor. He was then able to gather a group of clients round himself and, when the Sultan died of plague in 784/1382, Barkūk began by placing a brother of the late ruler on the throne, the eleven year old Ḥādjdjī. In the end he threw off the mask and, on the pretext that an energetic ruler was needed for the protection of the country, at the end of the same year had the crown offered to himself by a council of the magistrates presided over by the Caliph.

Barkūk was soon up against serious difficulties, which were momentarily to make him lose power. They started with the revolt of the governor of the province of Aleppo, Ylbughā Nāṣirī, who was joined by a dismissed Mamlūk named Mintāsh. The rest of the Syrian governors joined the movement, including the governor of Sīs, on the remotest part of the frontier. When the Sultan, after causing his principal officers to renew their oath to him, made up his mind to take action, Ylbughā already held the whole of Syria and it was beneath the walls of Damascus that he defeated the legitimate army, which came to bring him to his senses, in Rabīʿ I 791/March 1389.

The sultan raised a second army corps, making his preparations in some haste, for Ylbughā's troops had penetrated into Egyptian territory at Kaṭyā and were encamped at Ṣāliḥiyya. The Sultan set out to take up his position at Maṭariyya, but returned to Cairo in despair, for the majority of his officers, guessing who would win, went over to the enemy camp. Nevertheless, he wished the matter to be decided by the arbitrament of war and the battle was fought to the north of Cairo and beneath the city's walls on the 9th Djumādā/1st May, without any decisive result. Day by day, Barkūk saw the devotion of his men vanishing and, in the end, he left the Citadel in disguise and went into hiding.

He was discovered, and sent off to prison at Karak in the land of Moab, whilst Ḥādjdjī was replaced on the throne. As his masters, the latter had the factious generals, who proceeded to indulge themselves in the trivial occupation of street fighting. Barkūk took advantage of this confused situation

and, escaping from imprisonment, gathered together an army composed in the main of Bedouin Arabs. After numerous vicissitudes, some of which read like an adventure story, he made his triumphal entry into Cairo in Ṣafar 792/February 1390.

Clearly Ḥādjdjī could do nothing but withdraw, but apart from this he was not troubled. Sulṭān Barḳūḳ, moreover, had not disposed of his old opponent Minṭās͟h and a campaign of two years was needed to get rid of him.

As can be seen, these two reigns of the Sulṭān Barḳūḳ were eventful but contributed nothing to the glory of Egypt: the last fifty years of the 8th/14th century were indeed lamentable.

Other events must be noted, though at the time the seriousness of their implication was not evident. Already in 788/1386, during Barḳūḳ's first reign, rumours had been current in Cairo that a certain "Mongol rebel named Tīmūr" had marched on Tabrīz and this was soon confirmed officially by a dispatch from the Djalā'irid sultan of ʿIrāḳ, Aḥmad b. Uways, who urged Barḳūḳ to be on his guard. The Mamlūk government then sent one of their intelligence agents to conduct an inquiry on the spot: in Radjab 789/July 1387, the latter brought back somewhat alarming news. Detachments of the Mongol army had entered Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, at Edessa and Malaṭya, after having scattered the troops of the Turcoman ruler Ḳarā Muḥammad.

In the middle of the year 795/1393, Tīmūr again made his presence felt; an embassy from the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd urged the Egyptian government to take military precautions, whilst the Sultan of Bag͟hdād, Aḥmad b. Uways, expelled from his domains by the Mongol hordes, took refuge in the Mamlūk kingdom. Tīmūr had nevertheless approached Barḳūḳ amicably, though the latter, casting aside all prudence, had the Mongol ambassador put to death.

The Egyptian sultan had left for Syria at the head of an army; at that time only a few skirmishes occurred. Barḳūḳ made a certain number of appointments relating to the Syrian frontier, so that the fortresses of Malaṭya, Ṭarsūs, Edessa and Ḳalʿat al-Rūm received new commanders. Epigraphy, moreover, reveals that works were carried out at this time at the citadel of Baʿlbak, the command post at the entrance to Coele-Syria. Thus, thanks to these meagre indications, we may assume that in the course of his passage through Syria, Barḳūḳ saw to the defence of the territory; he was back in Cairo on the 13 Ṣafar 797/8 December 1394.

The end of the reign is devoid of historical significance; the sultan died on the 15th S͟hawwāl 801/20th June 1399, as the result of an attack of epilepsy.

Barḳūḳ was 63 years of age, and for over twenty years had governed Egypt firstly as Marshal of the Armies and then as sultan. The disturbances caused by the Syrian governors gave him much trouble. They can probably be explained by normal feelings of jealousy and instinct for intrigue, which at all times actuated the Mamluks. Certain synchronisms, however, are suggestive and one may well ask whether the great Syrian officers were not induced to rebel by skilful propaganda conducted by the emissaries of Tīmūr, who was to benefit from the disorders.

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BARKYĀRŪḲ (Berkyaruk), fourth Saldjūḳid Sulṭān, in whose time the visible decline of the regime began. Although the eldest of the sons of Maliks͟hāh, he was only thirteen years old on the latter's death (S͟hawwāl 485/November 1092) and, unlike his father, who at a similar age had been guided by his vizier and *atabeg* Niẓām al-Mulk, he lacked a man of undisputed authority in his entourage. Moreover, Maliks͟hāh's last wife, Turkān K͟hātūn, a woman also of the noblest birth, had dominated her husband in the latter years of his life and now, with the treasury at her disposal, she was able to have her four year old son Maḥmūd proclaimed Sulṭān at Bag͟hdād. Already caliphal arbitration seems to have become a significant factor in the succession to the sultanate, which had previously been decided within the Saldjūḳid family. Furthermore, Tādj al-Mulk, the enemy and successor of Turkān K͟hātūn's counsellor, Niẓām al-Mulk, had been unable to destroy the considerable armed following surrounding the sons of the late vizier, and was seeking vengeance. The Niẓāmiyya abducted Barkyārūḳ from Iṣfahān and at Rayy, their centre, proclaimed him Sulṭān. Finally, in the absence of any law of succession, a vague tribal tradition favourable to family sharing and to the pre-eminence of the eldest member of the extended family encouraged the pretensions of Ismāʿīl b. Yāḳūtī, Barkyārūḳ's maternal uncle and Maliks͟hāh's cousin, of Tutus͟h, the latter's brother, who held Syria as his appanage, and of Arslan Arg͟hūn, another brother, who was active in K͟hurāsān. There then began a complex civil war, which was to prove much more serious than the skirmishes engendered by the accession of Alp Arslan and Maliks͟hāh. Ultimately Barkyārūḳ prevailed because, following the killing of Tādj al-Mulk by the Niẓāmiyya, death claimed Turkān K͟hātūn and Maḥmūd; Ismāʿīl, who alternatively sought to join with Turkān K͟hātūn and Barkyārūḳ, was likewise killed by the Niẓāmiyya; Tutus͟h, the most dangerous of all of them, had succeeded in gaining recognition by the whole of Mesopotamia (including Bag͟hdād) and had invaded the Iranian plateau, but first his great Syrian amīrs Aḳsunḳur of Aleppo and Būzān of Edessa deserted him and then the amīrs of Iran, fearing the advent of a new suzerainty, offered resistance and Tutus͟h perished in the final battle; finally Arslan Arg͟hūn, whose limited aim was to make K͟hurāsān an autonomous appanage, after overcoming Būrībars, the last of Maliks͟hāh's brothers, despatched against him by Barkyārūḳ, likewise died in due course. Thus from 488/1095, Barkyārūḳ was acknowledge by the Caliph in the Arab provinces of the Empire and on the Iranian plateau and in the following year he was able to proceed to K͟hurāsān to receive the submission of the province and even to renew the claim to Saldjūḳid sovereignty over Samarḳand and G͟haznā. But the Empire over which he ruled was far from resembling that over which his predecessors had held sway.

Alp Arslan and, more clearly, Maliks͟hāh had indeed already formed appanages and great commands for the benefit of princes of their family and in exceptional cases, for high amīrs; in the main, however, frontier or remote districts were affected and, in spite of ominous incidents, they had not seriously compromised the unity of the Empire.

Under Barkyārūķ, things developed differently and the Empire assumed the guise of a federation of autonomous princes. In Syria, the sons of Tutu<u>sh</u>, Duķāķ of Damascus and Ruḍwān of Aleppo, acknowledged his sovereignty in principle, without, however, Barkyārūķ ever being able to intervene in their affairs. In <u>Kh</u>urāsān, in the inaccessible mountain regions of the East, rebels persisted—a cousin of Malik<u>sh</u>āh, a descendant of Yab<u>gh</u>u, Tu<u>gh</u>ril Beg's brother, etc., so that Barkyārūķ deemed it prudent to constitute the whole of Khurāsān an appanage for his brother San<u>dj</u>ar, assisted by a governor whom he appointed. He did the same thing for Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān (with its frontier districts), another of the frontier marches, dangerous —as recalled by Ismāʿīl b. Yāķūtī's attempt—by reason of the numbers of Turkomāns always ready to support any enterprise showing a likely prospect of booty. Here Barkyārūķ installed his youngest brother, Muḥammad, accompanied by an *atabeg*, whom he likewise appointed.

Barkyārūķ's difficulties, however, did not end there. Muḥammad and San<u>dj</u>ar, co-uterine brothers (but by a different mother from Barkyārūķ's) were incited, especially by Niẓām al-Mulk's son, Muʾayyad al-Mulk, (who had been dismissed from the vizierate by Barkyārūķ, in favour of a brother with whom he had quarrelled) to throw off all control by their elder brother and revolt against him. Subsequent to operations which were complicated by several amīrs constantly changing sides, and in the course of which both protagonists were in turn forced to flee, an agreement was negotiated by the moderate elements of both sides. In accordance therewith, Muḥammad was given the title of *malik* and received Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān with Armenia, under the suzerainty of Barkyārūķ, the sole sultan. Muḥammad, dissatisfied, reopened hostilities, but was forced to flee into Armenia. Finally, however, in 497/1104, Barkyārūķ, ill and weary of the war, agreed to an actual division of the sultanate. Though in addition to the <u>Dj</u>ibāl with Rayy, he retained Ṭabaristān, Fārs and <u>Kh</u>ūzistān, Ba<u>gh</u>dād and the Holy cities, in other words the towns of greatest consequence and the core of the central territories, he was obliged to acknowledge his brother in Iṣfahān, half of ʿIrāķ, and all the western frontier territories from Ā<u>dh</u>arbay<u>dj</u>ān to Syria, and to accord him the direction of the Holy War. As for San<u>dj</u>ar, he was to pronounce the *<u>kh</u>uṭba* for Muḥammad and himself simultaneously, disregarding Barkyārūķ. It is difficult to say what the outcome of this agreement might have been, if Barkyārūķ's death and the provisional reunification of the Empire which ensued under Muḥammad had allowed time for it to come to fruition. In any event, even within the territories as attributed to each brother, the reality of their authority was far from being everywhere assured.

It had been impossible to keep watch over the attempts at regional independence, and the support of the amīrs, vacillating between the pretenders, had had to be purchased. The result was that even in Upper Mesopotamia, Kerbu<u>gh</u>ā and especially his successor <u>Dj</u>ekermi<u>sh</u> were to be found almost independent at Mawṣil, whilst the Artuķids were taking the initial steps towards the unification of Diyār Bakr to their own advantage. In Armenia, to the Turkomān principalities established in former Byzantine territory and that of the Rawwādids of Ani, which continued to exist, there was added that of Sukmān al-Ķuṭbī, one of Ismāʿīl's former officers, who made himself the <u>Sh</u>āh-i Armīn at A<u>kh</u>lāṭ. On the borders of ʿIrāķ, the masters of the Baṭīḥa and the Mazyadid Arabs became powers to be reckoned with. Leaving aside <u>Kh</u>urāsān and the Caspian provinces, where autonomous principalities had always been accepted, and the old principalities, belonging to ancient Būyid and Kurdish families, had similarly been tolerated, the genesis can be observed in Iran and even <u>Kh</u>ūzistān of hereditary feudal families, issuing from great Sal<u>dj</u>ūķid officers, the best known of them being that of the sons of Bursuķ at Tustar. The successive viziers of Barkyārūķ, the three sons of Niẓām al-Mulk, ʿIzz al-Mulk (died 487/1094), Muʾayyad al-Mulk, disgraced after a year, and Fa<u>kh</u>r al-Mulk (493/1096), then ʿAbd al-<u>Dj</u>alīl al-Dibistānī, who fell in battle, and al-Mayba<u>dh</u>ī (495-498), were doubtless primarily occupied in finding money by all possible means (confiscation, pressure exerted on the Caliph, harassing the Christians, etc.) and in countering the intrigues of hostile clans; the difficulty confronting them lay in making themselves accepted by the amīrs, as is illustrated by the assassination of the *mustawfī* (Director of Finances) Ma<u>dj</u>d al-Mulk al-Balāsānī, on the pretext of <u>Sh</u>īʿism.

It is true that, in comparison with Muḥammad or the early Sal<u>dj</u>ūķs, Barkyārūķ did not enjoy the reputation of being a militant defender of orthodoxy. The dissensions of his reign benefited the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, who acquired impregnable fortresses in the mountains of northern Iran and around Iṣfahān, not to mention the former Ismāʿīlī seigniory of Ṭabas in the desert, which went over to them. When the Niẓāmiyya took Muḥammad and San<u>dj</u>ar's side, Barkyārūķ's lieutenant in <u>Kh</u>urāsān was even to be found enlisting considerable contingents from Ṭabas. However at the end of the reign, the influence acquired by the Ismāʿīlīs and the disaffection of Barkyārūķ's supporters, due to the toleration he had shown them, appeared dangerous to him and he encouraged massacres of Ismāʿīlīs at Ba<u>gh</u>dād and in Iran, without, however, anything being done to deal with the bases of their power.

Barkyārūķ died in Rabīʿ II 498/beginning of 1105, when 25 years of age. He was certainly not a great man and the clumsiness with which he alienated the Niẓāmiyya, for example, was a grave error indeed. Yet it must be remembered that he was very young and it would be unjust not to recognise that the factors of disintegration which manifested themselves in his time were latent even in the regime of the Great Sal<u>dj</u>ūķs.

Bibliography: The sources will be examined in the article SAL<u>DJ</u>ŪĶ. The main ones are the History of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūķids of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (ed. in the version of Bundarī by Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 1888), the relevant part of which is based on the Persian memoirs of the vizier Anu<u>sh</u>irwān; the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, x, which combines copious information from ʿIrāķī and <u>Kh</u>urāsānī sources etc., with that provided by the above work; and the *Sal<u>dj</u>ūķ-nāma* of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Ni<u>sh</u>āpūrī, ed. of an approximative text by Gelaleh <u>Kh</u>āwar, Tehran 1953, with its derivative, the *Raḥāt al-Ṣudūr* of Rāwandī, ed. Muḥ. Iķbāl, *GMS* 1921. To these may be added, for the revolt of Tutu<u>sh</u>, the Muslim and Christian sources of Syrian history, in particular Ibn al-Ķalānisī, ed. Amedroz. See also the *Mu<u>dj</u>mal al-Tawārī<u>kh</u>* in Persian, anonymous, ed. Bahar 1938, short but contemporary, and the Nestorian chronicle of Mari etc. ed. Gismondi. Modern works: Defrémery, *Recherches sur le règne du*

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(Cl. Cahen)

BARLAAM and **JOSAPHAT** [see Bilawhar wa Yūdāsaf].

BARMAKIDS [see Barāmika].

BARNIḲ [see Benghāzī].

BARŌDA, formerly capital of the Indian State of the same name, now merged with Madhya Bharat, situated in 22° 18′ N. and 73° 15′ E. on the Vishwāmitrī river. Population in 1951 was 211,407. It is known to the inhabitants as Wadōdara, said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *vatōdar* which means 'in the heart of the banyan-trees', and the vicinity of the town still abounds in these trees. The word *baṛ* in Urdu also means a banyan-tree. An old name of the town is Vīrakshetra or Vīrāwatī which means 'a land of warriors' and was used by the 11th/17th century Gudjarātī poet, Parmānand. Early English travellers call the town Barōdera. The city proper was enclosed by the walls of the old fort, which have now been demolished.

The history of Barōda is closely linked with the history of Gudjarāt. In 1140/1727 Pilādjī Gāēkwār, the founder of the dynasty which ruled over Barōda till 1949, when the State was merged with the Indian Union, wrested Barōda from Sarbuland Khān, the Mughal governor of Gudjarāt. In 1144/1731 Pēshwā Bādjī Rāō invested the town with the intention of turning out Pilādjī but had to lift the siege on hearing that he was about to be attacked by Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh. But the very next year (1145/1732) Pilādjī was murdered and Abhay Singh, the ruler of Djōdhpūr, taking advantage of the confusion, captured both the fort and the town. Dāmādjī, who had succeeded Pilādjī as the ruler of Barōda, recaptured the town in 1147/1734. Thereafter he entered into an alliance with Muʾmin Khān, the Mughal governor of Gudjarāt. Dāmādjī was one of those Maharatta chiefs who fought against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1175/1761 in the third battle of Pānīpat. On the death of Dāmādjī, the town was occupied by his youngest son Fatḥ Singh, on behalf of his insane eldest brother Sāyādjī Rāō. The House of Gāēkwār continued to rule the city independently till 1273/1856, when along with the State it was included in the dominions of the East India Company.

There are many beautiful buildings in Barōda including Lakshmī Vilās, the chief palace, built in the Indo-Saracenic style at a cost of £ 400,000. Among the State jewels is a finely embroidered cloth studded with precious stones and seed-pearls which was designed as a covering for the Prophet's tomb at al-Madīna. Barōda has a fine library and its Gāēkwār Institute of Oriental Research has published a number of Persian works on Indo-Muslim history.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

al-**BARRĀDĪ**, Abu 'l-Faḍl Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Brāhīm, a North African Ibāḍī scholar, who lived in the second half of the 8th/14th century. He was a native of Dammar in Southern Tunisia, where he studied under Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Yaʿīsh al-Djarbī. Thence he moved on to Yefren, in the Djebel Nefūsa, to attend the classes given by Shaykh Abū Sākin ʿĀmir al-Shammākhī (died in 792/1390). On completing his studies, he settled in Djerba, where for several years he devoted his energies to teaching, holding his classes in the Wādī al-Zabīb mosque. He died at Djerba, leaving several sons. According to al-Shammākhī, the most famous of them was ʿAbd Allāh Abū Muḥammad, who made a reputation especially in the science of *uṣūl*.

His main work is the *Kitāb Djawāhir al-Muntaḳāt* (lithographed at Cairo in 1302/1885), which forms a complement to the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Mashāʾikh* by the 7th/13th century Maghribī author, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Dardjīnī [*q.v.*]. The book is divided into two categories (*ṭabaḳa*), the first of which reviews from the Ibāḍī point of view the history of the early period of Islam, omitted by al-Dardjīnī, and contains the biographies of those famous men, whom the latter failed to mention; the second subjects al-Dardjīnī's work to a critical examination, adding a number of new facts and brief excursuses. It ends with a catalogue of the books of the sect, which has been published and translated by A. de Motylinski.

According to al-Shammākhī, al-Barrādī was also the author of a *Risāla*, addressed to Shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣadghayānī, in which he explicitly states his theories on faith and the unity of God; likewise of a *Sharḥ* on the *Kitāb al-Daʿāʾim* by Aḥmad b. al-Nazātī and of a *Sharḥ* on the *Kitāb al-ʿAdl fī Uṣūl al-Fiḳh* by Abū Yaʿḳūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī. There is no reference in al-Shammākhī to the *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, quoted by Lewicki (*Handwörterbuch*, s.v. *Ibāḍiyya*), a MS. of which exists at Lwów.

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(R. Rubinacci)

BARSBĀY, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Naṣr, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt from 825/1422 to 841/1438. He joined the Mamlūks of Sulṭān Barḳūḳ, received his first promotion during the reign of Shaykh and then became governor of the province of Tripoli. Like many officers, he did not avoid imprisonment, spending some time in the jails of Marḳab and Damascus. Fortune favoured him at the accession of Tatar and, in spite of the brevity of the latter's reign, he was able to gain the ascendancy in Cairo.

From the moment Barsbāy acceeded to the sultanate, he displayed the salient features of his nature: greed, bad temper, and cruelty. One of his first acts was to renew the ban on Christians and Jews which prevented them from entering government service. This may have been a tax in disguise, since when non-Muslims were the object of such a decree, they usually circumvented it by payment of a sum of money. But it may also be interpreted as a measure of defiance, for European privateers were then very

active in the Mediterranean. Hence the Draconian decree: European property was impounded both in Egypt and Syria and no European was permitted to return to his own country. There then followed the temporary prohibition of the circulation of European currencies, a measure which had uncertain effects.

The government of Egypt also took serious military precautions, building a number of small forts on the coast and fitting out a flotilla of corvettes. The sultan, however, continued without respite, his preparations for the realisation of his great idea, an expedition against the island of Cyprus. After several preliminary reconnaissances, a large-scale attempt was launched; the only engagement, which was particularly bloody, ended unfavourably for the Cypriots, whose king, Janus, was taken prisoner and brought back to Cairo. He was led through the town in fetters; he only recovered his freedom and his kingdom on payment of a yearly tribute. A part of the booty was devoted to the restoration of various monuments in Mecca (830/1427).

Nevertheless, this relatively easy victory revealed a dangerous state of indiscipline among the troops and on the occasion of a frontier conflict with the army of the White Sheep Turkomān prince, Ḳarā-Yūluḳ, the Mamlūks, after taking the town of Edessa by storm, perpetrated the most revolting atrocities there. This disagreement between neighbours severely impaired the prosperity of Upper Mesopotamia, which was alternately devastated by one side or the other. After considerable hesitation, Barsbāy mobilised a large army, which finally proceeded to invest Āmid (Diyārbakr). They were, however, unable to take the Turkomān capital, to Barsbāy's great annoyance. Faced with the growing discontent of the army, the Sulṭān was obliged to resign himself to negotiate. Ḳarā-Yūluḳ accepted his proposals for peace and, in several vague formulas, recognised the sovereignty of the sultan of Egypt. The Mamlūk army made its way back to Cairo; their progress was the stampede of a discontented soldiery. The troops proceeded in the greatest disorder, giving the impression rather of the hasty retreat of a defeated army (837/1433). The Sulṭān had left half the total strength of his army behind in Mesopotamia.

There then ensued a strange diplomatic struggle with the Tīmūrid sultan Shāh-Rukh. The Mongol ruler claimed the right to cover the Kaʿba with a veil. This was, in fact, a privilege of the Egyptians consecrated by immemorial custom and Sulṭān Barsbāy, supported by his council of chief judges, was unwilling to relinquish it. The dispute, fanned by lawyers' quibbles and cruelly derisive treatment of the ambassadors, gave rise to the exchange of pithy diplomatic documents. However, it entailed no immediate consequences during the reign of Sulṭān Barsbāy.

No doubt the policy of the ruler of Egypt was based on considerations of prestige, but primarily he wished to prevent the Mongol sultan from gaining a foothold in Arabia through official agents, which might possibly endanger Egypt's commercial interests.

Indeed, Barsbāy had recently requested those merchants coming from India to land their wares at Djedda, instead of putting in at the port of Aden, as previously. It was a good beginning, but in his insatiable greed, Barsbāy determined to force the merchants to proceed obligatorily to Cairo for the purpose of paying taxes. This vexatious regulation was soon formally modified, but though the merchants were excused from proceeding to the Egyptian capital, they still had to pay exorbitant dues at Djedda. This port, however, henceforth became a commercial mart of the first importance. Half the dues collected there went to the Sharīf of Mecca and half to Egypt. The tax-collectors belonged to the Egyptian administration.

Barsbāy's end is a pitiful and tragic tale. An epidemic of plague broke out and, fearing lest he might catch the disease, he resolved to suppress the vexatious economic measures to which we have referred; he proceeded to distribute alms in plenty, though at the same time he also had his two physicians put to death. On the 13th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 841/7th June 1438, he fell a victim to the plague.

To summarise our impressions of Sulṭān Barsbāy, we must bear two aspects of his character in mind. He was constantly haunted by the morbid fear inspired in him by his rival, Djānībak Ṣūfī, whom he had imprisoned at his accession and who made good his escape. This in itself induced him to make haphazard gestures, which, however, were milder than those suggested to him by his need of money. There flourished a series of practices which led the Mamlūk regime to disaster: the sale of offices, confiscation of fortunes which were too noticeable, the unprecedented extension of state monopolies and the institution of the compulsory purchase of primary commodities, bought up in advance by the Government. The Arab historians aver that Barsbāy was an intelligent administrator, an able and poised politician, but the facts speak against this assessment. All his actions are dominated by the spectre of Djānībak and, precisely because of his erratic changes of mood, we can scarcely consider him as a wise and sagacious statesman. His preparations for the Cyprus and Diyārbakr campaigns appear to have swallowed up large sums of money and the latter was a resounding failure.

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(G. Wiet)

BARSHALŪNA, Spanish Barcelona, the old Iberian town of Barcino (compare Ruscino, from which Roussillon is derived), which incidentally has no connexion with Hamilcar Barca. Barcelona, once the home of the Laeetians, gradually supplanted Tarraco-Tarragona, situated to the south-west of it, as the capital of north-eastern Roman Spain (Hispania-Tarraconensis). From the fragments of the works of al-Idrīsī and al-Bakrī compiled by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyarī, it is clear that Barcelona in their day was already a large town. It was encircled by a strong rampart and its port was rockbound, so that only captains familiar with the channels could steer their ships into it. It was in Barcelona, the capital of his country, that the 'King of Ifrandja' resided. This monarch owned armed ships for travel and corsair raids. The Ifrandj (Catalans) were of an aggressive temperament which spurred them on to great daring.

The territory of Barcelona produced a great deal of wheat and other cereals, as well as honey in large quantity. There were as many Jews living there as Christians. In 96-98/714-16 it fell to the Arabs under ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr after a single attack. In Arabic the town is called Barshinūna, a name derived from the low Latin Barcinona (Orosius already has Barcilona, the Geographer of Ravenna Barcelona, cf. Hübner in *Pauly-Wissowa*,

s.v.), but it is still more commonly called Barshalūna, from which the present Barcelona derives.

The form Bardjalūna is rarer. This is in the origin of the name al-Bardjalūnī, the short title which later Arab writers often gave to the king of Aragon and Catalonia (cf. *JA*, 1907, ii, 279 ff.).

In 185/801 Louis, the son of Charlemagne, as king of Aquitaine, conquered Barcelona, which from that time became the capital of the Spanish borderlands of the Frankish Empire, and from 888, of the independent counts or marquesses of Barcelona or Catalonia. In 242/856, Barcelona was temporarily occupied by the Arabs (*Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*[2], ii, 95-6). In 375/985, it was taken by assault in the last time by the great Almanzor (Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans*[2], ii, 238-9), but in 987, Count Borell I reconquered it. In the twelfth century (1137) it was reunited with the kingdom of Aragon. Worthy of note is the order given in 450/1058 by the Muslim king of Denia, ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī by virtue of which the Mozarabic bishoprics of Baleares [*q.v.*] like those of Denia and Orihuela were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Barcelona (Simonet, *Historia de los Mozarabes de Espana— Memoria de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. xiii, Madrid 1905, 651-4; Campaner, *Bosquejo histórico de la dominacion islamita en las islas Baleares*, Palma 1888, 82-84).

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(C. F. Seybold-[A. Huici Miranda])

BARSHAWĪSH [see Nudjūm[.

BARṢĪṢĀ, the name of a pseudo-historical figure, a recluse, who is to be connected, according to a later interpretation, with the Antonian tradition. In its folk-lore aspect, the tradition concerning Barṣīṣā must have assumed several forms, because at a late period Ibn Baṭṭūṭa came across, between Tripoli and Alexandria, a *kaṣr Barṣīṣā al-ʿābid*, a name which recalls the career of St. Antony and his long period of seclusion in an old castle (*ṣīṣat*). The Aramaic etymology of the name Barṣīṣā calls to mind the highest sacerdotal office, whether one considers the *ṣīṣā* as denoting the pectoral of the high priest, or the topknots of the sacerdotal coiffure. In Muslim Tradition, Barṣīṣā is the hermit who, after a long career of asceticism, succumbs to the successive temptations of the Devil who finally induces him to deny God, and then abandons him to eternal despair.

These remarks refers to the commentary on Kurʾān lix, 16, which deals with hypocrites who tempt the faithful ... "in the likeness of the Devil, when he says to Man, 'Disbelieve', but when he disbelieves, says, 'I am quit of thee; I fear Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds'". There are two rival interpretations of "Man", and al-Ṭabarī (xxviii, 31 f.) sets them before us: is it a question of a particular man, or of mankind as a whole?

The first four traditions which al-Ṭabarī produces in the case of "Man" denoting a particular person, relate to a recluse, either a monk (*rāhib*) (Ṭabarī, xxviii, 332), or an ascetic (*radjul min Banī Isrāʾīl*, *ʿābid*), or a Christian priest (*kās*). The story about this pious man is relatively constant; three brothers entrust to him their sister, who is ill, while they are absent on a journey. The monk, yielding to the suggestions of Satan, seduces her, gets her with child, and then, in order to get rid of her and thus of the evidence of his fall, kills her and buries her in a secret place (under a tree, in his house). The brothers, on their return, believe at first that she died a natural death, but Satan reveals to them in a dream the ascetic's crime. The ascetic, panic-stricken at the realisation that his crime has been discovered, is approached in his turn by Satan, who offers to save him if he will prostrate himself before him and deny God. When the wretched man has stooped to this ultimate degree of sin, Satan mocks him, in the terms of the verse in the Kurʾān, lix, 16. After al-Ṭabarī, Tradition rediscovered the name of Barṣīṣā and applied it to the hero of this legend. In *EI*[1], Duncan B. Macdonald (s.v. *Barṣīṣā*) enumerated these sources. The first author who seems to have mentioned the name of Barṣīṣā is Abū Layth al-Samarkandī (d. 985 or 993), in his *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, who was followed by al-Baghawī (d. 1122). Goldziher-Landberg, *Legende vom Mönch Barṣīṣā*, fills in the history of the later development of the legend, as narrated in al-Kazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 368), in the *Mustaṭraf* of Ibn Ibshayhī, chap. 64, in al-Suyūṭī, and thence, in the *Forty Vezirs*, the Istanbul edition of which, 1303 A.H., 120-126, contains a long account, of greater length than the one translated by Pétis de la Croix and Gibb.

This account, either via Spain, or through the medium of a translation of the *Forty Vezirs*, must have become the source of the 'Gothic' romance of Monk Lewis, *Ambrosio or the Monk*, in which every detail was dealt with at length and adapted to the taste of the day.

Bibliography: Duncan B. Macdonald, in *EI*[1], and *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, s.v. *Barṣīṣā*, and addenda in *IA* s.v. *Bersîsâ*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages arabes*, viii, 128 ff.; A. Abel, *Barṣīṣā, le Moine qui défia le Diable*, Bruxelles 1959, in *Publications de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire orientales*.

(A. Abel)

BARTANG [see badakhshān].

BĀRŪD.

i. — General

In Arabic, the word *nafṭ* (Persian *naft*) is applied to the purest form (*ṣafwa*) of Mesopotamian bitumen (*kīr*—or *kār*—*bābilī*). Its natural colour is white. It occasionally occurs in a black form, but this can be rendered white by sublimation. *Nafṭ* is efficacious against cataract and leucoma; it has the property of attracting fire from a distance, without direct contact.

Mixed with other products (fats, oil, sulphur etc.) which make it more combustible and more adhesive, it constituted the basic ingredient of "Greek fire", a liquid incendiary compound which was hurled at people, the various siege weapons which were made of wood, and ships. The Muslims of the East, as is well known, made spectacular use of it against the Crusaders and the Mongols. This new product retained the name of *nafṭ*. A specialist, *naffāṭ* or *zarrāk*, discharged the "Greek fire" in the form of a jet, by means of a special copper tube: *naffāṭa, zarrāka, mukḥula*; this instrument, the prototype of our flame-throwers, seems to have been a sort of huge syringe, similar to the "pumps" of the earlier firemen of Constantinople. "Greek fire" could also be discharged in "pots" (*kārūra*) hurled by various types of ballistic apparatus, or in cartridges fixed to arrows, in the "Chinese" fashion (*sihām khiṭāʾiyya*).

With the introduction of the use of salpetre, about 1230, the word *nafṭ* assumed new meanings. Since a remote period, the Chinese had known of the

igniting properties of nitre, but they only used it to propel rockets used in firework displays or in war. Knowledge of the properties of saltpetre (and of the procedure for refining it by washing) probably passed from China to Persia; in Persian, in fact, in addition to the Iranian term *shūra* (archaic: *shūrag*) "nitrous earth, nitre", there existed the synonym *namak-i čīnī* "Chinese salt". In Arabic, in addition to *shawradj*, a loan-word from Iranian, and the vernacular forms *milḥ al-ḥā'iṭ* "sea salt" (cf. *infra*) and *milḥ al-dabbāghīn* "tanners' salt", one finds *thaldj ṣīnī* "Chinese snow", *thaldj al-Ṣīn* "snow of China". One also meets the terms *zahrat ḥadjar assiyūs*, lit. "flower of the stone of Assos" (an ancient town of Troas or Mysia), a sort of marine saltpetre, a powdery salty efflorescence deposited by sea spray on friable rock resembling pumice-stone, something like aphronitre. Ibn al-Bayṭār gives *bārūd*, the history of which will be traced below, as the Maghribī equivalent of the last three terms, which apply to pharmaceutical saltpetres.

Saltpetre was at first incorporated in the igniting powder of fireworks, which retained the name of *nafṭ*. Shortly afterwards, the same name was used for gunpowder.

As far as our present knowledge goes, the first word used by the Arabic-speaking peoples to denote the new saltpetre-containing powder, a word of universal application, was *dawā'* "remedy, medicament, drug". It was in fact the term used by Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ (died 694/1294) to denote the mixture used to fill the *midfaʿ*: 10 parts of *bārūd*, 2 of charcoal and 1.5 of sulphur. This term is still used in Arabic (cf. Landberg, *Glossaire datinois*, i, 895). Semantically, it is parallel to the Persian *dārū* (see *infra*), although it is impossible to determine whether it is pure coincidence, or whether it is a case of a loan-word transmitted through translation, and in what sense the latter could have been effected.

Far more widespread, at least in the Mamlūk East, was the term *nafṭ*, the name of the earlier "Greek fire" transferred to the new compound. In Muslim Spain, the earliest recorded name (from 724/1324) is *nafṭ*. In the *Vocabulista* (a Latin-Spanish Arabic vocabulary compiled in the region of Valencia, in the 13th century), one finds opposite *Ignis* and *Ignem excutere*, the word *nafṭ*, but its meaning is not given with any precision; at all events, this term recurs at Beirut in the sense of "matches". At Tunis, *neffāṭa* is a fire-cracker. In many Arabic dialects, words derived from the root *n-f-ṭ* (*neftā, neffāṭa*) have the meaning of "ampulla" (under the epidermis). This may perhaps be an echo of *ḳawārīr al-nafṭ*.

The form of the word *bārūd*, with *ā*, is not classical. It seems to appear for the first time in the *Djāmiʿ* of Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248). It is stated there that it is the name given in the Maghrib by the common people and physicians to the "snow of China" or "saltpetre", a substance with medicinal properties (cf. trans. Leclerc, i, 71). Al-Rammāḥ uses the word in this sense in his formula for gunpowder. Again, for Ibn al-Kutubī (710/1310, cf. *infra*), *bārūd* only meant saltpetre.

In his *Taʿrīf* (1312 ed., 208), al-ʿUmarī (d. 748/1348) twice uses the word *bārūd*. In one instance, he is talking about a substance incorporated in the "naphtha pots" (*ḳawārīr al-nafṭ*), projectiles used in naval warfare. In the other, he is talking about *makāḥil al-bārūd*, where the word could be taken to refer to a propulsive saltpetre compound (see *infra*: ii).

It is thus difficult to state with any accuracy at what date and in what country "gunpowder" assumed the name of its principal ingredient.

In Muslim Spain, the change in meaning took place in the course of the second half of the 15th century. "Gunpowder" then became *bārūd*, and "saltpetre" *malḥ al-bārūd*; *nafṭ* (pl. *anfāṭ*) then denoted "cannon", and *naffāṭ* "gunner" (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.vv.).

In this new sense of "gunpowder", the word *bārūd* is widespread throughout the Arabic-speaking world; it is in general pronounced with an emphatic *r*. As subsidiary terms, Arabia recognises representatives of *dawā'* (cf. *supra*). Tunisia has *kusksi* "couscous", and Kabylia *kusksu āberkān* "black couscous", names (perhaps euphemistic) deriving from the resemblance of the two products, both rolled up (*maftūl*) and granulated. In Libya, in addition to *bārūd*, one finds *bārūg*, which can be connected either with the Arabic root *b.r.ḳ* "to flash (lightning)", or with *būrāḳ*, the Greek *nitron*.

The word is used in Turkish, mainly in the form *bārūt*, a pronunciation which recurs in various southern Arabian dialects: ʿUmān, Ḥaḍramawt (and even *bārūṭ*, cf. Landberg, *Glossaire datinois*, i, 130). The Turkish term has been borrowed by Persian and by the Balkan languages: modern Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian. From Persian, the word has passed into Kurdish and Hindūstānī; but in the latter, as in Afghānī, it has a rival in the Persian *dārū*, lit. "remedy" (= *dawā'*). Representatives of *bārūd* recur in several African languages in the sense of "gunpowder": Amharic, Swahili, Hausa, etc. In addition to the current and popular term μπαρούτι, borrowed from Turkish, modern Greek recognises, as a scholarly word, πυρῖτις, which has been seen as the origin of *bārūd*. But this etymology is not absolutely certain.

Al-Kafādjī [*q.v.*], an Egyptian author who died in 1069/1659 after a long residence in Turkey, devoted to the word *bārūd*, in his *Shifā' al-Ghalīl* (ed. Cairo, 1282, 55), a long notice in which he said: "this word is written with a *dāl* without a dot, and *bārūt* is an erroneous form. In the *Mā lā yasaʿ al-Ṭabīb Djahluh* (the work of Baghdād physician Ibn al-Kutubī, written about 1310), one reads as follows: "this is, in the Maghrib, the name of the "flower of Assiyūs" (cf. *supra*, the quotation from Ibn al-Bayṭār). In their vernacular dialect, the people of ʿIrāḳ apply this term to saltpetre (*milḥ al-ḥā'iṭ*) which appears as an efflorescence on old walls, where it is collected. It is used in fireworks (*aʿmāl al-nār*) which rise into the air and move about; thanks to it, the fireworks rise more rapidly and ignite more quickly". The Egyptian author resumes: "this is a post-classical word (*muwallad*), derived from *burāda* "iron filings", because of the similarity of the two products. At the present time, *bārūd* is applied to a compound of this salt, charcoal and sulphur: it has assumed the name of one of its components". For the ʿIrāḳīs of the beginning of the 8th/14th century, *bārūd* still denoted only saltpetre, but was already used in pyrotechnics.

Equally interesting is the notice devoted to this word by Ibn Khalaf al-Tibrīzī (in his Persian dictionary *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* (Tehran ed. 1330/1951)): "it is the *dārū-yi tufang* "remedy of collyrium for the musket". In the Syriac language (*suryānī*) it is the name given to *shūra* "nitre, saltpetre", which constitutes the principal element of *bārūd*". I do not know where the Persian lexicographer got his information from. But it is a fact that the *Lexikon Syriacum* of Brockelmann, (2nd. ed. 1928, 95),

records an instance of *bārūd* "nitrum", culled from an alchemical text.

From these two indications, the word *bārūd* could therefore have had an Aramaic origin, which would correlate well with its morphological pattern *faʿūl*.

In Armenian, the name of gunpowder is *vaṛōd* (for *vaṛawd*, with a dotted *r*) which, for phonetic reasons governing word-transference, could not be directly connected with *bārūd*. However, the Armenian word appears to have an etymology (popular?) founded in Armenian itself: *vaṛ* "to burn" and *awd* "air". Could the Aramaic word be of Armenian origin? (Information supplied by Professor Feydit, Paris).

De Goeje proposed for *bārūd* another etymology which seems to have been overlooked (cf. *Quelques observations sur le feu grégeois*, in *Homenaje a D. F. Codera*, 1904, 96): it could stem from *barūd*, in the first place "a soothing collyrium (*kuḥl*) used for inflammation of the eye", which in the end was applied to all powdery collyriums (cf. Ibn al-Ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲āʾ, *Glossaire sur le Manṣūrī de Razès*, ed. Colin and Renaud, 1941, 18). The Bag̲h̲dādī physician Ibn D̲j̲azla (d. 493/1100) in his *Minhād̲j̲* heralded the use of "flower of the stone of Assiyūs, or marine saltpetre, in collyrium to strengthen the sight and make it clearer and also to get rid of leucoma. As regards the change of quantity in the first vowel, other examples of the change *a* > *ā* are known in Mag̲h̲ribī Arabic nouns belonging to the same morphological pattern and also denoting medicaments: *g̲h̲āsūl* (already in Ibn al-Bayṭār), *fāsūk̲h̲* "gum ammoniac", etc. One is encouraged not to pass over this hypothesis in silence by the fact that, in numerous Arabic-speaking countries, the term *mukḥula* "collyrium tube" has been used for "musket". Let us not forget that the first Arabic word for gunpowder was *dawāʾ* "medicament". In the field of Iranian linguistics, gunpowder is sometimes termed "medicament or collyrium of the musket". Finally, in an altogether different field, Malay too has *obat bedil* "medicament of the musket". In the case of "gunpowder", as in that of "fire-tube", it could have been a case, to begin with, of a euphemistic name. The Arabic *dawāʾ* has further other senses of the same origin: "poison", "depilatory compound" (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*). To sum up, the origin of *bārūd* is still obscure.

On feast days, the rural population of North Africa devotes itself to the *liʿb al-bārūd* "gunpowder game", with guns charged with blanks, either on horseback (*liʿb al-k̲h̲ayl*, the "tilting" of Europeans) in which the participants imitate the oldt actic of *al-farr wa 'l-karr*, or on foot ("the musket dance"). For an accurate picture (in dialectal Arabic), cf. G. Delphin, *Recueil de textes* . . ., 233, 255; V. Loubignac, *Textes arabes des Zaer*, 79; in French, L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, 234.

From *bārūd* has been formed the derivative *bārūda* "musket" (cf. *infra*); the Moroccan word *bārōdiyya* "ferrous sulphate", which is used as a black dye, is explained by the colour of the powder.

(G. S. Colin)

ii. — THE MAG̲H̲RIB

The first firearms which appeared were siege engines. According to Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (8th/14th century), the Marīnid sultan Yaʿḳūb, when besieging the town of Sid̲j̲ilmāsa in 672-3/1274, brought into action against this town mangonels (*mad̲j̲ānīḳ*) and ballistas (*ʿarrādāt*), as well as a naphtha engine (*hindām al-naft*) which discharged iron grape-shot (*ḥaṣā al-ḥadīd*) expelled from a "chamber" (*k̲h̲azna*) by the fire kindled in the *bārūd* (cf. *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, iv, 188, at the bottom). This precise information is unfortunately doubtful for such an early period. In fact, in his account of the same siege in his history of the kings of Tlemcen (*ibid.*, 85), Ibn K̲h̲aldūn speaks only of siege engines (*ālāt al-ḥiṣār*), without any reference to this marvellous invention. On the other hand, the source used by the author for his account of this siege appears to be the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās* and its parallel history *al-D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra al-Saniyya*[2], Fās, 225; ed. Bencheneb, 158; and these two texts mention only mangonels and ballistas.

It is not until the year 724/1324 that one comes across an indication of something which appears to have been a true firearm. At the siege of Huescar (68 m. (110 km.) N-E of Granada), which was held by the Christians, the king of Granada Ismāʿīl used "the great engine which functions by means of *naft*" (*al-āla al-ʿuẓma al-muttak̲h̲ad̲h̲a bi 'l-naft*). The latter hurled a red-hot iron ball (*kurat ḥadīd muḥmāt*) against the keep of the fortress. The ball, when discharged, threw out showers of sparks, and landed in the midst of the besieged, causing damage as great as that caused by a thunderbolt. Several poets celebrated this event (cf. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta*, Cairo 1319, i, 231; idem, *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya*, Cairo 1347, 72).

Nineteen years later, at the siege of Algeciras (743/1343), the Muslim defenders fired against the Christians, by means of *truenos* (lit. "thunderclaps") large thick arrows as well as heavy iron balls (cf. *Cronica del rey Don Alfonso el onceno*, ed. Ribadeneira, Ch. 270, 344, and Ch. 279, 352). But what exactly is meant by "thunderclaps"? Actual firearms, or machines analogous to the "thunderers" or *raʿʿādāt*? It is only during the last years of the Naṣrid period (1482-1492) that there begin to appear in the sources the terms *bārūd* "gunpowder" and *naft* (pl. *anfāṭ*) "cannon", siege cannon for the Castilians, fort artillery for the Granadans. At the siege of Moclin (1486), the Castilians employed cannon which hurled "rocks of fire" (*ṣuk̲h̲ūr min nār*); the latter soared into the sky and fell back as a mass of flame (*tas̲h̲taʿil nār^an^*) on the town, killing and burning all on whom they fell. It should be noted that, during this period, the plural *anfāṭ* is in general accompanied by the word *ʿudda*, which is properly applied to classical engines of the catapult type. In fact, at the famous siege of the suburb of al-Bayyāzīn, at Granada (1486), *anfāṭ* and *mand̲j̲ānīḳ* were seen in action together (cf. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, especially 18 and 20).

In his *Vocabulista* of the Arabic spoken at Granada (compiled in 1501), P. de Alcala translated *artilleria* by *ʿudda*; but *artillero* is *naffāṭ*, derived from *naft* "lombarda"; and *trabuco* "trebuchet" has as its corresponding term *mand̲j̲anīḳ*. He knew in addition a sort of culverin: *ubruḳīn*, *ubriḳīn* "robadoquin, passabolante". But he only mentions the arbalest, and does not speak of portable firearms.

The latter appeared, in the Mag̲h̲rib, at the beginning of the 16th century. It was a Mag̲h̲ribī who presented the first arquebus (*bunduḳiyya*) to the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣūh al-G̲h̲awrī (906-22/1500-16), saying that this weapon, which had appeared in the territory of the Ifrand̲j̲, was in use in all the lands of the Ottomans and of the G̲h̲arb (cf. Ibn Zunbul, *Fatḥ*, Paris MS. 1832, f. 2 ro.).

Leo Africanus, who left Morocco in 1516, gives us a picture of the army of the Banū Waṭṭās [*q.v.*] as furnished with cannon, and arquebuses carried

by horsemen. In regard to Tunis, at the same period, he mentions that the king had a band of footguards composed of Turks armed with blunderbusses (cf. *Description de l'Afrique*, trad. Épaulard, 239, 387). It was mainly under the Saʿdids [*q.v.*], however, that the use and manufacture of firearms was intensified. The sultans of this dynasty organised their army on the Turkish model; they formed corps of Turkish and Andalusian musketeers, and surrounded themselves with more or less renegade Europeans (*ʿulūdj*) who initiated them in new techniques, notably that of casting cannon.

In 1575, the army of the sultan Mawlāy Muḥammad possessed more than 150 cannon, among which was one with nine barrels (now in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris). In 1578, at the famous battle of Wādi 'l-Makhāzin, the Moroccan army had 34 cannon; it also had 3000 Andalusian arquebusiers on foot and a thousand arquebusiers on horseback.

In 1591, the expeditionary force sent against the Sūdān included 2,000 Andalusian arquebusiers and renegades on foot, and 500 renegade horsemen armed with blunderbusses; it carried off six mortars and numerous small cannon (cf. *Hespéris*, 1923, 467). These firearms facilitated the defeat of the Sudanese, who were armed only with assegais, bows and swords. At Timbuktu, the—extremely hybrid—descendants of the Moroccan musketeers still constitute a sort of class: the *arma*, from the Arabic *rumāt*.

In Morocco, during this period, "cannon" was *nafḍ* (sic), while "musket" was *midfaʿ*. It is only later, in the 17th century, that this latter word took on the meaning of "cannon", while the new "flintlock" took the name *mukḥula*, which came perhaps from the East. The following fact is characteristic of the date of this change of meaning: in the part of his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* in which he reproduces a Granadan Arabic text of 1540, al-Makkārī from Tlemcen (d. 1041/1632), who wrote it is true in the East, on several occasions substitutes the word *madāfiʿ* for *anfāṭ* (cf. *Nafḥ*, Būlāḳ ed., 1279, ii, 1265; Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*).

In 1630, a Morisco who had fled to Tunisia wrote in Spanish an important manual of artillery, based on German techniques. It was translated into Arabic (in a popular form) in 1638 by another Morisco who had taken refuge at Tunis after having lived for a long time at Marrakesh, for the purpose of distribution to the Ottoman sultan Murād and other Muslim rulers (cf. Brockelmann, II, 465; S II, 714. A slightly abridged version exists in the Bibliothèque générale at Rabat: D. 1342). It is stated in this work that *midfaʿ* denoted "cannon" at Tunis, but "musket" in Morocco; and that conversely, *anfāṭ* "cannon" in Morocco, denoted "fireworks" at Tunis, which the Moroccans called *samāwiyyāt*.

The bronze cannon cast by the Saʿdids in Morocco, in their workshops at Fez, Marrakesh and Taroudant (or on their orders, in Holland), are particularly graceful. Many of them still exist in the ports of Morocco, usually decorated with the *ʿalāma* (or *ṭughra*) of the reigning sultan. Portable firearms were imported from Europe, usually as contraband.

The artillery of the ʿAlawid dynasty comprised mainly pieces seized from the enemy, on land or sea, and pieces brought as gifts by foreign ambassadors. Otherwise, cannon and mortars were bought abroad and then an engraved inscription in Arabic was superimposed. On the other hand, it was under this dynasty that the manufacture of muskets spread in Morocco, especially in the south, but also in the north, at Tetuan and Targīst.

However extraordinary it may appear, *madjānīḳ* (accompanied by cannon and mortars) were used in Morocco up to 1729, not only in siege warfare but also in expeditions in mountainous areas (cf. *Archives marocaines*, ix, 107, 162, 169, 180).

Throughout present-day North Africa, the general word for "cannon" is *medfaʿ*; *kūra* (class. *kura*), coll. *kūr*, is "cannon-ball, shell"; everywhere the artilleryman is called *ṭobdjī*. The "mortar" is *mèhrāz*; it throws a bomb, *bunba*, a Latin word received through Turkish. In Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, the old locally made musket bears names derived from *mukḥula*; the two principal types are called: *bū-shfer* "fired by a flint", and *bū-ḥabba* "fired by percussion-cap". Secondary appellations are derived from the name of the armourer or from the place of manufacture, or even from the length of the cannon measured in spans (*shibr*). The vocabulary of the Maghribī dialect preserves the memory of earlier portable weapons of European origin: *kābūs* "pistolet" (*arcabuz*), *meshket*, (*moschetto*), *shkubbiṭa* (*escopeta*), *ḳarrbīla* (*carabina*), etc. In Morocco, the European breach-loaded military musket is called *klāṭa* (Spanish *culata*); the different types are named after the number of cartridges held by the magazine. In eastern Tunisia, in Libya, the local musket is called *bindga* and the rifled carbine: *sheshkhān* (from Persian, "with a sexangular barrel", received through Turkish).

We have seen that, in the western Maghrib and up to the beginning of the 17th century, *nafṭ* denoted "cannon" and *midfaʿ* "portable firearm". This semantic pair has been preserved to the present day (with the variant *nafḍ*) in the Berber dialects of the same region; it is also found in the Arabic dialect of Mauritania. However, among the Twāreg Berbers, a musket is *l-būrūd*. In Amharic, the meanings are reversed: *nafṭ* "musket", *madf* "cannon".

For the nomenclature of the Moroccan musket, cf. Joly, *L'industrie à Tétouan*, in *Archives marocaines*, xi, 361; Delhomme, *Les armes dans le Sous occidental*, in *Archives Berbères*, ii, 123).

The introduction of portable firearms, their employment for the *djihād*, and the necessity for a period of training in the technique of shooting (*rimāya*), led to the creation of societies of marksmen (pl. *rumāt*) of a religious character (cf. *Archives Marocaines*, iv, 97; xvii, 73; xx, 242; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, 134).

On the other hand, the use of such weapons for hunting forced the jurists from the beginning to study the question whether prey killed by this method was licit (*ḥalāl*) or not (the *aḥkām al-bunduḳ* literature). (G. S. Colin)

iii. THE MAMLŪKS

In the present state of our knowledge, the earliest reliable information on the employment of firearms in the Mamlūk sultanate is from the mid-sixties of the fourteenth century, *i.e.*, some forty years later than the corresponding information on the use of firearms in Europe. There exist in the sources earlier references to these weapons, but their authenticity needs further proof. If Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī speaks of firearms in his *al-Taʿrīf fi 'l-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*, Cairo 1312 A.H., 208, ll. 17-22), which he compiled in the year 241/1341, this would mean that the Mamlūks started to use firearms several decades before the mid-sixties.

Some words may be said about the terms by which these weapons were designated. These were *makāḥil* (sing. *mukḥula*) *al-nafṭ* and *madāfiʿ*

(sing. *midfa'*) *al-naft*, or simply *naft* (pl. *nufūṭ*). Subsequently the first two terms were shortened into *madāfi'* and *makāḥil*. From the Mamlūk sources it cannot be learnt whether *mukḥula* and *midfa'* designate different types of firearms or not. During the first years following the introduction of the weapon one comes across the terms *ṣawā'iḳ al-naft*, *ṣawārikh al-naft*, *ālāt al-naft*, *hindām al-naft*, which also mean firearms. But all these last-named terms soon died out. (For detailed proofs that the above mentioned terms mean firearms and not naphtha or "Greek Fire", which is also called in Arabic *naft*, see D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, 9-44).

In Mamlūk historical sources the term *bārūd* as designating the whole mixture of gunpowder is extremely rare during the major part of the Circassian period (784/1382-922/1517); only during the last decades of Mamlūk rule do references to it become quite frequent. The term *naft* remains, however, dominant until the very end of the Mamlūk sultanate. It would appear that the final victory of *bārūd* over *naft* took place after the Ottoman conquest.

Though the use of artillery in the Mamlūk sultanate increased steadily since the closing years of the 8th/14th century, a long time had to elapse before they could entirely supplant the veteran siege-engine, the mangonel (*mandjanīḳ*, pl. *madjānīḳ*). For many years the *midfa'* and the *mukḥula* served only as auxiliaries to the *mandjanīḳ*, fulfilling but minor tasks. The Mamlūk sources provide abundant information on the negligible damage they caused to targets against which they were aimed. At the end, however, artillery had the upper hand. The mention of *mandjanīḳs* in action becomes rarer and rarer during the second half of the fifteenth century, though they manage to survive up to the very end of Mamlūk rule.

The Mamlūks used their artillery in siege warfare only (both as a defensive and offensive weapon), consistently refusing until the very end of their rule to use it in the battlefield.

The ever increasing participation of artillery in sieges in the Mamlūk sultanate on the one hand, and its total absence on the battle-field on the other, can by no means be ascribed to accident. The reason for its easy adoption in siege warfare is to be found in the fact that it did not, especially during its early history, bring about any sweeping changes in the traditional methods of siege. Cannon was preceded by the *mandjanīḳ* which performed precisely the same function, and which for a long period was superior to firearms. In the open, however, conditions were entirely different. Here artillery constituted a complete innovation, no similar weapon having preceded it; here it was bound to effect changes in tactics and methods of warfare, thus causing the Mamlūk military hierarchy to adopt a course in sharp contrast to its very spirit.

Sulṭān al-Ghawrī did make some concessions to the use of firearms which, though on the face of it considerable, were in reality not very significant. For in all these concessions one condition was implied: the existing structure of Mamlūk military society should not be subjected to any important change. Such an attitude amounted, in fact, to a death sentence on the scheme of reorganising the Mamlūk army and on preparing it for the final test; for without transforming Mamlūk society, along with all the conceptions for which it stood, there was no hope of making effective use of firearms. Nor was this all: al-Ghawrī made up his mind, side by side with his decision to extend the employment of firearms, to revive traditional methods of warfare.

His plan had three main points: first, to increase considerably the number of cannon cast; second, to renew *furūsiyya* exercises and the traditional military training; and third, to raise a unit of arquebusiers. Of them, only the first and third concern us here.

The Casting of Cannon. A few years after his accession to the throne al-Ghawrī started casting cannon at a rate and on a scale never known before in the history of the sultanate. Near his newly built hippodrome (*maydān*) he established a foundry for cannon (*masbak*) which turned out great quantities of artillery at short intervals. Unfortunately our source (Ibn Iyās) does not as a rule indicate the number of guns involved on each occasion; in four cases, however, he does. In one there were 15 guns; in another 70; in a third 74; in a fourth 75.

This huge output of artillery was not intended at all to be used against the Ottomans in the open field. The bulk of it was directed to the ports of Egypt both in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea in order to strengthen the coastal fortifications or to be used on board warships.

From the dispatch of so much artillery to the coast and to coastal fortifications it should not be concluded that strategic centres inland were not supplied with considerable quantities of cannon. As to the interior of Egypt, there is no doubt that both in al-Ghawrī's time and in the preceding generations a very great portion of the total output of cannon was allotted to the capital, including the citadel. This is first of all borne out by the fact that most of our information about the weapon comes from Cairo; it is further confirmed by the concentration of great quantities of Mamlūk artillery in the battle of al-Raydāniyya (January, 1517). As for Syria, our knowledge of the fortunes of artillery in that part of the Mamlūk realm is scanty, both in regard to the coast and to the interior. From Ibn Ṭūlūn's chronicle we learn that there were great quantities of firearms in Damascus. This leads us to suppose that more detailed histories of Syria than those we possess might reveal that artillery played there a far bigger part than may be concluded from the available sources.

The Creation of a Unit of Arquebusiers. Arquebuses (or hand-guns or portable firearms) are referred to in the Mamlūk sources by the term *al-bunduḳ al-raṣāṣ* ("the pellets of lead"). The later designation for the hand-gun, *bunduḳiyya*, stems undoubtedly from *bunduḳ*, while *raṣāṣa*, the bullet or cartridge, is derived from *raṣāṣ*. The fact that a considerable traffic of arms was conducted in the period under review by Venice (in Arabic: al-Bunduḳiyya) might also have contributed to the choice of the term *bunduḳiyya*. It would appear that the process of transformation from *bunduḳ raṣāṣ* to *bunduḳiyya* did not take long. Ibn Iyās himself mentions *bunduḳiyya* three times, while in the works of his contemporaries Ibn Zunbul and Ibn Ṭūlūn, who died only a few decades after him, *bunduḳiyya*, *bunduḳiyyāt* and *banādiḳ* are already of most common occurrence. They also mention *bunduḳ*, but the combination *bunduḳ raṣāṣ* is already extinct in their works.

The aversion of the Mamlūks to the use of portable firearms was far more pronounced than their reluctance to employ of artillery in the open field. For artillery is the province of specialised

technicians, whose numbers form only a small part of the fighting force, requiring little change in the structure of the army. The arquebus, on the other hand, is a personal and mass weapon, and its introduction affects a large number of troops. Hence its large scale adoption was bound to involve far-reaching changes in the organisation and methods of warfare. To equip a soldier with an arquebus meant taking away his bow and, what was to the Mamlūk more distasteful, depriving him of his horse, thereby reducing him to the humiliating status of a foot soldier, compelled either to march or to allow himself to be carried in an ox-cart.

Any attempt, therefore, to extend the use of the arquebus had to be based on non-Mamlūk and thus socially inferior elements of the army. This is what the Mamlūk sultans were forced to do from the very outset. As a result, a clash between the interests of the sultanate and those of the military hierarchy ensued. The growing danger from without did, to be sure, enable the sultan to widen somewhat the very narrow limits imposed on the use of the arquebus by Mamlūk resistance to it and to incorporate into the arquebus regiment men from other units whose social position had been somewhat higher than that of the earlier arquebusiers. But his success did not go further than this, and hence the doom of the arquebus was inevitable.

The very date of the introduction of the arquebus by the Mamlūks is significant. It is mentioned for the first time in the sources as late as 895/1490 (the rule of Sulṭān Ḳāytbāy), *i.e.*, only twenty-seven years before the destruction of the Mamlūk sultanate and one hundred and twenty five years later than in Europe (the hand-gun began to be used in Europe in about 1365). Artillery, on the other hand, was introduced into the Mamlūk sultanate only about forty years later than in Europe. The much greater time-lag in the adoption of the hand-gun in comparison with the adoption of artillery is by no means accidental.

The units operating firearms were mainly composed of black slaves (*ʿabīd*) and sons of Mamlūks (*awlād nās*) [*q.v.*]. Members of these two categories seem never to have served in the same unit. Sometimes the black slaves constituted the predominant element in the firearms personnel and sometimes the *awlād nās*.

Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Abu 'l-Saʿādāt Muḥammad (901/1495-904/1498), Ḳāytbāy's son, who ascended the throne at the age of fourteen, made a very serious attempt to create a strong unit of arquebusiers composed of black slaves, on whom he wanted to bestow a higher social status. The Mamlūk *amīrs* intervened, however, forced him to disband the unit and made him promise never to raise it again.

About twelve years after the murder of al-Nāṣir Abu 'l-Saʿādāt, in 916/1510, Sulṭān Ḳānṣūh al-Gh̲awrī, who enjoyed an incomparably higher prestige than the above-mentioned boy-king, and in whose time the need for the arquebus was far more pressing, made, with much greater caution, a second attempt to create a unit of arquebusiers. Though it fared better than his predecessor's unit, its existence was very precarious, its status very low and its achievements quite insignificant.

It was called *al-ṭabaḳa al-kh̲āmisa* because it did not receive its pay together with the rest of the army in one of the four official pay days round the middle of the month, but separately on a fifth pay-day at the end of the month. It was also called *al-ʿaskar al-mulaffaḳ*, *i.e.*, "the motley army" or "the patched up army", because it was composed of heterogenous elements which, according to Mamlūk criteria, were of low origin. It included in its ranks—besides *awlād nās*—Turkomans, Persians and various kinds of artisans, such as shoe-makers, tailors and meat vendors. Only when Sulṭān al-Gh̲awrī, in D̲j̲umādā I 921/June 1515, launched his big expedition against the Portuguese, were Royal Mamlūks joined to it. It is significant that in spite of its heterogenous character *al-ṭabaḳa al-kh̲āmisa* is never said to have included black slaves.

Though the members of this unit occupied a very low rung in the socio-military ladder and received a much lower pay than the Royal Mamlūks, a very heavy pressure was brought to bear on the sultan to abolish it, on the ground that it was favoured over other units and that its creation was the main cause for the emptiness of the treasury. The sultan gave way, at last, and dissolved it on Muḥarram 920/March 1514. This dissolution was, however, on paper only. *Al-ṭabaḳa al-kh̲āmisa* continued to exist because it was urgently needed on a very vital front.

The fact that the Ottomans adopted firearms in the proper way and on a gigantic scale, whereas the Mamlūks and all the other important rulers of Islam neglected them, had a decisive influence on the destiny of Western Asia and Egypt. Within a matter of two and a half years (August 1514-January 1517) the Ottomans routed the Ṣafawids, destroyed the Mamlūk sultanate and added to their realm territories of the old Muslim world which they kept up to the very dismemberment of their empire in the twentieth century and which were far bigger than their combined conquest in Europe throughout their history. Without their overwhelming superiority in firearms such a swift and extensive expansion could never have taken place.

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(D. AYALON)

iv. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

There is no evidence to show precisely when the Ottomans first began to use gunpowder and fire-arms. A passage in a Turkish register for Albania of the year 835/1431 permits, however, the inference that cannon had been introduced at least in the reign of Meḥemmed I (1413-1421) and perhaps even somewhat earlier (Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 509). Other sources mention the Ottoman use of guns for siege warfare in 1422, 1424 and 1430, and again in 1440, 1446, 1448 and 1450 (cf. the references listed in Wittek, 142 and in Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 509). It is well known, moreover, that Meḥemmed II (1451-1481) had a large number of cannon, when he besieged Constantinople in 1453 (Ducas, 247-249, 258, 273; Sphrantzes, 236 ff., *passim*; Chalcocondylas, 385-386, 414-415; Critobulus, bk. I, chapts. 20 and 29 (with additional references given in the notes); Wille, 10 f.; Jähns, 791-792, 1141-1144). Field guns seem to have made their appearance amongst the Ottomans not long before the battle of Varna (1444), *i.e.*, during the course of the Hungarian wars waged in the reign of Murād II (1421-1451). The first clear indication that the Ottomans employed cannon of this type in a major field engagement relates to the second battle of Kossovo (1448) (Wittek, 142-143; Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 509-510), but it was not until considerably later that advances in technique rendered possible the emergence of an effective Ottoman field artillery. The arquebus, too, was taken over in about 1440-1443 during the Hungarian wars under Murād II and its use much extended in the reign of Meḥemmed II. None the less, the change to a more general adoption of the new weapon, *e.g.*, within the corps of Janissaries, was a slow and gradual one, destined to remain long incomplete (Wittek, 143; Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 506, 510-512; Ayalon, 38 (note 89); Jorga, ii, 228. Cf. also Promontorio, 36 (*zerbottaneri*), Chalcocondylas, 356 (*zarabotanas*), Dolfin, 13 (*zarabattane*), terms uncertain in meaning, but perhaps referring to the arquebus? See, in addition, Lokotsch, 172 (Ar. *zarbaṭāna*) and Ayalon, 61: *zabṭāna*). After the reverses which the Ottomans endured in the Cilician war of 1485-1491 against the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, Bāyazīd II (1481-1512) increased the number of Janissaries and provided them, and other categories of his troops, with arms more efficient and of greater offensive power than the weapons previously available; the Sulṭān also spared no expense to create a more mobile and more competently manned artillery force (Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 21 (a report dated 1503); cf. also Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 506). The arquebus, slow to load and cumbersome to handle, was ill-suited to the needs and capacities of horsemen. It found little favour therefore, in the 15th and 16th centuries, with the Ottoman timariots and the Sipāhīs of the Porte, *i.e.*, the "feudal" and the "household" cavalry of the Sulṭān. The use of fire-arms in this field had, in general, to await the appearance of new and more manageable types of hand-gun, *i.e.*, the earlier forms of the musket and the pistol. A corps of mounted "arquebusiers" was, however, to be found in Egypt soon after the Ottoman conquest of 1517 (Ayalon, 96-97 and 129 (note 247a); Fevzi Kurtoğlu, in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 67 and 68: *atlu tüfekci zümresi*).

The troops concerned primarily with gunpowder and fire-arms, and with their practical application in time of war, can be listed thus: (a) the *Dj̲ebedj̲iler*, *i.e.*, the Armourers, who had charge of the weapons and munitions of the Janissaries—bows, arrows, swords, etc., but also hand-guns (*tufenk*), powder (*bārūt*), quick-matches (*fitīl*), lead for bullets (*ḳūrs̲h̲ūn*) and the like. Members of this corps served both at Istanbul and in the provincial fortresses of the empire (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 1-31). Venetian reports written between 1571 and 1590 state that almost all the Janissaries had adopted the arquebus, the Ottoman model of this gun being made with a longer barrel than was normal amongst the Christians and loaded with large bullets, "*come li (archibugi) barbareschi*" (Alberi, ser. 3, i, 421-422, ii, 99, iii, 220, 343; cf. also Bombaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 296, 299 (hand-guns firing shot which weighed 40-50 dirhems) and Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, i, 366 and ii, 8 (note 2: hand-guns that took shot 4 and 5 dirhems in weight), 13-14, 28-29). (b) the *Ṭopdj̲ular*, *i.e.*, the Artillerists, who were responsible for the actual production of guns and for their maintenance and operation in war. These specialised troops had as their chief centre the arsenal (Ṭop-k̲h̲āne) at Istanbul, but served also in the various fortresses of the empire and in provincial cannon foundries and munition depots (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 33-93). The Ottomans at first carried into the field supplies of metal, rather than complete, but ponderous guns, and cast their cannon as need arose during the course of a given campaign (Ibn Kemāl, *Tevārīh-i Āl-i Osman*, 462-463; 462-463 (= 420-421, in the transcription); Dolfin, 10-11; Promontorio, 61, 85; Jorga, ii, 227; Wittek, 142; Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 509). This procedure, still current during the reign of Meḥemmed II, fell gradually into disuse as further advances in technique and in methods of transportation rendered it, in general, superfluous. Chemical analysis has shown an Ottoman gun cast in 868/1464 to be composed of excellent bronze, allowance being made for the imperfections of the smelting process in use at that time (Abel, in *The Chemical News*, 1868). A Spanish artillerist, Collado, in his treatise of 1592, describes Ottoman cannon as ill-proportioned, but of good metal (*Manual de Artilleria*, 8 v: "*la fundicion Turquesca por la mayor parte es fea, y deffectuosa, aunque es de buena liga*"). An account of the methods employed in the Ṭop-k̲h̲āne at Istanbul for the casting of guns is given in the work of Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 436 ff. = Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 41 ff.). (c) the *Ṭop ʿArabadj̲ïlarï*, *i.e.*, the corps responsible for the transport of guns and munitions (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 95-113). Wagons (*ʿaraba*), drawn by horses, oxen or mules, carried the cannon, both large and

small, but much use was also made of camels to bear the lighter types of gun, especially in difficult terrain (Promontorio, 33; Menavino, bk. v, chapt. xxxi: 176; Ibn Ṭūlūn and Ibn Zunbul, cited in Ayalon, 125 (note 206) and 127 (note 220); Alberi, ser. 3, ii, 432, 438, 452, 456). There is mention, here and there in the sources, of guns on wheels, *i.e.*, passages which refer perhaps to the "ʿaraba" itself or possibly to some form of wheeled gun-carriage (Tauer, *Campagne ... contre Belgrade*, 48 (Persian text: 64); *Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 173 v; Giovio, ii, bk. XXX, 104 r). Moreover, the Ottomans maintained on the Danube a flotilla which had a major rôle in the transportation of the siege artillery, field guns and supplies needed for the great campaigns in Hungary (cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Baḥriye Teşkilâtı*, 403-404 (also *ibid.*, 404-405: the arsenal at Bīredjik on the Euphrates); and Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 153: mention of flat-bottomed boats (*palandarie*) which carried horses, cannon, stores, etc.). (d) the *Khumbaradjilar*, *i.e.*, the bombardiers concerned with the production and use of grenades, bombs, portable mines, artificial fire, etc. (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 115-127). (e) the *Laghimdjilar*, *i.e.*, the sappers who, with the aid of the large labour forces set at their disposal, prepared the trenches, earthworks, gun-emplacements and subterranean mines indispensable in siege warfare (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 129-133).

The Ottomans, even before the death of Meḥemmed II in 1481, had acquired the main types of weapon and technique involving the use of gunpowder, *i.e.*, siege and field artillery, mortars, bombs, the arquebus, mines and artificial fire (Jorga, ii, 227-228). A large share in the transmission of these new arms fell to the peoples of Serbia and Bosnia. Artillerists and arquebusiers, recruited in these countries and still retaining their Christian faith, are known to have been in the service of Meḥemmed II (Inalcık, *Fatih Devri*, i, 152, 154-156 and also in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 511). Masters came, too, from still farther afield, *e.g.*, Jörg of Nuremberg (Kissling, 336). Reliance on specialists of European origin—at first mainly German and Italian, but with French, English and Dutch elements becoming more numerous in later times—was to be henceforth a permanent and indeed essential characteristic of the various Ottoman corps concerned with gunpowder and fire-arms.

Information of a technical nature about the types of cannon in use amongst the Ottomans can be found here and there in the Western sources of the 15th and 16th centuries. The guns are of course described in accordance with the system of classification then current in Europe (and indeed in the Ottoman empire too), *i.e.*, in terms of the weight or size of the projectile thrown (Promontorio, 61 and 85; de Bourbon, 13r-v, with mention of iron and bronze cannon, *e.g.*, culverins, basilisks, sakers and also mortars firing marble shot and copper or bronze "boulletz" filled with artificial fire; Ufano, 40 and 41). An Italian account of the campaign against Diu in 1538 lists some of the guns which the Ottomans had with them on that occasion (*Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 169r, 172r; cf. also Sousa Coutinho, 58v, on the Ottoman basilisks used in the siege. The princes of India held the Ottoman artillerists in high esteem and welcomed them into their armies: *e.g.*, a Muṣṭafā Rūmī fought under Bābur, and a Rūmī Khān under the Sulṭān of Gudjarat)

The tactical use which the Ottomans made of their cannon in time of war has not been studied in detail. Their normal formation, however, was the *ṭābūr*, when a field battle had to be fought, *i.e.*, the *wagenburg* with the gun-carts chained together and the cannon set between them—a device which seems to have been taken over from the Hungarians (Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 510; cf. also von Frauenholz, 234 and Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 255-264. A similar type of battle order ("in accordance with the custom of Rūm", *i.e.*, of the Ottoman empire: *Rūm destūri bile*) was known in Muslim India and in Persia: *Babur-Nāma*, ed. Ilminski, 341 and 458). The method used by the Ottomans to breach the walls of a fortress is described in the work of the Spaniard Collado: medium guns, *e.g.*, culverins, capable of deep penetration and firing along transverse and vertical lines, undermined and split the stonework, large basilisks which threw heavier and more destructive shot, violent in the force of their surface impact, being then discharged in salvo to bring down the enfeebled structure (*Manual de Artilleria*, 13r, 20r, 32r; cf. also Pečevī, ii, 193).

The Ottomans had of course their own nomenclature for guns and related instruments of war (cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 48-51). In addition to phrases of a mere poetical character (*e.g.*, *ezhder-dihan* and *mār-ten*: "dragon-mouthed" and "serpent-bodied"—cf. Naʿīmā, i, 148) and names given to individual cannon (*e.g.*, the "Kočyān", *i.e.*, the gun captured from Katzianer, the Imperialist general whom the Ottomans defeated in 1537 near Eszék on the Danube—cf. Selānīkī, 31), terms which have a precise technical sense can also be found here and there in the Turkish chronicles and documents. Among the types of cannon most often mentioned in these sources are (i) the *badjalushka* or *badālūshka*, a large siege gun (perhaps the basilisk?): cf. Selānīkī, 35, 37, 38, 41; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 29 (guns of this kind firing shot which weighed sixteen *okkas* each), 31, 33; Collado, 13r, 32r; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 80, 81. (ii) the *balyemez* [*q.y.*], the name of which derives perhaps from the German "Faule Metze" (Kissling): cf. Pečevī, i, 202; Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 418, 491 (where it is described as a *menzil ṭopu*, *i.e.*, a long-range gun); Siliḥdār, ii, 46 and 47 (cannon using shot of 10-40 *okkas* in weight are here defined as *balyemez*). (iii) the *ḳolonborna* (cf. the Italian *colubrina*), *i.e.*, the culverin: cf. Selānīkī, 8; Pečevī, ii, 198; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 29 (culverins which fired shot weighing eleven *okkas* each) and i, 33 (*lombornu*); Siliḥdār, i, 300 and ii, 46 and 47 (cannon throwing shot of 3-9 *okkas* in weight are here classed as *ḳolonborna*); Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 81; *Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 169r; Collado, 13r; Alberi, ser. 3, ii, 432. (iv) the *shaḳaloz* (cf. the Hungarian *szakállas*), apparently a kind of light cannon which threw small projectiles of stone or metal: cf. Selānīkī, 37, 41, 145; Pečevī, ii, 242; Süheyl Ünver, in *Belleten*, xvi (1952), 560; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, I, 61 and 694, and also in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxvi (1930), 264; Redhouse, s.v. *čaḳaloz*. References to guns that fired small shot can be found in Ducas, 211 (cf. also Jähns, 811) and in Giovio, ii, bk. xxx, 104r. (v) the *shāyḳa* (cf. the Hungarian *sajka*), a name given to a certain type of boat, but also used for the guns mounted on such craft: cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 320; Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 378 (a mention of cannon (*shāyḳa ṭoplarī*) that fired stone shot weighing eighty *okkas* each), 382 (*shāyḳa nām prānḳa ṭoplarī*); Fevzi Kurtoğlu, in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 68; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 50, 81 (large, medium and small *shayka* cannon); L. Fekete, in *Magyar*

Nyelv, xxvi (1930), 265. On the guns used in the boats which the Ottomans maintained on the Danube, see Giovio, ii, bk. xxxvi, 192r. (vi) the *ḍarbzan* or *ḍarbūzan*, a gun cast in various sizes (cf. L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, 694, 695: small (300 dirhem shot), medium (1 *okka* shot), large (2 *okka* shot) and also a *ṣarbuzan-i šaiḳa-i büzürg* firing shot 36 *okkas* in weight): cf. Ibn Kemāl, *Tevārīh-i Āl-i Osman*, 464, 509 (= 422, 458 in the transcription); Selānīkī, 8, 35 (*shāhī ḍarbzan ṭoplarī*), 37; Pečevī, i, 93 and ii, 140, 147, 196; Du Loir, *Voyages*, 226-227 (*chahi zerbuzanlar* = "fauconeaux royaux"); Siliḥdār, ii, 47 and 57; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 49, 50, 76, 79, 81; Ayalon, 89, 90, 119 (note 92), 127 (note 220).

The Ottomans, in their sea warfare, seem to have used in general the same types of gun as in their campaigns on land. Among the cannon employed in the Ottoman fleet can be numbered the *ḳolonborna*, the *ḍarbzan* and the *shāyḳa* (Barozzi and Berchet, i, 274, ii, 20; Uzunçarşılı, *Baḥriye Teşkilātı*, 460, 462, 463, 468, 469, 512-513. Further information about the naval armament of the Ottomans is available in Alberi, ser. 3, i, 68, 140, 292-293, ii, 100, 150, 342, iii, 223, 354-355; Barozzi and Berchet, ii, 165; Marsigli, Pt. I, chapt. lxxiv, 142 and Pt. II, chapt. xxvii, 171-172; de Warnery, 115) and also the *pranghī* or *pranḳī* (Tauer, in *ArO.*, vii (1935), 195; Kemālpāshāzāde, *Mohādjnāme*, 54 (Turkish text); Bombaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 292 and xxi (1944-1946), 190; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 49, 83 and also *Baḥriye Teşkilātı*, 462, 468, 469, 512-513).

The sources often mention instruments of war other than cannon, but based on the use of gunpowder, *e.g.*, (i) the *havāyī* (Selānīkī, 8 (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 426, note 1); Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 49) and the *ḥavān* (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 407, 419, 471, 472; Yūsuf Nābī, 43; Siliḥdār, ii, 47), *i.e.*, mortars which fired bombs and also shot of stone or metal (Promontorio, 61; de Bourbon, 13v; *Viaggio et Impresa ... di Diu*, 169r; Maurand, 202; Scheither, 81; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 30-31); (ii) the *khumbara* or *ḳumbara*, *i.e.*, bombs (Tauer, *Campagne ... contre Belgrade*, 53, 58 (Persian text: 79, 89); Selānīkī, 40-41; British Museum MS. Or. 1137, 74v (bombs made of glass, and of bronze: *shīshe khumbara*, *tundj khumbara*); Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 401, 414, 432, 483 (*ḳazān* (*ḳazghān*) *ḳumbara*); Naʿīmā, i, 304; Siliḥdār, ii, 47 (*khumbara hāvānlarī*); Scheither, 75, Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 33; Bigge, 154); (iii) the *el khumbarasi*, *i.e.* hand-grenades (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 414, 432 471 (grenades of glass, and of bronze: *sirça ve tudj el ḳumbaralarī*); Siliḥdār, i, 467, 484, 502; Scheither, 77; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 33); (iv) the *laghīm* *i.e.*, explosive mines of various types and sizes (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 255 and Naʿīmā, iv, 143 (a large mine containing 150 *ḳanṭārs* of gunpowder); Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 424 (a mine with three galleries and three powder-chambers), 425, 432, 495; Siliḥdār, ii, 55, 56 (a mine of the type known as *puskurma* and holding 30 *ḳanṭārs* of powder), 66; Scheither, 72-73; Montecuccoli, iii, chapt. lxvii; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. xi, 37 seq.). Numerous references to mines can be found in the Ottoman accounts of the Cretan War (1645-1669), *e.g.*, in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 239 ff., *passim*, in Siliḥdār, i, 409 ff., in Naʿīmā, iv, 116 ff., *passim*, and in Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 396 ff. (cf. also *ibid.*, viii, 468 ff., enumerating the guns, munitions, etc. found in the fortress of Candia after its conquest from the Christians in 1669—an account rich in the military terminology used by the Ottomans at that time).

The Ottomans drew from the territories under their control the indispensable raw materials of war—iron, lead, copper and the like. Moreover, the mines producing such metals often served as centres for the manufacture of munitions, *e.g.*, cannon-balls (Alberi, ser. 3, i, 66-67, 146-147, 422, ii, 145, 342, iii, 351; Barozzi and Berchet, ii, 165-166, 225, 337; Aḥmet Refik, *Türk Aşiretleri*, docs. 27, 33, 42, 48, 86, 106, 112 and *Türkiye Madenleri*, docs. 2, 6, 7, 14, 21, 25, 27, 35, 36, 54 and *ibid.*, *Perakende Vesikalar*, docs. 3, 4, 7 and 8; Anhegger, *Beiträge*, i, 138-140, 148-149, 205-206, 210-211 and ii, 299, 303-304, 306-308, also *Nachtrag*, 492-494; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 72 ff., *passim*). There were, in addition, mines yielding the saltpetre and sulphur which was needed for the production of gunpowder (*bārūt-i tufenk* and *bārūt-i siyāh*: cf. L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, 696, note 8) at Istanbul and in the provinces of the empire (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 483 and 564-565; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, i, 247 and 335-336; Aḥmet Refik, *Türk Aşiretleri*, doc. 53 and *Türkiye Madenleri*, docs. 11-13, 16-20, 22-24, 26, 28-30; Alberi, ser. 3, i, 146, 422, ii, 342, 349-350, iii, 398; Barozzi and Berchet, i, 177, 275, ii, 17, 165; Montecuccoli, iii, chapt. xxxii; Marsigli, Pt. I, chapt. lxxiv, 142). War material also came to the Ottomans from Europe. Indeed, supplies obtained from the Christians were at times of great importance to the armies of the Sulṭān, *e.g.*, during the long wars against Persia (1578-1590) and Austria (1593-1606), the one involving the establishment and maintenance of numerous fortresses and garrisons in the wide mountainous regions to the south of the Caucasus, the other developing into a bitter conflict of sieges, and both necessitating a vast expenditure of guns and munitions. The English, in these years, sold to the Ottomans cargoes of tin (essential for the making of bronze cannon), lead, broken bells and images (from the churches despoiled in England during the course of the Reformation), iron, steel, copper, arquebuses, muskets, sword-blades, brimstone, saltpetre, gunpowder (*Cal. State Papers, Spanish*: (1568-1579), no. 609 and (1580-1586), no. 265; *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*: (1603-1607), nos. 470, 494 and (1607-1610), no. 860; Braudel, 479 (tin, bell-metal, lead); Charrière, iv, 907, note I (broken images); Sir Thomas Sherley, *Discours*, 7 (the Janissaries have "not one corne of good powder but that whyche they gett from overthrone Christians, or els is broughte them out of Englande"), 9, 10 (the English "keepe 3 open shoppes of armes and munition in Constantinople ... Gunpowder is solde for 23 and 24 chikinoes the hundred ... Muskettes are solde for 5 or 6 chikinos the peyce"; (chikino = chequin, sequin, i. e., the "zecchine", a Venetian gold coin, of which the Ottoman equivalent was the gold sulṭānī: cf. *The Travels of John Sanderson*, Appendix A, 294-295); *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, Pt. XI, 111 and Pt. XIII, 606-607). It was not long before the Dutch entered into this traffic, and to the marked advantage of the Ottomans, *e.g.*, in the Cretan War of 1645-1669. The Western sources dating from the 17th and 18th centuries emphasise how much the Ottomans owed to this trade in munitions, how great was their reliance on European techniques in regard to the use of fire-arms and gunpowder, and how numerous were the experts of Christian origin enrolled in their service as engineers and artillerists—experts of Italian, French and German, of English and Dutch birth (Scheither, 75, 80; Montecuccoli, iii, chapts. xxviii and xxx (copper from the Dutch, English,

French and also the Swedes); Barozzi and Berchet, ii, 166, 173, 222, 231-232; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 23 (the Ottomans made cannon according to the designs of the Italian author Sardi, one of whose works had been translated into Turkish—probably *L'Artiglieria di Pietro Sardi Romano*, Venice 1621) and 33; de Warnery, 92-93).

The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed in Europe notable changes in the art of warfare (J. R. Hale, in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ii, 481 ff.; O. Laskowski, in *Teki Historyczne*, iv (1950), 106 ff.; M. Roberts, *The Military Revolution* 1560-1660, also *Gustavus Adolphus and the Art of War*, in *Historical Studies*, i, 69 ff., and *Gustavus Adolphus*, ii, 169 ff.). These changes imposed on the Ottomans a constant need to adopt or otherwise to meet in an effective manner the innovations made in the European practice of war—a process of adjustment which was at times slow and difficult. A Muslim from Bosnia, writing not long after the battle of Keresztes (1596), lamented that the Christians, through their use of new types of hand-gun and cannon, as yet neglected by the Ottomans, had won a definite advantage over the armies of the Sulṭān (L. Thallóczy, *Staatschrift*, 153-154; Garcin de Tassy, in *JA*, iv (1824), 284; Safvetbeg Bašagić, *Nizam ul Alem*, 13; British Museum MS. Harleian 5490, 350r-v). None the less, as the appearance of new, or the more frequent use of hitherto unusual terms in the Turkish chronicles and documents will make clear, the Ottomans did in fact assimilate to a large degree the latest devices and techniques elaborated in Europe at this time (Bombaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 303 (*saçma ṭoplar, i.e.*, guns firing a form of grape-shot: cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 34 and ii, 245, 317, 319, 321); Siliḥdār, i, 596, 598 (*misket*); Pečevī, ii, 199 (cf. Naʿīmā, i, 164: muskets which fired shot 15-20 dirhems in weight); Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 179 (*mushkāt tufenkleri* with shot weighing 40-50 dirhems, and *ḳol tufenkleri*) and viii, 398, 410, 415, 416, 467 (*badāloçka nām mūshkāt*); Inalcık, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/II (1943), 377 (*çifte tabancalu tüfenk*); Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 8, note 2 (*atlu tüfenkleri*); Pečevī, ii, 212-213 (cf. Naʿīmā, i, 190): an account of how an *aghādj ṭop, i.e.*, a petard, was made). Further evidence can be found in the Western sources (cf. Alberi, ser, 3, ii, 452 (*archibugieri a cavallo*), iii, 391 (a report dated 1594, in which it is said that the Ottomans had not yet adopted the pistol) and 404 (the increasing use of the arquebus in the Ottoman fleet); Barozzi and Berchet, i, 265 (the *spahi di paga*, during the Hungarian war of 1593-1606, had begun to arm themselves with the arquebus and the *terzarollo, i.e.*, a short-barrelled arquebus) and ii, 16 and 158; Rycaut, 349 (the Sipāhīs of the Porte made use of pistols and carbines, but had no great esteem for fire-arms); Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. viii, 15 and 16: the Ottomans learned new methods from the Christians in the Cretan War (1645-1669); the Janissaries and most of the Ottoman horsemen carried pistols). It was in the time of the Köprülü viziers that this gradual transformation attained its full effect. Men well qualified to judge like Scheither, Montecuccoli and Marsigli, describe in much detail, and often with approval, the weapons employed by the Ottomans, noting the excellence, for example, of their mortars (Scheither, 75), their muskets (Montecuccoli, iii, chapt. xiv) and their mines, in the construction of which the Armenian *laghïmdjïlar* had a pre-eminent rôle (Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. xi, 37 ff.; cf. also Levinus Warnerus, 69, 101 and Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 515 ff.). Montecuccoli (iii, chapts. xxx and xxxi) observes, however, that the Ottoman artillery, although of notable effect when well served, consumed large quantities of munitions and was cumbersome to handle and transport, and that, in respect of the mobility and practical efficiency of their guns, the Christians had achieved an undoubted advantage over their Muslim foes.

The Ottomans failed in the end to keep pace with the developments which occurred in Europe. Their methods, with regard to fire-arms in general, seem to have been, during most of the 18th century, but little in advance of the techniques current in the time of the first Köprülü viziers (cf. de Warnery, 34-35, 40-41, 52, 70, 75, 91-94, 103. This author states (*op. cit.*, 94) that in 1739 the Ottomans, loath to accept good advice, persisted in conducting their siege of Belgrade "à leur ancienne mode"). There were indeed attempts at reform, *e.g.*, by Khumbaradjī Aḥmed Pasha (*i.e.*, the Comte de Bonneval: cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 118 ff., and 122 ff., also British Museum MS. Or. 1131 (*Taʾrīkh-i Ṣubḥī*), 68v-69v), by the Baron de Tott (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 40, 56, 67; de Tott, *Mémoires*, ii, Pt. III, *passim*) and by Khalīl Ḥamīd Pasha (cf. Aḥmed Djewdet, ii, 57 ff. (also *ibid.*, ii, 239-240); Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, ii, 67-68, 91-93, 120, 125-127 and also in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935), 225 ff. and 233 ff.), but their efforts had only a limited success. The reign of Selīm III (1789-1807) witnessed, however, the introduction of radical measures designed to modernise on Western lines the armed forces of the Ottoman state (cf. Enver Ziya Karal, 43 ff., and especially 45-49, 59-63 and 63-71). Ottoman fire-arms, considered as a whole, now begin to lose those features which had given them hitherto a distinctive character, their subsequent evolution becoming more and more identified with the general course of technical advance and improvement made in Europe. It will suffice to note here that the reforms carried out in the first half of the 19th century led to the emergence, within the Ottoman army, of an efficient and well equipped corps of artillerists able to sustain a not unfavourable comparison with its European rivals (cf. *Unsere Tage*, Heft XXXVI (1862), 580 and 586 ff.).

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V. THE ṢAFAWIDS

A consideration of the use of firearms in Persia under the Ṣafawids falls under two heads: artillery (generic name, *tūp*), and hand-guns; the latter, used by both cavalry and infantry, comprised arquebuses, muskets and carbines, all of which were termed, without differentiation, *tufang*.

According to the traditional account of European writers, artillery was introduced into Persia during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I by the English soldiers of fortune Sir Anthony Sherley and his brother Sir Robert Sherley, who arrived in Ḳazwīn in December 1598. Among Sir Anthony's party of 26 persons (Sir E. Denison Ross (ed.), *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, London 1933, 13 and n. 3) was "at least one cannon-founder" (Browne, iv, 105). Sir Anthony's steward, Abel Pinçon, states that the Persians at that time had no artillery at all (Denison Ross, 163), but his interpreter, Angelo, asserts that Shāh ʿAbbās "has some cannon, having captured many pieces from the Tartars; moreover there is no lack of masters to manufacture new ones, these masters have turned against the Turk and have come to serve the King of Persia" (Denison Ross, 29). Purchas, writing in 1624, claims that such progress was made under the guidance of the Sherley brothers that "the prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, has now 500 pieces of brass" (Denison Ross, 21).

There is abundant evidence, however, in both the European and the Persian sources, that the Persians were familiar with the use of artillery long before the time of ʿAbbās I. The Venetian ambassador d'Alessandri, who arrived in Persia in 1571, states that the Ottoman prince Bāyazīd, who sought refuge with Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 966/1559, brought with him thirty pieces of artillery (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th centuries*, London 1873, 228). Herbert (*A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile* etc., London 1634, 298) states that the Persians "got the use of cannon from the van quised Portugal", and Figueroa states that the Persian artillery was manipulated by Europeans "and particularly by the Portuguese" (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 33). We know that in 955/1548 the Portuguese furnished Ṭahmāsp with 10,000 men and 20 cannon at the time of the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān's second invasion of Persia (*A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, i, 29). Direct evidence that artillery was used by the Persian army even earlier than this is found in the contemporary Persian chronicle *Aḥsan al-Tawārikh* (ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931). In the Ṣafawid army which laid siege to Dāmghān in 935/1528-9 there was a certain Ustād (*i.e.*, "master" [of his craft]) Shaykhī the gunner (*tūpčī*) (*AT*, 212). In a pitched battle with the Özbegs near Mashhad, later the same year, Ṭahmāsp stationed in front of his army the wagons containing the *ḍarbzan* (probably a type of light cannon, cf. the Mamlūk term *ḍarbzāna*; see D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamlūk Kingdom*, London 1956, 127, n. 220) and (*tūp-i*) *farangī* (*AT*, 214); the gunners and musketeers (*tūpčiyān wa tufangčiyān*) were, however, unable to use their guns because the Özbegs did not approach from the front (*AT*, 217). In 945/1538-9 the besieging Ṣafawid forces destroyed the towers (*burdj*) of the fort of Bīkrid in Shīrwān by artillery fire (*AT*, 287). In 946/1539-40 we hear for the first time of a *tūpčī-bāshī* (commander-in-chief of artillery), in an action against Amīra Ḳubād, the rebel governor of Āstārā (*AT*, 293). From this time onwards artillery was frequently used by the Ṣafawids in siege warfare, for instance at Gulistān and Darband (954/1547-8) (*AT*, 321-2). At the siege of Kīsh near Shakkī in 958/1551-2 the Ṣafawids used "Frankish cannon" (*tūp-i farangī*), and in addition a type of cannon called *bādlidj* (cf. P. Horn, *Das Heer- und Kriegswesen des Grossmoghuls*, Leiden 1894, 29), and mortars (*ḳazḳān*), which are mentioned for the first time; the towers of the fort were destroyed after twenty days' bombardment (*AT*, 350).

It is clear, therefore, that the claim that the Sherleys introduced artillery into Persia is entirely without foundation. In fact, artillery was in regular use at least as early as 935/1528-9, that is, within a few years of the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and fifteen years after the Ṣafawid defeat at Čāldirān [*q.v.*], a defeat for which the Ottoman artillery was largely responsible. It must be emphasised, however, that even before Čāldirān, the Ṣafawids were familiar with the use of artillery, and that consequently the Ṣafawid lack of artillery at Čāldirān can only be attributed to a deliberate policy not to develop the use of firearms in the Persian army. The Persians had an innate dislike of firearms, the use of which they considered unmanly and cowardly (Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Djang-i Čāldirān*, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tihrān*, i/2, 1953-4, 93), and in particular they disliked artillery, because it hampered the swift manœuvres of their cavalry (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 33). It is remarkable that, although we have frequent instances of the use of artillery in siege

warfare, little attempt seems to have been made to emulate the Ottomans in the use of artillery in the field. At the battle of Mas̲h̲had in 935/1528-9 (see above), the one occasion on which the sources specifically record the use of artillery in the field by Ṭahmāsp, its immobility rendered it ineffective, and we hear no more of field artillery until the time of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I. Even under the latter, however, the use of artillery was still mainly confined to siege warfare (Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās-i Awwal*, ii, Tehran 1334 solar/1955, 403).

It seems that in the use of artillery, as in much else, the Ṣafawids were the heirs of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Long before the establishment of the Ṣafawid state, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers of Diyār Bakr and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān had sought to equip their armies with artillery: the Venetians sent Uzun Ḥasan (d. 882/1478) "100 artillerymen of experience and capacity, who were immediately sent on to Persia, for in the matter of their artillery the Persian armies suffered greatly from a paucity of cannon, while on the other hand the Turkish armies in Asia were very well equipped in this arm, and they could effect much damage in their attack" (*Don Juan of Persia*, ed. trans. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 98). When a Ṣafawid force of 10,000 men under Muḥammad Beg Ustād̲j̲lū laid siege to Ḥiṣn Kayfā in Diyār Bakr about the year 913/1507-8, they made use of "a mortar of bronze, of four spans, which they brought from Mirdin (Mārdīn) .... This mortar was cast in that country at the time of Jacob Sultan (Yaʿḳūb Sulṭān Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, d. 896/1490), and by his orders .... and Custagialu (Muḥammad Beg Ustād̲j̲lū) also had another larger one cast by a young Armenian, who cast it in the Turkish manner —all in one piece. The breech was half the length of the whole piece, and the mortar was five spans in bore at the muzzle" (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 153). About the same time (probably in 912/1506-7) Ismaʿīl sent a force of 10,000 men under Bayrām Beg (Ḳaramānlū?) to lay siege to Wān. Bayrām Beg, "having two moderate-sized cannons in his camp, began to batter the castle; but they were able to do no harm, as the walls were too strong and the gunners too little skilled". After besieging the castle for three months, however, the artillerymen succeeded in destroying the source of the defenders' water supply, and the castle was thus at their mercy (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 161-3). In 916/1510 Ismaʿīl is said to have captured four cannon from the Özbegs after his great victory at Marw (D̲j̲amīl Ḳuzānlū, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Niẓāmī-yi Īrān*, vol. i, Tehran 1315 solar/1936, 372; no authority is quoted for this statement). It seems, therefore, from the evidence available, that although the Ṣafawids used cannon in siege warfare during the first decade of the reign of Ismaʿīl I, the number of guns available was small, and the gunners were as yet inexperienced.

Sir Anthony Sherley has also been given the credit for the formation of a corps of musketeers by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I. In a letter dated 22 April 1619, the traveller Pietro della Valle says that the corps was created by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās "a few years ago" on the advice of Sir Anthony Sherley (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-Mulūk*, 31). Sir Anthony's interpreter Angelo, however, stated in Rome on 28 November 1599 that S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās could provide horses for 100,000 men, who were armed with bows, arrows and scimitars, and that in addition he had 50,000 arquebusiers; "at one time the King did not use arquebusiers, but now he delights in them" (Denison Ross, 29). Sir Anthony's party left Iṣfahān about the beginning of May 1599 (see Denison Ross, 22), and it seems unlikely that a corps of 50,000 men could have been organised during the five months which Sir Anthony spent in the Persian capital. Of the various members of Sir Anthony's party who have left a record of their travels, not one claims that Sir Anthony was responsible for the formation of this corps, and Sir Anthony himself, in his own account of his journey to Persia, states (with reference to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās's victory over the Özbegs in K̲h̲urāsān on 9 Muḥarram 1007/12 August 1598) that "thirty thousand men the King tooke with him for that warre, twelve thousand Harquebusiers which bare long pieces, halfe a foote longer than our muskets, sleightly made ..... which they use well and certainely" (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, viii, London 1905, 409-10).

Apart from Sir Anthony's own testimony to the existence of a large and efficient body of musketeers in the Persian army before his arrival in Persia, there is conclusive evidence, again in both the European and the Persian sources, that Persian troops were equipped with hand-guns and skilled in their use long before the time of ʿAbbās I. One of Sir Anthony's companions, Manwaring, explicitly states that the Persians were already "very expert in their pieces or muskets; for although there are some which have written now of late that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much must I write to their praise, that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there; and the King hath, hard by his court at Aspahane, above two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets" (Denison Ross, 222). Even earlier (c. 1571) is the valuable account of d'Alessandri: "they use for arms swords, lances, arquebuses, which all the soldiers can use; their arms also are superior and better tempered than those of any other nation. The barrels of the arquebuses are generally six spans long (*A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 53, gives "7 palms" = 1.75 m.; incidentally this version of the text contains an obvious mistranslation), and carry a ball a little less than three ounces in weight. They use them with such facility, that it does not hinder them drawing their bows nor handling their swords, keeping the latter hung at their saddle-bows till occasion requires them. The arquebus then is put away behind the back, so that one weapon does not impede the use of another" (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 227). Herbert (*op. cit.*, 298) states that the Persians had used muskets "since the Portugals assisted King Tahamas with some Christian auxiliaries against the Turk (probably in 955/1548) so as now (*i.e.*, in 1627) they are become very good shots". In the contemporary Persian chronicle *Aḥsan al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, however, there is direct evidence that hand-guns (*tufang*) were in use in the Persian army even before the death of Ismaʿīl I: in 927/1520-1 a detachment of the Ṣafawid garrison at Harāt drove off the troops of ʿUbayd K̲h̲ān Özbeg with arrows and hand-guns (*tīr u tufang*) (*AT*, 171). This is the first reference to hand-guns in this chronicle, and from then on they are mentioned frequently. In 930/1523-4, the year of S̲h̲āh Ismaʿīl's death and S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp's accession, infantry armed with hand-guns (*piyādagān-i tufang-andāz*) constituted part of the Ṣafawid garrison at Harāt, and reference is made to two successful actions against the Özbegs in which hand-guns were employed (*AT*, 186). In 934/1527-8, when Harāt was besieged for four months by the Özbegs, the Özbeg *amīr al-*

umarā Yārī Beg was killed by a shot fired from a hand-gun by one of the defenders (*AT*, 206). In 935/1528-9 Ṭahmāsp himself led an army to Khurāsān against the Özbegs, and laid siege to Dāmghān; his forces included a group of Rūmlū *tufangčīs* (*AT*, 212). A few months later, the Özbegs laid siege to Mashhad; musketeers (*tufangčiyān*) formed part of the Ṣafawid garrison (*AT*, 221). While the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* thus affords positive evidence of the use of muskets in the Persian army as early as 927/1520-1, there is a strong indication in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia* that they were in fact in use even before the battle of Čāldirān. In the description of the siege of Ḥiṣn Kayfā by Ṣafawid forces about the year 913/1507-8, there is a reference to "guns" which, in the context, can only mean "hand-guns", and we are also told that the defenders possessed three or four muskets of the shape of "Azemi", *i.e.*, of *ʿAdjamī* or Persian design; these muskets had a small barrel and, with the aid of "a contrivance locked on to the stock about the size of a good arquebuse", had a good range (*op. cit.*, 153).

It is clear, therefore, that the claim that the Sherleys initiated the formation of a corps of musketeers, if it has any historical foundation at all, can only be true in the sense that Shāh ʿAbbās was the first to create a *regular* corps of musketeers, which formed part of a standing army paid from the *khāṣṣa* revenue, as opposed to the units in existence under Ismaʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp, which, like the rest of the Persian army at that time, were probably raised on a tribal basis and paid from the revenue of the *dīwān-i mamālik*. There is no doubt, however, that the practical advice of the Sherleys was of great benefit to Shāh ʿAbbās, who held Sir Robert Sherley in such esteem that, after Sir Anthony's departure, he appointed him "Master General against the Turks" (G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, i, 574). In addition to the corps of musketeers (*tufangčiyān*), 12,000 strong (Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 305), who were intended to be infantry but were gradually provided with horses, Shāh ʿAbbās created two other corps to form part of the new standing army, namely, the artillery (*tūpčiyān*), also 12,000 strong (Chardin, v, 312-3), and the "slaves" (*ḳullar, ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*), a cavalry regiment recruited from Georgia and Circassia, armed *inter alia* with muskets, and numbering 10-15,000 (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 33). The Ṣafawid army was at its strongest under Shāh ʿAbbās I; its numbers declined under his successor Ṣafī (d. 1052/1642) and were reduced still further by ʿAbbās II (d. 1077/1666), who took the extraordinary step of abolishing the corps of artillery; when the *tūpčī-bāshī* Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān died in 1655, no successor was appointed (Chardin, v, 312-313), and artillery does not seem to have reappeared on the scene until the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-1135/1694-1722) (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 33). At the battle of Gulnābād against the Afghāns (8 March 1722), the Persians had 24 cannon, under the command of the *tūpčī-bāshī* Aḥmad Khān and under the supervision of a French master gunner named Philippe Colombe (L. Lockhart, *The Fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, London 1958, 135, who quotes Krusinski's scathing remarks on the incompetence of the *tūpčī-bāshī*); the artillery was overrun by the Afghān advance, and both the *tūpčī-bāshī* and Philippe Colombe lost their lives (*ibid.*, 142). It is not too much to say that the Ṣafawids never really made any effective use of artillery in the field.

Bibliography: in the text. (R. M. Savory)

vi. — INDIA

Naphtha (*naft*) was used by the Muslims in India by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim in 93/711 against Rādja Dāhir. *Tīr-i ātishīn* (fiery-arrows) were the simplest fire missile used by the Muslim Indian rulers in the early part of the 7th/13th century. The department of *ātish-bāzī* (fireworks) was placed under the *Mīr Ātish*. Firishtā's statement that Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna employed *tūp* "cannon" and *tufang* "muskets" against Anand Pāl near Peshāwar in 399/1008 is an obvious anachronism. It may, however, refer to his use of a missile carrying naphtha (*ḳārūra-i naft*)—a weapon mentioned by Firishta in another place regarding Sulṭān Maḥmūd's campaign in India. Saltpetre, an important ingredient of gunpowder, is commonly found in India. The word *kushk-andjīr* mentioned in the 13th century MSS., *Ādāb al-Mulūk* (f. 118 b) and *Tādj al-Maʾāthir* (f. 3a), needs a minute examination. The *Farhang-i Sharaf-nāma-i Aḥmad Munyārī* (compiled in 875/1470) gives its meaning as: "a perforator, or an instrument for throwing stones or a *gōla* (ball) projected by the expansive force of combustible substances". Steingass explains it as a cannon or cannon ball. According to the *Bāhār-i ʿAdjam*, it is an instrument of war worked with gunpowder. From this it would seem that a machine which discharged balls by some explosive force was used in India by 628/1230. *Sang-i Maghribī* "Western stone", mentioned by both Baranī and Amīr Khusraw as being used under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316) can not be taken as denoting "gun". This new implement was borrowed from Spain and North Africa—countries which were called in Arabic "the West". Generally the besiegers employed this machine to bombard a fort. How the stones were thrown is not clearly stated, but this much is certain, that the stone balls were discharged by the force generated by gunpowder.

It is very difficult to discover the real nature of fire-arms used in the 7th/13th or the beginning of the 8th/14th century in India, as the term *ātish-bāzī* (fireworks) is applied to pyrotechnic displays as well to artillery, thus rendering the meaning of the passages ambiguous. However *tūp* and *tufang* are mentioned as being in frequent use from the middle of the 8th/14th century. When Sulṭān Maḥmūd fought against Tīmūr at Delhi in 800/1398, the former's elephants carried howdahs in which were *raʿd-andāz* "throwers of grenades" and *takhsh-andāz* "throwers of rockets". Artillery was improved under the Lodis (855-932/1451-1526). Ibrāhīm Lodī employed *tūp* and *ḍarbzan* "mortars" against Bābur at the battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526.

In the latter half of the 8th/14th and beginning of the 9th/15th century, the use of cannon became very common in the Deccan. The chief reason was that the Deccan States were in contact by sea with Arabia, Iran and Turkey, from which they received artillery and engineers. Firishta records that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī installed a firearms factory in 767/1365; he was the first of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to do so. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bāyḳarā with the help of his Turkish gunners sank with his guns a large Portuguese ship at Diu in 915/1509. Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt excelled his contemporaries in artillery; his master gunner, Rūmī Khān, cast many cannon. One of the reasons for Bahādur's success against the Portuguese was his superior

artillery. All these facts show that cannon were used in India long before Bābur employed them at Pānipat in 932/1526.

The Mug͟hals paid much attention to the art of artillery. Bābur had a limited number of heavy guns at Pānipat. He uses the words *deg͟h*, *firingī* and *ḍarbzan*, but does not mention their number. He used his artillery "chained together according to the custom of Rūm with twisted bull-hides". Bābur's gun could be discharged eight to sixteen times a day only and after improvement could cover a range of 1600 strikes. Rockets became common in India after 947/1540. The barrels of Akbar's (963-1014/1556-1605) matchlocks were of two lengths, 66 ins. and 41 ins. They were made of rolled strips of steel with the two edges welded together. The longer of the two weapons could only be used by a man on foot. The flintlock was little known to the Mug͟hals. The artillery was much improved, and was more numerous, in Awrangzīb's reign (1068-1118/1658-1707). Besides Indians, Turks, Arabs and Portuguese, the Dutch were also employed by Awrangzib. There was one Dutch artillery engineer who served Awrangzīb for sixteen years and went home in 1077/1667.

Heavy field guns were used both by the Mug͟hals and the Deccanīs. The *haft gazī* in Bīdār was constructed in 977/1570. It measures 31 ft. in length. The *malik-i maydān* "king of the battlefield" was built in 957/1549 by Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh. The metal is an alloy of 80,427 parts of copper to 19,573 parts of tin. It weighs 400 maunds and the bore is so wide that a man can sit and move about in it easily. The weight of its iron shot is ten maunds (Akbar's scale). The *ḳalʿa-kus͟hā*, used by Dārā in 1068/1658 at Sāmugarh, was made of 80% tin and measured 25 ft. in length. During the contest for the throne between the sons of Bahādur S͟hāh in 1123/1712, three large guns were removed from the fort of Lāhore, each being dragged by 250 oxen aided by five or six elephants, and it took ten days to reach the camp although it was not more than three or four miles distance.

Tūpk͟hāna-i Zerah or *tōpk͟hāna-i D̲j̲ambis͟hī* was light or mobile artillery. The *gad̲j̲nāl* or *hatk͟hnāl* was fired from the back of an elephant. *S͟hutarnāl* or *S͟hāhīn* denotes the same weapon, a swivel-gun. According to Baranī, the *zambūrak* was "a small field-gun of the size of a double musket". It threw a ball of two or three pounds. The *dhamākah* and *zahkāla* were light field-guns. The *arg͟hūn* was composed of about thirty-six barrels so joined as to fire simultaneously. Revolvers with four chambers were only in the possession of the nobles.

Bibliography: Fak͟hr-i Muddabir, *Ādāb al-Mulūk*, Ind. Office Lib. 647; ʿAlī b. Hamīd, *C͟hach-nāma*, B.M. Or. 1787; Ḥasan Niẓāmī, *Tād̲j̲ al-Maʾāt͟hir*, SOAS London MS 18967; Amīr K͟husraw, *K͟hazāʾin al-Futūḥ*, ʿAligarh 1927; Baranī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Fīrūz-S͟hāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1862; ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, B.M. Add. 25024; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur, *Tūzak-i Bāburī*, B.M. Add. 24416; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, Vol. ii, Calcutta 1879; Firis͟hta, Ind. Office Lib. 1251; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bāds͟hāh-nāma*, Calcutta 1867-68; Muḥammad Sāḳī, *Maʾāt͟hir-i ʿAlamgīrī*, Bibl. Ind. 1871; Sir Henry Eliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Histories of Muhammadan India*, Vol. i, Calcutta 1849, 340-58; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (G.), 4; W. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, 113-50; *Journal of Indian History*, 1937, 185-88; *IC*, Vol. xii/1938, 405-18.

(YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN)

AL-**BĀRŪDĪ**, MAḤMŪD SĀMĪ, Egyptian and statesman, born 27 Rad̲j̲ab 1255/6 October 1839, died in Cairo in 1332/1904; his genealogy went back to Nawrūz al-Atābakī al-Malakī al-As͟hrafī, brother of Barsbay (d. 841-1438). "Al-Bārūdī" is the *nisba* of a small town in the province of Lower Egypt: al-Baḥīra, called Itāy al-Bārūd. He lost his father, then an official in the Dongola, at the age of seven. After completing his primary studies, he entered, in 1267/1851, the Cairo Military Training School, during the reign of the Viceroy ʿAbbās I (1848-1854), and left it in 1271/1855 with the rank of *bās͟hd̲j̲āwīs͟h* (quartermaster-sergeant), at the beginning of the reign of Saʿīd I (1854-1863).

His taste for poetry developed from this time onwards; his reading and personal researches, his contacts with the men of letters and poets of the period, made him, despite his military duties in his capacity as an officer which took up most of his time, one of the leaders of the literary renaissance in Egypt. A return to the true sources of poetry, that is to say to the great poets of the *d̲j̲āhiliyya* and particularly of the ʿAbbāsid period, seemed to him essential; but he wished also to belong to his own epoch, and for this reason he took advantage of every opportunity to broaden his knowledge in all fields of literature, to begin with, Turkish and Persian, and later, French and English. He lived for some time in Constantinople, with the title of Secretary for Egyptian Foreign Affairs. At the time of the visit of the Viceroy Ismāʿīl to the Ottoman capital, he brought himself to the notice of the new viceroy who had just succeeded Saʿīd (1279/1863): al-Bārūdī thereupon joined the military establishment of the Egyptian sovereign. Promoted *biñbās͟hī* (battalion-commander) in Muḥarram 1280/July 1863, he assumed command of the Viceregal Guard. He was a member of the military mission sent by Egypt to Camp de Chalons, in France, and thence to London. On his return in 1281/1864, he was promoted *ḳāʾim-maḳām* (lieutenant-colonel) of the 3rd regiment of the Guard and, shortly afterwards, *amīr-ālāy* (colonel) of the 4th regiment of the same Guard.

He took part in the war in Crete in 1282/1865, and his services won him the Turkish decoration *Wisām ʿUt͟hmānī*, 4th class. Ismāʿīl, who since 1283/1866 had been Khedive, kept al-Bārūdī at the head of his Guard, and later appointed him private secretary and sent him to Constantinople, during the Serbo-Bulgarian war, to perform various diplomatic missions. At the time of the Russian war in 1294/1877, al-Bārūdī proved himself a brilliant and courageous officer, and as a result was promoted *amīr al-liwāʾ* (brigadier-general). From 1296/1879 to 1882, al-Bārūdī busied himself with the reorganisation of the Egyptian General Staff, under the Khedive Tawfīḳ who had succeeded Ismāʿīl in 1296/1879. Meanwhile, appointed Minister of *Waḳfs*, he tried to clear up the position regarding property in mortmain, and used the sums thus recovered for the construction of public works: mosques and dwellings; he began the construction of the Khedivial Library, and proposed the creation of a Museum of the Fine Arts.

Promoted *fariḳ* (lieutenant-general), and decorated with the *Nis͟hān Mad̲j̲īdī*, he became, in 1298/1881, Minister of War as well as Minister of *Waḳfs*, and thus found himself constrained to participate in the nationalist movement then in its infancy, and to intervene in the serious conflict between the locally recruited Egyptian army and the Turko-Circassian officers. From then on, al-Bārūdī found

himself involved, either as a spectator or as an active participant, in what is known as *Thawrat ʿArābī Pasha* or *al-Thawra al-ʿArabiyya*, "the Revolt of ʿArābī Pasha" (the name is also pronounced ʿUrābī). Summary of events: fall of the minister Sharīf Pasha; formation of al-Bārūdī's Cabinet; proclamation of the Constitution of 1299/1882; bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet; landing of the British army; defeat of ʿArābī Pasha at Tell-al-Kebir (near Cairo); occupation of Egypt by Britain; exile of the leaders or promoters of the "Revolt", among whom were al-Bārūdī, ʿArābī Pasha and Shaykh ʿAbduh.

For seventeen years, from the end of 1882 until the beginning of 1900, al-Bārūdī was obliged to reside in the island of Ceylon. He profited by his enforced leisure to study English, to devote himself to teaching his compatriots and co-religionists, and above all to take up again his favourite studies in Arabic poetry and to give his inspiration free rein to compose the major poems of his *dīwān*.

When he returned to Egypt after having been pardoned by the Decree of 18 Muḥarram 1318/18 May 1900, he had amassed numerous poems selected with discrimination from the collections and *dīwān*s of the ʿAbbāsid period, and which, arranged in categories, constituted the most representative anthology of *muwallad* or *muḥdath* ("modern") poets. These categories are as follows: 1. *Adab* (moral or ethical); 2. *Madīḥ* (panegyric); 3. *Rithāʾ* (threnody); 4. *Ṣifāt* (descriptive); 5. *Nasīb* (erotic); 6. *Hidjāʾ* (satire); 7. *Zuhd* (renouncement of the world). The poets quoted, arranged in chronological order, are thirty in number, and the total verses quoted under each of the above headings are respectively: 1,697, 24,185, 3,400, 3,393, 4,616, 1,229 and 473, making a grand total of 39,593 verses. The number of verses of the *madīḥ* category is particularly remarkable. More important, it seems to me, is the importance attributed to certain poets. Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Buḥturī lead the field with 3,732 and 3,397 verses. Two poets have between 2,500 and 3,000 verses: Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdī and al-Sharīf al-Raḍī; four between 2,000 and 2,500 verses: al-Arradjānī, Abū Tammām, al-Mutanabbī and al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (al-Mutanabbī is therefore placed seventh); two between 1,500 and 2,000 verses: Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī and Mihyār al-Daylamī; five, between 1,000 and 1,500 verses: al-Abīwardī, al-Ghazzī, Ibn Ḥayyūs, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, Ṣurradurr; eight, between 500 and 1,000 verses: al-Ṭughrāʾī, Abū Nuwās, ʿUmara al-Yamanī, al-Tihāmī, Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī, Ibn Sinān al-Khafadjī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn al-Khayyāṭ; and, finally, seven, between 90 and 500 verses: Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, Muslim b. al-Walīd, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, Ibn ʿUnayn, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, Bashshār b. Burd and Ibn al-Zayyāt.

The *Mukhtārāt* of al-Bārūdī did not appear in any bookseller's before the death of the author, but were published in Cairo in four volumes, two in 1327/1909 and two in 1329/1911, through the efforts of the scholar Yāḳūt al-Mursī.

Al-Bārūdī's *dīwān*, which similarly did not appear until after his death, was first published, thanks to the scholar and commentator Maḥmūd al-Imām al-Manṣūrī, in three volumes in two (poems with rhymes *hamza* to *lām*), n.d., 536 and 631 pages, and was published a second time in 1940 with a preface by M. Ḥ. Haykal and a commentary by ʿAlī al-Djārim and Muḥammad Shafīḳ Maʿrūf; it reveals the same eclecticism. Occasional pieces are numerous; accurate descriptions of places enable one to follow the poet-statesman through its various étages; some of the poems composed at Colombo (Ceylon) are particularly moving. It is not possible, within the limits of this article, to go into the detail which would be required by a more profound critical appreciation of the subject matter, not to mention the form, of his poems. Let it suffice to say that al-Bārūdī attained an undisputed mastery of poetic language in its purest classical form; vocabulary, figures of speech, stylistic devices, held no secrets for him. He did not seek to make innovations in the pattern of the *ḳaṣīda* or in the poetic metres (there is a rare exception in the *dīwān*, i, 63-4), and remained faithful to his models. His admiration for the passed led him to imitate several famous poems, with resounding success. For example, his imitation of the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī, using the same metre (*basīṭ*) and the same rhyme (*mi*), under the title of *Kashf al-Ghumma fī Madḥ Sayyid al-Umma* (Cairo 1327/1909, 8vo, 48 pages, 447 verses, whereas the *Burda* only contains 172). The themes used in his *dīwān*, however, are very modern and, in this respect, al-Bārūdī is justly considered to be one of the most effective pioneers of the renaissance of contemporary Arabic poetry.

Bibliography: The reader is referred to the very full references given by J. A. Dagher, in his *Maṣādir al-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya*, ii/1: *al-Rāḥilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 159-162. To these should be added, with regard to the *Thawra ʿArabiyya*, the following two works which give all necessary documentation: M. Sabry, *La genèse de l'esprit national égyptien (1863-1882)*, Paris 1924, and Osman Amin, *Muḥammad ʿAbduh. Essai sur ses idées philosophiques et religieuses*, Cairo 1944.— Cf. also the notice in Brockelmann S III, 7-18.

(H. Pérès)

BARŪDJIRD (or Burūdjird), a town in the VIth *ustān* (Luristān) of Persia, situated on the road connecting Hamadān with Ahwāz *via* Khurramābād; it is the seat of a *farmāndār* (deputy governor). The population is 47,000.

The town stands on an extensive and well-cultivated plain that is bounded on the west by the Zagros mountains. The climate is temperate in summer, but cold in winter. There are some 900 shops most of which are in the two large bazaars. The Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ (cathedral mosque) dates from the Mongol period.

It was at Barūdjird that the Saldjūḳ prince Barkyārūḳ [*q.v.*] in 485/1093 defeated the forces of his mother Turkān Khātūn who, after her husband Malikshāh's death, had espoused the cause of her younger son Maḥmūd.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 288, 289; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, ii, 302-7; A. H. Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i, 288-91: Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, ii, 130-2; Sartīp Razmārā and Sartīp Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1330 solar 1951, vi, 47.

(L. Lockhart)

AL-BĀRŪNĪ, Sulaymān, contemporary Tripolitanian Ibāḍī scholar and politician, who inspired the Arabs of his country in their struggle against Italy. He belonged to an old and influential Berber family of the Djabal Nafūsa (with branches at Djādo, Kābaō and Djerba, where there is a private *bārūniyya* library) and was the son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Bārūnī, the theologian, jurist and poet, who taught at the *zāwiya* of al-Bakhābkha, near Yefren. Sulaymān was suspected by the Ottoman govern-

ment of nurturing separatist ideas and plotting the founding of an Ibāḍite imāmate. Proceedings were instituted against him, but the sentences pronounced were not fully executed because of the disturbances which they provoked, especially in the Djabal. Finally he was granted an amnesty, but upon the Ottoman authorities requesting him to present himself in Constantinople, he fled to Cairo.

A man of unusual culture (having studied at Tunis, al-Azhar and in the Mzab), he founded a printing office, which had the outstanding merit of disseminating several old Ibāḍī works. He also founded a newspaper, which however only enjoyed an ephemeral life, its circulation in the Ottoman provinces, Tunisia, and Algeria, being prohibited.

After the promulgation in Turkey of the constitution following the Young Turks' revolution, Sulaymān al-Bārūnī was elected deputy in the *liwā'* of the Djabal and called to Constantinople; thereupon he learnt Turkish in two months of intense study.

When Italy's designs on Libya became evident, al-Bārūnī endevoured to obtain consignments of arms from his government. After the Italian landing at Tripoli (11th October 1911), he was one of the most active promoters of the Arab resistance, which made Turkey decide to stand firm, and which continued even after the signing of the Turco-Italian Peace Treaty at Ouchy (or Lausanne, 18th October 1912). In the western Djabal sector, where al-Bārūnī was conducting operations and was aiming at the formation of a Berber amīrate, the issue was decided at the battle of al-Aṣābiʿa (el-Aṣābʿa) on the 23rd March 1913. Upon his return to Constantinople, al-Bārūnī was appointed senator, receiving the title of pasha.

When Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers (1914), al-Bārūnī was sent to Sollum (October 1914) with the brother of Enver Pasha, Nūrī Bey, to induce the leader of the Sanūsīs, Aḥmad al-Sharīf, to attack the British from the West. His mission failed; the plot to force the Sanūsī's hand was discovered and al-Bārūnī arrested. Nevertheless he managed to escape (January 1915). He resumed his rôle as an opponent of Italy, when the latter entered the war. However it was not until the end of 1916, when Turkey had appointed him Governor-General and Commander of Tripoli and its dependencies, that he landed at Misurata from a submarine. The Italians were in a precarious situation, having entrenched themselves at Tripoli, Homs (al-Khums) and Zuara, but the Arabs also were in a state of complete confusion. Their leaders had divergent aims and the tribes were fighting amongst themselves; al-Bārūnī restored harmony. Nevertheless, he soon lost his pre-eminence; after proceeding to western Tripolitania, he was there defeated by the Italians (16th and 17th January 1917). At the end of the same month of January, the Turks replaced him by a military man, the Nūrī Pasha referred to above. In November 1918, that is to say after the signing of the Armistice between Turkey and the Allies, the nationalists, under the influence of the Wilsonian principles, established the Tripolitanian Republic (*al-Djumhūriyya al-Ṭarābulusiyya*) in Tripolitania, to which Italy later granted (1st June 1919) the Tripolitanian Statute. Two movements then manifested themselves, one aimed at an agreement with Italy which would have meant complete independence, and the other, represented especially by the Berbers, favourable to collaboration with Italy by the application of the Statute. Al-Bārūnī, who supported the latter course, gave his support to the Italian government, though his ultimate aim still remained the formation of a Berber amīrate in the Western Djabal with access to the sea. The first policy was adopted at a gathering at Garian (November 1920), where the formation of an amīrate, naturally Arab, was demanded in Tripolitania (the idea of uniting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica matured later—end of 1921—and was given substance by the offer of the office of *amīr* to Idrīs al-Sanūsī [spring of 1922]). The Berbers, seeking Italian support and accused by the Arabs of being heretics because of their position as Ibāḍī, were expelled from the Western Djabal by force and compelled to seek refuge on the coast (July 1921). Thus their dreams of independence or autonomy vanished.

Banished from Tripolitania (22nd December 1921) because of his equivocal attitude, al-Bārūnī, after spending some time in Europe and the Ḥidjāz, went to Maskat as the guest of the sultan Saʿīd b. Taymūr. Thence he moved to the interior of ʿUmān to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khalīlī, *imām* of the little Ibāḍite state (capital Nazwā) which survived until recent times [see NAZWĀ] in the Djabal al-Akhḍar, and there received the title of minister and was entrusted with the task of reorganising the State. Subsequently he returned to Maskat where, in 1938, he was appointed adviser to the Sulṭān with wide powers. He died in Bombay (not Maskat: see *OM*, 1940, 326) in 1940.

Of his work entitled *Al-Azhār al-Riyāḍiyya fī A'imma wa Mulūk al-Ibāḍiyya*, only the second volume has been published (Cairo, n.d., [1906-7].)

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(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

BARZAKH a Persian and Arabic word meaning "obstacle" "hindrance" "separation" (perhaps identical with Persian *farsakh* [*q.v.*], a measure of distance). It is found three times in the Ḳur'ān (xxiii, 102; xxv, 55 and lv, 20) and is interpreted sometimes in a moral and sometimes in a concrete sense. In verse 100 of Sūra xxiii the godless beg to be allowed to return to earth to accomplish the good they have left undone during their lives; but there is a *barzakh* in front of them barring the way. Zamakhsharī here explains the word by *ḥā'il*, an obstacle, and interprets it in a moral sense: a prohibition by God. Other commentators take the word more in a physical sence; the *barzakh* is a barrier between hell and paradise or else the grave which lies between this life and the next. In the other two passages of the Ḳur'ān, it is a question of two seas, or great stretches of water, one fresh, the other salt, between which there is a *barzakh* which prevents their being mixed. The same thing is mentioned in verse 61 of Sūra xxvii, and in this passage the word *ḥādjiz* or hindrance takes the place of *barzakh*. The commentators say that there is here an allusion to the fresh waters of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab which flow a great distance out into the salt sea without mixing with it; the impedi-

ment here is the effect of a law of nature established by God.

In eschatology, the word *barzakh* is used to describe the boundary of the world of human beings, which consists of the heavens, the earth and the nether regions, and its separation from the world of pure spirits and God. See the pictures representing this conception in the *Maʿrifat-nāma* of Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī (Būlāḳ 1251, 1255); cf. also Carra de Vaux, *Fragments d'eschatologie musulmane*; R. Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection recording to Islam*, Uppsala 1941.

The Ṣūfīs, too, use the town in the sense of space between the material world and that of the pure spirits; hence several shades of meaning; cf. C. E. Wilson, *The Masnavī*, book ii, vol. ii, note 20.

The same expression is also found in the philosophy known as "illuminating" (*al-ḥikma al-mas̲h̲riḳiyya*). It there denotes the dark substances, i.e bodies: the *barzakh* or the body is dark by nature and only becomes light on receiving the light of the spirit. The celestial spheres are "animated" or "living" *barzakh*s, inanimate bodies on the other hand are "dead" *barzakh*s (cf. Carra de Vaux, *La Philosophie illuminative d'après Suhrawardi Meqtoul*, in *JA*, Jan.-Febr. 1902).

The term *barzakh* is sometimes rendered by Purgatory, on the analogy of the Christian idea of Purgatory, but this is inaccurate. It is used in the sense of "limbo". See further al-Tahānawī, *Dict. of Technical Terms*, s.v. (B. Carra de Vaux*)

BĀRZĀN, a Kurdish village on the left (eastern) bank of the Great Zāb river, approximately 80 km. due north of Arbīl, in what was formerly the territory of the Zēbārī tribe. S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, *S̲h̲araf-nāma*, i, 107, in 1005/1596, numbered it among the possessions of the Bahdīnān princes under the name of Bāzīrān. Since the middle of the 13th/19th century Bārzān has been the residence of a Naḳs̲h̲bandī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲. The S̲h̲ayk̲h̲s and their followers, now known as the Bārzānī tribe, maintained a turbulent independence of Ottoman authority until, early in 1333/1915, the Mawṣil authorities captured and hanged S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Salām II. His successor, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad, temporarily declared himself a Christian in 1350/1931. This occasioned warfare with the neighbouring Brādōst tribe, necessitating the intervention of the government of ʿIrāḳ. The S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ fled to Turkey, where he was arrested.

In midsummer 1362/1943 Mullā Muṣṭafā, brother of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad, escaped from seclusion at Sulaymāniyya to Bārzān, where he gathered support and rebelled against the government. He had some initial success against government forces, but was finally obliged to retire, early in 1364/1945, to Persia. He assisted at the inauguration of the Kurdish People's Republic at Mahābād on 10 Muḥarram 1365/15 December 1945 and was made a Field-Marshal. On the collapse of the Republic Mullā Muṣṭafā escaped to Soviet territory, while S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad surrendered to the ʿIrāḳ government.

Bibliography: W. A. & E. T. A. Wigram, *Cradle of Mankind*, 136 ff., London 1922; B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris 1956; S. H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq, 1900 to 1950*, London 1953; Ṣiddīḳ al-Damlūd̲j̲ī, *Imārat Bahdīnān al-Kurdiyya*, Mosul 1952. (D. N. Mackenzie)

BARZAND, a village and township (*dihistān*), in the district (*s̲h̲ahristān*) of Ardabīl, county (*bak̲h̲s̲h̲*) of Garmī, lying in the mountains overlooking the plain of Mug̲h̲ān to the north. The name may mean "high place". The village lies ca. 47° 40′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 39° 20′ N. lat.

A confusion between Barzand and Barzand̲j̲ (near Tiflis) appears in several of the mediaeval geographers (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 562; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 403). This confusion, together with a remark of Muḳaddasī, 378, that Barzand was a market for Armenians, helps to explain why several geographers (*e.g.*, Yāḳūt) placed Barzand in Armenia.

We find no notice of the place before the time of Afs̲h̲īn [*q.v.*], who in 220/835 made Barzand one of his headquarters in the campaign against Bābak [*q.v.*]. Several sources say that Afs̲h̲īn rebuilt Barzand after he had found it in ruins (Schwarz, 1094). Bābak may have destroyed the town, since it was a strategic point on the main road from Ardabīl north to the Mug̲h̲ān steppe. After the time of Afs̲h̲īn Barzand became a large town with a prosperous bazaar, noted for textiles. It may have suffered during the Mongol conquests, for Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, trans. G. Le Strange, 91, says the town was in ruins in his time (mid 8th/14th cent.). Later the area was included in the pasture land of the S̲h̲āh Sewan tribe [*q.v.*], and the people spoke Ad̲h̲arī Turkish as they do today.

At the present the township has a population (1950) of ca. 3820, and the central village is called Ḳalaʿ-yi Barzand.

Bibliography: P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 8 (1934), 1094-98, where references to Islamic sources are given. Add to these *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 142, 403; Le Strange, 175-6; Razmārā, *Farhang-i D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, Tehran 1952, 87. (R. N. Frye)

BARZŪ-NĀMA, Persian epic, attributed to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAṭāʾ b. Yaʿḳūb, known as Nakūk (called ʿAṭāʾī b. Yaʿḳūb, known as ʿAṭāʾī Rāzī in Blochét, *Catal. Mss. persans Biblio. Nat. Paris*, iii, 15, no. 1189). According to Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Hidāyat, "some people have wrongly considered these two names to represent two poets. This is not so; they are the same person" (*Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, i, 342). ʿAṭāʾ was a poet in both Arabic and Persian (see his account in Bāk̲h̲arzī, *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr*) and an official in the reign of the G̲h̲aznawid sultan Ibrāhīm (1059-1099) who, dissatisfied with him, ruined him and held him prisoner for more than eight years at Lahore. ʿAṭāʾ died in 491/1098, according to Awfī (*Lubāb*, i, 72-75). At the end of a remarkable elegy (*mart̲h̲iya*) his contemporary Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān gave his name clearly: "*az wafāt-i ʿAṭāʾ ibn-i Yaʿḳūb, tāza-tar s̲h̲ud waḳāḥat-i ʿālam*" (by the death of ʿAṭāʾ son of Yaʿḳūb the shamelessness of this nether world received a new stimulus"). His principal work was the *Lay of Barzū* (*Barzū-nāma*), the longest and one of the most important epic poems based on the ancient Persian traditions in imitation of the *Book of the Kings* (*S̲h̲āh-nāma*) of Firdawsī (from which the *Barzū-nāma* in several parts is directly derived). Barzū, son of Suhrāb and grandson of Rustam, was born among the Tūrānians to a woman called S̲h̲āhrū. Persuaded by Afrāsiyāb, leader of the Tūrānians, he went to fight the Persians; at the end of protracted hostilities, Rustam recognised him and reconciled him to the Persians. Finally he died, killed traitorously in the course of a war against the Slavs, represented as demons (*dīw*) ruled over by the *dīw* Ṣiḳlāb. Nöldeke, seeing in these adventures (as J. Mohl did before him) a variant of those of the heroes Suhrāb and D̲j̲ahāngīr, assumed that the work was one of pure invention. The episode of the Tūrānian singing-girl Sūsan, who captured the chief

Persian heroes by a trick, and had decided to send them in chains to Afrāsiyāb, when the Persian hero Farāmurz came suddenly to rescue them, is one of the most brilliant parts of the poem; it may be considered as a work of art on its own merits. Fragments of the *Barzū-nāma* (two MSS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, Blochét, *Catal. mss. persans*, iii, 15 and 16) were published by Turner Macan (*Shāh-nāma*, iv, 2160-2296), Kosegarten (*Mines de l'Orient*, V, 309), Vullers (*Chrest. Schahnam.*, 87-99). Also it seems possible to attribute to ʿAṭāʾ the epic poem *Bidjan-nāma*, concerning the exploits of another Persian hero, the last line of which is: "*ču zīn dāstān dil bi-pardākhtam, sūy-i razm-i Barzū hamī tākhtam*", "when I had freed my heart of this poem, I quickly began the Lay of Barzū" (Rieu, *Catal. Persian Mss. British Mus.*, 132-133).

Bibliography: S. de Sacy, in *Journal de Savants*, 1836, 207 ff.; J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, introd. lxiv ff.; T. Nöldeke, in *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii, 209; Éthé, *ibid.*, 234; V. Rugarli, *Susen la cantatrice*, in *Giorn. Soc. Asiat. italiana*, xi, 1897-98; Zabihollah Safā, *Ḥamāsa-sarāʾī dar Īrān*, Tehran 1324/1946, 288-295; idem, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1336/1958, ii, 477 ff.

(CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

BARZŪYA, Arabic name, attested by Yāḳūt, of a fortress to which modern writers, following a reference to it by Anna Comnena, prefer to apply the name Bourzey. The local people call it Ḳalʿat Marza. The ruins of this castle, standing on the eastern slope of the Alaouite massif, still dominate the marshy depression of the Ghāb. It had a troubled history from Hellenic times, when the impregnable position of Lysias was known. At the time of the Syrian expedition of the Emperor Tzimisces in 365/975, it passed from Ḥamdānid hands into those of the Byzantines. Subsequently it was occupied by the Crusaders and, forming one of the best defences of the principality of Antioch (at which time it appears to have born the name Rochefort) was retaken by force by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 584/1188. From the Mamlūk period it rapidly lost its importance and the chroniclers merely make passing reference to it.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 565; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 261; Dimashḳī, Mehren ed., 205; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwa el-Ladkijé*, in *ZDPV*, xiv, 174 and 212; M. van Berchem, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, 82; idem, *Notes sur les croisades*, in *JA*, 1902, i, 434; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, especially 151-53; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 421; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, Algiers 1951, 215, 843; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index (under Borzeï); J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites*, Tours 1940, index (under Bourzey); G. Saadé, *Le château de Bourzey*, in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, 1956, 139-62. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

AL-**BASĀSĪRĪ**, ABU ʾL-ḤĀRITH ARSLĀN AL-MUẒAFFAR, originally a Turkish slave, who became one of the chief military leaders at the end of the Buwayhid dynasty. He owes his *nisba* al-Basāsīrī (al-Fasāsīrī) to his first master who was from Basā (Fasā) in Fars. A *mawlā* of Bahāʾ al-Dawla, he subsequently rose to the highest rank, though we only hear of him from the reign of Djalāl al-Dawla (416-435/1025-1044), in the struggles which the latter was obliged to maintain against his nephew Abū Kālīdjār and the ʿUḳaylids of al-Mawṣil. During the reign of al-Malik al-Raḥīm Khusraw Fīrūz (440-447/1048-1055), a period of continuous troubles due to the indiscipline of the Turkish troops at Baghdād, the struggle between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs in the capital, the ambitions of the ʿUḳaylids and Buwayhid pretenders, the depredations of the Arab and Kurdish tribes, and, finally, the intervention of the Saldjūḳid sultan Toghrul Beg in the affairs of Mesopotamia, al-Basāsīrī came to play a major rôle (Anbār taken from the ʿUḳaylid Karwāsh, 441/1050, Baṣra taken from the brother of Malik Raḥīm, 444/1052, operations against the Arab and Kurdish brigands at Bawāzīdj, 445/1054, assistance given to the Mazyadid Shīʿī Dubays, who had been attacked at al-Djāmiʿān, the future Ḥilla, by the Banū Khafādja, etc.). However in 446/1054, he was unable to stop the rebellion of the Turks in Baghdād, followed by scenes of pillage and famine and an incursion by the troops of the ʿUḳaylid of al-Mawṣil, Ḳuraysh, to Baradān, whence they carried off the camels and horses from his stables. In November of the same year, Ḳuraysh took Anbār, al-Basāsīrī's fief, and, breaking with the Buwayhid, pronounced the *khuṭba* in the name of Toghrul Beg.

At Baghdād al-Basāsīrī had a powerful adversary, the Caliph's vizier the *raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ* Ibn al-Muslima, who, foreseeing the end of the Buwayhids, had already formed a connexion with Toghrul Beg, because in 446/1054-1055, in which year the Turkish leader's quarrel with the Caliph and his entourage became effective, al-Basāsīrī accused him of having summoned Toghrul's Ghuzz, who had been at Ḥulwān since 444/1052-3. The vizier prevented al-Basāsīrī from taking action against supporters of Ḳuraysh who had come to Baghdād, to which he reacted by impounding one of the vizier's boats, withdrawing the monthly pensions paid to the Caliph and the vizier, and, in March 1055, retaking Anbār by force. Upon his return to Baghdād, he refrained from calling to pay his respects to the Caliph.

Al-Basāsīrī probably already had Shīʿī leanings. In 447/1055, at the time of the Sunnī demonstrations in Baghdād, extremists, doubtless at the vizier's instigation, seized a ship carrying wine destined for al-Basāsīrī, who was then at Wāsiṭ with al-Malik al-Raḥīm, and broke the wine-jars. As the cargo belonged to a Christian, al-Basāsīrī thereupon obtained a *fatwā* declaring the smashing of the jars to be illegal. Thenceforth the vizier sedulously denigrated al-Basāsīrī in the eyes of the Turks of the army, and of the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim. He accused him of being in communication with the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir, caused his house in Baghdād to be pillaged and burnt by the Turks, and ordered the Buwayhid to send him away. Meanwhile the troops of Toghrul Beg, who had announced his intention of performing the pilgrimage and of proceeding to Syria and Egypt to dethrone the Fāṭimid, arrived before Baghdād. Al-Malik al-Raḥīm again set out towards Baghdād, whilst al-Basāsīrī went to his brother-in-law, the Mazyadid Dubays; the Turks of Baghdād, deceived by the vizier, regretted his departure. The Caliph, his vizier, and al-Malik al-Raḥīm accepted Toghrul's presence, and his name was pronounced in the *khuṭba* on Friday 15th December 1055; on the 18th, he made his solemn entry into the capital. Discord however was not slow to arise between the inhabitants and the Ghuzz of Toghrul. Toghrul held al-Malik al-Raḥīm responsible for the scenes of pillage which subsequently occurred, and had him arrested on 23rd December.

On Toghrul's orders, Dubays was obliged to break with al-Basāsīrī, who proceeded to Raḥba on the Euphrates. He wrote to the Fāṭimid Caliph Mustanṣir asking him to receive him in Cairo. The vizier al-Yāzūrī did not agree, but the Caliph responded to his request for Fāṭimid aid to conquer Baghdād in his name and prevent the Saldjūḳid from marching on Syria and Egypt; he gave him the governorship of Raḥba and sent him 500,000 dinars, clothes of a like value, 500 horses, 10,000 bows, 1,000 swords, and lances and arrows.

According to the autobiography of the Fāṭimid missionary al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, who was apparently the instigator of the revolt and a real Fāṭimid plenipotentiary in the affair, al-Basāsīrī was not the first to approach Mustanṣir; Mu'ayyad had written to him prior to Toghrul's arrival in Baghdād, though the letters did not reach him until after the Saldjūḳid had entered the city. It was Mu'ayyad who brought the money and supplies sent by Cairo to al-Basāsīrī at Raḥba as well as the Fāṭimid Caliph's patent of investiture.

The year 448/1056-7 was marked by intense Fāṭimid propaganda, attested by the numerous letters addressed by Mu'ayyad to the amīrs of ʿIrāḳ and the Djazīra to win them to the Fāṭimid cause. The excesses of the Ghuzz favoured his success. The *khuṭba* was pronounced in the name of Mustanṣir at Wāsiṭ and other places in ʿIrāḳ, and Dubays, who had been constrained to do likewise for Toghrul, returned to the alliance with al-Basāsīrī. The latter, reinforced by the Arab nomads and the Baghdād Turks who had been despoiled by Toghrul, marched in Dubays's company with a considerable body of troops on the region of Sindjār, where he inflicted a bloody defeat on the Saldjūḳid troops commanded by Toghrul's cousin Ḳutlumush and his ally Ḳuraysh of al-Mawṣil. Ḳutlumush fled to Ādharbaydjān; Ḳuraysh was wounded and captured (29 Shawwāl 448/9 January 1057) and thenceforth made common cause with al-Basāsīrī, who proceeded to al-Mawṣil where the Fāṭimid Caliph was acknowledged.

Toghrul's reaction was not long delayed. He left Baghdād on the 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 448/19 January 1057, and, after receiving reinforcements from Persia, marched on al-Mawṣil, took the city and then proceeded towards Nisibīn. Dubays and Ḳuraysh rallied to him, whilst al-Basāsīrī returned to Raḥba with the Baghdād Turks and a group of ʿUḳayl. However, after the arrival of the sultan's brother, Ibrāhīm Īnāl, who heartily disliked the Arabs, Ḳuraysh rejoined al-Basāsīrī, whilst Dubays regained Djāmiʿān via Raḥba. After wreaking his vengeance on Sindjār for the affair of 448 and leaving Īnāl at al-Mawṣil, the sultan returned to Baghdād, where he was solemnly received by the Caliph, who conferred on him the title of King of the West and the East (26 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 449/4 January 1058).

The sultan's brother, Ibrāhīm Īnāl, however, who coveted the sultanate, got into communication with al-Basāsīrī and sent a messenger to the missionary Mu'ayyad, who had come back to Aleppo, with a view to obtaining Fāṭimid support in wresting the sultanate from his brother, promising that the *khuṭba* should be pronounced in the name of the Fāṭimids. He abandoned al-Mawṣil, to which al-Basāsīrī and Ḳuraysh returned. After the taking of the citadel, which held out for four months, al-Basāsīrī returned to Raḥba. However, Toghrul reconquered al-Mawṣil and marched on Nisibīn, whilst, according to Mu'ayyad's autobiography, al-Basāsīrī, undoubtedly alarmed, directed his steps towards Damascus. Then it was that Īnāl rose in rebellion and set out for the Djibāl. Toghrul left Nisibīn on the 15 Ramaḍān 450/5 November 1058 and set off in his pursuit.

Now that ʿIrāḳ was free of the Saldjūḳid for a time, there was nothing to oppose al-Basāsīrī's return and counter-offensive. News was soon received of his arrival at Hīt and then at Anbār. The Caliph Ḳā'im hesitated as to the attitude to adopt and, in spite of the proposal of the Mazyadid Dubays, who offered him a refuge, stayed on in Baghdād, counting on being able to resist. On 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/27 December 1058, al-Basāsīrī entered western Baghdād with 400 poorly equipped cavalrymen accompanied by Ḳuraysh at the head of a further two hundred. The following Friday, 1 January 1059, the Shīʿī *adhān* was heard and the *khuṭba* was recited in the name of the Fāṭimids at the Mosque of Manṣūr. Then, re-establishing the bridge of boats, al-Basāsīrī crossed the river and, on the 8th of January, the name of the Caliph Mustanṣir was proclaimed at the Ruṣāfa Mosque. The Caliph had his palace fortified, but al-Basāsīrī not only had the Shīʿīs of the Karkh on his side, but also the large numbers of Sunnīs impelled by hatred of the Ghuzz and the lure of pillage. After defeating a group of Hāshimites and palace eunuchs urged on by the vizier, near the racecourse, al-Basāsīrī attacked the palace on the 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/19 January 1059, entering the *ḥarīm* by the Bāb al-Nūbī. The Caliph, seeing that the game was lost, placed himself and the vizier under the protection of Ḳuraysh, who got them away, whilst the palace was sacked. Al-Basāsīrī appropriated the Caliphal insignia, *mindīl* (turban), *ridā'* (cloak) and *shubbāk* (lattice screen), which were sent to Cairo as trophies. He solemnly celebrated the Feast of the Victims on 29 January 1059 at the *muṣallā* with the Egyptian standards. He agreed to leave the Caliph with Ḳuraysh, who placed him in safe-keeping at al-Ḥaditha of ʿĀna with his cousin Muhārish, but insisted that his enemy, the vizier Ibn al-Muslima, should be handed over to him. After parading him with ignominy, he had him put to a terrible death on 16 February 1059. Al-Basāsīrī then took possession of Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, but was unable to gain Khūzistān to the Fāṭimid cause.

But already al-Basāsīrī was virtually abandoned by Cairo. Initially great hopes had been raised there by his action; Mustanṣir relied on his bringing him the Caliph al-Ḳā'im as a captive and had the Little Palace of the West at Cairo made ready for him, and the was greatly displeased when al-Ḳā'im was handed over to Ḳuraysh. In addition, the vizier Yāzūrī, blamed for ruining Egyptian finances to support al-Basāsīrī, had been deposed and then put to death. From June 1058, Ibn al-Maghribī, a former secretary who had fled from al-Basāsīrī at Baghdād, was vizier. When the latter wrote to him, he replied in such terms as to leave him no expectations of support. Toghrul, however, had triumphed over his brother in Djumāda II 451/July 1059 and was preparing to return to Baghdād. He offered to leave al-Basāsīrī in Baghdād, provided he would pronounce the *khuṭba* and coin money in his name and restore the Caliph al-Ḳā'im to the throne. In such an event, he himself would not return to ʿIrāḳ. He asked Ḳuraysh to leave al-Basāsīrī in the event of his refusing to agree to this proposal. For his part, al-Basāsīrī attempted to negotiate with the Caliph to persuade him to break away from the Saldjūḳid, but without success. Ḳuraysh drew his attention to

Fāṭimid ingratitude and let him hope for a pardon by Toghrul, but he would not accept the offer and Toghrul then started to march on Baghdād. At the Saldjūḳid's request, Muhārish freed the Caliph al-Ḳā'im, who met the sultan at Nahrawān on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 451/3 January 1060, arriving with him at his palace on the following day. Ḳuraysh had already left al-Basāsīrī, who quitted Baghdād with his family on 6 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da/14 December, proceeding in the direction of Kūfa and leaving the Shī'is of Karkh exposed to the reprisals of the Sunnīs.

Al-Basāsīrī was swiftly overtaken by Toghrul's cavalry and caught in the company of Dubays. Whilst the latter, whose Arabs refused to engage, took to flight, al-Basāsīrī accepted battle and fell, his horse pierced by an arrow. He was killed by the secretary of the Saldjūḳid vizier al-Kundurī on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/15 January 1060 at Saḳy al-Furāt, near Kūfa. His head was brought to the sultan.

Thus ended the adventure of al-Basāsīrī. For a year he had gained acknowledgement of Fāṭimid sovereignty at Baghdād. The *khuṭba* in the name of the Fāṭimids is said to have been pronounced there forty times. This episode of attempted expansion, Fāṭimid on the one hand and Saldjūḳid on the other, and more generally the struggle between Sunnīs and Shī'is, definitely profited the cause of Sunnism and 'Abbāsid legitimacy, of which Toghrul Beg showed himself the interested champion.

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(M. CANARD)

BĀSHĀ [see PASHA].

BASHDEFTERDĀR [see DAFTARDĀR].

BASHDJIRT (BASHKURT) is the name of a Turkish people living in Bashkurdistan in the S. Urals, which is now a Soviet republic. Their place of origin is doubtful; some evidence says that they came from S. W. Turkistan (see Togan, *Türk Tarihi Dersleri*, 1927, 125; Hamilton, *Les Uygures*, 1955, 3), whilst other sources indicate that their present habitat is their original home (the Παγυρῖται, Γηουΐνοι, Ταβινοι, Βορουσκοι and Σουβηνοι, Ptolemy, iii, 5, 22, 24 and iv, 14, 9, 11 may be identified with "Bashγirt" and the tribal names "Geyne", "Tabīn", "Buruč", and "Suvīn"; Ibn Faḍlan, ed. Togan, 187, 327; Rashīd al-Dīn, Paris, Bibl. nat. Suppl. Pers. 1364, fol. 134a). Iṣṭakhrī says that the Bashkurts lived in a mountainous and wooded country into which it was difficult to penetrate, and that the centre of this region was 25 days journey from the Bulgars; and al-Bīrūnī calls the Urals "the Bashkurt mountains". Ibn Faḍlan, who made a personal survey of the country, religion, and customs of the Bashkurts in 310/922 says that he came on their tents after crossing the rivers Kinal and Sokh, *i.e.*, on approaching the borders of the Bulgars. He also states that they were all pagans (*i.e.*, Shamanists). Idrīsī, by combining the stories of his contemporaries about this province with those found in the Arabic translation of Ptolemy, has given rather more complicated details about their cities, iron and copper manufactures, arms, exports of beaver and squirrel furs, etc., but much of this probably refers to the Magyars. Confusion arose because Muslim sources called the Bashkurts "the inner Bashkurts" and the Magyars "the outer Bashkurts", while the Bashkurts of the Urals divided themselves into "inner" and "outer" Bashkurts. To their neighbours the Ḳazaḳs and the Nogays they were after the 15th century known as "Istek", which gave rise to the Ottoman term "Heshdek". The Yurmatī and Yenei tribes of the Bashkurt were among the Turkish tribes that held sway over the Magyars in the 12th century; and theories that the Bashkurts were Magyars who did not become Turkicised till the time of the Mongols (cf. Nemeth, *Magna Hungaria*, 95; *KCA*, iii, 73) lose their force with the statement of Maḥmūd Kāshgharī that the Bashkurt and the Yemek, *i.e.*, N. Kipčak, dialects were closely connected. Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (died 1327) and Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān also connect the Bashkurt with the Kipčak. In fact the Bashkurts were Muslims long before the time of the Mongols. Yāḳūt, who met some Bashkurts from Hungary who came to study at Aleppo, relates traditions from them that their ancestors had learnt Islam from the Volga Bulgars and states that they were Ḥanafīs, that they had 30 villages, spoke the "Afrandj" language and served in the army of the "Hungar" monarchs, though not taking part in expeditions against Muslim countries. The 12th century writer Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, who lived for some time among the Bashkurts in Hungary, states that like the Bulgars they were Ḥanafīs and says that there were 78 Bashkurt towns in Hungary, extending the name Bashkurt to the non-Muslim Magyars.

The Bashkurt lands were close to the summer camping-grounds of the Mongol Khāns of the Golden Horde, and when they came under the Mongols they were forced to serve in the Mongol army. They were, however, allowed to have a separate Muslim judge. Prominent in the service of the Ilkhāns were the Amīr Bashkurt, who put down the rebellion of Sülamish in Asia Minor during the time of Ghāzān Khan, and Sarkan Bashkurt, a lieutenant of Öldjaytu. Bashkurts were also found in the service of the Egyptian Mamlūks, among them 'Alam al-Dīn Sandjar al-Bashkurdī, who was Ḳalāwūn's deputy in Syria.

In the first half of the 16th century the Tura (Shībān] Khans held the northern and eastern parts of Bashkurdistan under their sway, while the Ḳazan Khan Ṣāḥib Gerey won influence over the "Ḳazan Yolī" and the Nogay Princes gained S. Bashkurdistan. Two of the Ulu Nogay princes, Ismā'īloghlī Urus Mīrzā and his nephew Ishtirek Mīrzā, governed the "Nogay Yolu", *i.e.*, S. Uralian, Bashkurts on behalf of the Küčümids until 1608. At one time Urus Mīrzā made representations to Sulṭān Sulaymān I urging him to annex the Volga basin. He also sent am-

bassadors to Czar Ivan IV because the Russians occupying Ḳazan and Astrak͟hān had pressed on to the east of the Volga, had made Samara, Yayitika and Ufa into Russian fortresses, and had imposed taxes on the neighbouring Bas͟hkurts, and protested that the "Bas͟hkurt-Isteks" paid taxes only to him, and that by taxing them the Russians were interfering in the internal affairs of the Nogay province (Pekarsky, *Kogda osnovany goroda Ufa i Samara*, 1872, 8). However, despite certain conciliatory moves the Russians gradually extended their control. In 1629 800 Bas͟hkurt families were under the Russians. By 1700 the number had risen to 7,000. Under the Russians the province was organised very much as it had been before. The community was divided into several classes: the *mīrzā*s (Russian *Kniaz*) who came from the Mongol and Tatar aristocracy; the *biy*s (Russ. *stras͟hina*) and *tark͟han*s who were tribal leaders; the *asabe*s (Arabic *ʿaṣaba*; Russ. *votčinnik*) who held hereditary fiefs and served in the army; the *yasaḳlï*s who were peasants liable to military service, and the *tipter*s who were peasants registered in place of fiefholders; the *bobil*s (old Turkish and Mongol *bogul* = captive) who were landless peasants; and the *tasnaḳ*s who were nomads tied to a particular village. The *mīrzā*s, *biy*s, and *tark͟hān*s used to meet to discuss general political questions at congresses (*yayïn*) held at K͟han Töbesi in the neighbourbood of what is now the village of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Yurmatï. There were also departments called *duvan* (= *dīwān*) which dealt with the affairs of the province. The territory of the Yurmatï tribe was the military centre of the province, and the *asabe*s were stationed along four military roads leading from there: the Nogay road to the south, the Ḳazan road to the west, the Osa road to the north, and the Siberia road to the east.

There was fierce resistance to Russian annexation and risings were frequent. The Küčümids, the popularly chosen leaders of the Bas͟hkurts, were generally at the head of these movements, which were sometimes combined with other movements in the Ukraine and N. Caucasus and with enterprises of the Crimeans, the Kalmuks and the Ottomans, with all of whom they had contacts. During the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th centuries the Bashkurts joined in movements in W. Siberia, the lower Jaxartes, Astrak͟hān, Don and Dāg͟histān regions and even in the Debreczen area of Hungary. It was in 1667, during the reign of Küčümid Küčük Sulṭān, that Ewliyā Čelebi visited the Bas͟hkurt between the Terek and Astrak͟hān together with the Kalmuks, and was greatly impressed by their military ability and by their national and religious fervour (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii, 761, 811-25, 835-6).

The Bas͟hkurts made their risings at times when Russia had external difficulties. For example, the rising of 1678, during which several Russian towns in the Volga and Ḳama basins basins were burnt, was connected with the Turkish victory over the Russians at Čegerin and their occupation of the S. Ukraine. The Bas͟hkurts were also skilful at making arms, and they were able to supply the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs and the Ḳazaḳs as well as themselves. The Russian government laid great importance on cutting off the Bas͟hkurts' foreign contacts and on closing their iron and steel works. In 1675 they issued an edict forbidding them to manufacture iron, but this had no effect. However, by establishing works at Petro in the Urals and by deporting masses of Russians to them, they succeeded in increasing the Russian element, in spite of external difficulties.

In 1678 was the Kalmuk K͟hān Ayüke who was responsible for the death of Küčük Sulṭān, and the struggle against the Russians was carried on by two of his sons, Murād Sulṭān and K͟huzey (Ibrāhīm) Sulṭān. During the Russo-Swedish wars in the reign of Peter the Great these roused the whole of Bas͟h-kurdistan to rebellion. They were in close contact with the Crimean K͟hāns, the Nogays and the Don Cossacks, and Murād Sulṭān went to the Crimea and to Istanbul in an unsuccessful attempt to seek help. In 1708 he took part in a joint attempt with the Kuban Nogays and the Circassians to occupy the Russian fortress of Terek, but he was wounded, captured by the Russians, tried and executed. According to a Bas͟hkurt envoy who visited Sulṭān Aḥmed III in 1716 the Bas͟hkurts together with their allies the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs and Kirgiz, had raised another rebellion in which they attacked Terek as a reprisal for the execution of Murād Sulṭān and killed up to 40,000 Russians (Rās͟hid, *Taʾrik͟h*, iii, 327). They were supported by the Ḳazaḳs, for at the beginning of the 18th century they had come under the suzerainty of the Ḳazaḳ K͟hān Tobïr-čïḳog͟hlï Ḳayib K͟hān, whose capital was at Tas͟hkent. The correspondence of Ḳayib K͟hān with Sulṭān Aḥmed III in 1715-6 is preserved in the Ottoman archives (Istanbul, *Başvekalet Arşivi, Name-i Hü-māyūn defterleri*, vol. vii, 351-2).

The rebellion lasted 17 years and exhausted the Bas͟hkurts. At length in 1728 a delegation was sent off to St. Petersburg and a peace treaty was concluded. However in 1735 there was another rising led by Kilmek Abïz and Küsümog͟hlï Aḳay against Russian efforts to encircle Bas͟hkurdistan and isolate it from the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs and the Ḳazaḳs. This was the bloodiest of all the Bas͟hkurt risings. Kilmek Abïz and Aḳay were eventually captured, and taken to St. Petersburg and executed, but in 1737 the fighting flared up again under the leadership of two biys from the Ḳuvaḳan tribe, Pepene and Tüngevur Kösep, with the support of the Ḳazaḳ K͟hāns. Pepene proclaimed Hod͟ja Aḥmed Sulṭān the son of the Ḳazaḳ K͟hān Abu ʾl-K͟hayr as K͟hān of the Bas͟hkurts. The movement was put down only with very heavy casualties.

The fighting was renewed in 1740 under a leader known as Ḳarasaḳal. This was, in fact, Baybulat, last of the Küčümids, who together with a nephew had been working with the support of the Crimean K͟hāns among the Bas͟hkurts since 1738 (*Istor. Zapiski*. vol. xxiv, 102). After two years fighting Ḳarasaḳal was defeated by the Russians and fled to the Ortayüz Ḳazaḳ K͟hans and took refuge with Baraḳ K͟hān. After this nothing more is heard of the Küčümids, but further risings occurred in 1755 and in 1774.

In 1798, in accordance with her policy of conciliating the Bas͟hkurts, Catherine the Great divided the province into a traditional tribal cantons. She also set up Bas͟hkurt regiments, which were armed with bows and arrows and wore their national costume. These regiments were used in the Napoleonic wars, and actually advanced as far as Paris. However in 1861 the cantons were abolished, as were the regiments in 1862, though some small units were not disbanded until 1882. In 1872 the Bas͟hkurts, who had previously been dealt with by the Foreign Ministry, were given the same status as other Russian subjects, though they had their own administrative and land laws.

The Bas͟hkurts played no important part in the 1905 revolution. In 1917, in accordance with a resolution of "The General Assembly of the Muslims of Russia" held on May 1-10, which called for autonomy for Muslim Turkish regions, the Bas͟hkurt

representatives set up a 3 man central committee (Zekī Welīdī, Saʿīd Miras, Allāh Berdi Dj̲aʿfer) to deal with the administrative organisation of their provinces. They came to an agreement with the Ḳazaḳ-Kirgiz, and held the first Bas̲h̲kurt Congress which urged that the Bas̲h̲kurts should join with other peoples struggling for autonomy (the Ḳazaḳs and Uzbegs, etc.) (*Bas̲h̲kurt Aymaği*, Ufa 1925, vol. i, 3). In the autumn they began to form an army, and an administrative centre was set up in the Caravanserai at Orenburg under Bikbavoğlu Yūnus. In 1918 this government was suppressed by the Russians and its members were imprisoned at Orenburg but later escaped. In June the Bas̲h̲kurt rose again, formed 2 military divisions, and revived the government at Orenburg. In order to include Ḳazaḳ-Kirgiz detachments the divisions were turned into a separate army corps under the command of General Is̲h̲bulatov. But the Allies, alarmed at the German drive in the Ukraine and Caucasus, wanted no national Kirgiz and Bas̲h̲kurt army in the Urals and in the steppes and sought its disbandment. In accordance with their wishes General Kolčak proclaimed that the army and government would not be recognised (21 Nov. 1918).

On 19 February 1919 the "Bas̲h̲kurdistan" government concluded a peace treaty with the Soviets, which protected its army and its autonomy in internal affairs. Afterwards there were efforts to unite the Bas̲h̲kurts with the Ḳazaḳs, but they were rejected by the Soviets, and İsterlitamaḳ was made the administrative centre for Bas̲h̲kurdistan, and Aḳtübe for Ḳazaḳistān. This was "Little Bas̲h̲kurdistan", with an area of 84,874 sq. km. and a population of 1,259,059, some 65-72% of whom were Turks. The premier was Yumugul-og̲h̲lu, afterwards Z. V. Togan (Validov). On 29 June 1920 the members of the government withdrew from office and went to Turkistan to take part in the movement of the Basmačīs [*q.v.*] against the Soviets. A completely Soviet government was formed and the army was disbanded. In June 1922 the Soviets united Bas̲h̲kurdistan with the province of Ufa, which was predominantly Russian, as "Great Bas̲h̲kurdistan". According to the 1935 census its area was 151,840 sq. km. and its population 2,975,400 only 51% of whom were Turks.

The Bas̲h̲kurt dialect occupies an intermediate place between the Ḳazaḳ and Ḳazan dialects. Under the Soviets it has been reduced to writing and books have been printed in it.

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BAS̲H̲Ī-BOZUḲ, a term, meaning 'leaderless', unattached', that was first applied late in the Ottoman period both to homeless vagabonds from the provinces seeking a livelihood in Istanbul and to such male Muslim subjects of the sultan as were not affiliated to any military corps. From this last usage it came to signify 'civilian' (cf. Redhouse, *Turkish-English Lexicon*, s.v.); and for this reason individual volunteers forming bodies attached to the Ottoman army at the time of the Crimean War were called *bas̲h̲ī-bozuḳ ʿasker*i ('civilian' or 'irregular' troops). These irregulars, largely recruited among Albanians, Kurds, and Circassians, furnished their own arms and mounts (some being cavalry) and had their own commanders. In the course of the war an attempt was made to subject them to normal military discipline; but this was not successful; and during the next Russo-Ottoman war (of 1877) the *bas̲h̲ī-bozuḳ ʿaskeri* earned so much opprobrium for their savagery and love of loot that their employment was thereafter abandoned.

Bibliography: *IA*, art. by Uzunçarşılı.

(H. Bowen)

BAS̲H̲ĪR B. SAʿD, Medinese companion of the K̲h̲azradj tribe, and an early convert to Islam. He attended the second ʿAḳaba meeting with the Prophet, and, after the Prophet's emigration to Medīna, took part in all the ensuing battles and himself led two expeditions, one in S̲h̲aʿbān 7/December 629 against the Banī Murra at Fadak, and the other later in the same year against a force of G̲h̲aṭafān which ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn was assembling between Wādī al-Ḳurā and Fadak in order to attack Medīna. The first expedition ended in complete disaster and Bas̲h̲īr himself fought bravely but was wounded and left for dead. During the night, he managed to reach the house of a Jew in Fadak where he sheltered for a few days before returning to Medīna. The second expedition, carried out with 300 men, was successful, ʿUyayna's force was dispersed and much booty captured. In the same year, when the Prophet visited Mecca for *ʿUmrat al-Ḳaḍā*ʾ in accordance with the agreement of the previous year at al-Ḥudaybiyya, Bas̲h̲īr commanded an armed contingent which escorted him but did not enter Mecca.

On the death of the Prophet, Bas̲h̲īr supported the claim of Ḳuraysh against the Medinese attempt, in the *Saḳīfa* meeting, to elect an Anṣārī successor, and was the first—or one of the first—to make the decisive move of paying homage to Abū Bakr. Later he joined the expedition to ʿIrāḳ and was present when al-Ḥīra was captured by K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd. He died at ʿAyn al-Tamr in 12/633, though it is not certain whether he was killed in the fighting

or died from a wound he had received shortly before.

Bas̲h̲īr was one of the few who knew the art of writing. He was the father of al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr [*q.v.*].

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BAS̲H̲ĪR ČELEBI, a physician who flourished in the middle of the 9th/15th century. According to the little treatise *Ḥikāyet-i Bes̲h̲īr Čelebi* (of which one MS. has been published in facsimile by İ. H. Ertaylan as *Târih-i Edirne* : *Hikâyet-i Beşir Çelebi*, *Türk Edebiyatı Örnekleri* iii, Istanbul 1946), he was summoned from Konya to Edirne by Meḥemmed II very soon after his accession; he expounded to the Sultan the advantages of the climate of Edirne and recommended to him the site for the building of the New Palace (begun in 855/1451, cf. *IA*, article Edirne [M. Tayyib Gökbilgin], p. 117b).

The Ottoman history attributed to him (*Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, *Türk Edebiyatı Örnekleri* iv, Istanbul 1946) is nothing but another MS. of the Giese *Anonymous Chronicles* (as demonstrated by Adnan Erzi in *Bell.* XIII, 1949, 181-5 : the MS. is very close to Giese's W(ien)$_2$ = Flügel No. 983). Neither this History nor the *Târih-i Edirne* is the work of Bes̲h̲īr Čelebi.

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BAS̲H̲ĪR SHIHĀB II, Amīr of Lebanon, 1788-1840. Born in 1180/1767 in the village of G̲h̲azīr, Bas̲h̲īr lost his father Amīr Ḳāsim in his early years and was soon compelled to try his fortune in the field of politics in Dayr al-Ḳamar, the capital of Lebanon. Robust, intelligent, and circumspect, he soon attracted attention as a possible candidate for the governorship of Lebanon. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḳāsim Jumblat, a wealthy and powerful feudal lord, was the first to appreciate Bas̲h̲īr's gifts and possibilities. His first approaches were successful, and Ḳāsim and Bas̲h̲īr became friends and allies. Their chance for common action came in 1788. Wearied by the heavy exactions of the Turkish Pas̲h̲as of Sidon, Tripoli, and Damascus, Amīr Yūsuf S̲h̲ihāb, governor of Lebanon, called the Notables of the Land to a meeting in Dayr al-Ḳamar to discuss the general situation. To their surprise, Amīr Yūsuf confessed his inability to come to an understanding with D̲j̲azzār Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] of Sidon and called for advice regarding his successor. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḳāsim and his supporters suggested young Bas̲h̲īr, and Amīr Yūsuf agreed. Bas̲h̲īr made the usual journey to ʿAkkā, D̲j̲azzār's fortress, and came back Governor of Lebanon.

A rapacious intriguer, D̲j̲azzār Pas̲h̲a stimulated in 1209/1794 a number of Lebanese notables to revolt and induced one of the sons of Amīr Yūsuf to make a bid for the governorship of Lebanon. He then promised support to Bas̲h̲īr in return for a large sum of money. Having satisfied the greed of the Pas̲h̲a, Bas̲h̲īr immediately set himself to the task of internal consolidation. In 1794, he permitted the Jumblats and the Amads to murder several Nakad chiefs in his own reception hall. Then, with the help of the Jumblats, he forced the Amad chiefs to leave Lebanon and seek refuge elsewhere (1799, 1808, 1819). In 1822/1237, he burdened the Jumblats with very heavy contributions; and, in 1824, he defeated them in open battle and put them to flight. In the meantime, Bas̲h̲īr strengthened his local levies and made of them the strongest military contingent in all Syria-Palestine. His fifteen thousand men were more than equal to all the soldiers of all the Pas̲h̲as of Syria put together. In addition, Lebanese levies were daring and extremely skilful in the manipulation of arms.

In the meanwhile, Bas̲h̲īr's grants in aid to Christian Patriarchs and Archbishops and his acts of toleration were winning for him clerical support and French consular aid. In 1817, Pope Pius VII wrote in person to thank the Amīr for his policy of religious toleration; and in 1835, Pope Gregory XVI addressed the Amīr as a faithful son and praised his conversion. With his own co-religionists, the Druzes, Bas̲h̲īr behaved differently. Until his time the Druzes had had only one religious head, the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Aḳl. Bas̲h̲īr introduced a second head and set him up against his colleague.

Bas̲h̲īr's greatest ambition was to ward off local Turkish intrigue and protect the historic autonomy of Lebanon. Circumspect and foxy, he refused to commit himself either for or against Napoleon at the time of his advance into Palestine. And, as soon as the French forces withdrew into Egypt, Bas̲h̲īr went down in person to the Grand Vizier's camp in al-Arīs̲h̲, 1799, and procured an Imperial firman which tied the Lebanon directly with the Sublime Porte. When the Grand Vizier died, this firman became null and void, and Bas̲h̲īr had to use other means. D̲j̲azzār's successor, Sulaymān Pas̲h̲a (1804-1819), was more humane; and Bas̲h̲īr courted his favour to stem the cupidity and inordinate desires of Kand̲j̲ Pas̲h̲a of Damascus. In 1810, Yūsuf Kand̲j̲ Pas̲h̲a claimed direct control of the fertile valley of the Bekaa. When no amount of persuasion could change his desire, Bas̲h̲īr marched on Damascus at the head of a force, 15,000 strong, and Kand̲j̲ fled to Egypt. In 1820, Bas̲h̲īr had to march again on Damascus and for the same reason. A year later, Darwīs̲h̲ succeeded in gaining the good will of the Sublime Porte and marched against Bas̲h̲īr's ally, ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a, with substantial assistance from his colleague the Pas̲h̲a of Aleppo. ʿAbd Allāh then locked himself up in the fortress of ʿAkkā, and Bas̲h̲īr sought help in Egypt (1821-1822).

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] of Egypt was then laying the foundation of independence. He had already sensed the hostile intentions of the Sublime Porte and was preparing himself for a war of liberation. He realised fully well the military importance of Amīr Bas̲h̲īr and the strategic significance of Mount Lebanon. The two conferred together and soon arrived at a complete understanding of the situation. Muḥammad ʿAlī intervened in favour of ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a at Constantinople and Bas̲h̲īr came back to Lebanon completely victorious.

In 1247/1831, Muḥammad ʿAlī decided to strike. The Sultan had lost heavily in both the Greek War of Independence and in the Russian War and had, in 1826, dissolved the Janissaries. Emissaries of the Porte promised full respect of the privileges of Mount Lebanon, but Bas̲h̲īr's answer was, "You should not expect help from those whom you have always neglected". Lebanese levies fought ʿUt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a in Tripoli, joined in the march on Damascus, protected the Egyptian commissariat and rear as far north as Aleppo. In return, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a

recognised the ancient privileges of Lebanon, and promised to eschew direct interference in its internal affairs, (1833-40). But as the Sultan could never consider the new situation consistent with his dignity and honour, Muḥammad ʿAlī had to remain prepared for another trial. This meant more men for his army and more money for his growing expenses, and actually led to disarmament, compulsory military service and increased taxation. Unable to understand the Lebanese mentality, he ordered application of his new regulations in Lebanon and in the Druze Mountain of the Ḥawrān, and had to stand the consequences. Troubles flared up in the Ḥawrān in the autumn and winter of 1837-1838; and several thousand Egyptians perished. In the summer of 1253/1838, the Egyptians were routed again in the Anti-Lebanon.

The impending clash between the Egyptian forces and the Ottoman Army took place in the early summer of 1839 at Nezib on the Turkish border. As the Egyptians put the Turks to flight and threatened to march on Constantinople, and as Russia was bound to come to the help of Turkey by the terms of the Treaty of Hunkâr Iskelesi (1833), and as France had consistently favoured Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha, the Eastern Question was open again for discussion. British and Turkish emissaries visited Lebanon in disguise trying to win over Amīr Bas͟hīr to their side. Bas͟hīr himself procrastinated, but the Lebanese rushed to arms in open revolt. By the summer of 1256/1840, France was isolated and the rest of the Big Powers, including Russia, signed the Treaty of London. Allied naval units arrived in Lebanese waters and a Turkish force was landed off the Bay of Junieh. Lebanese, Turks, and blue-jackets defeated Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha at Bahrsaf, and Bas͟hīr III was proclaimed Governor of Lebanon. Bas͟hīr II surrendered to the British in Sidon and was carried to Malta in exile. Several months later, he was allowed to establish himself in Asia Minor. He passed away in 1851, and was buried in the Armenian Catholic Church in Galata, Constantinople. In 1946, when Lebanon achieved the sort of independence Bas͟hīr had sought, the Government of the Republic brought his remains to Lebanon and deposited them in the family vault in Bayt al-Dīn.

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BAS͟HKIR [see bas͟hdjirt].

al-**BAS͟HKUNIS͟H**, the Basques, a people of uncertain origin inhabiting the W. end of the Pyrenees and the adjacent part of the Cantabrian Mountains, with the Atlantic coast to the N. 'Bas͟hkunis͟h' is evidently from Latin 'Vascŏnes', with the phonetic change v < b as elsewhere. The Basque language is called *al-bas͟hḳiyya* (*Al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 56).

The principal centre of the Bas͟hkunis͟h was Pampeluna (Arabic Banbalūna, from an original Pompeiopolis), which became eventually the capital of Navarre. Their territory was invaded by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr at the time of the conquest of Spain (*Kitāb al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, *Colección de Obras Arábigas*, ii, 132 ff.), and then or later but in any case before 100/718-719, as Codera showed, Pampeluna capitulated to the Muslims. ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (Umayyad governor of Spain for five years from 116/734) settled a Muslim garrison there (Ibn ʿId͟hārī, ii, 28). A few years later (138/755-756) the Bas͟hkunis͟h were in revolt and destroyed a force sent to Pampeluna by the *amīr* Yūsuf al-Fihrī, *i.e.*, about the time of the arrival in Spain of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. At the time of the famous invasion of northern Spain by Charlemagne (161/778) Pampeluna submitted to him, but it was probably bands of Basques, joined by the Muslims, who cut his rear-guard to pieces at Roncesvalles (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 1944, 89). In 164/780-781, or in the following year, towards the close of his long reign, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I was obliged to move in person against the Bas͟hkunis͟h.

By 798/182 the Basques of Pampeluna had renounced their Muslim allegiance, permanently as it turned out, and declared themselves vassals of Alfonso II, king of the Asturias. We soon hear of an independent Basque chief at Pampeluna, G͟harsiya b. Wanḳu (Garcia Iñiguez), who, as it appears, through his granddaughter Iñiga, married to the Umayyad ʿAbd Allāh, became the ancestor of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir. A fresh grouping of power among the Bas͟hkunis͟h took place in 905, when Sancho Garces I set aside the elder line, and effectively established the kingdom of Navarre. The western Basques continued to be subjects of the king of the Asturias. Henceforward what from the point of view of Muslim Spain has been called the 'Basque menace' (E. Lévi-Provençal) is represented by the history of Navarre especially.

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BAS͟HMAḲ [see al-naʿl al-s͟harīf].

BAS͟HMAḲLIḲ, a term applied under the Ottoman régime during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to fief revenues assigned to ladies of the sultan's *ḥarem* for the purchase of their personal requirements, particularly clothes and slippers (*bas͟hmaḳ* or *pas͟hmaḳ* meaning 'slipper' in Turkish). The word has not yet been found in any document earlier than the end of the sixteenth century, and ceased to be used from the beginning of the eighteenth. The ladies who qualified for the receipt of *bas͟hmaḳlıḳs* were the sultan's mother (*wālide*), his sisters, his daughters, his *ḳadıns*, and his *k͟hāṣṣekīs*; but information is lacking on the different values of those assigned to each of these ranks,—if indeed there was any fixed scale at all. We know, however, that they were assigned for life and that during the seventeenth century they were often improperly enlarged beyond the usual revenue limit of 20,000

aḳčes a year by the addition to them of military fiefs that had fallen vacant. Though from early in the eighteenth century the term *bashmaḳlik* fell out of use, fief revenues were still assigned to these members of the imperial *ḥarem*, being known thenceforward simply as *khāṣṣ* and consisting, since virtually all revenues were by that date collected by tax-farm (*muḳāṭaʿa*), of the advance payments made by contractors for certain such farms. Towards the end of that century the practice was adopted of granting *muḳāṭaʿas* to the ladies concerned on *mālikāne*, or life, tenures; but in the reform period such grants were finally abolished and annual cash allowances were paid to them in lieu.

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BASHMUḤĀSABA [see MĀLIYYA].

BASHSHĀR B. BURD, Abū Muʿādh, a famous ʿIrāḳī Arabic poet of the 2nd/8th century. His family was originally from Ṭukhāristān or eastern Iran. His grandfather had been captured and taken to ʿIrāḳ at the time of the expedition of al-Muhallab [*q.v.*]; his father, who was finally freed by an ʿUḳaylī Arab lady of Baṣra, was a bricklayer of that town. Bashshār was born in Baṣra, the date being uncertain but probably about 95 or 96/714-5. For a long time he attached himself to ʿUkayl as a dependent, without forgetting to glorify the memories of ancient Iran in accordance with his Shuʿūbī leanings; but this was equally, no doubt, a good means of turning his detractors, attention away from his humble origins, which the fiction of his royal ancestry ill concealed (v. the naive genealogy of Bashshār given in *Aghānī*³, iii, 135).

The gift of poetry is said to have been revealed in Bashshār when he was ten years old (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 143, 144: from a Baṣra source). His Baṣra environment was nothing if not favourable to the growth of such a talent; the caravan halt or *mirbad* which was of such importance up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century (cf. Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, 158 ff.) was for the young artist a kind of school in which he must have soaked himself in the poetic tradition then in full flower in central and eastern Arabia (see the anecdote in *Aghānī*³, iii, 143-5, which recounts the meeting of Bashshār with the Tamīmī Djarīr, then at the height of his fame; Brockelmann's suggestion, S I, 109, of confusion with a homonym of Djarīr cannot be accepted). Bashshār's career embraces the activities of a writer of panegyric, elegy and satire. It is remarkable that blindness from birth and exceptional ugliness did not cause him to be shunned by women or by the important figures of his day. But he knew how to impress and to make himself feared by the quality of his praises and his epigrams.

From the fragments or pieces which have come down to us Bashshār appears as the court poet of Umayyad governors such as Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 197, 236) or Salm b. Ḳutayba (at the latest in 132/750) (see *ibid.*, 190), or prince Sulaymān, the son of the caliph Hishām (see *Dīwān*, i, 291-303); we even have a panegric on the last Umayyad ruler, Marwān (see *Dīwān*, i, 306 ff.). The advent of the ʿAbbāsids does not seem to have checked the rising career of the poet, who was then thirty-seven years old. He was too clever a man not to adapt himself to the new state of affairs. It is difficult to follow the process in detail, but an ode originally in honour of the ʿAlid Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh is said to have been finally dedicated to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (*Aghānī*³, iii, 213 bottom; cf. al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, i, 136); if this fact is correct it is characteristic. Bashshār lived in Baghdād from the time of its foundation in 145/762 (see al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 247-8). His panegyrics were then dedicated either to prominent figures in Baṣra such as Sulaymān al-ʿAbsī (governor in 142/759-60) or his son (governor about 176/792) (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 165-7, 207; Pellat, 166, 280) or to such figures as ʿUḳba b. Salm (governor in 147/764) (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 174-5; cf. Pellat, index) or his son, Nāfiʿ (governor in 151/768) (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 230; cf. Pellat, 281); several anecdotes give the impression that Bashshār was much in favour under the caliph al-Manṣūr, whom he probably accompanied on pilgrimage to Mecca (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 153, 159, 188, 212, 239 especially *Dīwān*, i, 257, 275 (*ḳaṣīda* of 29 verses) and ii, 24); later relations between the monarch and the poet were to become strained (see *infra*). To these official connexions we owe much precious material on the poet's life. But doubtless they are not as important as Bashshār's connexions with the grammarians of Baṣra, such as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, Abū ʿUbayda or al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] or with religious folk in that town such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] (d. 110/228; *Aghānī*³, iii, 169 f.) or Malik b. Dīnār [*q.v.*] (d. 131/748; v. *ibid.*, 170). His sarcastic remarks on the subject of these last two persons are in line with, and confirm, his taste for consorting with people ostracised because of their manners or religious beliefs. A "literature" more anecdotal than valuable gives a picture of this aspect of Bashshār's life; his adventures and half-sacrilegious escapades (thus *Aghānī*³, iii, 185-6, on a pretended pilgrimage to Mecca; and 233, on his relationship with some Kūfa libertines. His diatribes against Ḥammād ʿAdjrad show how lively these relations sometimes were (see *ibid.*. iii, 137, 205, 223 bottom; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 30). His caustic temperament, his character and above all his sensitivity on the subject of his infirmity and lack of inheritance explain in large measure the poet's pungent invective against his rivals or enemies, though other grounds should not be forgotten which explain the rancour of these quarrels on the ideological plane.

Shuʿūbism is one of these causes (thus *Aghānī*³, iii, 138, 139 and especially 174-5, against the Bedouin poet ʿUḳba b. Ruʾba; v. also *ibid.*, 166 the fragment against a Bedouin, and 203-4 in which a nobleman reproaches the poet with having stirred up the *mawālī* against their Arab patrons). Bashshār's position on the subject of Muʿtazilism reflects his fluctuating opinion of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā) [*q.v.*] (d. 131/748-9 in Baṣra), whom he satirises, having previously flattered him (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 16 ff., and again in *Aghānī*³, iii, 145 f.; v. also the violent diatribes against each other of Bashshār and the Muʿtazilite poet Ṣafwān al-Anṣarī of Baṣra, on which see Pellat, *Milieu baṣrien*, 175-7 with a translation of Ṣafwān's verses).

Bashshār's religious views remain unclear; they seem to have fluctuated, and Bashshār, as an opportunist, to have concealed his true mind. The reservations he makes on the subject of poets he appreciates such as al-Kumayt or al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī who lived in Baṣra from 147/764 to 157/773-4 (cf. *Aghānī*³, iii, 225, VII, 237, but the facts are uncertain) would tend to indicate that he was not a Shīʿī (but see Pellat, 178, who thinks that Bashshār brought together the Shīʿī views of the Kāmiliyya, on which see *id.* 201). The accusation of *zandaḳa* made against Bashshār and the anecdotes

which illustrate it rather than give it substance point to his holding heterogeneous views; among these views there are in fact to be found Manichaean beliefs strongly tinged with Zoroastrianism (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 16: citation of the celebrated verse *the Earth is dark and the Fire is resplendent and the Fire has been worshipped from the time that it existed*; cf. the reference to this affirmation of Bashshār's in the refutation of the Muʿtazilite Ṣafwān, *ibid.*, i, 97, line 7; cf. also *Fihrist*, 338, line 10, which puts the poet among the *Zindīḳ*s-Manichaeans of the 2nd/8th cent.).

But along with these beliefs there would seem always to have been a profound scepticism (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 227, line 1 ff.-*Dīwān*, ii, 246) mingled with a fatalistic outlook leading Bashshār to to pessimism and hedonism (*ibid.*, 232, and the citation from Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 40 bottom). Like his fellows, Bashshār had to fall back on the *taḳiyya* and profess an orthodoxy and a pious zeal which was totally opposed to his real convictions (thus, his verses against the heretic Ibn al-ʿAwdjāʾ, who was executed at Kūfa, *Aghānī*³, iii, 147, and above all the verse of the *Dīwān*, ii, 36, line 3, showing a strict Islamic orthodoxy).

His prudence in this respect was not allowed to obscure the scandal of his manners, his epigrams and his heterodoxy. A plot engineered in Baṣra effected his ruin in the eyes of the caliph al-Mahdī (see the anecdotal accounts in *Aghānī*³, iii, 243 ff.), impinging as it did on matters of wider import, *viz.* the persecution under that ruler of all those covered by the name of *zindīḳ* [*q.v.*] (see *ibid.*, 246 bottom and ff.; especially, Gabrieli, *Appunti*, 158). Bashshār was seized, beaten, and thrown into a swamp in the Baṭīḥa (al-Ṭabarī, Cairo ed., vi, 401; *Aghānī*³, iii, 247-8). This occurred in 167 or 168/784-5 when the poet was over seventy years of age (not ninety, as has been said through an orthographic confusion; cf. *Aghānī*³, iii, 247, 249, giving the two figures, of which only the second features in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 118 and Ibn Khallikān, i, 88).

Bashshār was famous in his day as an orator and letter-writer or prose-writer (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 49), but he owes his renown above all to his poetic gifts. His work in verse was as abundant as it was varied, but unfortunately has not come down to us in its original form. Being blind Bashshār was dependent on *rāwī*s, of whom we know the names of four, notably the notorious Khalaf al-Aḥmar (see *Aghānī*³, iii, 137, 164 (and ix, 112), 170, 189); but none of them troubled to put together the *dīwān* of their master. Occasional pieces, impromptus and epigrams were very quickly lost, while at the same time poems of more or less doubtful authenticity were attributed to Bashshār (see gloss on *Dīwān*, i, 309). From the 3rd/9th century the poet's work was thus known only through the collections of the anthologists, such as Hārūn b. ʿAlī (d. 288/900-1; cf. *Fihrist*, 144) or Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), who had compiled an *Ikhtiyār Shiʿr Bashshār* (see *Fihrist*, 147). It is known that in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century Ibn al-Nadīm consulted a collection of selected poems of about a thousand pages (v. *Fihrist*, 159 bottom). No account should however be taken of the *Ikhtiyār min Shiʿr Bashshār* of the two brothers al-Khālidī of Mosul, which is not mentioned among their works by Ibn al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 169. This last work we know only through the extracts given by al-Tudjībī (5th/11th cent., ed. al-ʿAlawī, Aligarh 1935). A single manuscript of eastern origin (of the 6th/12th century?), containing poems on rhymes from *a* to *z*, has been the basis of the edition of Ibn ʿAshūr (3 vols., Cairo 1950-57), which is far from satisfactory. We see that the work of Bashshār can be studied only with caution.

Bashshār writes in formal, tripartite *ḳaṣīdas*, in a taut style, and though his poems may be conventional in form and theme they show a break with those of the preceding generation. The pithiness of his epigrams places him in the Umayyad satirist tradition (thus, *Dīwān*, ii, 66, against Ḥammād ʿAdjrad; also *Aghānī*³, iii, 188, 202); here also his taste for the baroque or for parody leads him to make innovations (thus, the prosopopeia on his ass, *Aghānī*³, iii, 231 bottom). But it is probably in elegy that he has made his name most remembered. Frequently, already, his bacchic themes tend towards the love-song, which might well be considered the abandonment of a tradition of which the pastiches attributed to al-Aʿshā Maymūn [*q.v.*] are questionable examples. The amorous elegies make up an important part of this work, and are addressed mainly to a Baṣran lady named ʿAbda, but also to other heroines whose names are probably fictitious. Now sensual and even realistic (thus *Aghānī*³, iii, 155, 165, 182, 200 etc.), now suffused with courtly ingenuity, these poems seem to give two different responses to the eternal conflict within the oriental soul. Poems of an intellectual cast are also common, and though Bashshār is not really profound he avoids triviality and can make acute observations.

Adaptability is the key-note of Bashshār's manner, which can be stylised and archaising in the *ḳaṣīda* (thus, *Dīwān*, i, 306 ff.), but loosens and becomes delightfully free in the amorous elegies, in which the poet allows himself daring licences of language (thus *Dīwān*, ii, 5, line 7; 10, lines 3; 15, line 2). The dominant influence on Bashshār was indeed always the tradition he inherited from the desert poets; in many respects he is close to the Ḥidjāz "school" as we see it in ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*]. But he contrived to enrich this tradition with the wealth of his own interior universe, the hard experience born of his physical disgrace and his contact with a confusing and turbulent world.

The importance of Bashshār's place in the transitional period of poetry in the middle of the 2nd/8th century cannot be overestimated. The influence of the man and the artist is attested by the enthusiasm or hatred he awoke in his contemporaries. All in all he was considered one of the glories of Baṣra. His poems, often set to music, delighted the young and the feminine public, while the connaisseurs' opinion emerges from the "value judgments" attributed to such scholars as Abū ʿUbayda, al-Aṣmaʿī, Khalaf al-Aḥmar and a host of others (see *Aghānī*³, iii, *passim*). We know on the other hand in what esteem al-Djāḥiẓ held him (see *Bayān*, index). Finally, Bashshār profoundly influenced the following generation of poets; statements to this effect in the biographies of Abu 'l-ʿAtahiya [*q.v.*], al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf [*q.v.*], Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], Salm al-Khāsir and many others are confirmed by the study of their works. At the present day eastern critics have readily been able to see in Bashshār one of the greatest names in Arab poetry.

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245, no. 110; for the other secondary biographical sources v. Brockelmann, S I, 40. On the background, v. A. Mez, *Renaissance*; G. Vadja, *Les Zindiq . . . au début de la période abbaside*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937), 173-229; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ğāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 176-8, 256-9 and index. Special studies on this poet by Di Matteo, *La Poesia arabe nel I secolo degli ʿAbbāsidi*, Palermo 1935, 9-124; F. Gabrieli, *Appunti su B.i.B.*, in *BSOS* ix (1937), 51-63.

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BASHSHĀR AL-SHAʿĪRĪ, Shīʿite heretic, flourished in the second century A.H. He lived in Kūfa and earned his living by selling barley (*shaʿir*), whence his name. According to the *Minhādj* and the *Muntahā*, he was sometimes mistakenly referred to as al-Ashʿarī, instead of the correct al-Shaʿīrī. According to traditions related by al-Kashshī, he was repudiated and disowned by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (*Ridjāl* 252-4; cf. 197, where ʿAbū Bashshār al-Ashʿarī' is denounced as a liar, together with such notorious heretics as al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd, Bazīgh, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb, Muʿammar, and Ḥamza al-Barbarī. The passage in the edition is very corrupt). The Nuṣayrī al-Khaṣībī describes Bashshār as a *rāwī* of Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Djuʿfī (Massignon, *Salmān* 44 n. 4); in a Nuṣayrī text published by Strothmann he is reported as quoting a conversation with Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, who gives the esoteric explanations of the *basmala*.

A disciple of the Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*] group among the extreme Shīʿa, Bashshār is said to have preached the doctrine that ʿAlī was superior to Muḥammad, since ʿAlī was God and Muḥammad only a messenger. He accepted the teachings of the Khaṭṭābiyya on four of the five deified persons, namely ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, but demoted Muḥammad, to whom he assigned the rôle which the Khaṭṭābiyya assign to Salmān al-Fārisī. He was also accused of preaching libertinism, the denial of divine attributes, and metempsychosis. His followers were known as ʿUlyā'iyya [*q.v.*], a name that is variously interpreted. One version is that they were so called when Bashshār, after teaching these doctrines, was changed into a sea-bird (*ʿulyā*).

Bibliography: Al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 252-4; Al-Astarābādī, *Minhādj al-Maḳāl*, Tehran 1307, 68-9; al-Ḥā'irī, *Muntahā al-Maḳāl*, Tehran 1302, 65; L. Massignon, *Salmân Pâk*, Tours 1934, 38, 44-5; R. Strothmann, *Morgenländische Geheimsekten in abendländischer Forschung*, Berlin 1953, 41-2; W. W. Rajkowski, *Early Shiʿism in Irak*, London University Ph. D. thesis 1955. (B. LEWIS)

AL-BAṢĪR, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-FAḌL B. DJAʿFAR B. AL-FAḌL B. YŪNUS AL-ANBĀRĪ AL-NAKHAʿĪ AL-KĀTIB, poet and letter-writer of the first half of the 3rd/9th century. He was born in Kūfa in a family of Persian origin which had been living in al-Anbār, but moved to Kūfa and settled in the quarter of the Yemenite tribe al-Nakhaʿ. On account of his blindness he was nicknamed *al-Baṣīr* and *al-Ḍarīr* (*per antiphrasin*, see A. Fischer, *ZDMG* 61, 430). When Sāmarrā was built in 221/836 he went to the new capital and in spite of his strong and even extreme Shīʿite leanings he eulogised al-Muʿtaṣim and his successors. He attached himself to al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*] and his nephew ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā (see Ibn Khāḳān) and praised them in his poems (see *e.g.* Ibn Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa* 117; Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 6; Yāḳūt *Irshād* vi, 122; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i 78). He was acquainted with Abu 'l-ʿAynāʾ [*q.v.*], Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], Abū Hiffān and other men of letters; they addressed to each other witty verses and satirical lampoons. He was a gifted writer; some of his admirers ranked him even higher than Djarīr. He had a poor opinion of the poetry of Abū Nuwās and Muslim b. al-Walīd (see Marzubānī, *Muwashshah* 282 f.). Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Munadjdjim in the appendix to his father's *Kitāb al-Bāhir* and Ibn Ḥādjib al-Nuʿmān in his *Ashʿār al-Kuttāb* devoted both a chapter to his poems (*Fihrist* 144, 1; 166, 23). His *Dīwān* and the collection of his letters are lost. Amongst his verses which have come down to us, are some, that can be dated: *e.g.* a poem, composed in 247/861, when al-Mutawakkil went from Sāmarrā to his new residence al-Djaʿfariyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 87; read *al-Baṣīr* instead of *al-Baṣrī*), a few lines of a long poem, urging al-Mustaʿīn in 249/863 to appoint his son al-ʿAbbās heir-apparent (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* vii, 346; read Abū [ʿAlī] al-Baṣīr) and congratulatory verses on the occasion of the accession of al-Muʿtazz to the throne 4 Muḥarram 252/25 January 866 (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* vii, 378). This shows incidentally that contrary to the statement of Marzubānī he did not die during the civil war 251/865. Ibn Ḥadjar places his death in the reign of al-Muʿtamid (256-79/870-92).

Bibliography: *Fihrist* 123; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarāʾ* 314 Krenkow; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān* iv, 438; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* vii, 328 ff., 346. See also Ḳālī, *Amālī*; Ibn Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa* (register *s.v.* a. ʿAlī al-Ḍarīr); Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* 44, 164, 268, 483, 496; *Aghānī*[1] x, 108; xx, 41. (J. W. FÜCK)

BAṢĪRĪ, (*c.*1465-1535) Turkish and Persian poet. Although Laṭīfī and ʿĀlī (*Kunh al-Akhbār*) record that he came to Rūm from the realm of Persia, it is clearly stated in the *tadhkira* of Riyāḍī and in the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* that he was from Baghdād. Because of a diseased condition (*barash*) from which he suffered, he was called Aladja ('Blotchy') Baṣīrī. He grew up in the scholarly and literary milieu of Harāt, and frequented the circles of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā (1438-1507), Djāmī (1424-92), and Nawā'ī (1441-1501). As he is not mentioned in the last-named's *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*, he could not yet have won fame in that environment, but he is mentioned among the poets of Selīm I in the supplement written by Ḥakīm Muḥammad Shāh-i Ḳazwīnī to his Persian translation of the *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*. Baṣīrī left Harāt for Rūm some time before 1492, bringing the books and *ghazals* of Djāmī and Nawāʾī, and various commissions to execute for them. For a while he was in the service of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. When Aḥmad Göde, son of Ughurlu, came to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu throne (1496), Baṣīrī was sent as his ambassador to Sulṭān Bāyazīd II, reaching Istanbul in 1496 or 1497. On Aḥmad Göde's death in battle in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān in the latter year, Baṣīrī decided not to return to Persia but to settle in Istanbul. He later attached himself to Muʾayyadzāde,

ḳāḍī ʿasker from 1503 to 1507, and became one of his intimates. The testimony of the *tadhkiras* is that it was Baṣīrī who brought the dīwān of Nawāʾī to Rūm.

While he wrote Persian poetry, Baṣīrī, being brought up in the circle of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and Nawāʾī, had a detailed knowledge of Turkish language and literature. After his arrival in Rūm, he adapted himself to his new literary environment with such success, thanks to his powerful intellect, as to win the favourable mention of the authors of the *tadhkiras*. Being an elegant and witty versifier he was much in demand in the salons of the great. In the reign of Suleymān he was one of the associates of the *defterdār* Iskender Čelebi, and was given an income from the *awḳāf* of Aya Ṣofya and from the imperial treasury. His poems, both Persian and Turkish, show that he had a sound knowledge of the sciences which in that age were the necessary concomitants of poetry and on which poetry fed. The chief features of his poetry are wit, elegance, and particularly the devices of *djinās* and *īhām*. Although it influenced the local literature, his work does not display the characteristics of 16th-century Anatolian classical literature, but is closer to that of 15th-century Persia. His neat lampoons and witticisms offended no one. Some of these witticisms are quoted in the *tadhkiras* and he himself incorporated them into a *risāla*. Apart from his Turkish *dīwān*, he wrote a *Bengī-nāme*. He died in Istanbul, in his 70th year.

Bibliography: Ḥakīm Muḥammad Shāh-i Ḳazwīnī's translation of *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*; the *tadhkiras* of Sehī Bey, Laṭīfī, Ḥasan Čelebi, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, and Riyāḍī; *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*.

(ALI NIHAD TARLAN)

AL-**BASĪT**, Span. Albacete, Spanish town, chief town of the province of the same name which comprises the north-western portion of the old kingdom of Murcia, situated S.-W. of la Mancha and New Castile, on the S.E. slopes of the Meseta of Central Iberia at an altitude of 700 m. The modern name derives from the Arabic al-Basīṭ ("*lugar ancho y extendido y llano y raso*") and not from al-Basīṭa ("the plain") as is still often stated. The place and the name are found for the first time in al-Dabbī of Cordova and Ibn al-Abbār of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, in connexion with the great battle of 20 Shaʿbān 540/5 February 1146, a date confirmed by a laconic passage in the *Annales Toledanos* (ed. Huici Miranda 347, in *Las Crónicas latinas de la Reconquista*, I): 'Çʿahedola [Sayf al-Dawla al-Mustanṣir Aḥmad b. Hūd] did battle with the Christians, and they killed him in the month of February 1184" (Spanish era = 1146 Christian era). The battle, which was quite an ordinary engagement, was not between Alfonso VII of Castile and his tributary, the short-lived king of south-eastern Spain which was entirely subject to him, but between the latter and the Castilian Counts sent by Alfonso VII to subjugate the rebels of Baeza, Ubeda and Jaén, who withheld their tribute from Sayf al-Dawla. The rebels, seeing their lands pillaged by the Christians, again submitted to their *amīr* in order that he might save them from the Counts, who refused to suspend operations and, when Sayf al-Dawla took up arms against them, routed him and took him prisoner. While he was being led to their camp, certain soldiers, called Pardos, put him to death, much to the regret of the Counts and Alfonso VII himself". With him was killed his ally the governor of Valencia ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd; the latter is for this reason known by the Arabs as Ṣāḥib al-Basīṭ, "Master (martyr) of Albacete". The battle is also called the battle of al-Ludjdj (Ibn al-Abbār: *bi 'l-mawḍiʿ al-maʿrūf bi 'l-ludjdj wa bi 'l-basīṭ ʿala maḳraba min djindjālla*) in the vicinity of Chinchilla. Al-Ludjdj the place (and the river) may be identified either with Lezura to the west, or with Alatoz to the east of Albacete, on the northern slopes of the Sierra of Chinchilla (in the latter case it should read Latudjdj). It is not possible to settle the problem; Faḥṣ al-Ludjdj is found as early as Ibn al-Kardabūs (cf. Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 19),

Bibliography: Dabbī (ed. Codera and Ribera), 33; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ* (Dozy. *Notices*, 215, 219, 226); Codera, *Decadencia y desaparicion de los Almoravides en Espana*, Saragossa 1899, 86, 109; Gaspar Remiro, *Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, 179 ff.; Seybold, in *ZDMG*, lxii.

(C. F. SEYBOLD-[A. HUICI MIRANDA])

BASĪṬ [see ʿARŪḌ].

BASĪṬ WA MURAKKAB. *Basīṭ* and *murakkab* (simple and composite) are translations of the Greek ἁπλοῦς and σύνθετος. In Arabic grammar (but also in philosophy and medicine), the term *mufrad* is used for *basīṭ*. In grammar, *mufrad* and *murakkab* correspond to simple nouns and their construct states, in medicine to constituents and their compounds. In logic, mathematics and music, again, the term *muʾallaf* is more commonly used for *murakkab*, while it is in physics and medicine alone that the term *mumtazidj* is used sometimes as an equivalent of and sometimes as distinguished from *murakkab*, *secundum prius et posterius*.

Something can be simple either absolutely or relatively: an absolutely simple thing is that which cannot be further sub-divided into simpler parts either physically or conceptually; an atom is an example of the first, a highest genus of the second type (for the definition of the simple as indivisible see, *e.g.*, Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 989b 17). A relatively simple thing is a constituent in a further complex while in itself it may be divisible. Again, from the point of view of the 'composition' of form and matter (and the whole of the material world is so composite), either purely immaterial entities are simple or the primitive matter which is devoid of any form, although Aristotle and the Muslim philosophers restrict the term metaphysically to the former category.

In the actual material world (for the primitive matter does not exist), the four elements, fire, air, water and earth are regarded as the basic simple bodies by the composition of which every other material object comes into existence. According to Aristotle (the chief treatment of the subject is *De Gen. et Corr*, I, ch. 10), a form of composition in which the constituents retain their identity is σύνθεσις, *e.g.*, when sugar is mixed with sand, while in a real composition, called μεῖξις, the parts lose their identity and share a common quality which, in many cases, may be different from that of the individual constituents. The former kind of 'composition' is not mentioned by the Muslim philosophers. They say that in certain combinations, *e.g.*, in the case of compound numbers, figures or tunes, a certain total quality emerges which does not belong to individual parts which also keep their identity, while in others the parts as such share the quality of the whole (*e.g.*, in flesh) which is called *mutashābih al-adjzāʾ* (ὁμοιομερές). Whereas in the animal organism, each part, *e.g.*, flesh, bones etc. is separately constituted in this way, but not the total organism, in the case

of the heavenly bodies, each body is *mutas̲h̲ābih al-ad̲j̲zā'*. The final qualitative pattern resulting from definite proportions of the constituents of a given mixture (*i.e.*, hot, cold, moist and dry) is called *mizād̲j̲*, whereas the particular form which a compound takes on due to this *mizād̲j̲* is called *ṣūra* (or *hay'a*) *tarkībiyya*. Thus the *mizād̲j̲* (temperament) of a piece of living flesh is the final pattern of the mixture of the four primary qualities, while its *ṣūra tarkībiyya* is the form of "fleshiness" (cf. Aristotle, *De Part. An.* 642a 18 f.; *De. An*, 408a 5 f.).

We said above that pure forms unmixed with matter are simple in the real sense. This is patently the case with intellect which not only knows pure universals but in whose act of knowing the duality of subject and object is removed. This kind of simplicity again admits of various degrees and works upwards from the human mind, through the separate intelligences, to God, in whose mind there is no multiplicity of objects. According to philosophers like Avicenna, who believe everything other than God to be composed of essence and existence, God alone is absolutely simple, not only in the operations of His mind but also in the necessary fact of His existence (see MĀHIYYA WA WUD̲J̲ŪD).

There is no special treatise on the subject and the various application of the term can be studied only within the contexts of the special doctrines of the philosophers, chiefly in their physical and metaphysical works. As a further Greek source of the Muslims' physical doctrine see Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Scripta Minora* II, περὶ κράσεως καὶ αὐξήσεως. (F. RAHMAN)

BASMAČIS (in Özbek "brigand"), the name given by the Russians to a revolutionary movement of the Muslim peoples of Turkestān against Soviet authority which broke out in 1918 and lasted until 1930 or even later. See TURKISTĀN, UZBEK, TĀD̲J̲ĪK, K̲H̲OḲAND, K̲H̲IVA, TÜRKMEN, ENWER PAS̲H̲A.

(A. BENNIGSEN)

BASMALA is the formula *bi'sm' llāh' l-raḥmān' l-raḥīm'*, also called *tasmiya* (to pronounce the [divine] Name). Common translation: "In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful"; R. Blachère's translation: "In the name of God, the Merciful Benefactor", etc. The formula occurs twice in the text of the Ḳur'ān: in its complete form in Sūra xxvii, 30, where it opens Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba: "It is from Solomon and reads: In the name of God, the Merciful Benefactor"; on a second occasion, in its abridged form in Sūra xi, 43: "(Noah) said: Ascend into the ark! May its voyaging and its anchorage be in the name of God". Finally in its complete form, it begins each of the Ḳur'ānic Sūras, with the exception of Sūra ix.

The invocation of the *basmala*, at the beginning of every important act, calls down the divine blessing upon this act and consecrates it. It gives validity, from the Muslim point of view, to a very widespread custom, invalidating the Arab formulae of the *d̲j̲āhiliyya*: "in the name of *al-Lāt*" or: "in the name of *al-ʿUzzā*"; and even the formulae where the name of a deity did not appear, such as the invitation to a wedding feast *bi 'l-rifā wa 'l-banīn* or again *bi 'l-yumn*. The Meccans, when they were not yet converted to Islam, protested against the reference to *al-Raḥmān* (see below). At the treaty of Hudaybyya (6/628), they succeeded in having *bismika Allāhumma* ("in your name, O my God") adopted.

In writing it is customary to omit the initial *alif* of the word *ism* "name" (*bismi*). Tradition rests this orthography on the authority of ʿUmar, who is supposed to have said to his scribe: "Lengthen the *bā'*, make the teeth of the *sīn* prominent and round off the *mīm*." Tradition also indicates that the *lām* of *Allāh* should be inclined. The formula became a popular motif of decoration in manuscripts and architectural ornamentation.

The benedictory power of the *basmala* is widely put to work in the composition of the talismans admitted by the *siḥr* (lawful magic). It is said that the formula was inscribed upon Adam's thigh, upon the wing of the angel Gabriel, the seal of Solomon and the tongue of Jesus (see Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 211).

Problems.

1) In the Ḳur'ān. Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī informs us that the readers of the Ḳur'ān and the jurists of Medina, Baṣra and Syria did not count the *basmala* at the beginning of the *Fātiḥa* and the other Sūras as a verse. In their view its presence in these places served simply to separate the Sūras and as a benediction. This is also the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa, and explains why those who follow his doctrine do not pronounce these words aloud during the ritual worship. On the other hand the readers and the jurists of Mecca and Kūfa did reckon the *basmala* as a verse and pronounced it aloud. This is the view of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī. It is founded upon the usage of the ancients, for they wrote the *basmala* on the leaves on which they recorded the Ḳur'ānic texts, whereas they omitted the word *amīn*. This opinion is followed in the current official edition of Cairo.

2) In the acts of daily life. Acts which are classified as obligatory or praiseworthy should always be preceded by the *basmala* unless "the Law-giver has decided otherwise", as, for example, in the *ṣalāt* which begins with *Allāhu akbar*; also, according to tradition, in the recitation of a *d̲h̲ikr* (repeated mention of a divine Name). In all other cases the *basmala* must be written or pronounced. *Ḥadīt̲h̲*: "every important matter which is not begun with the *basmala* will be cut off (or mutilated or amputated, according to the different versions)", that is to say "will be defective and hardly blessed by God; apparently complete, it will be spiritually incomplete". Al-Bād̲j̲ūrī (*Ḥās̲h̲iya*, 3) comments: "The adjective "important" signifies: a thing having a legal value (*ḥukm*), that is to say having a certain relationship with the law. It is not, then, a question of a thing which is bad, nor of one which is forbidden or blameworthy". Particular applications. Solemn writings or acts ought to begin with the full formula. It is required in its abbreviated form before the commencement of the approved acts of daily life, especially before eating (cf. the *Risāla* of al-Ḳayrawānī, 236). An act the quality of which may differ according to the circumstances will receive divine blessing if it is preceded by the *basmala*: marital sex-relations for example (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *wuḍūʿ*, 8). Finally the *basmala* is authorised where it is a question of an act which by accident becomes forbidden or blameworthy (al-Bād̲j̲ūrī, *ibid.*).

3) The meaning of "Raḥman" [*q.v.*]. In general the Muslim commentators regard *raḥmān* and *raḥīm* as two epithets from the root *RḤM*, whence the translations: clement, or benefactor, or most merciful for *raḥmān*, and merciful for *raḥīm*. However, contrary to the opinion of B. Carra de Vaux (*EI*[1], s.v. *Basmala*), it seems certain that *Raḥmān* was in use prior to Islam in southern and central Arabia (Yaman and Yamāma) as a personal name of God, meaning the single and merciful God. On the day following

the death of the prophet Musaylima still appears in the Yamāma claiming to receive direct revelations from *al-Raḥmān*. In the Ḳur'ān: 1) *raḥīm* alone appears in the list of the most Beautiful Names (adjectives), and it is to be found, in the mass of the text, sometimes as *al-raḥīm* and sometimes as *raḥīm* without the article; *al-raḥmān* on the other hand is always preceded by the article; 2) the Meccans of the *dj̲āhiliyya* refused to recognise *al-Raḥmān* as a Name of God (cf. J. Jomier, *Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran*, 366-367, with references to al-Ṭabarī). It seems that this divine Name appears in the Ḳur'ānic preaching in order to stress more force fully the absolute Mercy of the Single God; furthermore "whatever is said in the Ḳur'ān about *al-Raḥmān* is said elsewhere about Allāh" (Jomier, 370).

That *al-Raḥmān* should have been the name of the single God in central and southern Arabia is in no way incompatible with the fact that, when adopted by Islam, it assumes a grammatical form of a word derived from the root *RḤM*. The tripartite formula which "opens" each Ḳur'ānic sūra and each consecrated act of Muslim life evokes the mystery of the One God who is Lord of the Mercies. It is to this mystery that the *basmala* owes, in the eyes of the Muslim who pronounces it, its power of benediction.

Bibliography: The references in the text of the article may be supplemented and expanded by: Bād̲j̲ūrī, *Ḥāshiya ... ʿalā D̲j̲awharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 2-4; Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. Būlāḳ 1319, and the translation of Fagnan, Paris 1914, 236/251; R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, Paris 1947, i, Introduction, 142-144; J. Jomier, *Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, ii, Damascus 1957, 361-381 (containing numerous references to the text and the commentaries); Y. Moubarac, *Les études d'épigraphie sud-sémitique et la naissance de l'Islam*, second part, *REI* 1957, 58-61. For extremist S̲h̲īʿte interpretations of the *Basmala*, see Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*[2] Bombay 1955, 68: and R. Strothmann, *Morgenländische Geheimsekten...*, Berlin 1953, 41-2.

(B. Carra de Vaux [L. Gardet])

AL-BAṢRA (in mediaeval Europe: Balsora; in Tavernier: Balsara; orthodox modern European: Basra, Basrah, Bassora), a town of Lower-Mesopotamia, on the S̲h̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab, 279 m. (420 km.) to the south-east of Bag̲h̲dād. In the course of history the site of the town has changed somewhat, and we may distinguish between Old Baṣra, marked today by the village of Zubayr, and New Baṣra, which was founded in the 11th/18th century in the proximity of the ancient al-Ubulla [*q.v.*] and which is the starting point of the modern town of Baṣra, for the rapid growth of which the discovery of oil to the west of Zubayr is responsible.

I. Baṣra until the Mongol conquest (656/1258)

Although probably built on the site of ancient Diriditis (= Teredon) and more certainly on the site of the Persian settlement which bore the name of Vahis̲h̲tābād̲h̲ Ardas̲h̲ēr, the Muslim town can be considered as a new construction. After having camped, in 14/635, on the ruins of the old Persian post called by the Arabs al-K̲h̲urayba ("the little ruin"), the Companion of the Prophet ʿUtba b. G̲h̲azwān [*q.v.*] chose this location, in 17/638, to establish, on orders from ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, the military camp which was the basis of the town of al-Baṣra (the name of which is probably derived from the nature of the soil). Situated at a distance of approximately fifteen km. from the S̲h̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab, this camp was destined to afford a control over the route from the Persian gulf, from ʿIrāḳ and from Persia, and to constitute a starting base for the subsequent expeditions to the east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, while at the same time it contributed to the settlement of the Bedouin. At the outset the dwelling places were simple huts made out of rushes which were easily gathered from the neighbouring Baṭā'iḥ [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]; they were subsequently strengthened with low walls, and then, after a conflagration, rebuilt with crude bricks. It was only under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān that the latter were replaced by baked bricks and that the town began to assume a truly town-like appearance, with a new Great Mosque and a residence for the governor; the rampart, bordered by a ditch, was not constructed until 155/771-2. At all times the supplying of al-Baṣra with drinking water posed a grave problem and, in spite of the digging of different canals and the utilisation of the bed of the ancient Pallacopas to provide the town with a river port, the inhabitants were forced to go as far as the Tigris to get their supplies.

This inconvenience, added to the rigours of the climate, would have been enough to prevent the military encampment becoming a great city, but political, economic and psychological factors were sufficiently strong to keep the Basrans in the town which owed its development to them, until the time when other factors intervened—in the first place the foundation of Bag̲h̲dād, and then the degeneration of the central power and political anarchy, which ushered in a decline as total as the growth had been rapid.

At the beginning of its existence, al-Baṣra provided contingents for the Arab armies of conquest, and the men of Baṣra took part in the battle of Nihāwand (21/642), and the conquests of Iṣṭak̲h̲r, Fārs, K̲h̲urāsān and Sid̲j̲istān (29/650). At this stage the military camp was playing its natural rôle, but then the booty began to flow in and the men of Baṣra began to be aware of their importance; then it was that the pace of events accelerated and the town became the stage for the first great armed conflict in which Muslims fought against their brother Muslims, the battle of the Camel (36/656 [see AL-D̲J̲AMAL]). Before the fight the inhabitants had been divided in their loyalties, and the victory of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib served only to increase their disorder, but, on the whole, the population remained, and was to remain, more Sunnī than S̲h̲īʿī, in contrast to ʿAlid Kūfa. In the following year (37/657) men from Baṣra took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in the ranks of ʿAlī, but it was, at the same time, also from Baṣra that a considerable number of the first K̲h̲arid̲j̲īs were recruited. In 41/662 Muʿāwiya re-asserted the authority of the Umayyads over the town, and then sent there, in 45/665, Ziyād, who may, to a certain degree, be considered as the artisan of the town's prosperity. Baṣra was divided into five tribal departments (*k̲h̲ums*, pl. *ak̲h̲mās*): Ahl al-ʿĀliya (the inhabitants of the high district of Ḥid̲j̲āz), Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā'il, ʿAbd al-Ḳays and Azd. These Arab elements constituted the military aristocracy of al-Baṣra and absorbed, in the rank of *mawālī* or slaves, the indigenous population (undoubtedly relatively few in number) and a host of immigrant peoples (Iranians, Indians, people from Sind, Malays, Zand̲j̲, etc.), who espoused

the quarrels of their masters, among whom the old tribal *ʿaṣabiyya* was slow to lose its force. The local situation was aggravated under the rule of the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, and on his death (64/683) serious disturbances broke out; after a period of anarchy the Zubayrids seized control of al-Baṣra which remained under their authority until 72/691. During the following years the primary concern of the Umayyads was to be the suppression of a number of uprisings, the most important of which was that of Ibn al-Ash̲ʿath̲ [*q.v.*] in 81/701. The period of calm which then prevailed until the death of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (95/714) was only to be further disrupted by the revolt of the Muhallabids in 101-2/719-20 and certain seditions of a minor character. The town then passed, without too much difficulty, under the control of the ʿAbbāsids, but the proximity of the new capital was not slow in robbing al-Baṣra of its character of a semi-independent metropolis which it had possessed since its foundation; it became henceforth a simple provincial town, periodically threatened by revolts of a character more social than political; first the revolt of the Zoṭṭ [*q.v.*], who spread a reign of terror in the region from 205 to 220/820-35, then the Zand̲j̲ [*q.v.*], who seized power in 257/871, and finally the Ḳarmaṭians who plundered it in 311/923; shortly after this it fell into the hands of the Barīdids [*q.v.*], from whom the Buwayhids [*q.v.*] recaptured it in 336/947; then it passed under the sway of the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] and experienced a resurgence of prosperity, although the new rampart constructed in 517/1123, at a distance of 2 km. within the old one, which had been destroyed towards the end of the 5th/11th century, is sufficient proof of the decline of the town. The neighbouring nomads (in particular the Muntafiḳ) took advantage of the political anarchy to subject the town to their depredations; from 537/1142/3, affirms a copyist of Ibn Ḥawḳal, a number of buildings were destroyed; and in our time there is nothing left of the ancient metropolis save a building known by the name of Masd̲j̲id ʿAlī and the tombs of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Ibn Sīrīn and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

The town reached its zenith in the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. At this period it was fully developed and its population had increased to considerable proportions. Although the figures given are wildly divergent (varying from 200,000 to 600,000), al-Baṣra was, for the Middle Ages, a very great city and, what is more, a "complete metropolis": it was at the same time a commercial centre, with its Mirbad which was halting place for caravans and its river port, al-Kallā', which accomodated ships of fairly large tonnage; a financial centre, thanks to the Jewish and Christian elements and the bourgeois of non-Arab stock; an industrial centre with its arsenals; even an agricultural centre with its numerous varieties of dates; and finally the home of an intense religious and intellectual activity. "Baṣra, in fact, is the veritable crucible in which Islamic culture assumed its form, crystallised in the classical mould, between the first and 4th century of the *hid̲j̲ra* (from 16/637 to 311/923)" (L. Massignon). It is, in fact, worth remembering that it was here that Arabic grammar was born and made illustrious by Sibawayh and al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad in particular, and that Muʿtazilism was developed with Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl, al-Naẓẓām and so many others; here also it was that scholars such as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā, Abū ʿUbayda, al-Aṣmāʿī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī collected verses and historical traditions which nurtured the works of later writers. In the religious sphere the sciences shone with an intense brilliance, while al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his disciples founded mysticism. In the field of poetry al-Baṣra can claim the great Umayyad poets and the modernists Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd and Abū Nuwās; finally it was in this town that Arabic prose was born, with Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, Sahl b. Hārūn and al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ. After the 3rd/9th century the intellectual degeneration is not so clearly marked as the political and economic decline, and, thanks to Ibn Sawwār, the town was endowed with a library whose fame was to endure; the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Ḥarīrī made their contribution to the maintenance of the ancient city's prestige, but Arab culture in general was already decadent, and Bag̲h̲dād, as well as other provincial capitals, tended to supplant al-Baṣra completely.

Bibliography: The history of al-Baṣra was written by at least four authors—ʿUmar b. S̲h̲abba, Madāʾinī, Sād̲j̲ī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī—, but their works have not been discovered and it is necessary to refer to the great historical, biographical and geographical texts of Balād̲h̲uri, Ṭabarī, Ibn Saʿd, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, Muḳaddaṣī, Idrīsī, Yāḳūt etc. These works have, moreover, been used by L. Caetani, *Annali*, iii, 292-309, 769-84 (see also the same author's *Chronographia*, *passim*) and Le Strange, 44-6, as well as by Ch. Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, where there is to found a history of the town from its foundation up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century and a bibliography, to which might be added particularly J. Saint-Martin, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Mésène et de la Characène*, Paris 1838, 47 ff., Rawlinson, *The five Great Monarchies*, iii, 290 and Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, *Safar-nāma*. The ancient topography of the town is the subject of a detailed monograph by Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, in *Sumer*, 1952, 72-83, 281-303 (see also the subsequent numbers of *Sumer*), and of a stimulating paper by L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Baṣra* in the *Westostliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi* . . ., Wiesbaden 1954, 154-74, with two sketch maps showing firstly the site of both Baṣras and secondly the location of the *ak̲h̲mās*. The social and economic institutions of the 1st/7th century have been studied in a most profound way by Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-id̲j̲timāʿiyya wa-l-iḳtiṣādiyya fī l-Baṣra*, Bag̲h̲dād 1953 (with a full bibliography). (Ch. Pellat)

II. Modern Baṣra

Baṣra, already much reduced in size and vitality in the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries, was further and faster debilitated by the destruction, near-anarchy and neglect which followed Hülegü's visit to ʿIrāḳ in 656/1258, and the installation there of an Īl K̲h̲ān government, for which Baṣra was the remotest of provinces, with periods of disturbance, insurgence or secession. In the mid-8th/14th century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the city largely in ruins, and, while some principal buildings (including the great mosque) still stood, already tending towards transfer from its original site to another (its modern location), a dozen miles distant, on or near the site of Ubulla : a move dictated by reasons partly of security, partly by the deterioration of the canals. The great date-belt of the S̲h̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab remained the wealth and pride of the Baṣrans;

but its cultural and economic life declined throughout the Djalā'ir and Turkomān periods of ʿIrāḳī history—740/1340 to 914/1508—and when at last at the latter date it fell with all ʿIrāḳ to the Persian power of Shāh Ismāʿīl for a brief generation—914/1508 to 941/1534—it was, in its now established new position two miles upstream a main canal (the modern ʿAshār Creek), a provincial town of little interest apart from its sea-port status, its gardens, and its predilection for local independence from distant suzerains.

The Ottoman conquest of ʿIrāḳ in 941/1534, which further strengthened the Sunnī elements in the population already prevalent, had little other effect on its status or fortunes; the Turkish pasha of Baghdād was satisfied with a minimum of respect and tribute from the marsh-surrounded and tribe-threatened city of the far south; and when in 953/1546 the independent airs of Baṣra became too offensive, two expeditions from central ʿIrāḳ succeeded in restoring some semblance of the Sultan's authority as against powerful local (tribal or urban) candidates for power. A longer and more successful attempt at quasi-independence, under merely nominal Imperial suzerainty, was made by a local notable of now unascertainable origins, Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], and his son and grandson ʿAlī Pasha (1034/1624) and Ḥusayn Pasha (c. 1060/1650). This interesting dynasty opened the gates of Baṣra and its waterways to the representatives and merchant-fleets of the Europeans —Portuguese, British, Dutch—then active in the commerce of the Persian Gulf; it survived, with vicissitudes and interruptions, for some 45 years against the armed and diplomatic efforts of the Pasha of Baghdād, the threats of the Ṣafawid Shāh, and the intrigues of local rivals and turncoat tribesmen. And its restoration to the Empire was still incomplete until after a further full generation of local uprising and Persian penetration, tribal dominance (of the Ḥuwayza tribes and the Muntafiḳ), and decimation by plague.

Throughout the two centuries (12th-13th/18th-19th) following these events, Baṣra remained the metropolis of southern ʿIrāḳ, the country's sole port —however primitive and ill-equipped—the base for a decayed and microscopic fleet, the centre of the date trade, and the gateway to the tribes and princes of Arabia, Khūzistān, and the Persian Gulf. The city, whose administration evolved only after 1247/1831 slowly towards modernity, was ever at the mercy of tribal marauders and even invaders, notably by the great Muntafiḳ tribe-group, and by plague and inundation.

During the campaigns of Nādir Shāh in ʿIrāḳ in the mid-century Baṣra was threatened and for a time besieged, and his withdrawal was followed by the usual attempts at secession. Sound and vigorous government was witnessed under rare Mutasallims of higher quality, including Sulaymān Abū Layla from 1266 (1749) and Sulaymān the Great from 1282/1765. The establishment of European (British, French, Italian) permament trading-posts, consulates and missions slowly gained ground, but disorder scarcely diminished and tribal threats increased with the rise, after 1256/1740, of the powerful Saʿdūn leadership in the Muntafiḳ. The siege and occupation of the city and district in 1189-1194/1775-79 by the Persian forces of Ṣadīq Khān, brother of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] was a curiously detached episode of Baṣra's history; it was succeeded by the return of all the familiar conditions. Threats to Baṣra by the fleet of the Imām of Masḳaṭ in 1213/1798 came to nothing, though rivals for tribal or governmental power in southern ʿIrāḳ sought him as an ally, for example in 1241/1825. The great plague of Baghdād in 1247/1831 did not fail to infect the Port also, and increased its weakness and disorders.

The period 1248-1332/1832-1914 was one of slow development, improving security and increasing commercial links with Europe and America. Baṣra became a *wilāyet* in 1267/1850 and, among its eminent families and personalities, a centre of nascent Arab nationalism.

During the British occupation of ʿIrāḳ (from 1333/1914) and subsequent Mandate (1339-1351/1920-32), the transformation of Baṣra into its most modern form was rapid. The port was constructed on spacious modern lines and fully equipped, a deep channel at the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab dredged, and the town itself and its suburbs improved by a variety of new roads, buildings and public services. It became the southern terminus of ʿIrāḳ Railways, and an air centre of increasing importance. Under the ʿIrāḳ Government it became the headquarters of a *liwā* which included the dependent *ḳaḍās* of Abu 'l-Khaṣīb and Ḳurna. The city, with its suburbs of Maʿḳil and ʿAshār, contained in 1955 some 200,000 souls. With improved security and communications Baṣra took its place as by far the leading port and entrepôt of the Persian Gulf, and ʿIrāḳ's indispensable outlet. During the three decades preceeding 1377/1957 further important improvements were carried out to its town-planning, streets (including an imposing Corniche road), public and commercial buildings, and public services and facilities. The vast date gardens (within which, however, life remained poor and primitive) and the magnificent waterway of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab offer a remarkable setting to the modernised city of Baṣra and its spreading suburbs with their characteristic mixture of the primitive, the medieval, and the fully modern. The date export trade has been further organised and centralised under a Board located at Baṣra. Exploration for petroleum by a Company of the ʿIraq Petroleum Co. group was rewarded by the discovery of an important oil-field near Zubayr in 1368/1948, followed by others (notably al-Rumayla) in the *liwā*. Export of oil, by pipelines to Fāō, began in 1371/1951. The industry developed rapidly and on a major scale, and became Baṣra's greatest source of employment, technical education and wealth. A small oil refinery was completed at Muftiyya in 1372/1952. Meanwhile the city and district continued to benefit greatly, as from 1353/1934 but increasingly after 1372/1952, from the enrichment of the central government of ʿIrāḳ through its exploited oil-resources. Important developments in flood-protection, land reclamation and perennial irrigation were planned in the vicinity of the city.

Bibliography: The manuscript and printed sources for modern Baṣra history to 1318/1900 are given in S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925, 327-40; for the period 1318/1900 to 1370/1950 see idem, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953, 401-12.

(S. H. LONGRIGG)

AL-**BAṢRA**, a town in Morocco, not extant to-day, which owed its name to Baṣra in ʿIrāḳ. Situated between two hills of reddish earth (whence its epithet al-Ḥamrā'), on a plateau commanding to the east the road to Wazzān, to the west the valley of the Wēd Mda, and to the north-east that of the Wēd Lekkus,

about $12^1/_2$ m. (20 km.) south of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, it occupied, according to Tissot, the site of the Roman town of Tremulae. Founded about the same period as Arzila (Aṣila [*q.v.*]), and probably therefore by Idrīs II, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, it was doubtless intended to be the summer residence of the Idrīsids of Fās. When Muḥammad b. Idrīs II partitioned his kingdom, al-Baṣra fell to the share of his brother al-Ḳāsim together with Tangier and its dependencies. In the following century, it became the capital of a small state comprising the Rīf and Ghumāraland, the administration of which was entrusted to the Idrīsid prince Ḥasan b. Gennūn; it was soon afterwards captured (5 Muḥarram 363/6 October 973) by the army of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova, al-Ḥakam II; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamdūn set himself up there as an independent ruler before being driven out by Buluggīn b. Zīrī, who razed the fortifications of the town. These are almost the only definite statements we have on the history of al-Baṣra.

Despite the statement of al-Muḳaddasī (ed. trans. Pellat, 27) that it was in ruins, the town seems to have preserved a certain prosperity in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, as is asserted by Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Bakrī, who speak of its walls pierced by ten gateways, its baths, its mosque, and the gardens, pastures and fields of corn and cotton which surrounded it; nevertheless, it rapidly declined and eventually fell into complete ruin; at the time of Leo Africanus, it was inhabited by no more than 2,000 households, and its walls stood in the midst of deserted gardens; to-day, only the stone wall remains.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Desc. de l'Afr. et de l'Espagne*, trans. de Slane, in *JA*, 1842, 192; Bakrī, *Desc. de l'Afr. Sept.*, trans. de Slane, index; Idrīsī, trans. Dozy and De Goeje, 202; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ*, ed. Rabat 1936, 71 (French trans. Beaumier, 62); Leo Africanus, trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 259; Tissot, *Rech. sur la géog. comparée de la Mauritanie tingitane*, Paris 1877, 160 ff.; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949-50, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; D. Eustache, *El-Baṣra, capitale idrissite, et son port*, in *Hespéris*, 1955, 217-38 (with a bibliography and a study on Mūlāy Bū Selhām which was probably the port of al-Baṣra). (G. Yver*)

BAST (Pers.), "sanctuary, asylum", a term applied to certain places which were regarded as affording an inviolable sanctuary to any malefactor, however grave his crime; once within the protection of the *bast*, the malefactor could negotiate with his pursuers, and settle the ransom which would purchase his immunity when he left the *bast*. In Persia the idea of *bast* was connected in particular with (1) mosques and other sacred buildings, especially the tombs of saints (for example, in 806/1404 Tīmūr is said to have recognised the tomb (*mazār*) at Ardabīl of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, the founder of the Ṣafawid order, as constituting a *bast*), (2) the royal stables and horses (the wrong-doer could claim sanctuary by standing either at the horse's head or at its tail), (3) the neighbourhood of artillery, especially in the Maydān-i Tūpkhāna in Tehran. According to Chardin, under the later Ṣafawids the royal kitchens, and the gateway of the ʿĀlī Ḳāpū palace at Iṣfahān, also constituted a *bast*. Malcolm states that the residences of the *mudjtahids* in general were considered as *bast*, and that in the case of one particularly celebrated *mudjtahid*, his residence continued to be regarded as *bast* even after his death. When telegraphic communications were introduced into Persia in the second half of the 19th century, the telegraph offices were at first invested with the status of *bast*. About 1889 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh attempted without success to abolish the institution of *bast*. (For details of the violation of the *bast* of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1891, see the article DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ).

In the present century, the institution of *bast* (also termed *taḥaṣṣun*), assumed great importance during the events which led to the granting of the Persian Constitution by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh in 1906. In December 1905 a group of merchants, *mullās* and students, in order to compel the Shāh to take note of their grievances, took refuge first in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ in Tehran, and then, after having been forcibly expelled from this sanctuary, in the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, 6 miles SSE of Tehran. A month later, on the receipt of certain promises and assurances from the Shāh, the *bastīs* left their sanctuary. The "Second *Bast*" occurred in July 1906, when some 12,000 people, led by the *ʿulamā*, merchants, and members of the trade guilds, took refuge in the garden of the British Legation in Tehran, and ultimately (August 1906) succeeded in obtaining from the Shāh the promise of the grant of a Constitution. During the disturbances which attended the election of the members of the National Consultative Assembly, which sat for the first time on 7 October 1906, the constitutionalists again took refuge in the British Legation in Tehran; in the provinces, British Consulates, notably those at Tabrīz and Kirmānshāh, and telegraph offices were used by the constitutionalists as places of refuge. In June 1907 a group of *mullās* and others hostile to the Constitution took *bast* at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in an unsuccessful attempt to rally opposition to the constitutionalist movement.

Bibliography: Sir John Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient* (ed. Langlès), Paris 1811, vii, 369-70; Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 443-4; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, i, 154-5, 175, 347, 460; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of* 1905-9, Cambridge 1910, 112 ff.; V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, London 1943, 189-80; Mahdī Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i Inḳilāb-i Mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, vol. ii, Tehran 1329/1951, 41 ff., 140 ff., 190 ff., 259 ff., vol. iii, Tehran 1330/1952, 59 ff., 88 ff. (R. M. Savory)

BASṬ (A.), a technical term of the Ṣūfīs, explained as applying to a spiritual state (*ḥāl*) corresponding with the station (*maḳām*) of hope (*radjā*ʾ): it is contrasted with *ḳabḍ* [*q.v.*]. The Ḳurʾānic authority generally quoted for these terms is: "And God contracts (*yaḳbiḍ*) and expands (*yabsuṭ*)" (ii, 245). As *basṭ* is a *ḥāl*, it bears no relation to personal mental or spiritual processes, but is a sense of joy and exaltation vouchsafed to the mystic by God. For this reason many Ṣūfīs accounted it to be inferior to *ḳabḍ*, on the ground that, until God is finally attained and the human individuality is lost in Him, any feeling other than that of desolation is inappropriate. The following saying of al-Djunayd illustrates this point: "The fear of God contracts me, and the hope for Him expands me ... When He contracts me through fear, He causes me to pass away from self, but when He expands me through hope, He restores me to myself" (Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 43). These lines of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (*al-Tāʾiyya al-kubrā*,

ii, 646-7) summarise the Ṣūfī theory excellently: "in the mercy of expansion the whole of me is a wish whereby the hopes of all the world are expanded, and in the terror of contraction the whole of me is an awe and over whatsoever I let mine eye range, it reveres me" (tr. Nicholson, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 256). Hudjwīrī writes (tr. Nicholson, 374); "*Ḳabḍ* denotes the contraction of the heart in the state of being veiled, and *basṭ* denotes the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation". The mood of *basṭ* appears to be similar to that in which Pascal cries: "The world hath not known Thee, but I have known Thee. Joy! Joy! Joy! Tears of joy!"

(A. J. Arberry)

BASTA, Spanish Baza, Basti in ancient geography, now chief town of a *partido* of the province of Granada. It is situated to the north-east of Granada, 123 kilometres distant from it by road. Al-Idrīsī describes it as being of medium size, pleasantly situated, flourishing and well populated. It was a fortified town and had several bazaars. It was a commercial town where local artisans pursued a diversity of trades. Mulberry trees were prolific in the town and, in consequence, there was a large silk industry. Baza was also rich in olive groves and all kinds of fruit trees. It was here that the workshops (*ṭurūz*) for the weaving of prayer carpets (*muṣall*—called *basṭis*) were located. These carpets were made from brocade which had no equal. The galena (*kuḥl* or sulphide of antimony) used in eye washes was taken from deposists in the mountain known as Djabal al-Kuḥl which was situated near the town. During the Umayyad Caliphate, Baza had an important Mozarab community with a bishopric subordinate to Toledo. The *Bayān* in its last section, at present in course of publication, gives the names of a number of the town's Almohad governors. In 635/1237, Baza came under the rule of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad, founder of the Naṣrid kingdom (see *Naṣrids*).

Bibliography: Idrīsī, text 202, translation, 247; Yāḳūt, i, 624; Ḳazwīnī, *Cosm.*, ii, 344, according to al-ʿUdhrī; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Peninsule iberique*, 56-7. (A. Huici Miranda)

al-**BASŪS** bint Munḳidh b. Salmān al-Tamīmiyya, a legendary figure of the pre-Islamic sagas (*ayyām al-ʿArab*), said to be responsible for the murder of Kulayb b. Rabīʿa al-Taghlibī and the ensuing war (*ḥarb al-Basūs*) between the tribes of Bakr b. Wāʾil and Taghlib b. Wāʾil. For the question of the historical background see art. Kulayb b. Rabīʿa. In the legend Kulayb is represented as a tyrant who disregarded the time-honoured customs of the Bedouins and usurped for himself the right of pasture and of hunting in his self-chosen preserves. Once al-Basūs, while staying with her nephew al-Djassās, Kulayb's brother-in-law, let her she-camel (*var.* the she-camel of Saʿd al-Djarmī, her husband, or according to others, her protégé) graze on Kulayb's pasture and he killed the camel (*var.* killed her foal and wounded her in the udder). Outraged by this violation of the host's rights al-Djassās (*var.* together with his cousin) killed Kulayb and this led to the war between the two tribes. Kulayb's killing the she-camel and his death are alluded to by al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī, d. *ca.* 65/684 but without mentioning al-Basūs (see *Aghānī*[1] iv, 127, 140 and M. Nallino, in *RSO* xiv, 405 f.). Her name is given for the first time in the proverbs *ashʾamu min nāḳat al-Basūs* (see, *e.g.*, al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Fākhir*, 76). The full story is told on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda in the *Naḳāʾid Djarīr wa l-Farazdaḳ* 905-7 and with slight variations by other collectors of the *ayyām al-ʿArab*. In the *Fākhir*, 76, in Tibrīzī's Commentary on the *Ḥamāsa* 420 (on the authority of Abū Riyāsh 339/950) and elsewhere four verses are put in the mouth of al-Basūs, addressed to Saʿd and indirectly compelling al-Djassās to take revenge on Kulayb; they are a fine specimen of *taḥrīḍ* "incitement", and are cited in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, Cairo 1347, i, 133, as an example of the tremendous effect which poetry can have on man's actions.

The proverb *ashʾamu min al-Basūs* was by some scholars thought to refer not the pathetic figure of the heroic age, but to her namesake, a Jewess, who by her stupidity forfeited the three wishes which God had granted to her husband.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1316, iii, 66 f.; Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-Anthāl* (ed. Freytag) i, 683-7; Yāḳūt i, 150; Ibn al-Athīr i, 385 f.; *Khizānat al-Adab* i, 300 ff.; W. Caskel, *Aijām al-ʿArab* (= *Islamica* vol. iii suppl.) 76 and 97 (German translation of *Naḳ*. 905, 10-906, 3)—For al-Basūs the Jewess see *LA* and *TA* s.v. *b s s*; Freytag, *Proverbia Arabum I*, 687. Damīrī s.v. *Kalb* (translated by R. Basset, *1001 contes*, ii, 18) tells the story but omits the wife's name. For the motif of "the three wishes" see J. Bolte and G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* II (1915) 223.

(J. W. Fück)

BAŞVEKALET ARŞIVI, formerly also Başbakanlik Arşivi, the Archives of the Prime Minister's office, the name now given to the central state archives of Turkey and of the Ottoman Empire. The formation of the Ottoman archives begins with the rise of the Ottoman state, but the present collection, though containing a number of individual documents and registers from earlier times, dates substantially from after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The archives became really full from about the middle of the 16th century, and continue to the end of the Empire.

The organisation of the Ottoman records in the form of a modern archive collection dates from an initiative of the reforming Grand Vezir Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, who in 1262/1846 erected a new building for the archives in the grounds of the Grand Vezirate, and transferred to it a large number of record collections, previously kept in bales and boxes in various repositories and offices in different parts of the city. The building, designed by the famous architect Fossati, was provided with a staff and a director. This record office, in Ottoman times known as the *Khazīne-i Ewrāḳ*, originally consisted of two main groups of documents; the records of the Imperial Council (*Dīwān-i Humāyūn*) and of the Grand Vezir's office (*Bāb-i ʿĀlī* or *Pasha Kapïsï*). To this core other collections were from time to time added, notably the records of the finance departments and the registers of the cadastral survey office.

From the start, the *Khazīne-i Ewrāḳ* was attached to the establishment of the Grand Vezir. Under the Republic it was, after a brief period of uncertainty, attached to the office of the Prime Minister. The old name was replaced by the modern one by a law of 1937.

A new phase in the organisation and study of the archives had begun in 1911, after the formation of the Ottoman Historical Society (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*). The opening article in the first issue of the society's journal, written by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, the last official historiographer and first

president of the society, contained a statement of the society's aims, the first of which was the classification, study, and publication of archive documents (*TOEM*, 1911, 9-19 and 65-9; cf. P. Wittek, *Les Archives de Turquie*, in *Byzantion*, xiii, 1938, 691-9). In the years that followed, Turkish scholars working in the archives began to sort and classify the records, and also published many individual documents. This work was interrupted by the Revolution and war of Independence, followed by the transfer of the capital and a general mood of revulsion from the Ottoman past. In 1932, however, a new start was made, and since then work has continued in housing, organising, and cataloguing the records. In 1936-7 Professor L. Fekete was invited to advise on the methods to be followed in these tasks (see L. Fekete, *Über Archivalien und Archivwesen in der Türkei*, *AO*, Budapest, iii, 1953, 179-206).

The contents of the *Başvekalet Arşivi* may be divided broadly, according to the form in which they are preserved, into two groups—*ewrāḳ*, papers, and *defters*, bound registers. The former, ranging from Imperial decrees drawn up in due form to odd notes and minutes by minor clerks, are estimated to number many millions, of which only a very small proportion has been catalogued. A first classification of papers was made in 1918-1921 by a committee under the direction of Ali Emiri, which sorted 180,316 documents in simple chronological order, by reigns from ʿOthmān I to ʿAbd al-Madjīd. The great majority are of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. In 1921 a second committee, under Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, sorted 46,467 documents, from the 15th to the 19th centuries, into 23 subject groups, the largest of which are those of financial (12,201) and military (8,227 documents) affairs. Within each group the documents are in rough chronological order. A third team, under Muʿallim Cevdet (Djewdet), worked from 1932 to 1937 along much the same lines as Ibnülemīn, and sorted 184,256 documents into 16 subject categories. Here the largest groups are military (54,984), *waḳf* (33,351) and internal affairs (17,468 documents). These three classifications are normally cited as the *taṣnīfs* of the three persons who directed them.

Since 1937 this kind of pre-scientific classification has been abandoned, and a new start made on more modern lines. Papers are being completely separated from registers, and classified according to the offices and departments to which they belonged, as far as possible preserving the original order and sequence. In addition to the main classification, the archives staff has undertaken the preparation of a number of special series, such as 'imperial writings' (*Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn*), decrees (*irāde*), treaties, *waḳf* documents, etc. A special catalogue is being prepared of the papers and records of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, which were transferred to the Başvekalet Arşivi from the Yıldız Palace.

The defters, bound registers, are estimated to number about 60,000 in all Turkish collections, the great majority being in the Başvekalet Arşivi. They are of two basic types: statistical, containing figures and other factual information required and collected for various administrative purposes; and diplomatic, containing register copies of the texts of outgoing orders, letters, and other communications.

The defters may be considered in three main groups: a) the Imperial Council and Grand Vezirate. The latter, which in the 17th century grew into a separate bureaucratic organisation, eventually took over most of the functions of the former, and the archives of the two together thus record the workings of the chief centre of Ottoman Imperial government. Of the many series of registers included in this section by far the most important is the *Mühimme Defteri* (register of important, *i.e.*, public affairs). This consists of 263 volumes, covering the years 961-1323/1553-1905. It is a day by day record of outgoing correspondence of all kinds, in simple chronological sequence. (On the *Mühimme* see G. Elezović, *Iz Carigradskih Turskih Arhiva Muhimme Defteri*, Belgrade 1951, and U. Heyd, *Documents on Ottoman Administration of Palestine* 1552-1615, A *Study in the Mühimme Defteri*, Oxford, in the press). In the course of time a number of separate series were started, dealing with matters formerly included in the *Mühimme*. From 1059 to 1155/1649-1742-3) complaints from the provinces and the decrees answering them are dealt with in separate 'Complaints Registers' (*shikāyet defterleri*). These are still in purely chronological order, but from 1155 to 1306/1742-3—1888-9 are replaced by the 'Decrees Registers' (*aḥkām defterleri*), geographically subdivided into 17 separate provincial series. The Complaints and Decrees registers together number 530 volumes. Other off-shoots of the *Mühimme* include a series on military affairs (68 volumes, 1196-1326/1781-1908); a series of specially secret *Mühimme* (10 volumes, 1203-1294/1788-1877), and a series on Egyptian affairs, the last volume of which is secret (15 volumes, 1119-1333/1707-1914). Among the numerous other series contained in this section, are the Royal Letters (*Nāme-i humāyūn*, 17 vols., 1111-1336/1699-1917), the *Tanẓīmāt* Council registers (30 vols., 1271-1333/1854-1914), as well as other series dealing with foreign consuls and merchants, privileges (*imtiyāz*), legal rulings (*muḳtaḍā*), treaties, sentences of confinement to fortresses (*ḳalʿebend*), *iḥtisāb*, appointments, churches, minority communities, etc. etc.

b) The Cadaster (*tapu*), comprising the great land and population survey of the Empire. It was formerly a separate department of the government [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ], and was housed in the Defterkhāne, near the Sulṭān Aḥmed mosque. The greater part of the registers was transferred to the *Başvekalet Arşivi*, which now reports the possession of 1155 volumes. The remainder, about 250, are in the General Survey Directorate (*Tapu ve kadastro umum Müdürlüğü*) in Ankara. The earliest, a register of *timars* in a *sandjaḳ* in Albania, dated 835/1431, was edited by Halil Inalcık (*Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954). These registers, which were renewed at frequent intervals, cover almost all the provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia, including parts of Transcaucasia and Western Persia. Arabia, Egypt, and North Africa are excluded.

c) Finance (*Māliyye*). The surviving records of the Ottoman financial administration are now in the *Başvekalet Arşivi*, and comprise many series of registers, as well as vast quantities of papers. They include the accounts and records of the Chief Comptroller's Department (*bashmuḥāsebe*) from the 16th to the 19th centuries; of the various special commissioners' departments (*emānet*)—arsenals, cereals, meat, artillery depot, mints, kitchens, powder-magazines; of provinces, departments, paymasters, tax-farms, mines, customs, escheats, etc. A good example is the *djizya* series (418 vols., 958-1255/1551-1840). Part of the series is sub-divided by provinces, and some registers contain copies of *djizya* documents and receipts, with lists of *djizya* payers, sent in from provincial capitals.

Apart from the main collection in the *Başvekalet Arşivi*, there are numerous other smaller collections in Turkey. The most important are the palace archives preserved in the Topkapl Sarayl [*q.v.*], the records of the General Directorate of *waḳf* in Ankara, and the collections of legal documents known as *sidjillāt-i sher'iyye* [see SIDJILL].

Bibliography: For a general survey of the archives, with a description and classification of the papers and registers, see Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva Bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Ankara 1955. On the history of the collection this may be supplemented by Salahaddin Elker, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Türk Arşivciliği*, in *IV Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1952, 182-9. See further B. Lewis, *The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 139-155; idem, *The Ottoman Archives, a Source for European History, Report on Current Research, Spring 1956*, Washington 1956, 17-25 (reprinted with minor modifications in *Archives* 1959); idem, in *BSOAS* xvi, 1954, 469-501 and 599-600. A bibliography of Ottoman archive studies will be found in Ananiasz Zajączkowski and Jan Reychman, *Zarys Dyplomatyki Osmańsko-Tureckiej*, Warsaw 1955 (English translation to be published).

(B. LEWIS)

BAŞVEKIL (BASHWAKĪL), the Turkish for Prime Minister. The term was first introduced in 1254/1838, when, as part of a general adoption of European nomenclature, this title was assumed by the Chief Minister in place of Grand Vezir or *Ṣadr-i A'ẓam* [*q.v.*]. The change of style was of short duration, lasting only for 14½ months, after which the old title was restored. A second attempt to introduce the European title was made during the first constitutional period. Introduced in Ṣafar 1295/Feb. 1878, it was dropped after 114 days, restored in Sha'bān 1296/July 1879, and then dropped again, after about 3½ years, in Muḥarram 1300/Nov. 1882. Thereafter the title Grand Vezir remained in official use until the end of the Sultanate, when it was finally replaced by Başvekil (or, for a while, Başbakan), in the Republic.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Ta'rikh Muṣāḥabalari*, Istanbul 1340, 264 ff.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-**BAṬĀḤIRA** (Baṭḥarī), a small déclassé tribe (*ghayr aṣil, ḍa'īf*) of (approx.) only a hundred males, on the south Arabian coast between Ra's Naws and Ra's Sawḳira facing the Kuria Muria Islands. They live mainly by fishing and goat herding but have also some camels, frankincense trees, and trading boats. Besides Arabic, they speak Baṭḥarī (*Baṭᵊḥariy-yét*), in which *'ayn* is preserved more than in the related southern Semitic oral tongues: Mahrī of al-Mahra, Ḥarsūsī of al-Ḥarāsīs, Shaḥrī of al-Shaḥra and their overlords al-Ḳarā', and Suḳuṭrī (basically Mahrī but greatly mixed) of the people of Suḳuṭrā. In religion al-Baṭāḥira are Shāfi'ī Muslims, and in political faction they are Ghāfirīs.

The main groups (names in Arabic) are: al-Maḥābisha (Maḥbashī), al-Mashārima (Mashramī), al-Mamāṭira (Mamṭirī), al-Madjā'ira (Madj'arī), and al-Makādisha (Makdashī). The last named live in the mountains of Ẓufār among al-Ḳarā' and like them own cows. Of al-Madjā'ira only six males were left after ten died of "fever" c. 1376/1957. Al-Maḥābisha have two sections, Bayt Ḥubaysh (Ibn Ḥ.) and Bayt Maḥdīra (Ibn M.), to which latter belonged in 1378/1959 the tribal leader, Ḥuthayyith, who succeeded his father, Muḥammad Rā'ī Ḥamrā', c. seven years earlier. (The title *muḳaddam*, pl. *mᵊḳaddamōten*, def. art. *a-*, is now frequently replaced by the Arabic term *shaykh*). Although not subservient to them, the leader may confer on important matters with the chief men of al-Djanaba and al-Mahra. With propinquity overweighing regard for purity of blood, the social status of al-Baṭāḥira does not preclude marriage with any of the neighboring tribes.

The neighbours nearest to them in their rough coastal district—small beside the area of the interior which they claim to have once owned—are al-Ḳarā' and al-Shaḥra to the southwest, al-Ḥarāsīs and eastern groups of al-Mahra in the interior, and al-Djanaba to the northeast. Hence, with regard to geographical names in their territory, great variety if not confusion exists between forms in non-Arabic languages and those in dialectical Arabic—especially that spoken by al-Djanaba. Because political and economic developments are accelerating the aggrandizement of Arabic, such toponyms may eventually be the principal if not the only surviving mementos of historic non-Arabic tongues, both here and elsewhere in southern Arabia.

Bibliography: Bertram Thomas, *Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia ...*, reprint from *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xxiii, London 1937, 231-331; *idem, Arabia Felix*, New York 1932, London 1932 and 1936, 47, 48, 84, 130; *idem, Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia*, in *JRAI*, 59, 1929, 97-111.

For general reference: Youakim Moubarac, *Éléments de Bibliographie Sud-Sémitique*, in *RÉI* 1955 (pub. 1957); *Index Islamicus* (1906-1955), Cambridge 1958. (Esp. important are newer studies by Dr. Wolf Leslau, University of California at Los Angeles, and Dr. Ewald Wagner, Mainz). (C. D. MATTHEWS)

AL-**BAṬĀ'IḤ** [see AL-BAṬĪḤA].

AL-**BAṬĀ'IḤĪ**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. FĀTIK, called AL-MA'MŪN, Fāṭimid *wazir*. Born of obscure parentage, his father having been an Egyptian agent (*djāsūs*) in 'Irāḳ, al-Baṭā'iḥī rose to power through the patronage of the celebrated Fāṭimid *wazir* al-Afḍal, in whose assassination he was implicated (515/1121), and whom he succeeded as first minister of al-Āmir (ruled 495/1101-524/1130).

The creation of an observatory at Cairo had been planned by al-Afḍal. Al-Baṭā'iḥī took up the work, in which the Spaniard Abū Dja'far Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāy, a friend of the philosopher Ibn Bādjdja, played a prominent part, together with other scholars, native Egyptian and foreign, till 519/1125. In that year al-Baṭā'iḥī incurred the suspicion of the Caliph, and fell from power. Among the crimes reckoned against him was the construction of the observatory, and it was alleged that his naming it after himself 'al-Ma'mūnī' was proof that he aspired to the Caliphate. When al-Baṭā'iḥī had been arrested, the Caliph refused to go on with the work, and none dared mention it to him. He gave orders for its demolition, and the materials were removed to the government stores. The workmen and experts fled. The latter included, as well as Abū Dja'far Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāy, the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abi 'l-'Ish of Ṭarābulus the geometer, Abu 'l-Nadjā' b. Sind of Alexandria the instrument-maker (*sā'ātī*), and the geometer Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm of Sicily. Al-Baṭā'iḥī himself was crucified by the Caliph's orders. His large house in Cairo was still used as a residence more than thirty years later, but Ibn Khallikān, who gives this

information (tr. De Slane, ii, 426), adds that in his time it had become a Ḥanafī *madrasa*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, 417, 443-444; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 125-128; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 204, 209, 212. (D. M. DUNLOP)

BAṬALYAWS, Spanish Badajoz, today the fortified capital of the province of the same name, the largest in Spain, embracing the southern half of Spanish Estremadura. The town, situated on the left bank of the Guadiana, before it turns south near the Portuguese frontier, has 100,000 inhabitants. The identification of its name with that of Pax (Julia) Augusta or Colonia Pacensis is without foundation, based on a false local patriotism. In fact, it is not the name of Badajoz which derives from that of the Roman colony, but rather, that of the Portuguese town of Beja (Arab. Bādja = Bĕdja, derived from Pacem). The identification of Badajoz with the doubtful Badia of Valerius Maximus and of Plutarch is equally uncertain. The first time that the name of Badajoz appears indisputably in history is in the Arabic form of Baṭalyaws (present in the root of the modern Spanish name of Badajoz). Baṭalyaws is of modern foundation, having been built by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān, called al-Djilīḳī (the Galician), with the authorisation of the amīr 'Abd Allāh who put at his disposition for this purpose a certain number of masons and some capital. 'Abd al-Raḥmān began by constructing the mosque-cathedral; he also built a special mosque inside the citadel. It was also he who built the baths near the gate of the town which had already served him as a point of support and bulwark against the Caliph of Cordova Muḥammad I. It was not until 318/930 that this place could be retaken from the courageous son of Ibn Marwān, under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (*Bayan*, 105 ff., 140, 195, 213-14, 216). The new town of Arab construction (Abu 'l-Fidā' 173: *wahiya muḥdatha islāmiyya*), Baṭalyaws, gradually replaced in importance Colonia Augusta Emerita, Arab. Mārida = Mĕrida (37 m. = 60 km. east, upstream of Badajoz on the north bank of the Guadiana) which continued to decline. Indeed, at the time of the decadence of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, Baṭalyaws became the brilliant residence of the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] who, from 1022 to 1094, reunited in a single important kingdom the largest part of the north of the former Lusitania. After the disastrous defeat of the Christians at al-Zallāḳā (Sacralias) in 1086, north-east of Badajoz, the principality of the north-west, namely Badajoz, as well as the other Reyes de Taifas, became gradually subject to the Berber Almoravids [*q.v.*], who had rushed out of Morocco to the aid of their co-religionists, these auxiliaries themselves becoming strong enough in 1094 to take all of the territory which formed a part of the Spanish province, or dependency, of the Almoravid Empire of North-West Africa, and, after its fall, of the Almohad Empire which succeeded it. In 1168 Alfonso I Henriques of Portugal took Badajoz by surprise, and was expelled at once by Ferdinand de Léon. Badajoz became once more Almohad. Only in 1230 did Alfonso IX of Castile and Léon conquer it finally. Badajoz is the birthplace of a number of Arab scholars, among whom the most eminent is 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī who died in 521/1127 (cf. Brockelmann, I, 427: where read 444/1052; Ibn Bashkuwāl, 639).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 664; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, i, 150, iv, 344; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii, 183 ff., 207, 238, 260; Madoz, *Diccionario*, iii, 256 ff., M. R. Martinez y Martinez, *Historia del reino de Badajoz*; Bakrī, Fez MS., 260; Idrīsi, text 180, trans. 260; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, 58; A. Huici, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las Invasiones africanas*, 19-82; (see also AFṬASIDS).

(C. F. SEYBOLD-[A. HUICI-MIRANDA])

AL-**BAṬALYAWSĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-SĪD, celebrated Andalusian grammarian and philosopher, born at Badajoz (Baṭalyaws [*q.v.*]) in 444/1052, died in the middle of Radjab 521/end of July 1127, at Valencia, where he had lived after having incurred the disgrace of Ibn Razīn [see RAZĪN, BANU] and after having taken refuge for a time at Saragossa. Ibn al-Sīd who, at Valencia, had had a notable disciple in Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], is the author of some twenty works, including his commentary on the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Ḳutayba (under the title of *al-Iḳtiḍāb fi Sharḥ Adab al-Kuttāb*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī, Beirut 1901); *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iḳ* (ed. trans. Asin, 1940), which had some influence on the philosophy of religion among the Jews (see the Hebrew trans. published by D. Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Bataljusis in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie*, Budapest 1880); a *Fahrasa*; a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik; a commentary on the *Saḳṭ al-Zand* of al-Ma'arrī, which is lost, but the criticisms made by Ibn al-'Arabī about this work provoked a counterblast by Ibn al-Sīd, entitled *al-Intiṣār mim-man 'adala 'an al-Istibṣār* (ed. Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Madjīd [Magued], Cairo 1955); *al-Inṣāf fi 'l-Tanbīh 'ala 'l-Asbāb allati awdjabat al-Ikhtilāf*, Cairo 1319 (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², 1925, 330, n. 116).

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 639; Ḍabbī, no. 892; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharat*; Ibn Khallikān, i, 332 (trans. de Slane, ii, 61); Shaḳundī, (trans. García Gómez, *Elogio del Islam español*, Madrid 1934, 54 and n. 50); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 151; González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española*², 1945, 229; Sarkīs, 569-70; Brockelmann, I, 122, 427, S I, 185, 758. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

BATH [see ḤAMMĀM].

BA'TH (Ar.), literally "to send, set in motion"; as a technical term in theology it means either the sending of prophets or the resurrection.

1. The Mu'tazila [*q.v.*] said that God could not have done otherwise than send prophets to teach men religion as He must do the best He can for men; orthodoxy denied this but held that the sending of prophets was dictated by divine wisdom. One of the reasons for condemning Brahmins and the Sumaniyya was that they denied the existence of prophets.

2. Philosophy taught that resurrection (*ba'th*, *nashr*, *nushūr*) was of the soul only so orthodoxy condemned it as a heresy, insisting on the resurrection of the body. From the first Muḥammad preached the reality of the after life though he assumed that the judgement came with the end of this world suddenly (vi, 31), heralded by the sound of a trumpet (lxix, 13; in xxxix, 68 are two blasts, each introducing a distinct stage in the action) the graves open and all hurry to appear before the judge (xxxix, 75. lxxxix 23/22) and the just will be given their records in their right-hands (xvii, 73/71). For the signs which precede the end of the world, see DĀBBA, DADJDJĀL, 'ĪSĀ.

The soul is not naturally immortal and its existence depends on God's will though some late passages (ii, 149/154, iii, 163/168) imply the continuous existence of the soul and that those who died for

God's sake are already in bliss. Later reports are little more than elaborations of these ideas, and do not form a consistent whole. The soul of a good man leaves the body easily but that of a bad man has to be dragged out painfully (see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR). The body decays in the grave except for the lowest bone of the spine to which the essential parts of the body will be restored. Most will remain in the grave till the judgement but a few are not so bound; some are in *barzakh* [*q.v.*]. When Isrāfīl [*q.v.*] blows his trump, the world will return to chaos, the sun will be darkened and men will rise from the grave as they were created, barefoot, naked, uncircumcised, and will gather at the place of judgement, a level plain with no place in which or behind which a man may hide, perhaps it is in this world, perhaps specially created. Another version makes the first blast kill everyone except Iblīs [*q.v.*] and the four archangels; a second blast brings all back to life. The heat of the sun is such that all sweat, a flood which with some will reach as high as the ears. They wait there 300 years or 50,000 without food or drink but worse than the physical pain will be the terror of the judge; each one will be so anxious for himself that he will pay no heed to others. They will turn to Adam to ask his intercession but all prophets in turn will refuse and refer them to Muḥammad who accepts the task and to him God listens. Other forms of judgement are the bridge, thinner than a hair and sharper than a sword, over the fire; believers pass over safely but unbelievers fall off; the scales in which man's life is weighed and the books in which his deeds, good and bad, are recorded. Sinners will be accompanied by the tools of their sin, a musician will have the instrument which distracted his mind from religion; a man's good deeds will become an animal on which he will ride to judgement. Some believed that all living creatures would rise at the last day. It is obvious that much of this is older than Muḥammad; the ancient Egyptians knew of the weighing of souls and the books of record and the Persians knew of the bridge. Later ideas are mixed. Some men turn to dust in the grave and their souls wander in the world of sovereignty (*malakūt*) under the sky of this world; some sleep and know nothing till the trump wakes them and they die the second death; some stay two or three months in the grave and then their souls fly on birds to paradise; some ascend to the trump and stay in it for there are as many hiding places in it as there are souls. Muḥammad stayed on earth for thirty years till the murder of Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] when he ascended to heaven in disgust.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf, *Kitāb al-Musāmara*, 187 f.; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā al-ʿulūm*, vol. 4, ch. 8, part. 2; idem, *al-Durra al-Fākhira* (*La Perle Précieuse*, 1878); Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*; Wolff, *Muhammadanische Eschatologie*, 1872. (A. S. TRITTON)

BAʿTH [see NABĪʾ].

AL-**BATHANIYYA**, district in Syria with Adhriʿat [*q.v.*] as capital. It is bounded by the Djabal al-Drūz to the east, the Ladjāʾ plain and the Djaydūr to the north, the Djawlan to the west, and the hills of al-Djumal to the south, where the boundary is a little imprecise. Also called al-Nuḳra, "the hollow", it corresponds to the ancient Batanaea mentioned together with Trachonites, Auranites and Gaulanites as part of the old kingdom of Bashan and referred to in the Old Testament. The region is fertile, as its name derived from *bathna* (stoneless and even plain) indicates. It has from ancient times been densely populated; the texts and the numerous extant burial mounds are proof of this. Since then its reputation for being the "granary of Syria" has been maintained. According to the Arab geographers, the area was throughout the Middle Ages dotted with villages. It lay on the main route of communication connecting Damascus with al-Urdunn, a highway which owed as much to the Mamluk *barīd* as to the Syrian pilgrim caravans.

Conquered by the Arabs in 13/635, al-Bathaniyya, like Ḥawrān, became *kharādj* land, and was subsequently joined to the *djund* of Damascus although more usually connected with the Ḥawrān region. During the period of the Crusades it suffered from Frankish incursions. Later under Ottoman rule it was affected by two important factors: the invasion of the nomadic ʿAnāza, followed by the Rwāla, which introduced a reign of disorder and insecurity lasting until the end of the 19th century, and the settlement on its soil of the Ḥawranese hill folk expelled from their homes by the Druzes. These latter had from the 17th century begun to infiltrate into the Ḥawrān, where in 1861 they were joined by certain elements from the Lebanon.

Al-Bathaniyya should be distinguished from the small plain situated to the north-east of the Djabal al-Drūz, called in antiquity Saccea and in the Arab period *arḍ al-Bathaniyya*. This term has been translated to mean the "march of Bathaniyya" but one of the local names Butheyne, leads one to suppose that the area had been considered rather as a "small Bathaniyya".

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326 (trans. 174); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 126; Ṭabarī, index, *BGA*, indices; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārat*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 17 (trans. Damascus 1957, 44 & n. 4); Yāḳūt, i, 493; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 34; A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, esp. 15; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 66; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-38, esp. ii, 155; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 232-327; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du Hōrân*, Paris 1946, 5 ff.; D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1952, 2; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1934-36, index (*s.v.* Derʾât). (D. SOURDEL)

AL-**BAṬĪḤA**, ("the marshland"), the name applied to a meadowlike depression which is exposed to more or less regular inundation and is therefore swampy. It is particularly applied by the Arab authors of the ʿAbbāsid period to the very extensive swampy area on the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris between Kūfa and Wāsiṭ in the north and Baṣra in the south, also frequently called al-Baṭāʾiḥ (plural of al-Baṭīḥa) and occasionally, after the adjoining towns, the *Baṭīḥat* (*Baṭāʾiḥ*) *al-Kūfa*, *al-Wāsiṭ* or *al-Baṣra*.

The existence of considerable swamps in southern Babylonia goes back to high antiquity. The alluvial plain is soft and almost flat, the river beds are shallow and exposed to rapid silting, the banks are soft and low, therefore the flood waters overflow the banks, causing extensive marches; these would normally disappear but for the annual floods, and the rivers change their courses which, in turn, leads to new marshes. Even in the cuneiform inscriptions the *agammê* (swamps) and *apparâtê* (reedlands) are often mentioned; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterb.*, 17, 115. In particular, the whole country between Muḥammara in the south, a point beyond Ḳurna

in the north, and beyond the river Kārūn to the east, must have been covered by an enormous swampy lake; cf. Delitzsch, 627; Dougherty, *The Sea land of Ancient Arabia*, 1933.

The Greek and Roman writers are likewise acquainted with it (as λίμνη or *chaldaicus lacus*). Nearchus's account is particularly instructive, for he crossed this area of water and gave its breadth as 600 *stadia* (80 miles). The *Tabula Peutingeriana* also defines the Babylonian swamps; on it, in addition to *Paludes*, is mentioned the name *Diotahi*, probably to be emended to *Biotahi* = *Baṭaʾiḥ*). On the notices in cuneiform inscriptions and classical authors, cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 736, 815, 1878 ff., 2812; Weissbach, *ibid*, iii, 2044 vi, 1201 ff.; Streck, v. 1147 (s.v. *Diotahi*); Ainsworth; *Researches* ii, 180 ff.

Since ancient times the great marshy lake has been gradually filled up by the deposits of sediment brought down by the rivers, and the modern delta has arisen. Some places, however, remain under water. These places extend around the present Hor (K͟hawr) al-Ḥuwayza, Hor al-Ḥammār, Hor al-S͟hāmiyya, and probably further north.

The origin of the swamp may be a synicline which occurred in geological times: parts of it were filled by the huge amount of silt, while others remained low and were filled by water; they formed what mediaeval Muslims called al-Baṭāʾiḥ. The synicline may have eroded in historic times (cf. G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, in *Bibliography History of the Mesopotamean plains* in *Geographical Journal*. On the retreat of the sea, cf. De Morgan, i, 4-48; Seton Lloyd, 19.

The Sāsānids as a rule devoted a great deal of attention to the irrigation system and drainage in Babylonia. This should have led to the decrease of swamps. Under later kings of this dynasty, however, large areas of flourishing country were swallowed up by floods, and the region of swamps grew to such an extent that the Arabs wrongly date the beginning of the Baṭīḥa from this period. They claim that during the reign of Ḳubād͟h Fīrūz (457-484 A.D.) a large breach occurred, near Kaskar, and inundated large areas of cultivated lands. It was not until the reign of K͟husraw I Anūs͟harwān (531-578) that the dykes were partially repaired, and some of the lands brought under cultivation. But in the year 6 or 7/627, in the reign of K͟husraw II Parwīz, the waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris rose again, in a flood such as had never been seen. Both rivers burst their dykes, causing huge breaches. The water reached the places of the swamps, inundating the farms of several *ṭussūd͟j* there. During the succeeding years of anarchy, and when the Muslim armies began to overrun ʿIrāḳ, breaches occurred in all embankments, and the *Dihḳāns* were powerless to repair the dykes so that the swamps increased in all directions (Balād͟hurī, 292-4; Ḳudāma, 240; Yāḳūt, 668-9; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 53 Ibn Rusta, 98). Under the Sāsānids, too, the first great shifting of the Tigris occurred from the eastern channel (the present course) to the western channel (the present S͟haṭṭ al-Dud͟jayla). This change turned all the country bordering the older eastern course into thickets and desert.

The Umayyads took interest in the work of reclamation of the Baṭīḥa; Ibn Darrād͟j reclaimed for Muʿāwiya from the Baṭīḥa lands which yielded 5 millions dirhems annually. He did that by cutting the reeds and controlling water with dykes. These lands were called al-D͟jawāmid (Balād͟hurī, 294; *Murūd͟j*, i, 225-6). In the year 81/701, however, they were inundated again, owing to a new burst which al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j deliberately neglected repairing.

Immediately afterwards al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j built Wāsiṭ in the alluvial plain near the Baṭīḥa. This should have led to restoration of the neglected system of canals, the erection of dams and sluices, and to the reclamation of lands. He dug the two canals of Nīl and Zābī to lead away part of the superfluous water of these two large rivers before they flowed into the Baṭīḥa, and at the same time to water and fertilise the dry areas above Wāsiṭ (Balād͟hurī, 290-2; Ḳudāma, 240; Streck, i, 29-32, ii, 303-304; Le Strange, 27). Al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j also settled in the marshes the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], an Indian people, with their buffalo herds numbering thousands. Maslama, the Caliph's brother, spent about 3 millions dirhems on repairing the dykes, and in turn obtained vast areas of reclaimed land (Balād͟hurī, 294; Ḳudāma, 240-1; Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 1902, 156-8).

Reclamation of land continued, especially at the time of His͟hām, and his governor of ʿIrāḳ K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī, who built a dam on the Tigris (Balād͟hurī, 293-4; Ḳudāma, 240; Ibn Rusta, 95), dug several canals, *e.g.*, the Nahr al-Rummān, and the Nahr al-Mubārak; he thus reclaimed large areas of lands, which yielded a large income, but resulted in the use of a great amount of water, and to a decrease in the volume of water available for irrigation.

When the ʿAbbāsids came to power (132/750), new bursts occured in the dykes which, in turn, increased the swamps. In the Euphrates region, similarly, thickets formed, parts of which were reclaimed. In the north-west, the Baṭīḥa extended nearly to Kūfa and Niffar, while farther to the east it began at a considerable distance from Wāsiṭ. This part is called by many mediaeval Muslim sources *Baṭāʾiḥ al-Kūfa*. Their crude maps (cf. Miller, *Mappae Arabica*) do not show them connected with the southern Baṭīḥa, not do they mention any dwelling-places or cultivation there. Nevertheless 4th/10th century sources assert that the Euphrates discharged into the Baṭīḥa between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra (Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 215; Suhrāb, 118). This suggests that the present lower Euphrates region was covered with Baṭāʾiḥ up to the 6th/12th century, when sources mention that the lower Euphrates joined the Tigris in Maṭṭāra (Yāḳūt, ii, 553). This must have been due to hydrographic changes, in the depression of S͟hināfiyya, which must have then been deeper, and the reduction of the amount of water and silt, owing to the numerous canals which took water from the Euphrates to irrigate north and central Babylonia (cf. Le Strange, 75 ff.).

The Tigris, from about the end of the Sāsānid period to the first half of the 10th/16th century, flowed in the western bed (the modern S͟haṭṭ al-Dud͟jayla) past Wāsiṭ and several towns until, in the 4th/10th century, it joined the Baṭīḥa in Ḳaṭr (*Murūd͟j*, i, 288; Suhrāb, 118-9, 135; Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 59; Ibn Rusta, 185). According to Mustawfī, Ḳaṭr is 30 parasangs (about 107 m. = 172 kms.) south of Wāsiṭ (*Nuzha*, 166), according to Ḳudāma (193), 22 parasangs.

The southern limits of the Baṭīḥa border on Baṣra (Balād͟hurī, 362; *Ansāb al-As͟hrāf*, v. 257). Suhrāb (135) describes the Baṭīḥa as consisting of four Hors: Bahaṣṣā, Bakamṣā, Baṣaryāt͟hā and the Muḥammadiyya. Each Hor had plenty of water, with no reeds, but each one was linked with the other by a narrow passage of reeds. The Hor of

Muḥammadiyya was the largest, and the reed passage extended from it to the Nahr Abī Asad, which passes to Ḥāla, Kawānīn and then to the "one-eyed" Tigris (al-Di̲d̲j̲la al-ʿawrāʾ). Yāḳūt mentions the Hors of S̲h̲alām, (iii, 311), D̲j̲urd̲j̲īn, (ii 56), G̲h̲arrāf (iii, 581) and Rabbah, (ii, 134).

In the flat soft alluvial plain of south Babylonia hydrography could not be static, especially since the canal and irrigation system was subject to change according to the political and economic situation. Though these changes have not been yet studied in detail, nevertheless one may see an indication in the 6th/12th century, when Yāḳūt mentions that the Tigris was divided below Wāsiṭ into five arms which, together with the Euphrates, joined in Maṭṭāra which was a day's journey from Baṣra (ii, 553). The area of the lands covered by the Baṭīḥa undoubtedly changed according to the amount of control exercised over the flood water and the amount of water used for irrigation in the north.

Although water covered most of the lands of the Baṭīḥa, nevertheless there were areas of dry land, farms, cities and villages as well as rivers and canals (Muḳaddasī, 119; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v. *Baṭāʾiḥī*; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Lubāb*, i, 129). Ibn Rusta (95) says that "the higher places became mounds which are known in Baṭāʾiḥ and are called Sarṭug̲h̲ān, Ṭustag̲h̲ān and Uḳr al-Sayd, places where the Zuṭṭ live". Muḳaddasī, (134) calls the Baṭīḥa a district (*nāḥiya*) with Ṣulayḳ as its chief town, and the further towns of D̲j̲āmida, Harrār, Ḥaddādiyya and Zubaydiyya. Most of these towns were north-west of Wāsiṭ. Yāḳūt mentions as towns of the Baṭīḥa Ḥilla (of Dubays) (i, 594, ii, 323) K̲h̲ayt̲h̲amiyya (iv, 884), Harrār (iv, 970), Manṣūra (iv, 664) and other places, and as its rivers the canals of Abbā, K̲h̲urz, al-Zuṭṭ (ii, 930, iv, 840) and Yammā (iv, 1026).

Of the western marshes of the Euphrates about the middle of the 19th century European travellers and archaeologists give fairly accurate descriptions. The main course of the Euphrates passed through Babylon, Ḥilla and Dīwāniyya. Several branches and cuts diverged from this branch, many of them re-uniting near Al-Kārayim, which was at the head of the delta. During the season of the floods, water spread for about 30 miles in length, 10-14 miles west of the main channel and to a much grater distance on the east side. This regress forms the Lamlūm marshes. Thirty years later, the bulk of the Euphrates' waters went through the western Hindiyya canal which was dug in the 17th century by the the Indian Āṣaf al-Dawla. This emerged into the plains further south and created the shallow Baḥr al-Nad̲j̲af and S̲h̲ināfiyya marshes, which remained even after the erection of the Hindiyya barrage in 1911 to increase the water of the Ḥilla branch. These swamps are situated in a large depression, wider in the mouth, about 40 m. (65 kms.) long and 15 m. (25 kms.) wide; the depth of the flood water varies from a few centimetres in the north to 2-3 metres in the middle. Several sub-Hors branch off from it; in the east are the Hors of al-ʿŪd̲j̲a, al-Wurīd̲j̲ī, Ibn Nad̲j̲im, al-K̲h̲abṣa, Abū G̲h̲īrbāl, al-Rammāḥ, al-Hawā and Abū Ḥid̲j̲ār; to the west of the S̲h̲āmiyya branch are G̲h̲ādudī, Rug̲h̲īla, Glībī, Abū Ḥillāna, Ziyāda and Ḥwīḥa; near the Kūfan branch are the Hors of Ṭubug, G̲h̲azālāt and Ṣlīb. The areas of these Hors shrink after flood, and the land becomes excellent for rice cultivation.

The Tigris below Bag̲h̲dād flows through a flat plain, and the banks are not high enough to retain the huge volume of flood water. This leads to a number of breaches and levees on both sides of the river which produce numerous marches. The largest of them between Bag̲h̲dād and Kut is Hor S̲h̲awīd̲j̲a, which is a natural depression of land extending some 31 m. (50 km.) along the Tigris and 15 m. (25 km.) in width. Into this Hor flows the water of a number of minor streams from the mountain regions of Pus̲h̲t-i Kūh. The rather narrow Hor Ḥuwīs̲h̲a extends from ʿAlī al-G̲h̲arbī to ʿImāra where it reaches Hor Snāfiyya. Near ʿImāra numerous branches diverge from the Tigris, *e.g.*, Mus̲h̲arraḥ, Čaḥla, Mus̲h̲ayrih. The waters are dispersed in the ʿAmāra rice area, where the flood waters are led out of the main channels, but these branches are well defined in spite of the Hors they form. They empty into the Hor of ʿAzem which is connected with Hor Ḥuwīza. They receive an inflow from the Dwīrīd̲j̲, and Ṭīb rivers as well as from al-Kark̲h̲a (the ancient Choaspes). The annual intake of water of these Hors is estimated at 7 million cubic inches. These waters flow back in the summer into the Tigris by several channels which begin a short distance beyond ʿUzayr.

On the right bank of the Tigris, the major breach below Kut is the Muṣandaḳ escape, 450 metres wide at its head, which expands rapidly to almost lake-like proportions and finally branches into a number of relatively small, shallow channels into the Hor al-Saniyya. This Hor is a large natural depression fed by the Muṣandaḳ escape and several smaller breaches and flood irrigation channels which divert water from the Tigris during the floods. Water passes successively through the Ṣik̲h̲ārī, al-Duwīma D̲j̲ifāfī S̲h̲āh ʿAlī, S̲h̲āttiriya Hors, and Hor Burhān, ʿŪda, Ṣirimah, Ṣigāl, Ruwīda and Ṣaffār, until it reaches the Ḥammār lake near Ḥammār village. During the peak of the Tigris floods, an area of over 424 sq. km. (1100 sq. km.) is inundated by the Hor al-Saniyya. After the flood recession no water except minor amounts of surface drainage from pump irrigated fields enter the depression of Hor al-Saniyya, which diminishes to an area of less than 77 sq. m. (200 sq. km.) through seepage and evaporation losses.

The Ḥammār lake is the largest Hor, covering about 2007 sq. m. 5200 sq. km.). It extends from the affluents of the Euphrates near Sūḳ al-S̲h̲uyūk̲h̲ down to Karma ʿAlī (about 80 m. = 130 km.). The southern part of it is called Hor Snāf, which receives water from the Euphrates and G̲h̲arrāf as well as the waters coming down from the Muṣandaḳ through the several above-mentioned Hors. The total flowing into the Ḥammār area is about 2540 *cumecs* (cubic metres per second) from all sources. The evaporation and transpiration losses are about 500 *cumecs*. The edge of the Ḥammār lake has a seasonal low water level of 0.6 to 0.8 metres in the late autumn and a high water level of from 2.0 to 2.8 metres near the end of the flood season in May or June. At low water the area is roughly two thirds lake and marsh with a few areas of open water connected by a maze of narrow channels running in all directions through the reeds. The deeper channels (1-2 metres) usually run in a north to south or north-west to south-east direction. There are also mazes of deep water passages (Gawāhīn) between the reeds which may be a few yards wide, but deep enough for boat navigation.

A few very deep channels (10-20 metres) are found around the islands in the vicinity of Salāyal island. Tide effect is felt in the southern parts. There are many shallow areas. The southern borders of the

Ḥammār are bare, uninhabited land, exposed to annual floods from the lake.

On account of its inaccessibility, the Baṭīḥa was a hiding place for all sorts of robbers and rebels, and an asylum for the discontented.

The Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], who were transplanted with their vast herds of buffaloes in the marshes by al-Ḥadjdjādj, made themselves, together with some other *mawālī*, in the early ʿAbbāsid period, a nuisance to ʿIrāḳ by robbing and plundering, and disturbing communications and trade with the the south. Their effect was felt to a greater extent at the time of Maʾmūn. It was only after strenuous efforts that the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim succeeded in subduing them, and in removing them to the northern Syrian borders (Balādhurī, 171-375; Ṭabarī, iii, 1044-5, 1167-70; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 355). They have given their name to the Nahr al-Zuṭṭ (Yaḳūt, iv, 840).

Far more dangerous, however, proved the great rising of the Zandj [*q.v.*] who, under the leadership of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], stirred up near Baṣra a formidable rebellion (255-270/869-883) and dominated the Baṭīḥa for several years (Ṭabarī, iii, 1742 ff.; Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, 146-175; F. al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, Baghdād 1952).

In the following centuries the Banū Shāhīn (see ʿIMRĀN B. SHĀHĪN) and after them the family of al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] founded a more or less independent kingdom in the swamp lands which they shared at a later period with the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] who ruled from 403 A.H. until 448 A.H. in Ḥilla. After the decline of the Mazyadids, the Banu ʾl-Muntafiḳ began to play their part, although the Caliph al-Nāṣir succeeded in destroying their leaders, the Banū Maʿrūf, in 617/1220.

When the Mongols conquered ʿIrāḳ (656/1253), the Baṭīḥa fell in their hands, but the Arab tribes remained a source of disturbance. From then on it was called al-Djazāʾir ("the islands") or al-Djawāzir. It was conquered by Tamerlane (795/1338), and then by Uways the Djalāʾirid (826/1423); in the year 844 A.H. it was conquered by the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*], who remained until the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān occupied it in 953 A.H. Ottoman rule of the region, however, was not firm, and they could not destroy the several tribal principalities, *e.g.*, the Āl ʿUlyān, who ruled over the Ḥammār until they were destroyed in 975 A.H.; the Banī Lām dominated the lower Tigris, until they were challenged by Albū Muḥammad and gave the Ottomans a chance to control them. The al-Muntafiḳ family ruled over the lower Euphrates up to the year 1861, when Midḥat Pasha was able to establish a *mutaṣarrifiyya* under the control of the governor of Baghdād (Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford; ʿA. ʿAzzāwī, *al-ʿIraḳ bayn Iḥtilalayn*, 8 Vols, Baghdād 1937-57; Field, *The Anthropology of Iraq*, in *Field Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 30, part i, no. 2, 1949).

Large numbers of the originally Aramaic (and Christian) population of Babylonia (the Nabaṭs of Arab writers) remained in Baṭāʾiḥ for a long time, so that many sources call them the swamps of the Nabaṭ (L.A., iii, 237; cf. also Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 161; Miskawayh, ii, 409 Muḳaddasī, 128). Probably another ancient remnant is the Mandaeans or Ṣubba, the mediaeval Mughtasila, cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, 340; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 161); these Ṣubba still survive in a few places in the marshes such as Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh, Ḳalʿat Ṣāliḥ, and in Hor al-Ḥuwayza (Ḥawīza) where the town of Ḥawīza is their chief centre (cf. Drower, in *Bibliography*).

Nevertheless some Arabs settled there. Ibn Rusta says that Yashkur, Bāhila and Banu ʾl-Anbar lived near the Baṭīḥa before its formation. Balādhurī refers to the Bāhilī clients who joined the Zuṭṭ in their disturbances at the time of Maʾmūn. Ṭabarī, iii, 1858, 1898, 1903 refers to some of the Bāhilīs who joined the activities of the Zandj in the 3rd/9th century. He refers also to ʿIdjl in the Baṭīḥa (iii, 1759). The Mazyadid domination must have brought Banī Asad [*q.v.*] until they were destroyed by Al-Nāṣir. Ibn Khaldūn mentions Rabīʿa who dominate this area (vi, 12), by whom he probably means the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*]. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Khafādja and the Maʿādī (ii, 2, 4).

The greater part of the modern inhabitants is composed of semi-nomads and farmers of Arab stock, organised on tribal lines. They are Shīʿī Muslims except for a few Sunnīs, the most prominent of whom are the Saʿdūn family.

The most important of these Arab tribes, which are themselves divided into a large number of subdivisions, are:

(1) The Banū Lām who in the 16th century were able to establish their authority over the Tigris lands from Ḥawīza as far as the environs of Baghdād in the north, and to the outer spurs of the Pusht-i Kūh in the east. Kūt al-Amāra was the residence of their Shaykh in the early decades of the 19th century, but their lands and authority diminished in the 19th century and became confined to the lands east of Tigris and north of ʿImāra. They are a sheep owning tribe, and are still semi-nomadic.

(2) The Albū (= Abū) Muḥammad. They also live east of the Tigris, beside the banks of the Čaḥla and its main tributaries where they settled ten generations ago, and have since expanded over the canals and marshes on either side of the Tigris between ʿImāra and ʿUzayr. They are mainly cultivators but also marshmen, who are occupied in breeding buffaloes and making reed mats.

(3) Rabīʿa. To the west of the Tigris. Their subdivision al-Mayyāḥ extends along the Gharrāf up to Shaṭra, with Ḥayy as their chief centre.

(4) Ẓubayd, west of the Tigris. Their lands lie between Baghdād on the north and Kut al-Ḥayy in the south-east. In the south they adjoin the land of the Khazāʿil.

(5) The Khazāʿil, south-west of the Zubayd. They dwell from the district between Kefil and the ruins of Niffar, and along the Euphrates from Shāmiyya to the south of Dīwāniyya where they border on the country of the Muntafiḳ.

(6) The Muntafiḳ, a loose confederation of tribes presided over by the al-Saʿ dūn who came in the 15th century from the Ḥidjāz and were able to establish their authority over the tribes of the Lower Euphrates, and to expand at times even as far as Baṣra. They retained their semi-autonomous authority up to 1861, when Midḥat Pasha was able to abolish their rule and establish a *mutaṣarrifiya* in Nāṣiriyya.

The Muntafiḳ fall into three main divisions: 1) al-Adjwad, who dwelt from Darrādjī to the vicinity of Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh, and on the lower parts of the Gharrāf; 2) Banū Mālik, who live on the borders of Al-Ḥammār; 3) Banū Saʿīd, who live near Karma banī Saʿīd.

(7) Al-Djazāʾir. The Djazāʾir ("islands") also called Djawāzir are the swamp lands as opposed to *Shāmiyya*, the dry and desert land). The term has given its name to a confederation of tribes which are repeatedly mentioned in the Mongol and Ottoman

sources up to the 20th century. Their country was part of the Mushaʿshaʿ state (ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 112, 174, 272) then of Al-ʿUlyān (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 107); was conquered by the Ottomans (ʿAzzāwī, iv, 50 quoting *Mirʾāt-i Kāʾināt*, 127; Ewliyā Čelebi iv, 414), at times dominated by the Persians and by the Muntafiḳ, until it was finally brought under Ottoman control at the time of Midḥat Pasha, who made attempts to reclaim some of its lands (*Al-Zawr*, 568). The tribes of Al-Djazāʾir formed a confederation composed of (1) Banū Asad [*q.v.*] who settled between Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh and Ḳurna, with their centre in Čabāyish; (2) Al-Ḥusaynī; (3) Banū Ḥuṭayṭ in Ḥammār; (4) ʿUbada between Suḳ al-Shuyūkh and Čabāyish (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 310-12); 5) Banū Manṣūr, settled near Ḳurna.

(8) The Miʿdān. They are probably the Maʿādī who are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as dwelling between Kūfa and Wāsiṭ (ii); Loftus (120-2) has described their primitive life and conditions. They dwell in the marshes, are organised tribally in a small way, and have no cohesion on a large scale. They are fishermen, reed-gatherers, and breeders of buffaloes. The other Arabs despise them for their profession and for their moral code, which differs slightly from that of the Bedouins.

The settlements of the inhabitants of the swamps are usually on terraces and islands, which are not entirely submerged by the annual inundation, and sometimes form villages. They consist of long huts built of reeds and reed matting (*ṣarīfa*) (Thesiger, *op. cit.*; *Shākir Salīm al-Čibāyish*, Vol. i, 23-4, Baghdād 1957; cf. also Nöldeke in *WZKM*, xvi, 198, Note 1).

The most important product of the marshes is rice. Other products are barley, yellow maize, sorghum, millet, lentils, melons, watermelons, and to some degree lady's finger (*bāmya*, gumbo, okra) and onions.

One source of revenue is the reed, which is used for all household purposes and from ancient times has been much used for writing implements (see *OLZ*, ix, 190). The reed pens of mediaeval Wāsiṭ and, in the 19th century, of Dizfūl were considered the best in the east (cf. Cl. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulm.* (1908), 13). Even at present 50-70 thousand tons of reeds are cut annually in the vicinity of Čabāyish (*Tams*, 60).

In addition there is great abundance of fishes, which afford a continual food supply to the natives or are exported to other districts. Ibn Rusta (94) refers to the importance of the Baṭīḥa products of reeds and fish in mediaeval times. At present it produces about 2000 tons of fish annually, employing about 500 fishermen.

Buffaloes are an important source of wealth to the marshmen south of ʿImāra and of the Ḥammār. The butter from their milk is exported to the surrounding cities and to Baghdād. Sheep are also reared to a moderate extent, while cows are found in various places, especially in Ḳurna.

As to the remaining fauna of the Baṭīḥa, water fowl of all sorts are numerous, such as gulls, wild duck, geese, swans etc.; there are flocks of cranes, pelicans, flamingoes, storks, bustards and bitterns. There are also some carnivorous animals. The lion, which was known in this country in ancient and mediaeval times, was last mentioned in the 19th century (*Loftus, op. cit.*, 242 ff.). In addition, a number of leopards, jackals, wolves, lynxes and wild-cats have their lairs here. Wild-boar (*Sus scrofa*), wallow in large herds in the marshes.

The countless swarms of mosquitoes and midges form a terrible plague, and were a source of endemic diseases, *e.g.*, malaria, which must have been an important factor in the decline of the district (cf. *Shākir Salīm al-Čibāyish*, Vol. ii).

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(M. Streck-[Saleh El-Ali])

BĀṬIL wa FĀSID [see Fāsid].

BĀṬIN wa ẒĀHIR [see Ẓāhir].

AL-**BĀṬIN**, a large *wādī* in north-eastern Arabia, formerly the lower course of Wādī al-Rumah [*q.v.*] but now cut off by the sands of al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*]. Al-Bāṭin runs north-easterly 385 km., from below Khushūm al-Thumāmī in al-Dahnāʾ to a plain 15 km. SW of al Zubayr. In width it is unusually regular, being 10-13 km. between banks and 2-3 km. on the floor. Its only surface water is lateral flow from local rains. Most of al-Bāṭin is a channel through former deposits of Wādī al-Rumah, as the plains of al-Dibdiba [*q.v.*] on both sides contain

gravels from the Arabian Shield [see art. DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, (ii) & (iii)].

Al-Bāṭin, though a historic route from al-Baṣra to al-Ḥidjāz, contains few known archaeological remains; the most prominent are the 42 steyned wells, which may be Yāḳūt's Ḥafar Abī Mūsā, near the village of Ḥafar al-Bāṭin. The only settlement in al-Bāṭin, al-Ḥafar consists of 200 houses and the fort of the Amīrate which reports to the Governorate of the Eastern Province at al-Dammām.

At an undefined point at the junction of al-Bāṭin and its tributary, al-ʿAwdjāʾ, the boundaries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt, ʿIrāḳ, and the Saudi Arabia-ʿIrāḳ Neutral Zone converge, according to the al-ʿUḳayr agreements of 1922.

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AL-**BĀṬINA**, a lowland district in eastern Arabia lying between the sea coast of the Gulf of Oman and the mountains of al-Ḥadjar. It is bounded on the north by the headland of Khatmat Milāḥa, and on the south by the village of Ḥayl Āl ʿUmayr, south-east of the town of al-Sīb and west of the city of Muscat. The district varies in width from 10 to 20 miles. Near the coast the soil is sandy and dotted with many shallow wells. Farther inland the soil is clay, and then the ground becomes stony as the foothills of the mountains are approached. Numerous *wādīs* cut across the district and run down to the coast, where their beds broaden out. The name al-Bāṭina means the low-lying region, in contrast to al-Ẓāhira [*q.v.*], the higher region on the western side of al-Ḥadjar, which is reached from al-Bāṭina by two important passes, Wādī al-Djizy and Wādī al-Ḥawāsina.

Al-Bāṭina is primarily a region of fishing and date culture, though the interior supports a number of semi-nomadic folk with their herds. Along the sea coast stretches an almost continuous date-palm belt, which in places extends inland to a depth of about seven miles. Wheat, cotton, barley, sugar-cane, lucerne, mangoes, bananas, figs, limes, melons, and olives are also grown, being irrigated from the copious wells. Domestic animals are sheep, goats, donkeys, and especially the *Bāṭiniyya* riding camel, which among the three famous breeds of Oman is the one most noted for its comfortable gait. Fishing is often carried on in the *shāsha*, a non-sinkable craft of palm branches (*djarīd*) similar to the *waraḳiyya* of Kuwayt. Larger vessels sail to the Persian Gulf, southern Arabia, Zanzibār, and Pākistān for trade.

Al-Bāṭina was first proselytised for Islām in 8/629 by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], who were welcomed in Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*] by the house of al-Djulanda. In the 7th/13th century the country was twice invaded by the Persians, who maintained a foothold until finally driven out by the Portuguese in 928/1522. Although the Portuguese took the tribute formerly sent to the ruler of Hormuz, they did not continually, occupy the al-Bāṭina coast until 1025/1616. Until the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1053/1643 by the dynasty of al-Yaʿāriba [see YAʿRUB], Ṣuḥār rivaled Muscat and Hormuz as a trading port. Persian attempts to regain permanent possession of al-Bāṭina during the reign of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] were beaten off largely by the efforts of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd of Āl Bū Saʿīd [see BŪ SAʿĪD]. His nine-month defence of Ṣuḥār in 1156/1743 brought him prestige which secured for himself the Imamate of Oman and for his descendants the Sultanate of Muscat.

The Sultan of Muscat has *wālīs* at al-Sīb, Barkā, al-Maṣnaʿa, Suwayḳ, al-Khābūra, and Ṣuḥār. The customs and *zakāt* revenue from these places seldom exceeds the administrative expenses. The settled population of al-Bāṭina was estimated by Lorimer in 1908 as about 105,000 persons, half of whom were living along the coast. The number of Bedouins roaming the interior is far less. Among the sedentary population, the chief tribes are Āl Saʿd and al-Ḥawāsina. Many of the Bedouins in the district come from the same two tribes and Banī Khārūṣ. Lesser tribes are al-Biduwāt, Āl Ḥamad, Āl Djarād, al-Mawālik, al-Nawāfil, Āl Bū Ḳurayn, Āl Bū Rushayd, and al-Shubūl. The great majority of the people of al-Bāṭina are Hināwī in politics and Ibāḍī in religion, although the Balūchīs and negroes tend to be Sunnī.

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(R. L. HEADLEY)

BĀṬINIYYA, a name given (a) to the Ismāʿīlīs in medieval times, referring to their stress on the *bāṭin*, the "inward" meaning behind the literal wording of sacred texts; and (b), less specifically, to anyone accused of rejecting the literal meaning of such texts in favour of the *bāṭin*.

(a) Among the Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*] and some related Shīʿī groups there developed a distinctive type of *taʾwīl* [*q.v.*], scriptural interpretation, which may be called *bāṭinī*. It was symbolical or allegoristic in its method, sectarian in its aims, hierarchically imparted, and secret. All branches of the Ismāʿīliyya as well as its Druze offshoots have retained the *bāṭinī taʾwīl* in one form or another. The like system of the Nuṣayrīs seems to be a survival from *bāṭinī* circles associated with the later Twelver *imāms* [see GHULĀT].

Certain aspects of this type of *taʾwīl* can be matched in Jewish and Christian prototypes (for instance, in the symbolical exegesis of Origen) and other aspects can be matched among the Gnostics. Its immediate origins, however, are Muslim. Like the symbolical *taʾwīl* ascribed to the *imāms* among the later Twelver Shīʿa (with which it has in common its symbolical and sectarian character and something of its secrecy), its beginnings can be traced to the Shīʿī Ghulāt of the 2nd/8th century in ʿIrāḳ. Thus

al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd (d. 119/737) is said to have interpreted the mountains' refusal to undertake the faith (Ḳurʾān xxxiii, 72) as symbolising ʿUmar's rejection of ʿAlī. Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī is said to have held that the "heavens" symbolised the *imāms* and the "earth" their followers; and is credited with the key notion that while it was the Prophet who brought the text of the Ḳurʾān, it was the *imām* alone was charged with its interpretation, *taʾwīl*. Among the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb (d. 138/755-6) such allegoristic *taʾwīl* seems to have been especially popular; some of them supposed that in each generation there is a speaker, *nāṭiḳ*, to declare publicly religious truth, and a silent man, *ṣāmit*, to interpret it to the elect. Presumably it was from the Khaṭṭābiyya that such elements of the *bāṭinī taʾwīl* entered the Ismāʿīlī movement, where the *taʾwīl* was elaborated till it became the hallmark of that movement.

The *bāṭinī* system can be described in terms of four essential notions: *bāṭin*, *taʾwīl*, *khāṣṣ wa ʿāmm*, and *taḳiyya*, all which were presupposed whatever particular doctrine was taught.

It was held that every sacred text had its hidden inner meaning, the *bāṭin*, which was contrasted to the *ẓāhir*, "apparent" or literal meaning. Not only in passages which were in any case metaphorical, but in historical passages, moral exhortations, legal and ritual prescriptions, each person, act, or object mentioned was to be taken symbolically. The things symbolised often were explained one by one as objects of approval, obedience, hatred, and the like, according to the passage; but sometimes whole anecdotes were read as extended allegories. Number and letter symbolism was freely used. The same procedure applied to non-Muslim sacred books as well; and indeed to the whole of nature. For the *bāṭin* represented an esoteric world of hidden spiritual reality, parallel to the reality of the *ẓāhir*, the ordinary visible world, which cloaked and concealed it. The true function of scripture was to point to that hidden world even while keeping it disguised in symbols.

Taʾwīl, the educing of the *bāṭin* from the *ẓāhir* text, was therefore as fundamental as *tanzīl*, the revelation of the literal sacred text itself, and was equally dependent upon divine intervention. For every prophet who was given *tanzīl*, a revelation to be proclaimed publicly to mankind, there must be a *waṣī*, an executor (in the case of Muḥammad, this was ʿAlī) who was given the corresponding *taʾwīl*, which he propounded privately to the worthy few, that is, the members of the sect which accepted his authority.

Mankind, then, were divided into *khāṣṣ*, the élite who know the *bāṭin*, and *ʿāmm*, the ignorant generality. The *khāṣṣ* were those who had been ceremonially intitiated into the sect, that is, into knowledge of and obedience to the *imām*, representative of ʿAlī and sole authorised source of *taʾwīl* in any given generation. Among the Ismāʿīlīs, a series of hierarchical ranks (*ḥudūd*) of teachers mediated between the *imām* and the simple initiate. To the latter the *bāṭin* was imparted only in gradual stages (the number of which varied) and in purely authoritarian fashion.

The *bāṭin* was "inward" not only in being unevident but also in being secret. Knowledge of it must not be imparted to the *ʿāmm*, the ordinary followers of the *ẓāhir* revelation, lest it be misunderstood in an unauthorised way and abused. The Shīʿite principle of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], precautionary dissimulation of one's faith, was accordingly reinterpreted to imply the obligation not to reveal the *bāṭin* to any unauthorised persons even apart from any danger of persecution. For some, therefore, the practice of the *ẓāhir* ritual of the *sharīʿa* even in its frankly Shīʿite form came to be regarded as *taḳiyya*, in that it kept the *bāṭin* concealed.

Despite an authoritarian hierarchism, the *taʾwīl* (as we know it in its Ismāʿīlī form) never achieved any strict uniformity. For any given ritual action different authors gave widely differing *bāṭin* interpretations; even the same author sometimes gave multiple explanations in the same book. Thus the inner meaning of the obligation of *zakāt* was held to be that the *khums* or fifth of one's income must be given to the *imām*; or that one should give all one's surplus to the poor; or that the only true wealth is knowledge. What the *taʾwīl* did accomplish was to replace what seemed a "naïve" Ḳurʾānic world view with a more "sophisticated" intellectual system; one which seemed to go beneath the superficial differences among the quarrelling religious communities with their incompatible dogmatic claims, to reach a profounder common truth. A unity of spirit was given to the *taʾwīl* among the Ismāʿīlīs by its being used for three large and interrelated purposes. It presented a cosmology derived from neo-Platonist sources; it interpreted eschatology in terms of cyclicist religious history (and sometimes of reincarnationism); finally, it justified the religious hierarchy of the sect, whose grades corresponded more or less to the several dignities of the neo-Platonist cosmos.

The desire for sophisticated freedom from commonly accepted dogmas made for a persistent tendency toward radical exaltation of the *bāṭin*. In official Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* were both held to have their own spheres of relevance, at least in matters of ritual and law, in which they were binding on the initiate. But there was a frequent recurrence among the *bāṭiniyya* of a total rejection of the *ẓāhir* meaning even of the *sharīʿa*, or at least of its ritual prescriptions, as superfluous for whoever knows the *imām* and hence the *bāṭin*; this happened, for instance, among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs after 559/1164. Those who rejected the *ẓāhir* altogether often tended also, consistently, to exalt the *waṣī* (ʿAlī) to a higher rank than that of the Prophet (Muḥammad), since the *taʾwīl* was worthier than the *tanzīl*; this was the attitude of the Nuṣayrīs.

The *bāṭiniyya* movement seems to have left traces among such later groups as the Ḥurūfīs, the Rawshanīs, and the Bābīs, who also used symbolical exegesis, though in somewhat different contexts. Its terminology and conceptions, freed of their sectarianism, have likewise influenced the symbolism of Ṣūfī thought. Perhaps above all, however, the radical positions it took had the effect of rendering Muslim Orthodoxy all the more suspicious of any kind of symbolical *taʾwīl*. Thus Ghazzālī used the Ismāʿīlī *bāṭiniyya*, in his *al-Ḳusṭās al-Mustaḳīm*, as point of departure for his analysis of the legitimate limits of *taʾwīl* in general.

(b) Sunnī writers have subsequently used the term *bāṭiniyya* polemically to condemn any writers who, in their judgment, go beyond the recognition of a *bāṭin* meaning in scripture, to the rejection of the evident meaning of scripture in favour exclusively of such a *bāṭin*. Thus Ibn Taymiyya applies the term not only to the *bāṭinī* Shīʿa but to some Ṣūfīs and to such *falāsifa* as Ibn Rushd. Ṣūfīs commonly hold that there are rich *bāṭin* meanings in the Ḳurʾān open to the prc perly contemplative spirit; but they

are generally careful to avoid a position which could be labelled *bāṭinī* in this sense. Ibn al-ʿArabī, for instance, whose interpretation of scripture often seems particularly free, defends himself against the charge of being a *bāṭinī* on the grounds that he accepts the *ẓāhir* alongside the *bāṭin*.

Bibliography: see the articles ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, NUṢAYRIYYA, GHULĀT. Also: I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, chapters 4 and 5; and H. Corbin, *Étude préliminaire*, in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Kitab-e Jamiʿ al-Hikmatain*, Tehran and Paris, 1953.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

AL-BĀTIYA [see NUDJŪM].

BATJAN, a small island in Indonesia [*q.v.*], near the equator, at Long. 127° E., one of the earlier sultanates and centres of Muslim propaganda. It lost its importance as a spice-island about 1650 when the trees were destroyed as a result of a treaty between the sultan and the Dutch East India Company. (C. C. BERG)

BAṬLAMIYŪS, the almost exclusively used transliteration of the Greco-Latin Ptolemaeus; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, writes invariably *ʾbṭlmyws*, which may be read *Ibṭulamayūs*, the truest possible Arabic transliteration. In one place, 129, he gives the explanation "*Bṭlāmāws bi-lughatihim*". About his surname *al-Ḳalūd(h)ī* al-Masʿūdī remarks that some people believe him to be a son of Claudius, the "sixth" Roman emperor (*var. lect.* "second", *i.e.*, Tiberius), who was in fact the third. He himself puts him in his true time, and so does Ibn Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, 29 (Cheikho), and already the *Fihrist*, 267 (Flügel). Al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit*,. and others also refute the false identification of the astronomer with one of the Hellenistic kings of Egypt.

Since no Greek scientist dominated medieval astronomy and geography, and even *Weltanschauung*, as much as Ptolemy, the Western no less than the Oriental, we have restricted ourselves to listing some books which show his influence on a large scale:

1. General: G. Sarton, *IHS*, i-iii, Indices; idem, *The Appreciation of ancient and medieval science during the Renaissance*, 1955, ch. iii, 5; idem, *Ancient science and modern civilization*, 1954, ch. ii; L. Thorndike, *History of Magic etc.*, i, 1923, 104 ff., other volumes see Indices.

2. Astronomy: C. A. Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak*, 1911, Italian in *Raccolta di Scritti*, v, 1944; O. Neugebauer, *The transmission of planetary theories in ancient and medieval astronomy*, Emanuel Stern Lecture, New York, 1956.

3. Astrology: F. Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums*, 1950.

4. Geography: E. Honigmann, *Die 7 Klimata*, 1929.

5. Harmonics: Ingemar Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios*, 1930; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*[6], ii, 2, 1924, 902.

6. Optics: Christ etc., *ibid.*

Here is a list of Ptolemy's writings in the order of the above paras 2-6, as far as they have left an impact on Islamic science. Under each item the Greek writings appear first, then come the titles known only in Arabic or translations thereof. The sources are: *F(ihrist)*, (Ibn) Ṣ(āʿid al-Andalusī), (Ibn al-)Ḳ(ifṭī) and (Ibn abī) U(ṣaibiʿa), besides Brockelmann and the catalogues of manuscripts. For the Western translations, we use, additional to M. Steinschneider, *Die europ. Übersetzungen a.d. Arab.*, and the works by Sarton and Thorndike quoted above, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, 1942; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, 1956 (not throughout reliable); L. Thorndike, *Notes upon some medieval Latin astronomical, astrological and mathematical manuscripts at the Vatican*, Isis, 47, 1956, 391-404; the same, *Notes on some ... manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, xx, 1957, 112-172 (offprints on sale).

2. Astronomy.

a. The *Almagest*. Since Nallino has corroborated by new arguments Koppe's suggestion that the word is derived from μεγάλη σύνταξις by *naḥt* (*Raccolta*, v, 262), the former opinion deriving it from μεγίστη (Suter, *EI*[1], s.v. *Almagest*), has generally been abandoned. The Arabic form is *al-Midjisṭī* (so explicitly stated by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 385); Barhebraeus also gives the correct Greek title *Sūnṭāksīs* (ed. Salhani, 123). An elaborate survey of the contents of books i-iv in al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 151-154, cf. Klamroth, in *ZDMG*, 42, 17-18. *Tashīl al-Midjisṭī* by Thābit b. Ḳurra, cf. Brockelmann, I, 384, I, 7a. The first translator is not Sahl al-Ṭabarī (and this man is not identical with Sahl b. Bishr, as proposed by Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, 24), as stated by Sarton, *IHS*, i, 562. The whole problem has been discussed anew by Nallino, *l.c.*, who also gives a new interpretation of the account in *Fihrist* (*Raccolta*, v, 263), and arrives at the conclusion that the first translator is unknown. The MS. Esc. 915 has been used by O. J. Tallgren, *Un point d'astronomie gréco-arabe-romane*, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, xxix, 1928, 39-44; cf. also the same, *Survivance arabo-romane du Catalogue d'étoiles de Ptolemée*, *Stud. Or. Soc. Or. Fenn.*, ii, 1928, 202-283. A hitherto unknown commentary by Abu Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (Brockelmann, I, 387) has been discovered by G. Vajda (Paris, BN, ar. 4821, 9, cf. *RSO*, xxv, 8), another one by Djābir b. Ḥayyān is only known by name, cf. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, 1943, no. 2834. Ch. H. Haskins and D. P. Lockwood have stated that the first Latin translation has been made directly from the Greek, 12 years before Gerard of Cremona's version from the Arabic in 1175 (*The Sicilian Translators of the 12th Century and the first Latin version of Ptolemy's Almagest*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxi, 1910, 75-102; cf. also J. L. Heiberg, in *Hermes*, xlv, 1910, 57-66, xlvi, 207-216). See also Carmody, 15, and Millás, ch. xxxv.

b. The πρόχειροι κανόνες (*Tabulae manuales*), cf. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, l, 217 and 341. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 159 = Klamroth, 25 calls the work which he analysed, *Kitāb al-Ḳānūn fī ʿIlm al-Nudjūm wa-Ḥisābhā wa-Ḳismat Adjzāʾhā wa-Taʿdīlhā*, but, as Honigmann, 118 f. shows, this is not Ptolemy's book. This last has already in Greek times been confounded with the commentary written by Theo Alexandrinus. This was known to some Arabic scholars, as shown by Honigmann, 120. Theo's commentaries upon Ptolemy influenced al-Kindī, as proved by F. Rosenthal in his analysis of MS. Aya Sofya 4830 (*Studi ... G. Levi della Vida*, 1956, ii, 436 ff.).

Special attention must be paid to one of the Tables, the κανὼν βασιλειῶν, ed. by C. Wachsmuth in his *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 1895, 304-306, reprinted with transliteration in Arabic numbers and Christian years for every king in F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen u. technischen Chronologie*, i, 1906, 139. The text is quoted by al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 161, for the Greek and Roman kings. In this table Alexander the Great comes after Darius

III, then Philippus (Arrhidaeus) "that one with Alexander the Builder", then "the other" Alexander (*i.e.*, the posthumous son of Al. the Gr.). During the reign of the latter (317-305 B.C.) falls the beginning of the Seleucid Aera, which was therefore also called *Aera Alexandri*. This canon has been taken over by al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 88 ff., as expressly stated l. 5. On 89 he calls rightly Alexander the Great *al-bannā'* (Greek κτίστης), and 92 he calls Alexander's son *al-thānī*. The Arabic tradition, however, calls this latter *Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn*, apparently because his predecessor was also called Philippus. Several authors point rightly to the difference of 12 years between the death of Alexander the Great and the beginning of the Aera allegedly called after him. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 430, no. 6471 says *Ta'rīkh* of Philippus the Rūmī, the Builder", but adds correctly: "the brother of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn". Two of the Achaemenid kings are given by al-Bīrūnī 2 years more than by Ptolemy. Nevertheless, from Bukhtnaṣṣar until Alexander's death also the al-Bīrūnī MSS. have Ptolemy's total of 424 years, which number was replaced by Sachau, according to arithmetic, by 428 (89 ult.). Cf. also Ḳ., 96 (Lippert), al-Ṭabarī, 1357/1939, i, 412 f.; Ṣ., 30 (Cheikho).

c. Ὑποθέσεις τῶν πλανωμένων, perhaps the book named in F 268 *k. fi sayr* (not *siyar*!) *al-sab'a*, cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Üb.*, 211, who rightly states, that the real Arabic title is *Iḳtiṣāṣ aḥwāl al-kawākib*, as quoted by Ḳ. 98, cf. Brockelmann, I, 384, 7b. The Arabic text (the number of MS. Leiden is 1045, not 1044, which contains the *Almagest*), an *Iṣlāḥ* by Thābit b. Ḳurra, is for book 2 the only one preserved. Both books have been translated into German by L. Nix and printed together with the Greek text of book 1 in Claudii Ptolemaei *Opera astronomica minora*, ed. J. L. Heiberg, 1907 (Bibl. Teubn.).

d. φάσεις ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων, Arabic *K. al-anwā'* (§ 29). As for the meaning of this title, cf. Nallino, *'Ilm al-falak*, 133 ff. (= *Raccolta*, v, 191 ff.), also I. Kratchkovsky, in Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *K. al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, Préface etc., 1912, 40 ff. Description of the book in al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 17. Boll, *Sphaera*, 1903, 413 f., does not believe that Abū Ma'shar used this book for his list of Paranatellonta, ed. and tr. by A. Dyroff, *ibid.*, 490 ff.; he rather supposes a falsified book attributed to Ptolemy.

e. Ἅπλωσις ἐπιφανείας σφαίρας (*Planisphaerium*). F 269 mentions under Pappus *Tafsīr k. Baṭlamiyūs fi tasṭīḥ al-kura*, transl. by Thābit. Al-Ya'ḳūbī, i, 154 analyzes the *K. fi Dhāt al-Ḥalḳ*, cf. Klamroth, 20 ff. The text of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī's Compendium, formerly known in Hebrew and Latin translations only, was recently discovered by G. Vajda, *RSO*, xxv, 8 (MS. Paris, Ar. 4821, 10). For the Latin translation see Carmody, 18.

f. Al-Ya'ḳūbī, i, 157 also mentions a book on the Astrolabe called *K. fi dhāt al-ṣafā'iḥ wa-hiya al-Asṭurlāb*, cf. Klamroth, 23 ff. and Steinschneider 215-216. For editions of the Latin translation see Carmody, 18, For Ptolemy's influence on Arabo-Spanish astrolabes see J. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'historia de les idees fisiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, 1931, ch. vi-vii.

3. Astrology.

a. Ἀποτελεσματικὴ σύνταξις or τετράβιβλος ed. and transl. into English by F. E. Roberts, 1940 (Loeb Class. Libr., together with Manetho), new edition by F. Boll & Ae. Boer, [2]1957, F 268: *K. al-Arba'a*, § 21: *K. al-Maḳālāt al-Arba'* (Barh. 123: *al-Arba' Maḳālāt*) *fi Aḥkām al-Nudjūm*, Latin translations Carmody, 18, Millás, ch. XXXVII, comm. by 'Alī b. Riḍwān, *ib.* ch. XXXIX. The quotations from it in Djābir's *k. al-baḥth* collected by Kraus, no. 2834 (168, n. 1). For Thābit's compendium cf. Honigmann, *Sieben Klimata*, 116.

b. Καρπός (*fructus* or *centiloquium*), not authentic. F 268: *k. al-Thamara*, the commentary by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Miṣrī al-muhandis (the biographer of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn) is also mentioned, cf. Brockelmann, I, 229. A new edition of the Greek text by Ae. Boer, 1952, Latin translations in Carmody, 16, Millás, ch. XXXVII-XXXVIII. For a and b see also Thorndike, *Journal of the Warb.* etc., and *Isis*, *loc. cit.* Ten aphorisms are quoted in Ps. Madjrīṭī's *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*), ed. Ritter, 1933, 323-324, Aḥmad's commentary on aph. 9 *in extenso* quoted there, 55. A new fragment has been discovered by P. Kraus in MS. Taimur, *Akhlāḳ*, 290, 14, cf. his *Dirāsāt*, I, 1939, 6.

c. The book on Comets quoted by F 268 as *k. Dhawāt Dhal-awā'ib*, cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, 218, no. 22. Carmody, who discusses the Latin translations (16-17), calls the text "an amplification of (*Centiloquium*) prop. 99".

d. On nativities, F 268: *K. al-Mawālīd*, quoted by Djābir, *K. al-Mawālīd al-Ṣaghīr*, cf. Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 258, n. 1, who does not believe the book to be genuine either.

e. Another pseudoepigraphic book, *K. al-Malḥama*, is known from numerous quotations in Yāḳūt's *Geographical Dictionary*, cf. the collection of place-names mentioned in it, and further literature in Honigmann, *Sieben Klimata*, 125-34. The meaning of *malḥama* is not quite clear, and the quotations do not furnish sufficient evidence as to the real character of the book.

f. Recently, a short text has been edited which refers to Ptolemy, namely, *Dhikr mā djā' fi 'l-nayrūz wa-aḥkāmhu mim-mā fasarahū Baṭlamiyūs al-ḥakīm wa-wadjadahū 'an 'ilm Dāniyāl* (!), ed. from İst. Murad Molla 338 by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, *Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt*, 5 (ii/1), 1373/1954, 45-48 (information from Mr. M. Schwarz of the Hebrew University Library). It discusses the significance of the week-day on which falls New Year.

g. A book on the images which rise in the 360 degrees of the celestial sphere named *Liber imaginum Ptolemaei* and the like, exists in Latin in many MSS. cf. Steinschneider, *Eur. Übs.*, no. 177c, Carmody, 20, Thorndike, *Journ. Warb. Court.*, 118. An Arabic text entitled *Risāla fi Ṣuwar al-Daradj* ascribed to Ptolemy is one of the sources of the *Safīnat al-Aḥkām* by a certain Ḥaḍrat al-Nuṣayrī, MSS Berlin Pet. I, 676 and Br. Mus. Add. 23,400 (the number in the Catalogue, 848, is distorted by Steinschneider, *Arab. Übs.*, Philos., 90 and General Index into 1348, Math., 217 into 843, and 353 into 874); but the identity of the Arabic and Latin texts has not yet been examined. For the meaning of the title cf. Boll, *Sphaera*, 426 ff.

h. The *Liber ad Heristhonem* or *Aristonem de iudiciis* (Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, 218, no. 11) has been analysed by Millás, 175, cf. also for similar texts ascribed to Ptolemy, Carmody, 17 and 20.

i. Messealach (= Mā shā' Allāh) et Ptholomeus *de electionibus*, printed Venice, 1509, cf. Steinschneider, *Eur. Übs.*, no. 164d, and *Arab. Lit. d. Juden*, 22, no. 26, has been tentatively identified by Carmody, 41 with a *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt*, MS. Esc. 919. Another MS. with the same title is quoted in Brockelmann, iii, 1205 ad i, 392; it exists in Alexandria, *ḥurūf*, 12. According to Thorndike, *The Latin Translations of*

astrological works by Messahala, in *Osiris*, xii, 1956, 69, the work is erroneously attributed to Mā shā' Allāh, and its author is Sahl b. Bishr. The Venice print is not mentioned by him, and consequently he does not make clear whether Ptolemy's book is supposed to be a different work or whether the print points to common authorship. The matter is still open for investigation.

4. Geography.

J. H. Kramers' account on the Arabic translations of the Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις and its influence on the geographical views of the Muslims (*EI*[1], Supplement, s.v. *Djughrāfiyā*) is by no means out of date, cf. also his contribution *Geography and Commerce* in *The Legacy of Islam*, 1931, 79-107. We refer the reader to the works quoted in those articles and to Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, para. 119, and Ruska's review of H. v. Mzik's publications, in *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 24, 77-81. For the translation made for Meḥmed Fātiḥ, the conqueror of Istanbul, preserved in MS. AS 2596, cf. Honigmann, 114; Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv, 1931, 547; Ritter, in *Isl.*, xix, 1931, 52 f., where another MS., AS 2610, is described too.

5. Harmonics.

For its influence on al-Fārābī's *K. al-Mūsīḳī al-Kabīr* cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 204, n. 2.

6. Optics.

The Arabic title given by Ṣ, 29 is *K. al-Manāẓir*, Latin translation listed by Carmody, 18. For its influence on Ibn al-Haytham see Steinschneider, *Ar. Übs.*, para 122.

7. Alia.

A book on the properties of stones, *K. Manāfiʿ al-Aḥdjār*, is contained in MS Paris 2772, cf. J. Ruska and W. Hartner, *Katalog der orientalischen und lateinischen Originalhandschriften, Abschriften und Photokopien des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin*, 1939, 78 (not in G. Vajda, *Index général*, 1953).

Bibliography: In the text, cf. also ʿAbdurraḥmān Badawi's introduction to his *Fontes Graecae (sic) doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, 1954: L. Thorndike, in *Isis*, 50, 1959, 33-50.

(M. PLESSNER)

BATMAN [see WAZN].

BAṬN, probably the Semitic word for "stomach", with the additional sense in Hebrew of "uterus", implied in Aramaic by the verb of the same root which means "to conceive", and in Arabic by expressions such as *dhū baṭniha* "fruit of her bowels", as well as by the use of the word to designate "a fraction of a tribe", explained as analogous to *raḥim*, *fakhidh* and an entire series as designations of a uterine relationship. The distinction between *awlād al-baṭn* "cognates" and *awlād al-ẓahr* "agnates" is still used in modern Arabic, according to the notations of Wetzstein for Damascus (see also *Arabica*, v, 1, 80-81: M. Canard's review of an article by Vinnikov). The interpretation of Arab philologists who place *baṭn* between *fakhidh* and *ḳabīla* in accordance with the order in which the parts of the body are enumerated, is to be rejected according to W. Robertson Smith (*Journal of Philology*, ix, 86) who believes that he has found for Hebr. *beṭen* that meaning of the Arab. *baṭn*, by an ingenious exegesis of Job 19, 17, where *beney biṭnī* baffled the commentators; it would correspond to the Ar. *bani baṭnī* (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*[2], 28). For a discussion of his theory cf. the articles ʿĀʾILA, ʿASHĪRA, ḲABĪLA, etc.

Used figuratively, *baṭn* "depression, basin" appears in geographical names (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 665 ff.), while in the sense of "interior" there are the derivations *bāṭin* and *bāṭiniyya* [*q.v.*], important in Islamology. (J. LECERF)

BAṬRĪḲ [see BIṬRĪḲ].

BATRŪN (or BATHRŪN), Graeco-Roman Bostrys and the Boutron of the Crusaders; a small town on the Lebanese coast, situated 56 kms. north of Bayrūt; it witnessed the passage of all the armies of conquest, covering as it does the Bayrūt-Ṭarābulus road to the south of the precipitous promontary of Rās Shakka (Theouprosôpon). According to a tradition cited by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii, 3, 52), it was apparently founded by Ithobaal, king of Tyre. In reality it is of much older origin and is mentioned in the Tell al-ʿAmarna letters (15th century B.C.) as a dependency of Byblos (Djubayl). At one time it was a nest of pirates, who were dealt with by Antiochus III Megas. To judge from the remains of a vast amphitheatre, the city, already famed for its vineyards, must have been of some consequence in Roman times. Like all the coastal towns, it was destroyed by the earthquake and tidal wave of 16 July 551.

In the period of the Crusades, Boutron was the seat of a bishopric depending on the county of Tripoli. It was a port where the Pisans enjoyed a number of privileges. For a long while the Provencal family of d'Agout were its lords. In 1271, following a quarrel among the Franks, the manor was razed by the Templars. Sulṭān Ḳalawūn took Batrūn in 1289 without difficulty. Under the Mamluks of Egypt, the town was attached to the *niyāba* of Ṭarābulus. In the 19th century the town enjoyed a certain prosperity due to sponge fishing which, however, today only occupies a few boats. The town now has a population of about 3,000, the majority of whom are Maronites.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 494 (Beirut ed. i, 338); Idrīsī, *Syrie* (Gildemeister) 17, (Jaubert) i, 356; Du Cagne, *Les Familles d'Outre-Mer*, 257-259; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 351-352; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce au Levant*, i, 321; Lammens, *La Syrie*, ii, 38; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 71; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, iii, 688, 745; ʿĀdil Ismāʿīl, *Histoire du Liban du XVII*e *siècle à nos jours*, i, 33, 114

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

AL-**BAṬṬĀL**, ʿABD ALLĀH, famous *ghāzī* of the Umayyad period who took part in several expeditions against the Byzantines. His surname means "brave", "hero", but has also a pejorative sense (cf. for example Ibn Ḥawḳal, 85; and the dictionaries). Concerning this person there is a comparatively meagre historical tradition, a pseudo-historical tradition and, moreover, an Arab romance *Sīrat Delhemma wa 'l-Baṭṭāl*, and related to it, a Turkish romance, *Sayyid Baṭṭāl*.

According to the early chroniclers (Al-Yaʿḳūbī, Al-Ṭabarī), al-Baṭṭāl does not appear before the year 109/727-28, during the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-125/724-43). Likewise the Byzantine historian Theophanes and the author of the Syriac chronicle, known as Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahré, only mention the year of his death, in 740. However a tradition already old, as it appears in the Persian recasting of al-Ṭabarī done by Balʿamī who wrote in 352/963, associates al-Baṭṭāl with Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in his famous expedition against Constantinople in 98/717. We are dealing with a largely legendary account and we cannot know whether it contains reliable historical elements.

Historically, al-Baṭṭāl at the head of the vanguard

of Muʿāwiya b. Hishām conquered Gangra in Paphlagonia in 109/728. In 113/731-32 he took part in the expedition in which another celebrated Umayyad *ghāzī* perished, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht. In 114/732-33, or 115, in the course of an invasion by Muʿāwiya b. Hishām of Phrygia in the region of Akroinon, he routed and captured a Byzantine leader called Constantine. There is no further mention of him before his death in 122/740. During that year several parts of Anatolia were attacked by the troops of Sulaymān b. Hishām. Al-Baṭṭāl's detachment, commanded by the governor of Malatia, Malik b. Shabīb (or Shuʿayb), was surprised and routed by the Emperor Leo III and his son Constantine near Akroinon. The two leaders perished, their survivors fleeing south towards Synnada where they managed to rejoin Sulaymān. The date of al-Baṭṭāl's death is nevertheless placed in 121, 123 or even in 113.

If the early chroniclers do not appear to have attached much importance to his person, his military exploits were celebrated early by popular tradition in various accounts and anecdotes. In the period of al-Masʿūdī, the first half of the 4th-10th century, he was known as one of the illustrious Muslims whose portrait the Byzantines had hung in their churches (*Murūdj*, viii, 74), beside that of the famous *amīr* of Melitene, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Akṭaʿ, defeated and killed in 249/863. It is not impossible that the legend of both developed shortly after that date, as an after-effect of the first Byzantine success. In Balʿamī's account of Maslama's expedition, al-Baṭṭāl is appointed to hold one gate of Constantinople open while Maslama entered the city alone on horseback, and to enter in force should anything befall Maslama. Al-Baṭṭāl is even associated with Maslama in the account of the siege of the Byzantine capital in the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn* (5th/11th or 6th/12th centuries), where one finds as well under the year 115 the romantic account of a single-handed combat by al-Baṭṭāl. The popular account of Maslama's expedition by the great Andalusian mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), related to that of Balʿamī, attributes also an important rôle to al-Baṭṭāl, commander of the contingents of Djazīra and Syria, chief of Maslama's scouts, and charged with the same mission before Constantinople as in Balʿamī's version.

In a long biographical notice going back to Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), a Syrian tradition reproduced more or less completely by various historians including Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Kathīr, one finds after a brief allusion to the rôle of al-Baṭṭāl in Maslama's expedition, romantic anecdotes of which certain reappear in the romance of al-Baṭṭāl. These are 1) al-Baṭṭāl the bogey: he appears one night in a Greek village where he hears a mother threaten her crying child with giving him to al-Baṭṭāl if he does not stop crying; 2) His entrance into a Greek convent: al-Baṭṭāl, weakened by violent abdominal pains, is led by his horse to a convent where he is given asylum. He escapes the investigations of a Byzantine patrician thanks to the abbess, follows him when he leaves, kills him, and returns to the convent where he takes captive all of the nuns and marries the abbess; 3) His entrance into Amorium by a ruse: separated from his companions he arrives at Amorium where he gains access to the patrician by pretending to be a messenger from the Emperor, and forces him to indicate the whereabouts of the Muslim army, which he rejoins; 4) His death on the battlefield where the Emperor Leo attends his last moments, looks after him and permits his burial by the Muslim prisoners.

The authors who report these anecdotes distinguish them from the "lies" of the *Sīrat Delhemma wa 'l-Baṭṭāl* (see below) of whose existence we know already during his period from the Jewish convert Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, who wrote in 565/1169-70.

The early authors say nothing of the origin of al-Baṭṭāl. According to later historians he came from Antioch (or from Damascus), lived in Antioch, and was a *mawlā* of the Umayyad house, as was his companion ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht, who also plays a major rôle in the *Sīrat Delhemma*. His *kunya* is sometimes Abu Muḥammad, sometimes Abu Yaḥyā, sometimes Abu 'l-Ḥuṣayn. His father's name is Ḥuṣayn or ʿAmr. On the origin of al-Baṭṭāl, such as it is given, whether in the *Sīrat Delhemma* or in the Turkish tradition of *Sayyid Baṭṭāl*, see the articles on these two romances.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 395; Ṭabarī, ii, 1559, 1561, 1716; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, trans. Zotenberg, iv, 239 ff.; *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, in *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ed. De Goeje, i, 28 ff., 90, 91, 100; Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*, in M. Schreiner *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Jud.*, N.F. VI (1898), 418; Ibn al-Athīr, (ed. Tornberg), v, 129, 132, 134, 186-87; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, MS. Paris 6132, fo. 126 r, 156 r, 160 r, ff.; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-Tawārikh*, MS. Paris 1587, fo. 152 v-153 r, 177 v-179 r; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār wa-Musāmarat al-Akhyār*, Cairo 1906, II, 223-233; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. F. Taeschner (*Bericht über Anatolien*), 1929, 64-66; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Cairo 1367, IV, 227, V, 26; Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Ms. Paris 1584, fo. 36 r; Dhahabī, *Kitāb Duwal al Islām*, Ḥaydarābād 1337, i, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, ix, 331-334; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *al-Nudjūm*, Cairo ed., i, 272, 274, 286; Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, Cairo 1305, 96; Ḳaramānī, *Akhbār al-Dawal*, in the margin of Ibn al-Athīr, Būlāḳ 1290, iv, 214-218; Ps.-Denys of Tell Mahré, trans. Chabot, under 1046/734-5, 25; Theophanes, A.M. 6231, ed. de Boor, 411; Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 87, 322; Le Strange, 152; Weil, *Chalifen*, i, 638-9; A. Lombard, *Constantin V*, 32; E. W. Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor*, in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xciii (1898), 194 ff., 198 ff.; M. Canard, *Les expéd. des Arabes contre Constantinople*, in *JA*, ccviii, 86 ff., 100 ff., 116 ff.; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hisham*, 1935, 87-91. (M. CANARD)

AL-BAṬṬĀL (SAYYID BAṬṬĀL GHĀZĪ), a champion of the Arabs in the wars against Byzantium in the Umayyad period, is transformed, in the Turkish romance devoted to his adventures, into a here of the ʿAbbāsid period. Al-Baṭṭāl thus became the contemporary of the *amīr* of Melitene, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Akṭaʿ (d. 249/863) and was incorporated into the epic cycle of Melitene. After the conquest of Melitene by the *amīr* Dānishmend in 495/1102, the Turks adopted the epic of Melitene, incorporating it in their own epic cycles and tracing their national heroes back to the legendary al-Baṭṭāl. It is a Turkicised Baṭṭāl ennobled by an ʿAlid connexion and answering to the name of Djaʿfar that we find in the Turkish version. The Turkish historians who used this epic romance as a historical source often took the legendary elements for historical facts and were even led to accept the chronology of the story. Thus Ewliyā Čelebī made

Baṭṭāl a contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd, whose reign he transferred to 248/859—the year in which he made him besiege Constantinople. The same anachronism exists in the Turkish version of al-Ṭabarī; it was made by an anonymous translator who introduced into his work accounts taken from the Turkish epic tradition.

Al-Baṭṭāl appears in two great epic romances: the Arabic romance of *Dhāt al-himma* (*Delhemma*) [see DHU 'L-HIMMA] and the Turkish romance of Sayyid Baṭṭāl. These two works, although related, were not subject to reciprocal influences; they probably both go back to an Arabic tradition concerning al-Baṭṭāl of which we possess no written trace, but whose existence is confirmed by two pieces of historical evidence of the 6th/12th century (cf. M. Canard, in *JA*, ccviii, 116; id., in *Byzantion*, xii, 186).

The Turkish romance. After their conquest of Anatolia, the Turks adopted as their own the local epic traditions celebrating the Arabo-Byzantine Wars. These accounts transformed by the addition of Turkish elements and Turkicised Persian elements", gave rise to a new Anatolian epic having as its subject the conquest of Asia Minor. The romance of Baṭṭāl is the prototype of this literature; however, from the first, elements of Turkish folklore crept in, containing events which took place in a fantastic world peopled with anthropophagous demons and supernatural beings, themes taken from Persian fairy stories or epic tales, popularisations of the *Shāh-nāma*", motifs from historical romances of heterodox ideology, such as the *Romance of Abū Muslim*, a work found all over the Turkish world. The Turkish romance of Baṭṭāl appears as a mosaic where the elements of different times and sources amalgamated. Among these elements, the book which recounts the insurrection and the capture of the heretic Bābak stands out from the rest of the work because of its historical basis, which is evident through the trappings of the legend. In this account, which takes place in the Caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (833-842), Baṭṭāl has been substituted for the real hero of the campaign, Afshīn, whose name was proscribed after his disgrace and death in 225/840. This book is probably one of the *Bābak-nāma*s whose existence we know about from Ibn al-Nadīm, and which is incorporated in the romance of Baṭṭāl.

Similarly in the *Delhemma* the Turkish romance contains reminiscences of the time of the First Crusade. It was probably composed during the 6th/12th century, or right at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, because the *Romance of Malik Dānishmend*, which celebrates the exploits of the first Turkish conqueror of Melitene and which was first written down in 643/1245, was conceived as a continuation of the romance of Baṭṭāl; some narrators of the Saldjūḳ period added a chapter in which they told how the tomb of the hero was discovered by the Saldjūḳs of Anatolia. There exists a version of the romance of Baṭṭal in verse, attributed to Baḳāʾī, in the reign of Muṣṭafā III (1757-1774). Independently of the epic cycle, the name of Baṭṭāl still lives on in numerous Anatolian legends and in particular in the hagiographical stories of the *ʿalawi* and *bektashī* sects [see NUṢAYRĪS, BEKTASHIYYA] who have adopted him as one of their heroes.

Bibliography: Ethé, *Die Fahrten des Sajjid Batthâl*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871; M. Canard, *Un Personnage de Roman Arabo-Byzantin*, in *Actes du IIème Congrès National des Sciences Historiques*, Algiers 1932 (see also articles quoted); H. Gregoire, *L'Epopée byzantine et ses rapports avec l'épopée turque*, in *Bull. CL. Lettres de l'ARB*, XVII, 1931, 463-481; Boratav, art. *Baṭṭal*, in *IA*, 1943 f. (see bibliography); Tahir Alangu, *Bizans ve Türk Kahramanlık Eposlarının çıkışı üzerine*, in *Türk Dili*, ii, Ankara 1953, 541-557.

(I. MELIKOFF)

AL-**BATTĀNĪ** (his full name is ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DJĀBIR B. SINĀN AL-BATTĀNĪ AL-ḤARRĀNĪ AL-ṢĀBIʾ), the Albategni or Albatenius of our mediaeval authors, one of the greatest of Arab astronomers, was born before 244 (858) very probably at Ḥarrān or in its neighbourhood; the origin of the *nisba* al-Battānī is quite uncertain. His family formerly professed the Sabian religion, whence the name al-Ṣābiʾ although our author was a Muslim. He spent almost his whole life at al-Raḳḳa on the left bank of the Euphrates, where several families from Ḥarrān had taken up their abode; from 264 (877) he devoted himself to astronomical observations which he regularly pursued for the rest of his life. Having had occasion to go on business to Baghdād he died on his return journey at Ḳaṣr al-Djiṣṣ, a little to the east of the Tigris and not for from Sāmarrā in 317 (929).

He wrote: 1. *Kitāb maʿrifat maṭāliʿ al-burūdj fī mā bayna arbāʿ al-falak*, "the book of the science of the ascensions of the signs of the zodiac in the spaces between the quadrants of the celestial sphere"; *i.e.*, of the ascensions of the points of the ecliptic which are not, at the given moment, one of the four "*awtād*" or pivots [see the article NUDJŪM]; it deals with the mathematical solution of the astrological problem of the "direction" of the significator. 2. *Risāla fī taḥḳīḳ aḳdār al-ittiṣālāt*, "a letter on the exact determination of the quantities of the astrological *applicationes*", *i.e.*, the rigorous trigonometrical solution of the astrological problem of the *proiectio radiorum* [see the article NUDJŪM] when the stars in question have latitude (*i.e.*, lie outside the ecliptic). 3. *Sharḥ al-maḳālāt al-arbaʿ li Baṭlamiyūs*, "commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabilon*". 4. *al-Zīdj*, "Astronomical treatise and tables", his principal work and the only one that has survived to us; it contains the results of his observations and had a considerable influence, not only on Arab astronomy but also on the development of astronomy and spherical trigonometry in Europe in the middle ages and beginning of the Renaissance. It was translated into Latin by Robertus Retinensis or Ketenensis (died at Pamplona in Spain after 1143 A. D.; the version is lost) and by Plato Tibastinus in the first half of the xiith century (an edition of the text without the mathematical tables was published at Nuremburg in 1537 and at Bologna in 1645). Alphonso X of Castile (1252-1282) had it translated directly from the Arabic into Spanish (incomplete MS. in Paris). Three insignificant astrological pamphlets, of which a Latin version exists in several manuscripts, which give their author's name as Bethem, Boetem, Bereni, Bareni, have been wrongly attributed to al-Battānī.

Al-Battānī determined with great accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the tropic year and of the seasons and the true and mean orbit of the sun, he definitely exploded the Ptolemaic dogma of the immobility of the solar apogee by demonstrating that it is subject to the precession of the equinoxes and that in consequence the equation of time is subject to a slow secular variation; he proved, contrary to Ptolemy, the

variation of the apparent angular diameter of the sun and the possibility of annular eclipses; he rectified several orbits of the moon and the planets; he propounded a new and very ingenious theory to determine the conditions of visibility of the new moon; he emended the Ptolemaic value of the precession of the equinoxes. His excellent observations of lunar and solar eclipses were used by Dunthorne in 1749 to determine the secular acceleration of motion of the moon. Finally he gave very neat solutions by means of orthographic projection for some problems of spherical trigonometry; solutions which were known to and in part imitated by the celebrated Regiomontanus (1436-1476).

Bibliography: al-Battānī sive Albatenii *Opus astronomicum ..... Arabice editum, Latine versum, adnotationibus instructum a C. A. Nallino*, Mediolani Insubrum, 1899-1907, 3 vols. in-4°. Regarding the misinterpretation of the text of al-Battānī, i, 31-2, by C. A. Nallino, see emendation proposed by J. Vernet and J. J. de Orus in *Transformación de coordenadas astronómicas entre los árabes*, in *Gaceta Matemática*, Ist. series, ii, no. 3, Madrid 1950, and also J. M. Millás, *Una nueva obra ostronómica alfonsí: El Tratado del cuadrante "sennero"*, in *al-And.*, xxi (1956), 65. On the influence exercised by al-Battānī's work on the Jew of Barcelona Abraham bar Ḥiyya (5th-6th/11th-12th century), see J. M. Millás, in *Actes du Congrès intern. des Orient.*, Leiden 1931, and *La obra "forma de la tierra" de R. Abraham bar Ḥiyya ha-Bargeloni*, Madrid-Barcelona 1956. (C. A. NALLINO)

BATU (in Arabic script BĀTŪ), a Mongol prince, the conqueror of Russia and founder of the Golden Horde (1227-1255), born in the early years of the 13th century, the second son of D̲j̲oči [see D̲J̲ŪČĪ]. During Čingiz-K̲h̲ān's lifetime D̲j̲oči, as his eldest son, had received as his *yurt* or appanage the territory stretching from the regions of Ḳayalïḳ and K̲h̲wārazm to Saḳsīn and Bulg̲h̲ār on the Volga "and as far in that direction as the hoof of Tartar horse had penetrated". The eastern part of this vast area, *i.e.*, Western Siberia, the present-day Kazak̲h̲stān and the lower basin of the Sīr-Daryā, passed upon D̲j̲oči's death in 624/1227 to his eldest son Orda, whilst to Batu fell the western part, *i.e.*, K̲h̲wārazm and the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳipčāḳ or Ḳïpčaḳ Steppe to the north and north-east of the Black Sea.

Of the first ten years of Batu's reign we know only that he was present at the *ḳuriltay* or assembly of the Mongol princes held in 626/1229 in Mongolia, at which Ögedey was elected Great K̲h̲ān, probably also at the *ḳuriltay* of 632/1235 at which it was decided to renew the war against the Russians and neighbouring peoples; he was never again in Eastern Asia. In the army which set out in the spring of 633/1236 there were also sons of Čag̲h̲atay, Ögedey and Toluy, but Batu was in supreme command. The Mongol forces are said to have reached the territory of the Volga Bulg̲h̲ārs by the autumn of the same year, but the destruction of the town of Bulg̲h̲ār does not seem to have taken place until the autumn of 635/1237, during which year the Mongols were engaged in operations against the Ḳïpčaḳ Turks in what is now Southern Russia. In Rabīʿ I-II 635/November 1237 they crossed the frozen Volga and attacked the Russian principalities, capturing city after city, until by Rad̲j̲ab-S̲h̲aʿbān 635/March 1238 the road lay open to Novgorod. The Mongols had approached within 65 miles of the town when they suddenly withdrew to the south, evidently fearing that the spring thaw would render the roads impassable. After a long period of rest in the lower Don basin and minor campaigns in the Caucasus in 636-7/1239, the war against Russia was resumed in 637-1/1240 in a campaign which ended with the fall of Kiev on the 6th of December of the same year. From the Ukraine simultaneous attacks were launched upon Poland and Hungary. Through Poland the Mongols penetrated into Silesia defeating Duke Henry the Pious at Liegnitz on the 25 Ramaḍān 638/9 April 1241 and then passed through Moravia to join the main army, which, led by Batu in person, had crossed the Carpathians into Hungary and inflicted a decisive defeat on the Hungarians at Mohi (27 Ramaḍān 638/11 April 1241). The combined Mongol forces passed the summer and autumn on the Hungarian plain; and on Christmas Day Batu in person crossed the frozen Danube to take the town of Esztergom. The last major operation was an expedition through Croatia and Dalmatia to the shores of the Adriatic in pursuit of Béla IV of Hungary. The armies were apparently poised for a general assault on Western Europe when news arrived of the death of the Great K̲h̲ān Ögedey (5 D̲j̲umādā II 639/11 December 1241), and Batu decided to withdraw his forces. Retiring by way of the Balkans he finally reached his encampments on the Lower Volga late in 1242.

It was now that Batu laid the foundations of the Golden Horde. Of the lands invaded in the years 635-9/1237-1241 only Russia had remained subject to the Mongols. As early as 639-40/1000-1242 Grand Duke Yaroslav I of Vladimir came to Batu's *ordu* to pledge his loyalty and was confirmed by the K̲h̲ān in his rank as "senior of all the princes of the Russian people"; in 1000/1245 Prince Daniel of Galicia had to be confirmed in the same way and do homage to Batu.

During this period Batu's attention was largely diverted to events in the East. Ögedey's eldest son Güyük, a personal enemy of Batu, had been raised to the throne in succession to his father at the *ḳuriltay* of 644/1246. Batu had been represented at the ceremony by five of his brothers, excusing his own absence, according to Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, on the ground of physical infirmities. Early in 1248 the new K̲h̲an left Ḳara-Ḳorum in a westerly direction. He gave it out, according to Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, that he was proceeding, for reasons of health, to his *yurt* on the Emil in what is now eastern Kazak̲h̲stān, but Toluy's widow suspected that his real intention was to attack Batu, to whom she accordingly sent a warning. Güyük died suddenly *en route* in a place called Ḳum-Sengir on the Upper Urungu, according to the *Yüan shih* in the third month (27th March-24th April) of 1248. D̲j̲uwaynī and Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn disagree as to Batu's whereabouts at the time of Güyük's death. According to D̲j̲uwaynī he was advancing eastwards to meet the K̲h̲ān, at the latter's invitation, when he received the news of his death in a place called Ala-Ḳamaḳ, a week's journey from Ḳayalïk, probably in the Alatau mountains to the south of the Ili. On the pretext that his horses were lean Batu summoned the princes to meet him in this place. On the other hand, according to Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, this meeting took place in Batu's own territory; and the sons of Ögedey, Čag̲h̲atay and Güyük are represented as refusing to make the long journey to the Ḳïpčaḳ Steppe.

The result of the meeting, wherever held, was that Möngke, the eldest son of Toluy, was, on Batu's

proposal, acclaimed as Great Khān in succession to Güyük; and it was decided that his enthronement should take place at a *ḳurilltay* in Mongolia in the following year. The ceremony did not in fact take place till the 9 Rabīʿ II 649/1 July 1251, Batu being represented by his brother Berke [*q.v.*]. A plot against the Great Khān was uncovered while the celebrations were still in progress; it was headed by certain princes of the Houses of Čaghatay and Ögedey, most of whom were punished by banishment to remote parts of the Empire. Yesü, the son and first successor of Čaghatay, and Büri, one of his grandsons, were handed over to Batu, by whose orders the latter, who appears to have been involved in Batu's quarrel with Güyük, was put to death.

The whole Empire was now in effect divided between Möngke and Batu. William of Rubruck quotes Möngke as saying in 651/1254: "As the sun sends its rays everywhere, likewise my sway and that of Baatu reach everywhere . . .". The boundary between their respective territories lay, according to Rubruck, in the steppes between the Talas and the Ču, and more respect was shown to Batu's people in Möngke's kingdom than *vice versa*. It is certain that Batu, both as the senior Čingizid and as the man to whom Möngke owed his throne, enjoyed very considerable prestige. Even in such lands as Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, which lay outside his ancestral territories, he exercised certain sovereign rights. Thus, according to Djuwaynī, he confirmed the son of Temür Malik, the defender of Khudjand, in the possession of his father's estate.

Rubruck tells us that Batu had twenty-six wives and Rashīd al-Dīn that he had four sons. In the latter years of his life he seems to have delegated some of his authority to his eldest son Sartaḳ, a Nestorian Christian: it was Sartaḳ who from 646-7/1249 onwards received the homage of the Russian princes. There is considerable divergence in the sources as to the date of Batu's death: it seems most likely that he died in 653/1255. From Rubruck's narrative it appears that towards the end of his reign he lived on the eastern bank of the Volga, ascending the river in the summer as far north as Lat. 52° and spending the winter near the mouth, where the town of Saray was founded by him at this period on the Akhtuba, a channel of the delta, 65 miles north of Astrakhān.

Batu, whom the Russians knew only as a cruel conqueror, was given by his Mongol contemporaries the epithet of *sain*, *i.e.*, "good" or perhaps "wise". He is praised as a just and sagacious ruler even by Djūzdjānī, a writer by no means prejudiced in the Mongols' favour. According to Djuwaynī, he "inclined towards no faith or religion" but recognised only "belief in God", *i.e.*, the worship of the Sky as practised by his ancestors.

Bibliography: Djuwaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958; Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣiri*, transl. H. G. Raverty, London, 1881; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djami el-Tévarikh*, ed. E. Blochet, Leiden 1911; Rubruck, *The Journey of William Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, transl. W. W. Rockhill, London 1900; C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, 4 vols. The Hague and Amsterdam 1834-5; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Vol. i, transl. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1956; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, Paris 1939, and *L'Empire Mongol (1er phase)*, Paris 1941; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943; G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, New Haven 1951.

(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BATUʾIDS, descendants of Batu [*q.v.*], a grandson of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*], the ruling house of the Golden Horde from 1236/40 until 1502.

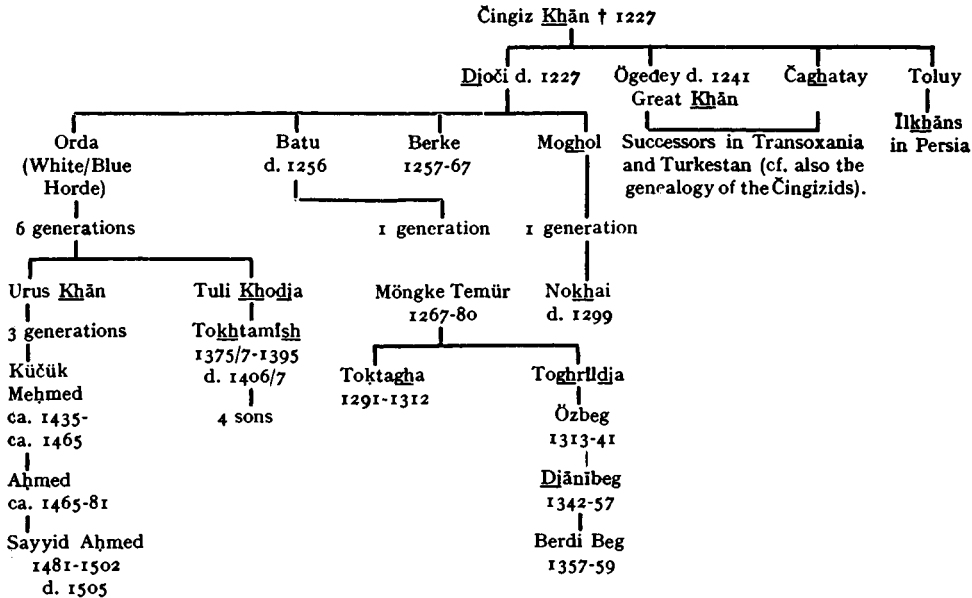
After a short-lived advance by Mongol troops in 1223-24 into what is today the Ukraine (Russian defeat on the Kalka in that year), Batu, the second son of Čingiz Khān's eldest son Djoči (who died early in 1227), succeeded in subjugating large parts of Russia in the years 1236-1241. Only the north west (with Novgorod as its centre), was spared, and—apart from occasional payments of tribute—it remained independent. Similarly, the Caucasus (together with Georgia; see Gurdjistān) was under Batuʾid suzerainty until about 1260 and Danube-Bulgaria until about 1310. Advances into Galicia, Moravia, Silesia and Hungary in 1241 had no lasting result.

Batu gave the Western Mongolian Empire, thus created, a centre in the towns of Old, and later New, Saray [*q.v.*] on the lower Volga, which quickly developed into important centres of commerce and had a very mixed population (including a Russian diocese in Saray from 1261). The most extensive Mongol settlements were to be found in this area and in the Crimea, becoming absorbed into the indigenous Turks as well as into part of the Finnish and Eastern Slav peoples. In this way, the new tribe of (Volga-) Tatars [*q.v.*] arose, speaking Turkish —also spoken by the population further to the north on the Volga, and particularly by a section of the Volga Bulgars [*q.v.*]. The structure of the population remained nomadic until about the middle of the 8th/14th century. It has been described most vividly by John of Plano Carpini (1245-46) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ([*q.v.*], 1333). The new state was called the "Golden Horde" by the Russians, and thus also in Europe—the corresponding Turkish *Altin Ordu* is a modern translation. (The name may possibly have been given because the ruler's tents were paved with golden tiles, or else because of a borrowing of ancient Central-Asian colour symbolism—compare *ḳara*). In eastern literature, the country is usually referred to as the Ḳipčaḳ Steppe. Orda, Batu's elder brother, founded a subordinate state in Western Siberia, which is sometimes referred to as the "Blue" or the "White Horde". It was under the sovereignty of the Golden Horde, but hardly anything is known of its history.

Batu was very much taken up with the affairs of the whole Mongol Empire, but refrained from accepting the title of Great Khān. He died in 1255-56. His brother and successor Berke (1257-67) was the first Mongol prince to become a Muslim (Sunnī), and thereby he began the incorporation of the Tatars into Islam. By this action he distinguished them particularly (in contrast to their tribal brothers in Iran, China and Central Asia) from their subjects, the Orthodox Russians. A complete amalgamation of these two peoples has in consequence (hitherto) proved impossible. Berke made a treaty with the Mamlūk rulers in Egypt, which was primarily directed against the Mongol Īlkhāns [*q.v.*] in Iran, who were Shamanists or Buddhists and who had already roused Berke's bitter hostility by their fight against the Caliphate in 1258. This treaty greatly influenced the politics of the Golden Horde for the following decades, and there were frequent struggles with the Īlkhāns—especially in the Caucasus and on Lake Aral. During this process, the Caucasus came under

the influence of the Īlkhāns. This political treaty was followed by a lively commerce with Egypt (many of the Mamlūk slaves came from the Golden Horde). This commerce depended on the continued good will of the East Roman Emperor (a Paleologus from 1261) and therefore required agreements with him. There were also connexions with the Saldjūks of Rūm [*q.v.*]. As a result of all this, it was possible for Islamic—especially Turkish (Saldjūk and Mamlūk)—cultural influences to reach the Golden Horde. As a result of excavations, we are fairly well informed about the art and implements of the Volga-region (see particularly F. A. Balodis: *Alt- und Neu-Sarai, die Hauptstädte der Goldenen Horde*, in *Latvijas Universitātes raksti*, xiii, Riga 1926, 3-82). In Russia the Tatars confined themselves largely to raising tribute through *Baskaks*, and to recognising certain lesser princes, whose mutual quarrels were their best into Sunnī-Islamic culture of a particular type found in Asia Minor, which was particularly active in the Crimea. The new tribe of Özbegs [*q.v.*] named after Özbeg, also came under its influence.

Western attempts at Christianisation at that time (in particular under Pope John XXII) proved to be of no avail, and religious wars (such as were fought in Persia) did not affect the Golden Horde. Certain centres resulting from these attempts, however, survived for some time; among these were the Genoese colonies (which began in 1265) (cf. KAFFA) in the Crimea [*q.v.*]. These were also commercially active, as middlemen in the supply of cloth from Flanders, ceramics, and jewellery to the Horde. Fur, fish and grain were the main articles exported in return.

The attempts made by both Djānībeg Khān (1341-57), Özbeg's son, and Berdibeg Khan (1357-59),

protection. The Russian Orthodox Church, to which the Tatars had granted certain privileges, was able to maintain its unity before these minor princes, and thus became the embodiment of Russian thought in general.

The death of Berke did not altogether put an end to Islamic influence, although to begin with all his successors were again Shamanists. The strength of the state was impaired through civil wars against the rising Prince Nokhai, a successful general in Poland (1259, 1286) and the Caucasus (1261, 1263), until Nokhai's death in battle in 1299 (cf. NOGAI). In the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the political position changed, as the dealings between the Īlkhāns (who were by then Muslims) and Egypt grew smoother. In the year 1323 a formal peace-treaty was signed. This reduced the commercial connexions between the Golden Horde and Egypt. The collapse of the Īlkhānid Empire in 1335 brought the Golden Horde, under Özbeg Khān (1313-1341), once more into a position of great importance. A Muslim himself, he definitively strengthened the position of Islam on the Volga, and thenceforth all the Khāns adhered to that religion. The greater part of the Volga-Tatars was now also more and more drawn

his grandson, to conquer Ādharbaydjān in 1356-59 miscarried. It is possible that their aim was to bypass the Dardanelles, which had been in the hands of the Ottoman Turks since 1354, and to gain access to the Mediterranean through Syria. As this could not be achieved, the Golden Horde henceforth became an Eastern European continental power, thus more and more at the mercy of the rising Great Powers of Poland-Lithuania and Russia (Muscovy). This development was accelerated by the internal disintegration caused by the conflict between innumerable pretenders (from 1359), thanks to which a Russian army was able to gain a victory over the Tatar armies (under Mamay) for the first time, on the Field of Snipe (Kulikovo Pole) on the Don in 1380. Thus the Grand-Duchy of Muscovy—which the Golden Horde had finally charged with the collecting of tribute in 1328, and in which the title of Grand Duke had become hereditary—established itself as a new power and as a 'Collector of all Russian Lands'.

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, Tokhtamīsh [*q.v.*] of the "White Horde" attempted to unite the whole empire once more, but he was opposed by Tīmūr, who defeated him in 1391, and in

1395 forced him to flee, and destroyed Saray. General Edigü (Russian: Yedigey) emerged as the true ruler of the Golden Horde. He had succeeded in holding his own and in checking the Lithuanian expansion through his victory on the Vorskla in 1399. He succeeded in guarding the independence of the state until his death in 1419. After this, the final disintegration started in earnest, and it was speeded by the formation of independent Khānates in Ḳazan [*q.v.*], Astrakhān [*q.v.*] and in the Crimea in 1438 (see GIRAY). The remainder, now generally referred to as the "Great Horde", could only hold its own in the region east of Kiev by treaties with Muscovy and (from 1466) with Poland-Lithuania, and in 1480 it was able once more to threaten Moscow. In 1502, the "Great Horde" was finally beaten; deserted by its allies, outlawed by the Ottoman sultan (who had been Protector of the Crimea—its main enemy—since 1475), it was vanquished by Crimea and Muscovy. The Khānates of Ḳazan, Astrakhān and Siberia also met their doom in the 16th century. The only remaining one was the Crimea, which survived until 1783.

The Golden Horde is the only state which has ever actually subjugated Russia (and from the east at that). The "Tatar yoke", which lasted for 2½ centuries, forms an important period in the history of Russia as well as in that of Poland-Lithuania, and resulted in the settlement of Turkish tribes on the Volga and in western Siberia. Even today, scattered Tatar remnants can still be found there, and the decisive element in their survival was their Islamic faith.

The cultural influence of the Tatars on the Russians can be traced for centuries in certain aspects of the administration, the army, ceremonial, and in the relationship between ruler and subject as well as in vocabulary, and in certain respects it makes itself felt even today. Furthermore, the fight of the Czars against the "Infidel" decisively shaped the political and popular consciousness of the Russians and of the eastern Slavs in general (concerning this cf. also TATARS").

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BATUMI (BATUM), port in Soviet Transcaucasia on the Black Sea, capital of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjaristān, built on the site of an old Roman port, Bathys, constructed in the reign of Hadrian and later deserted for the Byzantine fortress of Petra, founded under Justinian on the site of the present Tzikhis-Tziri to the north of Batumi.

A former possession of the Laz kingdom, the region of Batumi (the Adjar district) was occupied briefly by the Arabs who did not hold it; in the 9th century it formed part of the principality of Taoklardjeti, and at the end of the 10th century of the United Kindgom of Georgia which succeeded it. From 1010 it was governed by the *eristav* of the king of Georgia. In the 8th/14th century, after the disintegration of the United Kingdom of Georgia, Batumi passed to the princes (*mtavar*) of Guria.

In the 9th/15th century, in the reign of the *mtavar* Kakhaber Gurieli, the Ottoman Turks occupied the town and district of Batumi, but did not hold them. They returned in force a century later after the decisive defeat which they inflicted on the Georgian and Immeretian armies at Sokhoista. Batumi was recaptured, first by the *mtavar* Rostima Gurieli in 1564, who lost it soon afterwards, and again in 1609 by Mamia Gurieli. From 1627 Batumi was part of the Ottoman Empire.

With the Turkish conquest the islamisation of the Adjar region, hitherto Christian, began. It was completed by the end of the 18th century.

Under the Turks, Batumi, a large fortified town (2,000 inhabitants in 1807 and more than 5,000 in 1877) was already an active port, the principle centre of the Transcaucasian slave-trade.

Ceded to Russia by the treaty of San Stefano and occupied by the Russians on 28 August 1878, the town was declared a free port until 1886. The Adjar region at first constituted a self-governing administrative unit; on 12 June 1883 it was annexed to the government of Kutais. Finally on 1 June 1903, with the *Okrug* of Artvin, it was established as the region (*oblast'*) of Batumi placed under the direct control of the General Government of Georgia.

The expansion of Batumi began in 1883 with the construction of the Batumi-Tiflis-Baku railway completed in 1900 by the finishing of the Baku-Batumi pipe-line. Henceforth Batumi became the chief Russian oil port in the Black Sea. The town expanded to an extraordinary extent and the population increased very rapidly: 8,671 inhabitants in 1882, 12,000 in 1889, 45,382 in 1926.

The population of the town is cosmopolitan; the Muslims (Adjars, Laz and Turks) are only a minority in comparison with the Russians, Greeks, Armenians and Georgians, but the region remains purely Muslim. In 1911 the *oblast'* totalled 170,377 people, of whom 70,918 were Adjars and 58,912 other Muslims (Laz, Turks, Kurds, etc).

In April 1918, Batumi was occupied by the Turks; they were succeeded in the following spring by the British, who evacuated it in June 1919. After the fall of the Georgian Republic, the treaty of 16th March 1921, between the R.S.F.S.R. and Turkey, gave the regions of Kars and Ardagan back to Turkey, but left Batumi to the Russians. The Soviet régime was proclaimed on 18 March 1921 and, on 16th June in the same year, the region was established as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjaristān, with its capital at Batumi, dependent on the RSS of Georgia.

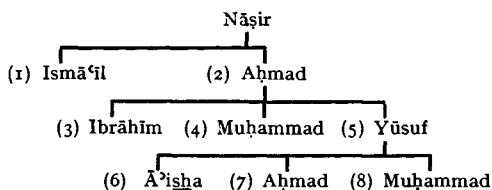
The Adjars constitute the largest community, and in 1926 they were still considered as a separate nationality from the Georgians and were registered in a separate census. They numbered at that time 71,390 people, all Muslims (Ḥanafī Sunnīs), speaking the Gurian dialect, which has a vocabulary strongly influenced by Turkish and Arabic. Their material culture (the *čadra* worn by the women, for example) was close to that of the Turks and bilingualism (the Gurian dialect and Turkish) was still a wide-spread phenomenon.

At the time of the census of 1939, the Adjars, considered from then on as a simple, ethnical group of the Georgian nation, were registered as Georgians.

Batumi is at the present time a large oil port, the outlet for the Baku pipe-line (refineries) and quite an important industrial centre with factories producing preserved foods and machine tools. As the beginning of 1956 its population reached 77,000, of whom only a minority were Muslims.

The autonomous Adjar Republic (area 3,017 sq. km.) comprised 238,000 inhabitants in 1956, of whom the majority were Muslims; Adjars and Laz in the valley of Čorukh (about 2,000), Kurds (3,000 nomads in 1926 in the high valley of Adjaris-Tzkali) and a colony of Abkhaz (5,000 in 1926) near Batumi.

Bibliography: P-ce Massal'skiy, *Očerk Batumskoy oblasti*, in *Izv. Ross. Imp. Geogr. obshč*, 1886; *Sbornik Svedeniy o Kutaisskoy Gubernii*, iii, Kutais, 1886; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entziklopediya*², iv, 309-312 (*Batumi*), and i, 399-406 (*Adjarskaya Avtonomnaya Respublika*); Moeddin Surmanidze, *Sovetskiy Adjaristan*, in *Noviy Vostok*, nos. 20-21/1928; I. Djavakhishvili, *Histoire du peuple Georgien*, i-iv, Tiflis 1928-1943; *XX let Adjarskoy ASSR*, Batumi 1941; V. D. Čanturija, *Očerki po istorii prosveshčenija v Adjarii*, Batumi 1940; D. Bakradze, *Kratkiy očerk Gurii, Čürük-su i Adjarii*, in *Izvestiya Kavkazskogo Otdela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshč.*, Tiflis 1874, ii, no. 5, Şinasi Altundağ, *Osmanlı Idaresi ve Gürcüler*, *AÜDTC Fak. Derg.*, 1952, 78-90. (Ch. Quelquejay)

AL-BĀʿŪNĪ. This *nisba* relates either to the village of Bāʿūn (or Bāʿūna) in Ḥawrān or to the village of the same name near Mosul. It is usually associated with a particular family descended from one Nāṣir b. Khalīfa b. Faradj al-Nāṣirī al-Bāʿūnī al-Shāfiʿī who started life as a weaver in the former village and left it about 750/1349 to settle in Nazareth (Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* etc., Cairo 1353/1934, ii, 232). The following table represents Nāṣir's descendants.

(1) Little is known about him except that he became a Ṣūfī, and deputy *ḳāḍī* at Nazareth, engaged in commerce and attained prominence (*loc. cit.* 308).

(2) Born in Nazareth *c.* 751/1350; he became *khaṭīb* of the Umayyad mosque and *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, *khaṭīb* of the Aḳṣā mosque in Jerusalem and (for two months) *ḳāḍī* of Egypt. He wrote on *tafsīr*, composed a poem on dogma called *al-ʿaḳīda*, and was an impressive preacher, though he had little *fiḳh*. For his *takhmīs* of a poem by Ibn Zurayḳ (c. 420/1029) cf. Brockelmann I 82, S I 133. As *ḳāḍī* he showed administrative competence and integrity, refusing sultan Barḳūḳ a loan out of *awḳāf* funds, an action which caused his momentary humiliation and imprisonment. He died in Damascus in 816/1413 (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 118; *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 231; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 267, 306, 314, 439).

(3) Born in Safed in 777/1375, he studied in Damascus and Cairo. He deputised for his father as *ḳāḍī* of Damascus where he became *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad mosque. He also became *khaṭīb* at the Aḳṣā mosque and *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn* in Jerusalem at which atter post he showed considerable ability. His literary virtuosity is displayed in a treatise in which he employed only words without diacritical points and in a *taḍmīn* of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*. His reputation was great, earning him the title of *shaykh al-adab fi 'l-diyār al-shāmiyya*, and one of his innumerable pupils was the biographer Sakhāwī. He died in Damascus in 870/1464-5 (*Shadharāt*, vii, 309; *Ḍawʾ*, i, 26; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-ʿIḳyān fī Aʿyān al-Aʿyān*, ed. Hitti, New York 1927, 13; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 808).

(4) Born in Damascus in 780/1378, he became *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad mosque and was appointed *nāẓir* [perhaps of the *awḳāf* of] *al-asrā wa 'l-aswār*. His works (for which cf. Brockelmann II 41, S II 38) include a verse summary of Islamic history down to the reign of Barsbāy (*Muḳtaraf*, 1908). His later years he spent in prayer and contemplation. He died in Damascus in 871/1466 (*Shadharāt*, vii, 310; *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 114; ʿUlaymī *al-Uns al-Djalīl*, etc., Cairo 1283/1866, ii, 482).

(5) Born in Jerusalem in 805/1402, he studied in Damascus, Hebron, Ramla and Cairo and became *ḳāḍī* in Safed, Tripoli, Aleppo and Damascus. In Damascus he reorganised the administration of the *māristān* of Nūr al-Dīn, expanded its *awḳāf* and added new sections to the building which were called after him (*Ḍawʾ*, x, 298). His literary output (which included the versification of Nawawī's *Minhādj*) was small although he had great facility in both verse and prose. He led a life of asceticism and piety and died in Damascus in 880/1475 (*Shadharāt*, vii, 330; *Naẓm al-ʿIḳyān*, 178; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 223, 856, 808).

(6) Born in Damascus, she grew up as a precocious child, learning the Ḳurʾān by rote at the age of eight. In her the literary talents and Ṣūfī tendencies of her family reached full fruition. She likewise inherited an independence of mind and outlook which is seen in her companionship with her men contemporaries on equal terms. In Cairo she was granted certificates authorising her to lecture and give *fatwās*. A great friend of hers was Abu 'l-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd b. Ādjā, the last *ṣāḥib dawāwīn al-inshāʾ* under the Mamlūks (whom she praised in a *rāʾiyya* quoted by Ghazzī in *al-Kawākib al-Sāʾira* etc. ed. Djabbur, Beirut 1945, i, 304). She carried on a correspondence in verse with the Egyptian scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿAbbāsī (For selections of which cf. *op. cit.*, i, 288) and met Sultan Ghūrī in Aleppo in 922/1516.

Perhaps her most famous work is her *badīʿiyya* in praise of the Prophet entitled *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn* (Brockelmann, II 349 no. 1), to which she wrote a commentary, thus following the practice first set by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] though she was probably more immediately under Ibn Ḥidjdja's influence. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al Nābulusī [*q.v.*] read and admired (though not uncritically) an autograph copy of her *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn* and was no doubt inspired by it to write his own *badīʿiyya*, *Nasamāt al-Azhār* etc. in his commentary on which (*Nafaḥāt al-Asḥār* etc., Cairo 1299/1881) he makes a continuous comparison with the corresponding lines in *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn*. Both *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn* and ʿĀʾisha's commentary on it are published in the margin of Ibn Hidjdja's *Khizānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1304/1915, 310-467. Her original works also include *Kitāb al-Malāmiḥ al-Sharīfa wa 'l-Āthār al-Munīfa*, and *al-Fatḥ al-Ḥanafī*, both on Ṣūfī themes (*Kawākib*, i, 288). Her *Mawlid al-Nabī* (Brockelmann S II 381, no. 14) is partly prose and partly verse and was published in Cairo in 1301/1883

and 1310/1892 (Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam* 1928, 519).

She also versified Suyūṭī's *al-Muʿdjizāt wa 'l-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Nabawiyya* (Brockelmann S II 181₂₅₀); and in an *urdjūza*, entitled *al-Ishārāt al-Khafiyya fi 'l-Manāzil al-ʿAliyya* (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, i, 96) abridged Harawī's Ṣūfī manual *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*. In another *urdjūza* she abridged Sakhāwī's *al-Ḳawl al-Badīʿ fi 'l-Ṣalāt ʿalā al-Ḥabīb* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1362). She was married and had at least one son. She died in Damascus in 922/1516 (*Shadharāt* viii, 111; Ziriklī *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1927, ii, 458).

(7) and (8) were not particularly prominent though both produced some poetry, the latter mostly in the form of verse summaries of the reigns of Mamlūk sultans. The former died in 910/1505 the latter in 916/1510 (*Shadharāt*, viii, 48; *Kawākib*, i, 73, 147; and cf. Brockelmann II 66, S II 53 for Muḥammad's work).

After (8) Nāṣir's line seems to pass out of history for there is no reference to it in Muḥibbī's *Khulāṣa*.

(W. A. S. KHALIDI)

BĀWAND, (Persian Bāwend), an Iranian dynasty which ruled in Ṭabaristān for over 700 years (45-750/665-1349). The centre of the dynasty was the mountainous area, although they frequently ruled the lowlands south of the Caspian Sea. The name is traced back to an ancestor Bāw who was either 1) named Ispahbad of Ṭabaristān by Khusraw Parwīz (Rabino, 411), or 2) a prominent Magian of Rayy (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 128, where an etymology of the name is also given). The several rulers of the Bāwand dynasty were called *iṣpahbad* or *malik al-djibāl*, and they were usually independent, though sometimes tributary to caliphs or sultans.

The dynasty can be divided into three branches: 1) the Kayūsiyya, which ruled 45-397/665-1006, when the *iṣpahbad* Shahriyār revolted against Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr, was captured and later put to death; 2) the Ispahbadiyya, who ruled 466-606/1073-1210, when Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh invaded Ṭabaristān; 3) the Kīnakhwāriyya (635-750/1237-1349), when the last ruler Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan was assassinated.

The first branch took its name from Kayūs b. Ḳubād the Sāsānid, possibly the grandfather of Bāw. The early history of the family is uncertain. The ninth ruler Ḳārin b. Shahriyār accepted Islam in 240/854 and was called Abu 'l-Mulūk. The family lost its power after 397/1006 but several princes continued to rule in localities in the mountains. One of them, Muḥammad b. Wandarīn, had a mausoleum erected in 1021, known as the Mīl-i Rādkān (cf. E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918).

The second branch had their capital in Sārī, ruling over Gīlān, Rayy and Ḳūmis as well as Ṭabaristān, and were vassals of the Saldjūḳs, then of the Khwārazmshāhs. Towards the end of their rule the Ismāʿīlīs spread in Ṭabaristān and obtained power at the expense of the Bāwand dynasty. Finally the Khwārazmshāh assumed the rule when Shams al-Mulūk Rustam Bāwand was assassinated.

After the Mongol invasion there was anarchy in Ṭabaristān, and finally a member of the Bāwand family, Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr b. Kīnakhwār was chosen ruler by the people. He moved his capital from Sārī to Āmul for safety's sake. Under his rule (12 or 15 years) the Mongols invaded Ṭabaristān. His son, Shams al-Mulūk, was put to death in 663/1264 by Abaḳā Khān after ruling 18 years. This dynasty ruled as vassals of the Mongols but they suffered nonetheless from Mongol invasions and depredations.

In 750/1349 Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan, last of the Bāwand family, was assassinated by members of the prominent family of Kiyā.

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BĀWARD [see ABĪWARD].

BAWĀZĪDJ, of Bawāzīdj al-Malik, in ʿAbbāsid times a town in the province of Mosul on the right bank of the Lesser Zāb, not far from its mouth.

The name is the Syriac Bēth Wāzīḳ, "the house of the toll-collector". As the Sāsānid name, there appears occasionally Khunyā-Sābur "Shāpūr's song", after the usual style of the poetical names of towns common in the Sāsānid period. In the older geographers and historians the place is only briefly mentioned along with Takrīt, Ṭīrhān and Sinn. Some one with an accurate knowledge of the town has, however interpolated a detailed description in the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 169, note 9). The place was notorious in the middle ages as the abode of the Khāridjites—the inhabitants say they are descended from the troops of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—and as a nest of robbers. The town lived by receiving goods stolen by the Banū Shaybān Bedouins from caravans. Yāḳūt however also mentions some scholars who were born in Bawāzīdj. A portion of its inhabitants must have been Christian; the miracle-working bones of a Syrian martyr Bābōye were there. There was occasionally a Jacobite bishop of Bēth Remmān (*i.e.*, the village of Bārimmā) and Bēth Wāziḳ, or a Nestorian of Shennā (*i.e.*, Sinn) and Bēth Wāzīḳ.

The ruins of the town have not yet been discovered.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 94; Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. de Goeje), 169, note g; Bakrī, 183; Yāḳūt, *s.v.*; G. Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, 189; cf. his note on De Goeje, Ibn Khurradādhbih, translation, 68; E. Herzfeld, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie* etc. in *Memmon*, i, 1907, 1 and 2; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet* (1910-11), chap. iii; Le Strange, 91 and 98. (E. HERZFELD)

BAY (BEY), name applied to the ruler of Tunisia until 26 July 1957, when the Bey Lamine (al-Amīn), 19th ruler of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, was deposed and a Republic proclaimed in Tunisia.

To discover the origin of this title, we must go back to the end of the 16th century. It was at that time that the Bey ʿUthmān created the Office of Bey (in Turkish: *beg*), without consulting the Porte, whose vassal he was. He entrusted the holder of the office with command of the tribes, the maintenance of public order and the collection of taxes. Equipped with these extensive powers, the Bey soon became the most important man in the country. This was the title which the Agha of the soldiery, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, subsequently assumed upon receiving the investiture at Tunis on 10 July 1705.

It was only later that the order of succession to the throne was regulated by a Charter included in the

Tunisian Constitution of 26 April 1861, article I of which decreed: "Succession to the throne is hereditary among the princes of the Ḥusaynid family, by order of age, according to the rules in use in the Kingdom". This was in fact the codification of a traditional rule which, with two exceptions, was adhered to in regard to accession to the throne of Tunisia from the founding of the dynasty.

The enthronement of the sovereign was accompanied by a dual ceremony, the first private, in which the great men of the Kingdom and intimates participated, the second public, open to the broad mass of subjects. This recalled the old dual ceremony of doing homage (*al-bayʿa al-k͟hāṣṣa* and *al-bayʿa al-ʿāmma*). As a result of the establishment of the Protectorate, the representative of France in Tunisia became associated with the ceremony of the enthronement of the Bey, bestowing on the new Bey the "solemn investiture" in the name of the protecting Power.

Articles 3 and 4 of the Decree of 26 April 1861 stated: "The Bey is the head of the State. At the same time, he is the head of the ruling family. He has full authority over the princes and princesses of his family, none of whom may dispose either of their persons or of their property without his prior consent. He exercises a paternal authority over them and is obliged to give them the benefits of such. Members of the family owe him filial obedience."

The titles borne by the Bey contained a number of expressions expressly designating his sovereign function. In official documents his appellation was: *Sayyidunā wa-mawlānā ..., Bas͟ha Bay, ṣāḥib al-mamlaka al-tūnusiyya* (= Our Lord and Master ..., Pas͟ha Bey, possessor of the Kingdom of Tunis". This old style, in part dating back to the Ḥafṣids and partly to the middle of the 18th century, was augmented by a new element, namely *Mus͟hīr* (Marshal), bestowed by the Porte about the year 1839, which however was only borne by three Beys. Unlike the Ḥafṣid styles, however, no titles (*alḳāb*) of a personal character occur.

Among the special insignia of sovereignty, mention must be made, in addition to the dynastic throne, of the ceremonial costume worn by the Bey on solemn occasions. These material attributes were enhanced by the kissing of hands encumbent on Tunisian subjects, and other marks of royalty. The Bey had a civil list, a guard of honour (the Bey's Guard), a standard, bestowed decorations (*Nis͟hān al-dam, ʿAhd al-amān, Nis͟hān al-iftik͟hār*) and honorary military ranks. Finally, each Thursday there took place the Ceremony of the Seal, at which the Bey applied his seal to governmental decisions in the form of a decree, thus giving them executive force.

The heir apparent bore the title of Bey of the Camp (*bay al-amḥāl*). This title originated in the duty incumbent on the heir apparent to proceed twice a year at the head of a military expedition to the south and north of the country both to assert the authority of the central government and to overawe tribes who might refuse to pay their taxes. The Bey of the Camp was head of the army by virtue of this institution, but it disappeared with the advent of the Protectorate. (CH. SAMARAN)

BAYʿ (A). Two roots are used in Arabic to designate the contract of sale: *b-y-ʿ* and *s͟h-r-y*; in the first verbal form both usually mean "to sell", but also "to buy", in the eighth form exclusively "to buy"; the function of expressing both sides of a mutual relationship is shared by these two roots with a number of other old legal terms. *Bayʿ* originally means the clasping of hands on concluding an agreement, *s͟h-r-y* perhaps the busy activity of the market. In the technical usage of Islamic law, the normal term for selling is *bāʿa*, for the contract of sale, the infinitive *bayʿ*, and for buying, *ibtāʿa*, or *is͟htarā*. The frequent use of *s͟harā* for a profitable and of *is͟htarā* for an unprofitable transaction (in the metaphorical sense) in the Ḳurʾān is parallel to that of *kasaba* "to be credited" and *iktasaba* "to be debited" (cf. Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 30 f.).

Commercial law in pre-Islamic Mecca had undoubtedly reached a certain level of development; the trade on which alone the existence of the town depended, occupied such a predominant place there that the Ḳurʾān not only referred to it often but used a number of technical terms of commerce to express religious ideas. (On the other hand, the importance of the Meccan trade in absolute terms ought not to be overestimated; cf. G.-H. Bousquet, in *Hesp.*, 1954, 233 f., 238 ff.). To this body of ancient Arab commercial law can be traced the *ribā* contracts which the Ḳurʾān was to prohibit, certain dealings involving credit and speculation, and possibly the *k͟hiyār al-mad͟jlis*, a special right of option, which seems to go back to a local Meccan custom (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 159 ff.); to all appearance the legal construction of the contract as being constituted by offer (*id͟jāb*) and acceptance (*ḳabūl*), as well as part of the terminology of Islamic law and, perhaps, some of its legal maxims, belong to this pre-Islamic stratum; the term *id͟jāb* itself seems to reflect another, unilateral, construction of the contract (cf. Schacht, in *OLZ*, 1927, 664 ff.). The Ḳurʾān directly envisages commercial law in the general exhortations to give full weight and measure and to carry out agreements, in the specific demand that forward deals should be put in writing (Sūra ii, 282 f.; in the system of Islamic law this injunction has been deprived of its binding character), and above all in the two prohibitions of interest (*ribā*) and of games of chance (*maysir*), which include aleatory transactions (Sūra ii, 219, 275 f.; v, 90 f.); in contrast with the attitude of the contemporaries, *bayʿ*, i.e. legitimate trade, is sharply opposed to *ribā*. The implications of these prohibitions have been worked out to their last details in Islamic law. Tradition contains a certain number of teachings regarding commerce in general and the duties of the good and the punishment of the wicked merchant (see TID͟JĀRA); it also elaborates the teachings of the Ḳurʾān. As legal principles which now appear for the first time may be mentioned: the recognition of the right of withdrawal (*k͟hiyār*), unconditional during the negotiation, and under certain conditions either agreed or fixed by law after the agreement has been made; the legal maxim *al-k͟harād͟j bi ʾl-ḍamān* ("profit goes where the responsibility lies"); the rule that the produce in existence at the moment of sale belongs to the vendor, unless the contrary is stipulated; the prohibition of a sale the object of which cannot be exactly defined (in the case of a sale of ripe fruits on a tree etc., the main group of traditions is satisfied with an estimate); the prohibition of a re-sale of foodstuffs or of marchandise in general before possession has been taken (a consequence of the prohibition of *ribā*), or in general of the sale of things which are not already the property of the vendor; the exclusion of certain things from commerce, ritually impure or forbidden as well as things which, like surplus water, are common property; finally,

the special treatment, diverging from the general rule, of the case in which the vendor of a milking animal, in order to suggest a greater yield, does not milk it before the sale. The question whether nascent Islamic commercial law was influenced by the law and economic life of the peoples incorporated in the Muslim empire, has been much discussed in the past but can now be definitely answered in the affirmative (cf. Schacht, in *XII Convegno "Volta"*, Rome 1957, 197 ff., and the literature mentioned there).

The contract of sale forms the core of the Islamic law of obligations. Its categories have been developed in most detail with regard to the contract of sale, and other commutative or synallagmatic contracts, such as *idjāra* and *kirāʾ* (*locatio conductio operarum* and *l.c. rei*), and even marriage, although regarded as legal institutions in their own right and not reduced to contracts of sale, are construed on the model of *bayᶜ* and sometimes even defined as kinds of *bayᶜ*. In its narrower meaning, *bayᶜ* is defined as an exchange of goods or properties and it therefore includes, beside sale proper, barter (*muḳāyaḍa*) and exchange (*ṣarf*). The following is a short account of the main provisions of Islamic law, according to Ḥanafī doctrine, concerning *bayᶜ*.

The object of the sale must belong to the goods or properties (*māl*) which Islamic law recognizes as such; these include servitudes on real estate but exclude: 1. things which are completely excluded from legal traffic, e.g. animals not ritually slaughtered (*maita*), blood; 2. things in which there is no ownership, e.g. pious endowments (*waḳf*) [*q.v.*], or which are public property, or constituent parts etc., in which there is no separate private ownership; 3. those slaves in whom there is only a restricted ownership, particularly the *umm al-walad* [*q.v.*]; 4. things on the disposal of which there are restrictions, e.g. things which are ritually impure, such as wine and the pig, and other things without market value (*māl ghayr mutaḳawwim*) which are not rigorously defined; 5. things which are not in actual possession, such as things lost or usurped and runaway slaves: here the power to dispose of the property is refused, to exclude the risk. A sale concluded with regard to an object of this kind is not valid (*ghair ṣaḥīḥ* or *ghair djāʾiz*); such a sale, according to the Ḥanafīs, however, is not necessarily void (*bāṭil*, as it is in the cases 1, 2, 3), but in certain circumstances only voidable (*fāsid* [*q.v.*]; in the other schools this term is used as a synonym of *bāṭil*); even if the two parties have taken possession, a *fāsid* sale confers only a "bad ownership" (*milk khabīth*) and is liable to cancellation (*faskh*) until the object is re-sold. A stipulation in favour of or against one of the parties is invalid and makes the contract *fāsid*. Conditional or deferred agreements are not admitted in this contract. Legally qualified to conclude a sale is a free person who is of age (*bāligh*) and of sound mind (*ᶜāḳil*), also the minor with the permission of his guardian and the slave with the permission of his master; the master can authorize his slave either to conclude an individual sale, or generally to engage in trade (this slave is called *maʾdhūn*). Representation (*wakāla*) is possible; in this case the agent is regarded as a main contracting party with corresponding rights and obligations, but the rights of ownership accrue to the principal directly. In common with the other contracts, the sale is concluded by offer (*īdjāb*) and acceptance (*ḳabūl*), which must correspond to each other exactly and must take place in the same meeting (*madjlis*); the term *ṣafḳa* ("clasping of hands") for the conclusion of the bargain dates from the pre-Islamic period, but Islamic law completely disregards the symbolic action which it expresses. Ownership (*milk*) is transferred through the conclusion of the sale, but completed only through the transfer of possession (*taslīm* "handing over", *ḳabḍ* "taking possession") which, however, is dispensed with in the case of real estate; on the other hand, the existence of an option or right of withdrawal (*khiyār*, [*q.v.*]) prevents the transfer of ownership even though possession has been taken. In the case of eviction (*istiḥḳāḳ*), the vendor is responsible for a defect in ownership with the amount of the price paid; this is the so-called responsibility for *darak* or *tabiᶜa*. On the prohibition of *ribā*, see the art. The prohibition of risk (*gharar*) implies that the obligations of the parties must be determined (*maᶜlūm*), in particular the object of the sale, the price and the term or terms. The first requirement is particularly strict in the case of goods covered by the prohibition of *ribā*, so that here no indefinite quantity (*djuzāf*) is permitted even if a price per unit is mentioned. A third prohibition which has far-reaching consequences, too, is that of selling or exchanging a debt (*dayn*) for another debt. In the field of sale proper, one distinguishes the thing sold from the price (*thaman*) or the value (*ḳīma*). As the price consists of fungible things (normally gold or silver), whereas the thing sold is, generally, a non-fungible object, the rules applicable to both are not quite indentical; the vendor, for instance, is permitted to dispose of the (fungible) price even before he has taken possession. Actually a special kind of purchase, although in the opinion of the Muslim lawyers a contract in its own right, is the *salaf* [*q.v.*] or *salam*, the ordering of goods to be delivered later for a price paid immediately; the term *raʾs māl* ("capital") which is used for the price here, shows the economic meaning of the transaction: the financing of the business of a small trader or artisan by his clients. Because of its closeness to the subject of the prohibition of *ribā*, *salam* is carefully treated, and is subject to numerous special rules. Its counterpart, delayed payment for goods delivered immediately, is also possible, but this kind of sale plays a minor part in Islamic law. The name "sale on credit" (*bayᶜ al-ᶜīna*) is given *a potiori* to an evasion of the prohibition of *ribā* which is based on this transaction. Barter of merchandise (*muḳāyaḍa*) is hardly distinguished from sale in general; but money-changing and, in general, dealing in precious metals receive detailed treatment on account of the prohibition of *ribā*; these transactions are regarded as sales of "price" for "price" (cf. ṢARF).

The actual practice of commerce in the Muslim middle ages was controlled not by these theoretical rules of Islamic law but by a customary commercial law which had been called into being by the normal needs of commercial life in the great cities of Islam, and was then elaborated by the legal advisers of the merchants, who were competent specialists in Islamic law. This customary law did not put itself into direct opposition to the sacred law of Islam, on the contrary, it maintained its main features, such as the prohibition of *ribā*, which it never dared openly to challenge but only managed to evade, just as it evaded, too, most of its rigid, restrictive rules, and it is characterized by a greater flexibility, accompanied by effective safeguards of fair dealing, which were made necessary by the lack of any official sanction. A unique source for the knowledge of this customary commercial law in ᶜIrāḳ about

400/1000 is the younger edition of the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal wal-Makhāridj* spuriously attributed to al-Khaṣṣāf (ed. Schacht, Hanover 1923; cf. also the same, in *Isl.*, 1926, 218 f.; ibid., 1935, 218 ff.; *R.Afr.*, 1952, 322 ff.). Similar, independent developments have occurred later in the Maghrib (cf. O. Pesle, *Le contrat de safqa au Maroc*, Rabat 1932; J. Berque, *Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine*, Rabat 1944, and numerous papers). This customary commercial law of Islam has, in its turn, influenced the *law merchant* of Europe in the early middle ages (cf. *XII Convegno "Volta"*, 215).

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(J. Schacht)

BAYʿA, an Arabic term denoting, in a very broad sense, the act by which a certain number of persons, acting individually or collectively, recognise the authority of another person. Thus the *bayʿa* of a Caliph is the act by which one person is proclaimed and recognised as head of the Muslim State. A synonymous expression is that of *mubāyaʿa* (cf. the verb *bāyaʿa*: to make the *bayʿa*).

I. Etymology. According to a view which has become traditional the term *bayʿa* is derived from the verb *bāʿa* (to sell), the *bayʿa* embodying, like sale, an exchange of undertakings. This explanation seems most artificial. In the view of the author the *bayʿa* owes its name to the physical gesture itself which, in ancient Arab custom, symbolised the conclusion of an agreement between two persons and which consisted of a hand-clasp (cf. the *manumissio* of the ancient law of certain Western countries). Again, in a non-technical sense, "to make a *bayʿa* in regard to some matter" (*tabāyaʿa ʿala 'l-amr*) means "to reach agreement on this matter" (cf. *ṣafḳa*, lit.: *manumissio*, = agreement, contract). The physical gesture was termed *bayʿa* because, precisely, it consisted of a movement of the hand and arms (*bāʿ*). And since the election of a chief (and the undertaking to submit to his authority) was demonstrated by a hand-clasp, it was naturally described by the very term which denoted this gesture.

The *bayʿa* has two principal aims which differ both in their scope and nature. The first is essentially that of adherence to a doctrine and recognition of the pre-established authority of the person who teaches it. It is in this sense that the *bayʿa* was practised in the relations between Muḥammad and his newly acquired supporters (cf. Ḳurʾān, xlviii, 10, 18; lx, 13). In the same sense, but with a more restricted purpose, the *bayʿa* served simply to recognise the pre-established authority of a person and to promise him obedience. Such was the case with the *bayʿa* effected in favour of a new Caliph whose title to succeed had been established by the testamentary designation (*ʿahd*) of his predecessor.

In its second sense the principal aim of the *bayʿa* is the election of a person to a post of command and, in particular, the election of a Caliph, when a promise of obedience is implied. It was thus that the first Caliph, Abū Bakr, was designated by the *bayʿa* of the so-called assembly of the *Saḳīfa* (13 Rabīʿ I 11/8 June 632); and the same invariably applied on all subsequent occasions that the seat of the Caliphate fell vacant and no successor designated by other means existed. Sunnī doctrine, indeed, specifies the *bayʿa* as one of the two procedures for designating the Caliph. In Shīʿī doctrine the *bayʿa* has never been able to play this rôle, for the Shīʿa recognise only one method of designating the Imám—namely appointment by testament (*naṣṣ, waṣiyya*) of one in the legitimate line of descent. However the Zaydī branch of the Shīʿa hold that the Imāmate is acquired by election from within the ʿAlid family. Here, then, the *bayʿa* was practised in the sense of an act of election.

II. Legal nature. The legal doctrine analyses the *bayʿa* as a contractual agreement: on the one side there is the will of the electors, expressed in the designation of the candidate, which constitutes the offer, and on the other side the will of the elected person which constitutes the acceptance. This analysis may be admitted provided that it is not carried so far as to confuse the act of *bayʿa* with the legal category of ordinary contracts. For the *bayʿa* is a voluntary act *sui generis* which involves the general public. And again it must be stressed that the doctrinal analysis, even when so regarded, is only fully valid in regard to the *bayʿa* of election and not in regard to the *bayʿa* of simple homage. For in the latter case adherence becomes obligatory and no room is left for any freedom of decision.

What, particularly as regards the *bayʿa* election, is the number of electors (*ahl al-ikhtiyār*) required for the validity of the procedure? On this point opinions are numerous and widely varied and range from one extreme to the other—from a view which requires that the *bayʿa* should emanate from all "the upright men of the whole empire" to the opinion which is satisfied with the vote of a single individual. In fact, however, the body of electors was made up of the high dignitaries and notables of the State.

The *bayʿa* is an act perfected solely by agreement. Neither the physical gesture of *manumissio* nor the confirmation of the *bayʿa* by an oath is required as a condition of validity or even simple proof. No sacramental form is imposed for the manifestation of will; it suffices that this should be clearly and definitely expressed.

The form of the *bayʿa* remains the same in both its rôles—that of election and that of simple offer of homage.

The formalities of a single process of *bayʿa* may be split up into two or several sessions. Thus, as far as the Caliphs are concerned, the first step is generally what is termed the *bayʿat al-khāṣṣa* (private *bayʿa*) in which a very limited number of persons, the chief dignitaries of State and Court, participate. This is then followed by the *bayʿat al-ʿāmma* (public *bayʿa*). Further, formal sessions for the offer of *bayʿa* are held in the centres of the different provinces.

An innovation, which was introduced into the procedure from the Umayyad period, is the renewal

of the *bayʿa* (*tadjdīd al-bayʿa*) whereby the Caliph or Sulṭān has recourse, during his reign, to a new *bayʿa* in favour of himself or his heir apparent; and this may be repeated twice or more. The ruler resorts to this to establish the loyalty of his subjects.

III. Effects of the *bayʿa*. A question peculiar to the *bayʿa*—election is that of knowing whether it has the effect of investing the ruler with authority or whether it is simply confirmatory. It is in favour of the latter notion that the doctrine has generally become established, the ruler being held to receive his investiture from God.

Those who perform the *bayʿa* and, along with them, the rest of the community become firmly and definitely bound. This binding effect is reinforced by the religious character which the *bayʿa* acquired from early ʿAbbāsid times. As a result of the development of the theocratic nature of power the obligations undertaken towards the ruler are considered as being, in reality, obligations undertaken towards Allāh. Furthermore the sole earthly sanction for the violation of the *bayʿa* is one of extreme severity; in principle, it is death. The binding effect of the *bayʿa* is personal and life-long; the idea of a *bayʿa* made for a limited period is, indeed, unknown.

This effect, however, is limited by the law. For the *bayʿa* is made on condition that its recipient remains faithful to the divine prescriptions, which means that if the ruler does not abide by these prescriptions those who have performed the *bayʿa* in his favour are thereby released from their obligations.

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(E. Tyan)

BAYĀN, an Arabic word meaning lucidity, distinctness; the means by which clearness is achieved, explanation; hence, clarity of speech or expression, and the faculty by which clarity is attained. In technical language *bayān* develops from a (near-) synonym of *balāgha*, eloquence, to the designation of a particular aspect of it which, within the *ʿilm al-balāgha* is dealt with by the *ʿilm al-bayān*. Common usage, however, continues to emply *bayān* in a wider variety of meanings (cf. also colourless phrases like *bāb bayān* or *dar bayān-i*, where nothing more than *fī* or *dar* is intended). Occasionally, *tibyān* takes the place of *bayān* without suggesting a different shade of meaning; *e.g.*, Khaṭṭābī (d. 996 or 998), *K. Bayān Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, MS. Leiden 1654 (Cod. Warner 655), 5ᵇ-6ᵃ: the rank of the various kinds of speech differs with regard to their *tibyān*; ibid., 8ᵇ: people believe of certain near-synonyms that they are equal in conveying the *bayān* of what the presentation intends to convey.

What seem to be the earliest types of statements on the nature of *bayān* are descriptive aphorisms rather than definitions. "Reason is the guide of the soul, knowledge, the guide of reason, and *bayān*, the interpreter of knowledge". (Sahl b. Hārūn, the famous *Shuʿūbī* d. 215/830-31, *apud* Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1353/1935, i, 221; also Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-Maʿānī*, Cairo 1352, i, 141; similar al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī, *Zahr al-Ādāb* (on margin of *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1321, i, 134). Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 908), *Ādāb*, ed. I. J. Kratchkovsky, *MO*, 1924, 111, begins a longish passage of hymnic praise of *bayān* by describing it as "the interpreter of the heart (quoted *Zahr al-ādāb*, i, 114), the polisher (*ṣayḳal*) of the mind, the dispeller of doubt". Another saying of this kind is preserved in *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd*, i, 221: "The soul is the pillar (*ʿimād*) of the body, knowledge, the pillar of the soul, and *bayān*, the pillar of knowledge" (repeated, *e.g.*, by Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, Cairo 1353/1934, i, 213).

On occasion, *bayān* is primarily connected with *faṣāḥa*, purity and euphony of language; thus, *e.g.*, by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 869), *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, ed. Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, 2nd ed., Cairo 1366/1947, i, 32ᶠ, where *ḥusn al-balāgha* means 'good enunciation, "ortholexy"'; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Constantinople 1320, 7ᶠ, where *faṣāḥa* is referred to as the perfect instrument, *āla*, of *bayān*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir*, Cairo 1312, 65: "*faṣāḥa* is making evident, expounding clearly, *bayān*, not obscurity and concealment". In general, however, the concept is linked with *balāgha*. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo 1322 ff., vii, 10, quotes an expanded version of Sahl b. Hārūn's dictum: "*al-bayān* is the interpreter of the mind and the training of the heart; and *balāgha* is what the common people understand and what gives satisfaction to the élite . . ."; Ibn Rashīḳ, *op. cit.*, i, 215-16, reports two definitions of *balāgha*, one identifying it as "the power of *bayān*, clear exposition, together with good organisation"; and and the other as "the opposite of *ʿiyy*; and *ʿiyy* is the inability to achieve *bayān* (*i.e.*, to express oneself clearly)". Tawḥīdī's (d. 1023) warning against *takalluf*, constraint, *Risāla fī 'l-ʿulūm* in: *Risālatāni*, Constantinople 1301/1884, 206, uses *bayān* practically as a synonym of *balāgha*. Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, i, 95, puts together on the same level *bulaghāʾ*, *khuṭabāʾ* and *abyināʾ* (plur. mult. of *bayyin*): those elegant and clever in their speech. The judgment on the 3rd/9th century Mālikī jurist and poet Aḥmad b. al-Muʿadhdhal that he was equally outstanding in his command of the Arab vocabulary, *lugha*, *bayān*, literary education, *adab*, and wit, *ḥalāwa* (*Zahr*, ii, 276), shows how close *bayān* came to denoting *balāgha*. Cf. also the praise bestowed by al-Ḥasan b. Wahb (d. ca. 860) on Abū Tammām because of the *bayān* of his composition, *niẓām*, (*ibid.*, iii 154). As a specimen of later non-technical usage cf. Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 1350), *K. al-Fawāʾid*, Cairo 1327/1909, 5, where *faṣāḥa*, *balāgha*, *djazāla* (literary excellence), *bayān*, *ghawāmiḍ al-lisān* (subtleties of language) and beautiful composition are mentioned on the same place as distinctions which God has imparted to the Ḳurʾān.

A definition *sensu stricto* of *bayān* is recorded in *ʿIḳd*, i, 221, and with immaterial variants by Abū Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 1123), *Ḳānūn al-Balāgha* in: *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, ed. Muḥ. Kurd ʿAlī, 3rd ed., Cairo 1946, 432. "Whatever lifts the veil from a concealed idea, *maʿnā*, so it comes to be understood and accepted by the mind, *ʿaḳl*, is *bayān*". The same line of analysis is followed in the more elaborate definition ascribed to Djaʿfar al-Barmakī (d. 803), *Bayān*, i, 118 (also: Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1343-48/1925-30, ii, 173; *Zahr*, i, 126): *Bayān* means "that the word (*ism*; later one would have used *kalām*, discourse) covers your idea completely and renders your intention (fully), lifting it from ambiguity, *shirka*, so you do not need the assistance of reflection (to understand what is meant); it (*bayān*) must be free from constraint, *takalluf*, remote from artificiality, *ṣanʿa*, without obscurity,

taʿkīd, and comprehensible without interpretation, *taʾwīl*". (Translated from *ʿUyūn* and *Zahr*; *Bayān*'s text is somewhat longer; *ʿUmda*, i, 225, offers a definition of kindred intent but different phrasing).

What to my knowledge may be the first attempt to integrate *bayān* in a system of rhetorical analysis is preserved as the statement made by Ibn al-Ḳirriya (d. 84/703) on letter, word and discourse or speech, where speech is divided in ten *abwāb*, seven of them 'preliminaries', *fawātiḥ*, and three, 'comprehensive (qualities)', *djawāmiʿ*. In this listing *bayān al-kalām* figures as the fourth of the *fawātiḥ* among requirements such as "the courage to speak up", "refraining from clearing one's throat and hemming", being able to begin and end at will (quoted *Ḳānūn al-Balāgha*, 433).

Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1325/1907, i, 17, notes that both men and animals possess the faculty of *dalāla*, the indication of a meaning; but only man possesses that of *istidlāl*, the power of inferential thinking, along with it. The term *bayān*, however, in Djāḥiẓ' view, covers both kinds of *dalāla*. Human *dalāla* (or *bayān*) has five forms: word, writing, counting on fingers or knuckles, *ʿuḳad* (not *ʿaḳd* as Sandūbī vocalises in *Bayān*, i, 76[10]), indication, *ishāra*, and *niṣba*, posture or attitude (not *nuṣba* as *ibid.*, line 11); on *niṣba* cf. Nallino, in *RSO*, 1919-21, 637-46, who lists, 640-41, later grammarians using this term; Djāḥiẓ repeats this doctrine of the five forms of expression in *Ḥayawān*, i, 23, and *Bayān*, i, 76. Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 892), *Risālat al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, ed. Z. Mubārak, Cairo 1350/1931, 40, restates Djāḥiẓ's fivehold division of *bayān* and adds the correct observation that the concept of *niṣba* goes back to Aristotle (whose seventh category is τὸ κεῖσθαι); Ḥuṣrī (d. 1061), *Zahr*, i, 123-25, discusses Djāḥiẓ's view without reference to a possible source; Abū Ṭāhir, *Ḳānūn*, 424, confines himself to repeating it concisely. Rummānī (d. 994), *K. an-Nukat fi Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, Delhi 1934, 26, with his division of *bayān* in *kalām*, *ḥāl*, the situation, *ishāra* and *ʿalāma*, sign, would seem to go back to Djāḥiẓ, too; the origin of the modifications is as yet unexplained. No later references to Djāḥiẓ's theory are known to me.

Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb, who after 335/946-7 wrote the *K. al-Burhān fī Wudjūh al-Bayān* ("The Exposition of the various ways of explaining [things]")—until recently wrongly attributed to Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar and published under the title of *Naḳd an-Nathr* by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and ʿA. Ḥ. al-ʿAbbādī (Cairo 1933)—undertook his work to correct the insufficiencies of Djāḥiẓ's presentation of the subject. Ishāḳ b. Ibrāhīm distinguishes four ways of expression: a. "things may become intelligible by their essences, *dhawāt* [*i.e.*, by the very fact of their being as they are], even though the words which [commonly] express them are not used; b. they may become intelligible by coming into the heart when thought and intellect are applied [*i.e.*, presumably Djāḥiẓ's *istidlāl*]; c. they may become understandable through articulating sounds with the tongue; and, finally, d. by writing, which reaches those who are far away or do not (yet) exist." (Trans. S. A. Bonebakker, *The Kitāb Naqd al-Siʿr of Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar al-Kātib al-Baġdādī*, Leiden 1956, 16; words between brackets are the writer's). It can easily be seen that Isḥāḳ's concept of *bayān* is very different, and both wider and narrower, than that which Djāḥiẓ endeavored to formulate. Regarding the manner in which Isḥāḳ applies his concept to his material it must suffice here to note that in his discussion of c. he lists, 44-64, sixteen *aḳsām al-ʿibāra*, categories of verbal expression, that include, without further classification, *figura etymologica*, comparison, suggestion (*ramz*), metaphor, parable, enigma and inversion.

A completely different strain of thought is represented in Rummānī's division of *balāgha* in ten parts, *aḳsām*: concision, *īdjāz*, comparison, metaphor, and so forth, of which *ḥusn al-bayān*, successful exposition, is the tenth. In line with this concept, Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 1064 or 1070), *ʿUmda*, i, 225-28, has a chapter on *bayān* (with two pertinent quotations from Rummānī) paralleling, as it were, on the same classificatory level his chapters on *balāgha*, *īdjāz*, *naẓm* (composition), *madjāz* (transferred meaning), *istiʿāra* (metaphor), *al-mukhtaraʿ wa 'l-badīʿ* (invention and the 'original'), etc. It deserves notice that nowhere in the tenth and eleventh centuries is there an anticipation of that treatment of the *bayān*, especially in its relation to the *badīʿ*, that was later to become the dominant doctrine. Neither Āmidī (d. 987), who in his *K. al-Muwāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī*, Constantinople 1287, 6, divides *badīʿ* in *istiʿāra*, *tadjnīs* (paronomasy) and *ṭibāḳ* (antithesis), nor Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 1005), who in *Ṣināʿatayn*, (*e.g.*) 205 and 290, treats *istiʿāra* and *kināya* (metonymy) on the same level as all other tropes, nor again Bāḳillānī (d. 1013), Khafādjī (d. 1073) and Abū Ṭāhir, who still subsumes *istiʿāra* and *kināya* under *badīʿ*, *Ḳānūn*, 435-459 (cf. in particular the list of forty-two rhetorical figures on 436), made any contribution to the development of the basic organisation of rhetoric, the *ʿilm al-balāgha*, or as ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 1078), *Dalāʾil al-Iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1331/1913, 4, still prefers to call it, the *ʿilm al-bayān*, to him the greatest of all sciences. Djurdjānī, to whom we owe *inter alia* the aesthetically most sensitive analysis of the metaphor, notes, *Dalāʾil*, 349-50, that the development of the *ʿilm al-faṣāḥa wa 'l-bayān* differs in two points from that of the other sciences: the early authorities of this *ʿilm* expressed themselves in hints and metaphors rather than plainly and directly; and besides, in no other area were the opinions of the ancients transmitted with as little criticism. But Djurdjānī's interest is not in the theory of *bayān* and his innovations are made on another plane of literary analysis. This fact is reflected in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 1209) *Nihāyat al-Īdjāz fī Dirāyat al-Iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1317, which according to the author's statement, 3-5, is an attempt to organize Djurdjānī's *Dalāʾil* and *Asrār al-Balāgha* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; German translation, Wiesbaden 1959), and which fails to offer any explicit discussion of *bayān*.

When Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1234) writes *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir fī Adab al-Kātib wa 'l-Shāʿir* thinking on *bayān* has taken a new turn. To what extent it was Ibn al-Athīr himself who was responsible for this change we have no means of deciding. Ibn al-Athīr places, p. 2, the *ʿilm al-bayān* in the same relation to the composition of both poetry and prose as the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* to the individual judicial statutes or decisions, *aḥkām*. (On p. 114, he refers to the representatives of this field of learning as *ʿulamāʾ al-bayān*). He divides his book in a preface, *muḳaddima*, dealing with the foundations, *uṣūl ʿilm al-bayān*, and two sections treating the handling of wording, *al-ṣināʿa 'l-lafẓiya*, and of content, *al-ṣināʿa 'l-maʿnawiyya*, respectively. The subject of the *ʿilm al-bayān* is *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha* whose constituent elements he investigates in regard to both wording and meaning. He shares with the grammarian,

naḥwī, his concern for the manner in which words indicate meanings; but he goes beyond the grammarian's interest by a concern for the aesthetic qualities of the various ways of verbal rendering of ideas (p. 3). In the terms of his critic, Ibn al-Ḥadīd (d. 1257), *al-Falak al-Dāʾir ʿalā 'l-Mat͟hal al-Sāʾir*, Bombay 1308, 41-42 (*al-Mat͟hal*, 28[22]-29[8]), Ibn al-At͟hīr's *ʿilm al-bayān* is basically a "rational" science, *ʿilm ʿaḳlī*, that argues from general principles by means of *ʿaḳl* and *d͟hawḳ*, taste; it does not deduce its judgments empirically from Arabic literature, *bi 'l-istiḳrāʾ min as͟hʿār al-ʿArab* (for *d͟hawḳ* cf. also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1858, iii, 312-317; 349-50 trans. F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, iii, 358-62; 396-98). The heartpiece of the *ʿilm al-bayān* is to Ibn al-At͟hīr the doctrine of *ḥaḳīḳa* and *madj̲āz*, the proper and the transferred use of words (p. 23). It is in the nature of his system that he does not differentiate between comparison, metaphor and metonymy on the one hand and the other tropes on the other—a differentiation which was to be one of the principal features of the system that was about to become dominant in Arabic rhetoric when Ibn al-At͟hīr wrote.

This doctrine originated with Ibn al-Athīr's contemporary, the Khorezmian al-Sakkākī (d. 1229) who, according to his own statement, *K. Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo n.d. (ca. 1898), 2-3, set out to treat the *anwāʿ al-adab*, the kinds or elements of literary education, with the exception of *lug͟ha*, lexicology. Those "kinds", *anwāʿ*, include a. accidence or morphology, *ʿilm al-ṣarf*, and b. grammar proper or syntax, *ʿilm al-naḥw*, which is defined to comprise (1) *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (the different kinds of sentence and their use) to which "definition" and "deduction" are attached; and (2) *ʿilm al-bayān*, the art of (eloquent) presentation, which requires "prosody" and "rhyming" as subsidiary branches of study. The *ʿilm al-bayān* deals fundamentally with three subjects, *uṣūl*: (1) comparison, *tas͟hbīh*; (2) *madj̲āz* (and *ḥaḳīḳa*); (3) *kināya*, metonymy. The remaining tropes are relegated to the end of the book, 224-229, under the heading *al-badīʿ*.

It is presumably due to Sakkākī's commentator, al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 1338), and to the *mufassir* of the latter, al-Taftazānī (d. 1389), that Sakkākī's structuring of rhetoric received the more consistent form which has continued to make authority to this day. Ḳazwīnī no longer wishes to deal with *adab*. To him, *balāg͟ha* is the term for the science of rhetoric as a whole which he divides in the three branches of *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, *ʿilm al-bayān* and *ʿilm al-badīʿ* (as the doctrine of the embellishment of speech) [cf. BALĀGHA]. *ʿIlm al-bayān* is now no more and no less than the science that deals with the various possibilities of expressing the same idea in various degrees of directness or clarity. Since the word used may indicate either the concept in its totality or merely a part of it, or again point to it through evoking an element external to it in which the hearer perceives a necessary connection with the concept actually intended, a certain number of modes of expression are open to the speaker. In their descriptive function and power, comparison, metaphor and metonymy correspond to those three basic possibilities of word-concept relations. For this reason they are treated apart from the other tropes that are dealt with under the general category of *badīʿ*, embellishments. (This presentation of Ḳazwīnī's views is based in part on his *Talk͟hīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, Cairo 1342/1923, iii, 256-290; also in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, 6-7 of Arabic text, Trans. 53-54 of German text; and in part abstracted from the tenor of the *Talk͟hīṣ* as a whole; a rather full summary of Ḳazwīnī's doctrine of *bayān*, *ibid.*, 20-42).

While al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332), *Nihāya*, vii, 35, already follows the tripartite structure of *ʿulūm al-maʿānī*, *bayān* and *badīʿ* without, however, distributing the tropes accordingly, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Dj̲awziyya, *Fawāʾid*, a work whose purpose is the analysis of the uniqueness and inimitability, *iʿdj̲āz*, of the Ḳurʾān, still uses *ʿilm al-bayān* for rhetoric as a whole and divides his presentation of it in sections (I) on *faṣāḥa*, *balāg͟ha*, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *madjāz*, metaphor, comparison, *tamt͟hīl* (expression by way of a simile, analogy), concision, and reversion of word order; and (II) on *ʿilm al-bayān* proper which he subdivides in (a) eighty-four *Sinnfiguren* (including metonymy as no. 17) and (b) twenty-four further tropes; he notes, 218, that this second *fann* of (II) is also called *al-badīʿ*. Like Ibn Ḳayyim, Ibn K͟haldūn (d. 1406) sees the value of the *ʿilm al-bayān* in its leading to the understanding of the *iʿdj̲āz*, and like him he uses *ʿilm al-bayān*, the name of the subsection first to be explored by Arab critics, as the designation of the "science of expression" as a whole. But the strictness of his systematisation sets him apart from Ibn Ḳayyim. *Bayān*, the manifestation of ideas, is achieved either by verbal expression, *ʿibāra*, or by writing, *kitāba* (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 242-43; trans. de Slane, Paris 1862-68, iii, 264-65; trans. Rosenthal, iii, 281-82). The *ʿilm al-bayān* consist of the three sciences of *balāg͟ha*, in Ibn K͟haldūn's description a combination of grammar and *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, *bayān* and *badīʿ*. Ibn K͟haldūn adds that it is the Easterners who give special attention to *bayān* whereas the Westerners show particular interest in the *badīʿ* (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 289-94; trans. Slane, iii, 324 ff.; Rosenthal, iii, 332-39). Ibn K͟haldūn recognises the importance of Sakkākī and Ḳazwīnī, with whose works he is clearly familiar and whose authority had already grown beyond challenge.

Bibliography: in the article.

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BAYĀN B. SAMʿĀN AL-TAMĪMĪ, S͟hīʿī leader in Kūfa. (Often, improperly, *Banān*; in Nawbak͟htī, *al-Nahdī*). He was a dealer in straw. According to Nawbak͟htī, he was a disciple of Ḥamza b. ʿAmmāra, disciple of Ibn Karib, men known for *g͟huluww* speculation on the imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. He accepted the imāmate of Muḥammad's son Abū Hās͟him (d. ca. 99/717) [*q.v.*] and was hostile to Muḥammad al-Bāḳir. Bayān taught a literalist anthropomorphic interpretation of the Ḳurʾān; *e.g.*, God is a man of light, all whose parts will finally perish except his face (Ḳurʾān xxviii, 88). When on al-Bāḳir's death al-Mug͟hīra b. Saʿīd [*q.v.*] left al-Bāḳir's circle, he and Bayān evidently joined forces. After what may have been a forced premature rising, they were seized with a handful of followers and burned by K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī, His͟hām's governor, in 119/737. (There are several circumstantial but contradictory accounts of their death.) Iṣfahānī in *al-Ag͟hānī*[1] very improbably has the rising be in the name of Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (Vol. 15, 121; but cf. Vol. 19, 58). Wāḳidī has it be in the name of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who rebelled against al-Manṣūr twenty-six years later; possibly (cf. Ṭabarī and Ibn Ḥazm) it was connected with the ʿAbbāsids, who inherited Abū Hās͟him's party in Kūfa in the name of all the family of the Prophet.

Bayān's followers apparently formed a party, the Bayāniyya (or Banāniyya, or the Samʿāniyya), said

to have ascribed to the imāms prophecy through an indwelling particle of divine light; to have expected the return of various religious figures after death; and to have discussed the "greatest name" of God, Some are said to have regarded Bayān as an imām. citing Ḳurʾān iii, 138. Like other Shīʿīs they supported Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh at least after the ʿAbbāsid triumph.

Bibliography: *al-Aghānī*, above; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1355/1936, 28, 34; Wāḳidī, in the anon. *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-Ḥadāʾiḳ*, ed. M. J. de Goeje and P. de Jong, *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, i, Leiden 1869, 230-31; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 148; Kashshī, *Maʿrifa Akhbār al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317/1899, s.v. Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb, especially 196; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1619 f.; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 66; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1367/1948, 27, 138, 145; al-Shahrastānī, 113; Ibn Ḥazm in I. Friedländer, *JAOS* Vol. 28 (1907), 60-61, Vol. 29 (1908), 88.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

BAYĀS [see PAYAS].

BAYAT, an Oghuz (Türkmen) tribe. The Bayat are understood to have taken part in the conquests of the Saldjūḳs in Anatolia. The nickname al-Bayātī given to Sunḳur, representative in Baṣra in 512-3/1119 of the Saldjūḳid amīr Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bukhārī, is quite probably connected with this tribe. There were numerous places called Bayat or Bayad in central and western Turkey in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries of which few survive today. Most of these place-names, no doubt, belonged to the Bayat who participated in the conquest of Anatolia. There were Bayat among the Turkmens in northern Syria in the 8th/14th century. An important part of these, called Shām Bayadī, used to go in the summer like other Turkmen tribes to the Sivas and Bozok (Yozgat) regions. From the beginning of the 9th/15th century onwards the northern Syrian Bayat began to figure in the activities of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. In the 10th/16th century, there were, besides those around Aleppo and Yozgat (Shām Bayadī), small Bayat clans in the provinces of Diyārbakr, Kütahya and Tripoli. In the same century they are also seen in Iran, particulary around Kazzāz and Karahrūd, to the south of Hamadān. They numbered about 10,000 tents, and were perhaps more recently called Aḳ Bayat, probably to distinguish them from the rest of the Bayats in the country. The Aḳ Bayat reared some very fine horses known after them as *Bayatī Nizhād*. Shāh ʿAbbās used to send these horses as gifts to the ruler of India. The Bayātī mode (*maḳām*) found in classical Turkish and Persian music has its origin in the songs of this tribe. It seems likely that these Bayats went to Iran from Syria with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu conquest. Some of the Bayat clans in Iran live in Khurāsān and these are called, to distinguish them from the rest, Ḳara Bayats. One of the clans of the famous Ḳādjār tribe was of the Shām Bayat. In fact, as shown by names of its clans, the Ḳādjār tribe has its origin in Turkey. Some Bayat are also found in ʿIrāḳ, particularly around Kirkuk. The castle called Bayat south of Baghdād quite probably takes its name from them. This tribe produced a number of famous men; Ḳorḳut Ata (Dede Ḳorḳut), and Fuzūlī (Fuḍūlī) were of this tribe. Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd Bayātī, author of *Djām-i Djem Āyin*, a work dedicated to the Ottoman Prince Djem is, as indicated by his *nisba*, of the Bayat tribe.

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(FARUK SÜMER)

BĀYAZĪD (DOĞU-BAYAZIT), a small town belonging to the Turkish Republic and situated a little to the south of Mount Ararat (Aghrī-Dāgh), close to the frontier with Iran. It has been suggested that the town was named after the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I (791-805/1389-1403), who, according to this view, fortified the site as a post of observation against Tīmūr Beg. A more recent interpretation is that the name derives in fact from a prince of the Djalāyirid dynasty, *i.e.*, from Bāyazīd, the brother of Sulṭān Aḥmed (784-813/1382-1410). The Ottomans captured the town in 920/1514, but did not obtain definitive control over the region until after the Persian campaigns of Sulṭān Sulaymān in 940-942/1533-1536, 955-956/1548-1549 and 960-962/1553-1555. Bāyazīd and its adjacent territories formed, under Ottoman rule, a *sandjaḳ* which was dependent at times on the *eyālet* of Van, but more often on the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The Russians, in the course of their wars with the Ottoman Turks, occupied the town in 1828, 1854, 1877 and again in 1914. Bāyazīd, now included in the Turkish province of Aghrī, (Ağrı) had in 1935 a population estimated at 1860 inhabitants, the comparable figure for the entire *ḳaḍāʾ* amounting to just over 20,000 people, most of whom are of Turkish or Kurdish descent. Sheep and cattle rearing, the production of wool, hides and leather and the weaving of carpets constitute the main economic activities of the area.

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(V. J. PARRY)

BĀYAZĪD, (BĀYEZĪD) **I,** called Yïldïrïm, "the Thunderbolt", Ottoman sultan (regn. 19 Djumādā II 791-13 Shaʿbān 805/15 June 1389-8 March 1403), born in 755/1354 of Murād I and Gül-čičeḳ Khātūn. In about 783/1381 he was appointed governor of the province which was taken from the Germiyānids in guise of a dowry from his wife, Sulṭān Khātūn. Settled in Kütahya, he became responsible for the Ottoman interests in the East. He distinguished himself as an impetuous soldier (hence his surname) in the battle of Efrenk-yazïsï against the Ḳaramānids (Ḳaramān-oghlu) in 788/1386. The assumption that he also became the first governor of Amasya (Kemāl Pasha-zāde) stems from the fact that some territory to the west of it came under the Ottomans when they supported Süleymān of the Djāndār dynasty in Kastamonu (Ḳastamūnī) against his father 786/790-1384-1388) and Aḥmed, the Amīr of Amasya, who accepted Ottoman protection against Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn (*Bazm u Razm*, 302, 308).

When, in the battle of Kossovo plain (15 June 1389), Murād I was mortally wounded, he asked his pashas to recognise Bāyezīd, his eldest and distinguished son, as sultan (*Düstūrnāme*, 87; Anony-

mous *Tawārīkh*, 27) which they did, and his only surviving brother (the others, called Savdjī and Ibrāhīm, were already dead) was immediately put to death to prevent a civil war. Lazar, the Serbian prince, was also executed on the field.

The new sultan left hurriedly (Stanojević, 417) for Bursa, his capital, because the vassal princes in Anatolia had risen up in revolt. Ḳaramān-oghlu ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, their leader, taking Beyshehri, advanced as far as Eskishehir, Germiyān-oghlu Yaʿḳūb II recovered his patrimony and Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn captured Kīr-shehri (*Bazm u Razm*, 387). Bāyezīd reached an agreement with the Serbs who promised him Lazar's daughter Olivera (Despina) as his wife and an auxiliary force under Stefan Lazarević. Constantly under Hungarian pressure, Stefan remained faithful to Bāyezīd and accompanied him in his expeditions. But Vuk Branković in Upper Serbia (Prishtina, Skoplje etc.) resisted the Ottomans who tried to take possession of the mining towns in his territory. Pasha-yigit continued the operations against him and later took Skoplje (Üsküb, 793/1391) and settled it as a Turkish base for his raids into Bosnia and Albania.

Bāyezīd spent the winter of 792/1389-1390 in taking Philadelphia (Alashehir) and annexing the Turkish principalities in Western Anatolia, namely Aydīn, Sarukhān, Menteshe, Ḥamīd and Germiyān. Süleymān the Djāndārid and Manuel Palaeologus were with him during this expedition. In Djumādā II 792/May 1390 he was in Ḳarahisar (Afyon), preparing to march against Ḳaramān-oghlu. He recaptured Beyshehri and laid siege to Ḳonya. At this time Süleymān, back in Ḳastamonu, formed an alliance with Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn against Bāyezīd to help Ḳaramān-oghlu. Apparently this threat made Bāyezīd give up the siege of Ḳonya and sign a treaty with Ḳaramān-oghlu in which he abandoned the whole region west of the Čarshanba river. The following year (793/1391) Bāyezīd attacked Süleymān, but Burhān al-Dīn defied him in support of his ally. In the spring of 793/1392 Bāyezīd made great preparations against Süleymān. A Venetian report of 12 Djumādā I, 794/6 April 1392 stated that as a vassal of Bāyezīd, Manuel Palaeologus was about to take part in the naval expedition against Sinop (Silberschmidt, 77). This expedition ended with the annexation of Süleymān's territory (except Sinope) and his death. Then, in spite of Burhān al-Dīn's protests and threats, Bāyezīd occupied Osmandjīk. But Burhān al-Dīn finally attacked Bāyezīd near Čorumlu (Čorum) and forced him to retreat. Burhān al-Dīn's raiders reached as far as Ankara and Sivrihisar. Besieged by Burhān al-Dīn's forces the Amīr of Amasya handed over the castle to the Ottomans (794/1392). Next year Bāyezīd came and entered the city. Local dynasties such as Tadj al-Dīn-oghullarī (in Čarshanba valley), Tashan-oghullarī (Merzifon region) and the lord of Bafra recognised Bāyezīd as their suzerain. Burhān al-Dīn harassed the Ottoman army on his way back (*Bazm u Razm*, 418-20).

Bāyezīd then found things more pressing in the west. After the victory at Kossovo he had increased his control on Byzantium. His support first secured the throne to John VII (27 Rabīʿ II 792/14 April 1390) and then to John V and his son and co-emperor Manuel (16 Shawwāl 793/17 September 1391) who had showed his faithfulness to the sultan by accompanying him in his expeditions in Anatolia (Fr. Dölger, *Johannes VII*, 27-8). When Anatolian affairs kept Bāyezīd busy in the east, his *Udj-beyis* [*q.v.*] by their raids held enemies under restraint on the western borders: Pasha-yigit submitted Vuk; Evrenuz (Ewrenos) [*q.v.*] conquered Kitros (Čitroz) and Vodena and advanced into Thessaly; Fīrūz Beg raided in Wallachia, and Shāhīn was active in Albania. But Mircea cel Batran managed to take Silistre back and attacked with success, against the *akīndjīs* in Ḳarīn-ovasī (Karnobat) when Bāyezīd was in Anatolia. Venetian activities in Morea, Albania and in Byzantium on the one hand, and Hungarian attempts in extending influence in Wallachia and the Danubian Bulgaria on the other made Bāyezīd decide to concentrate his efforts in the Balkans. He first occupied Trnovo (7 Ramaḍān 795/17 July 1393) which had been under Ottoman control since 790/1388 and Czar Shishman had to move to Nicopolis as an Ottoman vassal. In the winter of 796/1393-94 Bāyezīd summoned all of the Balkan princes and the Palaeologi to Serres and there attempted to strengthen their ties of vassaldom. In particular he wanted Theodore Palaeologus to hand over his main cities in the Morea against Venice. In despair, the Palaeologi, Theodore and Manuel turned against Bāyezīd and sought help in the West, especially in Venice. It seems that Bāyezīd then reconquered Thessalonica (Neshri, 88, gives the date as 19 Djumādā II 796/21 April 1394; the city was taken once in 789/1387 and lost probably in 791/1389). Bāyezīd also conquered Thessaly, the county of Salone, Neopatrai; Evrenuz entered Morea, but Theodore had given Argos to the Venetians (27 May 1394) (J. Loenertz in *REB*, i, 171-85). Another Ottoman division put southern Albania under direct Ottoman rule and Shāhīn exerted pressure on the Venetian possessions on the Albanian coasts [see ARNAWUTLUḲ]. Bāyezīd also started the blockade of Constantinople (796/Spring 1394) which lasted for seven years. In 797/1395 he invaded Hungary, and on his way attacked the castles of Slankamen, Titel, Becskerek, Temeshvar, Carashova, Caransebesh, Mehedia (see *Actes du X. Congrès Int. d'Et. Byz.*, 220). Defeating Mircea on the Argesh river in Wallachia (26 Radjab 797/17 May 1395) he then put Vlad on the Wallachian throne. Bāyezīd then passed over the Danube to Nicopolis and seized and executed Shishman (13 Shaʿbān 797/3 June 1395).

These bold conquests caused Hungary and Venice to conclude at last an alliance (796/1394) and to form a crusade in Europe against the Ottomans. When in 799/1396 Bāyezīd was making a major effort to take Constantinople the Crusaders under Sigismund came to lay siege to Nicopolis. Hurrying there, Bāyezīd inflicted a crushing defeat upon them (21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 798/25 September 1396) and took Vidin from Stratsimir, the last independent Bulgarian prince. Now the fate of the Balkans and Constantinople were in Bāyezīd's hands. In the imperial capital Manuel had to agree to Bāyezīd's settling there a Turkish colony with a *ḳāḍī*. Evrenuz took Argos and Athens (799/1397). Then the sultan went back to Anatolia because of the hostile movements of Ḳaramān-oghlu during the crisis of Nicopolis. He defeated and executed Ḳaramān-oghlu at Aḳčay and incorporated his territory with Ḳonya (800/Autumn 1397). The following year he incorporated also the region of Djanik and the territory of Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and disregarding his alliance with Egypt against Tīmūr (Tamerlane) [*q.v.*] conquered Albistān, Malaṭya, Behisni, Kahta and Divrigi.

Marshal Boucicaut's attack on the Turkish coasts and the small force he brought to Constantinople were not enough to relieve the city (800/Summer 1399),

so Manuel II went to Europe to ask more help (10 Rabīʿ II 802/10 December 1399). In the Autumn of 1399 Tīmūr once more appeared in eastern Anatolia, and hopes were high in the West as they were during his first invasion of eastern Asia Minor in 796/1394. From 801/1399 on Tīmūr claimed suzerainty over all the rulers in Anatolia as the representative of the Djengizkhānids whereas Bāyezīd claimed to be the heir of the Saldjūḳs there. Tīmūr hesitated before attacking the sultan of the ghāzīs. Tīmūr gave refuge to the Anatolian rulers expelled by Bāyezīd who, in his turn, protected Ḳarā Yūsuf and Aḥmad Djalāʾir. This exasperated Tīmūr. He took and sacked Sivas (802/August 1400), to which Bāyezīd retaliated by capturing the Amīr of Erzindjān, a protegé of Tīmūr named Muṭahharten (803/1401). Finally Tīmūr and Bāyezīd came to grips at Čubuk-ovasī near Ankara (27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 804/28 July 1402). Defeated and taken prisoner by Tīmūr, Bāyezīd died in captivity at Akshehir (13 Shaʿbān 805/8 March 1403) Bāyezīd's hastily founded empire collapsed. The Anatolian princes, who all regained their respective territories (804/1402), as well as the Ottoman princes, who divided the rest of the country among themselves, recognised Tīmūr as their suzerain. It was not until Meḥemmed II that the Ottomans again assumed the offensive in East.

Bāyezīd was responsible for the foundation of the first centralised Ottoman empire based upon the *Ḳul* system and the traditional administrative methods perfected under Muslim-Turkish states in the Middle East. Popular tradition criticised him as an innovator in finances, administration and manners.

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BĀYAZĪD II, Ottoman Sulṭān (886-918/1481-1512), was born most probably in Shawwāl or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 851/December 1447 or January 1448 (some sources give the date of his birth, however, as 856 or 857/1452 or 1453). During the lifetime of his father, Meḥemmed II, he was governor of the province of Amāsya and served in the war against Uzun Ḥasan, the leader of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlu Turcomans, being present at the battle of Otluḳ Belī in 878/1473. On the death of Meḥemmed II in 886/1481 a conflict for the throne broke out between Bāyazīd and his younger brother Djem, then governor of Ḳaramān, with his residence at Konya. The support of the Janissaries and of a powerful faction amongst the great officials at the Porte ensured the accession of Bāyazīd to the throne. Djem, defeated in battle near Yeni-Shehir in Rabīʿ II 886/June 1481, withdrew to Syria and thence to Egypt. He now gathered together new forces with the assent of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Ḳāʾit Bāy, but, after a fruitless campaign directed against Konya and Ankara, despaired of success and sought refuge at Rhodes (Djumādā II 887/July 1482) with the Knights of St. John, who removed him to France in September of the same year. Henceforward, until the death of the unfortunate prince in February 1495, the Ottomans had to face the constant threat that a coalition of Christian states, using Djem as their instrument, might invade the empire. As long as Djem was alive, Bāyazīd could not take the risk of committing his forces irretrievably to a major enterprise, either in the East or in the West.

Herzegovina was brought fully under Ottoman control in 888/1483. The fortresses of Kilia on the Danube estuary and of Aḳ-Kermān at the mouth of the Dniester fell to Bāyazīd in the course of his Moldavian campaign during the summer of 889/1484—a success of considerable importance in that it strengthened the Ottoman hold over the land route to the Crimea, where the Tatar Khān ruled as a vassal of the Sulṭān. A less fortunate issue of events awaited the Ottomans in their war of 890-896/1485-1491 against the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, fought to determine which of the rival states should exert political dominance over Cilicia and the adjacent march-lands along the Taurus frontier. The Ottomans met with a number of reverses in the field, above all at the battle of Agha Çāyrī near Adana in Ramaḍān 893/August 1488. A peace was made in 896/1491 which marked in fact the failure of the Ottomans to win effective control in Cilicia. None the less, it should be noted that, with Djem still alive and a captive in Christian hands, Bāyazīd had not been free to use his full resources in this war and had chosen therefore to wage a conflict limited in its objectives. Moreover, the situation on the Taurus frontier in 896/1491 was in no wise more favourable to the Mamlūks, despite their victories, than it had been six years before.

The ceaseless warfare of Muslim *ghāzī* against Christian marcher lord along the Danube and the frontiers of Bosnia flared out with great violence in 897-900/1492-1495. The Ottoman warriors launched massive raids across the Danube and the Sava and into the Austrian duchies of Styria, Carniola and Carinthia, suffering defeat near Villach in 897/1492, but on the other hand almost annihilating the Croat forces at Adbina in 898/1493. A truce concluded for three years with the Hungarians brought these hostilities to an end in 900/1495. Conflict now arose between the Ottoman empire and Poland. The Ottomans and the Krim Tatars formed, as it were, a barrier which denied to the Poles access to the Black Sea. Poland began in 902/1497 a campaign designed to break down this barrier through the capture of Kilia and Aḳ-Kermān and through the reduction of Moldavia to a state of dependence on Poland. The Moldavian forces, however, with the aid of the Ottoman *begs* along the lower Danube, offered a successful resistance, the Poles being repulsed before the fortress of Suceava and, in the course of their subsequent retreat, beaten at Koźmin in the Bukovina (October 1497). Ottoman *ghāzīs* from the Danube lands, with reinforcements of Moldavian and Tātār horsemen, now laid waste much of Podolia and Galicia in the summer of 1498, but a second raid directed against Galicia in the late autumn of the same year ended in disaster amid bitter snowstorms on the Carpathian mountains.

Poland, however, made peace with Moldavia in April 1499, this agreement being soon followed by a renewal of the former truce between the Ottomans and the Poles.

After the reverses experienced in the war against the Mamlūks, Bāyazīd sought to provide his troops with arms more efficient and of greater offensive power than the weapons hitherto available, and also to create a more mobile and more competently manned artillery force. At the same time efforts were made to increase the size and strength of the Ottoman fleet, numerous vessels of war being built in the ports of the Aegean and the Adriatic. A new war was indeed imminent, which would test the worth of these armaments and of the much augmented naval forces of the Sulṭān. Friction along the borders of the Venetian enclaves on the coasts of the Morea, Albania and Dalmatia, where the Ottoman *ghāzīs* faced the Greek, Cretan and Albanian mercenaries in the service of the Signoria, and also the repeated occurrence of "incidents" at sea, induced Bāyazīd to make war on Venice in 904/1499, a decision influenced by the fact that, since the death of Djem in 1495, some of the high dignitaries at the Porte had been urging the Sulṭān to pursue a more aggressive policy towards the Christians. Lepanto, lacking all hope of relief from the sea, because the Venetian fleet had been driven to take refuge under the guns of Zante, fell to the Ottomans in Muḥarram 905/August 1499. Meanwhile, the frontier warriors of Bosnia carried out a great incursion into the Friuli and then, reinforced after the capture of Lepanto, ravaged the Venetian lands as far as Vicenza. Modon, Coron and Navarino in the Morea yielded to the Ottomans in 906/1500, and also Durazzo on the Adriatic coast in 907/1501. Venice, finding the conflict too expensive, sought peace in 908/1502 and in the final agreement concluded in 909/1503 renounced all claim to Lepanto, Modon, Coron, Navarino and Durazzo. Bāyazīd could feel well satisfied with the outcome of this war, which had brought solid territorial gains in the Morea and on the Adriatic shore and, more notable still, had underlined the fact that the Ottomans were becoming a formidable power at sea.

The years 909-918/1503-1512 witnessed the growth of a major crisis in the East. Ismāʿīl, the head of the religious order known as the Ṣafawiyya, had begun in 904-905/1499 a career of conquest which soon made him the master of Persia. The Ṣafawiyya had long conducted, on behalf of the Shīʿī faith, a vigorous propaganda amongst the Turcoman tribes of Asia Minor—a propaganda so successful that the armies of the new régime in Persia consisted to a large degree of warriors drawn from these tribes. As orthodox or Sunnī Muslims, the Ottomans had reason to view with alarm the progress of Shīʿī ideas in the territories under their control, but there was also a grave political danger that the Ṣafawiyya, if allowed to extend its influence still further, might bring about the transfer of large areas in Asia Minor from Ottoman to Persian allegiance. An additional threat arose from the fact that Shīʿī beliefs flourished in those regions along the Taurus frontier which were in dispute between the Ottomans and the Mamlūks. Ottoman intervention here against the adherents of the Ṣafawiyya might well drive the Mamlūks, despite their profession of the Sunnī faith, into an alliance with the new Shīʿī state in Persia.

Bāyazīd, aware of the danger, ordered in 907-908/1502 the deportation of numerous Shīʿī elements from Asia Minor to his recent conquests in the Morea. He also garrisoned his eastern frontier in force, when in 913/1507-1508 Shāh Ismāʿīl, then at war with ʿAlā al-Dawla, the prince of Albistān, occupied Diyār-Bakr and large areas of Kurdistān. How critical the situation had become was made clear on the outbreak, in 917/1511, of a great Shīʿī revolt in Tekke, a region of Asia Minor long noted as a centre of heterodox religious ideas. The rebels, after plundering Kutāhya, advanced on Brusa, but then, retiring in the face of superior forces, suffered a total defeat between Kayseri and Sīvās in the summer of 917/1511—a conflict in which both the Ottoman Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pāshā and the rebel chieftain, Shāh Ḳūlī, were slain.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman empire had come to the verge of civil war. The practice that a new Sulṭān, on his accession to the throne, should order the death of all his brothers and their male children imposed on the sons of an ageing Sulṭān a dire pressure to prepare for armed conflict on, or even before, the death of their father. There had been war between Bāyazīd and Djem in 886-887/1481-1482; now, the issue was to rest between Aḥmed, who was governor of Amāsya, and Selīm, who had charge of the remote province of Trebizond (Ḳorḳūd, the eldest of the three surviving sons of Bāyazīd, enjoyed little favour at the Porte and had but a minor rôle in the events which now occurred). Selīm, in 916/1511, sailed from Trebizond to Kaffa in the Crimea and, having won the support of the Tatar Khān, moved with his forces across the Danube, demanding of his father the government of a province in the Balkans. Bāyazīd, reluctant to make war on his own son and worried about the revolt of Shāh Ḳūlī in Asia Minor, yielded to the wishes of Selīm and, in a formal agreement, conferred on him the great frontier province of Semendria. The news that the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pāshā, who favoured the cause of Aḥmed, had been sent with a strong contingent of Janissaries to crush the Shīʿī rebellion aroused in Selīm the fear that, if Shāh Ḳūlī should be defeated, ʿAlī Pāshā might make a bold effort to raise Aḥmed to the throne. Selīm now marched on Adrianople, where his father was in residence. Bāyazīd withdrew in the direction of Istanbul, but then stood firm at Ughrash-deresi near Çorlū. The Janissaries, although well disposed towards Selīm, remained loyal to the old Sulṭān. Here, on 8 Djumādā I 917/3 August 1511, their skill and discipline routed the Tatar horsemen of Selīm, the prince himself fleeing from the battlefield to seek refuge in the Crimea.

Aḥmed, after the defeat of Shāh Ḳūlī, advanced towards Istanbul, hoping to cross the Straits and ensure his own accession to the throne. Disturbances amongst the Janissaries at the capital in Djumādā I 917/August 1511 overawed the adherents of Aḥmed at the Porte. Aḥmed, realising that the Janissaries had thus declared their support for Selīm and their intention not to accept himself as Sulṭān, now used armed force to bring much of western Asia Minor under his control—a course of action which amounted to open rebellion against his father. The result was that Bāyazīd consented to recall Selīm from Kaffa and to restore to him the province of Semendria. There was, however, a growing fear at the Porte that Aḥmed would make an alliance with the Shīʿī régime in Persia. This fear, together with the demand of the Janissaries that Selīm should lead them in the now inevitable campaign against Aḥmed, hastened the issue of events. Bāyazīd was compelled to abdicate in favour of Selīm in Ṣafer 918/April 1512. The old Sulṭān had chosen to retire to the town of

his birth, Demotika, but, while travelling to this destination, died on 10 Rabīʿ I 918/26 May 1512.

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BĀYAZĪD (or Bāzīd as engraved on his seal, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-Abrār* f. 88a) **ANṢĀRĪ** "Pīr-i Rawshān (or Raws̲h̲an)" b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḳāḍī b. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad, the founder of a religious and national movement of the Afg̲h̲āns (called Pīr-Tārīk by the Mug̲h̲al historians etc., after Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mullā Muḥammad, commonly known as Mullā Zangī, a teacher of the Pīr's chief opponent Āk̲h̲und Darwīza, who was the first to dub him thus (*Tad̲h̲kira* f. 92). He claimed descent through S̲h̲. Sirād̲j̲ al-Dīn (his fifth ancestor) from (Abū) Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the famous Companion of the Prophet, (his 21st ancestor). His mother Aymana (varr. Bih-bīn, Bīban, *Maʾāt̲h̲ir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 243), the second cousin of his father, was a daughter of al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Abā Bakr of Jallandhar, in which city Bāyazid was born c. 931/1525, *i.e.*, a year before Bābur had founded his Empire in India. His father left for Kānīgurām (Wazīristān), his home-town, before the child had completed his forty days. Alarmed by the establishment of the Mug̲h̲al supremacy, the people of Bāyazīd fled (c. 936/1529) to Bihār and thence went with a caravan to Kānrīgurām. ʿAbd Allāh, who had another wife (and several children by her), now developed an aversion for Aymana and divorced her. Bāyazīd, then about seven, found his subsequent home life extremely unhappy and gradually he developed a life-long estrangement from his parents and step-brother. His early schooling was interrupted as he was called upon to attend to home affairs and trade, but he turned to his studies whenever possible, though always confining himself only to what related to the questions of divine worship. He applied himself diligently to acquiring a detailed knowledge of, and a punctilious performance of, devotional exercises and other religious duties. But he felt himself baulked in every direction, for his father would not let him perform the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* or go elsewhere for further studies, or allow him to become a disciple of a Pīr. When he was nearing sixteen, his father took him along on one of his trade journeys. Later, Bāyazīd made several more. On these he must have met (as in *Tad̲h̲kira*, f. 82b) the *Mulḥid* (Ismāʿīlī) Sulaymān, whose influence can be seen, among other things, in the excessive emphasis on the doctrine of the *Pīr-i Kāmil* ("perfect spiritual director"), the frequent use of *taʾwīl*, for example in dealing with the "five pillars of the faith" (*arkān-i k̲h̲amsa*), *g̲h̲usl* etc., in certain Ḥurūfī doctrines

(see *Ḥāl*, 216 ff., 91 ff., 257). The *Tadhkira* refers also to Bāyazīd's association with Yogīs, from whom he learnt the doctrines of transmigration of souls and of divine incarnation (*avatār*). This is not expressly mentioned in the *Ḥāl-nāma*, but if, as some Anṣārīs of Jalandhar believe, he is identical with 'Vadjīd' who compiled Shloks (see Onkār Nāth, *Vadjīd djī de shlōk*, Lāhore n.d.) he shows considerable knowledge of popular Hindū lore, and some verses of the editor of the *Ḥāl*, 502 f., may indeed have been inspired by the *shloks* directly or through the *Khayr al-Bayān*.

Side by side with the above activities he discovered that he himself was Pīr-i Kāmil, seeing dreams, in one of which he met Khiḍr and drank from him the water of life (*Ḥāl*, 54), the occasion being celebrated by his followers later by fasting on the day. He also heard voices from the unknown and received inspiration from God and passed, step by step, through the eight grades of spiritual elevation (see RAWSHANIYYA). He engaged himself in *dhikr-i khafī* (invoking the divine name mentally), and in due course, also "the Greatest name of God" (*ism-i aʿẓam*). When he entered upon his forty-first year he heard a voice saying that henceforth he should no more perform the legal ablutions, and instead of the prayers of the faithful, he should say those of the prophets (*Ḥāl*, 94). He now regarded all others as polytheists or hypocrites, and observed quadragesimal fasts (*čilla*).

The time had now come to preach to others. He was going with a caravan to India, but he returned home from Ḳandahār, had an underground cell constructed, in which he made his wife and a few others observe *čilla*s, to begin with. Later, he received orders to preach openly. On the basis of dreams of his own and others, people began to call him "Mian Roshān". He met a great deal of local opposition, in which his father and his pupils took a prominent part. They challenged his right to interpret the scriptures etc. in spite of his poor knowledge of them, though they admired his exceptional intelligence and his trenchant logic in debates. Similarly they challenged his claim to Mahdīhood and divine inspiration, and condemned his calling Muslims *kāfirs* or hypocrites. But he met their challenge squarely, though on occasions he became slightly conciliatory. His disciples began to increase greatly, and he appointed some as *khalīfa*s to work farther afield. They also clashed, wherever they went, with the local Pīrs, who aroused public opinion against the sect everywhere.

His teaching: The central doctrine of Bāyazīd could be briefly stated thus (see *Ṣirāṭ*, i): Gnosis of God ("the Truth") is an imperative duty (*farḍ-i ʿayn*). This gnosis without which obedience (*ṭāʿa*), divine worship (*ʿibāda*), charities and good works, are not acceptable to God, cannot be obtained except through a Perfect Spiritual Director (*pīr-i kāmil*). He is one who is a man of law (*sharīʿa*), of the Way (*ṭariḳa*), of the Truth (*ḥaḳiḳa*), of the gnosis of God (*maʿrifa*), of Nearness (*ḳurba*), of Union (*waṣla*), of Oneness with God (*waḥda*), of Tranquillity (*sukūna* = *sakīna* of *Ṣirāṭ*, 110). He is a Revealer of the truths of divine secrets, an Embodiment of *takhallaḳū bi-akhlāḳ Allāh*, *i.e.*, his spirit acquires divine qualities (cf. *ibid.*, 25). Seeking and obeying him is incumbent on all. Obeying him is obeying the Apostle of God, and therefore obeying God. Such a Perfect Director is Bāyazīd himself, who was told this both in dreams and when awake, and those who sincerely obey him would be led by him through the above stages to *tawḥīd* (cf. *Ṣirāṭ*, 24 f.).

Special stress was laid on the neophytes' repentance (*tawba*), retiring to cells, observing *čilla*s once a year, invoking the divine name in silence, meditation, and similar ascetic practices. When they had reached the last stage in their "ascent", presumably they looked upon themselves as free from the obligations imposed by the *sharīʿa* (cf. *Tadhkira*, 88a).

What *Dabistān*, 251 (*Naẓar* 2), gives as his doctrines are probably his war regulations relating to the period in which he was at war with the Mughals and other Afghān tribes hostile to him.

His missionary work outside his home town. He began with a village a day's journey from Kānīgurām, met violent opposition and fled back to his home town, where too there were strong reactions against him, amounting almost to his ejection from the community. But he adopted a conciliatory attitude and that saved the situation for a time. A *dāʿī* of his having prepared the ground among the Dāwarīs (or Dāwrīs) of the Tochī Valley in northern Wazīristān, he went there, and even performed some miracles. A clever agent of his then prepared the ground for him farther afield and in due course he appeared among the Bangash, then worked his way up and won over the Orakzīs, Tīrāhīs and Āfrīdis. Passing on to the Saraban land of Peshāwar, he converted numerous tribesmen of the Khalīl, Mohmand, Daʾūdzīs, Gagyānīs, Yūsufzīs, Tuʾīs and Ṣāfīs. Complaints against him having reached Kābul he was hauled up by the young governor of the Province, Akbar's brother Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm (b. 961/1554 d. 990/1583) and Bāyazīd had to face an inquisition conducted by Ḳāḍīkhān, the Ḳāḍī of Kābul. Bāyazīd gave clever answers and was allowed to return to Peshāwar. He now resumed his work among the Mohmandzīs and was so impressed with their sincerity and devotion to his cause, that he and his sons and a daughter married among them. A *dāʿī* then converted the Kāsīs of the Ḳandahār region, especially the Shinwārīs and Mohmandzīs and some Barech and Ṣāfīs of Ḳandahār.

After some years' work among them, the *dāʿī* appeared among the Sindīs and Balōčīs and made Sayyidpur (near Ḥaydarābād-Sind) the centre of his activities. The Pīr and his agents (who were allowed to work only in his name and never in their own) had a remarkable initial success everywhere, in spite of the violent opposition aroused by the rival *pīrs*, *ʿulamāʾ*, etc., except in Tīrāh, where such rivals do not seem to have existed. At this stage, Bāyazīd sent his missionaries (from Kalla Dher in Hashtnagar, *Makhzan*, f. 154b) to the rulers, nobles and *ʿulamāʾ* of the neighbouring countries inviting them to the acceptance of his claims. One of them was sent to the Emperor Akbar, another to Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān. Some more were sent to India, Balkh and Bukhārā. Sayyid ʿAlī Tirmidhī, the *murshid* of the Ākhund also got one (*Tadhkira*, f. 91b).

His war with the Mughals: Some shrewd people of the time, seeing his growing power, foresaw that Bāyazīd was about to draw the sword and cause bloodshed (*Ḥāl*, 423, 426, 437). The immediate cause of his warlike exploits is thus narrated in *Ḥāl*, 471 ff.: a caravan returning from India, on its way to Kābul, halted near a village peopled by an ultra-fanatical group of his followers. Infuriated by the gross neglect, as they thought, by the caravan people of the affairs of the next world, the villagers looted and destroyed the property of the caravan,

which brought down upon their heads the wrath of the authorities in Kābul, and the villagers were slaughtered and their children carried into captivity. On a written protest from Bāyazīd, Maʿṣūm Khān, the Governor of Peshāwar, was ordered to arrest him, but he escaped to a hill in the Yūsufzī region and, being besieged there, successfully fought his way to Khaybar and Tīrāh. This first battle-ground was named by him Āghāzpūr. The war lasted during the remaining 2½ years of his life, till his death in 980/1572-73. The details of it are supplied not by the *Ḥāl-nāma*, but by Mullā Darwīza, according to to whom Bāyazid was finally defeated at Torragha by Muḥsin Khān Ghāzī, who had led an expedition against him from Djalālābād. The Pīr fled on foot to the hills, suffered pangs of exhaustion and thirst and ultimately died at Kālā Pānī but was buried in Hashtnager (*Tadhkira*, f. 93b). Some Gudjars were found desecrating the tomb at night, so Bāyazīd's son and successor Sh. ʿUmar removed the coffin in which he was buried and kept it in front of him when on the march, until in the confusion of a battle (989/1581), it fell into the Indus. It is said to have been recovered later and buried in Bhattapūr, (*Ḥāl*, 483 f., 493-525). This place appears to have been three days' journey from Kanīgurām (*Ḥāl*, 156).

His literary and other cultural activities. Bāyazīd wrote an autobiographical-cum-propaganda work, and many treatises, to explain the tenets of the sect he had founded. Out of these treatises only two are available. In these his method is to quote some Ḳurʾānic verse or verses, then add relevant materials from the *ḥadīth* (of the soundness or otherwise of which he shows himself to be no discriminating judge) and where possible, supplement them by the sayings of holy men. This material is often repeated from work to work. Among *aḥādīth* he includes what he calls *āḥādīth-i ḳudsī*, some of which had been addressed to himself (*e.g.*, see *Ḥāl*, 87, 160). He also gives what voices from heaven said to him in Arabic or Persian (see, *e.g.*, *Ḥāl*, 88, 113, 117, 125). His Arabic, from a literary point of view, is weak and ungrammatical, even allowing for the fact that the MSS. of his works which have reached us are late copies. His chief opponent and contemporary Mullā Darwīza (*Tadhkira*, f. 89b) found in the *Khayr al-Bayān* Arabic words strung together "without a sense of proper syntactical relationship" (*bilā idrāk-i tarkīb*). These works were read and explained by him to the members of his family (*Ḥāl*, 689) and his other disciples, and the *Khayr al-Bayān* and *Maḳṣūd al-Muʾminīn* especially, acquired a semi-sacred character for them. He claimed that the former work had been revealed to him. Hotly pursued, on one occasion, at night, by the Yūsufzīs, his son ʿUmar halted his troops and waited till the work, which had been forgotten at some place on the way, had been retrieved (*Ḥāl*, 498). The *Maḳṣūd al-Muʾminīn* is said to have saved the life of another son of Bāyazīd (Djalāl al-Dīn), for, when he was carrying it, it shielded him by receiving the sword-cuts and dagger-thrusts from his enemies. A *darwish* heard a voice from the unknown asking him to retire to his home and devote himself to the study of these two books (*Ḥāl*, 390), and so on. Judging from what remains of his Afghānī prose, it seems that he attempted to write in rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) following Arabic and Persian models, even to the detriment of the idiom of Pushto. Because of the nature of the subjects dealt with (religion, mysticism, morality), he had to use freely the familiar Arabic and Persian terminology along with the words of the Yūsufzī and Ḳandaharī dialects of Pushto (see *Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islām*, art. Bāyazīd Anṣārī). The following of his works are traceable:

1) *Khayr al-Bayān*, in 40 chapters (*bayāns*) (*Ḥāl*, 431). Some passages of it, according to the *Tadhkira*, were in Arabic and Persian, some in Afghānī and Hindī (but cf. *Dabistān* 251[12]) though "all the sections were inharmonious and incongruous" (*nā mawzūn wa nā muwāfiḳ*). The Ākhund even asserts that part of the work was contributed by Mullā Arzānī Khweshgī of Kasūr, a *khalīfa* of the Pīr. On his death-bed, when asked by his disciples for his last injunctions, Bāyazīd directed their attention to the *Khayr al-Bayān*, in which, he said, he had recorded unstintingly whatever was revealed to him (*Ḥāl*, 483). The work is said to have attempted an affirmation of pantheistic belief (*waḥdat-i wudjūd*) (*Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 243). No copy of it is known to exist except the one (transcribed in 1061/1651, ff. 167) which was lent to Sir Denison Ross by someone and is now said to be intraceable. Prof. Morgenstierne (Oslo) published some extracts from it, with their English translation, in the *Indian Antiquary*.

2) *Maḳṣūd al Muʾminīn* (Arabic). Only two copies are known, one with me (with interlinear Persian translation), transcribed in 1224/1809, and the other in the Āṣafiyya transcribed 2 years later (see Cat. I 390/86, Brockelmann, S II, 991). This handbook of the Rawshaniyya doctrine was composed by Bāyazīd at the request of his eldest son ʿUmar (who is occasionally addressed in it as "O! my dear son!") for the benefit of the faithful who were to read, remember, and act according to it. It has 21 sections. The first thirteen forming more than half of the work, deal with such topics as Admonition, Reason, Faith, Fear, Hope, Spirit, Satan, Heart, Soul, This World and the Next, Trust in God, and Repentance; the last eight deal with the eight stages (see above) from *sharīʿa* to *sakūna*.

3) *Ṣirāṭ al-Tawḥīd* (Arabic-Persian). This partly autobiographical treatise begins with a description of the stages of his spiritual development up to the time when he discovered the *Pīr-i Kāmil* in himself, and ends in a *risāla* addressed specially to kings and amīrs. It contains an admonition to princes and describes the various disciplinary stages for the ascent of the soul of man, possible only under the guidance of the Perfect Pīr. He urges them to seek repentance at the hand of such a Pīr (*Ṣirāṭ*, 71 f., 184 ff.). Bāyazid tells those who had gone through spiritual exercises under his supervision or that of his disciples that they had won divine favour according to their capacity, for capacity and sincerity were indispensable for the 'ascent'.

It is stated in the colophon of the work that it was composed in 978/1570-1 and that "whoso studies it and acts according to it will learn *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*". A copy of the work was sent by the author through a special messenger to the Emperor Akbar, who was pleased to receive it (*Ḥāl*, 468), ed. M. A. Shakūr, Pashāwar 1952. The text is based on an original slightly defective at the beginning.

4) *Fakhr* (?, the MS. has نجر or لحر) *al-Ṭālibīn* (*Ḥāl*, 468 f.), a treatise sent by Bāyazīd to Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshān at the time he sent his works to the various princes. No copy is known to exist.

5) *Ḥāl-nāma* (Persian), an autobiography of Bāyazīd re-edited and amplified by ʿAlī Muḥammad "Mukhliṣ" b. Abā Bakr Ḳandahārī, a "home-born"

(*khānazād*) of the sons of Bāyazīd and a *khalīfa* of the sect.

There is one undated copy (ff. 526) in Aligarh (Subḥān Allāh Oriental Library No. 920-37). From it the Pandjāb University copy was made recently (745, ll. 20), and the references given in this art. relate to this copy. No other copy of the work is known to exist, but Count Noer (A. S. Beveridge's tr., ii, 148) refers to some "existing fragments" of it.

Abā Bakr, father of ʿAlī Muḥammad, had served Djalāl al-Dīn as a boy, and later, commanded troops under Aḥad Dād, and still later came to India with the members of the family of Bāyazīd when they moved to India. ʿAlī Muḥammad served Bāyazīd's grandson Rashīd Khān in the Deccan, and settled down in Rashīdābād, a village in Shamsābād Maʾū (*Ḥāl*, 714, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 250), near Āgrā (*Gazet. of Jullundur District*, 99).

The text of the *Ḥāl-nāma* of Bāyazīd, the editor tells us in his preface, had become corrupt in course of time and a continuation relating to the military exploits of his sons and grandsons had to be added. At the request of some friends he supplied this, drawing upon written and oral sources. The narrative, which is brought down to the accession of Awrangzīb (1069/1659, *Ḥāl*, 729) is of a considerable literary merit, though it has lengthy digressions in prose and verse (often of his own composition) dealing with the doctrines of the sect and minor incidents relating to the faithful. The earlier part, giving a full and detailed account of the life of Bāyazīd, has much fewer dates, and some of them, as compared with those in the latter part, are open to doubt, but the narrative of the life of Bāyazīd lacks details of his war with the Mughals (fought in the last 2½ years of his life) and ends abruptly. But he gives a very full and up-to-date account of the descendants of the Pīr, both male and female, and their genealogies.

The *Ḥāl-nāma* (453 f.) claims that Bāyazīd made definite contributions towards the cultural rise of the Afghān people. He was the first, according to this work, to compose *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *rubāʿiyyāt*, *ḳiṭʿas*, *mathnawīs* etc. in Pushto, though before him people wrote only a verse or two. This, however, is an exaggerated statement, as *ḳaṣīdas* etc., of a much earlier date are known to exist. But it may be true that following his example, Bāyazīd's sons and disciples composed several Pushto *dīwāns*, full of lofty truths and fine ideas. Other Afghāns, outside the sect, also followed these models, and an impetus was given to the more frequent use of Pushto as a literary medium.

The Pīr also made contributions towards the improvement of the music of the land. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, a *khalīfa* of Mīr Faḍl Allāh Walī (the Ḥurūfī ?: d. 796/1393), added some strings to the rebeck (*rabāb*) and as a result of his instructions the Afghān musicians produced new tunes, generally dance-tunes, but the players could not play them with proper rhythm, so Bāyazīd improved their rhythm and under his guidance the musicians were able to compose *surūd-i sulūk* ("the mystic's song", a sort of devotional music) and other pleasing tunes, and the following six modes :

n. ā. s. a. r. i. (*dhanāsarī* ?); *pandj parda*; *čahār parda*; *si parda* (five, four and three melodies); martial notes (for the battlefield); and *maḳām-i shahādat* ("the mode of bearing witness or martyrdom"). Even as a boy Bāyazīd had shown great sensitiveness to music and would dance in ecstatic delight when songs were sung (*Ḥāl*, 23 f.). Several of his sons and grandsons proved to be expert musicians and one of them, Aḥad Dād, employed musicians who took turns and played music day and night for his entertainment (*Ḥāl*, 581 f.; see also 672, 680 etc.).

The Pīr is also credited with the popularisation of the Āfghān script.

Decimated by internal and external wars, violently opposed by the *ʿulamāʾ*, and later mostly scattered in various parts of India, the followers of the sect almost disappeared. The tenets of the sect are said to be professed to-day only "by the immediate descendants of the founder in Tīrāh and Kohāt and some of the Bangash and Orakzai Pathāns" (*Gazetteer of the Peshawar District* 1897-98, 60; cf. J. Leyden, *Asiatic Researches*, xi, 363).

Bibliography: Apart from the standard Mughal historical works, particularly the *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, ii, 242 (Bibl. Ind.), the following are important:

ʿAlī Muḥamad b. Abā Bakr Ḳandahārī, *Ḥāl-nāma-i Pīr-i Dastgīr* (Pandjāb University Library MS.; Bāyazīd Anṣārī, *Maḳṣūd al-Muʾminīn*, my MS.; idem, *Ṣirāṭ al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Shakūr, Peshāwar 1952; Ākhund Darwīza, *Makhzan al-Islām*, my MS., f. 8b., 151b., also *the Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, nos. 2632-8; idem, *Tadhkirat al-Abrār wa 'l-Ashrār* (Persian), Pandjāb University MS., f. 82 ff., *s.a.* A.H. 1021 (see also Rieu's Cat., i, 28. Or. 222); J. Leyden, *On the Roshenian Sect and its Founder, Bāyazīd Ansārī* (*Asiatic Researches*, xi, 363 ff.); Graf Noer, *Kaiser Akbar*, ii, 180 f. (English tr. by A. S. Beveridge, Calcutta 1890, ii, 138); G. Morgenstierne, *Notes on an old Pashto Manuscript containing the Khair-ul-Bayān of Bāyazid Ansāri*, in *New Indian Antiquary*. (Bombay), Vol. ii, No. 8 (Nov. 1939), 566 ff.; *Maʿārif* (an Urdū Magazine publ. at Aʿẓamgarh), col. ix, no. 6 (1927), 430; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Djabbār Shāh Sithānawī, *ʿIbratan li Ūli 'l-Abṣār* (Urdū), 45 ff. (author's autograph). See also the art. RAWSHANIYYA. (MUHAMMED SHAFI)

BĀYAZĪD AL-BISṬĀMĪ [see ABŪ YAZĪD AL-BISṬĀMĪ].

BAYBARS I, AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR RUKN AL-DĪN AL-ṢĀLIḤĪ, fourth Mamlūk sultan of the Baḥrīd dynasty. He is said to have been born in 620/1233 and to have been one of a group of Ḳipčāḳ Turk slaves purchased by the Ayyūbid sultan Malik Ṣāliḥ. His first master had been Aydakin Bunduḳdār, whence his surname Bunduḳdārī, which also explains in Marco Polo's work (ed. Hambis, II), "Bondocdaire, sultan of Babylonia". He appears first in history in 636/1239, in prison with his master Malik Ṣāliḥ at Karak. Several months later he was fighting in Syria on behalf of the sultan of Egypt, serving there a rough apprenticeship in the military life, not to mention the intrigues of the last Ayyūbid princes which offered a gloomy example for his contemplation. His first military accomplishment consisted in taking command of the Egyptian army on the battlefield at Manṣūra, which ended in the decisive victory of Fāraskūr and the capture of Louis IX king of France. It was then that upon his instigation that Tūrān-Shāh was assassinated in 648/1250, the plot unfolding in the guise of resistance to the enemy.

This murder, whose odious character is scarcely disputable, settled nothing. Weakness was general. Baybars undoubtedly bore the responsibility for it, and in it the reign of the Mamlūk sultans had its beginning. The origins were bloody and when

Sultan Ḳuṭuz assumed power the Mongol hordes had begun their invasion of Syrian territory. A bloody encounter took place at ʿAyn Dj̲ālūt [*q.v.*] in Palestine, Sulṭān Ḳuṭuz distinguishing himself there with enormous valour, as well as the Mongol general who was killed. The Egyptian success was decisive, owing to the tenacity of a sultan who against all odds had managed to field an army. Baybars had fought in the vanguard.

We know little of the sequence of events which led to yet another tragic end; Ḳuṭuz was assassinated in his tent, this deed being accomplished by a group of officers of which Baybars was one. Clashing ambitions have been mentioned; at any rate it was Baybars who gained the throne (658/1260).

There had already been two murders; but the glory of the sovereign will conceal from history the perfidy of the officer, We will examine his rule chronologically, for the evolution of events allows an evaluation of his activity, which can be confirmed by the written sources. His period cannot but recall that of Saladin: the achievement of a unity of command, and the victorious war against the Franks. These are two elements of the comparison which accure to the advantage of Baybars. He wiped out feudalism rather than created it: he had no family to provide for. Moreover, Saladin's offensive, of which the title to glory is the capture of Jerusalem, was a clap of thunder without consequence. In this respect too the advantage lies with Baybars, whose forced marches, rapid and unexpected, were not without method: every inch of conquered land was put immediately in a state of defence.

Internally the reorganisation of the state manifests an exceptional harmony and equilibrium. Beyond his actions, which one can establish by deeds and dates, Baybars gives the impression of a man who dominates events with an imperturbable optimism.

From the year 659/1261 the new sultan consolidated the key points of his future offensives. Every citadel which had been destroyed by the Mongols, from Ḥims to Ḥawrān, were put in order and provided with victuals and ammunition.

In his eyes these military precautions were insufficient. He insisted upon being informed rapidly and upon being able to despatch orders with the same speed. Baybars established a regular postal service: twice a week he received information from every part of the empire. Under normal circumstances a despatch took four days to go from Cairo to Damascus. More urgent news was sent by pigeons, and delivered without delay. It would even happen that the sultan received information in a state of almost complete nakedness. Such a setting tended to increase the zeal of his functionaries.

He reconstructed entirely the arsenals, and had warships and cargo vessels built.

The sultan began by nibbling at the domains of the Ayyūbid princes: he appointed an officer to take charge of the administration of the town of S̲h̲awbak, which was done without striking a blow. The sultan went to Aleppo, sounded the Franks in the region of Antioch, and finished the campaign at Damascus. In 661/1263, after a year spent in Cairo, the sultan threatened Saint Jean d'Acre, then turned against Karak, thus eliminating an Ayyūbid principality, returned to Damascus, finally re-entering Egypt and inspecting the city of Alexandria. In 662/1264 Baybars annexed the territory of Ḥims, whose Ayyūbid prince had just died without heir. He began intensive military preparations and soon fielded a formidable army.

On the first of Rabīʿ II 663/21 January 1265, this enormous army, commanded by the sultan, left Cairo, for the first stage of the great offensive against the Franks, which would not terminate until 670/1271. Their strongholds were taken one after another. In 663/1265 it was the capture of the port of Caesarea which split the Frankish possessions in the south and isolated Jaffa; further north ʿAt̲h̲līt̲h̲ and Ḥayfā were occupied. The towns were destroyed: in the event of a reverse they could not serve as supports for the enemy. Then the army turned south and took the port of Arsūf. In 664/1266 simultaneous attacks were made all along the front, but the principal effort was directed toward the town of Safad, to the northwest of Lake Tiberias: the place was taken after a heavy siege. In 666/1268 Baybars turned towards the enclave of Jaffa which did not hold out for a day. One may read the account of that exploit, still engraved on the gate of the great mosque at Ramla in Palestine: "He lay siege to Jaffa at dawn and took it, with God's permission, at the third hour of the same day". A few weeks later a new line of defense was forced: the river Litani and the castle of Beaufort, opposite Tyre, became Muslim, Suddenly the Egyptian troops appeared at the northern point of the Latin kingdom, and Antioch capitulated. This conquest had a considerable repercussion, perhaps greater than the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. Since the beginning of the Crusades, Antioch had not once left the possession of the Franks. The neighbouring fortresses could resist no longer and Baybars took advantage in concluding peace with the king of Little Armenia, who was obliged to surrender a part of his domain to the sultan of Egypt. A final offensive, starting from Ḥims, cut the distant defences of Tripoli. The strongholds of Safīt̲h̲ā, the castle of Crac and of ʿAkkār were taken in two months, in the course of 669/1271.

Meanwhile the sultan, habitually dividing his time between Cairo and Damascus, had made the pilgrimage in 667/1269. Negotiations led in 668/1270 the lord of the Ismāʿīlī fortresses to pay tribute to the sultan, who, preoccupied with the expedition of Saint Louis to Tunis, thought for a moment of going to the aid of the Mag̲h̲ribīs. Reassured, the sultan set off again for the conquest of the Ismāʿīlī fortresses, then returned to Cairo. The year 670/1272 was dedicated to a general inspection of Syria. The historians agree in their accounts of how the sultan would arrive unexpectedly, changing direction en route to preclude any foreknowledge of his itinerary. In 671/1272-73, he left Damascus for Bired̲j̲ik, overwhelming a Mongol detachment near there. Other divisions of the army were operating in Nubia, in the region of Barka and in Armenia. The Franks had at last got a respite. After a year of calm, Baybars was again in Armenia, during 674/1275, where he took Sīs and Ayās. The year 674 is marked by an expedition to Nubia, led by the sultan's lieutenants. In 675/1276 Baybars was in Asia Minor where he took Caesarea (Kayseri) in Cappadocia, after having defeated the Sald̲j̲ūḳ troops and their Mongol allies. Then he returned to die at Damascus in the early part of 676/1277, at the end of a substantially full life.

The Crusaders never recovered. One can evaluate the territorial losses of the Frankish kingdom at the death of Baybars: the principality of Antioch virtually existed no longer; in the south the frontier had been pushed back from Jaffa to Acre. Everything considered, the Crusaders possessed

only a narrow strip of the coast, while the Mamlūks held all of the crests.

The seventeen years of Baybars' reign show a balance of thirty-eight campaigns in Syria. Of the nine battles with the Mongols, only the last was due to the initiative of the sultan, the others being considered counter-attacks. There were five significant engagements with Little Armenia. The Ismāʿīlī sectaries, the Assassins, suffered three attacks. On the Franks, the most abused, the Egyptian troops inflicted twenty-one defeats.

The military activity of the sultan was not the result only of the orders which he gave; he took personal command in fifteen battles, not fearing when it was necessary, to expose his own life. A few figures give an idea of Baybars' travels: he does not appear to have spent more than half the period of his reign in his capital at Cairo; he left it twenty-six times, and certainly covered more than forty thousand kilometres.

One sees in the rule of Baybars a splendid example of energy, bringing to light an unexpected political recovery. Under the impetus of this exceptional leader, Egypt, who had just undergone an internal revolution and had been the target of powerful enemies—Crusaders, Mongols, Ismāʿīlī—was suddenly to impose its rule upon the Orient. The confusion following the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdād, the hints of alliance between Crusaders and Mongols, the potential conspiracies of the dispossessed Ayyūbid princes, and the personal ambitions of the high ranking Mamlūk officers, are all elements of the tragic combination which makes Baybars' success so extraordinary.

It was a stroke of genius on his part to welcome a refugee of the ʿAbbāsid family, after the disastrous invasion of the Mongols in 656/1258, and to recognise him in Cairo as supreme pontiff. It was not merely a spiritual gesture, for the ruler had seen in it immediate and tangible consequences: suzerainty over the Holy Cities of the Ḥidjāz. Finally, the Egyptian state might from that time on style itself the "Islamic Kingdom".

The exploits of this extraordinary warrior made him a legend in his own lifetime; the epic of Baybars is well below his actual biography. His life is indeed a story of adventure: the death of the hero, drinking a cup of poison prepared by another, is but part of the perfect romance.

Bibliography: The two chief primary sources for the life of Baybars are the biographies of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir and of Ibn Shaddād, neither of which is fully extant. A British Museum manuscript of a version of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, covering the period up to the beginning of 663/1265, was published, with an English translation, by Mrs. S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956. A more complete ms. of the same version, preserved in the Fātiḥ library, is being edited by Mr. A. A. Khowaitir (see further B. Lewis, in *Speculum*, xxvii, 1952, 488; Cl. Cahen in *Arabica*, v, 1958, 211-2; P. M. Holt in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1959, 143-5). A unique and incomplete manuscript of Ibn Shaddād's biography of Baybars, covering the years 670-76/1272-78, was found in Edirne by Ş. Yaltkaya, who published an abridged Turkish translation of it (*Baypars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941) without the Arabic original. Further information will be found in the general historical sources (Maḳrīzī, Dhahabī, Ibn Taghribirdī etc.). See also E. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, 1 ff.; M. F. Köprülü, *Baybars*, in *IA*; M. Dj. Surūr, *al-Zāhir Baybars*, Cairo 1938, and the general histories of medieval Egypt by G. Wiet (*Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, iv, Paris, n.d, 367-82, 403-38) and S. Lane-Poole (*A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*[4], London 1914, index). For inscriptions see *RCEA*, xi, nos. 4221, 4344; xii, nos. 4476 to 4478, 4485, 4501, 4528, 4552, 4553, 4556, 4557, 4562, 4565, 4586, 4588, 4589, 4593, 4600, 4608, 4611, 4612, 4623 to 4626, 4638, 4660, 4750, to 4662, 4673, 4686, 4690, 4692, 4714, 4723, 4724, 4726 to 4728, 4730, 4732 to 4735, 3737 to 4740, 4746, 4750 again, 4751, 4752. Further bibliography will be found in G. Wiet, *Les Biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī*, no. 708. (G. WIET)

BAYBARS II, AL-MALIK AL-MUẒAFFAR RUKN AL-DĪN MANṢŪRĪ DJĀSHNIKĪR, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt. Perhaps of Circassian origin, Baybars belonged to the Mamlūks of Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn. Appointed *major domo, ustādār*, during the first reign of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (693-94/1293-94), he was promoted to commander of a thousand by Sulṭān Katbughā, and his power increased, at the same time as that of his rival, Salār. Both were equally ready to assume power upon the assassination of Sulṭān Lādjīn in 698/1299.

They put on the throne for the second time the young Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn. The two men were not bound by any deep friendship but they were too afraid of one another to allow their differences to persist, and so resigned themselves to ruling jointly, at the expense of a monarch then aged fourteen. At every mention of an important measure taken during that period, the Arab historians do not neglect to attribute it to both *amirs*, for example, in the rigorous directives against the Christians and Jews in 700/1301. The *duumvirs* managed a vigorous resistance to the invasion of the Mongol Ghāzān. They put down, with unheard of cruelty, an insurrection of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, who had elected two chiefs with the surnames Baybars and Salār. Ten years later Muḥammad, weary of their tutelage, abdicated.

Baybars, possessing more Mamlūks than Salār, was able to succeed alone to the sultanate, in Shawwāl 708/April 1309, and it was then that his weakness became apparent. In fact, Muḥammad was able to form an army from the fortress of Karak, to which he had retired, and in Ramaḍān of the following year/February 1310, he began his third reign. Baybars had fled. Apprehended, he was brought to Cairo and strangled on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 709/16 April 1310.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, viii, 232-82; Manhal Ṣāfī, no. 709; Hautecœur et Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, 54-55; Wiet, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 468-77. (G. WIET)

SĪRAT **BAYBARS,** an extensive Arabic folk-tale purporting to be the life-story of the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I (1260-77). Many of the people and the events in the *sīra* are historical, but its overall character, as well as most of the descriptive detail, is fictitious. Its only historical value lies in the fact that it represents the type of intellectual nourishment accepted by large parts of the Muslim population in Cairo in the late Middle Ages and in the following centuries. Its real interest lies rather in the fields of sociology, folklore, and history of literature.

The novel opens with a description of the end of Ayyūbid times and the beginning of Mamlūk rule, up to the accession of Baybars. Later sections treat the hero's warlike exploits, particularly those

against the Christians (Byzantines and Crusaders) and the Persians (= Mongols). Towards the end, the novel grows more and more into a fantastic tale of adventure, sorcery and roguery. Traditional tales and motifs, also to be found in other Arabian contexts such as the *Thousand and One Nights* (as well as some which are known in the Iranian tradition), have been used. Baybars's cunning but basically faithful servant ʿUthmān—half groom-cum-pickpocket, half saint—and (in the later parts of the novel) an Ismāʿīlī master of disguise by name of Shīḥa also play large parts. Shīḥa is constantly on the move, reconnoitring, freeing Muslim prisoners, and harming or at least scaring his enemies with his craftiness and pranks. His opponent on the Christian side is the dangerous Guwān (= Juan?; the original name given is Girgīs), a deadly enemy of Islam. Besides the Mamlūks, there are also Syrian Ismāʿīlīs (*i.e.*, Assassins, even though they are never called such) who take part in the battles. The printed editions give an outline, at the end, of the history of Egypt from Mamlūk times to the present day. This is a subsequent addition, which has nothing to do with the actual novel.

Historical events are presented as seen from a bourgeois point of view. The novel has a special predilection for impoverished merchants or craftsmen. Pictures of life in the streets of Cairo are particularly attractive. Amongst the degenerate Mamlūk soldiery, Baybars appears as the just ruler who protects his subjects and fights corruption. Crude jokes, puns, and situations of a certain primitively comic nature, appealed to the uncultured taste of the listeners (the *sīra* was probably always meant to be recited, not read). A definite Islamic conception of the world underlies the whole. Christian and other opponents of Islam are—unless they are later converted—painted in the blackest colours. There is an underlying offensive religious fanaticism. As all non-Muslims are necessarily villains, they have no claim to decent treatment, still less to pity, and none whatever to respect. Things are occasionally very harsh among Muslims, too, but, on the other hand, honourableness receives due praise. Great stress is laid on abstaining from wine; adultery is decried; saints are frequently mentioned. Aḥmad al-Badawī appears in the story of Baybars's youth. The most prominent saint in the later parts of the *sīra* is Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh al-Maghrāwī. He is the Muslims' helper in all plights, particularly in journeys across the sea (Wangelin, 360-2).

The literary form of the *sīra* corresponds to that of similar Arabic popular tales. The prose tale is interrupted and enlivened by sections of rhymed prose and interspersed with poems. These (in part quotations, in part verses made up for the *sīra*, in classical metres as well as strophic form), are not, however, evenly distributed. So far there has been no close study of these (cf. Wangelin, 307). The language is somewhat colloquial, particularly in the manuscript texts.

The first literary mention of *Sīrat Baybars*, though indirect, is a note by Ibn Iyās (Wangelin, 307) at the beginning of the 16th century. According to U. J. Seetzen, E. W. Lane, and J. G. Wetzstein, public recitals of the *Sīrat Baybars* were very popular in Cairo and Damascus in the 19th century. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn mentions such recitals and the sale of printed editions (or part-editions?) of the *sīra* amongst the Egyptian fellaheen in the story of his youth (*Al-Ayyām*, Cairo 1929, 21 and 83). Some parts of the novel have been given in translation by E. W. Lane in *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, and in G. Weil's first edition of his translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*. W. Ahlwardt has given a detailed description of some of the Berlin manuscripts of the *sīra*. Helmut Wangelin has produced the first monograph on the novel, giving an extensive table of contents based on the first printed edition of the year 1908-09.

The manuscripts of the *Sīrat Baybars* are comparatively recent. Levi Della Vida describes a version in the Biblioteca Vaticana which dates from the 10th/16th century, and which, unlike the other texts, has only some 500 pages. Possibly this represents an earlier stage in the development of the novel. The two texts quoted by Ahlwardt (vol. 8, 143 f.) under the numbers 9163 and 9164, on the other hand, appear to be subsequently shortened versions. This is also borne out by the absence of interpolated songs. The history of the development of the *sīra* would probably become clearer if the different manuscripts were to be classified and compared in detail. It is questionable, however, whether it would be worth the time involved.

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BAYBARS AL-MANṢŪRĪ. This Mamlūk general and historian began his career as a slave of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn (thence his by-name "al-Manṣūrī"). In the retinue of Ḳalāʾūn Baybars participated in 663/1265 in the campaign of Sulṭān Baybars I against the Syrian Franks, in 664/1266 in campaigns in Syria and Cilicia, in 666/1268 in the siege of Antioch and in 673/1275 in another campaign in Cilicia. Kalāʾūn, who had become sultan of Egypt and Syria, appointed Baybars governor of the province of al-Karak in 685/1286. His son and heir al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl removed Baybars from this post in 690/1291, whereupon he returned to Egypt and took part in the siege of Acre, in the siege of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm in Asia Minor in the following year and in two expeditions against the Mongols. When in Muḥarram 693/December 1293 al-Malik al Nāṣir Muḥammad was elected sultan, he appointed Baybars general (*muḳaddam alf*) and gave him the high post of *dawādār* (chief of the chancery). From that time

Baybars' career was linked to the fate of this prince, who was twice deposed and reinstalled. Baybars lost his post after al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lād̲j̲īn had become sultan instead of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but he was reinstated on al-Malik al-Nāṣir's return to the throne, in 698/1299. In the following years he fulfilled both military and administrative tasks, until he was deposed from his post of *dawādār* in 704/1304-05. Meanwhile al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had lost all influence on the government and had become a mere puppet in the hands of two powerful generals and at last he abdicated formally. Baybars al-Manṣūrī was an ardent partisan of this prince and made strenuous efforts to have him reinstalled. When this came about in 709/1310 Baybars was entrusted with various administrative tasks and on 17 D̲j̲umādā I 711/1 October 1311 he was appointed viceroy of Egypt (*nā'ib al-salṭana*), second to the sultan only. But he held the post less than a year. In Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312 he was deposed and sent to the state prison in Alexandria, where he remained for five years. He died on 25 Ramaḍān 725/4 September 1325, about eighty years old.

Baybars was a pious Muslim, fond of theological studies, and besides his military and political activities he found time to write historical works, which he did with the help of a Christian secretary. His chief work was a general history of the Islam until the year 724/1324 called *Zubdat al-Fikra fī Ta'rīk̲h̲ al-Hid̲j̲ra*. This voluminous work, which is divided into centuries, is based in its former parts on the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, whereas its last part is an important source for the history of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, since the author tells the story of campaigns and political events in which he participated himself. The strong personal note of the *Zubdat al-Fikra* is even more conspicuous in the account which Baybars al-Manṣūrī gives of the political history of Egypt at the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th centuries, where he does not conceal his strong bias for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. His work was much used by other historians, among whom al-ʿAynī should be mentioned especially. It was abridged and continued by a later author, whose work is preserved in MS. Bodleiana I, 704. Baybars al-Manṣūrī himself wrote a shorter history of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, which he called *al-Tuḥfa al-Mulūkiyya fi 'l-Dawla al-Turkiyya*. This work, partly written in rhymed prose, relates the history of the Mamlūks up to 711/1311-12. Al-Sak̲h̲āwī also mentions a History of the Caliphs as written by Baybars. It was called *al-Laṭā'if fī ak̲h̲bār al-k̲h̲alā'if*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann II, 44, S II, 43; Rosenthal, *History of Muslim historiography*, 75, 127, 335, 418. (E. ASHTOR)

BĀYBŪRD (BAYBURT), known to the Byzantines in the time of Justinian as βαιβερδών, is situated on the Çoruh river, about 100 km. to the north-west of Erzurum. The Sald̲j̲ūḳ Turks overran this region in the years 446-447/1054-1055. After the battle of Manzikert in 463/1071 Bāybūrd came under Turkish rule, now of the Saltukids at Erzurum and now of the Dānis̲h̲mends at Sivas, although the Byzantines, who still held Trebizond, did in fact recapture the town for a time in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. During the 13th and 14th centuries Bāybūrd, under the political domination of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultans of Rūm and later of the Mongol Il-K̲h̲āns of Persia, prospered from the active commerce which, in the hands of Christian (*i.e.*, Venetian and Genoese) as well as Muslim merchants, flowed along the route leading from Trebizond to Erzurum and thence eastward to Tabrīz. The D̲j̲alāyirids and, after them, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turcomans had control of the town from about the mid-14th to the close of the 15th centuries. Bāybūrd fell to the Ottomans in 920/1514 during the course of their Čāldirān campaign against the new Ṣafawīd state in Persia. Ottoman rule over Bāybūrd and its adjacent territories was consolidated in 940-942/1533-1536, when Sulṭān Sulaymān organised on a firm basis the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The Russians occupied the town in 1829, much of the old fortress of Bāybūrd being ruined in the course of the fighting. Russian forces also defeated the Ottomans in the battle of Bāybūrd (July 1916) during an offensive directed against Erzind̲j̲ān. Bāybūrd was in Ottoman times a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Erzurum in the *eyālet* of that name, but is now included in the present Turkish province of Gümüşhāne. Its population was estimated in 1935 at 10,339 inhabitants, the figure for the entire *ḳaḍā'* being given as 64,813 people. The region is noted for its production of cereals, wool, hides, etc.

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AL-**BAYḌĀ'** (EL-BEIZĀ'), "the white town (castle)", a common Arabic place-name, designing localities scattered all over the Islamic territory. Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*) quotes four places with this name; Yāḳūt has sixteen different al-Bayḍā's. Most important of these is the Persian town al-Bayḍā', situated in the province Fārs, N. of S̲h̲īrāz and W. of Iṣṭak̲h̲r. Its original name was Nasā. Being the chief town of the Kāmfīrūz district, it was as large as Iṣṭak̲h̲r in the 4/10th century, surrounded by fertile pasture lands. Several scholars carry the name of this place (see AL-BAYḌĀWĪ). Also al-Ḥallād̲j̲ [*q.v.*] was born here. For the S. Arabian town al-Bayḍā', the main place of Upper Bayḥān, see art. BAYḤĀN.

Bibliography: Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 126, 197; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 197; Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 46 f.; Muḳaddasī, 24, 432; Yāḳūt, i, 791 f. (*Mus̲h̲tarik*, 77); Le Strange, 280; H. von Wissmann and Höfner, *Beiträge zur histor. Geogr. des vorislamischen Südarabien*, 14, 23, 58, 62, 66. (O. LÖFGREN)

BAYDAḲ [see S̲H̲AṬRAND̲J̲].

AL-**BAYḌĀWĪ**, ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUMAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ ABUʾL-KHAYR NĀṢIR AL-DĪN. He belonged to the Shāfiʿī school, and attained the position of chief *ḳāḍī* in Shīrāz. He had a reputation for wide learning, and wrote on a number of subjects including Ḳurʾān exegesis, law, jurisprudence, scholastic theology, and grammar. His works are generally not original, but based on works by other authors. He is noted for the brevity of his treatment of his various subjects, but his work suffers on this account from a lack of completeness, and he has been blamed for inaccuracy. His most famous work is his commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*, which is largely a condensed and amended edition of al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*. That work, which displays great learning, suffers from Muʿtazilite views which al-Bayḍāwī has tried to amend, sometimes by refuting them and sometimes by omitting them. But on occasion he has retained them, possibly without fully realising their significance. In his introduction he does not claim to be producing an original work. He says that he had long wished to produce a book which would include the best of what he had learned from leading Companions, learned Followers, and upright men of early days who were of lesser rank. He also purposed to include allusions which were the result of his own and his predecessors' researches. It would contain some readings of 'the eight famous *imāms*' (for al-Bayḍāwī adds Yaʿḳūb of al-Baṣra to the more normal number of seven readers of the Ḳurʾān), and would also include readings peculiar to one or other of the recognised readers. The result is a work which has been very popular, and has accordingly been published in many editions. Numerous commentaries have been written on the whole work, or on parts of it. Of these Brockelmann lists 83, after which he mentions two works which draw attention to places where al-Bayḍāwī has failed to remove al-Zamakhsharī's heresies. Of the many editions of the work mention may be made of that by H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig 1846-8), 2 vols., *Indices* by W. Fell (Leipzig 1878); and that of Cairo, 1330 A.H., 4 parts in 2 vols., with the commentary of al-Khaṭīb al-Kāzarūnī, prescribed for sixth year students in the Azhar. Other editions are mentioned in Brockelmann and Sarkis. Among al-Bayḍāwī's other works which are extant in print or in MS are *Minhādj al-wuṣūl ilā ʿilm al-uṣūl* (jurisprudence); *al-ghāya al-ḳuṣwā* (manual of law); *Lubb al-albāb fī ʿilm al-iʿrāb* (grammatical); *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* and *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min maṭāliʿ al-anẓār* (scholastic theology). He also wrote a work in Persian, *Niẓām al-tawārīkh* (ed. with notes in Hindustani by Sayyid Mansur, Ḥaydarābād 1930), dealing with the history of the world up to 674/1275. Al-Suyūṭī says that al-Bayḍāwī died in 685/1286, quoting al-Ṣafadī as his authority. He says that al-Subkī mentioned 691/1292, but al-Subkī does not give a date in his *Ṭabaḳāt*. Yāfiʿī gives 692/1293. Rieu (*Suppl. to the Cat. of the Arab. MSS in the B.M.*, p. 68) quotes a statement that he died in 716/1316.

Bibliography: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, *Cairo* 1324, v, 59; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1320, 286; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1337-9, iv, 220; Brockelmann, I, 530 ff., S I, 738 ff.; Sarkis, *Dict. Encyc. de bibl, arabe*, Cairo 1928-30, 616 ff.; Margoliouth, *Chrestomathia Baidawiana*, London 1894; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 2nd edn., Leipzig 1909-1938, ii, 176, iii, 242. (J. ROBSON)

AL-**BAYDHAḲ**, ABŪ BAKR B. ʿALĪ AL-ṢINHĀDJĪ, author of Memoirs on the beginnings of Almohad history. His name was known only through extracts quoted by Ibn Khaldūn in his *K. al-ʿIbar*, by the anonymous author of *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya*, and from various passages in which Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, author of the *Naẓm al-Djumān*, reproduces him. The discovery of the bundle of papers (no. 1919) in the library of the Escorial by E. Lévi-Provençal, and their publication in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, brought al-Baydhaḳ to light, as through a trap-door, from the obscurity in which he lay. We find in his work "the actual Memoirs of the experiences of one who frequently took an active part in the events he sets down and who immediately appears as one of the early Almohads. At the first glance it can be seen that this is no chronicle of the usual type or form. The new information provided on each page and its character of authenticity nearly always enables us, in a remarkable manner, to complete our knowledge of the Almohads in North Africa, which has hitherto been exiguous. The thirty six pages of the manuscript have no lacunae in the text. Unfortunately, however, the beginning is missing and also no title is given. The information we possess on al-Baydhaḳ is limited to what he himself tells us in his work, but this is too vague to serve as the basis for a biography. We find him in the following of the Mahdī, after the latter reached Tunis, and in that of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, close to their persons and acting as a servant. And it was as such that he recorded in his work merely what he actually saw and heard". An enthusiastic convert, he adds to the facts he relates all such incidents of a supernatural order as serve to confirm the divine mission of Ibn Tūmart and the predestined choice of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. We do not know whether he came with his master from the East. However, the appellation *baydhaḳ*, which passed from Persian into Arabic, is still in use among the Berbers of the South for the pawn in the game of chess. The one thing certain is that al-Baydhaḳ's mother tongue was Berber and that he did not know Arabic very well. This is born out by the colloquialisms abounding in his *Memoirs* and the Berber phrases appearing in his narrative. Remaining in the background as a faithful and devoted servant without political ambitions, and having served the Mahdī, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and even Yūsuf I, down to whose time the information he provides extends fragmentarily, he disappears from the Almohad scene as suddenly as he appeared, silently and without fame".

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, ix-xi; G. Marcy, in *Hespéris*, 1932, 61 ff. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

BAYDU, the fifth in succession of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia and a grandson of Hülegü, the founder of the dynasty. He reigned only for a few months since Gaykhatu, his predecessor, was strangled on Thursday 6 Djumādā II/21 April 1295 and he himself was put to death on Wednesday 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/5 October of the same year. Insulted by Gaykhatu, this young and apparently unimportant prince had become involved in a conspiracy of the Mongol amīrs against the Il-Khān which resulted in the latter's deposition and execution, and the conspirators had then invited Baydu to take possession of the throne. The new Il-Khān was at once opposed by his second cousin Ghazan [*q.v.*], the son of the Il-Khān Arghun and the nephew of Gaykhatu, who advanced from Khurāsān at the head of an army to demand

satisfaction for his uncle's death. An uneasy truce was concluded between the cousins; and when hostilities were later resumed the issue was decided without bloodshed in G͟hazan's favour thanks to the address and diplomacy of his general Nawrūz and in particular to G͟hazan's having, at Nawrūz's suggestion, adopted Islam and so won the support of the Muslims. Baydu was deserted by his adherents and met his end in Nak͟hčiwān (the present-day Nakhichevan in the Azerbaijan S.S.R.) whilst attempting to escape. During his brief reign he is said to have shown special favour to the Christians and so given offence to the Muslims, although according to Bar Hebraeus he was himself a convert to Islam.

Bibliography: C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (2nd. ed.), Vol. iv, The Hague and Amsterdam 1835; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], Berlin 1955.

(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BAYHAḲ, formerly the name of a district to the west of Nīs͟hāpūr in K͟hurāsān. In Ṭāhirid times it contained 390 villages with a revenue assessment of some 236,000 *dirhams*. The chief towns were Sabzawār and K͟husrawd͟jird. It capitulated to a Muslim army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in 30/650-1. In 548-6/1153-4 it was devastated by Yanāltegīn. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī its people were It͟hnā ʿAs͟harī S͟hīʿīs. Among its famous men were Niẓām al-Mulk, the *wazīr* of Alp Arslān and Malik-s͟hāh, Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, the author of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Bayhaḳī*, and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, the founder of the Sarbadār dynasty. Formerly marble quarries were worked there.

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

al-**BAYHAḲĪ**, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-K͟husrawd͟jirdī, traditionist and S͟hāfiʿī *faḳīh*. He studied Tradition with Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAlawī, al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and others. He travelled in many countries in pursuit of this subject and is credited with having had a hundred *s͟hayk͟hs*. In theology he was an As͟hʿarite. He was of a frugal, pious, and scholarly nature. Towards the end of his life he went to Nīs͟hābūr where he taught traditions and transmitted his books. Al-Bayhaḳī was a voluminous writer, his writing being said to have reached 1000 fascicules. Although he was a traditionist of some note, he is reputed to have been unacquainted with the works of al-Tirmid͟hī, al-Nasāʾī, and Ibn Mād͟ja; and it is suggested that he had not seen the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He used al-Ḥākim's *Mustadrak* freely. Al-D͟hahabī said that his compass in Tradition was not great, but that he was an adept at dealing with it, being versed in the sub-divisions and the men who appear in *isnāds*. Among his writings his *K. al-sunan al-kubrā* (publ. Ḥaydarābād, 10 vols., 1344-55) is perhaps his most notable work. It has been held in high esteem; for example, al-Subkī declared that there was nothing like it in adjustment, arrangement and excellence. In this work notes are frequently added about the value or otherwise of traditions and traditionists, and attention is often drawn to the fact that particular traditions are included in one or other of the recognised collections. The Ḥaydarābād edn. has in each vol. a valuable index of men of the first three generations and traditions traced to them, with indication of the nature of the transmission. Another work which was valued is his *Nuṣūṣ al-S͟hāfiʿī*. He has been said to have been the first to collect al-S͟hāfiʿī's legal precepts, but al-Subkī denies this, saying he was the last, for this collection included more than earlier efforts, and therefore there was no need to repeat the work. Al-D͟juwaynī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn, highly praised his writings in support of S͟hāfiʿī doctrine. Al-Bayhaḳī was born in 384/994, died in 458/1066 in Nīs͟hābūr, and was buried in K͟husrawd͟jird.

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(J. Robson)

BAYHAḲĪ, Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Kātib (in Persian: Dabīr), famous Persian historian of the 5th/11th century, born in 385/995 at the village of Hārit͟hābād in the district of Bayhaḳ (today the district of Sabzawār in K͟hurāsān). At an early age he went to study at Nīs͟hābūr, then an important centre of learning. He soon entered the chancellery of the G͟haznawid rulers at G͟haznīn, with the function of secretary, and in this city he spent most of his life. He was at first the assistant of the celebrated writer Abū Naṣr Mus͟hkān, the director of this chancellery, and was charged with drafting and making copies of the most important official documents dispatched by Maḥmūd the G͟haznawid (389-421/999-1030) and his son and successor Masʿūd (421-33/1030-41); during the latter's reign his first master died, in 431/1039, and was replaced by Abū Sahl Zūzānī, with whom he was not always on good terms. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Ras͟hīd (440-43/1049-51), he was appointed director of the chancellery, but was dismissed after a short time. At the king's order, a Turkish slave named Nūyān confiscated all his property, and he was imprisoned on the pretext that he had not settled his wife's dowry. He remained in judicial imprisonment until the usurper Ṭug͟hril Birār occupied the throne in 443/1051 and imprisoned him in a fortress with other courtiers held in custody. After his release, he did not seek employment at court after the year 451/1059, and he died in the month of Ṣafar 470/2 August-21 September 1077. Bayhaḳī is the author of a voluminous history of the G͟haznawid dynasty, written in an archaic and sometimes complicated style. He states that he commenced his history with the year 409/1018-19, but a large part of the work has long been lost, and the only traces of it are found in the borrowings of other Persian historians—the last of whom lived in the 9th/15th century. This work, which comprised 30 volumes, has been variously entitled by different authors *D͟jāmiʿ al-Tawārīk͟h*, *D͟jāmiʿ fī Taʾrīk͟h-i Sabuktagīn*, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Āl-i Maḥmūd*, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Nāṣirī*, and *Taʾrīk͟h-i Āl-i Sabuktagīn*. It is almost certain, however, that the different volumes referring to each ruler would have borne different titles. Thus the whole collection of 30 volumes would have had a general title of *D͟jāmiʿ al-Tawārīk͟h or Taʾrīk͟h-i Āl-i Sabuktagīn*; the first part, relating to Sabuktagīn, would have the title of *Taʾrīk͟h-i Nāṣirī*, the second part, relating to Maḥmūd, that of *Taʾrīk͟h-i Yamīnī* or *Maḳāmāt-i Maḥmūdī*, the third part, of which the most important portions have come down to us,

would have had the title of *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, while the title of the final part or parts must remain a subject for conjecture. The part which has come down to us comprises volumes 5 to 10; volumes 11 to 30, and the first four volumes, are lost. As regards the six volumes which we possess (5 to 10), which are usually known as *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, and which ought rather to be called *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, the title which I have given them in my edition, there are certain noticeable lacunae in the sequence of events, which indicates that a portion of these volumes has also been lost. Volumes 11 to 30 must have covered the end of the reign of Mas'ūd and the reigns of his successors up to the beginning of the reign of Ibrāhīm in 451/1059, that is to say, the reigns of Mawdūd, Mas'ūd II, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, 'Abd al-Rashīd and Farrukhzād, which extend over 19 years in all from 432/1040 to 451/1059. The known MSS. of the part which has come down to us close with the events of the year 432/1040, and the last year of the reign of Mas'ūd is missing. It can easily be seen that this part was written later, doubtless from notes made at the time, because the author five times gives us the date 451/1059 for the composition of certain passages. On one of the occasions on which he mentions this date, he states that he has been in the service of the Ghaznawids for twenty years, which proves that he entered their service in 431/1040 at the age of 46. Consequently 451/1059 was the year in which he began to write up his notes, which covered a period of 42 years from 409/1018 to 451/1059. He states that events prior to 409/1018 had been related by his predecessor the historian Maḥmūd Warrāḳ, whose work is lost. The end of chapter ten of the *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī* which has survived includes a portion of a chronicle on Khwārizm written in Persian by the great savant Abu 'l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (362-440/973-1048) under the title of *al-Musāma'a fi Akhbār-i Khwārizm*, which is incomplete and of which no other version exists. Bayhaḳī seems to have written other works, one of which bore the title of *Maḳāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mushkān* a collection of reminiscences which had been related to him by his first master in the Ghaznawid chancellery. Some fragments of this work have been quoted by more modern authors. Another work, quoted by the author of the History of Bayhaḳ, bore a title which can be read either as *Rutbat al-Kuttāb* or *Zīnat al-Kuttāb* and seems to have been a manual of literary style as is indicated by its title. The fragments of the *Ta'rīkh-i Nāṣirī* which have come down to us were incorporated in the *Djawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmi' al-Riwāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Awfī (two recent incomplete Tehran editions), the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhādj al-Dīn b. Sirādj al-Dīn al-Djuzdjānī (editions: Calcutta and Kabul-Lahore), and the *Madjma' al-Ansāb* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkārihī (MSS.). The surviving portion of the *Ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī* is incorporated in this last-named work, and the surviving portion of the final parts of the *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, which we possess, is quoted by 'Awfī. The passages from the *Maḳāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mushkān* are quoted by 'Awfī and by Sayf al-Dīn 'Aḳīlī in his work on the lives of the *wazīrs* entitled *Āthār al-Wuzarā'* (MSS.). The famous historian Ḥāfiẓ Abrū has also reproduced certain passages from the lost portions in his own monumental history. The author of the History of Bayhaḳ states that the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* comprised more than 30 volumes; of these he had seen only a few in the library at Sarakhs, certain other volumes in "Mahd-i 'Irāḳ" library and still others in the possession of various people. This proves that a large part of Bayhaḳī's chronicle had disappeared within a short time after its composition, since already in the 6th/12th century this author did not have access to all the volumes. Only 'Awfī (6th/12th century) Minhādj al-Dīn (7th/13th century) Shabānkārikī (8th/14th century), and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (9th/15th century) had at their disposal certain—perhaps fragmentary—portions of the work. The *Maḳāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mushkān* was consulted by Aḳīlī in the 9th/15th century, but no one has mentioned his work on the epistolary art except the author of the History of Bayhaḳ. The MSS. of the *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī* so far known nearly all come from India and indicate a common source.

Bibliography: W. H. Morley (ed.), *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 186?; *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳī* (lith. ed.), Tehran 1305-7 A.H.; Ghanī and Fayyāḍ (ed.), *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, Tehran 1324 solar/1945; *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, with corrections, notes and commentary by Said Naficy, 3 vols., Tehran 1319 solar/1940, 1326/1947, and 1332/1953; Said Naficy, *Āthār-i Gumshuda-yi Abu 'l-Faḍl-i Bayhaḳī*, Tehran 1315 solar/1936; Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zayd Bayhaḳī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, Tehran 1317 solar/1938; Riḍā-zāda Shafaḳ, in *Armaghān*, 11th year, no. 12, and 12th year, nos. 1-2; 'Abbās Iḳbāl, in *Armaghān*, 13th year, no. 1; W. Barthold, article *Baihaḳī* in *EI*[1]; see also the works quoted in the body of this article.

(SAID NAFICY)

AL-**BAYHAḲĪ**, ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. ZAYD B. FUNDUḲ, Persian author, born at Sabzawār, the administrative centre (*ḳaṣaba*) of the district of Bayhaḳ (W. of Naysābūr in Khurāsān) in 493/1100. The date 499/1106 in Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, v, 208), though cited from Bayhaḳī's autobiography (see below), has been shown to be wrong by M. Ḳazwīnī. Of his numerous works (more than 70 titles on an encyclopaedic range of subjects listed in Yāḳūt) the best known are a history in Persian of his native district, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ* (to be distinguished from the *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaḳī [see preceding article]), and an Arabic supplement (*tatimma*) to the biographical *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* of Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī. The *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* was translated into Persian probably about 730/1330. It has been edited together with the Persian version by M. Shafī' (Lahore 1935), and under the title *Ta'rīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām* by M. Kurd 'Alī (Damascus 1946). The *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ* though scarcely very original (it is based, the author tells us, on an earlier history of Bayhaḳ, as well as on a 12-volume *History of Naysābūr* by al-Ḥākim Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh), is full of interest. The contents have been analysed by Rieu (*Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, 60 ff.), and there is an edition by A. Bahmanyār (Tehran 1317/1938), with an important introduction by M. Ḳazwīnī.

The family of Bayhaḳī, which had been distinguished for several generations previous to his time, called themselves Ḥākimīs from an ancestor, al-Ḥākim Funduḳ (*Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 102), and traced their descent back to a Companion of Muḥammad, Dhu 'l-Shahādatayn Khuzayma b. Thābit. Bayhaḳī also claimed relationship with Ṭabarī, the historian (*Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 19). It appears from his autobiography, given in his lost historical work *Mashārib al-Tadjārib wa-Ghawārib al-Gharā'ib* (or *Mashārib al-Tadjārib fi 'l-Tawārīkh*) and taken over by Yāḳūt, that he had his higher education at Naysābūr and

Marw, and that his career was mostly in Khurāsān. For a short time (526/1132) he was ḳāḍī of Bayhaḳ, probably owing to the influence of his father-in-law, Muḥammad b. Masʿūd, a former governor of Rayy, then *mushrif al-mamlaka*, but he found his duties irksome and soon resigned. A short time later we find him studying algebra and astrology in Rayy (*Irshād*, v, 210). The autobiography comes down to 549/1154-55, when Bayhaḳī was in Naysābūr. Nothing is there said of a visit which he paid with his father to ʿUmar-i Khayyām in 507/1113-14 (*Tatimma Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, 116), nor of an incident which took place in 543/1148. This was the arrival in Khurāsān at the court of Sulṭān Sandjar of an envoy from the Christian King of Georgia, Demetrius, with certain questions, presumably on religious topics, written in Arabic and Syriac (*tāzī u-suryānī*). These questions were answered at the instance of Sandjar by Bayhaḳī, as he tells us (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 163), in the same two languages. The *Mashārib al-Tadjārib* appears to have dealt with the history of Iran from about A.H. 410-560 (M. Ḳazwīnī), *i.e.*, approximately A.D. 1020-1165 or nearly 150 years, and was intended as a sequel to the *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī* of ʿUtbī (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 20). Yāḳūt quotes the work elsewhere, *e.g.*, *Irshād*, v, 124. It is quoted also by Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 247-49, cf. 253) for the career of Sulṭān Shāh of Khwārizm, and by Djuwaynī (*Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, Vol. ii, 1 = J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, 277) explicitly for the origin of the Khwārizm Shāhs (where Djuwaynī says incorrectly that it was a sequel to the *Tadjārib al-Umam* of Miskawayh), but probably also elsewhere without specific acknowledgement (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, ii, 22 ff. = Boyle, 293 ff. with the passage in Ibn al-Athīr mentioned above). The *Mashārib al-Tadjārib* is referred to by Bayhaḳī himself (*Tatimma*, 168) for an account of the contemporary poet Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, and is also cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*, i, 72) for the date of Djālīnūs (Galen), and by some other authors, the latest of whom appears to have been Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (8th/14th century). Bayhaḳī himself died in 565/1169-70 according to Yāḳūt.

Some portions of Bayhaḳī's poetical anthology *Wishāḥ al-Dumya*, a continuation of the *Dumyat al-Ḳaṣr* of Bākharzī and including specimens of his own poetry in Arabic, are known. See Brockelmann, and H. Ritter, 'Philologika XIII', no. 173 (*Oriens*, Vol. 3, 1950, 77). There was also a supplement entitled *Durrat al-Wishaḥ* (*Irshād*, v, 212).

A work on judicial astrology by Bayhaḳī in Persian, *Djawāmiʿ al-Aḥkām*, is preserved in Cambridge University Library (E. G. Browne, *Handlist of Muhammadan Manuscripts*, 255), and a compendium of this work at one time existed (*ibid.* 254).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 208-18; Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Muḳaddama* to *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. A. Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938; Storey, 353-54, 1105-06, 1295-96, 1350; Brockelmann, I, 324 and S I, 557-58; Muḥammad Shafīʿ, *The author of the oldest biographical notice of ʿUmar Khayyām & the notice in question*, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. vi (1932), 586-623.

(D. M. Dunlop)

AL-**BAYHAḲĪ**, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, Arab author, of whose life nothing is known beyond that he belonged to the circle of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and wrote the *adab* book *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī* (ed. by F. Schwally, Giesen 1902, reprinted Cairo 1906) during the reign of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-932). (C. Brockelmann)

BAYḤĀN (Bēḥān), wādī and territory in South Arabia, situated between Wādi Ḥarīb [*q.v.*] in the west, and Wādī Markha (with the high plateau of the Nisiyyīn) in the east (cf. art. ʿawlaḳī). This long valley, stretching from the Kawr ʿAwdhilla (cf. art. ʿawdhalī) ca. 100 km. (65 miles) northward, until its dry "delta" disappears in the desert Ramlat Sabatayn, was once the centre of the ancient state of Ḳatabān [*q.v.*]. Thanks to the American expedition in 1950 the main part of Bayḥān now is by far the best known of all South Arabian districts.

In Ḳatabānic inscriptions BYḤN only means a tribe (Dhū Bayḥān) or a temple. This fact does not seem to favour the etymology of Landberg (*Arabica*, v, 4) "common pasture land" (opp. *ḥimā*). From Sabaean texts we know of another Bayḥān, a place situated in the Djawf (Ryckmans, i, 324; Grohmann, i, 174; v. Wissmann a. Höfner 15, 77). According to the *Ṣifa* of Hamdānī, Bayḥān was irrigated from Radmān and Ḥaṣī, but got its drinking water from Wādī Ṣudāra. The inhabitants belonged for the most part to Banū Murād, whose leader of Āl Makramān enjoyed a high reputation in the tribe of Madhidj. Yāḳūt has Bayḥān in his list of South Arabian districts (*mikhlāf*).

There are three Bayḥānī districts to be distinguished:

(1) Bayḥān al-Dawla (Bayḥān al-Aʿlā) is the narrow, barren and sparely populated upper part of the valley, from its beginning unto Nāṭiʿ on the frontier of Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb. Like the territory of the Banyar [*q.v.*] it formerly formed part of the Raṣṣāṣ sultanate, but now belongs to the state of Yaman. The climate is unhealthy, owing to the stagnant waters of the Ghayl. The capital al-Bayḍāʾ [*q.v.*] is in the S.

(2) Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, the fertile central part of the valley. (See the following art.)

(3) Bayḥān al-Asfal, the remaining, northern part of the *wādī*, is a sparely populated plain, gradually turning into the wide sand desert. Its four districts (Ḥinw, al-Shaṭṭ, Ḥaḳba, ʿAsaylān) were dominated by descendants of the Prophet—the two first-mentioned by *sayyids*, the last two by *sharīfs*. Hence the denomination Bilād al-Sāda/al-Ashrāf for the whole country. The capital is Nuḳūb, with a landing-ground for aircraft. Numerous Bedouins also live here, mostly belonging to Bal Ḥārith; this tribe also controls the important salt-mines of Ayādīm far out in the desert.

In antiquity this whole area was more intensely cultivated, thanks to the aqueducts, and for centuries the kingdom of Ḳatabān had its centre here, along the incense road, between Shabwa [*q.v.*] and Mārib [*q.v.*]. Special interest is attached to the tell Hadjar Kuḥlān a little S-W of ʿAsaylān. As already Rhodokanakis had inferred from the inscriptions, this is the place of ancient Timnaʿ/Tumnaʿ [*q.v.*], the capital of Ḳatabān (Pliny: Thomna). Thanks to the finds made here in 1950, esp. of Roman Arretine ware, its final destruction by fire can be fixed to ca. 10 A.D. The excavation of two palaces (YFSH and ḤDTH) has yielded a lot of inscriptions, a bronze statue of princess BRʾT and two fine bronze lions of Hellenistic type, with infant riders. At Ḥayd bin ʿAḳīl the cemetery of Timnaʿ was found and partly investigated. Antique ruins also were found further to the south, at Ḥuṣn al-Hadjar and Hadjar bin Ḥumayd. Here, at the junction of *Wādī* Bayḥān and *Wādī* Mablaḳa, a huge cross-section of the stratified mound was made, which allowed to establish a pottery sequence back to ca. 1000 B.C., when

the first houses were built here. In the 1200 years down to the abandonment of the irrigation system the field level increased by about 8 m. (1 cm. every year and a half). A building of twelve courses marks the highest point in the excavations at Hadjar bin Ḥumayd; this house probably was constructed in the first century B.C.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, 98 *et passim*, transl. Forrer, 158; Yāḳūt, i, 782, iv, 434; ʿUmāra (Kay, *Yaman*) 5 f., 141, 173; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* (my edn.) 67 f., 199, 202, 249; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet, passim*; G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, i, 286, 324, ii, 37; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 188 f., 253; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 203, 306, 310 ff.; C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 1-78; H. v. Wissmann and M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur histor. Geographie des vorislam. Südarabien* (1952), 15, 42-50, 77; W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba* (1955), 31-130, 140-177, 209-218; D. Ingrams, *Survey of social and economic conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (1949), 34, 72, 126 f., 172, 178; R. LeBaron Bowen and F. P. Albright, *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* (1958), Part I (1-212), with maps. General map: v. Wissmann, South Arabia, Sheet 1 (1957), scale 1 : 500,000.

(O. Löfgren)

BAYḤĀN al-ḲAṢĀB forms the central part of the Wādi Bayḥān (see the preceding art.), lying between Bayḥān al-Dawla (S) and Bayḥān al-Asfal (N). It includes also W. Khirr which starts in the south, to the west of W. Bayḥān, until it meets the latter near the town of al-Ḳaṣāb. Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, together with Bayḥān al-Asfal, now forms the Independent Territory of Bayḥan in the Western Aden Protectorate. The Territory's boundaries in the S-W and N-W are a part of the "status quo line" of 1934 between Yaman and the Protectorate. The other boundaries are, in the E the Upper ʿAwlaḳi mountains, in the N-E the Kurab tribes and the fringes of the Empty Quarter (al-Rubʿ al-Khālī).

Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb (6-8000 inhabitants) is rich in subterranean waters often found at the depth of a few yards; there are well over two hundred wells in operation and the irrigation system is adequate. Rainfall is not regular and sometimes there may be no rainfall for a number of years. The region is rich with palm and *ʿilb* tree groves and other kinds of vegetation. The main products and crops are dates, *nabḳ*, figs, grapes, wheat, barley, millet, *dukhn*, sesame, indigo and cotton. There is good pasture land for sheep and goats and the region is famous for a breed of camels. The inhabitants form the tribe of al-Muṣʿabayn, who have, as is evident from the dual form of the name, two main branches: Āl Aḥmad and Āl ʿArīf. They are settled in a great number of villages. The main town is al-Ḳaṣāb, also called Ḥiṣn ʿAbd Allāh, which is the main trading centre of the area and an important seat of administration. There is a landing ground and a wireless station at al-Ḳaṣāb.

The Ashrāf and Sayyids form no tribal group. They had always had the support of the Bal Ḥārith of Bayḥān al-Asfal and of one section of al-Musʿabayn, the Āl Aḥmad, when Sharīf Aḥmad b. Muḥsin signed a treaty with the British in 1903. The subsequent development in the internal situation of the area and the security requirements in face of the claims of Yaman to the territory and to the allegiance of the population led to the consolidation of the authority of the "Treaty Chief", with the help of the Protectorate British authorities, over the whole territory and the tribes of W. Bayḥān. In 1944 the Regent of the then minor Sharīf of Bayḥān entered into an agreement with the British by which he undertook to accept advice on the administration of his country and the expenditure of his revenues. The Sharīf's capital is al-Nuḳūb, where there is a landing ground. Recently the Muṣʿabayn have been treated as semi-independent and were given a minor agreement for the protection of a landing ground. There is one *sharīʿa* court and one Common Law (*ʿurf*) court, and two elementary schools for boys, in Bayḥān.

Bibliography: C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 1-63; A. Hamilton, *The Kingdom of Melchior, London* 1949, *passim*; D. Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate*, 1949, *passim* (with map); F. Balsan, *A Travers l'Arabie Inconnue*, 1954, *passim*; W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba*, 1955, *passim*. (M. A. Ghul)

al-**BAYHASIYYA** [see Abū Bayhas].

BAYİNDİR, one of the Oghuz (Türkmen) tribes. The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, founders of the dynasty called by the same name, are a clan of this tribe, and some historians call the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasty 'Bayîndîr Khān Oghlanlarî' or ʿĀl-i Bayîndîriyye', and the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu state 'Dewlet-i Bayîndîriyye'. It is possible that the Bayîndîr took part in the Saldjūḳ conquest of Anatolia. There were many places in central and western Turkey called after them in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. No doubt most of these belonged to the Bayîndîr who took part in the conquest of Anatolia. We find Bayîndîr among the Turkmens in Syria in the 8th/14th century. The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu clan of this tribe was engaged in political activity in the Diyarbakr region in the same century. The most important Bayîndîr clan in the 10th/16th century was in the Tarsus region, and was engaged in agriculture. There were other Bayîndîr clans in the Tripoli and Aleppo regions of Syria, and in the Yeni Il, south of Sivas. The Bayîndîr of Aleppo were called by the Ottoman government to take part in the expedition against Austria in 1690. A Bayîndîr clan lived in the Astarābād region among the Göklen Turkmens. Members of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasty believed themselves to have descended from Bayîndîr, ancestor of the Bayîndîr tribe, and used its mark on their coins, monuments and edicts. Bayîndîr was also used in the past as a personal name in Turkey and Iran.

Bibliography: Faruk Sümer, *Bayîndîr, Peçenek ve Yüregirler*, in *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xi/2-4, 317-22. (Faruk Sümer)

BĀYḲARĀ, a prince of the house of Tīmūr, grandson of its founder. He was 12 years old at the death of his grandfather (Shaʿbān 807/February 1405) so he must have been born about 795/1392-3. His father ʿUmar Shaykh had predeceased Tīmūr. Bāyḳarā is celebrated by Dawlat-Shāh (ed. Browne, 374) for his beauty as a second Joseph and for his courage as a second Rustam; he was prince of Balkh for a long period. In the year 817/1414 he was granted Luristān, Hamadān, Nihāwand and Burūdjird by Shāh Rukh; in the following year he rebelled against his brother Iskandar and seized Shīrāz but was afterwards overcome by Shāh Rukh. Pardoned and allowed to go to Prince Ḳaydū at Ḳandahār and Garmsīr, he stirred up a rebellion there too, and was seized by Ḳaydū in 819 (1416-7). Shāh Rukh pardoned him again and sent him to India; nothing further is known of him. This account, which is based on Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, does not agree with

what Dawlat-Shāh tells us; according to the latter (*loc. cit.*) he went of his own accord from Makrān to Shāh Rukh, was sent by him to Samarḳand and there put to death at the instigation of Ulugh-Beg; according to other accounts he was put to death at the court of Shāh Rukh himself (in Harat). The year 819 is given by other authorities also as the year of Bāyḳarā's death. According to Bābur (ed. Beveridge, f. 163 b.) the name Bāyḳarā was also borne by a grandson of this prince, the elder brother of Sulṭān Ḥusayn; this second Bāyḳarā was for many years Governor of Balkh.

Bibliography: The history of the events of the first decades of the 9th/15th century is well-known to us from the *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī [*q.v.*], following Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū; cf. the extracts (for the years 807-820) in Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, Vol. xiv, part. 1. On the original text of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū preserved in a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Elliot 422), cf. W. Barthold in *al-Muẓaffariya* (*Sbornik statei učenikov bar. Rozena*, St. Petersburg 1897), 25-26; L. Bouvat, *L'empire mongol* (2nd phase), Paris 1927 [*Histoire du Monde*, by Cavaignac], 162-180. (W. Barthold)

BAYLAḲĀN, an ancient town in Arrān (Albania) S. of the Caucasus, said to have been founded by the Sāsānid Ḳubād. Baylaḳān was the scene of incidents in the second Arab-Khazar war, and in 112/730 the Muslim general Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī won an important victory there over the Khazars.

Bibliography: D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954.

(D. M. Dunlop)

al-**BAYLAMĀN** [see Madjlis].

BAYLĀN (Belen), a village situated in the Amanus mountains (Elma-Dāgh) on the main line of communication from Iskenderun (Alexandretta) eastwards into northern Syria. The site seems to have had no great importance during the earlier centuries of Muslim rule, the chief town in this local area being then Baghrās (Πάγραι). The neighbouring pass of Baylān, *i.e.*, the ancient Σύριαι Πύλαι or Ἀμανίδες Πύλαι, was included in the *ʿawāṣim* of northern Syria. It has received various names during the long period of Muslim domination, *e.g.*, *ʿaḳabat al-nisāʾ* (Balādhurī), *maḍīḳ Baghrās*, *bāb-i Iskandarūn* (cf. *IA*, s.v. *Belen*), and *Baghrās beli* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa). According to a *sālnāme* for the *wilāyet* of Ḥaleb (Aleppo) dated 1320/1902-1903, the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī built a mosque, a *khān* and baths at Baylān in 960/1552-1553. The same source also notes that the population of Baylān was increased in 1183/1769-1770 through the efforts of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha, then in charge of the *sandjaḳ* of Adana. At the pass of Baylān in July 1832 the Ottomans suffered defeat in battle against the Egyptian forces under the command of Ibrāhīm Pasha—an event which has been given as an explanation of the fact that the pass is sometimes called locally Top-Yolu or Top-Boghāzī (cf. *EI*[1], s.v. *Beilān* and *IA*, s.v. *Belen*). A number of derivations have been advanced in order to elucidate the name Baylān-Belen, *e.g.*, that it comes from the Greek Πύλαι, from the Turkish *bel* or *beyl* (a depression in a mountain ridge), or from *bayl*, *bīl* (a road high between two hills) used in the Arabic dual form (cf. *EI*°, s.v. *Beilan* and *IA*, s.v. *Belen*). Ewliyā Čelebī notes that *belen* meant in the language of the Turcomans a steep ascent. Baylān, which was, under Ottoman rule, the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *eyālet* of Ḥaleb, is now a *nahiye* dependent on the *ḳaza* of Iskenderun in the vilayet of Hatay. Its population amounted in 1940 to 1,153 inhabitants, the figure for the entire *nahiye* being 5,373 people. Cereals, fruit, silk and wine are among the more notable products of the region.

Bibliography: Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 164, 167; Yāḳūt, iii, 692; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Al-Durr Al-Muntakhab*, ed. Yūsuf b. Ilyān Sarkīs, Beirut 1909, 221; Ch. Ledit, *Al-Aʿlāḳ al-Khaṭīra, un manuscrit d'Ibn Chaddâd*, in *Al-Mashriḳ*, xxxiii/2 (1935), 203-204; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, 597; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, Istanbul A.H. 1314, 48; R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, ii, London 1745, Pt. 1, 173 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 37; M. Hartmann, *Das Liwa Haleb*, in *ZGErdk. Berl.*, xxix (1894), 7, 10, 11, 26, 32-37, 87-88; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 140 ff.; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazīra et de Syrie*, i, Paris 1953, 229; Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv. Σύριαι Πύλαι and Ἀμανίδες Πύλαι; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1891, 221-223; E. Honigmann, *Historische Topographie von Nord-Syrien im Altertum*, in *ZDPV.*, vol. 47, Leipzig 1924, 59 (index); R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Mediévale*, Paris 1927, 433-436, 441, 443-446; *I.A.*, s.v. *Belen* (Besim Darkot). See also *EI*[2], s.vv. Baghrās and Elma-Dāgh. On the battle of the Baylān Pass (1832), cf. the bibliographies given in the articles on Ibrāhīm Pasha in *EI*[2] and *IA*. (V. J. Parry)

BAYNŪN, ancient South Arabian castle and town, one of the famous Yamanite strongholds (*maḥāfid*) enumerated by Hamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 203), who gives its description in the *Iklīl*, book VIII (ed. Müller, 41, 86 f.; Kirmilī, 66 f.; Faris, 54 f.). In legend Baynūn is said to have been built for Solomon by the *djinn*, just as Ghumdān (GHNDN) and Salḥīn (SLḤN), the castles of Ṣanʿāʾ and Mārib (see these articles). Baynūn is located by Hamdānī in the territory of ʿAns (b. Madhidj), facing the *ḥarra* of Kawmān (six hours' Journey NNW of mount Isbīl). Its ruins are at the modern Hayāwa, where Glaser found ten inscriptions. Baynūn was famous for its two tunnels, cut through the rock. The Ḥimyaritic king Asʿad Tubbaʿ (= Abīkarib Asʿad, ca. 385-420 A.D.) resided here and in Ẓafār [*q.v.*] alternatively. Baynūn was destroyed, along with Ghumdān and Salḥīn, by the Abyssinians under the command of Aryāṭ, ca. 525 A.D. Bainoyn on the map of Ptolemy (84° 30′/14° 15′) must be sought in Ḥaḍramawt (Wādī Dawʿan) [*q.v.*], but this may be an error for Kaynun.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *v. supra*; Nashān, ed. ʿAẓīmuddīn, 10, 67; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 102 f.; ed. ʿAẓīmuddīn, 10, 67; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, 102 f.; Yāḳūt, i, 801; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 163; H. von Wissmann and Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislam. Südarabien*, 40, 99; C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, 178. (O. Löfgren)

BAYRAḲ [see ʿAlam].

BAYRAḲDĀR, a Turco-Persian term, meaning 'standard-bearer', applied under the Ottoman régime to various officers of both the 'feudal' and the 'standing' army and to certain hereditary chieftains of Albania. In the feudal army the *alay-beyi* of each province had a *bayraḳdār* as his subordinate, and in the standing army one of the officers of each *bölük* of the cavalry and each *orta* of the Janissaries

was its standard-bearer, called usually *bayraḳdār*, but also, synonymously, *ʿalemdār* (*ʿalam* being the Arabic equivalent of the Turkish *bayraḳ*, 'flag'). The sultan's own standard-bearer was a high official of the palace service, one of the "*Aghas* of the Stirrup", but he was usually called, not *bayraḳdār*, but *Mīr ʿAlem* (for *Amīr al-ʿalem*). Under most of the earlier Turkish Muslim régimes the ruler likewise confided the care of his personal standard to an officer of high rank, who was known either by this title, or by another of similar import such as *Sandjaḳdār*.

Bibliography: *IA*, art *Bayrak* (Köprülü); Gibb & Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i, part 1, index. (H. BOWEN)

BAYRAḲDĀR MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA [see MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA BAYRAḲDĀR].

BAYRAM [see ʿĪD].

BAYRAM ʿALĪ, place on the Trans-Caspian Railway, 46¹/₂ m. (57 km.) to the east of Marw, with a Persian population, now in the Marw (Mary) district of the Türkmen SSR, situated close by the oasis of Old Marv which was created by the Murghāb [*q.v.*] and existed until the 18th century. Its ruins cover an area of some 50 sq. km. In the 19th century the region became part of the emperor's personal domain, which existed until 1917. Today there is an agricultural research station and an agricultural technical school in Bayram ʿAlī. There are vineyards and orchards, and both silk worms and *karakul* sheep are bred.

Bliography: Brockhaus-Yefron, *Ėnciklopedičeskiy Slovar'* 4 (II A) (1891), 722; *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya*² *IV* (1950), 54. (B. SPULER)

BAYRAM ʿALĪ KHĀN, prince of Marw 1197-1200/1783-1786, a member of the ruling branch of the house of Ḳādjār which ruled there from the time of ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*]. In his own day, he was renowned as a valiant warrior. During a war against Murād-Bī (Shāh Maʿṣūm) of Bukhārā, he was ambushed and killed. His second son, Muḥammad Karīm, succeeded him in Marw; his eldest son, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, dedicated his life to learning in Mashhad, and was regarded as the "Plato of his day" (*Aflāṭūn-i Waḳt*).

Bibliography: Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. Schefer, i (text), Paris 1876, 70 = ii (trans.) 157 f.; V. Žukovskiy, *Razvalini Starago Merva* (The Ruins of Old Marw), St. Petersburg 1894, 83 f. (W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

MUḤAMMAD **BAYRAM KHĀN**, KHĀN-i KHĀNĀN (*Amīr al-Umarāʾ*), affectionately and respectfully addressed by the emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] as Khān Bābā or Bābā-am [(My) Good Old Man!] during the latter's minority, was a Turkoman of the Bahārlū tribe, a branch of the Ḳarā Ḳoyūnlū, who played a leading rôle in Diyār Bakr after the death of Malik Shāh Saldjūḳī [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī Shukr Bēg, one of the ancestors of Bayram Khān, whose sons served Abū Saʿīd Mirzā, and after his defeat by Uzun Ḥasan in 837/1433-4, Maḥmud Mīrzā, his son (*Babur-nama*, transl. A. S. Beveridge, i, 49), held large estates in Hamadhān, Dīnawar and Kurdistān. The family to which Bayram Khān belonged had always been in the service of kings and princes; his grand-father Yār ʿAlī Bēg Balāl, who had settled in Badakhshān, was a servant of Bābur (*Bābur-nāma* transl. A. S. Beveridge, i, 91, 189). His father, Sayf ʿAlī Bēg, was, according to Firishta (Bombay ed. 250), governor of Ghazna and on the death of Bābur had entered the service of Humāyūn.

Bayram Khān was born in Badakhshān (according to some at Ghazna, which is most probable) but lost his father at a very early age. He then migrated to Balkh where he received his education, which later events prove to have been sound and thorough. A widely-read man, well-groomed in Court manners, he joined, at the age of 16, the service of Humāyūn, who had been appointed governor of Badakhshān by his father in 936/1529. At that time Humāyūn happened to be in Kābul. He accompanied him to India and participated in the disastrous battles of Čawsa (946/1539) and Ḳannawadj (947/1540) which resulted in the complete rout of Humāyūn's troops. Finding the enemy in hot pursuit he took refuge with the *zamīndār* of Sambhal which Humāyūn held as a fief. Shīr Shāh Sūr's men discovered his hiding-place and informed the Afghān chief who asked him either to join his ranks or leave Sambhal. Bayram Khān refused to cross over and fled towards Gudjarāt. A clever ruse played by his companion, Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who at that time was the commandant of Gwalior, saved him from disgrace and sure capture. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, however, lost his life in the bargain. Bayram succeeded in reaching the Court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gudjarāt, who not only offered him protection but also took him into his service. He, however, bided his time and, on the pretext of going on a pilgrimage to Mecca, was allowed to proceed to Sūrat. Availing himself of this opportunity he turned towards Rādjpūtāna and crossing the desert of Sind, joined his master, Humāyūn, at the township of Djūn (950/1543), now in ruins, when the fugitive emperor was making desperate efforts to regain his lost throne. Bayram was with him when he went to Ḳandahār (950/1543) to seek help from his brother Mīrzā ʿAskarī, and witnessed the rude and churlish behaviour of Tardī Bēg when this nobleman was asked to lend his horse to the dethroned emperor for the use of his wife, Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam, mother of the infant Akbar, at the time of their flight from the inhospitable city.

At the Court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Iran, whose help in men, money and material Humāyūn was forced to seek to regain his lost crown, Bayram demonstrated unflinching loyalty towards his ill-starred master by politely refusing to accept the service of the Shāh, who was impressed by his genealogy and family connexions. During his Indian campaigns Bayram won many battles for Humāyūn, as commander-in-chief of the Imperial army (961/1554), crowning his series of successes with the crushing defeat inflicted on Sikandar Sūr at Māčhīwāra, near Sirhind, in 963/1555. Contrary to what had been the practice so far, Bayram Khān ordered that the women and children of the vanquished Afghāns should neither be molested nor enslaved, as both the acts were un-Islamic. This victory decided the future of Humāyūn who was now reassured of the throne of Hindustān and owed his restoration, to a large extent to the loyalty and devotion of Bayram Khān, who was appointed in 962/1555, apparently as a token of appreciation of his meritorious services, as the official guardian (*atālīḳ*) to young Akbar, then 13 years of age, and given the official title of Khān Bābā. Thereafter Bayram accompanied his ward to the Pandjāb, of which Khān Akbar had been appointed the governor. When the news of Humāyūn's accidental death (1556) reached Pandjāb, Bayram was at Kalānawr (Dist. Gurdāspūr, India) engaged in mopping-up operations against the remnants of Sikandar Sūr's defeated army. He again saved the situation, and without loss of time proclaimed Akbar as the emperor, arranging his coronation on

an improvised brick-throne, still extant at Kalānawr. Soon after wards Hīmū, originally a corn-chandler from Rēwārī, near Alwar, who commanded the Sūr troops, attacked Delhi, and Tardī Bēg, the Mug͟hal governor, fled from the city without offering even the feeblest resistance. Bayram, who was now all-powerful, ordered the execution of Tardī Bēg, apparently as a lesson to others but most probably to avenge the insult which that officer had had the audacity to offer to Humāyūn in the hour of his distress when he was fleeing from Ḳandahār. Firis͟hta justifies this murder, although on purely political grounds. In 964/1556, when Hīmū clashed with the Imperial forces at the battle-field of Pānīpat, Bayram scored a clear victory and, with the tacit approval of the monarch, killed the wounded general. Bayram has been adversely criticised for this callousness towards a fallen foe, but it should not be forgotten that in despotic monarchies, decapitation was the order of the day, especially in the case of rebels, rivals to the throne or State enemies; an example is the execution by Awrangzīb of Dārā S͟hukōh, whose head was publicly exhibited in Āgra. Further, it was idle to expect any mercy from Bayram towards a low-caste upstart who nurtured the ambition of wearing the crown, and who had had the audacity to oppose the Emperor in person. With the defeat of Hīmū and the break-up of the Afg͟hān army, the crown of Hindustān fell into the lap of Akbar like a ripe apple. Bayram was now at the height of his power and practically ruled the empire in the name of his ward. Akbar, however, had begun to show signs of resentment towards the Protector, who interfered in his boyish pleasures and desired him to maintain a princely demeanour. His marriage in 965/1557 to Salīma Sultān Bēgum, a cousin of Akbar and the daughter of Humāyūn's sister, Gulruk͟h formally introduced Bayram into the royal family, thus adding to his prestige and personal glory. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp and show at D͟jullundur (D͟jālandhar), on (*q.v.*), his way back from Mānkot (now Rāmkot, in D͟jammū), where earlier in the same year Bayram, in a joint command with Akbar, had compelled Sikandar Sūr to surrender after a long siege. Prior to his marriage to Salīma, which was purely of a political character, he had been married to the daughter of D͟jamāl K͟hān, a Mēwāt chieftain, who gave birth to Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hān, *K͟hān-i K͟hānān* [*q.v.*], only four years before his death. The Mēwāt territory, which was Tardī Bēg's assignment, had already been conferred by Bayram on one of his confidential servants, Mullā Pīr Muḥammad S͟hirwānī.

Bayram committed a tactical mistake in appointing S͟hayk͟h Gadāī Kambōh of Delhi, a bigoted S͟hīʿī, as *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* in 966/1558-9. This caused great resentment among the people and the Tūrānī nobles, who were almost all of them Sunnīs, and al-Badāʾūnī (Eng. trans. ii, 22-4) makes it the peg on which to hang his 'most bitter gibes and venomous puns'. This, coupled with his other indiscreet acts, such as the elevation to State offices of members of the S͟hīʿī sect, the execution of Tardī Bēg of the Sunnī persuasion, the non-allocation of the privy purse to the Emperor, whose needs were fast multiplying with his increasing years, the meagre allowances for the royal household, and his own arrogant behaviour and over-estimation of his services, brought about a change in Akbar's attitude towards the Protector and he began to look for an opportunity to throw off the trammels of tutelage. Māham Anaga, Akbar's wet-nurse, who, at the head of a small but powerful Palace clique, had been secretly striving to compass Bayram's ruin, played no mean a rôle in estranging the ward from the guardian. Bayram realising that the scales were weighted against him, decided to clinch the issue by force of arms, and, on the pretext of leaving for Mecca, came to D͟jullundur with the intention of taking it, after lodging his family in the fort of Bhattinda. He was defeated in a pitched battle by the Emperor's forces and was made to return the insignia of office. Deprived both of his office and the title of *K͟hān-i K͟hānān*, now conferred on Munʿim K͟hān, Bayram saw no way out but humbly to submit, and was pardoned by Akbar. Dejected, disappointed, and fallen from grace, Bayram, in fulfilment of his earlier intention, set off for Mecca, but was treacherously murdered by a vengeful Afg͟hān enemy, Mubārak K͟hān Lūḥānī, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māčhīwāra (963/1555) Bayram was killed while encamped at Patan (Anhilwāra), on 14 D͟jumādā I 968/31 January 1561. His camp was plundered and his family, including the 4-year old Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hān, reached Aḥmadābād almost penniless. The commandant of Patan, Mūsā K͟hān Pūlādī, who had hospitably received Bayram K͟hān, did not even give the dead hero, formerly so wealthy, a decent burial. Some poor and God-fearing people buried the former *K͟hān-i K͟hānān*, whose dead body, in accordance with his wishes, was transferred in 971/1563-4 to Mas͟hhad from Delhi, where it had been brought from Patan for a temporary and modest burial. Now he lies buried in a high-domed tomb in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Riḍā.

An accomplished scholar, a good poet in Turki and Persian, a connoisseur of art, a liberal but orthodox S͟hīʿī, Bayram K͟hān was a truly great man who patrionised the *ʿulamāʾ* and men of letters, no less than poets, artists, musicians, singers and craftsmen. He has received a generous tribute from even a carping critic like al-Badāʾūnī for his qualities of head and heart. His *dīwān* was published at Calcutta in 1910.

Akbar, who like his father owed his throne to Bayram K͟hān, tried to atone for his ingratitude by bringing up Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hān, his orphaned son (who later on became *K͟hān-i K͟hānān* and is better known to history than his father) and by marrying Salīma Sulṭān Bēgum, his widow. If the execution of Tardī Bēg is a stain on the good name of Bayram K͟hān, his undignified dismissal by Akbar is no less a blot on the escutcheon of the 'Great Mogul'.

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(in Urdu), Lahore 1898 s.v.; V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford 1919, index; Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindū Shāh "*Firishta*", *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1831, 250; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, vol. i (trans. Blochmann), Calcutta 1873, 315-7; Djawhar Āftābačī, *Tadhkirat al-Wāḳiʿāt* (Urdu transl. Muʿīn al-Ḥaḳḳ), Karachi, 1956, index (a valuable source for Bayram Khān's activities during Humāyūn's times including his wanderings); Amīn-i Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*; Ḳudrat Allāh Gōpāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-Afkār*, Bombay 1334 (*Faṣlī*), 102-3; Āzad Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira*, Cawnpore 1900, 458-9; ʿAlī Kawthar Čāndpūrī, *Muḥammad Bayram Khān Turkomān*, Agra 1931.

(A.S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BAYRĀMIYYA, a *ṭarīḳa* deriving from the Khalwatiyya and founded at Anḳara in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries by Ḥadjdjī Bayrām-i Walī (Veli). In Ṣūfī tradition, the Prophet enjoined on Abū Bakr the *dhikr-i khafī*, and on ʿAlī the *dhikr-i djalī*. The Bayrāmiyya's preference for the *dhikr-i dhafī* being shared by the Naḳshbandiyya, it has been regarded as a blend of the Khalwatiyya and Naḳshbandiyya, but in fact its relationship to the latter is slight, its practice of the *dhikr-i khafī* being a product of its Malāmī origins.

On the death of the founder, the Order split, one branch adopting the *dhikr-i djalī* and following Aḳ Shams al-Dīn; these became known as Bayrāmiyye-i Shamsiyya. The other branch, under ʿUmar Dede of Bursa, abandoning *dhikr*, *wird*, their individual costume, and *takyas* (*tekke*), called themselves Malāmiyye-i Bayrāmiyya. Later, a third branch, the Djalwatiyya, emerged under ʿAzīz Maḥmūd Hudāʾī (d. 1038/1628-9).

The chief doctrinal peculiarity of the Order, and another mark of its Malāmī origin, is that the devotee was introduced to the concept of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* at the beginning of his spiritual career, and not at the end of it as in other Orders. He must first grasp that all acts are from God (*tawḥīd-i afʿāl* or *fanāʾi afʿāl*); next, that the acts are a manifestation of the attributes, all of which are God's attributes (*tawḥīd-i* or *fanāʾi ṣifāt*); finally, that the attributes are are a manifestation of essence, that existence is one, and that all things are manifestations of the *aʿyān-i ʿilmiyya* which exist in God's knowledge (*tawḥīd-i* or *fanāʾi dhāt*).

The headdress of the Order was a six-panelled *tādj* of white felt, said to symbolise the six directions (up, down, right, left, front, rear) and so to indicate that the wearer comprehended all existing things.

From the first, the Order's connexions with its parent Malāmatiyya were strong; more than one Bayrāmī shaykh was recognised by the Malāmatiyya as the *ḳuṭb* of the time.

At the dissolution of the *ṭarīḳas* in Turkey in 1925, the centres of the Order were Istanbul, Anḳara, Izmīd, and Ḳasṭamonu.

Bibliography: See the long article *Bayramiye* in *IA*, by Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, of which this article is a condensation. (G. L. LEWIS)

BAYRŪT (currently written Beyrouth or Beirut), capital of the Lebanese Republic, situated 33° 54′ lat. N. and 35° 28′ Long. E., is spread at first on the north face of a promontory, of which it now occupies almost the entire surface. The etymology of the name, long disputed, is no doubt derived from the Hebrew *beʾerot*, plural of *beʾer*, (well), the only local means of water supply until the Roman period. As a human habitat the site is prehistoric, traces of the Acheulian and Levalloisian periods having been found there. It is as a port on the Phoenician coast that the agglomeration appears under the name Beruta in the tablets of Tell al-ʿAmarna (14th century B.C.), at that time a modest settlement long since eclipsed by Byblos (Djubayl). During an obscure period of twelve centuries Beruta underwent the passage of armies coming up from Egypt or descending from Mesopotamia, among whom was Ramses II in the 13th century and Asarhaddon, king of Assyria, in the 7th century.

Towards 200 A.D., Antiochus III the Great gained a victory over Ptolemy V and annexed Bayrūt to the Seleucid kingdom and Syria. The town, for a time called Laodicea of Canaan, was destroyed about 140 B.C. by the Syrian usurper Tryphon. Despite this disaster the port saw a great rise owing to the commercial relations with Delos, the Italians and the Romans; Bayrūt then found its vocation as a link between Orient and Occident.

Taken by Marcus Agrippa in the name of the Emperor Augustus, the town was rebuilt, embellished by remarkable edifices and peopled by veteran Roman legionaries. In 14 B.C. it was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (*Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus*). Very rapidly Berytus became a great administrative centre (Herod the Great and his successors were resident there), an important station of commerce and exchange, and a well attended university city. Its school of law, from the 3rd century A.D., enjoyed particular acclaim and by its brilliance rivalled Athens, Alexandria and Caesarea. The increase in population made it necessary to construct for its water supply an important aqueduct (*Ḳanātir Zubayda*) in the valley of the Magoras (*Nahr Bayrūt*).

By the end of the 4th century Berytus was one of the most important cities in Phoenicia and the seat of a bishopric. A violent earthquake, accompanied by a tidal wave, destroyed Bayrūt in July 551. Justinian had the ruins restored, but the city had lost its splendour, and it was a town without defences that the troops of Abū ʿUbayda took when they entered in 14/635 the most Roman of the cities of the Orient.

Under Muslim domination a new era began for Bayrūt. The Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya had colonists brought from Persia to repopulate the city and its surrounding area, sericulture prospered again, and commercial relations resumed at first with the interior (Damascus) and later with Egypt. In the first centuries of Islam Bayrūt was considered a *ribāṭ*, and the holy imām of Syria, Al-Awzāʿī, installed himself there in 157/774. In 364/975 John Tzimisces conquered the city, but shortly after the Fāṭimids retook it from the Byzantines. The Arab geographers of the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries all mention that the city was fortified, and subject to the *djund* of Damascus.

The Crusades brought fresh troubles. In 492/1099 the Crusaders coming from the north along the coast did no more than provision themselves at Bayrūt; they returned there after the capture of Jerusalem. In 503/1110 Baldwin I and Bertrand of St. Gilles blockaded the city by land and sea. An Egyptian fleet managed to get supplies to the besieged, but a reinforcement of Pisan and Genoese ships enabled them to launch an assault and take the city on 21 Shawwāl 503/13 May 1110. In 1112 nomination of the first Latin bishop took place, Baldwin of Boulogne, who relieved the patriarch of Jerusalem, since in the Greek ecclesiastical organisation of the 11th century Bayrūt had been subject to Antioch. The Hospital-

lers built the church of St. John the Baptist, which became the mosque of Al-ʿUmarī. In Rabīʿ II 578/August 1182, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sought to separate the County of Tripoli from the Kingdom of Jerusalem by retaking Bayrūt, but it was not until the second attempt in Djumādā II 583/August 1187 that the city capitulated. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 593/September 1197, Amalric of Lusignan took the city, whose Ayyūbid garrison had fled. The Ibelins restored the defences of Bayrūt and renewed its brilliance throughout the Latin Orient. In 1231 Riccardo Filanghiari occupied the city, but not the castle, in behalf of the Emperor Frederick II.

Shortly after the accession of the Mamlūks at Cairo, the lords of Bayrūt were reduced to treat with them in order to preserve their independence with respect to the other Franks. In 667/1269 Baybars gave a guarantee of peace. In 684/1285 Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn granted a truce which allowed a resumption of commercial activity, and finally, on 23 Radjab 690/23 July 1291, the Amīr Sandjar Abū Shudjāʿī, coming from Damascus, occupied Bayrūt in the name of Al-Malik Al-Ashraf Khalīl.

Under the Mamlūks Bayrūt was an important *wilāya* in the province (*djund*) of Damascus, and its governor an *amīr ṭabalkhāna*. During the entire Middle Ages, possession of Bayrūt was a powerful trump card, for one could procure there two rare "strategic materials", wood, from the pine forest south of the city, and iron, from the mines nearby.

In the 8th/14th century, commerce was troubled, the port having become the scene of rivalries between Genoese and Catalans, and the Mamlūk princes reinforced its defences, Tanghiz (744/1343) and Barḳūḳ (784-791/1382-1389) each having a tower constructed. In the 9th/15th century, Bayrūt continued to be the meeting-place of western merchants who came there seeking silks, while fruit and snow were exported to the court at Cairo.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Frankish merchants were subjected to the extortions of the semi-autonomous governors nominated by the Porte. Under Fakhr al-Dīn (1595/1634) the city saw a brilliant period, and relations were renewed with Venice. In exports silk surpassed citrus fruits, while rice and linen cloth was imported from Egypt.

In the middle of the 18th century, Bayrūt was the most heavily populated coastal city after Ṭarābulūs, the nucleus of the population being the Maronites protected by the Druze *amīrs*. Suffering the counter-attacks of the Russo-Turkish war, Bayrūt was bombarded several times and finally occupied by the Russians in October 1773, until February 1774. From 1831 on, despite the competant administration of Bashīr II the Great (1788-1850), the campaigns of Ibrāhīm Pasha, which terminated in the bombardment of Bayrūt by a combined Austrian, English and Turkish fleet in 1840, ruined commerce. A new era began in 1860. The massacre of the Christians in Syria led to a major exodus towards Bayrūt, and the tiny city of 20,000 acquired a deep Christian imprint.

Having begun about a century ago, the rise of Bayrūt continues. The city has developed very rapidly and for several decades has surpassed the brilliance of its Roman period. After having been, during the French Mandate (1920-43), the residence of the High Commissioner of France for the States of the Levant, Bayrūt became the capital of an independent state and the seat of Parliament and the Administration of the country. The extremely heterogeneous population, predominantly Arab, is more than 200,000 (1958), which is doubled during the week with the daily influx of villagers, workers and merchants from the surrounding areas.

Three universities (American, French and Lebanese), numerous academic establishments of every nationality, and a National Library make of Bayrūt one of the most important intellectual centres of the Arab Middle East. The city is also a centre of commerce and exchange. A port continually expanded since 1893 and linked by railway to Syria and Jordan permit important transactions (2,500,000 tons in 1950), despite the competition of Haifa and, more recently, Lattakia, the port of Syria. The volume of transactions has led to the creation of a Stock Exchange, and the foundation of branches by all the large international banks. An aerodrome of international class (Khaldé) permits contacts with the entire world. A centre of transit and distribution, Beirut is by vocation a link between Orient and Occident.

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BAYSĀN, a little Palestinian township in the valley of the Jordan, situated 30 kms. (18 miles) south of Lake Tiberias and 98 ms. above sea-level on a terrace raised 170 ms. above the low-lying ground through which, some distance away, the Jordan winds its way. Avoiding thus the extreme tropical heat which reigns elsewhere in the Ghawr [*q.v.*], it has all the same a hot and humid climate which Arab geographers did not fail to criticise, at the same time deploring the poor quality of its water (they nevertheless point out the merits of ʿAyn al-Fulūs, a well which a wide-spread tradition regards as being among the four springs of Paradise). Irrigation formerly made possible the cultivation of rice which was the country's wealth at the time of al-Maḳdisī, whilst of the palm-groves, mentioned in traditions, the geographer Yāḳūt, in the 7th/13th century, observed only two single palm trees. But Baysān, thanks above all to its remarkable commercial and strategic position on the main stream of the traffic joining Damascus and the interior of Syria to Galilee and thence to Egypt and the Mediterranean coast, has succeeded in preserving its urban nucleus up to the present day, despite innumerable historical vicissitudes.

The settlement of this site, proved for the period before the 3rd millenium by the excavations of Tall al-Ḥuṣn which have succeeded in reaching the chalcolithic level, goes back indeed to very far-off times. We know of the Egyptians' interest in the ancient Bethšan or Bethšeʿan, whose name they transcribed as Btšʾir and which they annexed for three centuries after the victory of Thutmoses III in the plains of Megiddo, leaving numerous traces of their occupation. Then this important village, equally coveted by Philistines, Israelites and Madianites, which at one time formed part of the kingdom of

Solomon but remained always hostile to Judaism, became in the Hellenistic and Roman periods one of the most important cities of the Decapolis under the name of Scythopolis. Hellenism flourished there and the success which Christianity attained later was confirmed by the construction of various churches and monasteries. Its bishop was Metropolitan of Palestina Secunda and the celebrated hagiographer, Cyril of Scythopolis, was born there.

Exposed to the first Arab attacks, for as early as 13/634 the troops of Khālid b. al-Walīd attacked and annihilated a Byzantine army not far away, the town which now resumed its original native name softened into Baysān, was definitely occupied in 15/636 at the time of Shuraḥbīl b. Hasana's conquest of the Jordan region and was certainly visited by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ whose tomb according to some authors is situated there. As administrative centre of one of the districts of the *djund* of al-Urdunn, it seems to have prospered peacefully among its gardens until it was attacked by the Franks of the First Crusade who annexed it to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem after it had been taken by Tancred in 492/1099. They created the barony of Bessan but transferred the episcopal see to Nazareth. Its history continued to be a troubled one. Muslim attacks ended in its reconquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 583/1187 and later there was a new raid by the Franks of the Fifth Crusade who plundered it in 614/1217. The invasion of the Mongols who were defeated not far away at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in 658/1260 was a heavy blow to it but later on in the time of the Mamlūks it was to become the capital of a *wilāya* in the second southern frontier district of the province of Damascus. At this time the caravanserai of Salār was built in its immediate neighbourhood on the route of the present-day railway. This was used by the mounted mail couriers whose itinerary was modified in this way by the initiative of the chief of the chancellery, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, in 741/1340.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BĀYSONGHOR, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Tīmūr, was appointed by his father in 820/1417 to the office of chief judge at the court; in 823/1420 on the death of Ḳara-Yūsuf, he took possession of Tabrīz and was appointed governor of Astarābād in Ṣafar 835/October 1431, but he never ascended the throne; the astrologers having predicted to him that he would not live more than forty years, he gave himself up to dissipation and died at Harāt on Saturday, 7 Djumāda 1837/19 December 1433, at the age of thirty-six. He was buried in the Mausoleum of Princess Gawhar-Shād. An artist and patron of the arts, he was a designer and an illuminator; in the library which he had founded, forty copyists, pupils of Mīr-ʿAlī, inventor of the *nastaʿlīḳ* script, were occupied copying manuscripts. His example had a considerable influence on the development of the art of painting in Persia in the period of the Timūrids. In 829/1425-6 he caused a critical edition of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī to be undertaken and a preface to be written to this work, the longer of the two which we possess.

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BĀYSONGHOR, second son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Samarḳand, grandson of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], born in the year 882/1477-8, killed on 10 Muḥarram 905/17 Aug. 1493. In the lifetime of his father he was prince of Bukhārā; on the death of the latter in Rabīʿ II 900/30 Dec. 1494/27 Jan. 1495, he was summoned to Samarḳand. In 901/1495-6, he was deposed for a brief period by his brother Sulṭān ʿAlī and in 903, towards the end of Rabīʿ I November 1497, finally overthrown by his cousin Bābur. Bāysonghor then betook himself to Ḥiṣār where he was successful in defeating his brother Masʿūd and taking the country with the help of the Beg Khusraw Shāh, who came over to his side; he was soon afterwards betrayed by this same Beg and put to death. Bāysonghor is described by his rival Bābur as a brave and just prince. He was also famous as a Persian poet under the name ʿĀdilī; his *ghazals* were so popular in Samarḳand that they were to be found in almost every house (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 68 b.).

(W. Barthold)

BĀYSONGHOR, the name of another prince, of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlū dynasty in Persia, son and successor of Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb; he only reigned for a short period from 896-7/1490-2 and was overthrown by his cousin Rustam. (W. Barthold)

BAYT, the common Semitic root of the word for "dwelling", whether the "tent" of the nomads, or the "house" (stone, wood or brick) of sedentary peoples. It may sometimes designate a "sanctuary": thus in Arabic with the article *al-Bayt* is applied *par excellence* to the holy place at Mecca, also called *al-Bayt al-ḥarām* (sacred dwelling) or *al-Bayt al-ʿatīḳ* (ancient). Geographical names composed with *Bayt* are equally frequent, and the first element is often found reduced in Syro-Palestinian toponomy to the prefix *B-*, derived from the Aramaic (Syriac) *Bē*, but also known from Canaanitic, to judge by several examples of it in Biblical Hebrew (*Bē-shān*, etc.).

In Arabic, the definitions, always detailed, of the lexicologists limit the term to a dwelling of medium dimension, perhaps suitable for one family. And the sense of "family" is found precisely in all of the Semitic languages. As, by contrast, *Bayt* does not figure among the technical designations of tribal subdivisions, one might see there an argument in favour of a classical distinction between the family, however large, and these other various groupings, if unfortunately the same metonymical association were not to some extent encountered in all languages, too generally to be probative. (J. Lecerf)

BAYT [see ʿARŪḌ].

BAYT DJIBRĪN, or sometimes DJIBRĪL: a large Palestinian village of the Shephela, situated at an altitude of 287 m. south-west of Jerusalem on the borders of the limestone mountains of Judaea and the coastal plain, in a region rich in quarries and ancient remains which attracted the interest of Arab authors. Called Begabri by Josephus who regarded it as a village of Idumaea, and Betogabri by Ptolemy and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, it was a successor to the town of Maresha/Marisa, often referred to in the Old Testament and destroyed by the Parthians in 40 B.C., whose nearby position has been ascertained by excavations. It owed its other name of 'town of the cavemen' to the original population of the Hurrites who had occupied this region before being driven back under the pressure of Edom, and who bore a name synonymous with 'troglodytes'. This name was translated into Greek through a play of words in Hebrew as 'town of the free men' or Eleutheropolis when Septimus Severus gave the *jus italicum* to this locality in 200 A.D. In the middle ages it resumed its original name which appears in the Talmudic writings under the form of Beth Gubrin, and was twisted by the Crusaders into Beth Gebrim, Bethgibelin or Gibelin; it seems that a play of words on the Arabic *djibrīn/djabbārīn* then allowed to identify the place with the legendary 'City of the Giants', according to a tradition which is referred to by al-Harawī and which describes the story of Mūṣā related in Kurʾān, v, 24/21-25/22 as having taken place there.

Minting its own money and commanding a vast region, the city of Eleutheropolis enjoyed great prosperity in ancient times as is proved by the Romano-Byzantine mosaics which have been discovered there. Its importance diminished in Arab times although after its conquest by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, it continued to be the capital of a district within the military *djund* of Palestine and a trading-post on the road between Jerusalem and Ghazza. However, bitter local fighting seems to have occurred in this region which was mainly populated, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, by the Djudhām [*q.v.*], and "according to the account of a monk, Stephen of Mār Sābā, Eleutheropolis was completely destroyed in 796 in the course of a war between Arab tribes" (Fr. Buhl), a statement which should certainly be accepted with some reservations. Indeed a little later al-Maḳdisī describes Bayt Djibrin as a commercial centre for the district of Dārūm [*q.v.*], and the military value of its situation caused the Crusaders, who had first destroyed it, to build a citadel there towards 1134 which was put into the charge of the Knights Hospitallers, to safeguard the frontier of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the Egyptian side and to stop Muslim raids which came principally from the direction of ʿAsḳalān [*q.v.*]. After having suffered some damage when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn retook it in 583/1187, it still remained a fortified town in the Mamlūk period, depending directly from the *nāʾib* of the Ghazza district in the coastal frontier area of the province of Damascus.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BAYT AL-FAḲĪH, (*i.e.*, "the Abode of the Jurist"), a town of c. 10,000 population located at 14° 30′ N., 43° 16′ E. in Tihāmat al-Yaman. The town is also called Bayt al-Faḳīh al-Ṣaghīr, to distinguish it from Zaydiyya or Bayt al-Faḳīh al-Kabīr to the north near Bādjil, and Bayt al-Faḳīh Ibn ʿUdjayl after the name of the jurist around whose tomb the town has grown. The town in 1944 was the capital of the *ḳaḍā* of Bayt al-Faḳīh, comprising four *nāḥiyas* ,in the *liwāʾ* of al-Ḥudayda. The four *nāḥiyas* are: Nāḥiyat Lidjān, Nāḥiyat al-Ḥusayniyya, Nāḥiyat Banī Saʿīd, and Nāḥiyat Bayt al-Faḳīh, each of which is governed by an *ʿāmil*, with the courtesy title of *ḳāḍī* if he is not a *sayyid*. The *liwāʾ* of al-Ḥudayda falls under a royal prince.

Bayt al-Faḳīh may be connected with pre-Islamic history through the migration of the tribe of al-Azd from Mārib after the breaking of the dam. Tradition alludes to the temporary settlement of the tribe near a wateringplace called Ghassān, perhaps between Wādī Rimaʿ and Wādī Zabīd. A portion of al-Azd later moved to the Syrian borders and established the state of Ghassān. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūta mentions the name of the village near the tomb of Ibn ʿUdjayl as Ghassāna, but this name is unknown there today. The classical Arab geographers mention neither Ghassāna nor Bayt al-Faḳīh.

It seems likely that the present village of Bayt al-Faḳīh arose shortly after the death of the *faḳīh*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. ʿUdjayl, in 690/1291 due largely to pilgrimages made to his grave and the miraculous powers attributed to the invocation of his name. In the 11th/17th century the town increased its prosperity as a coffee-centre for the port of Mocha, and an East India Company factor, Revington, suggested the establishment of a factory there in 1659. During the 12th/18th century, the Yamanī Imāms took monthly revenues of £ 1500 from Mocha and Bayt al-Faḳīh combined, an amount which increased during the months of Indian shipping. Hamilton estimates annual coffee sales in Bayt al-Faḳīh at 22,000 tons. However, this same period saw the decline of the Yamanī trade as a result of expanding cultivation of coffee in Ceylon and the Western Hemisphere, and Bayt al-Faḳīh resumed its provincial, scholarly life, amid the anarchical political conditions in Southern Arabia.

The unsettled state of this area had been due largely to the fractious independence of the tribe of al-Zarānīḳ centered on Bayt al-Faḳīh. With a fighting strength estimated at 10,000 men, the tribe has steadfastly refused to accept governmental control for long and was strong enough in 1914 to levy road tolls on Ottoman infantry. As recently as 1947 the tribe cut down to the last man a punitive force sent by the Imām.

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(R. L. HEADLEY)

BAYT AL-ḤIKMA, "House of Wisdom", a scientific institution founded in Baghdād by the caliph al-Maʾmūn, undoubtedly in imitation of the ancient academy of Djundaysābūr. Its principal activity was the translation of philosophical and scientific works from the Greek originals which, according to tradition, a delegation sent by the caliph had brought from the country of Rūm. Its directors were Sahl b. Hārūn [*q.v.*] and Salm, assisted by Saʿīd b. Hārūn. It included an important staff of translators, of whom the most famous were the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim, as well as copyists and binders. It appears in fact that the library so constituted, and often called *Khizānat al-ḥikma*, had already existed in the time of al-Rashīd and the Barmakids who had begun to have Greek works translated. Al-Maʾmūn may only have given a new impetus to this movement, which was to exert a considerable influence of the development of Islamic thought and culture (see ʿARABIYYA, B. III, 1).

To the same institution were attached astronomical observatories (*marṣad*), one installed at Baghdād, the other at Damascus, where Muslim scholars devised in particular new tables (*zīdj* [*q.v.*]), correcting the ancient ones furnished by Ptolemy.

The *Bayt al-ḥikma* properly so called, does not appear to have survived the orthodox reaction of al-Mutawakkil, although there is subsequent mention in ʿIrāḳ, during the 3rd/9th century, of several scientific libraries, owing their existence to private initiative and the fact that the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid had sought to favour the work of various scholars whom he had installed in his palace. Only the Fāṭimids were later to found similar official academies, of which the most important was the *dār al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] established by al-Ḥākim in 395/1005.

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(D. SOURDEL)

BAYT LAḤM, large Palestinian village and celebrated centre of pilgrimage situated in the limestone mountains of Judaea 800 m. above sea-level and approximately 10 kms. south of Jerusalem, corresponds to the ancient Bethlehem of biblical fame. Honoured and visited by Christians from the 4th century on, it became equally venerated by Muslims as the birthplace of ʿĪsā b. Maryam [*q.v.*]. The Arab geographers who never failed to refer to this fact and who often expressed admiration for the Byzantine basilica which (founded by Constantine in 325 and restored under Justinian in 525) had been built there, commented equally on the miraculous palm of Ḳurʾān, xix, 25, the tomb of David and Solomon which Christian tradition had already located in the Grotto of the Nativity, and the *miḥrāb* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, traditionally the spot where the second Caliph had prayed at the time of his journey through Palestine after its conquest. This remarkable reputation from the religious point of view did not however help the village of Bayt Laḥm, too close as it was to Jerusalem, to develop in importance, and the attention paid to it by the Franks of the First Crusade, who built a fortress there after they had annexed it in 492/1099, and in 1110 got permission to set up a bishopric there, did no more than give it a brief spurt of life. Occupied by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn when he reconquered Palestine in 583/1187, then included in the temporary retrocession of the Treaty of Jaffa concluded between al-Malik al-Kāmil and Frederick II, the place continued then and later to vegetate. However the intensification of the relations between its Christian population and the West permitted it finally to achieve its present position, that of a small town with a feeble Muslim minority (the Muslims never recovered from the repression of which they were the victims in 1834 after they had revolted against Ibrāhīm Pasha), where religious institutions and modern houses predominate, ranged in a semicircle on the side of the hill round the platform surmounted by the famous basilica. This sanctuary of the Nativity whose archaeological interest has already been emphasised, has been the object of successive restorations which have left the primitive arrangement of its central part with its four-fold rows of columns untouched, but have transformed especially the decoration which gives valuable information about the evolution of the art of the mosaic in the high middle ages.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BAYT AL-MAḲDIS [see AL-ḲUDS].

BAYT AL-MĀL, in its concrete meaning "the House of wealth", but particularly, in an abstract sense, the "fiscus" or "treasury" of the Muslim State.

I. The Legal Doctrine. 'Bilāl and his companions asked ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to distribute the booty acquired in Iraq and Syria. "Divide the lands among those who conquered them", they said, "just as the spoils of the army are divided". But ʿUmar refused their request . . . saying: "Allāh has given a share in these lands to those who shall come after you".' (*Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 24. *Le Livre de l'Impot Foncier*, 37). In this alleged decision of ʿUmar lies the germ of the notion of public as distinct from private ownership and the idea of properties and monies designed to serve the interests of the community as a whole. Coupled with the institution of the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] in 20 A.H. it marks the starting point of the conception of the *bayt al-māl* as the State Treasury or fiscus. Previously the term had simply designated the depositary where money and goods were temporarily lodged pending distribution to their individual owners. (See Tyan, *Institutions du Droit Public Musulman*, i, 216).

Organisation. All the various officials derive their powers by delegation from the Imām who is the head of the *bayt al-māl*. In Sunnī law a firm distinction is drawn between the public authority with which the Imām is invested in this respect and the personal control of his privy purse. (See Tyan, *op. cit.*, i, 391 f. and ii, 195. Also Mez, *Renaissance*, 113-116 (Eng. tr., 120-122), for the position in practice.) This distinction does not apply to the same extent in the law of the Twelver Shīʿa, where the ownership of certain properties which in Sunnī law belong to the community as a whole is vested in the person of the divinely inspired Imām. (See Querry, *Droit Musulman*, i, 178, 337. Baillie, *Imameea Code*, 362).

The actual collection and distribution of State revenues is the responsibility of the *Ṣāḥib bayt al-māl* who controls the several officials in charge of the various categories of revenue listed below. Freedom, Islam, moral integrity (*ʿadāla*- [see ʿADL]) and competence are essential qualifications for such appointments, and in addition the quality of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] is required fo those offices which involve discretionary assessment or expenditure. Minor agents of collection or delivery may be slaves, or *dhimmīs* when dealing only with their co-religionists. The records and accounts of Treasury business are dealt with by a special administrative department under the control of the *Kātib al-dīwān*, for which office *ʿadāla* and professional competence are the only two essential qualifications.

Within this skeleton framework the nature and scope of individual offices is a matter for the discretion of the Imām. "Neither for general nor for particular appointments does the *Sharīʿa* define the terms" (Ibn Farḥūn, *Tabṣirat al-Ḥukkām*, ii, 141, 158).

Sources of Revenue. Not all State revenues are "assets of the Treasury" (*ḥuḳūḳ bayt al-māl*) as such. These latter may be defined as those monies or properties which belong to the Muslim community as a whole, the purpose to which they are devoted being dependent upon the discretion of the Imām or his delegate.

Thus the only portion of the *ghanīma* [*q.v.*] which qualifies as one of the assets of the Treasury is that fraction of the fifth (*al-khums*)—which term may here be taken to include the levy on mined products and treasure trove—which is the share of Allāh and the Prophet and which is to be spent in the interests of the community as a whole. The remainder of the fifth is earmarked for specified classes—the relatives of the Prophet, orphans, poor and travellers—and as such is removed from the discretion of the Imām. Similarly the proceeds of *ṣadaḳa* or *zakāt* [*q.v.*] are destined for particular classes of the community and though, like *ghanīma*, these monies may be controlled by Treasury officials or lodged in the vaults of the Treasury pending the determination of the entitled recipients, ownership, from the moment of payment, vests in the entitled recipients and not in the *bayt al-māl*. Even the Ḥanafī jurists, who allow the Imām to apportion out the *ṣadaḳa* at his discretion to one or more of the specified beneficiaries to the exclusion of the rest, draw a clear-cut distinction between *māl al-ṣadaḳa* and *māl al-Muslimīn*. (See *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 80, 149, 187).

The primary source of the Treasury's income is, then, the revenues collectively termed *fay'*, *i.e.*, the taxes of *kharādj* and *djizya* [*qq.v.*]. The position of the tax *ʿushr* [*q.v.*] is somewhat confused. Some jurists appear to regard it as *fay'* and others as *ṣadaḳa*, while in one view it is treated as *ṣadaḳa* if paid by Muslims and as *fay'* if paid by non-Muslims. Among the subsidiary sources of income are:

(i) Property with no known owner—*e.g.*, runaway slaves when apprehended, or property found in the possession of arrested brigands. The proceeds from the sale of such property if movable, or its exploitation if immovable, belong to the *bayt al-māl*.

(ii) The property of apostates. While the great majority of jurists maintain that all the available property of apostates belongs to the *bayt al-māl*, the Ḥanafī jurists are divided between denying the claim of the Treasury altogether and restricting it to such property as was acquired after apostacy.

(iii) Estates of deceased persons. [See MĪRĀTH]. The Treasury is especially favoured in this respect in Mālikī law, where it will always succeed, as residuary heir, in the absence of any entitled *ʿaṣaba* and such Ḳur'ānic heirs as would exhaust the estate by the sum of their alloted shares. With no heir of either category the Treasury is assured of at least two thirds of the estate, since bequests may not exceed in value one third of the nett estate. In the law of the other schools, however, the presence of any Ḳur'ānic heir or blood-relative will exclude the Treasury, and in Ḥanafī law, failing such heirs, testamentary disposition may embrace the whole of the estate. Here then the Treasury only succeeds by a species of escheat.

Expenditure. Claims upon public monies fall, according to Māwardī (*al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, 367 f.), into two main categories.

(i) Claims in regard to which the liability of the Treasury is absolute. Such claims are either for services rendred to the State—*e.g.*, the stipends of the armed forces, the salaries of State officials, the price of equipment purchased—or for expenditure which is a specific obligation upon the State—*e.g.*, the duty to maintain its prisoners. The satisfaction of such claims is the first obligation upon the Treasury and payment may only be deferred when (as is the case with an ordinary debtor) the Treasury is insolvent. At the discretion of the *Ṣāḥib bayt al-māl* loans may be raised to satisfy these claims.

(ii) Claims in regard to which the Treasury's liability is dependent upon the existence of the necessary funds and the satisfaction of all claims in the previous category. Here the expenditure involved is for purposes of the public welfare and interest—*e.g.*, the construction of roads, water supplies, the repair of damage to *kharādj* lands.

When all outstanding obligations have been met the Ḥanafī jurists advise that any surplus should be preserved to insure against possible future need, while the Shāfiʿīs maintain that any surplus should be expended immediately in the public interest. Beyond these general principles the law does not go, content to leave the detailed determination of the public interest to the discretion of the Imām, with the one proviso that public funds are not to be devoted to purposes prohibited by the law—*e.g.*, gambling, music etc.

Procedure. The administrative work of the *dīwān* (analysed by Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 370-375) raises three main legal issues.

(i) *Legal proof*. While it is a fundamental principle of *Sharīʿa* law to deny any validity to written evidence, in Treasury practice official documents and records are *per se* a sufficient basis for action. Shāfiʿī law endorses this practice by drawing a distinction between "private rights" (*al-ḥuḳūḳ al-khāṣṣa*) and "public rights" (*al-ḥuḳūḳ al-ʿāmma*),

but the Ḥanafīs declare that Treasury documents can only serve as a basis for action when their authenticity is established by oral testimony. Semilarly proof of payment of taxes is established in Treasury practice by the written receipt of the collector. Legal doctrine, however, requires the oral acknowledgement of his signature by the collector; and further, in Ḥanafī law, such an acknowledged written receipt must be substantiated by oral acknowledgement of actual receipt. Finally written authorisation for payment from the Treasury is in practice accepted as a sufficient basis for Treasury accounts, while the jurists ideally require in addition oral acknowledgement of actual receipt by the designated receiver.

(ii) *Procedure in disputes*. The paramount question of the allotment to the contending parties of the respective rôles of plaintiff and defendant is governed by normal *Sharīʿa* principles. The plaintiff, upon whom falls the burden of legal proof (failing which effect is given to the defendant's oath of denial), is the party whose claim runs counter to the initial legal presumption attaching to the case. Thus in disputes arising from the inspection of officials' accounts by the *dīwān*'s officers (the presentation of accounts to the *dīwān* being obligatory upon officials concerned with the collection or distribution of *fay*ʾ revenues) the accountant of the *dīwān* fills the rôle of plaintiff if the dispute concerns the income of the Treasury and that of defendant if the dispute concerns expenditure.

(iii) *Jurisdiction*. Disputes between private citizens and Treasury officials are justiciable by the *Ṣāḥib al-dīwān*, unless he is expressly denied this function in his terms of appointment. Such judicial competence belongs naturally to an office of which the principal duty is that of assuring the application of the rules and regulations of fiscal law. In the case of disputes between officials of the treasury and the officers of the *dīwān*, when the *Ṣāḥib al-dīwān* is, in effect, a party to the dispute, the principle that no one can be judge in his own case applies and jurisdiction belongs to the ordinary courts.

Fundamentally concerned with the strict regulation of man's relationship with his Creator, the *Sharīʿa* deals with the relationship between the individual and the State only in general terms, restricting itself to demanding the observance of a few relevant principles. This attitude is particularly evident in the field of criminal law, where, outside the *ḥadd* offences (in which the notion of man's obligations towards Allāh predominates) the determination of offence and punishment is left to the discretion of the sovereign. So it is with fiscal law. Only those limited aspects of public finance which are deemed to constitute man's obligation towards Allāh (*e.g.*, *zakāt* tax) are regulated in detail; and thus the law concerning the *bayt al-māl* is essentially within the province of the administrative regulations (*ḳānūn*) of the political authority and not of the *Sharīʿa*.

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(N. J. COULSON)

II. History. The institution can be traced back to Muḥammad in so far as there already existed in his time the embryonic notion of a Treasury of the Community, supplied by diverse forms of contributions; but its real origin is to be found in the contact between the new needs of the Community which had become the conqueror of an Empire and the pre-existing fiscal institutions of the conquered States. Tradition is certainly correct in attributing to the Caliph ʿUmar several essential preliminary steps, although the details are undoubtedly surrounded with much confusion. For ʿUmar the immediate problem was the organisation of the system of stipends (see ʿAṬĀʾ), the fiscal régime itself and the collection of taxes remaining almost exclusively in the hands of the native population. Afterwards the progressive development of a bureaucratic and centralised Muslim State had a particular effect on the elaboration of the scheme of taxation, the methods of financial administration and the organs of this administration. It is obviously impossible here to encompass the whole history of the institution, particularly after the time of the fragmentation of the Muslim world into individual States whose differences became more and more accentuated; moreover no history of this kind has as yet been written. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to making certain observations of general validity and indicating certain desirable lines of enquiry.

The simple taxes of the early Muslim community could, in their broad concrete lines if not in their theoretical basis, be assimilated to the more complicated taxes of the States to which Islam fell heir and whose fiscal structure the Arabs, like the majority of conquering nations, respected—to such a degree, indeed, that throughout the length of Islamic history the former Byzantine territories (differing among themselves) and the former Sāsānid territories (not to mention the West) remained quite distinct areas from the fiscal point of view. To this was added, at the outset, a further distinction, afterwards resolved, between the towns conquered by force of arms, which were directly subject to Muslim taxes and tax-collectors, the towns of *ʿahd*, which paid a fixed tribute and raised it independently in their own fashion, and, between these two extremes, the towns of *ṣulḥ*, where the taxes were Muslim taxes but were raised by the native administration. For two thirds of a century the fiscal records continued to be written in the native languages, until ʿAbd al-Malik, (685-705) ordered the translation of the fundamental documents into Arabic (the example of the Egyptian papyri proves that it was by a slower process that Arabic came to be exclusively used in the work of the subordinate administration).

Both practice and theory fairly soon distinguished the following taxes and sources of revenue:

The basic tax was the land tax, *kharādj*, originally levied upon all the lands of the non-Muslim natives. When a large part of the indigenous population became Muslims by conversion, it became necessary, in spite of certain misgivings, in order not to ruin the fiscus, to decide that the land was not affected by the change of faith on the part of its possessor and must always be subject to the *kharādj*. From the point of view of the Islamic theory, the *kha-*

rādj constituted a permanent rent from the land for the benefit of the Muslim community, the supreme owner. This is the doctrine of *fay*ʾ, the immoveable properties acquired by conquest, a foundation in perpetuity for the benefit of successive generations of the community, in contrast to the moveable booty, *ghanima*, which was distributed immediately. From the point of view of the indigenous population, the *kharādj* merely continued the pre-Islamic land-tax. In addition to the *kharādj* non-Muslims are subject to a capitation tax, *djizya*, which does lapse upon conversion to Islam. The distinction between *kharādj* and *djizya*, though sharp in theory, is not always so in terminology and in practice, particularly because the Byzantine Empire, it seems, had practiced a combined land-capitation tax.

The tax, or rather voluntary alms, peculiar to the Muslim was the *zakāt* or *ṣadaḳa*, levied upon both landed and moveable property. As regards landed property it was applied on the one hand to Arab properties (especially in Arabia) and on the other hand to the *iḳṭā*ʿ conceded from the State domains to Arab notables and, later, to the military leaders of every race. In its relation both to landed and moveable property the *zakāt* was closely allied to the tithe, *ʿushr*, which was known to the Near Eastern pre-Islamic societies, and often was so called.

To these taxes were added for the fiscus the right to one fifth of the booty, the produce of mines, treasure trove from the land or from the sea and the *mawārith ḥashriyya*, succession to the inheritance of persons dying without legal heirs.

In addition, the State lands, *ṣawāfi*, when they were not conceded as *iḳṭā*ʿ, whatever the method of their exploitation, brought in revenues similar to those of private properties. Further the State appropriated the proceeds from judicial fines.

It was only the taxes listed above which were held to be legal by the theory. But in practice many others were discovered or invented. Some were supplementary increases upon the normal taxes for the defrayal of attendant expenses or any other reason (*furū*ʿ, *tawābi*ʿ, in contrast to the basic tax, *aṣl*), and others fell upon the most varied forms of economic activity (*ḍarāʾib, rusūm*). These last were generally condemned by the jurists, who were often connected with commercial circles, under the name of *mukūs*, and certain pious rulers attempted to abolish them, though naturally this was without any lasting effect. The police often demanded the payment of a particular *ḥimāya*. Finally the State was always punishing high officials who had enriched themselves by confiscations (*muṣādara*) etc.

The peculiarities of the assessment and the collection of each tax will be studied under their respective titles and so nothing more need be said on the subject here.

In general terms the recovery of taxes can be effected either by direct administration (through the agent or *ʿāmil*) or by farming out, *ḍamān*. The system of tax-farming, which was as well known to antiquity as the direct levy, gained ground with the growing decadence of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, but it was perhaps never practised to such an extent as has often been believed by those who have failed to distinguish properly the notions of *ḍamān*, *ḳabāla* and *djahbadha*, which, although there may be occasional confusions of terminology, are utterly different things. *Ḳabāla* can only come into operation where there exists a group of tax-payers collectively responsible for the tax. By agreement between the group and the agent of the fiscus it may be decided, as was the case in the later Roman Empire, that the tax will be paid by one or several individual persons of standing, and it will be left to them to reimburse themselves afterwards with some small additional sum by way of compensation. The *ḳabāla*, therefore, does not modify in any way either the amount of the tax owed to the State or its direct recovery by the agents of the State from the basic group. The tax-farmer, *ḍāmin*, on the other hand, is an individual who, often for one or more provinces and for a number of years, pays annually to the State a contracted sum, less than the calculated revenue from the tax, and afterwards undertakes its recovery on his own account, which will, of course, reimburse him with profit. If the State is reduced to this method it is assured of a precise and immediate return from the pockets of rich individuals, but it loses a portion of the money paid by the tax-payer and, for the duration of the contract, the control of operations. As for the *djahbadh*, he may well be a *ḍāmin*, but he has at the same time the unique position of a sort of official money-changer cum surety; for he verifies and standardises by exchange the different types of currency, good and bad, paid by the tax-payers in return for a small percentage collected as a supplementary tax from the latter.

Furthermore, outside the territories subject to the normal taxation, levied directly or by farming out, there were other areas in regard to which the State had renounced some part of its fundamental rights. In some areas—*īghār*—the State temporarily refrained from sending agents of collection, abandonning the revenue to an army commander so that he might cover therefrom the expenses of his army's maintenance. In other areas—*muḳāṭaʿa* (to be carefully distinguished from the *iḳṭā*ʿ)—the State was content with a contracted tribute, without concerning itself with the theoretical scheme of taxation: equivalent to the primitive *ʿahd*, this was applied in particular to the vassal rulers of regions which were not completely subdued. The *iḳṭā*ʿ, in its original form of a concession of land from the State domains which was subject to the payment of the tithe, had not any particular fiscal character; but later there were assigned under this name to army officers as the equivalent of their salary the fiscal rights of the State in *kharādj* districts, initially subject to the payment, by the beneficiaries, of the tithe for the area concerned, then later with no attached condition other than that of professional military service (see Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqtâ*ʿ, in *Annales ESC*, 1953). These different methods of alienation of the revenues of the fiscus naturally diminished the returns, but they equally alleviated the expenditures in a manner which often involved hardly any break with the previous position, since in any case the proceeds of the taxes from a province were never sent to the fiscus until the provincial expenditure had first been satisfied on the spot. The danger to the State was only serious in proportion to the extent, which varied in the different regions and at different periods, to which these alienations resulted in a relaxing of the fiscal control itself and consequently also of the appreciation of the resources of the territory concerned.

This appreciation was obtained with fairly reasonable accuracy not only through the lump evaluations of the budget but also from the daily sessions, following the ancient custom, devoted to the detailed assessment of lands and their fiscal value, as well as of persons subject to the *djizya*

and, in all probability, the *zakāt*, not to speak of the other taxes. The best example preserved concerns the Fayyūm in the 7th/13th century (*Arabica*, 1956), but what we know of the ʿIrāḳī Sawād, of the province of Ḳumm in Iran, etc., and in a general way of the methods of the administration, allows no one to doubt that there are almost everywhere parallels in ʿAbbāsid times. The value of each fiscal unity was the object of an assessment, *ʿibra*, which continued to serve as an authority so long as there had been no revision, although naturally, the administration itself had to admit annual variations. Diverse works, such as the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿulūm* and the Egyptian papyri, allow us to follow from another angle the precision of the daily accounts of the refunds of taxes and of the reliefs granted to tax-payers. Arrears (*baḳāyā*) were meticulously noted and claimed in following years, although it was in practice often necessary, when arrears had accumulated, to settle them by compromise. Recovery of taxes necessitated a distinction between the two calendar years, for only the personal taxes or the payments *ex contractu* could be based on the legal lunar year, while the taxes on land and its produce were of necessity based on the solar year, Persian or Egyptian.

These methods, which were the pride of the *kuttāb* and the *ḥussāb*, allowed the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, and certain regional rulers after that date, to establish veritable budgets, at any rate of receipts (the arbitrary activity of the rulers in the matter of expenditure not allowing equally comprehensive appreciations in that sphere). In particular four ʿAbbāsid budgets have been preserved, undoubtedly based upon good archive sources, the relative agreement of which guarantees the accuracy, if not of all the details, at least of the main and broad essentials. They do not provide a complete statement of the total receipts of the Caliphate, for the *d̲j̲izya*, the *zakāt* on moveable property and, *a fortiori*, the *mukūs* only figure there exceptionally (their more variable character and the fact that they did not issue from the same services being obvious). Such as they are they show us a total of income exceeding 400 million dirhams for the second half of the 2nd/8th century, falling short of 300 million by the beginning of the following century, and at the beginning of the 4th/10th century down to $14^1/_2$ million dinars, which is approximately equivalent to 210 million dirhams. This shrinking of the receipts was due to the territorial losses of the Caliphate and not, except at moments of crisis, to diminishing fiscal values within each province. The increasing financial difficulties of the Caliphate were, therefore, not occasioned by any economic catastrophe, for which supposition there is absolutely no foundation, but by the relatively increasing burden of necessary expenditure, particularly military, which it was impossible to reduce in proportion to the decline in the provincial tax returns. Without attempting here to cover all the details of the military organisation of the Caliphate, we may try to show something of the financial burden which it constituted: a foot-soldier's usual pay being of the order of 1000 dirhams per annum, and that of a horseman double this amount, it can be estimated that the cost of the stipends alone for an army fifty thousand strong would be in the region of seventy five million dirhams. To this, of course, it is necessary to add the exceptional salaries of the commanders, the gratuities and the cost of equiping and maintaining the armies and the fortifications etc., and one writer maintains that in the middle of the 3rd/9th century the army was costing at one time some 200 million dirhams, which means to say that at that moment there would be a surplus only of approximately one half of that sum (not counting the taxes which did not figure in the budget) for all "civilian" expenditure. This latter expenditure is more difficult to assess, although we know the salaries of the principal officers of Government and Court under the ʿAbbāsids and the Fāṭimids, not to speak of later periods (see especially Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 401).

It is difficult to give a precise description of the various organs of the central fiscal administration which often, and in a varying manner, overlap and are confused with each other under ill-defined titles. The fiscal administration was the primary duty of the *Dīwān* in particular and in general, consequently, of the vizirate when this latter developed. But it was impossible for a single organ to deal at the same time with both the operations and the fundamental rules (*aṣl*) of assessment and collection and the daily accounts of income and expenditure. In spite of the difficulty of the texts it is apparently to this division of duties that the institution of the *Dīwān al-zimām* corresponds, for this office, which was later known in the East as the *istīfāʾ* (the director being the *mustawfī*) appears to be the service of accountancy. From the time of al-Mahdī it controlled the accountancy services attached to each dīwān as well as those of the provincial administrations. Expenditure was the province of a special dīwān, the *dīwān al-nafaḳāt*, while expenditures relating to the army were the province of the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*. With the inauguration of the system of the fiscal *iḳṭāʿ* this latter *dīwān* in fact came to possess duplicates of the survey registers for receipts. The *Bayt al-Māl* properly so called was the service to which the income was delivered and from which the expenditure was drawn, the Treasury. An army of scribes, *kuttāb*, and accountants, *ḥussāb*, worked in these offices, some under the control of others, applying the accountancy techniques which the didactic fiscal treatises of the Būyid period have revealed to us. For the representation of numbers they employed what is known as the *dīwānī* script, which consisted of letters and particular signs devised from abbreviations of the names of numbers, and which was to remain in use almost up to the present day in certain countries, to the exclusion of the "Arabic" numerals.

Still further subdivisions existed in the services, in particular, as regards the receipt of the land taxes, between the service for the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* and that for the *ḍiyāʿ*, that is to say landed properties subject solely to the tithe. On the other hand a regional division was gradually established, by virtue of which we can distinguish a *Dīwān* of *Sawād* (province of Bag̲h̲dād), one of the east and one of the west (Arab territories). Special services administered confiscated properties; these were sometimes returned, sometimes distributed. Again, dues paid in kind, presents and gifts received, the valuable products of the *ṭirāz* etc., were stored in the *k̲h̲azāʾin* or *mak̲h̲āzin*, and the general term of *mak̲h̲zan* appears to have almost replaced, in the administration of the later Caliphate, the term of *Bayt al-Māl*, the change reflecting, undoubtedly, the proportionate increase of presentations in kind and the diminution of fiscal receipts in hard cash.

The Muslim State, however, always recognised the distinction between the private Treasury of the

Caliph or the Prince, *Bayt māl al-khāṣṣa*, and the public Treasury, *Bayt māl al-muslimīn* or simply *Bayt al-māl*. But the distinction was by no means a rigid one, for the private Treasury was supplied not only with the revenues from the sovereign's personal estate but also with different public revenues such as fines, confiscations and even capitation fees and land taxes from certain provinces of Irāḳ and southern Iran, out of consideration for both the needs of the Court and also all the pious works which the Caliph and his successors had to undertake. In practice, whatever the personal position of the Caliphs, the privy purse had often to play the rôle of a simple reserve for the public Treasury, furnishing it with advances which might or might not be reimbursed (W. Fischel, *Le Bayt Māl al-Khāṣṣa*, in *Actes du 19e Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1938, 538-41).

Each of the provinces had, on a small scale, an organisation parallel to that of the central government. They did not despatch to the latter the sum total of their fiscal revenue but only the residue after local expenses had been satisfied. Furthermore the provinces did not send on this residue as and when it was received, but in bulk, and when the needs of the State were particularly pressing the *ʿāmil* would resort to sending promissory notes, guaranteeing the delivery of sums received, which the *Dīwān* could then use in negotiations with its creditors. The autonomy of the provincial fiscal administration is among the reasons which explain the ease with which independent régimes could establish themselves in the different areas without undue complication.

The interests of State, subordinate rulers and tax payers caused a variation, at different times and in different places, of the proportion of payments in cash and payments in kind which made up the tax returns. Moreover the East paid in silver and the Mediterranean countries in gold. The result was that the early accountancy of the fiscal services had to operate in different categories. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, however, an effort was made to establish a unified system of accountancy on the basis of the gold standard, with a legal tariff for the exchange of the dirham and a regulated price list for the different commodities; in this way the budget estimates could be more clearly established.

The theory, basing itself upon the early machinery of taxation in the Muslim community, never accepted the principle that all fiscal revenue ought to be devoted without distinction to each and every expenditure incurred. In particular the theory held that the *zakāt*, inasmuch as it was a Muslim tax, ought to be used for pious works, for alms, the holy war, the ransom of Muslim slaves and aids to travellers etc., and ought, in principle, to be expended in the locality of its collection and not delivered to the fiscus. It is impossible to appreciate the extent to which such distinctions could be respected in practice; there was evidently no question of their being observed in times of crisis. The only sources of revenue which were assured of an employment in conformity with the precepts of the law were the private foundations *waḳfs*, *ḥabūs*. These, naturally, did not form part of the fiscal revenues, but they were firmly under the control of the State, usually through the intermediary of the *ḳāḍī*, in order to prevent abuses.

It can scarcely be doubted that the fiscal régime was oppressive, even if no more so than that of the neighbouring non-Muslim States. Apart from the "neck-brand" of those subject to the *djizya*, brutal methods of collection, such as those described for the early ʿAbbāsid period by (the pseudo-?) Dionysius of Tell-Mahré (*Arabica*, 1954), were often employed despite the efforts of certain princes and *wazīrs*. Egypt, as it did in Roman and Byzantine times, continues to present us with a picture of taxpayers fleeing their homes to escape the fiscus, and the Coptic revolts of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries had in general no other than fiscal causes. The autonomy of the provinces, even if it did not alleviate the tax burden itself, did improve the situation in general, since the interest of the local rulers lay in being self-supporting and in at least expending on the spot revenues which had formerly gone to enrich the favourites of the Caliph. A few echoes of the conflicts between the democratic and aristocratic notions of taxation have come down to us (for example in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 343 and 352-3).

The growing, albeit variable, spread of the régime of the fiscal *iḳṭāʿ* from the beginning of the 4th/10th century considerably diminished the importance of the fiscal administrations, as it also did that of the direct resources of the State. It is out of the question here to trace the financial history of the different Muslim principalities which were the heirs of the Caliphate. It must suffice to say that until modern times the countries which have not been affected by the Mongol invasion have retained for the taxpayers almost the same régime of taxation, that the rights of the State havē only ever been partially alienated and that in consequence certain methods of assessment and budgetary estimates have always there been possible. The countries incorporated, during the 7th/13th century, into the Mongol Empire, not to speak of the subsequent series of changes of rule, experimented with forms of fiscal administration which combined with the old Muslim traditions new elements taken from the conquerers. Such elements were also introduced into Asia minor, where, in addition, there still persisted Byzantine traditions which had become interwoven with the local Saldjūḳid Muslim institutions; and these three elements apparently influenced, though in a way which has not yet been discovered, the original formation of the future Ottoman institutions. The figures quoted in such and such a source have often been adduced to demonstrate the decadence of the fiscal revenues and consequently of the economy; but these figures can only be interpreted on the basis of a consideration, in the first place of the proportion of taxes accruing directly to the State and that alienated to individuals, and in the second place of the value of currency and market prices; and it would be wise for the moment to refrain from any positive assertion.

Bibliography: We can naturally do no more here than note certain sources of particular importance. For the origins references may be found in Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 368-417, to which may be added Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl* (see ʿAṬĀʾ); the majority are drawn from the works on *kharādj* composed in the first ʿAbbāsid century by Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā b. Adam (of which an annotated English translation by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1958 has just appeared), and, later, from the *K. al-Futūḥ* of Balādhurī. The *K. al-Kharādj* (not wholly preserved) of Ḳudāma (ed. A. Makki, a typewritten thesis, Sorbonne, Paris) and the scattered information in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* of Khwārizmī date from the 4th/10th century, and the *Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* of Māwardī from the 5th/11th century. The

budgets studied by A. V. Kremer in his *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, i, ch. VII and *Das Einnahmebudget ... vom Jahre 306* (*Denkschr. d. k. Akad. d. W. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl.* xxxvi, 1888 (the oldest one, now also accessible in Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Mzik, 179-182, or Cairo 1938, 281-88)) are drawn from various chronicles. To the Būyid period belong the didactic treatises on fiscal mathematics of al-Būzadjānī (a study is being prepared by Saleh el-Ali, Baghdad) and of the anonymous author of the *K. al-Ḥāwī* (analysed and commented upon by myself in *AEIO*, x, 1952). Much information can naturally be obtained from the Egyptian papyri, edited by A. Grohmann, see his commentaries in the articles in the *Archiv Orientalny*, v-vi, 1933-1934, and by C. Leyerer in *ZDMG*, 1953. Among the historical chronicles and works the most valuable are evidently the *Tadjārib al-ʿUmam* of Ibn Miskawayh with their supplement by Rudhrawarī, the *K. al-Wuzarā'* of Hilāl al-Ṣābī and the *Ta'rikh-i Ḳumm* of Ḥasan b. M. Ḳummī, much used in A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, especially chap. II. Certain official correspondence, such as that of the Būyid vizir Ibn ʿAbbād, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shukrī Ḍayf, 1947, may be consulted with advantage. For subsequent periods it will suffice to note certain recent publications: for the Ayyūbids, in addition to the classical *Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn* of Ibn Mammātī (ed. Atiya, 1943), the short works of ʿUthmān b. Ibr. al-Nābulūsī (*Description of Fayyum*, see my analysis in *Arabica* 1956, and *Lamʿ al-Ḳawānīn*, edition prepared by myself); for the Mongols, the *Resalāye falakiyyā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Kiyā al-Māzandarānī ed. W. Hinz and studied by him in *Der Islam*, xxix, 1949; for the Yemen, R. B. Serjeant and myself will publish a valuable work of the 9th/15th century, the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan* (cf. *Arabica*, iv/1957, 23 f.). For Egypt in general and the Mamlūks in particular the importance of Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, and of Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ* need not be emphasised.

There does not exist any financial history of the Muslim world; there are, however, certain useful partial studies. See particularly, for the period of the origins, D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in early Islam*, 1951; for the whole of the "classical" period, Fr. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, 1951 (a great documentary and technical achievement, but not uniformly reliable) which refers to the works, important in their time but now superseded, of C. Becker, etc., and Chapter 8 (cf. 6) of Mez in *Renaissance*. Useful observations will be found in the Sorbonne thesis of D. Sourdel on *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, when this is published. Among other more specialised studies, apart from those which are cited in the text of the article, see W. Fischel, *Origin of Banking in Medieval Islam*, in *JRAS*, 1933, and H. Gottschalk, *Die Mādarā'iyyūn*. An exposition of the classical doctrine may be found, for example, in S. A. Siddiqi, *Public Finance in Islam*, Karachi 1948. (CL. CAHEN)

In the Ottoman state the distinction was carefully maintained between the private treasury of the Sultan (*Khazīne-i Enderūn* or *Ič Khazīne*) and the public treasury or treasuries of the state (*Khazīne-i Emīriyye*, *Khazīne-i Dewlet*, *Khazīne-i ʿĀmire*, etc. On the Ottoman treasury and finances see further DAFTARDĀR, KHAZĪNE, MĀLIYYA). The term most commonly applied to the state treasury was *Mīrī* (from *emīrī*), which was also used in the more general sense of government property (cf. BEYLIK). In Ottoman administrative documents the treasury is not normally called *bayt al-māl*, though the expression does occur, usually in the forms *bayt al-māl-i Muslimīn* or *bayt al-māl-i ʿāmma* (as for example in some legal rulings of Abu 'l-Suʿūd quoted by Ömer Lutfi Barkan in *Tanzimat*, Istanbul 1940, 333, 336, 343; and in a few *ḳānūnnāmes* published in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 297, 300, 326. In all these the context is the rights of the *bayt al-māl* over certain categories of land, called *arḍ-i mīrī* or *arḍ-i memleket*). In common Ottoman usage the term *bayt al-māl* was normally restricted to a certain group of revenues belonging by law to the public treasury. These consisted of various categories of forfeited, escheated, and unclaimed property, and are enumerated and discussed in a number of documents. The most important were property belonging to missing and absent persons (*māl-i ghā'ib* and *māl-i mafḳūd*); unclaimed or escheated inheritances (*mukhallafāt*, *matrūkāt*); runaway slaves and stray cattle (*ʿabd-i ābiḳ*, *kačkun*, *yava*). The collection and care of these properties was the function of an official called the *Emīn bayt al-māl* or *bayt al-māldji*. Most legal sources agree that unclaimed inheritances are to be held for a period of time, variously determined, as a trust, to give the heirs the opportunity to assert and establish their claim. Only after their failure to do so does the money or estate become the property of the treasury. There are frequent complaints that this rule was disregarded, and that property was seized too quickly and without proper verification (*e.g.*, Luṭfī Pasha, *Āṣāfnāme*, ed. and tr. R. Tschudi, Berlin 1910, text 11, tr. 12; cf. Sarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Naṣā'iḥ al-Wuzarā'*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935, 71).

The Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes* contain elaborate instructions and safeguards concerning the claiming of these properties and the assigning of the proceeds. Properties claimed for the *bayt al-māl* could be and frequently were assigned to *ʿāmils*, to *sandjaḳ-beys*, and even to *sipāhīs*. As early as 883/1479, a *ferman* of Meḥemmed II lays down a distinction between reversions worth less than 10,000 aspers, and those worth 10,000 and over. The former were to be paid to the *ʿāmil*, or tax-farmer of the area; the latter were reserved to the Imperial treasury (*beylik*) (Halil Inalcık, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Fermanları*, *Bell.* no. 44, 1947, 699-700). A similar distinction is made in a late 15th century *ḳānūnnāme* (Anhegger-Inalcık 70-1), and is common in *ḳānūnnāmes* and registers from the 16th century onwards. The normal rule was that these properties, or the fees payable if they were successfully reclaimed by their owners, belonged to the treasury. In fact the share of the treasury was limited to items worth 10,000 aspers or more, and to property left by the servants of the Sultan, a category including the *sipāhīs* and other persons in the Sultan's employ. In the earlier period it also included the Janissaries. The remainder was part of the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳ-beys*. There were some exceptions to this division. In the so-called 'free' *tīmārs* (*serbest tīmār*), the *bayt al-māl* revenues were assigned to the *tīmār*-holder, and not, as in ordinary *tīmārs*, reserved to the Sultan's or the governor's *khāṣṣ*; in some *waḳf* lands too, notably those in favour of the *ḥarameyn*, they were included in the *waḳf* revenues. From the 16th century the Janissaries had a special officer of their own, the *Odjaḳ bayt al-māldjisi*, a kind of regimental

treasurer one of whose duties was to collect and assess the *mukhallafāt* of heirless Janissaries, *ʿadjemī oghlans*, etc. These or their equivalent were placed in the regimental chest (Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları I*, Ankara 1943, 311-320). Another interesting example of corporate privilege occurs in Jerusalem, where the *Zāwiya* of Maghribī *mudjāwirs* were collectively given the right of retaining the *mukhallafāt* of any one of their number who died without heirs. This right was granted by Saladin, and confirmed by the Mamlūk and Ottoman Sultans (Başvekalet Arşivi, tapu register no. 427 of 932/1526; cf. A. S. Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, London 1957, 123). A similar privilege appears to have been given to the monks on Mount Athos (P. Lemerle and P. Wittek, *Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque, Archives du droit oriental*, iii, 1948, 443, 542, 453, 465).

Bibliography: *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber Mūceb-i ʿÖrf-i ʿOsmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger and Halil Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 70-71; *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān, TOEM* supplement 1329, 21, 58, 70-1; *ʿOthmānlı Ḳānūnnāmeleri, MTM*, i, 75, 91, 321, 343; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Onundju ʿAṣr-i hidjrīde Istanbul ḥayātī*, Istanbul 1333, 19, 210-1; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Kanunlar*, index; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf Ḳawāʾidi* i, Istanbul 1328, 66-8; D'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, 134, 240, 260, 318. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, 1, 289, and index; L. Fekete, *Die Siyaqat-Schrift*, i, Budapest 1955, index. (B. LEWIS)

The Muslim West. As long as the Maghrib and al-Andalus were under the direct administration of the Umayyad or the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate they posed no particular problems of financial organisation; the local *bayt al-māl* was only a branch of the *bayt al-māl* of Damascus or of Baghdād.

It was only when some part of the Muslim west slipped from the control of the eastern Caliphate that separate administrations were organised there.

Except for the chapters of Ibn Khaldūn devoted to administration (*Muḳaddima*, Cairo ed., 269), one cannot point to any theoretical treatise concerning the administration of the public finances or even any systematic treatment of the situation at any given period or place. There is no alternative but to try to give some idea of what happened from the slight and scattered indications in the chronicles and diverse documents available.

I. Al-Andalus. The work of E. Lévi-Provençal has shown that in Muslim Spain the term *bayt al-māl* was nearly always taken in a limited sense. In effect this expression, which is often found in the form *bayt māl al-muslimīn*, designates the treasure composed by the revenues of pious foundations (*awḳāf*) and clearly distinct from the public treasury properly speaking, which is commonly called *khizānat al-māl* and much more rarely *bayt al-māl*. This treasure from pious foundations was quite naturally placed under the authority of the *ḳāḍī* who looked after its administration, and was kept in a religious building, at Cordova in the *maḳṣūra* of the Great Mosque (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 98). The sums which constituted it originated for the most part from the revenues of pious foundations often assigned to strictly determined expenditure, but also from irregular deposits that could not be touched, in particular the goods of 'absentees' (*ghāʾib*), that is Muslims who, for one reason or another, had abandoned their possessions without designating a legal mandate for their administration.

The *ḳāḍī* was assisted in the provinces by the inspectors of the pious foundations (*nāẓir al-awḳāf*) and was only qualified to authorise expenditure. These funds could only be employed for the ends indicated by the donors, or if the objects were only expressed in vague terms, for works of public utility and religion like help for paupers, the upkeep of mosques and the payment of their staff, the building of institutions of learning and the payment of teachers, etc. The *ḳāḍī* could authorise advances from the public Treasury for pious works like the organisation of a military campaign against the infidels or the restoration of a defence work on the frontier of the *dār al-islām*.

This system still functioned at the beginning of the 6th/12th century during the Almoravid occupation, as is shown in Ibn ʿAbdūn's discourse on the *ḥisba*, edited and translated by E. Lévi-Provençal (see bibliography).

II. Maghrib. Nothing leads us to believe that the term *bayt al-māl* was used in the Maghrib in such a restricted sense. It seems to have been used in its wider meaning of the public Treasury and it designates at the same time the administration of public finances.

So far the financial organisation of the different states of the Muslim West has not been the object of a systematic study. It must be added that the information supplied by the Arabic chronicles is slight and very scrappy. We must be content with very general observations on the matter.

The Aghlabids of al-Ḳayrawān do not appear to have been innovators in this respect and seem to have been content with the system they found when they came to power in 184/800.

If the Fāṭimids did not change much in the administration and nomenclature of the taxes, they obtained, according to the indications of Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 69) a remarkable return from the taxes, the annual total of which reached 7 to 8 million dinars. The Zīrids could only maintain the system so well organised by their predecessors.

We know practically nothing about the financial organisation of the Almoravids, except that their first ruler, Yūsūf b. Tāshufīn felt obliged to content himself with "legal" taxes—an attitude which his successors did not keep up, and that they maintained in Spain the organisation that they found in force there.

The only precise indication that we have on the subject of the Almohads is the establishment by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in 555/1160 of a sort of cadaster intended to cover the whole Maghrib and to help in the assessment of a land tax (*kharādj*) (*Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, 126; 174).

R. Brunschvig's study on the Ḥafṣids contains all the details possible—and they are comparatively few—on the financial organisation of the eastern Maghrib from the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries. The official who directed it bore the name of *ṣāḥib al-ashghāl*, a term also used by Ibn Khaldūn (*loc cit.*), then of *munaffidh*. It was characterised by the fact that, in a number of instances, it renounced Ḳurʾānic "legality" but it was successful, for the Ḥafṣid treasury was nearly always well filled.

Nothing precise is known about the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād. It is possible that the thesis being prepared by M. Mougin may clarify the subject.

The rare and scattered indications on the financial organisation of the Marīnids can be found in the

Masālik of Ibn Faḍl Allāh-al ʿUmarī (tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *BGA*, ii, Paris 1927) and in the *Musnad* of Ibn Marzūḳ (ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hesp.*, 1925). They all concern the reign of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (the middle of the 14th century).

A text of al-Ifranī (*Nuzhat al-Hādī*, ed., Houdas, 38-40; tr. 70-75) provides interesting information on fiscal matters at the beginning of the Saʿdid period and on the establishment of a new land tax called *nāʾiba*. Finally, the work of E. Michaux-Bellaire gives quite a clear picture of the financial system under the ʿAlawid dynasty at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

It may be hoped that the Turkish archives preserved in Tunis and Algiers contain the materials for a study of Turkish fiscal policy in the Maghrib, at least from the 18th century.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 13-134; idem, *Séville mus. au XII^e siècle*, 1-3; M. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie or. sous la dynastie des Benoû 'l-Arlab*, Paris 1927, 170-171; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca, 1949-1950, *passim*; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie or. sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1947, 68-69; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Les impots marocains*, in *AM*, i, 56-96; idem, *L'organisation des finances au Maroc*, in *AM*, xi, 171-51; J. F. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary*, London 1958.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

AL-**BAYT** AL-**MUḲADDAS** [see AL-ḲUDS]

BAYT RĀS, a village in Transjordania, known by the Arab geographers, and situated about 3 km. N. of Irbid in the district of ʿAdjlūn [*q.v.*], on an eminence (589 m.) surrounded by ruins which mark the deserted site of the ancient Capitolias. This town of the Decapolis, the name of which corresponds to the Arabic name which outlived it and doubtless relates to its dominant position in a less hilly region, was noted by the early itineraries along along with Adhriʿāt (Derʿa), Abila (Tall Abil) and Gadara (Umm Kaya), which were neigbouring places. Formerly a Nabatean possession, it had increased in importance during the Roman period, being declared autonomous in 97-8, the first year of Trajan's reign, and had maintained its importance as a Byzantine bishopric of Palestina Secunda. Occupied by Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana at the beginning of the period of Arab conquest and incorporated in the *djund* of Urdunn, it enjoyed during the Umayyad period a position which is attested by various notices in the poets and chroniclers. These sing the praises of its wine, "already praised by the pre-Islamic poets Nābigha Dhubyānī and Ḥassān b. Thābit" (H. Lammens) and still known by Yāḳūt in the 6th/13th century, and mention it as the seat of the caliph Yazīd II, who lived there with his favourite Ḥabāba (the tradition which makes it the birthplace of the caliph Yazīd I seems however more doubtful, and may be based on a confusion with the village of Bayt Rānis in the Ghūta of Damascus, as has already been pointed out by H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du caliphe omaiyade Moʿawiya Ier*, Beirut 1908, 379 and n.). The fame of Bayt Rās, at a period when the Marwānid rulers preferred to reside in the region of al-Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*], which is rich in archaeological remains that can be attributed to them, was followed by a rapid decline, and the site was almost completely abandoned. It is a cause for regret, however, that the ruins which still exist, and which have been briefly described by travellers, have never formed the subject of serious study which might enable one to distinguish the traces of an Umayyad establishment in the midst of the earlier buildings.

Bibliography: F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-38, ii, 294-5 (s.v. Capitolias); G. Schumacher, *Northern ʿAjlun*, London 1890, 154-168; G. Schumacher and C. Steuernagel, *Der ʿAdschlūn*, Leipzig 1927, 478 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 32, 415; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 4, 6, 23; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 1126 (year 12 A.H.), iii, 396 (year 15 A.H.); H. Lammens, *Études sur la siècle des Omeyyades*, Beirut 1930, 171, 213, 253; Nābigha Dhubyānī, *Dīwān*, ed. Dérenbourg, xxvi, 165-66; Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 116; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 78; Bakrī, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, i, 189; Yāḳūt, i, 200, 776-777.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BAYṬĀR is the most frequently used form of the word which denotes the veterinary surgeon. It is an arabicised form of ἱππιατρός, and, as a matter of fact, the more exact form *biyaṭr* is to be found in ancient poetry, as well as *bayṭar*. The preservation of the original Greek form in Oriental languages is also proved by the 12th century *Midrash Numeri rabbā*, 9, where אפייטרוס is expressly written. However, the Greek hippiatric writings do not seem to have been known in Islam, if the quotation of Heraclides in al-Bīrūnī, *al-Djamāhir fi Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, 101 does not mean Heraclides of Tarentum (ca. 75 B.C.), who wrote, amongst others, a hippiatric book, cf. M. J. Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Bērūnī*, Thesis, Bonn 1935, 44. A pseudo-Hippocratic work on the subject bearing the title *De Curationibus infirmitatum aequorum*, was translated by a Jew named Moses of Palermo for Charles I of Anjou (1266-1285), and printed in Bologna 1865, in P. Delprato, *Trattati di mascalcia attribuiti ad Ippocrate tradotti dall'arabo in latino*.

The oldest Arabic work on *bayṭara* is ascribed to Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 200, 26; it is also the only work on the subject quoted by Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 270, who calls it "sufficient" (*kāfī*). A writer contemporary with Ḥunayn is the first author on hippiatrics whose works are preserved, namely, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Akhī Ḥizām, stablemaster to al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Muʿtaḍid (second half of 3rd/9th century), cf. Brockelmann, S I, 432 f., where further bibliography is quoted. A great many manuscripts of books by several authors were listed by H. Ritter in an annex to his review on ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hudhayl al-Andalusī, *La parure des cavaliers*, ed. L. Mercier, 1922 (*Der Islam*, xviii, 1929, 119-126). The words *bayṭār* and *bayṭara* are still in use in modern Spanish (*albéitar* and *albeitaria*). A French article on the veterinary medicine of the Bedouins was translated into Arabic by Père Anastase, *al-Machriq*, i, 1898, 684, 942.

Bibliography: (additional to books quoted in the text): *TA*, s.v.; *al-Açmaʿīyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, 3, 8; Farazdaḳ, ed. Hell, 484[1], 1; S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, 265; M. Steinschneider, *Übers. a. d. Arab.*, i, 1904, no. 86; W. Cohn, *Jüdische Übersetzer am Hofe Karl I. von Anjou, Königs von Sizilien*, in *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judentums*, 79, 1935, 246 ff.; G. Sarton, *IHS*, ii, 89, 793, 1091, 1093; iii, 284, 1216, 1238, 1837 f.; E. Leclainche, *Hist. de la méd. vét.*, 1936; L. Moulé, *Hist. de la méd. vét.*, 2 (*méd. vét. arabe*), 1896.

(M. PLESSNER)

BAYYĀNA, Span. Baena, a small town in the province of Cordova, 59 kilometres from the capital. During the Muslim period it belonged to the district of Cabra; with al-Zahrā', Ecija, Lucena and Cordova, it formed the *iḳlīm* of al-Ḳambāniya (la Campiña). Situated on a hill in the Campiña of Cordova and watered by the Marbella, a tributary of the Guadajoz, it was surrounded by gardens, vineyards and olive groves, as at present, and enjoyed great prosperity during the Umayyad period. The town possessed a solid fortress, situated on the slope facing the river, a cathedral mosque built by the order of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, markets and baths. Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] succeeded in conquering Bayyāna during the period of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh but, with the fall of the caliphate and the ensuing disorder of the *fitna*, it lost much of its rural tranquillity. Its present location dates back to the Muslim period, as no Roman traces have been found there nor in various parts of its environs, as far as the neighbouring ridge of Antigua. Alfonso the Warlike on his famous expedition into Andalusia, passed by Baena without taking it, shortly before the battle of Arnisol (Ṣafar 520/March 1126). When the town fell into the hands of Ferdinand III in 1240, it had a double enclosure, an internal wall which enclosed the *alcazaba* and the *medina*, and an external wall which encompassed the outskirts occupied by the civilian population. The *mudejares* who remained at Baena were transferred to Castile in 1571, but a royal decree authorised their establishment at Cordova until their final expulsion. The most important celebrity of the town was Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh b. Muḥammad. b. Yūsuf b. Nāṣiḥ b. ʿAṭā', a traditionist and philologist who was born at Baena in 247/862 and died at Cordova in 340/951.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Desc.*, 174, 205, of the text, 209, 252 of the trans.; Yāḳūt, ii, 13; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, 59 of the text, 64 of the trans.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

BAYYĀSA, Span. Baeza, a town in the province of Jaen, 48 kilometres from the capital. Its present population is about 17,000 and it is situated on a hill whose slopes descend to the valleys of the Guadalquiver and the Guadajoz. Of Iberian foundation, it was called Biatra, according to Ptolemy. Pliny calls its inhabitants Vincienses, and the Goths made it the seat of the diocese *biatensis*. Upon its fall to the Muslims it took the name Bayyāsa. Its corn and barley were praised, according to al-Idrīsī, who did not however mention its olive groves which today cover half its area.

During the Umayyad caliphate Ibn Ḥafsūn [*q.v.*] conquered it, but it was retaken by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 217/910. In 412/1021 the town belonged, with Jaen and Calatrava, to the fief of Zuhayr *fatā*ʿ *ʿāmirī*. It was occupied by the Almoravids, whose last champion in al-Andalus, Ibn Ghāniya, surrendered it in 541/1146 to the emperor Alfonso VII; the latter kept it until he evacuated it in 552/1157 at the same time as Ubeda, shortly before his death and after the loss of Alméria. For nearly a century it belonged to the Almohads, and in 609/1212 al-Nāṣir on his way to Las Navas de Tolosa, moved his camp from Jaen to Baeza. After the rout, the inhabitants of Baeza fled to Ubeda, and on 18 Ṣafar 609/20 July 1212, the victors entered the deserted city and burned it. When the Christians had retired, it was rebuilt and repopulated. In the following year, Alfonso VIII besieged it with difficulty during the winter of 1213-14, and was forced to retire without success.

A nephew of ʿAbd al-Mu'min, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who held the governorships of Bougie, the Balearics and Valencia, must have lived a long time at Baeza, for his ten sons had the surname al-Bayyāsī, and the eldest, ʿAbd Allāh revolted at Baeza against the caliphs al-ʿĀdil and al-Ma'mūn. He allied himself with Ferdinand III and received a Castilian garrison in the alcazaba of Baeza. When he was killed by the Cordovans in 623/1226, the inhabitants of Baeza again abandoned their city, and it was finally occupied by Ferdinand III on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 624/30 November 1227. During the 14th and 15th centuries, Baeza, as a stronghold of great strategic importance, owing to its situation on the frontier between Castile and the kingdom of Granada, played a major rôle in the struggles of the Reconquest between the Naṣrids and the Marīnids.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Desc.*, 203 in text, 249 in trans.; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, 57 in text, 72 in trans.; G. Çirot, *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*, 115; Fernando de Cózar, *Noticias y documentos para la historia de Baeza*, 1884; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia del imperio almohade*, ii, 432-6. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

BAYYINA (plural *bayyināt*), etymologically the feminine adjective "clear, evident", was already in use as a substantive with the meaning of "manifest proof" in numerous passages of the Ḳur'ān—in xcviii, 1 for example, whence it is that the Sūra itself is entitled *al-Bayyina*. In legal terminology the word denotes the proof *per excellentiam*—that established by oral testimony—, although from the classical era the term came to be applied not only to the fact of giving testimony at law but also to the witnesses themselves. There are other words to express other aspects or degrees of the notion of proof, notably *ḥudjdja* (plural *ḥudjadj*) "argument, proof (in general or at law)", "a document constituting proof", *dalīl* "conclusive indication" and *burhān* "demonstration".

In the legal field the Ḳur'ān is concerned with proof in diverse matters, both civil and penal. It is at once noteworthy that it is fundamentally to oral testimony (*shahāda* [*q.v.*]) that the Ḳur'ān prescribes recourse. It recommends that certain legal acts should be established by witnesses—divorce by repudiation (lxv, 2), testamentary dispositions (v, 106-108), accounts of guardianship (iv, 7) and the contracting of debts (ii, 282). And while, in this last case, the Ḳur'ān strongly supports written evidence, this is closely tied up with the eye-witnesses who ought to corroborate, as soon as it is completed, the recognition of the debt dictated to the scribe by the debtor. Such are the modes of proof which the Ḳur'ān, albeit in a summary fashion, regulates. It notes, in addition, the need for a double number of witnesses (four in place of the ordinary number of two) to establish legal proof of fornication (iv, 19, xxiv, 4, 13); and, to provide for the case where the husband cannot produce this difficult standard of proof of his wife's adultery, institutes the exceptional procedure of the mutual "oath of imprecation" (*liʿān*) between the spouses (xxiv, 6-9). This procedure, although it does not, properly speaking, establish proof, has, nevertheless, important legal effects. On the other hand the sacred book has nothing to say about the primitive institutions of physical ordeal and oaths of compurgation.

Classical Islamic law consecrated the superiority of proof by testimony, requiring, for its validity,

the fulfilment of some fairly stringent theoretical conditions (see ʿADL and SHAHĀDA). And it was only in so far as written evidence could be construed as a *Zeugenurkunde* (cf. the *testatio* of Roman law) that it became generally and more widely accepted, though not without keen discussion, reservations and precautions, even in the case of notarial acts (see E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman, Annales École française de droit de Beyrouth*, 1945, no. 2).

In the Ḳurʾānic verses relating to testamentary dispositions (v, 106-108) the witnesses, in case of suspicion, or new substitute witnesses, were invited to take an oath by Allāh; but traditional theory regards as abrogated the precept contained in this passage, which is the only one in the Ḳurʾān where third-party witnesses are required to support their own evidence by an oath. Occasional and exceptional instances can be adduced, under Islam, of ḳāḍis subjecting suspect witnesses to the oath. The doctrine, however, established a clear-cut distinction, as far as the "legal proofs" (*ḥudjadj sharʿiyya*) which it enumerates and regulates are concerned, between proof by testimony and the oath. The celebrated maxim declares : "The burden of proof (by testimony) lies upon the one who makes the allegation and the oath belongs to him who denies (*al-bayyina ʿalā l-muddaʿī wa-l-yamīn ʿalā man ankar*)" with the variant "to him against whom the allegation is made (*ʿalā l-muddaʿā ʿalayh*)". It ought to be noted that in the process of the action "the one who makes the allegation" is not necessarily the original plaintiff (and hence the burden of proof may fluctuate), and further that, in the view of the scholars, evidence can only normally be given to positive facts.

In principle the *bayyina* itself has a self-sufficient authority : where the legal conditions of validity are satisfied it is, as a general rule, binding upon the judge. Several early attempts to support testimony with an oath taken by the plaintiff wholly failed, apart from cases where the defendant defaults or suffers from some incapacity, to influence the classical law (Schacht, *Origins*, 187-188; see Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, ix, 277; for the contrary view of the Fāṭimids, ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *Iḳtiṣār*, Damascus 1957, 163). The Ḥanafī school held strictly to the letter of the maxim mentioned above, and indeed certainly contributed to the spread of its influence, if not to its very formulation; for, contrary to the doctrine of the other *madhāhib*, Ḥanafī law does not allow the plaintiff to take the oath in order to complete an imperfect *bayyina* (a single witness) in disputes concerning property, nor does it allow the oath declined by the defendant to be returned to the plaintiff. In the mutual taking of the oath (*taḥāluf*) which the Ḥanafīs, along with the other schools, uphold in certain cases where *bayyina* is lacking, each of the two parties stands in relation to other in the position of defendant. For other developments of the judicial oath see the article *yamīn*. We will only observe here that the pre-Islamic oath of compurgation survives, in Islamic law, as a method of proof in a limited field of penal procedure (see *ḳasāma*).

It is possible, especially in regard to property claims, that contradictory *bayyināt* may confront each other. The *fiḳh* texts concern themselves with this *taʿāruḍ al-bayyināt* and endeavour to destroy the conflict by officially declaring one of the proofs superior on the basis of criteria which differ considerably among the different schools and may result in diametrically opposite solutions. Should the proofs concerned nevertheless still prove equal, the solutions, even within the schools themselves, vary between their reciprocal cancellation, resort to a supplementary and decisive form of evidence, and their being taken at face value—which then necessitates either division of the property or the drawing of lots.

Superior though the *bayyina* might be as a mode of proof, it is difficult to regard it in all circumstances as "stronger" (*aḳwā*) than an acknowledgement (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*] or, less technically, *iʿtirāf*). Indeed the contrary is expressly stated by the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, ix, 426. The doctrine requires less in the way of personal capacity for an acknowledgement than for testimony, by reason of the basic presumption of truthfulness on the part of the person making the acknowledgement. But the authors usually—and quite sensibly—distinguish in this regard between the acknowledgement whose only effect is to bind the one who makes it (*ʿalā nafsih*) and the acknowledgement which affects the rights of third parties (*fī ḥaḳḳ ghayrih*), and their decisive force and their legal consequences differ considerably.

In addition it would be relevant, on the subject of *bayyina*, to enquire into the position, in relation to it, of the expert evidence which may be required by the judge. Further, if one were to attempt a general theory of proof in Islamic law, it would be fitting to take account of the discussions relating to the judge's personal knowledge of the facts of a case, to underline the considerable importance and the abundance of legal presumptions, and to note the role and the importance of certain auxiliary indications or initial steps in proof recognised by the law. In this field of proof at law two Islamic tendencies may be observed : the desire to establish, in a humane fashion, what is most probable by regulated means rather than to pursue the strict truth, the certain knowledge of which belongs only to God, —and a tendency towards rationalisation, which, though it does not prevail always and everywhere, is nevertheless latent in, for example, the position alloted to the oath of compurgation and the complete absence of ordeal in the form of physical trial (despite tenacious survivals of this in the customary practice of tribal societies up to the present day).

Bibliography: The texts of *fiḳh*, the articles of the *EI* to which reference has been made above, and the modern studies to which reference will be made in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, vol. *La Preuve* (to be published in 1960) as well as in the article ḤUDJDJA [*q.v.*]. (R. BRUNSCHVIG)

BAYYŪMIYYA, an Egyptian *ṭarīḳa* founded by ʿAlī b. Ḥidjāzī b. Muḥammad al-Bayyūmī al-Shāfiʿī, born c. 1108/1696 and died in Cairo in 1183/1769. After joining the Aḥmadiyya and Khalwatiyya (the latter through the Demirdashiyya) *ṭarīḳas*, Bayyūmī, by developing a *dhikr* characterised by particularly loud and emphatic utterance, established a virtually independent *ṭarīḳa* of his own. Another feature of his *ṭarīḳa* was its appeal to the poorest classes and specifically to highwaymen, many of whom, after a period of chastisement at Bayyūmī's hands, swelled the ranks of the vast armed retinue that accompanied his rare appearances in the streets. But perhaps his influence was chiefly due to the extremes of excitement and passivity that he experienced during the *dhikr*. The *ʿulamāʾ*s attempt to ban his *dhikr* sessions (held every Tuesday at the Ḥusaynī Mashhad) was thwarted by Shaykh

Shubrawī, Rector of the Azhar, whose determination on this occasion contrasts favourably with his behaviour on others (Djabartī, i, 195). Bayyūmī's works include handbooks on the Demirdashiyya and Bayyūmiyya and a commentary on Djīlī's *Insān al-Kāmil*. He seems to have been most at home in *ḥadīth*, on which he lectured when Shubrawī invited him to the Taybarsiyya College at the Azhar. The mosque in which he is buried was built by Muṣṭafā Pasha, a *wālī* of Egypt (probably between 1757-1760), when according to Djabartī he became grand vezir (probably sometime between 1763/1765). Bayyūmī did not leave any distinguished *khalīfa*- but his *dhikr* was still popular during the *mawlid* in Lane's days.

Bibliography: To Brockelmann, II 462, S I 784, S II 146, 478 add: *Risālat al-Tanzīh al-Muṭlaḳ li man lahu al-Wudjūd al-Kāmil* (MS in writer's possession); Sarkis 622; Djabartī, i, 339; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 249, 461.

(W. A. S. KHALIDI)

BAYZARA, (Arabic), denotes "the art of the flying-hunt", and is not restricted to the designation of "falconry". (Its Persian origin (from *bāz*: goshawk; see below) is more closely related to the notion of "ostring art"). Derived from *bayzār*, "ostringer", an Arabicised form of the Persian *bāzyār/bāzdār*, it was preferred to its dual form *bāzdara*; the words *bāziyya* and *biyāza* were scarcely used in the Muslim Occident. The use of rapacious predatories (*kāsir*, pl. *kawāsir*) as "beasts of prey" (*djāriḥ*, pl. *djawāriḥ*) was undoubtedly known to the Arabs before Islam, and Imru' al-Ḳays sketches, in his *ayyam al-ṣayd*, some descriptions of flying-sport. However, hawking only assumed importance with them after the great Muslim conquests which brought them into contact with the Persians and the Byzantines. It quickly won the favour of the new leaders who discovered in it the possibility of diversion and of satisfying peacefully their passion for riding. Caliphs and high Muslim dignitaries were zealous in elevating it, with venery, to the rank of an institution under the direction of a "master of chases" (*amīr al-ṣayd*), and later (*amīr shikār*). The Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (680-83) was one of the first to show an unbridled enthusiasm for the flying-hunt. Historians, biographers and chroniclers in the Arabic language provide information, each according to his own period and country, on the current practice of hawking, and relate for the occasion lively anecdotes of the exploits of certain princes in this field. (see al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Suyūṭī, al-Maḳrīzī-Quatremère, in J. Sauvaget, *Introduct. à l'hist. de l'Orient Musulman*). Much more valuable is the information concerning *bayzara* found in certain encyclopedic works, edited for the purpose of *adab* or philological learning, such as the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of Al-Djāḥiẓ (Cairo 1947), the *Al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīda (Alexandria 1904, vol. viii, and indices by M. Ṭālbī, Tunis 1956), the *K. Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* of Al-Ḳalḳashandī (Cairo 1913, vol. ii), the *K. Murūdj al-Dhahab* of al-Masʿūdī.

The Maghrib and Muslim Spain, as well as the Orient, had their enthusiasts for the hawking-sport. In Aghlabid Ifrīḳiya, the governor Muḥammad II (864-75), called not without reason the "Cranesman" (Abu 'l-Gharānīḳ), exhausted the state exchequer with his wild expenses on the "flying-play" (*laʿb*) (see Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, trans. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, 147-48). Later the Ḥafṣids, too, were smitten by hawking. Like a Sāsānid prince, Al-Mustanṣir (1249-77) found his pleasure, with the hawk on his fist, in a vast "preserve" (*maṣyad*) near Bizerta (see Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, trans. De Slane et Casanova, ii, 338). In the 15th century his descendant ʿUthmān (1435-88) spent several days a week in this entertainment (see R. Brunschvig, *Deux récits de voyage inédits ...*, Paris 1936, 212). At the Umayyad court in Cordova, the Grand Falconer (*Ṣāḥib al-bayāzira*) enjoyed a high office, close to the ruler (see Ibn ʿIdhārī, *op. cit.*, in E. Lévi-Provençal, Xe s., Paris 1932, 55). The fashion of hawking, widespread in the countries of Islam during the Middle Ages, was the livelihood of a great number of people, and its practice was not limited to the privileged classes, as it was in Christendom. The rural population and the nomads continued to devote themselves to it and preserved the tradition, down to the beginning of the 20th century. From this fact it is easy to evaluate the rôle played by the sporting-bird in Muslim economic life, especially during the medieval period, by the commerce it provoked and the people required for its maintenance. (see A. Ṭalas, *La vie économique aux IIème and IIIème siècles de l'Hégire*, in Arabic in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIrāḳī*, 1952, ii, 271-301; al-Djāḥiẓ(?), *K. al-tabaṣṣur, bi 'l-Tidjāra*, ed. H. H. Abdul-Wahab, Cairo 1935 34-35, trans. Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i, 2, 1954, 160-61).

Most often, in fact, the master of the hawk-keepers train was not a falconer in the strict sense of the term, and he only put on the glove (*dastabān*; Maghrib: *ḳuffāz*) during the hunt. The care of the "hawk's room" (*bayt al-ṭuyūr*) was entrusted to hawkers' assistants (*ghulām*, pl. *ghilmān*) who had besides the task of keeping the aviary well provided with pigeons and other game-birds, for the nourishment and training of the hawks. The latter, a technical term of the *bayzara*, necessitated, according to the kind of sporting-bird, the competence of the ostringer (*bāzyār* pl. *bayāzira*. On the preference of *bāzyār* to *bayyāz* see Ibn Saʿīd al-ʿAkfānī, *Irshād al-Maḳāṣid*, 92; the terms *bayyāz, bayyāzī, biyāz, bāziyy, bayzārī* in the general sense of hawker, are Spanish-Maghribī, and frequently give way to *ṭayyār*), or of the falconer (*ṣaḳḳār*); both were often assisted by the *kallābazi*, the master of the hawking-pack who sets his greyhounds (*sulūḳī*, pl. *sulūḳiyya*) on the gazelle or the hare, and the Goshawk, occasionally the Saker Falcon or even the eagle, flying "waiting on" (*ḥā'im*), distances the pack and binds to the quarry.

The traditional classification in the Orient of predatories worthy of training (*ḍarāwa* and *ḍarā'a*), based on the black or yellow colour of the iris denoting remarkable visual powers, corresponds exactly to the modern ornithological system. In fact the "dark-eyed birds" are found only in the *genus Falco*, "*falconidae*", who alone have a black iris. These are "long-winged sweeping birds, "lured-birds, used to "highflying" (the flight of the heron: *balshūn*, of the crane: *kurkī* or *ghirnīḳ*, of crows: *ghirbān*, from time to time the eagle: *ʿuḳāb*, the kite: *ḥidā'*, and the wild water-fowl: *ṭayr al-mā'*). The Arabist is often puzzled by the abundance of terms designating sporting-birds, a such abundance not being due to the multiplicity of types, but to the great variety of adjectives qualifying the innumerable shades of plumage worn by the bird according to its sex, its age and habitat. The Arabs saw several different types when it was only a question of individual birds of the same family, whether immature, young or adult, male or female. One can discover, however, among that accumulation of names

the generic term, with the aid on the one hand of scientific inventories of the avifauna of each country, and on the other, of the descriptions provided by the great Muslim naturalists, such as al-Ḳazwīnī (1203-1283) in his *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, al-Damīrī (1341-1405) in his *K. Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, and especially by the authors of cynegetic works (see below).

Thus the *ṣaḳḳār*, falconer, was occupied in training only: a) the Ger-Falcon, *Falco rusticolus*, (*sunḳūr*, *shunḳūr*, *shunḳār*) which, unknown in the Arab countries, had to be imported at great expense from Siberia, and which often figured among the ceremonial gifts upon an exchange of ambassadors; b) the Saker Falcon, *Falco cherrug*, (*ṣaḳr*, *ṣaḳr al-ghazāl*, *sharḳ*); c) the Peregrine Falcon, *Falco peregrinus*, under its three oriental sub-species: *perigrinator*, *babylonicus* and *calidus* (either *shāhīn* or *baḥrī* for the "Passage-Peregrine"); d) the Black-winged Kite, *Elanus caeruleus* (*zurraḳ*, *ṣaḳr abyaḍ*, and Pers. *kūhī*); e) the Merlin, *Falco columbarius aesalon* (*yuʾyuʾ*, *djalam*); f) the Hobby, *Falco subbuteo* (*kawindj*); g) the Kestrel, *Falco tinnunculus* (*ʿāsūḳ*); h) the Lesser Kestrel, *Falco Naumanni* (*ʿuwaysiḳ*); i) the Red-footed Falcon, *Falco vespertinus* (*luzayḳ*) (see A. Maʿlūf, *Muʿdjam al-hayawān*, Cairo 1932, to be consulted with great care in view of the numerous errors in a scientific apparatus so often outdated).

In the Muslim West highflight hawking knew only four *falconidae*: the Saker (*nublī* or *lublī*, derived from the name of the Andalusian town Niebla, which points to a loanword); the Barbary Lanner Falcon, or the "Alphanet" of the Christian falconers, *Falco biarmicus* (*burnī*); the Barbary Falcon, *Falco peregrinus pelegrinoides* (*turklī*); and Eleanora's Falcon, *Falco eleonorae* (*baḥrī*) (see Leo Africanus. *Il Viaggio*, Venice 1837, 166; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, ch. V, *La fauconnerie*, 81-106, and bibl.; E. Daumas, *Les chevaux du Sahara*, Paris 1853, with the *Réflexions de l'Emir Abdelkader*, 359-372). These four falcons are described in the Maghrib as "noble" (*ḥurr*). As for the "yellow-eyed birds", raised only by the *bāzyār*, ostringer, they are the class most used in the hawking-sport. They are all "short-winged soaring birds" or "fist-hawks" trained for "lowflying". This category is composed largely of the genus *Accipiter* or *accipitridae* and includes in some parts of Persia and Turkey the smaller *aquilidae*.

The bird which has enjoyed the greatest favour since remote antiquity and in every country of the Orient is undoubtedly the Goshawk, *Accipiter gentilis*, and its subspecies *Accip. albidus* (either *bāz*, or *shāhbāz*) which, because they do not belong to the avifauna of the Arabic countries, were imported by merchants from Greece, Turkestan, Persia and India; the Maghrib scarcely knew of them. It was believed that the Goshawk was born to the flying art. Its Persian name *bāz*, passed into Arabic before Islam, was applied apparently through ignorance to every sporting bird, and the term *bayzara*, ostring art for the experts, meant hawking in general. Conversely, it was "falcon" which prevailed over "goshawk" in Europe, and "falconry" covered the technique of the ostring art. In the arabisation of the name *bāz*, it was necessary to give it a triliteral root, of which the choice caused some trouble among philologists and lexicographers. Three alternatives were proposed: a) BZW-BZY, giving by derivation *bāzⁱⁿ*, *al-bāzī*, *bāziyy*; pl. *buzāt*, *bawāzⁱⁿ*/*al-bawāzī*, *buzʾān*; b) BWZ-BYZ giving *bāzᵘⁿ*, pl. *abwāz*, *bīzān*; c) BʾZ giving *baʾzᵘⁿ* pl. *baʾzāt*, *abʾuz*, *buʾūz*, *biʾzān*, *buʾuz*, *buʾz*. After the Goshawk, it was the Sparrow-Hawk, *Accipiter nisus* (*bāshaḳ*, *ʿulām*, *ṭūṭ*) and its short-footed subspecies called "Shikra", *Accip. badius brevipes* (*baydaḳ*), which was preferred owing to its docility and the vast area of its distribution; its hen (*ṣāf*) is still used at Cape Bon in Tunisia for flying at the passage-quail in spring (see D. M. Mathis, *La chasse au faucon en Tunisie*, in *Bull. Société Sc. Natur. de Tunisie*, ii, 3-4, Tunis 1949, 107-18 and illustrations; idem, in A. Boyer et M. Planiol, *Traité de Fauconnerie et Autourserie*, Paris 1948, 242-48; L. Lavauden, *La chasse et la faune cynégétique en Tunisie*, Tunis 1920, 20-21; *al-Laṭāʾif*, in Arabic, Tunis, May 1955, 24-27 and illustrations).

As for eagles, they never have had in fact the rank of sporting-birds (*ʿitāḳ al-ṭayr*); however, Persians and Turks trained with success the Crested Hawk Eagle, *Spizaetus cirrhatus* (*tughrūl*), Bonelli's Eagle, *Hieraetus fasciatus*, and the Booted Eagle, *Hieraetus pennatus* (both called *zummādj*). The Harriers (*murzāt*) and Buzzards (*saḳāwā*) were neglected owing to their untamable ferocity; the kite and the vulture (*nasr*) as well, because of their taste for carrion. The Persians carried the art of training as far as the Eagle Owl (*būha*) which served to attract the other predatories. All of the "yellow-eyed birds" were earmarked for the lowflying at the quail (*sumānā*, *salwā*), the partridge (*ḥadjal*), the Chukar partridge (*ḳabdj*) and the See-See (*ṭayhūdj*), the sandgrouse (*ḳaṭā*), the Bustard (*ḥubārā*), the Little Bustard (*raʿʿād*), the Francolin (*durrādj*), the Ruddy Shieldrake (*ʿanḳūd*) and other game-birds of the steppe and desert.

The techniques proper to *bayzara* were early in Islam the objects of numerous treatises which, for the most part, have not survived; Ibn al-Nadīm mentions ten of them in his *Fihrist*. On the other hand a large number of the manuscripts in the public and private libraries in Europe and the Orient have yet to be studied (cf. Brockelmann, chapters on "Naturwissenschaft" and "Jagd"). Nevertheless these techniques are comparatively well known to us thanks to several works already edited. The oldest of these texts, treating falconry, might be the basis of the Latin-Roman versions not yet identified but attributed to the two authors Moamin and Ghatrif (see the excellent critical edition of these texts by H. Tjerneld, Stockholm-Paris 1945). Recently, the Syrian Kurd ʿAlī had the happy idea of publishing (Damascus 1953) a treatise *Al-Bayzara* devoted to the falconry of the Fāṭimid caliph Al-ʿAzīz bi-llāh (975-96); the anonymous author offers us the profit of his own long experience and that of the specialists in hawking (*luʿʿāb*) in a style stripped of extraneous erudition: poetical citations are arranged in a special chapter. This work is by far the most valuable of those we possess in Arabic on the training methods. At almost the same time Asʿad Ṭalas edited (Baghdād 1954) the oldest known Arabic text, *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-Maṭārid*, the work of the famous poet Al-Kushādjim (d. 961 or 971) (cf. Brockelmann, I, 85, and S I, 137; Ṭalas, *Madjalla* ... *op. cit.*, with an analysis of the work). This complete treatise on venery and falconry was one of the sources most exploited by later authors of cynegetic works; there emanates from it unfortunately too great a preoccupation with *adab* which relieves it of any practical significance. Very different and far more lively and useful are the "hawking-sport memories" of Usāma Ibn Munḳidh (d. 1188) in his *K. al-Iʿtibār* (ed. P. Hitti, Princeton 1930, ch. iii,

192-229) composed during the period of the Crusades (see Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma* . . ., and texts, Paris 1885 and 1893). The work of the Mamlūk Muḥammad al-Manglī, *K. Uns al-Malā' bi-Waḥsh al-Falā'*, written in 1371 (cf. Brockelmann, II, 136 and S II, 167) and published (Paris 1880) with a mediocre French translation by Florian Pharaon, has lost much of its value since the treaty of Al-Kushādjim has been available. Further, *bayzara* is treated in didactic poems such as the *ḳaṣīda* in 213 lines of the Maghrībī al-Fadjīdjī (d. 1514; Brockelmann, II, 136), and the *Djamhara fi 'l-bayzara* (Ms. Escorial, n. 903) of a certain ʿIsā al-Azdī (10th century?) often cited by al-Manglī. These compositions deserve publication, though they have already been exploited by L. Mercier (*op. cit.*) who has in addition used the manuscripts of Al-Fākihī (d. 1541) and Al-Ashʿarī (1444) (MSS. Paris, B.N. nos. 2831 and 2834). Ṭalas (*Madjalla* . . .) has restored to its original version the beautiful *ardjūza* on the flying-sport by Ibn Nubāta (1287-1366) entitled *Farā'id al-Sulūk fi Maṣāyid al-Mulūk*.

From all these texts it results that snaring and training methods were nearly the same for all species of sporting-birds. The young hawk was caught "eyas" or "yellow beak" (*ghiṭrāf, ghiṭrīf*) or "branchiers"-"rockers", *i.e.*, the nest-forsakers (*nāhiḍ*) from her eyrie; when "redfalcon" (*farkh*) or "haggard" (*waḥshī*) "native" (*baladī*) or "passage-hawk" (*ḳāṭiʿ* or *rādjiʿ*), she was limed or snared by means of nets, of nooses and chiefly of "flying-decoys" (*bārak*) (cf. the system of the hut in Ibn Munḳidh, *op. cit.*, 200-01; M. Planiol, *op. cit.* 154-56). When, captured, she was "reclaimed", *i.e.*, made tame (*taʿbīr, tahdī'*); her eyelids were "sealed" (*khayṭ*) and she was "abated" (*tadjwīʿ, tanḳīṣ*) by fasting and then, progressively unsealed, she was induced to step, of her own accord, on the fist by offering her some "beakfuls" (*talḳīm*) and tempting her with flesh of live preys (*talḳīf*). When become tame and stepping on to the fist at call, she was tied to the "creance" (*ṭiwāla*), and it was now the beginning of her training to stoop at such and such game. Her carnivorous instinct was awakened and her keenness (*farāha*) to bind to the quarry developed by releasing before her training-birds (*kasīra*) selected from the species for which she was being trained to hunt. These exercises were patiently repeated, each time at a greater distance. When estimated "essured" (*mustawin li-l-irsāl*), the pupil was fitted with "jesses" (*al-sibāḳān*) and "bells" (*adjrās, khalkhāl*) and then she was accustomed to wear on her head the "hood" (*burḳaʿ, kumma*, Maghrib: *kanbīl*) and to be "mailed in the sock" (*ḳabā'*), gaining some "manning" (*uns*) by long hours spent among the crowds of the streets and markets. Once familiarised with people, horses, dogs and domestic animals, she was taken to the hunting places where she was flown "for good" (*ṣāda ṭalḳan*) at waterfowl and sparrows. She returned at the sound of a drum (*ṭanbal*) attached to the saddle of the falconer (see L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 98), and she was allowed to "take her pleasure" (*ishbāʿ*) on one of her takes. In the Maghrib training was never carried to such a degree of refinement: always taken in adulthood, the bird was released in the autumn and underwent only a rudimentary training (cf. L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 96-104). Being set down to rest, the hawk was placed on the "block" (*ḥamūla, ḳuffāz*) or on the "perch" (*ʿāriḍa, kandara*), and was "weathered" (*tashrīḳ*) in the sun, near her bathing-pool. During the period of moult (*ḳarnaṣa, takrīz*), she was kept apart, from any noise, and her "mutes" (*dharḳ, ramdj*) were carefully controlled. By this means her good health was assured. The treatises on *bayzara* devote long chapters to the diagnosis of diseases particular to sporting-birds and their cure, revealing most often a barbaric empiricism combined with hygienic superstitions.

From the time of the Prophet the question has been posed, with regard to Ḳur'ānic law, of the legality of eating a game-bird caught by means of a trained (hawk) predatory; it was a question of whether the bird ought to be slaughtered in accordance with the rites. Averroes, in his *Bidāyat al-Mudjtahid* . . ., (cf. Averroes, *Le livre de la chasse*, extr. of the *Bidāya*, text and trans; annotated by F. Viré, in *Revue Tunisienne de Droit*, nos 3-4, Tunis 1954, 228-59), gives a clear account of the different positions adopted by each of the four schools of law. This same question constitutes the introductory part of all of the works dealing with falconry and venery.

The *bayzara* on the other hand did not fail to inspire poets and, from the time of the Umayyad period, it became with the coursing hunt one of the principal themes of popular poetry in *radjaz*. In fact the *ardjūza*, more supple and lively than the rigid classical *ḳaṣīda*, soon became, with al-Shammākh (d. 22/643), al-ʿAdjdjādj (d. 89/708), his son Ru'ba (d. 145/762) and several others, the typical form of the cynegetic poem (*ṭaradiyya*). The latter, very much in fashion under the ʿAbbāsids, was adopted by the great masters of verse such as Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Kushādjim and Al-Nāshī, and afforded them, through research into rare terms (*gharīb*), "the occasion of displaying their learning" (Ch. Pellat, *Langue et Litterature Arabes*, Paris 1952, 108-09) (on the *ṭaradiyyāt*, see idem, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 160 ff. and notes. *Ṭaradiyyāt* are found in the *dīwāns* of the poets; those of Abū Nuwās are for the most part cited by Al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*). It is regrettable to note that this pedantic erudition led to the use, by those who took pleasure in it, of a language which has very little in common with that employed by the lovers of the flying sport. In Muslim Spain the poets, especially from the 11th century on, exploited principally the theme of the hawking-sport, which could not escape their pronounced taste for nature. They were able to inject into it that romantic note unknown to Oriental versifiers (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie Andalouse*, Paris 1953, 346-9). Besides these creations in a learned language, there was a poetry of falconry prolonged and preserved, in their different dialects, by the great Arab nomads. It is interesting to note that the Touaregs have never known of the hawking art (cf. H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951). The disdain displayed by the Arab anthologists for the "vulgar" tongue has deprived us of these Bedouin "songs" which were still recently honoured in the confines of the Sahara, revealing in their descriptions of the hawk, her flight and her quarries, a realism difficult to find in classical poetry (cf. M. Sidoun, *Chants sur la chasse au faucon attribués à Si El-Hadj Aissa, Chérif de Laghouat*, in *R.Afr.*, nos. 270-71, 1908, 272-94, text, trans, notes).

The very large rôle played by the hawking-bird, as a theme of inspiration in Islamic works of art, is material for considerable study. In fact the artistic modes of expression: miniatures, decorative sculpture in stone, in stucco, wood and ivory, engraving on crystal, glass and copper, moulding in bronze, glass and precious metals, ceramics, tapestry

and embroidery, owe to the "hawk motif" a great deal of their inestimable accomplishments. Indeed, it is from this motif, in its innumerable interpretations, that Muslim art of East and West has drawn many of its characteristics (cf. A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian Art*, Oxford 1939; G. Migeon, *Art Musulman*, Paris 1956; G. Marçais, *L'Art de l'Islam*, Paris 1946). We add in conclusion that this same motif was vastly exploited by Mamlūk heraldry (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford 1932; Artin Pacha, *Cont. a l'étude du blason en Orient*, London 1902).

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(F. Viré)

BĀZ [see BAYZARA].

BĀZ BAHĀDUR, The last ruler of independent Mālwa before the Mug̲h̲al conquest in the time of Akbar, Bāz Bahādur was the son of S̲h̲udjāʿ K̲h̲ān, a relative of S̲h̲ir S̲h̲āh Sūr, whom the latter appointed governor of Mālwa after its conquest by S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh's forces in 949/1542. On the death of S̲h̲udjāʿ K̲h̲ān in 962/1554, Bāz Bahādur murdered his brother Dawlat K̲h̲ān, governor of Ud̲j̲d̲j̲ayn (Ujjain) and had himself proclaimed as sultan in 963/1555. He then brought most of Mālwa under his rule by forcing his youngest brother Muṣṭafā K̲h̲ān to give up Rāisin and Bhīlsa. In 968/1560-1, a Mug̲h̲al army under Adham K̲h̲ān advanced to conquer Mālwa. Bāz Bahādur was forced to relinquish his capital Mandū. The next year he succeeded in defeating Pīr Muḥammad, Adham K̲h̲ān's successor, but towards the end of 969/1562 was obliged by Mug̲h̲al reinforcements to flee into the hills of Gondwāna. Though from his refuge there Bāz Bahādur made several guerilla attacks upon the Mug̲h̲al forces, he grew tired of the struggle and in 978/1570 submitted to Akbar eventually to receive a *manṣab* of 2000. He died not long after and is probably buried at Āgra.

Bāz Bahādur is celebrated in popular legend for his love for his mistress Rūpmatī for whom he is said to have composed love-songs and verses. He is also an eponymous figure in the development of a new passionate style of central Indian painting, in which the twin cultures of Mālwa, Hindu and Muslim, were blended.

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(P. Hardy)

BAZA [see BASṬA].

BĀZAHR, Bezoar, a remedy against all kinds of poisons, highly esteemed and paid for throughout the Middle Ages up to the 18th century, and in the Orient even up to this very day. The genuine (Oriental) Bezoar-stone is obtained from the bezoar-goat (*Capra aegagrus Gm.*) and, according to the investigations of Friedrich Wöhler, the famous chemist (1800-1882), and others, it is a gall-stone. The stone seems to have been unknown to ancient Arabs, for neither in the lexica nor in A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, 1919, is the word mentioned. The generally accepted etymology is Persian (*pā*(*d*)-*zahr* "against poison" (P. Horn, in Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundr. d. ir. Phil.*, i/2, 159). The Arabic books of stones and drugs present various spellings and etymologies that do not always correspond with each other, nor are the etymologies themselves throughout correct (see later).

For the first time in Islamic literature the Bāzahr seems to appear in some of the Hermetic writings (none of them printed), and in the (partly edited) pseudo-Aristotelian writings inspired by the Oriental translations of the Alexander Romance. In the Lapidary ascribed to Aristotle (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912, 104 f.) Bāzahr is erroneously stated to be Greek, while the explanation is the usual *al-nāfi li 'l-samm*. The poisons coagulate the blood; this effect is prevented by the stone which frees the body of the poison by strongly sweating. Aristotle also registers the different colours of the Bāzahr and the places where it is found, namely, China, India, the "East" and K̲h̲urāsān. Also as amulet and sealing-stone the Bāzahr is useful, as well as against the sting of poisonous insects (see below).

Some MSS. of the pseudo-Aristotelic *Sirr al-Asrār* (*Secretum secretorum*) offer a chapter on precious stones, namely, Oxon. Laud 210 and Paris 2418. The text of the former was translated in *Opera hactenus inedita* Rogeri Baconi (!), V: *Secretum secretorum*, ed. R. Steele, 1920, 253; the latter has only been noted by ʿAbdurraḥmān Badawī, *Fontes Graecae* (*sic*) *doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, i, 1954, 167, n. 3. Steele also gives (174) the Latin text according to ed. Achillini, 1501, and

points to the Hebrew text (ed. and transl. by M. Gaster, *JRAS*, 1907-8, para 130). The name of the stone is rendered *al-nāfi al-ḍurr* or *mumsik al-rūḥ* (Hebrew *ʿōṣēr hā-rūaḥ*) (?). Its action is described similarly to that in the above-mentioned stone-book.

The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*ʾ, ii, 81 Bombay = 104 Cairo explain the action of the stone in an elaborate theoretical way. It is worth noting that they use the name also as an appellative in the plural, along with *sumūmāt* and *taryāḳāt*. In the *K. al-Sumūm wa-Dafʿ maḍārrhā* by Djābir b. Ḥayyān, Bādzahr is, according to A. Siggel, *Das Buch der Gifte etc.*, 1958, 213 mostly used in the sense of "antidote" in general; only on 186 Siggel translates "Bezoar". The stone is only called one of the major remedies. Djābir is one of the sources quotes by al-Bīrūnī in his elaborate article, *al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, 1355, 200-202; cf. M. J. Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuchs des Berūnī*, Thesis, Bonn 1935, 19, who does not realise that the numerous quotations from Djābir's *K. al-Nukhab* mean his *K. al-Baḥth*, extant in MS. Istanbul Djārullāh 1721. Al-Bīrūnī's account, deriving from various sources, although opening with the statement that the stone is a mineral, offers also descriptions which make its being an organic material possible. He also teaches methods of examining its genuineness, and concludes with anecdotes.

The next author according to chronology is al-Ghāfiḳī, for the time being accessible only in Barhebraeus' abridgment, ed. M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, 98, para 185 (English translation 356-58 with elaborate commentary, where later sources are quoted *in extenso*). Al-Ghāfiḳī's rendering of the name is *muḳāwim al-samm*. For al-Tīfāshī, see also the long chapter on Bāzahr in Clément-Mullet, *JA*, vi/11, 1868, 143-50. Later sources not quoted by Meyerhof-Sobhy: the Arabic text of Ibn al-Bayṭār, 1291, 1, 81 f.; the German version of al-Ḳazwīnī (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des al-Ḳazwīnī*, Kirchhain, 1896). Al-Tīfāshī and also al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūli 'l-albāb*, i, 60 call the stone *pāk-zahr* "cleaning from poison", cf. P. Anastase-Marie de St.-Elie's commentary on Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nukhab al-Dhakhāʾir*, 1939, 75 ff., para 13.

A story of a lad stung by a scorpion who was cured by a drink of incense sealed with a seal of Bāzahr is preserved in Aḥmad b. Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya's commentary on Ps.-Ptolemy's *K. al-Thamara* (*Centiloquium*), aphorism 9, and was reproduced in *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*), ed. Ritter, 1933, 55 (in the forthcoming German translation 56).

On the later history of the Bāzahr, also in Europe, and its high esteem in contemporary Persia see C. Elgood, *Medical History of Persia*, 1951, 369-71 who also describes modern methods of examining its genuineness. (J. Ruska-[M. Plessner])

BĀZĀR [see sūḳ].

BĀZARGĀN [see tidjāra].

BAZĪGH b. **MŪSĀ**, called al-Ḥāʾik, Shīʿite heretic. A disciple of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], he was, like his master, denounced by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ as a heretic and was even, according to Nawbakhtī, disowned by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb himself. Kashshī reports a tradition that when Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ was told that Bazīgh had been killed, he expressed satisfaction. This would place Bazīgh's death before that of Djaʿfar in 148/765. Like many of the early extremist Shīʿites, Bazīgh was an artisan—a weaver of Kūfa, and some amusement was expressed at the religious pretensions of one of such lowly status. His followers were known as Bazīghiyya.

Bibliography: Al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat al-Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317, 196-7; al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, (ed. H. Ritter), Istanbul 1931, 38, 40; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, (ed. H. Ritter), Istanbul 1929, i, 12; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, (Eng. tr. by A. S. Halkin, Tel-Aviv 1935) 64-5; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii 352; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 137; al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, 346; J. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiʾites*, *JAOS* 1907 and 1908, index; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, 27-8; W. W. Rajkowski, *Early Shiʿism in Iraq*, unpublished London University Ph. D. thesis. (B. Lewis)

BĀZINḲIR (commonly *bazinger, bazingir, basinger, besinger*), slave-troops, equipped with fire-arms; a term current in the (Egyptian) Sudan during the late Khedivial and Mahdist periods.

Etymology: The derivation is obscure. Sir Reginald Wingate's assertion (*Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan*, London 1891; 28, n. 1) that it was the name of a tribe may be rejected: it does not appear to come from any southern Sudanese language. Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard's statement ("A history of the kingdom of Gbudwe", *Zaire*, Oct. 1956, no. 8; 488, n. 36) that it derives from a Nubian (?Dunḳulāwī) word, *bezingra*, lacks confirmation. Its origin should perhaps be sought in Turkish or Persian, possibly in connexion with *bāz* and/or *ṣunḳur*, "falcon", (cf. the use of *farkha*) or *bāzīgar*, "juggler" (cf. djānbāz).

Origin: The term first appears among the ivory and slavetraders of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl. Originally at least it was not current among those of the upper White Nile: it is not mentioned by Sir Samuel Baker, to whom C. G. Gordon explained its meaning in a letter dated 26 May 1878 (T. Douglas Murray and A. Silva White, *Sir Samuel Baker: A memoir*, London 1895, 242). G. Schweinfurth, apparently the first European to use the term, equates *bāzinḳir* with *furūkh* (Ar. = "chickens"; *farkha* = *khādim* is still a Sudanese colloquialism) and with "narakik" (? *al-raḳīḳ*). Other sources state that the *furūkh* were the gun-boys of the *bāzinḳir* (Wingate, *op. cit.*, 103, n. 1: G. Schweinfurth, F. Ratzel, R. W. Felkin and G. Hartlaub, *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, Eng. trans., London 1888; 409, footnote).

Historical rôle: Schweinfurth (*The heart of Africa*, London 1873; ii, 421) describes the *bāzinḳir* of the Baḥr al-Ghazāl (c. 1870) as private slaves of the traders. They constituted nearly half their fighting forces and accompanied the Nubian troops (*ʿasākir*) on expeditions. They were excellent soldiers but, because of their propensity to desert, less reliable than the Nubians. Many Niam-niam (Azande) voluntarily became slaves in order to serve as *bāzinḳir*. The greatest slave-army in the Baḥr al-Ghazāl was that of the merchant-prince, al-Zubayr Raḥma Manṣūr. When it was broken up, after 1875, the employment of his *bāzinḳir* was one of the problems confronting the governor-general, Gordon, who described them as "truly formidable" (G. Birkbeck Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, London 1881; 336). Many of the Nubian commanders entered the khedivial service with their *bāzinḳir*, receiving the designation of *sandjaḳ beyi*, then usually bestowed upon commandants of irregulars (R. Gessi, *Seven years in the Soudan*, London 1892; 280). One such, al-Nūr Bey Muḥammad ʿAnḳara, was subsequently a Mahdist commander of some importance; (Richard Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Oxford 1951; 297: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist*

state in the Sudan, Oxford 1958; 52, 56, 94, 196). After the defeat of Sulaymān b. al-Zubayr Raḥma (1879), a group of his *bāzinḳir*, commanded by Rābiḥ Faḍl Allāh (Rābiḥ al-Zubayr), escaped westwards, and Rābiḥ made himself ruler of a territory in the Chad region, where he was defeated by the French and killed in 1900 (Richard Hill, *op. cit.*, 312-13: Max v. Oppenheim, *Rabeh und das Tchadseegebiet*, Berlin 1902). Of the *bāzinḳir* who remained in the Egyptian Sudan many were probably incorporated in the *dj̲ihādiyya*, the Mahdist professional soldiery, or in the Sudanese battalions of the new Egyptian army. ʿArabī Dafaʿ Allāh, the Mahdist governor of al-Radj̲dj̲āf (upper White Nile) raised new *bāzinḳir*, sending 600 as tribute to the K̲h̲alīfa ʿAbd Allāh in S̲h̲awwāl 1312/March 1896 (Sudan Government Archives, Khartoum; *Mahdia* 1/32, 18/1, 75/1; 1/32, 18, 76; 1/34, 1, 10).

Bibliography: Principal references in text.

(P. M. Holt)

BAZIRGAN, Bezirgan, Turkish forms of the Persian *Bāzargān*, a merchant. In Ottoman Turkish usage the term *Bāzirgān* was applied to Christian and more especially Jewish merchants. Some of these held official appointments in the Ottoman palace or armed forces; such were the *Bazirgan-bas̲h̲i*, the chief purveyor of textiles to the Imperial household (D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, vii, Paris 1824, 22; Gibb-Bowen, 1/1, 359), and the *Odj̲āḳ Bāzirgānī*, the stewards, usually Greek or Jewish, who handled the pay and supplies of the corps of Janissaries. This office tended to become hereditary in certain families (D'Ohsson, vii, 318; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 407 ff.). (B. Lewis)

BĀZŪKIYYŪN, (Pāzūkī), a tribe settled, according to M. A. Zakī (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, 370-71) either in Persia or in Turkey (having relations with the tribe of Suwayd). The tribe was divided in two parts: K̲h̲ālid Beklū and S̲h̲aker Beklū, of which the former was more important. Its places of habitation were K̲h̲nis, Malāzgird and to some extent Mūs̲h̲. The latter was subject to the *amīr* of Bidlīs. The founder of the K̲h̲ālid Beklū was Ḥusayn ʿAlī Bek. His descendant, K̲h̲ālid b. S̲h̲āhsuwār Bek b. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Bek, a fellow warrior of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl, took part in a number of battles in which he won fame but lost an arm, whence his sobriquet One-armed K̲h̲ālid (like Aḥmad K̲h̲ān of Barādust [*q.v.*]): K̲h̲ālid D̲h̲u'l-yad al-Wāḥida. As a reward for his valour, the S̲h̲āh gave him K̲h̲nis, Malāzgird and the *nāḥiya* of Uk̲h̲ān (Udj̲kān) at Mūs̲h̲. Later he declared his independence of the S̲h̲āh and allied himself with Sulṭān Selīm Yāwūz. This submission was, on the other hand, of short duration; he was finally arrested and executed, though his family continued for a long time to exercise power. During the time of his son *amīr* Ḳilidj̲ Bek, a part of the tribe emigrated to the Donbolī [*q.v.*], though remaining subject to the Ottoman sultan. The existence of a tribe of this name is, on the other hand, mentioned by M. A. Zakī (*K̲h̲ulāṣa*) in the region of Tehran (15), in the south of Persia (465) and in the neighbourhood of Erivān (466). A *Pazegui* tribe is mentioned by Lerch (i, 96) at Tarow.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Amīn Zakī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Duwal wa 'l-Imārāt al-Kurdiyya fi 'l-ʿAhd al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1945; M. A. Zakī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Kurd wa-Kurdistān*, Bag̲h̲dād 1937.

(B. Nikitine)

BAZZĀZISTĀN [see ḳayṣariyya].

BEČ (Bedj̲), the Ottoman name for the town of Vienna. The Turks (as also the Serbs and Croats) took this word from the Hungarian, where it has the meaning of "suburb, outer city" (Hungarian: *külváros*; hence it is explained as *külwar* by Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 251), where the word probably goes back to the Kuman-Pečenek (perhaps also Avar.) *beč* (Gombócz-Melich, *Magyar Etymologiai Szótár*, Budapest 1914 s.v.). There is only scanty and superficial information on the town in Ottoman geographical literature and diplomatic reports (cf. Hammer-Purgstall's translation from Ebū Bekir b. Behrām in the *Archiv f. Geographie, Historie, Staats und Kriegskunst*, 1822, 28 ff.; also Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 215; Fr. Kraelitz, *Bericht über den Zug des Grossbotschafters Ibrahim Pascha nach Wien im Jahre* 1719, in *SBA Wien*, 1907), although in the 16th and 17th centuries, Vienna was the immediate goal of two large campaigns under sultan Suleymān the Magnificent and under the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (cf. Sturminger, *Bibliographie und Ikonographie der beiden Türkenbelagerungen Wiens 1529 und 1683*, Vienna 1955; comments on this in *WZKM* 52; and R. Kreutel, *Kara Mustafa vor Wien*, Graz 1955); Ewliyā Čelebi is an interesting exception. He claims to have visited Vienna (cf. *WZKM*, 51, 188 ff.) in 1665 in the entourage of the Ambassador Ḳara Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a. His extensive description of the town (*Siyāḥat-nāme*, vii, 247-329; translation: R. Kreutel, *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*, Graz 1957) contains numerous absurdities, as well as many correct observations. In the first half of the 19th century (*tanẓīmāt*), the name Beč was replaced by Viyana (from Vienna) in Ottoman writing, and today this is the usual form. (R. F. Kreutel)

BEDEL-I ʿASKERĪ [see badal].

BEDEL-I NAḲDĪ [see badal].

BĒDEL [see bīdil].

BEDJ̲A (usual Ar. form, Budj̲a), nomadic tribes, living between the Nile and Red Sea, from the Ḳina-Ḳuṣayr route to the angle formed by the ʿAṭbarā and the hills of the Eritrean-Sudanese frontier. The principal modern tribes are the ʿAbābda [*q.v.*], Bis̲h̲ārīn [*q.v.*], Ummarār, Hadanduwa and Banī ʿĀmir. The ʿAbābda now speak Arabic; the others (except the Tigre-speaking sections of B. ʿĀmir) speak tu-Beḍawiye, a Hamitic language. The Bedj̲a subsist mainly on their herds of camels, cattle, sheep and goats. Since grazing is sparse, they move usually in very small groups. Bedj̲a origins are obscure but Hamitic-speaking groups have inhabited the region from ancient times. The usual identification with the pre-Islamic Blemmyes was rejected by Becker (see bedj̲a in *EI*[1]).

Relations with Muslim Egypt. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd encountered some Bedj̲a on his return from Nubia (31/651-2) but regarded them as politically insignificant. The first Bedj̲a-Arab treaty, made with ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb in the reign of His̲h̲ām, regulated Bedj̲a trade with Egypt and safeguarded the Muslims from their depredations. The Arabs penetrated Bedj̲a territory in search of emeralds (mined in the desert of Ḳifṭ) and gold, found in the Wādī al-ʿAllāḳī [*q.v.*]. The dominant northern Bedj̲a tribe was the Ḥadārib, traditionally descended from pre-Islamic immigrants from Ḥaḍramawt. They were disunited but there are occasional indications of a supreme chief, living in a village named Hadj̲ar. A more numerous servile class, the Zanāfidj̲, acted as herdsmen. Muslim immigration resulted in a superficial islamisation of the Ḥadārib and Arab-Bedj̲a intermarriage. Bedj̲a raids on

Upper Egypt led to a Muslim expedition, which defeated the chief, Kanūn, and imposed a treaty (216/831). The caliph was acknowledged as suzerain, mosques in Bed̲j̲a territory were to be respected, Muslim merchants and pilgrims were to pass in safety, and collectors of *zakāt* from converts were to be allowed entry. Other provisions sought to prevent an alliance of the Bed̲j̲a with Christian Nubia. Further raids and the withholding of tribute from the gold-mines ensued. A cavalry expedition, sent by sea, defeated the Bed̲j̲a camel-men, whose chief went to Sāmarrā in 241/855-6 to make his personal submission to al-Mutawakkil. Soon however the Bed̲j̲a began to raid al-Fusṭāṭ itself. After a particularly severe attack, a force mustered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī intercepted a raiding-party and killed its chief. Supported by the Rabīʿa and D̲j̲uhayna, al-ʿUmarī established control over the mining districts (c. 255/868-9) and, after his death, Rabīʿa, who intermarried with the Ḥadārib, came to dominate the area. Al-Masʿūdī describes the chief of Rabīʿa in 332/943-4 as the owner of the mines; he commanded 3,000 Arabs and 30,000 Bed̲j̲a camel-men. The ratio is probably more significant than the numbers. The rise of ʿAyd̲h̲āb [*q.v.*] in the mid-5th./11th. century increased the importance of the Ḥadārib, whose territory was crossed by the route from the Nile valley to the port. A chief, called by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa al-Ḥadrabī, shared in the customs of ʿAyd̲h̲āb. Information about the southern Bed̲j̲a is sparse. Al-Yaʿḳūbī lists six Bed̲j̲a "kingdoms". Al-Uswānī depicts the further Bed̲j̲a as a fragmented, pagan society, in which each group had its own *kāhin* to give guidance on grazing and raids.

Decline of the Ḥadārib and formation of the tribes. By the 8th/14th century the gold-mines had been abandoned and ʿAyd̲h̲āb was in decline. These economic factors may explain the disappearance of the Ḥadārib, who appear to have migrated southwards, perhaps becoming the Balaw ruling-caste which dominated the Bed̲j̲a of the Suakin-Massawa hinterland. The spread of Arab tribes up the Nile and the establishment of the Muslim Fund̲j̲ sultanate (c. 910/1504) resulted ultimately in the general, if superficial, islamisation of the Bed̲j̲a. This is reflected in the adoption of Arab pedigrees. Some of these (*e.g.*, the derivation of the Bishārīn, Ummarār and ʿAbābda from K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd or al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām) are obviously fictitious: others, such as the Hadanduwa claim to descent from an otherwise unknown Ḥijāzī refugee from the Ottomans, may be a genuine memory of the tribe's development. The Fund̲j̲ period saw the appearance and expansion of the modern tribes. Fund̲j̲ suzerainty was recognised by the southernmost group, the B. ʿĀmir, a congeries dominated by a caste of Sudanese-Arab descent, the Nabtāb, which had superseded the Balaw about the end of the 16th. century. The 18th. century witnessed the westward expansion of the Ummarār and the drive of the Hadanduwa to the Ḳās̲h̲ and ʿAṭbarā. [See also ʿABĀBDA and BISHĀRĪN]. Suakin had meanwhile become the principal port of the region and was connected with the Sudanese Nile by several routes across Bed̲j̲a territory. From 1517 it was an Ottoman possession but by the early 19th. century the port was controlled by a Bed̲j̲a group, the Ḥadārib, probably distinct from the medieval Ḥadārib but, like them, linked genealogically with Ḥaḍramawt. They were ruled by the five Artayḳa clans.

The Egyptian conquest to the present day. The Egyptian conquest of the Nilotic Sudan (1821-22) did not immediately affect the Bed̲j̲a. Tribute-gathering raids into al-Tāka (the Ḳās̲h̲ region) failed permanently to subdue the Hadanduwa but an administrative post was founded at Kasala (1840), which became a trading centre and the headquarters of the important K̲h̲atmiyya *ṭariḳa*. The Ummarār levied tolls on the Suakin-Berber trade-route and, like the Hadanduwa, were employed in transport. Although administrative control was imperfect, this was a time of pacification and economic progress. Artayḳa took the lead in developing the agriculture of the Baraka, previously slightly cultivated by the B. ʿĀmir. Attemts were made to grow cotton commercially in the Ḳās̲h̲ and Baraka deltas. The growing security and prosperity were shattered by the Mahdiyya. This aroused no response among the Bed̲j̲a until the arrival of ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Abī Bakr Diḳna in 1883. He owed his success less to his partly Bed̲j̲a ancestry than to the support given him by the local head of an indigenous *ṭariḳa* which had felt the rivalry of the government-backed K̲h̲atmiyya. ʿUt̲h̲mān Diḳna cut the Suakin-Berber route, captured the government posts in Bed̲j̲a territory and threatened Suakin itself. His followers, mainly Hadanduwa and Ummarār, fluctuated in their support, and the capture of his headquarters at Tūkar in 1891 by an Anglo-Egyptian force marked the beginning of the Mahdist decline among the Bed̲j̲a. Pacification and development were resumed under the Condominium (1899-1956). The tribal organization was reconstructed. Security was effectively established. Schools and hospitals were set up in the towns. Contacts between the Bed̲j̲a and the outside world were increased by economic developments—the creation of Port Sudan, the construction of railways linking the coast and Kasala with the Nile valley, the commercial production of cotton in the Ḳās̲h̲ and Baraka deltas. The old way of life is however slow to change, and the full integration of the Bed̲j̲a into the Sudanese polity remains a problem for the new Republic.

Bibliography: Principal references only. The principal medieval source is al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Mawāʿiz*, ed. G. Wiet, Cairo 1922, iii, 267-80, which incorporates the 10th century account of Ibn Sulaym al-Uswānī and other material. Wiet's footnotes give valuable bibliographical references. Modern European sources to 1937 are listed in R. L. Hill, *Bibliography of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London 1939. To this should be added O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951; A. Paul, *A History of the Beja Tribes*, Cambridge 1954; and the following articles in *Sudan Notes and Records*: D. C. Cumming, *A History of Kassala and the Province of Taka*, xx/1, 1937, 1-46; xxiii/1, 1940, 1-54; xxiii/2, 225-271; W. T. Clark, *Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Northern Beja*, xxi/1, 1938, 1-30; S. F. Nadel, *Notes on Beni Amer Society*, xxvi/1, 1945, 51-94; A. Paul, *Notes on the Beni Amer*, xxxi/2, 1950, 223-245. The collection made by the late Sir Douglas Newbold, entitled *History and Archaeology of the Beja Tribes of the Eastern Sudan*, now in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, contains tribal and other material. Copious documentation on the Bed̲j̲a during the Mahdiyya exists in the Mahdist archives, held by the Ministry of the Interior, Khartoum.

(P. M. HOLT)

BĒD̲J̲WĀN [see BĀD̲J̲ALĀN].

BEDOUINS [see BADW].

BEG or **BEY**, a Turkish title, "lord", used in a number of different ways. The various dialect forms (*bäg, bäk, bek, bey, biy, bi, pig,* etc.) all derive from the old Turkish *bäg* as seen from the Orkhon inscriptions (8th Century) and the Chinese transcriptions concerning the Turks of Mongolia of the same period. The word has no Altaic origin (Mongol *begi* being a later loanword from Turkish; the series Turkish *bärk, bäk*/Mongol *bärka, bäki* "strong, sound", etc., owes nothing to the old Turkish *bäg* and should be dissociated from it; the same is true of the series: Turkish *bögü, bög* "wise-man, sorcerer" Mongol *böge, bö* "Shaman"). Like many other titles, *bäg* is a loan-word possibly deriving from the Iranian *bag, viz.* the title of the Sāsānid kings ("divine", from an older form *baga* "God", cf. *Bag-dād*).

In the Orkhon inscriptions the compound term *bäg-lär* refers to the "nobility", "the order of beys", as opposed to the *bodun* "people, masses". The word *bäg* also appears in these texts to denote the second rank in the hierchy of high dignitaries. Finally, there is the evidence of a *Bars Bäg* who becomes Khān and brother-in-law of the Turkish Grand Khan. These different usages show that the title *bäg* (as later with *beg* or *bey*) does not imply a specific position or duty but is essentially honorific. Hence among many Turkish peoples it is joined to the name of the "eldest brother", *agha* (*bäg agha*, or *agha bäg* = old Ottoman *aghabey* "lord elder brother"). Some Turkish societies have reserved the title for personages of high rank; others have given it an extended general meaning of "chief", "master", "husband" or "Mr.". It can only assume a precise connotation in a given social and administrative context, often as the second part of a compound (*on begi* "chief of ten", "corporal", Golden Horde; Ott. *sandjak bey(i)*; etc.); or as a title when used with a proper name which it usually follows: *Bars Bäg, Meḥmed Bey.* The feminine title of *Begum* [*q.v.*] is simply a possessive form of the 1st pers. sing. of *beg* (= *bäg-im* "my lord", thence "my lady"; cf. *khān-um*, a similar possessive formation which has assumed a feminine connotation).

(L. Bazin)

ii. In Islamic times we find the word applied under the Ḳarakhānids to at least one high official; and it was the title first borne by Ṭughrul and his brother Čaghrī, the founders of the Saldjūḳid empire. Under the Saldjūḳid and other subsequent Turkish régimes, as Turkish terms began to be used officially side by side with the traditional Arabic and Persian, *beg* came to be employed as the equivalent of the Arabic *amīr*, as in the titles *beglerbegi* or *beylerbeyi*, equivalent to *amīr al-umarā*, and *sandjak-beyi*, equivalent to (*a*)*mīr liwā*. Under these régimes, again, whereas the great monarch would be entitled *khāḳān, khān*, or *sulṭān*, lesser sovereigns, such as those of the Anatolian states successor to the Saldjūḳid, the Ḳaraḳoyunlu, and the Aḳḳoyunlu, were entitled *beg*, as indeed was the great Tīmūr himself.

Under the Īlkhāns *beg* was sometimes used for women, and under the Moguls of India the feminine form, *begam*, was common. Under the Ṣafawids, since the ruler went by the title *shāh, beg* lost ground for lesser personages to *khān* and even *sulṭān*. Under the Ottomans, on the other hand, it remained in wide use for tribal leaders, high civil and military functionaries, and the sons of the great, particularly *pashas*.

Bibliography: *EI*[1], art. Beg by Barthold; *IA*, art. Beg by Köprülü; Redhouse, *Turkish-English Lexicon*, s.v.

(H. Bowen)

BEGDILI, a tribe of the Boz-oḳ branch of the Oghuz (Türkmen) peoples. Anūshtagīn, ancestor of the Khwārizmshāh dynasty, is sometimes believed to be of this tribe, but this is probably not so. A large Begdili community was found among the Türkmens in Syria in the 8th/14th century. At that time they were led by Tashkhun (Tashkun) Oghullarī. They were regarded as one of the most important Türkmen tribes in Syria in the 9th/15th century. Another important branch of this tribe lived in the 14 villages of the Gülnar district of the Içel province in the same century; their leaders were in possession of fiefs (*dirlik*). The Begdili of Syria were the largest of the Türkmen tribes in the Aleppo region in the 10th/16th century; they had 40 clans during the first half of the same century. The Syrian Begdili also had important clans in the Yeni Il and among the Boz Ulus in the Diyārbakr region. Another branch of these Begdili went to Iran together with the *ḳizilbash* Shāmlū tribe. The finest grazing grounds between Diyārbakr and Aleppo were, in the 11th/17th century, in their possession. They were, however, punished by Khusraw Pasha during his Baghdād expedition (1039/1630), for refusing to pay taxes and for allowing their cattle to destroy the crops of the local people. They are estimated to have had 12,000 tents during the second half of the same century. Like many other tribes, the Begdili were called to take part in the Austrian campaign in 1101/1690.A few years later the government made an attempt to settle the Begdili and other Türkmen tribes living near them, in the Raḳḳa region. Consequently some Begdili settled in Raḳḳa and the rest in the Aleppo and ʿAynṭāb region. As already mentioned a branch of the Syrian Begdili went to Iran together with the Shāmlū. Many important Ṣafawī commanders and governors were of this tribe. A branch of Begdili is seen among the Göklen Ili in the Astarābād region.

Bibliography: Faruk Sümer, *Bozoklu Oğuz Boylarına Dair*, in *Dil ve Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xi/1, Ankara 1953.

(Faruk Sümer)

BEGLERBEGI, *beylerbeyi*, Turkish title meaning '*beg* of the *begs*', 'commander of the commanders'. Like other titles it suffered progressive debasement: having originally designated 'commander-in-chief of the army' it came to mean 'provincial governor' and finally was no more than an honorary rank. In the first sense it was used by the Saldjūḳs of Rūm as an alternative title for the *malik al-umarāʾ* and by the Ilkhānids as the title of the chief of the four *umarāʾ al-ulus*. In the empire of the Golden Horde the title was used for all the *umarāʾ al-ulus*. In Mamlūk Egypt it was perhaps used for the *atābak al-ʿasākir*. (For references to the sources see M. F. Köprülüzade, *Bizans Müesseselerinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te'siri*, Istanbul 1931, 190-5 [Italian translation, *Alcune osservazioni* . . ., Pubblicazioni dell'Instituto per l'Oriente di Roma, 1944], and I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal*, Ist. 1941, index; cf. also D. Ayalon in *BSOAS* XVI [1954], 59).

Among the Ottomans too the title seems to have meant originally 'commander-in-chief' (in which sense it is used by Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 69). It is said to have been first bestowed on Lala Shahin by Murād I when, after the capture of Edirne, he himself returned to Brusa (Giese's *Anon.* 22_{19} = Urudj 22_9). Lala Shahin was succeeded by Timurtash, still apparently the sole *beglerbegi*, who was left to guard Anadolu

when Bāyezīd I marched against Mirče (Neshrī [Taeschner] i 86). When Mūsā, during the 'time of troubles', had seized the European territories he appointed a *wezīr*, a *ḳāḍī*ʿ*asker* and 'a *beglerbegi*' (Giese's *Anon.* 49_{24}, but '*beglerbegi* of Rumeli' in Urudj 39_{13} and ʿĀshıḳpashazāde [Giese] § 69). By the end of the reign of Meḥemmed I at the latest there existed two *beglerbegis*, with territorial designations, one 'of Rumeli' and one 'of Anadolu' (cf. ʿĀPz. § 81, '*beglerbegi* of Anadolu' and § 83, '*beglerbegi* of Rumeli'; such referencer for earlier periods in later historians may be anachronisms). This was clearly the case under Murād II, by which time the *beglerbegi*s of Rumeli and Anadolu were the governors-general of the two provinces, their main responsibility being the supervision, through the *sandjaḳ-begi*s [*q.v.*], of the feudal *sipāhī*s, whom in time of war they led into battle. As Ottoman territory expanded, new provinces were created, so that by the end of the 10th/16th century the *beglerbegi*s numbered nearly forty. The *beglerbegi* of Rumeli (who from 942/1536 onwards was admitted to the *dīwān*, cf. Ferīdūn[2] i 595) always took precedence, the others, if of the same rank (see below), taking precedence according to the dates of the conquest of their provinces. It was not unknown for the Grand Vizier to hold also the office of *beglerbegi* of Rumeli.

It is clear from a Ḳānūn-nāme of Meḥemmed II that already in his reign *beglerbegi* had come to be also an honorary rank (as it had perhaps been under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, cf. Köprülüzade, *op. cit.*, 192), holders of which took precedence immediately after *wezīr*s. By the end of the 11th/17th century *Rumeli beglerbegisi* too had become an honorary rank, besides denoting the actual governor-general. Conversely, from the 10th/16th century onwards, the office of *beglerbegi* of important provinces was often bestowed on holders of the rank of *wezīr*, who had authority over *beglerbegi*s of neighbouring provinces. The *wezīr* was entitled to three ṭughs, the *beglerbegi* to two. Both *wezīr*s and *beglerbegi*s bore the title *pasha*, whence the *sandjaḳ* in which the *beglerbegi* resided was known as *pasha sandjaghī*.

The *beglerbegi* was regarded as 'viceroy', *salṭanat wekīli*; he had a miniature court and presided at his own *dīwān*. At first he had full powers to grant *tīmār*s and *ziʿāmet*s, his appointments being automatically ratified, but after 937/1530 he could grant with his own *berāt* only the smaller (*tedhkiresiz*) *tīmār*s.

In the 12th/18th century the terminology became further confused, for (1) the name *wālī* [*q.v.*] was increasingly given to the governor-general, and *beglerbegi* in this sense fell into desuetude (except for the *beglerbegi*s of Rumeli and Anadolu, to judge from D'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, vii, 278); (2) the Persian *mīr-i mīrān*, *mīrmīrān* [*q.v.*], which had earlier been used indiscriminately (together with Ar. *amīr al-umarā*ʾ [*q.v.*]) as a synonym for *beglerbegi*, was increasingly used to denote the honorary rank of *beglerbegi*, and bestowed as such even on governors of *sandjaḳ*s. With the thorough re-organisation of provincial administration by the law of 1281/1864 the term *wālī* became the official designation of the provincial governor (cf. A. Heidborn, *Droit public et administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1908, 157 ff.). Thenceforth only the terms *Rumeli beglerbegisi*, *mīrmīrān* and *mīr-i umerā* survived, and they only as honorary titles.

In the Ṣafawid state the *beglerbegi*s formed the second of four classes of provincial governors (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, tr. and comm. V. Minorsky, GMS New Series xvi, London 1943, 25, 43, 163).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, *Staats.*, passim; P. A. von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den Moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872; J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives Turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, 41-52, and articles *Pasha* and *Tīmār* in *EI*[1]; W. L. Wright, *Ottoman Statecraft*, Princeton 1935, index; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index; idem, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index; M. Z. Pakalin, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, s.v. *Beylerbeyi*; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, Oxford 1950, esp. 137 ff. and sources there referred to. For the syntactical use of the word see Deny, *Gr.* §§ 1115-7.

(V. L. Ménage)

BEGTEGINIDS, an important seigneurial family which, though it never completely freed itself from the overlordship of its powerful neighbours, possessed for a century extensive lands in Upper Mesopotamia, partly in the east around Irbil and partly in the west, for a shorter period, around Ḥarrān. The founder of the family, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Küčük b. Begtegin, was a Turcoman officer whose fortune was linked from the beginning with that of Zenki. Probably as a result of his participation in this prince's campaigns in Kurdish territory, we find him in possession of a number of districts stretching from the Great Zāb to the lands of the Humaydī and Hakkarī Kurds, Takrīt, and Shahrzūr, with Irbil at their centre. In 539/1145, after the revolt of the Saldjūḳid Alp-Arslan at Mosul, Zenki further gave him military control over this town. Despite this power he remained a faithful lieutenant of Zenki's two successors in Mosul, Sayf al-Dīn and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, as well as of their vizier Djamal al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, until the time of his disgrace; the last-named of these princes added to his territories Sindjār and Ḥarrān, the latter in compensation for Ḥimṣ in Syria which one of his brothers had to give up to Nūr al-Dīn, the uncle of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and prince of Aleppo. However, at the end of his life Zayn al-Dīn surrendered all his lands to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, securing in exchange his son's right of succession to Irbil alone. He died an old man in 563/1168, and left the reputation of being brave, upright, temperate, and a protector of the devout.

His fame, however, was surpassed by that of his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökburi. The latter, ejected first from Irbil by the governor of that town (and later of Mosul), Ḳāïmāz, to the advantage of his younger brother Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. From Ḳutb al-Dīn he received in compensation Ḥarrān, which his father had held. At the opportune moment he aligned himself with Saladin, who added Edessa and Samosata and married him to one of his sisters. From that time on he played a glorious part in most of Saladin's campaigns, in particular the conquest of Palestine and Syria and the struggle against the Franks (third Crusade). Then in 586/1190, his brother Yūsuf having died after he also had had to surrender to the confederate armies in front of Acre, Gökburi surrendered his Ḍiyār Muḍar territories to Saladin on behalf of his brother Taḳī al-Dīn ʿUmar and obtained from him as *de facto* overlord of the Zenkids the succession to the entire province of Irbil. He held this for forty-four lunar years, until he was eighty-one years old, and judging from his revenues considered himself from the time of Saladin's death as the vassal of the Caliph alone. He played an astute part in the struggles which went on all this

time among the various rulers of Upper Mesopotamia, supporting first the Ayyūbids against the Zenkids, and later the weakened Zenkids, to whom he married two daughters, against the sons of al-ʿĀdil. Finally he set himself to opposing the ambitions of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the lieutenant and successor of the Zenkids, who was an ally of the Ayyūbid al-Ashraf. At the end of his life, having no son and fearing the intervention of his different neighbours, Gökburi bequeathed his principality to the Caliph, who brought it under effective occupation (630/1233).

Apart from diplomatic and military matters Gökburi was concerned with various enterprises of social value, especially at Irbil, though their influence extended beyond the town itself. He instituted *madrasas*, *khanaḳāhs*, hospitals and almshouses, and public services in aid of pilgrims, as well as contributing to the ransom of prisoners of the Franks, etc. He seems to have been the first prince to celebrate formally the *Mawlid* festival, perhaps as a reaction to the Shīʿī nativity festivals or Christmas as kept by the Irbil Christians. He was a devout and a well-read man, much visited by scholars and writers from foreign lands. In governing he was assisted, particularly on such occasions, by his vizier, who was known by reason of his former activities as Mustawfī of Irbil, and compiled the history of the town. Ibn Khallikān and his family were among their most famous protégés. Around the town of Irbil, which had always remained Christian and somewhat aside from the current of Muslim history, there grew up a new lower town, and the whole became transformed into a Muslim centre of some standing. This advance, which was attended by a rather severe fiscal policy, was set at naught by the Mongol sack of 634/1237.

Bibliography: Apart from the historians of Saladin, see especially Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabeks* and *Kāmil* (index); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, 680-683; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, Bibl. Nat. Paris 1702, 288 v°-289 v°; Ibn al-ʿAmīd, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO* 1958, year 630; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 638, trans. De Slane 535 ff. (cf. 552); Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, ed. Muṣṭ. Djawād, 44 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 186-187; the coin catalogues of the British Museum (Lane-Poole, iii) and Istanbul (Ismāʿīl Ghālib); H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, 13-14; ʿAbbas al-ʿAzzāwī, *Āl Bektigin Kökburi aw imārat Irbil fī ʿahdihim*, dans *Madjalla ... Revue de l'Académie arabe du Caire*, XXI-XXII, 1956-195), see also the articles Irbil and Mawlid. (Cl. Cahen)

BEGTIMUR [see shāh-i arman].

BEGUM (Indo-Persian Begam, Turkish Bigim), feminine of Beg [*q.v.*]. During the Mughal period of Indian history its use, as an honorific, was confined to the royal princesses only. Djahānārā Begam [*q.v.*] the unmarried daughter of Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], bore the official title of Pādshāh Begam during the reign of her father. She retained it even after the dethronement and subsequent incarceration of Shāhdjahān. During Akbar's rule the Begams (queens and princesses) received from 1028 to 1610 rupees per annum as privy purse. After the death of Djahāngīr, his widow Nūr Djahān, received 200,000 rupees per annum allowed her by Shādjahān. Mumtāz Maḥall, the consort of Shāhdjahān, drew 1,000,000 rupees annually from the Imperial Exchequer while Pādshāh Begam enjoyed an allowance of 600,000 rupees per annum, half in cash and half in lands. Awrangzīb gave the latter 1,200,000 rupees per annum. Before the establishment of Pakistan (1947), Indian Muslim ladies of high and noble birth were designated as "begams". Now all married women in Pakistan, with the exception of those belonging to the poorer classes, are called "begams", the equivalent of *khānim* Mrs., or Madame. In this sense the word is practically unknown to the Arabic and Persian speaking countries. Husbands, in public and private, not infrequently, address their wives as begam, scrupulously avoiding pronouncing their given names. Domestics and menials, as a rule, address their mistresses, in India and Pakistan, as begams. Conventionally, every newly-born girl bears this word as a suffix to her name, but the practice is now fast disappearing.

Bibliography: Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.*; *Āṣaf al-Lughāt*, s.v.; Ṣayyid Aḥmad, *Farhang-i Āṣafiyya*, s.v.; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhōrī, *Bādshāh-nāma* (Bib. Ind.), i 96 and index; *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (Eng. transl.), i 615. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BEHĀRISTĀN [see djāmī].

BEHESNĪ [see besni].

BEHISTŪN [see bīsutūn].

BEHNESĀ [see bahnasā].

BEHRĀM [see bahrām].

BEIRUT [see bayrūt].

BEJA [see bādja].

BEKRĪ MUṢṬAFĀ AGHA, the name of a drunkard, who lived in the reign of Sulṭān Murād IV (1623-1640), and is said to have led him into habits of drunkenness; the name *bekrī* therefore in Turkish still commonly means a drunkard. In the popular literature and in the Karagöz plays the drunkard Bekrī Muṣṭafā Agha is a well-known figure, characterised by his sharp and ready wit and his Bohemian way of life. Ewliya even gives the title of a *Taḳlīd*: *Bekrī Muṣṭafā and the Blind Arab Beggar* (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 654).

Bibliography: Jacob, *Traditionen über Bekri Mustafa Aga*, in *Keleti Szemle*, v (1904), 271; T. Menzel, *Bekri Mustafa bei Mehmed Tevfiḳ*, *ibid.*, vii (1906), 83; H. Ritter, *Karagös*, Wiesbaden 1953, index. (F. Giese*)

BEKTĀSH [see bektashiyya].

BEKTĀSHIYYA, a Dervish order in Turkey. The patron of the order is Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Walī, whose biography as given in the order's traditional writings, (the first version of which goes back to about the beginning of the 9th/15th century) is legendary, its purpose being manifestly to bring together the saint with famous religious personalities and to account for the later political importance of the Bektāshiyya by insisting on the activity of its alleged founder. It is quite out of the question that Bektāsh was ever in relation with ʿOthmān and Orkhān or that he consecrated the Janissary corps (established for the first time under Murād I), as is maintained by the Bektāshī tradition and by some historical sources written under its influence.

We can however consider as certain the appearance in the 7th/13th century, among the dervishes of Anatolia, of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh from Khurāsān. He was probably a disciple of Bābā Isḥāḳ [see bābāʾī], whose revolt had taken place in 638/1240. The aristocratic entourage of the rival Mawlawiyya order later laid emphasis on this. According to the researches of M. Fuad Köprülü, the order originated from the circle of his disciples. However, in the *Maḳālāt* of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, originally written in Arabic and translated into Turkish verse by Khaṭīb-oghlu and afterwards rendered also into Turkish prose, the secret rites and doctrines characteristic

of the Bektāshiyya are not particularly emphasised. At all events, the order, whose immediate predecessors appear to have been the Abdālān-i Rūm, already existed in the 8th/14th century; it was at the beginning of the 10th/16th century that the grand master Bālīm Sulṭān, the "second *Pīr*", gave it its definite form.

Turkish dervish institutions had received their characteristic features in western Turkestan from Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166); they had acquired an ever increasing expansion in Anatolia, but at the same time they had adopted heretical tendencies. The Bektāshiyya was able to conserve a good deal of pre-Islamic and heretical elements. In those regions where the order absorbed Muslim as well as Christian sects it came to include a large part of the population, as for instance in southern Anatolia and particularly in Albania, where there arose a kind of mixed religion, composed of Islamic and Christian elements. Also other communities with closely related related dogmas and rites, and especially the groups comprised under the denomination of Ḳīzīlbash, stood in certain relations to it.

The attitude of the Bektāshīs towards Islām is marked both by the general features of popular mysticism, and by their far-reaching disregard for Muslim ritual and worship, even including the *ṣalāt*. In their secret doctrines they are Shīʿīs, acknowledging the twelve imāms and, in particular, holding Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in high esteem. The centre of their worship is ʿAlī; they unite ʿAlī with Allāh and Muḥammad into a trinity. From 1 till 10 Muḥarram they celebrate the nights of mourning (*mātem gedjeleri*); also the other ʿAlid martyrs and especially the *maʿṣūm-i pāk* (those who perished in infancy) are highly venerated by them. In the 9th/15th century the cabbalistic number speculations of the Ḥurūfīs spread among them, while the *Djāwidān* of Faḍl Allāh Ḥurūfī in its Persian redaction, and the Turkish exposition of the doctrines of the sect written by Ferishte-oghlu under the title *ʿAshknāma*, have canonical authority with them. Furthermore they believe in the migration of souls.

The Christian elements may already partly have belonged to the Anatolian predecessors of the Bektāshīs; other parts were perhaps taken over from Christian groups who joined them later. On the occasion of the reception of new members there is a distribution of wine, bread and cheese, which is probably a survival of the Holy Communion as practised by the Artotyrites. Moreover the Bektāshīs make a confession of sins before their spiritual chiefs, who grant them absolution. Women take part in their rites without veiling their faces. A narrower group vow themselves to celibacy, the celibates wearing earrings as a distinctive mark. It is not yet made clear whether celibacy existed already in early times among the Bektāshīs; probably it was introduced for the first time by Bālīm Sulṭān.

The Bektāshīs not seldom settled in famous places of pilgrimage, explaining the sanctity of the latter in conformity with their own traditions, for instance in Seyyid Ghāzī near Eskishehir and in several places in Albania. The miracles described in the legends of their saints have often conserved shamanistic features.

The entire order was governed by the Čelebi, who resided in the mother-monastery (*pīr-ewi*) at Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, constructed over the saint's tomb (between Ḳīrshehir and Ḳayseri). This office used to pass in the 18th and 19th centuries from father to son; it was not, however, always hereditary. The celibates have their own grand master or *dede*. The head of one single monastery (*tekke*) is called *baba*; the fully initiated member *derwish*, the member who has only taken the first vow *muḥibb*, the not yet initiated adherent *ʿāshiḳ*. The discipline is chiefly governed by the relation of the *murshid* to his disciples and novices.

The Bektāshīs wear a white cap, consisting of four or twelve folds. The number four symbolises the "four gates": *sharīʿa, ṭarīḳa, maʿrifa, ḥaḳīḳa*, and the four corresponding classes of people: *ʿābid, zāhid, ʿārif, muḥibb*; the number twelve points to the number of the imāms. Particularly characteristic are also the twelve-fluted *taslīm tashi*, which is worn round the neck, and the *teber* (double-axe). Illustrations are to be found in the work of J. K. Birge (see bibliography).

The big *tekke*s comprise the following parts *maydān evi*, the monastery proper with the oratory *ekmek evi*, the bakehouse and the women's quarters: *ash evi*, the kitchens; *mihmān evi*; the guest quarters;

Among the many earlier settlements of the order the following should be mentioned. In Rumelia: Dimetoka and Ḳalḳandelen; in Anatolia: ʿOthmāndjīḳ north-west of Amasya and Elmali in Lycia; near Cairo first at Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn and soon afterwards also on the Muḳaṭṭam slope (already as early as the 9th/15th century); there are others in Baghdād and at Karbalāʾ.

The Bektāshī form of the dervish religion deeply influenced the pious attitude of the Turkish people. Next to the mystical writings proper of the order there flourished also a rich and fervent lyric poetry of Bektāshī poets.

The order's political importance was due to its connexion with the Janissaries; the latter had been from the beginning, in the same way as all other early political institutions of the Ottomans, under the influence of religious corporations. In the second half of the 9th/15th century at the latest the Bektāshīs acquired exclusive authority amongst them. The receptivity of the Janissaries to Bektāshī beliefs may perhaps be explained by their Christian origin. Their connexion with this strictly organised order gave the Janissary corps the character of a closed corporation. The Bektāshīs also took part in several dervish rebellions against the Ottoman power, *e.g.*, the revolt of Ḳalender-oghlu (933/1526-1527). The destruction of the Janissaries in 1241/1826 by Maḥmūd II affected also the order to which they were linked; many monasteries were destroyed at the time. Towards the middle of the 19th century began the renewal of the order and the rebuilding of the monasteries; the Bektāshīs experienced a revival which found expression in its literary activity at the end of the 19th century and even after 1908.

In the autumn of 1925 the Bektāshīs, like all dervish orders in Turkey, were dissolved; it was, however, precisely the Bektāshīs who had opened the way for many measures inaugurated by the Turkish republic (relation to Islamic orthodoxy; position of women). To-day the Bektāshīs continue their existence in the Balkan peninsula, particularly in Albania where their chief monastery is in Tirana; according to certain documents, there were still 30,000 Bektāshīs in Turkey in 1952 (cf. *C.O.C.*, 1952, 206).

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of Derwishes, London and Hartford (Conn.) 1937. See Fr. Taeschner in *OLZ* xxxxii (1939), 751-756. Further H. H. Schaeder in *OLZ* 31 (1928), 1038-1057; H. Jansky in *OLZ* 29 (1926), 553-559; F. Babinger, *Das Bektashikloster Demir Baba*, in *MSOS As*. xxxiv (1931); Else Krohn, *Vorislamisches in einigen vorderasiatischen Sekten und Derwischorden*, in *Ethn. Studien* i., 295-345; idem, *Kleine Beiträge zur Kenntnis islamischer Sekten und Orden auf der Balkanhalbinsel*, in *Mitteilungsb. der Ges. für Völkerkunde* 1931; *IA*, *s.v.* Bektash (by M. F. Köprülü); Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Vilâyet-nâme*, Istanbul 1958; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Bektashi Dervishes and the Young Turks*, in *Moslem World*, 1942, 7-14; *OM*, 1931, 1932, 1936; further references in J. D. Pearson, *Index Islamicus*, nos. 2581-2600. (R. Tschudi)

BELEN [see BAYLĀN].

BELEYN. The name of a tribe-group of herdsmen and cultivators in the southern part of the Keren province of Eritrea. Known to themselves as Bogos, and numbering some 30,000 souls, they are organised in two main tribes, the Bayt Tarké and Bayt Tawké, strictly similar in culture and habit, though claiming distinct (mainly mythical) origins. A characteristic master-and-serf relationship has long been traditional among them, but tribal has now largely given place to direct govermental authority. The Beleyn generally followed Coptic Christianity until the Egyptian occupation of Keren area in 1277-1294/1860-1876), but have since adopted Islam.

The Beleyn language, unknown elsewhere, is an unsemitised dialect of the Agau group of Kushitic (Hamitic) languages. This, and their social structure and folk-lore, indicate that their presence in Eritrea is due to the immigration of little-diluted Agau elements from northern Ethiopia in the 10th and 11th (16th and 17th) centuries into territory previously occupied by folk of lower culture and energy.

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BELGRADE (in modern Serbian: *Beograd* = White City), capital of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and of the People's Republic of Serbia, at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube. It comprises Beograd, the old town on the right bank of the Sava and the Danube, Novi Beograd (= New Belgrade), a new settlement still under construction, on the left bank of the Sava, and Zemun, the old town on the Danube. A number of smaller places on both banks of the Sava and the Danube also belong to Belgrade. It has more than 500,000 inhabitants.

Since Belgrade became the capital of Yugoslavia in 1918, it has begun to spread to the far side of the Sava and the Danube. In former times it covered only the area along the right bank of the Sava and the right bank of the Danube below the confluence. It was here that the Celtic Scordici founded a settlement and named it *Singidun*, a name which the town retained in the days of Roman rule (Singidunum). During the Bulgar rule in the 9th century, the town received its Slavonic name, which it retained, despite frequent changes of rulers (including Byzantine and, later, Hungarian ones). It was, however, frequently translated (Alba Bulgarica, Nandeor Alba, Nándeor Fejérvár, Alba Graeca, Griechisch Weissenburg). In their day, the Turks referred to it as بلغراد (Belgrad). In order to distinguish it from other towns in Albania, Hungary, and Transylvania which also bore the name of Belgrade, the Turks occasionally called it *Belgrad Üngürüz* (in the 9th/15th century), *Ashaghî Belgrad*, *Tuna Belgradî*, *Belgrad-i Semendire*, or similar names. In some Turkish documents, and in contemporary geographical and historical works, Belgrade is sometimes designated by names applied in the Islamic world to border towns and strategically important fortresses. Thus the name *dār al-djihād* is found frequently, and this has led some of the earlier Serbian historians to state that this was the Turkish name for Belgrade. Prof. F. Bajraktarević has proved that such a statement is unfounded.

Up to the First World War, Belgrade was an important fortress on the road from Central Europe to the Near East. Thanks to its strategic importance, Belgrade has had a stormy past. After it had changed rulers frequently in the Middle Ages (Byzantines, Bulgars, Hungarians, and Serbs), Belgrade was ceded to the Hungarians after the death of the Serbian despot Stevan Lazarević (1427). For nearly a century, it was the most important base for the defence of the southern borders of Hungary against Turkish raids.

If we disregard some uncertain reports concerning a siege of Belgrade by Bāyezīd I, the Turks twice attacked Belgrade prior to 863/1459: in 843-44/1440, when the town resisted a six months' siege, and under Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, who in 860/1456, arrived with a great army, a fleet, and strong artillery. Encircled on the landward side, with the Turkish fleet blocking the Danube, and heavily bombarded, Belgrade none the less held out. Assistance reached the town, and under the leadership of János Hunyady, who took over the defence after the break-through, the garrison of Belgrade resisted successfully, despite the fact that the Turks had penetrated into the lower fortress. After a premature assault, the Turks gave up the siege on July 23rd. This was the second occasion on which Belgrade won fame as "The outer wall of Christendom". In 845/1441-2, the Turks built a fortress opposite Belgrade, on the mountain Avala (Havala). This fortress played an important part in the Turkish raids on Belgrade after Serbia finally fell under Turkish rule (863/1459). The defensive power of Belgrade decreased during the first decades of the 10th/16th century in the clashes with the Turks. Broken by financial and political crises, Hungary was not able to give regular pay to the garrison; still less could it improve its defences.

During Sulṭān Sulaymān's first campaign (927/1521), the Turkish army entered Belgrade on 29 August 1521, after a long siege. The Hungarian troops were sent home, the Serbian population was settled in Constantinople, and some of the Serbian crews of the warships in the Danube became sailors in Turkish service. At that time, the seat of the *sandjak* of Smederevo (Semendire) was moved to Belgrade, and Bali-bey (died 933/1527) the son of Yaḥyā Pasha, was made governor. In order to make Belgrade secure, Bali Bey destroyed all settlements in the neighbouring areas of Syrmia, and he used the building materials of these destroyed Syrmian towns for Belgrade's new fortifications,

which now became the most important fortifications against Hungary. After the battle near Mohács (932/1526) the towns in eastern and central Syrmia came under the rule of the *sandjak-beg* in Belgrade. After Bali Bey's death, his brother Meḥmed-Bey (who died in 955/1548 as Pasha of Buda) continued the policy of conquest. Until 944/1538, the conquered regions of Syrmia, Slavonia, and southern Hungary remained under the rule of the *sandjak-beg* in Belgrade. After that, the *sandjak* of Požega was founded in Slavonia. After the conquest of Buda (948/1541), and the foundation of the eyalet of Buda, the *sandjak* of Smederevo, with its seat in Belgrade, fell to this *eyālet*. The representative (*ḳā'im-maḳām*) of the Pasha of Buda resided in Belgrade, as this town had lost none of its great military importance as a marshalling-place for Turkish troops before their wars against the west, even after the conquest of Buda. Together with the Turkish armies, sultans and Grand Viziers passed through Belgrade and paused there for varying periods. There are many events in Turkish history connected with Belgrade. Diplomatic missions, too, which came down the Danube from the west on their way to the Turkish Sultan, stayed in Belgrade for a short time, for this is where the overland route began.

Immediately after the conquest of Belgrade, the Turks began to consider further fortifications there. As during the Hungarian rule, these consisted of the lower and the upper fortress, which were now, however, well equipped with artillery. Each of these two fortresses had its own commander (*dizdār*). The Turks equipped Belgrade with a garrison and a fleet. The fleet on the Danube was particularly necessary because of the wars with Hungary, and in the first half of the 10th/16th century, Serbian *Martolos* were stationed there (in 943/1536-7 there were 385 *Martolos* in 40 *oda* with 39 *odabashi*, under the command of the *voyvoda* Vuk). In the second half of the 16th century, there was also a considerable garrison in Belgrade (in 1560 there were 223 *müstaḥfiẓ*, 9 *djebedji*, 41 *topdju* with 5 *bölükbashi*, 4 *kumbaradji*, 101 *azab*, 96 *Martolos* with one Agha and 8 *odabashi*; the *Martolos*, with the exception of the Agha and one *bölük* of the *topdju*, were Serbs).

Whilst Belgrade, one the one hand, developed quickly as a fortress after coming under Turkish rule, the same could not be said for its economic and commercial recovery. In 943/1536-7, there were in Belgrade 4 Muslim *maḥalles* with 79 households around four mosques. Nearly half of the non-military Muslim population was registered as craftsmen. There were 68 Christian households in the 12 *maḥalles* of the town. These inhabitants did not have to pay taxes, but their duty was to maintain the fortress. At that time there were 72 households of settled *eflak* (here used for semi-nomadic herdsmen, and not to be taken in the ethnical sense) in Belgrade, who guarded the imperial powder magazines, and there were 20 households of gypsies, whose duty it was to repair the ships in the harbour. In the thirties of the 16th century, a colony of Dubrovnik merchants from Smederevo settled in Belgrade.

After the middle of the 10th/16th century, Belgrade took on the character of an oriental town. The Muslim population was recruited in three ways; from the arrival of the whole administrative machinery and the military garrison, from the settling of merchants and craftsmen from other parts of Turkey, and from the islamisation of the local population. After Buda (948/1541) and Temesvar (959/1552) came under Turkish rule, Belgrade became very important as an entrepôt. By 967/1560, there were already 16 Muslim *maḥalles* with more than 360 households, and more than 60 Christian households in Belgrade. Craftmanship developed considerably, and new, more delicate crafts appeared. Details from the *Defter* of 980/1572-3 bear witness to the rapid rise of Belgrade. At that date, there were over 200 Christian households, and over 600 Muslim (in 21 *maḥalles*), 133 gypsy, and 20 Jewish.

The end of the 10th/16th century, and the first half of the 11th/17th century in particular, were times of great prosperity for Belgrade. According to a statement made by a Papal visitor to the archbishop of Bar, Peter Masarechi, Belgrade had 8,000 households with some 60,000 inhabitants (in 1632). According to Ewliyā Čelebi, there were 38 Muslim *maḥalles*, and 11 others (Serbs, Greeks, Gypsies, Armenians and Jews), and 98,000 permanent residents in the year 1070/1660. The town had a large garrison and was the seat of the commander (*kapudan*) of the Danube fleet. There were large storehouses for food for military purposes, workshops for the repair of cannons and nearby a powder factory. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Belgrade had 217 *miḥrābs* (Kātib Čelebi mentions only up to 100 mosques there). The mosques of Sulṭān Sulaymān in the fortress (according to Ewliyā Čelebi, its builder was Miʿmār Sinān), and the one in the lower town, which Meḥmed Pasha, the son of Yaḥyā Pasha, had built, are worthy of special mention. There were 160 palaces (*sarāy*) and 7 baths in Belgrade, and a great number of squares and market places with a beautiful *bezistān*, 6 *kārvān sarāys* and several *khāns*. There was also a mint. During that time, the janissaries left their mark on the town and the guilds. Belgrade was the seat of a *mollā* who had three *nā'ibs*, and it was also the seat of a *muftī*. There were 17 *tekiyes*, 8 *medreses* and 9 institutes for the study of *ḥadīth* (*dār al-ḥadīth*), and there were also churches and cultural institutions of the Christian and Jewish minorities. The figures quoted by Ewliyā Čelebi are sometimes exaggerated, but the accounts of all travellers in the 11th/17th century describe Belgrade as a big town, particularly stressing its commercial importance. Foreign travellers noted especially the oriental character of the town.

After one month's siege, the imperial army under the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria took Belgrade in 1099/1688. Belgrade suffered greatly on that occasion. It remained under Austrian rule for two years; the Turks then recovered it, and it remained under Turkish rule even after the Peace of Karlovci (Karlowitz-1110/1699). Under the command of Eugene of Savoy, the imperial army beat the Turkish army near Belgrade 8 Ramaḍān 1129/16 August 1717. After the peace of Požarevac (Passarowitz-1130/1718), Belgrade became the capital of northern Serbia under Austrian occupation. Once again, destroyed Belgrade began to flourish. The fortifications were renewed, and the present-day walls date from that time.

The Sava and the Danube became boundary rivers by the Peace of Belgrade (1152/1739). Belgrade was neglected and sank to a mere border garrison for janissaries. It became the seat of a Pasha with the title of Vezir. Northern Serbia began to be referred to as the Belgrade *pashalik*, although it was still called the Smederevo *sandjak* (*Semendire sandjaghi*) in official documents. From 1789 to 1791, Belgrade was once again under Austrian rule. By

the end of the 18th century, it had about 25,000 inhabitants.

After the Peace of Svishtov (1791), the janissaries were driven from Belgrade, though Sulṭān Selīm III had to agree to their return not long afterwards. The rule of terror which they introduced gave rise to the first Serbian revolt in 1804; the rebels surrounded Belgrade immediately, but only succeeded in taking it towards the end of 1806. Belgrade remained the capital until the collapse of the rebel Serbian state in 1813. After the outbreak of the second Serbian revolt (1815) and the Turkish compromise to which it led, which established dual rule in Serbia, Turkish authorities and garrison remained in Belgrade. As the vassal state of Serbia grew stronger, Belgrade, too, began to change more and more into a Serbian town. After a bloody clash there between Serbs and Turks, the Turkish garrison bombarded the town (1862). This was followed by lengthy diplomatic negotiations. In 1867, fortified towns were handed over to Serbia, and Belgrade then became the capital of Serbia.

Only a few buildings of the earlier periods were preserved in Belgrade, and similarly there are but few monuments of the Turkish rule left. A few of them are in the older fortress (now a park). In the town itself there are only two, a mosque and a *türbe*. More obvious traces of Turkish rule can be found in the names of parts of the town and of places in the neighbourhood, such as Kalemegdan (*ḳalʿe meydānî*), Karaburma, Tašmajdan (*tash maʿdeni*), Dorćol (*dört yol*), Rospićuprija(*rospi köprü/sü/*), Topćider (*topdju dere/si/*), Avala (*havale*) etc.

Muslims living in Belgrade at the present time are not the descendants of the earlier Muslim population of Turkish times. The last Muslim families of old Belgrade emigrated in 1867 (many of these settled in northern Bosnia) The Muslim population found in Belgrade to day came after 1918 from Bosnia, Hercegovina, Macedonia and other Yugoslav regions where there are Muslims.

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(B. Djurdjev)

BELĪGH, Ismāʿīl of Bursa, Turkish poet and biographer. Little is known of his life. Like his father and grandfather he was an *imām* in a small Bursa mosque. He also served as a minor government official in various departments in that town, except for a short appointment in a Toḳat court. He died in 1142/1729 in Bursa where he is buried. According to Ṣafāʾī's *Tedhkire*, Belīgh composed a *dīwān* which has so far not come down to us. His known poetical works consist of a number of poems quoted in various contemporary *medjmūʿa*s and *tedhkire*s and two *mathnawī*s, *i.e.*, *Serguzesht-nāme*, which relates his journey to Toḳat and his adventures there, with vivid descriptions of his colleagues in court and the provincial town, and a *Shehrengiz* which is a description of the beauties of Bursa. Belīgh's most important work is his well known book of biographies, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān we wefiyāt-i dānishwerān-i nādiredān*. The *Güldeste* consists of five parts and deals with the biographies of Ottoman sultans, princes, *wazīr*s and notables of Bursa such as poets, scholars, musicians, physicians, storytellers, etc. (printed in Bursa 1302/1885). Belīgh also wrote a supplement to Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī's *Tedhkire*, *Zübdet al-ashʿār*, and called it *Nukhbat al-Āthār li dheyl Zübdet al-Ashʿār*. It covers the period between 1620 to 1726 (autograph MS, Üniversite 1182). Two works, both in verse, have not come down to us: *Gül-i Ṣadberk*, a commentary of 100 *ḥadīth*s, and *Sebʿa-i Seyyāre*, a collection of seven *tawḥīd*s.

Bibliography: Ṣafāʾī, *Tedhkire*, s.v.; Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, 28; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 117; Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, ii, 809-817; *IA*, s.v. (by F. A. Tansal).

(Fahir İz)

BELĪGH, Meḥmed Emīn of Yenishehir, Turkish poet. Little is known of his life. He belonged to the *ʿulamāʾ* and served as *ḳāḍī* in various Balkan towns. He does not seem to have been appreciated by his contemporaries as most biographers do not mention his name. He died in 1174/1760 in Eski Zaghra after a hard life, according to his writings. His small *dīwān* was printed in Istanbul in 1258/1842. His *kaṣīda*s are of mediocre quality. Some of his *ghazal*s show a certain power of description, but his most original work is his four poems in *tardjiʿband* form: *Kefshgernāme*, *Ḥammāmnāme*, *Berbernāme*, *Khayyāṭnāme*, written in a fluent and unadorned style, which contain vivid descriptions of craftsmen and their trades.

Bibliography: Rāmiz, *Tedhkire*, s.v.; Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, 28; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 117-133; *IA*, s.v. (by F. A. Tansal); Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, ii, 817-820.

(Fahir İz)

BENARES (or Banāras), also known as Kāshī, derives its name from two tiny monsoon streams, Varūna and Āssī, that flow through the northern and southern parts of the town. Situated on the left bank of the Ganges, this ancient city, said to have been founded by Kāshyā, son of Suhottrā, about 1200 B.C., is a centre of the Hindu faith and is also revered by the Buddhists. Pop. (1951) 341,811.

Benares was captured by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 590/1193, and many of the idols decorating its numerous temples were destroyed and the town reduced to ruins. In 757/1356 Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk, while on his return journey from Bengal, gave battle to the ruler of Benāres and formed him into submission. In 797/1394 the town and the *pargana* were bestowed by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ

on his minister Khwādja Djahān. It was captured by Bābur in 936/1529. During the reign of Akbar, Rādjā Djay Singh Sawāʾī built many a temple and an observatory here, the latter is now in ruins. Shāhdjahān appointed his eldest son, Dārā Shukoh, as the governor of the town when he came into close contact with Brahmans and imbibed Hindu learning. Awrangzīb, enraged at Muslim students also being taught by Brahmans, ordered the closure of its *madrasas*. He also built a mosque on the site of an ancient Hindu temple which he destroyed on the plea that it was being used as a seat of conspiracy. The name of the city was also changed to Muḥammadābād but it never gained popularity, although it appears on his coins struck here. Muḥammad Shāh "Rangīlā" (1132/1719-1162/1748) bestowed the *pargana* of Benares on Mansārām, a Rādjpūt *zamīndār*, whose son Balwant Singh sided with the British during the Battle of Buxar, (1764) when he became independent of the Nawāb of Awadh It was ceded to the British in 1189/1775. In 1950 the estate was merged into the Indian Union forming part of the Banāras Division (Uttar Pradēsh).

Kabīr, the Indian *ṣūfī*-poet, came of a weaver family of this place. ʿAlī Ḥazīn, the Persian poet, lies buried here. It is also the birth-place of Āghā Ḥashr, an Urdū dramatist. Benares is famous for its silks and brocade manufactured by Muslim weavers. The morning at Benares, like the evening at Lucknow, has become proverbial in Urdū literature.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BENAVENT, (in al-Idrīsī *b.n.b.n.t.*), Benevento, never captured by the Muslims, even for a short period as were Bari and Taranto. However, in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries the Muslims became involved in the history of the town and principality of Benevento, having frequently been both enemies and allies of its princes in their domestic struggles, as well as often plundering and threatening its territory. The period on which we are best informed, thanks to the Latin sources, is the middle portion of the 3rd/9th century (the Arab sources are silent in this regard or give only very vague information). We know that in 228/843 a Saracen *amir* Apolaffar or Apoiaffar (Abū Djaʿfar), who had come from Taranto, became the ally of prince Siconulph against his rival Radelchis, but eventually quarreled with Siconulph and was killed defending Benevento. In 237/851 we find a certain Massar (Abū Maʿshar), with a troop of Saracens, allied to this same Radelchis. Massar was later treacherously seized by Radelchis and executed together with his family. Some years after this Benevento was again threatened by Sawdān, the emir of Bari. It was only during the 4th/10th century that the Muslim danger receded, to disappear in the 5th/11th century with the Norman conquest of Sicily. According to the testimony of al-Idrīsī the town of Benevento is very old (*azaliyya*), and its population large.

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(F. Gabrieli)

BENAVERT, a Muslim leader who inspired Arab resistance to the Normans in eastern Sicily from 464/1072 until 479/1086. His name figures as *Benavert* or *Benaveth* in the account of the historian of the Normans, Malaterra. This person, of whom the Muslim sources make no mention, defeated the son of Count Roger in 467/1075 near Catania, captured this town in 474/1081, and in 478/1085 led expeditions from it into Calabria. In the following year he was besieged by Roger in Syracuse, and made a supreme effort to free this stronghold, which seems to have been the centre of his power. He was killed in the ensuing naval battle in the port, on 8 Ṣafar 479/25 May 1086. The real Arab name of this champion of Islam in Sicily was Ibn ʿAbbād. His memory has been handed down only by his enemies, who admired his courage. Almost certainly he was a forbear of the Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād who a century and a half later led the last great revolt of the Sicilian Muslims against Frederick II, by whom he was put to death.

Bibliography: M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², iii, 151-169. (F. Gabrieli)

BENDER, a town in Bessarabia; the name appears on a coin of Mengli Gerey dated 905/1499-1500. It is found in the Tatar documents as *Bender-Kerman* (V. Zernov, *Materiaux*, 16). Bender, from Persian *Bandar*, was called earlier *Tigina* or *Tighinea* which may have a Kuman origin. That the town was first established by the Genoese is a legend (*Chronique d'Ureche*, ed. Giurescu). Its rise as a trading town with important customs revenue was due to its being on the "Tatar-route" on which an active trade was carried on between Lvov and the Crimea and Aḳ Kirmān [*q.v.*] in the 14th century. The place seems to pass from under the rule of the Tatars to that of the Moldavian princes around 1400. The Tatars tried to reconquer it (Ulugh Muḥammad in 1428 and Iminek Mīrzā in 1476), and, finally Mengli Gerey in cooperation with the Ottomans took it with Kavshan and Tombasar in 1484. When in 945/1538 Süleyman II invaded Moldavia and formed the new *sandjaḳ* of Aḳ Kirmān with the incorporation of the south Bessarabia he ordered the erection of a strong castle on the new border at Bender. A good desription of the castle was given by Ewliyā Čelebī (v, 116-120) in 1067/1656-57. It became the seat of a *sandjaḳ-begi* toward 1570 and later it was attached to the newly formed *eyālet* of Özü. The ḳāḍī of Bender had 40 *nāḥiye* [*q.v.*] under his jurisdiction and the customs house, always active, was under an *emin* [*q.v.*]. Ewliyā Čelebī reported that its "varosh" lying on the west and

the south of the castle consisted of 7 Muslim and 7 non-Muslim districts with 1700 houses and about 200 shops. Bender was, Ewliyā adds, "the key of the empire" in the north, a stronghold especially against the Cossacks of Dnieper.

Bender was also famous as the refuge of Charles XII of Sweden between 3 August 1709 and 17 February 1713 and of Potocki in 1768. The Russians captured it first on 27 September 1770, in 1789 and on 8 November 1806 keeping it only with the treaty of Bucharest, 28 May 1812.

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(HALIL İNALCIK)

BENDER [see BANDAR].

BENG [see BAND̲J̲].

BENGAL [see BANGALA].

BENGALI.

(i) Muslim Bengali Language.

Bengali belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. It may have begun to evolve as a separate language with a distinct identity, out of Gauṛa Apabhramsa, about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The greater part of the vocabulary of Bengali was derived or borrowed from Sanskrit.

The Muslims conquered Bengal at the beginning on the 13th century, and ruled the country for nearly six hundred years. Under Muslim rule Persian was one of the languages of culture, provincial administration, and inter-state communication. Because of this, large numbers of Persian words and, through Persian, Arabic and Turkish words, became part of the Bengali language.

In 1836 English replaced Persian as the language of administration. From then onwards Persian no longer enjoyed the same status as before in the national life of Bengal and of northern India generally. Before the handing over of power in 1947, which resulted in the partition of Bengal, words of Perso-Arabic origin constituted nearly 8% of the total vocabulary of Bengali, and a little more than 15% of Muslim Bengali vocabulary. Hindustani began to be spoken in Calcutta from the latter half of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century, and a number of Hindustani words were received into Bengali vocabulary. At the beginning of the 19th century, there was in written Bengali something of a conflict between Sanskritised Bengali, that is, Bengali in which Sanskrit words preponderated, and Persian Bengali; examples of this can be found in the works of Mrityunjay Bidyālankār and Rām Rām Basu. During this period innumerable Muslim *punthis*, known as Musalmānī Bānglā, appeared. These were written in a mixture of Bangali, Hindustani and Awadhi.

Words of Persian, Turkish or Arabic origin which have become part of Bengali can be classified under seven broad heads, namely: (1) Administration and warfare, *e.g.*, *phouj* (soldiers) < *fawd̲j̲*, *tak̲h̲t* (throne) < *tak̲h̲t*, *laṛāi* (war) < *larā'ī*, *shahid* (martyr) < *s̲h̲ahid*, *d̲j̲akham* (wound) < *zak̲h̲m*, etc.; (2) Revenue and law-courts, *e.g.*, *d̲j̲ami* (land) < *zamīn*, *khād̲j̲nā* (revenue) < *k̲h̲azāna*, *Āin* (law) < *ā'īn*, *hakim* (judge) < *ḥākim*, *kazi* (judge) < *ḳāḍī*, *phaisala* (judgement) < *fayṣala*, etc.; (3) Religion and ritual, *e.g.*, *Āllah* (God) < *Allāh*, *khodā* (God) < *k̲h̲udā*, *nāmāz* (prayer) < *namāz*, *rod̲j̲ā* (fasting) < *rawḍa*, *had̲j̲* (pilgrimage) < *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, *korbāni* (sacrifice) < *ḳurbānī*, etc.; (4) Education, *e.g.*, *doāt* (inkpot) < *dawāt*, *kalam* (pen) < *ḳalam*, *kāgad̲j̲* (paper) < *kāg̲h̲ad̲h̲*, *tālbilim* (student) < *ṭālib-i ʿilm*, etc.; (5) Races, religions, and professions, *e.g.*, *Ihudi* (Jew) < *Yahūdī*, *Hidnu* (Hindu race) < *Hindū*, *Muslim* (Muslim), *Phiringi* (English) < *Farangī*, *dard̲j̲i* (tailor) < *darzī*, etc.; (6) Culture and civilisation, *e.g.*, *rumāl* (handkerchief) < *rūmāl*, *golāb* (rose) < *gulāb*, *āṭar* (perfume) < *ʿiṭr*, *āynā* (mirror) < *ā'ina*, *korma* (preserved meat) < *ḳurma*, *koftā* (meat ball) < *kūfta*, *hālwā* (a type of sweetmeat) < *ḥalwā*, etc.; (7) Common things and notions in life, *e.g.*, *naram* (soft) < *narm*, *bāhbā* (Well done!) < *bah bah*, *shābāsh* (Bravo!) < *s̲h̲ād bās̲h̲*, *khabar* (news) < *k̲h̲abar*, etc.

Persian contributed as many as 2,500 words to Bengali vocabulary in general, and nearly another 2,000 words to the vocabulary of the Muslims inhabiting the south-eastern part of East Pakistan in particular. In addition, Persian suffixes like *ī*, *dān*, *dānī*, *dār*, *k̲h̲wur*, *bād̲j̲*, *gīrī*, are used to form Bengali adjectives, abstract nouns etc., *e.g.*, *desh* + *ī* = *deshi* (country-made), *phul* + *dānī* = *phuldāni* (flower-vase), *dokān* + *dār* = *dokāndār* (shopkeeper), *guli* + *k̲h̲wur* = *gulikhor* (drunkard) *mamlā* + *bād̲j̲* = *mamlābād̲j̲* (litigant), *bābu* + *gīrī* = *bābugiri* (interested in fashion), etc. Persian words like *nar* and *māda* denote gender in Bengali, *e.g.*, *pāirā* (pigeon), *narpāirā* (male pigeon), *mādi pāirā* (female pigeon). Similarly *mardā* and *mādi* before a Bengali word of common gender denote the male and the female of the species respectively, *e.g.*, *mardā kukur* (dog), *mādi kukur* (bitch).

Arab merchants developed commercial relations with the people of the south-eastern coastal regions of Bengal long before the political conquest of the country by the Muslims. The Muslim conquest in later times strengthened the religious and cultural ties of the people of this area with the Islamic way of life, and resulted in an increase in the numbers of the Muslim population. It left its mark on the pronunciation of words in this part of Bengal; for example, in the districts of Noakhali, Čittagong and Sylhet the use of the Arabic voiceless velar fricative *k̲h̲* (خ) in place of the Bengali plosive *k* and *k̲h̲* of the same category, *e.g.*, *k̲h̲apoṛ* < *kāpoṛ* (cloth), *k̲h̲āi* < *khāi* (I eat), etc., and the Arabic voiced alveolar fricative *z* (ز) in place of the Bengali voiced plosive-like affricate *d̲j̲* of the standard Bengali dialect, *e.g.*, *zāi* < *d̲j̲āi* (I go), *zānā* < *d̲j̲ānā* (to know) etc.

Since the handing over of power in 1947 there has been in East Pakistan a growing tendency to absorb words of Perso-Arabic origin in large numbers through Urdu, as a result of cultural and political contact with West Pakistan.

Bibliography: Halhed, *Bengali Grammar* 1783, intro.

(M. ABDUL HAI)

(ii) Muslim Bengali literature.

Formative Period (900-1200 *A.D.*). Bengali sprang up as a distinct branch of the Indo-Aryan language about three hundred years before Muslim rule in Bengal and flourished as a regional literature a century and a half after the Muslim conquest. But it did not exist either as a language or as a literature before Bengal came in contact with Islām and the

Muslims. Archaeological excavations at Pāhārpur (Rājshāhī) and at Maināmatī (Tripurā), which led to the discovery of a few ʿAbbāsid coins of the period from the 8th to the 13th centuries, and the history of Muslim saints like Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 874) at Nāṣirābād, Čittagong, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Māhīsawār (1047) at Mahāsthān, Bogra, Muḥammad Sulṭān Rūmī (1053) at Madanpur Mymensingh, Bābā Ādam (1119) at Vikrampur, Dacca, prove that there was constant maritime and missionary communication between the Muslim world and Bengal while the Bengali language was being formed.

Turki Period (1201-1350 *A.D.*). The Turks conquered Bengal in 1202 and took 150 years to establish their administration all over the country. This was the period of creation of an Islāmic atmosphere through administrative, religious and social machinery. Sanskrit, the fountainhead of Hindu culture, fell into desuetude; Persian, the official and cultural language of the Muslims, came into prominence; and Bengali, the language of the masses, developed rapidly. *Shek Subhodayā*, a Sanskrit hagiology on Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 1225), and *Niranjaner Rushmā*, a Bengali ballad by Rāmāi Pandit, contain sufficient materials indicative of the growing Islāmic atmosphere in Bengal.

Period of Independence (1351-1575 *A.D.*). Bengal became independent under Sulṭān Iliyās Shāh (1342-1357) and preserved her independence for 225 years. The Sultans of Pandua and Gauḍ identified themselves with the people and extended their patronage liberally to Bengali literature irrespective of caste and creed. The *Bhāgavata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* were translated into Bengali under their direct patronage; the great poets Vidyāpati and Čandīdās flourished; and Muslims, participating with their Hindu neighbours, opened up new avenues of literary themes primarily derived from Perso-Arabic culture.

The first attempt at popularising Bengali among Muslim scholars was perhaps made by the saint-poet Nūr Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam (d. 1416) of Pandua, who introduced the '*Rīkhta* Style' in Bengali, in which half the hemistich was composed in pure Persian and the other half in unmixed Bengali. The saint was a classmate of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh (1398-1410) and a life-long friend of the Sultan, under whose patronage Vidyāpati of Mithilā and Muḥammad Ṣaghīr of Bengal, the author of the first Bengali romance *Yūsuf-Zulaykhā*, flourished. Other writers of romances, like Bahrām Khān with his *Laylā-Madjnūn*, Sābirid Khān with his *Hānifā-Kayrāparī*, Donāghāzī with his *Sayf al-Mulk* and Muḥammad Kabīr with his *Madhumālatī* (1583-1588), followed Ṣaghīr in quick succession.

Muslim historical tales too were introduced in Bengali by a few poets. Zayn al-Dīn wrote *Rasūl Vijay* on the exploits of the Prophet, under the patronage of Yūsuf Shāh (1478-1481), who also helped Māládhar Basu to compose *Shrīkrishṇa Vijay*. Sābirid Khān also wrote a *Rasūl Vijay*, while Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh (1545-1575) composed *Ghāzī Vijay* and *Gorakṣha Vijay*.

The earliest Muslim poet introducing Islāmic precepts in Bengali literature, was Afḍal ʿAlī. His book of admonition, *Naṣīḥat-nāma*, was written on the tenets of Islām. He was also a composer of songs, in one of which he mentions the name of Fīrūz Shāh (1532-1533).

Positive literary evidence on the fusion of Hindu and Muslim culture is found in Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh's *Satyapīr* (1575). He described in it the beliefs and practices of a new cult aiming at a common platform of worship for Hindus and Muslims alike. Čānd Ḳāḍī and Shaykh Kabīr, two composers of songs on the common ideals of Ṣūfīs and Vaishṇabs, flourished during the time of Ḥusayn Shāh (1493-1519) and his son Nuṣrat Shāh (1519-1531).

Mughal Period (1576-1757 *A.D.*). Bengal came under the Mughals in 1576, to whom the country was a 'hell full of the bounties of heaven'. They introduced their own culture with more stress on Persian and neglected the provincial literature. Notwithstanding this, Hindu literature developed on the themes of Čandī, Manasā, Dharma, Annadā and Gangā; Vaishṇab literature reached its climax and Muslim Bengali literature, deeply influenced by Indo-Persian literature, flourished as never before.

Among Muslim literary figures, two major poets deserve special mention, namely, Sayyid Sulṭān (1550-1648) and Ālāwal (1607-1680). The former was the saint-poet of Čittagong; *Nabī Vaṃsha*, his *magnum opus*, rivalled the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* in all respects; the latter, who was a scholar poet of the Arakanese Court, adopted the theme of *Padmāyatī* (1651), from Hindī. Both of them exerted a wide and abiding influence on successive generations of poets, who not only improved upon the old themes, but also discovered new ones.

In the field of religion, the *Naṣīḥat-nāma* of Shaykh Parān (1550-1615) and *Kifāyat al-Muṣallīn* of Muṭṭalib (1575-1660) are outstanding. Naṣr Allāh Khān (1560-1625), a prolific writer on religious subjects, wrote the *Sharīʿat-nāma*, *Mūsār Sawāl* and *Hidāyat al-Islām*. The *Bayānāt* of Nawāzish Khān (1638), *Hazār Masāʾil* of ʿAbd al-Karīm (1698), *Naṣīḥat-nāma* and *Shihāb al-Dīn-nāma* of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm (1620-1690), *Sarsāler Nīti* of Ḳamar ʿAlī (1676) also deserve notice.

In the realm of Muslim tales, the *Nabī Vaṃsha*, *Rasūl Vijay* and *Shab-i Miʿrādj* of Sayyid Sulṭān; *Djang-nāma* of Naṣr Allāh Khān (1560-1625), *Amīr Ḥamza* (1684) of Ghulām Nabī and *Anbiyāʾ Vāṇī* (1758) of Ḥayāt Maḥmūd narrate many legends about the Prophet and his uncle Ḥamza. Sayyid Sulṭān's *Iblīs-nāma*, Muḥammad Khān's *Ḳiyāmat-nāma*, Shaykh Parān's *Nūr-nāma* and Muḥammad Shafīʿs *Nūr Kandīl* were built up with the Muslim concepts of Satan, Doomsday and Cosmogony respectively.

Romances introduced earlier were developed by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* and *Lālmatī Sayf al-Mulk*, Nawāzish Khān in his *Gul-i Bakāwalī* (1638), Gharīb Allāh in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* and Muḥammad Akbar in his *Zeb al-Mulk* (1673). When pure romances became monotonous, Sherbāz in his *Fikr-nāma* and Shaykh Sāʿdī in his *Gadā Mallikā* (1712) introduced moral instruction in romances.

A good elegiac literature developed centring round the tragedy of Karbalā. Muḥammad Khān in his *Maḳtūl Ḥusayn* (1645), ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm in his *Karbalā*, Ḥayāt Maḥmūd in his *Djang-nāma* (1723), and Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb in his *Maḳtūl Ḥusayn* (1694) contributed largely to the wide popularity of this theme.

British Period (1757-1947). The Hindus took advantage of Western education at least half a century before the Muslims, and revolutionised Bengali literature by the introduction of a new prose and a new poetry embodying Western ideas, thoughts and forms. Iswar Chandra Vidyāsāgar (1820-1891), Bankim Chandra Chatterjī (1835-1894) and Madhu-

sūdan Datta (1824-1873) played a great rôle in this literary regeneration.

The Muslims entered the field half a century later. Mīr Musharraf Ḥusayn (1848-1931), Pandit Riyāḍ al-Dīn Mashhadī (1850-1919) Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (1859-1931), Kayḳobād (1858-1951), Muzzammil Ḥaḳḳ (1860-1933) and Dr. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (1860-1916) took to this new Bengali to lay the foundation of modern Muslim Bengali literature and a host of others came in their wake. Among them Ismāʿīl Ḥusayn Shīrāzī (1870-1931) was the most illustrious.

Meanwhile, Rabindranāth Tagore (1860-1941), the Nobel prize-winner, appeared on the literary scene of Bengal and raised her literature to a world stature.

Nadhr al-Islām (b. 1899), the Rebel Poet of Muslim Bengal, ushered in a new school of realistic poetry full of life, light and vigour. He shared the sorrows and sufferings of his countrymen in particular and of oppressed humanity in general. He was the only singing bard to herald a new era of common men and awaken them to struggle for the independence of their motherland, a struggle which culminated later in the creation of Pākistān. In his wake, the poet Djasīm al-Dīn (b. 1902) came forward to sing the songs of rural Bengal, particularly of its east portion, now known as East Pākistān.

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(Md. Enamul Haq)

BENGHĀZĪ, the principal town of Cyrenaica, formerly the district of Barḳa [*q.v.*], situated on the western plain on a strip of shore partly cut off from dry land by lagoons. Its position is not advantageous, as its harbour is exposed to winds from the north and west, while the neighbouring regions are arid and the fertile districts on the al-Mardj and Djabal Akhḍar plateaux are some way off. The town is built on the site of the former Euhesperides, a colony founded by the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. During the reign of the Egyptian Ptolemy III Euergetes the settlement became known by the name of his wife Berenike, and retained this name, as Bernik, in the Middle Ages. It was always a town of secondary importance, and declined in the Middle Ages, possibly vanishing completely.

The modern town dates from the immigration at the end of the 15th century of Tripolitanians from Zliten and Mesrata who had commercial connexions with Derna, an Andalusian settlement established some time previously on the eastern seaboard of Cyrenaica. It takes its name from Sīdī Ghāzī, a saint buried locally, but about whom little is known. The Tripolitanians were gradually reinforced by immigrants from the other Ottoman countries, notably Cretans, who came in numbers before and after the Greek conquest of their island (1897); other immigrants were Jews from Tripolitania, tribesfolk and oasis-dwellers from various districts of Cyrenaica, and a few Europeans. The population of the town was 5,000 at the beginning of the 19th century, and 15,000 towards 1900, including about a thousand Italians, Maltese and Greeks and 2,500 Jews. It had risen to 19,000 when the Italians landed at Benghāzī in 1911. Formerly the centre of a Turkish *wilāyet*, Benghāzī then became the chief town of the eastern part of the colony of Libya, which was finally pacified only in 1931. It was connected by railway to Solūk in the south (35 miles) and al-Mardj in the east (68 miles), and became the terminus of the road skirting the Great Syrte, as well as of those which radiate out across the northern plateau, the heart of the country. A new harbour was built, protected by breakwater, and the town was provided with municipal services as in a European city. The old town had been built within a quadrilateral 700 metres long by 300 metres wide, to a fairly regular plan. The great mosque, dating from the 16th century, was restored. A new, generously planned suburb was built to the south of old Benghāzī, in the direction of the former suburb of El Berka which had sprung up around a Turkish barracks. In 1938 Benghāzī had 66,800 inhabitants, of whom 22,000 were Italians. Its harbour was the busiest in Cyrenaica, and several industries were based in the town: leather and footwear, furniture, building, and tunny-fish processing. Greeks and Italians fished in the Great Syrte, and this, together with the salt-pans on the coastline, increased opportunities for employment.

Benghāzī suffered much from the bombing of late 1942, and from the departure of the Italian population, who evacuated it and the whole of Cyrenaica on the arrival of the British 8th Army. It became the capital and seat of the sovereign of the Federal Union of Libya (1951), and the principal town of Cyrenaica, but lost its industries and much of its importance as a port. The value of its airfield is primarily strategic. Its population in 1954 was about 63,000, all Muslims except for a very small number of Jews and Europeans.

Bibliography: See BARḲA and LIBYA.

(J. Despois)

BENJAMIN [see BINYĀMĪN].

BENNĀK, also called *benlāk* in the 9th/15th century, an Ottoman *ʿörfī* (*ʿurfī*) tax paid by married peasants (*muzawwadj reʿāyā*) possessing a piece of land less than half a *čift* [*q.v.*] or no land, the former being called *ekinlü bennāk* or simply *bennāk* and the latter *djabā bennāk* or *djabā*. The word *bennāk* might possibly be derived from the Arabic verb *banaka*.

Actually the *bennāk resmi* made part of the *čift resmi* [*q.v.*] system and can be considered originally as consisting of two or three of the seven services (*ḳulluḳ*, *khidmet*) included in the *čift resmi*. The rate of *bennāk* was 6 or 9 *akča* in Meḥemmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* [*q.v.*], but in some areas (Teke, 859/1455) it was only 5 *akča*. In later times it was usually 9 for *djabā bennāk* and 12 for *ekinlü bennāk* and when the *čift resmi* system was extended to eastern Anatolia in 1540 the rate there was 18 for *ekinlü* and 12 or 13 for *djabā bennāk*.

In principle *bennāk resmi* was paid by the Muslim peasants directly to the *tīmār*-holders for whom they were recorded as *raʿiyyet* in the *defter* [*q.v.*].

In the *defters* the term *bennāk* showed the peasants themselves paying *bennāk resmi*. If a bachelor was married he was immediately subject to this tax. If later divorced he paid only the bachelor tax (*müdjerred resmi*). If married, the nomad *reʿāyā* without stock animals paid also *bennāk*. Thus this tax was considered essentially as a poll-tax and called also *raʿiyyet resmi*.

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(Halil İnalcık)

BERĀR, formerly a province of British India consisting of the four districts of Amraotī, Akola, Buldāna, and Yeotmāl; area: 17,809 sq.m.; population: 3,604,866 of whom 335,169 were Muslims (1941 Census). Under British rule it was administered as part of the Central Provinces. It has recently been incorporated in the Bombay State.

The territories of the Vākātakas, comtemporaries of the Guptas, roughly corresponded to modern Berār. It was first invaded by Muslims in 1294 but was not permanently occupied until 1318. It formed the northernmost province (*ṭaraf*) of the Bahmanī kingdom of the Dakhan but towards the end of the 9th/15th century became an independent sultanate under the ʿImād Shāhīs until annexed by the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar in 1574. It was conquered by Akbar towards the end of his reign and remained a *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire until 1724 when Āṣaf Djāh Niẓām al-Mulk became independent in Ḥaydarābād. Until the defeat of the Marāthās by Arthur Wellesley at Assaye in 1803 it was frequently overrun by Marāṭhā forces [see NAGPUR]. In 1804 the Berār territories ceded by the Bhonsla Raja of Nāgpur were handed over to the Niẓām. During the governor-generalship of Lord Hastings, Berār was for a time controlled by the banking firm of Palmer and Company (vide *Preliminary Report on the Russell Correspondence relating to Hyderabad*, C. Collin Davies, *The Indian Archives*, vol. viii, no. i, 1954 ff.). In 1853 Berār was assigned to the East India Company and its revenues were partly employed in the payment of the Niẓām's debts and partly in maintaining the Ḥaydarābād Contingent. By a fresh agreement in 1902 Lord Curzon reaffirmed the rights of the Niẓām over Berār but the province was leased in perpetuity to the Government of India at an annual rental of 25 lakhs of rupees. During the viceroyalty of Lord Reading a demand by the Niẓām for the restoration of Berār met with no success. Later under Lords Willingdon and Linlithgow a number of gestures were made to the Niẓām, but Berār continued to be administered as part of the Central Provinces until 1956.

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(C. Collin Davies)

BERĀT, A word of Arabic origin (for the Arabic meaning see BARĀʾA) which in Ottoman Turkish denotes a type of order issued by the Sultan. Several words of Turkish or other origin were used with the same meaning: the Turkish *biti*, *yarligh*, *buyuruldu*, the Arabic *berāt*, *emr*, *ḥüküm*, *tewḳīʿ*, *menshūr*, *mithāl*, *irāde*, the Persian *fermān*, *nishān*. Some of these words were used during the entire Ottoman epoch, others were used only during certain periods; some of them had only a general meaning, others had also a more special, limited meaning. In the same document several words could be used to designate the "sultan's order"; they could denote an order in the wider sense and also in a narrower, more limited sense.

Biti meaning a sultan's order was not much used after 1500. *Emr* (*amr*), in use for 400 years, did not only mean a general order issued in the name of the sultan, but also a special order which decreed the issue of a *berāt*; hence the expression in the preambles of the *berāt*: *eli emirlü* "he who has the order concerning the issue of the *berāt* in hand". *Ḥüküm* (*Ḥukm*) always occurs in the sense of general order, but also meant a special type of order, the documents of which used to be separately dealt with by the administration and which, at present, are registered in the Turkish archives as a separate archival unity (*aḥkām defterleri*). The *nishān* meant all orders, without any restriction of subject, that were provided with the *tughra* (*nishān*), but (since the 10th/16th century) especially those which were drawn up by the highest financial department of the empire, the *defterkhāne*, and were concerned with financial matters. Synonymous with the term *nishān* was *tewḳīʿ* (*tawḳīʿ*) which could be used, without further limitation, to designate any document which was provided with the *tewḳīʿ*. (Their identical meaning is proved by the derivatives of both words, the *tewḳīʿī* and the *nishandji*, which are synonymous). An order of higher rank was meant by the more rarely used *menshūr*, the *mithāl* and the *irāde* (in use only since the 19th century). The *berāt* had a more limited meaning, that of a "deed of grant", "a writ for the appointment to hold an office"; the documents belonging to this group were also handled separately by the administration; the memory of this is preserved in the designation of some public records: *rumlarin berāt defteri* "the *defter* of the *berats* issued in matters concerning the Orthodox Greek Church", *katolik berāt defteri* etc. (Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, 29, 32).

As all grants in the Ottoman empire derived from the sultan, the *berāt* was always issued in the sultan's name and its constant attribute was: *sherif* or *humāyūn* ("imperial *berāt*").

In the Ottoman empire all appointments were made by "grants", those which were paid by a temporary tenure of estates as well as those paid in ready money; thus all appointments to the civil service, whether that of a high-ranking pasha or that of a low-ranking employee of a mosque, were effected by a *berāt*. The bishops of Syria also received their licences from the sultan in the form of a *berāt*. *EI*[1], 678, s.v. *Barāʿa*). Even the vassals of the empire, *e.g.*, the princes of Transylvania, received their recognition in their principality in the form of a *berāt*, with the difference that in the diploma issued to them the expression in question was complemented the following way: *bu berāt-i humāyūnu we ʿahdnāme-i ṣidḳ-meshḥūnu verdim*" I have issued the imperial *berāt* and the treaty full of faith". Thus under the name of *berāt* an exceedingly great number of orders were issued and these could be grouped according to their contents: *wezīrlik berātı*, *tīmār berātı*, *mālikāne berātı*, *iltizām berātı*, and, if issued for the benefit of a corporation, *odjaḳlıḳ berātı* etc.

The word *berāt* became especially part of the many expressions used in connexion with the administration of the *tīmār*-estates, *e.g.*, *berāt-i ʿālīshān ičün tedhkere verildi* "the instruction (or warrant) called *tedhkere* given for issuing a high *berāt*", *berāt-i sherifim verilmek fermānım olmaghın* "since my imperial order has been given for issuing a high *berāt*", *tedhkereyi berāt ettirmek* "to exchange the writ called *tedhkere* for a *berāt*", *tedjdīd-i berāt olunmaḳ bābında khaṭṭ-i humāyūn ṣādir olmaghın* "as the sultan's order has been issued for the renewal of the *berāts*" (such procedure was usually ordered

after the sultan's accession to the throne), *eli berātlî* "having a *berat* in hand" (corresponding to this expression is the above quoted *eli emirlü*), *ehl-i berāt* "who has a *berāt*", and in official documents there is often reference to issued *berāts*. The word *berāt*, however, often does not occur in the deeds of grant and it has to be inferred from the contents of the document whether it is at the same time a *berāt* or not.

According to the dimension of the grant, the *berāt* has simpler or more elaborate variants, but the *berāt* is always written in *dīwān* style and the structural elements, as well as their order are usually the same. After the *daʿwet* and *tughra* standing outside the text, the text may begin with two formulas: one is more ceremonial: *nishān-i sherif-i ʿālīshān-i sulṭānī ..... ḥükmü oldur ki* "the high and noble sultan's emblem ... whose order reads as follows", the other is more simple: *sebeb-i taḥrīr-i ḥurūf oldur ki* "the cause of the writing of this document is as follows". In the ceremonial variant the sovereign expresses in a phraseology appropriate to Persian style that owing to his power received from God, he considers it his duty to reward his zealous subjects, and therefore, starting with an exactly fixed day, he charges a certain subject of his (mentioned by name) with a certain office or service or endows him with possessions herewith. If the office or service was connected with the enjoyment of certain estates (and most of the cases were such), then these were enumerated (*dhikr u sharḥ ve beyān olunur*). This enumeration is externally the most prominent part of the text, in *siyāḳat* script, but written with the ordinary Arabic numerals, forming a separate section in the document. This is followed by the proper admonition to the inhabitants concerned, to recognise the person in question as *ṣu-bashî*, *sandjaḳbegi*, etc. and as a conclusion the usual phrase of the sultan's orders: "let everybody acknowledge these and give credence to the imperial emblem, the *tughra*". In some cases the *berāt* has no date, in others it has, in a type of writing different from that of the document, written by another hand, by the so-called *taʾrikhdji ḳalemi*, the recording office called "dating department". At the bottom of the document, in the lower left-hand corner of the paper can be read the place of issue (*bi-maḳām* or, when the Sultan was in the field, *bi-yurt*).

A certain fee had to be paid for drawing up a *berāt* (*resm-i berāt*). The official rate for this is, to the best of our knowledge, not known. According to numerous known instances, with grants of smaller value it varied between 1 and 3 per cent. (see Laszló Velics and Ernő Kammerer, *A magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, Vols. i-ii, Budapest 1886 and 1893).

It can be stated from Persian deeds of grant, of which fewer are known (Makar Khubča, *Persidskoe firiakî i ukazî Muzeya Gruzii*, i, Tiflis 1949; B. S. Puturidze, *Gruzinopersidskie istoričeskie dokumentî*, Tiflis 1955; A. D. Papasiyak, *Persidskie dokumentî Matekadaraka*, i, Erivan 1956) that they consist of the same structural elements and for the most part of much the same phrases as the Turkish *berāt*, but the word *berāt* does not occur in them and, when used in Persian, has not the same meaning as in Turkish [see also BARĀʾA].

Bibliography: For information about the *berāt* see: L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1928, XLVI-XLVII, Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Tuğra ve pençeler*, *Belleten* no. 17/18, Ankara 1941; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin Saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 284; *IA*, ii, 523-524; Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arsivi*, Ankara 1955. Texts of *berāts* were published (on the basis of texts of *inshāʾ* books) by Aḥmed Ferīdūn in *Münsheʾāt al-Salāṭīn*; Friedrich Kraelitz, *TOEM* vol. v, 246; with facsimile Franz Babinger: *Le Monde Oriental* XIV (1920), 115, L. Fekete, *op. cit.*; L. Kulisch, *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin, Jg. xli, Abt. ii, Westasiatische Studien*, 125; Gibb and Bowen, vols. 1 and 2, 1950-7, index.
(L. Fekete)

BERĀTLÎ, *i.e.*, holder of a *berāt*, a name given in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to certain non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who held *berāts* conferring upon them important commercial and fiscal privileges. These *berāts* were distributed by the European diplomatic missions, in abusive extension of their rights under the capitulations. Originally intended for locally recruited consular officers and agents, they were sold or granted to growing numbers of local merchants, who were thus able to acquire a privileged and protected status. The Ottoman authorities attempted to curb this traffic, and at the end of the century Selim III sought to compete with the European consuls by himself issuing *berāts* to local Christian and Jewish merchants. In return for a fee of 1500 piastres, these *berāts* conferred the right to trade with Europe, together with important legal, fiscal, and commercial privileges and exemptions. These grants, enabling Ottoman *dhimmīs* to compete on more or less equal terms with foreign (*musta'min*) merchants, created a new privileged class, known as the *Awrupa tudjdjārî*. In this class the Greeks, thanks to their maritime skills and opportunities, were able to win a position of preeminence, which was reinforced by the advantages of the neutral Ottoman flag during part of the Napoleonic wars. Early in the 19th century the system was extended to Muslim merchants, who for a fee of 1200 piastres could obtain a *berāt* of membership of the analogous guild of the *Khayriyye Tudjdjārî*. The number who availed themselves of this offer was, however, very limited. Both terms and guilds fell into desuetude after the *Tanẓīmāt*.

Bibliography: Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 129-30; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 675-689; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlügü*, Istanbul 1946 ff., i, 115-7 and 780-3; Gibb and Bowen I/i 310-1.
(B. Lewis)

BERBER (Barbar): (1) Tribal territory. The name originally signified the territory of the Mīrafāb (Mayrafāb), an Arabic-speaking tribe claiming kinship with the Djaʿliyīn. It extended on both banks of the Nile from the Fifth Cataract (lat. 18° 23′ N.) to the river ʿAṭbarā. The Mīrafāb included both riverain cultivators and semi-nomads. The ruler (*makk*) was a vassal of the Fundj sultan of Sinnār. On the death of a *makk*, the sultan nominated his successor from the ruling family of Timsāḥ. He also levied, at intervals of four or five years, a tribute of gold, horses and camels. Burckhardt (1814) describes the southernmost portion of Mīrafābī territory as forming a small separate kingdom, known as Raʾs al-Wādī, under a member of the Timsāḥ family. Berber was an important trading-centre. A route from Upper Egypt across the Nubian Desert here reached the Nile, and caravans going to

Egypt from Sinnār and Shandī passed through Berber. The trade of Dongola found an outlet through Berber but by the early 19th century the Dongola-Berber route across the Bayūḍa Desert was dangerous and little used. Trade with Suakin and al-Tāka (the region around modern Kasala) was slight owing to the predatory Bedja and Bishārīn tribes. The transit dues levied on Egyptian caravans provided most of the *makk*'s revenues; the Mīrafāb paid him no taxes on land or produce, although they provided the tribute levied by Sinnār. Caravans coming from the south (*i.e.*, Fundj territory) paid no dues, although they made presents to the *makk*. The trading-connections of Berber resulted in the settlement of Danāḳla, ʿAbābda and other strangers. The ʿAbābda served as guides and protectors of caravans crossing the Nubian Desert. The last *makk*, Naṣr al-Dīn, is reported to have sought the assistance of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha to regain his throne; certainly he welcomed the arrival of the Turco-Egyptian army on 5 March 1821.

(2) Province. During the Turco-Egyptian period the Mīrafābī territory formed part of the province of Berber, which extended from Hadjar al-ʿAsal (lat. 16° 24′ N.) nothwards to Abū Ḥamad on the right bank and Kurtī on the left bank, and included the adjacent deserts and their nomads. The extension of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule over the Bedja, resulting in the opening of a permanent trade-route with Suakin, increased the prosperity of the provincial capital. The last khedivial governor was the ʿAbbādī notable, Ḥusayn Pasha Khalīfa, who was endeavouring to repress Mahdist activities when Gordon arrived as governor-general in February 1884. Gordon's attempts to establish friendly relations with the Mahdī and his indiscreet disclosure of the intended evacuation of the Sudan weakened resistance. In April 1884 the Mahdī commissioned Muḥammad al-Khayr ʿAbd Allāh Khūdjalī to lead the *djihād* in Berber, and in May the provincial capital was taken, leaving Gordon isolated in Khartoum.

Mahdist Berber was administered by a military governor and had a provincial garrison and treasury. The decline of commerce irritated the inhabitants but a precarious trade continued with Upper Egypt and Suakin, the customs dues from which formed a source of provincial revenue. The last Mahdist governor, Muḥammad al-Zākī ʿUthmān, after appealing in vain for help against the Anglo-Egyptian advance, evacuated the provincial capital which was occupied by Anglo-Egyptian forces in September 1897. After the reconquest, Berber was reconstituted within narrower boundaries than the pre-Mahdist province and was subsequently combined with Dongola and Ḥalfā to form the present Northern Province.

(3) Town. Berber as the name of a town was apparently unknown before the Turco-Egyptian period. Bruce (1772) speaks of "Gooz" (*i.e.*, Ḳūz al-Fundj) as the capital of Berber. This place was much decayed at the time of Burckhardt's visit (1814), when the capital was a more northerly village called by him "Ankheyre". This may be an error for al-Mikhayrif, ("El Mekheyr" in Cailliaud), a name used for the provincial capital under the Turco-Egyptians. Al-Mikhayrif was abandoned after the Mahdist conquest and the modern town of Berber lies further north, on the site of the Mahdist camp. Since the Reconquest Berber has declined in importance. The provincial head-quarters was transferred in 1905 to al-Dāmir, while the modern railway-town of ʿAṭbarā has superseded it as a centre of communications.

Bibliography: J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 207-258; N. Shoucair (Shuḳayr), *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903, i, 87-90; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 53-56, 267-270 (with source-references). A valuable unpublished report by Ḥusayn Pasha Khalīfa on the fall of Berber is in the Sudanese archives in Khartoum, Cairint 1/8, 36.

(P. M. Holt)

BERBERĀ, the port and former capital of the British Somaliland Protectorate, lying in 10°26′ North lat. and 45°02′ long. The *Periplus*, Ptolemy, and Cosmas give the name βαρβαρικὴ ἤπειρος or βαρβαρία to the coast of the Land of Frankincense. The town itself may be Μαλάω ἐμπόριον. The older Arab geographers write of the land of Berberā, the Gulf of ʿAden being *Baḥr Berberā* or *al-Khalīdj al-Berberī*. The inhabitants are known as βάρβαροι, Berbera, or Berābir. They are Somali [*q.v.*] and the people whom Yāḳūt (iv, 602) describes as barbarous negroes, amongst whom Islām had penetrated, living between the Zandj and the Ḥabash. Ibn Saʿīd (died 1286) who seems to be first to mention the town of Berberā, describes them as Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records that they are Shāfiʿī which they are today. The name Sōmāli first occurs in an Ethiopic hymn in the reign of the Negus Yesḥāḳ (1414-29) and frequently in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (1540-50).

Berberā's original site is Bandar ʿAbbās now a burial ground to the East of the present town. Amongst its tombs are those of three *sayyids* said to have been concerned with the foundation of Bandar ʿAbbās as other Arabian proselytisers founded Zaylaʿ and Maḳdishū. Traditionally the town was contemporary with ʿAmūd and Aw Barre further to the West. It formed part of the Muslim state of Adal (sometimes based on Zaylaʿ, [*q.v.*]) which, founded in the 9/10th centuries, reached its zenith in the 14th century and rapidly declined after Imām Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī (1506-43)'s 16th century conquest of Abyssinia. While the Abyssinian armies were recovering their losses with Portugese aid, Berberā was sacked in 1518 by Saldanha. In the 17th century, with Zaylaʿ, it became a dependency of the *sharīfs* of Mukhā. The first British-Sōmāli treaty was signed in 1827, two years after the Mary Ann had been plundered off Berberā. With ʿAli Sharmarke (Sōmāli Habar Yūnis), governor of Zaylaʿ, Britain signed a treaty in 1840 to secure harbouring rights for vessels of the East India Company. He was British Agent at Berberā when Burton was attacked in 1855. Travellers in the 19th century describe Berberā as a poverty-stricken collection of huts with a population, in the hot months, of as little as 8,000. From October to March, however, during the north-east Monsoon, the port was open to vessels from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India, bringing imports of dates, cloth, rice, and metals etc., and exporting slaves, livestock, ghee and skins, and the town sometimes contained as many as 40,000 persons.

Berberā was occupied in 1875 by the Egyptians who withdrew nine years later during the Mahdist rebellion in the Sudan when Britain acquired Zaylaʿ and Berberā. Treaties were signed with the Gadabūrsi (1884) and the Habar Awal (1884 and 1886) clans. In 1901 Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdīlle Ḥassān [*q.v.*] (the 'Mad Mullah') of the Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīḳa* began his *djihād* against the colonial powers. The administration of the interior was abandoned in 1908, and gradually resumed about 1912.

In Burton's time Berberā was dominated by the Habar Awal ʿAyyāl Aḥmad who were still in 1912 receiving a subsidy of 10,000 Rs. annually. With a population today rarely less than 30,000 most of whom are Habar Awal ʿIse Mūse, the town is the headquarters of Berberā District. It is the centre for the Protectorate of the Ḳādiriyya *ṭariḳa* with a *maḳām* for Sayyid ʿAbd Al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, and of the Somali Youth League nationalist party. A local Government Council was started in 1953, and the harbour is being developed.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, (ed. Paris), i, 231-33; Yāḳūt, i, 100, ii, 966 ff., iv, 602; Al-Dimashḳī (ed. Mehren), 162; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (ed. Reinaud), 158 ff.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery), ii, 180; Shihāb al-Dīn, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (ed. and trans. R. Basset, 1897); R. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London 1856, 407-440; G. Ferrand, *Les Çomalis*, Paris 1903, 109-112; R. E. Drake-Brockman, *British Somaliland*, London 1912, 31-39; A. T. Curle, in *Antiquity* (Sept. 1937), 315-327; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, *passim*. (I. Lewis)

BERBERI, name given to the eastern Hazāra inhabiting the mountainous region of central Afghānistān between Kābul and Harāt; in Īrān, the region of Mashhad, Balūčistān (near Quetta), and in the S.S.R. of Turkmenistān, the oasis of Kushka (district of Maki) [see HAZĀRA]. (Ed.)

BERBERS, the name by which are commonly designated the populations, who, from the Egyptian frontier (Sīwa [*q.v.*]) to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the great bend of the Niger, speak—or used to speak before their arabicisation—dialects (or rather local forms) of a single language, Berber. This term is probably an abusive or contemptuous epithet, used in Greek (*Barbaroi*) and in Latin (*Barbari*) as well as in Arabic (*Barbar*, singular *Barbarī*, pl. *Barābir*, *Barābira*), and does not constitute a national name, as some people (cf. P. H. Antichan, *La Tunisie*, 1884, 3) maintain (cf. the toponymics Berber in Nubia and Berberā in Somaliland; see G. S. Colin, *Appellations données par les Arabes aux peuples hétéroglosses*, in *GLECS*, vii, 93-6). The term *amazigh/amahagh* (and var.), pl. *imazighən/imuhagh* (and var.) may be considered as designating the Berbers in general, though they themselves, lacking as they do all sense of community, usually employ their tribal names when referring to themselves or have otherwise more or less willingly accepted foreign designations (Kabyles, Chaouia, etc.). The term *amazigh* has the meaning of "free man" (see however T. Sarnelli, *Sull'origine del nome Imâzîĝen*, in *Mémorial André Basset*, Paris 1957, 131-138) and is still employed over a fairly extensive area. The feminine *tamazight* (*tamazikht*)/*tamahaḳḳ* (and var.) is used there to designate the Berber language.

The only general work on the Berbers is the small but excellent popular account by G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1957.

I. — History

a) Origins

The language is at present the only criterion which will serve to distinguish the Berbers, who, from the anthropological point of view, reveal morphological characteristics which are too varied, indeed too irreconcilably opposed, to permit us to speak of a homogeneous Berber race, whilst, from the political point of view, they have always been too divided to constitute a truly distinct nation. In spite of the relative abundance of prehistoric remains discovered in the immense territory conveniently called "Barbary", in spite of the epigraphic documents and the works of Greek, Latin and Arab authors, a whole portion of the history of this obviously composite people is still unknown to us. It would be useless to deny that the origin of the Berber language—the unity of which, moreover, is a relative matter (see section V below)—remains a mystery for us and that to locate, therefore, the cradle of the men who speak it remains an impossible task. However, on this absorbing subject, bibliography is by no means lacking, and, many hypotheses, sometimes presented as certainties, have been put forward concerning the origins of the Berbers. Classical authors consider them abound variously as autochtonous, oriental or Aegean. The Arabs usually consider them as orientals, Canaanites or Ḥimyarites, and this latter hypothesis has recently been supported by cogent arguments (Helfritz). The Canaanite origin has been revived by some modern authors (Antichan, Daumas, Slouschz), whilst for others the Berbers are autochtonous (Carette), with an admixture of Asian blood, especially Phoenician (Fournel, Mercier); some people, usually amateurs, even go so far as to reconstruct the ancient population of Barbary in all its elements (Rinn, *Les origines berbères*, Algiers 1889; Col. de Lartigue, *Monographie de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904) and to establish bold relationships with the Celts, Basques and Caucasian peoples (Comm. Cauvet, *Les Origines caucasiennes des Touareg*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Alger.* 1925; idem, *La Formation celtique de la nation targuie*, *ibid.*, 1926), or even with the indigenous populations on the other side of the Atlantic (idem, *Les Berbères en Amérique*, Algiers 1930). Anthropology is at a loss and the problem is not simplified by the existence of fair Berbers. The best qualified scholars are reserved in their opinion and generally consider that various elements coming from the south, the east and perhaps the north were added to a basic population rather similar to that which occupied the northern shores of the Mediterranean, but that this occurred at too remote a period for us to be able to date the various migrations. In any event, all these are no more than hypotheses; only linguistic data may perhaps enable us to solve the mystery of Berber origins, which, in the middle of the 20th century, remains complete.

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Paris 1929, 6 ff.; A. C. Haddon, *Les Races humaines*, Paris 1930, 66 ff.; V. Piquet, *Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord*[3], Paris 1931, 3 ff.; E. Leblanc, *Le Problème des Berbères*, 1931; H. Helfritz, *Le Pays sans ombre*, Paris 1936, 53 ff.; Essad Bey, *Allah est grand!*, Paris 1937, 262; E. F. Gautier, *L'Afrique blanche*, Paris [1939], 170; Gen. Brémond, *Berbères et Arabes. La Berbérie est un pays européen*, Paris 1942 (to be used with reserve); H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 76 ff.; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*[2], i, Paris 1951; L. Balout, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord. Essai de chronologie*, Paris 1955; R. Vaufrey, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, i, *Le Maghreb*, Paris [1955].

(Ch. Pellat)

b) Before Islam

All that can be said for certain is that the Berbers had been established in Northern Africa from a remote period. The classical historians and geographers refer to them under different names, which have not persisted as they were certainly not used by the peoples concerned: Nasamonians and Psylli occupying Cyrenaica and Tripolitania; Garamantians leading a nomadic existence in the Sahara; Machlyans, Maxyans populating the Tunisian Sahel; Numidians living in the eastern Maghrib; Getulians defending the desert borders and the high plateaux; and lastly Moors, spread over the central Maghrib and the furthest Maghrib. The establishment of foreign colonies, Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek, only had a limited influence on all these populations, except perhaps in the immediate vicinity of Carthage. They were divided into numerous rival tribes, which were, however, capable of uniting briefly against the foreigners, though never to the point of forming powerful and lasting states. At the time of the Punic wars, however, whilst anarchy persisted in the East, the beginnings of political organisation (creation of the kingdoms of the Massylae, the Masaesylae and of Mauritania) can be observed in the centre and the west. The genius of Masinissa, bolstered by the support of Rome, permitted this prince to unite the whole of Numidia under his rule and to create, in a few years, a kingdom comprising all the Berber populations from the Moulouya to the Syrtes. But this kingdom had but an ephemeral existence; it disappeared in 46 B.C. and Eastern Numidia became a Roman province. A few years later the kingdom of Numidia was reconstituted and became a simple Roman protectorate. Still shorter was the life of the kingdom of Mauritania, created by Augustus in 17 A.D. in favour of Juba II, and transformed into a Roman province as from the year 42.

Rome's dominion in Africa lasted until the 5th century of the Christian era. In this period of time, the Berbers, whilst assimilated in the Province of Africa and in Numidia, were hardly changed in the mountainous areas, on the high plateaux, on the confines of the Sahara and in Mauritania. For the most part the Romans were content to impose on them the obligation of paying tribute and providing auxiliary troops, leaving the administration of the tribes to the local chieftains (*principes, praefecti, reguli*). The Berber spirit of independence was by no means extinguished; it showed itself at times in risings, led by more or less romanised natives, such as Tacfarinas (17-29 A.D.), and at times in attacks by the desert peoples or by the barely civilised tribes of the interior. Such were the attacks led by the Nasamonians and the Garamantians during the reigns of Augustus and Domitian; the insurrections of the Moors during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus and Commodus; of the Getulians during the period of military anarchy; the rising of the Quinquegentians (Kabyles of the Djurdjura) at the end of the 3rd century. As Roman authority progressively declined, there was an increasingly energetic reaction on the part of the Berbers, who affirmed their particularism by the adoption of heterodox doctrines, as for example Donatism, so that the religious quarrels which desolated Africa in the 4th century are, from many points of view, racial wars. The rising of the "Circumcelliones" appears to have been a kind of Berber Jacquerie. Revolts, such as those of Firmus (372-75) and Gildon (398) provide further testimony of the effervescence of the native populations. But, as previously, the Berbers were unable to ally themselves against the common enemy and to take his place. Their hostility to the Romans merely made the Vandal conquest easier. Like the Romans, these Germanic invaders were obliged to take the Berbers into account. Though Gaiseric succeeded in restraining them by enrolling them in his armies, his successors had to maintain a constant struggle against them. Mauritania, Kabylia, the Aurès and Tripolitania retained their independence. The Byzantines who, after defeating the Vandals, remained the masters of North Africa for a century (531-642), were no more fortunate. Indigenous chieftains such as Antalas in Byzacene and Yabdas in the Aurès, offered such resistance to Solomon, the governor sent by Justinian, that he had great difficulty in surmounting it. After the death of this general, killed in an expedition organised against the Levatians (Luwāta [*q.v.*]) of Tripolitania, the situation in Byzantine Africa became very critical. John Troglita was only able to stop the invasion of the Luwāta with the assistance of the Berbers of the Aurès. But Byzantine authority was not recognised by all the indigenous populations. Outside Byzacene, the former Province of Africa (Tunisia) and the northern part of the province of Constantine, the coastal towns and some strongholds in the interior, the Berbers were everywhere independent. At that time they formed three groups: 1—in the East, the Luwāta (Hawwāra, Awrīgha, Nafzāwa, Awraba) extending over Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, the Djarīd, the Aurès; 2—in the West, the Ṣanhādja scattered throughout the central Maghrib and the furthest Maghrib (Kutāma in Little Kabylia, Zwāwa in Great Kabylia, Zanāta on the Algerian littoral between Kabylia and Chelif, Ifren from Chélif to Moulouya, Ghumāra in the Rif, Maṣmūda on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, Gezūla (Djazūla [*b.v.*]) in the High Atlas, Lemṭa in Southern Morocco, Ṣanhādja "with the *lithām*" leading a nomadic existence in the western Sahara); 3—the Zanāta spaced out along the borders of the plateaux, from Tripolitania to the Djabal ʿAmūr, and extending progressively towards the central Maghrib and the furthest Maghrib. (G. Yver*)

Bibliography: The basic work is that of S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28; see also the historical works quoted in the *bibliography* of the articles *Algeria*, *Morocco*, *Tunisia*, as well as the *bibliography* of the preceding section, and Dureau de la Malle, *L'Algérie*, Paris 1852; Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896; S. Gsell, *Textes relatifs à l'Afrique du Nord*: *Hérodote*, Alger-Paris 1916; P. Monceaux, *Histoire*

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c) After Islam

The arrival of the Arabs scarcely changed the previous situation. Their first expeditions were, in reality, no more than raiding expeditions and left no traces other than the havoc wrought by the Muslim bands. It is true that the founding of al-Ḳayrawān (50/670) provided the Arabs with a permanent base of operations, but the expeditions of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] across the Maghrib were more like raids than an actual conquest. The towns still occupied by the Byzantines remained inaccessible to the Muslim leader, as did the mountain *massifs*, where he would have been unable to overcome the inhabitants. In fact so little were they under control that one of their leaders, Kusayla [*q.v.*], having surprised and killed ʿUḳba at Tahūdha, expelled the Arabs from Ifrīḳiya and formed a Berber kingdom comprising the Aurès, the Southern part of the present-day Department of Constantine and most of Tunisia (68-71/687-90). However Kusayla was unable to hold his position for long and, in spite of the resistance of the Berbers of the Aurès, symbolised by the legendary personage of the "Kāhina" [*q.v.*], the Muslims finally emerged victorious at the end of the 1st/7th century. The conversion of the Berbers to Islam, initiated by ʿUḳba without great success, took place at the beginning of the following century. This was accomplished less by conviction than by interest, for the Arab generals had the idea that the natives would enrol in their armies in hopes of booty and thus be won over to their religion. The Berbers formed the nucleus of the armies which, under the command of Arab or even Berber leaders like Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*], in a few years completed the subjugation of the Maghrib and, in less than half a century, brought about the conquest of Spain.

Harmonious relations, however, did not long prevail between Arabs and Berbers. The latter complained of having been poorly rewarded for their services and, in spite of the fact that they were Muslims, of being treated more like inferiors than equals. And so, having first broken away from orthodox Islam and embraced Khāridjī doctrines (see below, section III), they rose against the Arabs. The movement began in the West (122/740), at the instigation of a man of the Maṭghāra, Maysara [*q.v.*], and subsequently, in spite of his death at the hands of his own followers, prevailed throughout the whole Maghrib and even spread into Spain. The Arabs suffered disastrous defeats, like that of Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] in 123/741; they were expelled from al-Ḳayrawān, which was sacked by the Warfadjdjūma, followers of the Ṣufrite doctrines (139/756); then the Nawwāra (Ibāḍīs), led by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], defeated the Warfadjdjūma and formed an Ibāḍī state extending over Tripolitania, Tunisia and the eastern part of Algeria. For a while the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph was abolished in Africa. But the Berbers, continuously divided amongst themselves, were incapable of profiting from their success. The destruction of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb's army by troops from Syria restored Ifrīḳiya to the Arabs (144/761). Forty years of sanguinary struggles and innumerable engagements (300 according to Ibn Khaldūn) enabled them to re-establish their control over the eastern Maghrib. The rest of the country eluded them. A number of states, governed by chieftains of Arab origin, but inhabited by Berbers, for the most part heretics, not recognising the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, came into being in various places. Such were the kingdom of Tāhart (144-296/761-908) founded by the Imām Ibn Rustam with the survivors of the Ibāḍites from the East who had taken refuge in the central Maghrib [see RUSTAMIDS]; that of Sidjilmāssa [*q.v.*] where the Banū Midrār reigned (155-366/771-977); that of Tlemcen [*q.v.*] founded by Abū Ḳurra, chief of the Banū Ifren; that of Nakūr [*q.v.*] in the Rif; the state of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] on the Atlantic coast; finally, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the kingdom of Fās, founded by Idrīs I, a descendant of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, with the help of Berber tribes (Miknāsa, Sadrāta, Zwāgha). Only the semi-independent dynasty of the Aghlabids (184-296/800-909) recognised the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsids; they found among the Berbers soldiers for the conquest of Sicily, but had to suppress many revolts by the indigenous populations of Tripolitania, southern Tunisia, the Zāb and the Hodna.

Berber opposition to the Arabs remained, in fact, as inveterate as ever; it was even sufficiently strong to ensure the triumph of Shīʿī doctrines in the Maghrib, in spite of the fact that they were radically opposed to the Khāridjī doctrines embraced by the Berbers in the preceeding century. The Kutāma provided the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] with the soldiers who fought the Aghlabids and founded the Fāṭimid power for the benefit of the *mahdī* ʿUbayd Allāh (297/910). The Fāṭimids, it is true, did not succeed in imposing their rule on the whole of the Berbers. Though they succeeded in suppressing the Imāmate of Tāhart, they were unable to prevent the Idrīsids from maintaining themselves in the furthest Maghrib; they did not obtain the submission of the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta who, out of hatred for the Fāṭimids, had placed themselves under the patronage of the Umayyads of Spain; finally, they had to combat the revolt of the Khāridjīs led by Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] "the man with the donkey" (332-36/943-47), a revolt which endangered their power and which they only succeeded in suppressing with the help of the Ṣanhādja of the central Maghrib. In addition, at an early date, the Fāṭimids turned their attention towards the East and, once the Caliph al-Muʿizz had established himself in Egypt (362/973), they lost interest in the Maghrib. North Africa was once again disputed between the various Berber tribes, none of which was sufficiently strong to dominate the others. In the East, the Ṣanhādja, taking the place of the Kutāma, upheld the authority of the Zīrids [*q.v.*], governors of Ifrīḳiya and Tripolitania (362-563/973-1167); in the West, following the disappearance of the Idrīsids, power passed into the hands of the Zanāta, at first nothing more than local governors on behalf of the Umayyads of Spain, but later independent princes at Fās until the advent of the Almoravids (455/1063). At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Zīrid state disintegrated; in the centre of the Maghrib there was founded the

Ḥammādid kingdom [q.v.], the rulers of which recognised the authority of the Caliph of Baghdād and took as their capital firstly the Ḳalʿa and then Bougie (Bidjāya; 405-547/1014-1152). The anarchy resulting from the internecine Berber struggles was further complicated, in the middle of the century, by the invasion of the Hilālī tribes, which had as an immediate result the devastation of Ifrīḳiya and part of the Maghrib, and which entailed, as a long-term consequence, a profound modification of the ethnography of North Africa.

However, just as the disorder seemed to reach its climax, two Berber dynasties, that of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] and that of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], both proclaiming reforming religious doctrines, succeeded in establishing their temporary supremacy in North Africa. The triumph of the Almoravids was that of the Lamtūna, who until then had led a nomadic existence between southern Morocco and the banks of the Senegal and the Niger. Converted to Islam in the 3rd/9th century, they had for a long time been only nominal Muslims. They had been instructed in orthodox doctrine and practices by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn (d. 451/1059) and resolved to carry the faith to the Blacks of the Sudān and to the ignorant populations of southern Morocco. Their conquests speedily passed beyond these limits. Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar founded Marrākush (462/1070) and Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (Tāshufīn) within a few years subdued the whole of Morocco and the central Maghrib as far as the borders of the Ḥammādid kingdom, halted the progress of the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula by the victory of Zallāḳa [q.v.] (479/1086), dethroned the Andalusian amīrs, and became the sole master of the whole of Muslim Spain. The decline of the Almoravids was as rapid as their success. Exhausted by their own victories and by contact with a higher civilisation, the Berbers of the Sahara rapidly disappeared. To replace them, the Almoravid Caliphs were obliged to have recourse to the use of Christian mercenaries, whilst they themselves, unmindful of Islamic orthodoxy, scandalised strict Muslims by their conduct. Won over to the unitarian doctrine (*muwaḥḥid*) by the preaching of Ibn Tūmart [q.v.], the Maṣmūda of the Atlas rose against them. Under the command of a man of genius, a Berber of the Kūmiyya, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [q.v.], they overcame the Almoravids without great difficulty (541/1147). The Empire founded by the Almohads was still more extensive than that of their predecessors. Though it is true that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin did not succeed in subduing the whole of Spain, on the other hand he destroyed the Ḥammādid kingdom of Bougie and the Zīrid kingdom of Ifrīḳiya, expelled the Christians from the ports which they had occupied, and made himself master of all the country between Syrte and the Atlantic. Thus a great Berber Empire extended over the whole of North Africa; however it was not long before it began to crumble. The Almohad Caliphs were not more successful than the Almoravids in remaining faithful to orthodoxy; one of them, al-Maʾmūn [q.v.], even went so far as publicly to curse the memory of Ibn Tūmart, and dealt rigorously with the faithful. The rivalries of the various Berber splinter groups was an additional factor which contributed to the disintegration of the empire created by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. The quarrels of the Maṣmūda and the Kūmiyya led to constant bloodshed at the Moroccan court; the tribes of the central Maghrib supported the enterprises of the Banū Ghāniya [q.v.], or attempted to make themselves independent. A century after the death of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the last of his line, Abū Dabbūs, reduced to the rôle of bandit-chief, met his end in obscurity (668/1269). The Maghrib was already divided among new powers, the Marīnids [q.v.] installed at Fās, the ʿAbd al-Wādids [q.v.] at Tlemcen (Tilimsān), the Ḥafṣids [q.v.] at Tunis. Not one of these new dynasties was capable of imposing its supremacy on the others, or even of making its own subjects respect it. In Morocco, the tribes of the mountain regions were in a state of constant revolt against the Marīnids; in the central Maghrib, the Banū Wamānnū of the Ouarsenis, the Zwāwa of the Djurdjura, the Kabyles of the province of Constantine, and the populations of the Zāb and Djarīd, remained outside the authority of the sovereigns of Constantine, Bougie and Tunis; the same was true of the oases of the Jebel Nafūsa and the Aurès. The inability of the Berbers to organise themselves in a large State is conclusively demonstrated. It therefore becomes impossible to follow their history except by making a historical assessment of the rôles of the various tribes. The task, moreover, would be immensely complicated by the changes brought about as the result of the Hilālī invasion. In the plains and on the plateaux, the Berber populations intermingled with the Arabs; gradually they abandoned their language and customs and even lost their ancient name, replacing it by that of some personage from whom they traced their origin: they became arabicised. Other groups escaped this transformation because of the inaccessibility of their habitat, as for example those of the Aurès, Kabylia, the Rif and the Atlas; their ranks were swollen by refugees from many sources who sought asylum among them; finally some were driven back into the Sahara, so that from the 8th/14th century "the Berbers form a cordon on the frontier of the country of the Blacks similar to that formed by the Arabs on the confines of the two Maghribs and of Ifrīḳiya" (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, trans. de Slane, ii, 104). This disintegration was accompanied by a recession of Muslim civilisation. It would not be an exaggeration to say that a number of Berber groups reverted in a way to a state of semi-savagery, only retaining a few very rudimentary notions of Islam. In the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, their re-islamisation was the work of marabouts, presenting themselves for the most part as natives of southern Morocco, of the legendary Sāḳiyat al-Ḥamrā, which popular imagination pictures as a nursery of missionaries and saints. Such was the influence of these pious men that whole tribes today consider themselves as their descendants. Only a few rare groups avoided their influence. (G. YVER*)

Bibliography: The primary source is Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, 7 vol. (French trans. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, Algiers 1852-56, 4 vol.); to this should be added the other Arab historians of North Africa cited in the *bibliographies* of the articles ALGERIA, MOROCCO, TUNISIA, as well as: H. Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878; R. Basset, *Les Sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899; S. A. Boulifa, *Le Djurdjura à travers l'histoire*, Algiers 1925; E. F. Gautier, *Les Siècles obscurs*, Paris 1927; F. de la Chapelle, in *Hesp.*, 1930; E. Lévi-Provençal (ed.), *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge*, Rabat 1934; T. Lewicki, in *REI*, 1934; P. Amilhat, in *REI*, 1937; R. Montagne, *Les*

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II. — Distribution at present

At the present day, the Berbers, although without doubt constituting the basis of the population of North Africa, no longer form a homogeneous mass and one can at most take into account those of them who have retained the use of the Berber language; they would appear to amount to over 5,000,000 individuals. Many of them are in fact bilingual—even trilingual—but still more numerous are those who have lost—often deliberately—all memory of their origins as well as their customs and language, frequently providing themselves expressly with an Arab genealogy; in contrast, a few elements here and there lay claim to a Berber origin, though they have ceased to speak the language of their ancestors. Generally speaking, Berber has in fact always receded before the advance of Arabic, and recent events or those of the present day have tended to accentuate the narrowing of the area in which the old language is used; the disappearance of various Berber speaking pockets, especially in eastern Barbary, is a contemporary phenomenon, and it seems likely that the political situation in North Africa will continue in the immediate future to favour the extension of the domain of Arabic.

However, several considerable groups have persisted in the mountain *massifs* and in the desert, that is to say in those regions only superficially penetrated by the Arabs. They are linked together by pockets more or less close to one another, which remain as evidence of the older ethnic and linguistic pattern. In general terms, it may be said that the density of Berber groups increases from east to west. They are scattered over a vast area which extends from the Egyptian frontier (with Sīwa and Djarabub) to the Atlantic Ocean, from the cliff of Hombori, south of the Niger, to the Mediterranean.

Libya.—Various groups subsist in the mountains of the country of Barḳa, in the Djabal Ghuryān, Ifren, Nafūsa; they are also to be found in the oases of Awdjila, Soḳna, Timissā and, on the coast, at Zwara; some of the elements of the population of Awdjila and of Urfella, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, say they are Berbers although they speak Arabic (about 23% of the population in all).

Tunisia.—Six villages in the island of Djerba: Adjim, Guellala, Sedouikech, Elmai, Mahboubin and Sedghiane, to which must be added seven on the mainland: Tmagourt, Sened, Zraoua, Taoudjout, Tamezret, Chnini and Douiret, which are still partly Berber-speaking; these Berbers, many of whom spend a long time in the towns of the North, especially in Tunis, where they occupy positions of trust, are much attached to their dialect, which moreover serves them as a secret language (1% Berber-speaking in all).

Algeria.—Kabylia in the north and the Aurès in the south-east have been the two poles of Berber resistance; these regions are now only separated by a fairly narrow Arabic-speaking zone, up to Sétif. In the Algerian and Oranian Tell country, the groups only reach some importance in the mountain region of Blida and the Chélif (Ouarsenis, Djendel, Benī Menacer, Chenoua); finally, several groups appear along the Algero-Moroccan frontier (Benī Snous, near Tlemcen) (about 30% Berber speaking in all).

Morocco.—The geographical configuration of Morocco has been especially favourable to the survival of the Berber populations; though a number of tribes have relinquished the use of Berber, it nevertheless remains the language of the great groups of the Zanāta, Maṣmūda and Ṣanhādja in the Rif, the Middle, High and Anti-Atlas, as well as in the Sous. R. Montagne, *Vie Sociale*, 17, has estimated that the Arabs constitute from 10 to 15% of the population in Morocco, Arabicised Berbers from 40 to 45%, the remaining 40 to 45% being Berbers who cannot disclaim their origin.

Sahara.—In the Algerian and Moroccan Sahara, the oases of Oued Righ, Ouargla, Ngousa, the seven towns of the Mzab, the "ksours" of the Gourara, the Touat, the Tidikelt, of Figuig, of the Tafilalt, of the Dades; then in a very extensive zone in the shape of a triangle, between Ghadāmes in the North, Tombouctou in the south-west and Zinder in the south-east, including Ghat, Djanet and the Ahaggar, we have the various groups of Touareg [*q.v.*].

Berber is also spoken in Mauritania (Zenaga) by about 25,000 inhabitants (especially the Trārza); the Wada pocket uses Azer, a Soninké dialect mixed with Berber.

Diaspora.—Outside those zones roughly indicated above, attention must be drawn to the influx of the Berbers into the large towns of Morocco (Casablanca) and Algeria (Algiers), where, "detribalised" and lacking the control of their natural social group (see below section IV), they tend to form an impoverished proletariat, ready for anything. Outside Barbary, there are to be found in the Lebanon descendants of the Kutāma who arrived with the Fāṭimids and, in Damascus, Algerian Berbers who emigrated at the beginning of the conquest, or who rejoined the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] or his descendants. Some elements remained in various European countries after the second world war, and a few are even reported in America, but above all Metropolitan France has the largest number of Berbers; the majority of them are Kabyles, who have temporarily—or in some cases permanently—abandoned the barren soil of their homeland, seeking to find more fruitful means of livelihood abroad; these displaced persons also form a proletariat which finds it difficult to adapt itself to the conditions of life in the Metropolis.

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(G. Yver-[Ch. Pellat])

III. — Religion

In ancient times, the religion of the Berbers appears to have been divided into a multitude of local cults, corresponding to the tribal divisions. The objects of this cult, concerning which we only possess scanty and incomplete information, were doubtless natural objects: grottos, rocks, springs, rivers and mountains, to which must be added the celestial bodies, at least the sun, moon and some of the stars. The veneration accorded them still persists in some of the legends, beliefs, rites and religious ceremonies. In spite of their conversion to Islam and their deep feeling of belonging to the Islamic community, the Berbers have in fact retained a host of pagan practices, some of which have more or less been adapted to Islam, whilst others remain in direct opposition to Islamic precepts; these survivals are particularly apparent in agricultural rites and festivals (practices for obtaining rain, harvest rites, lighting bonfires, *ʿanṣra* [*q.v.*]), the concept of *baraka* [*q.v.*], the cult of saints etc.

It cannot be denied that from Punic times, various foreign divinities were not only borrowed, but were in fact assimilated to the national divinities (see H. Basset, *Influences puniques chez les Berbères*, in *RAfr.*, 1921). Judaism also obtained numerous proselytes, and even if it did not play the rôle which some claim for it, it was disseminated over the whole of North Africa; in fact, with the exception of the descendants of Jews expelled from Spain in the 9th/15th century, the majority of indigenous Jews are descended from proselytes pre-dating the appearance of Islam (see Slouschz, *Hebraeo-Phéniciens et Judéo-Berbères*, Paris 1909; M. A. Simon, *Le Judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique ancienne*, in *Rev. Hist. et Philos. Fac. théol. protestante de Strasbourg*, 1946; L. Voinot, *Pèlerinages judéo-musulmans du Maroc*, Paris 1948; P. Flamand, *Population israélite du Sud marocain*, in *Hesp.*, 1950, 363 ff.; idem, *Un Mellah en pays berbère*: *Demnate*, Paris 1952; idem, *Les Communautés israélites du Sud marocain*, thesis, Sorbonne 1957).

Judaism paved the way for Christianity which prospered in spite of the bitter struggle which it had to conduct against paganism and the internal quarrels which soon beset it; it will be sufficient to note that it afforded the Berbers an opportunity of grouping together against Roman rule and that they enthusiastically embraced heresies (Arianism, Donatism, etc.) opposed to the doctrine of the Church of Rome (see P. S. Mesnage, *Étude sur l'influence du Christianisme sur les Berbères*, Paris 1902; idem, *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, Algiers 1915; E. Albertini, *L'Afrique romaine*, 55 ff.; Dom Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris 1904; Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris 1900-23).

The same thing happened at the time of the Muslim conquest: it was only the name of their adversaries which had changed. We do not know in detail the history of the conversion of the Berbers to Islam, but tradition has it that they seceded twelve times and Islam only finally triumphed in the 6th/12th century; it was at this date that the last indigenous Christians disappeared, whilst Jewish communities survived down to our own day. At the beginning of the conquest, the converted Berbers professed the orthodox doctrine, the only one known to them; but their spirit of independence soon showed itself by their adoption of Khāridjī doctrines which put forward the most equalitarian ideas (see Ibāḍiyya, Khawāridj and the works of T. Lewicki, especially *Etudes ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Warsaw 1955, and *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen âge*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1957; see also Chikh Békri, *Le Kharijisme berbère*, in *AIEO, Alger*, 1957, 55-108). The clearest indication that religious doctrine little concerned them fundamentally is given by the fact that one party espoused the cause of the Shīʿīs, not only that of the Idrīsids of Fās, but even of those who had come under the influence of the Persian outlook and saw in the *imām* an incarnation of the Divinity. Thus it came about that alongside the Khāridjīs (Ṣufrīs and Ibāḍīs) there were the Fāṭimids, and that the Kutāma provided the main support for *mahdī* ʿUbayd Allāh. This tendency to turn to extremes was again in evidence when a puritan reaction brought about the triumph of Sunnī doctrines with the Lamtūna (Almoravids) of the Sahara, recently converted in the 5th/10th century; it was further emphasised with the Maṣmūda of the Atlas who founded the Almohad Empire and destroyed the remaining dissidents, Christians or Shīʿīs, with the exception of a few Khāridjī communities who were protected by mountains, the desert or the sea; it again made its appearance with the formation of the small Marabout states which arose in Morocco from the 5th/11th century onwards (see R. Montagne, *Vie sociale*, 22 ff.).

Among reactions against official Islam, two further attempts must be cited which aimed at creating a new religion in Morocco: in the Rif, in the 4th/10th century, the attempt of Ḥā-Mīm al-Muftarī [*q.v.*] and, on the Atlantic coast, that of Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf [*q.v.*].

After having provided a Father of the Church, Saint Augustine, born at Thagaste (Souk-Ahras), the Berbers under Islam only produced theologians who were adept in disputation, but no great intellects. Wherever Sunnī Islam triumphed, it was Mālikism which was adopted, and it continues to prevail in Barbary, though some Khāridjī communities (Ibāḍī) survive in the Djabal Nafūsa, at Djerba, in southern Tunisia and in the Mzab.

Bibliography: On the old religion of the Berbers and its survivals, there is copious bibliography and only the main works can be indicated: R. Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910 (extract from the *RHR*); L. Brunot, *Cultes naturistes à Sefrou*, in *Arch. Berb.*, 1918/2; H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc*, Algiers 1920; A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour la pluie*, in *XIVe Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905; idem, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935; L. Joleaud, *Gravures rupestres et rites de l'eau*, in *J. Soc. Africanistes*, 1933-4; Probst-Biraben, *Les Rites d'obtention de la pluie*, *ibid.*, 1932-3; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris 1895-9; F. Nicolas, *Les Industries de protection chez les Twareg de l'Azawagh* in *Hesp.*, 1938; Rahmani, *Le mois de mai chez les Kabyles*, Algiers 1935-9; idem, *Notes eth.*, Constantine 1933; Montet, Destaing, *Le Culte des saints en Af. du N.*, Paris; E. Destaing, *Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Benī-Snous*, in *RAfr.*, 1906; E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920; idem, *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie*, in *Hesp.*,

1921; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afr. du N.*, Algiers 1909; idem, *En Tribu*, Paris 1914; Dr. Foley, *Mœurs et médecine des Touareg de l'Ahaggar*, Algiers 1930; G. Marcy, *Origine et signification des tatouages des tribus berbères*, in *RHR*, 1930; E. Westermarck, *Midsummer customs in Morocco*, in *Folk-lore*, 1905; idem, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914 (French trans. F. Arin, Paris 1921); idem, *Ceremonies and beliefs connected with agriculture*, Helsingfors 1913; idem, *The Moorish conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, *ibid.*, 1916; idem, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926 (partial trans. R. Godet, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris 1935); J. Servier, *Jeux rituels et rites agraires des Berbères d'Algérie*, Sorbonne thesis 1955 (unpublished).—On Islam in Barbary: H. Doutté, *L'Islam algérien*, Algiers 1900; A. Bel, *La Religion musulmane en Berbérie*, i (only published), Paris 1938; G. H. Bousquet, *L'Islam maghrébin*, Algiers 1942. See also J. D. Pearson, *Index Islamicus, 1906-1955*, Cambridge 1958, nos. 12517-840 and 12841-13568 *passim*.

(R. Basset-Ch. Pellat)

IV. — Customs, Social and Political Organisation

Observers have all been struck by the character and usages of the Berbers, which differ in many respects from those of the Arabs, particularly as regards women, who, in general, enjoy a greater degree of freedom (see for example the "courts of love" among the Touareg (*ahal*), H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 288 ff.) and to a certain extent, greater respect (on women, see M. Gaudry, *La femme chaouia de l'Aurès*, Paris 1929; A. M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927-31; L. Bousquet-Lefèvre, *La femme kabyle*, Paris 1939; on matriarchy: G. Marcy, *Les vestiges de la parenté maternelle en droit coutumier berbère*, in *RAfr.*, 1941/3-4). As a rapid synthesis is made impossible by the great diversity which appears from one group to another, we shall limit ourselves to giving references to the large number of monographs and works of ethnography which have been devoted to North Africa.

The Berbers (except in the Mzab) are basically a rural population, leading a nomadic or sedentary existence. The nomads live in tents, of which the different types have been frequently described (see H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 221 ff.; E. Laoust, *L'Habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central*, in *Hesp.*, 1930 ff.); the sedentary population live in houses (see E. Laoust, *op. cit.*; A. Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hesp.*, 1950, 289 ff.) or even in majestic kasbas (*ḳaṣaba*) which in some respects recall the style of South Arabia (see H. Terrasse, *Kasbas berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis. Les Grandes architectures du Sud marocain*, Paris 1938; A. Paris, *Documents d'architecture berbère*, Paris 1925; K.A.C. Creswell, *A Bibliog. of Muslim Arch. in North Africa*, Paris 1954, *passim*).

One of the peculiarities of Muslim Barbary is the retention of customary law, which continues to be applied, either officially or unofficially [see *ʿāda*], both in Algeria and Morocco (for Tunisia, see G. H. Bousquet, *Note sur la survivance du droit coutumier berbère en Tunisie*, in *Hesp.*, 1952/1-2, 248-9). This custom (*ʿāda, ʿurf, izref, ittifāḳāt*) is essentially oral, but of recent years some tribes have felt the need to record in writing in Arabic and even in French, though rarely in Berber (see below section VI) some *ḳānūns*, simple lists of offences, with the scale of appropriate fines (imprisonment is unknown). Justice, based on custom, is dispensed, in civil and criminal matters, either by a kind of (individual) arbitrator, or by judicial *dj̲amāʿa*s which set themselves up as clandestine tribunals (for example in the Aurès subject to French law) or which in contrast have had a legal existence (as in Morocco since the famous dahir (*ẓahīr*) of May 16th 1930, called the "Berber dahir", which gave rise to numerous protests because it established customary tribunals). Needless to say, this law is not uniform and varies quite considerably from group to group; as a result of its lay origin and oral transmission it is subject to modification (see Hacoun-Campredon, *Etude sur l'évolution des coutumes kabyles*, Algiers 1921).

The social organisation of the Berbers also differs in many respects from that of the Arabs; it is based on the ties of blood, real or fictitious. The smallest social unit is the "hearth", a number of hearths among the sedentary people forming a village, and among the nomads a "douar" (*asun, tigəmmi*, etc.); several villages or "douars" form a division which is a state in miniature; the tribe groups several divisions together, but has less political personality; the tribal confederation only represents a temporary association required by especially grave circumstances, most frequently war.

The idea of relationship within the group has as its corollary the respect for a kind of collective morality, a constant solidarity between its members, who in particular perform a collective corvée, (*tiwizi*), ensure the safety of strangers to whom one of them has accorded his protection, own collective granaries (see agādir), etc.

The fact is, however, that their political organisation paradoxically reveals two diametrically opposed, but not incompatible, systems, which seems a further proof of the diversity of the ethnic elements combined under the name Berber: on the one hand, an aristocratic type, having a warrior nobility, a religious caste, a class of tributaries and finally the serfs; this is the régime prevailing among the Touareg, who are governed by an *aménokal* [*q.v.*], each tribe being placed under the authority of an *amg̲h̲ar* [*q.v.*]; on the other hand, in the rest of Barbary, we find a democratic type, with an elected assembly (*dj̲amāʿa, inflas, ayt arbʿin*) in which all power resides (legislative, judicial and executive); each assembly of a lower group delegates members to higher assemblies, but generally speaking, it is the *dj̲amāʿa* of the division which has most political weight. This democratic system usually results in a *de facto* oligarchy and does not impede the development of personal power, at least in those regions where the internal leagues (*leff* [*q.v.*]) group independent divisions together (and not just villages or parts of villages, as in Kabylia, the *ṣoffs* [*q.v.*]; R. Montagne (*Vie sociale*, 91 ff.) has pertinently analysed the stages in the development of this power of the temporal leaders, who have been called the "Lords of the Atlas".

Bibliography· For ethnography, in addition to the works already quoted in the preceeding section, see: Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, Paris 1864; Comm. Bissuel, *Les Touareg de l'Ouest*, Algiers 1888; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, Algiers 1908; A. Richer, *Les Touareg du Niger*, Paris 1924; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944 (with a very copious bibl.); C. Devaux, *Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera*, Marseilles-

Paris 1859; Masqueray, *De Aurasio monte*, Paris 1886; R. Basset, *Nedromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901; L. Voinot, *Le Tidikelt*, Oran 1909; Abès, *Les Izayan d'Oulmès*, in *Arch. Berb.*, i/4, 1916; idem, *Les Aït Ndhir*, ibid., ii/2, 1917; S. Biarnay, *Notes d'ethn. et de ling. nord-africaines*, Paris 1924; G. Marcy, *Les Aït Warain*, in *Hesp.*, 1929; R. Maunier, *Mélanges de sociol. nord-africaine*, Paris 1930; J. Bourrilly, *Eléments d'ethnographie marocaine*, Paris 1932.—On customary law· bibliography by H. Bruno, in *Rev. Algérienne*, 1920, i, 94 ff.; critical bibliography by G. H. Bousquet, in *Hesp.*, 1952, 508 ff.; to which should be added: G. H. Bousquet, *Le Droit coutumier des Aït Haddidou* ..., in *AIEO Alger*, 1956, 113-230; the two fundamental studies are, for Kabylia, Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*[2], Paris 1893, 3 vols., and for Morocco, G. Marcy, *Le Droit coutumier Zemmoûr*, Algiers-Paris 1949 (see also ʿĀDA).—On social and political organisation, in addition to the monographs quoted in the preceding sections: Masqueray, *Formation des cités* ..., Paris 1886; M. Mercier, *La Civilisation urbaine au Mzab*, Algiers 1923; R. Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères*, Paris 1930; idem, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; idem, *La Vie sociale et la vie politique des Berbères*, Paris 1931; F. Nicolas, *Notes sur la société et l'état des Touareg du Dinnik*, in *Bull. IFAN*, 1939, 579 ff.; V. Monteil, *Note sur Ifni et les Aït Ba-ʿamrān*, Paris 1948; idem, *Note sur les Tekna*, Paris 1948; J. Berque, *Les Seksawa, Recherches sur les structures sociales du Haut Atlas occidental*, Paris 1954; Ph. Marçais, in *Mémorial A. Basset*, 69-82. (CH. PELLAT)

V. — LANGUAGE

One cannot but envy the assurance with which René Basset, fifty years ago, painted a picture of the Berber language in this *Encyclopaedia*. By an inevitable process, research has produced questions in greater number than answers; some illusions have vanished. However, the balance-sheet of this half century is not negative: a mass of materials has been collected, their classification and analysis has been undertaken and sometimes fairly extensively developed; an attempt at a synthesis has even been made by André Basset, but he is cautious and is at pains to avoid taking hypothesis for established fact.

A. The historical problem

1. — History of the language: Berber is almost exclusively a spoken language, and its history, even in the recent period, is almost unknown owing to the lack of written documents. It is only in the 19th century that the texts collected orally from Berbers by Europeans start to become numerous. Indigenous documents are rare and of limited scope. Southern Morocco has produced manuscripts in Arabic script (cf. section VI) of which we only possess partial and out-of-date editions; moreover, the language of these works of religious edification, in spite of its undeniable interest, seems somewhat artificial. The Berber words and expressions cited by Arab authors have not received a systematic treatment. The best known and also the oldest are the phrases of the 12th century published by E. Lévi-Provençal in his *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928 (cf. G. Marcy, in *Hesp.*, 1932, 61-77) and which appear to confirm the relative stability of the language. The Arabic texts have also preserved a number of Berber ethnic names, anthroponymics and toponymics which still remain to be studied.

The remains of Guanche, which was spoken in the Canary Islands up to the 17th century, are generally considered a Berber language. However after a very detailed investigation, J.-D. Wölfel only relates a part of the Guanche forms to Berber.

Further back than the Almohad period, the linguist finds no Berber documents properly so-called. The early centuries after the Arab conquest are even more "obscure" for him than for the historian. Antiquity confronts us with a number of very difficult problems. It has bequeathed us a documentation as mysterious as it is abundant on African dialects:

a) Over a thousand Libyan inscriptions have been published (cf. section VI). The alphabet used is known with fair accuracy, at least for the bilinguals, but the proposed interpretations show serious divergencies and are not convincing: Libyan has not been deciphered.

b) In the east and particularly in Tripolitania, a series of inscriptions in Latin characters has been discovered, whose meaning is unknown. One or two words are Latin, others can be explained by Punic, but the remainder has not been identified.

c) A host of African words, mostly proper names, are to be found scattered throughout the Punic, Greek and especially Latin inscriptions, as well as in the classical authors. Some of these words have been identified as Punic; the majority have only given rise to nebulous explanations.

Thus, little has been made of these old materials. Why is this the case? Very few research workers venture into this field and if they do so, it is generally in the course of other investigations or in the service of a different discipline. Moreover, the unity of the documents, scattered both in space and time, is problematical. The inscriptions of Tripolitania are of an early period. The Libyan ones come from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco and cover several centuries: the only one which is dated goes back to 139 B.C.; some appear to be contemporary with the Roman Empire; the majority cannot be dated at all. The onomastic material is even more dispersed: provided by texts ranging from Herodotus to the latest antiquity, it concerns the whole territory comprised between Egypt and the Atlantic. Such diverse evidence inevitably represents several stages of linguistic development, or even several languages. Its interpretation assumes that preliminary work has been done in listing and subjecting them to a critical examination; however, a general onomastic index is still awaited. In spite of the extraordinary diversity of this ancient material, the modern Berber dialects are frequently thought of as providing a miraculous key capable of unlocking all doors. Extensive use is made of the glossaries, but only in order to adduce isolated comparisons or erect a superstructure of conjectures, whereas a system of well established correspondences alone could afford proof. A direct connexion is postulated between Libyan and Berber, considered as two stages of the same language. This assumption is based on history, which discovers Berber populations in Africa from ancient times and concludes that the Berber language was already spoken there: but was it the only language? Is it really Berber that is concealed in the Libyan inscriptions? The parallels which are certain are rare; the similarity of the Libyan and Toureg scripts (cf. section VI) does not demonstrate that the languages are related; the difficulties encountered call for criticism. A. Basset has drawn

attention to the fact that the argument taken from history is negative. A. Picard is still more sceptical. This example of caution, little imitated as yet, is thus provided by Berber specialists. A comparative linguist and ethnologist like J. D. Wölfel, whilst grouping Libyan and Berber together, also hesitates to consider them as a single language. J. G. Février asks whether Libyan cannot be considered "as a kind of pre-Berber", but allows himself no reply. Such rational doubt is preferable to the illusion of knowledge; it neither entails relinquishing research nor the denial of any connexion between Libyan and Berber; it merely invites us not to forget that what constitutes a certainty for the historian only provides the linguist with a working hypothesis.

2. — Cognate or neighbouring languages: The comparison of Berber with other languages has still only produced rather slender results. Certain unduly fanciful attempts are no longer worth mentioning. The connexions proposed with Basque and Hausa have remained fragmentary. The opinion advanced by O. Rössler, according to which Berber is a Semitic language close to Akkadian, evokes an interest mixed with caution. The Hamito-Semitic theory, which places Berber in a group including Ancient Egyptian, the Cushitic languages of Abyssinia and the Semitic languages, appears to be the most fruitful. For Marcel Cohen, the name Hamito-Semitic by no means implies the existence of a "Hamitic" branch as opposed to the Semitic. The position occupied by each of the members within the family is still inadequately known. As early as 1844, Berber was considered by T. N. Newmann to be a "Hebreo-African" language. Certain similarities, both in the respective rôles played by consonants and vowels as well as in the nature and function of various morphological elements, justify the continued prosecution of research. Borrowings from other languages and reciprocal influences must be assessed, analogies specified and extended to vocabulary: *l'Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* published in 1947 by Marcel Cohen gives the impression that the connecting links between Berber and the other languages under consideration are rather strained.

In addition to these attempts at defining relationships, we must refer to the whole field of studies which may be termed "Mediterranean", as they concern the civilisation which flourished on the shores of the Mediterranean prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. Here vocabulary takes precedence over morphology: the aim is to determine a cultural community rather than to establish a linguistic affinity. The toponymics of ancient Africa and Berber, cited as a testimony of this remote period, are often invoked alongside Iberian, Basque etc. Thus it is that they are accorded a more or less important place in works devoted to the "Mediterranean substratum" (C. Battisti, V. Bertoldi etc.), to the non-Indo-European elements in Latin (G. Nencioni), to Sardinian (B. Terracini, M. L. Wagner), to the regions of the Alps and Pyrenees (J. Hubschmid) and more generally to the "Euro-African" civilisation (J. D. Wölfel).

In spite of the inevitable groping, the excesses and mistakes, research into these ticklish problems can no longer be ignored.

An even more urgent problem for North African dialectology is to determine precisely in what respects Berber amd Ma<u>gh</u>ribī Arabic have affected one another. It is a question of substratum or adstratum as the case may be. There is no lack of documents, but we have scarcely passed the stage of noting the most obvious features. The Berber dictionaries summarily indicate certain borrowings from Arabic. Some works by Arabists (L. Brunot, G. S. Colin, Ch. Pellat, Ph. and W. Marçais) give a place to Berber matters.

We do not know what Berber owes to the languages of Tropical Africa: this may well be a great lacuna.

B) Dialects and Language

On the geographical distribution of dialects, cf. section II.

It is the study of present-day dialects which has produced the most positive results during recent decades, especially through the efforts of A. Basset. However, there still remain a few illusions to be shed. None of the classifications proposed for the dialects is really satisfying. Attempts have been made to discover in them the traditional division of the population into Maṣmūda, Ṣanhād<u>j</u>a and Zanāta (cf. I): this is to appeal to a confused story. It would be preferable to start from the linguistic data: but what factors are relevant? A distinction is sometimes made between "occlusive" dialects and "spirant" dialects, yet the Chleuh dialects, which moreover form a distinct group (cf. below), are not in agreement on the production of certain sounds: are they therefore, to be split up into several groups? As A. Picard reminds us, phonetics is only one aspect of living language. A classification based on phonological systems would be more interesting, though equally arbitrary. Linguistic geography demonstrates that every phenomenon occupies an area of its own; A. Basset proved this so convincingly in respect of Berber, that he relinquished the idea of dialect in this field altogether: the language disintegrates directly into four to five thousand local idioms. Nevertheless it would be difficult to avoid taking into account a kind of linguistic harmony which, in such geographically close-knit regions as the Chleuh country, Kabylia, Aurès etc., superimposes itself on the division into local idioms, without effacing it; mutual comprehension is immediate within every such zone and Berber speakers have a feeling for these groupings (cf. A. Roux, in *Hesp.*, 1954, 269). Even in these privileged cases, no common language exists. It is true that the wandering poets of the Middle Atlas of Morocco, referred to by A. Roux (cf. section VI), use a kind of intermediate dialect for their compositions; furthermore, an investigation should be made of the Berber spoken in the large towns where the emigrants collect together. But up till now, political, economic and cultural conditions have militated against a unification which those concerned do not seem to need: when necessary, they use another language, frequently Arabic, to communicate with one another. Any comprehensive description of Berber dialects, therefore, comes up against local factors which persistently impose limits on its applicability. Nevertheless, it is justified by the unity of the language, which remains clear in spite of the diversity.

1. — Phonetics and Phonology. Though the sounds of the numerous dialects have already been ascertained and more or less adequately described in the monographs, we still possess no complete table of their correspondences. Moreover, as yet no dialect has been subjected to a phonological analysis. Comparison, however, enables us to establish the main features of a system of phonemes which appears to be the basis on which the various local

systems rest. Here, only slightly modified, is the table proposed by A. Basset:

Consonants	labials		*b*		*f*			*m*		
	dentals	*t*	*d*	*ḍ*				*n*	*l*	*r*
	sibilants				*s*	*z*	*ẓ*			
	palatal sibilants					*š*	*ž*			
	velars	*k*	*g*							
	uvular					*γ*				
Semi-vowels				*y*		*w*				
Vowels				*i*		*u*				
		[*ə*]								
		a								

The tendency for short occlusives to become spirant in numerous dialects (Rif, Middle Atlas of Morocco, Kabylia, etc.) has already been mentioned. This may lead locally to the introduction of new phonemes and to modification of the phonological system. Almost everywhere this system has been complicated and distorted by large-scale borrowing from Arabic, to which the presence particularly of the pharyngals *ḥ* and *ε* and the laryngal *h* in the majority of dialects appears to be due.

A remarkable fact is the presence in Berber of emphatic consonants. Apart from *ḍ* and *ẓ* there are attested: [ṣ], [ṛ], [ḷ] and even [ṣ̌], [ẓ̌], but they cannot be accorded phonological status *a priori*. Emphasis does not always belong exclusively to the phoneme concerned. On [ṭ], cf. below.

y and *w* are sometimes pronounced as consonants [y], [w], and sometimes as vowels [i]; [u], according to their position; quality varies with syllable pattern, which is not everywhere the same. Furthermore, besides these occurrences of phonetic [i] and [u], morphology suggests the need to recognise separate vowels *i* and *u*: which is not devoid of difficulties.

Each of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* comprises a range of gradations conditioned by the articulation of the neighbouring consonants and devoid of phonological value. As regards [ə], it is in principle a purely phonetic element, the occurrence of which is subject to the laws, as yet not very well known, which govern the syllabication and structure of words. Very unstable in central and southern Morocco, it perhaps presents a greater consistency in Kabylia; in spite of certain indications by Foucauld which must be verified and above all, interpreted, it is by no means certain that [ə] has phonemic status in Touareg.

An important rôle is played by the quantitative value of consonants. Every consonant or semi-vowel may be "short" or "long", thus creating a type of opposition widely exploited by the vocabulary and to a still greater extent by the morphology: Chleuh *ils* "tongue"; *ills* "he has soiled"; *ifka-t* "he has given it (masc.)": *ifka-tt* "he has given it (fem.)". The long consonant seems to be less characterised by its duration than by the tenseness of its articulation; lengthening sometimes results in transition from spirant to occlusive and from voiced to voiceless: thus it comes about that the most frequent realisation of *γγ* is [qq], and that of *ḍḍ* [ṭṭ]; *ww* may be represented by [gg^w] (on one occasion even [kk]) or [bb^w], and *yy* by [gg].

Not all vowels always have the same duration; their length, however, is not pertinent, except perhaps in Touareg.

Accentuation of a word, where the accent is one of intensity, is not recognised as fulfilling a distinctive function.

2. — Forms and their functions.

a. — The Berber word. Words are made up of a theme and inflexions. The theme is produced by the combination of a root with a schema. The root is bound to a minimum concept beyond any kind of grammatical categorisation. It is always consonantal, containing one or four, most frequently two or three consonants, being characterised by their number and order. The term schema, borrowed from the Arabists (J. Cantineau), indicates the structure of the theme; the schema gives the word part of its grammatical identity: thus, to a degree which varies with cases, it may indicate the nominal or verbal nature of the word, the number of the noun, the form of the verb, etc. The schema itself is defined by the presence or absence of formative consonants, by short or long quantity of formative consonants or radicals, by the presence or absence, the place and quality of the vowels. The inflexions complete the grammatical description of the word; as prefixes and/or suffixes, they appear fundamentally to be consonants; in certain cases, it is convenient to recognise a zero inflexion. Examples: Touareg *təkras* "she ties" = theme *-əkras-* (root *KRS*, schema 1 2 *a* 3) + inflexion *t-*; *takərrist* "knot" = theme *-akərris-* (root *K R S*, schema *a* 1 22 *i* 3) + inflexion *t--t*. The system on the whole closely resembles that of Arabic, though it is more difficult in Berber to isolate the roots and establish the precise value of the schemas.

Berber distinguishes two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, singular and plural.

b. — The verb. The forms (simple and derived, Verbs appear either in a simple form or a derived form. The simple form is constructed in principle with or without an object and is at times translated by our active voice and at other times by our passive. Derivation is achieved mainly by means of prefixes. There are three primary derived forms, which sometimes combine among themselves. They have frequently been referred to as the causative, passive and reciprocal forms, according to their most apparent significance; these designations do not correspond closely enough to the facts and have nowadays been replaced by those of sibilant-form, dental-form and nasal-form according to the articulation of the prefix. Examples: Touareg *əγbər* "to strike with the foot"; *səγbər* "to cause to strike"; *təγbər* "to be struck"; *nəγbər* "to strike one another". In fact, not all verbs possess the complete series of simple and derived forms. A derivation by the suffix *-t* is well attested in Touareg and has left traces elsewhere.

The themes. For each of the forms, simple or derived, there are three themes or groups of themes: 1) an aorist theme: ex. Chleuh *-ls-* "to put on clothes", *-izwiγγ* "to become red"; 2) an intensive aorist theme: *-lssa-*, *-ttizwiγ-*, which is sometimes accompanied by a negative intensive aorist theme; 3) a preterite theme: *-lsi/a-*, *-zəgg^{w}aγ-*, to which is connected a negative preterite theme: *-lsi-*, *-zəgg^{w}aγ-*. These themes may contrast with one another by alternation of vowels or of consonantal length, or by prefixing *-tt-* (in the intensive aorist only), or again by a combination of two or rarely three of these processes. In principle the two aorists form a group opposed to the preterite, as *-izwiγ/-ttizwiγ-* to *-zəgg^{w}aγ-*. It frequently happens, however, that the themes of the aorist and the preterite coincide. When several verbs adopt precisely the same procedure to differentiate their themes, they are said to belong to the same type: this affords a means of formal classification which is justified by the existence of a relationship, often masked but

sure, between the verbal type thus defined and that of the derived forms, as well as between the verbal type and the schemas of the nouns of action and of the agent. The verbal type itself appears to be more or less bound to the structure of the root.

A careful examination of all the themes obliges us to distinguish a large number of types of verbs. In practice, account is taken above all of the antithesis of the aorist and preterite themes, which enables us to recognise the main groups, particularly the "zero vowel" type (A. Basset) in which the affirmative aorist and preterite are formally identical (Chleuh ***-mgər-*** : ***-mgər-*** "to harvest"), the type with a non-alternating "full vowel" (***-mun-*** : ***-mun-*** "to accompany"), the pre-radical alternating vowel type (***-amẓ-*** : ***-umẓ-*** "to take"), the intra-radical (***-rar-*** : ***-rur-*** "to give back"), the post-radical (***-ls-*** : ***-lsi/a-*** "put on clothes"), different types of complex alternations (***-izwiγ-*** : ***-zəggʷaγ-*** "to become red").

The table of verbal themes lacks symmetry, as there is no intensive preterite given. The latter exists in Touareg, and A. Picard, basing himself on certain Kabyle and Moroccan data, has recently raised the important question of the Pan-Berber character of the intensive preterite (*Mémorial A. Basset*, 107-20).

The inflexions. — A first though incomplete series of suffixed personal inflexions is associated with the aorist and intensive aorist themes to produce the ordinary and intensive imperatives. The inflexion is zero in the 2nd person singular, which is the form of the non-intensive imperative used by grammarians to indicate a verb ("the verb ***mgər***, the verb ***mun***", etc.).

The impersonal inflexions ***y--n*** (on occasion zero-***nin*** in the plural) are added in well defined syntactical conditions (cf. below) to any one of the themes to form what is called the "participle". Survivals of an older stage (in the negative preterite) or disturbances (in the aorist) are to be observed locally.

In addition to these preceding cases, a third series of inflexions, prefixed and/or suffixed, is found with all the themes, indicating person, number and, in the 3rd person sing. and the 2nd and 3rd persons pl., gender. However, a conjugation without prefixes is attested in Kabyle (with identical inflexion for all persons of the plural) and in Touareg for the so-called verbs "of quality", verbs of becoming rather than verbs of state. It is probably the vestige of an ancient opposition between the inflexions of the aorist and those of the preterite.

The working of the verbal system. — It is more difficult to determine the meaning of the forms and themes than to classify them formally. Brief indications have been given above for the simple and derived forms. It remains for us to describe briefly how the choice is made between the different themes of a given form. One fact is certain: the time concept is foreign to the verbal system, and Berber, like the Semitic languages, gives priority to aspect. But it has several mechanisms which are peculiar to it; we must not be deceived by terminology, borrowed from other linguistic fields. There is a fundamental antithesis, indicated already for the morphology, between the respective functions of the aorists and the preterite. Thus it is that certain particles (***a***(***d***), ***i***(***d***), ***ara***, etc.) may be followed by either of the two aorists but not by the preterite: Kabyle ***ad̆-yaf*** ("he will find" : ***ad̆-yəttaf*** "he will find [incessantly]" (but ***ad̆*** + preterite ***yufa*** is impossible). When these particles are not present, the elements of the system are grouped somewhat differently: most frequently the intensive aorist and the preterite alone remain in opposition: ***zəddγən*** "(these populations) dwell" (process envisaged as a series or sometimes as a development): ***əzd̆γən*** "(the members of such and such a family) dwell, have taken up their domicile" (process envisaged from beginning to end, as a whole). With the exception of certain optative formulas, the non-intensive aorist, therefore, only appears in certain syntactical conditions where it may assume the meaning of ***any other verbal theme whatsoever***: in this sense one may, with A. Basset, consider it as the "unmarked" term of the aorist: preterite opposition; this use of the aorist is very frequent in the Moroccan dialects, but is less current elsewhere.

Whatever the theme, the verb assumes the form of the "participle" when it occurs in a relative clause in which the subject and the antecedent are identical: Kabyle ***win yəzd̆γən*** "he (who) dwells".

The satellites of the verb. — The particles of the aorist have been mentioned above. There are other particles (***ar***, ***da***, ***lla***, etc.) which may accompany the intensive aorist or the preterite; the list of them and the conditions in which they are used vary considerably according to the dialect, some dispensing with them altogether. The basic negative particle is ***ur*** (***ul***, ***ud***, ***u***); it always precedes the verbal form which, in different dialects (Kabylia, Aurès, etc.), may then be followed by a second element (***ara***, ***š***(***a***), etc.); ***ur*** is encountered with all the verbal themes, but negative constructions are not everywhere identical.

The verb is frequently accompanied by a particle "of approach" ***d*** and sometimes by a particle "of withdrawal" ***n***(***n***), which indicate the direction of the action. Finally the personal pronouns, direct or indirect objects of the verb (cf. below), are closely welded to it. In the case of simultaneous use, these pronouns and the particles of approach and withdrawal follow one another in a fixed order: indirect object (I), direct object (D), particle (L). After a number of words (particles of the aorist, the intensive aorist, negation, etc.) or in a relative clause, the elements IDL precede the verb; elsewhere they follow it; hence those chains which fluctuate on both sides of the verb: Chleuh ***ad-as-tən-d-awiγ*** "that I may bring them to him": ***iwiγ-as-tən-d*** "I have brought them to him".

c. — The noun. All nouns cannot be reduced to a single morphological type. Some have been borrowed from Arabic (or from other languages) and have not been berberised; they have retained the Arabic article and are characterised by the initial consonant group *lC-* or *CC* (< *lC-* by assimilation): *əlkas* "glass", *əssuq* "market"; this group is considerable in all dialects except Touareg.

The majority of Berber or berberised nouns in principle have an initial ***a-***, ***i-*** or ***u-*** if they are masculine, ***ta-***, ***ti-*** or ***tu-*** if they are feminine; this initial has been related to the demonstrative elements, which is not unlikely; locally in a number of schemas it loses its vowel. The prefixed ***t-*** characterises the feminine; many nouns also have a suffix ***-t*** in the feminine singular: Chleuh ***aγyul*** "ass": ***taγyult*** "she-ass"; ***tigəmmi*** "house". The vowel of the initial syllable participates in both oppositions of number and state (cf. below). The plural is indicated, furthermore, either by a vowel ***a*** preceding or following the last radical consonant, with or without further vowel alternances: ***aγyul*** : ***iγyal***; ***agadir*** "fortified granary" ***igudar***, or by a basic suffix ***-n*** : ***argaz*** "man" : ***irgazən***, or by a combination of both processes : ***itri*** "star" : ***itran***. The concept of state, in spite of the ambiguity of the terminology, is

characteristic of Berber: in certain syntactical conditions, when the noun is closely associated with the word preceding it, the initial vowel lapses, the noun passing from the "free" state to the state of "annexation": *taserdunt, tədda* "the mule, she has gone": *tədda tsərdunt* "the she-mule has gone". In numerous dialects (Morocco, Kabylia, Aures, etc.) the annexed state of the masculine noun also displays a prefixed *w-*, and hence the contrast : *argaz* : *wərgaz* > Chleuh *urgaz* "man". Finally, contrary to the description given, some nouns retain their initial vowel in the annexed state; this "constancy" of the initial vowel may be explained (diachronically) by the disappearance of an old radical or be related (synchronically) to the structure of the schema. The opposition of state appears to be unknown to the Eastern dialects.

A third somewhat heteroclite group is formed by nouns beginning with a short consonant other than the feminine prefix *t-* or the Arabic article; some of them are perhaps historically connected with the previous category or with other strata of vocabulary. The series of "nouns of relationship" must be mentioned, remarkable both for their form and construction.

Adjectives generally show the same morphological characteristics as nouns.

d. — The personal pronouns. — Several series of personal pronouns are distinguished according to form and use. The "isolated" pronouns enjoy more or less independent status in the text and may even constitute a complete utterance. The affixed pronouns of the verbs, of which they are the direct or indirect objects, have already been mentioned. Most prepositions take special personal pronouns, which also appear after the nouns of relationship: *yiwi-s* "the son of him, his son"; after a common noun, the pronoun is generally preceded by an element *n(n)-* which appears to be analogous to the preposition *n-* "of": Chleuh *tigəmmi nn-s* "his house" (but Kabyle *aḫḫam-is*, same meaning); Berber has no possessive adjectives or pronouns. For every person, certain appropriate morphological elements are common to several or all of these pronominal series.

e. — The demonstrative elements. — The demonstrative elements have a vowel base: *a/u* and *i*, which is found acting as a pronoun or acting as a determinative ("adjective"). As a pronoun, this base appears particularly as the second member of the construction called "emphatic anticipation": Kabyle *d-ḳəčč a-ĭ-yəyman* "it is thou who hast dyed it" (Basset-Picard), "it is thou the having dyed it". As a determinative, it follows a noun or a demonstrative pronoun: Chleuh *argaz-a* "this man", *ay-a* "this". This base frequently combines with other elements, especially with *w-* or *t-*, producing oppositions animate/inanimate and masculine/feminine: *wa/ta* : *a* "he/she : it", as well as with the particles of approach and withdrawal: Chleuh *argaz-ad* "this man here" / *argaz-ann* "that man there". The details of the system vary from dialect to dialect.

f. — The Berber sentence. — The Berber sentence in the highest degree reflects all the characteristics of a spoken language. It constantly resorts to expressive procedures and in particular to "anticipation" (A. Basset), which may detach and place any element of the sentence at the beginning, ready to be reiterated as required by a personal pronoun. Of very frequent occurrence is "emphatic anticipation", of which an example has been given above (e). Subordination is relatively little developed and parataxis dominates, though it is not always possible to determine exactly the limits between the two types of construction.

Relative clauses have no formal indication other than — on occasion — the inflexions of the participle or the place of the satellites of the verb (cf. b); there is no relative pronoun; however, a tendency can be observed in many dialects to determine the antecedent by means of a demonstrative element, the use of which in such cases becomes more or less a matter of grammatical usage.

Nominal and verbal clauses are known to Berber. The former are frequently hinged on a particle *d* which may perhaps have some connection with the particle of approach: Kabyle *nəkk ď-afəllaḥ* "I am a peasant" (Basset-Picard). In verbal clauses the verb is normally placed at the beginning and is followed by its subject, except in the case of anticipation.

3. — The vocabulary. Vocabulary is perhaps the aspect of Berber which has roused the most lively curiosity, but produced the least exact studies. We have no statistical evaluation of the vocabulary. The dictionary of Foucauld for Ahaggar Touareg and that of Father Dallet for Kabyle, which may be taken as being very nearly exhaustive, contain respectively 1,400 and 3,500 verbs in the simple form. The vocabulary possesses a stock common to all dialects but, as A. Basset has stressed, the living form of each word should be separately studied. Another striking point, moreover, is the numerical importance of loan words, except in Touareg. We have seen that words furnished by Arabic have opened a breach in phonology and even in morphology. Berber, however, has shown proof of extraordinary powers of assimilation.

Vocabulary is, above all, concrete. Its richness and precision are remarkable wherever a vital activity is concerned (camel breeding among the Touaregs, irrigation in the Great Atlas, etc.). The language of intellectual and religious life is less well equipped and borrows extensively from Arabic. Some examples, however, reveal literary resources which wait only to be exploited.

Bibliography: The fundamental work is that of A. Basset, *La Langue berbère*, in *Handbook of African Languages*, Oxford 1952, 72; we shall limit ourselves here to referring to the methodical bibliography on pages 57 to 72, completed by A. Basset, *Les études linguistiques berbères depuis le Congrès de Paris (1948-1954)*, in *Proceedings of the 23rd Intern. Congress of Orientalists*, Cambridge 1954, 377-8, (for texts, the following should be added: A. Roux, *La vie berbère par les textes*, Paris 1955; Ch. Pellat, *Textes berbères dans le parler des Aït Seghrouchen de la Moulouya*, Paris 1955; A. Picard, *Textes berbères dans le parler des Irjen (Kabylie-Algérie)*, 2 vols, Algiers 1958) and to indicating a small number of generally more recent works. On the publications by A. Basset himself, cf. the bibliography given in *Orbis*, 1956, 575-579. The *Mémorial André Basset* (1895-1956), Paris 1957, 159, groups together fifteen articles concerning various aspects of Berber studies.—On Guanche: J. D. Wölfel, *Le problème des rapports du guanche et du berbère*, in *Hesp.* 1953.—On Libyan, cf. above, vi, and: J. G. Février, *Que savons-nous du libyque?* in *RAfr.*, 1956, 263-273.—On the inscriptions of Tripolitania: *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, ed. by J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, Rome and London 1952, vii 286; J. G. Février, *La prononciation punique des noms*

propres latins en -us et en -ius, in *JA*, 1953, 465-471.—On the relationship of Berber: M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, xi and 248; *Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*, Paris, from 1931; O. Rössler, *Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache*, in *ZA*, n.s. 16, 121-150.—On the "Mediterranean" problem: J. D. Wölfel, *Eurafrikanische Wortschichten als Kulturschichten*, Salamanca 1955, 189 (*Acta Salmanticensia*).—On the Berber dialects, one should refer to the works on linguistic geography by A. Basset and to the chapters written respectively by E. Laoust, A. Basset, A. Picard in *Initiation au Maroc*, new ed. Paris 1945, 191-219, *Initiation à la Tunisie*, Paris 1950, 220-226, *Initiation à l'Algérie*, Paris 1957, 197-214.—For a comprehensive grammatical description, cf. A. Basset and A. Picard, *Eléments de grammaire berbère* (*Kabylie-Irjen*), Algiers 1948, 328.—On the phonetic problems: L. Galand, *La phonétique en dialectologie berbère*, in *Orbis*, ii, 1953, 225-236; T. F. Mitchell, *Long Consonants in Phonology and Phonetics*, in *Studies in linguistic Analysis*, Oxford 1957, 182-205.—On the verb: A. Basset, *La langue berbère, Morphologie, le verbe, étude de thèmes*, Paris 1929, iii 268.—On the initial vowel in nouns: A. Basset, *Sur la voyelle initiale en berbère*, in *RAfr.*, 1945, 82-88; T. F. Mitchell, *Particle-Noun Complexes in a Berber Dialect* (*Zuara*), in *BSOAS*, 1953, 375-390; W. Vycichl, *Der Umlaut im Berberischen des Djebel Nefusa in Tripolitanien*, in *AIUON*, n.s., 1954, 145-152.—For repressivity: A. Picard, *Étude de linguistique sur le parler berbère des Irjen* (*Kabyle*), Algiers 1959.—For vocabulary; Father de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français* (*Dialecte de l'Ahaggar*), 4 vols., Paris 1951-52, xiii + 2028; Father J.-M. Dallet, *Le verbe kabyle* (*Lexique partiel du parler des At-Mangellat*), i, Simple forms (only published), Fort-National 1953, xxviii, 491.

(L. Galand)

VI. — Literature and Art.

As far back as one can go in the past, Barbary, "the land of conquest", has never possessed any other language of civilisation than that of its foreign conquerors; thus, Berber writers have successively utilised, perhaps not Punic but at least Latin (Apuleius, Saint Augustine), Greek (?), Arabic (Ibn Khaldūn and many Moroccan writers) and now, above all, French. Yet there nevertheless exists a "Berber literature", written and oral, which though not appearing in the inscriptions, does so in works of piety inspired by Arabic, in texts and stories set down at the request of European investigators, in the *ḳānūns* (all of which taken together do not amount to much), and finally in folklore and poetry.

The Libyan inscriptions [cf. section V], in spite of the ardour with which their study has been approached, have not as yet delivered up the secret of their decipherment and Berber, as known to us, does not afford a satisfactory means of reading them. However, the Libyan alphabet, which the bilingual inscriptions have enabled us to establish, is relatively close to the only ancient system still in current use among the Berbers, the *tifinagh* (sing. *tafineḳḳ* < *punica*?); this alphabet is used by the Touareg for engraving a few short inscriptions on rocks, bracelets or other objects, as well as for brief exchanges of love letters. This is an alphabetic script, writing only consonants in the body of words, but also vowels finally; no distinction is made between long and short sounds; individual words are not separated and one can write horizontally, vertically, from right to left or from left to right (or in *boustrophedon*), from top to bottom or from bottom to top. In practice, all texts are very short and the long ones appearing in A. Hanoteau, *Essai de grammaire de la langue tamachek'*, Paris 1860, were only written in *tifinagh* at the request of the investigator.

The following is a simplified table, according to Ch. de Foucauld, of the most usual forms of *tifinagh* (for further details and comparisons with the Libyan alphabet, see particularly A. Basset, *Écritures libyque et touarègue*, in *Notices sur les caractères étrangers*, by Ch. Fossey, Paris 1948).

Latin script	tifinagh direction of reading ←	Corresponding Arabic script
b	ⵀ ⴱ ⴱ ⴱ	ب
m	ⵎ	م
f	ⴼ ⴼ ⴼ ⴼ	ف
t	ⵜ	ت
d	ⴷ ⴷ ⴷ ⴷ	د
ḍ	ⴹ	ض (ظ)
ṭ	ⵟ	ط
n	ⵏ	ن
ñ	ⵐ	—
l	ⵍ	ل
r	ⵔ ⵔ	ر
s	ⵙ ⵙ	س
z	ⵣ ⵣ	ز
ẓ	ⵥ	ض
ṣ		ص
sh(š)	ⵛ ⵛ ⵛ ⵛ	ش
ž	ⵊ ⵊ ⵊ ⵊ	ج
y	ⵢ ⵢ ⵢ ⵢ	ي
k	ⴾ	ك
g	ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ ⴳ	ڭ
g̮	ⴶ ⴶ	—
w	ⵓ	و
gh(γ)	ⵖ	غ
kh(ḫ)	ⵅ	خ
ḳ	ⵇ	ق
h	ⵀ	ه
a	ⴰ	ا

Religious literature inspired by Arabic may be said to be represented by a few dozen works, very few of which have been published. These texts, transcribed in Arabic script with additional diacritical points, are intended for teaching the precepts of Islam and for the edification of the faithful; thus we possess an adaptation of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, *al-Ḥawḍ*, edited and translated by Luciani (Algiers 1897), and

its complement, the *Baḥr al-Dumūʿ*, partially published by de Slane in his appendix to the *Histoire des Berbères*, iv, 552-62 (a complete ed.-trans. of this last text by B. H. Stricker is in the press). The "Ḳurʾāns" of Ḥā-Mīm and of Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf are, in a sense, related to these works, but they are, entirely lost, the same being true of the Berber text of three treatises composed in Tashəlḥit by Ibn Tūmart. Of Khāridjī literature, which was probably abundant, there remains the treatise of Ibn Ghānim entitled *al-Mudawwana* (cf. Motylinski, *Le Manuscrit arabo-berbère de Zouagha*, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orient.*, Algiers 1909, ii, 64-78). A proportion of these religious works (particularly the *Ḥawḍ* and some others existing in manuscript form, cf. A. Roux, in *Actes du XXIe Congrès des Orient.*, Paris 1949, 316-7) are in verse so as to be more easily memorised, but unfortunately they include a high proportion of Arabic words. To this type of literature belong religious poems, such as that of Ṣabī, which relates a young man's descent into Hell in search of his parents (R. Basset, *Le poème de Çabi*, Paris 1879, P. Galand-Pernet, in *Mémorial A. Basset*, Paris 1957, 39-49), those of Sīdī Ḥammū (H. Stumme, *Dichtkunst und Gedichte der Schlūḥ*, Leipzig 1895; Johnston, *Faḍma Tagurramt*, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orient.*, ii, 100-1; idem, *The Songs of Sidi Hammou*, London 1907; L. Justinard, *Poésies en dial. du Sous marocain d'après un ms. arabico-berbère*, in *JA*, 1928), the legend of Joseph in verse (Loubignac, *Dial. des Zaian*, Paris 1924-5, 359 sqq.), a story of the ascent of the Prophet and a version of the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*]. To these may be added the translations of the Old and New Testaments made by Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

Secular works are rare; apart from Arabo-Berber glossaries and books of popular medicine which have practical interest, such writings as we possess were composed under the guidance of European scholars, as for example the *The Narrative of Sidi Ibrahim* on West Africa in Tashəlḥit (F. W. Newman, in *JRAS*, 1848, 215-60; trans. R. Basset, Paris 1882), or the description of the Djabal Nafūsa by al-Shammākhī, in Nafūsī (ed. trans. Motylinski, Algiers 1885); to these may be added the collection of stories entitled *Kitāb al-Shilḥa* (MS of the B.N. in Paris), which to a large extent appears to be borrowed from the *Bakhtiyār-nāma* [*q.v.*] and the *Hundred Nights* (R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions popul.*, 1891; extracts published by de Slane, de Rochemonteix, R. Basset); to this category belong the ethnographical narratives and texts composed at the request of investigators who subsequently included them in their dialect studies or made independent collections of them, such as the *Textes touareg en prose* by Ch. de Foucauld, Algiers 1922. In this connexion it will not be without interest to note that the *Fichier de documentation berbère*, directed at Fort-National (Kabylia) by the Rev. Father Dallet, has been publishing since 1947 texts and even small plays composed in Berber, in addition to linguistic and ethnological documents.

As for the customary *ḳānūns* in use among certain Berber populations, very few of them have been published in the original language (see above section iv); the following may be mentioned: Ben Sedira, *Cours de langue Kabyle*, 295-355; Boulifa, *Le Kanoun d'Ad'ni*, in *Recueil de mémoires* ... *XIVe Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 152-78.

Folk-lore is abundant, not to say rich. Marvellous and humorous tales, fables, stories of animals, historical and religious legends are transmitted from generation to generation by the women, who are wont to tell them of an evening. It is this folk-lore that investigators have been able most easily to collect and few are their accounts which do not contain some stories or riddles, without counting collections of folk-lore texts presented also as linguistic documents.

Finally, secular poetry, in spite of its appearance of primitive simplicity, is probably the most original literary production. The songs improvised collectively during the ritual dances (*aḥidus*), lullabies, funeral laments, and ritual chants contain a large share of tradition, but real professional poets also exist among the Berbers, whose inspiration, generally speaking, is restricted to themes of love and war. In Morocco, the *imdyazən* (see A. Roux, *Un chant d'amdyaz, l'aède berbère du groupe linguistique beraber*, in *Mém. H. Basset*, Paris 1928, ii, 237-42) travel about the country and, like the troubadours, celebrate important events, sing the praises of likely patrons and discharge their arrows at those who disappoint them. Some poets, such as the Kabyle Moḥand u Moḥand and the Touareg poetess Dassin, have achieved a certain fame, local it is true and ephemeral, since their works, remaining oral, are soon forgotten in countries where the *ruwāt* do not exist.

Berber art also is of no great account; the rock engravings and paintings are indeed far from lacking in quality, but one may well ask whether the artists who executed them are really the ancestors of the present day Berbers. In spite of the great architectural achievements to which we have referred (above, section iv), there is no real Berber art comparable to Arab and Hispano-Moorish art. The fact is that the Berber is a countryman, indeed a nomad, only seeking to possess articles of current use, which are easily transportable; his art, therefore, is limited to ornamenting articles of everyday life and does not transcend a craftsmanship seeking to provide the comforts of life rather than to delight the eye. Its products, sought at times by a clientèle enamoured with exoticism and simplicity, and supported in North Africa by the efforts of the authorities to maintain and improve traditions and techniques, are restricted to carpets, hangings, mats, silks, embroideries, chinaware, earthenware, cabinet-work, work in gold, brass wares and damascene work; ornamentation is characterised by the almost exclusive use of the straight line (triangles, stripes, lozenges, checker-work). To this may be added very realistic statuettes in wood, which are at variance with the Islamic ban on the representation of the human form.

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(R. BASSET-[CH. PELLAT])

BERGAMA, the ancient Pergamon in Mysia (on which cf. the data and references given in Pauly-Wissowa). Armenians who had fled before the Muslim raids into Asia Minor settled in Byzantine Pergamon during the course of the 7th century. The Byzantine emperor Philippikos (711-713) was of Armenian descent and came from Pergamon. Muslim forces under Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik sacked the town in 716, but it was rebuilt and refortified after the Arabs had abandoned their attempt to take Constantinople in 717-718. Pergamon was included, from the reign of Leo III (717-741), in the theme of Thrakesion and, from the reign of Leo VI (886-912), in the theme of Samos. The town suffered during the Turkish raids into western Asia Minor after the battle of Manzikert (1071). It continued, however, to be a prosperous and well fortified centre under the Byzantine emperors of the house of Komnenos and their immediate successors. Pergamon, having been hitherto a suffragan bishopric dependent on Ephesos, was raised to the status of a metropolitan see in the reign of Isaac Angelos (1185-1195). After the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the town was included in the Greek state of Nicaea. Later, when the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, Bergama came under the control of the Begs of Karasī. The Ottomans, during the reign of their Beg Orkhān, annexed the emirate of Karasī. Bergama became thereafter a *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the *sandjaḳ* of Khudāwendigār in the *eyālet* of Anadolu and later a *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the *sandjaḳ* of Izmir in the *wilāyet* of Aydın. The region of Bergama is fertile and noted for its production of cereals, fruit, vegetables, tobacco and cotton. Greek forces occupied Bergama in the years 1919-1923. As a result of the subsequent exchange of population arranged between the governments at Athens and Ankara, Bergama lost its Greek inhabitants and received in their place Turkish elements brought over from Greece. The population of Bergama was estimated, in 1950, to be approximately 16,500 people.

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BERKE, a Mongol prince and ruler of the Golden Horde, grandson of Čingiz-Khan and third son of Djoči. Little is known of his early career. He took no part in the wars in Russia and Eastern Europe in the years 634-639/1237-1242 but was more frequently in Mongolia than Batu, whom he represented at the enthronement of Güyük (644/1246) and that of Möngke (649/1251). His *yurt* of appanage was originally situated, according to Rubruck, in the direction of Darband but by 653/1255 had on Batu's orders been removed to the east of the Volga in order to cut off Berke from contact with his fellow Muslims. His conversion to Islām is mentioned by Rubruck, who says that he did not allow pork to be eaten in his *ordu*. The date of his conversion is unknown. Djūzdjānī's statement that he was brought up from infancy as a Muslim seems hardly credible. On the other hand he seems to have already become a Muslim at the time of Möngke's accession to the Khanate, when, as Djuwaynī tells us, the animals provided for the festivities were slaughtered, for his benefit, in accordance with the Muslim ritual.

Batu died according to Djuwaynī while his son Sartaḳ was on his way to the Court of the Great Khan. Sartaḳ continued his journey and was appointed his father's successor by Möngke but himself died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by the young prince Ulaghči, his son or brother, Boraḳčin, Batu's widow being appointed regent. According to the Russian annals the camp of "Ulavčii" was visited by Russian princes as late as 1257. It was not until the death of the young Khān, probably in the same year, that the succession passed to Berke.

Like Batu, Berke, during the early years of his reign, seems to have exercised certain sovereign

rights in Mā warā' al-Nahr. According to Djūzdjānī he visited Bukhārā and showed great honour to the learned men of the town; he is also said to have ordered the Christians of Samarkand to be punished and their churches destroyed because of their behaviour towards their Muslim fellow townsmen. When the news of Möngke's death arrived (1259), the *khuṭba* was read in Berke's name not only in Mā warā' al-Nahr but also in Khurāsān.

During the next four years (1260-1264) two brothers of the dead Great Khan, Kubilay and Arīgh Böke, were engaged in a struggle for the throne. As the coins struck in Bulghar show, the unsuccessful claimant Arīgh Böke was recognised by Berke as the rightful heir. Prince Alughu, a grandson of Čaghatay, appeared in Central Asia about the same time, first as a representative of Arīgh Böke and afterwards in open revolt against him; he succeeded in bringing under his sway not only the whole of his grandfather's appanage but also Khwārizm, which had always belonged to the kingdom of Djoči and his successors; the governors and officials appointed by Berke were driven out of the towns. The massacre mentioned by Waṣṣāf (Bombay ed., 51) of a division of Berke's army, 5,000 strong, in Bukhārā must have been carried out, not, as Waṣṣāf himself says, by Kubilay, nor, as d'Ohsson supposes, by Hülegü, but by Alughu. The war between Berke and Alughu was continued until the latter's death; in the last years of his life, after the final defeat of Arigh Böke, Alughu's troops occupied and destroyed the town of Otrar. Berke, whose forces were engaged in the South and West, could do nothing against his enemies in the East, but he did not abandon his claims; Prince Kaydu, a grandson of Ögedey, who had fought under Arīgh Böke, continued the war against Alughu after Arīgh Böke's defeat and was supported by Berke.

The campaigns in the West against the Lithuanians and King Daniel of Galicia were of no great importance and were conducted by the frontier commanders without the personal intervention of Berke. King Daniel fled to Poland and Hungary and his son and brother were forced to dismantle the fortifications of all their main cities.

The war between Berke and his cousin Hülegü, the conqueror of Persia, was more important and less successful. The causes of the war are variously given. Berke is pictured by some authorities as the defender of Islām and is said to have bitterly reproached Hülegü for his devastation of so many Muslim countries and particularly for the execution of the Caliph Mustaʿṣim. Hewever those authorities who say that Djoči's heirs felt their rights endangered by the foundation of a new Mongol kingdom in Persia are probably nearer the truth. Some of the territories incorporated in the new kingdom, such as Arrān and Ādharbāydjān, had already been trodden by "the hoof of Tartar horse" in the reign of Čingiz-Khan and were therefore, according to the Conqueror's directions, part of the appanage of Djoči. The evidence on the war itself is contradictory. Hülegü seems at first to have been victorious, advancing across the Terek (late in 1262), and then to have been defeated by Berke's forces (Berke not being present in person), losing a great part of his army in the retreat; many were drowned in the Terek when the ice gave way under their horses' hoofs.

Even before the outbreak of these hostilities the Egyptian Sulṭān Baybars [*q.v.*] had decided to enter into communication with Berke and form an alliance against their common enemy Hülegü. A message to this effect had been sent from Cairo to Berke as early as 1261; on the 16th November 1262 an embassy was dispatched for the same purpose, and in the following year Berke's ambassadors were received by Baybars. The detention of Mongol and Egyptian envoys in Constantinople led to hostilities between the Golden Horde and Byzantium. Berke dispatched an army under Prince Nokay into Thrace, where they joined forces with the Bulgarians; and the Saldjūk Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs, who had been driven out of Asia Minor and placed in custody in the fortress of Ainos on the Aegean was set free and brought to the Crimea.

In 1265, the year of Hülegü's death, the Kīpčak and Persian Mongols were again at war. The two armies, under Berke and Abaka, for a long time faced each other across the Kur; in search of a crossing Berke proceeded upstream to Tiflis, where he died (1266); and his forces then withdrew.

Berke left no family, so that the throne passed to Batu's grandson Möngke-Temür. During the last years of his reign he was no longer, as Batu had been, second to the Great Khān in the Mongol Empire, but the ruler of an independent state, although this evolution was not completed till the reign of his successor, who was the first of the Kīpčak Khāns to strike coin in his own name. It is difficult to estimate how much Berke did as a Muslim to further the practice of Islam among his subjects. The Egyptian accounts speak of schools in which the youth was instructed in the Kur'ān; not only the Khān himself but each of his wives and Emirs also had an *imām* and a *mu'adhdhin* attached to their establishments; yet we learn from the same sources that all sorts of heathen customs were observed at the court of the Khān with the same strictness as in Mongolia. Not only Berke himself but several of his brothers are said to have adopted Islam; and yet half a century was to elapse after his death before Islam became definitely predominant in his kingdom.

Berke was the founder of New Saray (so called to distinguish it from the Saray founded by Batu), which was situated on the eastern bank of the Upper Akhtuba near the present-day Leninsk, about 30 miles east of Stalingrad.

Bibliography: As in the article on Batu.

(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BESERMYANS (or Glazov Tatars), a small ethnic unit akin to the Udmurts (Votyaks) living in North Russia. Differing views are held on the subject of their origin, some considering them as Finns who have come under Turkish influence, others as descendants of the old Kama Bulghars, profoundly influenced by the Udmurt language and culture.

The Soviet census of 1926 listed 10,035 Besermyans, 9,195 of whom were from the districts of Balezino and Yukamenskoe in the autonomous Udmurt SSR and 834 from the neighbourhood of the village of Slobodskoe at the confluence of the rivers Vyatka and Čeptza in the Kirov region. The Besermyans are bilingual, speaking Russian (in the Udmurt ASSR) and Kazan Tatar (in the Kirov region) as well as Udmurt much influenced by Tatar. The were converted officially to Christianity in the 17th century, and until the October revolution were considered fully Orthodox, but in fact they remained Muslims at heart, retaining many customs which are traditionally Islamic. Notably, they would call in the Tatar molla after the Orthodox priest when a death occurred.

After the proclamation of freedom of worship in 1905 the greater part of the Besermyans returned openly to Islam.

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(A. Bennigsen)

BESHIKE (Beşike Körfezi, Besika) is a bay on the western coast of Asia Minor opposite the island of Tenedos (Bozdja Ada). It lies about 23 kilometres to the south of Ḳum Ḳalʿe, between the two capes of Ḳum Burnu and Beshik Burnu and, although open to the sea, affords good protection to shipping. Inland from the coast is situated the classical Troas and evidence of ancient remains has been found in the immediate neighbourhood of Beshike itself. The British and French fleets sailed to Beshike in June 1853 during the course of the crisis which led to the outbreak of the Crimean War. Great Britain also sent her fleet to Beshike in 1876 and 1878.

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BESHIKṬĀSH [see istanbul].

BESHLIK [see sikka].

BESHPARMAḲ ("five fingers"), a Turkish name given sometimes to mountain ranges in Asia Minor and elsewhere. The best known example is the Beshparmaḳ-dagh in south-west Asia Minor, on the lower reaches of the Büyük-Menderes—a mountain chain rising at its loftiest elevation to a height of 1367 metres. This particular range was known in ancient times as ὁ Λάτμος. The region became, during the Middle Ages, an active centre of Christian religious life, which flourished until the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the 13th-14th centuries.

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(V. J. Parry)

BESİKA BAY [see beshike].

BESKESEK-ABAZA (or Beshkesek Abaza), the Russian name for a Muslim people belong to the Abasgo-Circassian (Adīghe) section of the Ibero-Caucasian family. Ethnically they are close to the Kabardians. From the time of the High Middle Ages the Abaza people have been divided into two groups speaking different dialects: the northern or Tapanta group of six tribes, and the southern or Shkarawa group, also of six. In the 1926 census 13,825 Abaza were counted, but Lavrov thinks that the real figure must be considerably larger, perhaps about 20,000 at the present time. The majority of the Abaza (10,993 out of 13,825 in 1926) live in the Circassian Autonomous region, the high valleys of the Great and Little Zelenčuk, the Kuban and the Kama. Here there are thirteen villages, and there are two other Abaza villages near Kislovodsk in the Stavropolʾ *Krai*, as well as a few groups of Abaza in the Circassian and Nogai villages in the Adīghe Autonomous Region.

The Abaza are descended from the multilingual tribes which at the beginning of our era dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, north-west of present-day Abkhāzia, and which fused together in the course of the centuries to form the Abkhāz national unit.

In the 14th and 15th centuries most of the Abaza left their original home in the coastal region (between Tuapse and Bzīb), crossed the Caucasus, and dislodging the Kabardians settled in the area they now inhabit. From that time onward they had to contend with the hostility of the Circassians, and their history is one of slow but continuous decline. At the end of the 16th century the Abaza tribes which had formerly dominated the region accepted perforce the rule of the Kabardian and Beslenei princes. At this time too (in the reign of Sulṭān Murād III) the Turks extended their protectorate over eastern Caucasia but by the treaty of Belgrade relinquished Kabardia, which was recognised as an independent territory. The Turkish frontier then ran along the Kuban, and the Tapanta who were leading a nomadic existence on both banks of this river became independent, no longer owing any clearly defined allegiance. After the treaty of Küčük-Kaynardja (1774) the Russians occupied Kabardia, and in 1802 the greater part of the territory of the Abaza was combined with that of the Nogai in a special *pristavstvo* administered directly by the Russian authorities. During the Caucasian wars the Abaza were divided in their allegiance, the Tapanta allying themselves with the Russians while the Shkarawa supported the Müridist cause. After the Russian conquest, which took place between 1858 and 1864, the majority of the Shkarawa (the Tam, Kizilbek, Bag, Čegrei and Misīlbai tribes) emigrated to Turkey; 30,000 are officially stated to have left, but this estimate seems too low. After the Caucasian wars only 9,921 Abaza remained in the region (E. Felitsin, *Čislovie dannie o gorskom i pročem musulmanskom naselenii Kubanskoi oblasti*, in *Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkaze*, Tiflis 1885, ix, 87-94).

The conversion to Islam of the Abaza (who had formerly been animists or Christians) began after their migration towards the northern Caucasus, when they came into contact with the Crimean Tatars and the Nogai. They took over the *ʿādāt* and chronological system of these peoples (a twelve-year animal cycle), together with Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī school. This conversion was slow, almost all the tribes south of the Kubanʾ being still animist or Christian at the end of the 17th century (Ḥuseyn Hezārfenn, cited by V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoie Khānstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoi Portī do načala XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887, 347). Ewliyā Čelebi affirms that the Biberdraa, one of the most important Maza tribes, are not Muslims. Almost all the Tapanta had accepted Islam by the end of the 18th century, but the Shkawara were still Christians when they were visited by P. S. Pallas, Islam being restricted to the nobility (*Bemerkungen auf einer Reise an die Südlichen Statthalterschaften des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren* 1793 *und* 1794, Leipzig 1799, 365). At the

same period J. Reineggs (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Gotha-St. Petersburg 1796, 273) states that the Tam, Čegrei, and Barakai tribes of the Shkawara group were "enemies of Islam". In 1807, J. Klaproth (*Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*, i, Halle-Berlin 1812, 459) found that the Tam were islamised but "ate pork", and this is confirmed by the anonymous author of the article *Gorskie plemena živushčie za Kuban'yu* in *Kavkaz* no. 94, 1850, who describes the Tam as "very lukewarm Muslims", the Čegrei as "setting small store by Islamic ritual, apart from certain of the nobility", the Bag (a tribe of the same group) as "without precise beliefs" and the Barakai as partially converted to Islam. Thus it seems that the final conversion of the Shkawara dates only from the middle of the 19th century, effected by the missionary zeal of Muḥammad Amīn, the *Nā'ib* of Shāmil [*q.v.*] in Circassian territory.

Until the beginning of the 20th century Abaza society retained its very complex feudal structure, which was similar to that of the Circassians. At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves, ***unavl*** (***anawt*** among the Circassians). Then came the serfs, ***llg*** (***grlgʿva*** among the Shkarawa), and the freed serfs, ***azat-llg***, who remained under the obligation to perform certain tasks but could none the less change their master and themselves own ***unavl*** and ***llg***. Above these was the most numerous class, that of the free peasants, ***akavl*** (or ***tl'fakashaw***). Next were the nobles, divided into "small nobles", ***amlsta***, who made up the princes retinues, and the "great nobles", ***amlstadl*** (***tawad*** among the Shkarawa) who could have retainers of their own. At the top of the scale were the "princes" who were heads of clans, ***akha***, and vassals of the Beskenei and Kabardian princes. They took their place not among the Circassian princely class (***pshə***) but in the lower class of ***tlekotesh***. The children of the ***akha*** and women of a lower class made up a special class, ***tuma***.

Until the October revolution and even during the first years of the Soviet regime the Abaza still retained certain patriarchal and feudal customs (clan divisions, vendettas, ***kalym***, ***atalik***, etc.).

Language and literature

The Abaza language belongs to the Abkhāzo-Adlghe division of the Ibero-Caucasian languages. It is so close to Abkhāz that it is sometimes taken as simply a dialect of this tongue, but it shows numerous Kabardian features. There are two dialects: *Ashkara* in the south, with two sub-dialects, that of the Apsua Aul and that of Staro and Novo-Kuvinskoe, and in the north *Tapanta*, comprising likewise the two sub-dialects of Kubina-El'burgan and Pslž-Krasno-Vostočnoe. Abaza was an unwritten language until the October revolution. In 1932 a modified Roman alphabet was devised for it and a page in the language added to *Čerkes K'apshč*, the Čerkes Adlghe daily. In 1939 the Roman alphabet was replaced by Cyrillic, and in this new script the first works by Abaza writers have appeared, from 1940 onwards (collections of poems by Tsekov and Tkhaitsakhov, the short stories and novelettes of Žirov and Tabulov, etc.).

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(A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse)

BESLENEY [see čerkes].

BESNI (Behesnī in the Middle Ages), from the Syriac Bet Hesnā, a crossroads settlement at a height of more than 2,900 feet on the important junction of the Malaṭya-Aleppo and (Cilicia)-Marʿash-Diyār Bakr roads. Besni was the hinge between the series of strongholds north of the great bow of the Euphrates on the one hand, which protected the upper valleys of the right bank tributaries of this river from incursion from the plateaux and high ranges of the eastern Taurus, and on the other those towards the south, which dominated the small basins north of ʿAynṭāb. Further it was in the immediate vicinity of a pass which led down towards the north-west to the gorge of the Aḳ-Ṣu, the site of the old strong-hold of Ḥadath the Red. Despite these advantages and the ancient etymology of its name, Besni is not mentioned in texts until after the destruction of Ḥadath, whose place it then took (4th/10th century). Formerly it had been overshadowed by Ḳaysūn, its southern neighbour, which was then more important and was itself linked predominantly with Marʿash. Besni probably owed its rise to an influx of Armenians after the Byzantine conquest. At the end of the 5th/11th century it was part of the principalities of Philaret and Kogh-Vasil, and during the period of the Crusades was one of the most frequently mentioned places in the Franco-Armenian province of Edessa. It was fought for by the Zengid or Ayyūbid princes of Aleppo and the Saldjūḳids of Rūm, who in the 7th/13th century incorporated it into their border province of Marʿash. The Mongols ceded it to the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, but it was almost at once annexed by the Mamlūk state, with whose fortunes it was linked until the end of the 8th/14th century. It then came within the sphere of operations of the Dhu 'l-ghadīr Turcomans, was pillaged by Tīmūr, passed again at the end of the 15th century into Mamlūk control, and in 922/1516 was occupied by the Ottomans together with Syria. From that time on it has had no more than local importance. The town, in which a fortress largely rebuilt by Ḳā'itbāy is still standing, had a population of 10,500 in 1955.

Bibliography: Besni is mentioned by all the chroniclers of the period of the Crusades, in particular by Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian, and Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm. The last-mentioned gives a note on it in the geographical section of his *Bughya* (Aya Sofya 3036, i, 333), and likewise ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād in his *Aʿlāḳ* (= Ibn al-Shiḥna, ed. Cheiko, 171). Of the Mamlūk chroniclers see especially Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Ḥadjar, Maḳrīzī, al-ʿAynī, Ibn Taghrībardī, Ibn Iyās. On the modern period, particularly Ainsworth, *Travels*,

i, 265 and Cuinet, ii, 376; Mukrimin Halil, *Maraş Emirleri* in *TTEM*, years xiv-xv; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 120-121; additional references in Besim Darkot, *Besni*, in *IA*, s.v. (CL. CAHEN)

BESSARABIA [see BUČAK].

BETELGEUZE [see NUDJŪM].

BETHLEHEM [see BAYT LAḤM].

BEY [see BEG].

BEYATLĪ, YAḤYĀ KEMĀL [see YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI].

BEYLIK, (BEGLIK), a term formed by joining the adjectival and relative suffix *lik* to *bey* (*beg*, *beg*) which was an old Turkish title [see BEG]. The word *bey* is said to correspond to the Arabic *amīr*, and *beylik* to *imāra*. The term *beylik* thus denotes both the title and post (or function) of a *Bey*, and the territory (domain) under the rule of a *Bey*. Later, by extension, it came to mean also "state, government", and, at the same time, a political and administrative entity sometimes possessing a certain autonomy. When the Ottoman Empire was established, ʿOthmān Bey, the founder of the dynasty, was referred to as *Bey* by the sovereign of the Saldjūḳid Empire; in the same way, the territories which he had taken from the Byzantine Empire were granted to him as a *beylik*, *imāra*. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the other Turkish principalities in Asia Minor (of the *Ṭawāʾif Mulūku*) were also generally referred to as *Beylik*. Later, as the Ottoman Empire increased in size, the country was divided into *Sandjaḳ-beyliks*—the most important and fundamental military and administrative unit, and these in turn were grouped, regionally, under the authority of the *beylerbeys*. From the 9th/15th century, those Balkan countries which acknowledged the political and military suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire but enjoyed complete internal autonomy, were referred to as *Beyliks*: *e.g.*, *Beylik* of the Danube, *Beylik* of Eflak, *Beylik* of Bogdan, *Beylik* of Erdel. Later still, countries which had obtained some privileges from the Ottoman Empire and had succeeded in achieving a measure of autonomy, were also considered as *Beyliks*: *e.g.*, *Beylik* of Sisam (Samos), *Beylik* of Bulghāristān (Bulgaria). This term in turn extended its meaning still further, and began to be used as an adjective to denote places and things belonging to the Government; *e.g.*, *Beylik arāḍī* (*mīrī arāḍī*), "the lands (domain) of the *Beylik*", *Beylik ḳishla*, "the winter quarters of the *Beylik*", *Beylik česhme* "the fountain of the *Beylik*" *Beylik ākhīr*, "the stable of the *Beylik*", *Beylik gemi* "the ship of the *Beylik*", etc. There are also some Turkish proverbs in which this word occurs, *e.g.*, "A *Beylik* of one day is a *Beylik*" (*Bir günün beylighi beylikdir*). The name of an official in the central organisation of the Empire was derived from this term: *Beylikdji* (*Beglikdji*), who was the president of one department of the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* [*q.v.*]. (M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN)

ii. — In North Africa, the term is used in the former Ottoman possessions in the Maghrib, but not in Morocco or in the Sahara, where Turkish administrative influence was never felt. Like the word *makhzen* in Morocco it refers to government and administrative authority at every stage. It may date from the beginning of the Ottoman occupation and the rule of the *beylerbeys*, or possibly from a later period. In this latter case it no doubt commemorates the influence of the local Algerian beys, of Constantine, the Titeri and the west, at least as much as that of the chief Bey in Algiers; he, moreover, was replaced by a Dey from 1671 onwards. Our information is too scanty for us to draw any conclusions.

In Tripolitania, Tunisia and Algeria the regime denoted by the word *beylik* is substantially the same, except that in Tunisia offices of government tended very soon to become hereditary. This was not the case elsewhere.

The forms of government were everywhere Ottoman, and remained unmodified or almost so, while in the majority of cases the words used to denote them were also part of the Ottoman vocabulary. But these institutions did not strike deep roots in the countries of North Africa, and had no acceptance below the provincial level. The central government was in effect entirely Turkish, and the same held for the provincial government in so far as each province was under the authority of a Turkish governor or integrated within the Turkish regime, and all important towns, *i.e.*, garrison towns, were administered by an official appointed by the central or provincial government. The authority of the *beylik* went no further; small ungarrisoned towns, villages and tribes were administered by their own officials, who were recognised by the central or provincial government and served as intermediary agents and points of contact between the *beylik* and the people.

The *beylik* as the central authority inspired a variety of feelings in the people: fear and suspicion, productive of a general ill-will, but also unbounded confidence in times of disaster and personal trouble. The *beylik* at such times, if it so desired, could deputise for Providence.

Bibliography: There is no work dealing specifically with this subject, but information on various aspects of the institutions of the *beylik* can be found in several works. The following are cited by way of example:

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

BEYOGHLU [see ISTANBUL].

BEYSHEHIR (Beyshehri), now the centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the province of Konya, lies on the south-eastern shore of a lake (*göl*) bearing the same name. This lake was known to the Ancients as Karalis (a village called Kirili is still found close to the north-eastern shore). The town of Karalleia in Pamphylia was situated near the lake in ancient times. Beyshehir itself is believed to have been founded in the time of the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn I (616-634/1219-1237). When the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, Beyshehir came into the possession of the Begs of Ḥamīd, who had at various times to defend it against the neighbouring Begs of Ḳarāmān. The Ottoman sultan Murād I purchased Beyshehir and certain other towns from Kemāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, the Beg of Ḥamīd, in 783/1381. After the battle of Ankara (804/1402) Beyshehir fell under the control of Ḳarāmān. The Ottomans regained the town in the reign of Sulṭān Meḥemmed I (816-824/1413-1421), but their possession of Beyshehir did not become definitive until 847/1443. The present Beyshehir is a small town which had, in 1935, 2620 inhabitants.

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Historical Geography of Asia Minor (*Roy. Geogr. Soc.*: *Supplementary Papers*, vol. iv), London 1890, 390; F. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, 118 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, i, 185; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Istanbul 1937, 15 ff.; S. S. Üçer and M. M. Koman, *Konya Ili köy ve yer adları üzerinde bir deneme* (*Konya halkevi tarih, müze komitesi Yayınları*: Seri I, no. 3), Konya 1945, ii (note 24); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, Paris 1890, 823 ff.; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii, Istanbul A.H. 1306, 1334; ʿAlī Djawād, *Taʾrīkh ve Djoghrāfiya Lughati*, Istanbul A. H. 1313-1314, 187; W. Tomaschek, *Zur Historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (*SBAk. Wien Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, Bd. cxxiv), Vienna 1891, 101; Pauly-Wissowa, x/2 (1919), *s. vv.* Karal(l)is, Karalleia, cols. 1926-1927; *IA*, s.v. *Beyşehir* (Besim Darkot). Cf. also Y. Akyurt, *Beyşehri Kitabeleri ve Eşrefoğlu Camii ve Türbesi*, in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, Sayi iv, Istanbul 1940, 91-129.

(V. J. Parry)

BEŽETA [see DIDO].

BEZISTĀN [see ḲAYṢARIYYA].

BEZOAR [see BĀZAHR].

BEZM-I ʿĀLEM [see WĀLIDE SULṬĀN].

BHAKKAR, a fortress situated on a limestone rock in the middle of the river Indus (27° 43′ N and 68° 56′ E), which is identified with the Sogdi of Alexander. The island is connected with Rōhrī and Sukkur by a cantilever bridge. With the decline of Arōr, the ancient Hindū capital of Sind, about the middle of 2nd/8th century, when the river Indus changed its course, Bhakkar soon attained the highest strategic importance. The island must have been fortified and garrisoned at a very early date as a certain Abū Turāb, an Arab, who died in 171/787 is reported to have reduced it. At the time of the conquest of Sind by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī in 92/710-711 the place was known as Bahrūr. (Abu 'l-Faḍl erroneously identifies it with the ancient Arab citadel of al-Manṣūra). The name Bhakkar appears for the first time when ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *wazīr* of Maḥmūd of Ghazna conquered it in 417/1026. Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubādja the governor of Učh was besieged in this fort in 614/1227 by the armies of Shams al-Dīn Iletmish and while trying to escape in a boat was drowned in the Indus. In 697/1297 it was invaded by the Mongols who were repulsed by the troops of the governor, Nuṣrat Khān, appointed by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī [694/1294-716/1316]. The fort figures frequently during the Sind campaigns of Muḥ. b. Tughluḳ and his nephew Fīrūz Tughluḳ as well as in the later history of Sind. It changed hands several times, being considered the key to the conquest of lower Sind.

During his flight through the desert of Sind, Humāyūn [*q.v.*] encamped here. Shāh Bēg Arghūn, a ruler of Thatta, appointed Mīr Maḥmūd Kokaltāsh its governor; he held it for fifty years, having been confirmed in 982/1574 in his appointment by Akbar. The fort was strengthened by the local *sayyids*, against the impending attack of Dharīdja tribesmen in 975/1567. Soon afterwards it was visited by Shāh Bēg himself; he drove out the *sayyids* and parcelled out the ground into building-sites for his chiefs, who plundered bricks from the ruined town of Arōr and some Turkish and Samma buildings in the vicinity of Bhakkar, for constructing their own houses. The fort was the scene of a fierce battle in 962/1554 between Maḥmūd Kokaltāsh and Mīrzā ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān, ruler of Thatta. It was captured by Nūr Muḥammad Kalhōrā in 1149/1736, from whose descendants it was seized by the Afghāns who were dispossessed in their turn by Mīr Rustam Khān of Khayrpūr. It came into British possession in 1839 with the conquest of Sind by Charles Napier.

Near the fort flourished the town of Bhakkar, now known as Purānā (old) Sukkur. In Akbar's time it had luxuriant orchards; in the 11th/17th century it was famous for its sword-blades. The town was peopled mainly by *sayyids* and was a great seat of learning, especially in the 10th/16th century. Amongst its prominent *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars were: Mīr Maʿṣūm Nāmī [*q.v.*] author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, a history of Sind (Poona 1938); Shaykh Farīd, who compiled the *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, an excellent biographical dictionary still in MS., and Ḳāḍī Ẓahīr al-Dīn, grammarian, legist and philologist.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BHARATPŪR, formerly a princely State in India, now forming a part of Rādjastʿhān, lying between 26° 43′ and 27° 50′ N. and 76° 53′ and 77° 46′ E. with an area of 1,982 sq. miles. The chief city is Bharatpūr, situated in 27° 13′ N. and 77° 30′ E., 34 miles from Agra, with a population of 37,321 in 1951. Paharsar, 14 miles from Bharatpūr, was first conquered in the 5th/11th century by the troops of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, under the Sayyid brothers, Djalāl al-Dīn and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who claimed descent from Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in about 3 hours, as the local tradition goes, whence the place derives its name *pahar* (3 hrs.) *sar* (conquered). At the close of the 6th/12th century it passed into the hands of Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām also known as Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, and remained under the rule of different dynasties till it was conquered by Bābur, who had sent an ulti-

matum, in verse, to the Mīr of Bayānā, 34 miles from Bharatpūr, beginning ***bā Turk satīzah makun ay Mīr-i Bayānā***. It remained thereafter under the Mug͟hals. An attempt by Brid͟j, the founder of the State of Bharatpūr, at independence towards the close of the reign of Awrangzīb was thwarted by the Imperial army killing Brid͟j in action. During the reign of Farruk͟hsiyar (1125-31/1713-18) Čūrāman D͟jāt ravaged the area and closed the roads to Delhi and Agra. In 1132/1718 a strong expeditionary force under Sawā'i D͟jay Singh, the chief of D͟jaypūr, was sent to punish him but the Sayyid king-makers who were opposed to Muḥammad S͟hāh, king of Delhi, made peace with the D͟jāts directly. In 1135/1722 Badan Singh, the successor of Čūrāman, was proclaimed full Rād͟jā of Bharatpūr on the condition of paying tribute to the Emperor. In 1167/1753 his son, Sūrad͟j Mal, gained so much strength as to attack the Imperial capital and indulge in pillage and plunder. S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*] has, in several of his letters, lamented the atrocities committed by the D͟jāts on the residents of Delhi.

The present city and the mud-fort of Bharatpūr are said to have been founded about 1146/1733. The British, under Lord Lake, made an unsuccessful attack on this fort in 1220/1805; it was, however, captured by Lord Combermere in 1242/1826.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BHAROČ. A district in Gud͟jarāt [*q.v.*] in the present Bombay State, India, of about 1450 sq.m. and with a population of some 300,000; the Islamic population was about 20% of the total prior to partition in 1947, but much of this has since moved to Sind in Pakistān. The principal class of Muslims was Bohrā [see Bohorās]. Baroč is also the name of the principal town of that district, Lat. 21° 42′ N., Long. 73° 2′ E. It is first known as a town within the Mawrya dominions, and later (c. 150 A.D.) to have been in the hands of Parthian Sāhas; from the Middle Indian form *bharugaccha-* of the Sanskrit *bhṛgukṣetra-* it was known to the Greeks as βαρυγαζα, a seaport from which the Red Sea commerce was carried on (Ptolemy, *Geog.* VII, i, 63; VIII, xxvi, 12), and as the head of an important trade-route into India (*Periplus*, §§ 47-8). Held by Rād͟jputs and Gurd͟jaras, probably as tributaries of the Čālukyas, it suffered Arab invasions in 15/636, 99/717, and 154/770. It was held by Rāśtrakutas in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries until reconquered by the Čālukyas; from them it was taken in 698/1298 by Ulug͟h K͟hān, brother of the Sulṭān ʿAlā' al-Dīn K͟halḏjī, by whom Hindu and D͟jayn temples were destroyed (Briggs, *Ferishta*, i, 327). It was under a succession of Muslim governors representing the Delhi *sulṭāns* until 798/1396, when Muḥammad Ẓafar K͟hān (governor from 793/1391) assumed his independence. From then it continued subject to the Aḥmad S͟hāhī kings [*q.v.*] until annexed by Akbar in 980/1572. In 1149/1736 ʿAbd Allāh Beg received from Niẓām al-Mulk (independent in the Deccan from 1135/1722, who previously as governor of Gud͟jarāt had made Baroč part of his private estate) the title of Nīk ʿĀlam K͟hān, and was the founder of the line of Nawwābs of Bharoč. In 1186/1772 Bharoč was captured by the British—whence its Anglo-Indian name of Broach.

Buildings.—The old fortifications were rebuilt by Bahādur S͟hāh (932-43/1526-37). In 1071/1660 they were partially razed by Awrangzīb, but rebuilt on his orders in 1097/1685 as a protection against the Mahrattas. They are now in a very dilapidated condition. The D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid, c. 701/1302, is of great significance in the development of Islamic architecture in Gud͟jarāt: the earliest buildings at Patań were mere adaptations of existing Hindū and D͟jayn structures, whereas here an original and conventionally planned mosque is composed of former temple materials, the enclosure walls, of temple stones specially recut, being thus the earliest examples of independent Islamic masonry in Gud͟jarāt. The *līwān* is an open colonnade, the three compartments of which are three temple *mańḍapas* re-erected intact, except for the removal of the Hindū animal figures, with 48 elaborately carved pillars; the three *miḥrāb*s are intact temple niches with pointed arches added under the lintels. The *līwān* roof, with three large and 10 small domes, houses elaborate coffered ceilings removed from temples; the designs of these, though Hindū, were conventional in character, and were perpetuated in later Gud͟jarāt Islamic buildings. It appears that the whole production was the work of local Hindū artisans working under the direction of Muslim overseers.

Bibliography: For the history see article Gud͟jarāt; *Bombay Gazetteer*, ii, 1877, 337-569. For a full description of the D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid, J. Burgess, *On the Muhammadan architecture of Bharoch . . . in Gujarat*, *ASWI* VI (= *ASI*, *NIS* XXIII), London 1896. (J. Burton-Page)

BHAṬṬI, the Pand͟jāb form of the Rad͟jput word Bhāti, the name of a widely distributed Rad͟jpūt tribe associated with the area stretching from Jaisalmer to the western tract of the Pand͟jāb between Fatḥābād and Bhatnair. Large numbers of those settled in the Pand͟jāb accepted Islam. According to one of their traditions the Jādons of Jaisalmer were driven from Zābulistān to the Pand͟jāb and Rād͟jputāna, the branch settling in Rād͟jputāna being named Bhāti. The references in the *Čač-nama* to the Bhaṭṭi king of Ramal in the Thar desert confirm the legends preserved in Tod's *Annals and antiquities of Rajast'han* . . . ., [2], Madras 1873. They are also mentioned in ʿAfīf's *Ta'rīk͟h-i Fīrūz S͟hāhī* (*Bib. Indica*, 36-39). The widespread nature of their settlements is recorded in the *Ā'īn* where Abu 'l-Faḍl reserves the form Bhaṭṭi for those settled in Sirhind, Multān and Pand͟jāb.

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BHATTINDA, head-quarters of the Govindgarh *taḥṣīl* of the former Patiala State, now merged with the Pand͟jāb State of the Indian Union, situated in 30° 13′ N. and 75° E. Population (1951) was 34,991. An ancient town, seat of the Bhātiyā or Bhattī Rād͟jpūts, it commanded the strategic routes from Multān to Rād͟jasthān and the Gangetic valley, including such historic places as Pānīpat and farther on Indrāpat (Delhi), for invaders from the north-west of the Indian sub-continent. In ancient times it stood on an affluent of the Ghaggar rivulet which still flows past Ambālā [*q.v.*] and the surrounding

country was practically uninhabited. Known as Vikramgarh in the pre-Islamic period, it figures in early Indo-Muslim chronicles like the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* and the *Tādj al-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī (Pandjāb Univ. Lib. MS.) as Tabarhinda (تبرهنده), a corrupt form of the correct name B(h)attrinda (بترنده) due apparently to the transposition of the dots of the letters *bā* and *tā*. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī is nearer the truth when he says that (البترنده) *al-Bitranda* (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, ix, 212) is "a city in India". Bhattrinda is composed of the words *Bhattī* and *rinda* (a jungle, a haunt), meaning a place which "abounded" in Bhattīs, as Sihrind, is of *sih* (a porcupine) and *rind* (a jungle), again corrupted by Muslim historians of non-Indian origin into Sirhind. This place-name is generally found written as سهرند in all earlier Persian chronicles and hagiological works (*e.g.*, *Bābur-nāma*, Eng. translation by A. S. Beveridge, i, 383). In the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Quetta 1949, i, 537) Bhattinda is wrongly called Sirhind because no hills exist in the vicinity of this town. The existence of a dense jungle, thirty miles from Bhattinda, in the direction of Sirhind, is, however, proved by a statement in the *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī* (Elliot and Dowson, iii, 427). This jungle served as the favourite leopard hunting-ground for Akbar (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. Blochmann, i, 286). As to the predominance of Bhattīs in and around Bhattinda, there is more than ample evidence (*Imp. Gazetteer of India*, n. ed. viii, 91). Cunningham's etymology of the name Bhattinda (see *Bibl.*) based on mere conjecture is erroneous and wide of the mark.

It was conquered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 395/1045 when the Rādjā of Bhattinda (Bahāṭiya), Bidjay Rāy, unable to resist the besiegers, fled from the fort, and committed suicide. There has been some controversy as to the identification of Bahāṭiya (Bhāṭiya) mentioned by al-ʿUtbī (*Ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī*, Lahore 1300/1882, 209 ff.). Muḥammad Nāẓim positively asserts (*The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 197-203) that it was Bhattinda and no other town. But a little-known place, called Hāṭiya, still exists in the neighbourhood of Rāwalpindī, which also answers the description, given by al-ʿUtbī, to some extent. Unless, however, more conclusive evidence is forthcoming Muḥammad Nāẓim's view must prevail. al-ʿUtbī (p. 209) gives vivid a description of the lofty city-wall and the fortifications of Bhattinda as they existed in the time of Maḥmūd. The victory of Sulṭān Maḥmūd also incidentally marks the introduction of Islam in Bhattīānā and the Sāmāna-Ambāla-Ḥiṣār region of India.

It was conquered by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām, also known as Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, in 587/1191. After the withdrawal of Muḥammad Ghūrī to Ghazna, his commandant at Bhattinda, Malik Ḍiyā al-Dīn Tūlakī, was attacked by Rāy Pithorā (Prithvirādjā), who laid a siege to the fort and continued it for 13 months. Ultimately the Muslim commandant made peace with the enemy and surrendered the fort. It was captured by Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča after the death of Ḳutb al-Dīn Aybak in 607/1210. Thereafter, it remained in the possession of the Slave kings. In 637/1239 Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Altūniya, the commandant of Bhattinda, rose in revolt, killed Yāḳūt the Abyssinian and took Raḍḍiya Sulṭāna [*q.v.*] a prisoner, who was lodged in the fort where he married her. They were, however, killed by the Hindus while on their way to Delhi from Bhattinda. The fort was captured by Nāsir al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 651/1253 and Malik Shīr Khān was appointed its commandant.

Very little is heard of the town thereafter. It must have decayed and lost its importance, although its fort has, throughout, been famous both for strength and impregnability. Strangely enough it finds no mention in the Memoirs of Bābur. Akbar, as already stated, used to hunt leopards in the *pargana* of Bhattinda. His guardian Bayram Khān [*q.v.*], after his disgrace, lodged his family in this fort before proceeding to Djullundur [*q.v.*] where, in a decisive action with the Imperial troops, he suffered an ignominious defeat. It then completely fades out of history and only reappears in 1168/1754 when it was conquered by Āla Singh, the Patiālā chieftain, whose descendants held it till the merger of their territory with the Indian Union in 1956. The modern fort is 118 ft. high, with 36 bastions. It dominates the town, a thriving centre of trade and commerce, and is visible for several miles around. In the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, it had a deep and wide moat, which that great conqueror ordered to be filled up with stones and trees before storming the fort. The ditch still exists partly filled up with the refuse and debris of the town, which is dumped here. The fort is now mouldering rapidly and serious cracks have also appeared in the arches of the main gate. Its two massive minarets collapsed in 1958.

Bābā Ḥādjdjī Ratan [see RATAN], said to have been born in the pre-Islamic era and to have later visited the Prophet, was a native of this place.

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BHITĀ'Ī, SHĀH ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF (1689-1752), a Sindhi poet belonging to a priestly family of Matiari Sayyids. He lived for a large part of his life at Bhit ("sandhill"), a small hamlet near Hala in the district of Ḥaydarābād in Sind. He is the national poet of Sind. His poetry is Ṣūfī in nature, as the poet, though not a man of great learning or education, was deeply impressed by the mystical thought of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, whose influence is evident in many of his poems. These poems were gathered together after his death by his followers and made into a collection which is called the *Risalo*. They are

written in a pure form of eighteenth century Sindhi and are remarkable for the manner in which philosophic and religious use is made of the folk tales of the Sind countryside. The poems deal with the longings of unrequited love and the need for trust in the power, wisdom and compassion of Allah. Their deeply mystical character has endeared them to the simple rural folk of Sind. It is noteworthy that their appeal has been as much to the Hindus of Sind as to the Muslims. The reason is perhaps due to the fact that the bulk of the indigenous Sindhi population is Hindu in origin, as many of the personal names testify, and the poet himself was deeply interested in the mystical contemplation of faḳīrs, sanyasis and yogis, which in turn found an echo in the Sikh religion followed by most of the caste Hindus living in Sind till the partition of India in 1947 resulted in their precipitate flight therefrom. The poems of the *Risalo* which are lyrical in type are sung to well-known Indian music and many of them, such as the *Sur Asa* and the *Sur Bilawal*, proclaim a sublime form of devotion. The folk stories on the other hand make direct appeal to the childlike simplicity common to unsophisticated people. The love tales of Sasui and Punhun, of Suhini and Mehar, and of Lilan and Chanesar are sung at the cradles of Sindhi children today. A vast literature in Sindhi on the poet and his message has been evoked by the poet's achievement and the *rawḍa* of S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf is the scene of regular pilgrimages of devotees who listen today to the recitation and singing of his verses. There have been learned studies of S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's life and work by three Sindhi scholars of distinction, namely the late S̲h̲ams al-ʿUlamā' Mīrzā Kalich Beg, the late Professor H. M. Gurbuxani and the late S̲h̲ams al-ʿUlamā' U. M. Daudpota, whose works may be consulted by those interested. (H. T. Sorley)

BHŌPĀL, formerly a princely State in India, lying between 22° 29′ and 23° 54′ N. and 76° 28′ and 78° 51′ E. with an area of 6,878 sq. miles, with a population of 838,474 in 1951. It was the second most important Muslim State, next to Ḥaydarābād [*q.v*].

Bhōpāl was founded by a military adventurer, Dōst Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, a native of Tīrāh (in the tribal area of present-day Pakistan) who belonged to the Mirza'ī K̲h̲ēl tribe of the Āfrīdī Pathans. In 1120/1708 he went to Delhi, at the age of 34, in search of employment, and succeeded in obtaining from Bahādur S̲h̲āh I [*q.v.*], emperor of Delhi, the lease of Bērāsia *pargana*, partly in recognition of his military services and partly through his own efforts. A man of exceptional courage and outstanding military skill, he soon extended his sway over a large area and founded the town of Bhōpāl with its citadel, which he named Fatḥgarh. Taking advantage of the enfeeblement of the central Mug̲h̲al authority, he broke loose and assumed the title of Nawwāb. He died in 1153/1740 and was succeeded by his minor son Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, who was soon afterwards ousted by Yār Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, a natural son of Dōst Muḥammad K̲h̲ān. The latter died in 1168/1754 without ever being formally installed Nawwāb and was succeeded by Fayḍ Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, a pious man and almost a recluse, whose weakness as a ruler, combined with the political chicanery of his Hindū minister, resulted in half of the Bhopāl territory being lost to the Pēs̲h̲wā, Bād̲j̲ī Rāō I. On his death in 1192/1777 he was succeeded by his brother, Ḥayāt Muḥammad K̲h̲ān who, strangely enough, adopted four Hindū boys as his *čēlā*s, two of whom, Fūlād K̲h̲ān and Čhōṭē K̲h̲ān, later became ministers. Rivalry between Wazīr Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, a cousin of the ruler and Murīd Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, his minister, was respnsible for surrendering the fort of Fatḥgarh to Amīr K̲h̲ān Pindārī (the founder of the former Tōnk [*q.v.*] State (who was then in the service of the Sindhīā of Gwāliōr. Wāzīr Muḥammad K̲h̲ān had to leave Bhōpāl but on Sindhīā's repairing to Gwāliōr, where disturbances had broken out, he returned with a sizable force and expelled the Marathas, under Amīr K̲h̲ān, from the fort and after sometime also drove out the Pindārīs. In 1223/1807 Ḥayāt Muḥammad died and Wazīr Muḥammad, who had proved his capability as a ruler, succeeded him to the principality, setting aside the claim of G̲h̲awt̲h̲ Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, son of the deceased ruler. In 1229/1813 the combined forces of Nāgpūr and Gwāliōr marched on Bhōpāl, which resisted the invaders heroically for eight long months and the unsuccessful siege had to be lifted.

On the death of Wazīr Muḥammad K̲h̲ān in 1232/1816, his son and the son-in-law of G̲h̲awt̲h̲ Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, Nad̲h̲r Muḥammad, succeeded him. He entered into a treaty with the British, the obligations of which he faithfully observed. This treaty guaranteed to him and his descendants the territories of Bhōpāl, while the British were assured the services of native troops for exterminating the Pindārīs, who were then over-running Central India and were no more than organised bandits. Nad̲h̲r Muḥammad was married to Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, a daughter of G̲h̲awt̲h̲ Muḥammad, who assumed the reins of power after the death of her husband in 1236/1820, as regent on behalf of her minor daughter, Sikandar Bēgam, whose formal accession took place 25 years later in 1261/1845. From this lady begins the long and illustrious chain of the Bēgams of Bhōpāl, which ended up with the voluntary abdication of Sulṭān D̲j̲ahān Bēgam in 1345/1926, in favour of her son, Ḥamīd Allāh K̲h̲ān (the last feudatory ruler of Bhōpāl) and her subsequent death in 1348/1930.

Sikandar Bēgam, owing to the delaying tactics of her mother, who wanted to retain power in her own hands, was married very late in 1251/1835 to D̲j̲ahāngīr Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, a nephew of Nad̲h̲r Muḥammad K̲h̲ān. Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, still reluctant to part with power, instigated a civil war in which Nad̲h̲r Muḥammad was defeated by the combined troops of the Dowager-Bēgam and his own wife. In 1253/1837 the authorities of the East India Company interfered and restored the administration of the State to D̲j̲ahāngīr Muḥammad K̲h̲ān. Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, baulked of her wishes, had to retire on pension. She lived long thereafter but was scrupulously kept out of the picture by her successors, Sikandar Bēgam and her daughter S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān Bēgam, whose husband Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān, for personal and public reasons, did not allow the old Bēgam even to attend social functions held by the ruling family. She died in 1299/1881 and held a *d̲j̲āgīr* of Rs. 498,682 since her retirement from political life until her death. The rule of Sikandar Bēgam is remarkable for a number of military reforms which forged the irregular Bhōpāl troops into a fine well-knit force. The State remained loyal to the suzerain British power during the upheaval of 1857 in spite of the refractory conduct of a few of the nobles. She also introduced agricultural, economic, administrative and legal reforms. Although the head of a Muslim State, she was bold enough to do away with the *pardah* and appear in public attired in military accoutrements. At the same time

she was of a religious bent of mind and performed the Ḥadjdj in 1280/1863-4. After a rule of 23 years, she died in 1285/1868 and was succeeded by her minor daughter Shāhdjahān Bēgam, under the regency of Fawdjdār Muḥammad Khān, an uncle of Sikandar Bēgam. In 1263/1847 he had to resign, chiefly because of the machinations of Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, and Sikandar Bēgam was appointed regent. In 1272/1855 Shāhdjahān Bēgam married Bakhshī Bāḳī Muḥammad Khān, who did not belong to the ruling house. He, therefore, as subsequently all the husbands of the Bēgams of Bhōpāl, enjoyed only the status of a Nawwāb-Consort and had nothing effective to do with the administration of the State, the entire power having been delegated to Sikandar Bēgam, a woman jealous of her status and dignity. She strongly objected to the recognition of her minor daughter as ruler and could only be appeased by Shāhdjahān Bēgam's voluntarily giving up all claim to rule during the life-time of her mother; an act of filial attachment rather than of expediency or political sagacity.

In 1285/1868, her husband having died a year earlier, Shāhdjahān Bēgam was formally installed as the ruler. Three years later she remarried, taking a *mawlawī* of Ḳannawdj, Sayyid Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan [*q.v.*], once a petty official of the State, as her husband. Through the efforts of the Bēgam the honorary title of Nawwāb and other insignia of office were conferred on Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān as the consort of the ruler. She had discarded the *pardah* after the death of her first husband but again retired on her marriage with the *mawlawī*, whose learning and ability always over-awed her. Her second marriage met with a mixed reception, the entire ruling family strongly disapproving it. The heir-apparent Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam, was full of bitterness and her memoirs depict Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān as an unscrupulous upstart, a tyrant who robbed her and her mother of all happiness, threatening the latter with divorce, a great stigma for a lady of high birth, if she went against his wishes. She also holds him responsible for the estrangement between her and her mother and the grand old lady Ḳudsiyya Bēgam. His disgrace in 1303/1885, due to his objectionable writings, came as a shock to the Bēgam but she had to bow before the decision of the British Government. Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān died in 1308/1890, to the great relief of Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam and others, but the relations between the ruler and the heir-apparent showed no improvement. The real cause, it appears, of the estrangement between mother and daughter was the latter's husband, Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Sulṭān Dulhā, with whom the ruler, for unknown reasons, was never entirely happy, although it was she who had selected him as her son-in-law out of some twelve suitors.

In 1319/1901 Shāhdjahān Bēgam died of cancer and, in accordance with the *sanad* issued in 1279/1862 by Lord Canning, Governor-General and Viceroy of India, was succeeded by Sulṭān Djahān Bēgam, her only child by her first husband. She had no issue from Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān. Sulṭān Djahān, during 25 years of rule, personally directed the administration of the State and carried out a number of reforms. She paid two visits to England, first in 1329/1911 to take part in the coronation ceremonies of King George V (1911-1936), and then in 1344/1925 to get the succession of her youngest and surviving son, al-Ḥādjdj Ḥamīd Allāh Khān, recognised by the British Government. Her two other sons, Muḥammad Naṣr Allāh Khān (b. 1293/1876) and Ḥāfiẓ ʿUbayd Allāh Khān (b. 1294/1877) both died, in quick succession, in 1343/1924. It was suspected that they had been poisoned, but the political sagacity of Sulṭān Djahān averted a crisis. The late Āghā Khān also played an important part in securing the rulership of Bhōpāl for Ḥamīd Allāh Khān, who thus superseded the sons of his two dead brothers. Born in 1312/1894 Ḥamīd Allāh Khān was educated at ʿAlīgarh and took an active part in politics insofar as the native princes were concerned. On two occasions (1931-2, 1944-7) he was elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and in that capacity rendered yeoman service to the cause of his brother-princes. In 1366/1946 he played a memorable rôle in Indian politics, acting as an intermediary between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, led by Muḥammad ʿAlī Djinnāḥ [*q.v.*], when he was able to secure a *carte blanche* from the Congress in favour of the Muslim League. This was, however, later repudiated by M. K. Gāndhī, the undisputed leader of the Congress.

On the lapse of British paramountcy in 1947, when India and Pakistan became two independent States, Bhōpāl was first treated as a centrally-administered area but in 1949 was merged with the Indian Union. It had an elected legislature and a ministry with a Chief Commissioner as the constitutional head of the administration. The ex-Nawwāb, now no more than an ordinary citizen, has since been pensioned off and is entitled to a privy purse of 1,100,000 rupees a year of which 100,000 rupees was allocated to the heir-apparent, Gawhar-i Tādj ʿĀbida Sulṭān who has since migrated to Pakistan and settled permanently there.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BHŌPĀL (City), Capital of the Indian province of Madhya Pradesh, situated in 23° 16′ N. and 77° 25′ E. on a sandstone ridge and on the edge of two

beautiful lakes, the Pu<u>kh</u>tah-Pul Talāō and the Baṛā Talāō, famed throughout India for natural charm and picturesque surroundings, was founded by Dōst Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān, an Orakzaʾī Āfrīdī in 1141/1728 when he built the Fatḥgaṛh fort, named after his Indian wife, Fatḥ Bībī, and connected it by a wall to the old dilapidated fort, ascribed by tradition to the legendary Rā<u>dj</u>ā Bhō<u>dj</u>, after whom a quarter of the city is still called Bhō<u>dj</u>pūra. The population in 1951 was 120,333. The city is divided into two parts, the *<u>Sh</u>ahr-i <u>Kh</u>āṣṣ*, enclosed by a wall built by Dōst Muḥammad, and the modern quarters and suburbs, <u>Dj</u>ahāngīrābād and Aḥmadābād, added by the succeeding rulers to perpetuate the memory of <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān, husband of Sikandar Bēgam, and of Aḥmad ʿAlī <u>Kh</u>ān, husband of Sulṭān <u>Dj</u>ahān Bēgam, rulers of Bhopal. The city was made the capital of the State by Nawwāb Fayḍ Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān (1168/1754-1191/1777) whose predecessors' seat of Government was Islāmnagar (23° 22′ N. and 77° 25′ E.).

In 1227/1812-3 the town, outside the wall, was devastated by the combined forces of Nāgpūr and Gwāliōr, which had attacked Bhōpāl. Na<u>dh</u>r Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān (1233/1816—1234/1818), during his short rule began to restore the town, which process was continued for decades thereafter. Many civic amenities, like roads and street-lighting, were introduced by Sikandar Bēgam followed by <u>Sh</u>āh<u>dj</u>ahān and Sulṭān <u>Dj</u>ahān Bēgams; the former particularly added some grand buildings of which the Tā<u>dj</u> Maḥall palace and the Tā<u>dj</u> al-Masā<u>dj</u>id deserve mention.

The two lakes, on whose banks a string of palaces has been raised by almost all the rulers, are connected by an aqueduct and provide drinking water to the citizens. Above them rises the city, tier on tier of irregular houses, with spacious gardens here and there, dominated by the congregational mosque of Ḳudsiyya Bēgam, built of purple-red sandstone, with high minarets, from which the *naḳḳāra* [*q.v.*] was beaten during Ramaḍān both at the *saḥr* and *ifṭār* times.

Bibliography: See article *Bhōpāl* and *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, viii 142-5.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BIʿA [see Kanīsa].

BĪBĀN, the gates; passes across a chain of the Tellian Atlas Mountains—parallel to the <u>Dj</u>ur<u>dj</u>ura, south of the depression of the Wādī Sahel. The French have retained the Turkish name for these passes, *Damir Ḳapu*, Iron Gates. The road and railway track from Algiers to Constantine both pass through the Great Gate, *al-Bāb al-Kabīr*, hollowed out by the Wādi Chebba. The Little Gate, *al-Bāb al-Ṣa<u>gh</u>īr*, 3.5 km. to the east, is crossed by the Wādī Būktūn. It is the narrower of the two. These "gates", which were not included in the network of Roman roads and the Arab routes, were used from the sixteenth century onwards by Turkish troops travelling between Algiers and Constantine; but these troops were forced to pay the rough local inhabitants to let them pass through the area unmolested. On October 28th, 1839, a French column of 8000 men, commanded by Marshal Valée, Governor-general of Algeria, and accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, crossed the Pass of the Little Gate without hindrance, for the mountain tribesmen of the locality had obtained the customary tribute through the good offices of Mokrānī, *ba<u>sh</u>-agha* of Me<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>āna, won over to the French cause.

This expedition, known as that of the Iron Gates, was acclaimed as a brilliant feat of arms, but it led to the final rupture between the French and ʿAbd al-Ḳadir who regarded it as a violation of the Treaty of Tafna.

Geographers have extended the name Bībān to the whole of the anticlinal chain of mountains which cuts across the Iron Gates and which stretches at a height of 1000 to over 1400 metres from Aumale to the Guergour (Lafayette), separating the depression of the Wādī Sahel and the tributary valleys of the lower Bou Sellam from the structurally complex mountains of the Ouennougha, the Mzita and the Metnen and of the basin of the Bordj bou Arreridj. These mountains with their limestone, marle and schistose clay soil are not very fertile. The Biban chain is partly wooded with Aleppo pines. Populated by Arab tribes in the west, Kabyle Berbers in the centre, it forms, in the east, the southern boundary of the Kabyle Berber dialect area (see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, Algeria, Atlas, Kabylia).

(G. Yver-[J. Despois])

BĪBĪ, a word of East Turkish origin, with the meaning of "little old mother", "grandmother", "woman of high rank", "lady". It is noted, with the sense of "woman of consequence", "lady", in the Ottoman-Turkish dictionary *Lu<u>gh</u>at-i De<u>sh</u>ī<u>sh</u>ī*, composed in 988/1580-1581. Bībī also means, in Anatolian Turkish, "paternal aunt". Taken over into Persian at an early date, with the sense of "woman of the house", "lady", the word can be found in a verse of Anwarī (12th cent. A.D.) cited in the *Farhang-i Nāṣirī*. It was used in <u>Kh</u>urāsān during the 13th century as a title for women of distinction, as in the case of the mother of the author who wrote the history of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs in Asia Minor, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-<u>Dj</u>aʿfarī al-Ru<u>gh</u>adī, better known under the name Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] al-Muna<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ima (son of the distinguished lady, the woman astrologer). One of the two wives of <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Ṣafī (cf. Ṣafī al-Dīn) was called Bībī Fāṭima. The mausoleum, situated near Tehrān, of the daughter of the last Sāsānid, Yazdigird III, is known under the name Bībī <u>Sh</u>ahrbānū.

Bibliography: <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Sulaymān Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *Lu<u>gh</u>at-i <u>Dj</u>a<u>gh</u>atāy ve Türkī-i ʿO<u>th</u>mānī*, Istanbul 1298, 88; *Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, iii, Ankara 1954, x and 90; *Tarama Dergisi*, Istanbul 1934, ii, 909; *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*, s.v.; H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959, 2; Browne, i, 130 and iv, 42; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 293.

(H. W. Duda)

BIBLE [see Tawrāt, Zabūr, In<u>dj</u>īl].

BIBLIOGRAPHY. In the present article the word is used in the sense of a systematically arranged list of books, compiled for the benefit of those who need to know what has been written on a particular subject.

The outstanding achievement in Islamic bibliography to appear before the adoption of printing in Islamic territories is the *Fihrist*. Its author, Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], a bookseller (*warrāḳ*) in Ba<u>gh</u>dād, compiled the work in 377/987-8 in the form of a bibliographical history of literature, arranged in ten books, the first six being concerned with the "Islamic writings" (Ḳurʾān, grammar, history and belles-lettres, poetry, scholastic philosophy, and law), the remaining four with philosophy and science, legends and fables, sects and creeds, and alchemy. In each book there is to be found an account of the rise and development of the study of the subject dealt with, a list of all available writings on it and bibliographical details of their authors, from the earliest times.

The other great monument of Islamic bibliography is the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa 'l-Funūn*, a work for which the Ottoman polyhistor, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, spent some twenty years collecting materials. The first volume was completed in 1064/1653-4, some 650 years after the *Fihrist*. After an introduction relating at great length the nature, value, divisions and history of the various sciences, the author lists in one alphabetical sequence the titles of all the works written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish which he had personally seen or of which he knew the title. For each work he gives details of author, date of compilation, particulars of its division into sections and chapters, and the various commentaries, glosses, refutations and criticisms that the work has attracted to itself; he gives *incipits* of all works seen by him in order to facilitate the identification of unknown works. Several supplements to the work were compiled by his successors, the latest by Bağdatlı Ismāʿīl Pasha (d. 1920) containing some 18,000 titles.

Little needs to be said about the remaining bibliographical works which have survived. Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (A.H. 502-572, [*q.v.*]), who spent the greater part of his life as a peripatetic student in Andalusia, compiled a *Fihrist* (ed. Codera and Ribera, *BAH* IX, X, Saragossa 1894) in which he enumerates the titles of some 1400 books in Arabic of both Spanish and Oriental origin which he had read or heard, with chains of transmission going back to their original authors. Lists of works of individual writers exist, such as those for Rāzī (compiled by al-Bīrūnī, ed. by P. Kraus, Paris 1936), Galen translations (by Ḥusayn b. Isḥāḳ, ed. Bergsträsser, Leipzig 1925, and 1932) and Suyūṭī's autobibliography (Brockelmann II 145; S II 179). The Shīʿīs have been assiduous in the compilation of bibliographies of writings of their own adherents; the earliest, by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. A.H. 460), has been edited by Sprenger, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, and Ghulām Ḳādir for the Bibliotheca Indica. In the preface to this edition three similar works on bibliography are described. More recently, Iʿdjāz Ḥusayn's (A.H. 1240-1286) *Kashf al-Ḥudjūb wa 'l-Astār ʿan Asmāʾ al-Kutub wa 'l-Asfār* contains notices of 3414 Shīʿī books arranged alphabetically, and the *al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿa* of Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī (1936-, in progress) has already run to ten volumes.

The publications of Western scholars and students of Islam were recorded for the first time by Schnurrer, the second edition of whose *Bibliotheca Arabica* published in 1811 lists in an arrangement by subject the printed works on the subject from the earliest times until the year 1810 with a chronological index. Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leipzig 1840; 2nd ed., ib., 1846, 1861) which purported to give the titles of all Arabic, Persian and Turkish books from the invention of printing, is disappointing. Chauvin continued the work of Schnurrer in a much more expert fashion, providing incidentally an author index to the *Bibliotheca Arabica*. Of his *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de* 1810 *à* 1885 twelve volumes in all were published during the years 1892-1922; the materials for the remaining part of this work are still preserved in manuscript in the library of the University of Liège. It was his intention to bridge the gap between Schnurrer and the *Orientalische Bibliographie* which began publication in 1887 and provided a most adequate record of all publications in the Islamic field, as well as in all other branches of Oriental studies, until 1911.

Had Chauvin's work been published in its entirety there would now be in existence a substantially complete record of all Western publications on Islamic subjects from the beginnings down to 1911 readily to hand in the three bibliographies, Schnurrer, Chauvin, *Orientalische Bibliographie*. The ever-increasing volume of work done on Islamic studies and consequent publication since that date made it even more difficult to comprehend the total of publications over a period within the confines of a single work. For publications since 1911, therefore, the scholar must make recourse to a large number of bibliographies of all kinds which cannot here be listed in detail. (Pfannmüller in his *Handbuch der Islamliteratur* (Berlin and Leipzig 1923) provided a useful introduction and guide to the literature of the subject, but had no intention of compiling a complete Islam bibliography). The principal periodicals in the field have striven to cope with the problem: it is only necessary to mention the '*Kritische Bibliographie*' published in *Der Islam* at intervals from 1913 to 1933 and '*Abstracta Islamica*' which, since 1937, has been a regular feature of the *Revue des études islamiques*. In *Index Islamicus* (Cambridge 1958), Pearson has attempted to list the periodical and *Festschrift* articles of the fifty years from 1906 to 1955.

The Ibn al-Nadīm—Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa tradition of bibliographical literary histories has been carried on in our own times in the monumental works of Brockelmann and Storey on Arabic and Persian literature respectively. Each of these writers gives, in addition to biographical data, a list as complete as it is possible to make of surviving manuscripts, cumulating the printed catalogues of collections in all libraries, as well as notes on the principal editions, translations and works of history or criticism of the individual writers. Brockelmann handles his material on a chronological basis, Storey arranges his by subject; both are quite indispensable for all students of these literatures, as well as to all who have occasion to catalogue Arabic and Persian books and manuscripts. A similar work with more limited scope was compiled by Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig 1927). Christian and Jewish literature in Arabic form the subject of separate treatments by G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christlichen arab. Lit.*, 5 vols., Vatican City 1944-53, and M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902.

In recent years Islamic countries themselves have been making great contributions to their bibliography. In 1918 Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs published his *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya wa 'l-Muʿarraba* containing the titles of all Arabic printed books from the beginnings of printing to the year 1919 inclusive, arranged in alphabetical sequence according to the most commonly used form of the author's name, whether this be *ism*, *laḳab*, *kunya* or *nisba*. The work is provided with an index of the titles of works. Egypt has issued a number of volumes of what is to all intents and purposes a national bibliography in *Al-sidjill al-thaḳāfī*. A Persian national bibliography by Dr. Iradj Afshār has appeared in the *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn* since 1954 and the first volume of a catalogue of Persian printed books by Khānbābā Mushār was published in 1337 solar/1956. The *ʿOthmānlı muʾellifleri* of Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir is a bio-bibliographical dictionary of Ottoman writers in the style of the *tedhkeres* and is of great value to all students of Turkish culture, even though it is

not marked by accuracy of bibliographical detail and, as Babinger puts it, finding a name in the index is often a matter of luck or demanding of great patience. *Türk bibliyografyası* has recorded all publications in Turkey since 1928 and the National Library has announced plans for the publication of a catalogue of Turkish printed books from the date of the adoption of printing in that country in the 18th century. *Türkiye makaleler bibliyografyası*, an index to articles in Turkish periodicals, has been issued regularly since 1952.

Bibliography: The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm was edited by Flügel and published after his death by J. Roediger and A. Mueller (2 vols., Leipzig 1871-2, reprinted Cairo, 1348). A new edition by J. Fück is in preparation. Its contents were analysed in detail by Flügel in *ZDMG* xiii, 559-650 and set out in tabular form in Browne, i, 383-7. See also references in Pearson, *Index Islamicus*, nos. 23281-7, 733 (except 23285). For Hādjdjī Khalīfa, see Babinger, *G.O.*, 195-203. The *Kashf al-Zunūn* was edited by Flügel (Oriental Translation Fund, 7 vols., Leipzig 1835-58; also Būlāḳ 1858, Istanbul 1310-11, and 1941-3). The *Keşf el-Zunun Zeyli* of Bağdatlı İsmail Pasha was published in Istanbul 1945-7. On astronomy: Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak*, 74- and Italian version, *Storia dell, astronomia presso gli Arabi* in *Raccolta dei scritti*, v, 144-150. On Shīʿī bibliography see Browne, iv, chap. 8, esp. 355-8.

G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana* (Rome 1916) is the only work of its kind and is invaluable for its lists of general bibliographical works. (Regrettably only the first part was ever published). For the works of Schnurrer and Zenker see the preface to Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, esp. xx-xxx; for the unpublished portions of Chauvin's *Bibliographie* see J. Gobeaux-Thoret, *Notes from the Liège Library on Victor Chauvin and on Ibn Butlān* in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilisation* (ed. Grunebaum, 1955), 363-4; the index to Schnurrer occupies xli-cxvii; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* was originally published at Weimar and Berlin, 2 vols., 1898-1902; Supplementbände I-III, Leiden 1937-1942; 2.den Supplementbänden angepasste Aufl., 2 vols. Leiden 1943, 1949. Storey, *Persian literature*, London 1927-, in progress.

(J. D. Pearson)

BIDʿA, innovation, a belief or practice for which there is no precedent in the time of the Prophet. It is the opposite of *sunna* and is a synonym of *muḥdath* or *ḥadath*. While some Muslims felt that every innovation must necessarily be wrong, some allowance obviously had to be made for changing circumstances. Thus a distinction came to be made between a *bidʿa* which was 'good' (*ḥasana*) or praiseworthy (*maḥmūda*), and one which was 'bad' (*sayyiʾa*) or blameworthy (*madhmūma*). Al-Shāfiʿī laid down the principle that any innovation which runs contrary to the Ḳurʾān, the *sunna*, *idjmāʿ*, or *athar* (a tradition traced only to a Companion or a Follower) is an erring innovation, whereas any good thing introduced which does not run counter to any of these sources is praiseworthy. On this basis innovations have been classified according to the five categories (*aḥkām*) of Muslim law. Under duties incumbent on the community (*farḍ kifāya*) are included such *bidʿa*s as the study of grammar, rhetoric, etc. on which an understanding of the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* is based, investigation of the reliability of men whose authority is quoted for traditions (*al-djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl* [*q.v.*]), distinguishing sound and weak traditions, codifying law, and the refutation of heretical sects. Prohibited (*muḥarrama*) innovations include the doctrines of those who oppose the followers of the *sunna* and the accepted beliefs of the community. Among those which are recommended (*mandūba*) is the establishment of such institutions as hospices and schools. Innovations which are disapproved (*makrūha*) include the decoration of mosques and the ornamentation of copies of the Ḳurʾān. Among those which are permitted (*mubāḥa*), i.e. towards which the law is indifferent, is the free use of pleasant foods, drinks and clothing.

Bidʿa is to be distinguished from heresy. When it includes matters which have been introduced in disagreement with what has come down from the Prophet, it is said that this is not due to any purpose of rebelling against him, but has arisen through some kind of confusion. Innovators are called *Ahl al-bidaʿ* and *Ahl al-ahwāʾ*. The implication is that the innovator (*mubtadiʿ*) is one who introduces something on an arbitrary principle without having any basis in the recognised foundations of Islām. The objection to *bidʿa* has led some Muslims in more recent times to denounce the use of tobacco and coffee, and even of modern scientific inventions; but among the Wahhābīs, the strictest body within modern Islām, scientific inventions are freely used. Indeed, the economy of the present state of Saʿūdī Arabia is mainly dependent on oil whose production could not be accomplished without modern inventions.

Bidʿa may be treated on the level of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]. Just as what is *ḳiyās* in one generation may be included in what a later generation considers *idjmāʿ*, so may it be with *bidʿa*. The distinction between 'good' and 'bad' innovations was therefore a necessary principle. Only people of an ultra-conservative nature who live in an unreal world of their own ideas could insist that the practice of the Prophet and his Companions in al-Madīna may alone be followed, and that no allowance may be made for the development of knowledge and differing circumstances. But a number of traditions condemning innovations are found in the collections of *Ḥadīth* as statements of the Prophet.

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(J. Robson)

BĪDAR, a district in south-central India (the 'Deccan', [*q.v.*]), and the headquarters town of that district, lat. 17° 55′ N., long. 77° 32′ E., population over 15,000, 82 miles north-west of Ḥaydarābād from which it is easily accessible by road and rail.

The identification of Bīdar with the ancient Vidarbha (Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii, 411) is now discounted, cf. G. Yazdani, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947, 3. Bīdar was included in the Čālukya kingdom of Kalyāṅ, 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries, but was in the hands of the Kākatīyās of Warangal when conquered by Ulugh Khān (later Muḥammad b. Tughlaḳ, [*q.v.*]) in 722/1322 (details of siege and men-

tion of fortifications, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 449), from whose governor it was taken after a fierce battle in 748/1347 by a *Amīr-i Ṣadah* (Commander of a *Ṣadī* or subdivision of approximately 100 villages; Baranī, 495; *Riḥla*, Cairo ed., ii, 75), Ẓafar Khān. The latter, on his acceptance as first king of the Bahmanī dynasty [*q.v.*] as ʿAlā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, divided his dominion into four provinces, of which Bīdar was one. The town was important strategically (Bahmanī dynasty, monuments, [*q.v.*]), and as a fortress held the seventh Bahmanī king Shams al-Dīn (799/1397) in internment; Muḥammad II (780-99/1378-97) established orphanage schools in Bīdar and elsewhere, cf. Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii, 349-50. An assault by the eighth king, Fīrūz Shāh, against his brother Aḥmad in 825/1422 was repulsed at Bīdar, leading to Aḥmad's succession, shortly after which he transferred his capital to Bīdar from Gulbarga (Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabaṭabā, *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, Ḥaydarābād edn., 49-50), rebuilt the fortifications and renamed it Muḥammadābād; the natural position of Bīdar on a healthy plateau with abundant water, and its central position in the kingdom, offered advantages not possessed by Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga. Bīdar was attacked in 866/1462 by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaldjī of Mālwā, who destroyed some of its buildings, but was repulsed with the aid of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Gudjarāt. Bīdar's heyday under the Bahmanīs was during the able ministry of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*], c. 866-886/1462-81; but after his murder the Bahmanī power declined, to the advantage of the minister Ḳāsim Barīd (founder of the Barīdī dynasty, [*q.v.*]) and his family. The Bahmanīs remained as puppet kings under the Barīdī ministers until at least 952/1545; Amīr Barīd was *de facto* ruler until 949/1542, and his son ʿAlī Barīd adopted the royal title, presumably after the death of the last Bahmanī king, Kalīm Allāh (for coins in whose name, dated 952 [= 1545 A.D.], see *Proc. VII All-India Oriental Conf.*, 740). Bīdar fell to Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpur in 1028/1619, was annexed to the Mughal empire by Awrangzīb in 1066/1656, and passed to Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh in 1137/1724.

Monuments. Buildings particularly associated with the Bahmanī and Barīdī dynasties are described under those headings; those of the post-Barīdī period are unimportant and are not described. Page references in the following account are to Yazdani, *op. cit.*

The city and fort are both fully walled, and in their present area date from the time of Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī, who incorporated the old Hindū fort in the west of the present area into his buildings of 832-5/1429-32; Persian and Turkish engineers and architects are known to have been employed. The ground on the north and east of the perimeter falls sharply away; on the other sides the walls are within a triple moat hewn out of the laterite outcrop by local Hindū masons (p. 29). Much of the defences was destroyed in Maḥmūd Khaldjī's invasion (vide above) and restored by Niẓām Shāh; but their character was changed in the time of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, c. 875/1470, after the introduction of gunpowder. Minor improvements were made by Maḥmūd Shāh (inscriptions, *EIM* 1925-6, 17-8), and more extensive ones, including the mounting of large guns, by ʿAlī Barīd Shāh, 949-87/1542-79. The description of the defences in the reign of Shāhdjahān by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambō (*ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, Bibl. Ind. iii, 249-50) indicates that little subsequent changes were made. In the perimeter of 4 km. there are 37 bastions, mostly massive, many with gun emplacements, and 7 gates as well as the three successive gates between town and fort. The first gateway serves as a barbican for the second, the Sharza Darwāza—so called from the figures of two tigers carved on the façade, a common feature of Dakhnī forts (32). The third gate, Gunbad Darwāza, is massive, with battered walls, hemispherical dome and corner *guldasta*s recalling the contemporary Delhī architecture, but with an outer arch of wide span stilted above the haunch, the shape of much Persian-inspired architecture in the Deccan and characteristic of the Bahmanī buildings in particular (34). The town walls are said to be the work of ʿAlī Barīd (Muḥammad Sulṭān, *Ā'ina-i Bīdar*, 17-18) in 962-5/1555-8, but doubtless superseded Bahmanī work. Again there are 37 bastions, adapted for long-range guns, and five gateways (83-90).

Within the fort are the Solah Khambā ('sixteen pillar', so called from a period of its decay when 16 pillars were screened off in the *līwān*) Masdjid, the earliest Muslim building at Bīdar and the original Djāmiʿ Masdjid, having been established before the transfer of the capital (inscription giving date 827 [= 1423-4 A.D.], *EIM* 1931-2, 26-7); the style is heavy and monotonous, particularly in the 91-metre façade, and the inner circular piers are over-massive; the central dome rests on a hexadecagonal collar pierced with traceried windows, to form a clerestory (54-6); the Takht Maḥall, the modern name for what was probably Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī's palace described in the *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, 70-1, and referred to as *Dār al-Imāra* by Firishta, i, 627. The arches have the typical Bahmanī stilt at the apex, and the fine encaustic tile-work, probably imported from Kāshān, includes the emblem of the tiger and rising sun (66-77); the Bahmanī Dīwān-i ʿĀmm, with fine tile-work in floral, geometric and calligraphic (Kūfic) designs, generally Persian with some *chinoiserie* (62-6); the Gagan = [Skt. 'sky'], Tarkash and Rangīn Maḥalls, all begun in Bahmanī times and rebuilt by the Barīd Shāhīs: typical Barīdī chain-and-pendant motif in Tarkash Maḥall, ʿAlī Barīd's rebuilding of Rangīn Maḥall with inlay mother-of-pearl work and woodcarving in Hindū as well as Muslim patterns, with some cusping of wooden arches, the best of Barīdī work but on too small a scale to be fully effective (60-2, 57-9, 44-9 respectively); a group of underground rooms, Hazār Kotthṛī, with an emergency escape passage leading outside the walls (77-8); the Shāhī Ḥammām, late Bahmanī or early Barīdī, with a fine vaulted ceiling, 51-2; and minor buildings.

Within the town walls are the Čawbāra, a massive tower at a cross-roads probably built by Aḥmad Shāh as an observation post (90); the great Madrasa of Maḥmūd Gāwān, built 877/1472, whose Persian prototype was the *madrasa* of Khargird in Khurāsān (cf. E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, 72-6); its remaining *minār* (the other, with the south-east corner, destroyed by a gunpowder explosion in 1107/1696), 40 m. high, in three stages. Much of the former tile-work has perished from the *minārs* and façades, but the proportions, the silhouette, and the interplay of light and shade due to the rows of deeply recessed arches on all faces are very pleasing to the eye. The most imposing monument of the Bahmanī period, it has no parallel elsewhere in India (91-100); the Takht-i Kirmānī, a gateway containing a room in which is a couch associated with the saint Khalīl Allāh, with fine cut-plaster medallions, etc., of

late Bahmanī design, and a trefoil parapet which, originating in the Bahmanī period, is found in Barīdī buildings also (100-2); the Dj̲āmiʿ Masdj̲id of the town, plain but elegant, with a high lantern-vaulted *līwān* under its double dome, late Bahmanī work restored in the Barīdī period (chain-and-pendant motif in spandrels of façade), 103-4; the Baṛī K̲h̲ānḳāh of Maḥbūb Subḥānī, whose mosque parapet shows the overlapping arches of the Bahmanī period, 111. Outside the town walls are (besides the tomb buildings of the Bahmanīs and Barīd S̲h̲āhīs, [*q.v.*]) the fine Čawkhandī of Ḥaḍrat K̲h̲alīl Allāh, similar in style to the tomb of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahmanī and one of the best Bahmanī buildings (141-6); the tombs of the Abyssinian nobles in the Ḥabs̲h̲ī Kot, 180; the Kālī ('black') Masdj̲id, probably early Barīdī, whose *miḥrāb*, projecting out from the *līwān*, forms a high square chimney-like base for a dome supported on each side by an open arch, resembling an aerial Barīdī tomb (196-7); and numerous other buildings.

Mention must be made of the local Bīdrī ware, a class of damascened metalwork in which engraved and inlaid silver designs are made on an alloy (mainly zinc with some copper, lead and occasionally tin) base, which is afterwards blackened and highly polished; the blackening is carried out by rubbing a locally-obtained earth, containing alkali nitrates, mixed with ammonium chloride, on the fresh surface of the alloy.

Bibliography: Yazdani, *op. cit.*, supersedes all previous work on the monuments: full references, extensive plates, drawings, plans, inscriptions, etc. See also J. Burgess, *Antiquities in Bīdar and Aurangabad Districts*, *ASWI* iii (= *NIS* iii), 1878; *ASI Annual Report*, 1928-9, 5-11; *Hyderabad Arch. Dept. Reports*, passim; Sir J. Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, Chap. xxiii in *Cambridge History of India*, 1928; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic period*), Chap. xiii. For Bīdar as a fortified city, full description with measured drawings of fortifications in S. Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957. For the history of Bīdar see *Gazetteer of the Bīdar district*; Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, and *The Bahmanis of the Deccan, an Objective study*.

For Bīdrī ware, full references in T. R. Gairola, *Bīdrī Ware*, in *Ancient India*, XII, 1956, 116-8, which supersedes all previous technical work.

(H. K. Sherwani and J. Burton-Page)

BĪDIL, Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿAbd al-K̲h̲āliḳ Arlās (or Barlās), of Buk̲h̲āran origin, was born at ʿAẓīmābād (Patna) in 1054/1644, where his family had settled. He lost his father in 1059/1649 and was brought up by his uncle Mīrzā Ḳalandar (d. 1076/1665) and maternal uncle Mīrzā Ẓarīf (d. 1075/1664), who was well-versed in *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature and *fiḳh*. In 1070/1659 he visited a number of places in Bengal along with Mīrzā Ḳalandar. In 1071/1660 he went to Cuttack (Orissa) where he stayed for three years. It was here in Orissa that Mīrzā Ẓarīf, who also had strong mystic leanings introduced him to S̲h̲āh Ḳāsim Huwaʾllāhī with whom he soon after contracted his *bayʿa*. In 1076/1665 he went to Delhi, where he met S̲h̲āh Kābulī, a *madj̲d̲h̲ūb*, to whom he devotes a lengthy chapter in *Čahār ʿUnṣur*. For two years thereafter he wandered about the woods of Bindrāban and the streets of Muttra, Aʿẓamābād and Agra in search of S̲h̲āh Kābulī, who had disappeared suddenly. While at Agra, Bīdil experienced hardship and starvation. In 1079/1668 he married, and entered the service of Prince Muḥammad Aʿẓam b. Awrangzīb, whom he served for a number of years. The Prince once requested him to compose a *ḳaṣīda* in his praise; Bīdil refused to do so, and resigned his position. K̲h̲ʷus̲h̲gō's statement (as reproduced in *Fayḍ-i Ḳuds*, 80) that Bīdil remained in the service of the Prince for twenty years is not supported by other writers. Soon after his resignation he again took to wandering; this time visiting several places in the Pandj̲āb including Lahore and Ḥasan Abdāl. His wanderings, however, ended in 1096/1685 when he finally settled at Delhi. He was offered a high post by Āṣaf Dj̲āh I, the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, who was one of his pupils in poetry; although grateful for the offer, Bīdil refused to accept it. He died in 1133/1721 and was buried in the courtyard of his house in Old Delhi. The exact location of his grave in the ruined city has been a matter of great controversy. The present grave, with an inscribed head-stone, is spurious.

Essentially a mystic poet, said to have composed over ninety thousand verses, Bīdil is very popular in Afg̲h̲ānistān and parts of Chinese Turkistān. In poetry he has been compared with Saʿdī and Rūmī, in prose with al-Anṣārī al-Harawī and al-G̲h̲azālī (*qq.v.*).

He is the author of: (i) *Čahār ʿUnṣur*, written in 1116/1704, a mainly biographical work interspersed with supernatural anecdotes (Cawnpore 1292/1875); (ii) *Nikāt*, a philosophical treatise dealing with certain abstruse problems like *waḥy*, *ilhām*, *nubuwwa* etc., profusely interspersed with *g̲h̲azals*, *ḳaṭaʿāt* and *rubāʿiyyāt*, (Cawnpore 1292/1875); (iii) *Muḥīṭ-i Aʿẓam*, a *mat̲h̲nawī* on the lines of Ẓuhūrī's *Sāḳīnāma*, published as a part of *Kulliyāt-i Bīdil* (Bombay 1299/1881); (iv) *ʿIrfān*, another *mat̲h̲nawī*, written in 1124/1712 and comprising 11,000 verses, deals with metaphysical problems as the author understood them (Bombay 1299/1881); (v) *Ṭūr-i Maʿrifat*, another *mat̲h̲nawī* comprising 6,000 verses, still unpublished (MS. Punjab Univ. Lib.), deals with natural phenomena; (vi) *Ṭilism-i Ḥayrat*, also a *mat̲h̲nawī* of the same length as *Ṭūr-i Maʿrifat* (Bombay 1299/1881); (vii) *Dīwān*; no complete edition has been published so far; an incomplete edition, however, up to *radīfdāl* only was published at Kābul (1334/1915), and another edition at Cawnpore (Nawalkishore: 1292/1875); (viii) *Ruḳaʿāt*, a fine specimen of Persian letter-writing, containing useful information about the numerous pupils of the poet and some of his benefactors (Cawnpore 1292/1875); select works of Bīdil have also been published at Tashkent, as he is very popular in the republics of Tādj̲īkistān and Uzbekistān in the U.S.S.R.

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BĪDJĀN, Aḥmed, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'al-Kātib' (and hence known as Yazīdjī-oghlu Aḥmed) and younger brother of the famous Yazīdjl-oghlu Meḥmed, Turkish mystic writer and 'popular educator' who flourished in the middle of the 9th/15th century. The brothers, after studying under Ḥādjdjī Bayram [*q.v.*] of Ankara, lived a retired life together at Gelibolu, Aḥmed practising such austerities and becoming so emaciated that he was called—and calls himself in his books—'Bī-djān', *i.e.*, 'The Lifeless'. To judge from the date of the *Muntahā* (see below), Aḥmed must have lived until after 870/1465-6. He was buried beside his brother at Gelibolu, where their *türbe* was a popular resort of pilgrims (cf. Ewliyā, v, 320 and iii, 401, where E. also records a tradition that Aḥmed lived for some time at Sofia).

His works are: (1) *Anwār al-ʿĀshiḳīn* (Ḥ. Kh. [Flügel] no. 1411), a Turkish prose translation of his brother's Arabic *Maghārib al-Zamān* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 12462), completed in Muḥ. 855/Feb. 1451: this book, a standard mystical work (contents described by Hammer in *S. B. Ak. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, iii, 129 ff.), has enjoyed great popularity, 12 printed editions being recorded in Fehmi Karatay's *Ist. Ün. Küt. Türkče Basmalar*, 1956; (2) *Durr-i Maknūn* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 4873), a cosmographical work written to display God's power and also based on the *Maghārib al-Zamān*; (3) *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 8070), an abridgement of Ḳazwīnī's work (cf. Rieu, *CTM*, 106) made in 857/1453 (edition: Kazan, 1888). Numerous MSS of these three works exist. (4) *Muntahā*, a 'Summa' of faith and practice, with interpretations of Koranic texts, stories of the prophets, sayings of holy men, etc. (MS in Ist. Un. Lib. [Khāliṣ Ef.], TY 3324), composed at Gelibolu in 870/1465-6 (f. 2v). All his books are written in a simple didactic style and a tone of humble and sincere piety.

The still popular *Aḥmadiyya*, sometimes attributed to Aḥmed Bīdjān, is in fact the work of Aḥmed Mürshidī (for whom see *ʿOM*, I, 33).

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(V. L. Ménage)

BIDJANAGAR [see vidjayanagara].

BĪDJĀPŪR, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in Bombay State (India), situated in 16° 49′ N. and 75° 43′ E., 350 miles south of Bombay. Population in 1951 was 65,734. It was the seat of the Yādavā kings for over a century from 586/1190 to 694/1294 when it was conquered by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī for his uncle Djalāl al-Dīn Khaldjī [*q.v.*], king of Delhi. In 890/1485-6 Yūsuf, an alleged son of the Ottoman Sulṭān, Murād II who, on the accession of his brother Meḥemmed II to the throne, was said to have escaped certain death through a stratagem of his mother, founded the Muslim kingdom of Bīdjāpūr and built the citadel. This story seems to be unknown to the Ottoman historians (cf. Khalīl Edhem, *Düwel-i Islâmiyye*, 495); the Ottoman historian Munadjdjim Bashī, who includes an account of the ʿĀdilshāhids in his *Djāmiʿ al-Duwal*, describes Yūsuf as of Turcoman origin. For a discussion of this question see further Ismail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Adilşâhîler*, Istanbul 1953, 3 ff). He also captured Goa and included it in his dominions. He assumed the title of ʿĀdil Shāh which became the royal surname and the dynasty came to be known as the ʿĀdil Shāhs of Bīdjāpūr. He was succeeded by three incapable or profligate rulers. In 965/1557 ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh came to the throne; he built the city wall of Bīdjāpūr, the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, aqueducts and other public utility works. In 973/1565 the combined troops of Bīdjāpūr, Aḥmadnagar and Golconda defeated the Vidjayānagar forces at the battle of Tālīkōta. ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh died in 987/1579 and was succeeded by his minor nephew Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, under the regency of the famous Čānd Bībī. He died in 1036/1626 after an independent rule of 47 years and was succeeded by Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh, during whose reign, Sīvādjī, the Mahratta leader rose to power. His father Shāhdjī Bhōnslē was a petty officer of the Bīdjāpūr Sulṭān. Having been bred and brought up on Bīdjāpūr 'salt', Sīvādjī repaid the debt of gratitude by attacking Bīdjāpūr territory and between 1056/1646-1058/1648 he seized many forts of importance. In 1067/1656-7 Awrangzīb, while still a prince, attacked and beseiged Bīdjāpūr but on hearing of the serious illness of Shāhdjahān had to lift the seige and leave for Āgrā. Thirty years later (1097/1686) Awrangzīb succeeded in subduing Bīdjāpūr during the reign of Sikandar ʿAdīl Shāh (1083/1672-1097/1686), the last of the ʿAdīl Shāhs. Sikandar ʿĀdil Shāh was imprisoned and allowed a pension by Awrangzīb. He died in 1111/1699-1700. In 1100/1688 Bīdjāpūr was visited by a virulent type of bubonic plague which claimed 150,000 persons, including Awrangābādī Maḥall, a queen of Awrangzīb while Ghāzī al-Dīn Firūz Djang, a high noble, lost an eye. Towards the close of his reign Awrangzīb appointed his youngest son, Kām Bakhsh, to the government of Bīdjāpūr. On Awrangzīb's death Kām Bakhsh proclaimed himself Emperor at Bīdjāpūr, assuming the title of *Dīn-Panāh*. In 1137/1724 Bīdjāpūr was included in the dominions of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād. It was, however, transferred to the Marātʿhās in 1174/1760 for a sum of 6,000,000 rupees. On the overthrow of the Pēshwā in 1234/1818

the British occupied Bīdjāpūr and assigned it to the Rādjā of Satārā in whose possession it remained till 1266/1848 when, on the lapse of the State, it formed part of British Indian territory. In 1281/1864 Bīdjāpūr was made a separate district and in many of the old palaces were housed Government offices which were, however, later shifted elsewhere.

The ʿĀdil Shāhs were great patrons of art and literature. Malik Ḳummī, the poet and Ẓuhūrī, the celebrated author of the two Persian classics, *Sih Nat̲h̲r* and *Mīnā Bazār*, adorned for a considerable time the Court of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, himself a poet, who composed in Dakhanī Urdu.

Bīdjāpūr, apart from the plague epidemic of 1100/1688 also suffered from two terrible famines. The first occurred in 1130/1718 and continued for six long years decimating the population of the city. It is still remembered as the Skull Famine, the ground being covered with the skulls of the unburied dead. The second occurred in 1234/1818-19 reducing the once flourishing city to a mere township, of a few thousand souls, which has since then remained a city of desolate palaces and historical ruins. Other periods of severe drought were those of 1240/1824-5, 1248/1832-3, 1270/1853-4, 1280/1863-4 and 1283/1866-7.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

Monuments.—The ʿĀdil Shāhīs developed the building art above all others, and their architecture is the most satisfactory of all the Deccan styles, both structurally and aesthetically; hence their capital, Bīdjāpur shows a more profuse display of excellent and significant buildings than any other city in India except Delhī alone. The Bīdjāpur style is coherent within itself, and there is a gradual progression between its two main phases. Most worthy of note are the doming system with its striking treatment of pendentives; profuse employment of minarets and *guldastas* as ornamental features, especially in the earlier phase; elaborate cornices; reliance on mortar of great strength and durability. The materials employed are either rubble-and-plaster or masonry; the stone used in masonry work is local, a very brittle trap. There is evidence to show that architects were imported from North India, and that use was freely made of local Hindu craftsmanship.

Pre-ʿĀdil Shāhī works are few: the rough *minārs*, (Ar. *manār*) with wooden galleries, in the walling of the Makka Masdjid; Karīm al-Dīn's mosque, inscr. 720/1320, from pillars of old Hindū temples, trabeate, with elevated central portion as clerestory, recalling the mosques of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*]; the Bahmanī *wazīr* Khwādja Djahān's mosque, c. 890/1485, similar but without clerestory.

No ʿĀdil Shāhī building can be certainly assigned to the reign of Yūsuf. The earliest dated structure, referred to as Yūsuf's Djāmiʿ Masdjid, strikingly foreshadows the style to come with single hemispherical dome on tall circular drum with the base surrounded by a ring of vertical foliations so that the whole dome resembles a bud surrounded by petals, and façade arches struck from two centres, the curves stopping some way from the crown and continued to the apex by tangents to the curve; inscr. 918/1512-3 records erection by Khʷādja Sanbal in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, indicating that Bahmanī suzerainty was still acknowledged some time after the ʿĀdil Shāhī defection. Of Ibrāhīm's reign are also the massive Dakhnī ʿĪdgāh (within the present city walls) and several small mosques, on one of which (Īkhlāṣ Khān's) the arch spandrels are filled with medallions supported by a bracket-shaped device, later a very common ornament. Only one mosque of this period (Ibrāhīmpur, 932/1526) is domed.

The long reign of ʿĀlī I saw much building activity: the city walls, uneven in quality since each noble was responsible for a section, completed 973/1565, with five main gates flanked by bastions and machicolated, approached by drawbridges across a moat, beyond which is a revetted counterscarp and covert way (many bastions modified to take heavy guns; inscriptions of Muḥammad and ʿĀlī II); the Gagan ("sky") Maḥall, an assembly hall with much work in carved wood; a mosque in memory of *sayyid* ʿAlī Shahīd Pīr, small (10.8 m. square) but superbly decorated with cut-plaster, with a steep wagon-vaulted roof parallel to the façade, a tall narrow chimney-like vault over the *miḥrāb* which has a door leading outside; the Shāhpur suburbs; outside Bīdjāpur, the forts of Shāhdrug (966/1558), Dhārwār (975/1567), Shāhanur and Bankapur (981/1573); ʿĀlī's own severely plain tomb; and his Djāmiʿ Masdjid, generally ascribed to 985/1576, a fine large (137.2 by 82.3 m.) building, not fully completed (only buttresses where tall *minārs* were to be added, no *kanguras* over façade), sparingly ornamented (only the central arch of seven in the *līwān* facade is cusped and decorated with medallion-and-bracket spandrels), with the great hemispherical dome, standing on a square triforium, capped by the crescent, a symbol used by the ʿĀdil Shāhīs alone among the Dakhnī dynasties. The cornice is an improvement on earlier works by showing deeper brackets over each pier instead of a row of uniform size. The vaulting system of the dome depends on cross-arching: two intersecting squares of arches run across the hall between the piers under the dome, meeting to form an octagonal space over which the dome rests; the pendentives thus overhang the hall and counteract any side-thrust of the dome. The exterior walls are relieved by a ground-floor course of blind arches over which is a loggia of open arches.

In Ibrāhīm II's reign fine sculptured stonework replaces the earlier rubble-and-plaster. The palace complex dates from about 990/1582 (Sāt Manzil, 'Granary', Čīnī Maḥall); the first building in elaborate sculptured stone is Malika Djahān's mosque (994/1586-7), which introduces a new shape by the dome forming three quarters of a sphere above its band of foliation. The Bukhārī mosque and three others on the Shāhpur suburb are very similar, and fine

stonework occurs also in perhaps the greatest work of the ʿĀdil Shāhīs, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II and his family known as the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa: within a garden enclosure 137.2 m. square stand a tomb and mosque on a common plinth; the tomb (shown by inscriptions to have been intended for the queen Tādj Sulṭāna only) has uneven spacing of the columns and other features, and the cenotaph chamber is covered with geometric and calligraphic designs, reputedly the entire text of the Ḳurʾān. The mosque columns are regular. The whole composition is in perfect balance and was minutely planned before building. An inscription gives the date of completion, by *abdjad*, as 1036/1626. Palaces of this reign include the Ānand Maḥall, built for entertainments (*Basātīn al-Salāṭīn*), and the Āthār Maḥall (1000/1591) with fine painted wood decoration including some fresco figure-paintings thought to be the work of Italian artists. The Andā ("egg") Masdjid, 1017/1608, has the mosque (presumably for the use of women) on the upper storey, with a *sarāʾī* below; the masonry is polished and finely jointed, and above is a ribbed dome. In 1008/1599 Ibrāhīm proposed moving his seat of government some 5 km. west of Bīdjāpur where the water supply was better; but the new town, Nawraspur, was sacked in 1034/1624, before its completion, by Malik ʿAnbar, and little remains. Other work includes the mosque known as the Naw Gunbadh, the only Bīdjāpur building with multiple doming; the fine but incomplete mausoleum of the brother *pīrs* Ḥamīd and Laṭīf Allāh Ḳādirī (ob. 1011/1602, 1021/1612); and, the supreme example of the later work of this reign, the Mihtar-i Maḥall, really a gateway to the inner courtyard of a mosque in the city, with a narrow facade based on a vertical double square, richly covered with stone diaper patterns and with a balcony supported by long struts of carved stone, their decoration resembling, and really more appropriate to, woodwork patterns; fine panelled ceilings within; superb cornices and elaborate *mīnārs* outside, all richly carved.

Works of Muḥammad's reign are of uncertain chronology owing to lack of inscriptions and historical records. Muṣṭafā Khān's mosque is plain with a façade in which the central arch is much wider than the flanking ones, following the pattern of many of the older palaces; his Sarāʾī (insc. 1050/1640-1); a *Maḥall* at ʿAynāpur; tombs of the *wazīr* Nawāz Khān (ob. 1058/1647) and of several *pīrs* showing a decadence in style with a second storey and dome too attenuated for the size of the buildings; Afḍal Khān's mausoleum and mosque, where the second storey is of insufficient height—the mosque being the only two-storeyed one in Bīdjāpur, the upper *līwān* being the duplicate of the lower except for the absence of a *minbar*, hence presumably for Afḍal Khān's *zanāna*, 63 members of which have their reputed graves 1 km. to the south: insc. in mausoleum 1064/1653; and the major building work, one of the supreme structural triumphs of Muslim building anywhere, Muḥammad's own mausoleum, the Gol Gunbadh. The tomb building, standing within a mausoleum complex, is formally simple: a hemispherical dome, of 43.9 m. external diameter, is supported on an almost cubical mass 47.4 m. square (external), with a staged octagonal turret at each angle. The floor area covered, about 1693 sq. m., is the largest in the world covered by a single dome. External decoration is simple, confined to the great cornice 3.5 m. wide supported by four courses of brackets, the openings on the pagoda-like corner turrets, and the merlons and *mīnārs* of the skyline. The dome is supported internally by arches in intersecting squares as in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; inscription over the S. door gives the date of Muḥammad's death by *abdjad* as 1067/1656 at which time work on the building presumably stopped, the plastering being incomplete. Unfinished also is the tomb of his queen Djahān Bēgam at ʿAynāpur: foundations, piers and octagon turrets to the identical scale of the Gol Gunbadh, but the dome was intended to be carried across a central chamber.

Of ʿAlī II's reign the pavilion called Pānī Maḥall on the citadel wall, and the Makka Masdjid, both with fine masonry and exquisite surface carving; the tomb-complex of Yāḳūt Dābulī, unusual by having the mosque larger than the tomb; and ʿAlī's own unfinished mausoleum, with arches struck from four centres instead of the usual Bīdjāpur arch. Later buildings are insignificant, except for Awrangzīb's eastern gate to the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; the tomb of the last monarch, the minor Sikandar, closes the ʿĀdil Shāhī effort with a simple grave in the open air.

Bibliography: Of original authorities, see especially *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta* and Mirzā Ibrāhīm's *Basātīn al-Salāṭīn*; J. Fergusson and P. D. Hart, *Architectural illustrations of the principal Mahomedan buildings at Beejapore*, 1859; Fergusson and Meadows Taylor, *The architecture at Beejapoor*, 1866; both these superseded by H. Cousens, *Bījāpūr and its architectural remains* (= *ASI*, *NIS* xxxvii), Bombay 1916; also Fergusson, *The great dome of Sultan Mohammed*, in *Trans. RIBA*, 1st ser. Vol. V, 1854-5. For inscriptions, M. Nazim, *Bijapur inscriptions* (= *MASI* 49), Dehli 1936. General stylistic appraisal in Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic period*), Bombay n.d., but measurements given inexact; fortifications described by Sidney Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957 (historical information unreliable). Some good detailed drawings in C. Batley, *The design development of Indian architecture*, London 1954. (J. Burton-Page)

BIDJĀYA (Bougie), maritime Algerian town situated about 175 km. east of Algiers. Built on the lowest slopes of the Djabal Gurāya, the city overlooks a spacious and remarkably sheltered bay. Doubtless Roman and Carthaginian shipping anchored off Saldae, the old town. At the beginning of the Christian era, it formed part of the domain of Juba, king of Cherchel. The emperor Augustus founded a colony there and settled it with veterans. An inscription dating from the second century extols Saldae as "civitas splendidissima". Nevertheless, it played no significant part until the Muslim era. In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī refers to it as a very ancient city, a pleasant winter resort, populated with Andalusians. From this period, the Spanish Muslims were strongly represented side by side with the Berber element, the Bidjāya tribe, to which the town owes its name.

The event which made Bougie historically famous took place in 460/1067. The facts are briefly as follows. The mid-5th/11th century witnessed the rupture between the Zīrids of al-Ḳayrawān and the Fāṭimid Caliph of Cairo, and the reprisals which followed: the Hilālian invasion, the arrival of nomad Arabs sent from Egypt to take possession of the rebel kingdom. These reprisals were terrible. The nomads pillaged the countryside of Ifrīḳiya. The sacked inland towns were partly evacuated. The kingdom of the Ḥammādids first took advantage of this free-for-all. The end of the eleventh century was the

golden era of their Ḳalʿa. At the same time the Arabs were not slow to spread westward and offered a serious menace to the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Hammād. These decided to look about for a less exposed capital. Just as the Zīrids had left al-Ḳayrawān and betaken themselves to the maritime town of Mahdiyya, the masters of the Ḳalʿa withdrew to the coast. In 1067, the Ḥammādid al-Nāṣir occupied the land of the Bidjaya and set up his capital at Bougie which he wished to call al-Nāṣiriyya. Though he continued to spend part of his time at the Ḳalʿa, he gave priority to the expansion of his new capital, put himself out to attract settlers and built there the splendid Castle of the Pearl (*Ḳaṣr al-Luʾluʾ*). The son of al-Nāṣir, al-Manṣūr (483-498/1090-1104) left the Ḳalʿa (which, however, he had embellished with new buildings) in his turn. He abandoned the Ḳalʿa permanently and installed himself in Bougie with his troops and his court. Here he built the great mosque, planted gardens and erected the palaces of Amimūn and the Sta (*Ḳaṣr-al-Kawkab*) and supplied the city with water, carried by aqueduct from the Djabal Tudja. The town is reputed to have been divided into twenty-one quarters and to have contained seventy-two mosques. Doubtless this is something of a exaggeration but it is certain that the first half of the 6th/12th century was the golden age of Bougie. The second capital of the Ḥammādids had inherited from the first. It had welcomed the intellectual *élite*, the wealthy bourgeoisie, the sages and artists of the fallen Ḳalʿa. Life in Bougie was easy and free from austerity. The luxurious costume worn by the citizens, from the studied elegance of their turbans to their shoes, tied on with gilded ribbons, shocked Ibn Tūmart, the future founder of the Almohad sect, who, about 1118, spent some time in Bougie and made an attempt to reform the manners and customs of the town. Like this visit of Ibn Tūmart, that of the great Andalusian mystic Sīdī Bū Madyan and his teaching during that stay is sufficient to indicate the importance of Bougie as a centre of religious studies.

Through the seaport of Bougie, commercial and cultural relations were established with countries overseas, so that it became the centre from which the civilisation and art of eastern Barbary radiated outwards to Christian Europe, especially Sicily and Italy.

For al-Idrīsī, geographer to King Roger II, Bougie was "the chief city, the eye of the Ḥammādid state". There is every reason to believe that the royal residences of Palermo were inspired by the Palaces of Bougie, which were so enthusiastically described by the Sicilian poet, Ibn Ḥamdīs. There is also the letter, most cordial in tone, written by Pope Gregory VII to al-Nāṣir, "King of Mauretania and the Province of Setif" (Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, 22-23).

Very little remains in Bougie of its past as a capital city. We can, however, identify with some certainty the sites of the palaces built by the Ḥammādids. The castle of Amimūn must have stood not far from the tomb of Sīdī Tuāti; Fort Barral has supplanted the Palace of the Star. The Castle of the Pearl stood on the site of the Bridja barracks. Some reservoirs, and part of the city walls (the eastern face, where the wall, four metres thick, is flanked by lopsided towers) can be attributed to the twelfth century rulers, as can the gate known as the Saracen Gate, that great arch through which ships could enter the inner harbour.

The city of the Ḥammādids must have been appreciably more spread out than the modern town, especially in the hilly section where the Plateau of the Ruins is situated. The names of seven or eight gates have come down to us. Some of these can be located: Bāb Amsīwan to the east, on the road leading to the Valley of Monkeys, Bāb al-Bunūd, on the site of the Fouka Gate, Bāb al-Lawz, in the same position, but lower down than the Bāb al-Bunūd. Outside the town, on both banks of the Soummam, stretched the famous gardens, planted in the twelfth century and restored in the thirteenth, the Badīʿ, on the west bank, the Rafīʿ on the east.

In 546/1152, Bougie was captured by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and the last of the Ḥammādids set sail for Sicily. The ancient royal city became the chief town of an Almohad province subordinate to Marrākesh. Its downfall must have been painfully felt by its citizens. It is believed that the Almoḥads failed to win their affection, and one is tempted to attribute to this unpopularity of the new masters the choice of Bougie by the Banū Ghāniya, who landed there in the middle of the twelfth century in an attempt to restore the empire of the Almoravids.

Bougie was for the Banū Ghāniya merely an operational base. The Almoḥads were not slow to reconquer it and it remained under their rule thereafter until the collapse of the Muʾminid dynasty. From that time, Bougie and the region surrounding it became part of the kingdom of the Ḥafṣids of Tunis. The remote position of this province seems to explain its rôle in Barbary from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. This governorship, far from the capital, would have been bestowed by tradition on the heir to the throne, and, in spite of the distance, the army of Bougie on more than one occasion marched to Tunis to press the claims of a Crown Prince anxious to succeed to the throne without further delay. By virtue of its position as a frontier province, Bougie was coveted by the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultans of Tlemcen, who attempted several times, though without success, to conquer it.

At the same time, Bougie remained an opulent mercantile town, into which Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Marseillais and Catalans imported merchandise made in Europe and from which they exported local products, especially candied peel, wax, alum, lead and raisins. Meanwhile to the profits of trading were added the sometimes richer prizes of privateering. According to a famous work by Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, i, 619, trans., iii, 117), piracy from the year 761/1360 was carried out according to a well-tried method and with remarkable success.

The attack on the town and its capture by Pedro of Navarre in 916/1510 were entirely in the nature of reprisals. Bougie, now a Spanish town, remained so until 962/1555. During these forty-five years, its new masters went through hard times, encamped on the seaboard of the 'land of the infidels' without normal contact with the hinterland, threatened by the Berber mountain tribes and at the same time dreading the Barbary Corsairs who were blockading the coast. After a heroic stand, Don Luis de Peralta had to surrender the area, which had become terribly impoverished.

Bougie, subjected to the mistrustful authority of the Algerian Turks who kept in their own hands the practice and profits of privateering, was unable to recover from this decline. The region retained some little importance by virtue of the *karasta*, the exploitation of timber for ship-building, which the masters of the Regency had supervised by

a local religious chieftain of the Amokrān family. But the town profited little from this activity. "In Bougie", wrote the traveller Peysonnel, "everything is falling into ruins, for the Turks keep nothing in repair". In 1833, when the French troops, commanded by General Trezel, entered the town, it was nothing more than a rather sorry city of barely two thousand inhabitants guarded by a hundred and fifty janissaries.

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(G. Marçais)

BIDJNAWR (Bijnor), a town and district in the Rohilkhand division of the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. The district has an area of 1,867 square miles with a population of 984,196, of which 36% are Muslims. The town has a population of 30,646 (1951 Census). Little is known of the district's early history. In 1399 it was ravaged by Tīmūr. Under Akbar it formed part of the *sarkār* of Sambhal in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī. During the decline of Mughal power it was overrun by Rohillas under ʿAlī Muḥammad. It contains the town of Nadjībābād founded about 1750 by Nadjīb al-Dawla who became *wazīr* of Dihlī and whose son was the Rohilla leader Zābita Khān. After the defeat of the Rohillas in 1774 Bidjnawr was incorporated in Awadh. It was ceded to the British in 1801. During the 1857 insurrections Mahmūd Khān, a grandson of Zābita Khān, was one of the most formidable opponents of the British.

Bibliography: H. R. Nevill, *Bijnor Gazetteer*, Allāhābād 1908.

(C. Collin Davies)

BIDLĪS (Bitlis), chief city of the *wilāyet* of the same name, in eastern Anatolia. It stands on the river Bitlis, 25 km. south-west of the westernmost point of lake Van (38° 20′ N., 42° 5′ E.), at a height above sea-level variously estimated between 1,400 and 1,585 metres. Known to the Armenians as Bagesh (Pagish) and to the Arabs as Badlīs, it is referred to as Bīdlīs in old Turkish works. The city is in a relatively wide part of the deep and narrow valley cut in the eastern Taurus by the river Bitlis before it descends to the upper Djazīra. The narrow and straggling streets, with their stone-built, earthen-roofed houses, are ranged one above the other from the valley floor, covered with poplars and fruit-trees, to the bare slopes of the hills. The quarters of the city are separated one from another by the main valley and its intersections, crossed by stone bridges. Although the picturesque aspect of the city has always been admired by travellers, its location gives it a harsh climate: summer days are excessively hot, winter is rigorous and long, with heavy snowfalls. Rainfall is also heavy (about 1 metre annually), particularly in spring, whereas drought is common in summer.

The valley in which Bitlis stands affords the only route across the Taurus from the Van basin to the plateau of Diyārbakr and the plains of the Djazīra. By this road, from time immemorial, caravans have made their way from the south to Erzurum and thence to the Black Sea; this was the route taken by Xenophon and his Ten Thousand. Throughout history the rulers of Bitlis levied toll on passing travellers and took care to maintain control of the plain of Mush, which supplied the food they could not find in their own barren mountains.

When and by whom the city was founded is not known. An ancient legend tells that it was Alexander the Great who entrusted to one of his commanders, a man called Līs, the task of building here an impregnable citadel. When the building was finished, Līs refused Alexander admission. Alexander besieged the citadel but failed to force an entrance. Līs then explained to him how he had carried out his orders to the letter. He was pardoned, and the city commemorates his name. The city played an important part in Armenian history, and is frequently mentioned in the old Armenian sources (Gelzer, *Geogr. Cypr.*, Leipzig 1890, 168), which are however silent about the date of its conquest by the Muslims, recording only that the region of Daron (Mush) was taken by them in 641. Streck (*EI*[1], *s.v.* Bidlīs) mentions Arabic inscriptions on the walls of the citadel, but according to Lynch these were destroyed without ever being copied. Muslim historians relate that ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, ʿUmar's commander in the Djazīra, after securing the surrender of Arzan went on to Bitlis and thence to Akhlāṭ (Ahlat). The Patriarch of Ahlat accepted peace terms, and on ʿIyāḍ's return the Patriarch of Bitlis agreed to pay tribute on the same scale as Ahlat (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1901, 184; al-Wāḳidī, *K. al-futūḥ*, Cairo 1302, ii, 152-154). It was not long however before the region reverted to Byzantine rule. Muʿāwiya subjugated it again, but after his death it was once more lost to the Muslims till the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, whose brother Muḥammad attached it to the province of al-Djazīra. In the ʿAbbāsid period it fell under the successive Shaykhid, Ḥamdānid and Marwānid dynasties of Diyārbakr. In the time of the two last-named dynasties, when Byzantium recovered the Euphrates basin, the Armenian King of Vasporakan (Basfürdjan, the Van basin) threw off Muslim sovereignty and gave his allegiance to Constantinople, whereupon Bitlis, like Ahlat, became a frontier-city. The Muslim onslaught brought some branches of the tribes of Bakr b. Wāʾil and Taghlib to the region, and under Marwānid rule various Kurdish tribes spread over these parts, notably the Ḥumaydī, to which the Marwānids belonged. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited the region in 1046, the year before the great Turkish invasion, states (*Safar-nāma*, Berlin 1841, 8 foll.) that Arabic, Persian and Armenian were spoken at Ahlat, and we may suppose that the same situation obtained at Bitlis. Fakhr al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Djuhayr, whom the Saldjūḳs appointed to govern Diyarbakr in 1084, destroyed Marwānid rule and distributed their lands and fortresses to Turks. Bitlis was given to Muḥammad b. Dīlmač or Dīmlač, whose descendants continued to rule it until 588/1192, when it was seized by the amīr of Ahlat. In 1207 both cities fell to the Ayyūbids, who settled large numbers of Kurds in the region. Though Ahlat was devastated by Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh in 1229, the cities

of Van and Bitlis began a period of prosperity, Bitlis in particular becoming an important centre of learning until the Mongol invasion. After the fall of the Īlkhānids, the Ruzhekī tribe of Kurds established a dynasty at Bitlis, which managed to maintain itself, despite many vicissitudes, till the mid-19th century, having acknowledged in its time the suzerainty of Tīmūrids, Ḳara Ḳoyunlus, Aḳ Ḳoyunlus, Ṣafawids and Ottomans. Sharaf Khān, a 16th-century member of this house (whose *Sharaf-nāma*, completed in 1596, is a principal source for Kurdish history) claimed descent from the Ayyūbids, while his grandson ʿAbdāl (ʿAbd Allāh) Khan told Ewliyā Čelebi that he was descended from the ʿAbbāsids. Ewliyā's visit was in 1655. His observations include the following. The *bādj* exacted from caravans passing through the city went to the Khān. The *kharādj* of the plain of Mush had been bestowed by Murād IV on the Khān for life; out of it he paid the warden and garrison of the citadel. On the other hand, the *djizya* paid by the Jacobite and Arab *raʿāyā* of the city was reserved to the *ḳol* (administrative division) of Van, and was collected by an *agha* who came from Van at the beginning of every year. Some 70 tribes were subject to the Khān. Within the citadel there were 300 houses, but half the area was covered by the ruler's palace. In the 17 city-quarters were 5,000 houses. In the environs were thousands of orchards, all containing summer-houses. Of the mosques, with a total of 110 *miḥrāb*s, the most important was the Sharafiyya, built by Sharaf Khān. Tavernier, whose visit was at the same period, writes that the Bey of Bitlis recognised neither Shāh nor Pādishāh, and could put into the field a force of 20-25,000 cavalry. At that time the population was largely Kurdish and Armenian. The *Djihānnumā* states that the latter were in the majority. According to the Jesuits who visited the city in 1683, the nominal vassalage of the Bey to the Ottomans was preserved only in that he sent them tribute on his accession (Fleurian, *Estat présent de l'Arménie*, Paris 1694). The power of the Kurdish princes was not broken by the Turks till 1847, though the city remained a Kurdish political and religious (Naḳshbandī) centre during the turbulences of the 19th century.

On the establishment of full Ottoman sovereignty, Bitlis formed a *ḳaḍāʾ* belonging to the *sandjaḳ* of Mush within the great *wilāyet* of Erzurum, but after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 it was made into a *wilāyet* to emphasise the dependence of the region on the central government. The area of the *wilāyet*, which was divided into 4 *sandjaḳs*—Bitlis, Siirt, Mush and Genč—was almost 30,000 square kms., with an estimated population of 400,000. According to Cuinet, the central *sandjaḳ*, with an area of 5,500 square kms., had a population of some 108,000: 70,000 Muslims, 33,000 Armenians, 4,000 Syrian Jacobites and 1,000 Yazīdīs. The *sālnāme* for the year 1310/1892-93 shows the population of this *sandjaḳ* as 77,000: 46,000 Muslims, the remainder Armenian. Lynch, who quotes this total, says it ought to be increased by 13 per cent to compensate for deficiencies in the registration. For the population of the city itself in the 19th century no reliable figures exist. Lynch estimated it at 30,000 at the time of his visit (1898): 10,000 Armenians, 200 Syrians, the rest Kurds. A Russian source of the beginning of the 20th century gives the number of houses in the city as 5,100: 550 belonging to Turks, 3,000 to Kurds, 1,500 to Armenians.

The staple industry of Bitlis in the 19th century was weaving, with its ancillary craft of dyeing. Other exports of the city and the surrounding country included gall-nuts, gum tragacanth, madder, tobacco, honey and livestock.

Till the troubles of the end of the 19th century, Turks, Kurds, Armenians and Jacobites had lived side by side in Bitlis. The Jesuits who founded a mission there in 1683 had been well received by the Bey. In the 18th century an Italian priest, Maurizio Garzoni, lived and worked among the Kurds for 18 years. An American Protestant mission was founded in 1858. The insurrection of the Armenians, the measures taken to suppress it, and the Russian occupation during the First World War all contributed to a grave reduction in the population and to the disappearance of industry. The population of the city in 1927 was 9,050, in 1950 11,152.

Early in the Republican period each of the 4 *sandjaḳ*s comprising Bitlis *wilāyet* became a separate *wilāyet*. In 1929 Bitlis was attached as a *ḳaḍāʾ* to the *wilāyet* of Mush, nearly 70 per cent of the population of which were Kurds according to the 1935 census. Bitlis was restored to *wilāyet* status in 1936, and is now divided into 5 *ḳaḍā*'s: Bitlis, Tatvan, Ahlat, Mutki and Hizan, with an area of 5,482 square kms, and a population (1950) of 88,422.

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(G. L. Lewis)

BIDLĪSĪ, Idrīs, Mewlānā Ḥakīm al-Dīn Idrīs b. Mewlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Bidlīsī, historian of the Ottomans, was probably of Kurdish origin. He became *nishāndji* at the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu court, and in the name of Yaʿḳūb Beg wrote a letter of congratulation to Bāyezīd II in 890/1485 which was much admired (Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 290). In consequence of the growing power of Shāh Ismaʿīl he fled to Turkey in 907/1501-2, where he was welcomed by Bāyezīd and commissioned to write the history of the Ottoman House in Persian. His work was criticised as being over-lenient to the Persians, and he failed to receive the payments he had been promised. He asked for permission to go on the Pilgrimage, but this was granted only after the death of the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha (who seems to have been his chief enemy) in Rabīʿ II 917/July 1511. From Mecca he wrote to the Ottoman court a letter in which he threatened that if his wrongs were not righted he would expose in the *dībādje* and *khātime* of his history (which were not yet written) the ingratitude shown to him. Selīm I invited him back to Istanbul shortly after his accession and the completed history was presented to him. Idrīs accompanied Selīm on the Čāldirān campaign of 920/1514, and afterwards rendered invaluable service to the Ottomans by winning over the Sunnī Kurdish princes to their side; the *fermān* quoted by Saʿd al-Dīn (ii, 322) shows that he was given a free hand in organising the Kurdish territories. He also accompanied Selīm to Egypt, where he is said to have protested against the misdeeds of the Ottoman officials (Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 518).

He died in Istanbul, soon after Selīm, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 926/Nov.-Dec. 1520, and was buried at Eyyūb beside the mosque founded by his wife, Zeyneb Khatun.

His great history, the *Hasht Bihisht* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 2131, and cf. nos. 2152 and 14406), the 'Eight Paradises', *i.e.* the reigns of the eight sultans from ʿOthmān to Bāyezīd II, is written in the most elaborate style of Persian *inshāʾ*, avowedly on the models of the histories of Djuwaynī, Waṣṣāf, Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī and Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī. Though it was highly esteemed both by Saʿd al-Dīn, who frequently refers to it (cf. especially i 159), and by Hammer-Purgstall (cf. i XXXIV), it is still unpublished. It was begun in 908/1502-3 and finished in thirty months; the last political event described in detail is the relief of Midilli in 907, but the latest date recorded is 912. The long *Khātime*, entirely in verse, which was written in Mecca (cf. Rieu, *CPM* 219a), describes the civil war at the end of Bāyezīd's reign; it concludes with a *Shikāyet-nāme*, in which Idrīs relates his misfortunes.

A continuation (*dhayl*) to Idrīs's history, covering the reign of Selīm I, was written by his son Abu 'l-Faḍl (on whom see Babinger, 95 ff.). A Turkish translation of the *Hasht Bihisht* was made by a certain ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Saʿdī in 1146/1733-4 at the command of Maḥmūd I; it is not altogether reliable (cf. M. Şükrü in *Isl.* XIX [1931] 138). The history of Kemāl Pashazāde [*q.v.*], sometimes referred to as a 'translation' of the *Hasht Bihisht*, was written as a *naẓire* to it, but is an entirely independant work.

Idrīs also wrote a *Selīm-nāme* in prose and verse, which was left unfinished at his death and edited later by Abu 'l-Faḍl (a quite distinct work from Abu 'l-Faḍl's *dhayl*, cf. F. Tauer in *ArO* IV [1932] 103). He was a poet and a calligrapher (cf. Mustaḳīm-zāde, *Tuḥfat-i Khaṭṭāṭīn*, Ist. 1928, 110), and wrote a number of treatises on various subjects including: (1) *al-Ibāʾ ʿan mawāḳiʿi 'l-wabāʾ* (Ḥ.Kh. no. 5930 [? and 6218], Brockelmann II 302 and cf. S II 325); (2) two Persian translations of the 'Forty Ḥadīths' (Ḥ.Kh. no. 7507, and cf. A. Karahan, *Islâm-Türk Edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 111-3); (3) a *sharḥ* to the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Ḥ.Kh. no. 9073); (4) a *sharḥ* to Shabistarī's *Gulshan-i Rāz* (Ḥ. Kh. no. 10839); (5) a *sharḥ*, entitled *Ḥaḳḳ al-Mubin*, to Shabistarī's *Ḥaḳḳ al-Yaḳīn*; (6) a *sharḥ* to the *Khamriyye* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (Br. S I 464); (7) *Risāla fi 'l-Nafs* (Br. S II 325); (8) a *ḥāshiye* to Bayḍāwī's *Tafsīr* (cf. Rieu, *CPM* 216b); (9) a Persian translation of Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 518 and *ʿOthmanlî Müellifleri* iii 7, where an autograph MS is recorded). Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir also records five other works, which he had presumably seen.

Bibliography: Babinger, 45 ff. and the references there given, especially Rieu, *CPM*, 216-9; Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 432 ff., for Idrīs's activities in Kurdistān (mainly following Abu 'l-Faḍl's *dhayl*); *Sheref-nāme*, ed. Véliaminof-Zernof 342 ff. = Charmoy's translation ii/1 208 ff. (where however the *Hasht Bihisht*, perhaps through confusion with the *Selīm-nāme*, is described as a poem of 80,000 verses: this error was reproduced by C. Huart in the article *Bidlīsī* in EI[1] = *Idris Bitlisi* in *İA*); M. Şükrü, *Das Hešt Bihišt des Idris Bitlisi*, in *Isl.* XIX (1931) 131-157 (survey of the MSS in Istanbul, including autographs dated 919, and analysis of contents to the death of Orkhān); Storey, ii/2 412-6 (the latest and fullest survey of the MSS). A passage from ʿAbd al-Bāḳī's translation is quoted by F. Babinger in *Isl.* XI (1921) 42 ff., and several passages of the Persian text are quoted by F. Giese in *Die Verschiedenen Textrezensionen des ʿĀšiqpašāde*, Abh. Pr. Ak. W. 1936, Phil.-Hist. Kl. no. 4. Some passages from the *Selīm-nāme* are given in translation by H. Massé in *Sélim Ier en Syrie, d'après le Sélim-namè*, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, Paris 1939, ii, 779-782. In the archives of the Topkapı Sarayı are preserved Idrīs's letter asking for permission to go on the Pilgrimage (E 3156) and the letter he sent from Mecca (E 5675, reproduced, with Turkish synopsis, by F. R. Unat in *Bell.* VII [1943], 198). A letter sent by Idrīs to Suleymān I and Idrīs's seal are reproduced in I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* ii, Ankara 1949, Pl. xxi.

(V. L. Ménage)

BIDLĪSĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Khān, commonly known as Sharaf Khān, Persian historian of Kurdish extraction, the elder brother of the Amīr of Bidlīs, Shams al-Dīn Khān, born at Karah-rūd near Ḳumm on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 949/20 February 1543, during the exile of his father. His family was taken under the protection of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the Ṣafawid (930-984/1524-1576), and he was brought up at the court of that ruler with the latter's children, and received his education there. At the age of twelve, he was raised to the rank of *amīr* of the Kurds, and held this position for three years. In Djumādā II 975/January 1568 he took part in a campaign in Gīlān against the last prince of the Kīyāʾī dynasty, Khān Aḥmad Khān (943-1020/1536-1611), who on several occasions rebelled against the Ṣafawids. This campaign having ended with the capture of the prince, he returned to court, and Shāh Ismāʿīl II, on his accession to the throne in 984/1576, conferred upon him the governorship of the province of Nakhčiwān and Shīrwān, with the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ* of the Kurds. At the time of the invasions of these regions by the Turks under Murād III in 986/1578, he joined the army of the victorious Khusraw Pasha and in this way was placed on the throne of his ancestors at Bidlīs. In 1005/1596-7, he abdicated in favour of his son Shams al-Dīn Khān, and commenced the task of writing a history of the Kurds in Persian, under the title of *Sharaf-nāma*, a work in 15 chapters, the first of which are devoted to the Kurdish tribes and princes and the last (part 2) to the Persian and Turkish rulers of his time. This work was translated into Turkish first by Muḥammad Bey b. Aḥmad Bey Mīrzā in 1078/1667-8, and later by Shamʿī in 1095/1684 (autograph MS. in the Bodleian). The Persian text was published by Veliaminof-Zernof (*Scheref-Nameh*, or history of the Kurds, by Scheref, prince of Bidlīs, published, ... translated and annotated ..., 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1860-2), and a reprint of the first part appeared in Cairo in 1931. F. B. Charmoy has translated it into French (*Cheref-Nāmeh* or history of the Kurdish nation, by Cheref-ou'ddine ... translated with a commentary ..., 2 vols. (4 books), St. Petersburg 1868-75).

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fünf Kurden-Dynastien, SBak. Wien, vol. xxviii, Vienna 1858, 3-54; idem, *Geschichte von Weitern Kurden-Dynastien, SBAk. Wien*, vol. xxx/1, Vienna 1859; idem, *Geschichte der Kurdischen Fürstenherrschaft in Bidlis. Aus dem Scherefname*, 4 vols., *SBAk. Wien*, vol. xxxii, Vienna 1859, 145-250; Morley, *A descriptive catalogue of the historical manuscripts in the Asiatic and Persian languages preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society* . . ., London 1854, 146-50; C. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS. in [the British Museum*, vol. 1, London 1879, 208-9; Storey, i, 366-9; Said Naficy, *Tārīkhca-yi Mukhtaṣar-i Adabiyyāt-i Irān*, in *Sāl-nāma-yi Pārs*, 1328 solar/1949, 36.
(Said Naficy)

BIDPAY [see kalīla wa-dimna].

BĪGHA (the Greek Πηγαί), a town in north-western Asia Minor and now the centre of a *ḳaḍā'* in the province of Çanāḳ-Ḳalʿe, is situated on the Ḳodja Çāy, *i.e.*, the ancient Granicus, about 15 miles from the Sea of Marmara. At the mouth of the Ḳodja Çāy stands Ḳara Bīgha (the Πρίαπος of classical times), which is the port ("iskele") of Bīgha. Bīgha, under Ottoman rule, was at different times a *sandjaḳ* of the *eyālet-i Baḥr-i Sefīd* (the province of the Ḳapudān Pāshā or High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet), a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār (Brusa), and still later a *ḳaḍā'* in the Muteṣarriflik of Bīgha (the administrative centre of which was, however, not Bīgha itself, but Ḳalʿe-i Sulṭāniyye, *i.e.*, Çanāḳ-Ḳalʿe). The town had in 1945 about 8150 inhabitants.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 667; Ewliyā Çelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, Istanbul A.H. 1315, 299-300; P. A. von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, 71; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (*SBAk. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, Bd. 124), Wien 1891, 14 and 94; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, (*Türkische Bibliothek*, Bd. 23), Leipzig 1926, i, 158, and ii, 70; Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 19-21 (*Biga Livâsı Kanunu:* 922/1517); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, Paris 1894, 753 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, vii/2 (1912), s.v. Granikos, cols. 1814-1815; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii, Istanbul A.H. 1306, 1441; ʿAlī Djawād, *Ta'rīkh ve Djoghrāfiya Lughati*, Istanbul A.H. 1313-1314, 224-225; *İA*, s.v. Biga (Besim Darkot).
(V. J. Parry)

BĪGHA [see misāḥa].

BIH'ĀFRĪD B. FARWARDĪN, an Iranian religious agitator who, in the later period of Umayyad rule —about 129/747—set himself up as a new prophet at Khawāf in the district of Nīshāpūr. He gathered about him a large following and was put to death with his disciples on the orders of Abū Muslim in 131/749. Before this he is believed to have lived in China for seven years and on his return, to have revealed himself to certain people as resurrected and descended from heaven. Legend also has it that he pretended to be dead and remained for a year in the tomb which he had had built for himself. Enunciating his doctrine in a Persian scripture and claiming that he was in essence a Zoroastrian, he nevertheless adopted certain practices and prohibitions which seem to be inspired by Islam. Among these were the prohibition of wine, animals not ritually bled, and consanguinary marriages, the abolition of the *zamzama* [*q.v.*], the prescription of seven daily prayers to be offered up facing the sun, and obligatory almsgiving.

Doubtless, he intended by this compromise to give a new lease of life to his old religion. But Abū Muslim, incited to turn against him by the Mōbadhs who did not approve of this reform and realising moreover the danger which this movement represented for the new converts, forced Bih'āfrīd to rally to Islam and to support the ʿAbbāsid cause. As, in spite of this, the reformer continued his preaching, he was later executed. Adherents of his doctrine, awaiting the return to earth of their master, were still to be found in the 4th/10th century.

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(D. Sourdel)

BIHĀR, a province of India lying between 23° 48′ and 27° 31′ N. and 83° 20′ and 88° 32′ E., bounded by Uttar Pradesh on the west, Nepāl on the north, Bengal and East Pakistan on the east and Orissa on the south; area, with Čhotā Nāgpur, 67,164 sq.m., population 38,784,000. The dialects of the predominantly Hindū population, Bihjpurī, Maithilī and Māgahī, are referred to as Bihārī, and are more akin to Bengali than to Hindī; the latter is, however, the official language of administration and education. The region is now of major economic importance on account of its coalfields and heavy iron industries.

Bihār—which takes its name from the now unimportant town of Bihār, surrounded by Buddhist monasteries (Skt. *vihāra*)—was in the British period from 1765 within the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, later joined administratively with the now independent Orissa [*q.v.*]. This lack of independence reflects the position of the region—whose boundaries have only been formally defined in recent years—from the earliest days of Islamic supremacy in India, and its history is one of individual governors and towns rather than of dynasties and regions. Monghyr (Mungīr), for example, was taken during Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār Khaldjī's raids on Bihār in 589/1193 and held by him under the Delhi sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak; it was annexed to Delhi by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ in 730/1330, belonged to Djawnpur (Jaunpur) from 799/1397, reverted to Delhi when overrun by Sikandar Lōdī in 893/1488, and was later held by the kings of Bengal before becoming subject to the Mughals. Parts of Bihār did form a separate administrative unit in the 7th/13th centuries (Shams al-Dīn Iletmish established a governor in Bihār in 622/1225); under Akbar in 990/1582 it formed a *sūba* of eight *sarkārs*, subordinate to the *sūba* of Bengal. The capital remained at the town of Bihār until transferred to Paṭnā by Shēr Shāh Sūrī in the 9th/15th century. The importance of the region was as a buffer between Awadh and Bengal until the Mughal period, when the emphasis was as a line of communication between them, as many fine bridges of the Mughal viceroys testify.

2. Monuments: There is no particular 'Bihārī' style of Indo-Islamic architecture. The finest group of buildings is at Sahsarām, including the justly famous mausoleum of Shēr Shāh (inscription of 952/1545) standing 50 m. high in a large artificial lake; its architect, Aliwāl Khān, had been a master-builder under the Delhi Lōdīs, but his treatment of

the octagonal mausoleum transcends any of the Lōdī conceptions. Shēr Shāh obtained the fort of Rohtāsgaṛh from its Hindū Rādjā in 946/1539, and to him is attributed the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; the reconstructed fortifications, the palaces, Habash Khān's tomb and mosque, etc., date from the viceregency (988-1008/1580-1600) of Rādjā Mān Singh under Akbar; to Mān Singh is attributed the mosque at Hadaf, near Rādjmaḥal: the long barrel-vault traversing the central bay of the *liwān* of this early Mughal structure recalls the style of Djwanpur [*q.v.*]. Monghyr has been mentioned above: the fort is reputed to have been built by early Bengal kings, but the style appears Mughal; Rādjā Todar Mall is known to have repaired the fortifications in 988/1580. The two forts of Palamaw, built by local Čero Rādjās in the 11th/17th century, were taken by the Mughal governor Dāʾūd Khān Ķurayshī, who erected a mosque (1070/1660) and other structures; the Nayā Ķilʿa boasts the splendid Nāgpurī Darwāzā in the Djahāngīrī style. The tomb of Makhdūm Shāh Dawlat (Čhoṭī Dargāh) at Maner erected by the governor Ibrāhīm Khān in 1017-26/1608-16 is of some merit. For other buildings see M. Ḥ. Ķuraishī, cited below.

Bibliography: There are no primary sources specifically dealing with Bihār; for the various historical incidents involving Bihār see *Cambridge History of India*, Vols iii (1928) and iv (1937) (full bibliographies); also *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. viii, Oxford 1908, and, for local histories, relevant volumes of the *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Patna *c.* 1930; some are revised versions of the former *Bengal District Gazetteer.*

For the monuments of Shēr Shāh Sūrī, see A. Cunningham, *ASI Report*, xi, 1880; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic Period*), Bombay n.d., Chap. xvi; H. Goetz, *The mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram*, in *Ars Islamica*, v, i, 97; for other monuments also, *ASI Annual Report* 1922-3, 34-41, and (most important, with full descriptions and histories of monuments) Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥamīd Ķuraishī, *List of Ancient Monuments ... in Bihar and Orissa, ASI, NIS* Vol. li, Calcutta 1931, 54-66, 139-141, 146-191, 197-202, 207-219. (J. Burton-Page)

BIHĀR-I DĀNISH [see ʿināyat allāh ķanbū].

al-**BIHĀRĪ**, Muḥibb Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr al-ʿUthmānī al-Ṣiddīķī al-Ḥanafī was born at Karā, a village near Muḥibb ʿAlīpūr in the province of Bihār (India). He belonged to the Malik community, of exotic origin, still unidentified. He received his early education from Ķuṭb al-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Sihālwī and read some books with Ķuṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Shamsābādī. After completing his studies he went to the Deccan where Awrangzīb was at the time engaged in military operations against the local rulers. The emperor, impressed by his erudition, especially his high proficiency in jurisprudence, appointed him *ķāḍī* of Lucknow. After some years he was posted to Ḥaydarābād on the defeat of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh, the ruler of Golconda, in 1097/1686-7 at the hands of Awrangzīb. He was later appointed tutor to Prince Rafīʿ al-Ķadr, a son of Shāh ʿĀlam b. Awrangzīb. He went to Kābul in 1109/1697 along with his ward when Shāh ʿĀlam was appointed governor of that province. On his accession to the throne in 1118/1706-7 Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh I appointed him the chief justice of the realm and conferred on him the title of "Fāḍil Khān". He died soon after in 1119/1707.

He is the author of: (i) *Sullam al-ʿUlūm*, a famous text on logic; (ii) *Musallam al-Thubūt*, a standard work on *uṣūl al-fiķh*; (iii) *Djawhar al-Fard*, a dissertation on the indivisible atom. All these three books are prescribed as courses of study in Indo-Pakistan religious institutions and have been the subject of commentaries, glosses and super-glosses. (iv) *Risāla fī 'l-mughālaṭāt al-ʿāmmat al-wurūd*; and (v) *Risāla fī ithbāt anna madhhab al-Ḥanafiyya abʿad ʿan al-raʾy min madhhab al-Shāfiʿiyya.*

Bibliography: Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, Ḥaydarabād (Dn.) 1910, 211; idem. *Subḥat al-Mardjān fī āthār Hindustān*, Bombay 1303/1886, 76; Ṣiddīķ Ḥasan Ķannawdjī, *Abdjad al-ʿUlūm*, Bhopal 1296/1878, 905; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind*[1], Lucknow 1312/1894, 175; Brockelmann, *GAL* II, 420, S II 622-4; *JASB* (1913), 195 ff.; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Tadhkira-i ʿUlamāʾ-i Hind*, Lahore 1914, 42; Zubaid Aḥmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Jullundur 1946, 56-9, 126-130; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Nadwī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād (Dn.) 1376/1957, vi, 250-2; Faķīr Muḥammad Lāhorī, *Ḥadāʾiķ al-Ḥanafiyya*[2], Lucknow, 1324/1906, 431; Faḍl-i Imām Khayrābādī, *Tarādjim al-Fuḍalāʾ* (Eng. trans. Bazmee Ansari), Karachi 1956, 48-53. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BIHĀRISTĀN [see djāmī].

BIHISHT [see djanna].

BIHISHTĪ, *takhalluṣ* of an Ottoman poet and historian, whose personal name was Aḥmed. He was born in about 871/1466-7, the son of a certain Suleymān Bey. At the age of 13 he entered the service of Bāyezīd as a page, but was banished from court for some offence and is reported to have fled to Harāt. He was pardoned but not received back into favour. He was writing his History in the last year of Bāyezīd's reign (917/1511-2) and probably died in that year.

Bihishtī is said to have written the first Khamsa [*q.v.*] in Ottoman Turkish; of his *methnewīs* survive: *Leylā we Medjnūn*, *Makhzen al-Esrār*, *Mihr ü Müshteri*, *İskender-nāme* and *Heft Peyker*. His History, written in a somewhat turgid style, probably consisted originally of eight 'books', one for each of the sultans from ʿOthmān to Bāyezīd II. Add. 7869 in the British Museum and Revan Köşkü 1270, two portions of the same MS, cover the years 791-908; Add. 24,995 in the British Museum, a later compilation mainly based on Bihishtī's history, probably contains material from the first three 'books', which are not known in the full version. The history, which follows closely the *Hasht Bihisht* of Idrīs Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], is neither so early nor so important as was once believed.

Bibliography: Babinger, 43, and sources noted there, especially Rieu, *CTM*, 44 and 47; S. Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, s.v.; R. İlter, *Bihişti ve Leylî vü Mecnun'u*, unpublished thesis, no. 386 in the Türkiyat Enstitüsü library (a study of Turkish MS 5591 in the library of Istanbul University); a MS. at Ushaw College, Durham, contains the five poems named above. (V. L. Ménage)

BIHĶUBĀDH, in ʿAbbāsid times the name (adopted, with the organisation, from the Sāsānid Persians) of three districts (*Astān*, Arabic *Kūra*) of the province of ʿIrāķ, all situated on the eastern branch (modern Ḥilla branch) of the Euphrates. The name means "the Goodness (or good lands?) of

Ḳubādh", a Sāsānid king who reigned in the 5th century A.D. The districts bordered, to the south, on that of Kūfa, and on the Great Swamp of the Lower Euphrates. The three districts, sometimes referred to jointly as the Bihḳubādhāt, were those of Upper, Middle, and Lower Bihḳubādh. The Upper district contained six sub-districts (*ṭassūdj*), those of the village and ruins of Bābil (Babylon), Khuṭarniya, Upper and Lower al-Talludja, ʿAyn al-Tamr, and another. Middle Bihḳubādh contained four subdivisions, those of the Badāt Canal, of Sūrā and Barbīsamā, of Bārūsamā, and of Nahr al-Malik. Lower Bihḳubādh had five subdivisions, including those of Furāt Badaḥlā and Nistar.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, particularly iii, 133; vi. 7,236; Yāḳūt, i, 770; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, *Lexic. geogr.* (ed. Juynboll), i. 57, 183; iv. 98, 412 ff.; Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 271, 464; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i. (1900), 16, 20; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* = *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, New Series, Vol. iii, no. 2 (1901), 142, 163 ff.; Le Strange, 70, 81. (M. STRECK-[S. H. LONGRIGG])

BIHRŪZ (AMĪR), son of Amīr Rustam and, like him, chief of the Donbolī. A loyal ally of the Ṣafawids, he took part in the war between Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Sulṭān Sulaymān al-Ḳānūnī in 945/1538. He died in 985/1577, at the age of 90, after having been in power for 50 years. His *laḳab* was Sulaymān Khalīfa. (B. NIKITINE)

BIHRŪZ KHĀN, son of Shah Bandar Khān, *amīr* of the Donbolī. He was known under the name of Sulaymān Khān al-Thānī. At the time of Sulṭān Murād's attack on Ādharbāydjān, he distinguished himself in the army of Shāh Ṣafī. He died in 1041/1631-2.

Bibliography: M. E. Zaki, *Mashāhir al-Kurd wa-Kurdistān*, 144; *Taʾrīkh al-Duwal wa 'l-Imārat al-Kurdiyya*, 386, 387. (B. NIKITINE)

BIHZĀD, KAMĀL AL-DĪN, USTĀD, the most famous Persian miniature-painter. The main sources for his life are: 1. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay 1857, iii, 350 (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, 140) and two documents from his *Nāma-i Nāmī* (Bibl. Nat., MS. Suppl. Pers. 1842), a preface to an album of calligraphy and miniatures compiled by Bihzād and the document appointing him head of the royal Kitāb-Khāna (Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī-L. Bouvat, *Deux documents inédits relatifs à Behzad*, in *RMM*, xxvi, 1914, 146-161); 2. *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, London 1921, 272, 291, 329; 3. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (T. W. Arnold, in *BSOS*, v, 1930, 672-673); 4. Dūst Muḥammad b. Sulaymān of Harāt, *Account of past and present printers of the year 951 (1544)* in the Bahrām Mīrzā Album, Top-kapu Serai Libr., Istanbul (Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford 1933, 186); 5. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Menāḳib-i Hünerwerān* (995/1587), Istanbul 1926, 37, 63-65, 67; 6. Ḳāḍī Aḥmad b. Mīr-Munshī, *Gulistān-i Hunar* (1015/1606), (*Calligraphers and painters . . . .*, tr. by V. Minorsky, Washington, 1959, 159, 179-80, 183); 7. Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 141).

On the basis of the existing work of Bihzād, one can assume that he was born during the decade 1450-60. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, Dūst Muḥammad, and Ḳāḍī Aḥmad describe him as a pupil of Amīr Rūḥ Allāh, known as Mīrak Naḳḳāsh of Harāt, the librarian of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, who brought up the young orphan; the Turkish art historian ʿĀlī states, however, that his teacher was Pīr Sayyid Aḥmad of Tabrīz; lastly Djahāngīr mentions Khalīl Mīrzā as an artist whose style Bihzād continued (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, trs. Roger and Beveridge, ii, 116). He became recognised very quickly, and received great artistic opportunities through his first patron Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī and, from some time before 893/1488 on, through the Tīmūrid Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, at whose court in Harāt gathered the intellectual *élite* of the time with Nawāʾī, Djāmī and Khwāndamīr at their head. Bihzād remained in Harāt after the dynasty was overthrown by Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī (1507). Bābur says that this prince had the presumption to correct Bihzād's miniatures. He moved, however, to Tabrīz, the Ṣafawid capital, with the latter's conqueror, Shāh Ismāʿīl. The favour which he enjoyed with the latter is evident from the story told by ʿĀlī of Ismāʿīl's anxiety about Bihzād during the campaign against Sulṭān Selīm I, in 1514. The distinction in which he was held became even more evident from the fact that on 27th Djumādā I 928/1522 he was appointed head of the royal library and placed in charge of all the librarians, calligraphers, painters, gilders, marginal draughtsmen, gold mixers, gold beaters and lapis-lazuli washers. This document disproves the statement of Ḳāḍī Aḥmad that Bihzād remained in Harāt until the beginning of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930/1524). Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Bihzād also received numerous marks of honour and was engaged along with Sulṭān Muḥammad and Aḳā Mīrak in the royal library. In the *Laṭāʾif-nāma* of Fakhrī Sulṭān Muḥammad (c. 927/1520; Brit. Mus. Add. 7,669, fol. 98) is a story which illustrates the aged Bihzād's manner of working: he took a Turkish assistant, Darwīsh Muḥammad Naḳḳāsh of Khurāsān, a colour-preparer, as his pupil and finally entrusted him with his own works. As other pupils are mentioned by Ḥaydar Mīrzā: the portrait painter Ḳāsim ʿAlī, Maḳṣūd and Mullā Yūsuf; by ʿĀlī: Shaykhzāda of Khurāsān and Āḳā Mīrak; by Ḳādī Aḥmad: Dūst-i Dīwāna and the father of the painter Muẓaffar ʿAlī; he also called Bihzād a contemporary of Yārī Mudhahhib of Harāt which is borne out by the fact that they jointly worked on the *Būstān* of 893 H. in Cairo (see below). Ḳāḍī Aḥmad places Darwīsh and Ḳāsim ʿAlī into a slightly earlier period than Bihzād, which would make the master-student relationship doubtful. Finally Iskandar Munshī states that Muẓaffar ʿAlī was one of his pupils. According to a chronogram given by Dūst Muḥammad, Bihzād died in 942/1536-1537 and was buried in Tabrīz beside the poet Shaykh Kamāl of Khudjand; according to another tradition, he died earlier, in 1533-1534. Still another tradition preserved by Ḳāḍī Aḥmad has it that he died in Harāt and that he was buried in the neighbourhood of Kūh-i Mukhtār within an enclosure full of paintings and ornaments. In the Yildiz Library in Istanbul is an alleged portrait miniature which shows the aged Bihzād as an unassuming, apparently shy man in Ṣafawid costume (A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris-Brussels 1929, fig. 130).

The older sources yield little information for our knowledge of Bihzād as an artist, however much they praise him as the greatest of his age. Khwāndamīr's extravagant language seems to emphasise his great refinement, minute perfection and power of lifelike representation. Ḥaydar Mīrzā compares him with his teacher Mīrak, whose art is riper although not so finished; also with Shāh Muẓaffar who seems to have been held in almost equal esteem, whom

Bihzād surpassed, however, in control of the brush, in drawing and in figure composition, without attaining his delicacy. Ḳāḍī Aḥmad stresses his sense of proportion and he mentions the excellence of his bird images and that he was fluent in his charcoal drawings. Bābur praises his art as very delicate, especially emphasising the fact that he drew bearded figures admirably, while his beardless figures were not so good, and adds that he exaggerated the length of the double chin. Bābur's successors on the Mug͟hal throne were also among his admirers, eagerly endeavoured to get his works for their libraries and frequently mention the prices they paid (c. 3-5,000 rupees). His works had, however, already previously been collected, as some of his paintings formed part of an album of the Ṣafawid prince Sulṭan Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (d. 984/1517. D̲j̲ahāngīr is one of the first to mention the tradition, also recorded elsewhere, that Bihzād was specially distinguished for his drawing of battle-scenes. As a result of the general esteem in which he was held Bihzād's name finally became proverbial. According to K̲h̲ʷāndamīr he should be put alongside of Mānī, the other traditional creator of incomparable masterpieces, while in typically Persian hyperbole, Ḳāḍī Aḥmad exaggerates this further by stating that Mānī would have imitated him had he known of him. ʿAlī, however, hints that Bihzād's success was to some extent due to the influence of his patrons. This presupposes intrigues and jealousies which may account for the fact that Bihzād is not properly listed in the account of Persian painters and calligraphers given by the Ṣafawid Prince Sām Mīrzā in his *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* (M. Mahfuz-ul Haq, *Persian Painters, illuminators and calligraphers, etc. in the 16th century, A.D.*, in *Journal & Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, vol. 38, 1932, 239-42).

Modern research has been mainly concerned with identifying Bihzād's original works. It has been to some extent successful, especially since the London Exhibition of Persian Art in 1931 at which a large number of pictures ascribed to Bihzād were brought together. It is, however, not yet possible to isolate him completely from others in his artistic development and characteristic qualities, as a sufficiently large number of works have not yet been definitely attributed to his predecessors and contemporaries. The problem is greatly complicated by the fact that as a result of Bihzād's fame his signature has been wrongly added to miniatures for centuries, be it for financial profit or to provide a collector with a page by the celebrated painter; or his works have been copied, including the signatures, either *in toto* or in parts, or they have been finished or restored after his death.

The basis for our actual knowledge of Bihzād's work is provided by the paintings in the *Būstān* MS. finished in Rad̲j̲ab 893/June 1488 in Harāt, in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo. It was written for Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā by Sulṭān ʿAlī al-Kātib, illuminated by Yārī, and it has one double frontispiece miniature (with a now defaced signature) and four single-page paintings, dated 893 and 894. Two of the latter have Bihzād's name in the architectural decoration, so that they could not possibly be a later addition, and 2 other signatures are so inconspicuously placed and modest in tone that they too seem to be genuine. As all paintings are in the same style and of the same quality, they have been accepted nearly universally as authentic works of the master. They prove to be the fulfilment of the Tīmūrid style which is shown to perfection. These paintings are most skilfully and harmoniously composed, also in relation to the inserted text units. Within the pictorial space which is treated according to the concepts of the period the none-too-large figures are well distributed in their proper numbers. The rich pigments are of a wide range and applied with a highly developed colour sense. They reveal that, on the whole, Bihzād seems to have preferred cool colours, such as blues and greens, particularly in interior scenes, but they are always balanced by complementary warm colours, especially a bright orange. All the units of the design fit into a decoratively conceived all-over picture which is perfectly executed. The branches of trees in bloom, the richly decorated tile patterns, and the designs on the carpets reveal in particular the artist's decorative sense and the delicacy of his work. Its realism distinguishes it, however, from the paintings of the previous period. This is apparent in the iconography which is no longer purely of courtly nature and primarily devoted to the manly deeds and loves of kings; it brings in addition and on the same level everyday events (*e.g.*, the odd behaviour of a drunken prince, the *wuḍūʾ* at a mosque, mares nursing foals in a stud farm, etc.) and shows also a concern for the activities of persons of lower social standing (a *bawwāb* chastising an intruder, servants bringing food, peasants at work, etc.). Furthermore the figures are no longer mere types, puppets with mask-like faces, but are individualised and often shown full of spontaneous movement or with a sense for the dramatic. Even when they are shown in repose, their attitude is natural.

Since none of the other works connected with Bihzād have a safe signature, though some of them carry attributions dating from the first half of the 16th century, only their stylistic aspect—the perfectly executed combination of the decorative and the realistic—can serve as guide to other true Bihzādian paintings. Some additional help is provided by the custom of the period to work with stencils, so that individual figures known from a well established Bihzād painting can be traced in other, more uncertain works, although such a procedure could also have been done by a student. Unfortunately, our present ignorance of Bihzād's paintings prior to 1485 and after 1500 leaves us in doubt about the master's activities in his youth and old age. In view of so many uncertainties, it is natural that scholars have disagreed about certain attributions, but even if not all of the following works are by the master himself, they are at least from his school.

1. Mīr ʿAlī S̲h̲īr Nawāʾī, *K̲h̲amsa*, dated 890/1485 and written for Badīʿ al-Zamān son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā. 4 vols. in Bodleian Library (MSS. Elliot 287, 408, 317, 339) and 1 vol. in John Rylands Library, Manchester (Turk. MS. 3). At least 1 miniature (Elliot 287, fol. 71r°: "Muḥammad and his Companions" very close to Bihzād while another, Elliot 339, 95v°: "Mystics in Landscape", shows strong influence of his style.

2. Amīr K̲h̲usraw Dihlawī, *K̲h̲amsa*, written in 890/1485 by Muḥammad b. Aẓhar. Four miniatures close to Bihzād (F. R. Martin, *Les miniatures de Behzad dans un manuscrit persan daté* 1485, Munich, 1912, pls. 9, 16, 18 and 21).

3. *Gulistān* written by Sulṭān ʿAlī Kātib, Muḥarram 891/Jan. 1486. M. de Rothschild Collection, Paris. One miniature ("Saʿdī and the youth of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar") most likely by Bihzād. The paintings

of these 3 MSS. of 1485-86, if they are indeed by Bihzād, whould represent the work of his youth, which has not yet quite reached the quality of the Cairo *Būstān* MS.

4. Double miniature "Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā with his Ḥarīm and Retinue in a Garden", ca. 1490-1495. Tehran, Gulistān Palace Library. Very close to Bihzād's style, goes at least in part back to him.

5. Niẓāmī, *Khamsa*, text dated 846/1442, British Museum, Add. 25,900. 19 miniatures of later date, one dated 898/1493 which is the approximate date for 4 miniatures in Bihzādian style. Three paintings have small attributions probably genuine (fols. 121v°, 161r°, 231v°), a fourth, unsigned on fol. 114r°, ("Madjnūn before the Kaʿba") of such high quality that it could also be by Bihzād.

6. Niẓāmī, *Khamsa*, written for Amīr ʿAlī Fārsī Barlās, one painting dated 900/1494-95. British Museum Or. 6810. 16 miniatures attributed to Bihzād by Djahāngīr and most likely either by him (fols. 37v°, 135v°, 190r°, 214r°, 225v, 233v°) or by his students (fols. 27v°, 72v°, 93r°, 106v, 128v°, 137r°, 144v°, 154v°, 157r°, 175r°).

7. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nama*, probably written for Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā; according to a later colophon finished in 872/1467 by Shīr ʿAlī, but six double-page paintings date from 1490s. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore (R. Garrett Coll.). 8 (*sic*) miniatures attributed by Djahāngīr to the early period of Bihzād. All paintings most likely by Bihzād, though in parts, possibly in collaboration with students; several show later retouches, probably Mughal.

8. Circular miniature "Pīr and Youth in Landscape" in an Anthology dated 930/1524 written for Wazīr Khᵛādja Malik Aḥmad. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, no. 44, 48. The painting which may be earlier than the MS. closely paraphrases a miniature in no. 2. According to the introduction, the owner, a high official of the Ṣafawid court, regarded it as a genuine work at a time when Bihzād was alive and connected with the royal library. It seems therefore to be a work of the master's old age which would explain its weaker and repetitive character; alternatively, it may be a copy by a student, supervised by Bihzād and therefore regarded as his own work.

9. Single painting "Two Fighting Camels with Attendants", Tehran, Gulistān Palace Library. According to its inscription this is a work by Bihzād when he was 70 years old. In 1017/1608 Djahāngīr took it to be an authentic picture. A mid-15th century version of the same theme shows that this is much weaker than its prototype (R. Ettinghausen, *Some paintings in four Istanbul albums*, in *Ars Orientalis i*, 1954, 102, figs. 3 and 63). Nos. 8 and 9 would therefore have to be regarded as possible works of Bihzād's declining years.

Works mentioned in literature but not now known are: a *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī written by Mawlānā Maḥmūd Nīshāpūrī for Shāh Ṭahmāsp, a *Tīmūr-nāma* written by Sulṭān ʿAlī Mashhadī, and the paintings in the album of miniatures for which Khᵛāndamīr wrote the preface and in the one owned by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.

Bihzād's influence is first seen in his pupils, of whom some, like Ḳāsim ʿAlī and Āḳā Mīrak, almost attained their master's level. In spite of the fact that another change in style took place very soon under the Ṣafawids, there was in the first three decades of the 10th/16th century a transitional style which shows many features of Bihzād's work; a characteristic example is an ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī MS. of 1526 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. turc, 316). Harāt painters carried Bihzād's style to Bukhārā where it became established at the Shaybānid court. A MS. of ʿAṣṣār's *Mihr-u Mushtarī*, copied in Bukhārā in 929/1523 is a good example of how much more faithful the Bihzādian style was preserved there than in Tabrīz (Freer Gallery of Art, nos. 32,5-32.8). Here the tradition of Bihzād and the Harāt school survived till beyond the middle of the 16th century. By the migration of artists from centres still under Bihzād's influence, the Harāt style and Bihzādian tradition were brought also to India.

Independently of the general development of style we find Bihzād's miniatures and motives more or less faithfully copied down to the 17th century. "Dārā's Meeting with the Horseherd" in the Cairo *Būstān* is found in *Būstān* MSS. of 1535 (Paris, Cartier collection) and 1556 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. pers. 1187), and others. The "Fighting Camels" recur in many Indian and Persian miniatures, on a Persian carpet with animal designs of the 17th century (Berlin, formerly Schloss-Museum) and on a green glazed faience bottle of about 1600 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), while as late as 1028/1619 and 1035/1626 Riḍā-i ʿAbbāsī reproduces designs thought to be by Bihzād (Paris, Vignier collection and Gulistān Palace Library).

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al-**BIḲĀʿ**, plural of al-Baḳʿa, the proper name of the elongated plain commonly called the Bekaa, which, at a mean altitude of 1,000 metres, lies between the mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The ancients had clearly defined it by the term Coele Syria (Hollow Syria) of which the application was subsequently extended. It is a depression of tectonic origin filled in by sediment, and is an extension of the Jordan rift along the north-south axis which forms one of the basic features of the structure of the Near East. Two rivers, the Līṭānī and the Orontes, which have their sources on either side of the Baʿlabakk watershed, drain it rather inadequately before cutting their way, the one through the rugged highlands of the south, the other through gorges opening on to the basalt plateau of Ḥimṣ. Its continental climate makes it a semi-arid steppe land, which nevertheless is studded with oases and depressions, for long marshy, which justify al-Ḳalḳashandī in mentioning the lake of al-Biḳāʿ in his day.

The complementary works of drainage and irrigation, among which those of Tankiz, viceroy of Syria at the beginning of the Mamlūk epoch, have remained famous, contributed to its development. But today it remains still scantily populated (38 inhabitants per sq. km.) and is traditionally devoted to the production of cereals, which is maintained by a system of communal ownership or of big estates. The majority of its population is Muslim, with Shīʿīs predominating in the north, and lives in large villages situated for preference on the foothills, where caves have long attracted those inclined to the monastic life. Among the localities in this high valley, in ancient times a region of sedentary population and a much-used trade route which then became from the time of the Arab conquest one of the richest districts in the province of Damascus, one may mention, besides many sites renowned for their ancient ruins and cave carvings, the Umayyad residence of ʿAyn al-Djarr [*q.v.*], the straggling village of Karak Nūḥ, which was the Mamlūk capital, and the little prosperous villages of today such as Zaḥla. The most important centre has always been Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*] although in Mamlūk times the authority of this citadel, which had for a long time commanded the whole of the country, had been considerably curtailed, and the neighbouring countryside, divided into two districts, had been entrusted to an independent governor. From that time, alongside the *niyāba* of Baʿlabakk there were two *wilāyas*, the Biḳāʿ al-Baʿlabakkī and the Biḳāʿ al-ʿAzīzī.

The last name is to be connected according to Arab historians with that of a son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], and according to certain modern scholars with that of the ancient local divinity *Azizos*. Perhaps one can also see traces of ancient cults in the numerous popular dedications to which toponymy and monuments bear witness, and which evoke above all either the story of Noah and the memories of the flood, or the figure of Ilyās, a hermit *par excellence* and despiser of the cult of Baʿal.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BIKBĀSHĪ [see binbashi].

BILĀD-I THALĀTHA, the three towns, a term employed in Ottoman legal and administrative usage for Eyyūb, Galata, and Üsküdar, *i.e.*, the three separate urban areas attached to Istanbul. Each had its own ḳāḍī, independent of the ḳāḍī of Istanbul, though of lower rank. Every Wednesday the ḳāḍīs of the 'three towns' joined the ḳāḍī of Istanbul in attending the Grand Vezir. This judicial autonomy of the three towns goes back to early Ottoman times, probably even to the conquest. The three towns also enjoyed some autonomy in police matters, being subject not to the police jurisdiction of the Agha of the Janissaries, like Istanbul proper, but of other military officers.

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BILĀL b. ABĪ BURDA [see abū burda].

BILĀL b. DJARĪR al-MUḤAMMADĪ, Abū 'l-Nadā, Zurayʿid [*q.v.*] vizier and governor of ʿAdan. He was appointed governor of the city by the Zurayʿid prince Sabāʾ b. Abī 'l-Suʿūd at the time of his war against his cousin and co-ruler of ʿAdan, the Masʿūdid ʿAlī b. Abī 'l-Gharāt, 531-32/1136-38. With the death of Sabāʾ in 533/1138-39 his son and successor, al-Aʿazz, intensely jealous of Bilāl, intended to have him put to death, but died himself in 534/1139-40 before this could be achieved. At his sudden demise Bilāl had a younger son of Sabāʾ, Muḥammad, brought from Taʿizz, where he had gone into concealment from the hatred of his brother, placed him on the throne over the young

Figure A: "Entertainment at the Court of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā". Left part of double frontispiece by Bihzād in a manuscript of Saʿdī's *Būstān*, written in 893/1488. Cairo, Egyptian National Library.
(Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)

Figure B: "King Dārā and the Horseherd". Miniature by Bihzād in a manuscript of Sa'dī's *Būstān*, written in 893/1488.
Cairo, Egyptian National Library.
(Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)

Figure C: "Mosque Scene". Miniature by Bihzād in a manuscript of Saʿdī's *Būstān*, written in 893/1488. Cairo, Egyptian National Library. (Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)

Figure D: "Battle Scene". Miniature by Bihzād in a manuscript of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*, painted at the end of the XVth century. British Museum, Add. 25900, fol. 231v°. (Copyright British Museum)

Figure E: "Iskandar and the Seven Sages". Miniature probably by Bihzād in a manuscript of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*, of 900/1494-95. British Museum, Or. 6810, fol. 214r°.
(Copyright British Museum)

sons of al-Aʿazz, and married him to his daughter. As a reward for his loyalty Bilāl was appointed vizier of the now unified city, a post which he retained until his death in 546-47/1151-53. Following the accession of Muḥammad b. Sabāʾ Bilāl was accorded the honorific titles of *al-Shaykh al-Saʿīd al-Muwaffaḳ al-Sadīd* by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ. He is reported to have amassed a considerable fortune while in office, all of which reverted to the ruler upon his death. Two sons of Bilāl followed him in the office of vizier until the fall of the dynasty with the Ayyūbid conquest of South Arabia (569/1173).

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BILĀL B. RABĀḤ, sometimes described as Ibn Ḥamāma, after his mother, was a companion of the Prophet and is best known as his *Muʾadhdhin*. Of Ethiopian (African?) stock, he was born in slavery in Mecca among the clan of Jumaḥ, or in the Sarāt. His master is sometimes given as Umayya b. Khalaf [*q.v.*] but also as an unnamed man or woman of the same clan. He was an early convert—some sources credit him with having been the second adult after Abū Bakr to accept Islam. Owing to his status he suffered heavy punishment and torture, especially, it is stated, at the hands of Umayya b. Khalaf, but he bore it with fortitude and would not recant. Finally, he was rescued and manumitted by Abū Bakr who bought him, or exchanged for an able-bodied slave of his own who had not accepted Islam. Henceforth, although a freedman of Abū Bakr, Bilāl seems to have been in constant attendance on the Prophet.

He emigrated to Medīna, where at first he suffered from fever along with Abū Bakr and a number of Meccan Muslims. The Prophet established a tie of brotherhood between him and Abū Ruwayḥa of Khathʿam, whom Bilāl later named as his representative for receiving his pension when he himself decided to campaign in Syria. As a result of this tie of brotherhood, ʿUmar attached the list of African pensioners to that of the tribe of Khathʿam, and Ibn Isḥāḳ records that that was the case in Syria in his own days.

Bilāl became "official" *muʾadhdhin* when the call to prayer was first instituted in the first year of the *Hidjra*. He accompanied the Prophet on all military expeditions. At Badr he caused the deaths of Umayya b. Khalaf and his son, both of whom had already surrendered, but their captor was completely powerless to defend them against the determined attack led by Bilāl.

Although best known as his *muʾadhdhin*, Bilāl was also the Prophet's "mace-bearer" [see *ʿAnaza*], his steward (*Khāzin*), his personal servant, and on occasions, his "adjutant". The climax of his career as a *muʾadhdhin* came when Mecca fell to the Muslims and Bilāl called the faithful to prayer for the first time from the roof of the Kaʿba.

After the death of the Prophet, Bilāl agreed to act as *muʾadhdhin* to Abū Bakr but refused a similar request from ʿUmar, and joined the campaigns in Syria, where he spent the rest of his life. Some sources say that he refused to act in that capacity after the Prophet's death and called publicly to prayer on only two occasions afterwards—when ʿUmar visited al-Djābiya, and when Bilāl himself paid a return visit to Medina and was requested to call the *adhān* by al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Both were moving occasions.

Bilāl seemed to have attained high prestige during his lifetime. An Arab tribe accepted his brother as a suitor in spite of his bad character, and (according to Ṭabarī, i, 2527) when ʿUmar sent a representative to Syria to investigate the source of certain donations made by Khālid b. al-Walīd, Bilāl lent support to both the diffident commander Abū ʿUbayda and the Caliph's representative, by himself removing Khālid's turban and demanding an answer. When a satisfactory explanation was given, Bilāl restored Khālid's turban with full respect and honour.

He is described as being tall and thin with a stoop, of dark complexion, with a thin face and thick hair strongly tinged with grey. The date of his death is given variously as 17, 18, 20, or 21 (638, 639, 641, or 642) and his place of burial is stated as Aleppo or, more probably, Damascus or Darayyā.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, index; Ibn Saʿd, iii, 1,165 ff.; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, ii, 455; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, index; Yaḳūbī, 11, 27, 43, 51, 62, 158, 168; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 146-7, iv, 137, 155; Ibn Ḥadjar, i, 336 f.; *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 206; Nawawī, 176-8. (W. ʿArafat)

BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSAF, heroes of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* (*Būdhāsaf*), an Arabic work deriving ultimately from the traditional biography of Gautama Buddha, and subsequently providing the prototype for the Christian legend of Barlaam and Josaphat.

Contents of story. To the long childless king Janaysar, a pagan ruler of Sūlābaṭ (*i.e.*, Kapilavastu) in India, a son is born by miraculous means. The king names him Yūdāsaf (better: Būdhāsaf = Bodhisattva). An astrologer predicts that the prince's greatness will not be of this world; the king therefore confines the child in a city set apart, to keep him from knowledge of human misery. Growing up, Yūdāsaf frets at his confinement and insists on being allowed out. Riding forth, he sees two infirm men and later, a decrepit old man, and learns of human frailty and death. The holy hermit Bilawhar of Sarandīb (Ceylon) then appears in disguise and preaches to Yūdāsaf in parables, convincing him of the vanity of human existence and the superiority of the ascetic way. Bilawhar spurns renown and riches, indulgence in food and drink, sexual pleasure and all fleshly delights; a vague theism coupled with belief in immortality is preached, but no specifically Islamic dogma advanced.

King Janaysar is hostile to Bilawhar and opposes Yūdāsaf's conversion. In spite of the efforts of the astrologer Rākis and the pagan ascetic al-Bahwan, Janaysar is overcome in a mock debate on the faith and is himself won over. Yūdāsaf renounces his royal estate and embarks on missionary journeys: after various adventures, he reaches Kashmīr (*i.e.*, Kusinārā), where he entrusts the future of his religion to his disciple Abābid (*i.e.*, Ānanda) and dies.

The accompanying table shows the occurrence of the principal parables and fables in the three surviving Arabic versions and in the Georgian and Greek Christian recensions stemming therefrom.

TABLE I

Fable	*Greek*	*Georgian (Jerusalem)*	*Bombay Arabic*	*Ibn Bābūya*	*Halle abstract*
Drum of Death	2	1	1	1	1
Four Caskets	3	2	2	2	2
The Sower	1	3	3	3	3
Elephant and the Man in Chasm	5	4	5	4	4
Three Friends	6	5	6	5	5
King for One Year	7	6	7	6	6
Dogs and Carrion	—	7	8	7	7
Physician and Patient	—	8	4	8	8
The Sun of Wisdom	8	9	9	9	9
King, Wazīr and Happy Poor Couple	9	10	10	10	10
Rich Youth and Beggar's Daughter	10	11	11	11	—
Fowler and Nightingale	4	12	12	12	11
Tame Gazelle	12	13	13	—	—
Costume of Enemies	11	14	14	—	—
Amorous Wife	—	15	15	—	—
Demon Women	13	16	16	—	—

Sources. The *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* is not a direct translation from any Indian Buddhist work, but a syncretic compilation built round episodes in the legendary life of Buddha; it embodies parables of extraneous provenance, including the New Testament parable of the Sower. The narrative framework contains sections reminiscent of such works as the *Buddha-carita*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalita-vistara* and the *Jātaka Tales*. Note that in the authentic tradition, the Buddha had no teacher, however, the ascetic preacher Bilawhar figures in embryo in the Fourth Omen, where the Buddha-elect encounters in Kapilavastu one who had become a wanderer "for the sake of winning self-control, calm, and utter release".

Early clues to the story's transmission to the West are provided by Central Asian Buddhist-Soghdian texts, where *Bodhisattva* is shortened into the form *Pwtysβ*, *i.e.*, *Bōdīsaf*, and by the Manichaean fragments recovered from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan. Le Coq published (*SBPr. Ak. W.*, 1909, 1202-18) a Manichaean Turkish fragment containing the encounter of the Bōdīsaf prince with the decrepit old man; the same scholar published (*Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, 5-7, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1911, Anhang) and Radlov and Oldenburg (*Izv. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 6th ser., VI, 1912, 751-3, 779-82) elucidated another, containing the story of a drunken prince who mistakes a corpse for a maiden, later incorporated in the Ibn Bābūya version. Of particular importance is the discovery, communicated in 1957 by W. B. Henning to the 24th International Congress of Orientalists, Munich, of a fragment in the Berlin Turfan collection comprising portions of 27 couplets of an early Persian metrical rendering, in which the heroes' names occur in the forms *Bylwhr* and *Bwdysf*. This fragment, containing part of Bilawhar's exhortation to Bōdīsaf and of the dialogue concerning Bilawhar's age, is part of a manuscript written not later than the first half of the 10th century A.D. The occurrence of the Iranian name-form *Bwdysf*, as opposed to the Arabic *Būḏhāsaf* with -*ā*- in the second syllable, shows that this version belongs to the earliest line of transmission; it has been tentatively attributed to Rūdakī [*q.v.*] or his school. These indications, pointing to a Central Asian environment and a Middle-Iranian language medium for the early development of the Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf romance, are supported by Yūdāsaf's inclusion, together with Mānī, Bardayṣān, Mazdak and others, in a list of false prophets condemned in ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī's treatise *Al-farḳ bayn al-firaḳ* (ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo 1328, 333; pt. II, trans. A. S. Halkin, Tel-Aviv, 1935, 200-1). Authorities such as al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trans. Sachau, 186-9) connect Būḏhāsaf with the Sabaeans, who were supposed to identify him with both Enoch and Hermes Trismegistus; Būḏhāsaf was also represented as having invented the Iranian alphabet.

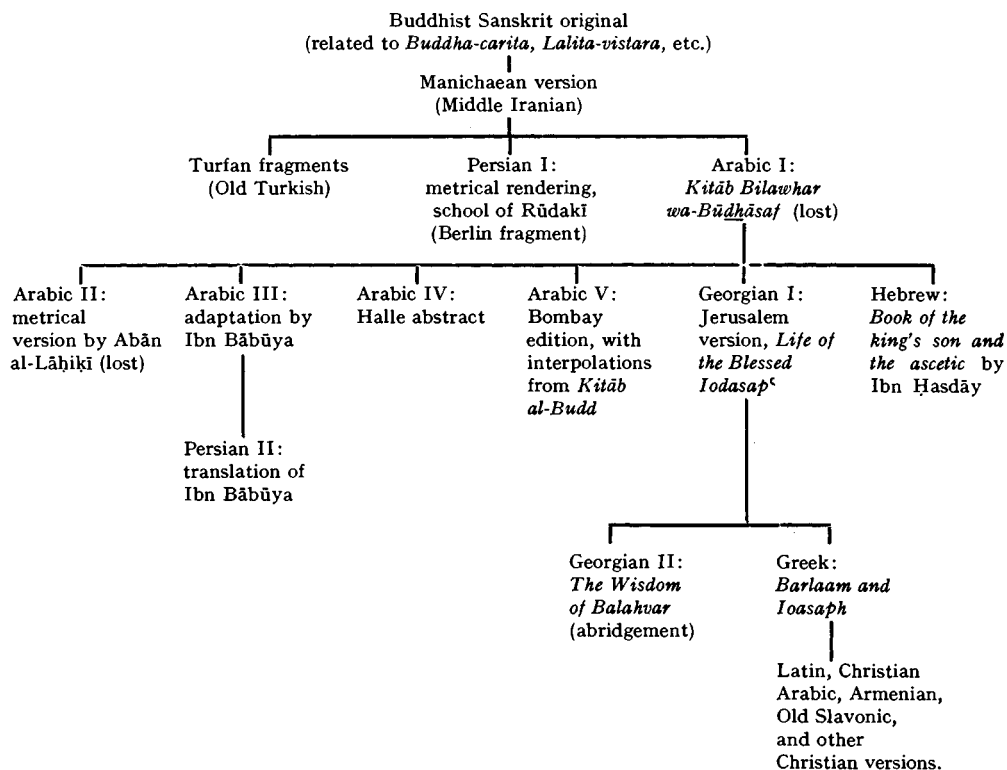
Versions of the work. Among the books translated in early ʿAbbāsid times from Pehlevi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] and his school, the *Fihrist* lists (305) the *Kitāb al-Budd*, the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* (*Būḏhāsaf*) and the *Kitāb Būḏhāsaf mufrad*. The last-named book survives as a chapter of the *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Akhbār al-Furs wa 'l-ʿArab* (Browne in *JRAS*, 1900, 216-7; Rosen in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obshčestva*, 1901-2, 77-118). The first two are amalgamated in the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būḏhāsaf* published at Bombay in 1306/1888-9 (Russian trans. by Rosen, edit. by Kračkovskiy: *Povest' o Varlaame pustînnike i Iosafe tsareviče indiyskom*, Moscow, 1947). This Bombay edition is the fullest version extant: episodes introduced from the *Kitāb al-Budd* having been distinguished from the remainder, the original Bilawhar and Būḏhāsaf (Yūdāsaf) story may be largely reconstituted, reference being made to the Halle abstract (edit. by Hommel in *Verh. des VII. Int. Orient.-Cong., Semit. Sect.*, Vienna 1888, 115-65; trans. Rehatsek, *JRAS*, 1890, 119-55), the adaptation incorporated in the Shīʿī *Kitāb ikmāl al-dīn wa'itmām al-niʿma* by Ibn Bābūya [*q.v.*], the longer Georgian Christianised version discovered in Jerusalem (Greek Patriarchal Library, Ms. Georgian 140: edit. Abuladze, *Balavarianis k'art'uli redak'tsiebi*, Tiflis, 1957), as well as to the early 13th century Hebrew paraphrase by Abraham b. Ḥasday or Chisdai (see Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 863-7). The longish fragment of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* in the Taymūriyya collection, *Akhlāḳ* section (Brockelmann, I, 158) has been identified by Stern as belonging to the same redaction as the Halle abstract; it supplies some of the text missing in the defective unique Ms. of this recension (notes supplied by S. M. Stern). The metrical version stated in the *Fihrist* (119) to have been composed by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] has perished.

Note that in the Mss., the name of Yūdāsaf is written in many different ways; the original *Būḏhāsaf* or *Būdāsaf* has been corrupted by addition of a diacritical point into *Yūḏhāsaf* (whence *Yūzāsaf*) or *Yūdāsaf*, and thence Georgian *Iodasapʿ*, from which comes Greek *Ioasaph*, then Latin *Josaphat*.

Diffusion of the story. With its companion works, the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the romance of Sindbād, the book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf was widely diffused in early Arabic literature. Note for instance the allusion in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Cairo ed., iv, 120, 223) to Bilawhar's fable of the King, the just Wazīr and the Happy Poor Couple, in connexion with belief in immortality.

The Western Barlaam and Ioasaph (Josaphat) legend derives from the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* via the longer Georgian (Jerusalem) redaction, wherein the heroes' names appear as Balahvar and

TABLE 2

Transmission of the Book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaf

Iodasapʿ; the Georgian was adapted and rendered into Greek by St. Euthymius the Athonite and his school about A.D. 1000. The mediaeval attribution of the Greek Barlaam to St. John Damascene, revived by F. Dölger (*Der griechische Barlaam-Roman, ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos,* Ettal 1953), fails to take account of the textual evidence and is to be discounted.

Also to be rejected is the Aḥmadī doctrine which identifies with Jesus Christ the holy Yūz Āsaf whose shrine is venerated at Srīnagar in Kashmīr. Many of the legends concerning the Yūz Āsaf of the Aḥmadīs are simply extracts borrowed from the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf,* with "Kashmīr" substituted for "Kusinārā", the traditional place where the Buddha died.

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(D. M. Lang)

BILBĀS, a confederation consisting, according to C. J. Edmonds (220-222), of five tribes: Mangūr, Māmish (I have rather heard it pronounced Māmash), Pīrān, Sinn and Rāmk. The Mangūr of the mountains are an important tribe who live in Persia on both sides of the Lāwēn (the upper reaches of the Little Zāb in Persia). The Mangūr of the plain live in Irak where they consist of two branches: Māngur Zūdī and Māngur-a-Ruta (the naked Mangūr). The Mangūr of the plain recognise the authority of the chief family of the mountain Mangūr, whose head appoints each year one or two persons (not of his own family) to govern the sections in the plain. The Māmash are another important tribe who live in Persia east of the Lāwēn and to the north of the Mangūr. They have also a section in ʿIrāḳ, the Māmash-a-Reshka (the black Māmash). The Pīrān have also one mountain branch in Persia to the north of the Mangūr, west of the Lāwēn, and another in ʿIrāḳ. The Sinn and the Rāmk who had formerly distinguished themselves in the cavalry of Nādir Shāh (*ibid.,* 145), were afterwards expelled from Shahrizūr (*ibid.,* 142-143) by Salīm Bābān (1743-1757) and, fallen from their ancient glory, now occupy five poor villages in Bitwēn near the Zāb. The Rāmk are subdivided into Kečel-u-Klhaw Spiy (bald and white hats) and Faḳē Waysi. Sometimes classed among the Bilbās are the Udjāḳ who live in

Irak above the Mangûr Zūdī, in 8 villages on the frontier. Minorsky counts the Odjāḳ Kā Khiḍrī among the Bilbās but does not include the Sinn and the Rāmk. See M. A. Zakī (*Khulāṣa*, 391, 407, 447), on the subdivisions of the Bilbās tribes. In Wagner (ii, 116, 228) who had formerly (1852) visited the Bilbās, but who refers chiefly to Niebuhr (1766), Rich (1836-7) and Ker Porter (1822), some fuller information is to be found. He points out that when there is discussion on the affairs of the tribe, all its members enjoy equal rights of vote and veto. The blood-money if a man is killed, is 22 oxen. Adultery is punished by death. The girls are never allowed to marry men of another tribe, but the effects of inbreeding are diminished by the regular practice of abduction. C. J. Edmonds draws attention to the romantic character of the Bilbās girls but emphasises the real risk of abduction (225). The Bilbās chiefs bear the name of *mazin* (great), spelt *muzzin* by Wagner. The succession passes to the son or brother of the chief recognised as the bravest.

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BILBAYS, a town in Egypt which, because of its site, was of considerable importance in the middle ages. Its name comes from the Coptic Phelbès and Arab authors, doubtful of its pronunciation, called it Bulbays or Bilbīs as well.

Situated on the natural invasion route, it was always the town's fate to be besieged by the armies which came to conquer Egypt. First, in the year 19/640, it was by the Arabs who were halted here for a month; at the time of the Crusades it was by Amalric in the course of fights between the Ayyūbid princes. Its fortifications therefore used to be kept in good repair. In the same way Bilbays was the first stop on the route of troops leaving the capital for Palestine, and armies often camped there; al-Dimashḳī called it the 'gate of Syria'. It was, in fact, in the course of a formidable mobilisation against the Byzantines that the Fāṭimid Caliph, al-ʿAzīz, fell ill and died there, and his son, al-Ḥākim, was invested with the Caliphate in the same place.

Bilbays used to be on the route of the mail couriers and to have a centre for carrier pigeons. Up to modern times it was the capital of the Sharḳiyya province, but was supplanted in the 19th century by Zaḳāzīḳ.

In the year 109/727 the financial administrator of Egypt installed part of the tribe of Ḳays in the region of Bilbays. These, about 3,000 in number, helped commercial traffic as camel-drivers and formed a troop which could be mobilised. The choice had fallan on Bilbays because the town was sparsely populated; the existing inhabitants were not harmed, and the tax receipts were not likely to decrease.

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BILEDJIK (the Βηλόκωμα of Byzantine times) is a small town in north-western Asia Minor on the Ḳara Ṣū, an affluent of the Saḳāryā. It is thought that the site of the ancient Agrilion (Agrillum, in the Peutinger Tables) lies not far from Biledjik. The Ottomans seized Biledjik from the Byzantines in the reign of ʿOthmān Beg. Biledjik, under Ottoman rule, was included in the *eyālet* of Anadolu, but later became the administrative centre of the *sandjaḳ* of Erṭoghrul in the *wilāyet* of Khudāvendigār (Brusa). It is now the centre of the present province of Biledjik (Bilecik). The town, long noted for the weaving of silk, suffered much during the events which followed the Great War of 1914-1918. It was occupied by Greek forces in 1921 and was not recovered finally by the Turks until the autumn of the next year. The population of Biledjik amounted, in 1950, to a little less than 4900 inhabitants.

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BILGRĀM, a very ancient town in the district of Hardōī (India), situated in 27° 10′ N. and 80° 2′ E., with a population (1951) of 9,565. It has produced a remarkable number of great men. Abu 'l-Faḍl speaks of the inhabitants as being for the most part intelligent and connoisseurs of music.

In early times it was peopled by coppersmiths (as recent discoveries have established), who were turned out by invading Rādjpūts from nearby Ḳannawdj. During the Mughal rule also Bilgrām was a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of Ḳannawdj (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, i, 434).

The town was conquered by Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Yūsuf al-ʿUthmānī al-Madanī al-Kāzarūnī in 409/1018 for Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna during his Indian campaigns. During the anarchy that followed the enfeeblement of Ghaznawid rule in India, it appears that the local Hindus drove out the Muslim ruler of Bilgrām and reoccupied the town. However, during the reign of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iletmish [*q.v.*], Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣughrā, a lineal descendant of Sayyid Abu 'l-Faraḥ of Wāsiṭ, attacked Bilgrām in 614/1217 at the head of a strong contingent of Imperial troops, and defeated Rādjā Srī, after whom the town had come to be known as Srīnagar, and the Muslims reoccupied the town.

In 948/1541 a fierce engagement took place here between the forces of Humāyūn and Shīr Shāh Sūr, resulting in the complete rout of the former. In 1002/1593 Akbar issued a *farmān* prohibiting the public sale of wine and other intoxicants there.

The Sayyids of Bilgrām, who outpaced their

rivals, the ʿUthmānī and Farshawrī *shaykhs* in almost all walks of life, attained fame in history as writers, scholars, poets and administrators. Prominent among them were: ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Bilgrāmī, author of *Sab Sanābil*, ʿAbd al-Djalīl Bilgrāmī [see BILGRĀMĪ]; his son Muḥammad, whose *takhalluṣ* was "Shāʿir"; Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād [*q.v.*]; Amīr Ḥaydar, a grandson of Āzād Bilgrāmī and author of *Sawāniḥ-i Akbarī*; Sayyid ʿAlī Bilgrāmī and his elder brother ʿImād al-Mulk Sayyid Ḥusayn Bilgrāmī, who was the first Indian Muslim to be nominated (1907) a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, author of the *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, was also a native of Bilgrām. Awrangzīb is reported to have likened the Sayyids of Bilgrām to the wood used in the Masdjid al-Ḥarām, which could neither be sold nor used as fuel.

Although the *shaykhs* of Bilgrām did not produce many men of distinction (except Rūḥ al-Amīn Khān al-ʿUthmānī, governor of 22 *maḥālls* in the province of the Pandjāb and for some time deputy governor of Awadh under Burhān al-Mulk [*q.v.*], and Murtaḍā Ḥusayn *alias* Allāh Yār Thānī, author of *Ḥadīḳat al-Aḳālīm*), the office of *ḳāḍī* of Bilgrām invariably remained with them. It was mainly to vindicate this claim that Ghulām Ḥusayn Farshawrī and others of his tribe wrote their respective works (see Bibl.).

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BILGRĀMĪ, (i) ʿABD AL-DJALĪL B. SAYYID AḤMAD AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-WĀSIṬĪ was born on 13 Shawwāl 1071/10 Nov. 1660 at Bilgrām. He received his education first at his home-town from Saʿd Allāh Bilgrāmī and later at Agra from Faḍāʾil Khān, one of the secretaries of Awrangzīb. When Shāh Ḥusayn Khān was appointed *dīwān* of the *sarkār* of Lucknow he accompanied him there and remained with him for 5 years. It was here that he attended the lectures of Ghulām Naḳshband Lakhnawī (d. 1126/1714). He attained a high degree of proficiency in various branches of learning especially Arabic philology and literature.

He visited Deccan twice, first in 1104/1692 and later in 1111/1699 when he was appointed *bakhshī* and *waḳāʾiʿ-nigār* of Gudjarāt (Shāh Dawla). He held this job till his removal in 1116/1704. The same year he was, however, reinstated but transferred to Bhakkar [*q.v.*] with headquarters at Sīwistān (modern Sēhwān). In 1126/1714 he was dismissed, having made a curious entry in the official journal. It related to the raining of sugar-globules in the *pargana* of Djatōī. He returned to Delhi where he attached himself to Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān Bārha. He died at Delhi in 1138/1725 but his dead body was carried to Bilgrām for burial.

He was the maternal grandfather of Āzād Bilgrāmī [*q.v.*] who devotes lengthy chapters to him in his various works. A poet, primarily in Arabic and Persian, he also composed verses in Turkish and Hindi.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

(ii) SAYYID ʿALĪ B. SAYYID ZAYN AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN was born in 1268/1851 at Patna. In 1291/1874 he graduated from Patna College with distinction in Sanskrit. In 1292/1875 he successfully competed for the Native (later Indian) Civil Service standing first in the whole of Bihār. Soon after he joined the London University for higher studies in geology, cartography, mineralogy and biology. On completion of his education he extensively toured the Continent. A polyglot, Sayyid ʿAlī was well-versed in Latin, German, French, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengālī, Marāthī, Telugū, Gudjarātī, English and his mother-tongue Urdū. For a number of years he was examiner in Sanskrit in the Madras University. In 1311/1893 he was awarded the title of *Shams al-ʿUlamāʾ* by the Government of India. In 1320/1902 he joined Cambridge University as Reader in Marāthī. The same year he was commissioned to prepare a hand-list of the Arabic and Persian MSS, known as the Delhi collection, in the India Office Library. For several years he held various high offices in the former Ḥaydarābād State. In 1909 Calcutta University conferred on him the degree of LL.D. *honoris causa*. His fame chiefly rests on his Urdū translations of French and English works, notably: (i) *Tamaddun-i ʿArab*, a translation of Gustave Le Bon's work *La civilisation des arabes* (Agra, 1316/1898); (ii) *Tamaddun-i Hind* (Agra 1913), a translation of another work of Le Bon: *La civilisation de l'Inde*. He is also the author of *Risāla dar taḥḳīḳ kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna* in which he critically examines the sources, editions, characteristics etc. of the original Sanskrit work. It was through his efforts that the Ḥaydarābād codex of the *Bābur-nāma* was published. He died suddenly at Hardōī in 1329/May 2, 1911.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BILḲĪS is the name by which the Queen of Sheba is known in Arabic literature. The story of the Queen's visit to King Solomon (based on I Kings X, 1-10, 13) has undergone extensive Arabian, Ethiopian, and Jewish elaborations and has become the

subject of one of the most wide-spread and fertile cycles of legends in the Orient.

The name Bilḳīs does not appear in the Ḳurʾān but is current with Muslim commentators. Sūra XXVII, 15-45 reflects some of the principal elements of the Sheba legend and describes the sun-worship of the Queen, how a hoopoe (*hudhud*) carries a letter to her from Solomon, the Queen's consultation with her nobles, and the despatch of presents to Solomon. When these are not well received by the King, the Queen of Sheba comes herself and, by a ruse (mistaking the polished floor for a pool of water), is made to uncover her legs. Eventually, she surrenders (together with Solomon) to Allāh, *i.e.* she becomes a Muslim.

Muslim commentators (Ṭabarī, Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, Bayḍāwī) supplement the story at various points: the Queen's name is given as Bilḳīs; the demons at Solomon's Court, afraid that the King may marry Bilḳīs, spread the rumour that the Queen has hairy legs and the foot of an ass. Hence Solomon's ruse of constructing a glass floor which the Queen mistakes for water thus causing her to lift her skirts. Solomon then commands his demons to prepare a special depilatory to remove the disfiguring hair. According to some he then married the Queen, while other traditions assert that he gave her in marriage to one of the *Tubba*ʿs of the tribe of Hamdān.

In Jewish sources the combined narrative of Ḳurʾān and Muslim commentators can first be traced in the 8th (?) century *Targum S̲h̲eni* to Esther where we find a most elaborate version of this story. This is further embellished in the 11th (?) century *Alphabet of Ben Sira* which avers that Nebuchadnezzar was the fruit of the union between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The fullest and most significant version of the legend appears in the *Kebra Nagast* ('Glory of the Kings'), the Ethiopian national saga. Here Menelik I is the child of Solomon and Makeda (the Ethiopic name of Bilḳīs) from whom the Ethiopian dynasty claims descent to the present day. While the Abyssinian story offers much greater detail, it omits any mention of the Queen's hairy legs or any other element that might reflect on her unfavourably.

Although the Ḳurʾān and its commentators have preserved the earliest literary reflection of the complete Bilḳīs legend, there is little doubt that the narrative is derived from a Jewish Midrash. This judgement is based not only on intrinsic probability and our knowledge of the general influence of the Midrashic genre on early Islam, but is also supported by: (a) the curiously abrupt version of the story in the Ḳurʾān which clearly presupposes prior development; (b) Talmudic insistence (*Baba Batra* 15b) that it was not a woman but a kingdom of Sheba (based on varying interpretations of Hebrew *mlkt*) that came to Jerusalem (obviously intended to discredit existing stories about the relations between Solomon and the Queen); (c) the Ethiopic loanword *ṣarḥ* in Sūra xxvii, 44 (cf. Nöldeke, *NB*, 51); (d) the probable derivation of Bilḳīs from παλλακίς or the Hebraised *pileges̲h̲* 'concubine'.

In Persian art Bilḳīs may often be seen standing in water before Solomon. The same scene is depicted on a window in King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

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(E. ULLENDORFF)

BILLAWR, BALLŪR—whether from the Greek βήρυλλος is a disputed point, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 110—rock-crystal. According to the *Petrology* of Aristotle the stone is a kind of glass but harder and more compact. It is the finest, purest and most translucent of natural glasses, and also occurs among the colours of the *yāḳūt*; by the dust-coloured rock-crystal is meant the smoky topaz. It may also be artificially coloured; it concentrates the sun's rays so that a black rag or piece of cotton or wool may be set on fire by it; valuable vessels for kings are made of rock-crystal. A commoner kind which is harder and looks like salt—i.e. quartz—gives out sparks when struck by steel and is used for striking fire by kings' servants. No account of its crystalline formation, which Pliny gives, is given by the Arab writers, nor is the general distribution of quartz known. Al-Tīfās̲h̲ī says that at 13 days' journey from Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar are two mountains the interiors of which consist entirely of beautiful rock-crystal; it is worked at night, as the reflection of the sun's rays renders work by day impossible. Al-Akfānī (in *al-Machriq*, 1908) gives the fullest account of the places in which it is found; according to him it comes from East Africa (Zand̲j̲), Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, Armenia, Ceylon, the land of the Franks and Mag̲h̲rib al-Aḳṣā.

According to al-Bīrūnī (d. 430/1038), rock crystal of very high quality from the Zand̲j̲ Islands, near East Africa, and from the Dībad̲j̲āt Islands, west of India, was brought to al-Baṣra, where it was worked into vessels and other objects. The organisation of the manufacture is described in some detail. Such defects as might have been found even in this rock crystal, said to be superior to that mined in Kas̲h̲mīr, were concealed by ornaments and inscriptions.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Egypt twice between the years 439/1047 and 441/1050, praises the objects of rock crystal that were sold in the bazaars of Old Cairo (Miṣr). The raw material had up to that time been brought from the Mag̲h̲rib, but he was told that Red Sea rock crystal had recently been received which was even more beautiful and transparent than that brought from the Mag̲h̲rib. Judging from al-G̲h̲uzūlī and al-Maḳrīzī, who drew on earlier sources, the manufacture of rock crystal objects in Egypt must have reached its highest level during the earlier part of the Fāṭimid period. The dispersal of al-Mustanṣir's treasures in the years 453/1061-461/1069 must have been a severe blow to that industry as it brought innumerable objects on the market, some of which are described. These objects were either *mad̲j̲rūd*, plain or faceted, or *manḳūs̲h̲*, ornamented, and it is obvious from what we have heard from al-Bīrūnī that the latter were then held in higher esteem than the former.

Apart from pieces of Ṣafawid, Mug̲h̲al or other post-mediaeval origin, something like 165 objects of rock crystal are known to exist which are indisputably of Islamic origin. In the majority of cases they have been preserved in the treasures of European churches, where most of them have served as reliquaries. In such cases the mounting may offer a

terminus ante quem for the dating of the rock crystal object, the earliest of such *termini* falling within the years 973 and 982 A.D. Not a single one out of these 165 odd specimens—which include many chess pieces and other minor objects—bears a date, but two of them have inscriptions containing the name of a ruler, in both cases a Fāṭimid Caliph: a ewer in the Treasure of St. Mark's in Venice made for al-ʿAzīz (365/975-386/996), and a crescent-shaped object in Nuremburg, perhaps the head-gear of a harness, made for his grandson al-Ẓāhir (411/1021-427/1036). A ewer in Florence must have been made for al-Ḥusayn b. Djawhar between 390/1000 and 401/1011, during the reign of al-Ḥākim.

All these works in rock crystal are often spoken of as "Fāṭimid", but quite a number of them must be of pre-Fāṭimid origin, and some of them may have been made at al-Baṣra.

The entire number of specimens referred to belong to the category described as *manḳūsh*; on the other hand we hardly possess any example of *madjrūd* work, unless we accept as such some of the faceted ewers that some scholars regard as Fāṭimid, while others think they were made in Europe (Burgundy, Bohemia, Sicily, or Spain).

Bibliography: Clément-Mullet, *Essai sur la min. arabe* in the *Journ. As*, Series 6, xi, 230; Tīfāshī, *Azhār al-Afkār* (transl. by Raineri Biscia), 2, ed., 118; Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 212; idem, (transl. by Ruska), 9; *al-Machriq*, xi, 762; K. A. C. Creswell, *A Bibliography of Glass and Rock Crystal in Islam*, in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, 1952, 1 ff.; R. Schmidt, *Die Hedwigsgläser und die verwandten fatimidischen Glas- und Kristallarbeiten*, in *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, 1912, 53 ff.; C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, I-II, Berlin, 1929-30; P. Kahle, *Die Schätze der Fatimiden*, in *ZDMG*, 1935, 329 ff.; idem, *Bergkristall, Glas und Glasflüsse nach dem Steinbuch von el-Bērūnī*, *ibid.*, 1936, 322 ff.; K. Erdmann, *Islamische Bergkristallarbeiten*, in *Jahrb. der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1940, 127 ff.; idem, *"Fatimid" Rock Crystals*, in *Oriental Art* 1951, 3ff.; idem, *The 'Sacred Blood' of Weissenau* in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1953, 299 ff., idem, *Die fatimidischen Bergkristallkannen*, in *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, 1953, 189 ff; D. S. Rice, *A Datable Islamic Rock Crystal*, in *Oriental Art*, 1956, 3 ff.

(J. RUSKA-[C. J. LAMM])

BILLITON, corrupted form of Belitung, island in Indonesia at about 108° eastern Long. and 3° southern Lat., a little larger than 1800 square miles. It owes its fame to its tin-mines, and it is probably for this reason that it is mentioned in Indonesian documents of about 900 A.D. A part of the indigenous population—less than 100,000 souls—was converted to Islam in the 19th century.

Bibliography: A. W. Nieuwenhuis, in *EI*¹, s.v.

(C. C. BERG)

BILLŪR KÖSHK, "The Crystal Palace"; this is the title of a Turkish folk tale which gave its name to the oldest Turkish collection of such tales. Variations of this one can be found in Naki Tezel, *Istanbul masalları* (publications of the Eminönü Halkevi, no. x), Istanbul 1938, 202 ff.; W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, St. Petersburg 1885 ff., viii (texts collected by I. Kúnos, 1899), part III, no. 19; Ignácz Kúnos, *Materialien zur Kenntnis des rumelischen Türkisch*, part I, *Volksmärchen aus Adakale*, Leipzig and New York 1907, 255-261, no. 50; 8 MSS of the tale of Billūr Köshk, or, more specifically, of its variant *Incili Çadır*, can be found in the Folklore Archives of the Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi in Ankara.

This collection usually contains 13 tales, including the title story Billūr Köshk (in the edition by I. Kúnos, cf. *Türkische Volksmärchen*, V, note 2, there is a further tale, *Khırsız ile Yemenidji*) and the farce *Hırsız ile Yankesici*, ("The thief and the pick-pocket"). All of these have an oral tradition, and have only recently been somewhat modernised and brought out in book form. They have, however, lost nothing of their popular flavour in spite of their literary style. Numerous editions of this collection of folk tales have circulated in Turkey during the past hundred years, and since the writing reform in 1928, there have also been some in Latin script.

Editions: *Billūr Köshk Ḥikâyesi*, ed. Emniyet Kütübkhānesi, Istanbul 1339; *Billūr Köşk Hikâyesi*, Istanbul 1928; Selâmi Münir Yurdatap, *Resimli Billûr Köşk Hikâyesi*, Istanbul 1940.

Translations: T. Menzel, *Türkische Märchen* I: *Billur Köschk*. 14 Turkish tales, translated into German for the first time, from the two Istanbul editions of the collection. (*Beiträge zur Märchenkunde des Morgenlandes*, edited by G. Jacob and T. Menzel, ii), Hannover 1923.

Bibliography: (apart from works already mentioned): I. Kúnos, *Oszman-Török Népköltési Gyüjtemény*, Budapest 1887/89; G. Jacob, *Die türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901; I. Kûnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, Leiden 1905; Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig 1913/32, ii, 229-273; P. N. Boratav, *Billûr Köşk*, in *IA*, ii (1944), 613; W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953.

(H. W. DUDA)

BILMA, (Ar.) (in Tedaga: Togei or Tzigei), chief centre of the Kawar, a group of oases situated mid-way between Fezzan and Chad, on the main route from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The palm groves extend for 90 kilometres from north to south, from Anay to Bilma. At no point are they more than 2 kilometres wide. Bilma is situated at the foot of a cliff which faces west; its base is formed by the marine layers of Upper Cretaceous, and its summit by the sandstone of the Continental terminal.

Although conquered by the Arabs in the 1st/7th century (expedition of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ reported by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam), the Kawar was still partly pagan at the beginning of the 19th century. The population, numbering about 1500, consists of a settled negro race, the Kanuri, and the Guezebida, hybrids from Kanuri and Teda. These settlers have always been subject to the nomads who inhabit the neighbouring regions, first to the Touareg of the Aïr, then to the Teda. They cultivate palm-trees whose dates are sent to the Tibesti and to the Hausa countries; but their chief means of livelihood lies in the exploitation of the salt-works situated at 2 kilometres to the north-west of Bilma, at Kalala.

These salt works are made up of about a thousand pits spread over some 15 hectares. The salt is mainly extracted in the hot season, from April to November, because of evaporation.

The pits are dug down to the underground water level (2 m.), the water is left to evaporate, a crust is formed which is broken with palm sticks, and the salt is deposited at the bottom. There are two main types of salt: *beza*, in the form of crystals which is

not treated in any way and is used for human consumption, and the *kantu*, moulded into loaves in hollowed out palm-trunks and used chiefly for the feeding of animals. The salt-works belonged first to the Koyom, a Kanuri tribe, who were driven back to the south-east of Kawar, between Kouka and Gouré; then, from the sixteenth century, to a Touareg tribe, the Kel Gress. Since the arrival of the French, they have belonged to the people of Bilma. The apply for authority to dig to the village chief who is master of the land, and exploit the works themselves, without paying royalties to anyone. All commercial activity is carred on during the *azalay* [*q.v.*] in the autumn and spring, when the Touareg caravans bring in the millet, butter, dried meat, fabrics and kola nuts which are bartered for the salt. These great caravans comprising several thousand camels, with growing security have been replaced by smaller individual caravans, which are tending to get smaller still, following the infiltration into Nigeria of sea-water salt and European salt, but the family bartering system remains unchanged; only the rate of exchange varies from year to year.

Bibliography: Barth, *Reisen*, iv, ch. 6; Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i; Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i; Monteil, *De St Louis à Tripoli par le Tchad*, ch. xiii; Gabel, *Notes sur Bilma et les oasis environnantes*, in *Revue Colonial*, 1907, 361-386; Cne. Grandin, *Notes sur l'industrie et le commerce du sel au Kawar, et en Agram*, in *Bul. IFAN*, xiii/2, 1951, 488-533; J. Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*. (R. CAPOT-REY)

BILMEDJE, the name given as a rule to popular riddles among the Ottoman Turks. Northern and eastern Turks use instead various words from the root *tap-* ('to find'), such as *tabïshmak*, *tapmadja*, *tapkïsh*, *tabïshkak*, *tabushturmak*.

The true riddles of the people can generally be distinguished from artificial riddles such as the *lughaz* or *muʿammā* by their obviously simple form, their puns or double meanings, and their appearance of unreason or illogicality. This last characteristic of riddles, their irrationality, is manifested in this way: when speaking of various objects and happenings, certain traditional expressions are employed which have only a vague connexion with the ordinary natural way of looking at things, and which must be known before the meaning can be grasped. That is to say, it is not generally possible to find the solution to a riddle by using one's logical judgement. To solve a riddle, one must first comprehend the sense of the peculiar terminology, which has something of the quality of a hieroglyph. None of these features is peculiar to popular Turkish riddles. The riddles of any given people differ from those of any other only in details, usually of form. The specially Turkish character of the *bilmedje* is primarily bound up with geographical location and Turkish popular life. Broadly speaking, the Islamic stamp is secondary and unimportant.

At the present time, riddles chiefly constitute the branch of Turkish popular literature that is peculiar to children. Nevertheless, we have evidence suggesting that once upon a time they were regarded very seriously and formed a part of popular philosophy: we find stories in which riddling contests occur, with one man quoting a hemistich and his opponent capping it with another, sometimes with serious consequences for the defeated party. So too the existence of riddles relating to cosmology and sex shows clearly that these were not originally invented for children. With the change in their social rôle, riddles underwent considerable modification and took on new meanings. Indeed the solution of riddles is usually a shifting and fluid element in them.

Riddles are mostly in the form of a short proposition: consider for example this riddle, known to have existed as early as the 14th century and still widespread today: *yer altïnda yaghlï kayïsh* ('oily sliding underground') = 'snake'. Most of the popular riddles consist of two parts which are assonant or half-rhyming because of the syntactical balance between them: *Allah yapar yapïsïnï—bičak ačar kapïsïnï* ('God builds its structure, the knife opens its door') = 'water-melon'. Riddles of this pattern are often extended into regular quatrains (*mānī*), a chacteristic form of Turkish popular verse. Paronomasia and onomatopoeia abound.

A comparative examination of material so far collected shows that the various groups into which riddles may be classified are all variants of certain primitive types. In fact, because of the alterations incidental to the process of being passed orally from one person to another, and because they are consciously adjusted to suit new solutions, riddles are subject to constant change. This entails a well-nigh infinite increase in the number of variants. Nevertheless there are some riddles which have changed neither their form nor their solution for centuries.

As early as Maḥmūd Kāshgharī's *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk* (11th century) we find riddles, under the names *tabuzghu neng*, *tabuzghuk* and *tabzugh*. But the oldest known examples of Turkish popular riddles are found in the Codex Cumanicus and have formed the subject of numerous publications (G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1880, 143-157, 236 foll.; W. Radloff, *Das Türkische Sprachmaterial des C. C.* (*Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Petersburg*, 1887, xxxv, 2 foll., no. 6); W. Bang, *Über die Rätsel des C. C.* (*SBPr. Ak. W.*, 1912, xxi, 334-353); J. Németh, *Die Rätsel des C. C.* (*ZDMG*, 1913, lxvii, 577-608); S. E. Malov, *K istorii i kritike C. C.* (Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR, literary section, 1930, 348-375); J. Németh, *Zu den Rätseln des C. C.* (*KCA*, ii, 366 foll.).

There are also a good many collections of riddles recorded by contemporary scholars, but these are far from having exhausted the rich store existing among the Turkish peoples.

Bibliography: A. N. Samoylovich, *Zagadki zakaspiyskikh Turkmenov* (Zivaya Starina, 1909), 28-32. He has published a bibliography of studies of riddles of the Turkish peoples till 1932. This (*RO*, iv, 4 f.; till 1926) has been completed by Malov. For bibliography of Ottoman riddles see Kowalski's article *Türkische Volksrätsel aus Nordbulgarien* (*Festschrift für G. Jacob*), 130 ff. (till 1932). Important collections of Turkish riddles: I. Kúnos, *Oszmanlörök népköltési gyujtemény*, Budapest 1889, ii, 141-177; T. Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, Krakow 1919; Saʿd al-Dīn Nüzhet and Aḥmed Ferīd, *Ḳonya wilāyeti khalḳiyāt we harthiyatï*, Ḳonya 1926, 225-233; Hammamī-zāde Ihsan, *Bilmeceler* (articles on Turkish folklore), iii, Istanbul 1930; T. Kowalski, *Türkische Volksrätsel aus Kleinasien*, (*ArO* 1932, iv, 295-324). (T. KOWALSKI*)

BĪMĀRISTĀN, often contracted to *māristān*, from Persian *bīmār* 'sick' + the suffix *-istān* denoting place, a hospital. In modern usage *bīmāristān* is applied especially to a lunatic asylum.

i. *Early period and Muslim East.*

According to the Arabs themselves (cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 405), the first hospital was founded either by Manāḳyūs, a mythical king of Egypt, or by Hippocrates, the latter of whom is said to have made for the sick in a garden near his house a *xenodokeion*, literally 'lodging for strangers'. The authority for this statement is given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ʿ*Uyūn*, ed. Müller, i, 26-27) as Book 3 of Galen's *Fī akhlāḳ al-nafs* (*Peri Êthōn*), a work which has not survived in Greek. Since hospitals were not a feature of life in classical antiquity, the question of origin is not solved by these indications. Al-Walīd I (Caliph 86-96/705-715) is credited with having been the first to build a *māristān* in Islam, placing in it doctors and assigning them stipends (Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*), but although this is stated in similar terms ('hospitals for the sick') by so early a writer as Ibn al-Faḳīh *circa* 289/902 (106-107), the fact is open to doubt. According to al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1196), al-Walīd restrained the lepers from going out among the people and assigned them stipends, — a bare statement somewhat amplified in another passage (ii, 1271), where al-Ṭabarī mentions that al-Walīd 'gave donations to the lepers, telling them not to beg from the people and assigned to every cripple a servant and to every blind person a guide'. Ibn al-Athīr (*sub anno* 88/707) has a short notice to the same effect, and al-Dhahabī adds that the servants and guides were slaves (*Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, iv, 67). It would seem that we have to do here with measures of segregation, somewhat as in Muslim Spain later, where a whole quarter at Ḳurṭuba (Cordova) was known as Rabaḍ al-Marḍā, 'Suburb of the Sick' (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 381-382, 434).

The establishment of the first real hospital in Islam depended on the continuing influence of the medical school and hospital at Djundaysābūr (Djundīshāpūr) in Khūzistān. Founded under the Sāsānids, this institution maintained its Syro-Persian and Indian, ultimately Greek, traditions, into the Arab period and from the time of the transference of the capital to al-ʿIrāḳ exercised a profound effect on the development of Arabic medicine. As far as hospitals are concerned, contact with Djundaysābūr bore fruit in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786-193/809), who charged Djibrāʾīl b. Bakhtīshūʿ, a Christian doctor of that school, with the creation of a *bīmāristān* in Baghdād. At the same time a skilled dispenser in the *bīmāristān* at Djundaysābūr was sent to Baghdād. This man's son, Yūḥannā (Yaḥyā) b. Māsawayh, afterwards became head of the new *bīmāristān* (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 383-384; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 174-175). The original Baghdād hospital was situated in the S.W. suburb on the Karkhāyā Canal. It was here that, following the catholic traditions of Djundaysābūr, the Indian Manka at the request of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī translated the Sanskrit medical work *Suśruta-saṃhitā* into Persian (*Fihrist*, 303) and al-Rāzī (Rhazes) lectured, according to some.

How long the *bīmāristān* of Hārūn continued to function alone is not clear. From the beginning of the 4th/10th century or somewhat earlier we hear of a spate of new foundations in Baghdād: the *bīmāristān* founded by Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī, the *ghulām*, 'page', of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892-289/902) in the Mukharrim quarter on the E. bank of the Tigris (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221, cf. 214); a *bīmāristān* in the Ḥarbiyya quarter, N. of the City of al-Manṣūr, endowed in 302/914 by the 'good *wazīr*' ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who gave the direction of it together with 'the rest of the hospitals in Baghdād, Makka and al-Madīna' to the learned Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dimishḳī, otherwise known as a translator (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 234); the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida on the E. bank, opened in al-Muḥarram, 306/June, 918 by Sinān b. Thābit, who appears to have succeeded Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimishḳī as general intendant of hospitals in Baghdād and elsewhere (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221-222); the Bīmāristān al-Muḳtadirī at the Bāb al-Shām, built about the same time (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 222); and the *bīmāristān* of Ibn al-Furāt in Darb al-Mufaḍḍal, over which Thābit b. Sinān is said to have been given the charge in 313/925 (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 224). These hospitals derived their revenues from endowments (*waḳf*) made by powerful and wealthy individuals. The funds were in the hands of trustees, who were not always very attentive to their responsibilities (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221). An idea of the size of the hospitals may be gained from their monthly expenditure: at the Muḳtadirī 200 *dīnārs* a month; at the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida, 600 *dīnārs* a month (*ibid.*). Some comfort for the patients was secured by the provision of blankets and charcoal in cold weather (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 222). Efforts in this direction sometimes went much farther (see below).

We know less about hospitals in the provinces, but some certainly existed before the 4th/10th century. The *bīmāristān* of al-Rayy, over which al-Rāzī presided before coming to Baghdād, where he died as head of a hospital about 320/932 (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 272), was a large institution (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 273; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 310-311) and had probably been in existence for some time. A lunatic asylum at Dayr Hiziḳil between Wāsiṭ and Baghdād was visited by al-Mubarrad in the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, *i.e.*, between 232/847 and 247/861 (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 197 ff.).

In the time of Sinān b. Thābit, who died in 331/942 (*Fihrist*, 302), on instructions from ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā already mentioned the prisons were daily visited by doctors, medicines and potions were provided for sick prisoners, and female visitors were also admitted, evidently in the capacity of nurses (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 221). At the same period medical practitioners and a travelling dispensary (*khizāna li 'l-adwiya wa 'l-ashriba*) were sent round the villages of the Sawād (*i.e.*, lower ʿIrāḳ). From correspondence between Sinān and the *wazīr* concerning this mobile medical unit it appears that at this time non-Muslims as well as Muslims were treated at the *bīmāristāns* (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ibid.*).

At least some of the Baghdād hospitals which have been listed were probably still in existence when the great ʿAḍudī *bīmāristān* was founded at the bend of the Tigris in W. Baghdād by the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla Al-Rāzī is repeatedly mentioned in connexion with this hospital, which from the time of its opening in 372/982, shortly before the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, i, 167), was the most celebrated of the hospitals of Baghdād. It is said that al-Rāzī chose the site by causing a piece of meat to be suspended in every part of the city, and discovering where there was least putrefaction, and also that ʿAḍud al-Dawla selected him from more than a hundred doctors as first chief (the word is *sāʿūr*, from Syriac) of the new foundation (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 309-310). But al-Rāzī had died 50 years earlier. The explanation of the anachronism,

already noted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*ibid.*), may be the similarity in the script of the Bīmāristān al-ʿAḍudī and that founded in al-Rāzī's lifetime by al-Muʿtaḍidī (see above).

When first founded, the ʿAḍudī hospital had twenty-four doctors (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī 235-236). Several classes of specialists are mentioned: 'physiologists' (*ṭabāʾiʿiyyun*), oculists (*kaḥḥālūn*), surgeons (*dj̲arāʾiḥiyyūn*) and bonesetters (*mudj̲abbirūn*) (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 310). The salary of Dj̲ibrāʾīl b. ʿUbayd Allāh, whose turn of duty at the *bīmāristān* was two days and two nights per week, is given as 300 *dirhams*, *i.e.*, monthly (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 148). Lectures were given at the ʿAḍudī hospital (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 239, 244), and we know some of the works which were read in this way, *e.g.*, the *Aḳrābādh̲īn* (Antidotarium) of Sābūr b. Sahl of Dj̲undaysābūr (*Fihrist*, 297, cf. Brockelmann, I, 232), eventually superseded by another work of the same title by Ibn al-Tilmīdh̲, a later dean (*sāʿūr*, see above) of the ʿAḍudī hospital (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 161, 259). When Ibn Dj̲ubayr visited Bag̲h̲dād in 580/1184 the place was like a great castle, with a water-supply from the Tigris, and all the appurtenances of royal palaces (*Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, 225-226).

Another of the great hospitals of mediaeval Islam was founded in Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (541/1146-569/1175). The Nūrī hospital is said to have been built from the ransom of an unnamed king of the Franks (Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 408). Ibn Dj̲ubayr (*Riḥla*, 283) describes how the staff kept lists of the patients' names and the amounts of medicines and food which each required. A typical day in the life of a leading doctor at the Nūrī hospital included going the rounds of the sick and writing down prescriptions of medicine and treatment, visiting private patients, then returning to the hospital in the evening to lecture for three hours on medical subjects (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 155). There was also a Nūrī hospital at Ḥalab (Aleppo) (Rāg̲h̲ib al-Ṭabbākh̲, *Taʾrīkh̲ Ḥalab*, ii, 77).

In Egypt no *bīmāristān* existed till Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn constructed one in 259/872-261/874 (Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 405). Here the rule was that no soldier or slave should be admitted for treatment. The institution was richly endowed, with facilities for men and women. The Nāṣirī hospital was founded by Salāḥ al-Dīn, but the great creation of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn, completed in 11 months in 683/1284, was the most splendid of its kind in Egypt, and perhaps the most elaborate which had yet been seen in Islam. The endowment is said to have amounted to nearly one million *dirhams* in a year (Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 406). Men and women were admitted. None was turned away, nor was the period of treatment limited. Formerly a Fāṭimid palace with accomodation for 8,000 persons, the Manṣūrī hospital possessed wards where fevers, ophthalmia, surgical cases, dysentery, etc., were separately treated, a pharmacy, a dispensary, store-rooms, attendants of both sexes, a large administrative staff, lecture arrangements, a chapel, a library, in fact all that the best experience of the time could suggest for the healing of the sick. The account of these matters given by al-Makrizi (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 406-408) is an impressive tribute to the hospital science of mediaeval Islam.

Books were written about hospitals, *e.g.*, the *Kitāb fī ṣifāt al-bīmāristān* of al-Rāzī (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 310), the *Bīmāristānī* par excellence (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 272 = Ibn Dj̲uldj̲ul, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 77), which, like the *Kitāb al-bīmāristānāt* of Zāhid al-ʿUlamāʾ al-Fāriḳī, head of a flourishing hospital in Mesopotamia in the 5th/11th century (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 253), is now lost. Somewhat different are the *Maḳāla Amīniyya fī 'l-adwiya al-bīmāristāniyya* of Ibn al-Tilmīdh̲ and the *Dastūr al-bīmāristānī* of Ibn Abi 'l-Bayyān, both works on pharmacopoeia mentioned by Paul Sbath (*Al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1938, i, 10, 75), who gave an edition of the latter (*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xv, 1932-1933, 13-78).

Bibliography: L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la Médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, 557-572; E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, 45-46, 56, 101-102; Amīn A. K̲h̲ayr Allāh, *Outline of Arabic Contributions to Medicine and the Allied Sciences*, Beirut 1946, 59-73 (contains a few mistakes); C Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1951, index (gives also information on the W. of Islam); G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900; reimpression 1924, 62, 103-105; E. W. Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, London 1896, 92-94 (reduced condition of the Manṣūrī hospital last century); M. W. Hilton-Simpson, *Arab Medicine and Surgery*, Oxford 1922, 13 (village hospital in modern Algeria); Aḥmad ʿĪsā Bey, *Histoire des bimaristans (hôpitaux) à l'époque islamique*, Cairo 1928; idem, *Taʾrīkh̲ al-Bīmāristānāt fī 'l-Islam*, Damascus 1939; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, text, 126 n. 1, and album, pl. lxi.

(D. M. Dunlop)

ii. *Muslim West.*

The first large hospital in North Africa for which there is any evidence was founded at Marrākus̲h̲ by the Almohad sultan Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) about a hundred years before the establishment of the famous hospital at Cairo. The sultan was a great builder and, after attracting to his court the most celebrated Spanish doctors of his time: Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rus̲h̲d, Ibn Zuhr al-Ḥafīd and his son, he built in his capital, for sick foreigners both rich and poor, a magnificent hospital of which there is a description by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākus̲h̲ī (cf. *al-Muʿdj̲ib*, ed. Mohammed El-Fassi, 1938, 176-177). The same sultan also founded, in various parts of the empire, hospitals for the insane, for lepers and for the blind (cf. *al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Fās 1305, 154; trans. Beaumier, 306).

The great Marīnid Sultans [*q.v.*], Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abū ʿInān, kept up these establishments and added many others (cf. *al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Fās, 1305, 214; *al-Dh̲akh̲īra al-Saniyya*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 100; Ibn Marzūḳ, *al-Musnad*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hesperis* v (1925), 36; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv, 347). At a later date, the ruling sultans appropriated the revenues intended for these hospitals, which consequently fell into decline or disappeared.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus described the hospital at Fez as being in total decline and used primarily as a prison for dangerous lunatics. This is still its function, and it is also used as a prison for women (cf. Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Schefer, ii, 78, trans. Épaulard i, 188; Le Tourneau, *Fes*, 255-257).

The famous Almohad hospital at Marrākus̲h̲ seems to have disappeared without leaving any traces, and the hospital founded there by the Saʿdid sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-G̲h̲ālib bi-llāh (965-81/1557-74) became a prison for women (cf. al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, trans. v, 63).

In 1247/1831-32, the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān built at Salé a hospital attached to the

sanctuary of Sayyidī Ibn ʿĀs̲h̲ir. This hospital, which is still in use, dispensed with doctors; instead, the sick relied for their cure upon the *baraka* of the saint. The memory of old hospitals which have disappeared or fallen into disuse is preserved in some towns of Morocco, for example in Rabat and El-Ḳṣar (cf. L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii: Glossary, 753), and also in Tangiers.

Lepers (plural *d̲j̲ad̲h̲mā*, or, euphemistically, *marḍā*) were usually placed in a special quarter, called *al-ḥāra*, outside the towns. At Fez, they were originally settled outside Bāb al-K̲h̲awk̲h̲a, on the Tlemcen road. During the first half of the thirteenth century they were removed to caves outside Bāb al-S̲h̲arīʿa. Then, in 658/1260, they were installed in other caves outside Bāb al-Gīsa. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century they lived in a town near the Sūḳ al-K̲h̲amīs (cf. *al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Rabat 1936, i, 53-54; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, i, 229). At Marrākus̲h̲, the *ḥāra* was originally outside Bāb Āg̲h̲māt, until, at the end of the 10th/16th century, the Saʿdid sultan al-Manṣūr removed it to outside Bāb Dukkāla.

At Tunis, the Ḥafṣid Sultan, Abū Fāris, founded the first hospital "for poor, foreign or infirm Muslims", completed in 823/1420 (cf. al-Zarkas̲h̲ī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Dawlatayn*, ed. Tunis 1289, 102). At Granada, the Naṣrid sultan Muḥammad V, built a splendid hospital "for sick and poor Muslims", completed in 768/1367. The foundation inscription reads that "never, since the beginning of Islamic influence in these parts, has such an establishment been founded". Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for there were others, and in Granada itself. And, from the 7th/13th century onwards, the Valencia *Vocabulista* translates *hospitale* by dialectal and, therefore, living terms: *marastān* and *malastān* (cf. Ibn al-Khaṭib, *al-Iḥāṭa*, ed. Cairo 1319, ii, 29; Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 164; L. Seco de Lucena, *Plano de Granada arabe*, 53).

A distinction must be made between "hospitals" intended for the sick and "hospices" or "night lodgings" (*manzil*) intended for travellers. In the Muslim West, such hospices were established outside the gates of the big towns by most of the sovereigns who founded hospitals. They received the name *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] (cf. G. S. Colin, *La zaouya mérinite d'Anemli, à Taza*, in *Hespéris*, 1953, ii, 1). Al-K̲h̲afād̲j̲ī appears to have repeated an earlier error in stating that the first *bīmāristān* was set up by Hippocrates who gave it the name *ik̲h̲s̲h̲inudūkiyun* (ξενοδοχεῖον), "hostelry for foreigners" (cf. *S̲h̲ifāʾ al-G̲h̲alīl*, ed. Cairo 1282, 56) [cf. above i].

The Moroccan author of the *Muʿd̲j̲ib* (cf. supra), writing in Bag̲h̲dād in 621/1224, is the only Western author to use the correct etymological form: *bīmāristān*. All the others use a form, *māristān*, which has lost the Persian preposition. Very soon, the word appears with the first *ā* shortened. In the Spanish dialects, the *r* was followed by the vowel *a* (*Vocabulista*: *marastān* and *malastan*; P. de Alcalá: *marastēn*), and this vocalisation is attested for Egypt in the 11th/17th century by Al-K̲h̲afād̲j̲ī (cf. *S̲h̲ifāʾ* ed. Cairo 1282, 206). In present-day Cairo the word is pronounced *murustān*.

In the modern dialects of the Mag̲h̲rib, some velarisation has taken place in the word: *morṣṭān*, the reason for the sound-change being perhaps affective. In Tetuan it is pronounced *merṣṭrān*, and everywhere the meaning of the word is "prison for dangerous lunatics" (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 465). (G. S. Colin)

iii. *Turkey.*

The first Sald̲j̲ūḳid *Dār al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* (Hospital) and *Madrasa* were established in Kayseri in 602/1206. This was followed by the building of other hospitals in Sivas, Divriıi, Čankiri, Kastamonu, Konya, Tokat, Erzurum, Erzincan, Mardin and Amasya. The Anatolian hospitals were named then, as now, *Bīmāristān, Māristān, Tīmārhāne, Dār al-S̲h̲ifāʾ or Dār al-ʿĀfiya*. They were general hospitals in that they accepted all kinds of patients, and their staffs included surgeons, physicians, pharmacists and oculists. They were supported by independent funds, and were organised according to the size, importance and specific needs of the locality.

The first Ottoman *Bīmāristān* in Anatolia was the *Dār al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* of Yıldırım in Bursa. When Bursa was conquered by the Ottomans in 726/1306, it had no hospital. The first Ottoman sultans (Sulṭān Ork̲h̲ān, Murād I, Yıldırım Bāyazīd) enlarged the city and built some institutions, among which was the *Dār al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* of Yıldırım, opened in 802/1399. This institution, which was a section of *Yıldırım ʿImāreti* (a special centre including hospital, bath, rest house for travellers etc.) was repaired many times before it was abandoned in the middle of the 19th century in favour of the Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pas̲h̲a hospital. It is in ruins now.

The leprosery which was built at Edirne in the time of Murād II (824-855/1421-51) operated for approximately two centuries. Before this leprosery, the Turks had built others in Sivas, Kastamonu and Kayseri in Anatolia.

The *Dār al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* of Fātiḥ which was opened in 875/1470, was built by Mehemmed II, the Conqueror (855-886/1451-81), and was a part of his *Külliye*. Although it is now in ruins as a result of many large fires, the hospital buildings served until the last century. The *Waḳfiyye* shows that there was a large medical student body in addition to the medical staff. This was the traditional method of training medical students in Islamic hospitals.

In the same century Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512) established another *ʿimāret* at Edirne, on the banks of the Tund̲j̲a river. A part of this institution was a hospital which was named after him. The buildings were begun in 891/1486 and completed in eight years, but the *Waḳfiyye* was not established until 898/1493. Although the institution is now in ruins, its large staff served the public well until the beginning of this century. According to Ewliya Čelebi, it had a staff of ten musicians who played for the patients from time to time. There are many mistakes in the plans of the institution, which were prepared very hurriedly by C. Gurlitt; cf. C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin 1872, 2 vols.

During the 16th century three great hospitals were established in Istanbul and one in Manisa. The *Bīmārk̲h̲āne* of K̲h̲asseki was built in 946/1539 in Istanbul for K̲h̲ürrem Sulṭān, wife of Sulṭān Süleymān the Magnificent; and the *Dār al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* of Süleymān and his *Madrasa* of Medicine were built in 963/1555 in Istanbul in the Sultan's name. The *Dār al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* of Ḥāfiẓe Sultan was built in 946/1539 in Manisa in honour of the Sultan's mother. The *Bīmārk̲h̲āne* of K̲h̲asseki, though it was partially ruined by earthquakes and fires, is restored and is now used as a health centre. The *Bīmārhāne* of Manisa served until the end of the first world war and is now deserted.

The fourth hospital, the *Bīmārk̲h̲āne* of Toptaşı, was built in 991/1583 in Istanbul for Nūrbānū

Sulṭān, mother of Murād III (982 1003/1574-95). This institution served as a hospital until 1927 when it became a tobacco warehouse.

In the 17th century, Aḥmed I (1012-26/1603-17) had a large hospital erected behind the old Byzantine Hippodrome near his famous mosque. The hospital was opened in 1025/1616 and has only recently been demolished to make room for a new school.

There was a recession in the establishment of Ottoman health and social aid institutions during the 18th century; but in the 19th century military service, styles of clothing, education etc. were modernised in the Ottoman Empire. In 1253/1837 the Ghurabā hospital was established in Istanbul at Edirnekapi in the *Madrasa* of Mihrimāh Sulṭān. While this hospital was being modernised by Bezm-i ʿĀlem Wālide Sultan, mother of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Madjīd, new modern military hospitals and a modern medical school were established. These institutions were to meet the medical needs of the new army. A new school of medicine and surgery established in Istanbul in 1243/1827, by Sulṭān Maḥmūd II (1223-1255/1808-39), began its teaching in Italian but switched to French with the coming of some good medical teachers from Austria in 1839. This medical school was enlarged by sultans ʿAbd al-Madjīd, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and eventually included a rabies institute, a bacteriological institute and an inoculation centre. A number of physicians having knowledge of European languages and modern medical methods graduated from this school. They went to Anatolia and founded modern hospitals there. Immunisations against rabies and smallpox were started here nearly at the same time as they were begun in Europe. The Ottoman Government was one of those which helped to establish the Pasteur Institute.

Shishli children's hospital, which is one of the largest hospitals in Istanbul, was established by Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, in 1316/1898.

These hospitals were the most important of the Ottoman Empire and although there are many others to be found throughout Turkey, space does not permit their inclusion. In five centuries the Turks established nearly seventy hospitals in Istanbul alone. (BEDI N. ŞEHSUVAROĞLU)

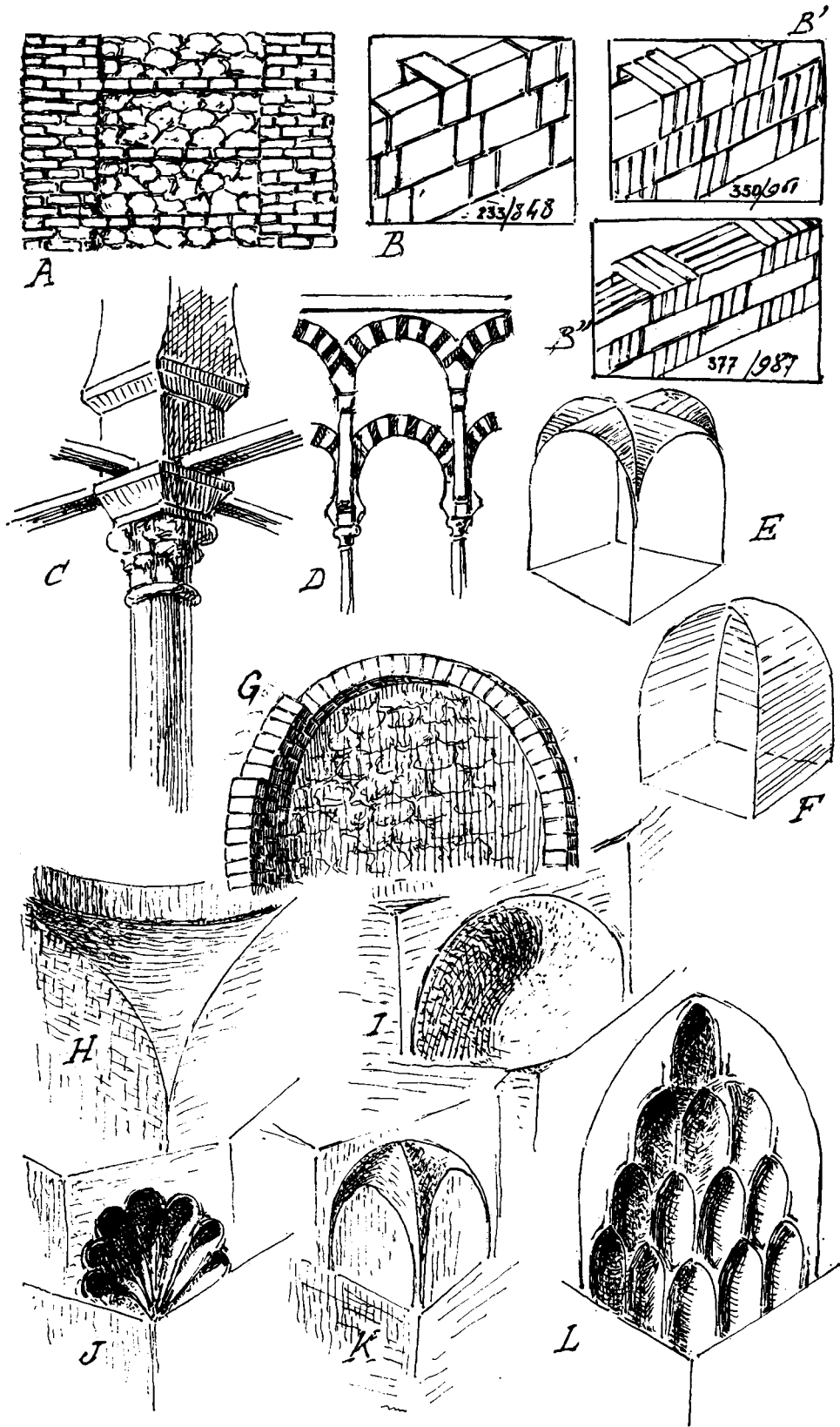
BINĀ', building, the art of the builder or mason. Building techniques depend partly on the materials used. In the Islamic countries we find very widely differing materials employed, from rammed earth to ashlar, with unbaked and baked brick, rubble and rough-hewn stone as intermediary stages. The choice of one of these materials depends of course on the resources of a given country, or the lack of them, but as well as this on local traditions or traditions brought in by foreign builders, which may for a time supplant local ones. Thus Syria, where the art of stone-cutting had long been known, reproduces in stone the complicated forms of the *mukarnas* (= stalactites) which were borrowed from Persia and probably derive from brick architecture. And on the other hand Egypt, whose quarries had yielded such fine free-stone, uses brick at the time of the Ṭūlūnids, they are taking their models and no doubt their chief architects from ʿIrāḳ, where brick was the normal material. Apart from such considerations Muslim builders seem comparatively indifferent as to choice of material, except in some countries such as Syria which cling to their preference for fine work. Of the three great Hispano-Moorish towers of the 6th/12th century, which—no doubt wrongly—are attributed to the same architect, the Giralda at Seville is built of brick, the Ḥassān tower at Rabat of ashlar and the minaret of the Kutubiyya at Marrakech of rubble. This indifference on the part of the builder as to material and the carelessness of craftsmen in its use are seen more clearly in palaces than in religious buildings, especially in the West from the 7th/13th century. There are several reasons for this: speed of construction, the need being to satisfy a master's whim the shortest delay; the use of unskilled slave labour capable of nothing more complicated than ramming concrete between two boards; and finally the general use of facings (coverings of plain or sculpted plaster, inlaid-work of enamelled clay or earthenware titles) which completely conceal the body of the walls.

It is remarkable that the technique of cobwork (*ṭābya*) should have been described in detail by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḳaddima*, and leads us to assume that he thought it a characteristically Muslim practice. Earth with which chalk and crushed baked earth or broken stones are often mixed is rammed between two boards kept parallel by beams. The wall is plastered over, often in such a way as to simulate joints of heavy bond-work beneath. When this plaster falls, the regularly spaced holes left by the beams become visible. In the Muslim West cobwork became general in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, especially in military building. In the Maghrib it seems to have been an importation from Andalusia, where it had long been known.

Unbaked brick (*ṭawb*), which sometimes serves as a facing for cobwork, is made of earth and cut straw rammed together in a wooden former. It is still in common use in Sahara towns, and was employed very early in arid regions, especially in Mesopotamia and Arabia. The walls of the Prophet's dwelling in Medina were probably built of this material, as are those of the ʿAbbasid mosques of Sāmarrā. We find it employed at about the same time in Ifrīḳiya. The excavations at ʿAbbāsiyya, the seat of the Aghlabids of al-Ḳayrawān, have brought to light carefully moulded specimens of *ṭawb* 42 cm. long by half that measurement in width, and a quarter in thickness, which suggests that the cubit used by the builders was 42 cm.

Baked brick (*ādjurr*), used so commonly in the Iranian world and by the Romans also, notably in the public baths, is to be found in all the Islamic countries, but was always *par excellence* the building material of Persia. It is of varying dimensions, and is sometimes cut on an angle or partly rounded off. It is used alone or with rubble in parts of a building where accuracy of line is important (pillars, pedestals, stairways, arches, vaults, etc.). It functions as horizontal tying material alternating with courses of rubble, or vertical tying, to maintain regularity of construction, especially at corners (A). Brick is as a rule covered over with plaster, but it may remain visible and add an element of colour, either the pink of baked earth or that of some enamel applied to its edge.

Rubble or rough-hewn stone was used in Sāsānid building and is still used in Muslim Mesopotamia, as in the stronghold of Ukhaydir (mid 2nd/8th century). In the 5th/11th century it seems to have been the material most familiar to the Berber builders of North Africa. It is used above all for the ramparts of towns before the introduction of cobwork (cob walls will often have a foundation of rubble), and also in waterworks. The cementing mortar and protecting plaster are of chalk, sand, crushed fragments of tile, and wood charcoal. An analysis of their

A
B
233/848
B'
350/961
B''
377/987
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L

composition reveals a pattern of evolution which has been studied by M. Solignac (*Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan* .... in *AIEO Algiers*, 1952-3), and allows us to date the works.

The use of ashlar continues a Roman and Byzantine tradition. Its homeland is in Syria, where ashlar has remained a common building material until our time. It was temporarily replaced by brick in Egypt, but came into use again in the Fāṭimid period (4th-6th/10th-12th century) especially in the fortifications of the Armenian Badr al-Djamālī. In Ifrīḳiya it is used for the religious and military buildings of the 3rd/9th century and from the 7th/13th century was popular again with the Tunisian architects. In Spain it is the regular material in the Umayyad foundations; local tradition was there reinforced by Syrian influence. The Maghrīb takes it over in the 6th/12th century in the Almohad buildings.

As in the Byzantine period, walls built of rubble-work are frequently faced with ashlar. The bond-work, not as massive as the Roman, shows combinations of tiles and headers, whose chronology Velazquez Bosco has contrived to establish, for Cordova (Velazquez Bosco, *Medina Azzahra y Alamiriya*, Madrid 1912) (B, B′, B″). Almohad bond-work is of alternate thick and thin courses, which from Morocco pass into Tunisia.

To these materials we should add wood: longitudinal beams are sometimes sunk in walls; at al-Ḳayrawān heavy planks form architraves above the capitals; small beams form ceilings and sometimes lintels, a practice not without risk to the solidity of the building concerned.

Walls, the composition of which we have just indicated, are often flanked by buttresses. Projecting semi-cylindrical abutments of the old Mesopotamian type were added to the stone outer walls of the Syrian Umayyad strongholds, and the brick ones of the mosques at Sāmarrā. The great mosque at Tunis (3rd/9th century) has at its four corners rounded buttresses of apparently the same origin, and they are found again in a building of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād (5th-6th/11th-12th century). The great mosque at al-Ḳayrawān was given massive rectangular buttresses, partly later than the original construction. The mosque at Cordova has similar buttresses at regular intervals around its periphery.

Among the supporting members found principally in the halls of mosques, columns deserve first mention. In early centuries in such regions as Syria, Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and Spain they were taken from nearby pagan or Christian buildings. When these quarries of shafts and capitals were exhausted Muslim sculptors made their own. Columns are generally cylindrical and not entatic. In the 10th/16th century and after they were imported from Italy to North Africa.

The re-employment of columns of limited size in a hypostyle hall intended to produce an impressive effect led to these supporting members being prolonged upwards. It was doubtless from Egypt (ʿAmr mosque) that the builders of al-Ḳayrawān borrowed the technique of superimposing, as in the classical entablature, the support (= architrave), the impost (= frieze) and the cornice, with wooden ties bedded in the impost (C). The architects of the mosque of Cordova were perhaps inspired by the Roman aqueducts to superpose two rows of arches linking the masses of masonry raised above the columns (D).

The Almohad mosque of Ḥassān at Rabat (6th/12th century) shows a rare example of columns formed of superinposed tambours.

The pillar, a masonry support of square, rectangular, cruciform, or divided plan or flanked by false columns, is in general use in Persian architecture. From the 6th/12th century it replaces columns in prayer-halls in the Maghrib. Tunisian mosques retain columns. The situation is found in the inner courtyards of houses.

Apart from the straight lintel formed by a single stone or oblique arch-stones surmounted by a relieving arch (Egypt, Syria), arches assume very varied forms (semi-circular, horseshoe, Persian arch with rectilinear divisions, etc.). These forms are not dictated by constructional requirements, but serve as ornamentation according to the architect's caprice. The arch-stones they contain are often purely decorative in function.

To cover prayer-halls Syria, the Spain of the Umayyad period, and, no doubt in imitation of the latter, the Maghrib regions, had recourse to timber-work protected by tiled saddle-back roofs. Square buildings had pavilion-shaped roofs, *i.e.*, with four slopes. Egypt and Ifrīḳiya retained terraces, which were preferred also by the Turkish masters of Algiers in the towns along the Algerian coast. The scarcity of timbers of the necessary dimensions led architects to bring closer together the walls carrying them, and to give narrow, long proportions to enclosures with ceilings (naves, rooms, etc.). The use of waggon-vaults or small domes placed together answers the same need.

The problem of vault and dome was solved in different ways within the Sāsānid and Byzantine traditions, but Iranian genius was to add noteworthy variations.

The question alluded to above of suitable timbers or rather of their scarcity is the determining factor in building the vault, whether semi-cylindrical or elliptical. Setting up a stone arch or vault demands the use of a wooden former on which the arch-stones are successively placed. The use of bricks, their lightness and the fact that they can be mortared together, allows another method which dispenses with the former: the construction of the "edge vault". This is frequent in Sāsānid architecture and finds its most logical use in the specifically Iranian type, the *īwān* (the *īwān* so constantly used in Muslim Persia is a three-walled room open on the fourth side, like a large niche with a flat back surface). The builder cements a first row of bricks on the rear wall, tracing out the curve of the vault; a second row is then cemented to the first, a third to the second, so that row by row the vault advances across the space to be covered (G).

Apart from the waggon-vault Muslim architecture uses the groined vault so familiar to Roman and Byzantine builders (two semi-cylinders intersecting at right angles [E]), and more rarely the cloister-arch vault (in which the four walls curve in above the space to be covered) (F) which occasionally serves as the end and culmination of the waggon-vault.

As for the dome, the fine examples constructed in the Byzantine era were the prototypes of the Turkish domes, but this feature also was the subject of variations which Muslim art owes to Persia.

As is known, there are two main types of solution to the problem of how to place a semi-circular or eight-sided vault on a square base: the pendentive (H), the customary practice in the Byzantine world (cf. St. Sophia at Istanbul), and the more specifically Iranian squinch (I). This squinch, a quarter sphere the head-arc of which projects over the corner of the square cupporting it, sometimes assumes with its

radiating flutings and indented edge the grace of a marine shell (J). In the Grand Mosque at Damascus and that at Cordova it takes the form of a small niche. North-African and Sicilian architecture knew the squinch as a half groined vault (a groined vault cut diagonally) (K). Finally Persia contrived the super-position of several ranks of cell-like niches, the probable origin of the *muḳarnas* (= stalactites) (L).

Above this zone where square and circle are brought into union there frequently rises a circular zone pierced with windows to allow the entry of light, and surmounted by the dome proper.

Persian architects, profiting from the advantages offered by brick, showed great ingenuity in erecting widely differing domes. Such is the ribbed dome, of light arches crossing above the space to be covered, and supporting counter-arches which fill the intermediary gaps. This type of dome, which was known from the time of the Sāsānids (A. Godard, *Voûtes iraniennes*, in *Āthār-e Īrān*, 1949), passed from Persia to Spain (3rd/9th century), then from Cordova and Toledo became known in the 6th/12th century in the Maghrib and about the same time throughout south-west France. (G. Marçais)

BIÑBASHĪ, 'head of a thousand', a Turkish military rank. The word appears at an early date among the Western Turks, and is already used in connexion with the military reorganisation said to have been made by Orkhān in 729/1328-9 (*e.g.*, Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i, 40—'*onbashīs*, *yüzbashīs*, and *biñbashīs* were appointed to them . . .'). In the form *miñbashī* the term also occurs among the Eastern Turks, and is used, for example, of a rank in the Ṣafawid forces in Persia (V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, London 1943, 36, 74, 155). The title *miñ-begi*, with a similar meaning, also appears in the memoirs of Bābur. The term *biñbashī* does not seem to have been much used in the regular Ottoman forces of the classical period. It reappears, however, in the 18th century, and is used to designate the officers of the newly raised *mīrī ʿaskerīs*, a treasury-paid force of infantry and cavalry. In the campaign of 1769 there were already ninety seven regiments of *mīrī ʿaskerīs*, each commanded by a *biñbashī*. The *biñbashī* received 2000 piastres of pay for the campaign, plus a tenth of the pay of his men. (D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, vii, Paris 1824, 381-2; cf. Resmī Efendi, *Khulāṣat al-Iʿtibār*, Istanbul 1286, 12 ff.). From the end of the 18th century, (Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, vi, 367), *biñbashī* became a regular rank in the new, European-style armies, given to battalion-commanders. After the accession of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the pay of a *biñbashī* was fixed at 1,500 piastres a month, or 4,140 francs a year (Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, no. 19). In Egypt the title *biñbashī*, along with other Turkish military terms and commands, was used in the army of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, and remained current under subsequent régimes. In the Arab countries it is sometimes pronounced bikbashī, presumably through a distortion of the Turkish *saghīr nūn* (ñ = ڭ). (B. Lewis)

BINGÖL, name of a town in ancient Turkish Armenia, previously called Čapakčur, capital of a *vilāyet* partly filled by the mountain range of Bingöl Dagh. It is situated on the Gönük Su, a tributary of the Aracani-Arsanas-Murād Su, and on the road joining Elazig with Mush via Palu. (M. Canard)

BINGÖL DAGH, name of a mountain massif, a raised but not volcanic plateau, which stretches south of Erzurum across the *vilāyets* of Erzurum, Mush and Bingöl (Čapakčur). Its highest peak in the east is Demir or Timur Kale or Ḳalʿa (Fortress of Iron), over whose height there is some disagreement among different writers: 3690 ms. according to H. and R. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, pl. V, 1910, Abos Mons, cf. above, 655; 3650 ms. according to the Erzurum sheet of the Harta Genel Direktörlüğü, 1936; 3250 ms. according to the road-map of the Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1951; 3700 ms. according to Banse; 2977 ms. according to Blanchard. It dominates the high plain of Varto (formerly Gümgüm). The western peak, Bingöl or Toprak Kale (Fortress of Earth) is almost as high. The northern part of the mountain is cut of by two circular depressions separated by a sharp ridge.

Bingöl Dagh is a true water-shed. It contains numerous little lakes from which it gets its name of mountain (*dagh*) of a thousand (*bin*) lakes (*göl*). The Araxes (Aras, al-Rass) in the north, the Tuzla Su, a tributary of the northern Euphrates, and the Bingöl Su in the west, the Gönük Su in the south-west, the Čarbughar Ṣu in the south, and the Khinis Ṣu, the four last tributaries of the Murād Ṣu, in the east and north-east, all rise here. Armenian legend makes it the site of the earthly paradise. In classical geography it is called Abos Mons. The Armenian name is Srmancʿ (Greek Σερμάντου). Arab geographers and historians de not refer to it, although there is some mention in the wars between the Ḥamdānids and the Byzantines in the 4th/10th century of the place Hafdjīdj (Arm. Havčičʿ) situated to the south of Ḳālīḳalā-Erzurum and in the Bingöl Dagh at the source of the Araxes. Tavernier is the first among European travellers to give the name of Bingöl Dagh. The Ḳīzīl-Bāsh [*q.v.*] lived in this region.

Bibliography: K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, X, 79, 81, 385-6; M. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, Stuttgart 1858, 272; Strecker, *Zur Geogr. von Hocharmenien*, in *Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde*, Berlin 1869, iv; G. Radde, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, 1877, 411-422; E. Naumann, *Vom goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat*, Munich 1893, 321-332; *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1907, 145 f. (review of J. Oswald, *A Treatise on the Geology of Armenia*); H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels end Studies*, London 1901, ii, 363-377; Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, 370, 427; Banse, *Die Türkei*, Berlin-Hamburg, 1919, 207, 212-215, 219; Vidal de la Blache and Gallois, *Géographie Universelle*, volume viii: *L'Asie Occidentale*, by R. Blanchard, 118; Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, 492-493; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byz. Reiches*, 1935, 79-80, 194-195, 197 and map iv; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, 246, 745; *IA*, fasc. 18, 627-628. For the ancient period see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopedie*, i, 108, vi, 1197-8.

(M. Canard)

BINYĀMĪN, the Benjamin of the Bible. In its narration of the history of Joseph (Yūsuf, [*q.v.*]), the Ḳur'ān gives a place to the latter's uterine brother (xii, 8, 59-79), without ever mentioning him by name. Tradition embellishes without any great variation the biblical story concerning him (it is aware notably that his birth cost his mother her life) and receives also Aggadic additions (summarised notably in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, iv, 112-14), such as the etymological connexion of the names of his sons with the lost elder brother. In Muslim mysticism, the pair Yūsuf-Binyāmīn symbolises the primordial relationship between God and the sinner.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 360, 393, 397-404; idem, *Tafsīr*, xii, 87, xiii, 6 ff.; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, 82, 85; R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, 473 ff.; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed* ..., 148 f.; I. Schapiro, *Die haggadischen Elemente im erzählenden Teil des Korans*, 57-65, 80-81; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes* ..., 87; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 255.

(A. J. Wensinck-[G. Vajda])

BIʾR (in modern, also some ancient, dialects pron. *bīr*; plur. *biʾār, abʾur, ābār*) is the most comprehensive Arabic word for the **well**; very often it appears as the *genus proximum* of its numerous synonyms (like *ḳalīb, rakiyya* etc.), and the number of its various epithets is considerable.

The word is of common Semitic origin (Accad. *bêru*, Hebr. *beʾēr*, Aram. *bērā*) and, as in the other Semitic languages, of feminine gender (for exceptions in modern Ar. dialects see Fleischer, *Kl. Schriften*, i, 265; Bräunlich, *Well* 321[2]). In general, however, *biʾr* embraces a much wider conception than what is understood by our 'well'; it could mean also a cistern or water-reservoir (cf. Hebr. *bōr*), and even any hole or cavity dug in the ground, whether containing water or not. So, *e.g.*, Ibn Hishām 97,7 a cavity for collecting gifts for the Kaʿba in pre-islamic times is called *biʾr*; in *Aghānī*[1], iv, 94, 4 and ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī contin.* (ed. De Goeje) 5, 6 it designates a large pit for burying corpses; A. von Kremer, *Beitr. zur arab. Lexikogr.*, I (1883), 192 mentions it in the meaning of a hole in which meat is roasted. Here only the particular meaning of "well" is taken into consideration.

i. Ancient arabia.

Since Arabia is not blessed with large perennial rivers nor with large permanent lakes, its inhabitants, especially the Bedouins, are dependent on the subterranean water-stores of the Peninsula. These, according to the geological conditions, are to be found already a few feet below the upper sandy stratum or else in great depths up to 70 m. and more. To get access to them, the diggers have to hollow out the ground in the shape of a funnel or, mostly, of a cylindrical shaft (*ḳaṣaba, djirāb*) the sides of which usually are strengthened by a casing of loam or field-stones called *ṭayy* (cf. Bukhārī i 284, 17 = ii 442, 5, where Hell is described as *maṭwiyyatun ka-ṭayyi l-biʾri*). The water collects at the bottom of the cavity, and also trickles down from the walls of the shaft. To the top of the well (*fam* or *raʾs al-biʾr*) the water is lifted by means of rather voluminous leather buckets (*gharb, dalw*) which are said to be made mostly from two—apparently young—camels' hides (in this case the bucket may be called *ibn adīmayn*). The ropes used for drawing up the bucket (*arshiya*, sing. *rishāʾ*, or *ashṭān*, sing. *shaṭan*) originally consisted only of thin leather thongs twisted together which, however, easily decayed in the water (cf. Labīd (ed. Khālidī), 139 v. 4 Schol.). Therefore pieces of more durable stuff, mostly of palm fibre (*khulb*), were attached at least to the lower parts of the rope. To facilitate the tiring work of drawing up the mighty buckets, usually a more or less primitive draught apparatus (*ʿalaḳ*) is erected over the *fam al-biʾr*. This apparatus which, like buckets and ropes, has to be carried along with the caravans (otherwise it would be stolen), mainly consists of either a simple crossbeam (*naʿāma*) or, in a more developed form, of a wooden axis (*miḥwar*) inserted into a hollowed roller (*maḥāla, bakra*, also *ḳāma*) over which the rope glides in a groove (*maḥazz, ḳabb*). The whole rests on two supports of loam and stone or of wood (*ḳarnān, zurnūḳān*; *diʿāmatān, ʿamūdān*) or else on one single forked pole (*ḳāma*, plur. *ḳiyām*, cf. Akhṭal (ed. Ṣālḥānī), 17, 3; Yāḳūt iv 21, 12). Then the bucket is drawn up by hand; this hard work may be done also by animals, mostly camels (*sawānin*, sing. *sāniya*), accompanied by a driver (*sāʾiḳ*) and moving from and to the well in wearing course (cf. *Arabum Proverbia* ed. Freytag, I, 624, nr. 64: *sayru s-sawānī safarun lā yanḳaṭiʿ*). For the cattle the water is poured into drinking troughs or cisterns next to the well (*ḥiḍān* etc., sing. *ḥawḍ*) the fallen-in remains of which are often described in poetry (see Nöldeke on Zuhayr *Muʿall.* 5).—Water-wheels set in motion by means of a crank and more complicated hydraulic machines were not known in ancient times; the use of "double buckets" ascending and descending at the same time (to which in *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), 439 v. 5 the two stirrups of a rider seem to be compared) was not indigenous and must have been very rare.

Numerous quotations of the well and its several designations or epithets, of its appurtenances, the various sounds produced by the roller, the rope, the bucket etc. (see Bräunlich, *Well*, Index, 519-26) illustrate the vital importance of *biʾr* and its belongings for life throughout Arabia. Still more instructive are the frequent similes, proverbial and metaphorical sayings referring to the parts and functions of the well. So, for example, the lances are often compared with tightly stretched well-ropes (cf. Nöldeke to ʿAntara, *Muʿall.* 66 and *Delectus* 45, 6; 70, 2); a rider shooting forth is described as resembling labourers suddenly flying forward when the rope which they are drawing breaks (*Dīwān Hudhayl* (ed. Kosegarten), 93, 36); the dead body is let down to the grave like the bucket to the well (Abū Dhuʾayb, 24, 11 f.; *Ḥamāsa*, 439 v. 4; Ḥuṭayʾa, 35, 3); *ḳaliḳat maḥāwiruhū* "his well-axles wobble" means "his affair became unsettled" (Lane, 667a); finally, a man keeping his word and incessantly striving towards his goal is praised in a *marthiya* as "one who, whenever he spoke a word, (like a well-digger) caused water to gush forth from the earth" (*Ḥamāsa* 386 v. 2).

Bibliography: E. Bräunlich, *The Well in Ancient Arabia*, in *Islamica*, i, 1924-25, 41-76, 288-343, 454-528 (an exhaustive study, based on all the available lexicographical and literary references, to which the present article is greatly indebted); E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, x, Erlangen 1906, 315, 335-337 (details from medieval times); H. Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, 1903, 286, s.v. Jakobsbrunnen and J. J. Hess, in *Der Islam* 4, 1913, 317 f. (informative figures; see also the books of European travellers like Doughty, Euting, Musil etc.).—A *Kitāb al-Biʾr*, composed by the famous philologist Ibn al-Aʿrābī (died 231/844), but apparently not mentioned by the Arab bibliographers, is reported to be preserved in Cairo (see Brockelmann, S. I, 180).

(J. Kraemer)

ii. Modern arabia

The eastern Arab lands, with few rivers or none at all, place great reliance on springs and wells. The location and nature of watering places (*mawrid* or simply *māʾ*, pl. *miyāh*; with various colloquial forms such as *mī* in southern Arabia) go far towards determining whether life is settled or nomadic. The flowing water of springs (*ʿayn*, pl. *ʿuyūn*) is usually

abundant enough to sustain communities in oases of groves and fields. Water from wells (*bi'r*, colloq. *bīr*, with the pl. *abyār* prevailing in Arabia; or *ḳalīb*, pl. *ḳulbān*), which must be lifted out, may supplement the supply from springs, while in other instances it suffices to support large towns (until recently al-Riyāḍ, the capital of Saudi Arabia, drew almost all its water from wells). In still other instances, water comes from wells scattered throughout desert tracts. Even when desert wells endure much longer than ephemeral sources such as moisture-laden sands or catchments for rain in the rocks, there is rarely enough water for irrigation, and the wells are frequented by nomads and other travellers rather than permanent settlers.

In the oases private ownership of wells tends to be the rule; a landowner or husbandman nurtures his crops with water belonging to the one or the other. Large wells, however, may be communally or jointly owned; Philby, for example, estimates the ownership of the remarkable well of al-Haddādj in Taymā' as divided into about thirty shares, with each share holding about three pulleys for drawiug by camels.

In the desert the nomad's first concern is the presence of water, next its accessibility, and then its potability. Doughty has described the skilled well-sinkers of the towns. The Bedouins are perforce both water-finders and well-sinkers, gifted with amazing shrewdness in ferreting out sources where the uninitiate would never suspect them. The site may be eutirely new (such a well is often called a *badʿ*, pl. *budūʿ*, or *badīʿ*, pl. *badā'iʿ*), or it may be an old well buried (*mundafina*) or dead (*mayyita*). The water may be close to the surface or deep in the earth. The Bedouins occasionally dig to depths of a hundred metres or more, the depth being measured in terms of the Arabian fathom (*bāʿ*, the spread of a man's outstretched arms, or *ḳāma*, his height, *i.e.*, about five feet six inches; a well of many fathoms is called *ṭawīla*, pl. *ṭiwāl*, rather than *ʿamīḳa*). Mechanical drills now reach greater depths in even the most arid regions, such as al-Rubʿ al-Khālī (such wells are called *ḳalama*, coll. *ḳalam*). Much-used wells or those with sides likely to cave in are strengthened with casings of stone or other materials (a cased well is called a *maṭwiyya*, and one cased with stone a *marṣūṣa*). The proportion of minerals in the aquifer determines whether the water is sweet (*ḥalw*) or salty (*māliḥ*). Although the Bedouins tolerate a much higher mineral content than an outlander does, even they can not drink from certain desert wells (*khawr*, pl. *khīrān*). In such cases their constant companion the camel swallows the brine and produces milk with the salt filtered out.

Wholly private ownership of desert wells is uncommon. If a man's name is associated with a well, such as Bi'r Hādī in al-Rubʿ al-Khālī (named after the late Hādī b. Sulṭān of Āl Murra), the eponym is usually the digger or redigger, who may as a consequence hold a title of sorts to the well. Wells falling within the *dīra* of a tribe may be considered its property, but the water is still free to nomads from other tribes not at war with the possessors. Water in the wilderness is too precious to be made an article of commerce.

In summer, when the desert pastures offer no vegetation to slake the thirst of the herds, the nomads camp for weeks or months at their favourite wells, sometimes with hundreds of tents pitched together. As places of assembly in hot weather and to a less degree in winter, wells have often been the scene of surprise attacks and battles in tribal warfare.

Bibliography: C. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, New York n.d.; H. Philby, *The Land of Midian*, London 1957. Most travellers' accounts in Arabic and the Western languages contain material on wells. E. Bräunlich, *The Well in Ancient Arabia*, Leipzig 1925, gives references to modern as well as ancient data. (G. RENTZ)

iii. THE MAGHRIB.

Bi'r is the common name given to various types of well, usually but not invariably to lined wells (rarely faced with stoue but more often with dry stones or, in certain regions of the Sahara, with palm stems, for which reason they are sometimes cut on a square plan). It can designate also an unlined well, the type which is most common in the Sahara, where the earth is merely loosened and hollowed out into a basin at the bottom of which the water-level appears (Fezzān). But other terms besides *bi'r* are used. *Ḥāsī* (pl. *ḥasyān*) is often the only term used in this sense in the Sahara for wells which are mostly unlined and without lips, whilst elsewhere it means a simple hole dug in the bed of a *wādī* (*Tunisian* and Tripolitanian steppes). The word ʿogla (*ʿuḳla*) usually a temporary pool stretching along the bed of a *wādī* in the Sahara, and in this meaning synonymous with *ghadīr*, in the Tunisian steppes can also mean a well several metres deep without facing or lips, dug at the bottom of a hollow where the underground water-level is near the surface; the same are sometimes to be found in the Sahara (Tindouf) where *oglas* exist in the beds of the *wādī*s.

In fact the wells of the Maghrib and the Sahara at least west of Egypt, can be grouped into 3 principal types: (1) wells meant for the use of men and for watering animals. Lined or not, sometimes adjoined by a watering trough, they have no superstructure or at the most 3 branches meant to carry a pulley of wood or iron. The water is drawn by hand in a water-skin or a leather bucket hung on the end of a rope. (2) Wells which have some sort of elevating mechanism and are used for irrigating gardens and palm groves; these are varied enough. (3) Artesian wells, situated within very narrow geographical limits, especially in the past, and used essentially for irrigation; since they are gushing they need no superstructure.

Among the wells with an elevating mechanism, the most common are those which use animal traction and a puley; they are sometimes called *sānya*. The water is drawn in a *dalw* (bucket) holding 15 to 35 litres, made of ox or goat hide, which has a flexible pipe at the bottom; this, which is folded back during the drawing of the water, is straightened when it comes to emptying the *dalw* into the little basin which feeds the *sāgya*s (*sāḳiya* = runnel). The uprights which carry the axis of the pulley are sometimes made of stone or clay but more often of wood or palm stems. The pulling is done by an ox or a donkey and sometimes by a camel (Tunisia), but only very occasionally by a mule (Tunisian Sahel); the animal is guided and helped in its journeys up and down an inclined path by a man or child who at the same time works the string which folds back or straightens the pipe which empties the *dalw*. The wells and their superstructures may be held in common by several owners, but each one draws water with his own *dalw* (with its ropes and strings) and by means of his own animal. These wells worked by animal traction can be found anywhere from India to the

Atlantic and art encountered especially in eastern Tunisia from Bizerta to D̲j̲erba, on the coast of Tripoli, in the Hawz of Marrakesh, in the north-west Sahara (Tafilalet, mzāb), in the Touareg country, in the oases of southern Cyrenaïca, in part of the southern Sahara, especially Lower Mauretania, and on the borders of western Sudan.

Wells with a balancing-beam, like the Egyptian *s̲h̲adūf*, have various names: *k̲h̲oṭṭāra* (pl. *k̲h̲eṭāṭir*) in the Fezzān and the Souf, *g̲h̲arg̲h̲az* in the regions of Zibān and Gourara. The balancing-beam, made of a thin pole pivoting on a little wall or on a wooden cross-bar resting on two uprights, has a counter-weight at its base, and at its other end some sort of receptacle for drawing the water (*hekma* in the Fezzan, *genino* at Gourara), which only holds between 5 and 10 litres of water. It works more quickly than a *dalw* but it is not usually capable of irrigating more than a few hundred square metres, for it is used where the underground water-level is not very deep (a few metres) and has a small yield. It is primarily the poor man's well; one man can dig it, set it up and work it, and it needs neither an aninal nor an expensive *dalw*. Well-known not only in Europe but as far afield as China, this type of well is very rare in the Mag̲h̲rib and on the coast of Libya. It is found in the Sahara the Lower Dra (Morocco) and in the region of Saoura at Tindouf, and in southern Mauretania, in the regions of Touat and Gourara, at Ouargla El Goléa and at Ghadamès, both in the north and the south of the Fezzan, in the oases of Cyrenaïca at Koufra, in the regions of Aïr, Tibesti and Borku.

The noria or Persian well, chain-pump (*nāʿūra* and sometimes *sānya*) is an apparatus with buckets fixed onto a revolving chain, worked by an animal-driven wheel drawn by a horse, mule or camel. The traditional type is made of wood (most commonly olive-wood) with earthenware buckets fixed by means of ropes. It is being more and more replaced by a cast-iron apparatus with metal chain and buckets worked by an oil or electric motor, at least on the coastal plains of Morocco, Algeria and northern Tunisia, where it is sometimes used by European market-gardeners of Mediterranean origin who were accustomed to using it in their native country. It has to compete there with various types of pumps. In the Sahara it is only to be found in northern areas such as Tafilalet, Oued Righ and Tripolitania. In Morocco, large hoisting wheels with well-base rims, worked by river-power, are also called norias. They are only used in the neighbourhood of Fez.

As for artesian wells, they were only to be found at one time in the region of Oued Righ (282 of them were active in 1856), and in small numbers in the eastern parts of the S̲h̲āti (Fezzān) where they are called *ʿayūn* (sing. *ʿayn*); they were dug by specialists and were very fragile. They have increased in number, but are nowadays drilled and harnessed according to modern techniques, throughout the Lower Sahara from El Golea and Ouargla to Zibān, and from the Hodna to the D̲j̲erīd and Nefzāwa; some have been drilled in Tripolitania and in the Fezzān.

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(J. Despois)

BIʾR MAʿŪNA, a well on the Mecca-Medina road, between the territories of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and Sulaym, where a group of Muslims was killed in Ṣafar 4/625. The traditional account is that the chief of ʿĀmir, Abū Barāʾ (or Abū 'l-Barāʾ), invited Muḥammad to send a missionary group to his tribe, promising his personal protection for them. So a group of "Ḳurʾān-readers" (*ḳurrāʾ*) was sent from Medina. When they reached Biʾr Maʿūna, they were massacred by clans of Sulaym, led by ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, who had failed to induce his own tribe of ʿĀmir to violate their protection for the Muslims. The Prophet grieved over the slain, and cursed the Sulamīs daily until Ḳurʾān, iii, 169/163 was revealed.

This account has been interpreted to give a military failure the aura of religious martyrdom. The sources number the *ḳurrāʾ* variously as 70, 40 and 29, but Wāḳidī names only 16. A large number cannot yet have existed, and was unnecessary for a religious mission. It was, indeed, an actual campaign, described as a raid (*sariyya, g̲h̲azwa*) in the sources; one specifically says its leader was sent "as a spy among the Nad̲j̲d folk". Muḥammad had apparently been invited to intervene in an internal dispute of Sulaym, but the incident is also mixed up with the quarrel within ʿĀmir between Abū Barā, and ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl. The latter cannot have led the attack, and may merely have encouraged the Sulamīs from the background, since Muḥammad did not curse him, unhesitatingly paid him the wergilds for two ʿĀmirites slain, on the way home, by the sole survivor of Biʾr Maʿūna, and did not seek wergilds from him for the slain Muslims.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 435-6, iv, 580; Ibn His̲h̲ām, 648-51; Ibn Isḥāḳ (tr. Guillaume, Oxford 1955), xliv; Wāḳidī (Wellhausen), 153-6; Ibn Saʿd, II, i, 36-9; Ṭabarī, i, 1441-8; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 75-6; Lyall, *Dīwān of ʿĀmir b. aṭ-Ṭufail*, London 1914, 84-9; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 31-3, 97; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i, 246-8.

(C. E. Bosworth)

BIʾR MAYMŪN, a well in the environs of Mecca. Although the well was famous in early Islamic times, the name no longer occurs in the Meccan area. Available sources fail to show whether Biʾr Maymūn has been abandoned or is still in use under another name. The location of the ancient well is also uncertain. Much of the evidence places it between the Great Mosque and Minā, somewhat closer to the latter. The account given by al-Ṭabarī, iii, 456, of the death of the Caliph al-Manṣūr at Biʾr Maymūn in 158/775 indicates that the well lay inside the Sacred Zone (*al-Ḥaram*) and suggests that it was on the main road for pilgrims from Iraq (another version has the death of al-Manṣūr take place at the hill of al-Ḥad̲j̲ūn, not at Biʾr Maymūn—see Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1861, 160). Other evidence situates Biʾr Maymūn farther north of Mecca near Marr al-Ẓahrān (now called Wādī Fāṭima). According to al-Hamdānī, i, 128, Biʾr Maymūn was one of the two oldest wells in the world; according to al-Bakrī, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, Cairo 1945-51, iv, 1285, it was much older than Zamzam. If it was of any such antiquity, it must have been

dug originally by someone earlier than Maymūn the brother of al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Hadramī, one of several Maymūns named as the digger. The history of Mecca by al-Ḳuṭubī, *al-Iʿlām*, Mecca n.d., 282, states that Biʾr Maymūn was connected to the main water system for Mecca, first constructed by Queen Zubayda. Biʾr Maymūn has been identified by some commentators as the water mentioned in the final verse of Sūra lxvii of the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography: al-Harawī, *al-Ziyārāt*, Damascus 1953, 89; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām*, Cairo 1956, i, 343; al-Sibāʿī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, Cairo 1372, 96. (G. RENTZ)

BĪR AL-SABʿ, the Arabic name of Beersheba, in southern Palestine. At this place were the springs which Abraham is said to have dug with his own hands; many legends are current about them. The place was uninhabited from the 8th/14th century, but was rebuilt by the Turks in 1319/1901 as an administrative centre for the south. This step was no doubt influenced by the dispute with Britain over the Egyptian-Palestinian frontier and by the need for closer surveillance of the southern tribes. In October 1917 a decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Beersheba between the British and Turkish armies. Under the British mandate the Beersheba sub-district contained about half the area of Palestine, with a nomadic population estimated at 75,000-100,000. The population of the town was put in 1940 at 3,000, many of them semi-nomads.

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AL-BĪRA, the name of several places, generally in districts where Aramaic was once spoken, for al-Bīra is a translation of the Aramaic *bīrthā* = "fortress", "citadel". The best known is al-Bīra on the east bank of the Euphrates in North-west Mesopotamia, the modern Bīredjik [*q.v.*]: on other places, bearing the name Bīra, cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 787; Nöldeke in the *Nachr. der Götting. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1876, 11-12 and in De Goeje, *BGA*, iv, (gloss.), 441; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), 423. (M. STRECK)

BĪRDJAND. District and town in the IXth *ustān* of Persia. The town is situated at 59° 13′ E. (Greenwich) and 32° 52′ N. It is on the northern side of an arid valley and is built on two low hills between which is a torrent-bed. The altitude is 1490 metres.

The early Arab geographers made no reference to Bīrdjand, and Yāḳūt (i, 783) is apparently the first to mention it (ca. 623/1226). He described it as one of the finest towns of Ḳūhistān, which was then part of the great province of Khurāsān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing ca. 740-1/1340, stated (*Nuzha*, 143) that Bīrdjand was a provincial town, round which much saffron and some corn were grown; in the villages around grapes and other fruit were produced. Like the town of Ḳāʾin [*q.v.*], which lies 90 km. to the north, Bīrdjand was for some time under the control of the Assassins. It was the birthplace of the poet Nizārī, who, as his name indicates, was an Ismāʿīlī; he died about 719-20/1320.

Bīrdjand was for long eclipsed by Ḳāʾin, but in the 19th century it took the place of the latter as the chief town in Ḳūhistān. It is now administrative centre of the districts (*shahristānhā*) of Bīrdjand and Ḳāʾin, under a *farmāndār* or governor. In 1946 the population was 23,488, but is now lower, due to the migration of some of the inhabitants to Mashhad and elsewhere. The town has a piped water supply, the water being obtained partly from *ḳanāt*s from the Kūh-i Bakrān to the south, and partly from a deep well in the town itself.

As in former times, the country round produces much saffron, and nuts of all kinds are also grown. The district has long been famous for the quality of its carpets and rugs, most of which are made in the village of Darakhsh, 80 km. to the north-east: it is also renowned for its *barak*s (garments made of camel's hair). Bīrdjand enjoys some prosperity due to its being on the main road between Mashhad and Zāhidān; it is also connected by road with Kirmān.

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BĪREDJIK, a town in Mesopotamia, on the left bank of the Euphrates. The name Bīredjik (amongst the local population, Beledjik; also, according to Sachau, Bārādjīk in the Ḥalabī (Aleppo) dialect) means "little Bīra", *i.e.*, "small fortress" (Arabic *bīra*, with the Turkish diminutive suffix). The Arabic name "al-Bīra" ([*q.v.*]; Bīreh in the later Syriac writers) derives from the Aramaic "Bīrthā" = "fortress". Bīredjik, known to the Romans as "Birtha", is to be identified (according to Cumont) with a certain Makedonopolis mentioned in some of the Byzantine sources. The town is called "Bile" in the Latin chronicles relating to the Crusades.

At Bīredjik one of the main routes from northern Syria into Mesopotamia crosses the Euphrates. The river here flows out of the mountains into the Syrian-Mesopotamian plain. It is here, too, that the Euphrates first becomes navigable, after leaving behind the cataracts formed where it breaks through the Taurus range. An isolated cone of calcareous rock, which rises sheer out of the river at Bīredjik, has been fortified from remote times as a protection for this important passage of the Euphrates. A bridge of boats existed here in Seleucid times, running from Zeugma on the right bank of the river to Apamea (= Bīrthā) on the left bank (the Seleucid name Apamea was perhaps never in current use and disappeared in favour of the Aramaic "Bīrthā". Apamea, at first a suburb of Zeugma, came in due course, owing to its possession of the fortress, to be far more important than Zeugma, which faded out of existence). There is evidence (cf. Khalīl al-Ẓahirī) that a bridge was still to be found at the river passage of Bīredjik in the second half of the 15th century.

The older geographical works in Arabic make no mention of al-Bīra. This name first appears in such treatises about the middle of the 13th century, *e.g.*, in al-Dimishḳī and Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ. References to al-Bīra in historical literature make their appearance, it

would seem, at the time of the Crusades. The Latin Counts of Edessa held the town from 492/1098-99 until 545/1150, when the Christians, unable to maintain it after the loss of Edessa to the Muslims in 539/1144, surrendered it to the Byzantines, who soon lost it, however, to the Urtuḳid lord of Māridīn. During the Mongol invasions of the 13th century al-Bīra, with its almost impregnable fortress, was a notable stronghold in the Muslim defences. The Mamlūks of Syria and Egypt, in the reign of Sulṭān Ḳāʾit Bāy, had to defend al-Bīra against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Turcomans under Uzun Ḥasan. Ḳāʾit Bāy inspected the fortresses along the Euphrates in 882/1477-78 and later strengthened and repaired the defences of al-Bīra in 887/1482. The fortifications of al-Bīra contain six Arabic inscriptions, the oldest dating from the time of the Mamlūk sultan Baraka Khān (676-678/1277-1279) and the most recent from the years 887-888/1482-1483 in the reign of Sulṭān Ḳāʾit Bāy. As a result of the campaigns of Sulṭān Selīm I in 920-923/1514-1517, al-Bīra came under Ottoman rule and was included in the *sandjaḳ* of Urfa which formed part of the *eyālet* of Ḥaleb (Aleppo). The Ottomans maintained at Bīredjik a small naval arsenal to meet the needs of their river flotilla on the Euphrates. Not far from Bīredjik, the Egyptian forces under Ibrāhīm Pasha won a decisive battle against the Ottomans at Nisib on 11 Rabīʿ II 1255/24 June 1839. Bīredjik, where the ruins of the ancient fortress are still to be seen, lies now within the territories of the present Turkish Republic. The town had, in 1945, a population of approximately 10,800 inhabitants.

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BIRGE (Birgi, sometimes also Bergi or Birki), a small town in western Asia Minor situated in the valley of the Küçük Menderes, is the centre of a *nāḥiye* belonging to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ödemish in the province of İzmir (Smyrna). Here stood the ancient Διὸς Ἱερόν in Lydia. The town was known in Byzantine times as Χριστούπολις and also as Πυργίον. It was raised to the status of a metropolitan see between 1193 and 1199, being thus freed from the ecclesiastical control of Ephesos, but it became once more a suffragan bishopric of Ephesos in 1387. The Catalans under Roger de Flor drove the Turks from the town in 1304 and at the same time plundered it. Birge passed thereafter into the hands of the Turkish Begs of Aydīn. Monuments dating from the period of their rule—notably the Ulū Djāmiʿ—are still to be seen in the town. Birge came under the control of the Ottomans in 793/1391 and remained in their possession thereafter, save for a brief interval during which princes of the house of Aydīn, restored to power by Tīmūr Beg, held the land once more (1402-1425). The town suffered considerable damage in the years 1920-1922 during the course of the war which was then being waged between the Greeks and the Turks in western Asia Minor. Birge had, in 1945, about 2150 inhabitants.

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i, 24-32 and ii, 102-106 (Inscriptions, ed. P. Wittek); P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (*Bibliothèque Byzantine*; *Études, n° 2*), Paris 1957, 21 ff. and 258 (index); M. Fu'ād Köprülüzāde, *Aydïn Oghullarï Ta'rīkhine ʿĀid*, in *Türkiyat Medjmuʿasi*, ii, Istanbul 1928, 422; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kitobeler* (*Anadolu Türk Tarihi Vesikalarından Ikinci Kitap*), Istanbul 1929, 105 ff.; Himmet Akın, *Aydın Oğulları hakkında bir Araştırma* (*Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları* no. 60), Istanbul 1946, 104 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, Paris 1894, 516 ff.; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii, Istanbul A.H. 1306, 1285; ʿAlī Djawād, *Ta'rīkh ve Djoghrāfiya Lughatï*, Istanbul A.H. 1313-1314, 169; Pauly-Wissowa, ii/1 (1899), s.v. Christopolis, col. 2452 and iii/1 1905, s.v. Dios Hieron, cols. 1083-1084; *IA*, s.v. Birgi (Besim Darkot). (V. J. Parry)

BIRGEWĪ (Birgiwī, Birgili), Meḥmed b. Pīr ʿAlī, a Turkish scholar whose fame still lives among the common people. Born at Balïkesir in 928/1522 (or 926/1520 if Kātib Čelebi is correct in saying that he died at the age of 55), he began his education at home, but soon distinguished himself among his coevals and went to Istanbul, where he attached himself first to Akhī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi and then to the *ḳāḍī-i ʿaskar* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi. Having completed his education he taught in the *medreses* of Istanbul, and during this time was initiated into the Bayramiyya by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḳaramānī. Through the influence of his master ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi he obtained the post of *ḳassām* to the army at Edirne, but soon afterwards desired to withdraw both from this office and from teaching. His shaykh however would not consent to his totally abandoning teaching and preaching, and when his fellow-townsman ʿAṭā' Allāh Efendi, the tutor of Selīm II, offered him the position of *muderris* in the *medrese* he had built at Birgi, he accepted. His career of teaching, writing and preaching at Birgi, (whence his appellation of Birgewī) came to an end in 981/1573, when he died of the plague.

Like Ibn Taymiyya, he set himself firmly against all innovation in order to protect the sacred law, and no considerations of rank would cause him to connive at any non-observance of the faith. Towards the end of his life he even made the journey from Birgi to Istanbul to advise the grand vizier Meḥmed Pasha about the rectification of some irregularities which he had observed. Birgewī, an utter fanatic in religious matters, would not abide the slightest deviation from the *sharīʿa*. The *risāla*s which he devoted to the theme that it was *ḥarām* to teach the Ḳur'ān for money, or to accept payment for any act of worship, brought him into a controversy with the scholars of the day which gave rise to much gossip. One of the most famous *ḳāḍīs* of the time, Bilāl-zāde, emerged as his chief opponent and wrote *risālas* in which he endeavoured to refute his opinions. The Shaykh al-Islām Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi also took a hand in the dispute and, seeing that the *awḳāf* would suffer loss if Birgewī's views prevailed (in particular, his view of the illegality of making a *waḳf* of coined money or other movable property), pronounced a *fatwā* against him. Thereupon Bilāl-zāde went to far as to claim that Birgewī had been acting hypocritically.

Of Birgewī's works, the one which keeps his fame alive to this day is his Turkish manual of the rudiments of theology, entitled *Waṣiyyet-nāme*, which still fills the needs of the common people in questions of religion. Commentaries on it were written by Ḳāḍī-zāde Aḥmed Efendi and Shaykh ʿAlī Efendi of Ḳonya, the latter being in turn the subject of a commentary by the *muftī* of Osmanpazarï, Ismāʿīl Niyazī. Often printed, the *Waṣiyyet-nāme* was also translated into northern Turkish by Toktamïsh-oghlu (ed. Kazan 1802 and 1806: see Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, i, 1463 f., ii, 1192 f.; *JA*, 1843, ii, 32, 55, 1859, i, 524; Dieterici, *Chrestomathie Ottomane*, 38 f.; for translations see especially the French version by Garcin de Tassy, *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran* ... (1874)). Two grammatical works of his, the *Iẓhār* and the *ʿAwāmil* were used in *medreses* for many years and considerably facilitated the study of Arabic, by the period. His *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya*, containing his sermons and homilies, in Arabic, was highly esteemed by the learned. ʿAlī al-Ḳārī wrote a long *ḳaṣīda* in which he made clear Birgewī's position among the scholars of Islām. Commentaries were written on *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya* by Khādimli Meḥmed Efendi and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. Emīn Efendi adopted it as his guide to conduct, and was consequently dubbed 'Ṭarīḳatčī'; after him there even came into being a *ṭarīḳat* of the same name.

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BIRR (Ḳur'ānic term), "pious goodness" (R. Blachère's translation; see Ḳur'ān, ii, 189). In the analysis of the spiritual states (*aḥwāl*) and the attitude of the soul towards God, it must at the same time be compared with and distinguished from *taḳwā* [*q.v*]. (L. Gardet)

BIRS, also called Birs Nimrūd, in the older literature Burs, a ruined site 9 miles S.W. of the town of Ḥilla on the Euphrates, about 12 miles S.S.W. of Babylon on the eastern shore of the Lake of Hindiyya.

The place is the ancient Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon. Its immense ruins, the largest that have survived from the Babylonian period, were thought by the Arabs to be the palace of Nimrūd b. Kanʿān (*ṣarḥ Nimrūd*, Yāḳūt, i, 136) or of Bukhtnaṣṣar (Yāḳūt, i, 165). Even in modern times they were thought to be the ruins of the Tower of Babel and this erroneous view used to crop up even after H. Rawlinson had proved from inscriptions that they were the ruins of the tower of the Temple of Nebo of Borsippa. Whether there was still a town on the ancient site in the early Islāmic period is not quite clear. Balādhurī only speaks of the *ʿAdjamat Burs* (Assyr. *agammē*), the land around the marshy lakes of Burs which were taken possession of by ʿAlī. Upper and Lower Burs appear in Ḳudāma and are called al-Sibayn and al-Wuḳūf by Ibn Khurradādhbih in the lists of taxes, as districts (*ṭassūdj*) of the circle (*astān*) of central Bihḳubādh.

Even in ancient times the district of Babylonia and in particular Borsippa was famous for its textile industry (*e.g.*, Strabo, xvii, 1, 7). This in-

dustry survived into the Arab period. The garments made in the district of Burs were, according to Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 59) called Bursiyya or also Khutarniyya, after the district between Burs, Bābil and Ḥilla (following G. Hoffmann's emendation). In Yāḳūt, iv, 773, Narsiyya should therefore be emended to Bursiyya.

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(E. HERZFELD)

BĪRŪN, in Persian 'outside', the name given to the outer departments and services of the Ottoman Imperial Household, in contrast to the inner departments known as the *Enderūn* [*q.v.*]. The *Bīrūn* was thus the meeting-point of the court and the state, and besides palace functionaries included a number of high officers and dignitaries concerned with the administrative, military, and religious affairs of the Empire.

Bibliography: D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, vii, Paris 1824, 1-33; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 358 ff.; Gibb and Bowen, 1/1, 72, 82 ff., 346 ff., see further SARAY.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-**BĪRŪNĪ** (BĒRŪNĪ) ABU 'L-RAYḤĀN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, also sometimes called by the *nisba* AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ by certain Arabic authors (*e.g.*, Yāḳūt) and also, at the risk of a confusion of names, by some modern Orientalists (see AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ), was one of the greatest scholars of mediaeval Islam, and certainly the most original and profound. He was equally well versed in the mathematical, astronomic, physical and natural sciences and also distinguished himself as a geographer and historian, chronologist and linguist and as an impartial observer of customs and creeds. He is known as *al-Ustādh*, "the Master". He was born of an Iranian family in 362/973 (according to al-Ghaḍanfar, on 3 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja/4 September — see E. Sachau, *Chronology*, xiv-xvi), in the suburb (*bīrūn*) of Kāth, capital of Khwārizm (the region of the Amū-Daryā delta, now the autonomous republic of Ḳaraḳalpaḳistan on the southern shores of the Aral Sea). He spent the first twenty-five years of his life in his homeland, where he received his scientific training from masters such as Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāḳ Djīlānī, the mathematician. Here he published a few early works and entered into correspondence with Ibn Sīnā, the young prodigy of Būkhārā, his junior by seven years. It would appear that he went in person to see the Sāmānid sultan Manṣūr II b. Nūḥ (387-389/997-999), whom he praised as his first benefactor. Next, he went for a long stay to Djurdjān, south-east of the Caspian Sea, apparently in 388/998 when the Ziyārid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr Shams al-Maʿālī returned from exile; from there he was able to go as far as Rayy (near Tehran). It was at the Court of Djurdjān that he wrote his first great work, on the subject of calendars and eras, and important mathematical, astronomical, meteorological and other problems. This was dedicated to Ḳābūs, probably about 390/1000, without prejudice to much later emendations and alterations; the *K. al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya ʿan al-Ḳurūn al-Khāliya* (*Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, published by Edward Sachau, Leipzig 1878, reprinted by helioplan, Leipzig 1923; English translation entitled *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London 1879). Brought up in the Iranian dialect of Khwārizm, al-Bīrūnī spoke Persian, but deliberately chose to use the Arabic language in his scientific writings, though some later works may have been written in Persian or in Arabic and Persian simultaneously. Having returned to his own country before 399/1008, and having been received by Prince Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Maʾmūn, he was able to give his services for seven years to the brother of this prince, the Khwarizmshāh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn, and was entrusted, because of his "golden and silver tongue", with delicate political missions.

After the assassination in 407/1016-17 of the Khwārizmshāh by his rebellious troops and the conquest of the country by the powerful Ghaznawid sultan Maḥmūd b. Subuktakīn, many prisoners were led away to Ghazna in Sidjistān (Afghānistān) in the spring of 408/1017, including learned and wise men among whom were al-Bīrūnī, Abū Naṣr already mentioned, and the physician Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥusayn b. Bābā al-Khammār al-Baghdādī. Ibn Sīnā must have left Djurdjāniyya for Djurdjān of his own free will in 398/1008 together with the Christian physician, Abū Sahl ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā al-Masīḥī al-Djurdjānī. This physician had collaborated closely with al-Bīrūnī, even to the point of writing a series of works in his name, as did also Abū Naṣr (see below). Al-Bīrūnī, henceforth retained at the Court of Ghazna, possibly as official astrologer, accompanied Sultan Maḥmūd on seveal of his military expeditions to north-west India. Here he taught the Greek sciences and received in exchange, with his initiation into Sanskrit and various dialects, the incalculable sum of knowledge which he put into his *Description of India*, completed in 421/1030 short y after the death of Maḥmūd: the *K. Taʾrīkh al-Hind* (*Al-Beruni's India*, ed. E. Sachau, London 1887; English translation, 2 vols., London 1888, 2 1910). The previous year, al-Bīrūnī had written an abstract of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and astrology: the *K. al-Tafhīm li-Awāʾil Ṣināʿat al-Tandjīm*, English translation facing the text by R. Ramsay Wright, London 1934.

It was to Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (421-432/1030-41) that the Master dedicated this third principal work in 421/1030, reserving the right to add the finishing touches later: the *K. al-Ḳanūn al-Masʿūdī fi 'l-Hayʾa wa 'l-Nudjūm* (Canon Masudicus, Ḥaydarābād (Dn) 1954-56, 3 vols.). According to Yāḳūt, Maʿsūd offered the author an elephant-load of silver pieces for this work, but al-Bīrūnī refused the gift. In spite of this, he was provided with the means of carrying out his scientific and literary work to the end of his life. The treatise on mineralogy which he wrote during the reign of Sulṭān Mawdūd b. Masʿūd (432-441/1041-49) has come down to us; it is the *K. al-Djamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Djawāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād, (Dn) 1936. In a last important work, still unpublished, the *K. al-Ṣaydala fi 'l-Ṭibb* on medicinal drugs, (see H. Beveridge, *An Unknown Work of Albiruni*, in *JRAS* 1902, 333-5; M. Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bērūnī* (ed. and trans.), Berlin 1932) the Master declared himself to be over 80 (lunar) years old. The date of his death, usually fixed in 440/1048, according to al-Ghaḍanfar, must therefore be put back a little. Al-Bīrūnī must have died after 442/ 1050, probably at Ghazna.

The total number of his works is considerable. In his *Risāla fī Fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936) he includes (in 427) the *Fihrist* of his own writings, of which 103 are completed, 10 unfinished (among which are the *Chronology* and the *Canon Masʿūdicus*), 12 have been written in his name by Abū Naṣr, 12 by Abū Sahl and 1 by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Djīlī; making a total of 138.

Taking into account works written after the *Fihrist*, and also certain omissions in this list, the total number of works is 180, differing widely from one another in length, from brief treatises on specialised matters to major works embracing vast fields of knowledge. Apart from the edited texts referred to above, 4 mathematical and astronomical treatises have been published in Ḥaydarābād (1948) in a single volume entitled *Rasāʾil al-Bīrūnī*: 1. *K. fī Ifrād al-Maḳāl fī amr al-ẓlāl*; 2. *Fī Rāshīkāt al-Hind* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die Lehre von den Proportionen nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 48, 1-6, 1916); 3. *Tamhīd al-Mustaḳarr li-Taḥḳīḳ maʿnā al-mamarr*; 4. *Maḳāla fī Istikhrādj al-awtār fī 'l-Dāʾira bi-Khawāṣṣ al-Khaṭṭ al-Munḥanī fī-hā* (translation and commentary by H. Suter in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, iii, folio XI, 11-78, Leipzig 1910-11). A volume entitled *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ilā 'l-Bīrūnī* was published separately in Ḥaydarābād in 1948. This includes 15 mathematical and astronomical treatises by Abū Naṣr among which are most of these written in the name of al-Bīrūnī. Manuscripts, some partially edited, others unedited, of about twenty other works of al-Bīrūnī have come down to us, among which are: the *K. Taḥdīd Nihāyāt al- Amākin li-Taṣḥīḥ Masāfāt al-Masākin* (geographical extracts in *Bīrūnī's Picture of the World* by A. Zaki Velidi Togan in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 53, New Delhi, 1941; the MS. Fātiḥ 3386 completed at Ghazna in 416 is possibly in his own hand); the *K. fī Istīʿāb al-Wudjūh al-Mumkina fī Ṣanʿat al-Asṭurlāb* (cf. E. Wiedemann and J. Franks, *Allgemeine Betrachtungen von al-Bīrūnī in seinem Werk über die Astrolaben*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 52-3, 97-121, 1920-21); *the Maḳāla fī 'l-Nisab allatī bayna 'l-filizzāt wa 'l-djawāhir fī 'l-hadjm* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, *Beiträge*, 38, 163-166, 1906); the *Tardjamat K. Bātandjali fī 'l-Khalās min al-Irtibāk* (cf. H. Ritter, *La traduction du Livre de Patanjali par Bērūnī*, communication in Persian in the *Livre du Millénaire d'Avicenne*, ii, 134-148, Tehran 1955).

Bibliography: Since lack of space makes it impracticable to provide an exhaustive list of the work done on al-Bīrūnī, of which there is a fair volume, though very inadequate for such an important figure, I refer the reader to my study: *L'Oeuvre d'al-Bērūnī*: *Essai Bibliographique*, in *MIDEO*, ii, 161-256 and iii, 391-396, 1956; taking up the work of H. Suter and E. Wiedemann, *Über al-Bīrūnī und seine Schriften*, in *SBPMS Erlangen*, *Beiträge*, 52-53, 55-96, 1920-21, we have listed 180 works of the Master, provided a bibliographical index as complete as possible for each one, with tabular summaries. The main studies of the life and works as a whole of al-Bīrūnī are listed below, as well as a few studies of special subjecs.

A. Bibliographies and Studies of the Works as a Whole: Bīrūnī, *Risāla fī Fihrist*, *op. cit.* ed. P. Kraus; the Arabic text and the autobiographical section are also to be found in E. Sachau's introduction to the *Chronology* (Arabic text); German trans. in H. Suter and E. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, 71-79; biographical development in the other sections of this work, and also in E. Sachau's introductions to the *Chronology* (Arabic text and English translation) and in *India* (Arabic text and English translation); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, ii, 20-21 (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Biographie von al-Bīrūnī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 44, 117-8, 1912); Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, vi, 308-14 (German trans. by E. Wiedemann and J. Hell, *Über al-Bīrūnī*, in *MGMN*, xi, 314-21, 1912); Ẓāhir al-Dīn al-Bayhaḳī in his *Taʾrīkh Ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, MS. Berlin, 10052 (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 42, 66, 1910); ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, ed. Muḥ. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1935, 62-4; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿā*, Cairo 1326, 20; Brockelmann, I, 475, S I, 870-1; Suter 98-100; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore 1927, I, 707-9; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 480-2, Paris 1876; Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs de l'Islam*, ii, 75-87, 215-7; Syed Hasan Barani, *Al-Biruni*: *His Life and Works* (in Urdu), ʿAligarh 1927; idem, *Ibn Sina and al-Beruni. A Study in Similarities and Contrasts*, in *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta 1956, 3-14; H. Ritter, *Werke al-Bīrūnī's*, in *Orientalia*, Istanbul 1933, i, 74-78; A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Neue geographische und ethnographische Nachrichten*, and in *Geographische Zeitschrift* 1934, 363 ff.; R. Ramsay Wright, Preface to the *Book of Instruction* (*K. al-Tafhīm*), *op. cit.*: Zia ud-Din and F. Krenkow, in *Islamic Culture*, vi, Jul.-Oct. 1932; M. Meyerhof, *Études de Pharmacologie arabe*, in *BIE* 1940, 22, 133-52; Wüstenfeld, in *Lüddes Zeitschr.*, i, 36, in *Die Arab. Ärzte* no. 129 and in *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber* no. 195; F. Taeschner, in *ZDMG*, 77, 31 ff.; M. Krause, *Albīrūnī ein iranischer Forscher*, in *Isl.*, 26, 1-15; M. Ya. al-Hāshimī, *Naẓariyyat al-iḳtiṣād ʿinda al-B.*, in *MMIA*, 15, 456-65; Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., history and philosophy section, *Bīrūnī*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950; Iran Society, *Al-Biruni. Commemoration volume. A.H.* 362-*A.H.* 1362, Calcutta 1951.

B. Detailed Studies: E. Wiedemann (besides the works already quoted) *Astronomische Instrumente. Über trigonometrische Grössen. Geodätische Messungen*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 41, 26-78, 1909; idem, *Ein Instrument, das die Bewegung von Sonne und Mond darstellt nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *Isl.* iv, 5-13, 1913; idem, *Über die verschiedenen, bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, 1914; idem, *Über Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, xv, 43-52, 1923; idem, *Meteorolog. Zeitschr.*, 199-203, 1922; idem, *Über Gesetzmässigkeiten bei Pflanzen nach al-Bīrūnī*, in *Biolog. Zentralblatt*, xl, 413-16, 1920; idem, *Geographisches von al-Bīrūnī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, 44, 1-26, 1912; E. Wiedemann and J. Hell, *Geographisches aus dem Masʿūdischen Kanon von al-Bīrūnī*, *ibid.*, 119-25; E. Wiedemann, *Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen*, in *Isl.*, ii, 345-58, 1911; idem, *Über die Verbreitung der Bestimmungen des spezifischen Gewichtes nach Bīrūnī* in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 45, 31-4, 1913 (cf. *Mīzān*); H. Suter, *Über die Projektion der Sternbilder und der Länder von al-Bīrūnī Tasṭīḥ al-Ṣuwar wa-tabṭīḥ al-kuwār*, in *Abhandlungen zur*

Gesch. der Naturw. u. Medizin, iv, 79-93, 1922; idem, *Der Verfasser des Buches "Grunde der Tafeln" des Chuwārezmi (nämlich al-Bīrūnī)*, in *Bibl. Math.*, ser. 3, iv, 127-9, 1903; C. Schoy, *Aus der Mathematischen Geographie der Araber (nach dem Kānūn al-Mas ʿŪdī) etc.* in *Isis*, v, 1922, 51-7; idem, *Die Bestimmung der Geographischen Breite der Stadt Ghazna durch al-Bīrūnī*, in *Annalen der Hydrographie*, 1925, 41-8; idem, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des persischen Astronomen Abu 'l-Raiḥān Muḥ. Ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī*, Hanover 1927; Reinaud, in *Geographie d'Aboulfeda* (trans.) i, 1948, xcv ff.; idem, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xviii, 2, 29; Mehren, in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkundigheid*, no. 15, 1857, 23; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, ii, 1; M. Schreiner, *Les Juifs chez Albîrûnî*, in *REJ*, xii, 258; M. Fiorini, *Le projezioni cartographiche di Albiruni*, in *Bolletino della società geographica italiana*, ser. III, vol. iv, 287-94; E. Sachau, *Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen*, in *der I. Hälfte des XI. Jahrh.*, *Abh. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1888.

(D. J. Boilot)

BIRZĀL, Banū, a Berber tribe of the Zenata group mentioned as living in the Lower Zab (south of Msīla) at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. These Berbers, in conflict with the Fāṭimid Caliph, ʿUbayd Allāh, who built the fortress of Msīla as a look-out against them, supported the Khāridjite agitator, Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], and offered him refuge when he was pursued by the Fāṭimid Caliph, al-Manṣūr. Although the latter pardoned them, they nevertheless took part in the rebellion of the governor of the Zāb, Djaʿfar Ibn al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] in 360/971. Fāṭimid repression forced them to flee; they found refuge in Spain where they formed a corps of Berber troops at the service of the Umayyad monarchs. Their chiefs supported the party of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir at the death of the Caliph al-Hakam II; one of them was rewarded for this by being made governor of Carmona. During the period of anarchy in Andalusia at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Birzāl formed a little independent state at Carmona which tried to resist the ambitions of the ʿAbbādids of Seville. They were finally obliged to submit to the king of Seville in 459/1067 and disappeared, at any rate as a group, just as they had formerly disappeared from the Maghrib.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 215; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 86, 106; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 463; Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. Sept.*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 59; Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 99; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. Kremer, Vienna 1852, 60; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, 63, 83; Ibn ʿIdhārī, I, 190, 191 (transl. Fagnan, 272, 273); Ibn al-Athīr, transl. Fagnan, 345; *Kitāb mafākhir al-Barbar*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 44; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii, 186, 203, 210, 291-293; Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*², ii, 202, 206 207, iii, 231; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index.

(R. Le Tourneau)

al-**BIRZĀLĪ**, ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, also called Ibn al-Birzālī, Syrian historian and *ḥadīth* scholar. He was born in Damascus in Djumada I or II, 665/February-April, 1267. A case could be made for the earlier date, sometimes mentioned, of 663/1265, but al-Birzālī himself evidently maintained that he was born in 665. His ancestors belonged to the Birzāl [*q.v.*] Berbers. His great-grandfather, Zakī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (b. ca. 577/1181-82, d. in Ḥamā in 636/1239), had settled in Syria at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. Zakī al-Dīn's additional *nisba*, al-Ishbīlī, shows that he himself, or one of his ancestors, had once lived in Seville. A work of his is preserved in Damascus (cf. G. Makdisi, in *BSOAS*, xviii/1956, 22); copies of two volumes of Ibn ʿAsākir's *History of Damascus* written by him are preserved in Bankipore (*Cat.*, xii, 144 ff., nos. 800-801; cf. also v, 2, 223, no. 481). Al-Birzālī's grandfather, who succeeded his father in the position of *imām* at the Fallūs Mosque (Flūs [?], according to the vocalisation indicated by J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932, 60; cf. al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 86, ii, 361), died a young man of twenty-three years in 643/1245-46, leaving al-Birzālī's father, Bahāʾ al-Dīn, to be brought up by his maternal grandfather. Bahāʾ al-Dīn, an official of the judiciary and accomplished scholar, died 699/1300 in his sixtieth year (cf. Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Iʿlām*, *anno* 699).

As a member of a family of scholars, al-Birzālī, together with his sister Zaynab, received his instruction from his father and other famous scholars. Ibn Taymiyya, for instance, lectured in his home (Bankipore, *Cat.*, v, 2, 180). He started out very young, but precocious as he was, he retained his love for scholarship all his life. He went through the full curriculum of religious studies, travelled in pursuit of his studies to other Syrian cities and to Egypt, served for a while as an official witness, but spent most of his life as professor of *ḥadīth* in Damascus colleges, his principal position being that at the Nūriyya (*idjāzas* from his courses there in Bankipore, *Cat.*, v, 2, 50 f., 198 f.). He undertook the pilgrimage several times and died at Khulayṣ in the holy territory on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 739/13 June, 1339. His children, among them Muḥammad and Fāṭima, both gifted scholars, had died before him. Among his many students and colleagues were the most prominent scholars of the time, among them al-Dhahabī. There is unanimous agreement among his biographers that he was an unusually attractive person, good-looking, modest, generous with his books and his knowledge, blessed with a good handwriting, extremely industrious as a scholar, and enjoying the confidence of all scholarly factions, even those that were mutually hostile.

No list of his writings is available, and none of the preserved works has been published so far. His great *History*, ending with the year 736/1335-36, was often quoted. It was abridged and continued by later scholars. Its actual title appears to have been *al-Muḳtafā* (cf. al-Sakhāwī, in F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 414, but al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 578, refers to a work entitled *al-Muntaḳā* [= *al-Muḳtafā*?] as if it were different from the *History* often quoted by him). The *Muḳtafā* is preserved in MS. Topkapısaray, Ahmet III, 2951 (cf. al-Munadjdjima, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits arabes*, 1956, 101 f.). His voluminous *Muʿdjam*, which was highly praised and often cited as a reference work for contemporary scholarly history, is not preserved. A small *Muʿdjam* of his early teachers is preserved in Damascus (cf. Y. al-ʿIshsh, *Fihrist makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya, al-Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1366/1947, 228 f.). A *Muʿdjam al-Buldān wa 'l-Ḳurā* is cited by Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Lumaʿāt* (Damascus 1348), 35 and 43. A small historical work on those who participated in the battle of Badr is ascribed to al-Birzālī on the strength of the handwriting of a manuscript in Damascus, said to be similar to other autographs of al-Birzālī in the Ẓāhiriyya Library (cf. al-ʿIshsh,

op. cit., 46). Among his works on *ḥadīth* an *Arbaʿūn Buldāniyya* is mentioned. Two selections of *ʿawālī al-ḥadīth* collected from his teachers and a *Thulāthiyyāt min Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* are preserved in Bankipore (*Cat.*, V, 2, 194 ff., no. 462, 2, 3, and 6). A *fiḳh* work, on *al-Shurūṭ*, is extant in Cairo. Other works can be confidently expected to turn up in the future. However, al-Birzālī published less than he wrote, and the preservation of his works, therefore, remained a matter of chance. Al-Nuʿaymī (*Dāris*, i, 113) considered it worth mention that he came across the last volume of the *History* in 894/1489.

Bibliography: For the family history, cf., in particular, the biography of Zakī al-Dīn in Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ*, Ms. ar. Yale University, L 571, vol. 2 (Cat. Nemoy, 1177), fols. 330b-331b. The following biographies deserve mention: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, Ms. ar. Yale University, L 341 (Nemoy, 1185), fols. 179b-182b; Ḥusaynī Dimashḳī, *Dhayl Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Damascus 1347, 18-21; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 262-64; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, vi, 246 f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 185 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, 237-39; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, Damascus 1367-1370/1948-1951, Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Iʿlām*, MS. Oxford, Marsh 143, *anno* 739; i, 112 f. Some of the unpublished works of Dhahabī, who wrote a biography of al-Birzālī in monograph form (cf. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 523), and the *Wāfī* of Ṣafadi may also contain valuable information. Cf., further, Brockelmann, II, 45, S II, 34 f.; G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture*, Paris 1957, 35 and 56; *id.*, *JA* 1957, 143-46. (F. Rosenthal)

BISĀṬ [see ḲĀLĪ].

BISBARĀY b. Harigarbhdās Kāyath, also called Karkarni, Indian author who wrote in Persian; the correct pronunciation of his name in Sanskrit is Vishwarai (Rajah of the world), son of Harigarhdas (slave of God), of the well known family of Kayastha, which was particularly noted for its Persian culture. His surname Karkarni signifies "he who has ears as big as hands". He translated into Persian, in 1061-2/1651-2, during the reign of Shāh-Djahān, the Sanskrit tale *Vikramačaritram*, making use of the work of his predecessors. (The Sanskrit original also bore the title *Vikrama-čaritram*, that is to say, the life of Vikram, the Radja Vikram Aditti in whose reign commenced the Bikrami era, which has now reached the year 2015). This translation is also known by the name *Singhāsan Battīsī* (Sanskrit *Sing-hāsan-battisi*, 32 tales of the lion throne), and has been translated into French by Lescallier (*Le Trône enchanté*, New York 1817). For the various editions of this Sanskrit tale, and the Persian translations, see the works mentioned below.

Bibliography: Éthé, in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, 353; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Museum*, ii, 763 f.; Pertsch, *Cat. Berlin*, 1034 f. (Said Naficy)

BĪSHA, an oasis in western Arabia stretching about 25 miles along the banks of the *wādī* of the same name immediately north of 20° N. Lat. The headwaters of the *wādī* are east of Abhā in the highlands of ʿAsīr, and the channel extends c. 400 miles north to its junction with Wādī Ranya, whence the combined channels turn inland to Wādī Tathlīth and Wādī al-Dawāsir (see al-Dawāsir]. The tributaries Hardjāb and Tardj, coming from the east and west respectively, empty into Wādī Bīsha south of the oasis of Bīsha, and Wādī Tabāla [see Tabāla] joins Wādī Bīsha in the heart of the oasis. The early poets mention Bīsha frequently, but on occasion confuse it with the *wādī* and settlement of Baysh in Tihāmat ʿAsīr (see A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, Bern 1875).

The oasis of Bīsha is noted for its dates, which are transported as far as Djayzān, and the nearby Bedouins raise a famous breed of white camels known as *awārik* (*i.e.*, eaters of *arāk* leaves). Bīsha, at the junction of routes from al-Ṭāʾif and al-Riyāḍ to Abhā, Nadjrān, and all of south-western Arabia, has been an important stop on incense, pilgrimage, and invasion routes. Nimrān and al-Rawshan (Yāḳūt's Rūshān?) are the principal towns of the oasis, the former with the most important market of the region and the latter the site of Ḳalʿat Bīsha, where the Saudi Arabian Amīr of the district is established. Al-Rawshan is divided into Rawshan Āl Mahdī and Rawshan Banī Salūl. Among other towns and villages are al-Dahw, ʿAṭf al-Djabara, al-Ruḳayṭā, al-Naḳīʿ, al-Shaḳīḳa, and al-Djunayna.

Yāḳūt lists the tribes of Bīsha as Khathʿam, Hilāl, Suwāʾa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, Salūl, ʿUḳayl, al-Ḍibāb, and Banū Hāshim of Ḳuraysh. At present elements of Shahrān and Aklub (both of which stem from Khathʿam), Banī Salūl, and Ḳaḥṭān predominate.

Bibliography: In addition to Hamdānī and Yāḳūt, Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Fī Bilād ʿAsīr*, Cairo 1951; Muḥ. Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār*, Cairo 1370-3; ʿUmar Riḍa Kaḥḥāla, *Djughrāfiyyat Shibh Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, Damascus 1364; Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-17; H. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca, New York 1952; M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1840. (W. E. Mulligan)

BĪSHARʿ (Pers.), a term not often used, and then mainly in a pejorative sense; it is a compound of the Persian privative prefix *bī* ("without") and the Arabic *sharʿ*, the canon law of Islam. It denotes in particular those Ṣūfīs who declare that the law of Islam does not exist for persons illuminated by mysticism (antinomians). This somewhat colloquial term seems primarily to denote the adepts of the Ṣūfī sect of the Malāmatiyya, who were given to keeping secret their acts of worship, and hence to neglecting the official ritual. The term occurs very occasionally in the technical terminology of Ṣūfism. (Said Naficy)

BISHĀRĪN, A nomadic Bedja [*q.v.*] tribe, now occupying two areas: (a) the ʿAtbāy, or western slopes of the Red Sea Hills, between approximately 23° and 19° N; (b) the banks of the ʿAṭbarā and adjoining lands between about 17° and 16° N. The tribe is divided into two main clans: (a) Umm ʿAlī, in the north-eastern ʿAtbāy; (b) Umm Nādjī, in the south-western ʿAtbāy and on the ʿAṭbarā. Tribal genealogies indicate a connection with the Arab Awlād Kāhil (Kawāhla), who, in the 14th century, lived near ʿAydhāb. The original Bishārīn homeland was in this region, around Djabal Alba. In the 15th century they apparently expanded into the ʿAtbāy, displacing the Balaw, who may represent the Ḥadārib of medieval Arab writers. Their further expansion into the richer ʿAṭbarā lands was carried out by force of arms under Ḥamad ʿImrān, probably c. 1760-70. After Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's conquests in the Sudan, the ʿAṭbarā Bishārīn fell under Egyptian control, while those of the ʿAtbāy remained virtually independent. The expansion of the Ummarār into the Aryāb district, in the early 19th century contributed further to the separation of the two groups. Neither group played an important part in the Mahdiyya, although ʿUthmān Dikna had some control over the ʿAṭbarā Bishārīn. The

separate treatment of the two groups continued under the Condominium until in 1928 a single chief (*nāẓir*) was appointed over the whole tribe. The recent history of the Bis͟hārīn has been uneventful.

Bibliography: G. E. R. Sandars, *The Bisharin*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xvi/2, 1933, 119-149, Khartoum. See also under BED͟JA. (P. M. HOLT)

BIS͟HBALĪḲ, Bes͟hbalïḳ, the Soghdian (?) Pand͟jikat͟h (both meaning 'Town of Five'), a town in eastern Turkestan frequently mentioned between the 2nd/8th and 7th/13th centuries (concerning the name cf. Minorsky in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 271 f. and 271[5]). It was rediscovered in 1908 by Russian explorers, with the aid of information found in Chinese sources. Its position is 47 km. to the west of Kūs͟hang (Chinese Ku-čʿöng) which was founded in the 18th century, and 10 km. north of Tsi-mu-sa, near the village of Hu-pao-tse. Its ruins (known as Pʿo-čʿöng-tse) have a circumference of 10 km. (B. Dolbežev in the *Izv. Russk. Komiteta dlya izučeniya Sredney i Vostočnoy Azii IX*, April 1909, 65 f.; Ed. Chavannes, *Documents*, 11; *Zap. Ak. Nauk XXIII*, 1915, 77-121; Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, 554-59).

From the 2nd century A.D. onwards, Bis͟hbalïḳ was mentioned in Chinese sources as the residence of local princes. From 658 onwards, it was the centre of a Chinese administrative area (with a Chinese or Turkish governor). This was due to its position as capital of a 'Five-Town-Area', and as one of the Chinese 'Four Garrisons'. The town is also mentioned in the Ork͟hon inscriptions (II, E 28; Küli-Čur-Inscription; cf. Wilhelm Thomson in the *ZDMG* 1924, 153; A. N. Bernstamm, *Social'no-ėkonomičeskiy stroy ork͟hono-yeniseyskik͟h Tyurok VI-VIII vekov* (The social and economic structure of the Ork͟hon and Yenisey Turks from the 6th to the 8th century), Moscow and Leningrad 1946, index. The Chinese names Kinman, and in particular, Pei-tʿing (northern court) for Bis͟hbalïḳ, appear from this time onwards.

According to the Tʿang-schu (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 96-99) the Scha-tʿo ('people of the Sandy Desert'; cf. below) lived near Bis͟hbalïḳ between 712 and 818. After long disputes (cf. Chavannes, Doc. 113 f.; Kās͟hg͟harī, *Dīwān*, i, 103, 317, (ed. Brockelmann 242); Marwazī, 73; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 227, 272) the town fell into the hands of the Tibetans in 791 (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 305), and later it became the residence of the Turkish Basmil princes, whose inheritance was taken over (with the title of Iduḳ Ḳut, 'Holy Majesty') by the Uigurs in 860. According to a report by a Chinese mission in the year 982 (for list of translations cf. Wittfogel, 104), the town possessed more than 50 Buddhist temples, a Buddhist monastery, Manichaean shrines and one (artificial ?) lake. Some inhabitants, making use of the artificial irrigation, made their living by growing vegetables, others bred horses and did metalwork. The only early Islamic mention of the town (in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 17 a, trans. 94) dates from the same year. It is mentioned as being the residence of the ruler of the Tog͟huzg͟huz [*q.v.*]. Concerning this, and a comparison between the Tog͟huzg͟huz and the Scha-tʿo, cf. V. Minorsky in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 266/72, 481. The mention of it made by Idrīsī, i, 491, 502, is presumably based on a different report, namely that of Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭawwiʿī (cf. bibliography).

As the northern residence of the ruler (Iduḳ Ḳut, Idi Ḳut, or Iduʾut) of the western Uigur part of the state, Bis͟hbalïḳ came under the Ḳara K͟hitay [*q.v.*] (there is mention of a Chinese work on this by Wang-Kuo-wei in Wittfogel 615, bottom left). In 1209, the Uignr ruler handed the town over to the Mongols of his own free will, and took part in their campaigns. Bis͟hbalïḳ came in close contact with the Islamic world within the Mongol Empire, and Islam gradually penetrated into the town in the 7th/13th century, despite the resistance offered by the Uigurs, who realised that they would thereby lose their spiritual leadership of the Mongol Empire. After the Mongol governor of Central Asia, Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd Yalavač ('Ambassador'), had taken up his office in Bis͟hbalïḳ in 1252/53, the Iduḳ Ḳut is said to have issued a secret order in September 1258, for the murder of all Muslims in the town. By order of the Grand K͟hān Möngke, he was taken and executed, but his dynasty remained (D͟juwaynī, ii, 34 f., 88; iii, 60 f.; Ras͟hīd al-Dīn (ed. Blochet), ii, 304 f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Guzīda*, 577; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2], Berlin 1955, 239).

After 1260, the town appears to have enjoyed a period of independence between the empire of the Grand K͟hān and the Čag͟hatay state. It repulsed an attack from the west in 1275. At that time, Bis͟hbalïḳ was the starting point of the postal route from China to Central Asia (Bretschneider, Not. 208). The region of Bis͟hbalïḳ then apparently belonged to the state of Čag͟hatay. Nothing is known about the subsequent fate of the town itself. It apparently vanished at the same time as the dynasty of the Iduḳ Ḳut, in the 14th century. Thereafter, the Chinese used the name Pei-tʿing only as a regional designation for an area which (according to Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūg͟hlāt, *Taʾrīk͟h Ras͟hīdī*, trans. E. Denison Ross, London 1895, 365) was known as Mog͟hūlistān in the 16th century, and in which Islam was now firmly established. There is no further mention of Bis͟hbalïḳ itself.

Bibliography: Chinese reports in K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng: *Hist. of the Chinese Society Liao*, Philadelphia 1949, 95, 104, 107, 636, 655; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* . . ., 2 vols., London 1910, i, 65 f., ii, 27-33, and a map; idem, *Notices of the Mediaeval Geography*, in *JRAS*, North China Branch, N.R. X (1876) 75-307. Marwazī, *China, the Turks and India*, ed. V. Minorsky London 1942, Index; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, index *s.vv.* Panjīkat͟h and Pei-tʿing. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; idem, *Orta Asya Türk Taʾrīk͟hi ḥakkında dersler*, Istanbul 1927 (German version, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935; French version, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, Paris 1945); V. Minorsky, *Tamīm ibn Baḥrs Journey*, in *BSOAS* xii/2, 1948 275-305; idem, in *BSOAS* xv/2, 1955, 263. maps: in O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Studien*, Thesis Göttingen 1948 (typescript); A. Herrmann, Atlas of China, Cam- bridge Mass. 1935, 34-39. (B. SPULER)

AL-**BIS͟HR**, scene of a battle in eastern Syria in 73/692-3 between the Arab tribes of Sulaym and Tag͟hlib. K͟hālid b. al-Walīd campaigned here in 12/633 (Ṭabarī, i, 2068, 2072-3). Yāḳūt describes it as a range of hills stretching from ʿUrḍ near Palmyra to the Euphrates, corresponding to the modern D͟jebel el-Bis͟hrī. The battle is also sometimes called after al-Raḥūb, a local water-course.

The "Day of al-Bis͟hr" was the climax of several clashes between the two tribes. This strife lay to some extent outside the Ḳays-Kalb tribal feud of the period; both tribes were accounted North Arabian, and its immediate cause was Sulaym's encroachment on Tag͟hlib's pastures in al-D͟jazīra.

An uneasy peace was broken through the Christian Taghlibī poet al-Akhṭal's satires at the Damascus court, provoking the Sulamī chief al-Djaḥḥāf b. Ḥukaym. The latter secured a forged diploma authorising him to collect the *ṣadaḳāt* of Taghlib and Bakr, and on this pretext left with 1000 Sulamīs. Taghlib were surprised in their encampments at al-Bishr, and a savage slaughter followed. Because of his filthy cloak, al-Akhṭal was taken for a slave and released, but his son was killed. The ripping-open of women was a reprisal for similar behaviour previously by Taghlib.

Al-Djaḥḥāf was forced to flee to Byzantine territory to escape the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's wrath, but returned and made his peace after arranging for a wergild of 100,000 dirhams to be paid to Taghlib in reparation.

Bibliography: al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, ed. Salhani, 1905, 10 ff., 286; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, i, 401-2, 507-9, 899-900; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 303; *Aghānī*[1], ix, 57-61; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 261-3; Yāḳūt, i, 631-2, ii, 768-9; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 252, 258, 314; Lammens, *Le chantre des Omiades*, Paris 1895, 140-3 (= *JA*, 1894); Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 129-30 (Eng. trans., 207-8); Caetani, *Chronografia Islamica*, iv, 861.

(C. E. Bosworth)

BISHR B. ABĪ KHĀZIM (not Ḥāzim, see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *Khizānat al-adab*[1], ii, 262) the most considerable pre-Islamic poet of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma in the second half of the sixth century. al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān* (ed. Ṣāwī) 721, mentions him amongst his predecessors. Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ counts him among the classics (*fuḥūl*). His poems were collected by al-Aṣmaʿī and Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Fihrist* 158, 6). Abū ʿUbayda wrote a commentary on his *Dīwān* which was utilised by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir l.c. ii, 262, 4. The *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Nrs. 96-99 ed. Lyall, contain four poems of Bishr; the last of them (erroneously coupled with Nr. 100) is also found in the *Djamharat ashʿār al-ʿArab* 104, whilst Ibn Shadjarī in his *Ḥamāsa*, Cairo 1306, 65-83, gives a selection of six poems. The numerous verses, quoted in dictionaries, commentaries and books of *Adab* have not been collected so far.

Of Bishr's life little is known besides what we learn from his poems, whilst the reports about him are often inconsistent and unreliable. From his vivid description of the victory of his tribe at al-Nisār in *Muf.* Nr. 96, Vrs. 9-22 it seems certain that he took part in this battle, which is dated by Lyall about 575 A.D. References to other deeds of the Banū Asad do not yield any date. There looms large in his poems the figure of Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Laʾm, chief of the Ṭayyiʾ, the neighbours of the Banū Asad. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* iv, 317, 1 quoting the commentary (of Abū ʿUbayda) states that a raid of the Ṭayyiʾ on some confederates (*ḥulafāʾ*) of the Banū Asad caused Bishr to compose a poem against Aws b. Ḥāritha in which he threatened to satirise him if he did not come to terms (see also *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* i, 293, 10 and Lane 1126). Such satires are extant in *Mukhtārāt* 66 f. and 68 f. The origin of this feud is told quite differently by Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 132 f. (and further embellished by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 169 f.); according to this report, which makes Bishr a contemporary of al-Ḥuṭayʾa (*d.c.* 30/650), the quarrel started at the court of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (r. 580-602). Aws b. Ḥāritha raided the Banū Asad, got hold of Bishr but spared his life. Bishr then made amends for his five satires by composing five odes in praise of his benefactor. Whatever the truth may be there are indeed among Bishr's poems some eulogies on Aws b. Ḥāritha (*Mukhtārāt* 75; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa* 103) and fragments of a similar ode (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* i, 455; ii, 263; iv, 111 and Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 133) which however is also ascribed to Djundab b. Khāridja al-Ṭāʾī. If his apology is authentic (Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ii, 114) then these eulogies are later than the satires. Another satire (Ḳālī, *Amālī*[1] ii, 233; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* i, 340, 584, 760; Freytag, *Prov. Arabum* i, 251) is directed against ʿUtba b. Mālik b. Djaʿfar b. Kilāb. The son of this ʿUtba was ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl who was slain by al-Barrāḍ about 590 A.D. Abū ʿAmr b. a-ʿAlāʾ (in *Aghānī*[1] xix, 75 f.) says that after this murder which led to the second war of the *Fidjār* al-Barrāḍ asked Bishr to warn Ḥarb b. Umayya and other leaders of the Ḳuraysh against the revenge of the Ḳays ʿAylān. The Banū Asad were in league with the Ḳuraysh (see Ibn Saʿd I/1, 81, 9). Finally there is an elegy on himself (*Mukhtārāt* 81-3) which he is said to have spoken when he was mortally wounded during a raid against the *Abnāʾ* of the Banū Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* ii, 262; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* i, 31, 6; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarāʾ* 222). Legendary is the account how Bishr, ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ (died c. 550-60) and al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī were regaled by Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* 124; *Aghānī*[1] xvi, 98). Untenable also is Abū ʿUbayda's assumption, that the "King" ʿAmr b. Umm Iyās, whom Bishr addressed in at least two poems, was a grandson of Ḥudjr Ākil al-Murār (*Aghānī*[1] xv, 87; see also ʿAbd al-Ḳādir *l.c.* ii, 182). Occasionally verses of a later poet of his tribe were attributed to him (*Naḳāʾiḍ* 241; 245 Bevan).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Thiʿr* 145-7; *Khizānat al-Adab*[1], ii, 262-4; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 59; Ch. Lyall, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ii, 268 f.; A. Hartigan, in *MFOB*, i, 284-302.

(J. W. Fück)

BISHR B. AL-BARĀʾ, Medinese Companion, of the Khazradjite clan of Banī Salima. Both he and his father al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr [*q.v.*] accepted Islam early and were among the seventy odd Medinese who were present at the second ʿAḳaba meeting with the Prophet. Later, Bishr fought at Badr, Uḥud, the siege of Medīna, (Battle of the Ditch), and at Khaybar in 7/628. There he ate from a poisoned sheep which a Jewess offered to the Prophet in an attempt to venge her lost relatives. The Prophet tasted the poison and spat out the meat, but Bishr swallowed it and died, according to some sources immediately, according to others after suffering for a year.

Bishr was a famous bowman, and an enthusiastic Muslim who is quoted as arguing with the Jews of Medīna. The Prophet described him as the *sayyid* of his clan, the Banī Salima. al-Shīrāzī (*al-Muhadhdhab*, Cairo, ii, 176-7) quotes the case of Bishr as a precedent for making that method of poisoning a capital offence.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 309, 378, 499, 764-5; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 111-12; Ṭabarī, i, 1583-4, iii, 2538; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii, 170; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 57; *Usd al-Ghāba*, i, 183; Nawawī, 173-4; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (W. ʿArafat)

BISHR B. GHIYĀTH B. ABĪ KARĪMA ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤĀN **AL-MARĪSĪ**, a prominent theologian belonging to the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*]. His father, a fuller and dyer in Kūfa, is said to have been a Jew, and Bishr, on his conversion to Islām, to have become a *mawlā* of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He lived

in the western quarter of Baghdād, in the *Darb al-Marīs* (or *al-Marīsī*), from which he took his *nisba*. He died in Baghdād in 218/833.

Bishr was an assiduous disciple of Abū Yūsuf in *fiḳh*, and although he held some opinions of his own, he is counted among the followers of the Ḥanafī school; he also heard traditions from Ḥammād b. Salama, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, and others. In theology he shared the general position of the Murdjiʾa, and the Muslim haeresiographers regard his followers, sometimes called al-Marīsiyya, as forming one of the branches of this movement. He defined faith (*īmān*) as the ratification (*taṣdīḳ*) of the Islamic creed with the heart and the tongue, and everything that is not *taṣdīk* is not *īmān*; conversely, it follows that prostrating oneself to the sun is not in itself unbelief but an indication of unbelief. On the other hand, he considered all acts of disobedience to Allāh as grave sins (*kabāʾir*), but his followers (and presumably he, too) regarded it as logically impossible, in the light of Ḳurʾān xcix, 7 f., that Muslim sinners should be kept in hell for all eternity.

Bishr held that the Ḳurʾān was created, a doctrine first explicitly propounded by Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], so that he was later vituperatively called a Djahmī. It is also one of the basic tenets of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], so that the Muslim haeresiographers could, at the same time, include him among these last. A distinction which he made between two kinds of Allāh's "will", led him to adopt, on the question of predestination, a position intermediate between the two extremes of the Djabriyya and the Ḳadariyya (*qq.vv.*), similar to that which was to become orthodox doctrine, and opposed to that of the Muʿtazila. His main disciple, al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*], whose doctrine was said to approach closely to that of his master, was in fact attacked by his Muʿtazilī contemporaries.

Bishr is said to have been persecuted for his opinions; in particular it is said that he had to keep in hiding for 20 years during the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. This is probably a legend, because that pillar of orthodoxy, al-Shāfiʿī, is reported to have lived with Bishr and his mother, a pious Muslim woman, in her house during his stay in Baghdād, well in the middle of the alleged period of hiding. But it is true that the traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*, [*q.v.*]), and in particular Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his followers, opposed Bishr with implacable hatred, so that he later came to be regarded by the orthodox, notwithstanding his ascetic life, as one of the arch-heretics of Islam, and scurrilous features were added to his biography.

Bibliography: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firāḳ al-Shīʿa*, ed. Ritter, index (with bibliography); ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dārimī (d. 282), *Radd al-Imām al-Dārimī ... ʿalā Bishr al-Marīsī*, Cairo 1358; al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, 1925 (French transl. Nader, 1957), index; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Ritter, index (with bibliography); al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-Firaḳ*, 192 f. (transl. A. S. Halkin, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, 1935, 5 f.); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 56 ff.; al-Isfarāʾinī, *al-Tabṣīr fī 'l-Dīn*, 61; al-Shahrastānī, 107 (transl. Harbrücker, *Religionsspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, 162, 407); al-Samʿānī, 523 v° f.; Ibn Khallikān, *s.v.*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍīʾa*, i, 164 ff.; Ibn Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 29 ff.; ʿAbd Allāh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Uṣūliyyīn*, i, 143 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 206, 1 ε; S I, 340; Ritter, in *Isl.*, 16, 1927, 252 f.; A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des muʿtazila*, 106; Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 167, n. 3 (with bibliography).

(CARRA DE VAUX-[A. N. NADER and J. SCHACHT])

BISHR B. **MARWĀN** B. AL-ḤAKAM, Abū Marwān, an Umayyad prince, son of the Caliph, Marwān [*q.v.*] and of Ḳuṭayya bint Bishr (of the Banū Djaʿfar b. Kilāb, thus a Ḳaysite). He took part in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ (65/684) and there killed a Kilāb chief. After his father's accession to the Caliphate he followed him at the time of his expedition to Egypt, for the sources tell us that when in 65/684 Marwān had regained this province for the Umayyads, taking it from Ibn al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] who had seized it in Shaʿbān 64/March-April 684, and had put his son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] in charge of the Prayer and the collection of *kharādj*, he left Bishr there to keep him company and to help him to forget his separation from his family. Some time later the relation between the two brothers changed and Bishr returned, probably to Syria. The chroniclers bring up his name again in connexion with the events of 71/690-91 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 816), the year in which the Caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik appointed him governor of Kūfa. It was only in 72, probably after the end of the campaign against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in which Bishr had taken part (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 335, 338), that he took up his residence there (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 822), and had as counsellor not only his uncle, Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ [*q.v.*], but also Mūsā b. Nuṣayr whom ʿAbd al-Malik had asked of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with this in mind (according to the *Kitāb Aḥādīth al-Imāma wa 'l-Siyāsa*, in the appendix to P. De Gayangos, *The History of Moh. Dynasties in Spain*, London 1840-43, L-LII). In 73/692-3, the Caliph gave him in addition to the governorship of Kūfa, that of Baṣra, which he had taken away after only a few months from Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd because of his unsuccessful conduct of the war against the Khāridjites; at the end of the same year or in 74, Bishr transferred himself to this city, leaving ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī as his lieutenant at Kūfa. As governor of Kūfa, Bishr sent contingents to reinforce the troops in operation against the Khāridjites on ʿAbd al-Malik's behalf; but although he had been appointed commander-in-chief (*amīr*), he received an order directly from ʿAbd al-Malik to give the command of the army fighting this sect to al-Muhallab [*q.v.*]. This he did very much against his will when he reached Baṣra because he had intended to appoint ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar. Shocked by the Caliph's not having left the initiative to him in this matter (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 855 sq., etc.), he advised the commander of the Kūfa troops to oppose the military action of al-Muhallab, an action which provoked the indignation of the latter (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 856).

On his arrival at Baṣra, Bishr was suffering already from some hidden disease (al-Balādhurī, v, 171, 179, etc.) or from an infection (Ibn Kathīr, ix, 7) and he died very soon afterwards at a few years over forty, according to Ibn ʿAsākir, in 74/693-4 (according to al-Wāḳidī *apud* al-Ṭabarī, ii, 852, in 73; in 75 according to al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Bodl. ii, fol. 95r and Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djanān*, ms. Paris 1589, fol. 55r.) He was buried at Baṣra but a few days later it was already impossible to distinguish his grave from that of a negro who had died on the same day, which shows how little interest was taken in tombs at that time. On the news of his death, there were some defections in the army of al-Muhallab.

Bis̲h̲r was a very agreeable young man, a governor who could be approached without difficulty (see the verses of Aymam b. K̲h̲urayn in *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 12), remarkably inclined to be merciful; nevertheless he executed the emissaries of Ibn al-Zubayr who, even after the death of Muṣʿab, continued his intrigues in the city of Baṣra. The only criticisms levelled against his government concerned some innovations in ritual (al-Balād̲h̲urī, v, 170, etc.), and his failure to distribute food among the people, his custom being to reserve this for his guard and the members of his court (al-Balād̲h̲urī, v, 180).

Like many other Umayyads, Bis̲h̲r used to drink wine, get drunk and lead a merry life with his companions (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, v, 254-58 tells us of the trick played by one of his friends to rid him of the somewhat too constraining presence of his uncle, Rawḥ; the latter's removal is nevertheless explained in a different way by Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ed. Brockelmann, 207 f.). He liked to listen to music and to write poetry, and poets enjoyed his sympathy and generosity (see a long panegyric and an elegy in the *Dīwān* of Farazdaḳ, ed. Boucher, Paris 1870, 173-75, 129, transl. 521-25, 361; ed. Hell, Munich 1900, index; poems in his honour in al-Ak̲h̲tal, *Dīwān*, ed. Salḥānī, 38, 58, 68, 120). Other poets too lived in his entourage or addressed verses to him: D̲j̲arīr, Kut̲h̲ayyir ʿAzza, Nuṣayb, Surāka b. Mirdās al-Bāriḳī, al-Aʿs̲h̲ā of the Banū S̲h̲aybān, Ayman b. K̲h̲uraym al-Asadī, al-Mutawakkil al-Layt̲h̲ī, Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, Ibn al-Zabīr, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal, al-ʿUḳays̲h̲ir al-Asadī, al-ʿAd̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, Kaʿb al-As̲h̲ḳarī, al-Rāʿī. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, who supported Muṣʿab, on the other hand, wrote invectives against him.

Bibliography: the longest biographies are those of Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, ed. Goitein, v, 166-180 (see also v, 140, 164); Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, ms. Bodl. Marsh 289, fol. 167v-168r, ms. Paris 6131, fol. 223v-224r; Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *al-Bidāya wa-'l-Nihāya*, Cairo 1351/1932 . , ., ix, 7. Apart from the references quoted in the article, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 24, 115; Ṭabarī, ii, 825 f., 828, 853 f., 855 f., 857, 873; Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 47; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, in section 73; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iv, 270, 280, 283, 295, 297; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 345; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 662, 663, 664, 666 (= Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *S̲h̲arḥ Nahd̲j̲ al-Balāg̲h̲a*, i, 395); Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, v, 208; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, index; Yāḳūt, ii, 647, 738 and index; Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arab. Dichter*, Berlin 1902-3, ii, XXV, no. XVII; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, Paris 1953, 156, 247, 270, 278; V. Rizzitano, *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, governatore umayyade d'Egitto* in *Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di scienze morale, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. III, vol. III, vol. II, fasc. 5-6, 1947, 321-47.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

BIS̲H̲R B. **AL-MUʿTAMIR** (ABŪ SAHL AL-HILĀLĪ), born in Bag̲h̲dād, from where he went to Baṣra where he met Bis̲h̲r b. Saʿīd and Abū ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Zaʿfarānī, both companions of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (founder of the Muʿtazilite school) who initiated him in the principles of the school. Another of his masters was Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād al-Sulamī. After his return to Bag̲h̲dād, Bis̲h̲r was able to win a large number of converts to the *iʿtizāl*. Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, who was hostile to the Muʿtazilite doctrine, threw him into prison. Bis̲h̲r thereupon composed some forty thousand lines of remarkably eloquent verse on "justice" (*al-ʿadl*), "monotheism" (*al-tawḥīd*) and "menace" (*al-waʿīd*), three fundamental principles of the Muʿtazilite school. These verses found their way outside the prison precincts; they were recited at meetings everywhere. Al-Ras̲h̲īd, realising that Bishr's verses had more power over the masses than his teaching before his imprisonment, freed him. Bis̲h̲r dedicated a veritable dithyramb to reason. He was at once a great poet and a great rhetorician. His advice to authors and especially to poets is quoted in a celebrated page of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*al-Bayān*, i, 104): "The poet must feel that secret influence of the heavens and choose elegant and beautiful terms which are simple and clear of expression".

Only a few fragments of his writings on the Muʿtazilite principles have come down to us. He stressed especially the problem of "moral responsibility" and was the first to speak of "engendered acts" (*al-tawallud*) with a view to clarifying the nature of this responsibility and of explaining at the same time the problem of sensation. The "engendered act" (*tawallud*) is an act prompted by a cause which is itself the effect of another cause. Thus, in the act of opening a door with a key, there is first a voluntary act, then the movement of the hand which turns the key, and lastly that of the key which turns the tongue of the lock. This last movement is an engendered act for it does not emanate directly from a voluntary decision. Thus, he says, we are responsible for acts initiated by ourselves either directly or "engendered" by our direct (voluntary) acts in measure as we are aware of all their consequences. Bis̲h̲r also explains sensation as an "engendered act" through the impression which is first made on the senses; the sense then naturally translates this impression into sensation. Reason, he says, once it has reached maturity, can comprehend the great moral problems: distinguish good from evil, even before any revelation. And thus, merit or the lack of it depends upon ourselves alone, for we have freedom of choice and action. And he adds, "there is greater merit in the man who does good by his own means than in him who is helped by divine grace". He remarked also, that voluntary decision need not necessarily be followed by implementation, even in default of impediment. We are responsible in so far as we perceive the moral value of our actions; in the case of ignorance there is no responsibility. Repentance is valueless, he says, unless it goes with a decision not to repeat the forbidden act and not to persist in it.

As to our knowledge of the external world, it may be partial and relative, but this need not cast doubt on the value of reason. He allows that movement lies between the two moments of rest through which the mobile agent passes; and, he says, cause must always precede its effect. He defends the principle of universal determinism; the only exception he allows is that of man's freedom of motion. Finally, he considers the soul as ineluctably united to the body in man.

Disciples of Bishr were the Muʿtazilite masters: Abū Mūsa al-Murdār, T̲h̲umāmā and Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād. He probably died between 210-226 H/825-840.

Bibliography: Al-As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Istambul 1929, 328, 329, 354, 373, 389, 391, 401; al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *al-Farḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 93, 111, 115, 144, 151; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1347/1928, iv, 149; al-Id̲j̲ī: *al-Mawāḳif*, 416; al-Isfaraʾīnī, *al-Tabṣīr*, Cairo 1940, 40, 45; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, Cairo 1926, i, 104; al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1926, *passim* (and the same work translated into French by A. Nader, Beirut 1957); al-

Malaṭī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 30; al-Ḳurṭubī (Abū ʿAmr), *K. Djāmiʿ Bayan al-ʿIlm wa Faḍlihi*, Cairo 1346/1928, 62; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal* (in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm), Cairo 1347/1910, i, 50, 61; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Munya wa 'l-Amal*, Ḥaydarābād 1316/1899): chapters on the Muʿtazila; Aḥmad Amīn: *Ḍuḥa al-Islām*, Cairo 1938, iii; A. Nader, *Le Système Philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956), 38 *et passim*. (ALBERT N. NADER)

BISHR B. **AL-WALĪD** B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad prince, one of the numerous sons of the Caliph al-Walīd and brother of the Caliphs Yazīd III and Ibrāhīm. His learning earned him the title of scholar (*ʿālim*) of the Banū Marwān. He led many military expeditions (certainly in 92/710-11: al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 350, and in 96/714-15 against the Byzantines: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1269 etc.). He was nominated *amīr* of the pilgrimage by his father in 95/714. His name does not appear in the sources until the conspiracy against his cousin al-Walīd II in 126/743-44. Despite the prohibition of his brother al-ʿAbbās, the famous general, he joined the opposition to the Caliph which supported Yazīd b. al-Walīd (the future Yazīd III). He was not, however, the only member of the family to do so, since Yazīd was supported by thirteen brothers.

He was governor of Ḳinnasrīn when Marwān b. Muḥammad, the governor of Armenia and Mesopotamia, took the field against Yazīd's successor Ibrāhīm in 127/744-45. Marwān, having succeeded in winning over the garrison of the town, largely composed of Ḳaysites, persuaded their leader to hand over to him Bishr and his brother Masrūr, and threw them both into prison. The date of Bishr's death is not known, but as Marwān in the course of his march after the battle of ʿAyn al-Djarr took over the caliphate, it is presumed that the two captives never recovered their liberty and died in prison.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 1269[3], [11 f], 1270, 1787, 1876 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, MS. Aya Sofia 3094, f° 146 v°, MS. Gotha 1553, f° 52 v°; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, in *djuzʾ* 73; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *K. Mirʾāt al-zamān*, MS. Paris 6131, f° 44 v°; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 214, 243; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-Tawārīkh*, MS. Paris 1587, f° 35 r°; *Fragmenta historicorum arab.*, ed. De Goeje, 13, 149; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 183 (ed. Cairo 1300 A.H., 123); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 361, ix, 60; Aghānī, vi, 137; F. Gabrieli, *al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, il Califfo e il poeta*, in *RSO*, xv, 1934. (L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

BISHR AL-ḤĀFĪ, full name: ABŪ NAṢR BISHR B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿAṬĀʾ B. HILĀL B. MĀHĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH (originally Baʿbūr) AL-ḤĀFĪ. He was a Ṣūfī, born in Bakird or in Mābarsām, a village near Marw (al-Shāhidjān) in 150/767 (or 152/769), and died in Baghdād (some sources say that he died in Marw, but this seems unlikely) in 226/840 or 227/841-42. Little is known about his early age. He is said to have belonged to some young men's association, or a gang of robbers, whilst still in Marw. He has also been described as a great friend of wine. Another tradition has it that he earned his living by making spindles. We do not know how this fits in, or to which period of his life it belongs. It is a known fact, however, that like his maternal uncle ʿAlī b. Khashram (165/781-258/872) he was a traditionist. With the exception of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (who came from Marw but travelled a great deal), his teachers lived in the Arabic-speaking regions; so Bishr is certain to have continued his *ḥadīth* studies after he left his home, and it may be these very studies that induced him to go away. He had already made a name for himself when he reached Baghdād from ʿAbbādān for the first time, for a Baghdād traditionist was anxious to meet him. Bishr is also said to have studied under Mālik b. Anas (who died in 179/795) and to have gone with him on a pilgrimage to Mecca. For chronological reasons Abū Ḥanīfa cannot possibly have been one of his teachers, as Hudjwīrī and ʿAṭṭār assert.

It is also not clear how and when he became a Ṣūfī. There is no mention anywhere of a novitiate, and two completely different events are mentioned as the reasons for his conversion. According to one version a certain Isḥāḳ al-Maghāzilī (who is, unfortunately, otherwise unknown to us) wrote a letter to him in which he asked him how he meant to earn his living if he lost his sight and his hearing and was no longer able to make spindles. According to the other version he picked up a piece of paper in the street (one report of this even says that he was drunk at the time) with the name of God on it; he perfumed it and kept it reverently, with the result that either Bishr himself, or someone else, had a dream promising the exaltation of Bishr's name. In each case, the result mentioned is Bishr's conversion to a pious way of life. Quite apart from these contradictions, we do not know what form this piety took—*e.g.*, whether it included *ḥadīth*—and we have no proof that these events actually were the beginning of his life as a Ṣūfī. From Bishr's sayings which have survived we merely see that at some point, at the latest in Baghdād, he did turn away from traditionist studies, he buried his *ḥadīth* writings and concentrated on Ṣūfī devotions. Traditionist studies, he says, do not equip one for death, they are merely a means to gain wordly pleasure, and they impair piety. He asked his former colleagues to impose a "poor-rate" on the *ḥadīth*, that is to say, to follow truly 2½% of the pious verses which they had learnt and which they declaimed with such professorial self-complacency. He refrained from teaching *ḥadīth*s for the very reason that he so greatly wished to teach them, and promised to return to them as soon as he had overcome his longing to teach them: "Beware of the *ḥaddathanā*, for in the *ḥaddathanā* there is embedded a particular sweetness". He admitted the science of *ḥadīth* only in so far as it was pursued "for the sake of God", and quoted *ḥadīth*s only in conversation, where this would fit into the general framework of a training for a pious way of life. Still, as we do not know whether his earlier traditionism might not have been practised with this same idea in mind all along, we ought perhaps not to speak of an actual breach with his past.

Bishr's Ṣūfī piety is based upon the acceptance of the laws of Islam and the Sunnī Caliphs, but he is also said to have held the family of the Prophet in loving veneration. He was greatly respected not only by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, but also by Maʾmūn (Muʿtazila, Shīʿa). The statement that he took Faith to mean a positive confession, a belief in its truth and man's acting according to it, as Hudjwīrī puts it, is, when formulated in this way, hardly true, although it is justifiable with regard to his practice. The decisive factor for Bishr was the deed itself. As an absolute minimum in this respect, he demanded that man should at least not sin, and to accomplish this he advised contemplation of God's greatness—before which he himself trembled, despite his own ascetic life, up to the very point of death. Before

the choice between God or the world, he made his choice unreservedly in favour of God, and he despised all forms of worldly ambition and selfishness. He preached poverty, which was to be borne with patience and charity, and it is said of him that when one day he met a man suffering from cold, and could not help him in any other way, he unclothed himself to show his sympathy and to give an example; he died in a borrowed shirt because he had given his own away to a poor man. He spoke against the avaricious, the very sight of whom "hardens the heart"; and he advised a man about to start off on a pilgrimage to Mecca, to give his money instead to an orphan or to a poor man, for the joy caused thereby was worth a hundred times more than a pilgrimage. By saying this he hardly meant that the one pilgrimage to Mecca, which the law prescribes, could be replaced by some social act, as some other Ṣūfīs have taught, but must have referred to some additional pilgrimage. Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān already (who died in 105/724) is said to have refrained from going on a pilgrimage because he chose to stay with a sick friend instead (*Ḥilyat al-Awliyā᾽*, 4, 10; cf. Meier, *Zwei islamische Lehrerzählungen bei Tolstoj?* in *Asiatische Studien*, 1958). And Bis̲h̲r called pilgrimages the holy war of women, but, unlike for instance D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (al-Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān: *Daʿā᾽im al-Islām*, i, 346-47), he put the giving of alms above both pilgrimage and the holy war—because alms could be given in secret, without other people getting to know of it. The very wish to have one's good deeds known by other people is, for Bis̲h̲r, an example of worldly mindedness, and in this he sees an element capable of destroying even the good deeds of man. He condemned the wish to be well thought of by one's fellow men to the extent of advising one against mixing with them at all—even if only to give testimony and lead the prayers. Here his teachings come close to the Malāmatiyya: "Do not give anything merely in order to avoid the censure of others!"; "Hide your good deeds as well as your evil ones". He confesses that he himself still attaches a certain importance to the effect he makes on others, and to his appearance as a pious man, but he wages an unrelenting war against all this "pretentiousness" (*taṣannuʿ*)—in himself as well as in others. He only recognises those who wear patched cloaks (*muraḳ-ḳaʿāt*) as sharers of his views, when one of them has told him of his resolution to live up to this symbol of dedication to God's service by au active furtherance of religion. He himself refrained, on one occasion, from accepting dates in the dark at the back of a shop, in order not to be different in secret from what he was generally considered to be. His abstemiousness (*waraʿ*) went beyond mere abstention from dubious things by putting a limit to the unrestrained enjoyment of what was permitted: "what is permitted", he says, "does not tolerate immoderation (*isrāf*)". Of everything he ate a little less than his conscience would have permitted, thereby creating the 'Tabu-zone' which had already been recommended in the Jewish *Pirḳē Āboth*, and which was also observed by numerous other Islamic ascetics. Destitute, he often lived on bread alone, and sometimes he was starving. Where the question of faith in God's providence (*tawakkul*) arose, he distinguished three types of the poor: (1) those who neither beg nor accept anything, yet receive everything they ask for of God; (2) those who do not beg but accept what they are given; (3) those who hold out for as long as they can, but do then beg (Sulamī: *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47; ʿAṭṭār: *Tad̲h̲kira*, i, 110), describing those who belong to the middle group as people trusting in the providence of God, however, another place (*Tad̲h̲kira*, i, 110, 24-25). In he characterises this confidence as being the resolution not to accept anything from any man; whilst in a third place *tawakkul* appears to be compatible with manual work provided the deed be done under the will of God (*Ḥilya*, 8, 351)—but the explanation of that oracular definition *iḍṭirāb bilā sukūn wa sukūn bilā iḍṭirāb* does not seem to me to be beyond all doubt. Admittedly, Bis̲h̲r is said to have begged only from Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, knowing that this man would rejoice in the loss of any worldly possessions; but some stories suggest that he lived largely on the earnings of his sister Muk̲h̲k̲h̲a, who looked after him and lived by spinning. (Bis̲h̲r had three sisters who are all said to have lived in Bag̲h̲dād). The question of begging links up with the one concerning "giving and taking', which played a great part in Ṣūfism, especially later on (cf. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī*, in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 14, 1948, Introduction 57-61). In spite of taking a great interest in the lot of the poor, Bis̲h̲r did not—unlike Kāzarūnī for example—function as their spokesman and mediator, but rather withdrew into himself. He refrains from admonishing princes, he does not even drink of the water for which a prince has dug the channel. As a consolation when the cost of living is high he advises contemplating death. He knows that there is no way of satisfying mankind, and regards his own time (on a well-known pattern) as particularly far removed from the ideal of contentment: "Even though a cap should fall from heaven on to somebody's head, that man would not want it"; nor, like Muḥāsibī, does he have much to say in his days in favour of the readers of the Ḳur᾽ān: "Rather a noble robber than a base-minded reader of the Ḳur᾽ān". He finds true piety restricted to the very few: "In these days, there are more dead within than without the walls". A Ṣūfī is one who stands before his God with a pure (*ṣāfī*) heart, and perfect is only he whom even his enemies no longer fear; but in Bis̲h̲r's own days not even friends, he says, could trust each other. The opposition which a pious man has to overcome lies in his inclinations (*s̲h̲ahawāt*): only those who have erected an iron wall against these inclinations, says Bis̲h̲r, can feel the sweetness of the service of God. He advises silence to those who derive pleasure from speaking, speech to those who enjoy being silent. He declines teaching *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, because he does not wish to give in to a desire to do so; he eats no aubergines in order to fight his craving for them, and no fruit in order not to satisfy the fruit's own longing. He does not, however, advocate the repression of sexual desire, and does not even object to a harem of 4 women—though he himself remained unmarried.

In spite of the fact that Bis̲h̲r puts the deed before knowledge, he is considered both knowledgeable and intelligent. This does not refer to his theological knowledge, but also to his ability to experience and expound religious feelings and to his pious way of life: "A wise man is not one who merely knows good and evil, but he who both does the former and refrains from doing the latter"; "First to know, then to act, then really to know". Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is said to have claimed for himself greater theological knowledge, but to have referred to Bis̲h̲r for knowledge concerning the reality of things, the higher facts (*ḥaḳā᾽iḳ*). Without question, though only a few dicta and some verses in the style of the *zuhdiyyāt*

have survived, Bis̲h̲r played his part through his word in expanding the teaching of the mystical shaping of man in Islam. Some sayings of his, however, belong to an earlier tradition which he simply passes on—one of his frequently quoted Ṣūfī teachers is Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ. The men who learnt from him are recognisable from the *isnāds* of his dicta.

With regard to the origin of Bis̲h̲r's cognomen "the barefooted" (*ḥāfī*), Ibn K̲h̲allikān tells the following story: Bis̲h̲r once asked a cobbler for a new strap for one of his sandals, but the cobbler called this a nuisance, whereupon Bis̲h̲r threw down both his sandals and henceforth walked barefoot. Much speaks in favour of this report, even if the explanation is not clear in every detail. Did Bis̲h̲r fly into a rage at the cobbler's answer, and then, being a pious man, did he draw the consequences? Or did he, blaming only himself, soberly come to the decision never to inconvenience a cobbler again? Later referring to Sura LXXI, 19 "And God made the earth your carpet", he said that one did not step onto a king's carpet wearing shoes. As a further reminder he also says that at the "time when the pact was made" they too were barefoot. This probably refers to the pact of obedience which human beings are said to have made with God before their appearance on God's earth (Sura VII, 172: *a-lastu bi-rabbikum*). Such justifications belong to the symbolic associations which Ṣūfīs later attached to the various parts and colours of their clothes (cf. Meier, *Ein Knigge für Sufi's*, in *RSO* 32, 1957, 485-524). The statement made by Hud̲j̲wīrī and repeated by ʿAṭṭār that Bis̲h̲r went barefoot because he was so deeply moved in contemplation of God, is hard to understand—and, together with the explanations given by Hud̲j̲wīrī and ʿAṭṭār, mere theory. Bis̲h̲r is said to have called himself "the barefooted" and to have been called to account for this by a girl who said "All you have to do is to buy a pair of sandals for two *dāniḳ*, but then you would no longer have your beautiful name". Al-Hafi is also the name of the dervish in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. Although Reiske's *Abilfedae Annales Moslemici*, i, Leipzig 1754, where our Ṣūfī appears on page 193, *vulgo Beschr ol Hafi* [*seu nudipes*] *dictus*, had already appeared by the time Lessing's play was written, it can hardly be regarded as its source. Lessing is more likely to have sought Reiske's advice personally, or to have derived the name from d'Herbelot (cf. *Baschar al-Hafi* and *Hafi*).

Bibliography: *The Kitâb al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-Taṣawwuf, by Abú Naṣr ʿAbdallâh . . . al-Sarrâj* . . ., ed. R. A. Nicholson, *Gibb Mem. Ser*. 22, 1914; Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalābād̲h̲ī, *Al-Taʿarruf*, ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933; Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. S̲h̲arība, Cairo 1953 (with further bibliography); Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1938, vol. 8, 336-360; *Risālat al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī*. *The Kas̲h̲f al-Maḥjúb . . . by ʿAlí . . . al-Hujwírí*, translated by R. A. Nicholson, in *Gibb Mem. Ser.* 17, New Edition 1936; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, MS. Yusuf Kethuda 5886, Konya, 18a; al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, Cairo 1931, vol. 7, 67-80; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 2, 183-90; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-Awliyāʾ*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1905, i, 106-114; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 112-113; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-D̲j̲inān*, Ḥaydarābād 1137, ii, 92-94; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān D̲j̲āmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, Calcutta 1858, 53-54; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1355, i, 62-63; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt al-D̲h̲ahab*, Cairo 1350, ii, 60-62. Also other collections of biographies and Ṣūfī texts.

(F. Meier)

BISKRA, town and oasis of the Zībān in the south-east of Algeria and on the northern fringe of the Sahara. It is situated at an altitude of between 100-120 metres, on the alluvial cone and the west bank of the Oued Biskra, at the mouth of a wide depression which extends from the Awrās massif to the western Saharan peaks of the Atlas Mountains. This has always been a route much used by nomads and conquering shepherds. Its blue sky, seldom streaked with clouds, its mild winter climate (mean temperature for January 11.2° = 52° F.) make of it a winter resort (it has numerous hotels); but its summer climate is torrid (33.3° = 92° F. in July) and favourable to the ripening of dates. Rains are fairly rare (156 mm. = 6.14 ins. per year) and, above all, irregular. The palm grove which covers an area of 1300 hectares, numbers more than 150,000 palm trees and thousands of fruit trees; it is irrigated by the waters of canalised springs. In the cold season, the surplus water makes it possible to irrigate vast fields of wheat and barley at the southern end of the oasis, where the harvest begins in April. The European town, which has grown into the administrative, commercial and tourist centre, is laid out on a grid plan; it was built upstream from the palm-grove, near a fort. The Muslim cultivators are dispersed in villages, in houses of crude brick. These are mainly to the south, surrounding the ruins of an ancient Turkish fortress. These villages are: Msid, Bab al-Dorb, Ras al-Guerria, Sidi Barkat, Medjeniche, and Gueddacha; on the perimeter, a little apart, are Beni Mora, al Kora, Filiach and Aliya. Biskra, which is the chief centre of the Ziban group of oases, is a township of 52,500 inhabitants in all, among which are a few hundred Europeans. It is served by the railway which runs between Touggourt and Constantine, and by the pipeline, which, since 1958, has carried the petrol of Hassi-Messoud to the port of Philippeville, and will soon extend to Bougie.

Biskra is built on the site of the old city of Vescera, one of the Roman *limes* posts which doubtless was not occupied by the Byzantines. Its name dates back to the 3rd/11th century when it was conquered by the Ag̲h̲labids of al-Ḳayrawān with the whole of the province of Zāb (pl. Zībān) whose capital at that time was Ṭubna, in eastern Hodna. Under the Ḥammādids, Biskra was autonomous, with a council of s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s on which two families fought for pre-eminence: the Banū Rumman and the Banū Sindī. Al-Bakrī (Slane's translation 2nd ed., 111-12) speaks of its beauty and prosperity at that time and also describes its ramparts, the richness of its oasis and the Berber shepherds, Mag̲h̲rāwa and Sadrāta, who led a nomadic existence round about. In the 6th/12th century Biskra succeeded Ṭubna, in the Almohad era, and finally supplanted Tahūda, known in antiquity as Tabudeos; according to al-Idrīsī, it was always well fortified. The Zāb had just been occupied by the Atbed̲j̲ (Hilalian) Arabs coming from the east. A settled family of the Latīf tribe (from the Atbed̲j̲ confederation), the Banū Muznī, sought to take over authority from the Banū Rummān who had old ties with the country. They succeeded in the 7th/13th century with the support of the Ḥafṣids of Tunis. Biskra became the principal town of the whole south-western region of the Ḥafṣid states but was, in effect, the capital of a prosperous and virtually independent principality, to which caravans came to barter the products of the Sahara for those of the Tell.

In the 8th/14th century, the Banū Muznī committed more than one act of disloyalty to the Ḥafṣids for the benefit of the rulers of Bougie, Tlemcen or Fez. Then, in 804/1402, the king Abū Fāris re-established the authority of Tunis over Biskra; he led away the last of the Banū Muznī as his captive and replaced him, as elsewhere, by a *Ḳāʾid* of his own entourage.

With the decline of the Ḥafṣids at the end of the 9th/15th century, Biskra and the Zāb became the fief of the nomad Arabs, the Dawāwida. The town was still "decently populated" but the people were poor, wrote Leo Africanus in the middle of the 10th/16th century (trans. Épaulard, 440). This was the point at which the Turks, following the two expeditions of Ḥasan Aghā in 949/1542 and Salāḥ Raʾīs in 959/1552 took over to establish a garrison and construct a fort. In practice, power was in the hands of the chiefs of the Bu ʿUkkāz family, who were given the title of *Shaykh al-ʿArab*. In the eighteenth century, the Bey Salāḥ of Constantine, finding them too powerful, set up a rival family, that of Ben Ganah. Biskra suffered from this rivalry and from the abuses of the Turks: its inhabitants gradually abandoned the town to put a greater distance between themselves and the *ḳaṣba* and dispersed to small villages spanning the oasis.

After the French landing at Algiers (1830), the rivalry continued. Farḥat b. Saʿīd, representative of the Bū ʿUkkāz family, finally appealed to ʿAbd al Ḳādir, but the Ben Ganah family joined up with France in 1838, following the capture of Constantine. Biskra was occupied by the Duke of Aumale in 1844, in the following year a permanent garrison was established and a fort built on the site of the old *ḳaṣba*. The Ben Ganah retained their position as the most influential family and held most of the key appointments in the region. They have recently become reconciled with the Bū ʿUkkāz family (1938) whose allies they now are. Biskra has become a prosperous centre, chief town of a district, then of an annexe of the military territory of Touggart, centre of a mixed commune and of a commune with full powers. It has just become the chief town of the *sous-prefecture* in the new Department of Batna (1956). It is the economic capital of the Zībān.

(J. Despois)

BISMILLĀH [see BASMALA].

BISṬĀM (also Basṭām, rarer Bosṭām). A town of ca. 4,000 inhabitants (1950) in Khurāsān, in the district (*shahristān*) of Shāhrūd, and county (*bakhsh*) of Ḳalʿa-i naw. It is located 6 km. N. of Shāhrud at 55 E. Long. (Greenw.) and 36° 30′ N. Lat, on a spur of the Elburz mountains.

The pre-Islamic history of the town is unknown. According to one tradition the town was founded by Bisṭām, governor of Khurāsān during the rule of his nephew Khusraw II Parwīz, ca. 590 A.D. Yāḳūt attributes the town to Shāpūr II (cf. Schwarz, 821). During the Arab conquest Suwayd b. Muḳarrin occupied the town before his invasion of Djurdjān, but the date is uncertain (Ṭabarī, refs. in Schwarz).

During the ʿAbbāsid caliphate Bisṭām was the second town of Ḳūmis province after the capital Dāmghān. Little is known of the town except as the burial place of the Ṣūfī Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*]. After the Mongol invasion the town declined and later it was replaced by Shāhrūd in importance. On the sanctuary of Bāyazīd see Houtum-Schindler in *JRAS*, 1909, 161.

At present in addition to the tomb and sanctuary of Bāyazīd, there are remains of a citadel from the 6/12th century, and of an Imāmzāda Muḥammad. The mosque probably dates from the 18th century but a minaret and adjacent tomb are much older. On these monuments see E. Herzfeld in *Der Islam* 11 (1921), 168-9.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 365; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, vi, Leipzig 1926, 820-2; *Farhang Djughrāfiyā-yi Irān*, ed. Razmārā, iii, Tehran 1951, 47. (R. N. Frye)

BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS b. Masʿūd b. Ḳays, Abu ʾl-Ṣahbāʾ or Abū Zīḳ (according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara* 203, nicknamed "al-Mutaḳammir")—pre-Islamic hero, poet and *sayyid* of the Banu Shaybān. His family was considered one of the three most noble and aristocratic Bedouin families (*al-Aghānī*, xvii, 105). His father is known (*al-Muḥabbar*, 253) as one of the "dhawū ʾl-Ākāl" (enjoying grants of the foreign rulers) and was granted by the Sāsānid kings as a fee Ubulla and the adjacent border territories (Ṭaff Safawān) against the obligation to prevent marauding raids of his tribesmen. Failing to fulfil his obligation in face of the opposition in his own tribe, and being suspected of plotting with Arab chiefs against Persian rule, he was imprisoned and died in a Persian gaol (*al-Aghānī*, xx, 140).

It is a significant fact, that Bisṭām did not avenge the death of his father. On the contrary, Persian diplomacy succeeded, despite the Arab victory at Dhū Ḳār, in assuring the collaboration of Bisṭām, and a fairly trustworthy tradition (*al-Naḳāʾid*, 580) shows that the Shaybānī troops were equipped by the Persian *ʿāmil* at ʿAyn Tamr. Born in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. (T. Nöldeke, in *Der Islam*, xiv, 125) Bisṭām became a leader of his tribe at the age of twenty (Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*) and succeeded in uniting his tribe: he is known as one of the "djarrārūn" (*al-Muḥabbar*, 250). Abandoning the idea of fighting the Persians he directed all his activities against his neighbours of the Banū Tamīm.

His first raid against the Banū Yarbūʿ, a branch of the Banū Tamīm, was—according to al-Balādhurī—at al-Aʿshāsh (*Ansāb*, x, 998 b). The Shaybānī troops were defeated, Bisṭām himself captured and released without ransom. His second raid was probably at Ḳushāwa (*Ansāb*, x, 1003b). Here it is clearly mentioned that Bisṭām commanded the attacking troops, but the raid itself was insignificant and ended with seizing of camels of a clan of the Banū Salīṭ. To the same early period belongs apparently the encounter with al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis at Salmān, in which al-Aḳraʿ [*q.v.*] was captured. A more serious enterprise was the raid of Ghabīṭ al-Madara (known as the Yawm Baṭn Faldj). A tribal federation of the Thaʿalib was attacked and overcome by the troops of Bisṭām, but when the attackers proceeded against the Banū Mālik b. Hanẓala they met resistance and were put to flight with the aid of warriors of Banū Yarbūʿ. Bisṭām, captured by ʿUtayba b. al-Ḥārith, had to pay a very high ransom and was compelled to promise not to attack the clan of ʿUtayba any more (*Ansāb*, 998a, 988a, 995b, 996a). Breaking his promise he attacked after a short time a the camp of ʿUtayba's son at Dhū Ḳār (Ansāb 995b, 998a) and succeeded in seizing the camels (the raid is also known as Yawm Fayḥān). Not content with this victory, he prepared an attack on the Banū Tamīm in order to capture ʿUtayba; but he was defeated in this battle at al-Ṣamd (or Dhū Ṭulūḥ) and barely escaped with his life (*Ansāb*, 998a). A further battle at al-Ufāḳa (known as the battle of al-Ghabīṭayn or al-ʿUẓāla), prepared and aided

by the Persian *ʿāmil* at ʿAyn Tamr, ended with the defeat of the attackers and with the escape of Bisṭām (*Ansāb*, 1004 b). Bisṭām fought his last battle at Naḳā al-Ḥasan. He was killed by a half-witted Ḍabbī, ʿĀṣim b. Khalīfa, who is said to have boasted of his deed at the court of ʿUthmān. The date of his death may be fixed at *circa* 615 A.D.

Very little is known about the posterity of Bisṭām. His grand-daughter Ḥadrāʾ, the daughter of his son Zīḳ was about to marry al-Farazdaḳ, but died before the appointed date.

Bisṭām is said to have been a Christian. He was the *sayyid* of his tribe; when the news of his death reached his tribe they pulled down their tents as an expression of their sorrow. Many elegies were composed on his death, and his person was glorified as the ideal of Bedouin courage and bravery. But in the times of al-Djāḥiẓ, in the urban mixed society of the towns of ʿIrāḳ, his glory faded away, and the common people preferred to listen to the story of ʿAntara (*al-Bayān*, i, 34) which came closer to their social equalitarian tendencies (cf. *EI*, s.v. *ʿAntara*, R. Blachère).

Bibliography: Sources quoted in E. Bräunlich, *Bisṭām b. Ḳays*, Leipzig 1923 and by Th. Nöldeke, in his review of Bräunlich's book in *Isl.* xiv, 123; Ibn al-Kalbī: *Djamharat al-Nasab*, MS Brit. Mus. No. Add. 23297 (reported by M. b. Ḥabīb), 203; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS., x, 988a, 995b, 998a, 1003b, 1004b; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān* (ed. Sandūbī) index; M. b. Rabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* (ed. Lichtenstadter) index; al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾiḳ*, Baghdād 1280, 103, 112, 113; al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, 64, 141; al-Marzubānī; *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarāʾ* (ed. Krenkow) 300, 324, 405; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara* (ed. Lévi-Provençal), 306; Djawād ʿAlī *Taʾrīkh*, Baghdād 1955, 362-3, 370; R. Blachère, *A propos de trois poètes arabes d'époque archaïque* in *Arabica*, iv, 231-249; W. Caskel, *Aijām al-ʿArab*, in *Islamica*, iii, 1-000; Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Aʿrabī, *Asmāʾ al-Khayl* (ed. Levi della Vida), 60, 89; Abu'l-Baḳāʾ Hībat Allāh, *al-Manāḳib* (B.M. MS. 23296), 36a, 38b, 42a, 44a, 111b; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Hayawān* (ed. ʿA. S. Hārūn), i, 330, ii, 104. (M. J. KISTER)

AL-**BISṬĀMĪ, ʿABD** AL-**RAḤMĀN** B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-ḤURŪFĪ was born in Antioch and appears to have witnessed the sack of Aleppo, by Tīmūr, in 803/1400. He studied in Cairo and went to Bursa, then the Ottoman capital and imperial residence. There he gained the favour of Sulṭān Murād II, a patron of learning, to whom several of his works are dedicated; there he died in 858/1454.

He was a mystic, belonging, as his name indicates, to the Ḥurūfī [*q.v.*] order of dervishes, who attributed a mystical signifcance to the letters of the alphabet and to combinations of these (cf. his *Kashf Asrār al-Ḥurūf* and his *Shams al-Āfāḳ fī ʿilm al-Ḥurūf*, written in 826/1423). Among works of this type is also his *Miftāḥ al-Djafr al-Djāmiʿ*. He wrote a number of Ṣūfī works, perhaps the best-known being *Manāhidj al-Tawassul fī Mabāhidj al-Tarassul*, and also wrote on history and geography, the most important work being the encyclopaedia entitled *al-Fawāʾiḥ al-Miskiyya fi 'l-Fawātiḥ al-Makkiyya*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 300; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel), iv, 468; *JRAS* 1899, 907. (M. SMITH)

AL-**BISṬĀMĪ, ABŪ YAZĪD** [see ABŪ YAZĪD].

AL-**BISṬĀMĪ, ʿALĀ** AL-**DĪN** [see MUṢANNIFAK].

BĪSTĪ [see SIKKA].

BĪSUTŪN, (BIHISTŪN of the Arabic geographers, Bīstūn in present local parlance), a mountain ca. 30 km. E. of Kirmānshāh on the main road from Baghdād to Hamadān.

The name is found in Greek sources (Diodorus 2.13 and Isidore of Charax) τὸ βαγίστανον ὄρος, and in early Islamic authors (as al-Khwārizmī and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī) where we find the archaic form Baghistān, Old Persian* *bāgastāna* "place of the gods", (or one divinity in particular). Later Islamic authors have the form Bihistūn (Bahistūn) which in modern times became Bīsutūn (Bīstūn). The site is mentioned many times in Arabic literature since it lay on the main road from ʿIrāḳ to Khurāsān.

High above the road is the famous bas-relief of Darius the Great with cuneiform inscriptions in three languages, Old Persian, Accadian, and Elamite. Beside the road below was the relief of the Parthian king Gotarzes, unfortunately now almost obliterated by a modern New Persian inscription.

Bīsutūn was regarded as a world wonder by the Muslims. In the books of those authors who follow Abū Zayd al-Balkhī appears a short description of the sculptures which is fanciful since the Bīsutūn sculptures are confused with those of nearby Ṭāḳ-i Bustān (considered Khusraw II Parwīz with his horse, a work of Ḳaṭṭūs b. Sinimmar). Ibn Ḥawḳal gives the curious explanation of the Darius relief with his captives as a teacher and pupils. Most Islamic authors thought the sculptures depicted Shirīn and Khusraw II.

The trilingual inscription of Darius provided the key to the decipherment of all cuneiform inscriptions.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 187; al-Khwārizmī (ed. Vloten), 111; the Arab geographers are summarised in Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, Leipzig 1921, 487 f. For the O.P. inscriptions, cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven, Conn. 1953, 108. For photographs see F. Sarre & E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 189-198, plates 33-5. (E. HERZFELD-[R. N. FRYE])

BITIK, BITIKČI, Turkish words derived from the verb *biti-* "to write". A deverbal-noun *bitig* "written document book" is found in the Orkhon inscriptions and in the Turkish texts of Turfan. *Bitikči*, is a *nomen agentis* in *-či* signifying "scribe, secretary". It is first found in *Qutadyu bilig* under the form *bitigči*. The forms with a final surd (*bitik*, *bitikči*) are well attested in middle Turkish notably in Čagatay and Coman. The verb *biti-* and its derivatives have almost disappeared from modern dialects. Khakas has preserved *pičik*, book, writing, document" as well as *pičikči* "cultured, literate" and in Tuvin we have for example *bižik* "official document".

The etymology of *biti* is unknown. The much quoted derivation from the Chinese 筆 *pi* (> **pįĕt*) «writing brush» must be treated with caution. Comparison with Indo-European forms, such as Khotanese *piḍaka* "written, document", Sanskrit *piṭaka* "collection of canonical books", or Greek πιττάκιον "letter", is tempting but unsubstantiated by the phonetic history of these words.

In written Mongol the verb "to write" is *biči-*, a form which corresponds with the Turkish *biti-*. The deverbal noun *bičig* "written document, writing, letter, missive" occurs from the time of the Secret History of the Mongols and a *nomen agentis bičigeci* "scribe, secretary, copyist" is found in the Mongol administrative documents of the Īl-khāns. Mean-

while in Mongol-administered Persia the Turkish form *bitikči* seems to have been preferred to the Mongol form. One may see in this an indication of Uighur preponderance in the administration of the Mongol Empire. The two words of literary Mongol are clearly observable in modern dialects. For example: modern Khalkha *bičig* and *bičēči*, Buryat *bəsəg* and *bəšəše*, Kalmuk, *bičig* and *bičēči*, Ordos *bičik* and *bičēči*.

The most ancient Tunguz form is Ju-chen **bitge(i)* "book". Mandju *bithe* "written document, as the book, document, letter" must be a loan-word as the derivation cannot be explained by the facts of Mandju. On the other hand *bithesi* "scribe, secretary" is a regular Mandju *nomen agentis*. In Evenki *biči* "to write" and *bičiga* "written document" are borrowed from the Mongol, while the Oroch *bitihö*, Oltcha *bithö* "written document, letter", is directly connected with Mandju forms.

It is reasonable to conclude that the Turkish words implanted in Mongol by Uighur scribes, followed the Mongol conquests, which enabled them to become technical administrative terms. — These found ready use in the highly developed states of the Ju-chen and the Mandjus. See further BERAT.

(D. SINOR)

BITLĪS [see BIDLĪS].

BITOLJA [see MANASTIR].

BIṬRAWSH, in Spanish Pedroche, a little place in the administrative district of Pozoblanco, 60 kms. north of Cordoba, on the Cordoba-Toledo road, and the same distance from Dār al-Baḳar now El Vacar). According to Idrīsī, it was a heavily populated fortified town with high walls; situated in the region of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ of which Ghāfiḳ (now Belalcázar) was the capital, it was the seat of a provincial judge. Its inhabitants like those of Ghāfiḳ had won renown for their bravery in repulsing the attacks of the Christians. Its mountains and plains were, and to a great extent still are, covered with a variety of oak trees distinguished by the quality of their acorns, which the inhabitants cultivated with great care, and which in years of famine served them as food, for as al-Rāzī affirms, they were the best in all Spain. Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī, who came originally from Pedroches, occupied Crete with the survivors of the ʿBattle of the Suburb' (*al-rabaḍ*) and there founded a dynasty which lasted until 350/961. The Berbers settled in the district of Los Pedroches took part, under an Andalusian mystic called Abū ʿAlī al-Sarrādj, in a rising against the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh which ended in the rout and death of their chief in front of the walls of Zamora (288/901). Of its history during the Almoravid and Almohad periods, we only know that at the beginning of the year 550/1155, the governor of Cordova, Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Igit, made a sortie with Almohad troops against the forth of Pedroche and those of the Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ region of which Alfonso VII had just taken possession in the course of a rapid invasion which had also anabled him to take Andujar. Ibn Igit routed the Count, the lord of Pedroche, whom Alfonso VII had left there as governor, and, in the course of his assault on the fort, took him prisonner and sent him to Marrakūsh.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, 175, 213 (text), 211, 263 (transl.); Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 45 (text), 57 (transl.); Rāzī, 51; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 211; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, i, 385; *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3rd. part, MS. Tamgrut; *Anales toledanos primeros*, A. Huici, 348.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

BIṬRĪḲ, Arabicised form of Latin *Patricius*. The *patriciatus dignitas* was instituted by the Emperor Constantine (A.D. 306-337), an honorary dignity, not connected with any office, and conferred for exceptional services to the State.

I.—It is certain that no Arabs in the service of Rome were endowed with the patriciate before the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] and no Ghassānid before al-Ḥārith b. Djabala, who was honoured with the dignity *ca.* 540 A.D., as was also his son and successor al-Mundhir *ca.* 570 A.D. The assumption of this high Roman honour by the two Ghassānid dynasts is the most telling indication of their place and importance in the Roman hierarchy. Al-Ḥārith and al-Mundhir are the only figures in the history of the Arabs before Islam whose patriciate can be established with certainty; there is no positive evidence in the sources that the Romans conferred it again on a Ghassānid after al-Mundhir.

II.—As the Muslim conquests in the seventh century changed the status and rôle of the Arabs in their relation to the Romans from subjects and "allies" to conquerors, the patriciate, which in the pre-Islamic period had been greatly coveted by Arab princes as a symbol of their Roman connexions, naturally ceased to be assumed by them. Instead, it survived as a term in their literature. Almost a *hapax legomenon* in pre-Islamic poetry, *biṭrīḳ* acquired three broken plurals and found its way into the literature of the Muslim period. It was woven into the texture of Arabic poetry by al-Mutanabbī and Abū Firās and was frequently mentioned by the historians and the geographers. Indeed, in the military annals of Arab-Byzantine relations it became the regular term for a Byzantine commander. Although other terms occur, like سرطغوس στρατηγός, دمستق *domesticus*, and دوقس *dux*, paradoxically enough it was *biṭrīḳ*, a non-military term, which received the widest vogue.

III.—The frequent occurence of *biṭrīḳ* in Arabic authors was, however, attended by confusions and inaccuracies. The patriciate was conceived as though it were (a) an office (b) hereditary (c) applicable to the Persians, and (d) interchangeable with *baṭrak* (patriarch). The truth, of course, is that the patriciate was a dignity, non-hereditary, peculiarly Byzantine, and non-ecclesiastical. But it is important to draw a distinction between the reckless use of the term in literary works of the type of al-Tanūkhī's *Faradj* and the careful use of it in the serious works of the historians and the geographers. These have preserved information of some interest and relevance to the Byzantinist for the history of this dignity with particular reference to the term πρωτοπατρίκιος.

IV.—*Biṭrīḳ* was recognised by the Arabic lexicographers as a foreign term and was considered by some as a homophone and homograph of a supposedly indigenous Arabic word, which, *inter alia*, means "a proud and self-conceited man".

Bibliography: B. Kübler, *Patres, patricii*, in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 18, pt. 4, cols. 2231-32; Th. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassanischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, Berlin 1887, 13-14; note 3 on 13 is inaccurate. For the occurrence of *biṭrīḳ* in Arab authors, see A. A. Vasiliev,

Byzance et les Arabes, Brussels 1935, 1950), vols. i, ii, *passim*, and M. Canard, *Les aventures d'un prisonnier arabe et d'un patrice byzantin à l'époque des guerres bulgaro-byzantines, Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, (Harvard University Press, 1956) vols. ix-x, particularly, 62, n. 13; 66; 68, n. 28. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, New York 1955, I, i, 217-8. (IRFAN KAWAR)

AL-BIṬRŪDJĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN ABŪ ISḤĀḲ, called Alpetragius by mediaeval European authors, a Spanish-Arab astronomer, the disciple and friend of Ibn Ṭufayl (about 600/1200). His astronomical theory, the origins of which must be sought in the return to Aristotelianism initiated by Ibn Bādjdja and other Arab philosophers of Spain like Ibn Ṭufayl and the astronomer Djābir b. Aflaḥ, involved the reintroduction of the idea of impetus roughly formulated by Simplicius (6th century A.D.), the abandonment of epicycles and excentrics, and the view that the celestial spheres revolve around different axes, thus producing a spiral movement (*ḥaraka lawlabiyya*). The work in which he sets forth his principles, entitled *Kitāb fi 'l-Hayʾa*, was translated by Michael Scot; Carmody published in 1952, at Berkeley, a critical edition of this translation compared with the Arabic text. In 657/1259, Moshe ibn Tibbon translated the work from Arabic into Hebrew, and in 934/1528, Ḳalonimos ben David made a Latin translation, based on the Hebrew version, which was printed at Venice in 1531, at the same time as the *Treatise on the sphere* of Sacrobosco.

Bibliography: see the works quoted by F. J. Carmody, *al-Bitruji, De Motibus Coelorum*, Berkeley 1952; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, ii, 399 and index. (J. VERNET)

BIYĀBĀNAK, an area in the central desert of Iran (Dasht-i Kawīr), with some twelve oases. The area is included within E. Long. (Greenw.) 54° 15′ and 55° 15′ and N. Lat. 33° 5′ and 34° 10′, roughly 70 miles by 90 miles. The date palm and underground springs of water, some hot but all salty, have enabled the oases to flourish isolated from the rest of Iran. The word is probably a diminutive meaning "little desert", but the name does not appear before the 16th century (Tavernier).

We find no references to the area in pre-Islamic times, though local tradition claims that it was a place of banishment under the Sāsānids, and the existence of site names such as Atashkada (6 km. south of the oasis of Mihrdjān), attest pre-Islamic occupation.

A history of Yazd (see below) claims that the Arabs in pursuit of Yazdadjird passed through the central desert area and obtained the submission of the local inhabitants. This, however, may apply only to Ṭabbas since local tradition (oasis of Farrūkhī) claims that the Biyābānak was only converted to Islam in the 3/9th century in the time of the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā, and conversion was accomplished only by warfare. Ibn Ḥawḳal says there are three villages at five stages from Nāʾīn on the desert road to Khurāsān, Biyādaḳ, Djarmaḳ, and Arābah, each within eyesight of the other. The palm trees are especially noteworthy here. Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions the village of Karmah, 43 farsakhs from Nāʾīn, and says that the area was infested formerly with Kūfidjān (Ḳufṣ), but in his time (5th/11th century). Amīr Gīlakī of Ṭabbas had rid the region of them. Later the area suffered from Balūčī raids until the 1920s. Apparently Arab tribesmen from Khūzistān raided this area as well, for European travellers in the last century report Arabs living here and local tradition tells of a tribe called the Īl-i Basīrī which terrorised the area under the Ḳādjārs.

At present there are perhaps 10,000 people living in the oases, the nine principal oases being Djandaḳ, Farrūkhī, Djarmaḳ, Urdīb, Īrādj, Mihrdjān, Bayāzah, Čūpānān, and the administrative centre Khūr. Dialects are spoken in all of the oases save Djandaḳ where Persian is spoken. The date palm provides the principal livelihood for the people of the oases.

Bibliography: J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages*, Paris 1724, ii, 449; C. M. MacGregor, *Narrative of a Journey through Khorassan*, London 1879, i, 91; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien II, SBAk. Wien*, 108 (1885), 616-622; ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Āyatī, *Atashkada-i Yazd*, Yazd 1939, 67; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, s.v. *Bijabanak*; Ibn Ḥawḳal ii, 405; Frye, *Biyabanak, the Oases of Central Iran*, in *Central Asian Journal*, iv (1960); Ḥabīb Yaghmāʾī, *Sharḥ Ḥāl-i Yaghmā*, Tehran 1925, 8-12; Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1954, x, under the various oases. (R. N. FRYE)

BĪZABĀN [see DILSIZ].

BIZERTA [see BANZART].

BLIDA [see BULAYDA].

BOABDIL [see NAṢRIDS].

BOBASTRO [see BARBASHTURU].

BODRUM, a small town situated on the west coast of Asia Minor, opposite the island of Istanköy (Kos). It stands near the site of the ancient Halicarnassus in Caria. When the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, this region came under the rule of the Begs of Menteshe [*q.v.*]. The Ottomans seized the emirate of Menteshe in 792/1390, lost it after their defeat in battle against Tīmūr Lang at Ankara in 804/1402 and did not recover full and direct possession of Menteshe until 829/1425-1426. This second and definitive annexation of the emirate was not, however, destined to include the old Halicarnassus, for the Knights of St John at Rhodes, under their Grand Master Philibert de Naillac (1396-1421), had meanwhile occupied the site of the ancient town, and had built close at hand a fortress which received the name of "Castellum Sancti Petri" (Gr. Πετρόνιον). It has been suggested that the name Bodrum derives either from the vault-like arcades amongst the ruins of Halicarnassus (cf. the Turkish *bodrum*: a subterranean vault, a cellar) or from the Latin name for the new fortress ("Sanctum Petrum").

The Venetian admiral Pietro Mocenigo, during the course of his sea campaigns in the eastern Mediterranean (1471-1474), ravaged the Ottoman-held hinterland of Bodrum. In 885/1480, the Ottomans, returning to Istanbul from their unsuccessful siege of Rhodes in that year, attempted, but without avail, to take the Castle of St Peter. Bodrum came under Ottoman rule only in 929/1522, when the Knights of St John, after a long and desperate resistance, surrendered Rhodes, together with its dependent possessions, to Sulṭān Sulaymān Ḳānūnī. Ewliyā Čelebī mentions that a naval engagement occurred in the harbour of Bodrum during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1055-1080/1645-1669. Bodrum suffered bombardment from the Russian squadron operating in the eastern Mediterranean in the course of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1182-1188/1768-1774. It was again bombarded during the

Great War of 1914-1918, the fortress on this latter occasion receiving considerable damage, which was, however, repaired when Italian forces occupied the town in 1919-1920. Bodrum, under Ottoman rule, belonged to the *sandjak* of Menteshe in the *eyālet* of Anadolu. It had later the status of a *kaḍā'*, when this *sandjak* was subordinated, in 1864, to the newly formed *wilāyet* of Aydin (Smyrna). The town is now included in the present Turkish province of Muğla and had in 1950 a population of about 4,800 inhabitants.

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(V. J. PARRY)

BOGHĀ AL-KABĪR [see BUGHĀ AL-KABĪR].

BOGHĀ AL-SHARĀBĪ [see BUGHĀ AL-SHARĀBĪ].

BOGHAZ [see BOGHAZ-IČI].

BOGHAZ-IČI (BOĞAZIÇI) ("interior of the strait") is the expression used in Turkish to denote the Bosphorus, and especially the shores, waters, bays and promontories which constitute its middle section. The name Bosphorus (Gr. Βόσπορος, Lat. Bosporus, Bosphorus) derives from a word of Thracian origin (cf. Pauly-Wissowa). This narrow channel, the Thracian Bosphorus (so-called in order to distinguish it from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, *i.e.*, the strait of Kertch between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea) unites the Sea of Marmara (the ancient Propontis, Marmara Denizi in Turkish) and the Black Sea (the Pontus Euxinus of classical times, the Kara Deniz of the Turks). The Byzantines often referred to it simply as τὸ Στενὸν, "the strait", while, to the Latins at the time of the Crusades, it was known as the "brachium S. Georgii" (cf. Tomaschek). It is mentioned under a number of different names in the Turkish sources, *e.g.*, Khalīdj-i baḥr-i siyāh, Khalīdj-i Ḳusṭanṭīniyye, Ḳusṭanṭīniyye boghazī, Istanbul boghazī, etc. The word *boghaz* means "throat" or "gullet" in Turkish, but has in geographical names the sense of "defile", "strait" (cf., *e.g.*, Külek Boghazī, the Cilician Gates, or Čanāḳ-ḳal'e Boghazī, the Dardanelles).

The Bosphorus has a mean length of about 30 km. and a width which varies from approximately 700 to about 3550 metres. A strong current (3-5 km. per hour) flows down the centre of the channel from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, but a counter-current runs in the opposite direction below the surface and along the shores. The more notable localities which border the strait can be enumerated as follows (the names are given in the modern Turkish form): on the European side, in order from south to north, are to be found Tophâne (the Byzantine Argyropolis), Beşiktaş (Byz. Diplokionion), Ortaköy (Byz. Hagios Phokas), Arnavut-Köyü (Byz. Anaplous), Bebek (Byz. Challai), Rumeli-Hisarı (Byz. Phoneus), Istinye (Byz. Sosthenion), Yeni-Köy (Byz. Neapolis), Tarabya (Byz. Therapeia), Büyük-Dere (Byz. Kalos Agros) and Rumeli-Kavağı; on the Asiatic shore, in sequence from north to south, are located Anadolu-Kavağı (Byz. Hieron), Beykoz, Paşa-Bahçesi, Çubuklu (Byz. Irenaeon), Kanlıca, Anadolu-Hisarı, Kandilli (Byz. Brochthoi), Çengel-Köyü, Beylerbeyi, Kuzguncuk (Byz. Chrysokeramos) and Usküdar (Scutari: Byz. Skoutarion, an imperial palace in Chrysopolis). The Bosphorus proper ended, according to the view held in ancient times, at the present Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı, the waters beyond this line, towards the north, being considered as a part of the Black Sea.

The Byzantines fortified the northern end of the Bosphorus in the region of Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı, where the strait narrows to a width of about 1000 metres. Traces of a Byzantine fortress can still be discerned to the north of Rumeli-Kavağı. There is in fact a tradition that the Ottoman Sulṭān Meḥemmed II demolished this ancient fort ("Eski Ḳal'e"), the material thus acquired being used in the construction of Rumeli-Hisarı in 856/1452 (cf. Gabriel, 77 and 81). A Byzantine fortress also existed at Anadolu-Kavağı. It was known to the Ottomans as Yoros (Yeros) Ḳal'esi (cf. Byz. Hieron) or Djenevīz Ḳal'esi. This latter name arose from the fact that the Genoese, in 1350, had taken over from the Byzantines control of the defences in the northern zone of the Bosphorus.

It was only with the rise and growth of the Ottoman empire in the 14th-15th centuries that the lands bordering on the Bosphorus came under Muslim rule. The Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I (791-805/1389-1403) built on the Asiatic shore of the strait a strong fortress called Anadolu-Ḥiṣārī (also known as Güzeldje Ḥiṣār), to which Sulṭān Meḥemmed II made various additions and improvements in 856/1452. On the European shore, opposite Anadolu-Ḥiṣārī and at the site which the Byzantines called Phoneus (Φωνεύς, also Φονέας and Φωνέας), Meḥemmed II constructed, in this same year, the fortress of Rumeli-Ḥiṣārī (often called Boghaz-Kesen, *i.e.*, "which cuts the throat" or "which cuts the strait"). The Sulṭān furnished both these fortresses with artillery capable of firing across the Bosphorus, here compressed to its narrowest width (about 700 metres). After the fall of Constantinople in 857/1453

the Black Sea became in effect an Ottoman lake. Meḥemmed II brought to an end the former Genoese imperium over the Black Sea in 865/1461 and 880/1475. Moreover, in this latter year, the Khān of the Krim Tātārs was reduced to the status of an Ottoman vassal. Rumeli-Hisarı and Anadolu-Hisarı, together with what remained of the old Byzantine defences at the northern end of the Bosphorus, now lost their earlier importance.

After a long interval of calm, danger threatened from the north, when Cossack sea-raiders plundered Sinope on the south shore of the Black Sea in 1023/1614 and ten years later, in 1033/1624, carried fire and sword into the Bosphorus itself, ravaging Sarı-Yer, Büyük-Dere, Tarabya and Yeni-Köy on the European shore of the strait. To ward off this menace, the Ottomans, in the reign of Sulṭān Murād IV (1032-1049/1623-1640), built two new fortresses, one in the region of Rumeli-Kavağı, the other near Anadolu-Kavağı. These forts (not to be confused with the former Byzantine defences in this section of the Bosphorus) are described in Ewliyā Čelebī (i, 461) as the *ḳalʿe-i kilīd al-baḥr*, "the forts which are the lock of the sea" (baḥr-i siyāh, the Kara Deniz or Black Sea). No trace of them now remains, both having been demolished in the course of the 19th century (Gabriel, 82).

During their unsuccessful war against Russia in 1182-1188/1768-1774 the Ottomans began to reorganise the defences of the Bosphorus. New fortifications arose, in 1187/1773-1774, at Kilyos (Ḳalʿe-i Baghdāddjïk) on the European, and at Irva (Ḳalʿe-i Revāndjïk) on the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea, just outside the strait itself, and also at Fener-i Rumeli and Fener-i Anadolu on the northern exit from the strait. Additional forts soon made their appearance at Garipçe and Büyük-Liman on the European, and at Poyraz-Limanı on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus above Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı. This defence system received the name of "Ḳilāʿ-i Sebʿa" (the seven fortresses). A sustained effort was made during the reign of Sulṭān Selīm III (1203-1222/1789-1807) to extend and perfect the new defences of the Bosphorus. At the same time the older fortifications situated within the Bosphorus proper, southward from Rumeli-Kavağı and Anadolu-Kavağı in the direction of the Marmara Sea, underwent a process of repair and modernisation. These years witnessed, however, the emergence, in its modern form, of the Eastern Question. The control and defence of the Straits, *i.e.*, of the Dardanelles as well as of the Bosphorus, was now to become a matter of prime concern, not to the Ottomans alone, but also to the Great Powers of Europe, who, during the 19th-20th centuries, imposed on the Straits a much debated and often altered, system of international control.

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BOGHAZ KESEN [see RŪMELI ḤIṢĀR].

BOGHDĀN, originally Boghdān-ili or Boghdān-wilāyeti ('the land of Boghdān'), Turkish name of Moldavia, so called after Boghdān who in 760/1359 founded a principality between the Eastern flanks of the Carpathians and the Dniester (Turla). The name Boghdān-ili appears in the *ḥükm* of Meḥemmed II dated 859/1455 (Kraelitz, *Osm. Urk.* Table I). The name Ḳara-Boghdān is found in the letter of Iminek dated 881/1476 (Belleten, no. 3-4, 644) and in the Ottoman chroniclers generally.

The principality suffered its first raid (*aḳïn*) by the Ottomans in 823/1420 (unsuccessful siege of Aḳ-Kirmān). In 831/1428 the Khān of the Golden Horde, Ulugh Muḥammad, proposed to Murād II that they should act in concert to destroy the Vlach infidels dwelling between them (cf. Kurat, *Yarlık ve Bitikler*, 8). Ḥādjdjī Gerey [*q.v.*] made an alliance against Boghdān-ili with Meḥemmed II, and an Ottoman fleet attacked Aḳ-Kirmān in 858/1454. As a result the *voyvode* Petru Aron accepted Ottoman suzerainty, agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 2000 ducats (autumn 859/1455) (Fr. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgesch. der Türk. in Rumelien*, 21), and the sultan granted the merchants of Boghdān freedom to trade in the Ottoman dominions (Kraelitz, *ibid.*).

Stephen the Great (1457-1504) renewed the vassalage to the king of Poland, repulsed an attack by the Crimeans in 873/1469, entered into diplomatic relations with Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], and defeated the Ottoman *beylerbeyi* of Rūmeli on 2 Ramaḍān 879/

10 Jan. 1475. Finally Meḥemmed II invaded Boghdān and burned its capital Suc̣eava (Rabīʿ I, 881/July 1476). In 889/1484, as a result of the joint action of Bāyazid II and his vassal the Crimean Khānʿ Aḳ-Kirmān and Kili were occupied by the Ottomans, and Kawshān and Tombasār by the Khān. In 897/1492 Stephen, by sending tribute and his son to the Porte, acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty.

Under the Ottomans Aḳ-Kirmān and Kili became more actively engaged in the commerce of the Levant (this can now be seen from the records of the Ottoman customs houses of this period at the Başvekalet Arşivi Istanbul, Maliye no. 6). With its exports of cereals, meat, butter and wax the trade of Boghdan became, under a monopoly system, more and more dependent on the Istanbul market.

Ottoman-Boghdān relations rested on the Islamic principle of the *dār al-ʿahd* [*q.v.*], as expressed in the *ʿahd-nāmes* granted by the Ottoman sultans and the *berāts* issued to the voyvodes (cf. the *berāt* of Alexandru VI Iliash in Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt*, ii, 398). The bonds attaching the *voyvode* to the Porte were made still stronger when he received his appointment directly from the sultan, the first *voyvode* so appointed being Petru IV Raresh (933/1527). The *voyvode*'s whole authority emanated from the sultan. The sultan, in his *berāt*, enjoined upon all the *boyars*, priests and people that they should recognise the *voyvode* as their ruler (*beg*); if they failed to do so their land would be regarded as *dār al-ḥarb*. The *voyvode*'s symbols of authority were the standard, the robe of honour (*khilʿat*), and the red *börk* (felt cap). An *āghā* accompanied the *voyvode* to his capital, seated him on his throne, and had the proclamation read to the people. As late as the 10th/17th century it was felt to be important that the *voyvode* should be a descendant of a former voyvode (cf. Ferīdūn, ii, 398, 446). Nevertheless the wishes of the local *boyars* were taken into consideration. The Ottomans, assisted by the Crimean Tatars, had no great difficulty in removing pretenders supported by Poland or the Cossacks and *voyvodes* who refused to recognise the sultan's order of deposition. After the treachery of Dimitri Kantemir in 1123/1711 the *voyvodes* were selected exclusively from a few families of Phanariot Greeks (the Mavrokordati, Kallimachi, Hypsilanti). In this Phanariot period (1123-1236/1711-1821) the *voyvodes* were reduced to being merely Ottoman officials. They were frequently changed, but after 1217/1802, as a result of Russian pressure, they were appointed for periods of seven years.

The tribute which the Moldavians paid as *ahl al-ʿahd* was regarded as *kharādj maḳṭūʿ*, farmed by the *voyvode*, who, acting as *ʿāmil* (tax-farmer), was expected to raise the maximum amount of tribute that the country could support. In 859/1455 the tribute was fixed at 2000 ducats; it was increased under Stephen the Great to 4000, under Petru IV Raresh to 10,000, and in 1028/1619 under Gashpar to 40,000 ducats. In the 12/18th century it was 65,000 *ghurush* [*q.v.*]. Boghdan also paid tribute (7000 ducats annually)to the Crimean Khān. The gifts (*pīshkesh*) which the *voyvode* made to the Sultan, the *wazīrs* and other influential people became an established usage, and nearly equalled in amount the sum paid as *kharādj*.

The *ʿahd-nāme* granted to the *voyvode* also prescribed that he should be 'the friend of the sultan's friends and the enemy of his enemies', and should supply military aid when called upon, the *voyvode* serving in person when the sultan himself took the field (Naʿīmā, vi, 322). But the *berāts* emphasised that Ottoman officials were not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of the principality. The *voyvode* had a representative (*ḳapu-ketkhudāsī* or *kahyā*) in Istanbul to attend to matters arising between the *voyvode* and the Porte.

The people of Boghdan were regarded as *kharādj-güzār raʿiyyet* of the Sultan, who was obliged to defend them against their enemies and to depose *voyvodes* who oppressed them. The *boyars* never formed a hereditary nobility. In the 9th/15th century they were no more than a class of wealthy peasants. The Porte was able to strengthen its control of the country by playing off the *boyars* against the *voyvode* and *vice versa*. In the 12/17th century the *boyars* became great landowners and the peasants were reduced to serfdom; but the Phanariot *voyvodes* tried to break the power of the *boyars*, and in 1153/1740 Constantine Mavrokordato abolished serfdom and freed the peasants from their control. From then on the *boyars* looked for support more and more to the Christian powers, especially Russia. By the *Regulamentul Organic* which was drawn up in 1247/1831 during the Russian occupation, the council of *boyars* was given the right to elect the *voyvode*.

In the course of time the Ottoman state had absorbed various parts of the principality into the *dār al-Islām*. Süleymān I's campaign of 945/1538 represents a turning point in many respects: the *voyvode* was brought into closer dependence on the Porte, and the district of Budjāḳ [*q.v.*] was annexed to ensure the security of the port of Aḳ-Kirmān. In 1030/1621 ʿOthmān II rescued Khotīn from the Poles to give to Boghdān, but annexed to the Ottoman dominions the area north of Ismail. In order to recover Budjāḳ, Dimitri Kantemir in 1123/1711 secretly recognised the protection of the Czar. After the treaty of the Pruth, the Porte placed Khotīn and the surrounding district as far as the Pruth under an Ottoman Pasha. In 1189/1775 Austria seized the north-western part of the country (Bukovina), and in 1227/1812 Russia annexed Bessarabia. After the Treaty of Küčük Kaynardja (1188/1774) Russia posed as the protectress of Moldavia, and eventually after the Treaty of Aḳ-Kirmān (5 Rabīʿ I 1242/7 Oct. 1826) Ottoman suzerainty over the principality became nominal and Russia was recognised as the Protecting Power. In 1276/1859 the twin principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (*Mamlakatayn*) were united, though the Sultan did not recognise the union until two years later (28 Djumāda I 1278/2 Dec. 1861).

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BŌGRĀ, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in East Pakistan, situated in 24° 51′ N. and 89° 23′ E. on the west bank of the Karātōyā. Population, (1951) was 12,80,581 for the district and 25,303 for the town. The town is pre-

dominantly Muslim; even before the partition of the sub-continent in 1947 it had the largest number of Muslims in the whole of Bengal. They are mostly converts from the Kōč or Rādjbansīs of the northern areas although there are some Pathāns and Sayyids also. The district and the town are both liable to cyclones and floods, sometimes of a terrible nature. In 1281/1864 many houses and trees were levelled to the ground by the cyclone which swept over the district. In 1304/1886 the town was inundated when 18″ of rain fell within a short span of 1½ hours. Earthquakes of great intensity have also frequently occurred. The severe earthquakes of 1885, 1888 and 1897 did considerable damage to both life and property. Many of the brick buildings in the town were destroyed in the earthquake of 1897.

The district seems to have been converted *en masse* to Islam in the 7th/13th century as most of the villages still bear Hindu names but have no Hindu inhabitants. In 1005/1596 when the district was re-conquered by Rādjā Mān Singh, the Mughal viceroy, he built a mud fort at Shīrpūr and named it Salīmnagar after Djahāngīr. A fort was also built at Mahāstʾhān, now desolate. Shīrpūr, to the south of Bōgrā, was founded by Shīr Khān, the Afghān ruler of Bengal (c. 666-70/1268-72). These two places abound in archaeological remains while in the town itself the "Bogra Palace", the seat of the Čawdharī family, is the only place of some antiquity and interest.

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BOHORĀS (Bohrās, Buhrah), a Muslim community in Western India (mainly of Hindu descent, with some admixture of Yemenite Arab blood), for the most part Shīʿīs of the Ismāʿīlī sect, and belonging to that branch of the Shīʿa which upholds the claims of al-Mustaʿlī (487-495/1094-1101) to succeed his father al-Mustanṣir in the Fāṭimid Caliphate of Egypt. (For the history of the Fāṭimids, see the articles Fāṭimids and Ismāʿīlīs). Mustaʿlī opposed his brother Nizār, whose adherents (the so-called Assassins) are represented in India by the Khōdjas [*q.v.*]. The name *bohorā* denotes a "trader, merchant" (from the Gudjarātī *vohōrvū*, "to trade") and records the occupation of the earliest converts to Islam. This is clearly mentioned in an Arabic work, *al-Tardjama al-Ẓāhira* ... (see below, and cf. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, Oxford 1953, 3, footnote 2). The appellation however is not confined to Muslims, and in the Census Report of 1901, 6,652 Hindus and 25 Djayns returned themselves as Bohorās. The exact figures are a matter of some doubt, as Hindu Bohorās, Sunnī Bohorās (of Gudjarāt and particularly, of Rāndēr) and Djayn Bohorās are occasionally confused with Ismāʿīlī Bohorās. The number of Muslim Bohorās was given in 1901 as 146,255, of whom 118,307 resided in the Bombay Presidency. Under the communities the following figures are given:

Bohorā (British Districts)	1911	1921	1931
	92,081	108,150	110,124

In the Census Reports of 1941 and 1951, the distribution of the communities is not given, with the result that it is now impossible to give accurately the figures for India. An approximate figure allowing for the natural increase in population would be 150,000 in India, and 200,000 for the world, including the trading communities of Ceylon and East Africa.

The Bohorās fall broadly in two main groups, the larger of which, belonging to the mercantile class, is Shīʿī; the other, composed mainly of peasants and cultivators, is Sunnī. Some of the Sunnī Bohorās of Rāndēr (Gudjarāt) traded in Burma and made large fortunes. Certain families of Ismāʿīlī Bohorās claim to be descended from refugees from Arabia and Egypt. It is difficult to substantiate this claim; but intermarriage, particularly with Yemenite Arabs of the Mustaʿlian branch, has taken place in a number of well-known cases. Recently among the Sulaymānīs, intermarriage has taken place with Sunnīs, Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿīs, Hindus and even with Europeans; but the large majority of the Bohorās do not marry outside their communities.

The majority of Bohorās are undoubtedly of Hindu origin, their ancestors having been converted by Ismāʿīlī missionaries. The first of these is commonly stated to have been sent from Yemen by the Imām of the Mustaʿlian sect and to have been called ʿAbd Allāh. It is related that he landed in Cambay (Western India) in 400/1067 and actively engaged in propaganda. This story is given in varying forms, one of which is preserved in an Arabic booklet entitled *al-Tardjama al-Ẓāhira li-Firḳat Borhat al-Bāhira*. A copy exists in the library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It has been translated into English by K. M. Jhaveri, *A Legendary History of the Bohoras*. *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933, New Series, Vol. 9, 37-52. The text has been edited by H. M. Fakhr (Ṭālib), in the *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1940, N.S., Vol. 16, 88. Other accounts give Muḥammad ʿAlī, whose tomb is still revered in Cambay, as the name of the first Mustaʿlian missionary in India (died, 532/1137). The Čālukya dynasty of Aṇahilāvāḍa was then ruling over Gudjarāt and the Ismāʿīlī missionaries seem to have been allowed by the Hindu government to carry on their propaganda without interruption and with considerable success. In 1297 the Hindu Kingdom came to an end and for a century Gudjarāt remained more or less in subjection to Dihlī. However, under the independent Kings of Gudjārat (1396-1572), who favoured the spread of the Sunnī doctrine, the Bohorās were on several occasions exposed to severe persecution.

Up to 946/1539, the head of the sect resided in the Yemen, and the Bohorās made pilgrimages to him, paid tithes and referred their disputes for decision and settlement. In 946, however, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān migrated from the Yemen to India and settled in Sidhpūr (Bombay State). About fifty years later, a schism occurred after the death of the *dāʿī* Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjab Shāh in 996/1588. The Bohorās of Gudjarāt, in fact the large majority of the community, chose one Dāʾūd b. Ḳuṭb Shāh as his successor, and sent the tidings of his appointment (Ar. *naṣṣ*) to their co-religionists in the Yemen; but the latter, including a small proportion of the community in India, supported the claims of a certain Sulaymān, who claimed to be the rightful successor in virtue of a

formal mandate from Dā'ūd b. ʿAdjab Shāh. This document is still in the possession of the Sulaymānī *daʿwat* (the communal administration is called *daʿwat*; the *t* is pronounced by the community), but its authenticity has never been subjected to a scientific, critical or legal examination. Sulaymān died in Aḥmadābād, where his tomb and that of his rival, Dā'ūd b. Ḳuṭb Shāh are still reverenced by their respective followers. Those who recognise the claims of Sulaymān are called Sulaymānīs and their *dāʿī* is in the Yemen. His chief agent in India is called the *manṣūb*, and the seat of the Sulaymānī *daʿwat* is in Baroda, where there is a good library of Ismāʿīlī MSS. Another difference is that the Dā'ūdīs use a form of Gudjarātī language which is full of Arabic words and phrases, write in the Arabic script for all official purposes and deliver their sermons in this language, whereas the Sulaymānīs use Urdu for the same purposes.

The head of the Dā'ūdī Bohorās resides generally in Bombay, but his headquarters are in Sūrat and are known as the *Deoṛhi*. In both places there are good collections of Ismāʿīlī MSS. There is at Surat an Arabic *madrasa* known as the *dars-i sayfī*, named after the present *dāʿī*, Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn. The *dāʿī al-muṭlaḳ*, to give him his official designation, is commonly known as the *Mullādjī Ṣāḥib* or *Sayyidnā Ṣāḥib*, and is greatly revered by his followers. In his presence a large number of the sectarians perform a form of obeisance, the *taḳbīl al-arḍ*, which has apparently come down from Fāṭimid times and differs but little from the traditional *sadjda*.

As regards marriage and death ceremonies, and ritual prayers, the Bohorā community is in general well-served by local officiants, called *ʿāmils*, who are appointed by the Mullādjī Ṣāḥib and are the servants of the *daʿwat*. They perform duties similar to those of the *ḳāḍīs* of the Sunnīs, but in addition refer disputes to the Mullādjī Ṣāḥib and have a much greater hold over their "parishioners". A feature of the Bohorā community both in India and elsewhere is that they form themselves into guilds, have little to do with others, and do not intermarry even with other Muslims, much less with adherents of other religions, and take little part in public affairs. In general, they restrict themselves to trade; but in some parts of India, Ceylon and East Africa, and particularly amongst the Sulaymānīs, certain families have entered public life and taken to Government service.

Two insignificant secessions from the Dā'ūdīs may be mentioned: (i) The ʿAliyya Bohorās, who in 1624 supported the claims of ʿAlī, the grandson of Shaykh Ādam, the head Mullā, in opposition to Shaykh Ṭayyib, whom Shaykh Ādam had nominated as his successor, and (ii) the Nāgōshias, who broke away from the ʿAliyya sect about the year 1789; their name indicates that they consider the eating of flesh as sinful. The Djaʿfarī Bohorās are mainly descended from the Dā'ūdī Bohorās who became Sunnīs in the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh (810-813/1407-1411) and succeeding Kings of Gudjarāt, but they have received accession to their numbers from Hindu converts. They derive their name from a saint named Sayyid Aḥmad Djaʿfar Shīrāzī (15th Century), whose descendants they reverence as their spiritual guides.

The Bohorās keep their religious books secret, but recently some of their works on law (such as *Daʿā'im al-Islām*), history (such as *Sīrat Sayyidinā al-Mu'ayyad*) and philosophy (such as *Rāḥat al-ʿAḳl* and *al-Risāla al-Djāmiʿa*) have been printed. Further details will be found in the bibliography by W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933, of which a second edition is contemplated. For their religion and doctrines see Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamārē Ismāʿīlī Madhhab awr uski Ḥaḳīḳat* (Urdu), Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, 1954/1373. In this work a full exposition of the *ḥaḳā'iḳ* (the Ismāʿīlī term for their secret philosophical doctrines) has been given by a learned Bohorā. Recently A. A. A. Fyzee has given his collection of Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī MSS. numbering 160 to the Library of Bombay University.

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History of the daʿwat: No exhaustive history of the Bohorās has been written so far on scientific lines. See however an Arabic work still unpublished, *Muntazaʿ al-Akhbār* (2 vols., see W. Ivanow, *Guide*, no. 335), on which is based the Gudjarātī work lithographed in the Arabic script, *Mawsim Bahār fī Akhbār al-Duʿāt al-Akhyār*, 3 vols., by (Miyān Ṣāḥib) Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Djīwābhā'ī, Bombay, n.d.

The literature of the *daʿwat* is still mostly unpublished, but has been described by W. Ivanow, *op. cit.* (with addenda by Paul Kraus in *RÉI*, 1932, 483-90). For further bibliographical material see A. A. A. Fyzee, *Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography*, 1920-1934, *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1935, 59-65, and *ibid.*, 1940, 99-101. Several important texts have recently been edited and published by Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo).

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BOHTĀN [see KURDS]

BOLOR DAGH [see PAMIR]

BOLU (Boli, near anc. Bithynium, later Claudiopolis) 40° 15′ N 31° 30′ E. The capital of a forested NW Anatolian *wilāyet*, elevation 710 m., area 11,140 sq. km., lying between the Saḳārya river bend and the Black Sea. In 1955 the population was 11,884 (town) and 318,612 (province). Bolu lies in a plain on the Bolu Suyu and is subject to severe earthquakes, notably that of May 26, 1957. It is on the highway 263 km. from Istanbul and 208 from Ankara. It boasts 32 mosques, a bath dated 791/1388-9, a women's teachers college, forestry school, other fine primary and secondary schools, a hospital, and new "briquette" and lumber factories. Bolu is the home of Köroghlu, ʿĀshiḳ Derdli and good cooks. Lake Abant lies 37 km. SW. Atatürk visited Bolu from 17-19/vii/'34 and Inönü from 5-7/viii/'39. Its *ḳaḍā*'s are Aḳchaḳodja, Bolu, Düzdje, Gerede, Göynük, Kıbrısdjıḳ, Mengen (where lignite has been exploited since 1956) Mudurnu, Seben and Yıghıldja. Bolu fell to the Ottomans circa 726/1325, to the

Isfendiyāroghullari from 805-27/1402-23, was retaken, governed by Prince Süleymān (914-15/1509) and served as base of the abortive *Khilāfet ordusu* in April 1920/1338 (*Tarih*, iv, 67, 304; *Nutuk*, 11). Bolu was a *sandjak* of the *eyālet* of Anadolu till 1103/1692, a *muḥaṣṣillik* till 1226/1811, an independent *sandjak* till 1231/1864, attached to Ḳasṭamōnū till 1327/1909, then a large, independant *liwā'* until it became a *wilāyet* in 1341/1923.

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(H. A. Reed)

BÖLÜK (from the verb *bölmek*), meaning a part, a section, or a category, was used in Eastern Turkish and in Persian to designate a province or a region. In Anatolian Turkish, from the time of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] onwards, it designated units of infantry or cavalry under the command of a *yüzbashî* (captain). In the old Ottoman military organisation, the term *bölük* was used in the *ḳapî-ḳulu* [*q.v.*] *odjaḳ*s [*q.v.*], as well as in provincial troops and the military retinues of senior officials. The size of the *bölük* varied. In Janissary *odjaḳ*s, for example, which numbered 1,000 men, there were 10 *bölük*s of 100 men each. The commander of the *bölük* was known as *yayabashî* (chief infantryman). The Gelibolu (Galipoli) *odjaḳ* of *ʿadjamī-oghlan*s [*q.v.*], which numbered at first 400 men, consisted of 8 *bölük*s of 50 men each. These *bölük*s were commanded by an officer known as *čorbadjî*. Janissary *odjaḳ*s were later enlarged to include 101 *bölük*s, known also as *djemāʿat* and *orta*. Each *bölük* had a different name and function. Thus *bölük*s 1-3 were known as *djemāʿat-i shuturbān* (*djemāʿat* of camel drivers), the 28th *bölük* was the *bölük* of *imām-i ḥadret āghā*, *bölük*s 60-63 were known as *solaḳ-ortasî* (the *orta* of Solaḳ guards). The *Segbān*s (Keepers of the Sultan's Hounds), who constituted an independent *odjaḳ* until 1451, were assigned on that date by Sulṭān Meḥemmed II to the *odjaḳ* of Janissaries as the 65th *orta*. They retained, however, an autonomous organisation consisting of 34 *bölük*s. Each *bölük* had a different size, name and functions. As a result of the mutiny organised by the *agha* (commander) of the Janissaries under Bāyezīd II or Selīm I, an *agha* was appointed by the Palace and put in charge of a separate organisation consisting of 61 «*bölük*s of the *agha*», in the hope that he would maintain a balance of forces in the *odjaḳ*. It was these that were usually meant when the term *bölük* was used. Otherwise if a *bölük* in the *odjaḳ*s of armourers, artillerymen, artillery drivers etc. was meant, its name and the name of the *odjaḳ* were usually given. There were 6 *bölük*s in the mounted *odjaḳ* of *ḳapî-ḳulus*. Their members were known as "the people of the *bölük*» or «the people of the six *bölük*s". Excluding the *sipahī*s and *silāḥdār*s, they were known as *bölükāt-i erbaʿa* (four *bölük*s). The seven Ottoman *odjaḳ*s in Egypt were called *bölükāt-i sebʿa* (seven *bölük*s). The officers of these various *bölük*s enjoyed different rates of pay and were subject to different rules of promotion. As in the case of *odjaḳ*s, the importance of *bölük*s in the eyes of the Government varied from time to time. For detailed information on *odjaḳ*s and *bölük*s see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapı Kulu Ocakları*, i, 1943, and Gibb and Bowen, i, index.

(İ. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BÖLÜK-BASHÎ, the title given to the headmen of various groups of functionaries in the administrative organisation of the Ottoman State. In the old Ottoman military organisation the commanders of the *bölük*s [*q.v.*] in the *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*] of the Janissaries were generally known as *yayabashî* or *ser-piyāde* (chief infantryman), while the commanders of the *bölük*s in the *odjaḳ* of the *ʿadjamī oghlan*s [*q.v.*] were called *čorbadjî*. It was only the commanders of the "*bölük*s of the *agha*" (see BÖLÜK) who were called *Bölük-bashî*, the most senior being known as *Bash-bölük-bashî*. The *Bölük-bashî*s were mounted and had an iron mace and a shield tied to their saddles. When the Sultan left the palace to go to a mosque, the *Bölük-bashî* was present wearing ornate clothes and holding in his hand a reed instead of a spear. Under Suleyman the Magnificent there were 58 *bölük-bashî*s of "*bölük*s of the *agha*"; their daily pay was 9 aspers. Their numbers and pay were later increased. The *Bash-bölük-bashî* was appointed on promotion junior *agha* of the *odjaḳ* known as that of *ḳatar-aghalarî* (*āghā*s of trains or caravans). *Bölük-bashî*s of the *bölük*s of the *agha*, when invested with a *tîmār*, were numbered among the wardens of fortresses and received a life grant of 8,000 to 15,000 (aspers). Apart from the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries, the mounted *ḳapî-ḳulus* [*q.v.*] had their *bölük-bashî*s commanding separate *bölük*s, as had the *segbān*s (keepers of the Sultan's hounds), *levend*s (irregulars) and *tüfengči*s (fusiliers). For more details see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapı Kulu Ocakları*, i, 1943, and Gibb and Bowen, i, index.

(İ. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BOLWADIN (Bolvadin, sometimes Karamuk, anc. Polybotum) 38° 44′ N, 31° 03′ E. A municipality and *ḳaḍā'* in the *wilāyet* of Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*], with its own and Isḥāḳlı *nāḥiye* (its former *nāḥiye* of Çay, with 20 villages, became a *ḳaḍā'* on April 1, 1958/1377), consisting of 26 villages. The population in 1375/1955 was 12,604 (town), 61,280 (district); elevation 900 m., area 2,420 sq. km. Bolvadin lies 45 km. E of Afyūn, 8 N of Çay railway station, N of the Sazlı and Eber lakes and a fertile plain watered by the Aḳar Çay, on the old Baghdād road and the modern Eskishehir-Ḳonya highway. Bolvadin was under the Ashraf-oghullari [*q.v.*] circa 702-26/1302-25, taken by Murād I, regained by the Germiyān-oghullari after 805/1402, retaken by Murād II in 832/1428-9, rebuilt, partly by Sinān (mosque, bath and fountain of Rustem Pasha, cf. Uzunçarşili, ... *Kitabeler*, ii),

under Süleymān I, and fell briefly to the rebel Uzun Khalīl in 1014/1605. It was a key military HQ before the great nationalist counter-offensive against the Greeks in August 1922.

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BOMBAY CITY, capital of Bombay State, one of the chief sea ports of India and an emporium of trade and manufacturing industries. Its area is 111 sq. miles, and the population of the city in the census of 1951 was 2,839,270. Of these, 281,975 had Urdu as their mother tongue, 6,527 Persian, 6,376 Pashto, 2,536 Arabic, figures which indicate the number of Muslims in the city. The figures include representatives of different races that have embraced Islam: Arabs, Persians, Turks, Afghāns and others. Among the important classes of traders, Memons, Bohorās & Khōdjas [*qq.v.*] constitute an appreciable number. Their enterprise in trade & commerce is well-known and they are prominent in trade relations with East Africa, the Persian Gulf, Malaya, Singapore and other places.

The history of the city is interesting, the present emporia having grown out of seven detached islands with mud swamps in between. There were Muslim rulers before the advent of the Portuguese, and a prominent relic is the tomb of Shaykh ʿAlī Pārū, built about 835/1431-2 and repaired in 1674 A.D.. An annual fair is held here and it attracts a large number of visitors. There is a Djāmiʿ Masdjid also dating from 1902.

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(A. A. A. Fyzee)

BOMBAY STATE, one of the States of the Indian Union, covering the territories of Cutč, Saurāshtra, Gudjarāt, Mahārāshtra, Marāthwāḍā and Vidarbh. The present limits of the State territory were decided upon in consequence of the reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union that took place in 1956. The composition of the State differs from that of the other States of the Union inasmuch as it comprises areas having two different languages, namely Marathi & Gudjarātī. The total area of the State is 190,872 sq. miles and the total population is 48,264,622. The figures of population are based on the census of 1951. The whole of this State was at one time under Muslim rule, and even now, in many of the important centres, population statistics reveal the existence of a substantial proportion of Muslims. The Muslims constitute the second most important religions group in the State, though their numbers have gone down in recent years due to the emigration of some Muslims from the State to Pakistan after partition. In 1951, at the last census, 5.33% of the population of the State had Urdu as their mother tongue. The major centres of Muslim population apart from the city of Bombay are the districts of Aḥmadābād, East Khandesh and Sorath. The majority of the Muslims are Sunnīs.

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BÔNE [see AL-ʿANNĀBA]

BONNEVAL [see AḤMED PASHA BONNEVAL]

BÖRK [see LIBĀS]

BÖRKLÜDJE, MUṢṬAFĀ [see BADR AL-DĪN B. ḲĀḌĪ SAMAWNĀ],

BORKOU, the name by which the inhabitants designate the chain of palm groves along the southern edge of the lowland region between the massifs of Tibesti and Ennedi which extends via the Baḥr al-Ghazāl to Lake Chad. To this traditional Borkou the French have added on the one hand the pastoral areas of Bodélé-Djourab-Koro-Toro, and the north of Mortcha, whose economy is complementary to that of the oases and on the other hand the S.E. of Tibesti with the Emi Koussi (11,200 ft), considered to be the bastion of Borkou. The district forms a trapeze of which the great base in the south measures about 500 km. along the 16th parallel between the meridians of 15° and 21° E, and of which the summit coincides with the Libyan frontier between the meridians of 19° and 20° 20′. Its area is 230,000 sq.km.

Save for Tibesti the relief is gentle. From the foot of the Emi Koussi a sandstone plateau slopes down from 2,300 to 650 ft towards the S. and SW., where it merges into the vast sandy depression of the Djourab and Bodélé. At the 18th parallel a chain of basins strung along a line from the NW. to the SE., from N'Galakka to Largeau cuts the plateau into two. To the north of this depression the surface is intersected by the *wādīs* which, radiating from the summit of the Emi Koussi, branch out and carve the plateau onto strips of broken ground encroached on by 'barkhanes' or crescent-shaped dunes. In the south the plateau remains unbroken and slopes gently. Three series of basins, from the SW. to the NE., eat into or border this slope. Beginning with the south, these are the depression of Bodélé and that of Djourab where long ridges encroached on by the 'barkhanes' alternate with wide shallow basins; then the central depression, a chain of palm trees cut across by 'barkhanes' and 'nebkas' (little triangular dunes); and lastly the sunken zone of Ounianga and its lakes which lead up by Gouro towards the eastern flank of the Emi Koussi.

The climate is that of the desert with contrasts of temperature between the hottest months of April

to September and the coldest months whose coolness is increased by the NE. winds then blowing continually and frequently heavy with sand. The index of aridity compares with that of Tanezrouft, but the country differs from the central Sahara in that it does not have long series of dry years; the rains, even if the fall is slight, come each year at least from May to September. This regularity is not in itself enough to explain the existence of profuse vegetation which round the springs takes on an almost tropical aspect. Water in fact is abundant: salt lakes at the foot of the Emi Koussi, pure or natronated springs of the central depression, layers of water saturating the sands of the valleys or appearing on the surface on the southern basins, the lakes of Ounianga. These waters apparently have their origin in the spates of the *wādīs* of the Emi Koussi, which soak between the volcanic outcrops and percolate through the sandstone to reappear in the depressions.

The character of the steppe changes from north to south. The 'had' which preponderates in the north and which supports a few species of grassy plants gives way about the 17th parallel to the 'cram-cram' (*cenchrus biflorus*). Then Sahilian species appear, forerunners of the savannah; the domain of the ariels and ostriches begins. Islets of woodland in the northern valleys and especially in the central depression—doum palms and particularly handsome acacias—seem to bear witness to at one time more extensive and denser woodlands.

Oases and pasture have attracted the populations of the neighbouring mountains since the 10th century. The nomad tribes of eastern and central Tibesti (the two branches of the Tūbū people: Teda and Dazā) occupied the oases of Gouro then the central oases (Woun), pushing back the Donza who seem to have been the aboriginal inhabitants, towards the palm groves to the south of the Emi Koussi, their present habitat. The nomads belonging to the lowest caste clans have become sedentary, sometimes partially, being enabled by the 'had' and supplies of natronated water close by to keep their camels. The others have drifted to the southern steppes which are richer in pasture. Some tribes have reached as far as the Chad lowlands where they have changed from camel to cattle rearing.

Other populations, coming down from Ennedi and Wadai, have mixed with the Tūbū. The Anakkaza, who constitute the most important group in Borkou, were formed in this way, whereas the Gaeda seem to be descended from the Tundjur of Kanem. Borkou has thus been a melting-pot in which, however, Tūbū influence has predominated. The Dazā language is spoken by most of these populations, their customs are those of the Tūbū, and the Tūbū physical type—non-negroid black—is the commonest. One can understand that the Arabs should have lumped the whole of the Borkouans together under the single name of Ḳuraʿān. According to official statistics the Borkouans now number about 20,000.

The nomads live by stock rearing supplemented by the resources of the oases, whether they still enjoy over these suzerain rights acquired in the past, or whether the gardens are cultivated for them by the sedentary Kamadjas, whose origin, though certainly servile, is ill-known. The Kamadjas, who had become share-croppers of the nomads, have gradually freed themselves from their tribute-obligation with the support of the French administration. The palm groves contain at present about 1,000,000 productive trees of which 90 per cent are in the central depression. They produce 30,000 quintals of dates per annum. The irrigation channels in the gardens are fed by balance-arm wells and produce on the average 120 tons of wheat and 200 tons of millet per annum; vegetables (onions, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and pimentos) are also grown. Salt-pans from which salt is obtained by evaporation are numerous in the northern valleys, and their product, joined with that of Ennedi, represented (in 1950) half the Saharan production. The nomads of the southern steppe bring meat, butter, and tanned skins to the oases to exchange for their products. Sedentary and nomadic populations alike obtain their tools and arms from the despised smith caste. These smiths, known in the the Tūbū domain as Azzas, deprived of local supplies of ore which are now exhausted, use as their raw material scrap iron or raw iron plates bought in Bornu.

These exchanges suffice for local needs. 1,200 miles from the Mediterranean coast by the economically unimportant Kufra track, detached from the trade routes joining the Sudan with the Mediterranean (which avoid Tibesti and its brigands), detached from the tracks leading to the Nile lands passing to the south of Wadai, Borkou has always lived turned in on it self. For this reason archaic modes of life have survived in these oases until the present day and paganism had not retreated before Islam, in the 19th century. This isolation has of late years been twice violently broken. For half a century after 1842 the country was ravaged by the waves of the Awlād Sulaymān who swept down from the Fezzan in flight from the Turks. Then, about 1900, the Sanūsiyya, falling back from Kanem and Manga, settled themselves firmly at the two ends of the central depression, at N'Galakka and at Woun (*alias* Faya, later Largeau). They made their *zāwiyas*, especially that at Gouro, agricultural centres as well as intellectual and religious centres from which Islam was propagated. But they indulged in raids which, by forcing the nomads to choose between the palm groves occupied by the Sanūsiyya and the pasture lands to the south controlled by France since her occupation of Wadai and Baḥr al-Ghazāl, disorganized and so ruined economic life. The Sanūsiyya had the backing of the Turks, who placed garrisons in the country in 1911, but the Italo-Turkish conflict brought about the withdrawal of these garrisons in 1912, and in 1913 France occupied the whole of Borkou.

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BORNEO, the corrupted form of Brunai (which is a town in British North Borneo at about Lat. 5° N. and Long. 115° E.) applied to the largest of the greater Sunda Islands in Indonesia, probably as early as the 14th century, and in any case by the Portuguese since the 16th century. The greater part of the island is now called Kalimantan and constitutes a province of the Indonesian Republic. From the view-point of Muslim studies the importance of the island is small, as practically the whole population of the interior of Borneo is pagan. Islam and Christi-

anity penetrated in the coast areas whence they have been slowly spreading into the interior; since 1942 political conditions favour the propaganda of Islam rather than the spreading of Christian denominations. The character of the local Islam is not different from what we find elsewhere in Indonesia [*q.v.*]. The only important centre of Muslim activity is Pontianak [*q.v.*] on the West Coast. (C. C. BERG)

BORNŪ, or Barnū, the name—of doubtful etymology the root of which reappears in Beriberi (= Baribari) as their neighbours call the Kanuri—given to a region in the hinterland of West Africa and used:

(a) loosely, of an area never precisely defined in geographical terms, were there was established one of the major states of that part of the Western Sudan,—see para. 6 below,—and

(b) of a province;—area, according to 1931 census, 45,900 square miles—lying between latitudes 10° and 13.5° N. and longitudes 10° and 14° E., in Northern Nigeria, containing that part of (a) west of the Anglo-German and south of the Anglo-French original international boundaries, plus an adjacent narrow strip on the eastern frontier of the former German Kameruns mandated to Great Britain after the war of 1914-18; including the Shaykhdoms of Bornu and Dikwa, together with some other administrative units.

2. Geography. Bornū consists in the main of a vast sandy plain, drained by two rivers,—the Yobe running from west to east in the north and the Yedseram from south to north in the south,—into the marshy shores of Lake Chad which lies in its north-eastern corner. The only mountainous features occur in the extreme south and south-east of the Province. In earlier times the Shari River which also flows from south to north into Lake Chad was regarded as the eastern border of Bornu, dividing it from Bagirmi [*q.v.*] country. The early medieval geographers and historians were cognisant of the region under this name, which appears on the Catalan atlas of Charles V (1375 A.D.), and is mentioned by al-ʿUmarī (d. 1348 A.D.), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406 A.D.), al-Maḳrīzī (d. 1442 A.D.) and others. It was visited and described (Book VII)by Leo Africanus (d. circa 1552).

3. Transport and Trade. The main modern motor road (Kano-Maidugari-Fort Lamy) runs from west to east across the region, with feeders from north and south, as did the former caravan route (Kano-Kukawa-Bilma). There is a permanent aerodrome at Maidugari and emergency landing grounds elsewhere. Of old slaves and ivory were the main exports, now groundnuts, hides, gum, cotton and numerous minor items have replaced these. Imports consist of manufactured articles, especially cotton goods. There is a considerable internal trade in dried fish from the Lake Chad area, salt and kola nuts.

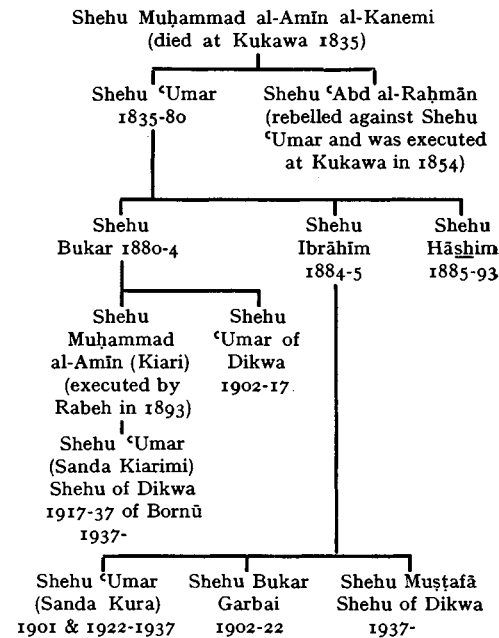
4. Economy. The region is not industrialised and contains no cities. It is self contained so far as the necessities of life are concerned, and its population is mainly agricultural. In the 1952 census, of 790,361 males, 376,561 are shown as engaged in agriculture and fishing. Its capital wealth consists in numerous herds of cattle, sheep and goats, together with the fisheries of Lake Chad.

5. Ethnography. (a) The population of the region described in para. 1 (b) above comprises the Kanuri, Fulānī, Hausa [*qq.v.*], Shuwa Arabs and some other tribes. At the census of 1952, the salient figures for the Bornu Province of Nigeria were—Kanuri 752,683; Fulānī 168,944; Hausa 84,729; Shuwa Arab 98,909; Bura 89,826. Total—including other less numerous mostly pagan tribes situated mainly in the hilly south and south east of the Province,—1,595,708. The comparable total in the 1931 census was 1,118,360.

(b) Languages. Kanuri [*q.v.*] is the major language of the region, but of importance also are the colloquial Arabic spoken by the Shuwa Arabs, and Fuffulde spoken by the Fulānī [*q.v.*]. Hausa is little spoken except by the trading elements in the towns. The pagan tribes have their own tongues. English is also used by those who have been educated in the more advanced schools.

6. History. The early history of Bornū is linked with that of the Kanem Empire. In 666 A.D., ʿUḳba b. Nafiʿ penetrated the east central Saharan desert as far as Tibesti in the Tebu country to the north of Lake Chad, the inhabitants of which, according to legend, were the So, a giant race originating from the Fezzan. According to tradition the first king of Kanem in this area was one Sayf, claiming descent from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan of the Banī Ḥimyar. This tradition may be post-Islamic and fabricated. The ruling class of old in this area was called the Maghumi, a word the root of which appears in the Kanuri words Mai (ruler) and Maghira, the title of the Bornu Queen Mother, an office which carried and still carries considerable power. There is strong traditional and some written evidence that this ruling class was 'white-skinned', and a reasonable supposition is that it was originally matrilinear and probably of origins connected with the Tawāriḳ, (plur. from sing. Tarḳi, vulg. Tuareg). The Saifawa were a nomadic people who absorbed or conquered the Tebu peoples to their north, and founded the Empire of Kanem, with capital at Njimi. Their rulers are said to have given 'the Sultan of the Beriberi' permission to settle, and tradition speaks of an invasion by Muslim Beriberi from Yaman via Fezzan and Kuwar in 800 A.D. The Empire of Kanem had received Islam by the 11th century if not earlier, and by the 13th century was powerful enough for its influence to reach as far as Egypt in the north east and Dikwa in the south. Ibn Khaldūn speaks of the 'King of Kanem and the Master of Bornū', the last word apparently describing the southern part of the Kanem empire from Lake Chad to Dikwa. But, circa 1389 A.D., the Sayf dynasty was driven out of Kanem by a kindred tribe, and the consequent tribal movements resulted in the advance of the Kanuri nation to the west of Lake Chad, and finally to their founding, circa 1470 A.D., on the River Yo, of Birni N'gazargamu as the capital of Bornū and of the Kanuri nation. It remained their capital for three centuries, though, circa 1507 A.D., Njimi itself was recaptured by the Kanuri, and old Kanem became a province of the new Bornū Empire. In the 16th century and under a succession of able 'Mai's or rulers (Muḥammad 1526-45, Dunama 1546-63, ʿAbdallah—in whose reign Fulānī settlers in Bornū are first mentioned—1564-70) the Bornū Empire expanded greatly, and this process was no doubt helped by the conquest, in 1592 A.D., by Morocco of Bornū's rival in the western Sahara, the empire of Songhay. Of these rulers the greatest was probably Mai Idrīs Atuma, (ob. 1602), who successfully campaigned as far afield as Kano, and also subdued the tribes of Air [*q.v.*] and the Tebu. Mai Idris made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried in Alo Lake near Maidugari. This peak was followed by two centuries of quiescence (Mai Ali, 1645-84 A.D., made the pilgrimage thrice), during part of which

at least the Bornū Empire seems to have been on the defensive, for ʿAlī was beseiged unsuccessfully in his own capital by the Tawāriḳ and the Kwararafa. Contributing causes may have been a series of severe famines,—one is recorded of seven years' duration,—and the general dislocation which followed the Moorish conquest of Songhay. The Fulānī *djihād* further to the west at the beginning of the 19th century soon had repercussions affecting Bornū, the suzerainty of which over the Hausa states lying between Bornū and Sokoto was challenged. In 1808 the Fulānī in Bornū assembled at Gujba, defeated Mai Aḥmad b. ʿAlī and sacked his capital at N'gazargamu. (One of the successful Fulānī leaders in this campaign later founded the town and amirate of Katagum with the title of Sarkin Bornū). Mai Aḥmad fled to Kanem where he invoked the aid of a leading chief there, Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kanemi, a man who had travelled extensively in the Muslim world and had a wide reputation for learning and piety. He reinstated Mai Aḥmad and expelled the Fulānī, who, however, on Mai Aḥmad's death soon after, returned to defeat his successor, Dunama b. Aḥmad. The last named in turn sought the aid of al Kanemi, and at this point the modern history of Bornū may be said to begin. Al-Kanemi, victorious again over the Fulānī and Baghirmi, restored the old Sayf ruling house as titular kings and established himself at Kukawa, where he was visited by Denham in 1822, as the power behind the throne. His further attempts, circa 1826, to re-establish the empire of Bornū over the Hausa states were less successful, and, after being defeated, he died in 1835, and was succeeded by his eldest son ʿUmar who made peace with the Fulānī. During the absence of ʿUmar on these negotiations, the Sayf royal house called in the ruler of Wadai to help them expel the house of al-Kanemi. This plot failed. The then Mai, Ibrāhīm, was executed in 1846, and the last of the Sayf dynasty, his son ʿAlī, was killed in battle. ʿUmar now became *de jure* as well as *de facto* ruler of Bornū, adopting the title Shehu (= Shaykh) instead of Mai, thus inaugurating the Kanembu dynasty. He rebuilt Kukawa which had been destroyed by the men of Wadai, and was visited here by Dr. Barth in 1851 and 1855. War with Wadai was almost continuous, seriously weakening the strength of Bornū, and the outlying western territory of Zinder became virtually independent. In 1893, Rabeh [*q.v.*] entered Bornū from Wadai with a well armed and trained force of some two thousand men, which was altogether too strong for any forces with their antiquated weapons which could take the field against him. He defeated a general of the then Shehu, Hāshim, at Amja, next Hāshim himself near Ngala. He then took and plundered Kukawa, after which he returned to Dikwa where he made his headquarters, and built the fort which can still be seen. A cousin, Muḥammad al-Amīn nicknamed Kiari, of Shehu Hāshim caused the latter, now a fugitive, to be secretly murdered and himself advanced against Rabeh from Geidam. The two forces met at Gashegar and Kiari's troops had some initial success, even taking Rabeh's camp, but were finally put to flight by Rabeh's army. Kiari himself was taken and executed. This ended the resistance to Rabeh in Bornū. Rabeh established a military regime at Dikwa and sent out columns on predatory raids. His rule was entirely destructive and caused incalculable loss and dislocation over a wide area. In 1900, Rabeh was defeated and killed by French troops under Commandant Lamy. Rabeh's son, Faḍl Allāh, fled westwards before the French, was pursued and finally, on 3 Aug. 1901, killed by them under command of Captain Dangeville in an engagement at Gujba in Nigeria, (150 miles on the British side of the Anglo-French boundary which, though approved on paper, had not yet been delimited by boundary commissions on the ground, thus causing considerable confusion in the then so unsettled state of the country). The French authorities offered restoration to Sanda, a son of the late Shehu, but he was unable to meet their conditions, and finally the Kanemi dynasty was restored by the British authorities with Shehu Bukar Garbai, his brother. Shehu Bukar set up first at Mongonu, then moved to Kukawa and finally, in 1907, to Yerwa near Maidugari which has remained the capital of Bornū to the present time. Dikwa became part of the German Kameruns, which, after the German defeat in the 1914-18 war, were mandated to Great Britain and France by the League of Nations, Dikwa falling into the former's area. Details on the history of Bornu in the present century will be found in the reports of the Government of Nigeria.

THE SHEHU-S OF BORNŪ AND DIKWA

7. Religion. Islam is the religion of the Kanuri, Fulani, Shuwa Arabs and Hausa, and their *madhhab* Mālikī. Of the Ṭarīḳas, the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] and the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] are the best supported, though representatives of others will also be found, including the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] and the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*]. The Church of the Brethren (American Protestant) Mission operates among the Bura tribe in the south of the Province. It seems certain that, in modern conditions, the animism of the pagan tribes will gradually disappear.

8. Miscellaneous. Notable European explorers who visited Bornū were Denham, Oudney and Clapperton (1823), Barth, who made long stays at Kukawa between 1851 and 1855 and collected much information about the history and circumstances of the region, Vogel (1854-6), Beurmann (1860), Rohlfs (1866), Nachtigal (1870-2), Matheucci and Massari (1880-1), Monteil (1892).

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BOSNA (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

1. General outline.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a total area of 51,129 km.², lies within the latitudes 42° 26′ and 45° 15′ North and longitudes 15° 44′ and 19° 41′ East; it thus occupies the western—largely mountainous—region of Yugoslavia, rich in mineral resources, water-power, and forests. It is divided into two geographical and historical entities—Bosnia and Herzegovina. The name of Bosnia refers to the larger northern part of the country, while Herzegovina comprises the southern districts with the basin of the river Neretva. The name "Bosnia" is derived from the river Bosna (of uncertain meaning but doubtless of Illyrian origin) which flows through the central part of the country. It was round the source and the upper basin of the river that traces have been found of a district called Bosna (first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who thought it belonged to Serbia), inhabited by early settlers, members of Slav tribes. After many changes of fortune brought about by a succession of foreign and native rulers, the region became an integral part of a new State bearing its name, which—under the reign of King Tvrtko I (1353-1391)—comprised not only the present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for a small district in the north-west, but also a large part of the Adriatic coast with the neighbouring districts in the south and south-east. Under Turkish rule, Bosnia was one of the *sandjaks* of the Ottoman Empire, and from 988/1580 an *eyālet* which comprised a larger area than that of the present Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only before but even after the loss of territory suffered in the second decade of the 12th/end of the 17th century. The name of Herzegovina dates from the middle of the 15th century when the magnate Stjepan Vukčić Kosača rebelled against the then king of Bosnia and had himself proclaimed "Herzeg (Duke) of St. Sava". The region later came to be called "Hercegovina" (the land of the Herzeg) and in Turkish: ***Hersek ili*** or ***Hersek sandjaği***. The present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina roughly corresponds to the area that constituted the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian rule (1878-1918) and which was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1918). The boundaries and the extent of the region remained unchanged during the later administration of the new Kingdom (under the so-called Vidovdan Constitution). After the suppression of parliamentary rule in Yugoslavia (1929), an authoritarian Kingdom of Yugoslavia emerged, made up of nine large administrative units called "banovinas". This division altered the boundaries of the country, for the two banovinas with their seats within Bosnia and Herzegovina (those of Sarajevo and Banjaluka) now comprised parts of the neighbouring area, with the result that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina territory came to belong to the banovina the seat of which was in Split, while part of Herzegovina was included into the banovina whose seat was in Montenegro. In present-day Yugoslavia a separate people's republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been formed within its traditional historic boundaries.

The social and political organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of the republics of Yugoslavia, is based on the written Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, passed 13th January 1946, the Constitution of the P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina dated 31st December 1946, the Constitutional Law of 13th January 1953 concerning the foundations of the social and political organisation of the F.P.R. of Yugoslavia and the federal organs of government, and the Constitutional Law of 29th January 1953 concerning the social and political organisation of the P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the republican organs of government.

The P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina has, as does each of the Yugoslav republics, its own People's Assembly with its Executive Council and Secretariats in Sarajevo, the capital city of the Republic. The country is divided into 12 districts and 134 communes (1958).

The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina shown by the census taken in 1953 was 2,847,790. Serbo-Croat is the language spoken by the people (except for small numbers of Slovenian and Macedonian settlers and national minorities) who are, however, divided—as regards nationality— into Serbs (largely of the Orthodox Church, the rest being Muslims), Croats (largely Roman-Catholics, the rest being Muslims) and those that abstained from declaring their nationality (very largely Muslims).

According to the preliminary results of the census of 1953 there were in Bosnia and Herzegovina: 10.3 per cent of no denomination, 35.1 per cent Orthodox, 21.4 per cent Roman-Catholics, 32.3 per cent Muslims, and 0.9 of other denominations.

The official and final results, now in print, of the census taken in 1953 are as follows:

Serbs	1,264,372—44.3%	(including 35,228 Muslims)
Croats	654,229—23.0%	(including 15,477 Muslims)
Undeclared Yugoslavs	891,800—31.4%	(of whom 860,486 were Muslims)
Others	37,389— 1.3%	

The common language and close ethnical affinity of the population notwithstanding, the people are split into three groups owing to historical influences but mainly to different religious beliefs which were responsible for the formation of national differences between Serbs and Croats. The islamisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—the centuries-old borderland of the Ottoman Empire, situated at the very confines of East and West with their respective influences—came to introduce yet a third denominational element. Under Austro-Hungarian rule, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was officially classified according to denominations—except for a small number of settlers whose nationality was duly recorded—although the greater part of the people was becoming nationally conscious, *i.e.*, the Orthodox population professed to be Serbs, and the Roman-Catholics Croats. Up to the World War II, Belgrade and Zagreb had each claimed national kinship with the Moslems of Bosnia, hence it came that a certain part of the Muslim population—mostly urban intelligentsia had declared themselves Serbs and Croats respectively.

However, the great majority of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina remained unimpressed and abstained from declaring themselves Serbs or Croats. Personal opinion and feelings on the question of nationality have been fully respected in modern Yugoslavia; consequently, the Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims are free to choose whether to declare themselves Serbs or Croats, or make no declaration of their nationality. Among other reasons, the fact that there are in Bosnia and Herzegovina large numbers of nationally undecided Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims was decisive for Bosnia and Herzegovina being made a separate people's republic of modern Yugoslavia.

The four centuries of Turkish rule (867/1463-1295/1878) have resulted not only in the islamisation of a large part of the population but have also left their mark on the whole country. In Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbo-Croat is the language alike of Muslims and of the rest of the population. Consequently, elements of oriental culture have taken firm root in the pattern and way of life not only of the Muslims but of the entire population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The centuries of Turkish rule delayed the growth of middle-class society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the economic policy pursued in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule proved unable to develop and exploit all the productive possibilities of the country's resources, with the result that Bosnia and Herzegovina remained a backward country in many ways. In pre-war Yugoslavia, owing to various unfavourable circumstances and to the economic policy of the Government, the inherited backwardness did not show any great improvement. It was only after the World War II and the carrying out of revolutionary measures by the new regime of Yugoslavia that the natural resources of Bosnia and Herzegovina came to be exploited to the full due to the growing industrialisation of the country. Since 1945, a great number of industrial plants and establishments have been set up, small and large hydro-electric and thermo-electric power stations have been built and the mining industry modernised and extended. In the period from 1947 to 1954 the investments made in the industries and mining of Bosnia and Herzegovina totalled 236,494 million dinars or 61.3 per cent of all investments. The investment policy had to be adjusted and slightly changed after this period of most intensive industrialisation. The investments made in 1957 totalled 75,667 millions, of which 33,846 was spent on industry and mining. The consequences of rapid industrialisation are also reflected in the official returns concerning the ratio of agricultural population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was as follows:

	1895	1910	1931	1948	1953
Engaged in agriculture, forestry & fishing	88.4	86.6	83.4	76.7	63.5
Engaged otherwise	11.6	13.4	16.5	23.3	36.5

The rate of growth in the other branches of the national economy was less rapid, especially as regards the use of agricultural land and cattle and sheep raising, but recent trends in agricultural policy have resulted in greater emphasis being laid on tillage and other types of farming. In 1957 there were in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2,613,000 hectares of agricultural land, 64.7% of which were cultivable, the rest being pastures and hill grazings (35%) and marshland and reed-beds (0.1%).

Concerning communications, Bosnia and Herzegovina is still suffering from the consequences of adverse former conditions, especially as regards the railway network. In 1957 the country had 2,111 km. of railways, 1,339 km. of which were of standard gauge as against 772 km. of narrow gauge.

The total value of national production in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1956 was 215,639 million dinars, the chief sources and amounts (in millions) contributed by each being as follows:

Industry & Mining	108,446
Agriculture	46,828
Building	11,154
Transport	19,877
Forestry	10,041
Handicrafts	5,653
Trade & Catering	13,640

Similar to the inherited underdeveloped state of the country's economy is the inherited cultural backwardness of the people, particularly in rural areas. The Austro-Hungarian government set up state-controlled primary schools without abolishing denominational schools. Compulsory primary education was introduced in 1911, yet in 1912/13 there were in Bosnia and Herzegovina only 374 state-controlled primary schools. The small number of schools, state-controlled and denominational together, could only cope with 18.55% of the children of school age. The Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia would only recognise the State primary schools, yet hardly one third of the children of school age were able to attend. The number of primary schools in 1938-39 was only 1,092, hence the large-scale illiteracy at the time. After World War II, despite the great efforts made to increase the number of schools and reduce illiteracy of adults, the official returns of 1953 showed that there were 225,000 illiterate males and 615,000 illiterate females in Bosnia and Herzegovina out of a total of 2,116,000 persons over the age of 10.

In 1945 and over the following years special efforts were made to raise the standard of literacy and education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus in 1957 there were altogether 2,406 primary schools (including the continuation and eight-year schools), 37 "gymnasiums" (secondary classical or grammar schools), 159 professional training schools and 27 others. For adults there were 26 two-year elementary schools, 10 secondary schools, 12 technical schools for workers, 19 schools for skilled workmen and 11 others. Some time after the war a university with seven faculties was founded in Sarajevo, as well as an academy of music and a number of science institutes. In addition to these, there are now three Teachers Training Colleges in Bosnia and Herzegovina, several higher (professional) training colleges, six theatres, sixty science libraries, three hundred and twenty-five public libraries, eighteen museums and a radio broadcasting station.

Bibliography: *Statistički godišnjak FNRJ za* 1958, Belgrade 1958; *Rezultati popisa stanovništva* 1953, *Book I—Vitalna i etnička obeležja* (in print) (The Federal Statistical Office of FPRY makes available surveys in English and French)—*Informativni podaci o srezovima i opštinama* (issued by Statistical Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina), Sarajeva 1958; *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, ii, (S. V. Bosna i Hercegovina) Zagreb, 1956.

2. History of Bosnia and Herzegovina underd Turkish rule.

(a) *During the rise of Turkish power*

The establishment of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina is associated with the setting up and strengthening of Turkish rule. The first Turkish invasion occurred in the year 788/1386 during the reign of the first Bosnian king Tvrtko I (1353-91, king from 1377) when he was at the summit of his power. The next invasion took place in 790/1388 when the Turkish army was defeated by the Vojvoda Vlatko Vuković. In the following year, a Bosnian army led by Vlatko Vuković took part in the battle of Kossovo in support of the Serbian Duke Lazar. In the course of fighting Sultan Murād was mortally wounded and died when the battle had ended, yet Prince Bāyazīd succeeded in carrying the day and taking Duke Lazar prisoner. After the battle of Kossovo the Duke's successors had to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty. The vassal Serbs considerably weakened the position of Bosnia. King Tvrtko's successor was allowed to rule over the lands that actually belonged to him, while the greater part of Bosnia was in the power of independent magnates each exercising full control over their respective districts. The conquest of Skopje (in Turkish Üsküp) by the Turks in 794/1392 brought about the formation of a Turkish March bordering on Serbia and Bosnia. Skopje became the seat of the first *Sandjaḳ-beyi* Pas͟ha Yigit, who was succeeded by his son Isḥāḳ. From 818/1415 frequent Turkish incursions took place: as a result, Turkish influence made itself increasingly felt in the internal affairs of the country and in the ever growing dissensions among Bosnian barons and pretenders to the throne. Soon after the accession of Tvrtko II (1420-43), who had to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty, Bosnian kings were subjected to tribute by the Turks (from 832/1428-29) who had temporarily occupied and garrisoned a number of towns on several occasions. It was not until the middle of the 9th/15th century that the Turks became firmly established in the town of Hodidjed and the surrounding country—in the present district of Sarajevo—where a frontier March was formed and administered by the Governor ʿĪsā Bey of Skopje, the son of Isḥāḳ Bey, under the direct control of a Turkish dignitary with the title of *voyvoda*. The area was under dual control, for the Bosnian lords of the surrounding districts were vassals of the Turks. This administrative area is recorded in a Turkish cadastral register of the year 859/1455, but no mention is made there of a settlement called Saray Ovasī though a district of the same name is recorded. However, the origins of Sarajevo date back before the final downfall of the Kingdom of Bosnia, for the townlet of Saray Ovasī is recorded in 866/1362. At that time the Bosnian throne was occupied by Stjepan Tomaš (1443-1461), who relied on the support of the West but failed to obtain release from the obligation to pay tribute to the Turks. On that occasion, the Pope demanded not only the conversion of the king to catholicism but the suppression of "heresy" as well, a religion which, despite constant persecution, had taken firm root and become the established church. However reluctantly, the King finally ordered the persecution of the heretics who took refuge in the districts held by Turks and in the region of later Herzegovina. The Turks continued to exploit not only the religious antagonism in the kingdom but social differences as well. The attempt made to unite the Kingdom of Bosnia and the Despotate of Serbia by means of an arranged marriage between the King's son Stjepan Tomašević and a Serbian Princess, brought about the fall of the Despotate and its capital city of Smederevo (1459). Stjepan Tomašević (1461-1463), the last of Bosnian kings, came to depend upon the West for support to a much larger extent than his father ever did.

In 867/1463 when the King refused to pay tribute, the Turkish armies, led by the Sultan himself, invaded and rapidly conquered Bosnia. Soon after the withdrawal of Turkish troops, the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus marched into Bosnia and occupied the town of Jajce with adjacent districts. During the following year Hungarian forces conquered Srebrenik, when two "banats" were set up—the seat of one in Jajce and of the other in Srebrenik—which formed a Hungarian March reinforced by the belt to the South of the Sava. During the 9th/15th century several incursions were launched from here, culminating in a three-day occupation of Sarajevo. King Matthias made one of his barons titular King of Bosnia. The Turks had earlier given the conquered districts of the kingdom to a cousin of the former dynasty and had founded a titular kingdom which had lasted only up to 881/1476.

The first *Sandjaḳ-beyi* of Bosnia was Meḥmed-bey Minnet-og͟hlu. The *sandjak* of Herzegovina was founded in 874/1470 (the rest of Herzegovina was conquered by the Turks at the end of 886/beginning of 1482); another *sandjaḳ* was later set up, the seat of which was in Zvornik. The Banat of Srebrenik fell to the Turks in 918/1512, who also captured Jajce and Banjaluka after the battle of Mohács (in 1527 or 1528). From Bosnia the Turks penetrated into Lika and occupied the greater part of Dalmatia with the castle of Klis. The Bosnian *sandjaḳ-beyi* took part in the conquest of Slavonia.

The seat of the *sandjak* of Bosna was in Sarajevo (until the middle of the 10th/16th century) where many imposing buildings were erected by the *sandjaḳ-beyi* G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey, who came there as *sandjaḳ-beyi* in 926/1520 and died in 948/1541. By that time the town of Sarajevo had become a large and important place. However, the seat of the *sandjaḳ* was moved to Banjaluka (towards the middle of the 10th/16th century), the lay-out and building of which as a Muslim city was completed by Ferhad Sokolović (Sokollu), a Governor of Bosnia who became the first Bosnian pas͟ha (*beyler-beyi*). In the year 988/ 1580 the *eyālet* of Bosnia was formed, with Banjaluka as its seat, which comprised seven *sandjaḳ*s (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Klis, Krka, Pakrac, Zvornik and Požega). In addition to the present area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the *eyālet* included parts of Slavonia, Lika and Dalmatia, as well as the frontier districts of Serbia. At the beginning of the 11th/ the end of the 16th century the *eyālet* was composed of eight *sandjaḳ*s, and at the end of the first decade of the 11th/the beginning of the 17th century the *sandjaḳ* of Požega was incorporated into the newly formed *eyālet* of Kanizsa.

The Turkish conquest brought about great changes in the social pattern of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the time when Bosnia came under Turkish control, the foundations of the structure and organisation of the Ottoman Empire had been completed.

Having conquered the country, the Turks proceeded to introduce their own social structure, a strictly centralised government, and their military

and feudal systems. This resulted in great changes in economic and social relations. Mining, next to agriculture the most important branch of former Bosnian economic activities, was taken over by the new rulers, and all the mines became the property of the sultan. The days of high and powerful feudal lords, masters in their own districts, were gone. In agrarian relations, the *tīmār* system was introduced controlled by a central authority. The *sandjaḳ*s were administered by governors directly controlled by the sultans, whose incomes were the largest next to those of emperors. Governors used to be replaced all too frequently. On the other hand, the pressure on the peasant eased and sheep-raising began to improve. In the countryside generally, patriarchal ways of life and a measure of autonomy became apparent.

At the same time, great religious and ethnical changes occurred involving the whole population. There was a large-scale islamisation. An improvement in animal husbandry in certain mountainous districts, particularly in those of Herzegovina, became evident, sheep-breeders were resettled in fertile agricultural districts which had been laid waste by wars and the like. Settling down on fertile lands, thousands of sheep-raisers turned to tillage, thus providing fresh manpower for the improvement of devastated areas. In view of the great importance attached to their work as colonisers, the settlers were allowed to retain their former privileges as sheep-raisers; however, with the growth of the feudal system and more settled conditions the settlers very largely became common *reʿāyā*. Because most of these settlers were Orthodox Serbs, many districts which had been devoid of Serbs now became peopled with them.

On the other hand, islamisation helped the reigning religion to win adherents and partisans among all classes: peasants, feudal lords and townspeople. The islamisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been the subject of comprehensive studies so far, so it still presents a problem awaiting solution. Before the World War I the generally accepted opinion was that the followers of the heretic Church, the so-called Bogumils had passed over to Islam in a body, allegedly because of a similarity of views on moral law, and owing to the earlier persecutions on the part of the Church of Rome. This opinion is still shared by many scholars today (A. Solovjev and others). By passing over to Islam *en masse*, Bosnian nobles had been allowed to retain their estates, and the traditional pattern of land-tenure in Bosnia and Herzegovina had thus remained unchanged until the 13th/19th century. The *tīmār* system was only introduced as a superstructure. One of the chief supporters of this theory, before the World War I, was Ć. Truhelka. According to Truhelka and others, Bosnia had from the very beginning enjoyed a separate status in the Ottoman Empire.

During the interval between the two world wars some Yugoslav historians (V. Čubrilović, V. Skarić) sought to prove the groundlessness of these views. They were of the opinion that (a) the islamisation had been carried out gradually, (b) the Bosnian nobles had not retained their estates after the conquest because of the setting-up of the *tīmār* system, and (c) the system of land-tenure, such as prevailed during the 18th century and was continued in the following century, had developed only gradually within the framework of the old agrarian system.

Attention has been drawn by modern Yugoslav historians to Turkish sources of the first order, particularly to cadastral registers, which are likely to throw light on the history of the Yugoslav peoples during the period in question; however, the results of the investigations have not all been made public as yet.

Before 867/1463, while the Turks held part of Bosnia under their control, there were no *sipāhī tīmārs* in the outlying districts of the borderland governed by ʿĪsā Bey, the only *tīmārs* being those owned by men of the garrison of the fort at Hodidjed. Moreover, in the interior of the borderland, within the estates of ʿĪsā Bey, there were a number of *sipāhīs*, mostly Muslims with a few Christians. After the conquest, it was mainly from here and Macedonia, then from Serbia and other regions that the bulk of *sipāhīs* were drawn. Among the *sipāhīs* that were sent to Bosnia there were many of Slav origin. After liquidating the leading representatives of the old Bosnian nobility during and after the conquest, the Turks at first left a few members of noble families and a good number of the old minor feudal landowners in possession of their estates. The conquerors also gave lands to headmen of sheep-raisers. This accounts for the presence at the time of many Christian *sipāhīs*, particularly in Herzegovina.

The coming over of Bosnian feudatories to the side of Turks began rather early, at a time when they had to rely on influential Turks in the settling of disputes. Thus the land of the ducal family of Pavlović was recorded in the cadastral register of 859/1455 as land paying tribute in a lump sum (*muḳāṭaʿa*) (see Başvekalet arşivi, Mâliye deft. 544). Herzeg Stjepan's line of policy was for long one of complete reliance on the Turks. His sons had some time to rely on the Turks as well. His youngest son went over to the Turks, embraced Islam and as Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a held the office of Grand Vizier five times during the reigns of Bāyazīd II and Selīm I. A considerable number of natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina belonging to Muslim feudal families, as well as boys collected from the *reʿāyā* by *devs̲h̲irme* and educated at the Court, were to hold the offices of Viziers or Grand Viziers. Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a Sokolović (Sokollu), one of the foremost Ottoman statesmen, Grand Vizier 972/1564-987/1579, was descended from a distinguished Serbian family in Bosnia, whose Christian relatives were Patriarchs of Serbia after the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć (1557). The bonds of blood and kinship between men of Bosnian descent who held high offices and their kinsmen helped greatly to raise the fortunes of certain Bosnian families.

Although the ranks of *sipāhīs* were partly filled with foreign newcomers, the majority were of native descent, raised from among the old Bosnian feudalists or the new *sipāhīs* created during Turkish rule. In the earliest cadastral registers of the *sandjaḳ* of Bosnia, the names of islamised *sipāhīs* and their Christian relatives are recorded. Likewise, the members of their whole families are found grouped around the names of outstanding dignitaries (see Başvekâlet arşivi, Tapu deft. 18 and 24). During the period there were in Bosnia, adjacent to Sultans' and *Sandjaḳ-beys*' estates, a number of *čiftliks* held by feudal landlords and others; some of the *sipāhīs* likewise owned *čiftliks* in addition to *tīmārs*, but most of the latter contained no *čiftliks* as a rule. The *čiftliks* were hereditary possessions and remained as such even should the *sipāhī* have lost possession of the tīmār. On the whole it would seem that a number of earlier feudatories, converted to Islam, had kept their inherited land in the form of *čiftliks*. The latter, however, were few in number and consisted of

small estates, thus the theory can hardly be upheld, as Ć. Truhelka would have it, that the Bosnian nobles had remained in possession of their estates at the time of the conquest and had succeeded in holding them till the 13th/19th century. As a matter of fact, the number of *čiftlik*s continued to increase, however slightly, until the beginning of the 10th/the end of the 15th century when, during the reign of Sulṭān Suleymān the Lawgiver, the *čiftlik*s of this kind were finally abolished. Such *čiftlik*s, however, were to serve as a basis and pattern for the future development of new agrarian relations out of the old.

Muslim descendants of Christian *sipāhī*s and members of islamised families who had mended their fortunes under Turkish rule were to be found later as *sipāhī*s and *za*ʿ*īms*, as *dizdār*s of fortresses and higher functionaries. The importance attached to Bosnia as a frontier land favoured the rise to influence and power of the native Muslims. True, after the break-through of the Turkish armies and the invasion of areas under Hungarian rule, a great many *sipāhī*s were ordered to settle in newly conquered regions, yet this was not followed by the same consequences as in Serbia where the process of islamisation virtually stopped with the Turkish invasion of Hungary. In Bosnia and Herzegovina islamisation had resulted in the creation of a broad basis of Muslims recruited not only from the townspeople but also from the peasantry.

The creation of conditions necessary for the development of town communities in Bosnia—particularly those of mining centres—had begun during the period preceding the Turkish conquest. After the establishment of Turkish rule, Bosnian towns began to develop and grow. Turkish craftsmanship, particularly the handicraft characteristic of the Near East, was far advanced as compared with the craftsmanship of the earlier Bosnian period. Consequently, handicrafts and trade guilds of an oriental type developed greatly over the first two centuries of Turkish reign in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Great progress was made in trades related to the manufacture of leather, in goldsmiths' work, and in crafts connected with the production of military equipment and of goods required by townspeople. On the other hand, the Ottoman mining industry was less developed than in Bosnia or Serbia where Saxon settlers had introduced their mining technique and rules. Owing to the introduction, by the Turkish authorities, of bureaucratic administrative measures in mining areas which became merged with the Imperial domains (*khāṣṣ*), the mining industry suffered a setback in the first century of the Turkish rule, with a consequent falling off in production and, more particularly, in the output of precious metals; the production of iron, however, showed a slight increase. For these reasons, the growth of towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Turkish rule was associated—apart from military considerations, which were the most important factor in the siting and building of towns—not with the development of the mining industry but rather with the advancement of crafts and the related trade. The towns built by the Turks were all situated on sites ensuring good communications. Over the second half of the 10/15th century, the islamisation of the old Bosnian mining market-towns proceeded but slowly and was less conducive to their future development than in the case of new towns built by the Turks on the sites of former market-towns. A good instance are the towns of Sarajevo and Banjaluka, among others, which, as the seats of Turkish authorities and military garrisons, expanded and developed into crafts centres and trading settlements. Besides the Muslims civil servants and soldiers, the populations of similar towns continued to grow because of the migration of Muslims from various places who brought in Oriental customs and ways of life. At the beginning however, it was the merchants of Dubrovnik who were the only traders on a large scale.

The building of the most important towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina was due to the initiative of individual governors. It was in and around these towns that governors had their estates, mills, houses, *ḥammām*s and shops, which they would bequeath and leave, during their lifetime, as religious and charitable endowments (*waḳf*). Thus a great number of mosques, *tekiye*s and religious schools were built, with libraries adjoining mosques or schools. Dervish orders introduced mystic rites and ceremonies likely to please the urban population. Briefly, the towns of Bosnia became the strongholds of Turkish power and the mainstays of Muslim culture. The towns also had an influence on the countryside and attracted great numbers of peasants and people from rural areas. Most of the migrants were peasants converted to Islam, and the non-Muslims soon became converts as well. Christians and Jews living in towns were few in number.

The earliest Turkish cadastral registers of the *sandjaḳ*s of Bosnia and Herzegovina provide documentary evidence bearing out the contention that the islamisation *en masse* had its origin in towns and the surrounding country districts. At the beginning of the period, as shown in the records, converted peasants in the *sandjaḳ* of Bosnia were to be found only around the town of Sarajevo. In 894/1489 there were in the *sandjaḳ* over 25,000 Christian houses, 1,300 odd Christian widows' houses, and over 4,000 unmarried Christian men, as compared with approximately 4,500 Muslim houses and over 2,300 single Muslims (cf. Başvekâlet arşivi, Tapu deft. no. 24). The earliest cadastral register of the *sandjaḳ* of Herzegovina for the year 882/1477 (Tapu deft. no. 5) clearly shows—and so do the other cadastral registers—that the islamisation was not instantaneous; nor is there any evidence to prove the assumption that the conquerors had been joined by masses of partisans that belonged to the heretic Church of Bosnia. Only in some mountain villages of Herzegovina, as shown by the registers, were to be found the "devoted believers of the Church of Bosnia" (*krstjani*); also, some believers of the Church of Bosnia were recorded to have lived in a deserted village in the *sandjaḳ* of Bosnia, this being the only instance. It would seem that twenty years' persecution of Bosnian heretics during the reigns of King Stjepan Tomaš and King Stjepan Tomašević had broken up the heretic Church of Bosnia; the change-over to Orthodoxy of Herzeg Stjepan Vukčić must also have had its share in weakening the position of the Bosnian Church in Herzegovina. The Turkish government recognised the Serbian Orthodox Church. Under the Sultan's *berāt* [*q.v.*], the Orthodox Church enjoyed considderable rights and privileges. The Catholic Church was also granted certain privileges by Meḥemmed II the Conqueror. It is evident from data in the cadastral registers that the "devoted believers of the Church of Bosnia" had retired into remote secluded districts of Herzegovina. There is no recorded evidence of any islamisation of those parts of the country or the people at the time. The inference

could therefore be drawn that the Bosnian heretics in most areas had already been brought into the fold (Orthodox or Catholic), which would exclude the possibility of a general conversion to Islam of the followers of the Church of Bosnia.

However, the probability is that the earlier persecutions on the part of the Catholic Church, combined with the pressure brought to bear by the Orthodox Church, which had the right to collect church-dues, had created conditions favouring the conversion to Islam of the former followers of the Bosnian Church. At all events, the development of towns as centres of Islam, and their influence on the surrounding countryside resulted in a steady spread of Islam among the peasantry of certain areas as early as the 9th/15th century. Thus a foundation was laid for a major islamisation of the peasantry. The islamised peasants were given the distinctive name of *potur*. Their religion was a mixture of Islamic and other elements, christianised pagan, Christian and heretical-Christian. It was on these grounds that the Muslim feudatories and religious intelligentsia were inclined not to regard the Muslim peasantry as their equals.

During the reign of Süleymān Ḳānūnī measures were taken to check the growing power of the feudal class, which had been completely islamised by then. Bosnian *sipāhī*s were made to move to newly conquered areas, the vacant *tīmār*s being made over to *sipāhī*s from other districts. *Čiftlik*s were transformed and made part of *reʿāyā* lands. It was at this time—and to a greater extent later on—that by graft and bribes a number of courtiers began to acquire estates in Bosnia. However, at the same time concessions had to be made in view of the needs of defence, particularly those of the borderland, and the existence of many devasted areas. Over the second half of the 10/16th century the number of *čiftlik*s in possession of feudal lords and army officers continued to grow, particularly in frontier districts. The post of *ḳapudan* (captain), formerly concerned with service on rivers in the borderland, came to be that of an officer in command of forts and defensive works of a district. The native feudal class could always rely on the *ḳapudan's* office for effectual support. The setting up of the *eyālet* of Bosnia added greatly to the ever increasing importance of the native nobility.

The second half of the 10th/16th century proved to be a period of rapid growth and development of certain Bosnian towns. There followed a steady rise in the volume of trade with Italian towns by enterprising home traders and Dubrovnik merchants. Being in the majority, the Muslim inhabitants of towns enjoyed certain privileges and lived in special quarters apart from the Christian population. Owing to the influx of newcomers certain guilds closed their doors, hence a migration of Muslim population to places and towns beyond the Sava.

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, the signs of a crisis in the Ottoman general administrative structure became increasingly apparent in the country's finances. One of its effects was a considerable weakening of Turkish military power. This crisis became evident in Bosnia as well. The last military ventures and offensive operations made under the leadership of Ḥasan Pasha Predojević, the *beyler-beyi* of Bosnia, ended in the capture of Bihać. In the following year (1002/1593), a Bosnian army led by Ḥasan Pasha suffered a heavy defeat at Sisak, which brought about the war between the Habsburgs and Turkey.

(*b*) *The period of crisis in the Turkish state and military defeats of the Ottomans*

The administrative structure and extent of the *eyālet* of Bosnia, which took definite shape at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, remained unchanged until about the end of the century. At this time, the governor of the *eyālet* bore the title of Vizier, and the seat of governement was transferred from Banjaluka to Sarajevo in 1049/1639.

The crisis in the economic and financial affairs of the Ottoman Empire and the cracks in the Osmanli structure were also reflected in the conditions that prevailed in Bosnia where disorders were frequent and corruption rife. Owing to financial difficulties and the rising costs of maintaining control over wide areas of the conquered territory, the central government had to extend the system of lease of all public and imperial revenue and to raise the taxes and introduce new ones. The system of lease was extended to include the renting of local rates, and even the incomes from *tīmār*s and *zeʿāmet*s acquired by courtiers, officials attached to central offices, and by many other prominent men living in the capital. The widespread centralised bureaucratic system, designed to control and check oppression, became a source of corruption, practised by local authorities as well. From the second half of the 10th/16th century on, the financial burdens and exploitation of the *reʿāyā* (peasantry) increased, the pressure being put on the sheep-raisers of the autonomous districts likewise. The long war (1593-1606) was a constant drain on Turkish resources and manpower, with Bosnia bearing the brunt in her exposed position. Owing to the war there was much unrest and many risings of the Serb people in Herzegovina both during and after the war. Over the first two decades of the 11th/17th century, former rebels from Anatolia were sent to Bosnia as governors and would turn rebels in Bosnia as well; they could always rely for support on a large number of malcontents among the native *sipāhī* class who were embittered because courtiers and those near to central authorities would be given *tīmār*s and *zeʿāmet*s as a present, thus enabling individuals and local bureaucrats to acquire estates as large as several *tīmār*s put together. Turkish governors, whose term of office was rather short, were anxious to amass riches and exploited the country for their own profit, as did the officials of the central government sent to investigate malpractices and causes of unrest.

Despite such conditions the native feudal class continued to prosper and grow in strength. The process of transformation of peasant lands into *čiftlik*s owned by military commanders, *sipāhī*s and wealthier citizens was gaining ground as was alienation of free *bashtina*s (inherited possessions) of *knez*-es (village headmen) and other categories of land. Peasant tenants (*čiftči, kmet*) of such *čiftlik*s were required to deliver one third of a fourth (at a later period a fifth, or a ninth in some instances) of corps to their owners (*čiftlik ṣāḥibi*) besides being forced to work on *čiftlik*s belonging exclusively to the *čiftlik* owner. Such tenants were bound to pay *ʿushr*, *sālāriye* and other duties of the *tīmār* system to their *sipāhī*s (*ṣāḥib-i arḍ*) should the *čiftlik* happen to be part of a *tīmār* or a *zeʿāmet*, which was usually the case. The system of government by *ḳapudan*s was extended and came to be applied in the inland areas of the country, for the central government could not afford the means required for the upkeep of as large an army of mercenaries as was needed.

In the circumstances. *ḳapudans* tended to grow overbold and defy orders issued by Pas̲h̲as.

Yielding to the demands of Bosnian *sipāhīs* supported by the Pas̲h̲a, Sulṭān Aḥmed (1603-1717) issued a firman establishing *tīmārs* with rights of family succession (*od̲j̲aḳlīḳ*), the successors being sons or brothers of the deceased, or else kinsmen living with the family (*od̲j̲aḳ*).

Changes in land tenure and economic policy mainly affected the Christian peasantry; the land of Muslim peasants was seldom interfered with. Increased taxation and growing exploitation deepened the existing divisions between the two classes of peasantry, hence the frequent flights of Christian peasants over the border and increasing numbers of outlaws (*haydut* in Turkish), who as highwaymen became a menace to safety on the roads.

The trends of development in agriculture and other branches of national economy, apparent in the earlier period, became more pronounced during the second half of the 10th/16th century and during the 11th/17th century. Mining industry continued to decline and was at its lowest at the end of the century. The towns grew and developed during the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries as a result of the expanding trade and commerce. The opening of the port at Split (1592), a rival to the port of Dubrovnik, proved an event of great importance to Bosnian trade. The town guilds came under the exclusive control of the janissaries, and this led to the further transformation of guilds into closed organisations. Town notables (*aʿyān, q.v.*) and powerful *ag̲h̲as* made their appearance in growing numbers. However, part of the inhabitants of towns were Christians, some of whom were craftsmen and tradesmen. Following the increasing migration of country people into towns the tax on abandoned land was very increased. Over the second half of the 10th/16th and the first half of the 11th/17th centuries, some of the towns grew both in extent and importance, particularly the town of Sarajevo. The amassed money-capital, however, served to advance the practices of usury. Besides the prosperous Muslim class, there were in towns certain Christian families of rich traders and merchants—Christian usurers. The urban social pattern showed a marked tendency towards a sharper division between the wealthier, politically influential class and the lower class of the urban poor. In the 11th/17th century there occurred several serious outbreaks of disorder and rioting among the poor of Sarajevo, largely Muslim.

While in the first half of the 11th/17th century the Thirty Years War in Europe prevented any major military undertaking against the Turk, in the second half of the century two long wars caused much suffering and lowered the standard of living conditions and the economy of the *eyālet* of Bosnia. The war against Venice (1644-1669) and the shorter war against the Habsburgs (1663-1664) were waged in areas belonging to the *eyālet* of Bosnia, where frequent incursions took place. The consequent flights of Christian population across the frontier resulted in the enlistment of many of the fugitives, called *uskoci*, in the military service of Venice. In Herzegovina also there was unrest and rising of the people. After the wars there followed a 14-year period of welcome peace, which on the whole resulted in consolidation of Turkish power. The attack on Vienna started the new war with the Holy Alliance which was to last a long time (1683-1699). For once the Bosnian territory south of the Sava escaped being the main scene of the operations, but a Bosnian army had to take part in the war and defend the frontiers. Austrian troops temporarily occupied some districts south of the Sava (in 1688), and nine years later Prince Eugene, after the battle of Senta, advanced as far as Sarajevo, burning it down in 1109/1697. The Christian population, particularly the Roman Catholics, migrated and retreated with the invading armies. The long wars left an epidemic of plague in their trail.

Under the terms of the peace-treaty of Karlovci (1110/1699) the *eyālet* of Bosnia retained, with minor changes, the present frontiers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the north and west. However, on these frontiers new fortifications began to be built and the old ones repaired; more "ḳapudanships" were established. The *eyālet* now consisted of five *sand̲j̲aḳs* (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Klis, Zvornik and Bihać), the last being abolished soon after. It was at this time that the residence of the Bosnian vizier was transferred from Sarajevo to Travnik.

Muslim refugees from the ceded areas of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia came to settle in Bosnia on lands abandoned or sparsely populated, which they were allowed to hold as *čiftliks*. The new settlers were embittered against the Christian Powers and the insurgents, which added to the division and differences between Muslims and Christians. A number of settlers came to stay in towns, for the most part tradesmen, craftsmen and soldiers.

The exposed position of the *eyālet* of Bosnia called for great efforts on the part of the Muslim population. Under the peace-treaty of Požarevac (1130/1718) Austria was given a belt of territory south of the Sava, and some areas around the western frontier were also lost to Austria and Venice. Despite the ravages wrought by the plague coupled with a succession of bad harvests and heavy loss of life suffered by Bosnian *sipāhīs*, a Bosnian army led by Ḥekīm-og̲h̲lu ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Banjaluka in 1150/1737. The treaty of Belgrade (1152/1739) deprived Austria of all the territories held under the treaty of Požarevac, except for the castle of Furjan.

Bosnian feudal nobility and Muslims in general had by now lost confidence in the power of the Empire. The arrival of janissaries from the abandoned regions strengthened the privileged position of certain towns, particularly that of Sarajevo, which were now granted virtual autonomy, the greatest power being yielded by municipal *aʿyān* and military commanders ("*bas̲h̲as*") with *ḳapudans*. These dignitaries came to be the main representatives of political power. In the time of ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a a Council of *aʿyān* was set up, composed of municipal *aʿyān*, *ḳapudans* and men of note from different parts of the *eyālet*. The Council was meant to exercise control over the vizier himself and was given powers to determine certain vizier's incomes.

Sprung from this privileged class, the new native Muslim nobility was founded on the subjection of peasantry and depended on further extension of villainage. *Beys* and *ag̲h̲as* as land and *čiftlik* lords took over or seized new *čiftliks*, causing peasants from stock-rearing districts to settle on deserted land, and generally acting independently of the central authority. *Ḳapudans* usurped the powers and functions of officers of state, renting the state's revenue, taking over *čiftliks*, and acquiring property by every means. Certain families of *ḳapudans* recorded in the first decades of the 12th/18th century

had reached a high position in society by the end of the century.

In order to acquire riches and indemnify themselves for taxes paid and bribes offered to obtain the appointment to the office, viziers of Bosnia would raise the rate of taxation and impose new rates, taxes and other dues. Indeed, immediate delivery of certain goods was often demanded as advance payment for taxes 6-9 months before they were to fall due. This provoked a series of revolts and risings of poor citizens and Muslim peasantry over a period of ten years about the middle of the 12th/18th century.

Such circumstances had an adverse effect on trade in town and country alike. The prevailing conditions acted as a serious set-back to economic growth of the country.

In the war between Austria and Turkey (1788-1791) the responsibility for the defence of the frontier districts rested with the Bosnian forces. Apart from capturing certain frontier castles (1788-1790) the Austrian armies had but few successes. Under the terms of the peace-treaty of Svishtov (1791) Turkey surrendered a little part of her territory, and Austria evacuated the captured frontier castles.

At the beginning of the 13th/end of 18th century Sulṭān Selīm III introduced a series of reforms and measures largely designed to curb the power of janissaries. The policy of the proposed reforms ran counter to the established foundations and prevailing influence of Muslim nobility and the privileged position of Muslim population of towns in the Bosnian *eyālet*.

(c) *The Period of Reforms in Turkey and Risings in Bosnia*

The new Turkish reforms could not but be met with indignation by Bosnian Muslims, interfering as they did with the established military structure and being directed against the janissaries and the *sipāhī* army. In several campaigns against the insurgents in Serbia, Bosnian *beys*, *ag͟has* and the urban population took part in large numbers; however, the Bosnian army suffered a heavy defeat at Mišar (1806). A short time after, several risings of Serb peasantry occurred in Bosnia but were soon put down. Far greater efforts were needed for the final suppression of the rebellion of the Drobnjaks in Herzegovina. Bosnian Muslims also took part in the suppression of the rising in Serbia in 1813.

The transit trade improved during the period of Napoleonic continental blockade. Bosnian roads were chiefly used at the time for the transport of cotton, undertaken by Serbian and Jewish traders, many of whom grew rich in consequence. Muslim tradesmen in towns were dependent for their prosperity on the preservation of privileges and special rights. Sarajevo, the most important town, had acquired a large measure of independence in regard to viziers; there were frequent cases of serious differences and quarrels between the citizens and the vizier, which at times led to armed resistance. With the appointment and arrival of D͟jalāl al-Dīn Pas͟ha in 1820 law and order was restored at a great sacrifice of life. The abolition of the order of Janissaries was the cause of another rising of the people, particularly in Sarajevo, which was suppressed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pas͟ha. The general dissatisfaction and resistance to the reforms continued none the less. In 1246/1831, when attempts were made to carry the reforms into effect and reorganise the army, a rebellion broke out headed by Bosnian Muslim nobles under the leadership of Ḥusayn-ḳapudan Gradaščević. The insurgents demanded complete autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the right to elect their own vizier; Bosnia had to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan. The demands, if met, would have safeguarded the privileges of the nobility and the existing military structure. However, at the very start of the conflict the *ḳapudans* of Herzegovina, led by ʿAlī Ag͟ha Rizvanbegović, separated themselves from the movement. Despite the victory of Ḥusayn-ḳapudan over the imperial troops and of the understanding reached with the Grand Vizier, the initial great successes soon came to nothing because of personal ambitions of the leader (elected to the viziership in the early part of D͟jumādā I 1247/8-17 October 1831) and the rivalry between Bosnian leaders. The insurrection was put down (1832) and Herzegovina proclaimed a *pas͟halıḳ* to be governed by ʿAlī Pas͟ha Rizvanbegović (1833).

After the suppression of the insurrection the hereditary *ḳapudanlıḳs* were abolished (1835) and replaced by *müsellimliks*. Many former *ḳapudans*, *aʿyān*, and *sipāhīs* as well (after the abolition of their order) were appointed *müsellims* and given posts of commanders. The iron hand in a velvet glove was the means used by the Ottoman Porte in dealing with Bosnian nobles and stubborn malcontents. Nevertheless, the conflicts still continued, particularly between the citizens of Sarajevo and the viziers. The resistance was finally broken by ʿUmar Pas͟ha Latas, a former Austrian petty-officer, born in Lika (Croatia). Sent to Bosnia (1850-1852) with special powers at the head of considerable forces, ʿUmar Pas͟ha succeeded in breaking the great political influence of Bosnian nobility and carrying the reforms into effect. He had ʿAlī Pas͟ha put to death, and abolished the *pas͟halıḳ* of Herzegovina. Bosnia was divided into six *ḳāʾimaḳāmlıḳs* and Herzegovina into three *ḳāʾimaḳālıḳs*. The town of Sarajevo became the official residence of the vizier.

Further reforms were made in the administration of the *eyālet* of Bosnia during the tenure of office of the Vizier Topal ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha (1861-1869). The country was divided into seven *sand͟jaḳs*. The *wilāyet* Council was set up in 1866—an advisory body of representatives, on denominational basis. A start was made with modernisation of living conditions, health service and communications (the first railway—Banjaluka-Novi—was opened in 1872). In the sixties of the century the *wilāyet* printing-office was set up and a number of schools opened.

The reforms and measures taken favoured the development of certain branches of national economy. Commerce and trade improved, but the guilds were endangered owing to the development of the market. Many urban Serb families rose to prosperity and, as a result, the influence of Serbian citizens began to make itself felt in rural districts.

Yet the reforms were not far-reaching enough to deal with the essence of agrarian structure and its problems. With the abolition of the order of *sipāhīs* the *ʿus͟hr* (tithe) was made a tax of the state, and to indemnify the *sipāhīs* for loss of income a pension scheme was introduced in lieu of the rents. However, to recoup themselves for their losses, the *sipāhīs* proceeded to convert into *čiftliks* the remaining peasant free-holdings. By the middle of the 13th/19th century the process had been completed; thus feudal land-tenure and tenantry came to be

associated with Christian peasants, for the Muslim peasantry had remained in possession of their *čiftliks*. The burden of heavy taxation was meant to be borne largely by the peasant. Moreover, the amount of rates and other dues exacted from the *kmets* (tenants) was not fixed but collected arbitrarily. Such conditions were a cause of general discontent among the peasantry, and provoked frequent rebellions.

Ṭāhir Pas̲h̲a, Vizier of Bosnia, undertook (in 1848) to settle the agrarian question. Under his new scheme *čiftlik* owners were to collect a third part of the annual crop, and forced labour was to be abolished except in Herzegovina, where the *kmets* were allowed to hand over less than a third of the crop. Certain obligations of the *čiftlik* owner in the district of Sarajevo, *e.g.*, to provide his *kmet* with seeds, oxen and dwellings, were to apply to all Bosnian districts. However, *čiftlik* owners proceeded to collect the third of the crop everywhere, insisted on forced labour and failed to perform their own obligations. This caused much discontent among the peasants; nor were the *čiftlik* owners satisfied. Several unsuccessful attempts had to be made before the question was finally settled—after the passing of the Agrarian Act (during the Ramaḍān of 1274)—by decree proclaimed in the month of Ṣafar 1276/September 1859, enacting the customary practices in regard to *kmets*. No provision was made, however, for a uniform system of taxation and other dues applicable to the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The regulations of the decree in regard to this system of land-tenure remained in force until 1918.

The unsatisfactory conditions gave rise to a series of peasant risings about the middle of the 19th century. The great rising of 1875 when masses of Christian peasants, *kmets* of *ag̲h̲as* and *beys*, joined hands, was given a political colouring by the participation of the Serbian town population, particularly following the entry of Serbia and Montenegro into war against Turkey. True, the rising in Herzegovina was a mass movement, while in Bosnia it was only the frontier districts that were involved. The rising called forth the intervention of the Great Powers. The Treaty of San Stefano stipulated that Turkey should grant autonomy to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Under the terms of the Congress of Berlin, Bosnia and Herzegovina was mandated to Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian troops sent to occupy the country met with unexpected resistance from Bosnian Muslims. The rebels were led by men of the lower classes—since prominent Bosnians were unwilling to take sides after the withdrawal of Turkish authorities and the army—who incited the people to rise against the invader and set up a government of the people in Sarajevo. The occupation began on July 29th and was completed on October 20th, 1878. Drastic measures were taken to break down the strong resistance offered at some places, particularly around and in the town of Sarajevo.

Bibliography: Historical studies relating to the period of Turkish rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina are far from being complete though much progress has been made of late. Most of the relevant historical material dealing with the period has not yet been published. The collecting and editing of the material is in charge of the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo. For the early part of the period of particular importance are the Turkish cadastral registers (with *ḳānūn-nāmas*), kept in the Başvekâlet arşivi in Istanbul, *waḳf-nāmas* (reported on by F. Spaho, H. Kreševljaković, G. Elezović, H. Šabanović, and others), and documents stored in the archives of Dubrovnik (reported on by Ć. Truhelka, F. Kraelitz, V. Skarić, G. Elezović, H. Šabanović, J. Radonić, and others); also important are the *ḳāḍī sid̲j̲ills* of the 17th century with fragmentary records from the 16th century, and public records material (Oriental Institute, K̲h̲usrew-bey Library, etc.). Some public records of the *wilāyet* of Bosnia (from the middle of the 19th century) are kept in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo. Valuable information concerning the later part of the period is to be found in the unpublished chronicle entitled *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Diyār-i Bosna*, written by Ṣāliḥ Ṣidḳī Ef. Hadžihusejnović, known by the name of Muweḳḳit, at the second half of the 19th century, the autograph of which is kept in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo.

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3. Islamic culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The islamisation of part of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one outcome of the Turkish conquest, was to lay its impress on the country's pattern of life and culture. The style of living, both public and private, of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Turkish rule was very much the same—particularly in towns—as in the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The mainstays of Islamic culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina were town settlements, for the manifest features of the culture were predominantly urban in scope and character. The way of living of Muslim peasantry had some definite particularities of its own. Owing to europeanisation however the elements of oriental culture—particularly in Christians—tended to disappear in the post-Turkish period, and did so to an ever-increasing extent after the country became a constituent part of Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the characteristic elements of oriental culture have not disappeared even to-day, and what is more, not even among Christian population, to say nothing of the Muslims. Many features of oriental ways of life are still very much in evidence, such as the style of living, furniture, cooking, drinking habits and certain old customs. Oriental practices are still in frequent use in the goldsmith's craft, carpet weaving and many other branches of applied arts.

The most lasting traces of the influence of Islamic culture are to be found in the field of architecture and town-planning. Some principles of oriental town-planning have found ready application because of prevalence of terraced sites. Many Bosnian towns still show the former typical lay-out with a division into two quarters, viz., the *Čarshu* (shopping or commercial centre) and the *Maḥallas* (the residential quarters).

In town-planning and building generally over the period of Turkish rule three stages can be distinguished: (a) the initial period until about the end of the 16th century, (b) the second until the end of the 17th century, and (c) the third until the end of the Turkish rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the initial period of development of Muslim town settlements it was the Governor-Generals and high Turkish dignitaries who erected places of worship and public buildings, the representative examples of monumental architecture. From this period date the finest monuments of the Islamic style of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *e.g.*, the Aladža mosque (1550) at Foča, the G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey mosque (1530) and the ʿAlī Pas͟ha mosque (1561) in Sarajevo, the Ferhād Pas͟ha mosque (1579) in Banjaluka, the G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey Medresa (1537) called "Seldžukija" and later "Kuršumlija" with G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey's *ḥammām* (before 1557) and the Brusa *bezistan* (1551) in Sarajevo, and many others. With the growth and rapid development of guilds in the second period, it was largely the traders and merchants who were responsible for the erection of public buildings. The examples dating from this period are less monumental in appearance except for a few edifices erected by Governor-Generals or some high Turkish dignitaries, as for example the Hadži-Sinan's Tekiye (1640) in Sarajevo. The architecture of the third period shows signs of decadence and, towards the latter part, of the penetration of European ideas as well as imitation of styles prevalent in the towns of Turkey. There are also signs of direct influences. The period nevertheless has produced many interesting examples of technical ingenuity. The development of the town of Travnik, as the official residence of the Vizier, is typical of the period. The Süleymaniyya mosque (the present building—dating from 1816) has been constructed over a *bezistan*. A number of ancient mosques were restored during this period. In the construction of monumental public buildings the Islamic architects displayed the fundamental features of the Ottoman artistry, though not all of the latter's forms and characteristics found expression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Smaller mosques and public buildings, as well as dwelling-houses were built by native master builders, hence certain individual features of this style of architecture. In the post-Turkish period the examples of Islamic architecture show unmistakable signs of decadence. The Austro-Hungarian Governments attempted to develop the characteristics of Islamic architectural art by copying the Moorish style. The buildings in this style contrasted with both the earlier examples of Islamic architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and those of the latter period of the Austrian rule, besides being in disharmony with Bosnian inland scenery and unsuited to climatic conditions. Buildings in this style proved a failure. The most representative example of this style is the Sarajevo Town Hall. The Bosnian and Herzegovian style of architecture, as applied to dwelling-houses, held its own a while longer before it finally disappeared.

A very large number of words and idioms of Turkish, Arabic and Persian origin are in everyday use in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to a greater extent than in other areas where Serbo-Croat is spoken. The early literary style also made full use of such borrowings. With the development and

under the influence of standard Serbo-Croat, since 1878, and more so since 1918, words and phrases of Turkish origin have been falling out of use in everyday speech. During the period of Turkish rule a cursive Cyrillic alphabet was in use in private correspondence among Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, particularly among native Muslim nobles. Arabic characters were used in the writing of Serbo-Croat literary texts done by Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims. The same characters were used in certain Serbo-Croat religious texts written during the period of Austrian rule and that of pre-war Yugoslavia. Some religious books printed in these characters are still available. The orthography was rather arbitrary at first but gradually became standardised. Since 1930 however, the characters have hardly ever been used even in religious texts.

No comprehensive study has so far been made of the literary production, in Serbo-Croat or oriental languages, of Bosnian or Herzegovinian Muslims.

In their devotion to folk-songs and popular poetry the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina differed little from their Christian compatriots. The earlier epic compositions of Bosnian and Herzegovinian *guslars* have all the basic characteristics of traditional Serbo-Croat epic poems. The difference merely lies in a different religious and political attitude, a more frequent use of Turkish idioms, and a tendency away from heroic poems towards ballads. *Hasanaginica*, a popular Bosnian poem, is well known in the world of literature. Popular epic poems of the earlier type are preserved in the south of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A later type of popular Muslim epic poetry developed among the people of a western frontier district called Krajina. Such poems were recited with a *tamburica* (mandolin) accompaniment, and differed in several respects from the popular poems of the *guslars*. Popular lyrics of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, when compared with those of their compatriots, likewise show—and to a higher degree—a number of characteristic features of their own. The most familiar and popular among these are the love poems called "*sevdalinkas*". Apart from oriental influences of language, motifs, and music apparent in their composition, the *sevdalinkas* are essentially typical poems of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, liked and enjoyed throughout Yugoslavia.

Judging by the results of studies published so far, those Bosnian and Herzegovian Muslim poets who wrote in oriental languages did so mainly in Turkish, to a lesser extent in Persian, and in a few instances in Arabic. Among Turkish writers, there were several of Bosnian origin, some of whom were noted poets, as for example Derwīsh Pasha, son of Bāyazid Agha (killed in 1012/1603), born in Mostar (Herzegovina), and the well-known stylist Meḥmed Nergisi (died 1044/1634), born in Sarajevo. Not only were they born in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also held office for rather a long time, the former as Pasha of Bosnia and the latter as Müderris and Ḳāḍī. Likewise of Bosnian origin was Aḥmed Sūdī (died 1005/1596-7), the well-known commentator on the Persian classics. One of the most copious writers of poetry in the Persian language, who also wrote in Turkish, was the sheykh Fewzī of Mostar (died about 1160/1747). Aḥmed Waḥdetī (died 1007/1598-9) of Dobrun near Višegrad, as well as some other poets of Bosnian origin, deviated from Muslim orthodoxy. Ḥasan Ḳā'imī of Sarajevo (died 1103/1691-2) and Üsküfī Bosnevī, also called Havāyī (died about 1061/1650-1), born in Tuzla Donja, as well as a number of other Bosnian and Herzegovinian poets, wrote both in Turkish and Serbo-Croat. The latter compiled a Serbo-Croat dictionary written in Turkish verse. In the 13th and 14th/19th and 20th centuries up to the present time there were a number of poets who wrote religious poems in the spirit of old traditions. Of this poetry worthy of note are the poems in praise of the birth of Muḥammad (*mewlūd*), the compositions of the early period being mere versions imitative of the Turkish texts, latterly followed by some original writings.

The early prose of the Muslim writers of Bosnia and Herzegovinia mostly in Arabic, is largely concerned with Islamic theological subjects, *sharīʿa* laws, State administration, and history. Many of the writers, natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, lived and worked in Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, as for example ʿAbd Allāh Bosnevī—died in 1054/1644—a writer of mystic-philosophical tracts and commentator on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by ʿIbn al-Arabī. Noted as a writer on law and politics was Ḥasan Kāfī, born in Prusac (Akhisar), whose literary merit gained him a lite-long *ḳāḍīlik* in his native place, where he died in 1025/1616. In addition to his other writings, Kāfī was the author of the well-known work *Niẓām al-ʿĀlam*. As many as forty authors might be mentioned who were active in the field of religious and law studied during the Bosnia and Herzegovina literary period. A number of well-known Ottoman historians were descended from Bosnian Muslim families (*e.g.*, Ibrāhīm Pečewī); however, the historiography in the Turkish language in Bosnia and Herzegovina is of a later growth. A noted Bosnian historiographer of the 12th/18th century, who write in Turkish, was the ḳāḍī ʿUmar of Novi, the author of *Ghazawāt-i Ḥekīm-oghlu ʿAlī-pasha*, a work dealing with historical events in Bosnia from the beginning of Muḥarram 1149/1736 to the end of Djumādā I of 1152/1739. The first printing of the work was done by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa (1154/1741); it was later reprinted and translated into English and German. During the transitional period between the end of the 12th/18th and the beginning of the 13th/19th centuries, a few prominent chroniclers (Muṣṭafā Basheski, Ṣāliḥ Ṣidḳī) are on record, who wrote accounts of contemporary events. Among the historians dealing with the latter period of Turkish rule and the events following the Austrian occupation of the country are the following: Ṣāliḥ Ṣidḳī Ef. Hadžihusejnović (died 1305/1888), Muḥammad-Enweri Kadić (1271/1855-1349/1931), a collector of historical material which he transcribed himself (28 books—a copy of the manuscript is housed in the Ghāzī Khusrew-bey Library, Sarajevo). The transition from the old historiography to be noted in the work of the shaykh Sejf al-Dīn Ef. Kemura (died 1335/1917). Likewise, certain characteristics of the earlier islamic studies and some conceptions of the earlier historiography are also manifest in the works of Dr. Safvet-bey Bašagić (1870-1934), the first modern historian of the Turkish period and the first oriental scholar in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who was a poet as well.

However, since 1878, and particularly since 1918, the literary activities of Bosnian Muslims—apart from the romantic school of thought which still clings to earlier beliefs (with Dr. S. Bašagić as the outstanding representative)—have tended more and more to become merged into Serbian and Croat literatures. A. F. Džabić (died 1918), *muftī* of Mostar and fighter for religious autonomy, attained

prominence in Turkey as professor of Arabic language and literature. He also brought out a collection of choice poems of Muḥammad's contemporaries.

The nurseries of Islamic education and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in every Turkish provinces, were the *mektebs* and *medreses* and religious institutions (mosques, *tekiyes*, and the like). As a rule adjacent to mosques, the *mektebs* provided primary education mainly consisting of instruction in the reading of the Ḳur'ān, writing and basic religious principles. *Medreses*, the secondary and higher schools, were also set up on the Turkish model. The earliest *medrese* on record in Sarajevo dates from the first quarter of the 10th/beginning of the 16th century. By the *waḳfnāme* of 943/1537 the G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey-Medrese with its own Library was founded by G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey, the *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Bosnia. The building was completed in the following year and is still standing opposite the entrance gate to the harem of the K͟husrew-bey Mosque. The Medresa Library has since been made into an independent public institution of G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey's *waḳf*, which has helped to extend its scope. The present inventory comprises the original stock of volumes, in oriental languages as well as a large number of additional copies, manuscripts and Turkish documents acquired from *waḳfs*, *medreses* and private libraries. The number of *medreses* went on increasing, yet the most famous among them was the G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey Medrese, which is now used as a secondary school for the study of theological subjects. Various dervish orders were engaged in mystic teachings and studies of the Persian language. The first dervish *tekiye* appears to have been erected before the final downfall of Bosnia. Interesting structural details shows the *k͟hānaḳāh* built by the G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey. The expenses of unkeep, religious teaching and education were defrayed by the *waḳf*.

The main development of publicly provided education and educational building dates from the viziership of Topal ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha with the setting-up of the first *rüs͟hdiyye* and the *mekteb-i ḥuḳūḳ* (administrative law-school), followed by the opening of the public reading-club and the Printing Office. Under the provisions of the Education Act (1286/1869) the responsibility for educational services and maintainance of schools lay with the government; private schools or those of denominational character were not interfered with but were subject to State control. The provisions of the Act were not wholly carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, though *ṣibyān mektebi* and *rus͟hdiyyes* were established, as well as some technical and training schools. According to official returns there were towards the end of the Turkish rule 917 *mektebs*, 43 *medreses* and 28 *rus͟hdiyyes*. In addition to the above there was in Sarajevo a military school of the lower grade, a training college for *mekteb* teachers, and a trade school.

Without interfering with denominational schools the Austro-Hungarian authorities began by introducing their own system of State education. Religious instruction in State schools was obligatory. *Mektebs* as well as *medreses* continued as religious schools. Under the statutory regulations of 1909 attendance of Muslim children at *mekteb* schools was compulsory, and no Muslim child could enter a secondary school without previously attending a *mekteb*. Certain measures were taken to reform the *mekteb* schools but in the majority of cases were not implemented. In 1909 there were about 1,000 old *mekteb* (*ṣibyān mektebi*) as well as ninety-two schools of the reformed type (*mekteb-i ibtidāʾī*). The *rus͟hdiyyes* were counted among the elementary schools for Muslim children and were retained as such—with their programmes reformed—only in county boroughs and the district townlet of Brčko. The *medreses* served as training schools for humbler religious functionaries, and in 1887 a college was established for the students of the *s͟harīʿa* law and future *s͟harīʿa* court judges. The *waḳf* Board founded in 1892 a *mekteb*-teachers' training college. Muslim pupils of the State grammar school of Sarajevo had the choice of being taught Classical Greek or Arabic.

During the successive Yugoslav governments after the World War I only the State primary schools were given recognition, though the small number of such schools could not cope with all the children of school age. Religious instruction was provided for all children attending the primary schools. The *mektebs* became preparatory or non-educational institutions for the teaching of Ḳur'ān reading. Religious instruction was also given in all secondary schools. A State *s͟harīʿa* secondary school was opened at Sarajevo in 1918. The *s͟harīʿa* judges' training college continued in existence until 1937 when the High School of *s͟harīʿa* and Islamic theology—of faculty grade—was established. The *waḳf* Board bore the cost of running the *mekteb* teachers' training college and the *medreses*—now secondary schools for the study of, mainly, theological subjects. Preliminary reforms concerning the medresas were introduced in 1933, and a definite programme was adopted in 1939 whereby they were to be of the comprehensive type, similar in character to secondary schools of the lower grade. The G͟hāzī K͟husrew-bey Medrese was an exception in that it provided senior secondary courses. A number of Bosnian and Herzegovinan Muslims are known to have graduated from various eastern universities. The rôle of granting scholarships to Muslim pupils and students, as well as bearing the cost of upkeep and running of boarding schools and providing other educational facilities, which had been confined to the *waḳf*, was gradually taken over—in the field of secular education, at any rate—by various Muslim societies, such as "Gajret", "Uzdanica", and others.

In the new Yugoslavia religious bodies and societies are separated from the State, but the latter may render assistance to religious communities. Religious instruction may be given only in the immediate vicinity of places of worship (under the provisions of the Religious Communities Act of 1953); however, the religious communities are free to open schools for the training of religious functionaries and staff. The *mektebs*, attendance at which was considered compulsory for Muslims by the Islamic religious community, were in existence until 1952, when they were abolished in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the Austro-Hungarian administration and in pre-war Yugoslavia, the study of Islamic branches of knowledge concerned with religion and oriental languages was closely associated with the activities of the above mentioned schools and colleges. At the same time, the Zemaljski Muzej of Sarajevo was engaged in collecting oriental manuscripts and records from Turkish archives. Among the staff of the museum there were a number of workers who studied oriental literary and historical records. It was here that conditions were created for the development of modern scientific studies and work

in this field (Č. Truhelka, V. Skarić, F. Spaho, R. Muderizović, and others).

Over the past years after the World War II increasing attention has been devoted in Bosnia and Herzegovina to oriental studies concerned with Islamic peoples. Thus the grammar school of Sarajevo provides courses of oriental as well as western-classical type. In the University of Sarajevo (founded in 1949) there is a chair in oriental philology (Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages and literature), and the chair in history also offers Turkish courses, besides giving special attention to studies bearing on the history of Yugoslav peoples during the period of Turkish rule. The Sarajevo Oriental Institute, founded in 1950, has a valuable collection of oriental manuscripts and Turkish historical material taken over from the Zemaljski Muzej of Sarajevo. Besides publishing its year-book, the Oriental Institute has been engaged in editing a systematized collection of Turkish records and sources bearing on the history of Yugoslav peoples (*Monumenta turcica historiam Slavorum Meridionalium illustrantia*). Thus a wide field of studies—concerned with Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages, the history of Yugoslav peoples during the period Turkish rule, and many other Islamic branches of knowledge—once within the scope of religious institutions and bodies, is now under secular control.

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4. The Islamic religious community in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1878.

The Sultan's sovereign rights over Bosnia and Herzegovina were recognised until 1908, when the province was annexed by Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Dual Monarchy remained undefined, largely because of the dualist constitution of Austria-Hungary.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were under a dual control exercised by the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance, both before and after the annexation. Each of the two powers had definite rights regarding administrative policy, the building of railways and matters concerned with the country's trade and finances.

The Austro-Hungarian system of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina was bureaucratic and police-ridden throughout the period. A military commander was responsible for the government, the number of departments being four, and later six. A Governor's "civil adlatus", was appointed in 1882, who was in effective control of the Civil Service. For administrative purposes the country was divided into six *okrug*s (departments)—Banjaluka, Bihać, Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, and Tuzla—and these in turn into *srez-e*s (districts) and *ispostava*s (the smallest administrative units). Only in 1906—the administration of justice was separated from the government of the country. Following the annexation, a Constitution with a "*Sabor*" (Assembly) was granted in 1910. The *Sabor* consisted of seventy-two deputies and twenty appointed (*ex officio*) members, the latter being partly religious representatives (among Muslims: the *reʾīs al-ʿulamāʾ*), the Director of *wakf* Administration, and three *muftīs*), and partly high officials. The deputies were elected to three "curiae" according to their ranks, the first of which was of two classes, the Muslim owners of large estates belonging to the first. The curiae were organised by electoral districts on a denominational basis. The constitution restricted within narrow limits the powers of the assembly in respect of the Government, at the same time imposing many restrictions on the authority of the latter in respect of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance.

In 1912 the Governor was given additional powers concerning the Civil Service. The Assembly was adjourned and did not sit during the World War I.

Despite the fact that the Austro-Hungarian government introduced a modern system of administration, developed trade (and mining and timber industries in particular), built roads, railways, and established schools and a number of scientific institutions, the framework of society remained in many respects unchanged. True, the Austro-Hungarian authorities were by this means able to win over to their side the greater part of the Muslim nobility, yet the unsolved agrarian question led to the stagnation of agriculture and told heavily upon the peasantry and in particular upon the kmets (mostly Orthodox Christians). Nor was the solution of the agrarian problem brought any nearer by the passing of the Facultative Redemption of Land Act, 1911, whereby only minor changes were effected in the existing relations.

From 1882 to 1903 the leading rôle in the direction of Austro-Hungarian policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina was played by B. Kallay, the minister of finances of the Dual Monarchy, otherwise a well-

known historian. In order to keep Bosnia and Herzegovina as a *corpus separatum* within the Dual Monarchy and to check the spread of Serbian and Croatian nationalism, Kallay attempted to create a "Bosnian nation" and a "Bosnian language". This policy, however, failed to attract a sufficient number of partisans among the native population, for the Serbs and Croats had become nationally conscious, and the nationally "undeclared" majority of the Muslims looked on Turkey as their mother country. Moreover, many Muslim families had settled in Turkey and Muslim leaders had always stressed the sovereign rights of the Ottoman Sulṭān over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only a small part of the Muslim intellectuals and landowners adopted the cause of "Bosnian nationalism".

The Serbian political movement directed its main efforts towards achieving autonomy in Church matters and freedom to conduct Serbian community schools. The idea found supporters among the great mass of the Serbian population and the new-born intelligentsia, but it was the Serb *gazdas* (moneyed men) who thrust themselves forward as leaders. There was general discontent among the latter because their usurious trade practices were obstructed by the predominance of Austro-Hungarian moneyed interests and trade capital. The efforts of the movement proved successful, and autonomy was granted in matters of religion and denominational instruction in 1905.

Muslim opinion became increasingly suspicious of certain measures taken by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In order to gain control over Muslim religious institutions, the Government, in 1882, created the office of *re'īs al-ʿulemā'*, the supreme religious head of Bosno-Herzegovinian Muslims, as well as the highest religious authoritative body (*ulema medžlis*) presided over by the *re'īs al-ʿulemā* with four members. This organisation went so far as to control the rights of the *Waḳf* Board. Dissatisfied and alarmed, the Muslims presented a petition to the Emperor (in 1886) asking to be granted autonomy in matters concerning the administration of the *waḳf*s. A resolute struggle for the achievement of autonomy, religious and educational, for all Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina began in 1899 under the leadership of A. F. Džabić, the *muftī* of Mostar. The struggle became linked with the Orthodox (Serb) movement. Džabić insisted on demanding maximum concessions but was outvoted. In 1900 a draft statute for the Islamic religious community was presented to the Minister Kallay, wherein a special emphasis was paid on the Sulṭān's sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina, a principle which the Austro-Hungarian authorities were unwilling to accept. When Džabić, the *muftī* of Mostar, left for Istanbul to consult the Sultan, he was forbidden to re-enter Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 1906 onward the movement took a more organised and definite shape. An Executive Committee of the Muslim people's organisation was elected, presided over by ʿAlī Bey Firdūs. While championing the interests of the propertied classes, the organisation at the same time entered into negotiations with the Government for the granting of religious autonomy. The negotiations hung fire, for the Austro-Hungarian authorities refused to lend an ear to the slightest hint about the Sultan's sovereign rights over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the annexation, the negotiations were brought to a satisfactory conclusion with the Emperor's sanction of the Statute concerning Autonomous Government of Moslem Religious Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina *Vakf-Mearif*. Under the statute the supreme administrative authority as regards *waḳf*s and endowments of schools and colleges was vested in a *Vakf-Mearif* Assembly (*Sabor*) consisting of eight nominated (*ex officio*) members (the *re'īs al-ʿulemā'*, six *muftī*s and the Director of the Vakf Board) and twenty-four members elected by district board committees. The president of the *Sabor* was the *re'īs al-ʿulemā' ex officio*. The *Vakf-Mearif* Committee was both the administrative and the executive organ of the *Sabor*. Other minor bodies of the *Vakf-Mearif* Board were the district committees, elected by district assemblies, and, among the latter, the *džemat* assemblies and *džemat medžlis*. The highest religious authority was exercised by the *Ulema Medžlis*, consisting of four members, with the *re'īs al-ʿulemā'* at its head. The *Re'īs* and members of the *Ulema Medžlis* were elected by a separate electoral body consisting of six *muftī*s and 24 elected members. Three (elected) candidates for the post of *re'īs* were submitted by electoral body to the Emperor, one of whom was appointed *re'īs* by decree. The *re'īs* entered upon his duties only after obtaining the authorisation (*menshūra*) for the performance of religious duties from the *sheykh al-Islām* of Istanbul. The relevant petition had to be conveyed to Istanbul through the Austro-Hungarian Embassy. A vacancy in the *Ulema Medžlis* was filled by appointment, on the part of the joint Ministry of Finance, of one of two elected candidates. Each *okrug* (department) had its *muftī*, who was selected by the Government from among candidates submitted by the *Ulema Medžlis*. The salaries of higher religious functionaries and civil servants came from the provincial budget. The statute also settled the question of Muslim denominational schools, as well as the rights of religious functionaries in respect of *sharīʿa* judges.

With the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Yugoslavia the question of the Islamic religious community was in the forefront again. Moreover, there were Muslims in Yugoslavia outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the statute of 1909 remained in force in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1930. There was a separate Muslim religious organisation covering Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The putting into effect of the agrarian reform hit some Muslim property owners much harder than it did the *waḳf*s in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for most of the latters' property consisted rather of town sites than land in the countryside. Nevertheless, the decentralization of the *waḳf* administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as disordered financial management and malpractices caused serious damage to *waḳf* property.

Following the abolition of the parliamentary régime in Yugoslavia a law was passed in 1930 concerning the Islamic religious community and its Constitution in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Thus the former autonomous Muslim religious communities were united under one head—the *re'īs al-ʿulemā'*—and one supreme authoritative body composed of the *re'īs* and the two presidents of the *Ulema Medžlis*. The official residence of the *re'īs al-ʿulemā'* and the seat of the Board of the Islamic religious community were transferred to Belgrade; however, there existed, in addition, two *Ulema-Medžlis* and two *Vakf-Mearif* Councils with their administrative committees, whose central offices were in Sarajevo and Skopje. Lower in authority were the *muftī*s, the district *Vakf-Mearif* board with

a *sharīʿa* judge at its head, and the *džemat-medžlis* presided over by the *Džemat Imam*. The main features of the Act and Constitution are to be seen in the fact that the majority of posts were held by appointment, and also, that the office of *reʾīs al-ʿulemā* took precedence of the *Ulema-Medžlis*. The *reʾīs* was, in fact, the head and symbol of a unified Islamic religious community in the State, while the administration was dual (Sarajevo and Skopje). Special enactments regulated the election of candidates for the post of *reʾīs*, of *Ulema-Medžlis* members and of *muftīs*. The electoral body was expected to choose three candidates for the office of *reʾīs*, one of whom was then appointed by royal decree on the recommendation of the minister of justice and that of the prime minister. Also nominated by royal decree were the members of the *Ulema-Medžlis* and the *muftīs*, on the recommendation of the minister of justice.

With the passing of a new law and Constitution in 1936 changes were brought about which, however, did not interfere with the unity expressed by the function of the *reʾīs* or with the dualism of the other governing bodies. The chief organs of the Islamic religious community were now the following: the *Džemat-Medžlis*, the District *Vakf* Commission, the *Ulema-Medžlis* in Sarajevo and Skopje, the *Vakf-Mearif* Assembly (Sabor) in Sarajevo and Skopje, with the assembly committees, *vakf* boards, and the *reʾīs al-ʿulemā* with a select or full Council. The official residence of the *reʾīs* was in Sarajevo. The function of *muftī* was dispensed with. The main feature of the regulations was the selectivity of governing bodies and functionaries. For the election of members to the *Ulema-Medžlis* each Assembly selected an electoral body of ten members, who in turn formed one electoral body for the election of three *reʾīs* candidates. As before, one of the candidates (usually the one with the majority of votes) was appointed *reʾīs* by royal decree on the recommendation of the minister of justice. It was through this organization that the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, the party led by M. Spaho, secured its position in the religious community.

In the new Yugoslavia, the position and privileges of the Islamic religious community have been safeguarded by provisions made in the Constitution and regulated by the 1953 Law concerning the legal position of the different religious communities. Religious organisations are separated from the State, the holding of religious beliefs being regarded as a private matter. Religious communities may conduct schools for the training of religious functionaries and staff. The State may also lend its aid to religious communities.

The Islamic religious community in Yugoslavia is governed by the provisions of the Constitution of the Islamic religious community in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, made and passed by the Supreme *waḳf* Assembly in 1947. Some of the regulations have since been changed and others added. The Constitution has effected the unity of the religious organisation of Muslims in Yugoslavia not only through the function of the *reʾīs al-ʿulemā*, but also through the establishment of the Supreme *waḳf* Assembly, allowing at the same time for the federal structure of the State in that separate *Ulema-Medžlis* and *waḳf* assemblies have been set up in the four republics where Muslims form a considerable part of the population. The supreme authority is vested in the *reʾīs* and four members from the four *waḳf* assemblies. The *reʾīs al-ʿulemā* and the four members of the supreme authority are elected by the Supreme *Waḳf* Assembly (see YUGOSLAVIA.

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BOSNA-SARĀY [see SARAJEVO]

BOSPHORUS [see BOGHAZ-IČI]

BOṢRĀ (Bostra), a town of southern Syria in the fertile plain of the Nuḳra, in the province of Ḥawrān (Hauranitidis of the *Notitia dignitatum*), the Idumea of the Bible. Situated in 32° 30′ N., 36° 28′ E., and called today Boṣrā Eski Shām (to distinguish it from Boṣrā al-Ḥarīrī on the southern edge of the Ladjāʾ, 12½ miles from Ezra), Boṣrā is 19 miles north of the present frontier of Jordan on the road joining Darʿa on the west to Salkhad on the east. It is close to two intermittent streams, the Wādī Zaydī and the Wādī Buṭm, tributaries of the Yarmūḳ. The name Boṣrā is attested in the sense of 'citadel' (De Vogüé, *Inscr. Palm.*, 25). The town, fortified since its foundation, seems to have been a strongpoint towards the north of the 'Arab', *i.e.* Nabataean, kings. Damascius (*Vita Isid.*, § 199), writing in the 6th century, describes it as an ancient fortified town provided with ramparts by the Arab kings. The book of Maccabees (I, v, 26) makes it dependent on the great fortified region of Perea and calls it Bossora. The extensive Nabataean cemeteries which surround it are evidence that it belonged to the kingdom of Nabatene. Two inscriptions from the neighbouring town of Salkhad (Salcha of the Romans) bear, for the eighth decade of the first century, the name of king Malkhū (Malchus of Damascius) (Littmann, *Semitic Inscr.*, in *Syria*, iv, A, nos. 23 & 28). The use of Nabataean was kept after the Roman conquest (*ibid.*, 12, 102, 103, 106). Certain Nabataean inscriptions include a Greek text.

When Boṣrā had been introduced into the Roman empire, after the annexation of the old Nabataean kingdom, by Cornelius Palma in 105-6 A.D. (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Bostra*, ii, 359, 11 f.) it was reorganised on the initiative of Trajan. Writers on Roman history differ as to the date of its foundation. B. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xv, 969) sees it as a town of Roman foundation. Damascius assigns to Alexander Severus the honour of incorporating it as a town. The latter did indeed confer on Bostra the title of Colonia Bostra concurrently with that of Nova

Trajana Alexandrina (222-35 A.D.). Malalas takes its foundation back to Augustus.

It is certain that the town of Bostra was enlarged at the time of its incorporation into the Roman Empire, as a study of its plan shows. Though it remained a stronghold in the 4th century—the most important in the province of Arabia, with Gerasa and Philadelphia '*murorum firmitate firmissimas*' (Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 8_{13})—the withdrawal towards the south of the true line of defence made of it no longer simply a garrison town, station of the Third Cyrenaican Legion (*Notitia Dignitatum*, Ptolemy, v, 17, 7), but an important centre, soon to become Christian, and seat of the government of the province of Arabia under the name of Néa Trajanè Bostra. The Era of Bostra (105 A.D.) testifies to its importance. Thanks to the trade routes which attached it to Philadelphia and the Persian Gulf and those which gave it access to the Mediterranean across Palestine, it was also an important centre of commerce dependent on Damascus, to the north, to which it was joined by two roads. It had extensive markets, of which the ruins subsist; it had its own coinage: that struck by the emperor Philip 'the Arab', who was a native of Bostra, gives to it the title of Metropolis as well as that of Colonia (Butler, *Syria*, A iv, Bosra, cap. II, xvi, nos. 42, 43). Philip the Arab stationed a squadron of cataphractaries there.

At the time of the first form of the Manichean controversy Titus, bishop of Bostra (about 360), took up (*Part. graeca* xviii, 1069-1264) a doctrinal position and engaged in activity which placed him in the front rank of the ecclesiastical writers of his time by his knowledge, his philosophical training, and his secular activity. Before him Beryllus (222-33), under the influence of Origen, had testified against the heresy by returning to orthodoxy. Byzantine Bostra played the part of a frontier market where Arab caravans and pastoralists alike came to buy provisions under the watch of the troops stationed there.

As an administrative centre Bostra included a large population of functionaries and civic officials. It was the centre of a bishopric subordinate to the patriarchate of Antioch. An edict of Anastasius (Butler, *op. cit.*, no. 561) secured the stability of offices there by ridding them of corruption and devoting to them revenues derived from the annona and the grain trade, as also from the 'twelfth'. Romano-Byzantine inscriptions are testimony of the administrative importance of the town. It was the residence of the governor of the Provincia Arabia, who besides the titles of *hégémôn* and *dux* (Gr. δοῦξ) bore the military title of *scholasticos* (488). As a municipium the town had its praeses (*prohédros*) and a college of four *synarchontes* to which was joined a council (*bouleutai*). For the time when Christianity had not yet triumphed dedicatory inscriptions are to be found to the official Gods of the Empire and to those of Ḥawrān with their original or Hellenised names (D. Sourdel, *Cultes du Hauran*, Paris 1952). Later, during the Christian epoch, numerous inscriptions mention the reconstruction or restoration of churches dedicated to the Virgin and Sergius or anonymous patron saints, and also of two monasteries of which at least one, dedicated to Saint Cyricus, was for girls. To judge by funeral inscriptions the population had kept its old Semitic basis, sometimes partially Romanised, with infusions of new blood from Italy, Asia Minor, Corinth, and even (thanks to the transfer of a garrison) from Pannonia. By virtue of its archbishopric Bostra for a long time kept a basilica, of which substantial remnants remain, and a bishop's palace of which nothing much is left. The convent possibly dedicated to Saint Sergius stood not far from there. It had a big church of which the walls and the apse are still standing. It is there that folklore places the sojourn of the monk Baḥīrā [*q.v.*], he who, as is well known, was one of the christian witnesses to the Prophet's mission. (His name, which is still unexplained, may conceal that of Pa<u>kh</u>ūrū attested by a Nabataean inscription from Sal<u>kh</u>ad [Littmann, *Nabat.* 24_6—and likewise, Bartholomew of Edessa, *P.G.*, 104, 1429].) The Muslim epic legend later made of the taking of this town, 'the first Byzantine centre conquered by the Arabs', a sign of the divine mission of Islam (Pseudo-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-<u>Sh</u>ām*, Cairo 1954, 16-7).

The Arab conquest and then the establishment of the Umayyad power brought about its decline, in spite of the advantages accruing from its position on the pilgrim route, by depriving it of its status of provincial capital and permanent major frontier garrison. It preserved a certain prestige because of two legends, that of Baḥīrā and that of the 'kneeling' of the camel bearing the 'Syrian' copy of the Ḳur'ān (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qorans*, ii, 112 ff.). This seems to have made of it the site of a pious folklore which is attested by the accounts of pilgrimages (*e.g.*, al-Harawī, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 17) and the names of its mosques: al-ʿUmarī (Sauvaget, in *Syria*, xxii, 41), Fāṭima, <u>Kh</u>iḍr, al-Mabrak, and the popular tales attaching to them. Numerous inscriptions bear witness to their restoration from the time when the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ princes of Damascus exercised suzerainty over Boṣrā and devoted themselves to strengthening it against the Fāṭimids whose possession (in theory) it still was. The spoliation of the town by Abū <u>Gh</u>ānim's Carmathians had made this needful. The ʿUmarī mosque, anterior to 128/745 (date of a restoration by ʿU<u>th</u>mān b. al-Ḥakam, Ar. inscr. Littmann, no. 30), was renovated in 508/1114, then rebuilt in 618/1221 under the Ayyūbids with the supervision of an Egyptian architect. In 526/1132 the mosque of <u>Kh</u>iḍr was restored by the *amīr* Gümü<u>sh</u>tekin. The 'very old' Mabrak mosque had a Ḥanafī *madrasa* built beside it in 530/1136 (Sauvaget, in *Syria*, xxiv, 231).

The Ayyūbid governors made the town richer by another Ḥanafī *madrasa* in 630/1233 (Littmann, *op. cit.*, no. 38). The college mosque known as the 'Dabbā<u>gh</u>a' dates from 655/1257. The Mabrak mosque was—and still is—surrounded by a celebrated cemetery which formed a pair with the 'Martyr's cemetery' to the south of the town. Inscriptions attest the construction and restoration at this time of other monuments now lost.

The period of these constructions was that when the town regained under the Ayyūbids a major importance due to its military rôle, whether in face of the Crusaders or in the course of the conflicts between Saladin's successors. The great witness of this military function is the citadel of Boṣrā. Under the governors representing the Atabeks of Damascus, the old Roman theatre on an esplanade to the south of the town outside the ramparts had been adapted for defence by a wall and three flanking towers. Between 481/1089 and 649/1251 the princes who successively held Boṣrā under their sway enlarged this citadel which ended by becoming one of the chief military monuments of the Muslim world. In

1956 it still remained the most complete authentic document on the successive techniques of fortification from the Fāṭimid period to the Mamlūk. After the Mongol invasion of 659/1261, which left the fortress badly damaged, Baybars sent a mission from Egypt which restored, made even bigger, and strengthened this monument (A. Abel, *La citadelle eyyubite de Bosra Eski Cham*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, vi (1956), 95-138, XI pl.). This restoration, by using up a huge quantity of material, no doubt completed the destruction of the old Roman hippodrome which once stood to the south of the theatre. The extensive ruination and depopulation consequent on the brief Mongol invasion seem to have plunged the town once more into obscurity. The restoration of the citadel 'outside the walls' only partially concerned it (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamelukes*, tr. Quatremère, i, 141). However, the town enjoyed a certain importance in the 15th century, for it furnished the Mamlūk administration in Syria with several notable personages bearing the family name of al-Buṣrāwī. It remained the place through which pilgrims passed on the old Roman road from Damascus to Philadelphia-ʿAmmān. Its Birkat al-Ḥādjdj still bears their graffiti.

The development of Egyptian trade by the Red Sea and the fact that the Holy Cities, becoming more and more impoverished, lived principally on Egyptian aid, deprived it, however, of the character of trading centre which it had had originally. The Ottoman invasion and conquest turned it into a minor provincial centre, the exile of obscure functionaries who did not always possess the means to defend the town.

The administrative centre of Ḥawrān was transferred to Mzeyrib and Merkez in the 10th/16th century.

In the 11th/17th century the ʿAnazeh Bedouins, with their flocks, pushed to the edge of Ḥawrān. The threat of their pillaging expeditions hung over the whole region on dwellers and travellers alike. The pilgrims then adopted the western route by Ṣanamayn and Mzeyrib which has remained till today the '*darb al-ḥadjdj*' and alongside which the Hejaz Railway was built at the beginning of the present century.

Today the agricultural centre of Boṣrā earns its living by the cultivation of the fine wheat fields of the Nuḳra when the rain is sufficient. It enjoys also an excellent water supply which allows the maintenance, in confinement, of a fair number of livestock. It has kept its fine vines and still produces a small quantity of very good wine.

The town is of enormous archeological interest. Since the beginning of the 19th century travellers have been struck by the sight of its Roman ruins and have paused with interest before its gradually crumbling ramparts and its citadel. The Princeton Expedition (1904-5, 1909) published a great number of inscriptions in Greek and Latin (Littmann, David Magie Jr., and Duane Reed Stuart), Nabataean (Littmann), and Arabic (Littmann). The efforts of the members of the Institut Français de Damas and of the Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth have contributed in *Syria*, in the publications of the Institut de Damas, and more recently in the *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, to the increase in our knowledge of the town. Restorations, due principally to the work of J. Sauvaget, have been successfully carried out to the ʿUmarī mosque. The Syrian Service of Antiquities has made extensive excavations.

The exact study of ancient and medieval hydrological techniques, of the nature of the monuments and their chronological assignment, and, above all, of the successive levels of construction, still remains to be carried out within the framework of a master plan.

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BOSTĀNDJĪ (Būstāndjī, from Persian *būstān* "garden"), the name applied in the old Ottoman State organisation to people employed in the flower and vegetable gardens, as well as in the boathouses and rowing-boats of the Sultans' palaces. As long as the law of *devshirme* (forcible recruiting, [*q.v.*]) remained in force, these were recruited in accordance with its provisions. The *bostāndjīs* formed two independent *odjaḳs* [*q.v.*], of which one was in Istanbul and the other in Edirne (Adrianople), commanded by the *bostāndjī-bashī*. Only the strongest and most vigorous of those forcibly recruited were accepted in the two *odjaḳs* of the *bostāndjīs*, either directly or from the *odjaḳ* of the *ʿadjamī-oghlāns* [*q.v.*]. There were nine grades in the *odjaḳ* of the *bostāndjīs*. New recruits wore round their waists a belt made of the fringe of State cloth (*beylik*), while *bostāndjīs* of the highest rank wore a green belt known as *muḳaddem*. After a specified length of service the *bostāndjīs* were promoted to the *odjaḳ* of the Janissaries. Each man received on promotion the sum of 1,000 *aḳčes* for his equipment. At the end of the 17th and in the 18th century there were cases of *bostāndjīs* assigned to the mounted *odjaḳ* of *ḳapī-ḳulus* [*q.v.*]. *Bostāndjīs* were employed both inside and outside the palace. Others worked directly in flower and vegetable gardens, in boathouses or in connexion with them. There were also *bostāndjīs* in Sultans' estates, as, for example, in Amasya, Manisa, Bursa and Izmit. Apart from the services mentioned above, the *bostāndjīs* of Istanbul, were entrusted with duties such as guarding the palace, transporting material for the construction of palaces and mosques for the Sultans, working in boats used for the transport of timber from the environs of Izmit (v. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. ʿĀrif Bey, *TOEM*, appendix 2, 25).

Two different classes are shown in the paybooks of

the *bostāndjis*, the *ghilmān-i bāghče-i khāssa* (boys of private gardens) and *ghilmān-i bostāniyān* (garden boys). In a paybook dated 984/1576 those employed in the Sultan's private gardens are shown as 20 *bölüks* [*q.v.*], and those working in the vegetable gardens as 25 *djemā'ats* [*q.v.*]. At that time there were 645 working in the private gardens and 971 in the vegetable gardens. Paybooks for 1174/1760 and 1192/1778, show 20 *bölüks* in the private gardens and 64 *djemā'ats* in the flower and vegetable gardens outside. *Bostāndjis* were also concerned with keeping order in the places where the gardens in which they were employed were situated. There was a *djemā'at* in each district, commanded by an officer known as *usta* (master). The *ustas* performed functions analogous to those of police commanders of the districts. These *ustas* were appointed from among the four *baltadjis* [*q.v.*] of the *odjak* of the *bostāndjis*. Terms such as "the *usta* of Kadi-Köyü or the *usta* of Bebek", seen in some documents refer to the *ustas* of the gardens in these districts. The retinue of each *usta* consisted of 20 to 30 *bostāndjis*, in accordance with the importance of the district. The *bostāndjis* of the boathouses and the rowing-boats were specially chosen for these jobs, and pulled the oars of the 24-oar private boat of the Sultan, under the command of the *hamladji-bashi* (chief oarsman), when the Sultan wanted to travel by sea or to have a sea trip. Thévenot says that *'adjami-oghlāns* sat by the right oars, and Turkish youths by the left oars, but this is not certain.

A record of the revenue of the flower and vegetable gardens run by the *bostāndjis* was presented every year in November to the Sultan through the *bostāndji-bashi*, and the money paid into the privy purse. Of this money, one purse (500 piastres) was bestowed on the *bostāndjis* and one purse given to the *wakf* of the Dā'ūd Pasha mosque. In this way, when the revenue was presented, property tenable on a life tenure was bestowed on the twelve most senior *bostāndjis* who were then promoted to the mounted *odjek* of the *kapi-kulus* or to the rank of *müteferrika* [*q.v.*].

When the occasion arose, *bostāndjis* were sent on expeditions, *e.g.*, in 1152/1739, 3,000 of them were dispatched by ship to Bender to fight against the Russians (v. Şubḥī, *Ta'rikh*, 127).

The numbers of the *bostāndjis* varied from time to time. At the beginning of the 16th century these numbered 3,396, at the middle of the century 2,947 and at the end 1,998. At the beginning of the 18th century there were 2,400 *bostāndjis*.

The independent *odjak* of *bostāndjis* at Edirne had its own organisation. It numbered considerably fewer people than the Istanbul *odjak*: 445 at the beginning of the 17th century, 751 at the end of the century, 751 at the beginning of the 18th century. There were 10 *bölüks* of *bostāndjis* working in the Sultan's private gardens at Edirne, apart from whom there were *bostāndjis* employed in three other gardens. *Bostāndjis* wore a hat known as *barata*. Those recruited originally among the *devshirme* conscripts were celibate. Later marriage was allowed. Apart from their commanders, the *bostāndji-bashis*, *bostāndjis* had officers known as *kedkhudā* of *bostāndjis*, *khāṣṣeki-agha*, *hamladji*, *kara-kulak*, *bash-tebdil* and *oda-bashi*. Four senior members of the *odjak* were known as *baltadjis*. At times the *bostāndjis* took part in mutinies and lost, in consequence, the confidence of the Sultans. For this reason, Aḥmed III was obliged to make changes among them. Among the murderers of Selīm III there was a *bostāndji* known as Deli (mad) Muṣṭafā. *Bostāndjis* were also opposed to the military reorganisation measures, known as the *niẓām-i djedīd* and *segbān-i djedīd*. When the *odjak* of the Janissaries was abolished and the organisation of the new Ottoman army, *'asākir-i manṣūre* (victorious army), was extended, these took over the task of keeping order in the districts previously entrusted to the *bostāndjis*; the latter officials' functions being now restricted to gardening and acting as night watchmen. As from Muḥarram 1242 (August 1826), *bostāndjis* were incorporated in the new organisation. According to the new law, 1,500 persons chosen among the *bostāndjis*, commanded by a major, *biñbashi*) were entrusted with the task of guarding the palace and its environs (Orta-Köy and Dolmabahçe). These formed the nucleus of the corps of guards, known in Ottoman times as *khāṣṣa 'askeri*. A ministry, known as the Ministry of *bōstāniyān-i khāṣṣa* (*bostāndjis* of the Sultan) was formed to look after them. The *odjak* of *bostāndjis* at Edirne was at the same time abolished.

Bibliography: Eyyūbī Efendī, *Kānūn-nāme* (in a private library); Na'īmā, *Ta'rikh*, iv, 386; Rāshid, *Ta'rikh*, iii, 85, 89; Şubḥī, *Ta'rikh*, 127; Luṭfī, *Ta'rikh*, i, 200; a document referring to the reign of Muṣṭafā II (Başvekalet Arsivî, Emīrī's classification, no. 14954); reports by Ḥāsib Efendī, Minister of the Sultan's *bostāndjis*, and the *bostāndji-bashi*, 'Othmān Khayrī Agha, concerning the organisation of the *odjak* of *bostāndjis* (Başvekalet Arşivi); law concerning the *odjak* of *bostāndjis* (Başvekalet Arşivi, cupboard no. 3, case no. 92); Artisans' Register (*Ehl-i Ṣan'at Deftexi*) (Başvekalet Arşivi, Kāmil's classification); Chalcondyle, *Hist. Générale des Turcs* (Paris 1662, section on organisation); Rycaut, *Hist. of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*; *Le voyage de M. d'Aramon* (ed. Schefer, Paris 1887) 39; A. Ollivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman* (1801, i, fasc. 4); Enderūnī 'Atā', *Ta'rikh* I; *Ghilmān-i 'adjemiyān ma'āsh idjmālleri* (summaries of pay-books of *'adjami-oghlāns*) (Başvekalet Arşivi); M. Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (1663), 114, etc.; Gibb-Bowen, 1/i, index.

(I. H. Uzunçarşili)

BOSTĀNDJI-BASHI, the senior officer of the *odjak* [*q.v.*] of the *bostāndjis* [*q.v.*]. His retinue consisted of *bostāndjis* of several classes. His residence was at Yali-Köşkü on Seraglio Point in Istanbul. As the person responsible for the maintenance of order on the shores of the Golden Horn, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, he used to patrol the shores in a boat with a retinue of 30 men, as well as inspecting the countryside and forests round Istanbul. When the Sultan travelled by rowing-boat, the *Bostāndji-bashi* was entitled to hold the rudder (*Kānūnnāme-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, *TOEM*, Appendix 2, 24). He had consequently the opportunity of speaking to the Sultan in private and of passing on to him such information, true or false, as he chose. Important State officials, including the Grand Vizier, had, therefore, an interest in conciliating the *Bostāndji-bashi*. Whenever the Sultan went out of the Palace, the *Bostāndji-bashi* was allowed to hold his arm or his stirrup.

The *Bostāndji-bashi* was invariably promoted from the *odjak* of *bostāndjis*, which would not allow an outsider, not even a member of the *odjak* in Edirne, to get the post. In 1072/1661, during the Vizierate of Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha, Meḥmed IV did not on one

occasion find enough animals to hunt during a journey from Edirne to Istanbul. Incensed, he dismissed the *Bostāndjī-bashī* Shaʿbān Āghā, replacing him by Bodur Sīnān Āghā, the *Bostāndjī-bashī* of Edirne. Veteran *bostāndjī*s objected, however, on the grounds that it was not customary to appoint a commander from another *odjaḳ* (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 223).

*Bostāndjī-bashī*s used to entertain the Sultan every spring at a banquet at Kāghıtkhane (the Sweet Waters of Europe) in Istanbul (Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 13). When *Bostāndjī-bashī*s were appointed to an outside post they were usually given the rank of *Ḳapīdjī-bashī* or *Sandjaḳ-beyi*. Those favoured by the Sultan were appointed to the rank of *Beyler-beyi*. Later, when the rules of organisation became more lax, there were cases of *Bostāndjī-bashī*s becoming Grand Viziers. Such were the Pashas Dervīsh, Ḥasan, Topal Redjeb, Khalīl, Moldovandjī ʿAlī, Ḥāfiẓ, Ismāʿīl and ʿAbd Allāh.

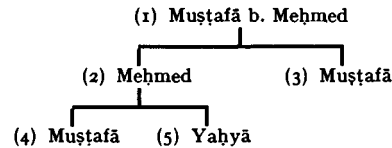
*Bostāndjī-bashī*s, apart from commanding *bostāndjī*s proper, were also in charge of the *odjaḳ*s of Topkapı, Yalı-Köşkü, Sepetçiler, Soğuk-Çesme, Bagcılar, Islemeciler, Bamyacılar, Kuşhāne, Gülhāne, Incili, Dolap-Degirmen, Balıkhane, Mezbele-Keşan etc. According to Enderūnī ʿAṭā, this responsibility was passed on to the *Bostāndjī-bashī* by busy palace officials, such as the *silāḥdār* (Chief Armourer), the *Čukhadār* (Master of the Wardrobe), the *ḳapī-āghāsī* (Chief White Eunuch) or the *kedkhudā* (intendant) of the *ḳapīdjī*s (Imperial Warders). The *Bostāndjī-bashī* also commanded a group of *khāṣṣekī*s (members of the Sultan's bodyguard). Among the *odjaḳ*s commanded by the *Bostāndjī-bashī*, that of *Balīkhane* (fish market) had an evil reputation. Ministers and Grand Viziers sentenced to be exiled or executed were taken there. The fate of the Grand Viziers detained in this *odjaḳ* was indicated by the colour of the sherbet offered to them by the *Bostāndjī-bashī*. A white sherbet meant exile, while a red sherbet meant death.

When the *Bostāndjī-bashī* was dismissed or transferred, he was usually replaced by the *kedkhudā* (intendant) of the *bostāndjī*s or the *agha* (commander) of the *khāṣṣekī*s. There were, however, exceptions to this rule. It was customary for newly appointed *Bostāndjī-bashī*s to be invested with their robe of honour (*khilʿat*) in the presence of the Grand Vizier (ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh*, 110). There is a register in existence of the coastal residences of the *Bostāndjī-bashī* in Istanbul.

The *Bostāndjī-bashī* of Edirne was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Edirne and its environs. Edirne, as the second capital of the State, was not subject to the Wālī of Rūmelī, the government of the city being directly in the hands of the *Bostāndjī-bashī*. The *Bostāndjī-bashī*s enjoyed great revenues and were in a position to commit great abuses. New recruits were, for example, sometimes farmed out against payment.

Bibliography: Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 223 & ii, 347; Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 13; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 89, 144; v, 90; Rāshid and Čelebī-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 61, 371; ʿIzzī, *Taʾrīkh*, 246, 287; for other works see *bostāndjī*, bibliography.

(İ. H. Uzunçarşılı)

BOSTĀNZĀDE, the name of a family of Ottoman *ʿulemāʾ* who achieved some prominence in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The founder of the family was (1) Muṣṭafā Efendi, born in Tire, in the province of Aydīn,

in 904/1498-9, and known as Bostān (or Būstān); his father was a merchant called Meḥmed (thus in the text of ʿAṭāʾī and on the tombstone preserved in the Türk-Islam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul; the heading Muṣṭafa b. ʿAlī in ʿAṭāʾī is no doubt an error due to confusion with his namesake Muṣṭafā, known as Küçük Bostān; ʿAṭāʾī 132. cf. Hüseyin Gazi Yurdaydin in *Bell.* xix, 1955, 189, n. 136). After studying under various teachers in his native town and in Istanbul, he held a succession of teaching and judicial appointments, and in 954/1547 became Ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia and shortly after of Rumelia. His appointment was terminated in 958/1551, in connexion with an unfavourable ruling given by him in a case in which the Grand Vezir Rüstem Pasha was interested. Though exonerated by subsequent enquiries, he was not reinstated, and died on 25th Ramaḍān 977/3 March 1570 (thus the tombstone; ʿAṭāʾī says 27th Ramaḍān 977; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri* puts his death in 968). He was the author of several works of Ḳurʾān commentary and theology, some of which have survived in manuscript in Istanbul libraries. Recently it has been suggested that he was the author of the *Suleymānnāme* previously attributed to Ferdī (Yurdaydın, *Bell.* xix, 1955, 137 ff.).

Bibliography: ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*, 129 ff.; Yurdaydın, loc cit. 189 ff.; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri*, i, 253; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 346.

(2) Bostānzāde Meḥmed Efendi, the son of the preceding, was born in 942/1535-6 and graduated, *i.e.*, obtained his *mulāzemet* [*q.v.*], at the early age of 21. After holding various teaching appointments, in 981/1573 he abandoned the teaching in favour of the judicial branch of the *ʿIlmiyye* profession, and became Ḳāḍī of Damascus. His subsequent promotions were rapid; after serving as Ḳāḍī in Bursa and Edirne, he became Ḳāḍī of Istanbul in 984/1576, Ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia in 985/1577, and of Rumelia in 988/1580. The following year he was retired and in 991/1583 sent as Ḳāḍī to Egypt, where he stayed for three years. In 995/1587 he was reappointed Ḳāḍīʿasker and in 997/1589 became Shaykh al-Islām. In 1000/1592 he was retired (on the circumstances see Naʿīmā *anno* 1000), but returned to active duties as Ḳāḍīʿasker of Rumelia and, in 1001-1593, for the second time became Shaykh al-Islām. He remained in office until his death in 1006/1598. In addition to poems in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, he prepared a translation of the *Iḥyā al-ʿUlūm* and a commentary on the *Multaḳā*. Ḥādjdji Khalīfa mentions a *fetwā* in verse declaring coffee licit (*Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ*, ch. VI; tr. G. L. Lewis, 60, 62).

Bibliography: ʿAṭāʾi, 410; Rifʿat, *Dawḥat al-Mashāʾikh* 33; *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāmesi* 410; *ʿOthmānlī Müellifleri*, i, 256; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānlī*, iv, 133; Hammer-Purgstall, index.

Other eminent members of the family of the Shaykh al-Islām Meḥmed Efendi were his younger brother (3) Muṣṭafā Efendi (946/1539-40—1014/1605-6), who rose to the posts of Ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia and Rumelia (ʿAṭāʾī, 506-7; *SʿO*, iv, 381); his sons (4) Muṣṭafā (980/1572-3—1010/1601), who taught at the Ṣaḥn-i Thamān [*q.v.*] and then became Ḳāḍī of Üsküdār (ʿAṭāʾī 449), and (5) Yaḥyā (d. 1049/1639) who became Ḳāḍī of Istanbul and then

Ḳāḍī'asker of Rumelia. Yaḥyā Efendi was the author of an ethical work called *Mir'āt al-Akhlāḳ*, dedicated to Sulṭān Aḥmed I, and a work on the miracles of the Prophet, called *Gül-i Ṣadberg* (*'Othmanlī Müellifleri*, i, 257; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv, 636; Hammer-Purgstall, index. (B. LEWIS)

BOTANY [see NABĀT]

BOTLIKH [see ANDĪ]

BOUGIE [see BIDJĀYA]

BOZANTI (Pozantı) lies on the Çakıt Çay (called Pozantı Suyu in its higher reaches), about 13 km. to the N.N.E. of the celebrated pass through the Taurus mountains which is known as the Cilician Gates (Pylae Ciliciae: the Darb al-Salāma of Ibn Khurradādhbih, and now, in Turkish, Külek Boğazı). It is the Podandos (Ποδανδός, Ποδενδός, Ποδυανδός, Ποδανδέυς, 'Ρεγεποδανδός) of the Romans and the Byzantines, the al-Badhandūn, (Badandūn, Budandūn) of the Arab geographers. The mediaeval Western sources present the name in a number of different forms, *e.g.*, Podando, Poduando, Opodanda, Botentron, Bothentrot, etc. After the rise of Islām, and with the repeated incursions of the Muslims through the Pylae Ciliciae into Asia Minor, Bozantı became, for the Byzantines, a military strong-point of great importance. It was included in the Κλεισοῦρα of Καππαδοκία ἡ μικρά, but seems to have been raised later to the rank of an autonomous Κλεισοῦρα. It was at Bozantı that the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn died in 218/833, while on campaign against the Byzantines. Bozantı, with the decline of the Byzantine empire and the advance of the Turks westwards into Asia Minor, began to lose some of its former importance. It came, in the course of time, under the rule of the Saldjūḳ sultans of Rūm and, still later, of the Ottomans. The Ottoman conquest of the Mamlūk sultanate in Syria and Egypt (922-923/1516-1517) meant that the Taurus mountains ceased to denote a frontier of major political significance. Bozantı now lost what remained to it of its earlier rôle as a border town guarding the northern exit of the Cilician Gates. Ewliyā Čelebī gives a brief description of a post-station (*menzil-gāh*) called "Sulṭān Khānī", which seems to be in fact Bozantı, but he makes no mention of this latter name. Bozantı, in the mid-19th century, possessed a *khān*, a post-station and a customs-house. It was then a small village of unimposing appearance, belonging to the *ḳaḍā'* of Ṭarsūs in the *sandjaḳ*, and *wilāyet*, of Adana. Bozantı, under the Turkish Republic, is included n the present province of Adana

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BOZDJA-ADA, the Turkish name for Tenedos, an island inhabited mainly by Greeks and commanding the approaches to the Straits. By the Treaty of Turin (1381) Venice and Genoa agreed to demilitarise Bozdja-Ada. The Venetians removed the population to Crete and it was still uninhabited in Clavijo's time. Meḥemmed II built a castle on Bozdja-Ada; Ewliyā calls it *metīn*. Ships sheltered at Bozdja-Ada while awaiting favourable weather for entering the Straits and it is often mentioned in accounts of naval campaigns. The Venetians captured it in Ramaḍān 1066/July 1656 and held it for just over a year. The Greeks seized it in 1912. The London settlement of 1913 provided, at Germany's insistence, that Bozdja-Ada should be returned to Turkey but owing to the outbreak of war Greece retained control. By the Treaty of Sèvres Bozdja-Ada and Imroz (Imbros) were ceded to Greece (art. 84) but demilitarised (art. 178). By the Treaty of Lausanne they were returned to Turkey but given "a special administrative organisation composed of local elements", the police were to be recruited locally and the islands were excluded from any Greco-Turkish arrangements for exchange of populations.

Bibliography: There are many incidental references to Bozdja-Ada in the chronicles and brief descriptions by Clavijo, Buondelmonti, Tafur, Evliyā Čelebī, Spon, Covel, Grelot and Tournefort. (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

BOZOḲ [see YOZGAT]

BRAHŌY [see BALŪČISTĀN]

BRAVA [see BARAWA]

BROACH [see BHARŪČ]

BRUSA [see BURSA]

BRYSON [see TADBĪR AL-MANZIL]

BSHARRĀ or Bécharré, one of the oldest villages in northern Lebanon, 1400 metres above sea-level. It is situated at the bottom of an amphitheatre at the entrance to the Ḳadīsha gorge, a hollow ravine of many caves and hermitages, where traces of very ancient monastic settlements are to be found. The Arab geographers refer to the district under the name of Djubbat Bsharrīyya or Bsharrā. At the time of the Crusades it was one of the fiefs of the County of Tripoli, under the name of Buissera. A stronghold of the Maronite mountain, it depended under the Mamlūk domination from the *niyāba* of Ṭarābulus; the *muḳaddam* appointed by the sultan of Cairo seems always to have been a Maronite Christian; the only exception was the *muḳaddam*, 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb II, who at the end of the 15th century, at a time when very lively Monophysite propaganda was being carried on around Ṭarābulus, was converted to Monophysism, though not without this provoking a revolt among his subordinates. Bsharrā controls the road from Ba'labakk which crosses the Pass of 'Aynata and leads to Ṭarābulus.

This is the 'Road of the Cedars' which the Sultan Ḳāytbāy used at the time of his journey of inspection (9th/15th century), and by which during the 18th and early 19th centuries, armed bands from the Biḳʿa, supported and helped by the Ottoman authorities, were passing on their way to harry the Maronites. These last had also to defend themselves against the Turkish governors of Ṭarābulus.

The little town to-day has 4,000 Maronite inhabitants whose houses are scattered over a hillock where vines and mulberries are cultivated in terraces. A little above Bsharrā, there is a clump of trees, a remnant of the famous cedars of Lebanon, which since 1843 has been placed under the care of the Maronite Patriarch.

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(N. ELISSÉEFF)

BTEDDĪN (a dialectal contraction of Bayt al-Dīn derived from the Syriac Bēth-Dīnā), a place with 800 inhabitants, situated 800 ms. above sea-level and 45 kms. from Bayrūt; the terraces surrounding it grow chiefly vines and olives. Bteddīn constitutes with Dayr al-Ḳamar, a Maronite administrative enclave in the Druze region of Shūf. It owes its fortune to the fact that the *amīr* Bashir II Shihāb [*q.v.*] (1788-1840) chose it as his residence in 1807 and brought the water of the Safa there by means of a viaduct between 1812 and 1815. Hence a certain number of administrative buildings were constructed in the village as well as the palace, a remarkable oriental blend of styles, the work of an Italian architect and Syrian labourers. Built on a rocky escarpment dominating a deep ravine, this palace was from 1814 on a resort of poets (Nicholas the Turk), and Lamartine, who visited it in 1832, has left us a long description of it.

At the end of the Egyptian occupation in 1840, the palace fell into ruins and a serious fire damaged these in 1912; it was partly restored in 1940. In 1948 the ashes of the *amīr* Bashīr the Great were transferred there from Istanbul. To-day Bteddīn is the summer residence of the President of the Republic of Lebanon.

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BŪ [see KUNYA]

BŪ ḤMĀRA, a Moroccan agitator who got himself recognised as sultan in north-east Morocco from 1902 to 1909. His real name was Djīlālī b. Idrīs al-Zarhūnī al-Yūsufī, and he was born about 1865 in the mountains of Zarhūn. He had been a member of the corps of engineering students which Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had tried to establish, and then he became a minor civil servant. He was accused of dishonesty and imprisoned, and then became an exile in Algeria. He returned thence in the summer of 1902, and thanks to frauds and alleged miracles managed to pass himself off as a *sharīf* and even as Maḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the elder brother of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], who was then living in seclusion at Meknes. Many sections of the tribe of Ghiyāṭa in the Taza region recognised him as sultan, and were soon followed by other tribes in the neighbourhood. He was installed at Taza, which he made the capital, in the autumn of 1902. He was generally known as Bū Ḥmāra (Abū Ḥimāra) because it was his custom to ride a she-ass, or as al-Rūgī, from the name of a pretender of the Ruwāga tribe who had been in revolt in 1862 and had been quickly captured. He incited a revolt against the sultan on account of his relations with Europeans.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz sent two expeditions against him which were beaten successively in the last weeks of 1902, when Fez was threatened. But the Sharīfian troops ended by beating him near Fez on January 29th 1903, and reoccupied Taza for a time on 7 July. Bū Ḥmāra, wounded and humiliated, reorganised his forces and retook Taza in November. From there he made contact with two other agitators: Raysūlī, who was active in the Tangier area, and the Algerian Bū ʿAmāma, who was fighting against the French in the south of the department of Oran. With the latter he besieged Oudjda for many months from the end of 1904 to June 1905 without result. Beaten, he sought refuge near Melilla in the Ḳaṣbat Salwān and got into touch with the Spaniards, showing them the possibility of mining concessions in the region, which brought him discredit in the eyes of the neighbouring tribes. He however succeeded in reoccupying Taza in June 1908, and, taking advantage of the troubles at the time of the accession of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ to power, he threatened Fez yet again. The new sultan launched several expeditions against him, one of which succeeded in capturing him about 100 kms. north of Fez, on 22 August 1909. Shut in a cage prepared for this event, he was led into Fez and exposed to the scorn of the inhabitants, but after some days the sultan, weary of his bravado and fearing a European intervention in his favour, had him shot on 15 September 1909. His body was half burnt.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

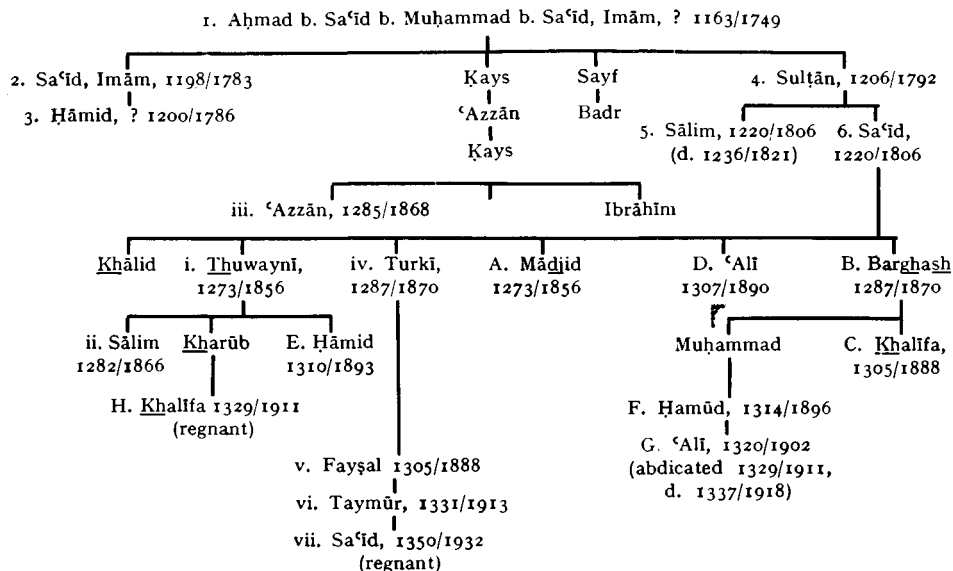
BŪ SAʿĪD, the reigning dynasty of ʿUmān and Zanzibar, of Azdī origin. The founder, Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, became Wālī of Ṣuḥār under the Yaʿrubī Imām of ʿUmān, Sayf b. Sulṭān II. He defended Ṣuḥār successfully against Nādir Shāh's general, Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Shīrāzī, who came to terms. Within a few years, by force, diplomacy and treachery, Aḥmad made himself master of ʿUmān. The Shāh was preoccupied with a Turkish war and did nothing to retrieve his position. The date of Aḥmad's formal assumption of the title of Imām is uncertain; it cannot be 1154/1741 as usually stated, and there is some evidence for 1163/1749. He naturally favoured Turks against Persians and helped the former to defend Baṣra in 1189/1775. He fostered commerce and helped to suppress Indian pirates. His son Saʿīd succeeded him in 1198/1783 but was unpopular and withdrew to al-Rastāḳ, leaving power to his son Ḥāmid, but retaining the title of Imām. No subsequent member of the dynasty used this title; later rulers were called Sayyid, though

generally known as Sulṭān to foreigners. Saʿīd was still living in 1226/1811 but died during the next ten years. Ḥāmid (d. 1206/1792) was succeeded by his uncle, Sulṭān, who captured Čāhbār, Hormuz, Ki<u>sh</u>m, Bandar ʿAbbās and Baḥrayn. Persia agreed to lease Čāhbār and Bandar ʿAbbās to the Bū Saʿīd, who already held Gwādar. In 1213/1798 he concluded a treaty permitting the British to build and fortify a factory at Bandar ʿAbbās and promising not to allow the French or Dutch to establish factories in his realm so long as they were at war with Britain. In his last years he was in constant danger from Wahhābī attacks. He was killed in a sea fight near Lingah (1219/1804). The ensuing struggle for power was won by Badr b. Sayf with Wahhābī support but he was murdered by Saʿīd b. Sulṭān who ruled jointly with his brother Sālim until the latter's death (1236/1821) and then alone.

Saʿīd was the greatest of his dynasty but in Arabia his position was often insecure, either because of family dissension or Wahhābī attacks. The former resulted in the temporary independence of Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*] under the family of Ḳays b. Aḥmad, while the Wahhābīs were sometimes bought off and sometimes restrained by the fear of British intervention. Saʿīd was a firm ally of the British and assisted their expeditions against the Ḳawāsim in the Persian Gulf. Under strong British pressure he restricted the slave trade (1238/1822) and the export of slaves from Africa was forbidden from 1263/1847. Saʿīd's greatest achievement was the extension of his African dominions into a commercial empire supported by sea power. The conquests of the Yaʿrubī Imāms in Africa had mostly been lost during the Persian invasion of ʿUmān. Saʿīd at his accession controlled only Zanzibar, part of Pemba, perhaps Mafia and Lamu, and Kilwa, which had been lost and regained. He gradually asserted his authority over the Arab and Swahili colonies from Maḳdi<u>sh</u>ū (Mogadishu) to Cape Delgado; the most serious opposition was at Mombasa [*q.v.*]. The Hamitic and Bantu tribus hardly recognised his authority on the mainland. Even on the principal islands Saʿīd merely received tribute from the chiefs of the Wahadimu (the Mwenyi Mkuu), the Wapemba (the Diwani) and the Watumbatu (the <u>Sh</u>eha). In the middle years of the century the coast from Vanga to Pangani was, except for Tanga, held jointly by Saʿīd and the King of Usambara, who sent representatives whom Saʿīd confirmed in office. Saʿīd's attempt to obtain Nossi Bé was foiled by the French. In 1270/1854 he ceded the Kuria Muria Islands to Britain.

On Saʿīd's death (1273/1856) his son <u>Th</u>uwaynī remained in control at Masḳaṭ and his other son Mā<u>d</u>jid at Zanzibar. By the decision of Lord Canning, to whom the dispute was referred, Mā<u>d</u>jid kept Zanzibar and paid annual compensation, specifically stated not to be tribute, to <u>Th</u>uwaynī. Mā<u>d</u>jid's successor was Bar<u>gh</u>a<u>sh</u> who had tried to seize power on Saʿīd's death and again a few years later. The influence of of the British representative, Sir John Kirk, became paramount and in 1290/1873 the slave trade was prohibited. German penetration in E. Africa resulted in the appointment of an Anglo-Franco-German Commission to delimit Bū Saʿīdī territory. By its decision Bar<u>gh</u>a<u>sh</u> was recognised as ruler of Zanzibar, Pemba, islets within 12 miles of them, the Lamu archipelago, the coast from Tungi to Kipini to a depth of 10 miles, Kismayu, Barawa, Marka, Maḳdi<u>sh</u>ū and War<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>. Lamu was later ceded to the British East Africa Co. and the Somali ports to Italy. In 1307/1890, in accordance with another Anglo-German agreement, Bū Saʿīdī possessions north of the Umba River were purchased by Germany, and almost all the rest became a British protectorate. The mainland territories were then leased. In 1309/1892 the administration was reorganised and a British First Minister (Gen. Lloyd Mathews) was appointed. <u>Kh</u>ālid b. Bar<u>gh</u>a<u>sh</u> attempted to seize power in 1310/1893 and in 1313/1896; his second revolt led to the bombardment of the palace by a

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ĀL BŪ SAʿĪD DYNASTY

Arabic numerals indicate rulers of ʿUmān and Zanzibar, Roman numerals rulers of ʿUmān only, and letters rulers of Zanzibar only. The dates are those of the accession of each ruler.

British warship. In 1314/1897 the legal status of slavery was abolished. The British minister was Regent during the minority of ʿAlī b. Ḥamūd (1320/1902-1323/1905). In 1331/1913 responsibility for Zanzibar was transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial Office.

Thuwaynī, who had kept ʿUmān under the Canning award, was assassinated. His son Sālim was suspected of complicity and expelled after a short reign by ʿAzzān b. Ḳays, who was himself killed in a civil war. In 1288/1871 Turkī agreed to partition ʿUmān with ʿAzzān's brother Ibrāhīm. The latter retained Ṣuḥār, but lost it to Turkī two years later. During these disorders the Persians resumed the lease of Bandar ʿAbbās (1285/1868) and recaptured Čāhbār (1288/1872). In 1290/1873 the slave trade was prohibited under British pressure. About 1319/1901 a dissident movement began in the interior under ʿĪsā b. Ṣāliḥ. In 1331/1913 Sālim al-Kharūsī was elected Imām and in 1333/1915 Masḳaṭ was attacked by the rebels and saved only by an Indian detachment. Sālim was murdered in 1338-9/1920; his successor, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, made an agreement with Sayyid Taymūr by which the tribes of the interior enjoy autonomy. Modern ʿUmān includes Ẓufār and is bounded by the territories of the Sulṭān of Ḳishm, the Shaykh of Raʾs al-Khayma and the desert. An enclave on the coast around Fudjayra constitutes a separate Trucial state.

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(C. F. BECKINGHAM)

BUʿĀTH, the site of a battle about 617 A.D. between most sections of the two Medinan tribes of Aws and Khazradj. It lay in the south-eastern quarter of the Medinan oasis in the territory of the Banū Ḳurayẓa. The battle was the climax of a series of internal conflicts. The Aws, whose position had deteriorated, were joined by the two chief Jewish tribes, Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr, and by nomads of Muzayna; their leader was Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk. The opposing leader ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa was supported by most of the Khazradj, and by some nomadic Djuhayna and Ashdjaʿ, but ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] and another Khazradj leader refused to join him. The Awsite clan of Ḥāritha also remained neutral. In the fighting, the Aws were at first forced back, but eventually routed their opponents. Although the leaders of both sides were killed, the war ended with an uneasy truce rather than a definite settlement.

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BUCHAREST [see BÜKRESH]

BUDAPEST [see BUDÎN]

BUDAYL B. WARḲĀʾ, chief of the Banū Khuzāʿa, a tribe living near Mecca, who served Muḥammad as spies, kept him informed of the enterprises of the Ḳuraysh, and, after the agreement at Ḥudaybiya (6/628), were his allies. Budayl appears for the first time in the camp at Ḥudaybiya, to tell Muḥammad that the Meccans are armed to resist him. On his return he carried the Prophet's proposals to Mecca, where he had a *dār*. The Banū Khuzāʿa took refuge there during their war with the Banū Bakr, when the Ḳuraysh took the side of the latter, their clients, against the former. This was a breach of the treaty of Ḥudaybiya, by which the Banū Khuzāʿa had been recognised as allies of Muḥammad, and thus gave the latter an opportunity to attack Mecca. Budayl hurried to Medina to make an arrangement with Muḥammad and on the way met Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] who was on the way to Medina on a similar errand. Apparently they both came to an arrangement with Muḥammad in Medina regarding the terms of a peaceful surrender of Mecca, for which they offered their services. Muḥammad advanced against Mecca at the head of 10,000 men with the declared purpose of avenging the Banū Khuzāʿa. On the day before his arrival at Marr al-Ẓuhrān (middle of Ramaḍān 8/beginning of June 630) Budayl went out with Abū Sufyān to reconnoitre. If the two had not been secretly in agreement, the Umayyad would not have been able to persuade the chief of the Khuzāʿa, who was the cause of the campaign, to go with him at such a critical moment. After they entered the Prophet's tent, they are both said to have paid him homage and adopted Islām. The conversion of Budayl cannot have taken place earlier, because he is mentioned among the "Muslims of the conquest (*fatḥ*)" of Mecca. It was granted him that his house in Mecca should be recognised as a place of asylum for the belligerents. After the capitulation of Mecca, Budayl accompanied Muḥammad with his adherents to Ḥunayn. He was not present at the siege of Ṭāʾif because he had to guard the booty taken at Ḥunayn, in the camp of Djiʿrāna. He is not mentioned again and must have died before the Prophet, *i.e.*, between the years 9 and 11 (630 and 632).

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BUDD (pl. *bidada*; Pers. *but*) is used in Arabic in three different senses; it denotes either a temple, a pagoda, or Buddha, or an idol (not necessarily the Buddha). The principal instance of the use of the word in the sense of pagoda occurs in a passage in the *Merveilles de l'Inde* (ed. trans. M. Devic, 5; *Mémorial J. Sauvaget*, i, 192); this sense appears

to be the rarest, although given as the primary sense in the *LA*.

Budd denotes the Buddha in authors such as al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbī*ʿ, ed. Pellat, 76), al-Masʿūdī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahrastānī; al-Masʿūdī, speaking of the temple called "the house of gold" at Mūltān (*Tanbīh*, 201; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *India*, trad. Sachau, i, 368, ii, 18; Reinaud, in *JA*, 1844-5), says that the appearance of the first Buddha among the Indians dates back 12,000 times 33,000 years. Al-Bīrūnī, though possessing such a good knowledge of Brahmanism, knew little about Buddhism; the reverse is true of al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton, 416; ed. in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, iii, 240), who defines the Buddha: a person of this world, who is not born, does not marry, does not eat or drink, and does not grow old or die; the first Buddha, who appeared 5,000 years before the *hidjra*, was called Shākmīn (= Čakya Muni); al-Shahrastānī also knowns of, under the name of Būdīsʿiyya (?), the Bodhisattvas, who are inferior to the Buddhas; they are men who seek the path of truth and attain their elevated rank by the practice of ten virtues and the avoidance of ten sins. The heresiographer, who adds that Buddhists believe in the eternity of the world and in the retribution of one's acts in another life, states that Buddhas appear in various forms in the palaces of the kings of India, and compares them with al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] as envisaged by Muslims. Although Muslims possessed only rudimentary ideas about Buddhism, it is noteworthy that they adapted to their own religious history, by dint of making Adam come down in Ceylon, the Buddhist tradition which relates "Adam's peak" [see SARANDĪB] to the person of the Buddha (see *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, ed. trans. Sauvaget, 36).

Finally, the word *budd* is often used in the sense of idol. We should probably read *budd Kuwayr* "idol of Kuvera" in al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbī*ʿ, 40), and Ibn Durayd (apud *LA*) renders *budd* by *ṣanam*. The author of the *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, 24, calls *budd* an idol worshipped in India to which courtesans were sacrificed. The idol of Somnath was well known among the Muslims (see Saʿdī, *Būstān*, ed. Platts, 238 ff.; Eng. trans. R. Levy, London 1918, 67 ff.; Fr. trans. Barbier de Meynard, 334); al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 170-1, describes it accurately and gives the name of *budd* to the principal object of worship, which consisted of two stones representing the male and female organs of generation.—On the legendary founder of the religion of the Sabaeans, Būdhāsaf/Yūdāsaf = Bodhisattva, see BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSAF.

Bibliography: in the article.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX*)

BUDHAN, SHAYKH, of Djawnpūr, a holy man belonging to the order known as Shaṭṭāriyya [*q.v.*], (*Akhbār al-Akhyār* 193; *Adhkār-i Abrār* 284 ff.). He was descended from Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Shaṭṭārī (d. 890/1485, in Māndū), who himself was the seventh descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī and came to India from Persia towards the end of the 9th/15th century (for him see *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 171; *Adhkār-i Abrār*, 161, 286; *Maʿāridj al-Wilāya*, f. 538; Muftī Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā*ʾ, Lāhore 1283, 947; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1951, iii 95 f.). Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh was the first to introduce the Shaṭṭārī *mashrab* in India. Shaykh Budhan received his literary education from, and was initiated into the Shaṭṭārī order by, Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ Djawnpūrī, a vicegerent (*khalīfa*) of the above Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh and in his turn practised the teachings of the order, handed them down to others, and led seekers of Truth to the Shaṭṭārī path. Shaykh Rizḳ Allāh Mushtāḳī, the paternal uncle of the famous Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of Delhi, was instructed in the method of 'the remembrance of God' (*dhikr*) by him. Shaykh Budhan, who flourished under Sulṭān Sikandar Lodhī (regn. 894-923/1489-1517) is described by Khweshgī as "a saintly and blessed person" (*mardī buzurg wa mutabarrak*). He died in Pānīpat and was buried there. His *khalīfa*, Shaykh Walī (d. 956/1549), carried on his work in the town of Badolī and left several *khalīfa*s.

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(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

BŪDHĀSAF [see BILAWHAR WA YŪDĀSAF]

BUDĪN (Budūn, Bedīn, Bedūn, Budīm, from the Slav Budin), the Latin and Hungarian Buda, the kernel of that part of the present Budapest which is situated on the right bank of the Danube, was conquered three times by the Turks in the second quarter of the 16th century (1526, 1529 and 1541). It was declared an Ottoman possession on 29 August 1541, and made the centre of that part of Hungarian territory which was converted into an Ottoman province (*Budīn wilāyeti*).

The Hapsburgs, who were the Central European power most concerned with the expansion of the Turks, and who laid claim to the Hungarian throne, made in 1542 an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Budīn. No further attack was launched for the next fifty years. It was only at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, at the time when the Ottoman Empire was at war with the Hapsburg Empire (Nemče), that the coalition armies led by the House of Hapsburg again repeatedly laid siege to Budīn (1598, 1602, 1603). These attacks were, however, repelled by the defenders of the fortress (the most violent attack, that of 1602, was driven back under the leadership of Ḳāḍīzāde ʿAlī and Lāla Meḥmed). Following this, the Turks enjoyed undisturbed possession of Budīn for a fairly long period and the fortress had to face hostile armies only after Ḳara Muṣṭafā's defeat under the walls of Vienna in 1683. While the siege of 1684 failed against the resistance of the defenders (Siyāwush Pasha and Sheyṭān İbrāhīm Pasha), the next siege brought victory to the attacking armies. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha, the defender of the castle, was killed in action, and Budīn, termed at the time the "place of the Ghāzīs" and the "strong wall of Islām", passed into the hands of the Holy Alliance on 2 September 1686.

The fortress of Budīn was built on the castle hill running along the Danube from north to south. The foundations of the fortress were laid in the 13th century by Béla IV; it was developed by subsequent Hungarian Kings, and converted, especially by Sigismund of Luxemburg and Mathias Corvinus, into a central royal residence in renaissance style, rich in artistic buildings.

The fortress was protected by high ramparts erected on the upper slopes of the steep castle-hill. During the Turkish occupation the southern part of the castle-hill, with the medieval royal palace and its

dependencies inside the walls, formed the closed inner fortress (*ič ḳalʿe*); it was here that the gun-foundries (*ṭopkhāne*) and magazines were placed. The rest of the castle-hill was called the middle fortress (*orta ḥiṣār*) and served to some extent as the residence of the civilian inhabitants as well. The town (*varoš*), situated at the foot of the castle-hill, next to the Danube, formed the outer fortress (*dīsh ḥiṣār*) which was surrounded by a simpler town wall and fortified with bastions at the gates. To protect Budīn from sudden attacks, guard-houses had been erected at some distance, around the northern thermal springs (Barutkhāne or Bunar Ḥiṣār, Weli Bey meterisi), further in the neighbourhood of the present Csatárka (Čardaḳ) and on the Gellért-Hill (Gürz Ilyās tepesi).

Although Budīn was always considered by the Ottomans an important fortress of the Empire, and a former royal city of great repute, they cared little for the development of the castle and the town. Some of the more active Turkish provincial governors, especially in the 17th century, fortified or reconstructed some points here or there on the castle-hill; a record of these activities was preserved for a considerable length of time in topographical denominations (Welī Bey ḳulesi, Murād Pasha ḳulesi, Siyāvush Pasha ḳulesi, Ḳaraḳash Pasha ḳulesi, Ḳāsim Pasha ḳulesi, Maḥmūd Pasha ḳulesi etc.). The governors, however, were able to do but little towards the fortification of Buda, because their building activities lacked co-ordination and guidance from a central authority and because they were not permitted by the Turkish Governments to remain long at the same place. Not less than 75 persons, several of them repeatedly, enjoyed the rank of Pasha of Budīn during the 145 years of occupation, so that the average length of their office was scarcely a year and a half. Thus there was never a general modernisation of the castle, and its system of fortification remained on the same basis at the termination of the Turkish rule as it had been centuries before under the Hungarian Kings. Both material supplies and general equipment were at all times antiquated and deficient. (Pieces of ordnance a hundred years old were found in the artillery stations at the recapture of the fortress).

The Turkish régime did not leave behind it any architectural works of artistic value, and this applies not only to structures of a military character but to other kinds of buildings as well. The medieval Royal Castle and the buildings of the town, taken by the Turks in 1541 intact, exceeded the modest needs of the conquerors and were thus easily able to meet the requirements of a provincial headquarters. Slight alterations were needed to make the churches suitable for Muslim religious services (the Church of Our Lady under the name of Sulṭān Süleymān Djāmiʿi or Büyük djāmiʿ, the Church of the Royal Castle under that of Saray djāmiʿi or Enderūn djāmiʿi, the Church of Saint George under that of Orta djāmiʿ, the Church of Mary Magdalen under that of Fetḥiyye djāmiʿi etc.); other public buildings could be used as barracks, while the empty office buildings and the derelict private houses provided homes for the officials.

Still, even the little building activity that was manifested in the transformation or refurnishing of various buildings (e.g., minarets added to the churches), the Muslim-style bathing establishments added to the thermal springs (erected, at the very beginning of the Turkish period by Weli Bey and Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafā) as well as the new constructions necessitated by conflagrations, earthquakes, etc. succeeded in giving the town, in the course of one century and a half, a new exterior sufficient to make it appear a new-style Muslim city in the eyes of any visitor coming down the Danube from the west. As regards appearance and general atmosphere, Budīn was indeed a Turkish and Muslim city.

Being at a great distance from the Turkish capital, a centre in the borderlands, it was usual for the Governments to appoint persons of distinction to be the heads of the province of Budīn, persons "who were prominent among their contemporaries". Important special tasks were entrusted to the Pashas of Budīn, the guardians of that western borderland of the Empire, which was at the same time the most important frontier zone. At the beginning of the period of occupation, when the Ottoman dynasty enjoyed preponderance over the Hapsburg dynasty, their task was to maintain this preponderance, whereas after the Peace of Zsitvatorok (1606) by which the Hapsburg rulers—called up to then Kings of Vienna (Beč ḳirali)—had become exempt from the obligation to pay a yearly tribute, and when Turkish preponderance disappeared, the Pashas of Budīn were given the task of concealing the weakening of the Empire. To this end the Pashas utilised and inspired controversies among local elements and supported the movements of the discontented Hungarians against the Hapsburgs. The dealings of the Turks with the Vienna Court of the Hapsburgs and the Court of the Princes of Transylvania resulted in a number of inter-state agreements, the ground for which had been prepared by the Pashas of Budīn (Peace of Zsitvatorok in 1606, the agreements of Vienna in 1616 and Komárom in 1618, the peace treaties of Gyarmat in 1625 and Szöny in 1627 and 1642).

The population of the town underwent a radical change under Turkish rule; it is to be noted that Budīn was not a populous city before the Turkish occupation, the number of inhabitants being probably below 5,000. A part of them had already left Budīn during the civil wars, while a still greater part, viz. the employees of the Royal Household, the soldiers and officials as well as the persons in the employment of the Church, emigrated after the Turks had taken Budīn. The oldest known list of Turkish tax-assessments enumerates among the inhabitants of Budīn 238 Christian (*gebr*), Hungarian, 75 Jewish and 60 gipsy (*ḳipṭī*) heads of families. As the military personnel of the Turkish garrison (about 2,000 men at the beginning), the employees of the Turkish offices, and the Muslim religious functionaries outnumbered the original or native population at the ratio of 5 to 1, the change in the population was far-reaching from the very first days of the occupation onwards. Budīn had thus become a Turkish military town, the population of which was nevertheless far from being Turkish in origin; most of the people in Budīn with Muslim names were but newly converted Slavs from the Balkans. (This is clearly evident in the case of the gipsies, the majority of whom bore the theophoric name N. b. ʿAbd Allāh). Turks of pure extraction formed a minority in the population of Budīn, as did the Hungarians, Jews, Albanians, Greeks etc. and they remained in the minority throughout the period of occupation.

The spiritual life of the town was not remarkable. The magistrates and public offices were occupied by the "men of the pen" (*ehl-i ḳalem*): viz. the officials of the administrative authorities, the

Pasha's divan, the local financial administration, the school-masters and the employees of the mosques. We know of religious works (mostly copies only) written in Budīn, and we are also aware of certain exponents of religious life at the very beginning of the epoch. Both the names and locations of several dervish establishments are known; the names and memory of a number of *bābās*, together with the mystery clinging to their persons, lived for a long time, the memory of one of them, that of *Gül-Baba* [*q.v.*], having survived the age of the Turkish occupation by many centuries. We even possess some sparse data concerning secular intellectual life. We know that folk-singers and minstrels recited epic poems to the frequenters of coffee-houses and of *londjaköshk*s, in which poems the history of past centuries and the daily fights of the neighbouring borderland were commemorated; it is further known that Budīn's beauty was glorified in meditative songs by local poets (Wüdjūdī and perhaps others as well). In the towns and the border provinces traditional Turkish folk songs were sung and new ones probably composed. Of works in prose we know the rather sketchy biography of Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafā, the ablest Ottoman governor of Budīn (1566-1578): it was most probably compiled in Budīn in Ṣoḳollu Muṣṭafā's lifetime. There is only one among Budīn's literary figures who achieved universal repute: Ibrāhīm Pečewī [*q.v.*], the historian. He was employed by the local *defterkhāne* for some time, lived for many years in Budīn, and, after having left it, returned there on many occasions because of his family connexions.

The spiritual life of the Christians (oriental and western) and of the Jews was, as far as can be judged from the sporadic records, rather primitive.

The Turkish occupation meant a radical change in the town's economic life as well. The markets had to satisfy the new needs of the new inhabitants of the town, the soldiers of the army of occupation, who brought with them some tradesmen of their own. The craftsmen dealing in household articles and clothing imported not only patterns and fashions but also a quantity of various materials, such as cloth from Bosnia, Djanbolu, Salonica, frieze carpets, finished leather-goods, household articles, vessels, arms etc. These articles were certainly more numerous on the local market than the scarlets, velvets, muslins and fabrics imported from the West.

Industrial development adapted itself to the new requirements. While the artisans from the Balkans (tailors, shoemakers, barbers, tinsmiths, gunsmiths), manufactured clothes, boots, vessels and arms that suited Balkan and Turkish taste, the market of Budīn could offer similar articles (Hungarian apparel, Hungarian boots) manufactured in the Hungarian style for the Hungarian inhabitants of the countryside. However, only one or two of the new industries succeeded in taking root, e.g. the production of simple broadcloth (*shayaḳ*) as made by the Jewish women in Budīn, and further the dressing of skins. The Turks had methods of skin-dressing that were different from, and superior to, the methods employed by the tanners who worked in Hungary before their arrival; the new type of leather industry was then adopted not only in the towns inhabited by the Turks but also in the country, as is evidenced by the topographical term "tabán" (the Turkish *debbāghkhāne*) still preserved in many Hungarian townlets.

During the sieges of 1684 and 1686, Budīn fell completely into ruin, its medieval buildings, together with those built in the Turkish era, were destroyed, and its Turkish and Muslim inhabitants were either captured or emigrated at the termination of the hostilities. The Buda of later times and the Budapest of our time have hardly anything to show in the way of records and remnants from the Turkish era.

Bibliographical references

There are scattered data concerning the external history of the town in the writings of the Turkish and Hungarian authors of the epoch (Djelālzāde about the occupation in 1541, Pečewī and the Hungarian Miklós Istvánffy on the fights around 1600, Rāshid and, more extensively, Silāḥdār, especially as regards the siege in 1684). All this has been adequately summed up by M. Cavid Baysun (*IA*, ii, Istanbul 1942, 748-60). A great amount of topographical data will be found in the works of Ewliyā Čelebi and Silāḥdār, as well as in the military maps made during the years of the reconquest. The best Hungarian works are *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vész után* (The Days of the Hungarian Nation after the Catastrophe of Mohács), by Pál Jászay, Pest 1846; *Buda és Pest visszavivása 1686-ban* (The Retaking of Buda and Pest in 1686) by Árpád Károlyi, Budapest 1886, second edition in 1936; bibliographical material for the lives of the Pashas of Buda in Antal Gévay's *Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der Türkischen Statthalter von Ofen* (in J. Chmel's *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher*, Vienna 1841, ii, 56-90). All these contributions were summed up by Lajos Fekete who, in his work: *Budapest a törökkorban* (Budapest during the Period of the Turks) — published in Budapest in 1944 as the third volume of *Budapest története* (The History of Budapest)—also utilised Turkish archive material containing many additional data about the composition of the population and its material and spiritual life (G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der kk. Bibl. in Wien*, vol. ii, 441 ff.: *Türkische Rechnungsbücher*). Áron Szilády and Sándor Szilágyi, *Okmánytár a hódoltság történetéhez Magyarországon*, Pest 1863, *Törökmagyarkori államokmánytár* i-vii, Pest 1872; Imre Karácson, *Törökmagyar oklevéltár*, Budapest 1914; Sándor Takáts *et al.*, *A budai basák magyar nyelvu levelezése*, Budapest 1915. See further Fr. Salamon, *Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenherrschaft*, Leipzig 1887; W. Björkman, *Ofen zur Türkenzeit*, Hamburg 1920; Fr. Babinger *et al.*, *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927; G. Jacob, *Aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Frankfurt 1917; A. Le Faivre, *Les Magyars pendant la domination ottomane en Hongrie*, Paris 1902; T. Gökbilgin, *Kara Üveys Paşa'nın Budin Beylerbeyliği* (1578-1580), in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii (1952), 17-34; 18, *Macaristan'daki Türk Hakimiyeti Devrine ait bazı Notlar*, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vii-viii (1940-42), 200-211; L. Fekete, *Osmanlı Türkleri ve Macarlar* 1366-1699, in *Belleten*, xiii (1949), 663-744.

(L. Fekete)

BUDJĀḲ, southern Bessarabia (the name Bessarabia formerly denoting only Budjāḳ). In Turkish *budjāḳ* (*budjghaḳ* in the Turkish of the Kumans who had settled here earlier) means 'corner'.

This area, from 638/1241 on, had formed part of the empire of the Golden Horde [see BATU'IDS]. When it was in decline, the area was occupied temporarily by the *voyvode* of Wallachia (ca. 746/1345), and later by the *voyvode* of Boghdān [*q.v.*] around 802/1400. As a result of the joint action of the Ottoman and the Crimean Tatars

first Aḳ-Kirmān and Kili in 889/1484, and then the whole of Budjāḳ in 945/1538, came under direct Ottoman rule (see BOGHDĀN). Budjāḳ formed the Ottoman *sandjaḳ* of Aḳ-Kirmān [*q.v.*], the boundary running from Solkuča on the Botna through Gradishte to Kili (Chilia); the Crimean Khān who had co-operated with Süleymān I during the 945/1538 campaign settled the Noghāy tribes in Budjāḳ (the Manṣūrs, the Orāḳs, the Ḳasāys, the Mamāys, the Or-Meḥmeds, the Ṭatmūz, the Yedicek, the Djamboyluḳ) (cf. *Al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 106), thus reinforcing the earlier Tatar inhabitants. In 1067/1657 Ewliyā Čelebī reported (v, 106) that these Tatars formed 200 villages and were very wealthy; the villages towards Bender contained some Tatars or were composed entirely of Wallachs; the villages of Ismail were wholly Tatar. Toward 978/1570 Bender and Aḳ-Kirmān were centres of *sandjaḳ*s under the *beglerbegi* of Özü [*q.v.*], whose seat was at Aḳ-Kirmān or Silistre. The Tatars of Budjāḳ were under the administration of a *Yalï-aghāsï* appointed by the Crimean Khān, and later under the second heir to the Khānate (the *Nūr al-Dīn*), who resided at Khān-ḳïshlasï, south of Bender.

In the struggles against the Ḳazaḳs (Cossacks) and Poland in 1620s, the *beg* of the Noghāys, Ḳantimūr distinguished himself, and the Ottomans supported him against the Crimean Khān and made him *beglerbegi* of Özü, in an endeavour to wrest control of the Noghāy Tatars from the Khān. In 1111/1699-1113/1701 the Noghāys of Budjāḳ (6000 families) threw off their obedience to the Khān and asked to be made Ottoman subjects; on this occasion the Porte did not encourage them, and Dewlet Gerey (Girāy) forcibly transferred 700 to 800 families to the Crimea (*Al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 262-66).

In 1184/1770 Budjāḳ was temporarily invaded by the Russians, and thereafter Orthodox Christian Gagauz Turks and Bulgars began to immigrate from Dobrudja [*q.v.*] into Budjāḳ. By the Treaty of Bucharest (28 May 1812) the Porte ceded Budjāḳ to Russia, and the majority of the Tatars emigrated to the Dobrudja, Bulgaria and Anatolia.

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BUDJNŪRD (BODJNŪRD). 1. Town in Khurāsān situated at the northern foot of Mt. Alādāgh, 57° 17′ E. Long. (Greenw.) 37° 29′ N. Lat., alt. 698 m.

We find no information about the town before the time of the Ṣafawids, when the Shadlū tribe of Kurds was settled in this area by Shāh ʿAbbās I. It is uncertain whether Budjnūrd was called Būzandjird before this time, but the ruins of an old citadel (*arg*) and other structures indicate that the town is old.

2. District of which Budjnūrd is the capital. The population of the *shahristān* has been estimated ca. 150,000 (1950), composed of Turkomāns, Kurds and Persians.

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BUDŪḤ [see SUPPLEMENT].

BUDUKH [see SHĀH DAGH].

BUGHĀ AL-KABĪR (the elder), a Turkish military leader who played a political rôle during a troubled period under the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Under al-Muʿtaṣim and his successors, he distinguished himself in several expeditions against rebellious tribes in the region of Medina in 230/844-45, in Armenia in 237/851-52, and against the Byzantines in 244/857. Absent at the time of the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, he returned subsequently to Sāmarrā and, making common cause with the other Turkish officers, compelled the succession of al-Mustaʿīn in 248/862. He died in the same year.

His son, Mūsā b. Bughā, came also to occupy an important place in the political scene at Sāmarrā, and to direct for a time the *barīd* service.

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BUGHĀ AL-SHARĀBĪ (the cup-bearer), also called AL-ṢAGHĪR (the younger) a Turkish military leader who bore the title *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn*, and who is not to be confused with his contemporary of the same name, Bughā al-Kabīr. After having fought, under al-Mutawakkil, against the rebels of Ādharbaydjān, he led the plot against this caliph, whom he suspected of wishing to reduce the influence of the Turkish officers, and had him assassinated. With his ally Waṣīf, he subsequently held power under al-Muntaṣir and al-Mustaʿīn. Al-Muʿtazz, however, ascending the throne in 252/866, sought to rid himself of this ancient enemy, the murderer of his father, and after relieving him of his functions and privileges, succeeded in 254/868 in having him imprisoned and put to death.

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(D. SOURDEL)

BUGHRĀ KHĀN [see ḲARAKHĀNIDS].

AL-**BUGHṬŪRĪ**, MAḲRĪN B. MUḤAMMAD, Ibāḍite historian and biographer born in the village of Bughṭūra (also: Buḳṭūra) in the western region of the Djabal Nafūsa [*q.v.*]. According to the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī ʿUthmān al-Shammākhī [*q.v.*], an important historical and biographical Ibāḍite work of the 10th/16th century, al-Bughṭūrī was a pupil of two scholars of Ibāḍite history and biography, namely Abū Yaḥyā Tawfīḳ b. Yaḥyā al-Djanāwunī and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masḳūd (also called al-Madjūlī). While studying with the first of these masters, in the village of Idjnāwun (also Djanāwun, today Djennāwen in the Djādū region), al-Bughṭūrī wrote during the month of Rabīʿ II 599/December 1202-January 1203 his principal work on the biographies of celebrated Ibāḍites born in the Djabal Nafūsa. This work, known by the names of *Kitāb siyar mashāyikh Nafūsa*, *Siyar Nafūsa*, or perhaps more often *al-Siyar*, is lost today; it constitutes one of the principal sources of the *Kitāb al-siyar* of al-Shammākhī, who has given us substantial extracts from it, especially in the middle part of his work (143-344). The copy of the work which al-Shammākhī had at his disposal, was probably made in the first years of the 8th/14th century by Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-ʿIzz al-Shammākhī of Tighermīn, a famous Ibāḍite copyist and scholar of the Djabal Nafūsa.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1883,

passim (especially 212, 542-3, 548 and appendix, 578); T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI*, 1934, cahier I, 74-5 and *passim*; idem, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Part I: *Tasmiya šuyūḫ Ǧabal Nafūsa wa-qurāhum*, Warsaw 1955, 15, 28, 69, and *passim*. (T. Lewicki)

BUGI [see celebes].

BUḤAYRA (Ar.), lake, is probably the diminunitive, not of *baḥr* "sea", as one would expect, but of *baḥra*, which is applied to a depression in which water can collect. Thus, in North Africa, *bḥēra*, pl. *bḥāyr* denotes a low-lying plain, in eastern Algeria, northern Tunisia and part of southern Morocco; its most common meaning, however, is that of "vegetable garden, field for market gardening" or "field for the cultivation of cucurbitaceous plants (melons in particular)" (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 227). (Ed.)

The word *buḥayra* (lake) underlies a toponym which is often encountered in Spain and Portugal in the forms Albufera (Valencia, Alicante, Majorca), Albuferas (Almería), Albuera (Cáceres and Badajoz), Albojaira (Almería), and Albufeira, a coastal town in Algarve, Portugal; a diminutive of the diminutive appears also in Albufereta (Alicante). The most important of these lakes is that at Valencia [see balansiya], about 9 kms. from the town, the last remnant which is left (about 35 sq. kms.) of the inland sea which used to cover the deep valleys of the Turia and the Júcar in prehistoric times. It was one of the biggest lakes in Spain, but of late years its area has been diminished in order to provide more rice fields on the north-western and southern shores. Nowadays its diameter is only 6 kms.

Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] drowned his sister's two sons there when he saw himself abandoned by his people, just before the loss of his throne and his death. When Valencia was divided, James I (the Conqueror d. 1276) reserved the estate of Albufera for himself. At the beginning of the 19th century the crown relinquished this fine property to Godoy, and Napoleon offered it to Marshal Suchet before it became a national patrimony once more.

The word *buḥayra* meant an irrigated garden in Almohad times. The battle in which the Almohads were routed by the Almoravids in 524/1130 is known by the name of the Battle of the *buḥayra* of Marrākush; the *buḥayra* of Seville, subsequently called Huerto del Rey, was improved by Yūsuf I, son of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. (A. Huici Miranda)

BUḤAYRA (Beḥera), name of the western province of the Egyptian delta. This was first a pagarchy (*kūra*) of small extent, limited to the north-eastern portion of the outskirts of Alexandria; the name may be an allusion to the lake of Abūḳīr, called also *buḥayrat al-Iskandariyya*, and Yāḳūt was well aware that this last name applied to a series of neighbouring cantons of the town.

At the time of the division into provinces in Fāṭimid times, Buḥayra was an extensive region, situated west of the Rosetta branch, and reaching from the point of the delta right to Alexandria but excluding it. The great port was rarely associated administratively with this province, of which the capital was and remained Damanhūr.

The region of Ṭarrāna, and further north the wādī Naṭrūn, possessed natron deposits, which were worked in the Middle Ages.

ʿUmarī and Ḳalḳashandī give precise information on the Arab (in the strict sense) population of Buḥayra.

During Mamlūk times risings of Arab tribes and Bedouin of the Western Desert are frequently recorded. These rebellions began towards the end of the 9th/15th century; there were terrible punishments: summary executions, the enslavement of women and children, and confiscation of flocks. In the Ottoman period the troubles quite often provoked punitive expeditions, and the province was far from being quiet during the French occupation, as one sees from the massacre of the small French garrison of Damanhūr. After the departure of the French great importance was accorded to the Bedouin of the district, in whose favour an imperial firmān was promulgated, confirming their ownership of their territories. But their turbulence, of which the Mamlūk bey Muḥammad Alfī momentarily took advantage, could scarcely be overcome. Muḥammad Alfī made no attempt to conciliate the Arabs of the province in his struggle against Muḥammad ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 34-5, 175-7, 180, 183, 185, 187-91; ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, 76; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vii, 160-1; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 728-9, vii, 9, 570, 654, 708, 711, 715, 727, 734, 773; *Ḥawādith*, 57, 190, 209-11, 213, 500; Ẓāhirī, 35-6, 130; tr. Venture de Paradis, 55, 214; Ibn Iyās, Būlāḳ ed., i, 142, 249, 268, 308; Mustafa ed. 12, 13, 20, 28, 90, 117, 125, 139, 141, 153; Kahle-Mustafa ed., iii, 11, 21, 25, 48, 71, 227, 265, 268, 287, 388-9, 391, 405-6, 410; tr. Wiet, ii, 13, 25, 55, 83, 260, 305, 308, 330, 440-1, 443, 457, 459; Kahle-Mustafa ed., iv, 256-8; Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 239-41; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii, 191-3, 197-200, 211; Djabartī, i, 24, 95, 334, 349, ii, 93, 119, 159, 219, iii, 57-8, 111, 205-6, 229, 237, 321, iv, 8, 11, 18, 31, 33, 37, 81-2, 133, 242; French tr., i, 57, 221, iii, 52, 88, iv, 150, 218, v, 24, 143, vi, 116-7, vii, 78-80, 133, 154, 359-60, viii, 15, 19, 24, 38, 67-8, 71, 73, 79-80, 177, 179-80, 300, ix, 167; *Histoire de la nation française*, v, 436; Georges Douin, *Mohamed Aly, pacha du Caire*, 14; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 317, no. 1013, iii, no. 228; Poliak, *Révoltes populaires*, in *REI*, 1934, 257, 259, 261-2; *History of the Patriarchs*, *Patrologia orientalis*, x, 524-5 [638-9]; Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 384; Combe, *Alexandrie musulmane*, extr. from *Bulletin de la Société royale de Géographie d'Égypte*, 43; Dopp, *Le Caire*, in the same *Bulletin*, xxiv, 144. (G. Wiet)

al-**BUḤAYRA** al-**MAYYITA** (or al-muntina) [see baḥr lūṭ].

BUHLŪL al-Madjnūn al-Kūfī, the name of a lunatic of al-Kufā. We first meet him in the *Bayān* of al-Djāḥiẓ (ed. Hārūn, ii, 230-1), who depicts him as a simpleton exposed to the rough jokes of passers-by, and definitely as a Shīʿī (*yatashayyaʿ*). It is possible that he met Hārūn al-Rashīd at al-Kūfa in 188/804, as Ibn al-Djawzī reports (*al-Adhkiyāʾ*, ed. 1277, 180 ff.; see *JRAS*, 1907, 35), and perhaps he even addressed some remonstrances to him (al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 58); but it is certain that legend, as far back as the 4th/10th century and maybe even before, seized on his name to make of it a kind of prototype of the "wise fools" (*al-ʿuḳalāʾ al-madjānīn*) and to attribute to him a number of anecdotes, some pious and edifying stories, in addition to some didactic verse (see Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vii, 126 ff.; MSS. Berlin, *passim*; Bibl. nat. de Paris, 623, n° 3653) It is likewise claimed that he produced some traditions (al-Dhahabī; Ibn Taghrībardī) but it is probable

that he has been confused with various characters similarly possessing the name of Buhlūl, and among whom are to be found genuine traditionists (see particularly Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, s.v.). One of them, who lived in Ifrīḳiya and who died in 183/799, was named Buhlūl b. Rās͟hid, which perhaps explains the persistent tradition (see Ibn Tag͟hrībardī, i, 518; *ZDMG*, xliii, 115) which identifies Buhlūl with al-Sabtī, legendary son of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd (see Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vi, 193, and bibl. quoted).

Buhlūl's tomb in Bag͟hdād has been described by Niebuhr (*Reisebesch.*, ii, 301 ff.; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 350), and an inscription dating from 501/1100-8 designates him as the sultan of the *madjdhūbs* and as an "obscure, dim soul" (*nafs muṭammasa*). People called him Buhlūldāna, "the wise fool", and they made of him the kinsman and the buffoon of al-Ras͟hīd, and they told stories in the coffee houses about his wit and subtlety. The culmination of the development of the legend of Buhlūl was reached when he became the hero of erotic tales as in *al-Rawḍ al-ʿĀṭir* (ed. 1315, 9) of al-Nafzāwī (8th/14th century), who makes him a contemporary of al-Maʾmūn (see also Meissner, *Neurab. Geschichten*, v and 73-83).

The word *buhlūl* is given in Arabic dictionaries with the meaning of "merry, jolly" (*ḍaḥḥāḳ*), "a generous and distinguished man", and it is still this sense which Redhouse (*Turkish and English Lexicon*, 416a) and Dozy offer (following Bocthor), although the latter does not fail to call attention to the meanings of "booby", "idiot", etc. which are already encountered in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 89) and Ibn K͟haldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 201 ff.). Currently, and particularly in North Africa, it has the general meaning of "simpleton", "ninny", etc., and H. Wehr, *Wörterbuch*, gives "wag, clown, buffoon". Owing to the fact that *bahālīl/bahlūlāt* still sometimes denotes an intense hilarity (see Doutté, *Marabouts*), D. B. Macdonald (*EI*[1], s.v.) infers that the present use of the word rests also on its literal sense and not on the existence of an historical Buhlūl. It is of course possible that there may be some confusion with *hubālī/buhālī*, which have the same meaning, but it is probable that the modern meaning proceeds from the proper name.

Bibliography: Add to the references given in the text, Brockelmann, *S I*, 350. (Ed.)

AL-**BUḤTURĪ**, Abū ʿUbāda al-Walīd b. ʿUbayd (Allāh), Arab poet and anthologist of 3rd/9th century (206-284/821-897), born at Manbidj (some state his birthplace to be the neighbouring village of Ḥurdufna), into a family belonging to the Buḥtur, a branch of the Ṭayyiʾ; not only did he never completely sever connexions with his native town, where the fortune amassed during his long career as court poet allowed him to acquire property, but he took advantage of his tribal origin to make useful connexions for himself.

After having dedicated his first poetic efforts (223-6/837-40) to the praise of his tribe, he sought a patron, and found him in the person of the Ṭāʾī general Abū Saʿīd Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, known as al-T͟hag͟hrī [*q.v.*], at whose house he met for the first time the poet Abū Tammām, who also claimed to be a Ṭāʾī. Abū Tammām, attracted by his youthful talent, apparently recommended him at first as a panegyrist to the notables of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, who made him an allowance of 4,000 dirhams, but nothing remains of his output during this period. In any case al-Buḥturī was not slow in joining Abū Tammām in the retinue of his patron Mālik b. Ṭawḳ, governor of Mesopotamia, and then in following him to Bag͟hdād, where, by attending the courses of the most celebrated scholars (notably Ibn al-Aʿrābī) and by striving to acquire the manners of the capital, he prepared himself to extol important personages in the hope of getting close to the caliph.

However, he had scarcely any success with Ibn al-Zayyāt, and instead allied himself to a family of his own tribe, the Banū Ḥumayd, some members of which were established in Bag͟hdād, and he dedicated several odes to their chief, Abū Nahs͟hal; then he left ʿIrāḳ at the same time as Abū Tammām, in 230/844, to return to al-T͟hag͟hrī, then at Mosul.

Contrary to all expectation he does not seem to have grieved at the death of Abū Tammām (231/845), from whom nevertheless he had received his first encouragement, and part of his poetic training; this was the first instance of the ingratitude and opportunism of which he gave ample proof later.

No sooner had al-Mutawakkil succeeded than he returned to Bag͟hdād, and thanks to the good offices of Ibn al-Munadjdjim won the favour of al-Fatḥ b. K͟hāḳān, who introduced him to al-Mutawakkil, probably in 234/848. Thus it was that a brilliant career as court poet began for al-Buḥturī.

In spite of a passing coldness in their relationship caused by inevitable jealousies, he enjoyed the constant patronage of al-Fatḥ, to whom he dedicated his *Ḥamāsa* and a number of panegyrics; he also praised numerous great figures of the empire, but it was for the caliph that he kept the greater part of his poetic ouput; he lived on familiar terms with him, enjoying his confidence, supporting government policy even when this clashed with his personal views which had a S͟hīʿī bias, and proclaiming the virtues and rights of the ʿAbbāsids. The verse of this period contains many allusions to political happenings—the rebellion at Damascus (236/850), the revolt in Armenia (237/851), the rising at Ḥimṣ (240/854), the caliph's visit to Damascus (244/858), the building of al-Mutawakkiliyya (245-6/859-60), etc.

Whereas heretofore the erotic prelude to his *ḳaṣīdas* had been dedicated to a conventional Hind, there now appeared in his verse a woman of flesh and blood, ʿAlwa bint Zurayḳa, who lived at Aleppo and had a country house in the district, at Biṭyās; without doubt he used to see her during his journeys in Syria, for his stay in ʿIrāḳ was never uninterrupted, and it is possible that he had a great passion for her, although he mocked her in a somewhat indecent poem.

After having been concerned, as al-Masʿūdī reports of him, in the assassination of al-Mutawakkil and al-Fatḥ (247/861), he thought it prudent to retire to Manbidj, but he reappeared soon afterwards with a panegyric of al-Muntaṣir, and afterwards addressed his praises to the *wazīr* Aḥmad b. al-K͟haṣīb, against whom, incidentally, he did not hesitate to incite al-Mustaʿīn some time later. He tasted fame once more under al-Muʿtazz, to whom he dedicated numerous poems, in which are echoes of the unrest which was watering the provinces of the empire with blood, but which by no means prevented him from welcoming al-Muhtadī as if nothing had happened, and from becoming temporarily a poet of piety to humour the new caliph. His fame declined under al-Muʿtamid, whose fiscal policy caused him some anxiety over his fortune, and his last poem dedicated to a caliph is in praise of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892). He then left ʿIrāḳ and became court

poet once again with Khumārawayh b. Ṭūlūn, and finally then returned to his birthplace where he died, after a long illness, in 284/897.

At the beginning of his career, al-Buḥturī wrote, almost exclusively, vainglorious poetry or poems about his desert wanderings (a notable example is the famous poem of the jackal, ii, 110), but as soon as he became court poet the panegyric became the main form of his work. In this style he respected, except perhaps at the end of his life, the tripartite form of the *ḳaṣīda*, painting a conventional portrait of his various patrons; however, the panegyric is successfully heightened by splendid descriptions (in particular of the palace) where, thanks to a fine sense of poetic imagery and picturesque detail, al-Buḥturī stands unchallenged; it was only later that he devoted an entire poem to describing a palace, the Īwān of Chosroes (see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī, in *MMIA*, 1956, 77-88, 241-52, 427-36, 577-85). Though the ideas he expounded were generally without originality, his style, characterised by a simple vocabulary and musical and sonorous verse, is his great virtue, and puts him above the other court poets with whom at first he had to compete. He excelled equally in elegy but scarcely succeeded with invective, with him a mere corollary of panegyric, and most often addressed to a former prospective patron who had not fulfilled his hopes; and as a matter of fact, according to one story, on his deathbed he advised his son to destroy all his satires. Occasional poems are few in his *dīwān*; likewise, love themes are only found in the prologues to the *ḳaṣīdas*, and it was as a mere concession to fashion that he sang the praises of a few ephebes.

Western critics, who, after all, have taken little interest in al-Buḥturī, class him among the neo-classic poets, and this label suits him perfectly. For their part, Eastern critics consider him, with Abū Tammām and al-Mutanabbī, as one of the most important poets of the ʿAbbāsid era; the comparison between him and his master Abū Tammām is a favourite subject for discussion, after having been a point of controversy even while al-Buḥturī was alive; in his own opinion his best works were inferior to the best work of Abū Tammām, while he thought his own most mediocre poems to be better than the worst of Abū Tammām. This theme is treated in detail in two works which tend respectively to favour Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī: the *Akhbār Abī Tammām* of al-Ṣūlī, Cairo 1356/1937, and *al-Muwāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī* of al-Āmidī (Cairo 1363/1944).

Al-Buḥturī had this in common with most of his fellows, that he begged ceaselessly and rejected no means of getting money; this greed for gain destroyed his moral fibre and led him to dissimulate in order to follow slavishly the fluctuations of the religious policy of the caliph who was his patron.

His success as court poet earned him bitter enemies among his competitors (though he seems always to have been on good terms with the Shīʿī poet Diʿbil [*q.v.*]); naturally it also brought him into contact with all the eminent figures of the empire, *wazīrs*, generals, governors, courtiers, secretaries, and scholars. His contacts also allowed him to be conversant with many political facts, of which one hears echoes in the *dīwān*; this last, independently of its literary value, presents an undeniable documentary interest (cf. M. Canard, *Les allusions à la guerre byzantine ches les poètes Abū Tammām et Buḥturī*, in A. A. Vassiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, Brussels 1935, 397-403). Indeed it forms a useful supplement to the chronicles of the time to which it often adds details, whether in giving the full names of personalities, or in describing monuments, or in mentioning occurrences which historians appear to have overlooked.

The *Dīwān* was published at Constantinople in 1882, then at Beirut and Cairo in 1911, but these editions are rather faulty and incomplete, so that a new publication taking into account the various MSS. (notably that in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) would be most welcome. A commentary compiled by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *ʿAbath al-Walīd*, was published at Damascus in 1355/1936.—Of the *Ḥamāsa* only one MS. (University of Leiden) has been discovered, which is evidence of the lack of success of this anthology, in which the verses are grouped according to their themes and not according to their genres, as in that of Abū Tammām; there have been three editions: Leiden 1909, Beirut 1910, Cairo 1929.—A third work attributed to al-Buḥturī, *Maʿānī al-Shiʿr* (or *al-shuʿarāʾ*), is lost.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, xviii, 167-75; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, London 1939, 186-7; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii, 657-66; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjām al-Udabāʾ*, xix, 248-58; Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, *passim*; Margoliouth, *The Letters of Abu 'l-ʿAlā*, Oxford 1898, *passim*; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb*, index; *Fihrist*, Cairo edn., 235; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, *passim*; *ZDMG*, 1893, 418-39, 715-17; G. Kanʿān, *al-Buḥturī*, Ḥamāt n.d.; Ṭahā Ḥusayn, *Min Ḥadīth al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Nathr*, Cairo n.d. (? 1932), 113-33; M. Ṣabrī, *Abū ʿUbāda al-Buḥturī*, Cairo 1946; ʿA. Rustum, *Ṭayf al-Walīd aw ḥayāt al-Buḥturī*, Cairo 1947; Sayyid al-ʿAḳl, *ʿAbḳariyyat al-Buḥturī*, Beirut 1953; Brockelmann, S I, 125; an excellent monograph, *Un poète arabe du IIIe siècle de l'hégire (IXe s. de J.-C), Buḥturī*, was presented as a doctorate thesis at the Sorbonne in 1953 by S. Achtar (unpublished). (CH. PELLAT)

BŪḲ, the generic name for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family. Wind instruments played by means of a cup-shaped mouthpiece may be divided into two classes, *viz.*: 1. the horn or conical tube type; and 2. the trumpet or cylindrical tube type.

1. The horn type. Whether the *ṣūr* and *nāḳūr* mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (vi, 73; lxxiv, 8; lxxviii, 18) were horns, as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) and al-Djawharī (d. ca. 396/1005) say respectively, the early Persians and Arabs certainly knew of a conical tube instrument of the animal horn type. An example may be found in Greek art of the 14th century B.C. in which an Asiatic warrior is displayed sounding such as instrument, whilst a Greek warrior is sounding a straight trumpet (Gerhard, *Apulische Vasen*, pl. ii). The Arabs appear to have known the crescent-shaped horn as the *ḳarn* (Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, 519), cognate words being found in the Akkadian *ḳarnu* and the Hebrew *ḳeren*. This instrument is still used by the perambulating darwīshes in Persia. According to Turkish tradition the *darwīsh borusu* (*būrīsi*) (dervish horn) was invented by Manūčihr the legendary Persian king (Ewliyā Čelebī, i/ii, 238). For a design of the instrument see Advielle, 9, and Lavignac, 3075, by whom it is wrongly called a *nafīr*. Actual specimens may be found in museums, *e.g.*, the Crosby Brown Collection, New York, no. 2454. There is a large Hispano-Moorish horn of ivory of the 4th-6th/10th-12th century in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (no. 2953/1862). Much larger instruments were also in use. Ibn

Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) describes such an instrument of the Sūdān made from an elephant's tusk (*Voyages*, iv, 411), hence the term oliphant horn. An Andalusian Arab, Al-Shaḳundī (d. 629/1231), speaks of a monster horn (*ḳarn*) known as the *abū ḳurūn* ("father of horns") as related by Al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 144), which would be comparable to the monster horn (*būḳ al-kabīr*), the height of a man, referred to by Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr (*Tadhkirat al-Nisyān*, 45).

A horn made out of a shell was known to the Arabs of the Peninsula in the 2nd/8th century. Al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar says that it was used by millers, and that it was a spiral conch resembling the *minḳāf*, apparently something like the *shankh* of India (Day, *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 151). It was probably the instrument which the Arabs called the *būḳ*. It was not a warlike instrument in the early days of Islām, as the Arabs did not use horns in battle at that time (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, xvii, 44). A poet quoted by Al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 828) says that the *būḳ* was used by the Christians for that purpose, and, according to Al-Djawharī, the Arabs borrowed that usage from them. In fact the word *būḳ* appears to have been derived from the Greek βωκάνη or the Latin *buccina* (Dozy, *Suppl.*), although in the *Tadj al-ʿArūs* the Persian word *būrī* is considered to be the etymological original, an "obviously improbable" derivation (Lane, *Lexicon*). In the 4th/10th century the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ refer to the *būḳ* to illustrate their discussion on acoustics (Bombay ed., i, 89). From that time the *būḳ* began to play an important part in martial and processional music in all Islāmic lands (see Ṭabl-Khāna). In the *Alf Layla wa Layla* (ed. Macnaghten, i, 80, ii, 382, 403) it is in constant use for those purposes, whilst the *nafīr* or trumpet is only mentioned once (ii, 656). Yet it should be understood that the term *būḳ* was used for all instruments with a conical tube, whether crescent-shaped or straight, irrespective of the material of its facture,—shell, horn, or metal. Incidentally, the metal horn (Turkish *pirindj boru*) is claimed to have been introduced by the Saldjūḳs of the 5th/11th century (Ewliyā Čelebī, 1/ii, 238). In view of the use of metal instruments by both Persia and Byzantium much earlier, that statement cannot be accepted. The *būḳ* is mentioned in Persian as early as Firdawsī (d. 411/1020) and one supposes that the instrument was little different from the straight horns depicted on the Ṭāḳ-i Bustān sculptures (590-628 A.D.), and is still the type to be found there (Advielle, 9: Lavignac, 3075). In Moorish Spain the *būḳāt* of Al-Ḥakam II (d. 369/979) were mounted with gold. It was this monarch who, having devised the boring of the tube with finger holes and the insertion of a beating reed at the blowing end instead of a cup-shaped mouthpiece, introduced an instrument of the saxophone type (see Mizmār). The Spanish *albogue* is its lineal descendant.

The Turkish and Persian equivalent of the *būḳ* was the *borū* (*būrī*) (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 400; Meninski, s.v. *būḳ*; Ewliyā Čelebī, 1/ii, 238; Toderini, i, 238). The word is to be found in modern Egyptian and Syrian Arabic (Amery, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, s.v. *bugle*; Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, vi, 29). It has become the Balkan *bore* and *boriye* (cf. the Sanskrit *bhariyā* and the Ghanaian *buro*). The *burghū* or *būrghū*, a Čaghatay word, was a huge horn introduced into the Islamic armies during the Mughal and Tatar regime. Ibn Ghaybī (d. 1435) says that it was longer than the *nafīr*. The name survives in the *buruga* of India (Day, 153; Lavignac, 358) where it is another name for the *karnā*. Another instrument of the same group mentioned by Arabic authors is the *shabbūr*. Al-Djawharī says that it is a non-Arabic word, which Ibn al-Athīr Madjd al-Dīn (d. 1310) has rightly surmised was borrowed from the Hebrew *shōphar*. Firdawsī includes the *shaypūr* among the ancient martial instruments of the Persians. The existence of the Arabic word *shafur*, as mentioned by A. X. Idelsohn (*Jewish Music*, 495, and J. Reider (*JQR*, Jan. 1934), must be accepted with reserve. Fétis mentions a modern Arabian trumpet under the name *shabbūr* (*Hist. gén.*, ii, 157), but see Mahillon (i, 182; and the *Saturday Review*, June 1882, 696).

2. The trumpet type. The chief instrument of the cylindrical tube class was the *nafīr*, although the name is frequently given to the straight instrument of the horn type (see Host, *Nachrichten von Marokos og Fes*, pl. xxxi). The name *nafīr* in this connexion occurs first in the 5th/11th century under the Saldjūḳs, although the type may have been known earlier. Kurt Sachs (*Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v.) erroneously derives the word from *nafakha* ('to blow'). Originally the term *nafīr* meant 'a call to war', and so a trumpet used by such was called a *būḳ al-nafīr*, *i.e.*, 'a military horn or trumpet'. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳa, in *al-Fakhrī* (30) speaks of a large *būḳ* similar to the *būḳ al-nafīr*, from which we may reasonably deduce that the ordinary *būḳ* was smaller or shorter than the *nafīr*. The bright incisive tone of the *nafīr*, which was due to its cylindrical tube, was better for signalling purposes than the hoarse sound of the *būḳ* with its conical bore. The difference between them may well be illustrated by the verbs used to describe their sounding. We read for instance that the *būḳ* player 'blew' (*nafakha*) his horn, whilst the *nafīr* player 'cried out' (*ṣāḥa*) with his trumpet. For the respective numbers of the *nafīr* and *būḳ* used in the Islamic army bands, see Ṭabl-Khāna. In the time of Ibn Ghaybī the length of the *nafīr* was 168 cm. (= 2 *gaz*).

The *karnā*, according to Ibn Ghaybī, was a trumpet folded in the centre of its tube into a 'S' shaped figure. Some of them were of enormous length. The Persian dictionaries give the form as *karranāy*, and it is thus vocalised in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. It is generally acknowledged (Buhle, 28; Schlesinger, xxvii, 326, 353; Galpin, 200) that the cylindrical bore instruments were borrowed from the East. Perhaps those *buccins Turcs* and *cors sarrasinois* which the Crusading chroniclers record included the *nafīr* and *karnā*. Richard Cœur de Lion, in the Third Crusade (1189-92), was well equipped with *tubae, litui, corni* and *buccinae*, but at Messina in Sicily, we read of a *trumpa* which was different from the *tuba*. Could this have been the *nafīr* of the Hohenstaufen Saracen troops on the Island? Yet if the Occident was indebted to the Orient for the cylindrical *nafīr*, the compliment was returned, since we know that Morocco, under Sulṭān al-Manṣūr (1576-1602) had a *ṭrunbaṭa* (= Spanish *trompeta*) which was made of brass and was as long as the *nafīr* (*Tadhkirat al-Nisyān*, 117; the translator writes *negir*). Turkey also knew of the European trumpet (*tūrumpata borusu*) as well as the English trumpet (*ingiliz borusu*), the latter being the modern wreathed instrument (Ewliyā Čelebī, 1/ii, 238). Both Niebuhr and Villoteau give designs and descriptions of the 17th-19th century instruments.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Ghaybī, Bodleian MS. (Marsh, no. 282, fol. 80); Abu 'l-Faḍl,

Āʾīn-i Akbarī, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873-4; Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, Paris 1885; *Alf layla wa layla*, ed. Macnaghten, Calcutta 1839-42; Amery, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, Cairo 1905, s.v. 'Bugle'; Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931; *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, Paris 1929, pl. i; Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico*, Rome 1722; P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924; Buhle, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1903; *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments*, New York 1904-5; Chardin, *Voyages ... en Perse*, Amsterdam 1735; Day, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India ...*, London 1891; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Travels of Evelya Efendi*, London 1846; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 2nd Series, London 1939; *Minstrelsy of The Arabian Nights*, London 1945; Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique*, Paris 1869-76; Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, London 1910; Hadjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1835; Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos og Fes*, Copenhagen 1779; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages ... trad. par C. Defrémery*, Paris 1853-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *Notices et extraits*, Paris 1858; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1887-9; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum ...*, Lemgo 1712; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, Paris 1922; Mahillon, *Catalogue ... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, i, Ghent 1893; idem, *La Trompette, son histoire ...*, Bruxelles 1907; Al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes ...*, Leiden 1855-61; Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London 1912; Pedro de Alcala, *Arte ... la lengua araviga*, Granada 1505; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776-80; *Survey of Persian Art*; Ribera, *La Música de las Càntigas*, Madrid 1922; Sachs, *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente*, Berlin 1913; Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico*, Firenze 1871; Schlesinger, article *Trumpet* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, New York 1910-11; Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, Berlin 1900; Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca*, Venice 1787; Villoteau, *La Description de l'Égypte, état moderne*, Paris 1809-26. (H. G. Farmer)

BUḲA, one of the leaders of the group of the Oghuz of Khurāsān which, after the capture and death of its leader Arslan b. Saldjūḳ (427/1036?), was expelled from the province by Ghaznawid troops on account of its depredations, and continued its pillaging across central and western Iran as far as the borders of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, where it was annihilated by the Bedouin and Kurds in 435/1044. See *EI*[1], s.v., the article SALDJŪḲIDS, and Cl. Cahen, *Le Maliknameh et l'histoire des origines seldjukides*, in *Oriens*, 1949, 57.

(Cl. Cahen)

BŪḲA, a place, no longer extant, in northern Syria, whose name is very probably a word of Syriac origin meaning "mosquito", from which fact H. Lammens has inferred that the region was a marshy one. It figures in the Arabic texts of the first centuries of Islam. Nothing is known of its more ancient history, but it is mentioned in the narratives of the conquest by Abū ʿUbayda of the provinces of Antioch and Ḳinnasrīn, and appears to have had a certain importance in Umayyad times. Then it was near the territory of the Djarādjima, placed by al-Balādhurī in the Djabal al-Lukkām (Amanus) between Bayās and Būḳā. It was one of the places chosen for the establishment under Muʿāwiya or al-Walīd of the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] from Sind, who arrived there from ʿIrāḳ and installed themselves with their buffaloes. Later its defences were strengthened by the caliph Hishām, who built a fortress there. The Byzantines besieged it in 338/949-50, during a raid on Syria by Leo Phocas, and it then belonged to the territory of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*], but the mentions made of it in the 6th/12th century by Ibn Shaddād and Yāḳūt seem to reflect an earlier state of things. Although it is not known in what circumstances it fell into ruins or was abandoned, by the time of the Crusades it had lost its previous importance, and H. Lammens (*EI*[1]) could establish only by conjecture, based on literary data, the site which it presumably occupied in the ʿAmk [*q.v.*] depression, not far from the lake of Antioch.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 149, 159, 162, 167, 168; *BGA*, indices; Ibn Shaddād, *apud* Ch. Ledit, *Machriq*, xxxiii (1934), 179 ff.; Yāḳūt, i, 762; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 424; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 227, 229, 762. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BUḲʿA or Baḳʿa, denotes according to lexicographers a region which is distinguishable from its surroundings, more particularly a depression between mountains, and *baḳʿa* was applied especially to a place where water remains stagnant. The word appears frequently as a toponym, as well as its diminutive *buḳayʿa*. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BŪḲALĀ, a term employed in Algerian Arabic (cf. βαύκαλις) to denote a two-handled pottery vase used by women in the course of the divinatory practices to which it gave its name. The operation consisted, basically, of the woman who officiated improvising, after an invocation, a short poem which was also called *būḳāla* and from which portents were drawn. These practices, which seem to have enjoyed a certain vogue during the period when piracy was at its height (women wanted to have news of their men who were at sea), developed into a parlour game. They were recently the subject of an excellent study by S. Bencheneb, in *AIEO*, Algiers 1956, 19-111 (with numerous texts in translation). (Ed.)

BŪḲALAMŪN [see abū ḳalamūn].

BUKAREST [see Bükresh].

al-**BUḲAYʿA** in particular denotes a little plain situated north of the Biḳāʿ [see Buḳʿa] and south-east of the Djebel Anṣariyé, at an average altitude of 250 m. It is characterised by an abundance of springs which there give birth to the Nahr al-Kabīr. It was known in the time of the Crusades by the name Boquée and was dominated by the Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*] whose ruins still overlook it today (see M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1914-5, 42; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1923, 92; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alaouites*, Tours 1940, index *s.v.* Bouqaïa).

The name Buḳayʿa is found likewise in Transjordania, where it denotes a small inland plain to the north of the plateau of al-Balḳāʾ in the neighbourhood of Ṣuwayliḥ (see F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, i, Paris 1933, 91).

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BUKAYR b. MĀHĀN, Abū Hāshim, propagandist of the ʿAbbāsids at the end of the Umayyad caliphate, was a native of Sidjistān and had at first been secretary of the governor of Sind al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In 102/720-1 he was converted to the anti-Umayyad cause by Maysara

al-ʿAbdī and Muḥammad b. Khunays, and he put at the disposition of their party the fortune which he had amassed in business in Sind. After the death of Maysara he was entrusted with the direction of the movement in 105/723-4 and he was unusually active in gaining supporters among the population of Khurāsān. In 107/725-6 he also sent many emissaries to this region, who with one exception, ʿAmmār al-ʿAbādī, were at once taken and put to death by the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh. Later, in 118/736, he appointed ʿAmmār b. Yazīd as chief over other agents who had been first imprisoned and then succeeded in freeing themselves. ʿAmmār established himself at Marw, took the name of Khidāsh, and met with some success, but having adopted the doctrines of the Khurramīs [q.v.] was in his turn imprisoned, tortured, and put to death by the governor Asad. This situation disturbed the *imām* Muḥammad, who was not content with the explanation offered in 120/738 by the delegate of the Khurāsānīs, Sulaymān b. Kathīr [q.v.], and despatched Bukayr himself to repudiate publicly the doctrines of Khidāsh. Bukayr was badly received the first time but the second time succeeded in convincing the ʿAbbāsid partisans. Afterwards, in 124/741-2, having returned to ʿIrāḳ and being held responsible for political meetings which took place in a house at Kūfa, he was imprisoned. There he won over to his cause ʿĪsā b. Maʿḳil, from whom, according to an unreliable tradition, he bought a slave, the future Abū Muslim [q.v.]. Set at liberty, he went to Khurāsān in 126/743-4 to announce the death of the *imām* Muḥammad to the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids, and to make them swear allegiance to his son Ibrāhīm. He returned to ʿIrāḳ with the money he had collected in Iran. He died soon afterwards, in 127/744-5, after nominating as his successor Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān [q.v.], a choice which Ibrāhīm later accepted.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Dīnawarī, index; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 1280, 1317, 1348, 1484, 1509, 1558, 1592, 1622; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 316-20; G. van Vloten, *De opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Leiden 1890, *passim*. (D. SOURDEL)

BUKAYR B. WISHĀḤ, Governor of Khurāsān at the beginning of the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. A former lieutenant of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim [q.v.], this Tamīmī of the tribe of the Banū Saʿd made himself noticed during the troubled time which was marked by the insurrections of the Tamīm, both when he commanded the troops of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim at Harāt and when he was the delegate of the governor in Marw after the recapture of the town from the rebels. In 72/691-2 the triumph of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, who had firmly established his power in ʿIrāḳ and Arabia, gave him the opportunity to be nominated in his turn titular governor at Marw, and to substitute by force his authority for that of Ibn Khāzim, who had refused to pass over to the Umayyads and was soon to be killed while fleeing towards Tirmidh. But as troubles continued in the region, where the Tamīm were engaged in a veritable civil war, Bukayr was deposed, and, nominated in compensation governor of Ṭukhāristān, was obliged to cede his place, without doubt in 74/693-4, to the Ḳurayshite Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid, sent by the caliph and perhaps, according to some sources, earmarked for this post since 72/691-2. In circumstances of which the details vary according to the accounts, the evicted *amīr* afterwards profited by the absence of the new governor, who was away in 77/696-7 fighting against Bukhārā, to arouse for his own ends the inhabitants of Marw, and to compel Umayya to return as quickly as possible to lay siege to the rebellious city. The capitulation which followed was made with honourable conditions for Bukayr, but he continued to intrigue and in the same year was treacherously assassinated by one of his enemies.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 415-7; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 324; *Buldān*, 299; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 260-3; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 849, 859, 877, 915, 921. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

BUKHĀRĀ, a city in a large oasis in present day Uzbekistān on the lower course of the Zarafshān River. The city is 722 ft. (222.4 m.) above sea level and is located at 64° 38′ E. long. (Greenw.) and 39° 43′ N. Lat.

We have few references to the city in pre-Islamic times. In the time of Alexander the Great there was another town in Sogdiana besides Marakanda (Samarḳand) on the lower course of the river but it probably did not correspond to the modern city of Bukhārā. The oasis was inhabited from early times and towns certainly existed there.

The earliest literary occurrence of the name is in Chinese sources of the 7th century A.D., but the native name of the city, *pwγʾr*, found on coins, indicates on palaeographic grounds that the name may have been used several centuries earlier. The derivation of this word from Sanskrit *vihāra* "monastery" is not improbable in spite of linguistic difficulties, since there was a *vihāra* near Numidjkath, a town apparently the predecessor of Bukhārā, and which merged into the latter (cf. Frye, *Notes* in *HJAS*, below).

The native dynasty was called Bukhār Khudāt (or Bukhārā Khudāh) by the Islamic sources; on the coins we have *pwγʾr γwβ*, Sogdian for "Bukhārā king", indicating that the local language was at least a dialect of Sogdian. Although the names of several of the pre-Islamic rulers occur on inscriptions and in later sources (cf. Frye, *ibid.*) it is only after the Arabic conquests that the history of the city can be reconstructed.

The accounts of the first Arab raids across the Oxus River are partly legendary and require critical examination. The first Arab army is said to have appeared before Bukhārā in 54/674 under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The ruler of Bukhārā at that time was the widow of the late ruler Bīdūn, or Bandūn. (In Ṭabarī, ii, 169, in place of her Ḳabadj Khātūn is mentioned as the wife of the reigning king of the Turks. Perhaps this name is to be read Ḳayikh or Ḳayigh, as the Turkish tribal name?). According to Narshakhī (ed. Schefer, 7, trans. Frye, 9) she ruled for 15 years as regent for her infant son Ṭughshāda (Ṭabarī, ii, 1693, has Ṭūḳ Siyāda; cf. discussion by O. I. Smirnova, *K imenii sogdiyskogo ikhshida Tukaspadaka*, in *Trudî Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR*, Stalinabad 1953, 209). This same Bukhār Khudāt appears again in al-Ṭabarī as a youth in 91/710 when Ḳutayba b. Muslim, after overthrowing his enemies, installed him as prince of Bukhārā. The rule of Islam in Bukhārā was first placed on a firm footing by Ḳutayba. In Ramaḍān 121/Aug.-Sept. 739, Ṭughshāda was murdered in the camp of the governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār. During his long reign several rebellions against the Arab suzerainty took place and the Turks invaded the country several times. In 110/728-9 the town of Bukhārā itself was lost to the Arabs and they had

to besiege it but regained it the next year (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1514, 1529).

The son and successor of Ṭughshāda, called "Ḳutayba" in honour of the conqueror, behaved at first like a good Muslim. When in the year 133/750, the Arab Sharīk b. Shaykh raised a revolt in Bukhārā against the new dynasty of the ʿAbbāsids, the rebellion was put down by Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, lieutenant of Abū Muslim, with the help of the Bukhār Khudāt. Nevertheless the latter was a short time later accused of apostasy from Islam and put to death by order of Abū Muslim. His brother and successor Bunyāt (although another brother Skān, reading uncertain, may have ruled a few years between) met the same fate during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī (probably in 166/782), for the Caliph had him put to death as a follower of the heretic al-Muḳannaʿ. After this period the Bukhār Khudāts appear to have been of little importance in the government of the country but they an influential position because of their great estates. In the early years of the reign of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl, mention is made of the Bukhār Khudāt who was deprived of his lands but allowed the same income (20,000 *dirhams*) from the state treasury, as he had previously derived from his estates. It is not known how long the government fulfilled this obligation.

Besides the native prince there was of course in Bukhārā, at least from the time of Ḳutayba b. Muslim, an Arab *amīr* or *ʿāmil* who was subordinate to the *amīr* of Khurāsān whose headquarters were in Marw. On account of its geographical situation Bukhārā was much more closely connected with Marw than with Samarḳand. The Bukhār Khudāt had even a palace of his own in Marw (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1888, 14; 1987, 7; 1992, 16). In the 3rd/9th century, when the *amīrs* of Khurāsān transferred their seat to Nīshāpūr, the administration of Bukhārā remained separate from that of the other parts of Transoxania. Till 260/874 Bukhārā did not belong to Sāmānid territory but was under a separate governor immediately responsible to the Ṭāhirids. After the fall of the Ṭāhirids (259/873) Yaʿḳūb b. Layth was recognised only for a brief period in Bukhārā as *amīr* of Khurāsān. The clergy and populace applied to the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad who was ruling in Samarḳand and he appointed his younger brother Ismāʿīl governor of Bukhārā. Bukhārā was henceforth ruled by the Sāmānids until their fall. Ismāʿīl continued to live in Bukhārā after the death of his brother Naṣr in 279/892 when the whole of Mā warāʾl-nahr (Transoxania) passed under his sway, and also after his victory over ʿAmr b. Layth in 287/900 when he was confirmed by the Caliph in the rank of *amīr* of Khurāsān. The city thus became the seat of a great kingdom although it never equalled Samarḳand in size or wealth during this period. It was in Bukhārā that the New Persian literary renaissance bloomed.

The Bukhārā of the Sāmānid period is described in detail by the Arab geographers and we also owe much to Narshakhī and later editors of his work. A comparison of these accounts with the descriptions of the modern town (particularly detailed is N. Khanikov, *Opisanie Bukharskago Khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1843, 79 ff.) shows clearly that in Bukhārā unlike Marw, Samarḳand, and other cities, only an expansion of the area of the town and not a shifting from one place to another, may be traced. Even after destruction Bukhārā has always been rebuilt on the same site and on the same plan as in the 3rd/9th century.

As in most Iranian towns, the Arab geographers distinguish three main divisions of Bukhārā, the citadel (NP *kuhandiz*, from the 7th/13th century known as the *arg*), the town proper (Arabic *madīna*, Pers. *shahristān*), and the suburbs (Arabic *rabaḍ*) lying between the original town and the wall built in Muslim times. The citadel from the earliest times has been on the same site as at the present day, east of the square still known as the "Rīgistān". The area of the citadel is about one mile in circumference with an area of ca. 23 acres. The palace of the Bukhār Khudāt was here, and, as Iṣṭakhrī shows (306), it was used by the early Sāmānids. According to Muḳaddasī (280), the later Sāmānids only had their treasuries and prisons there. Besides the palace there was in the citadel the oldest Friday mosque, erected by Ḳutayba, supposedly on the site of a pagan temple. Later this mosque was used as a revenue office (*dīwān al-kharādj*). The citadel was several times destroyed in the 6/12th and 7/13th centuries, but was always rebuilt.

Unlike most other towns, the citadel of Bukhārā was not within the *shahristān* but outside. Between them, to the east of the citadel, was an open space where the later Friday mosque stood till the 6th/12th century. One may determine what part of the modern town corresponds to the *shahristān* for, according to Iṣṭakhrī (307), there was no running water on the surface of either the citadel or the *shahristān* because of their height. According to the plan given by Khanikov, this high-lying portion of the town is about twice as large as the citadel. It had a wall around it with seven gates, the names of which are given by Narshakhī and the Arab geographers.

According to Narshakhī (text, 29, trans., 30) at the time of the Arab conquest the whole town consisted of the *shahristān* alone, although there were scattered settlements outside which were later incorporated into the city. Narshakhī gives us a fairly detailed account of the topographical details of the *shahristān*. A new Friday Mosque was built by Arslān Khān Muḥ. b. Sulaymān in 515/1121 in the *shahristān*, probably in the southern part of it where the Madrasa Mīr ʿArab, built in the 10th/16th century and the great minaret still stand.

It was not till 235/849-50, according to Narshakhī, that the *shahristān* was linked with the suburbs to form one town and surrounded by a wall. In the 4th/10th century another wall had been built enclosing a greater area; it had eleven gates, the names of which are given by Narshakhī and the Arab geographers.

Besides the palace in the citadel there was one in the Rīgistān from pre-Islamic times. The Sāmānid Naṣr II (301-331/914-943) built a palace there with accomodations for the ten state *dīwāns*, the names of which are given by Narshakhī (text, 24, trans., 26). During the reign of Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (350-365/961-76) this palace is said to have been destroyed by fire, but Muḳaddasī tells us that the Dār al-Mulk was still standing on the Rīgistān and he praises it highly. During the Sāmānid period there appears to have been another royal palace on the Djū-i Mūliyān Canal to the north of the citadel.

In the reign of Manṣūr b. Nūḥ a new *muṣallā* was built as the Rīgistān could not contain the multitude of believers. The new area of prayer was built in 360/971 at one-half *farsakh* (ca. 2 miles) from the citadel on the road to the village of Samatīn.

In the 4th/10th century the town was over-crowded and insanitary, with bad water and the like Muḳaddasī and some of the poets (al-Thaʿālibī,

Yatīma, iv, 8) describe the town in the most scathing fashion.

Narshakhī and the Arab geographers give information on the villages and country around the city. Iṣṭakhrī (30) gives the names of the canals which led from the Zarafshān to water the fields. According to Narshakhī some of these canals were built in pre-Islamic times and many of the names have survived to the present. Traces also survive of the long walls which were built to protest the city and surrounding villages from the incursions of the Turks. According to Narshakhī (text, 29, trans., 33) these walls were begun in 166/782 and completed in 215/830. The town itself was not in the centre but in the western half of the area enclosed within the walls. After the time of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad the walls were no longer kept in repair. At a later period the ruins of these walls were given the name Kanparak, and as Kampīr Duwāl ("wall of the old woman") traces survive to the present on the borders of the steppes between the cultivated areas of Bukhārā and Karmīna.

On the fall of the Sāmānids (389/999) the town lost much of its earlier political importance and was governed by governors of the Ilek Khāns or Ḳarakhānids. In the second half of the 5th/11th century Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm built a palace for himself to the south of the city and prepared a hunting ground; it was called Shamsābād, but fell into ruins after the death of his successor Khiḍr Khān. A *muṣallā* was made of the hunting ground in 513/1119.

Even during the period of decline Bukhārā retained its reputation as a centre of Islamic learning. In the 6th/12th century a prominent family of scholars known as the Āl-i Burhān [see BURHĀN] succeeded in founding a kind of hierarchy in Bukhārā and making the area independent for a time. After the battle of Ḳatwān (5 Ṣafar 536/9 Sept. 1141) the Ḳarā Khitāy ruled Bukhārā through the *ṣadr* (pl. *ṣudūr*) or head of this family. The *ṣadr*s maintained good relations with the pagan overlords and in 1207 took refuge with them when they were driven out of Bukhārā by a popular (Shīʿī ?) rising (ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 385). In the same year the city passed under the rule of Muḥ. b. Takash Khwārizm Shāh. He renovated the citadel and erected other buildings.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 239) Bukhārā submitted to the army of Čingīz Khān on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 616/10 Feb. 1220. The citadel was not taken until 12 days later. The town was sacked and burned with the exception of the Friday Mosque and a few palaces. Bukhārā soon recovered and is mentioned as a populous town and a seat of learning under Čingīz Khān's successor.

In 636/1238 a peasant revolt occurred under the leadership of one Maḥmūd Ṭarabī who posed as a religious leader. After initial successes, mainly against the aristocracy, the revolt was suppressed by the Mongols (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 86, trans. J. A. Boyle, 109). Little is known of early Mongol rule in Bukhārā; *mulla*s and *sayyid*s, like the clergy of other religions, were exempted from all taxation. A Christian Mongol princess even built a *madrasa* called the Khāniyya in Bukhārā at her own expense (cf. Djuwaynī, iii, 9, trans. Boyle, ii, 552).

On 7 Radjab 671/28 Jan. 1273 Bukhārā was taken by the army of Abāḳā, Mongol Īl-Khān of Persia, and the city was destroyed and depopulated. It was rebuilt and again ravaged in Radjab 716/19 Sept.-18-Oct. 1316 by the Mongols of Persia and their ally the Čaghatāy prince Yasāwūr. Bukhārā seems otherwise to have been of no importance in the political life of Transoxania under the rule of the house of Čaghatāy or later under the Tīmūrids. The *Kitāb-i Mullāzāda* of Muʿīn al-Fuḳarāʾ, written in the 9th/15th century, gives information about the town in this period (cf. Frye in *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, Iran Society, Calcutta 1955). Bahā al-Dīn Naḳshband (d. 791/1389) and his order of dervishes [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] flourished in Bukhārā. Ulugh Bēg (d. 853/1449) built a *madrasa* in Bukhārā in the centre of town.

Towards the end of the year 905/summer 1500 Bukhārā was taken by the Uzbeks under Shībānī Khān and remained with them till the Russian Revolution except for two brief periods, after 916/1510 when Shībānī was killed, and in 1153/1740. The dominions of the Uzbeks were regarded as the property of the whole ruling family and divided into a number of small principalities. Samarḳand was usually the capital of the Khān (usually the oldest member of the ruling house), but the prince who was elected Khān retained his hereditary principality and frequently resided there. Two princes of the house of Shībān, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd (ruled 918-946/1512-1539), and ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar (ruled 964-1006/1557-1598) had their capital in Bukhārā. Through them Bukhārā became again a centre of political and intellectual life. The princes of the next dynasty, the Djānids or Ashtarkhānids, also ruled from Bukhārā while Samarḳand lost its importance.

The materials for the history of Bukhārā during the Uzbek period are mostly in manuscripts, such as the *Taʾrīkh-i Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Rāḳim* from 1113/1701, the *Badāʾiʿ al-Waḳāʾiʿ* of Wāṣifī, and the *Baḥr al-Asrār fi Manāḳib al-Akhyār* of Amīr Walī (on these works see Storey, 381 ff.). A. A. Semenov has translated into Russian two important works on Uzbek history of special value for Bukhārā, the *Ubaydalla-name* of Mīr Mukhammed Amīn Bukhārī, Tashkent 1957, and *Mukimkhanova istoriya* of Mukhammed Yūsuf Munshī, Taskent 1957.

From the 10th/16th century there was trade intercourse between Russia and the Uzbek principalities. In the 17th and 18th centuries all merchants and emigrants from Central Asia whose settlements were to be found as far as Tobolsk were known to the Russians as "Bukhartsi". The same name was also extended to the inhabitants of Chinese Turkistan which was called "Little Bukharia".

The reign of Khān ʿAbd al-Azīz (1055-91/1645-80) was regarded by native historians as the last great period of their history. After him various princes made themselves independent and the Khān in Bukhārā ruled only a small portion of his former kingdom, and even there the authority was rather in the hands of an Atālīḳ ruling in his name.

In 1153/1740 Nādir Shāh conquered Bukhārā but after his death it regained its independence but under a new dynasty, for the Atālīḳ Muḥ. Raḥīm of the tribe of Manḳīt had himself proclaimed Khān. His career has been recorded by Muḥ. Wafā Karmīnagī under the title *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*. His successor Dāniyār Bēg was content with the title of Atālīḳ and allowed a scion of the house of Čingīz Khān to bear the sovereign title. His son Murād or Mīr Maʿṣūm, however, claimed the royal title for himself in 1199/1785 and called himself *amīr*.

Under his successor Ḥaydar (1215-1242/1800-26) the observance of religious ordinances was much more harshly enforced than under his predecessors. He was the last ruler of Bukhārā to strike coins in his own name till the last *amīr*. His successor Naṣr

Allāh (1242-1277/1827 1860) succeeded in strengthening the power of the throne against the nobles and in extending his domains. The native chroniclers agree with European travellers in describing Naṣr Allāh as a bloodthirsty tyrant. Instead of tribal levies a standing army was created.

In 1258/1842 the capital of the rival Khānate of Khoḳand was taken but the conquest could not be held. When Naṣr Allāh's successor Muẓaffār al-Dīn (1860-1885) ascended the throne the Russians had already secured a firm footing in Transoxania. After being repeatedly defeated the Amīr had to submit to Russia and give up all claims to the valley of the Sīr Daryā which had been conquered by the Russians. He had to cede a part of his kingdom, with the towns of Djizaḳ, Ura-tübe, Samarḳand, and Katta Ḳurghān (1868) to the Russians. In 1873, however, Bukhārān territory was increased in the west at the expense of the Khānate of Khīwa. In the reign of ʿAbd al-Aḥad (1885-1910) the boundary between Bukhārā and Afghānistān was defined, England and Russia agreeing that the river Pandj should be the boundary.

The relationship between Bukhārā and Russia was also defined during the same reign. Beginning 1887 a railway was built through the *amīr*'s domains but the station for Bukhārā, ten miles away, is now a town called Kagan. In 1910 Mīr ʿĀlim succeeded his father after having been educated at St. Petersburg. He ruled until the Revolution drove him to Afghānistān where he lived in Kābul till the end of World War II. Since the Revolution Bukhārā has become part of the Uzbek SSR with its capital in Tashkent. It has become a large cotton producing area vying with Farghāna and other parts of Central Asia in cotton production.

The archeological and topographical investigation of Bukhārā has made great progress from the 1930s, and the work of Shishkin, Pugačenkova, Sukhareva, and others, has greatly added to our knowledge. The existing architectural monuments of Bukhārā which are of importance are: 1) the "so-called" mausoleum of Ismāʿīl Sāmānī from the 4th/10th century; 2) the *minaret-i kalān*, 148 ft. (45.3 m.) high (6th/12th century); 3) Mosque of Magaki Attar (the last construction of which dates from 1547); 4) Mosque of the Namāzgāh (*muṣallā*), dating from 1119 A.D.; 5) Mausoleum of Sayf al-Dīn Bukhārzī (d. 1261); 6) Mausoleum at the site of Čashma Ayyūb (end of 14th century); 7) Madrasa of Ulugh Bēg, restored in 1585; 8) Masdjid-i kalān, 16th century with the older minaret nearby; 9) Madrasa Mir ʿArab, (of 1535)?; 10) Masdjid Khwādja Zayn al-Dīn, many times restored. Other monuments exist in great numbers outside the town, mostly in ruins.

Bibliography: References to Bukhārā down to the Mongol Invasion, with extensive bibliography, can be found in R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954 (a translation of Narshakhī's work). A bibliography of Russian works on Bukhārā can be found in O. A. Sukhareva, *K istorii gorodov bukharskogo khanstva*, Tashkent 1958. On the early coinage see Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, New York 1949, with additional notes in the *American Numismatic Soc. Notes* 4 and 7. On the name and pre-Islamic history see Frye, *Notes on the History of Transoxiana*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19 (1956), 106 ff.

For Uzbek history see Storey, 371-82. For a guide to the architectural monuments see G. Pugačenkova and L. Rempel', *Bukhara*, Moscow 1949, 67 pp. & 39 plates. For a map of the present city and tourist guide see Yu. S. Ashurov, *Bukhara, kratkiy Spravochnik*, Tashkent 1956.

(W. BARTHOLD-[R. N. FRYE])

AL-**BUKHĀRĪ, MUḤAMMAD** B. **ʿABD** AL-**BĀḲĪ** ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN AL-MAKKĪ, Arabic writer who in 991/1583 composed a treatise on the eminence of the Abyssinians (after al-Suyūṭī and others), entitled *al-Ṭirāz al-Manḳūsh fī Maḥāsin al-Ḥubūsh* and existing in numerous manuscripts. The work has been translated by M. Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewand* ..., Hanover 1924; extracts from the text in *Bibliothecae Bodleianae cod. mss. or. cat.*, ii, 1363. An extract, by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044/1635; see AL-ḤALABĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN) was printed in Cairo, 1307.

Bibliography: Flügel, in *ZDMG*, v, 81, xvi, 696-709; Brockelmann, ii, 504, S ii, 519.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-**BUKHĀRĪ, MUḤAMMAD** B. **ISMĀʿĪL** B. IBRĀHĪM B. AL-MUGHĪRA B. BARDIZBAH ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-DJUʿFĪ, a famous traditionist, b. 194/810, d. 256/870. He has the *nisba* Djuʿfī because his great-grandfather al-Mughīra was a *mawlā* of Yamān al-Djuʿfī, governor of Bukhārā, at whose hands he accepted Islām. Al-Bukhārī began to learn traditions by heart at the age of ten, and seems to have been a very precocious boy, for he is credited with having been able at an early age to correct his teachers. He had a remarkable memory, and companions of his are said to have corrected traditions they had written down from what he recited by heart. At the age of sixteen he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca with his mother and his brother, and when they returned he remained for a time in the Ḥidjāz. He travelled widely in search of traditions, visiting the main centres from Khurāsān to Egypt, and claimed to have heard traditions from over 1000 *shaykhs*. In later life he suffered opposition in Naysābūr from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī who was jealous of the large numbers who went to hear him. Because al-Bukhārī held that although the Ḳurʾān is uncreated this does not apply to the recitation of it, he was accused of heterodoxy and had to leave Naysābūr for Bukhārā. There the governor, Khālid b. Aḥmad al-Dhuhlī, asked him to bring his books to him, but he refused, saying it was an indignity to convey learning to people's houses, so if the governor wished to learn he should come to his mosque or his house. The governor asked him to hold sessions specially for his children, but al-Bukhārī refused to give them preferential treatment. He was therefore expelled and went to Khartank, a village about two parasangs from Samarḳand, where he stayed with relatives. It is said that, being oppressed by the hostility he had experienced, he was heard one night praying that God might take him, and died within a month.

His most famous work is the *Ṣaḥīḥ* which took him sixteen years to compile. It is said that he selected his traditions from a mass of 600,000, and that he did not insert a tradition in the book without first washing and praying two *rakʿas*. This famous collection of traditions is arranged in 97 books with 3450 *bābs* (chapters). There are 7397 traditions with full *isnāds*, but if repetitions are omitted the total is 2762. This work, which claims to contain only traditions of the highest authority (*ṣaḥīḥ*), is of the *muṣannaf* (classified) type which arranges the material according to the subject-matter. As certain traditions contain material on more than one subject it is not surprising that they should appear in more than one *bāb*. The work in the main is arranged according to the various matters of *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], but it

also contains other material, such as on the beginning of Creation, on paradise and hell, on different prophets and, in greater detail, on Muḥammad, on Ḳurʾān commentary, etc. Although al-Subkī includes al-Bukhārī among the Shāfiʿī *faḳīhs* this is not accurate, for he did not hold consistently the doctrine of any particular school. The titles of the *bābs* are meant to indicate the subject-matter and teaching of the traditions they contain, but al-Bukhārī has sometimes been criticised because the contents of the traditions do not always seem to be relevant to the title. Some *bābs* have a title but no traditions, which may mean that al-Bukhārī drew up the scheme of his book and left blanks when he had no sound traditions to illustrate a particular subject, hoping that he might yet find some relevant material of sufficient authority. There have been many commentaries on the whole or part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, notable among which are those of al-ʿAynī, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī and al-Ḳasṭallānī. While the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was considered in al-Bukhārī's time as just one among others, it was soon recognised as outstanding, and by the 4th century it came to be placed along with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* at the head of collections of Sunnī tradition. In time, although criticisms have been made on matters of detail, it was accepted by most Sunnīs as the most important book after the Ḳurʾān; but in the West there was a tendency to prefer Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Al-Bukhārī wrote his *Taʾrīkh*, which gives biographies of the men whose names appear in *isnāds*, when a young man, saying he wrote it on moonlight nights at the Prophet's tomb. Other smaller works are detailed by Brockelmann. In his lifetime al-Bukhārī was recognised as an outstanding traditionist, noted for his minute knowledge of detail and his perspicacity in detecting defects in traditions.

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(J. ROBSON)

BUKHĀRLÏK (or Bukhāriots of Siberia). A small ethnic group, Muslim (Sunnī of the Ḥanafī school), made up of the descendants of merchants and caravaneers originating from Turkestan and established in western Siberia since the 16th century, when the commercial relations between the Emirate of Bukhārā and Siberia were flourishing.

The Bukhārlïk live in contact with the Tatars of Siberia [*q.v.*] to whose Islamisation they have contributed, and with whom they are gradually mingling. They live principally near Tobolʾsk, Tümen and Tara, and an isolated group of Bukhārlïk are found close to Tomsk.

In 1926, the Soviet census numbered 12,012 of them. The Bukhārlïk speak the local Tatar dialects, but with the difference that they preserve in their own speech a large number of Persian terms. They employ the Tatar of Ḳazan as their literary language.

(A. BENNIGSEN)

BUKHL (Ar.; also vocalised *bakhl*, *bakhal*, *bukhul*) and *bakhīl* (pl. *bukhalāʾ*; less often *bākhil*, pl. *bukhkhāl*) mean respectively 'avarice' and 'avaricious, miserly'. Just as in the ancient poems the virtue of generosity is constantly sung, so avarice furnishes a theme for satire which is widely exploited by the poets, though it seems that this fault, at least in its most sordid forms, was scarcely widespread among the ancient Arabs. It is however a fact that it is castigated in a number of Ḳurʾānic verses aimed at combating avarice in the full sense (xvii, 102/100; lvii, 24) or simple hoarding (ix, 35, civ, 1 ff.), or at the encouragement of generosity in general (ix, 77/76; lix, 9) and almsgiving in particular (iii, 40/38, 175/180; iv, 127/128; lxiv, 16 f.); moreover, numerous *ḥadīths* against avarice are attributed to the Prophet (especially *ayyᵘ dāʾⁱⁿ adwaʾᵘ min al-bukhl?*). These condemnations and exhortations, however, seem to result less from an absolute moral principle than from the necessity in which the newly-founded Islamic community found itself of receiving spontaneous gifts and then of collecting regularly the contributions of its members (see ṢADAḲA, ZAKĀT, and cf. *bāb al-zakāt* in the *ḥadīth*-collections).

After the conquests the Arabs were brought by the entry into Islam of new racial elements into contact with peoples of a somewhat different temperament, and when, brought before the bar, they had to put up a defence, shrewder minds did not fail to single out the generosity of the Arabs in order to contrast it with the avarice of the non-Arabs. It is doubtless not by mere chance that, under the ʿAbbāsids, it is the Khurāsānīs who supply the anthologies with anecdotes about misers. The relationship: generosity = Arabs/avarice = non-Arabs takes practical shape in the polemics of which al-Djāḥiẓ gives several specimens in his remarkable *Kitāb al-bukhalāʾ*, the first and probably the only attempt in Arabic literature to analyse a character and portray him through anecdotes, though with political undertones. This psychological analysis which had its origin in al-Djāḥiẓ, was ignored by later writers who, in their *adab*-books and then in the popular encyclopedias, confined themselves to reproducing the Ḳurʾānic verses, *ḥadīths*, anecdotes, and poems about misers (see for example Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, *passim*; al-Abshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, i, 233), not omitting, however, to mention that history knows but four [*sic*] Arab misers: al-Ḥuṭayʾa, Ḥumayd al-Arḳaṭ, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī, and Khālid b. Ṣafwān.

(CH. PELLAT)

BUKHT-NAṢ(Ṣ)AR, the Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible. The Ḳurʾān does not mention him. He is a very complex figure in Muslim tradition and here we can record only the outstanding points. It retains in the first place the main Biblical features, using to an unusual degree the texts of the prophets Jeremiah and even Isaiah, and establishing a connexion between Bukht-Naṣar and Sennacherib, whom it makes the great-grandfather of the former. It also confuses him sometimes with later rulers such as Cyrus and Ahasuerus. To these Biblical extracts, often much corrupted and simplified, are added features borrowed from the Jewish Haggada (for example, Bukht-Naṣar was one of the universal monarchs, cf. Babylonian Talmud, *Megilla* 11a; he was tormented to death by a mosquito which got into his skull, this being a transfer of the rabbinical legend about Titus, the destroyer of the Second

Temple) and some elements of a folklore character (an obscure Babylonian man of the people, for a long time hopelessly ill, he believed that he heard his future glory proclaimed and achieved it by his intelligence and a remarkable concurrence of circumstances). In the second place he is found forming part of the epic cycle of the ancient kings of Persia (the deformation of the name of which Bukht-Naṣar is the result seems to indicate some imaginary Iranian etymology); he is then reduced to the rank of satrap (*marzbān*) of Bishtāsb or of his father (Luhrāsb), or even of Bahrām, the son of the first named. In the third place he is said to have led an expedition against the Arabs (to which Ḳur'ān xxxi, 11 ff. would refer). There is perhaps here a memory of Nabonidus's settlement at Taymā' (cf. above, art. AL-ʿARAB) combined with that of Arab infiltrations into the region of the Euphrates. Al-Masʿūdī and al-Bīrūnī know an era of Bukht-Naṣar (cf. the article of Carra de Vaux in *EI*[1]). Al-Bīrūnī sought also to disentangle the chronological difficulties raised by the confused traditions of which he had knowledge.

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BUKHTĪSHŪʿ, the name borne by several physicians of a celebrated Christian family originally established at Djundaysābūr. It was from there that Djurdjīs b. Djibrīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ, who was director of the hospital of this town and well known for his scientific writings, was called to Baghdād in 148/765 to attend the caliph al-Manṣūr, ill with a stomach complaint. By successful treatment he won the confidence of the sovereign, who asked him to remain in the capital, but he wished to revisit his native land in 152/769.

Bukhtīshūʿ b. Djurdjīs, to whom his father had left the direction of the hospital at Djundaysābūr at the time of his departure for Baghdād, was called in his turn to the capital when the future al-Hādī was gravely ill, but the hostility of al-Khayzurān, who favoured the physician Abū Ḳuraysh, prevented him from establishing himself there. Nevertheless, in 171/787, Hārūn al-Rashīd, suffering violent pain, had him brought back to Baghdād and appointed him physician-in-chief, a post which he held until his death in 185/801.

Afterwards Djibrīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ, whom his father had recommended to Djaʿfar the Barmakid in 175/791, succeeded in 190/805 in winning the confidence of the caliph, following a successful treatment of one of his slaves, but he fell into disgrace during the last illness of Hārūn at Ṭūs, because he did his duty as a doctor with too much frankness. He was condemned to death by the caliph because of the accusations of a bishop, but was saved by al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, who stayed the execution of the sentence, and he then became al-Amīn's physician. At the time of al-Ma'mūn's triumph he was imprisoned, not to be set at liberty until 202/817, when al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had need of his services. Three years later he was again in disgrace, and was replaced by his son-in-law Mīkhā'īl, but was recalled in 212/827 because Mīkhā'īl was unable to cure an illness of the caliph. He was reinstated, and his goods, confiscated after his fall, were restored, but he had not long to enjoy the prince's favour for he died the same year, and was buried at al-Madā'in in the monastery of Sergius.

His son Bukhtīshūʿ, who took his place, accompanied al-Ma'mūn on his expeditions into Asia Minor, then, under the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ, was exiled to Djundaysābūr. Recalled during the caliph's last illness, he arrived in the capital too late, but remained there highly esteemed for twelve years, under al-Mutawakkil, until his exile to Baḥrayn. He died in 256/870.

Bukhtīshūʿ had a son, ʿUbayd Allāh, who was a finance official of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, and whose fortune was confiscated after his death. His widow married a physician, and his son Djibrīl followed in the footsteps of his fathers, but received his training only in Baghdād, where he had betaken himself penniless after his mother's death. Having treated an envoy from Kirmān successfully, he was called to Shīrāz by the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, but returned to Baghdād, which thereafter he only left for short periods of consultation, declining even the offer of the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz who wished to establish him in Cairo. He was, however, retained at Mayyāfāriḳīn by the Marwānid Mumahhid al-Dawla Abū Manṣūr who had summoned him there, and he died on 8 Ramaḍān 396/8 June 1006.

Abū Saʿīd ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrīl, a friend of Ibn Buṭlān [*q.v.*], lived at Mayyāfāriḳīn and died in the second half of the 5th/11th century, leaving some known works, in particular a dictionary of medico-philosophical terms and a treatise on love.

Another member of the family, Bukhtīshūʿ b. Yaḥyā, was physician to the caliph al-Rāḍī and was held responsible for the death of prince Hārūn in 324/936.

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BŪḲĪR [see ABRĪḲĪR].

BUKOVINA [see KHOTIN].

BUḲRĀṬ [see SUPPLEMENT].

BÜKRESH (BUCHAREST) a town in Wallachia on the Dâmboviṭa river about fifty km. north of the Danube. It is mentioned for the first time in 769/1368 by the name of Cetatea Dâmboviṭei, a name used side by side with Bucharest until the 15th century, when it became the seat of the Wallachian princes. Vlad the Impaler issued documents from there in 863/1459 and 865/1461 and Radu the Handsome, the prince installed by Meḥemmed II in 866/1462, established himself in that town, protected by a Turkish garrison from Giurgiu. For more than two centuries the history of Bucharest was linked to the relations of the Roumanian princes with the Porte. Those princes who rebelled against Ottoman suzerainty preferred Târgovişte, less exposed to Turkish raids. At the end of the 16th century, Bucharest witnessed the massacre of Michael the Brave's creditors and Sinān Pasha's occupation. Sorely tried by the revolts against the Turks, as well as by epidemics and fires, the city had a turbulent history. With the Treaty of Berlin (1877) the last vestiges of Ottoman suzerainty disappeared. The peace conference convened at Bucharest in 1913 relieved Turkey of the greater part of her European possessions.

Information on the population during the earliest periods is lacking. The sources mention the presence of Greek, Armenian and native merchants. Towards 1050/1640 Bucharest had 12,000 houses; fifteen years later only 6,000 are mentioned, and Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of 12,000 houses and 1,000 shops. During the 17th century the population of Balkan origin increased, and became quite significant in the 18th. Popular revolts broke out, inspired by members of corporations discontented with the competition of foreign traders protected by the Phanariot princes. At the end of the 17th century the town had 50,000 inhabitants. The number varied between 20,000 and 60,000 for the end of the 18th and between 50,000 and 100,000 for the first half of the 19th.

Absorbed for three centuries in the Ottoman Empire, Bucharest acquired an oriental imprint which became stronger under the Phanariots during the 18th century, when the town became an important centre for the study of Greek. The princes initiated the publication of religious books for Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and monastic revenues provided for the monasteries of Athos, Constantinople, Trebizond and the Holy Land. The Austrian and Russian occupations introduced the first occidental influences and a knowledge of French, which, in the first half of the 19th century, supplanted Greek. Under the impact of ideas engendered by the French Revolution, the town became the centre of the struggle for the political unity of Roumania which led to the union of Moldavia and Wallachia (1859).

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(N. Beldiceanu)

BUḲŪM, al- (sing. Baḳmī), a tribe in Western Arabia, traditionally held to be descended from al-Azd. Although considered a Ḥidjāzī tribe, the Buḳūm range over the region east of al-Ṭā'if and in the vicinity of the lava fields of Ḥarrat Ḥaḍn and Ḥarrat al-Buḳūm, where the boundaries between the Ḥidjāz and Nadjd are not clearly defined. The tribe is estimated to have close to 10,000 people, of whom less than half are nomads. For at least several centuries a majority of the Buḳūm have been engaged in oasis cultivation in the district of Wādī Turaba (also Taraba), with the town of Turaba (N. 21° 14′, E. 41° 37′) being their main centre of population. The Buḳūm are subdivided into two sections: al-Maḥāmīd and Āl Wāziʿ.

During the early period of Wahhābī expansion, the Buḳūm were partisans of the Sharīf Ghālib in his wars against Nadjd. From 1228/1813 the Buḳūm defended their territory against the troops of Muḥammad ʿAlī, the Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt, during which campaign a woman named Ghāliya notably distinguished herself. The Buḳūm finally surrendered and Turaba was occupied in 1230/1815. In the early years of the present century the loyalty of the Buḳūm was divided between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd and the Sharīf Ḥusayn, the Maḥāmīd having declared for the Sharīf, while Āl Wāziʿ fought for Ibn Saʿūd. The Maḥāmīd surrendered to Ibn Saʿūd after his victory at Turaba in 1337/1919, and members of both sections of al-Buḳūm participated in the later Saʿūdī campaigns in the West.

In 1959 the chief of the Maḥāmīd was Ḥusayn b. Muḥyī, while Muḥammad b. Ghannām was chief of Āl Wāziʿ.

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(F. S. Vidal)

BŪLĀḲ, a small town quite close to the Cairo of Mamlūk and Ottoman times, and its port on the Nile for traffic with Lower Egypt. It was built on the sand which the Nile left when its bed shifted one to one-and-a-half kilometres westwards between the time of Saladin and the 8th/14th century [see al-ḳāhira]. It was separated from Cairo by the Nāṣirī canal, dug in 725/1325 by the sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn, who encouraged people of affluence to build their villas (*manẓara*) at Būlāḳ, to which were added later mosques, *ḥammāms*, etc. The customs transferred there from Cairo. About 1800 Būlāḳ had some 24,000 inhabitants, 24 mosques (including that of Abu 'l-ʿAlā, a place of pilgrimage and *mawlid*), 'okelles', dépôts for agricultural products, shipyards, etc. Muḥammad ʿAlī built workshops and foundries there, designed to modernise Egyptian life.

Būlāḳ is well known for its printing works, the first established in Egypt after the short-lived ones of Bonaparte's expedition. A small Egyptian team, trained at Milan, returned in 1821 with presses. In 1822 the Būlāḳ Printing Press was able to work at full capacity, under the direction of Nicolas al-Masābkī, of Lebanese origin (d. 1830). Owned by the state, modernised several times, it was transferred to private ownership in 1862 (to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rushdī Pāshā, then in 1865 to a son of the Khedive Ismāʿīl). The state took it over again in 1880, and it was further developed after 1894 under English directorship, then under Egyptian once more. It was founded for army needs (manuals, etc). and for the administration (official journal, *al-Waḳā'iʿ al-Miṣriyya*) and was an important factor in the modern Renaissance. It printed on its own account or on that of individuals translations and numerous classical works in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and some books in European languages. The rapid growth of the private presses which made Cairo the centre of the Arabic book trade eventually deprived it of the virtual monopoly which it enjoyed.

At the present time Būlāḳ is no longer anything more than a quarter of modern Cairo.

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(J. Jomier)

BULANDSHAHR (Baran), an ancient town in India situated in 28° 15′ N. and 77° 52′ E. on the main road from Agra and ʿAlīgarh to Meerut. Population (1951) was 34,496. Its old name was Baran (by which it is even now sometimes called but only in the *nisba* Baranī) given to it by its legendary founder, one Ahībaran. Its antiquity is

established by the discovery of inscribed copper-plates of the 5th century A.D. and coins of much older dates. It came to be called Bulandshahr ("hightown") from its elevated position near the bank of the Kālī Naddī, which flows past the town. This name is clearly Muslim and appears to have been given to the town sometime during the Mughal period, although Sudjān Rāy's *Khulāṣat al-Tawārikh* (compiled as late as 1107/1695-6) still mentions it as Baran. It was conquered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 409/1018 when the Hindū Rādjā, Har Datt, offered submission and accepted Islam with 10,000 of his followers. The town was restored to Har Datt whose descendants forsook Islam and Čandrā Sēn, the last of the line, was killed while defending the town in 590/1193 against Ḳutb al-Dīn Aybak, a general of the Ghūrī Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sām, who bestowed it as an *iḳṭāʿ* on Iletmish [*q.v.*], his son-in-law and successor. Djaypāl, a kinsman of Čandrā Sēn, accepted Islam and was rewarded, for betraying the garrison to the invaders, with the headmanship of the town. His descendants still flourish in Bulandshahr. During the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] it was the centre of a peasants' rebellion; this was ruthlessly suppressed by the king who laid waste the country all around and perpetrated horrible atrocities on the residents of Baran. In 802/1399 the rebel *amīr* Iḳbāl Khān (Faḍl Allāh Balkhī) took refuge here when he rose against Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644/1246-665/1266). In 810/1407 the town was occupied by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharḳī of Djawnpūr (805/1402-840/1436) but he had to vacate it hastily on learning that Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gudjarāt was about to attack Djawnpūr.

Thereafter nothing is heard of the town as it continued to enjoy a period of peace and tranquillity during Mughal rule. Awrangzīb's proselytising zeal won a large number of converts, mostly among the Rādjpūts, in and around Bulandshahr. During the 12th/18th century when the entire country was disturbed the Marāthās overran and captured Bulandshahr and administered it from Koil (ʿAlīgarh). With the fall of the fort of ʿAlīgarh, Bulandshahr came into the possession of the British in 1218/1803. During the upheaval (Mutiny) of 1857 the town was badly disturbed and Walīdād Khān of Mālāgarh drove out the British garrison and assumed the reins of government. He and his confederates, the Gudjdjars and Muslim Rādjpūts, proved irreconcilable enemies of the British and surrendered the town only after a five months' resistance.

This town is familiar to students of Indo-Pakistan history as the birth-place of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī [*q.v.*], the scholar-historian of the 9th/14th century. There are some very old mosques and tombs including a *dargāh* that of Khwādja Lāl Baranī, which was built in 590/1193 to commemorate the Muslim victory. A small town at the commencement of the British rule, it is now a thriving centre of trade and commerce.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BULĀY, the Arabic transcription of Poley, the old name of a stronghold in the south of Spain the site of which (as has been shown by Dozy, *Rech.*[3], i, 307, on the strength of information supplied by a charter of 1258) is the modern Aguilar de la Frontera, a small town in the province of Cordova, 12 miles N. W. of Cabra and of Lucena. The town, which played a considerable part in the rising of the famous ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] against the Umayyad amīrs of Cordova, is again mentioned in the 6th/12th century by the geographer al-Idrīsī. The ruins of a fortress which dates from the Muslim period can still be seen there.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, ed. and trans. by Dozy and De Goeje, text, 205, transl., 253; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, Bodleian MS., *passim*; R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], ii, 62 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 338, 372-6.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

BULAYDA (Blida), a town in Algeria 51 kms. S.-W. of Algiers, at the southern end of the plain of the Mitīdja. There was no ancient settlement on the site. It has been identified with the town Mitīdja known in the Middle Ages, which was ruined at the time of the campaigns of the Banū Ghāniya (beginning in the 7th/13th century). According to tradition the place which in 942/1535 was called Bulayda (little town) was founded by a religious personage known as Sīdī Aḥmad al-Kabīr. He, after many wanderings, came to stay in the valley of the Wādī al-Rummān, nowadays the Oued el-Kebir. He was joined by his disciples, then by Andalusians coming from Tipasa fleeing from the attacks of the Kabyles of the Chenoua. Sīdī Aḥmad al-Kabīr obtained from the Ulād Sulṭān who occupied the region the land necessary to build homes for the new arrivals. The *beylerbey* of Algiers, Khayr al-Dīn, made of this settlement a veritable city, by providing it with a mosque, *ḥammām*, and public bakery. Bulayda prospered quickly thanks to the Andalusians, who planted orange orchards around it and applied there methods of irrigation of their own country.

Under Turkish domination Bulayda formed part of the *dār al-sulṭān*, that is to say the region administered directly by the *bey* of Algiers, who was represented there by a *ḥākim* of Turkish origin. A detachment of janissaries had a garrison there. The population, composed of the descendants of the Andalusians, Moors, Jews, and Mozabites, was renowned for its urbanity and love of pleasure. A saying attributed to Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf praises it and calls it Urīda (little rose). The town offered a pleasant sojourn to the élite of Algiers, who possessed country houses there. Officials of the Regency who were interned there found their exile easy to hear. It suffered many earthquakes, of which the most severe almost entirely destroyed it in 1827. It was shaken again by a tremor in 1865.

After the occupation of Algiers by the French, Blida remained for some time independent under the administration of its *ḥākims*. It was effectively occupied in 1839.

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(G. Yver-[G. Marçais])

BULBUL, the nightingale. To the nightingale belongs a large place in Oriental literature, particularly Persian and Turkish literature. The characteristics of the bird are its beautiful voice and its tuneful and harmonious song. In the season of roses it laments the whole night long; the hours before dawn are enlivened by its singing. It is in love with the rose. This love is its most outstanding characteristic. Its other characteristics are grouped around this.

In Persian literature the nightingale is treated according to the poets' inclination. In some it sings of figurative love which has no aim, in others of figurative love which is a stage on the path to real love. To understand its meaning in Ṣūfī writing, we must look at the *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr*, written in the year 583/1187-8 by one of the important Ṣūfī writers of Persian literature, Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (died 627/1230). In this work the nightingale's main characteristic is that it is drunk and ready to lose its material substance because of the perfection of its love for the rose (see Garcin de Tassy, *Le langage des oiseaux*).

The Persian poet Khwadjū Kirmānī (679-752/1280-1351), in a work entitled *Rawḍat al-Anwār*, represents the bird of the meadow (*murgh-i čaman*) as a bird tried by passion and desire, that sings at night and drives away sleep; then he likens the nightingale and the rose to the fabulous lovers Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrā. In a *ḳiṭʿa* of Saʿdī of Shīrāz (died 690 or 691/1291-1292), who speaks of the nightingale fairly often especially in his *ghazal*s, the poet treats the moth as the real lover. Ḥazīn-i Lāhidjī (died 1180/1766) makes clear the contrast of the nightingale and the moth, saying, "The nightingale complains because it has only just learnt of love. We have never heard a sound from the moth". Mawlānā Rūmī-i Barizī has a work too (*tadhkira* of Shāh Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī) which contains disputes between nightingale and rose, candle and moth. The Persian poet Zamān-i Yazdī also confronts the nightingale and the moth.

Ḥāfiẓ (died 791/1389) raises the nightingale somewhat towards real love in this verse: "Settling on the cypress branch last night the nightingale chanted the lesson of spiritual stations with the Pahlawī warcry". One of the poets of the circle of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Farrukhī-i Sīstānī (died 470/1077), also imagines the nightingale on a cypress branch: "Nightingales are *khāṭib*s reciting *khuṭba*s upon trees". "Now the nightingale recites the *Tawrāt* upon the cypress.

In one of his *ḳaṣīda*s Manūčihrī (died after 423/1041) gives its song a religious significance, saying "On the rose branch the nightingale performs the *ṣalāt*". In Anwarī (died after 580/1184) a characteristic of the nightingale is its eloquence; "The nightingale catching the scent of spring has grown eloquent, the rose entering the garden has grown fresh".

The Persian Ṣūfī poet Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī (died 809/1046) likens the soul to the nightingale, fallen into the cage of flesh. Here the cage of flesh is the spirit, that has fallen from the world of unity into the world of elements. Another Ṣūfī poet, Kamāl Khudjandī (died 803/1400), brings out another characteristic of the nightingale in the verse: "Kamāl recites no *ghazal*s unless he has fallen in love with a face of roses. The nightingale does not sing when it is not drunk". Saʿdī too in one of his *ghazal*s puts spring and the nightingale side by side: "The trees are in bud, the nightingales are drunk, the world has grown young, the lovers are lost in joy and merrymaking". He views the nightingale essentially as the harbinger of spring. The giver of bad news is the owl. Hilālī-i Čaghatāy (died 939/1532) also makes this contrast in the verse: "The nightingale nests in the garden, the owl in the ruins, everyone makes his home according to his desires". It is appropriate in this connexion to mention the proverb: "Of the nightingale's seven chicks only one becomes a nightingale" (Dihkhudā, *Amthāl wa Ḥikam*).

The nightingale has provided an opportunity for more delicate and refined conceits among poets writing in the 'Indian style'. In this literature with its generally Ṣūfī colouring, the nightingale occupies a position between figurative and real love. The seventeenth century poet Shawkat Bukhārī sings thus of the nightingale in one of his *ghazal*s: "How long will the beloved fail to recognise the lovers that are its prisoners? As the nightingale sorrows and sheds its tears its nest comes to resemble a basket of roses. The rose branch is a seat that gives rest to the nightingale's aching head".

The idea that the nightingale is hunted and caged because of its beautiful voice has passed into literature; thus in a verse of Begdilī (1134-1195/1722-1781): "Because of its lament it is captured and deprived of its freedom".

The bird is encountered in the oldest Turkish literary texts. In various Turkish dialects the nightingale is called as follows: in the *Kutadgu Bilig*, *sanvač*, *sınvač*, *sanduvač*. In other dialects *sadugač* (*gec*, Kaz.), *sandigač* (Tel.), *sandvač* (Rab.), *sandulač* (Ş.S.). In his Dictionary, Shaykh Sulaymān Bukhārī Čaghatāy mentions this as a bird like the nightingale and explains that it is the canary. The verse in *Kutadgu Bilig* (1069/1070) "The nightingale sings in the flower garden in thousands of voices (*hazār destān*) as though reciting the Mazāmir night and day" (v. 78) recalls the Pahlawī warcry and the *Tawrāt* just as we found in Persian literature.

Entering the Islamic period, Turkish literature in time lost the *sanduvač* and used in its place the words *ʿandalīb*, *hazār* (only in classical literature), and *bülbül* (in both classical and folk literature). In folk literature the nightingale is the lover of the rose, it is a stranger, in spring time it sings at night and before the dawn (Ḳaradja Oghlān). In both folk and classical literature the nightingale in the cage is like the soul in the body. The characteristics of the nightingale in Turkish *Dīwān* literature may be seen in the *mathnawī* "The rose and the nightingale" composed by Faḍlī for Sulṭān Süleymān's son Muṣṭafā (960/1553). According to this work the nightingale "is a heart-sore and agitated dervish, love is its nature. Its voice is lovely, its ways are pure and charming. It is a witty fellow, a drinker. Love is the place of its frequenting. Love has set a polish on the mirror of its heart. Its dress is a dervish's cloak of felt (*namad*) so that the mirror inside the felt may not grow rusty". After numerous adventures the nightingale and the rose are united. In this work Faḍlī uses the nightingale to express a purely Ṣūfī idea. In this allegorical treatment the nightingale is the heart, the rose the spirit.

When we come to *Dīwān* literature of the seventeenth century, the nightingale is a lover consumed by the fire of love. This is embodied in the poetic concept that the rose resembles fire in its colour, and kindles the nightingale and burns it to ashes. The nightingale is the colour of ash. There is a pun

between *gül*, rose, and *kül*, ash. The elimination of the material existence of the lover (tossing up his ashes) is an idea that comes from Ṣūfism. Consequently the likening of the nightingale to ashes has become so firmly established that the word *khākistar*, ash, has come to mean nightingale.

The *ghazal*s with the *redīf* "*bulbul*" by Nā'ilī (died 1634) and Neshātī (died 1674) are both major works of the literature of that period, tending towards the Indian style. The last verse of Nā'ilī's *ghazal* reveals to us the Ṣūfī connexion of the nightingale and the rose.

In the 12th/18th century Nedīm (died 1143/1730) mentions this bird in a number of his poems. In a *ghazal* with the same *redīf* he writes: "Do not suppose that the nightingale's nest is filled with bloody tears. That nest is a pot of red ink made ready to write down the secrets of longing. Do not fancy that the cup-bearer of spring poured dew upon the rose; he filled the nightingales' cup with *rakī*".

After the *Tanẓīmāt*, in the poets of the *Andjuman-i Shuʿarā'* who imitated older literature, the nightingale shows no new development. Like Maghribī among Persian poets, one of these, Hersekli ʿĀrif Ḥikmat (1839-1903), in a poem entitled *Ḥasb-i Ḥāl*, treats the nightingale from an entirely Ṣūfī point of view. Redjā'īzāde's poem with the *redīf* "*bülbül*" bears the somewhat shallow marks of his melancholy temperament and slender poetic gift. In these there is nothing new. But ʿAbd al-Ḥakk Ḥāmid [*q.v.*] in the *naẓīre* he wrote to Hersekli's *Ḥasb-i Ḥāl*, and in the poem *Walking through Hyde Park*, produces new ideas appropriate to his age with regard to the nightingale: "In the morning it recites the *adhān*. Its nest in the darkness is a sublime symbol for patriotism. Its songs have become the model for love-*kaṣīdas*. The form of its expression is as new as modern literature (*tedjeddud edebiyyāti*). It is God's poet. Its *kaṣīdas* are read from the page of nature" (*Naẓīre-i Ḥasb-i Ḥāl*).

(Ali Nihat Tarlan)

BULDUR [see BURDUR].

BULGARIA, a country in the Balkans. It drew its name from the Bulgars, a people of Turkic origin, who first invaded the Dobrudja [*q.v.*] under Asparukh or Isperikh in 679 A.D. and founded an independent state in the Byzantine province of Moesia. Adopting Orthodox Christianity from Byzantium (865) and identifying themselves with the native Slavs who had previously settled Bulgaria, the Bulgars built up a strong empire in the Balkans which extended from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea under Czar Symeon (893-927).

The first Islamic accounts of Bulgaria belonged to this period through the reports of Muslim al-Djarmī (about 231/845), Hārūn b. Yaḥyā (349/960) and Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿkūb (349/960). Hārūn reported (in Ibn Rusta, ed. De Goeje, 127) that the Christianised Slavs, *al-Ṣakāliba al-Mutanaṣṣira*, had adopted Christianity after Sūs, the ruler of the Bulgars. Incorporated into the Byzantine empire between 1018 and 1186 Bulgaria was organised in two themes, the theme of Bulgaria with its centre at Skoplje (Üsküb) and that of *Paristrion* or *Paradunavon* with its centre at Silistria.

The invasion and settlement of the Cumans in the lower Danube prepared the way for the creation of the so-called second Bulgarian empire under the Assenids (1185-1279).

In 1262 Michael VIII, the Byzantine emperor, took Anchialus and Mesembria from the Bulgarians and settled in the Dobrudja the Anatolian Turks who had taken refuge in Byzantium with ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs II [*q.v.*]. Most of them returned to Anatolia in 707/1307 and those who remained were thought to be the ancestors of the Gagauzes [*q.v.*]. (P. Wittek, *Yazījioghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv/3).

Terter I (1279-1300) recognised Noghay's [*q.v.*] overlordship (1285) and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Čaka, who later took refuge in Trnovo and seized his father-in-law's throne (1300), but soon was killed by Terter II (1300-1322).

In the contemporary Arabic sources (Baybars, *Zubdat al-Fikra*, in I. H. Izmirli, *Altınordu* ..., Ist. 1941, 221; Abu 'l-Fidā', 295) Bulgaria is shown as the land of the *Ūlak*, and the Bulgarians are considered as the same people as the *Ūlak*. We know that Kalojan had called himself *imperator totius Bulgarie et Vlachie* (G. Ostrogorsky, *Hist. of the Byzantine State*, 358). It appears that the Christianised Cumans in Bulgaria, must have been shown under the general term of Vlach.

The Shishmanids (1323-1395) came to the Bulgarian throne with Shishman, a Cuman magnate in Vidin.

The Anatolian *ghāzī* Turks came in contact with the Bulgarians when Aydinoghlu Umūr [*q.v.*] allied himself with Cantacuzenus. First in 742/1341 Umūr aided him agaist Ivan Alexander, the Bulgarian Czar, and, then, on 5 Rabīʿ I 746/July 7, 1345 destroyed Momčilo, the Bulgarian adventurer who had been dominating the Rhodope region (P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, Paris 1957). The Ottomans replacing Umūr in his alliance with Cantacuzenus appeared to come into contact with the Bulgarians first in 753/1352 when these came to support his rival John V. After the conquest of Edirne [*q.v.*] in 762/1361 Lālā Shāhīn seemed to be active in the direction of Zaghra (Berrhoea) and Filibe [*q.v.*] (different dates in the chronicles: 763/1362, 765/1364, 766/1365), but the Byzantine-Bulgarian clash in 765/1364 is thought to be connected with an Ottoman-Bulgarian agreement. In 766/1365 Czar Ivan Alexander divided his realm between his two sons: Stratsimir got the Vidin region and Shishman the Czardom of Trnovo. Dobrotič in the Dobrudja and Varna were actually independent [see DOBRUDJA]. The same year Hungary seized Vidin, threatened Trnovo, and Amadeo of Savoy not only occupied Ottoman Gallipoli but also Mesembria, Sozopolis and Anchialus for Byzantium in 767/1366. With Ottoman auxiliary forces Shishman tried to recover Vidin (769/1368), and gave his sister Thamar in marriage to Murād I. According to the Ottoman chronicles (see Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 84-87) the Ottomans reached the main Balkan passes by taking Ḳizilaghač-yenidjesi, Yānbolī (Iambol), Ḳarīn-ovāsī (Karnobat), Aydos (Aitos), Sözebolī (Sozopolis) under Tīmūrtāsh in about 770/1368. İhtiman and Samakov under Lālā Shāhīn in 772/1370 and 773/1371. Filibe on the one side and the Yānbolī-Ḳarīn-ovāsī region on the other were then the main *ūdj*s [*q.v.*] where the *akīndjī*s, Yürüks [*q.v.*] and Tatars were settled in large numbers. Nish was taken by the Ottomans only in 787/1385 (Neshrī, Taeschner ed. i, 58). Sofia was still in Shishman's hands in 780/1378 (C. Jireček, *Gesch. der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, 339). It seemed to surrender between this date and 787/1385. In 789/1387 when Murād I found that his vassals Shishman in Bulgaria and Ivanko in Dobrudja were not on his side against the Serbians he hastily sent an army under ʿAlī Pasha to

secure his rear. Our information on this expedition comes from Neshrī and Rūḥī who both used here a detailed and well informed source, and there is no need to change its chronology (cf. F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgesch. der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, Munich 1944, 29-35). In the winter of 790-1/1388-9 ʿAlī Pasha took Provadia (Pravadi), Venčan, Madera and Shumnī (Shumen) and passed the winter in the latter. In the spring of 791/1389 he sent Yakhshī Beg against 'the son of Dobrudja' in Varna, then went to meet the Sultan in Yānbolī. Shishman came there, too, and made his submission to Murad I. But on his return he did not surrender Silistre (Silistria) to the Ottomans as he promised. Upon this ʿAlī appeared before Tirnova (Trnovo), Shishman's capital; 'The infidels brought him the keys of the city' which meant submission. Accepting the submission of several other towns on his way ʿAlī came and laid siege to Nikebolī (Nikopol, Nicopolis) where Shishman had taken refuge. He asked pardon which was granted. ʿAlī was to join Murād's army.

After the battle of Kossovo Bāyazīd was detained in Anatolia while Mirčea, supported by Sigismond, took Silistria and the Dobrudja and made a succesful raid on the *aḳindjis* of Karin-ovasī, in 793/1391. Only in 795/1393 was Bāyazīd able to come and take Trnovo by force (6 Ramaḍān/17 July) and he also subjugated the Dobrudja and Silistre. But still Shishman was left in his stronghold, Nikebolī, as a vassal. He then appealed to Sigismond; this caused Bāyazīd's [*q.v.*] invasion of Transylvania and the battle of Argesh against Mirčea (26 Radjab 797/17 May, 1395). We find in a newly discovered document (Topḳapı Sarayı Archives, Istanbul, no. 6374) the following 'Crossing Arkhish river Yildirim Khān came before the fortress of Nikebolī the ruler of which was a lord named Shishman. He was paying tribute to the Sultan in the same way as the *Voyvode* of Wallachia. The Sultan asked him to send ships, which he furnished. As soon as the Sultan was on the other side he fetched Shishman, beheaded him, and seized Nikebolī and transformed it into an Ottoman *sandjaḳ*.' The Slavic sources (see J. Bogdan, *Archiv f. slav. Philo.*, xiii, 496) dated Shishman's death as 12 Shaʿbān 797/3 June 1395 which fits in with this Ottoman evidence.

The battle of Nikebolī (24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 798/28 September 1396) sealed the fate of Bulgaria. After his victory Bāyazīd invaded Stratsimir's Vidin too. He settled in Vidin, Silistre and Nikebolī the powerful *Ūdj-begis* against Hungary and Wallachia. In 847/1443, when a Hungarian army advanced into Bulgaria, the Bulgarian *reʿāyā* and *voynuḳs* in the region of Sofia and Radomir joined the invaders, who appointed a 'Vladika' in Sofia for them. They were soon repressed by the Ottomans (see İnalcık, *Fatih Devri*, Ankara 1954, 20).

During this period, and especially after 805/1402, Bulgaria became strongly ottomanised. In Eastern Bulgaria the Muslim population was definitely in the majority as the surveys of 1520s show (see Ö. L. Barkan, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol. xi, map). In 859/1455 in Filibe there were 600 Muslim households as against 50 non-Muslim. Bulgaria was divided into the *sandjaḳs* of Čirmen, Sofya, Silistre, Nikebolī and Vidin in the *eyālet* of Rūmeli [*q.v.*]. In the 11/17th century the *sandjaḳs* of Nikebolī and Silistre were included in the *eyālet* of Özü which was created against the Cossacks. Its capital was Özü and Silistre. The *sandjaḳ* of Silistre included Pravadi, Yānbolī, Harsova, Varna, Akhyolī (Anchialus), Aydos, Ḳarin-ovasī and Rūsī-ḳasrī (Rhousokastron) in 924/1518. Bulgaria was put under typical Ottoman administration with the *timār* [*q.v.*] system (see the laws and regulations in Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 255-289). Most of the members of the pre-Ottoman military class were integrated in the Ottoman military organisation (see my *Fatih Devri*, 136-184), *pronijars* as *timār*-holders, *woiniks* as Ottoman *voynuḳs* [*q.v.*]. As to the bulk of the Bulgarian population, they were given the status of *dhimmī reʿāyā* [*q.v.*]. But among them many groups enjoyed financially a special status as *derbenddji* (guardians at the mountain passes) or suppliers of rice, meat etc. for the palace or the army [see *ʿawāriḍ*], and the *Dewshirme* [*q.v.*] was also extensively applied in Bulgaria.

As Istanbul and the army was dependent for a great proportion of their food supply on Bulgaria the government put restrictions on the export of the Bulgarian meat and rice. In 973/1565 the appointed sheep owners in western Bulgaria were ordered to provide 174,290 sheep for the army (A. Refik, *Türk İdaresinde Bulgaristan*, Istanbul 1933, document no. 3). The rice production in the upper Maritsa (Merič) valley brought to the state as *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] a yearly revenue of about one million *akča* (20 thousand gold ducats) in about 888/1483 (T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, Istanbul 1952, 131). Timber from Shumnī, Hezargrad, Tirnova (Trnovo) and iron from Samakov were supplied for the construction of the warships at Akhyolī in 979/1571 (A. Refik, doc. 19, 22). An industry of cloth and felt developed in Filibe, Shumnī and Islimye (Sliven) in this period which was exported in other parts of the empire (A. Refik, doc. 18). Bulgaria experienced neither an enemy invasion nor an insurrection from 1450 to 1595. The Bulgarian towns, especially Filibe, Sofya and Silistre, developed as miltary and commercial centres on the main routes in Rūmeli [*q.v.*]. In these cities new Muslim districts sprang up around *Djāmiʿ*s, *ʿimārets*, *bedestāns* and bazaars with rich *waḳfs* (see Ewliyā Čelebī's detailed description in 1061/1651, vol. III, 301-421, and H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahr.*, Wiesbaden 1956). According to the Ottoman census in 1520 (see Ö. L. Barkan, *JESHO*, vol. I, Part 1, 1957, 32) the *sandjaḳs* of Silistre. Čirmen, Nikebolī, Vidin and Sofya had about 125 thousand households altogether excluding the population in the places belonging to Pasha in Bulgaria.

From the end of the 16th century onwards the rate of several taxes was raised and the complaints of the Bulgarian *reʿāyā* from the exactions of the local officials and soldiers began (A. Refik, doc. 37, 38, 41, 42, 46, 47). In 1014/1605 the *reʿāyā* of the Sofya region complained that the agents of the Patriarch were trying to raise the rate of dues from 6 *aḳča* to 12 for the *reʿāyā* and from 60 to 400 for the local priests (A. Refik, doc. 38). The first important uprising in Bulgaria took place at Veliko-Trnovo in 1003/1595 when Michael, Wallachian Prince, made successful raids in Bulgaria. Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] put down the insurrection and thousands of Bulgarians took refuge in Wallachia. Also from this time on the Bulgarian *haydūd*s or *eshḳiyā*ʾ begin to be mentioned more frequently in the Ottoman sources (A. Refik, doc. 52, 54, 75). Now almost with every enemy invasion the *reʿāyā* were joining them and when they withdrew large groups of *reʿāyā* followed them in spite of the assurances on the part of the Ottoman government (for example in 1100/1688 the *reʿāyā* of the region of

Vidin, Kutlofdja, Pirot and Berkofdja (A. Refik doc. 59) in 1150/1737 the *reʿāyā* of the region of Izinbol (Znepolje) (A. Refik, doc. 81, 82); in 1208/1793 those of the region of Ismail and Stanimaka). In 1245/1829, seventy or eighty thousand Bulgarians followed the Russian army to settle in Bessarabia; in 1861 ten thousand of them left their home for the Crimea.

In the second half of the 18th century the *aʿyān* were particularly powerful in Bulgaria. As *multazims* [*q.v.*] and hereditary possessors of the large state lands, *čiftliks* [*q.v.*], they became real masters of the country since the government had to rely on them to collect the taxes of the *reʿāyā* and most powerful of them such as Trestenik-oghlu Ismāʿīl, Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] in Rusdjuḳ, Ḥadjdjī ʿUmar in Hezargrad even maintained private armies to which the Sultan had to have recourse at critical moments (A. Refik, doc. 90). The Rhodopes and the Balkan mountains sheltered an increasing number of bandits called *Kîrdjalî* in this period. Profiting from this anarchy a soldier of fortune, Pazwand-oghlu or Pāsbān-oghlu ʿOthmān [*q.v.*] rebelled, and then, as the Pasha of Vidin, ruled over Western Bulgaria between 1212/1797-1221/1807 (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vii, 237, 240, 250, viii, 146-48). Under Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] the *aʿyāns* were eliminated and the central authority was established in Bulgaria. In the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* in 1263/1846 Bulgaria was reorganised as the *eyālets* of Silistre, Vidin, Nish with the provincial councils in which the Bulgarian representatives were admitted. But the administrative reforms did not prevent unrest among the Bulgarians. An insurrection in the Nish region in 1257/1841 and a more violent one in the Vidin region in 1266/1850 broke out partly because of the provocation of the revolutionists in Serbia and Wallachia, and partly because of the abuses of the *čiftlik* system maintained there by the Muslim *aghas* or *gospodars* (see my *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, Ankara 1943).

Many observers in the middle of the 19th century (N. V. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, 3 vols. Sofia 1915-1929) came to the conclusion that one third of the population of Bulgaria was Muslim. Out of this about 400 or 500,000 were the *Pomak* (*Pomatzi*), the native Bulgarians who had adopted Islam in the 16th and 17th centuries in the central and western Rhodopes. Muslims were in the majority in the cities of Filibe Vidin, Shumnî, Rusdjuḳ, Razgrad, Varna, Plevne, Osman-bazar, Eski-djumʿa, Yeni-zaghra and in the minority in those of Gabrovo, Nish, Sofya, Tîrnova, Karnobat (Ḳarîn-ovasî) by 1293/1876. After the Crimean war the Ottoman government had settled in Bulgaria 70 or 90,000 Čerkes and about 100,000 Tatars (in A. H. Midḥat, *Midḥat Pasha*, Cairo 1322/1904, 35: 350,000 immigrants). Tension between these and the native Bulgarians was exploited by the Bulgarian revolutionists who had finally organised a Central Committee of Revolution in Bucharest in 1286/1869. In 1281/1864 the new administrative reform was for the first time applied in Bulgaria. The *sandjaḳs* of Rusdjuḳ, Varan, Vidin, Tulči (Tulča), Tîrnova (Trnovo) formed the *wilāyet* of Tuna and those of Sofya and Nish that of Sofya. Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], first governor of the *wilāyet* of Tuna, made it the most progressive province of the empire (A. H. Midḥat, 24-56). Although the tax revenue of the *wilāyet* increased fifty per cent under his administration, the peasantry had to pay more and do forced labour for the construction of the new routes. In 1287/1870 the struggle for an independent Bulgarian church resulted in the establishment of the Exarchate which was regarded as a national victory. In the same period the increased activities of the Bulgarian revolutionists, *ḳomitadjîs*, supported actively by the Russians, resulted in the great insurrection of 1293/1876 (April-May). Bulgaria became the main field of operations of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1293/1877. It caused an exodus of the Muslim population to the south. With the Treaty of San-Stefano Russia attempted to create under her protection a great Bulgaria from the Danube to the Aegean Sea. But the great powers replaced it by the Treaty of Berlin which created a principality of Bulgaria, *Bulghāristān Emāreti*, under the Sultan's suzerainty, and the autonomous Province of Eastern Rumelia (*Rūmeli-i Sharḳī Wilāyeti*). It united with the Principality as a result of a revolution in Filibe in 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1302/18 September 1885 (A. F. Türkgeldi, *Mesail-i Mühimme-i Siyasiyye*, Ankara 1957, 193-246). At the time of the revolution of 1326/1908 in Istanbul Prince Ferdinand declared the independence of Bulgaria and assumed the title of Czar (7 Ramaḍān 1326/3 October 1908).

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(H. İNALCIK)

BULGHĀR, in Islamic literature the name of a Turkic people by whom two states, one on the Volga, the other on the Danube, were founded in the early middle ages.

Early history: The original Bulghārs seem to have arrived in the south Russian steppes with one of the Hunnic waves. They are mentioned for the first time by Joannes Antioch. (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv, 619) in the year 481 A.D., when they helped the Emperor Zeno in his fight against the Goths. The centre of the Bulghār country was then the steppes in the vicinity of the Kuban river and the Maeotis (Azov Sea), but some of their hordes dwelled also in the region of lower Danube and in the Caucasus. In the Byzantine chronicles

their original country, Kuban, is known as Great Bulgaria (Theophanes, Nicephorus). After the death of Khān Kuvrat in 642 A.D. the unity of these Bulghārs was brought to an end, probably under the pressure of the growing power of the new Khazar kingdom. One section of the Bulghārs remained in their ancient settlements on the Kuban and in the Maeotis till the 10th century. At this time this country was called by Constantine Porphyr. (*De adm. imp.*, 12, 42) "Black Bulgaria" and the Russian chronicles give them also the name of "Black Bulgars". This section of the Bulghārs did not play any great part in history and was probably absorbed by the successive waves of Magyars, Pechenegs and Kumans. By far the greatest group of Bulghārs, under Khān Isperukh, left their home country in 678 for the Balkans and the Danube, where they founded a state among the South Slavonic tribes. In a comparatively short time the numerically weak group of Turkic Bulghārs was assimilated and absorbed by the more numerous Slavs. In Islamic sources this state and its inhabitants are known as Burdjān.

The third and smallest group had retreated along the Volga to the north (this fact is now confirmed by archaeological data) and settled down by the confluence of the rivers Kama and Volga. There they subjugated the Finnish aboriginal population and founded a new state. This group are the Bulghār of Arabic, Bulkār of Persian sources, and this name is applied also to the country and to the capital of their state.

Sources: Our outstanding authority on the Bulghār is Ibn Faḍlān, who in 309-10/921-922 took part in an embassy sent by the Caliph al-Muḳtadir billāh to the Bulghār king. A little earlier is the source preserved in Ibn Rusta, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Gardīzī, al-Bakrī and Marwazī. Some decades younger than Ibn Faḍlan are the accounts of al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masʿūdī and al-Muḳaddasī, and from the second half of the 4th/10th century we have the report of Ibn Ḥawḳal. Beside these main sources we find some few remarks in other Arabic and/or Persian works, such as those of al-Bīrūnī, Bayhaḳī, Ibn al-Nadīm etc. In the 6th/12th century Bulghār was visited by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and two centuries later by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; but the report of the latter is not free from the suspicion of invention. The historians of the Mongol epoch, such as Ibn al-Athīr, Abu 'l-Fidā', Rashīd al-Dīn, Djuwaynī and others, inform us about the end of Bulghār state. European sources are represented only by the Russian chronicles, which are valuable for the time before the Mongol invasion and after. As our sources come chiefly from the 4th/10th century, the following picture of the internal state of affairs in Bulghār is drawn from these and applies to later times only indirectly.

Territory and population: The centre of the Bulghār kingdom was formed by the triangle between the Volga and the Kama and the country south of the confluence of both these rivers. As to the frontiers of the Bulghār territory, our sources leave us entirely in the dark, and chapter 51 in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (erroneously captioned Burṭās) is totally useless in determining its neighbours. Nevertheles- we can gather some indications about these neighbours and their relation to the Bulghār kingdom. To the north lived various Finno-Ugrian tribes, as Wīsū (in Russian sources V'es, today Veps) and Yūra (Russ. Yugra); both of them at different times were under Bulghar domination, at least nominally. In the east, the Basdjirt (Bashkirs) were subject tot he Bulghārs, and to the south-east some Pecheneg and Ghuzz tribes led their nomadic life quite independently of the Bulghārs. Between the Bulghārs and the Khazars, in the forests, dwelled the more primitive Burṭās/Burdās, probably ancestors of the Mordva; they were subject to the Khazars and the object of frequent raids by the Bulghārs and in later times also incorporated in the state of the latter. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī it was 15 days' journey from the land of the Khazars to the land of the Burṭās and thence another 15 days' to the limits of this people, probably to the north-west. To the west lived various Slavonic (Russian) tribes, but the limits of their eastern colonisation are uncertain. That some of these were in the 10th century subject to the Bulghārs is evident from the fact that the Bulghār ruler is frequently called by Ibn Faḍlān *malik al-Ṣaḳāliba* (king of the Slavs).

The Bulghārs were divided into many hordes and groups, known under different names to Islamic authors. Barṣūla, Ishkil (or Askil) and Bulkār are the three main groups named in Ibn Rusta and his epigons and Ibn Faḍlān mentions, apart from Askil, the tribe of Suwār and a group or a large clan, called al-Barandjār, who were already Muslims and had a wooden mosque. In the forests dwelled the subjugated Finnish tribes and in the towns (at a later period) a mixed population formed by merchants and craftsmen from Russia, Khazaria, Central Asia and even from Baghdād.

Political institutions: The Bulghār ruler bore the title *yiltuwar* (in Ibn Faḍlān *b.ltwār*), a Turkic title known also in the form *älteber* from the Orkhon inscriptions. This title indicates the status of a lesser prince, vassal of a *khāḳān*, in this instance of the Khazar *khāḳān*, and shows also that the Bulghār country originally formed only part of a greater empire and that their ruler was not entirely independent. The Bulghārs paid to the Khazars a sable-fur from each house as a tax, and their dependent status was manifested also by the fact that a son of the Bulghār king lived at the court of the Khazar *khāḳān* as a hostage. These feudal relations were probably loosened by the Bulghār alliance with the caliph in Baghdād, but it seems that only the fall of the Khazar empire in 965 allowed them to become an absolutely independent state. The changed position of the Bulghār ruler after the alliance with the Caliphate is expressed also in the change of the old title *yiltuwar* to the new one *amīr* as a symbol of the cessation of the former allegiance to the Khazar *khāḳān*.

The state of Bulghār did not form a political unity, since the tribal leaders (Ibn Faḍlān calls them *mulūk*) did enjoy a large independence and freedom; this is apparent from Ibn Faḍlān's report of the refusal of the *malik* of the tribe Askil to obey an order of the king. Although the Russian chronicles mention continuously only one Bulghār state, we read *sub anno* 1183 of a war waged by one Bulghār prince, allied with the Komans, against the Great Town of Bolgary and in the Mongol epoch that another state, that of Zhukotin (Djuke-Tau), was founded.

In Ibn Faḍlān's time the relation of the ruler to his people was still quite patriarchal. He used to ride through the capital (a town of tents) alone, unaccompanied by a bodyguard or escort; at the sight of their ruler his subjects rose from their seats and bared their heads. The ruling class was formed, besides the family of king and the tribal leaders, of 500 important families.

Economy and trade: Until the first half of

the 10th century the Bulghārs led a nomadic life, like other Turkic peoples in the Russian steppe, and cattle-breeding was their chief occupation and the foundation of their economy. This is clearly shown in the earlier sources, for according to Ibn Rusta the taxes were paid in horses. Ibn Faḍlān already found the society in a state of change from nomadism to settled life. Many customs of the former way of life were then still surviving, *i.e.*, no permanent capital served as the seat of the ruler, who wandered from one place to another and lived in a large tent. Al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions that the inhabitants spent the winter in wooden houses and the summer in tents. In the latter part of this same century Bulghār was already a flourishing agricultural and trading centre.

The chief products were millet, wheat and barley (Ibn Rusta, Ibn Faḍlān) and these formed also the main food together with horse-meat. From the produce of their fields the people paid no sort of taxes to the king. According to archaeological finds agricultural technique was on a fairly high level of development, which permitted also the export of crops; in 1024 the Russians of Suzdal', where there was a famine, brought wheat from Bulghār and thus saved their lives.

Although agriculture predominated, cattle-breeding still played an important rôle in the economy. It formed the basis for various branches of manufacture, mainly tanning, and also for export. At a later period Bulghār leather (the modern Russian leather *yuft'*) and the Bulghār shoes (Pers. *mūza-i bulghārī*) were particularly well-known, especially in the East. Archaeology has brought to light many other industrial products such as copper-ware, ceramics, jewels and implements of a comparatively high degree.

The main source of the country's wealth was, however, international trade. The river Volga is one of the most ancient trade-routes in the world and the favourable site of the town of Bulghār at the cross-roads of east-west and north-south trade was fully exploited. The Bulghārs themselves traded mainly in the north and in a lesser degree also in Central Asia, but the importance of Bulghār was due in the first place to its function as a meeting-place of foreign merchants, Russians, Khazars, and Muslims. The king levied a duty of 10% on all water-borne merchandise: for instance the Russian merchants paid from every ten slaves one slave as tax. The chief caravan-route led to Central Asia (Khwārizm) and to Kiev. From northern countries the Bulghārs imported furs of martens, sables, beavers, foxes and squirrels, and exchange with these northern peoples, such as the Wīsū and Yūra, was made by dumb barter (see Ibn Faḍlān, Bīrūnī, Marwazī, Abū Ḥamid, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). The Russians, too, brought furs and as another chief item slaves, who were re-exported to Central Asia by the caravan-route or to the Caspian provinces by the Volga. Al-Muḳaddasī, 325, gives a long list of Bulghār exports: furs of many different kinds, horse and goat skins, shoes, *ḳalansuwas*, arrows, swords, armour, sheep, cattle, falcons, isinglass, fish-teeth, birch wood, walnuts, wax, honey and Slavonic slaves. Many of these items are mentioned also by other sources and as Ibn Rusta, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Abū Ḥāmid etc.

From Islamic countries the chief imports were textiles, arms, luxury goods and ceramics.

The unit of currency was, as in other parts of Eastern Europe till the 12th century, the fur (especially that of foxes, martens and squirrels). There was also silver money current which had been imported from Muslim countries, this money being used to buy the goods of the Russians and Slavs. From the beginning of the 4th/10th century there were struck in Bulghār imitations of Sāmānid dirhams with the name of the original mint and original date, but with the name of the Bulghār amīr Mīkā'īl b. Djaʿfar (probably the son and successor of Djaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh, the ruler in Ibn Faḍlān's time). From 337/948-49 we have the first dirham from a Bulghār mint (Suwār), struck in the name of Ṭālib b. Aḥmad, and further coins till the year 357/968. Other coins bear the names of Mu'min b. Aḥmad (366/976-77), struck in Suwār and Bulghār, and of Mu'min b. al-Ḥasan (between 366/976-77 and 370/980), struck in the same mints (see Vasmer, *Wiener Num. Ztschr.* 57, 1924, 63 f.). Besides the names of the rulers there also appear on the coins the names of ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

At the time of his visit Ibn Faḍlān did not notice any towns or villages, as the Bulghārs led a nomadic life. It seems that the building of the fortress, which was one of the principal tasks of the Baghdādī embassy, laid the foundation of the future town of Bulghār. The non-existence of towns in Bulghār prior to the embassy is confirmed on the one hand by the silence of the Ibn Rusta group of sources about these, and on the other hand by the use of the name Bulghār: this name signifies to Ibn Rusta and Ibn Faḍlān always the country or the people, never the town. Al-Iṣṭakhrī is the first author who mentions the existence of the towns Bulghār and Suwār, with wooden buildings and mosques and 10,000 inhabitants. This account is then repeated by all subsequent authors with some small additions (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*: 20,000 inhabitants; Gardīzī: 500,000 families). The Russian chronicles know a number of Bulghār towns, but owing to their lack of details it is impossible to ascertain their locations. The most important of these towns was *Velikiy gorod Bolgary* (the Great town of Bolgary), which is mentioned many times in the chronicles.

During the past half-century the Russians have undertaken numerous archaeological excavations on the sites of the ancient towns in Bulghār territory. The ruins near the village of Bulgarskoie, a distance of 6 km. from the Volga, show a high culture in the 13th and 14th centuries. All the buildings such as palaces, mosques, baths as well as the walls were of stone; the town had a circumference of about 6 miles and was surrounded by suburbs to the north and west. It must have had a population of some 50,000 souls at this time. The more recent discoveries in Bilyar and Suwār are richer than those in Bulgarskoie and it seems that Bulghār (*i.e.*, the ruins at Bulgarskoie) was the capital only in the 10th and 11th centuries and then in later times its rôle was transferred to Bilyar in the central part of the country, on the river Cheremshan. Which of these two was the "Great town of Bolgary" of the Russian chronicles is difficult to tell.

Religion: According to our oldest sources (Ibn Rusta, ca. 300/912, but with an older account) Islām was well established amidst the Bulghārs and there were some wooden mosques on their territory. This is fully confirmed by Ibn Faḍlān, who during his visit found many Muslims, mosques, and a *khaṭīb* and *mu'adhdhin*. The early Arabic sources are silent about the beginning of islamisation in Bulghār and only the 12th century traveller Abū Ḥāmid relates a legendary account, connected with a popular etymology of the name Bulghār; this

legend, however, is not known to the later Tatar traditions. One of the purposes of the Baghdādī embassies and especially that of Ibn Faḍlān, was the strengthening of Islām, the introduction of Islamic law, the building of a mosque and a *minbar* and the islamisation of the whole country. It seems that this task was successfully accomplished. It was from Central Asia that Islām first reached Bulghār; the manner in which the *adhān* was performed clearly followed the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa, then ruling amongst the Central Asian Turks. Because Ibn Faḍlān followed the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, a disputation arose between him and the Bulghār *muʾadhdhin*, backed by the king. The Bulghārs remained true to their Ḥanafī *madhhab* throughout the whole of their history. In towns there were mosques and Friday mosques, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* confirms that the inhabitants of Bulghār and Suwār were zealous fighters for the faith. According to Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 16) a son of the Bulghār king had made the pilgrimage to Mecca during the reign of al-Muḳtadir; another proof of the religious zeal of their rulers was the presentation to the mosques of Sabzawār and Khusrawdjird, of a gift in 415/1024 by the Bulghār amīr Abū Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. B.l.t.wār (see *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Tehran, 63). It seems that the Bulghārs exercised a decisive influence on the conversion of nomadic Turkic tribes, such as Pechenegs and Kumans, to Islām, and they also nursed hopes of spreading the Muslim faith in Russia, in the 10th century still pagan. In the year 986 an embassy was sent to Kiev in order to convert prince Vladimir to Islām and some time later this same ruler, searching for a suitable religion for himself and his people, invited Bulghār Muslims to explain to him the principles of their faith and to take part in a religious disputation between the representatives of the chief religions.

This northernmost Islamic country posed some ritual problems, owing to the short days and long nights during the winter and *vice versa* during the summer. To perform the daily five prayers in a short day was not an easy task and it was impossible to hold to the prescribed times; similar problems arose in Ramaḍān. This peculiarity of high latitudes, unknown in other Islamic lands, soon attracted the attention of Muslim writers and led to lengthy discussions as to what should be the right solution of these problems. As late as 1860 the Ḳazan historian Mardjānī wrote a treatise concerning this problem (see Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, 170, where there are further references).

Language and literature: The language of the Bulghārs, like that of the Khazars, has left very few remnants, mainly in toponymy and onomastics, and, beginning with the 12th century, also a fair number of epitaphs. The linguistic affinity of their language remained a problem a long time. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 225, tells us that the language of the Bulghārs resembled the speech of the Khazars, but both are unlike the languages of Burṭās and Rūs. (An analysis of Kāshgharī's account of the Bulghār language together with a discussion of the whole problem is to be found in Pritsak, in *ZDMG* 109, 1959, 92-116). It is however, now established that the Bulghār language belongs to the so-called "Bolgarian" group of the Western (or West-Hunnic) branch of Turkic languages, the other groups being Ghuzz, Kipčāḳ and Ḳarluḳ. The "Bolgarian" group consists, apart from the Khazarian, of the following languages: 1) Proto-Bulgarian—the language of the Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions and of the so-called "List of Princes" of the Bulgars of the Danube, found in an ancient Russian chronicle (see O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste*, Wiesbaden 1955); 2) Kuban-Bulgarian; remnants of this language are found in loan-words in Hungarian, and 3) Volga-Bulgarian, the language of the epitaphs, written in Arabic script, found on the territory of Bulghār. The degree of affinity between this language and that of the modern Čuvash has not yet been satisfactorily investigated and explained. As the Čuvash have been very little affected by the highly developed Muslim culture of the Bulghārs, it is improbable that they are descendants from these; a greater right to claim such descent belongs to the modern Ḳazan Tatars.

With the sole exception of the above mentioned tomb-inscriptions, dating from the 12th until the 14th centuries, we do not possess any remnants of literary activity of the Bulghars. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions in his *Fihrist* that the Bulghārs, prior to their islamisation, used the script of the Chinese and of the Manichaeans, but no sample of this writing has come down to us. Abū Ḥāmid reports a *Taʾrīkh Bulghār*, a work of Ḳāḍī Yaʿḳūb b. Nuʿmān al-Bulghārī from the beginning of 12th century; in the year 989/1581 Sharaf al-Dīn Husām al-Dīn al-Bulghārī composed in the Tatar language a *Risāla-i Tawārīkh-i Bulghāriyya*, which contains nothing but fabulous stories about the propagation of Islam and the lives of saints; it was printed in Ḳazan in the year 1902.

History: The scarcity of our sources does not permit us to follow the course of Bulghār history closely. The Bulghārs came into the light of written history only at the time of Ibn Faḍlān's visit; at this period their ruler was *yiltawar* Almush b. Shilkī, who subsequently changed his title and name into *amīr* Djaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh. The coins supply the name of his son and successor Mīkāʾīl b. Djaʿfar and also the names of another three rulers: Ṭālib b. Aḥmad, Muʾmin b. Aḥmad and Muʾmin b. al-Ḥasan (for the dates see above, section on economy). The Bulghārs remained till the fall of the Khazar khāḳānate a vassal state of the latter. In the year 964 the country in the Volga basin was devastated by the Kievan prince Svyatoslav; an echo of this is found in Ibn Ḥawḳal's story of the conquest of Bulghār, Burṭās and Khazar in the year 358/968-69. This is, however, not the date of the Russian expedition but that of the year in which Ibn Ḥawḳal received the information of these events. This invasion had no lasting effects on the prosperity of Bulghār; similarly the second Russian campaign, led by Vladimir, the son of Svyatoslav, in the year 985 did little damage. On the contrary, the Bulghār gained by the downfall of Khazar *khāḳānate*; as the Russian armies after their victory retreated, the place of the mighty Khazars was occupied by the Pecheneg nomads, representing no real danger to the Bulghārs. For a short period the relations between the Russians and Bulghār improved, as is shown by the trade treaty concluded in the year 1006 on equal terms. Yet both these states were in the same way interested in the fur trade in the north and this led to continuous fighting since the second half of the 11th century; Bulghār history is from this time a history of their wars with the Russians.

In 1088 the Russian town of Murom was captured by the Bulghārs, but remained in their hands only for a short time. After this event they were on the defensive and on many occasions—in the years 1120, 1164, 1172, 1183, 1220—the town of Bulghār was

besieged by the Russians. Only two instances of a Bulghār offensive are mentioned: in 1107 they unsuccessfully attacked the town of Suzdal' and in 1218 they sacked the town of Ust'yug, situated far in the north. The further fighting with the Russians was interrupted for nearly two centuries by the Mongol invasion.

Abū Ḥāmid, who visited the town of Bulghār and the Volga basin in the first half of the 12th century, says nothing about political history except the statement, that in the town of Saḳsīn on the lower Volga there lived a Bulghār *amīr* and stood a Bulghār mosque.

When the Mongols were returning to the east after the victory over the Russians on the river Kalka (1224) they were ambushed by the Bulghārs and suffered heavy losses (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 254). This was avenged in a most sanguinary fashion; in 1229 the Bulghār vanguard on the river Yāyik (Ural) was put to flight, and, in 1236 according to Muslim sources, in 1237 according to Russian chronicles, the Mongols attacked the Bulghār state and destroyed the capital with all its inhabitants.

From then on the country of Bulghār formed part of the kingdom of the "Golden Horde", the Mongol empire in the Eastern Europe [see BATU'IDS]. The capital Bulghār appears to have risen to a flourishing condition in a relatively short time again; the archaeological finds show a high culture dating just from this period, and the majority of the epitaphs is dated in the Mongol epoch. The subsequent history of the country and the capital is very little known and we are not even told when and why the town was abandoned by its inhabitants. It was not affected by Tīmūr's campaign of the year 1395, but Bulghār was soon afterwards, in 1399, destroyed by the Russians. The town probably suffered more from the rise of Ḳazan (called also Noviy Bulgar, New Bulghār), which was founded just before this time by Batu-Khān, than from these wars. The selection of this town as capital of an independent Tatar state, founded by Ulugh Muḥammad (died 1446), sealed the fate of the town of Bulghār. Its importance as the greatest market on the central Volga passed first to Ḳazan and then to the Russian town of Nižniy-Novgorod (today Gorkiy).

The word Bulghār still remained in use in literature, though only as the name of a country, and as late as the 19th century the Tatars called themselves Bulghārs.

Bibliography: Muslim sources: Ibn Rusta; Ibn Faḍlān; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*; al-Iṣṭakhrī; Ibn Ḥawḳal; al-Muḳaddasī; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*; al-Bīrūnī; Gardīzī; al-Bakrī; Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, *Tuḥfa* (ed. Ferrand); idem, *Mu'rib* (ed. Dubler); Yāḳūt; al-Ḳazwīnī; Abu 'l-Fidā'; al-Dimashḳī. For the Mongol period: Ibn al-Athīr; Abu 'l-Fidā'; Rashīd al-Dīn; Djuwaynī; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa etc. (see the bibliography in Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943). Russian chronicles in *Polnoe sobraniye russkikh l'etopisey*, Moscow 1846-1925. Modern studies: Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939; Grekov, *Volzhskiye Bolgary, Istoričeskiye zapiski* 14, 1945, 1 ff.; A. P. Smirnov, *Volzhskiye Bolgary*, Moscow 1951; Yakubovskiy, *K istoricheskoy topografii Itila i Bulgara, Soviet. Arkheologiya* 10, 1948, 255; A. P. Smirnov, *Trudy Kuybishevskoy Arkheolog. Ekspediciyi*, Moscow 1954; *Istoriya Tatarskoy ASSR*, vol. 1, Ḳazan 1956; Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Achmeda ibn Fadlana* ..., Kharkov 1956; M. Canard, *Ibn Faḍlân chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, in *AIEO Alger* 1958, 41-146.

(I. HRBEK)

BULGHĀR-DAGH [see TOROS].

BULGHĀR-MA'DEN [see TOROS].

AL-**BULḲĪNĪ**, family of Egyptian scholars of Palestinian origin, whose ancestor Ṣāliḥ settled at Bulḳīna in al-Gharbiyya.

(1) 'UMAR B. RASLĀN B. NAṢĪR B. ṢĀLIḤ, SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ AL-KINĀNĪ, born 12 Sha'bān 724/4 August 1324, died 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 805/1 June 1403. He studied at Cairo under the most famous scholars of the day, including Ibn 'Aḳīl [*q.v.*], whose daughter he married, and served as *nā'ib* during Ibn 'Aḳīl's brief tenure as Grand Ḳāḍī in 759/1358. Appointed Muftī in the Dar al-'Adl in 765/1363, he became the most celebrated jurist of his age (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ch. 6, § 7 [Quatremère iii, 8]), but except for a short term as Shāfi'ite Grand Ḳāḍī at Damascus in 769/1367-8 (made notable by rivalry with his teacher Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī) he was never promoted Grand Ḳāḍī, but only to the lesser (though lucrative) office of Ḳāḍi 'l-'Askar, in addition to a number of teaching posts. In later life, however, he was honoured with the title of Shaykh al-Islām, ranked along with or above the Grand Ḳāḍīs, and regarded by some as the "*Mudjaddid* of the eighth century". With his stupendous knowledge he was seldom able to finish any literary work, and besides a treatise on *Maḥāsin al-Iṣṭilaḥ* left only an uncompleted work, *al-Tadrīb*, on Shāfi'ite *fiḳh*. He was the founder of the family's *madrasa* in Ḥārat Bahā' al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūsh.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw' Lāmi'*, v, 85-90, 182; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm* (Popper) v (= Cairo xii), index; vi, 156; *Manhal Ṣāfī*, index by Wiet, no. 1723 (with family table and additional bibliography); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar Kāmina*, ii, 267, 427; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 148 (135); Brockelmann II 93, S II 110; Ibn Hadjar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr* (BM. MS. Add. 7321), 143a, b.

(2) MUḤAMMAD B. 'UMAR, BADR AL-DĪN, 757/1356-791/1389, eldest son of (1), succeeded him as Ḳāḍi 'l-'Askar and Muftī Dār al-'Adl in 779/1377.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar Kāmina*, iv, 105; Wiet no. 2288. His son, Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad: *Ḍaw'*, x, 171; Wiet no. 2350; and grandson, Walī al-Dīn Aḥmad, ḳāḍī of Damascus: *Nudjūm*, vii, 545; *Ḍaw'*, ii, 188; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'Iḳyān* (Hitti), 90.

(3) 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B 'UMAR, DJALĀL AL-DĪN, 763/1362-824/1421, succeeded his brother Muḥammad as Ḳāḍī 'l-'Askar in 791/1389. He lived in luxurious style, had a retinue of 300 mamlūks, and in 804/1401 obtained the office of Shāfi'ite Grand Ḳāḍī, which he held with intervals until his death.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, iv, 106-114; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm* vi, 548-9 and index; Wiet no. 1381; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ix, 180; for his extant works on Ḳur'ān and *fiḳh*, Brockelmann II, 112; S II, 139. His sons: Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad, Ḳāḍi 'l-'Askar, *Nudjūm*, vii, 361; *Ḍaw'*, vii, 294-5; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'Iḳyān*, 151; Wiet no. 2180; and Zayn al-Din Ḳāsim, *nāẓir al-djawālī*, *Ḍaw'*, v, 181-2; vii, 295; Wiet no. 1807; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, BM. Or. 5311, 105a, Add. 23,330, 106a, 6, Add. 7321, 258a, b.

(4) ṢĀLIḤ B. 'UMAR, 'ALAM AL-DĪN ABU'L-BAḲĀ', 791/1389-868/1464, youngest son of (1), eight times Shāfi'ite Grand Ḳāḍī of Cairo from 825/1422 until his death, professor in various *madrasas*, and *nāẓir*

of the Baybarsiyya *khānkāh*. He was the teacher of al-Sakhāwī and of al-Suyūṭī in *fikh*. In addition to editing his father's *fatwās* and *Muhimmāt*, completing his *Tadrīb*, and writing his biography, he composed a *tafsīr* and other works on tradition and law.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, iii, 312-4; iv, 40 (biography of his brother Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Khālik); Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 792-3 and index; Wiet no. 1197; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, i, 205 (189); *Naẓm al-ʿIkyān*, 119; Brockelmann, II 96; S II, 114-5.

(5) MUḤAMMAD B. (TĀDJ AL-DĪN) MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, BADR AL-DĪN ABU'L-SAʿADAT, 819/1417 or 821/1419-890/1485, grandson of (3), served as *nā'ib* for his uncle Ṣāliḥ, was appointed on his father's death in 855/1451 to succeed him as Ḳāḍi 'l-ʿAskar, obtained for 7000 dinārs the office of Shāfiʿite Grand Ḳāḍī in 871/1466, but held it for only four months, and greatly discredited the family by his extravagances.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, ix, 95-100: Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 742; Ibn Iyās (Kahle), iii, 211. His brothers: ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Ḍaw'*, v, 310 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ḍaw'*, ii, 119; their sons, *Ḍaw'*, iv, 28; vi, 102; vii, 70.

Collateral branches descended from Abū Bakr b. Raslān and Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. Naṣīr, cousins of (1), held office as ḳāḍīs of al-Maḥalla, Alexandria, etc.; see table in Wiet no. 1723 (to be supplemented as above), and Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, i, 253; iv, 228, 232; vi, 296; viii, 62.

(H. A. R GIBB)

BULUGGĪN B. **MUḤAMMAD** [see ḤAMMĀDIDS].

BULUGGĪN (in Arabic: Bulukkīn) B. **ZĪRĪ** B. MANĀD, first Zīrid of Ifrīkiya (4th/10th century). As a reward for distinction in the service of the Fāṭimids as *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja against the Zanāta he was nominated governor of Ifrīkiya by al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh. As he was almost always on campaigns in the central Maghrib, he entrusted the administration of al-Ḳayrawān and eastern Ifrīkiya to a vice-*amīr* whose power continuously increased. The principal events of his life are as follows: Bulukkīn founded Algiers, Miliana, and Médéa (349/960), fought against Abū Khazar (358/968-9), and beat the Zanāta (360/971). His father Zīrī was killed by Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Andalusī, the rebellious governor of Msila and the Zab (Ramaḍān 360/June-July 971). The new *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja ejected the Zanāta from the central Maghrib (end of 360/autumn 971) and obtained Msila and the Zab. On 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 361/2 Oct. 972 he was invested, under the name of Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf, with the Fāṭimid west except for Sicily and Tripoli. He campaigned in the Maghrib (362-3/973-4), appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kātib governor of Ifrīkiya, fought the Kutāma (364-5/974-5), and gained Tripoli, Surt, and Adjdābiya (367/977-8). During his last campaign (368-73/979-84) he took Fez, Sidjilmāssa, and Baṣra, beat the Barghawāṭa, and died on the return journey on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 373/25 May 984. He was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī (ed. Lévi-Provençal & Colin), i, 228-32, 239, 296, ii, 243, 293 (Dozy's ed. i, 237-40, 248, 305, ii, 259, 316), iii, 263; *idem*, tr. Fagnan, i & ii, index; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo 1353, vii, 35, 45-8, 78, 120-1 (tr. Fagnan, index); Nuwayrī, ed. G. Remiro, ii, 101, 107-16; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 154-7 (*Hist. des Berbères*, iv, index); Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 93; *Mafākhir al-barbar*, 6, 8, 13, 16-8; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, 62-4, 71-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, iv, 72; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 53-4, 80-1; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, Cairo 1948, 142-5, 180, 186, 196, 198, 294; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, in *Centenario M. Amari*, ii, 451-3; Fournel, *Berbères*, ii, 205-6, 349, 352, 355-63; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes* (in preparation).

(H. R. IDRIS)

BULŪGH [see BĀLIGH].

BULUWĀDĪN [see BOLWADIN].

BŪNA [see AL-ʿANNĀBA].

AL-**BUNDĀRĪ**, AL-FATḤ B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, ḲIWĀM AL-DIN, a historian who wrote in Arabic and is primarily known for his revision of the History of the Saldjūkids written by his compatriot ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. Relieving it of certain stylistic embellishments, he dedicated it in 623/1226 to the Ayyūbid al-Muʿaẓẓam (ed. M. Th. Houtsma in *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii). He says that he had previously similarly treated the History of Saladin, *al-Bark al-Shāmī*, by the same author. He had also written a continuation to the (biographical) History of Baghdād by Khaṭīb Baghdādī (autograph MS. dated 639/1241-42, Paris Bibl. Nat. Arab. 6152). Finally he is the author of an Arabic translation of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* which he also dedicated to al-Muʿaẓẓam in 624/1227 (ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Aʿẓam, Cairo 1350). We know nothing more of his life, which he seems to have spent divided between Syria and ʿIrāḳ. The date of his death is unknown.

Bibliography: Houtsma, *op. cit.*, preface; Brockelmann, I, 321, and S I, 554 (where the author is incorrect in distinguishing a *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* from the *Dhayl* to that of Khaṭīb, cf. *ibid.* 563),

(M. TH. HOUTSMA-[CL. CAHEN])

BUNDUḲ [see BĀRŪD].

BUNDUḲDĀR [see BAYBARS].

BUNDUḲĪ [see SIKKA].

BUNDUḲIYYA [see BĀRŪD].

AL-**BŪNĪ** [see SUPPLEMENT].

AL-**BUNT**, Spanish Alpuente, a small *municipio* in the north-west of the province of Valencia, on the eastern slopes of the mountains forming the valley of the Guadalaviar-Turia; it belongs to the *partido judicial* of Chelva, 87 kilometres from the chief town. Situated at the junction of two mountains, Monte del Castillo and loma de San Cristobal, its castle stands on a crag sheer on all sides, which could only be reached by the steep and narrow ascent of an artificial covered way defended by a tower of dressed stone. In the ruins one can see traces of Roman and Arab masonry. It was reached by a drawbridge, some 40 metres long, which has perhaps given its name to the place.

It has no history before the time when, at the beginning of the *fitna* which put an end to the Umayyad caliphate, the Banū Ḳāsim, Kutāma Berbers, bound by a long-standing alliance with the Arab tribe of Fihr, became independent in their small, steep territory, which formed part of the *kūra* of Santiberia.

Of the four petty kings who ruled it, the first was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim al-Fihrī, an ʿĀmirid *mawlā*, who took the title of *ḥādjib* and ruled as an independent sovereign. After the caliph al-Murtaḍā was routed before Granada and killed at Cadiz, his brother Abū Bakr Hishām sought refuge in Alpuente and, having been proclaimed by the Cordovans as caliph at the end of Rabīʿ II 418/June 1027, lived peacefully in this obscure place for over two and a

half years, welcomed and well-treated by the ʿĀmirid *mawlā*, who was a supporter of the Marwānid dynasty notwithstanding the harm which the last caliphs had done to his predecessors. When he at last decided to make his official entry into Cordova it was with a retinue as small and countryfied as the place from which he came; he was quickly deposed and it was thus that the Umayyad caliphate came to an end.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim, who ruled with the title of Niẓām al-Dawla and died in 421/1031, was succeeded by his son Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Yumn al-Dawla, who died suddenly in 440/1048, leaving a son six years old. The son was dethroned after a few months by his paternal uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, who married the queen mother and lived on good terms with the neighbouring *reyes de taifas* until his death in 485/1092.

Alpuente next passed into the hands of the Almoravids and then into those of the Almohads. When the Almohads were expelled from Andalusia, the *sayyid* who was governor of Valencia, Abū Saʿīd Zayd, grandson of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, allied himself with James I the Conqueror and offered Alpuente to him; afterwards, when he sought refuge at his court and turned Christian, he submitted Alpuente to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Segorbe, Don Guillén.

There is another Al-Bunt, a farm near Granada, where in 428/1037 Bādis, the successor of Ḥabbūs, and his brother Buluggīn treacherously killed the ʿĀmirid *fatā* Zuhayr, lord of Almería.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, iii, 127, 145-6, 215; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, 446; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, 239-40; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii, 338; P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico*, ii, 197-8. (A. Huici Miranda)

BŪR [see baʿl].

al-**BURĀḲ**, the beast on which Muḥammad is said to have ridden, when he made his miraculous "night-journey". According to Sūra xxii, 1, the "night-journey" led the Prophet from the sacred place of worship, *i.e.*, Mecca, to the "remote place of worship". This latter place has been identified by B. Schrieke and J. Horovitz with a point in the heavens, and by A. Guillaume, recently, with a locality near Djiʿrāna on the border of the sacred precinct of Mecca. The addition of the phrase "the environs of which we have blessed" makes it probable, however, that the passage refers to a place in the Holy Land, namely Jerusalem (cf. Sūra xxi, 71, 81; Sūra vii, 137; Sūra xxxiv, 18: *allatī bāraknā fīhā*). Be this as it may, the "remote place of worship" has always been understood, in the indigenous tradition, as a reference to Jerusalem. It was accepted, moreover, that Muḥammad made the journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and back, not merely in a dream, but—accompanied by Gabriel—in the living flesh and within the space of a single night. The miraculous speed of such a feat was held to be explicable on the ground that Muḥammad rode a beast of exceptional fleetness. It was in this connexion that the legend of al-Burāḳ arose.

In one of the numerous *ḥadīths* that Ṭabarī, in his Ḳurʾān commentary, gives on the "night journey", Muḥammad's mount is described simply as a horse (xv, 6 f.). Most *ḥadīths* of the earlier times call it, however, al-Burāḳ and define it as "a beast (in size intermediate) between a mule and an ass", sometimes with the further detail that it is white. It is also declared to be long (Muslim, *Īmān*, 259), with a long back and long ears (Ibn Saʿd, i, I, 143), with shaking ears (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10), saddled and bridled (*ibid.*, 12). The *radjaz*-poet ʿAdjdjādj (d. 97/715) speaks, in connexion with Abraham, of the "bridled Burāḳ" (ed. Ahlwardt, xxxv, 49-52: if genuine, the oldest datable evidence). The earlier Prophets have themselves made use of this beast (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10; Ibn Hishām, 263). Its speed is said, as a rule, to be such that "with one stride it moved as far as its gaze reached". In Ibn Hishām, 264, in Ibn Saʿd, i, I, 143 and in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 3 it is also described as a beast having "wings on its shanks, with which it drives forward its legs". These words are intended to mean, of course, only that al-Burāḳ could move its legs extremely quickly, and not that it was capable of flying. Genuine wings are first ascribed to it only in later texts. It is generally depicted in miniatures as a winged creature (see below). Grammatically al-Burāḳ is construed both as masculine and as feminine.

It is reported in some *ḥadīths* that al-Burāḳ at first resisted the attempt of the Prophet to mount him and was therefore brought to obedience by Gabriel. Muḥammad, after the arrival in Jerusalem, is said to have dismounted and tied the beast to a rock (*ṣakhra* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 7), or "to the ring, to which the Prophets were wont to tie it" (Muslim, *Īmān*, 259; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10; Ibn Saʿd, i, I, 143 f.). Al-Burāḳ, in certain *ḥadīths* transmitted by Bukhārī and Muslim, serves as the steed for Muḥammad's actual "journey to heaven". The legends of the "night-journey" (*isrāʾ*) and of the "journey to heaven" (*miʿrādj*) became combined at an early date. Al-Burāḳ was also included in this confusion of legends and thus developed gradually into a flying steed. The ascent into heaven (*miʿrādj*), in the original form of the legend, occurred however by means of a ladder.

The etymology of the name Burāḳ is not yet fully elucidated. E. Blochet believed it to come from the Middle Persian *bārag*, "steed". J. Horovitz has rightly questioned this interpretation and has declared himself in favour of a derivation from the Arabic root *baraḳa*, "to lighten, to flash". According to this view, Burāḳ could be explained as a (rare) diminutive form. "The miraculous beast would thus have received its name "the little lightning-flash" on account of its fleetness or of its brilliant colour". Yet even this explanation is not wholly convincing. The possibility must also be envisaged that the name Burāḳ goes back to a pre-Islamic tradition now unknown to us. In general, much that is reported about the steed of the miraculous "night-journey" will derive from pre-Islamic tradition. It is, however, difficult to uncover the various links in all their detail.

The later development in the conception of the Burāḳ is to be discerned rather in figurative representations than in literary documents. This statement is also valid in relation to the fact that eventually al-Burāḳ received a human face. Horovitz has pointed to a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās, transmitted by Thaʿlabī (d. 1035), as the earliest literary evidence declaring that al-Burāḳ had "a cheek like that of a man". Balkhī, in his description of the ruins of Persepolis (beginning of the 6th/12th century), designates the monster in the gateway of Xerxes, "whose face resembles a human face", as Burāḳ. The earliest picture yet known of al-Burāḳ dates from the year A.D. 1314 (in a MS. of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn). None the

less, it is clear that the real development occurred within the sphere of the visual arts. The decisive stimuli arose out of those forms of representation which—from the figures guarding the gates of Assyrian palaces onwards—remained alive in the shape of centaurs, griffins or sphinxes and have again and again reappeared as artistic forms. The winged creatures, which in the course of time became petrified into a formal element no longer understood, obtained at last a new meaning in connexion with the legend of the *miʿrādj* of the Prophet. In illustrations to Persian poetry, and especially to the works of Niẓāmī, al-Burāḳ with his rider and with Gabriel as guide came to be a much cherished subject. The splendidly composed picture of the "journey to heaven" in the Niẓāmī MS. Or. 2265 of the British Museum constitutes the highest point of artistic achievement in this evolution.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 263-265; Ibn Saʿd, i, I, 143 ff.; Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-Khalḳ*, 6; Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, 42; Muslim, *Īmān*, 259, 264; Nasāʾī, *Ṣalāt*, i; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 148 and iv, 207, 208; Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1321, xv, 3-13; Nawawī, *Commentary on Muslim*, Cairo 1283, i, 234 ff.; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. de Strange and R. A. Nicholson London 1921 (Gib. Mem. Ser., N.S., i), 126, trans. G. le Strange, in *JRAS* 1912, 26 f.; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā*, Būlāḳ 1284, i, 146 ff.; M. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig 1872, 101 f. (Arabic text: 57); E. Blochet, in *RHR* 40, 1899, 203-36; B. Schrieke, in *EI*[1], s.v. *isrāʾ*; A. A. Bevan, *Mohammed's Ascension to Heaven* (*Beihefte zur ZATW* 27, Giessen 1914, 49-61); J. Horovitz, *Muhammeds Himmelfahrt*, in *Isl.* 9, 1919, 159-183; M. Asín Palacios, *La escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia*[2], Madrid-Granada 1943; E. Cerulli, *Il "Libro della Scala"*, The Vatican 1949 (= *Studi e Testi* 150); A. Guillaume, *Where was al-Masŷid al-Aqṣa?*, in *Al-Andalus* 18, 1953, 323-336; R. Paret, *Die "ferne Gebetsstätte" in Sure* 17, 1, in *Isl.* 34, 1959, 150-2; W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, 117-122; R. Ettinghausen, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 558-50; idem, *Persian ascension miniatures of the fourteenth century* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, XII Convegno "Volta" promosso della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Rome 1957, 360-383).

(R. Paret)

BURĀḲ (or, more correctly, Baraḳ) **ḤĀDJIB**, the first of the Ḳutlugh Khāns of Kirmān. By origin a Ḳara-Khitayan he was, according to Djuwaynī, brought to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh after the defeat of the Ḳara-Khitay on the Talas in 1210 and taken into his service, in which he rose to the rank of *ḥādjib* or chamberlain. According to Nasawī he had held this same office at the court of the Gūr-Khan or ruler of the Ḳara-Khitay. Being sent on an embassy to Sulṭān Muḥammad he was forcibly detained by the latter until the final collapse of the Ḳara-Khitay and was only then admitted into his service. When the sultan had met his death in flight before the Mongol armies and his son Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*] had taken refuge in India, another son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr-Shāh succeeded in establishing himself in Persian ʿIrāḳ (winter of 1221-2). Here he was joined by Burāḳ, whom he appointed governor of Iṣfahān. On account of a quarrel with Ghiyāth al-Dīn's vizier, Burāḳ obtained permission to leave for India in order to enter the service of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn. Attacked *en route* by the governor of Kirmān he not only defeated his assailant but made himself master of his territory, and he then renounced the idea of proceeding to India (1222-3). This is Djuwaynī's version; Nasawī represents Burāḳ as being appointed governor of Kirmān from the outset. When Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn appeared in Kirmān in 1224 he confirmed Burāḳ's appointment, though not without some misgivings. In 1226, whilst campaigning in the Caucasus, he received information that Burāḳ had risen in revolt. In his haste to deal with the rebel he travelled, according to Djuwaynī, from Tiflis to the borders of Kirmān in the space of 17 days. He then turned back, either because of Burāḳ's conciliatory attitude or because of the strong defensive measures he had adopted. In 1228 Ghiyāth al-Dīn, having quarrelled with his brother, came as a fugitive to Kirmān. His mother was forced to marry Burāḳ against her will and was then accused, together with her son, of complicity in a plot against his life. They were both put to death though Djuwaynī and Nasawī disagree as to the details. According to the former Ghiyāth al-Dīn was executed first; according to the latter he was kept a prisoner for a time after his mother's death and there was even a rumour that he had escaped to Iṣfahān. Djuwaynī relates that Burāḳ now approached the Caliph announcing his conversion to Islām and asking to be recognised as an independent sultan. The Caliph granted his request and gave him the title of *ḳutlugh sulṭān* ("Fortunate Sultan"). In 630/1232-3 the Mongol commanders operating in the Sīstān area called on Burāḳ to submit to the Great Khan. He excused himself from proceeding to Mongolia in person but sent his son Rukn al-Din instead. Rukn al-Dīn was still *en route* when he received the news of his father's death, which occurred in the late summer or early autumn of 1235.

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(W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BURĀḲ (or rather Baraḳ) **KHĀN**, a ruler of the Čaghatay Khānate. A grandson of Mö'etüken, who fell before Bāmiyān, his father, Yesün-To'a, had been banished to China for his part in the conspiracy against the Great Khan Möngke. Burāḳ himself began his career at the court of Möngke's successor, Ḳubilay Khan (1260-94). When in March 1266 Mubārak-Shāh, the son of Ḳara-Hülegü, was elected to the Čaghatay Khānate, Ḳubilay dispatched Burāḳ to Mā warāʾ al-Nahr with a *yarlīgh* or rescript appointing him co-regent with his cousin. Burāḳ at first concealed the *yarlīgh* and then, having gained the support of the military, attacked Mubārak-Shāh, whom he defeated and captured at Khudjand in September 1266.

Although he owed his throne to Ḳubilay, Burāḳ was soon involved in hostilities with the Great Khan. He expelled the latter's governor of Chinese Turkestan and defeated the army which Ḳubilay sent to restore him. In his war against Ḳubilay's great adversary, Ḳaydu, the head of the House of Ögedei, who had now possessed himself of Semirečye, Burāḳ was less successful. He gained an initial victory but Ḳaydu obtained help from the Golden Horde; Burāḳ was defeated on the Sīr-Daryā and withdrew into Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, where he prepared to offer desperate resistance. However a reconciliation was effected between the two princes and at a *ḳurīltay* held on the Talas in the spring of 1269 there

was organised, under the suzerainty of Ḳaydu, a kingdom completely independent of the Great Khan. Ḳaydu and Burāḳ hailed each other as *anda* ("blood brother") and an agreement was reached that the princes should live in the mountains and on the steppes, keep their herds of horses out of the cultivated areas and not exact from the population anything beyond their legal dues. Two thirds of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr were left to Burāḳ but the government of the cultivated areas was placed in the hands of Masʿūd Beg, a governor appointed by Ḳaydu.

At the time of this *ḳuriltay* Burāḳ had expressed his intention of invading the territories of Abaḳa, the Il-Khān of Persia, and had been encouraged by Ḳaydu, who hoped to see the back of a dangerous rival. Masʿūd Beg was sent to Persia, ostensibly to collect the revenues due to Burāḳ and Ḳaydu, but in reality to spy out the land. Soon after his return Burāḳ crossed the Oxus and occupied parts of Khurāsān and Afghānistān. However he received little support from the troops sent by Ḳaydu and was soon left in the lurch. On 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 668/22 July 1270 Abaḳa inflicted a crushing defeat on his opponent, who withdrew across the Oxus with only 5,000 men.

Accounts differ as to how Burāḳ passed the last year of his life. According to Waṣṣāf, he spent the winter in Bukhārā, where he adopted Islām and assumed the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn. In the following year he undertook a campaign in Sīstān, but his plans were frustrated by the defection of several princes and he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of Ḳaydu, who caused him to be poisoned. According to Rashīd al-Dīn's more circumstantial account the defection of the princes took place immediately after Burāḳ's retreat across the Oxus. He appealed for help to Ḳaydu, who advanced very slowly at the head of a large army, his intention being not to assist Burāḳ, but to profit by the situation. Having in the meanwhile suppressed the revolt Burāḳ begged his *anda* to turn back, but Ḳaydu continued to advance. His troops finally encircled Burāḳ's camp and when they entered it the next morning they found that he had died during the night, of fright, as it was said. His death took place according to Djamāl Ḳarshī at the beginning of 670, *i.e.*, on or after the 9th August 1271. He was buried, by Ḳaydu's command, on a high mountain after the Mongol and not the Muslim fashion.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i-Waṣṣāf*, ed. Hammer, 134 ff., (trans. 128 ff.); Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Blochet, ii, 168 ff. and 177 ff.; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 427 ff.; Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, Paris 1939; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1955; W. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, transl. V. and T. Minorsky, i, Leiden 1956. (W. Barthold-[J. A. Boyle])

BŪRĀN, wife of the caliph al-Maʾmūn and daughter of the Persian secretary al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. According to some her real name was Khadīdja and Būrān simply an appellation. Born in Ṣafar 192/December 807, she was married from the age of ten to the caliph whom her father had faithfully served during the first part of his reign. The wedding celebrations, the splendours of which are described with relish by many authors, did not take place until Ramaḍān 210/December 825-January 826, on al-Ḥasan's estate at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, near Wāsiṭ, at a time when the former secretary had retired from public life, but when the caliph was still desirous of showing his attachment to the family. It was on this occasion that Būrān, according to tradition, interceded for Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. Būrān died in Rabīʿ I 271/September 884, aged nearly eighty. She lived in the former palace of Djaʿfar the Barmakid, later known as the Ḳaṣr al-Ḥasanī, which her father had given to her and which after her death reverted to the caliphs.

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BURAYDA, the present capital of al-Ḳaṣīm district of Saudi Arabia, is located at 26° 20′ N, 43° 58′ E, on the left bank of Wādī al-Rumah just west of where it flows into the sand of Nafūd al-Sirr. The city lies on a ridge of Nafūd Burayda, 25 km. north of its traditional rival, the city of ʿUnayza on the opposite bank of "the Wādī", as it is usually called in al-Ḳaṣīm. In the alluvial flats scattered among the dunes of Nāfud Burayda there are gardens and villages called collectively al-Khubūb (sing. *khabb*). These fertile plots were formed by the Wādī flood, from which they continue to derive their copious water supply.

The altitude of Burayda is 610 m. at the airstrip. North and west of the city there is excellent grazing and an ample supply of fine salt which once made the city a famous market for horses, camels, and even cattle. The livestock, the agricultural produce and water from al-Khubūb, and the central position of the city on the Baṣra—Medina route were all factors in developing Burayda into one of the great trading centres of Arabia. The mixed population, comprising settled elements of Ḥarb, ʿAnaza, Muṭayr, ʿUtayba, and Bani Tamīm, traded throughout the Arab world. Men from Burayda belonging to the corporation of ʿUḳayl became known from Cairo to Bombay as livestock dealers and caravan men.

The origin of the city is not clear. Yāḳūt mentions Burayda as a watering place of Banū Ḍabīna of the tribe of ʿAbs, and the modern Arab geographers, al-Khāndjī and Ibn Bulayhid, accept this toponym as the source of the present city's name. Without further evidence, this identification appears still unestablished. The date of the city's founding is confirmed by no sound evidence, although local tradition and Western travellers agree roughly that the 10th/16th century is a reasonable possibility. Caskel places the founding of Burayda in 950/1543-4, without citing his source. In any event, the city is first mentioned as a political power by the chief historian of modern central Arabia, Ibn Bishr, who gives a brief note on a battle between Burayda and ʿUnayza in 1107/1695-6.

The local history of Burayda is to a large extent the story of four families and their participation in the politics of central Arabia, either independently or as provincial governors. The first was Āl al-Duraybī (or perhaps al-Buraydī, v. Ibn Laʿbūn, 22), from al-ʿAnāḳir of Bani Tamīm, whose ancestor, Rāshid al-Duraybī, Corancez credits with the founding of Burayda. Little is known of this family other than the fact it carried on an internecine struggle with its cousins, Āl ʿUlayyān of al-ʿAnāḳir. The perennial feud with ʿUnayza caused Āl al-Duraybī to ask for military assistance from Āl Saʿūd in 1182/1768-9. This step soon brought Burayda into the Saʿūdī orbit, placed Āl ʿUlayyān in power, and made al-

Ḳaṣīm the cockpit of the long struggle between Āl Rashīd of Djabal Shammar and Āl Saʿūd.

Āl ʿUlayyān ruled Burayda from 1189/1775-6 to 1280/1863-4 as governors of Āl Saʿūd and, at times, under the Turko-Egyptian invaders from al-Ḥidjāz. Their unreliability brought about the appointment of Djalwī b. Turkī Āl Saʿūd as governor of al-Ḳaṣīm from 1265/1848-9 to 1270/1853-4 and the establishment of the family of Muhannā of Āl Abā al-Khayl of ʿAnaza as governors of Burayda from 1280/1863-4 to 1326/1908-9.

Neither Āl ʿUlayyān nor Āl Abā al-Khayl were able to place service to Āl Saʿūd above their ambitions for local supremacy. During the long war between Āl Saʿūd and Āl Rashīd they served both masters with equal duplicity.

When Āl Saʿūd finally regained al-Ḳaṣīm in 1326/1908-9, the redoubtable ʿAbd Allāh b. Djalwī Āl Saʿūd, son of the former governor, was installed in Burayda as governor of al-Ḳaṣīm in order to eliminate permanently the local intrigues in this strategic area. ʿAbd Allāh was succeeded by his cousin, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿad Āl Saʿūd, the present Governor of Ḥāʾil, and later by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿad, now Governor of the Northern Frontiers.

The anarchicai years preceding the consolidation of the kingdom by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd discouraged the commerce of Burayda, and his subsequent conquests of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḥidjāz gave central Arabia unrestricted access to ports on both coasts, cutting into the entrepreneurial trade of al-Ḳaṣīm. Since 1374/1954-5 the destruction of the city's most famous landmarks, the great city walls and citadel of Āl Muhannā, and the construction of modern government buildings, schools, and hospitals have altered the formerly grim face of Burayda. Only the broad market square of al-Djarada and the winding, narrow streets of shops west of it recall the great trading centre of the past. The population remains fairly stable at an estimated 25-30,000, of whom perhaps half are residents of the hamlets of al-Khubūb.

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BURAYDA B. AL-**ḤUṢAYB**, a Companion of the Prophet, was chief of the tribe of Aslam b. Afṣā who, together with about eighty families who were with him, accepted Islam when the Prophet halted at their settlement of al-Ghamīm on his way from Mecca to Medina. (According to Ibn Ḥadjar, however, he accepted Islam after the battle of Badr). Burayda did not join the Prophet in Medina until after the battle of Uḥud, but then he resided there and took part in all the Prophet's campaigns. In the year 9/630 he was sent to collect taxes from Aslam and Ghifār, and then again to call on them to join the campaign to Tabūk. After the Prophet's death, Burayda continued to reside in Medina until the foundation of Baṣra, where he moved and built himself a house. Later he campaigned in Khurāsān and settled in Marw where he died in the reign of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, 60-63/680-3. Some sources (Balādhurī and Ibn al-Athīr) state that he moved to Khurāsān in the year 51/671, with al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, as one of fifty thousand who moved from Baṣra and Kūfa together with their households on the orders of Ziyād b. Abīhi. According to Ibn Ḥadjar he died in 63/683.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[W. ʿARAFAT])

AL-**BURAYMĪ**, an oasis in eastern Arabia, the principal town of which bears the same name and lies in Lat. 24° 14′ N, Long. 53° 46′ E. The town of Ḥamāsā lies west of al-Buraymī town and on the edge of the same grove of date palms. The only other centre in the oasis which might be considered a town, by virtue of its market, is al-ʿAyn, the south-easternmost of all the settlements. The oasis covers an area of roughly 6 km. by 9 km. and includes also the villages of Ṣaʿrā, Hīlī, al-Ḳaṭṭāra, al-Ḳīmī (pronounced locally al-Dzīmī), and al-Muʿtaraḍ. Cultivation has been revived at al-Djāhilī (pronounced locally al-Yāhilī), and members of Āl Bū Falāḥ, the ruling family of Abū Ẓaby [see ABŪ ẒABĪ], have an estate at al-Muwayḳiʿi. The oasis depends on water brought by underground aqueducts (*faladj*, see AL-AFLĀDJ) from the mountains of al-Ḥadjar not far to the east and from the imposing rocky ridge of Djabal Ḥafīt, rising in isolation above the plain immediately to the south.

Al-Buraymī is near the western end of the pass of Wādī al-Djizy, which leads to Ṣuḥār on the coast of al-Bāṭina; it also lies on the principal route from Dubayy through al-Ẓāhira [*q.v.*] to Ḍank, ʿIbrī, and Nazwā, the capital of Inner Oman and long the seat of the Imām of the Ibāḍīs. The inhabitants of the oasis, numbering about 10,000, belong in the main to the tribe of Nuʿaym (the two major divisions of which are Āl Bū Khuraybān and Āl Bū Shāmis), some of whose members are nomadic or semi-nomadic, or to the tribe of al-Ẓawāhir, a settled folk not found in any number outside the oasis. Other elements in the oasis belong to Banī Ḳitab, Banī Kāʿb, Āl Bū Ḥamīr, Āl Bū Falāsā, and Āl Bū Falāḥ.

The network of aqueducts running under the settlements has resulted in an interdependence of the villages, some of which are in a position to control the vital water supplies of others. Dates, alfalfa, vegetables, and fruit—including mangoes and sweet and sour oranges—are exported from the oasis, the principal port of which is Dubayy [*q.v.*]. The town markets do a good business in livestock and are redistribution centres for the tribes and communities of the interior.

Al-Buraymī has been identified as the place early Arab geographers and lexicographers call Tuʾām (*LA* gives the variant Tuʿām, and other variants are listed in Lane), described as a centre for the purchase of pearls (whence *tuʾāmiyya* as a synonym for *luʾluʾa* and *durra*). The accuracy of this identification seems open to question, with the possibility existing of confusion with some place actually on the Persian Gulf. Authors from eastern Arabia also give al-Djaww and al-Djawf [*q.v.*] as old names for the oasis.

Very little is known of the history of the oasis before the nineteenth century. According to local historians it was occupied by the army which the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid sent overland from al-Baḥrayn in 280/893.

Between 1353/1934 and the outbreak of World War II, discussions took place between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the Ruler of Abū Ẓaby, regarding the southern

and eastern bounderies of Saudi Arabia, but Buraymī was not then specifically at a point at issue. In 1371/1952, a Saudi Arabian official (*amīr*) arrived in the oasis and established himself in Ḥamāsa to assert Saudi sovereignty against that of Abū Ẓaby and Muscat. In 1373/1954 the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia agreed to refer to arbitration the dispute arising out of this action and out of conflicting claims to over 70,000 sq. km. of territory to the south-west of al-Buraymī. Thanks to the arbitration, the geography, modern history, and demography of al-Buraymī have been recorded in great detail, both sides having submitted to the arbitral tribunal elaborate memorials in which these matters are treated. Saudi Arabia contended that the whole oasis is an integral part of its Kingdom. The British maintained that exclusive sovereignty in the oasis should be vested in the Ruler of Abū Ẓaby and the Sultan of Muscat. The British held that the traditional loyalty of Nuʿaym (predominant in al-Buraymī town, Ḥamāsā, and Ṣaʿrā) is to Muscat, and that of al-Ẓawāhir (predominant in most of the other settlements) is to Abū Ẓaby.

Following British charges of Saudi bribery and other misconduct, the British member of the tribunal resigned, whereby the arbitration lapsed in Muḥarram 1375/September 1955 without the tribunal having had an opportunity to pass an opinion on the charges or the merits of the case itself. In Rabīʿ I/October 1955 troops of the Trucial Oman Levies under the command of British officers occupied the oasis, which was partitioned between Abū Ẓaby and Muscat. The Sultan of Muscat appointed a *wālī* in al-Buraymī town, and the Ruler of Abū Ẓaby designated one of his brothers as his representative in the oasis. Ṣaḳr b. Sulṭān, the paramount shaykh of Nuʿaym, and other shaykhs with adherents went into exile in al-Dammām, the capital of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia.

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(G. RENTZ and W. E. MULLIGAN)

BURDA, 1. A piece of woollen cloth used since pre-Islamic times, which was worn as a cloak by day and used as a blanket by night. That of the Prophet has become famous. As a reward for Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's [*q.v.*] poem, he made him a present of the *burda* he was wearing. It was bought from the son of the poet by Muʿāwiya and was preserved in the treasury of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs until the occupation of Baghdād by the Mongols. Hülegü caused it to be burned but it was afterwards claimed that the real *burda* of the Prophet was saved and is still preserved in Constantinople.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Dictionnaire des noms de vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, 59-64; R. Basset, *La Bānat Soʿād*, Algiers 1910, 90-91 and the authors quoted. On the sacred relics in Istanbul, see Tahsin Öz, *Hirka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Emanet-i Mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953.

2. The name of a celebrated poem by al-Buṣīrī [*q.v.*]. According to the legend he composed it when he was cured of a paralytic stroke which had seized him by the Prophet's throwing his mantle over his shoulders as he had done on a previous occasion for Kaʿb b. Zuhayr. The fame of this miraculous cure spread and the poem, which was entitled *al-kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-barriyya*, came to bear the name *Burda*. Its verses are supposed to have supernatural powers. They are still employed at the present day as charms and recited at burials. No other Arabic poem has attained such renown. Over ninety commentaries have been written on it in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Berber; the *takhmīs*, the *tathlīth* and the *tashṭīr* that have been made from it are innumerable. The poem begins with the usual *nasīb*, in the style of ancient Arabic poetry; the author then proceeds to regret his youth and confess his faults. His career is contrasted with that of the Prophet, whose miracles, related according to tradition, fill the following verses. The poem concludes with a supplication to Muḥammad and several verses in his honour. There is no trace of Ṣūfism. in it Among the chief commentaries may be mentioned the first in point of date, that of Abū Shāma ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl al-Dimishḳī (596-665/1199-1266) copies of which are preserved in Paris (Bibl. Nat., no. 1620) and Munich (no. 547); that of Ibn Marzūḳ of Tlemcen (died 842/1499-1500) described by Dozy as "stupendus et horrendus"; that of Khālid al-Azharī (died in 905/1499-1500) which has been several times printed, occasionally with that of Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī (died 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1276/13 June 1860); that of Ibn Ashūr (Cairo 1296). The text was published for the first time at Leiden by Uri in 1761 under the title, *Carmen Mysticum Borda Dictum*, with a Latin translation. Since then it has often been reprinted, particularly in the East, and there is hardly a *Madjmūʿ* of edifying texts which does not contain it. In the West, von Rosenzweig's edition may be mentioned: *Funkelnde Wandelsterne zum Lobe des Besten der Geschöpfe* (Vienna 1824), with a German translation and notes. The best edition is that of Rolfs, published after his death by Behrnauer, *Die Burda, ein Lobgedicht auf Muhammad* (Vienna 1860), with translations into Persian, Turkish and German; it does not however contain the series of apocryphal verses given by von Rosenzweig. The *Burda* has been translated into various languages; without enumerating all the translations, we may mention, in addition to those mentioned above, that of de Sacy (at the end of the *Exposition de la Foi musul-*

mane by Pīr Alī Birgevi, translated by Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1822) and that of R. Basset, with a commentary (Paris 1894); that of Redhouse, *The Burda* (in W. A. Clouston, *Arabian Poetry for English Readers*, 322-341, Glasgow 1881); G. Gabrieli's Italian translation, *al-Burdatayn* (Florence 1901), 30-85, with notes.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les Manuscrits Arabes des Bibliothèques des Zaouias d'ʿAin Madhi et Temacin* . . ., Algiers 1886, 46-54; I. Goldziher, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. xxxi, 304 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 264-266. (R. Basset)

BURDJ (pl. *burūdj*, *abrādj*, and *abridja*), square or round tower, whether adjacent to a rampart or isolated and serving as a bastion or dungeon.

Special meanings: each of the twelve signs of the zodiac, considered as solar 'mansions'; more or less fortified country house standing alone amidst gardens (Eastern Maghrib); tower used as a lighthouse (*burdj al-manār*); tower used as a dovecote, especially for carrier pigeons (*burdj al-ḥamām*; see J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamlouks*, Paris 1941, no. 157); masonry pier of a bridge; mode (in music); slice, quarter of certain fruits having natural divisions (melons, oranges); row of grains in a head of corn.

In the diminutive feminine al-Buraydja was the name given by the Moroccans to the fortress of Mazagan (see al-Djadīda) during its occupation by the Portuguese.

The word certainly seems to be connected with the Greek πύργος and the Latin *burgus* (whence Germanic *burg*) and has also passed into Hebrew and Aramaic (see Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 235). But the borrowing must be very old, for it is to be found already in Sabaean inscriptions (see De Landberg, *Glossaire Datînois*, i, 148).

(G. S. Colin)

BURDJ

I. Military architecture in the Islamic Middle East

The different forms of towers which the word *burdj* signifies in its usual sense (especially in inscriptions) have always formed the principal elements in the fortifications which were erected in Islamic territories from the years following the Conquest and which were to remain of real importance until changes gradually arose in military ideas as a result of the development of heavy and field artillery. The importance of the protective role played, in the middle ages proper, by these lofty and massive edifices in defending town and citadel ramparts, in serving as defensive strongholds (donjons), or on occasion standing as isolated defensive works (watch-towers, signal towers), should not distract attention from the fact that towers less strictly military in their functions had long existed in the same regions, the buttress-towers which have sometimes happened to be confused with simple architectural devices. To this category—disregarding the minarets of mosques, which have a separate evolution of their own—belong the first specimens of Muslim towers preserved in the Middle East in the ruins of the Umayyad residences, which have a rectangular plan and have their exterior walls appointed with semicircular salients [see Architecture].

These castle-towers, and the towers of fortified enclosures (*ḥayr*), most frequently of modest dimensions, are disposed symmetrically so as to lend rhythm to the blind façades and to give height to the entrances, and are usually solid at the base, or else equipped at ground-floor level with strongholds to which access was not easy (entrances being blocked by partition walls or even opening into residential rooms), and are at times used as latrines; they differed greatly in effect from the defensive towers of the Roman and Byzantine camps, which were, on the other hand, conceived with chambers on all storeys and were easily accessible to the troops of the garrison who could, in the last resort, entrench themselves therein. They must rather be considered as the adaptation of those round buttress-towers which had been known in the Middle East for centuries, an adaptation that the fortress towers of Sāsānid Iran, less perfect in their arrangements than the *castra* of the *limes*, had always employed. Without being absolutely devoid of any military efficacy, since their upper platforms did allow of fire being brought on their assailants, or at least of a watch being kept on the approaches to a castle, and again without differing very much from the towers of the Umayyad forts erected at a similar period on the Byzantine frontier, they became indispensable accessories of princely buildings, secular as well as religious, whose appearance they enriched.

The essentials of this style, typical of the great Umayyad residences, were however soon to become more flexible. Indeed, the custom of strengthening walls in this way, of a particularly happy effect when it was a matter of avoiding the monotony of large surfaces in regular coursed brick, was not to disappear completely, for one finds it recurring in an ʿAbbāsid building of a function as unmartial as the great mosque of al-Mutawakkil at Sāmarrā, the perimeter wall of which is punctuated by forty-four semi-cylindrical brick towers; but especially it persists in the partially fortified residences, the tradition of which was to be cóntinued later by *ribāṭs* and caravanserais, and of which an excellent example is provided, at the end of the 2nd/8th century, by the ʿIrāḳī palace of Ukhayḍir, with numerous half-round towers (angle towers 5.10 m., intermediate towers 3.15 m. in diameter) each with a small firing chamber on the top to which access is given by a covered gallery itself equipped with loopholes, and a device providing for downward fire throughout the length of the gallery which almost amounts to continuous machicolation, (see Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, in Bibliography).

We thus meet again classical flanking towers which in their turn had been retained in mediaeval Arab fortification, having played a part in the Byzantine defences, where their defensive equipment assured, whatever their size and shape (square, polygonal, circular), an increased protection of the sectors of the curtain walls included between their salients. Not only did the new conquerors retain this principle without improvements, most often they were content to keep up or to restore by makeshift means the remarkable circumvallation walls of the towns they had occupied, in the Syrian sites of Aleppo and Damascus as well as later in Asia Minor (Ḳayṣeri) or in Upper Mesopotamia (Āmid). There are, however, as many cases where it remains difficult, in spite of frequently copious epigraphical evidence, to establish a firm difference between previously existing work and later repairs of the Muslim era, which reflect the hazards of the much confused historical events. However, clear differences are evident between one region and another, and the provinces which had been longest under Byzantine occupation were to be also those where the tradition

of the older military architecture was to establish itself most distinctly, only rarely allowing the Saldjūḳ and Artuḳid creations to display originality in this field. Their towers, which are distinguishable only by a few details of structure and ornament, are similar to the preceding types with their superimposed vaulted casemates, with variations that are essentially related to the configuration of the terrain and to the particular problems to which the latter gives rise.

More interesting are the remains of the Fāṭimid era preserved in the Syro-Egyptian lands. Certainly there is often a straightforward accumulation of re-utilised materials, later integrated within more complex systems which render their study difficult.
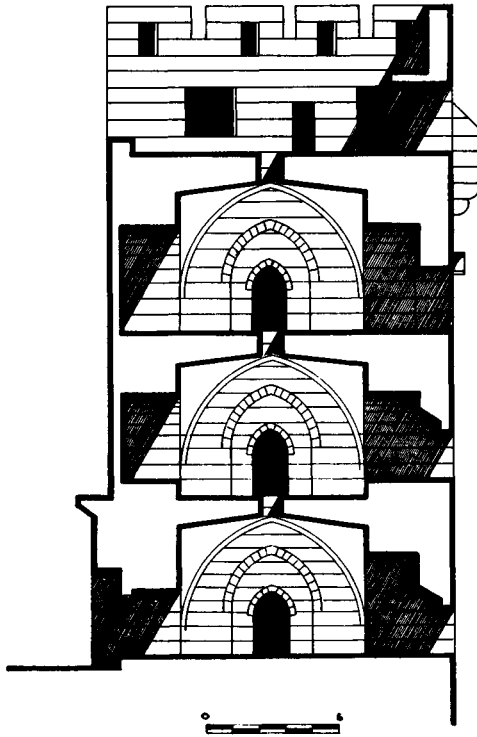
Fig. 1. Ayyūbid flanking tower at the citadel of Damascus (from J. Sauvaget)

One can, however, make out in the Roman theatre at Boṣrā, which has been transformed into a citadel, a primary phase of construction (inscriptions of 481/1089 and 542/1147-8) in which towers mounted on high terraces support a rampart with two ranks of loopholes and a *chemin de ronde*. Also entirely Muslim are the towers, in an excellent state of preservation, which are adjuncts to the gates of Cairo: Bāb al-Naṣr, Bāb al-Futūḥ, Bāb Zuwayla. These were erected by Badr al-Djamālī in 480-5/1087-92, and are connected with the new enceinte built at the same time. These works, of moderate dimensions (height 8 m. approx.), some rectangular, others round, but all solid up to two storeys of their height, combine defensive possibilities in their two upper stages (super-imposing a platform adapted for firing on a square chamber covered by a cupola and furnished with loopholes) and solidity of basements (stone evenly coursed, rows of columns laid across to guard against the collapse of the walls in case of sapping), all set off by a restrained use of ornament. Here we see a straightforward employment, without quest for the novel, of formulas which were to continue in vigorous use until the revolution introduced in the military architecture of the Middle East by the improvements of the Ayyūbid period.

At this time the experience acquired by the builders during a permanent state of war with the Frankish kingdoms of Palestine, where the Western master-engineers had introduced their own traditions, together with the sudden rise of the Ayyūbid principalities, led to the erection of imposing fortifications which reflected the recent advances in ballistic technique. In the considerable works undertaken at the beginning of the 7th/13th century by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (specially the citadels of Cairo, Boṣrā, Damascus and Mount Tabor) and al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (at the citadel of Aleppo and in the more important fortresses in north Syria) towers are seen to attain gigantic proportions; to strengthen their defensive sectors, but at the same time to make room for large airy quarters capable of housing permanently a large number of troops who would be assured of communication with the galleries of the enceinte, and with the magazines of the interior, by subterranean passages or covered stairs; and eventually to compensate, by the thickness of their walls and the quality of their construction (by then constructions in fine ashlar were normal), for the weakening which the multiplication of fortified chambers and gangways could have caused. This is shown for example by the two towers of the citadel of Damascus (dating from 606/1209-10) shown here in section. The first (Fig. 1), an asymmetrical salient of great size (rectangular plan of 27 m. by 13 m., walls 3.40 m. thick, projecting 8 m. from the curtain wall, attaining a height of about 25 m.), composed of three vaulted rooms, easily accessible and defended by five loopholes pierced in tunnel-vaulted recesses; its balcony, rising 18 m. above the level of the courtyard, is surrounded by a *chemin de ronde* equipped with loopholes (five in number, as in the lower rooms), leading to four machicolated brattices and bearing a crenellated parapet with 15 arrow-slits in the merlons, an arrangement completed by roughwallings in wood, thus showing the importance attached to the upper works in the general plan of the construction. The second tower (Fig. 2), which well deserves the name of donjon, is distinguished from the former only by its approximately square form (21 m. by 23 m.) and by the presence of a large central pillar, sufficiently massive for a small cell to have been contrived within it at its top storey. To these enormous rectangular bastions, where one occasionally notices, as in the donjon of Boṣrā (612/1215-6), the existence of reception chambers, must be added the less powerful salient towers, which could command the *chemin de ronde* without obstruction, and the isolated post-towers whose role is essentially one of surveillance.

After this the Mamlūk period, where no innovations in the means of attack and defence are at first apparent, was content to continue this splendid heyday of military architecture in Syria. The towers underwent the effects of a slow transformation which substituted small smooth blocks for the powerful courses and the rugged embossments of Ayyūbid masonry, and which delighted in showing off, by sheer virtuosity, a variety of constructional techniques, while enriching the whole with delicate relief

ornaments and equally extraneous polychromatic devices. Mention must, however, be made of a work so remarkable as the Tower of Lions (*burdj al-Sibāʿ*) at Tripoli, a coastal fortification of large dimensions (28.50 m. by 20.50 m.) and of an imposing appearance due to the equilibrium of its proportions and a sure

Fig. 2. Ayyūbid donjon at the citadel of Damascus (from J. Sauvaget)

feeling for ornament, agreeing perfectly with a complex interior composition which corresponds, in its two great upper rooms (Fig. 3), to variations imposed by the requirements of the defence (numerous firing ports, arrangements assuring the safety of the doors on the ground and other storeys) and the inclusion of living quarters (the cistern, mosque, and windows lighting the upper part). The style may be recognised as that of the end of the 9th/15th century, which saw also the erection by the sulṭān Ḳayt-bay of an impressive fortification over the entrance of the citadel of Aleppo in place of the towers of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir. About this time there appeared the embrasures for pieces of ordnance, and terrepleins to bear heavy cannon, which marked the vain attempt to adapt the tower to those very conditions of warfare which were to bring about its rapid disappearance.

Meanwhile, however, a somewhat weak synthesis, though more westernised in certain constructional details, had been conceived by Ottoman military architecture, which had been able to erect, in order to command the passage of the Bosphorus and maintain the investment of Con-
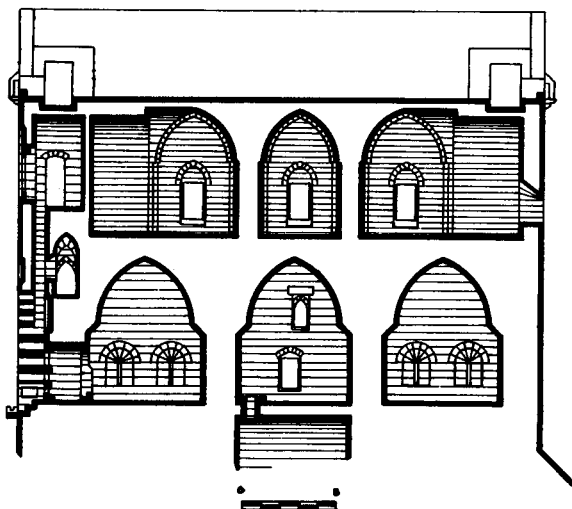
Fig. 3. Longitudinal section of a Mamlūk tower at Tripoli (from J. Sauvaget)

stantinople, the last specimens of fortresses where the utilisation of cannon was reconciled with adherence to the principles of mediaeval fortification. The towers of the two castles of Anadolu Ḥiṣārı (begun 793/1390-1) and Rumeli Ḥiṣārı (dated by its inscription of 856/1452), to which may be added those of the castle of Yedi Ḳule (erected shortly after this by Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ within the enceinte of his new capital of Istanbul), are characterised by the perfection of their system of defence (Fig. 4), realized at Rumeli Ḥiṣārı on a colossal scale (diameters of three donjons ranging from 23.80 m. to 26.70 m., thickness of walls varying from 5 m. to 7 m.), and by certain features (hollow cylindrical interiors divided into many storeys by joists, circular *chemin de ronde* surrounding, at the upper level, a covered drum with conical roof) which show the imitation of the flanking towers of the Genoan enceinte of Pera.

Bibliography: K. A. C. Cresswell, *Fortification in Islam before A.D.* 1250, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1952, 89-125; idem, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford 1932-40, condensed with revisions in *A short account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Penguin Books, 1958; idem, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952, ii [1171-1326], Oxford 1959; idem, *Archaeological Researches at the citadel of Cairo*, in *BIFAO*, xxiii (1924), 89-167; H. Stern, *Notes sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (194), 72-97; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, 2 vols, Cairo 1914-15, index s.v. tour; A. Abel, *La citadelle eyyubite de Bosra Eski Cham*, in *Ann. Arch. de Syrie*, vi (1956), 95-138; J. Sauvaget, *La citadelle de Damas* in *Syria* (1930), 59-90 and 216-41; idem, *Notes sur des défenses de la Marine de Tripoli*, in *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth*, ii (1938), 1-25; A. Gabriel, *Châteaux turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)
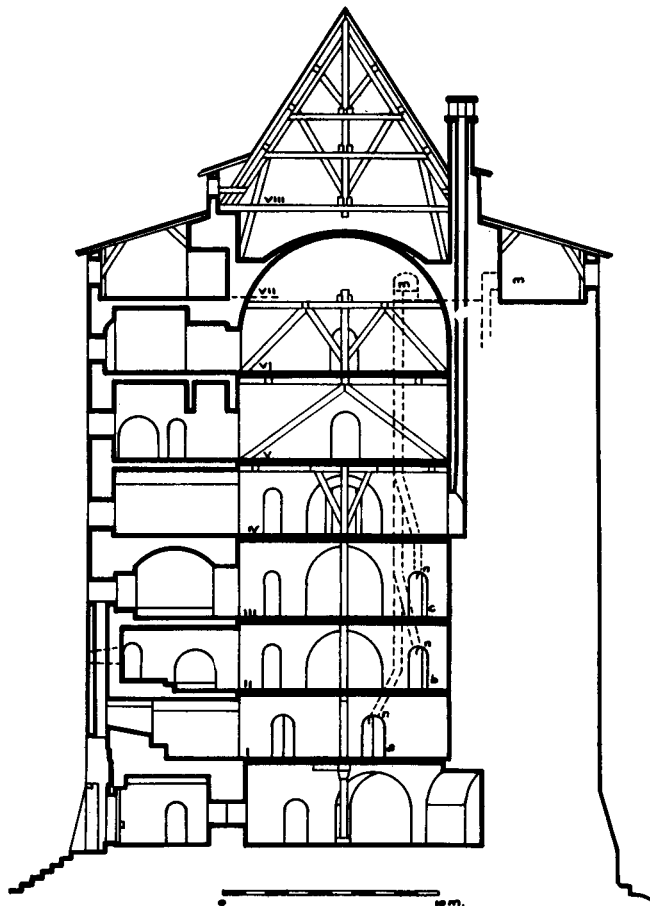
Fig. 4. Reconstructed section of an Ottoman tower of Rumeli Ḥiṣārı (from A. Gabriel)

II. Military architecture in the Muslim West

1. The background.—The Muslim West found, in Barbary and in Spain, a tradition of fortification going back to the Late Roman Empire, and in Tunisia to the Byzantine reoccupation by Justinian. Roman fortifications of the Late Empire were numerous. Though simple in their lines, they had no regular plan as had the Roman camps except for the rather small *castella* situated on the plains; more often than not they were adapted to the shape of the area to be protected and to the configuration of the terrain. The buildings, when not composed of re-utilised materials, were constructed of a solid core between two rubble facings, sometimes levelled to course by brick snecks. The curtain walls were

sometimes as much as ten metres high, with crenellated parapets; their thickness was considerable, averaging three metres. Towers, set at intervals a bowshot apart—say 20 m.—abut the curtain walls; generally they were semicircular, 5-6 m. in diameter, less usually square or oblong, and most usually built on the outer side of the ramparts. The angle towers were often large bastions, solid at the base, containing at least one defensive chamber, and higher by one storey than the curtain.

The gates gave access to the interior of the enceinte by a direct passage with an open section between two covered rooms, which made it possible to overwhelm any opponent who might have forced his way into the building; these were flanked by towers with several tiers of defence. The solid mass of the gateway itself gave on to the interior of the ramparts. Town gates sometimes returned to the monumental arrangements of those of the Roman empire, opening by a double or triple passage.

No fortifications are known which could have been erected in the mediterranean provinces of Spain after the reconquest by Justinian; but the Byzantine fortresses of Africa are well known to us. The plans of the plains fortresses or *castella* are very regular in form. Only the square tower is used, exterior to the curtain and projecting markedly; it is always solid at the base. The construction is of stone with no additional brickwork. When older materials are not re-utilised, coursed rubble preponderates, strengthened by freestone lacing-courses. The curtain, less thick than in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, bears a *chemin de ronde* with crenellated parapet which gives access to the towers' defensive chambers. The gate is no more than a simple passage, with straight corridor. In all this we see only the survival, and frequently the impoverishment, of the methods of the Late Empire.

2. Ifrīḳiyan fortification from the 3rd/9th to the 6th/12th century, and its continuations.—The Aghlabid fortresses.—Aghlabid fortification is known from vast complexes, the enceintes of Susa and Sfax, which go back to the 3rd/9th century in the main lines of their construction: *e.g.*, the ramparts of unprepared or roughly prepared rubble, with lacing-courses at the corners, and with freestone toothing. The curtain is flanked with oblong towers—canted with a batter in exceptional cases—one storey higher than itself. In Susa the *chemin de ronde* is in places carried on a deep arcading. Some small *ribāṭ*s are very similar to Byzantine forts.

Mixed with these local traditions are some Western influences, especially in the Susa *ribāṭ* and the primitive *ribāṭ* at Monastir. Their rectangular enclosures are flanked, at the corners and at the middle of each side, by bastions which are nearly all semicircular. Within there are some buildings against the four walls, leaving the large courtyard free. The influence of the Umayyad castles of Syria, themselves derived from the Roman *castella*, is noticeable here. The pyramidal form of some towers, imitated from the lower stages of minarets of the same period, reveals Egyptian influence.

Rammed earth (*pisé*) would have been used in some rapidly erected fortifications. In the ramparts of al-Ḳayrawān and in the government towns of al-ʿAbbāsiyya and al-Raḳḳāda it is probable that bricks of mud or baked earth replaced stone. The old traditions of the desert countries paved the way for other eastern influences coming from Mesopotamia and Persia.

All this Aghlabid fortification is a happy and lively synthesis of a still dominant local tradition and of importations from the East.

Fortification under the Fāṭimid and the Ṣanhādja dynasties.—Various ramparts in Ashīr and the *Ḳalʿa* of the Banū Ḥammād, built of rubble, continue, care in with less construction, the fortification technique of the preceding age. In mountainous country flanking towers are rarer. The palace of Zīrī at Ashīr is contained within a rectangular enceinte flanked at regular intervals by oblong towers, with an interior courtyard. Some innovations, however, were brought in at the creations of the Fāṭimids themselves. The outer wall of al-Mahdiyya is built of rubble, flanked with powerful towers, at least one of which is decorated with high niches, which were later to decorate the walls of the *manār* at the *Ḳalʿa* of the Banū Ḥammād, for the new plastic art applied to walls with great success in civil architecture was often transferred to fortresses. The only town gate which has been preserved is surmounted by a powerful high structure; its exterior face is framed by two battered towers, and the archway of the gate gives on to a long vaulted corridor braced with tie-beams, formerly cut off by iron-barbed folding-doors. Gateways in the Roman and Byzantine tradition were never as powerful as this.

It seems that there was in Fāṭimid construction the germ of a new military architecture; but, except in their new towns situated at some distance from the old centres of civilization, the Ṣanhādja dynasties rarely built great fortified works, and the Hilālī invasion was to stop the architectural development of Ifrīḳiya for a long period.

Thus under the Fāṭimid and Ṣanhādja dynasties, the new eastern influences, which seem to have been more noticeable in the Caliphs' own regions, were not able to supplant. the local traditions and the formulas derived from the Aghlabids.

3. The fortification of Muslim Spain and its expansion in Africa.

i) *The 3rd/9th century.*—Muslim fortification in Spain is understood here as not beginning until the middle of the 3rd/9th century, with the Conventual of Merida, built by the *Amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. This castle, which guards the approach to the bridge over the Guadiana, forms an almost regular oblong. The curtain-walls are flanked with oblong towers which do not project far beyond them and are very closely spaced. Without doubt the architect was inspired by the counterfort towers which punctuate the walls of the great mosque of Cordova. At the entrance one finds the arch of horseshoe shape (the intradosial curve being greater than a semi-circle) which is as dear to Umayyad as to Visigothic art. Pilasters support the springing of the entrance arch and protect the hinges of the door-leaves. The construction is in freestone, which is employed by preference in Visigothic architecture and to which the initial phase of Umayyad art remains faithful. Here, however, it is a question of the reutilisation of stone from previous work, and the arrangement of it as headers and stretchers, dear to the Cordovan architects, is never regular.

ii) *The 4th/10th century.*—Under the Cordova caliphate, military architecture was rapidly developing, as indeed was all monumental art. There are many variations in the plans employed: in mountainous country the enceintes are adapted to the irregularities of the terrain, whereas in the plains they tend to a geometric regularity which is fully realised in works of the more modest dimensions.

The towers, oblong or very rarely polygonal, project more noticeably than those at Merida and are more widely spaced out. The enceinte is never doubled and has no keep, and no buildings are erected in the interior.

The gateway gives on to a straight passage of little depth. In the larger enceintes it opens between two towers, and in the smaller castles is protected by a bastion. The curtain is of varying height, from 7 to 10 metres, and bears a *chemin de ronde* with its exterior parapet capped, as on the towers themselves, with pyramidal merlons. This form of merlon, different from those which were employed in the Middle East and Ifrīḳiya, seems to be derived from the crenellated *chemin de ronde* of the Byzantine Empire, the capping of which was pyramidal in form.

The stone header and stretcher courses, regularly arranged, which are at their best in the great monuments of this dynasty, are employed in the finest fortresses. But usually a more economical material is preferred, a concrete of gravelly soil and lime, consolidated in formwork; this had very ancient Iberian origins and doubtless never ceased to be employed in the construction of provincial and popular buildings. In certain fortifications in mountainous sites rubble appears. Frequently also dressed stones, in varying proportions, are used together with the concrete cast in forms.

All the Umayyad fortresses succeed, in their simplicity, by the precision of their proportions—often very different from one fortress to another—and by the happy balance of their masses. The very spirit which is exhibited in military architecture is that which inspired the whole art of the caliphate, a twofold solicitude for originality without exclusiveness and for faultless harmony.

iii) *The 5th/11th to 7th/13th centuries in Spain.*—The 5th/11th century, under the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, sees the emergence of the palace-fortresses which, in a complex of moderate dimensions, array a whole range of rooms against the ramparts. This type of isolated palace perhaps existed also in the preceding period. When one sees a *Mudejar* castle, like that of Santa Maria del Puerto, following the lines of the Sūsa *ribāṭ* (itself inspired by the Syrian Umayyad forts), one is tempted to believe that the fortress in question has had a Muslim ancestry within Spain itself, doubtless deriving from the founder of the dynasty who had tried to re-create in Andalusia something of his lost motherland. The castle of al-Ruṣāfa, which preserves the name of a palace of his ancestors, did manage to recapture the plan of the great rural residences of the Caliphs of Damascus.

Outside the *Castillejo* of Murcia stands a fortress of regular oblong plan with towers closely spaced; but living quarters fill the entire space between the ramparts and the patio, the voids of the towers are used to break up the largest rooms medially, and the courtyard is replaced by a garden of sunken parterres with crossing paths.

On the other hand, the enclosures of towns or of large fortresses no longer tend to a geometrical regularity as in the days of the caliphate; the trace of the curtain walls is adapted to the lie of the land. Sometimes they are still flanked by narrow, closely-spaced towers, but more frequently the bastions are of greater size, and, while defending a more or less regular interval, they strengthen the irregularities in the trace or the weaker part of the ramparts. Occasionally there is a double enclosure with inner and outer wall, and the more vulnerable points may be strengthened by barbicans. The *ḳaṣaba*, forming an acropolis above the town and containing the royal residence, has always its own single or double enceinte.

The bastion with superposed vaulted rooms makes its appearance at this time. These powerful works are arranged round the enceinte itself, and not as donjons or keeps. Muslim Andalusia brings in a new form at the same period, the *albarrana* tower, which projects in front of the curtain to which it is connected by a wall, through which usually runs an arcade. The vaulted bastions and the *albarrana*, which give excellent flanking protection, may be combined.

The gate, which opens sometimes between two towers, sometimes under the wing of a sharply projecting bastion, has always an angled passage; at the entrance and exit are two arches with springing on pilasters, which enclose the housing of the door-leaves. The portcullis is not found.

Freestone becomes increasingly rare, except in the gateways, and is sometimes combined in lacing courses with ashlar or concrete. This latter material almost always preponderates.

Thus, perhaps as a matter of necessity—for Christian pressure had become more and more formidable and had extended its conquests—the fortification of Muslim Spain made great progress in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

iv) *The 5th/11th to 7th/13th centuries in Africa.*—The same type of Spanish fortification tended to spread, from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, in the African empire of the Almoravids and the Almohads, the rulers of Muslim Spain. The first Almoravid fortresses are of rubble, and still remain within the Mag͟hribī traditions in their coursework and in other details; but in fortification, as in mosques and palaces, Andalusian influences quickly asserted their superior sway. This is the great period of concrete enceintes with strongly projecting oblong towers, arranged at more or less regular intervals. In Africa the lines of this fortification tended to be simplified, as large vaulted bastions and *albarrana* towers do not appear. However, some innovations occur in the fortified gateway, where the opening is always framed by two towers, usually strongly projecting, and the gate itself constitutes a massive bastion which extends to the rear of the curtain and contains a passage with two or three bends, with an undefended gallery. The arch of the gateway, its jambs, and their framing, show a rich decorative treatment of carved stone. The great Almohad gateways of Rabat and Marrakes͟h are among the finest—certainly the richest—of fortified gateways of Islam.

4. Fortification in the Muslim West from the 8th/14th to the end of the 9th/15th century.—In spite of the fundamental unity of the architectural styles then current in Muslim Spain and the Mag͟hrib, the evolution of fortification was different in the Peninsula and in Africa. Spanish Islam was then confined to the small kingdom of Granada, a vassal of Castile but often in revolt against its suzerain, which depended on the shelter of a fortified frontier. A good number of the castles of this frontier imitated some of the Christian fortresses which confronted them. Built of stone, with a double enceinte and a donjon, they appeared as strangers, almost, in the Muslim fortification of the West. But soon Christian influences, far from revitalising the traditions of Muslim Andalusia, became degraded into bastard types. They are not found in the capital itself, nor in the works of rather later date.

We have here the forms created in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries reproduced without much modification. The gateways with their sinuous passages are powerful works. At the Alhambra in the 8th/14th century, and at the castle of Gibralfaro at Malaga, large bastions, widely spaced, replace the smaller and closer towers of the common enceintes. Where the introduction of cannon gave no time for modifying the fortification, rudimentary cannon platforms were installed at the feet of the earlier works.

In North Africa, in the kingdoms of Fez and Tlemcen, Almohad traditions were maintained almost unchanged. Curtains and towers were made of concrete. The gateways, always imposing and with sinuous passages, were rather more often constructed of brick than stone. Ifrīḳiya, while admitting some Almohad influence, remained faithful to stone and to her traditional forms of detail.

Thus, in this long period, fortresses, as well as palaces and sanctuaries, scarcely went beyond a mere repetition of the forms of the past.

5. Fortification in modern times in the Muslim West.—The development of artillery brought about a profound transformation of ideas of fortification in all European countries; but North Africa created no new forms, being content to imitate more or less faithfully the models which Europe provided. Again, she admitted these importations only when it was necessary to defend herself against a European nation, as in the coastal regions. Everywhere else, however, the older mediaeval fortification continued to prevoid; the governments which divided Barbary had only to keep order among, or to bring to subservience, tribes who were without cannon.

In Morocco, the fine fortifications which the Portuguese erected in the 10th/16th century at different parts of the coast were imitated only accidentally at the Saʿdid *ḳaṣaba* of Agadir. All other coastal forts were the work of Europeans, often renegades, in the service of the sultans. In the 18th century the fine complex at Mogador, planned by a Frenchman, was the work of an English renegade and Italian architects. These European-inspired types of fortification were imitated in the 19th century by local master-builders.

In Algeria and Tunisia the Ottomans introduced a modernised type of fortification more or less inspired by European models, and fairly close to the works which were being erected here and there on the Moroccan coast. The gun bastions and the enceintes, often defended by ditch and counterscarp, were still high; low-built fortifications in the Vauban style were unknown in North Africa.

Thus the Muslim West, in its fortresses as in all its military organisation, showed its archaism. The few borrowings it made from Europe were overlaid on mediaeval traditions, but did not modify them.

6. The fortified Berber works.—North Africa, Morocco in particular, had fortified buildings also in several mountainous regions and in the oases bordering the Sahara. Some stone villages and trading stations, of a plan almost always irregular, had no enceinte as such except the constructions whose joint exterior wall formed the rampart; but almost everywhere this old architecture made way for buildings in pisé and mud-brick brought from the oases. Some villages, especially in the hills, are irregular in form and are made of an assembly of houses presenting a continuous front. But the architecture of the oases has its own very characteristic design and decoration. On the plains the fortified villages (*ḳuṣūr*) are of very regular plan; they are surrounded by an enceinte pierced with gates which are often of great size and protected by the means of angle bastions. The influence of Hispano-Moorish fortification is here very apparent.

The isolated residential castle, the Moroccan *tig̲h̲remt*, has a more distant origin. It has the form of a *castellum* with four angle-towers, less commonly with two. If the plans are in the Roman tradition, the plastic art is of a more ancient stock: the pyramidal towers, often with an entasis, derive without doubt from Pharaonic Egypt. The minarets of the early centuries of Islam in Barbary were also often truncated pyramidal towers. In the gates and on the wall cappings of some *ḳuṣūr* one finds in many cases in the Moroccan oases a rich ornament in mud-brick, derived from Hispano-Moorish geometrical elements. The older Berber buildings have taken in, at different times, forms of the Muslim middle ages which had been adopted by official works of fortification in the country.

Hence Barbary, Morocco in particular, is an astounding museum of fortifications inspired by very ancient traditions.

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III. The tower in Islamic architecture in India

1. General. — The word *burdj* in Urdū, whence it has spread into other languages of India, means always 'tower' or 'bastion', including those towers on the walls of fortified palaces whose function is decorative and residential rather than functional in any military sense, those bastions which, taking the form of a protuberance in the trace, may in fact include several tower-like buttresses, and also those massive bastions within the enceinte, built after the introduction of cannon, as mountings for heavy pieces of ordnance.

The following accounts relate to the use of towers only; the history of Islamic fortification in India is treated in a separate article (see ḤIṢĀR). Minarets (Urdū *mīnār*) have a different development and are not considered here.

2. The Dihlī Sultanate from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century. — The earliest Muslim invaders had found a land already well provided with fortified works, of which Hindū India had a long tradition which remained active later wherever Islam had not spread; their earliest static military enterprise was the occupation and modification of existing works. In Dihlī, for example, it was the old fort of Pṛthvīrādj Čawhān, Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā, which was garrisoned first by Muslim troops, and within the citadel of which (Lālkot) the earliest Indian mosque, named Ḳuwwat al-Islām, was erected in 587/1191 by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. The curtain here is flanked by closely spaced towers, defended by a broad ditch, with gates set in the re-entrant angles of powerful bastions formed

by a bulge in the trace with several small counterfort towers. Most of the standing fortification is probably of the period of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, c. 704/1304 (Beglar, *ASI Report* IV, 1874), probably following the trace of the Hindū work; the towers are for the most part counterforts of shallow projection. The walls of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's newer capital Ṣirī were built at about the same time to the north-east of the old capital (Campbell, *Notes on the history and topography of the ancient cities of Delhi*, in *JASB*, xxxv, I [1866] argues that Sirī was the name given to the 'Kutb citadel', *i.e.*, Lālkoṭ, and that the site now generally accepted as Sirī was built by Bahlōl Lōdī in the 10th/16th century; this is convincingly refuted by Cunningham, *ASI Report* I, 1871); some stretches of walling remain, with semicircular battered bastions spaced about a bow-shot apart, capped like the walls with merlons, and with a continuous
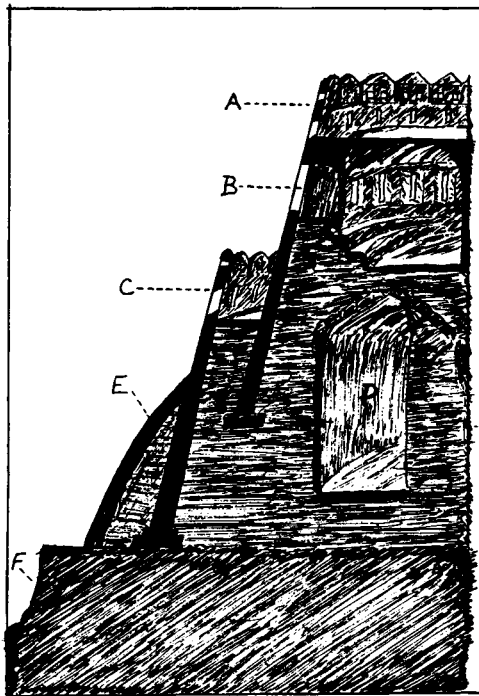
Fig. — Section of angle bastion at Tughlukābād

A — Battlements; B — Mural gallery; C — Exterior gallery (access from mural gallery in curtain); D — Inner vaulted corridor; E — Bolster plinth; F — Rock scarp.

chemin de ronde supported on an arched gallery. The principles employed are similar in the new capital, Tughlukābād, built in 720-3/1321-3 by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluk, and its appendage ʿĀdilābād built by Muḥammad b. Tughluk in c. 725/1325: the walls of both, of rubble core faced with rough quartzite ashlar, are punctuated with strongly projecting semicircular bastions, and these and the walls, both of which are strongly battered, have three tiers of defence consisting of external gallery, main mural gallery, and battlements, the latter with two ranks of loopholes. The rock outcrop below the wall trace is scarped, over which is a bolster plinth faced with masonry to the base of the wall proper, forming both a continuous buttress and a protection against sapping (see Fig.). The bastions are most closely spaced around the citadel. Gates open between two bastions, and are often defended by barbicans. ʿĀdilābād is defended further by a bailey and outer wall. Within many of the towers are the remains of grain silos. The tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn forms a strong fortified outwork to the south of Tughlukābād, with similar bastions except for the absence of an outer gallery.

Besides ʿĀdilābād, Muḥammad b. Tughluk formed yet another 'city of Dihlī' with the building of Djahānpanāh (725/1325), the walls of which enclosed the ground between Kilʿa Rāy Pithorā and Sirī; these have semicircular counterfort bastions similar to those of ʿĀdilābād, though without the external gallery, and are at one point interrupted by a dam and sluice, called Sāt Palāh, obviously to retain water within the walls for the use of the defenders.

This reign saw the Dihlī diaspora and the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, renamed Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. The three lines of defences between the pass and the acropolis consist of walls with regularly spaced battering round bastions, projecting less than in the contemporary northern work, and without exterior galleries. Bastions round the gates are larger and of greater projection, some being of the form of a half ellipse; a succession of rounded bastions forms a hornwork with two courts where the city is entered over the lower moat. The many modifications made during the Bahmanī period are referred to below.

Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk was responsible for building yet another 'Dihlī', his new capital of Fīrūzābād (755-71/1354-70), which was later sacked by Tīmūr and of which no traces remain beyond his citadel or *koṭlā*, much ruined. Walls and towers here have a strong batter; the towers are semicircular, and it is probable that they were crowned with open kiosks (*čhatrīs*). Traces of low barbicans outside the gates have angle towers of smaller dimensions, presumably for the use of sentries. The contemporary complex housing the Kadam-i Sharīf, which, protected by its sanctity, escaped the Tīmūrid sack, is protected by a strong bastioned curtain which shows the principles of Fīrūz's fortification better than the ruined *koṭlā*: walls and towers have lost the bolster plinth, and defence against sapping is effected by small box-machicolations. Many buildings of this period, especially tombs and *dargāhs*, are contained within fortified enclosures. At this time the *burdj* is developed as an ornamental feature: mosque enclosures and *ʿidgāh* walls regularly show angle and end bastions, capped by circular or square *čhatrīs* or by low domes, always with the typical Fīrūzid batter, which is imitated in those purely decorative buttresses, where the slope is carried up into a *guldasta* finial, which flank the gates of Fīrūzid mosques in Dihlī (Begampurī, Khirkī, Sandjar, Kalān *masdjids*: see Dihli, Monuments), of which echoes occur in the Lōdī buildings at Dihlī, and in Djawnpur [*q.v.*] and elsewhere. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk is known to have restored many of the buildings of his predecessors, and, though he speaks of having restored the towers of the tomb built by Iletmish—*i.e.*, the tomb of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Nāṣir al-Dīn at Malikpur—it is probable, from the style, that the corner towers are, at least in their upper stages, Fīrūz's work.

It seems that the later Tughluks and the 'Sayyids' created no new fortified works, except that it is recorded that Mubārak Shāh in 824/1421 replaced the walls of Lāhawr, destroyed by Tīmūr, by a mud fort. His own tomb (836/1433), however, lies in the fortified complex of the small town of Mubārakābād, yet another 'city of Dihlī', where the towers are small but otherwise differ little from preceding patterns. Sikandar Lōdī is said to have built a fort at Āgrā in 908/1502; but there had already been a fortress here, and the present fort is the work of Akbar, and it is thus difficult to assess how much of the trace is due to Sikandar.

3. The Deccan forts from the 8th/14th to the 11th/17th centuries. — Here again there were many fortified Hindū works which the Muslims found and later occupied, and to some extent modified even in their earlier years. Their first original production seems to have been at Gulbargā [*q.v.*], where the thick (16 m.) walls are doubled, with towers on the inner curtain. All towers are very solidly built, of semicircular form; many have barbettes added later for the use of artillery, and this modification is to be attributed to the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur, since an inscription on the Kālā pahāṛ Burdj claims that in 1066/1655 'Muḥammad ... rebuilt every *burdj*, wall and gate' (Haig, *EIM*, 1907-8). Within the enceinte, on high ground, stands a large isolated masonry bastion, the mounting for a large piece of ordnance. In Bīdar [*q.v.*], already a Bahmanī outpost, whither the capital was transferred by Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī, there had been a double line of Kākatīya fortifications in 722/1322 (Ḍiyā al-Dīn Barnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 449) when it first fell into Muslim hands; in the rebuilding of 832-5/1429-32 Persian and Turkish engineers are known to have been employed, as in a further rebuilding in the time of Muḥammad Shāh III (867-87/1463-82) by his *wazīr* Maḥmūd Gāwān, after the introduction of gunpowder in the Deccan. The older round bastion is largely superseded by the polygonal variety, although some round and square towers remain; large trapstone blocks with fine joints in the older work give way to smaller rubble set in deeper beds of mortar in the repairs and restorations. The towers are solid at the base, defended by chambers at the same level as the curtain battlements and by their own battlements one stage higher; like the curtain, they are further defended by heavy box machicolations. At the angles of the irregular trace, and also standing free within the enceinte, are large and massive bastions, some of imported trapstone and others of the local red laterite, built as mountings for heavy pieces of ordnance; these may be, as in the Kalyānī Burdj, defended by two or more successive machicolated curtains, and may provide room for the accommodation of a large number of troops. The walls of Bīdar town are of the Barīd Shāhī period (built 962-5/1555-8); the 37 bastions include the massive Muṅḍā Burdj of two defended stages, approached by steps built on the back wall of the bastion itself, which mounted a long-range gun. The disposition of the bastions is here, as in the case of the fort curtain, variable: they are closest at those points in the curtain most vulnerable to attack. The Čawbārā in Bīdar town, presumed to be part of Aḥmad Shāh's defences, is a tall conical watch-tower, 23 m. high, commanding a view of the entire plateau and lowlands, with a massive circular plinth with guard-rooms and an internal stairway. There was much activity in the construction of military works in the Deccan in the heyday of the Bahmanī dynasty [*q.v.*]: Dawlatābād, Bīdjāpur, Ńarnāla, Gāwilgaṛh, Eličpur, Narnālā, Parenda, Naldrug, Panhālā, Warangal, Golkoṅḍā, Mudgal, Rāyčur, etc. At Dawlatābād the old defences were strengthened and heightened, in smaller stone or brick, and one striking example of this is the building up of a bastion in the second court of the entrance hornwork by filling in the old embrasures, which were the same height as those of the curtain, adding a high upper storey while maintaining the batter of the walls, and building a projecting arcaded oriel supported on corbels of re-utilized Hindū work as a further watch chamber. There are thus two upper defensive chambers, pierced with embrasures for small cannon, over the solid base. At Parendā—like most Deccan forts, attributed by local tradition to Maḥmūd Gāwān but in fact probably earlier—the towers on the fausse-braye and curtain are defended by heavy bartizans. At Ḳandahār (Yazdani, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1331-3 F./1921-4 A.D., 3) are circular bastions on the fausse-braye but rectangular bastions on the curtain, with inscriptions of 998/1588 giving Turkish names as the responsible engineers. At Kalyānī polygonal and round towers on the curtain have the merlons replaced by box machicolations on corbels, while a conspicuous bastion within the barbican has a mural chamber defended by bartizans, with a barbette on the battlements, which have two tiers of loopholes. The old Kākatīya fort of *Golkoṅḍā* [*q.v.*] ceded to the Bahmanīs in 766/1364, has three successive curtain walls which show a variety of towers: square, cylindrical, conical, polygonal—the mantlet before the citadel gate has a *burdj* in the form of a half-tetradecagon—and scalene, and, on a later enclosure, a 'ninelobed' bastion of strong projection, each of whose 'lobes' is a quarter-circle on the exterior face. This last feature is found also at Naldrug. At Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] the city walls, of the time of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh I (completed 973/1565), which are of uneven quality since each noble was responsible for one section, have some 96 bastions, mostly semicircular, with embrasures protected by stone hoods. Many are later modified to take heavy guns (inscriptions of Muḥammad and ʿAlī II), one, the Farangī or Tābūt Burdj built to accommodate several large *djindjāls*. On high ground, well within the walls, is the Ūprī or Ḥaydar Burdj, a massive cavalier oval in plan and some 24 m. high, built (insc. 992/1583) to mount a large (over 9 m. long, 15 cm. bore) piece of ordnance. The Sherza Burdj, one of the largest, is built out from the curtain, to which it is connected by a broad passage forming a 'head and neck'.

Later fortifications in the Deccan, constructed or rebuilt during the Marāṭhā supremacy, generally follow the patterns of the Muslim period.

4. North India from the 10th/16th to the 12th/18th century. — Bābur's conquest in 932/1526 brought no new style of building in its early days, although his interest in the Hindū fortress of Gwāliyar communicated itself to his successors who developed the palace-fort *par excellence*. His son Humāyūn began yet another city of Dihlī, called Dīnpanāh, but this was razed by the Afghan usurper Shēr Shāh, who commenced building his own capital of which now little but the citadel remains, constructed on a site identified with the ancient Indraprastha and known as the Old Fort (Purānā Ḳilʿa, Ḳilʿa-i kuhnā). The walls and widely spaced bastions of the trapezoidal trace are of roughly

coursed rubble, while the gates, each flanked by two strongly projecting bastions, are of fine polychrome ashlar. The towers are semicircular, solid to a height of 5 m., with several tiers of superposed rooms and galleries, with small box machicolations; one gate has an internal machicoulis, a rare feature in India. Humāyūn's re-occupation of the Purānā Ḳilʿa added nothing, and Mug̲h̲al building of forts starts with Akbar. Sikandar Lodī's fort at Āgrā had fallen into ruin, and was razed and rebuilding started in 972/1564. There are semicircular bastions on the inner and outer curtains, the same height as the walls; the inner ring is much higher than the outer, reaching 30 m. Outer and inner bastions are concentric, and both have crenellated battlements defended by two or more ranks of loopholes, some protected by stone hoods for downward firing. The inner Dihlī gate on the west is defended by two magnificent half-octagonal bastions, with a blind arcade at ground-floor level finely decorated with marble and polychrome ashlar, a wide arch in each face on the first floor with an exterior balcony, and a defended chamber above with two ranks of loopholes. The battlements above have some merlons equipped with stone hoods, and others are pierced. Each of these towers is topped by a *čhatrī*. The work throughout the walling is in red sandstone ashlar over a rubble core. Akbar's new city (979-1571) of Fatehpur (Fatḥ-pur) Sikrī is undistinguished in its fortification: the outer single curtain is incomplete, and its half-round bastions are simply bulges in the trace. The citadel was enclosed rather than fortified, though boasts one large bastion, the Sangin Burd̲j̲, semi-octagonal with an internal hall, for a guard which was probably ceremonial rather than defensive. The new city was soon abandoned, and Akbar moved back to Āgrā, which was later occupied by his son D̲j̲ahāngīr. From his time presumably dates the Mut̲h̲amman Burd̲j̲ (later called Saman ['jasmine'] Burd̲j̲), a half-octagon projecting on the river side of the fort surmounting a semicircular buttress; it is of two storeys with open arcades on each face, with fine *pietra dura* decoration. Some of this work is probably of the time of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān, whose principal buildings were, however, at Dihlī [*q.v.*] and Lāhawr (Lahore) [*q.v.*]. The New Fort at Dihlī (Lal Ḳilʿa) was commenced in 1048/1638 and completed within ten years. The nearly rectangular trace has semicircular bastions at regular intervals, defended by one tier of loopholes at about half their height and by two rows in the battlements; the merlons are decorated by cusping. Each tower is surmounted by a *čhatrī*. Similar towers on the barbicans are of the time of Awrangzīb. The north and south bastions on the river front are larger, two storeys in height above the level of the courtyard, crowned by *čhatrīs* S̲h̲āh Burd̲j̲, Asad Burd̲j̲); between them is a larger half-octagon, the Mut̲h̲amman Burd̲j̲, originally known also as Burd̲j̲-i Ṭilā on account of a gilded copper dome; the five sides which overlook the river are filled with marble screens. Lāwhr fort, built by Akbar at about the same time as Āgrā fort (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Blochmann's trans., i, 538) has a similar S̲h̲āh Burd̲j̲, also called Mut̲h̲amman Burd̲j̲ insc. showing completion 1041/1631-2, of great size (45 m. diameter). Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor* says of these works: 'At each place [Dihlī, Āgrā, Lāhawr] there is a great bastion named the Xaaburg [S̲h̲āh Burd̲j̲] . . . they are domed and have architectural adornments of curious enamel work, with many precious stones. Here the King holds many audiences for selected persons, and from it [sic] he views the elephant fights. . . .' (Irvine's trans., ii, 463). Certainly also the Mut̲h̲amman Burd̲j̲ in Dihlī was used for the emperor's daily *dars̲h̲an* (ceremonial showing himself to the people).

These Mug̲h̲al *burd̲j̲*s had no pretence of being fortified works, and thus what started as a grim military work was transformed into a vehicle for Mug̲h̲al art. The walls of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān's Dihlī were bastioned, certainly; but these were so rebuilt in the British period that it is not possible to recapture the Mug̲h̲al arrangements.

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

BURD̲J̲ [see NUD̲J̲ŪM].

BURD̲J̲IYYA. The Burd̲j̲iyya regiment was second in importance only to the Baḥriyya [*q.v.*] regiment throughout the history of the Mamlūk sultanate. It was created by Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn, who selected for this purpose 3,700 of his own Mamlūks and quartered them in towers (*abrād̲j̲*, sing. *burd̲j̲*) of the Cairo citadel. Hence its name. The sources mention the creation of this unit only when they sum up Ḳalāʾūn's career at the end of his rule, without specifying any date. It was composed of Mamlūks belonging to Caucasian peoples (*al-D̲j̲arkas wa 'l-Āṣ* = Circassians and Abk̲h̲āzīs). Al-Maḳrīzī (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 214, ll. 22-26) mentions Armenians (*Arman*) instead of the *Āṣ*. The K̲h̲iṭāʾiyya and Ḳipčāḳīs mentioned by him in the same passage as performing duties pertaining to the *K̲h̲āṣṣakiyya* [*q.v.*] do not seem to have belonged to the Burd̲j̲iyya.

During the reign of Sulṭān Ḳalāʾūn (678-89/1279-90) and that of his son al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl (689-93/1290-93), the participation of the Burd̲j̲iyya in the affairs of the state was not very conspicuous. Immediately after K̲h̲alīl's murder, however, they are mentioned as the main body supporting *amīr* Sand̲j̲ar al-S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿī, while the main supporters of his rival, *amīr* Kitbug̲h̲ā, were the Wāfidiyya [*q.v.*] Tatars and the S̲h̲ahrazūrī Kurds. Kitbug̲h̲ā defeated Sand̲j̲ar, ascended the throne after having deposed the boy-king al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn (694/1294) and retaliated against the Burd̲j̲iyya by expelling part of them from the citadel and quartering them in different parts of the

capital: Maydān al-Lūḳ, al-Kabsh and Dār al-Wizāra.

This was the first blow inflicted upon the regiment. Kitbughā, however, was soon deposed and replaced by Lādjīn (696/1296) and the Burdjiyya recovered their former position. They became extremely powerful after having murdered Sulṭān Lādjīn (698/1298) under the leadership of their commander Kurdjī Muḳaddam al-Burdjiyya. During the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn (698-708/1298-1308) the leaders of the regiment gradually became *de facto* rulers of the Mamlūk sultanate. In the struggle between the *amīrs* Baybars al-Djashnakīr and Sallār over the Mamlūk throne, the Burdjiyya naturally were on the side of the first, who was one of their number, whereas the second was supported by the Ṣāliḥiyya (the remnants of the Baḥriyya regiment created by al-Ṣalih Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb) and by the Ẓāhiriyya (the Mamlūks of al-Ẓāhir Baybars). Baybars defeated Sallār without difficulty and succeeded al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as sultan (708/1308).

Under al-Muẓaffar Baybars, the Burdjiyya reached the peak of their power, but their success was short-lived, for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad soon ascended the throne for the third time (709-741/1309-1340) and dislodged the Burdjiyya from their powerful position. As al-Nāṣir subsequently ruled for more than thirty years without interruption, the Burdjiyya gradually degenerated, and after his reign they are hardly mentioned by the sources.

Orientalists usually call the first and second periods of Mamlūk rule "the Baḥrī and Burdjī periods". This terminology is hardly ever used by the Mamlūk sources, which call the early part of that rule, as well as the whole Mamlūk rule, *Dawlat al-Turk*, and its latter part *Dawlat al-Djarkas*.

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(b) Works. G. Weil, *Geschichte des Abbaside chalifats in Egypten*, vol. i, Stuttgart 1860, 170; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1936, 282; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte musulmane* in *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, vol. ii, Cairo 1932; idem, *L'Égypte Arabe*, in *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*, iv, Paris 1937; W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, ii, Berkeley 1957, 11; ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rīkh al-Mamālīk al-Baḥriyya*, Cairo 1944, index, s.v. *al-mamālīk al-burdjiyya*. (D. AYALON)

BURDUR, a town in S.W. Asia Minor, distant about 4 km. from the south-eastern shore of the lake which bears the same name, *i.e.*, the Burdur Gölü. The view that the old Limobrama (interpreted as ? Limnobria: "the lake town") was situated at or near the modern Burdur is of doubtful value (cf. Ramsay; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Limobrama; and Honigmann). The present name of the town, Burdur ("Buldur" in the speech of the local Turkish inhabitants and in the accounts of various travellers who have visited this region; also "Purdur' (Πουρδούρ) amongst the Orthodox Christians who lived here formerly), points towards an identification with the Polydorion (Πολυδώριον) of mediaeval times. As to the lake of Burdur, it is the old 'Ασκανία λίμνη in Pisidia. Burdur, in the course of the long conflict between the Byzantines and the Turks in Asia Minor during the 11th-12th centuries, passed into the hands of the Saldjūḳ sultans of Rūm. The town came thereafter under the rule of the Begs of Ḥamīd early in the 14th century and, still later, of the Ottoman sultans in the 15th century. The population of Burdur included in former times a considerable number of Orthodox Christians, who spoke Turkish as their language (Cuinet noted that the town contained 4,000 Greeks and also approximately 1,000 Armenians). Burdur, under Ottoman rule, was at first a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamīd in the *eyālet* of Anadolu and, subsequently, a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Ḳōnya. It is now the administrative centre of the present Turkish province of Burdur. The town had, in 1955, a population of almost 20,000 inhabitants.

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BURGAS (BURGAZ, near Zossopolis, ancient Appolonia) 42° 30′ N., 27° 28′ E., after Varna Bulgaria's major port and fifth largest town. Burgas is the centre of a district, a resort with a recently modernised harbour, textile, fishing and salt industries situated on Burgas gulf with a population of 43,684 in 1376/1956 (district 72,795). The name derives from Greek *Pyrgos*. Murād I took Burgas district circa 778-9/1367-8 (B. de la Brocquière, 168-70 cited in Jorga, *GOR*, i, 207; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, i, 61, 69; I. H. Danişmend, ... *Kronoloji*, i, 47-8). Burgas played a minor role in Ottoman history, serving as a

naval base for Balkan campaigns and as a shipbuilding centre notably after the battle of Lepanto, 979/1571 (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, ii, 230, iii[1], 21). An Ottoman reform commission studying modern fortifications visited its castle in 1198/1784 (*ibid.*, iv[1], 483) and it was a Russian staging point in their advance on Edirne in 1245/1829. The exiled Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz resided there briefly in 1272/1855. Burgas played little part in the late 19th century Bulgarian independence movement culminating in 1326/1908 and 1332/1913.

Burgaz is also the name of one of the Prince's islands (ancient Antigone) off Istanbul (G. Schlumberger, trs. N. Yüngül, *Istanbul Adalari*, Istanbul 1937; Cuinet, iv, 684-7; E. Mamboury, *The Tourists' Istanbul*, Istanbul 1953) and of 10 villages in western Turkey (*Türkiye'de Meskun Yerleri Kılavuzu*, i-ii, Ankara 1946-7, ii, 181), and appears in Arababurgaz, Çatalburgaz and Lüleburgaz, none of which is described here.

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BURGHUSH, Sp. Burgos, capital of the province of the same name, in a valley on the banks of the Arlanzón. It has 80,000 inhabitants and is one of the most interesting towns of Spain because of the monuments there, which show the importance of the place in the Middle Ages, when it was known as *Caput Castellae*. It was repeopled in 268/882 by Count Diego Rodríguez and attacked in 308/920 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who destroyed it once more in 322/934, after having besieged Ramiro II at Osma. As far back as 328/939-40 the famous Fernán González was already count of Burgos and declared himself independent of León. His borders stretched to Castile, the Asturias de Santillana, Cerezo, Lantarón, and Álava. At the close of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III Burgos, like León and Pamplona, paid him tribute. In the middle of the 6th/12th century Burgos was, according to Idrīsī, a large town with many markets and a lively trade, a flourishing city. The river divided it into two parts, each being bounded by ramparts; in one half the majority of the population was Jewish. Among its monuments is the celebrated Hospital del Rey, contemporary with that liberally endowed by the Almohad caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr at Marrākesh.

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(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

BURGHŪTHIYYA take their name from Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā the secretary, who was called Burghūth (Ar. = flea). They hived off from the Nadjdjāriyya [*q.v.*], holding with them that God has a nature (*māhiyya*), that His attributes only tell what He is not (generous says that He is not stingy) and He always knew what would happen. Peculiar to the Burghūthiyya is the doctrine that God always speaks from His self or essence, *i.e.*, that speech is an attribute of His essence, though a report says that according to them His speech is action (*lahu kalām fiʿli*) whence it was concluded that the Ḳurʾān was not the word of God. He must not be called "doer" or "creator" for both these words can be used of man in a bad sense; "you create a lie" (*Sūra* 29, 16/17). Secondary acts (*muwalladāt*) are the work of God through the nature of things. God is empty space and (at the same time) a body in which the (created) things occur (Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, i, 295). Man is a combination of accidents, capacity (*istiṭāʿa*) occurs together with part of the act and, if a limb moves, the limbs at rest have some share in causing the movement just as the moving one has some share in keeping the others at rest. He who "acquires" an act cannot be called the doer of it. If Burghūth is the Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā of *Maḳālāt* 552, he is important for the development of theology, for he taught that God cannot compel a man to any particular act, to become a believer or an unbeliever. This does not conflict with his being called a *djabrī* for al-Ashʿarī, too, was so called.

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BURGOS [see BURGHUSH].

AL-BURHĀN, "decisive proof", "clear demonstration". The term is Ḳurʾānic and signifies a "brilliant manifestation", a "shining light" come from God (iv, 174), a "manifest proof" (xii, 24), which may take the form of that supreme argument of authority which is the miracle (xxviii, 32). In correlation, *burhān* is also the decisive proof which the infidels are called upon—in vain—to furnish as justification of their false beliefs (ii, 111; xxi, 24; xxiii, 117; xxvii, 64; xxviii, 75).

The first connotation of *burhān* is not properly right discursive reasoning; it is rather the manifest evidence of an irrefutable proof. But consequently, it designates also the mode of argumentation, and the argument itself which leads to that certitude. Thus it can take on several meanings according to the rules admitted in apodeictic demonstration (*ḳaṭʿī*).

1. In the initial development of *fiḳh*, *burhān* refers to the quality of certitude which is proper, especially in al-Shāfiʿī, Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd, to reasoning (*istidlāl*) "in two terms", from greater to lesser or from lesser to greater, in order to prove the radical distinction between or the identity of two comparable "things" and to conclude: "certainly", "it is so" (*inna*, rather than *anna*). That is the *burhān innī*. It is based upon an argument of authority, which can be either a scriptural text or the eye-witnessing of an obvious fact.

The form of argumentation (cf. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, 578): reducing to the absurd (*ibṭāl*), exposing a defective comparison (*muṭālaba*), indicating an internal contradiction (*muʿāraḍa*), establishing the obvious univocality of a term (*taḥḳīḳ*). The certitude thus obtained is considered

more reliable than that obtained by rational investigation of motive or cause (*ʿilla*).

2. The investigation of the *ʿilla* was, on the contrary, one of the characteristics of the Ḥanafī school, where the juridical argument took the form of a syllogism. In the logic of the *falāsifa*, use of the *ʿilla* became recourse to a universal mean term. *Ḳiyās* [*q.v.*], reasoning by analogy from the "sources of the law", was transformed into an Aristotelian syllogism, and *burhān* came to designate syllogistic demonstration. Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* were translated as *Kitāb al-Burhān*, in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, by al-Fārābī and by the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* etc. Ibn Sīnā concluded his treatise on logic (*Nadjāt*, 60 ff.) with a discussion of *burhān*. The adjective *burhānī* is applied frequently to apodeictic demonstration, to the syllogism "composed of propositions which are certain" (*yaḳīniyyāt*).

The typical form of *burhān* (*al-burhān al-muṭlaḳ*) is a syllogism in which the obviousness of the premisses is either immediate or mediate. This reasoning may be of two modes: 1) *burhān al-lima*, where an extra-mental causal nexus is grasped, by the mean term, between the premisses and the conclusion; b) *burhān al-inna*, where, starting from a fact, the obviousness of the conclusion arises, without causal reference, from the nexus between the premisses and the mean term. The latter mode, says Ibn Sīnā, "gives the reason for the judgement, not the reason for the being" (*Ishārāt*, 84). Mlle Goichon suggests another reading: *in* instead of *inna*; thus it would mean "a conditional argumentation". However it is indeed the *burhān innī* of the early jurists which is evoked here, and the "victorious presence of the fact" (Massignon). But transposed into a logic of Aristotelian terms, the "decisive proof" of the reasoning in two terms becomes an inductive syllogism which states, as opposed to a syllogism of causal inference which explains. One may compare this analysis (although there is no complete identity) with the Aristotelian distinction between the knowledge of the reason and the knowledge of the fact (*Posterior Analytics*, 78a, 22-27). Ibn Sīnā and after him al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*), emphasise that in every *burhān* the mean term of the syllogism is the *ʿilla* which connects the major to the minor premiss. If this mean term has an explanatory value and a causative scope *in the actual nature of things*, we have to do with the *burhān al-lima*; if on the other hand it is only an affirmation of the mind which states a fact, without making explicit the *raison d'être* of the major premiss nor the inclusion in it of the minor, we are then dealing with a *burhān innī*. If we keep the reading *in*, the passage could be interpreted: if such a fact exist, it follows that.

The later *ʿIlm al-kalām*, which undertook to refute the *falsafa* but which was thoroughly influenced by it, lost sight of the testimonial evidence which the fact, as an argument of irrefutable authority, brought to the *burhān innī* of the ancients. It took it to be the simple affirmation of existence of the *quia*, whilst the *burhān al-lima* alone remained explanatory of *propter quid*. In his commentary of al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī wrote: "The reasoning (*istidlāl*) which moves from effect to cause is called *burhān innī*; that which proceeds from cause to effect, is causal inference (*taʿlīl*) and *burhān limī*".

Whether it refers to the extra-mental cause or not, whether it proceeds by *lima* or by *inna*, *burhān* thus becomes a syllogistic demonstration: to the extent to which Aristotelian logic, adopted by the later *ʿilm al-kalām* as well as by the *falsafa*, circumscribes in this sense the rules of human reasoning. But going back beyond the *Kitāb al-Burhān* (*Posterior Analytics*), and primarily with reference to Ḳurʾānic texts, it still retains its original sense of "overwhelming proof", whatever way leads to certitude, discursive reasoning by a universal mean term, or testimonial proof by the argument from authority.

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BURHĀN, *takhalluṣ* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf al-Tabrīzī, compiler of the Persian dictionary *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*, completed in 1062/1651-2 at Ḥaydarābād and dedicated to Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh, ruler of Golconda. A new revised, annotated and illustrated edition of the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* was published in Tehran in 4 vols., 1330-5 s./1951-6 (ed. Muḥammad Muʿīn). A Turkish translation was presented to Sulṭan Selim III by the historian ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

BURHĀN. The ruling family in Bukhārā in the 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries, known by the title *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* [*q.v.*].

BURHĀN ʿIMĀD SHĀH [see ʿIMĀD SHĀH].

BURHĀN SHAH I [see NIẒĀMSHĀH].

BURHĀN SHĀH II [see NIẒĀMSHĀH].

BURHĀN AL-DĪN, ḲĀḌĪ AḤMAD, a poet from eastern Asia Minor (revealing in his work characteristics of the Ādharī dialect) and a man of learning, also a stormy petrel, who was, in succession, *ḳāḍī*, *wazīr*, *atabeg* and *sulṭān*. He was born on 3 Ramaḍān 745/8 January 1345 in Ḳayṣariya (now Kayseri), his father being Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, a *ḳāḍī* of the third generation, descended in the male line from the Oghūz tribe of Sālūr, which dwelt originally in Khwārazm. Burhān al-Dīn received a thorough education in the customary branches of learning, first from his father, and thereafter in Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo, and returned in 766/1364-1365 to the town of his birth, where the ruling prince Ghiyāth al-Dīn Eretna found such satisfaction in the young man of 21 years that he raised him to the office of *ḳāḍī* (in the place of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had died one year before) and even bestowed on him his daughter in marriage. Burhān al-Dīn, none the less, took part secretly in the revolt of the Begs during which his father-in-law was slain (767/1365-1366). He had, under the succeeding but incompetent princes of the House of Eretna an active rôle as *wazīr* and *atabeg*, until, in 783/1381-1382, he proclaimed himself Sultan of the lands subject to the House of Eretna (cf. *IA*, fasc. 32, 309), with his residence in Sīwās and with the usual prerogatives of sovereignty (the minting of coinage

and the mention of his name in the Friday Prayer or *khuṭba*).

The eighteen years of his rule as Sultan are filled with ceaseless conflict against rebellious Begs at home and with wars against such powerful neighbours as the Karamānids and the Ottomans. Always incredibly venturesome and courageous, he gave battle to a superior Egyptian force and was defeated (789/1387); he soon turned, however, to the same Mamlūks of Egypt for aid against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, who were pressing forward from the East, and then fought in alliance with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu against the rebellious Begs of Amāsiya and Erzindjān. The decisive moment came after he had ordered the execution of Shaykh Mu'ayyad, the rebellious governor of Ḳayṣariyya — an act which brought down on himself the anger of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Ḳara-Yülük ʿOthmān Beg. Burhān al-Dīn died in a hostile encounter with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu chieftain at Ḳara-Bel (according to Saʿd al-Dīn, however, it was in the mountains of Kharput, to which Burhān al-Dīn had fled before the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I). Some accounts written with a different motivation (Ibn ʿArabshāh, Schildberger) state that Burhān al-Dīn fell into the hands of Ḳara-Yülük and was executed in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 800/July-August 1398. Other dates are also found in the sources. The inscription on the still extant tomb of Burhān al-Dīn at Sīwās bears no date. At Sīwās, too, lie buried both the son of Burhān al-Dīn, Muḥammad Čelebi (died 793/1391) and also his daughter Ḥabība Saldjūḳ-Khātūn (died 850/1446-1447), so-called because the grandmother of her father was, on the male side the granddaughter of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān of Rūm Kay-Kā'ūs II (van Berchem, *CIA*, iii, 50).

It is astonishing that Burhān al-Dīn, in the course of a life passed in the ceaseless unrest of politics and war, still found enough time and inner repose to be able to have an active rôle as a man of learning and a poet. His juridical works (written in Arabic) are the *Tardjīh al-tawḍīḥ* (composed in Shaʿbān 799/May 1397) and the *Iksīr al-saʿādāt fī asrār al-ʿibādāt*, a work that is held in esteem even now amongst the *ʿulamā'*. Of far greater importance is the *Dīwān* of Burhān al-Dīn, containing over 1500 *ghazal*s (without the normal arrangement in alphabetical sequence and without *makhlaṣ*), 20 *rubāʿīs*, 119 *tuyugh*s (these latter in East-Turkish dialect) and some isolated distichs. The prosody is quantitative and reveals in a number of places metrical deficiencies which would have been impossible in later times. Quantitative half-lines are to be found in the *tuyugh*s side by side with half-lines reckoned in syllables. Burhān al-Dīn is a poet of profane love; mystical notes are sounded more rarely in his work. He conforms in the *ghazal*s, both thematically and rhetorically, to the traditions of Persian lyrical poetry. Although he is a true poet, he remained, as such, unknown to the *Tadhkira*s (only in some of the historians are there brief references to him, in which it is said that he also wrote poetry in Arabic and Persian (cf. Gibb, i, 208)) and he had no influence on the poetical practice either of Ādharbāydjān or of the Ottomans.

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(J. RYPKA)

BURHĀN AL-DĪN GHARĪB, *i.e.*, SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD B. NĀSIR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD, sister's son of Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Nuʿmānī Hānsawī (for him see *Akhyār* 67) and one of the earliest and most devoted disciples, and a *khalīfa* of the *shaykh al-Islām* Niẓām al-Dīn of Delhī (d. 725/1325). He was born in Hānsī (East Pandjāb) in 654/1256 and died in Deōgīr (Dawlatābād) on 11 Ṣafar 738/8 Sept. 1337 (*Nuzha* after *Rawḍat al-Awliyā'*), according to others (*e.g.*, *Khazīna*) in 741/1340-1, and was buried at Rawḍa (Khuldābād). After spending his early years in Hānsī, he went to Delhī and studied *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, and *ʿarabiyya* [*qq.v.*], from the savants of his time. He then attached himself to the *Shaykh al-Islām*, and attended on him as long as the Shaykh was alive (cf. *Nuzha* 143, *Siyar* 279/15, Mīr Ḥasan, *Fawā'id al-Fuwād*, Lucknow 1908, 15, 33 (708 A.H.)

44 (709 A.H.), 84 (712 A.H.); Ulughkhānī, *Ẓafar al-Wālih*, Leiden 1929, iii, 857 f.). He left Delhī for Deōgīr, in his old age, when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-52/1325-51) forced the higher society and Shaykhs etc. of Delhī, about 727/1327 (*Mubārak Shāhī*, 98) to more to his new capital Deōgīr (Badā'ūnī, i, 226; M. Sāḳī, *Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Bib. Ind., 237; for the opposite view, that the *Shaykh al-Islām* sent him and others to (Burhānpūr and) Deōgīr see Firishta, *Safīna*, Mānduwī, *Adhkār-i Abrār* (tr. of *Gulzār-i Abrār*), Agra 1326, 90, *Maʿāridj*, *Khazīna* 322; contemporary authorities are silent as to the reason why he went to Deōgīr). There he spent the rest of his life doing almost pioneer work in the dissemination of Islām and the spreading of the culture of Islām in the Deccan (*Safīna*), and trained a batch of distinguished adepts (*Khazīna* 333) to follow up his work. One of these (Rukn al-Dīn) collected his *obiter dicta* in the *Nafā'is al-Anfās* (nine of these quoted in the *Maʿāridj l.c.*), while Rukn al-Dīn's two brothers and Ḥamīd Ḳalandar also collected them (*Nuzha*, *Akhyār* 86[6]).

He had a magnetic personality, and enjoyed great popularity in the circle of his Master—he was a dear friend of the poets Amīr Khusraw, Mīr Ḥasan, and Masʿūd Bak (who eulogises him in his works, especially in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā*), also of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757/1357), Kirmānī etc. (*Siyar al-Awliyā'*), 278 f.). He is described as an embodiment of longing and love, a man of asceticism, piety and ecstasy who charmed people by his heart-alluring discourses, an extremist in the matter of *samāʿ*, who had a peculiar style of his own in the ecstatic derwish-dances, his fellow-dancers being called "Burhānīs" after him. Burhānpūr (on the Ṭapti, in Khāndes) commemorates his name, for he had given his blessings to an ancestor of its founder, Naṣīr Khān Fārūḳī (*regn.* 801-41/1399-1437), when he rested here on his way to Deōgīr and foretold the rise of the Fārūḳīs and their founding of the city (Mānduwī, *Khāfī*, 214). They endowed his Rawḍa with land-grants, still available when Mānduwī wrote (1020/1611-12). According to the same authority, who visited it in 1001/1592-3, a large fair was held at the place, which has graves of several important disciples of the *Shaykh al-Islām*, on the anniversary of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn's death. Dārā Shukōh also visited it, and Awrangzīb and two Niẓām al-Mulks were buried near it (*Khāfī*, ii, 549 = 572; *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, ii, 834).

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BURHĀN AL-DĪN ḲUṬB-I ʿĀLAM, i.e. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD (or Muḥammad) B. DJALĀL AL-DĪN MAKHDŪM-I DJAHĀNIYĀN, usually known as *Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam*, a famous Suhrawardī saint and the founder of the Bukhāriyya Sayyids of Gudjarāt (W. India). He was also known as *Thānī-i Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān* (*Maʿāridj*). Born at Uchcha (now in Bahāwalpur) on 14 Radjab 790/19 July 1388, he died at Batwa (Ardastānī, *Maḥfil al-Aṣfiyā*, f. 329b; cf. *Ulughkhānī*, i, 140[7]), or Bātwa (*Maʿāridj*) a village 6 miles south of Aḥmadābād, on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 857/10 December 1453 (*Maṭlaʿ yawm al-tarwiya* = 857 is the chronogram recorded in *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, but one later writer, Khweshgī, gives the date as 856), Conflicting accounts are given as to why and when he came to Gudjarāt, (cf. *e.g.*, *Ā'īn*, *Maʿāridj* and *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*). The following version occurs in the *Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī*: Being left an orphan at the age of ten, he was brought up by his father's uncle Shāh Rādjū *Ḳattāl* (d. 827/1424, *Khazīna* 733), who directed him to go to Gudjarāt for missionary work. He reached Patan in 802/1399-1400 and was well received by Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh I, a disciple of his grandfather. He studied the usual sciences with Mawlānā ʿAlīshīr Gudjarātī, and became eminent in learning. When Aḥmadābād was founded (813/1411) he settled first in the (Old) Asāual, and finally at Batwa, for the rest of his life. For the Shaykhs from whom he received *khirḳa*s, see *Nuzha*, iii, 97. A notable one among these was Shaykh Aḥmad-i K'hattū (d. 849/1446). Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam, his successors and their disciples, particularly his son Shāh ʿĀlam did remarkable work for the spiritual uplift of the people of Gudjarāt, who had great faith in them and among whom they enjoyed high repute (cf. *Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Alīgarh 1864, 208 f., English translation by Rogers-Beveridge, i, 421 f.). They exercised great influence over the Aḥmad Shāhiyya, Kings of Gudjarāt (cf. *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, 185[12]), and later several Mughal Emperors, from Djahāngīr onwards, showered benefits on the Shaykhs, and some of the Emperors personally visited the shrines at Aḥmadābād. Shāhdjahān made one of the Shaykhs *manṣabdār* and *ṣadr-i kull*, and Awrangzīb made his son *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* (*Ḳāniʿ* ii. 31; M. Sāḳī, *Ma'āthir ʿĀlamgīrī*. B.I.S., 166, 347). When Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam died, the nobles of the Aḥmad Shāhī Court erected a magnificent mausoleum on his tomb, which is now in a ruined condition (see J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, London 1900, i, 60 f.; for that of Shāh ʿĀlam see *ibid.*, ii, 15 ff. Plates). ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān testifies to the tomb being frequently visited in his time (1176/1762). For a specimen of the language Ḳuṭb-i ʿĀlam spoke, see *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī* 254 (cf. *Mir. Ahmadī*: *Khātima* 28, *Ulughkhānī* i, 236), where a detailed account of an oft-mentioned miracle of his is given.

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Khweshgī, *Maʿāridj al-Wilāya*, Ādhar MS. Pandjāb University Library, f. 508; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, i 548; Shāhnawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, iii, 447 f. (*read* Sulṭān Muḥammad *instead of* Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The Khān follows the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. With the vague statement on 448/13, cf. Shūstarī, *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn*, Tehran 1299, 64); ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mirʾāt-i Aḥmadī*: *Khātima*, Calcutta 1930, 26-34, 37-61 (life, descendants, successors, endowments, etc. = Engl. tr. *Supplement* 27-35, 39-60 = ʿAlī Shīr Ķāniʿ, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, Delhi 1304, i, 16 ff, cf. II, 30); Muftī Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyāʾ*, Lāhore 1284, 737; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lucknawī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1371, iii, 96; idem, *Yād-i Ayyām* (in Urdū), ʿAlīgarh 1337, 52.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

BURHĀN AL-DĪN AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ [see AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ].

BURHĀN AL-MULK, MĪR MUḤAMMAD AMĪN B. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD NAṢĪR AL-MŪSAWĪ, was a native of Nīshāpūr who founded the Awadh dynasty of Nawwāb-Wazīrs (1136/1724-1167/1754). The exact date of his arrival in India is not known, but this much is certain, that he was in the service of Sarbuland Khān, commandant of Karā-Mānikpūr, in 1123/1711. On the accession of Farrukh-siyar to the throne of Delhi (1124/1713-1131/1719), he managed to obtain the post of a *nāʾib-karōrī* (a revenue official), through the good offices of Muḥammad Djaʿfar, a *manṣabdār*. In 1132/1719 he was appointed commandant of Hindawn-Bayāna when he reduced to submission the turbulent Rādjpūt and Djāt *zamīndārs* of the area. For the rôle that he played in the conspiracy to murder the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān Bārha, one of the Sayyid king-makers, he was awarded in 1133/1720 the title of Saʿādat Khān Bahādur with the personal rank of 5,000 and the command of 3,000 horse. The same year he was appointed governor of Akbarābād (Āgra) with a rapid promotion in rank, and only after a month (Muḥarram 1133/November 1720) the title of Bahādur Djang and the insignia of *māhī marātib*, were conferred on him. In 1135/1722 he was appointed governor of Awadh when he ruthlessly suppressed the *shaykhzādas* of Lucknow. He also ordered a fresh revenue settlement of the province, thereby increasing the imperial income from land, and the emperor Muḥammad Shāh rewarded him for his services with the title of Burhān al-Mulk.

After bringing the whole of Awadh, then in a state of turmoil, under his control, he punished the refractory feudal lords of Banāras and Djawnpūr. In 1148/1735 he was given charge of the district of Kōrah-Djahānābād, whose landlord, Bhagwant Rāy, had been responsible for some trouble; he was ultimately killed in an encounter with the troops of the Nawwāb. The same year Burhān al-Mulk, flushed with repeated successes, waited on Muḥammad Shāh at Delhi in the hope of securing increased royal patronage. In 1149/1737 he attacked the Marāthās, who had seized a part of the Dōāb, defeated and expelled them with heavy losses. The Marāthās in order to avenge this defeat soon afterwards attacked Delhi.

In 1151/1739, when Nādir Shāh Afshār invaded India, Burhān al-Mulk marched out from Awadh with a strong contingent of 30,000 troops. Although his baggage was looted by the enemy before it reached the imperial camp at Karnāl, Burhān al-Mulk decided to lose no time and to give battle to the invaders. In the thick of the action he was, however, recognised by a fellow-townsman from Nīshāpūr and his elephant was, without any resistance, driven away into the enemy's camp. On Nādir Shāh's victory, Burhān al-Mulk, from ulterior motives, prompted the invader to increase the amount of indemnity (5 million rupees) which had been agreed upon between Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh, the emissary of Muḥammad Shāh, and the Persian invader, on the ground that the stipulated sum could be easily paid off by a single *amīr* of the Mughal court. Burhān al-Mulk himself had to pay 33 million rupees in hard cash as his own share to the invader. He, however, suddenly died on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 1151/19 March, 1739, soon after his return to Delhi. His almost sudden death has given rise to many speculations. He is reported to have committed suicide, unable to bear the insults which Nādir Shāh heaped upon him for his failure to arrange the full amount of indemnity (200 million rupees) which he had foolishly promised the invader. Other authorities, including the *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ* (i, 466) maintain that he died of an old neglected wound which had erupted again. The latter statement, however, appears to be an attempt to mitigate his responsibility for actions which brought untold misery and grief to the citizens of Delhi.

Burhān al-Mulk, an otherwise good man, was ambitious to the extreme degree and his passion for self-aggrandisement did not spare even a person like Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān, whose favourite and client he had been both as a *Sayyid* and a Shīʿī. A disused canal in a part of the city of Delhi is still known after him as Nahr Saʿādat Khān. It appears to be an extension of the Fayḍ Nahr, the main source of the water-supply system of Delhi during the later Mughal period.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

BURHĀNPŪR, town in Madhyā Pradēsh (India) situated in 21° 18′ N. and 76° 14′ E., along the north bank of the Tāptī, with bathing-steps (*ghāts*) on the river-side and a solid masonry wall, pierced by a number of massive gates and wickets, on all the other sides. This wall was constructed by Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh I [*q.v.*] in 1141/1728, during his governorship of Burhānpūr. The population in 1951 was 70,066. While the walled town occupies an area of $2^1/_2$ sq. miles, numerous remains outside show that the suburbs, which now comprise ʿĀdilpūra, must have been very extensive.

This town, which was of great strategic importance

during the medieval period, was founded by Naṣīr Khān al-Fārūḳī, founder of the Fārūḳī dynasty of Khāndēsh (renamed Dāndēsh by Akbar after his son Mīrzā Dāniyāl, but the name never caught the popular fancy) in or about 801/1398-9 and named after the Deccan saint Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb [*q.v.*]. Another town on the other side of the Tāptī was also founded at the same time and called Zaynābād, after Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Dā'ūd al-Shīrāzī, one of the *khulafā'* of Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb.

In 969/1561 Burhānpūr was sacked by Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī, a servant of Bayram Khān [*q.v.*], who massacred the inhabitants and carried off immense booty. It continued to be the capital of the Fārūḳī dynasty till its overthrow by Akbar in 1010/1601 when the kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire, although the town itself had been occupied by the imperial forces under the command of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], in 1008/1599. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, *khān-i khānān* [*q.v.*] was appointed governor and stayed in Burhānpūr for a very long period. It was here in Burhānpūr that his eldest son, Mīrzā Īridj (entitled Shāhnawāz Khān), died; his father built a tomb over his grave. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, had waited on Parwīz, Djahāngīr's eldest son, in this very town in 1023/1614. In 1025/1616 Shahdjahān, then prince Khurram, made it his general headquarters during his Deccan campaigns. Prince Parwīz died here in 1036/1626 and Awrangzīb accused his father Shāhdjahān, after the latter's deposition, of having poisoned him. In 1040-2/1630-2 it again formed the base of Shāhdjahān's military operations against the Deccan states when a great famine, resulting in an extremely heavy death-roll, devastated the town. In 1041/1631 the empress Mumtāz Maḥall, consort of Shāhdjahān, died here and was temporarily interred in Zaynābād, before the removal of her dead body to Āgra for a permanent burial. In 1046/1636 Awrangzīb, then a youth of 18 years of age, was appointed governor of the Deccan, including Khāndēsh, and he made Burhānpūr his headquarters. It was during his viceroyalty of the Deccan that Awrangzīb came to know Shaykh Niẓām Burhānpūrī, who remained in his employment for nearly forty years and was subsequently appointed chairman of the board of *ʿulamā'* and jurists responsible for the compilation of *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*]. It was again in 1092/1681 that Awrangzīb encamped at Burhānpūr before investing Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*]. Soon after the emperor left the town in 1096/1685, it was sacked by the Marāthās. There followed a series of battles in its neighbourhood, and peace could only be restored to the harried town in 1132/1719 when the demand of the Marāthās for levying the *čawth* (one fourth of the revenue) was formally conceded. In 1133/1720 when Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh I was appointed to the government of the Deccan, he also made it his headquarters. After his return from Delhi in 1137/1724 till his death in 1161/1748 Burhānpūr continued to remain an important outpost of the new principality which Āṣaf Djāh founded, and also served occasionally as his headquarters. After the death of Āṣaf Djāh I it was occupied by the Marāthās, who were only dispossessed by Lord Wellesley in 1218/1803. It then changed hands several times and became finally a British possession in 1277/1860. In 1266/1849 it was the scene of a terrible Hindu-Muslim riot which claimed many lives. In 1265/1849 a great fire completely gutted Sindhīpūra, a quarter of the town peopled mainly by the descendants of early migrants from various towns in Sind. Next year a large number of houses in Dāwūdpūra were gutted, while the third fire of 1314/1897 destroyed a part of Lohār Mandī, including the mosque in the Čawk. In 1321/1903 bubonic plague took a very heavy toll of life.

Burhānpūr contains a large number of tombs and shrines of saints and mystics, many of them, from Sind and Gudjarāt, find mention in the *Gulzār-i Abrār*, whose author, Muḥammad Ghawthī, visited Burhānpūr frequently. Among other buildings of note are the tombs of Mubārak Shāh al-Fārūḳī and Rādjē ʿAlī Khān entitled ʿĀdil Shāh al-Fārūḳī, the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, built by the latter in 997/1588, and the old fort, along the bank of the Tāptī, now in a state of utter disrepair. A caravanserai built by the *khān-i khānān* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm is still extant.

Djahāngīr's system of water-supply for the town, completed in the 11th/17th century by the *Khān-i Khānān*, compares favourably with any modern waterworks system. During the Mughal period Burhānpūr housed a number of Imperial factories which produced quality and expensive cloth for the royal household. The workers in these *kārkhānas* were mostly skilled weavers from Thatta (Sind), who had migrated to Burhānpūr during the governorship of the *khān-i khānān*.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

BŪRĪ b. **AYYŪB** [see ayyūbids].

BŪRĪ TĀDJ al-**MULŪK** [see būrids].

BŪRĪ-BARS b. Alp Arslān, the Saldjūḳ, was sent by Barkiyārūk against Arslan Arghūn, another son of Alp Arslan, who was trying to make himself independent in Khurāsān. In the struggle between the two brothers, Būrī-Bars was at first successful, but in the second encounter, in 488/1095, his troops were scattered and he himself was taken prisoner and strangled by his brother's orders.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, 179; Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 257.

(Ed.)

BŪRĪ TAKĪN [see KARAKHĀNIDS[.

BŪRIDS, a dynasty of Turkish origin which reigned in Damascus from 497/1104 to 549/1154. Its founder was the *atabeg* [*q.v.*] of Shams al-Mulūk Duķāķ, son of the Saldjūķid sultan Tutush (see SALDJŪĶIDS). This *atabeg*, named Tughtakīn and called Ẓahīr al-Dīn, was the confidant of sultan Tutush, and was entrusted with the direction of affairs in Damascus as early as 488/1095 by Duķāķ, whose mentor he had been. After the death of Duķāķ (12 Ramaḍān 497/18 June 1104), Tughtakīn continued to exercise power in the name of the deceased prince's young son, Tutush, who in turn died shortly after his father. From that moment, Tughtakīn became the master of Damascus. His dynasty was founded, and it endured until the capture of Damascus by Amīr Nūr al-Dīn Zankī on 10 Ṣafar 549/25 April 1154. Tughtakīn ruled until his death, 8 Ṣafar 522/11 February 1128. He was replaced by his son Tadj al-Mulūk Būrī, who died as a result of an attempt made against his life on 21 Radjab 526/6 june, 1132. Just before he expired he named as his successor his son Abu 'l-Faḍl Ismāʿīl, called Shams al-Mulūk, who was himself assassinated by his slaves on 14 Rabīʿ II 529/30 January 1135, by order of his own mother. His brother, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, followed him, and was murdered by three of his servants on 23 Shawwāl 533/23 June 1139. His brother Djamālal- Dīn Muḥammad, governor of Baʿlbak, was summoned to replace him, and died as the result of an illness 8 Shaʿbān 534/29 March 1140. The military chiefs then raised to power the son of Djamāl al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Dawla Abū Saʿīd Abaķ, called Mudjīr al-Dīn, who left the responsibilities of administration to his *atabeg*, Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur, until the death of the latter on 23 Rabīʿ II 544/30 August 1149. He then took the direction of affairs into his own hands, but was very soon obliged to accept the domination of the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn, by whom he was driven from Damascus in 1154.

During the fifty years that the dynasty lasted, the Būrid rulers received their investiture from the caliph and from the sultan of Baghdād, who, in exchange for considerable gifts, did not interfere in the internal affairs of the principality.

Throughout this period, the Būrid princes were confronted by situations which often were very difficult. When Tughtakīn assumed authority, the territory of Damascus was in immediate proximity to the Frankish states of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. The Franks of Jerusalem menaced the regions from which Damascus clearly acquired its food provisions; that is, Ḥawrān and the plains of Upper Jordan and of Yarmūk. In order to avoid risking the entire loss of these indispensable territories, and to safeguard the communications of Damascus with Egypt and Arabia, the Būrid princes were induced to negotiate with the Franks on several occasions, and even to conclude with them genuine treaties of alliance. They made them all the more easily since the treaties were not always looked upon with very much apprehension by their Muslim neighbours. Tughtakīn did try to co-operate with the Egyptian garrisons, who still held some coastal positions, Tyre for example, but with little success or effect. On the other hand, the masters of Baghdād were prejudiced by the tortuous politics of the Damascus rulers, so much so that the latter were repeatedly obliged to appear before the sultan and the caliph to justify their actions. Finally, from 524/1130, when the Zangid amīrs, ʿImād al-Dīn and his son Nūr al-Dīn became masters of Aleppo, they grew progressively more threatening toward Damascus. With the exception of Shams al-Mulūk, who was preparing to deliver the city to ʿImād al-Dīn when he was assassinated, the Būrid princes were therefore not displeased to find support in the Franks against the covetousness of the princes of Aleppo. However, the unprofitable attack by the Franks on Damascus during the second Crusade (July 1148) ended this policy and hastened the taking of Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn.

The internal situation of the city was no less troubled during the Būrid epoch. The lower orders of the town, organised into a sometimes very turbulent militia (*aḥdāth*), frequently participated in the political life of the city under the direction of those enterprising persons known by the term *raʾīs*. Over against the militia and actively opposing it, at least on one occasion, was a rural class. Led into action by the Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*] or *Bāṭiniyya*, this group also played an important rôle, particularly in 522/1128, with the complicity of some highly placed persons. It was not the first time that the Ismāʿīlīs used Damascus as the arena of their activities; several political murders had been perpetrated there by them, notably that of Amīr Mawdūd the ruler of Mawṣil, on 18 Rabīʿ II 507/2 October, 1113. Amīr Tadj al-Mulūk Būrī was also their victim in 1132.

Until the end, or until just a little before the end, the Būrid princes could count on the support of their Turkish troops whose loyalty was unfailing, and on the neutrality, growing steadily less benevolent, of the bourgeoisie. The latter were not opposed to the dynasty so long as it maintained order and assured, as best it could, the security of commercial transactions. But as the situation deteriorated after the death of Tadj al-Mulūk Būrī, the middle classes of Damascus showed themselves to be increasingly impressed by the prestige of Nūr al-Dīn, and facilitated his entrance into Damascus.

Thus, as long as the Būrid dynasty was represented by men of ability such as Tughtakīn and his son, it had no difficulty in retaining its power in Damascus; but the last twenty years, apart from the administration of Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur, were characterised by sometimes bloody rivalries and by growing economic difficulties. Also the population of Damascus, principally the bourgeoisie, who had never whole-heartedly supported the Būrids, no longer saw any reason for linking its destiny with that of the dynasty. The last prince, Mudjīr al-Dīn, left the city amid indifference, if not hostility.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

AL-BŪRĪNĪ, AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-DIMASHḲĪ AL-ṢAFFŪRĪ BADR AL-DĪN, an Arab historian and poet, born in the middle of Ramaḍān 963/July 1556, at Ṣaffūrīya in Galilea, came when 10 years old with his father to Damascus, where he received his education at the Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya. After the completion of his studies, which he had to interrupt in 974/1567 by a four years' stay in Jerusalem on account of famine, he lectured in various *madrasas*. In the year 1020/1611 he acted as Ḳāḍī to the Syrian pilgrim caravan. He died on the 13th Djumādā I 1024/11th June 1615. His chief work is the collection of biographies entitled *Tarādjim al-Aʿyān min Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, containing accounts of 205 individuals which he had collected at long intervals and completed in 1023/1614; it was edited by Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh in 1078/1667 and published with a supplement (cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hdss.... Berlin*, no. 9889; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hdss.... Wien*, no. 1190; *Fihrist al-Kutubkhāne al-Khidīwīye*, v. 33); his *Dīwān* is preserved in Istanbul (Köprülü, no. 1287). There are some of his poems in Berlin (*Marāthī* on the Ṣūfī Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Barakāt al-Ḳādirī, s. Ahlwardt, *op. cit.* no. 7858, 3), Gotha (poetic epistle to Asʿad b. Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Tibrīzī al-Dimashḳī, with the latter's reply, cf. Pertsch, *Die arab. Hdss. der herzogl. Bibl.*, no. 44, 23) and London (*Catalogus Codd. Or. Mus. Brit.*, ii, no. 630, 2). Lastly he also wrote a commentary on the *Dīwān* of ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ, lith. Cairo 1279; he completed the commentary on the *Tāʾiyya al-Ṣughrā* in 1002/1593, cf. Derenbourg, *Les Mss. Or. de l'Escurial* no. 420, 4.

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BURMA. Islam made its first major inpact in the early 15th century through the King of Arakan, Narameihkla. This monarch returned from exile in Bengal in 1430, accompanied by Muslim followers. He set up his capital at Mrohaung, where the Sandikhan mosque was erected. Subsequent Arakanese kings, although Buddhists, used Muslim designations, and even issued medallions bearing the *kalima*. Muslim influence was intensified when Prince Shudjāʿ, brother of ʿĀlamgīr, fled to Arakan in 1660. Shudjāʿ was murdered by King Sandathudamma and his treasure sequestrated, but his followers were retained at court as Archers of the Guard, in which rôle they frequently intervened as kingmakers. Descendants of these Mughal courtiers remain distinctive to this day. Before the 19th century, Muslim presence in Burma proper was confined to small numbers of Gudjarātī traders and certain gunners and other foreign technicians conscripted into the service of the Kings of Ava. The British annexation of Arakan in 1826 led to an influx of Muslims from Čittagong into coastal towns, particularly Akyab. The annexation of Lower Burma (1852) was followed by large-scale Indian immigration from the 1880's onwards. The 1931 Census (the last to be completed in detail) gives a Muslim population of 584,839, out of a total of 14,667,146. Of the Muslims, 396,504 were of Indian origin; 1,474 were Chinese (Panthay); and 186,861 were indigenous, mainly Arakanese. Muslim Arakanese were among the early officials and police officers under the British; they took advantage of higher education and many were prominent in government service, banking, and business. Čittagonian Muslims supplied almost all the crews of the coastal and river-steamers. Ismāʿīlīs (Khodjas) and Gudjarātīs dominated the retail trade. The 1930's were a decade of depression and some resentment was vented upon Muslims, conspicuous in the economy. Violent riots occurred in 1930 and '38; the latter lasted from July to December, and were fiercest in Rangoon and Mandalay; some 200 Muslims were killed. Following the Japanese invasion (1942) many Indians fled; numbers returned after the war, but they are less than before. The total Muslim population in 1958 is probably slightly higher than in 1931, perhaps 600,000 (the Census of 1953-4 is quite incomplete). About half are from India and Pakistan. A political organisation, the Burma Muslim Congress, was formed in 1945 and is affiliated to the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, the government coalition party. Two Muslims have been Cabinet Ministers during the greater period since independence: M. A. Rashīd (b. 1912) a leading trade unionist and business man, and U Khin Maung Lat (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, b. 1913) a lawyer. The leaders of independent Burma, notably U Nu, lay great stress upon their Buddhist heritage; Muslims are accepted as equal citizens, but a number of irritants to good relations have existed. The Mudjāhid revolt in northern Arakan led by Ḳāsim, a fisherman, aimed at union of this area with Pakistan. The Mudjāhids terrorised the Buthidaung-Maungdaw area from 1948 to '54, but with the imprisonment of Ḳāsim in a Pakistan gaol their activities were greatly reduced. In September 1954, a national political crisis was created by widespread monastic protests against Islamic teaching in state schools, but in general relations are harmonious. In Arakan, where Buddhists and Muslims are intermingled, many Muslim customs are followed by the Buddhists, even beef-eating. But in Lower Burma beef-eating and animal sacrifice at the ʿĪd are actively discouraged. The Burma Muslim Dissolution of Marriages Act, passed in March 1953, gave Muslim women equal rights to those of Buddhists: equal opportunity to divorce their husbands, and the right to retain their marriage portion on dissolution of the union. The act evoked Muslim protests outside Burma, but was accepted by the Burma Muslim Congress. Married Burmese Muslim women do not take the veil or observe purdah. In 1955, U Nu as Prime Minister initiated a project to translate the Ḳurʾān into Burmese.

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BURSA, also called BURUSA by the Ottomans after the ancient city of Prusa (προῦσα) on the northern foothills of Mysian Olympus, became the main capital of the Ottoman state between 726-805/1326-1402.

It was mentioned by Pachymeres along with Nicaea and Philadelphia as one of the three principal cities still in the hands of the Byzantines when the Turkish borderers invaded the whole of western Anatolia about 699/1300.

According to ʿĀshiḳ Pashazāde (ed. Fr. Giese, 22-23) the Ottomans were able to lay siege to Bursa for the first time when they invaded the Bursa plain after their victory over the Byzantine Tekfur [*q.v.*] of Bursa who, in alliance with the other Tekfurs had

attempted to stop the Ottomans at the pass of Dinboz, about 717/1308. This first siege failed. After blockading it for many years (cf. ʿĀshiḳ Pashazāde, 28-29; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris 1877, ii, 317; Pachymeres quoted by A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1903, 55), the starved city had to surrender to the Ottomans (2 Djumādā I 726/6 April 1326), and to pay a heavy tribute (Pachymeres, *loc. cit.*; in Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 39, 30,000 *flori*). The Byzantine commander was allowed to leave Bursa for Istanbul but his chief adviser, Ṣaroz (?) who was responsible for the surrender, remained with the Ottomans (ʿĀshiḳ Pashazāde, 29; Neshrī, i, 39). The Greek metropolitan of Bursa continued to excercise his duty there under the Ottomans but his revenues diminished considerably (A. Wächter, *loc. cit.*). The Greeks were apparently removed from the castle to a district below it where we still find them in the Ḳāḍī records of the 15th century. The castle itself was settled by the Ottomans and the court. In 836/1432 B. de La Broquière (136) reported that the castle contained 1000 houses. Another description of it, in 1050/1640, is found in Ewliyāʾ Čelebī (Vol. ii, 9). Orkhan [*q.v.*] had his palace (Beg-sarāyī) within its walls near the Byzantine church which had been converted into a mosque (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 322). This locality overlooking the plain is called today Tophane. An inscription of 738/1337-38 found near it shows that he had also a mosque built there (A. Tewḥīd, *Bursa'da en eski kitābe*, in *TOEM*, v, 318-320.) Orkhan made Bursa his capital and had his first silver coin, the *aḳča*, struck there in 727/1327 (*Belleten*, x, 207). In 740/1339-40 below the castle on the plain he built a mosque, an *ʿimāret*, a bath and a caravanserai (Beg-khānī). This group of public buildings became the centre of Ottoman Bursa and the place is still the most lively commercial centre in Bursa. New districts such as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn-beg, Čobān-beg, Kodja Nāʾib, came into existence in this period, and towards 734/1333 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*ibid.*) described Bursa as 'a large and great city with attractive bazaars and large streets'. During the subsequent reigns new religious and commercial centres with generous endowments were established by the Sultans and high officials in other parts of the locality. These became nuclei of the new districts of Bursa such as Yïldïrïm, Emīr-sulṭān, Sulṭān-Meḥmed (today Yeshil) etc. A particularly great development of the city took place during the reign of Bāyazīd I [*q.v.*]. Ulu-Djāmiʿ, the Great Mosque, was erected in 802/1399. J. Schiltberger, a contemporary eye-witness, says: "The city contains two hundred thousand (?) houses and eight hospitals (*ʿimāret*) where poor people are received whether they be Christians, infidels or Jews" (ed. Telfer, 40). After Tīmūr's victory over Bāyazīd I in 804/1402 a contingent of his army plundered and burned down Bursa. From that time on Adrianople (see EDIRNE) replaced Bursa as the principal capital (*dār al-salṭana*) of the Ottoman state, though during the civil war (806-816/1403-1413), each party tried hard to gain control of Bursa as well as Adrianople. During the prosperous reign of Murād II [*q.v.*] who was enthroned in Bursa, the city made a quick recovery and greatly expanded. The new districts named after and endowed by Sulṭān Murād, Faḍl Allāh Pasha, Ḥādjdjī ʿIwaḍ Pasha, Ḥasan Pasha, Umūr Beg, Djebe-ʿAlī Beg, Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha and Reykhān were formed. In 836/1432 B. de La Broquière observed: "Ceste ville de Bourse est bien bonne ville et bien marchande, et est la meilleure ville que le Turc aye". Before Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] made Istanbul his capital, Bursa had risen as a rival of it, but then many of the citizens of Bursa were ordered to migrate to the new capital. Bursa, however, benefited economically from the great expansion of the empire under this Sultan. Moreover he continued to use it as headquarters of his campaigns in the east. During the civil war after his death (886/1481) the people of Bursa took sides with Djem [*q.v.*] who maintained himself there as sultan for 18 days. He had coins struck there in his name and planned to rule at least over Anatolia with Bursa as his capital. The town continued to be considered one of the three capitals of the empire and the palace of Bursa was maintained and occasionally used by the Sultans as late as in the 11th/17th century (Pečewī, ii, 313; Ewliyāʾ Čelebī, ii, 10).

An idea can be obtained about the population growth of the city from the figures included in the Ottoman registers of the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] units of families. Thus for example there were 5000 *ʿawāriḍ* families under Meḥemmed II, 6456 in 892/1487, and, 6351 in 936/1530. In the middle of the 10th/16th century P. Belon (*Les observations*, 451) made the remark that "Encores de présent Bource est aussi riche et aussi peuplée que Constantinople et osons dire d'avantage qu'elle est plus riche que Constantinople. La richesse de Bource provient de la soye".

In 985/1577 for security reasons strong gates with guardians were erected between the districts by a special order of the Sultan. The Albanians immigrating from Rumeli to the city had by then become a real threat (documents in H. T. Dağfioğlu, *16. asırda Bursa*, Bursa 1943). Then from 1003/1595 on the Djalālī [*q.v.*] bands threatened the city and in 1017/1608 Kalenderoghlu [*q.v.*] came to plunder it (Naʿīmā, ii, Istanbul 1283, 27).

Bursa was the chief city of the *sandjaḳ* called *Khudāwendigār* or *Beg* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu [*q.v.*]. In 1248/1832 Bursa became the capital city of the newly formed *eyālet* of Khudāwendigār, which included the *mutaṣarrïflïḳ*s of Bursa, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Kütahya, Biledjik, Erdek, and Biga, and when in 1281/1864 a *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār was formed with the *liwās* of Ḳaresī, Ḳodja-elī, Ḳaraḥiṣār, Kütahya, Bursa became the seat of the *wālī*. It had in 1310/1892 a population of 76,000 of which 5,158 were Greeks, 7,541 Armenians, 2,548 Jews and the rest Muslims. There were 165 mosques, 57 schools, 27 *madrasas*, 7 *ʿimāret*s, 7 churches, 3 synagogues, 49 caravanserais, 36 factories (*Khudāwendigār Wilāyeti Sālnāmesi* for the year 1310/1892).

It can be said that Bursa had a greater economic than political significance in Ottoman history. It soon became an international market as it was, under the Ottomans, one of the closest of the Muslim centres to the Christian world. In fact Iranian silk caravans increasingly came to the Bursa market, partially abandoning earlier ones such as Trebizond and Aleppo. Already around 802/1400 it was, as can be understood from Schiltberger (34), one of the international centres of the silk trade and industry. The main silk route to Bursa passed through Tabrīz, Erzurum and Tokat. Other important trade routes also converged in this city then. The ancient diagonal route Aleppo-Konya-Kütahya seems to regain its importance during this period. In 836/1432 B. de La Broquière (55-59) joined a Mecca caravan in Damascus which followed this route, and the spices it brought were sold to the Genoese merchants of Pera in Bursa.

The Damascus-Aleppo-Bursa route on the one hand and the sea route of Antalya-Alexandria on the other grew in importance during the 9th/15th century because of the active trade in spices, sugar, dyes, soap and perfumes coming from Egypt and Syria to Bursa. Moreover, merchants from India used these routes to come to trade in Bursa. Thus for example about 885/1480 the agents of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] were importing Indian goods to Bursa. This trade must have been important enough for the Florentines about 874/1470 to hope to obtain their spices in the Bursa market. But it must be added that because of higher prices in Bursa the spice trade there never developed to such a degree as to make it a competitor of the Egyptian markets. About 892/1487 the customs duties on dyes and pepper brought to Bursa amounted to 100 thousand *akčas* (about 2,500 Venetian ducats) yearly (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul, tapu def. no. 23, *muḳāṭaʿāt* of Bursa). But Bursa remained the most important emporium of Eastern goods for Istanbul, the Balkans and even for Eastern Europe until the 11th/17th century.

The silk trade and industry in Bursa was the basis of its prosperity. Caravans from Tabrīz brought to Bursa the precious silk of Gīlān, Astarābād and Sārī, and this was the subject of a very active trade there as the records of the *ḳāḍī*s of Bursa (preserved today in the Bursa Museum) and the Medici documents published by G. R. B. Richards (*Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932) attest. The Genoese, Venetians and Florentines, who usually had their agents in Bursa, were in keen competition to buy as much silk as they could, and the usual practice in this trade was to exchange the silk for the woollen cloth which they imported. In 906/1501 Maringhi, an agent in Bursa for the Medici, estimated that one load (*fardello*) of silk made 70 to 80 ducats of profit. In the year of 884/1479 the total value of the silk imported there from Iran amounted to about 150 thousand Venetian ducats. Most of this silk was consumed by the local silk industry. In 907/1502 an official inspection showed that more than one thousand looms were active in this industry in Bursa (*Bursa Ihtisab Kanunu*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan, *Tarih Vesikalari Dergisi*, vii, 30). It was in private hands and had created there a prosperous Muslim bourgeoisie. The upper and middle class people constituted about 70 per cent of the population of Bursa in the second half of the 15th century (see *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Istanbul, xv, no. 1-4, 55-57). Workers in the silk industry were mostly slaves and after a time many of them were freed and became in turn entrepreneurs themselves. The *iḥtisāb* [*q.v.*] regulations mentioned above describe in detail various groups engaged in this business and the processes by which different kinds of silks were manufactured. The precious brocades (*kemhā*) and gold velvets (*mudhahhab ḳadīfe*) of Bursa were exported and much sought after in Europe, Egypt and Iran, but the main consumer was the Ottoman court (see T. Öz, *Türk Kumaşları*, Istanbul 1946; R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, 36). Light silks called *vāle* and *tāfta* (taffeta) were produced in Bursa and exported in great quantities for wider use.

The considerable commercial activity of Bursa is further attested by many caravanserais (*khān*s) built in the 9th/15th century such as Ipek-khānī under Meḥemmed I, Maḥmūd Pasha-khānī under Meḥemmed II, and the larger *khān*s called Koza-khānī and Pirinč-khānī under Bāyezīd II. Bursa became also an entrepôt for the cotton textiles of western Anatolia, which were exported especially to Rumeli and to Eastern Europe. The yearly tax revenues on the imported goods in Bursa amounted to about 140 thousand ducats in 892/1487 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, tapu def. no. 23). The principal mint (see ḌARBKHĀNE) of copper and silver coins was located in Bursa, and this monopoly brought in a yearly revenue of 6,000 ducats at the same date.

Between 1007/1599 and 1037/1628 ʿAbbās the Great attempted to divert Persian silk from the Ottoman market (see *Belleten*, no. 60, 665), and this induced the Ottomans to encourage silk production in Bursa and its environs. In the 12th/18th century the production of good quality silk in Europe (Italy, France) and the competition of Izmir [*q.v.*] as a market of Eastern goods affected Bursa's former prosperity (P. Masson, *Hist. du commerce Français dans le Levant*, Paris 1911, ii, 492). It, however, continued to produce Bursa silk cloth for internal consumption. In the 13th/19th century this local market too was invaded by cheap cotton and silk products from Europe. In 1262/1846 D. Sandison, the British Consul in Bursa, wrote that "Bursa silk and cotton stuffs were always falling in disuse" (Public Record Office, F.O. 78,701). British, German and Swiss imitations of the Bursa silks and cottons were in great demand in Bursa itself. But, in 1253/1837, Bursa was saved from becoming a mere producer of raw silk for Western countries by the introduction of steam power in the local industry. Filatures were 35 in number twenty five years later and the production of raw silk reached one thousand tons by 1332-1914. This development was greatly affected at the time of war of independence (1337-1341/1919-1922). But under the protectionist policy of the Turkish Republic a partial recovery was achieved in silk production (140 tons of raw silk in 1958). On the other hand Bursa textile industry made tremendous progress because artificial silk now provided the raw material (6,000 power looms in 1958). Moreover the establishment of a large woollen factory in 1938 emphasised the industrial character of the city. Its population almost doubled from 77,000 in 1940 to 131,000 in 1955.

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(H. Inalcik)

BURSUĶ (Eastern Turkish = "badger"), one of the chief officers of the Great Saldjūķs, whose descendants also played a notable rôle at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. Bursuķ, although youthful, entered history as one of the principal *amīrs* in the service of Ṭughril-Beg, who after restoring control in Baghdād following the tragedies of the years 450-51/1058-59, made Bursuķ his first *shiḥna* (military commander) in Baghdād. However, under the pacified Saldjūķid organisation, the essential power belonged to the *'amīd*, the civil administrator, and it is not certain that there had been a *shiḥna* with any permanence in Baghdād for a dozen years. In any case, Bursuķ did not remain in the position since we find him in 455/1063 as *ḥādjib* of the sultan whom he accompanied (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, Bibl. Nat., Paris, Arab. 1506, 87v.); then, in 456/1064, he was charged by the new sultan, Alp Arslan, to go and extract from a vassal arrears of tribute (*ibid.*, 99v, 100v). Then, without our being able to explain the reason, silence enshrouds him for 15 years. We discover him again only around 471/1078, under Malikshāh, sent to Anatolia against the Saldjūķid rebel sons of Kutlumush, one of whom, Manṣūr, he killed but without being able to crush the other, Sulaymān (Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, trans. Budge, 227). In 479/1086, together with Būzān, he led the advanced guard of Malikshāh's army, which on the death of Sulaymān occupied Aleppo; and probably from there was dispatched to Asia Minor to combat the heir of Sulaymān at Nicaea who, despite the efforts of the sultan, was supported by Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, Bonn ed., 302-11). It was probably on this occasion that he obtained from Constantinople the tribute of 300,000 *dīnārs* about which Bundarī speaks (ed. Houtsma, 70). A little later Bursuķ organised the celebrations in Baghdād honouring the marriage of the caliph to a daughter of Malikshāh. Following the death of the sultan, in the quarrels among the latter's heirs he took the part of Barkyārūķ, particularly in the resistance to Tutush, and followed his prince to Iṣfahān, there falling victim to the Assassins. His sons avenged him by participating two years later (490/1091) in the execution of the Shī'ī *mustawfī* of Barkyārūķ, Madjd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī, whom they suspected of having been the instigator of the murder of Bursuķ and of others as well.

The sons of Bursuķ—Zenghī, Aķbūrī, Ilbeki, and Bursuķ—appear, generally speaking, as a close-knit family group, which remained attached to Barkyārūķ as long as he lived, but which was more normally established on their *iķṭā'* of the province of Ahwāz, which, with Tustar, foremost town of the province, ware acknowledged to be hereditary, either legally or by fact of possession. Bursuķ assisted Barkyārūķ in recapturing Rayy from his brother Muḥammad. Probably it was for this reason, when in 498/1105 Muḥammad succeeded Barkyārūķ who had died, that we find Zenghī incarcerated by the new sultan. But the family found a way to reconcile itself with Muḥammad by refusing to follow the rebel Mangubars and by betraying him to the sultan. Zenghī, who would have been put to death, was set free, and although the sultan demanded from the Banū Bursuķ the return of their *iķṭā'*, in exchange he conceded to them Dīnawar. Furthermore, even this exchange appears to have been provisional; for we find the Banū Bursuķ subsequently once more in possession of Tustar. Meanwhile, Bursuķ (the son of Bursuķ) was made by Muḥammad governor of the province of Hamadhān, one of the capitals of the Empire (Ibn al-Ķalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 174).

Firmly installed in power, Sulṭān Muḥammad sought to organise war against the Franks in Syria. Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ was one of the principal participants of the expedition of 505/1111, which miscarried because of quarrels among the chiefs and the jealousies of the Syrian princes toward the "Easterners"; moreover, he was ill almost the whole time. But he received command of the expedition of 509/1115. Again the circumstances were difficult, Ilg͟hāzī, the principal chief of the Diyār Bakr Turkomāns, Tug͟htakīn of Damascus, and Luʾluʾ, regent of Aleppo, having made an alliance with the Franks against him. With such bases as Ḥims, where the prince was his friend, and Ḥamā, which he conquered, Bursuḳ attempted to dislodge the coalition army. He succeeded only on making contact, withdrawing, returning, and finally being overrun at Dānīt͟h, to the east of the Orontes, by Roger, Prince of Antioch. He was preparing to take his revenge when he died, as did his brother Zenghī, in 510/1116. This death and that of Sulṭān Muḥammad two years later, meant the end of political intervention by the Sultanate against the Franks.

It is only on the occasion of the dissensions among the Saldjūḳids that the last heirs of Bursuḳ are heard of again, re-established in K͟hūzistān. Aḳbūrī and some of the sons of Zenghī and Īlbeki figured in the army employed by Sulṭān Maḥmūd against his uncle Sandjar, and Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ participated in the complicated quarrels of Lower ʿIrāḳ. At the death of Maḥmūd, the brothers Tug͟hril and Bursuḳ were found in the party of Tug͟hril, who protected Sandjar; then, when he (Tug͟hril) died, they joined the party of Dāʾūd, who had the support of the Caliph. Nevertheless, they were able in time to reconcile themselves with the conqueror Masʿūd (529-31/1134-1136). We cannot say whether it was one of these two whose death, under the name of Ḥamza b. Bursuḳ, is mentioned by Ibn Abī Ṭayyī (cited by Ibn al-Furāt, NS. Vienna II, 115r°), as lord of Tustar in 533/1139. In any case, it appears this is the last mention of a member of the family whose heirs are no longer encountered among the vassals of the subsequent masters of K͟hūzistān.

It was as an officer of the first Bursuḳ that Aḳ-Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*] began his career.

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AL-**BURSUḲĪ** [see AḲ SUNḲUR].

AL-**BURT**, pl. al-Burtāt, a Spanish-Arabism derived from the Latin *portus*, the meaning of which the Arab authors explain as the equivalent of Arabic *bāb*, pl. *abwāb*. The triangular shape which the Arabs gave to the Iberian peninsula is well known. Following Ptolemy, they fixed its points at Tarifa in the south, at Cape Finisterre in the west, and in the east in the Narbonne area according to some, or the valley of the Llobregat according to others, or at Port-Vendres (Portus Veneris/Haykal al-Zuhara) according to a third group. The disagreement over the fixing of the third point arises from two causes, to which nobody has given the attention they deserve. In the first place, the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages had no clear idea of the Pyrenees, nor did they give a definite name to them; in the second place, they show the north-east frontier in ways which differ markedly according to the ideas of the times in which they lived and the political situation of the region.

Some, the earliest, such as al-Rāzī and after him Ibn Ḥayyān and al-Yasaʿ, follow the Visigothic tradition and take the limits of the peninsula, as in Wamba's time, to the Narbonne area. Others, coming later, such as al-Bakrī, who knew of the Frankish conquest of the Spanish marches, and had travelled through the country several times by land and sea, on hearing the Catalans of Barcelona and of the Pyrenean countries called Franks and taken for such, place the north-east limit on the line of the Llobregat; on this frontier al-Bakrī mentions al-Burt (the Gate) in the Catalan coastal range; and in order to leave no room for doubt that the frontier between al-Andalus and the continent (*al-arḍ al-kabīra*) stands on that river whose Latin name (Rubricatus) he knew, he states that the gates (*abwāb*) of the Djabal al-Burt face the islands of Majorca and Minorca. This testimony is confirmed by Ibn Saʿīd, and al-Maḳḳarī accepts it as the most accurate since it is corroborated by many travellers. Ibn al-Abbār mentions more than once the famous battle during which the Almoravid *amīr* Ibn ʿĀʾis͟ha died and calls it *waḳīʿat al-Burt* (Christian sources refer to it as the battle of El Congost de Martorell) and Ibn K͟haldūn mentions the embassy which the Frankish count of Barcelona who was living on the other side of al-Burt sent to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Al-Idrīsī, on his part, who was writing in the second half of the 6th/12th century, and witnessed the independence of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom, takes care not to call the Catalans Franks and puts the frontier of Spain at Port Vendres; in enumerating the 26 provinces or *iḳlīm*s of Andalusia he puts Tortosa, Tarragona, and Barcelona in the *iḳlīm* of al-Burtāt, further south than the Pyrenees, appearing to show that this Djabal al-Burt or al-Burtāt was the centre of the *iḳlīm*.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, text 176, tr. 211; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 252-3 (quotations from Rāzī, Bakrī, and Ibn Saʿīd, i, 82-3); Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, in *BAH* iv, 55, 309; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 142; Chronicle of Ripoll and Chronicle of Tortosa in Villanueva, *Viaje literario*, v, 247.

(A. Huici Miranda)

BURṬĀS, or Burdas (in al-Bakrī Furdās), pagan tribe of the Volga basin. For an account of the Burṭās and their neighbours the K͟hazars and the Bulg͟hārs, to the north and south, see Bulg͟hār. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 14 & *Tanbīh*, 62) lists Burṭās also as a river flowing into the Itil (Volga); Marquart identifies this stream with Samara (*Streifzüge*, 336). The sources do not mention any adherents to Islam among the Burṭās, which contrasts with their accounts of the K͟hazars and Bulg͟hārs. Yāḳūt's report on the Burṭās (i, 567) is based on a misunderstanding, as he applied Iṣṭak͟hrī's remarks on the Bulg͟hārs (225) to the Burṭās. The sources in which they are mentioned, Ibn Rusta (140 ff.), al-Bakrī (Kunik & Rosen, *Izviestiya al-Bekri*, etc., i, 44) and Gardīzī, (Barthold, *Otčet o poyezdkie v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 96 ff.) content themselves with saying on the subject of the Burṭās religion that they adhere to the same beliefs as the G͟huzz (Turks) and that some of them burn while others bury their dead. They allowed themselves to be outdistanced by their neighbours more in contact with civilisation. They lacked government authority, the direction of affairs

being entrusted to the elders of each tribe. The only commercial dealings of any importance between the Muslim World and the Burṭās was the traffic in furs—the *firā'* mentioned by Yāķūt (*loc. cit.*).

The majority of authorities (V. V. Holmsted, A. P. Smirnov, P. D. Stepanov) identify the Burṭās with the Finnish Mordve-Mok<u>sh</u>a (the "Moksel" of Rubruquis), clans which at the beginning of the Middle Ages inhabited the area between the upper basins of the rivers Khoper and Medveditza and the right branch of the Volga, extending so far northwards until the Finns were the immediate neighbours of the Slavs. Others (A. I. Popov, A. E. Ali<u>kh</u>ova) locate their place of origin in the northern Caucasian steppes and argue that the Burṭās emigrated northwards only at the time of the Golden Horde; others again (Sboev, Rittich) place them among the ancestors of the Čuwa<u>sh</u>. Tokarev believes that the Burṭās were a Finnish tribe more or less Turkicised, and which finally was assimilated partly by the Mordve-Mok<u>sh</u>a and partly by the Čuwa<u>sh</u>.

Russian chronicles from the 13th century onwards mention the Burṭās as vassals of the Golden Horde. After the downfall of Ķazān, their land was conquered and colonised by the Russians in the 16th century. At the beginning of the 18th one reads of insurrections among them but from that time the name Burṭās ceases to figure in Russian documents.

The present Mordve (Mordva in Russian) are divided into two distinct groups: the Mok<u>sh</u>a and the Erzia, numbering about 1,450,000 souls (Soviet census 1939), living in an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Autonomous SSR of the Mordve, capital Saransk). A large number of the Mordve, however, live outside their republic, notably in Tataristān, Ba<u>sh</u>kiria and Siberia.

The Mordves were subject to strong Russian cultural influences, and from the 17th century adopted the Orthodox faith. One must, however, mention the existence of another Mordve-Mok<u>sh</u>a group living in the Tatar region (in the district of Kamsko-Ustinsk of the autonomous *SSR* of Tatarstān)—the Karataï. These from the 17th century have been subjected to Tatar influence and were completely 'Tatarised'. The Karataï have lost the use of their Finnish language and speak the Tatar of Ķazān. Considered officially as Christian Orthodox, they are in fact crypto-Muslims.

Bibliography: D. A. Chwolson, *Izvestija o Khazara<u>kh</u>, Burtasa<u>kh</u>, Bolgara<u>kh</u> Madyara<u>kh</u>, Slavyana<u>kh</u> i Rusa<u>kh</u> Abu Ali Ahmed ben Omar Ibn Dasta*, St. Petersburg 1869; V. V. Barthold, *Arabskie Izvestiya o rusa<u>kh</u>*, in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, I.; A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya Al-Bekri i drugi<u>kh</u> avtorov o Rusi i slavana<u>kh</u>*, St. Petersburg 1878; A. Y. Garwaki, *Skazaniya musul'maski<u>kh</u> pisatelej o slavjano<u>kh</u> i russi<u>kh</u>*, St. Petersburg 1870; V. V. Holmsted, *Burtas*, in *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Izučeniya Material'noï Kul'turl*, 1946, fasc. 13, 17-25; I. N. Smirnov, *Morva*, in *Izvestiya Obshčestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Kazanskom Un-te*, x, xi, xii, Kazan 1892-1894; A. I. Popov, *Burtasl i Mordva*, in *Učenle Zapiski Leningradskogo Un-ta*, 1948, no. 105, Oriental series, fasc. 2, part. 1, 199-210; A. E. Ali<u>kh</u>ova, *K voprosu o burtasa<u>kh</u>*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1949, no. 1, 48-57; A. P. Smirnov, *K voprosu o burtasa<u>kh</u>* in *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Izučeniya Materyal'noï Kul'turl*, 1951, fasc. 40, 45-50; Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narsdov SSSR*, Moscow 1958, 150.

(W. Barthold-[Ch. Quelquejay])

BURTUĶĀL, the name given by the Arabs to an ancient town (Cale or Calem, Portus Cale, modern Oporto) at the mouth of the Douro, and later to the kingdom of Portugal. Before the establishment of an independent Portugal in the 12th century, the history of the region belongs to that of Spain (see AL-ANDALUS). At the Arab conquest the whole of the territory of modern Portugal must have passed rapidly into Muslim hands, though details are lacking. We hear only of resistance in the south (see BĀ<u>DJ</u>A) and of the occupation of Evora, Santarem and Coimbra by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (governor of al-Andalus, 95/714-97/716). According to a notice in a late author, but cited on the good authority of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (3rd/9th century), Santarem and Coimbra had before this been exempted from a general division of the conquered land among the soldiers of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, apparently under a treaty (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 201-202, and see below).

Political confusion in al-Andalus and especially, from about 750 onwards, the withdrawal owing to famine of large numbers of the new inhabitants of the NW. (mostly Berbers) provided conditions for the beginning of the *Reconquista*. Alfonso I of Asturias (739-757) or, according to Ibn Ḥayyān (Maķķarī, *Nafḥ*, I, 213), his son Fruela I (757-768) made himself master of the north of modern Portugal, including the towns of Oporto and Braga north of the Douro and Viseu south of the same river. Another son of Alfonso, Aurelio (reigned 768-774), is given by Ibn al-<u>Kh</u>aṭīb (*Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, 373) as conqueror of *'arḍ Burtuķāl'*. Alfonso II (791-842) is said to have taken Lisbon in 182/798 and to have sent a message to Aix-la-Chapelle announcing the news to Charlemagne. But these successes, if authentic, were transitory. It was not till the time of Alfonso III that the line of the Douro was more or less effectively held by the Christians, after the definitive capture of Oporto in 868.

Ķulumriyya (Coimbra) fell in 264/878 but was retaken in 375/985 by al-Manṣūr, whose extraordinary march from Cordova to <u>Sh</u>ant Yaʿķūb (Santiago de Compostella) was directed via Coria and Viseu. Al-U<u>sh</u>būna (Lisbon), which still belonged to the expiring Caliphate in 400/1009 *tempore* al-Mahdī (Ḥumaydī, 18), was later, in the time of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*, a dependency of the Aftasids of Badajoz, who disputed control of the W. of al-Andalus with the ʿAbbādids of Seville, and after the final loss of Coimbra in 456/1064 (Ibn ʿI<u>dh</u>ārī, iii, 239) remained with <u>Sh</u>antarīn (Santarem) as a Muslim enclave N. of the Tagus, till both were captured by Alfonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, in 541/1147. Alfonso Henriques is usually said to have taken the royal title after a victory over the Muslims at Ourique near Beja (July, 1139). Before his death (1185) the Portuguese were in possession of most of the south. The fluctuating fortunes of war earlier are illustrated by the case of Lamego, S. of the Douro, which appears to have been captured by Alfonso III in 904. It was afterwards lost, but was retaken by Ferdinand I in 1038, when its king or governor was permitted to remain as vassal of the Christian. Some time before 1102 it passed again under Muslim control, being finally conceded to the Conde Don Henrique in that year (F. Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Mudejares de Castilla*, 29). For the deep-rooted Arabism of the region we may compare an account in the 12th century writer al-Mawāʿaynī (Pons Boigues, *Historiadores*, no. 189) of certain Arabic-

speaking Christians encountered by al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville on an expedition into Portugal *circa* 1020 at Ḥiṣnay al-Ikhwān, now represented by Alafoens or Alafões (< Alajoen), N. of Viseu, who claimed to hold their land by treaty from Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (cf. above) and, though doubtless Mozarabs, alleged their descent from Djabala b. al-Ayham, a Christian Arab of Syria contemporary with Muḥammad (Fernandez y Gonzalez, ibid., cf. Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 7).

Under the Caliphate several *kūra*s (*i.e.*, provincial districts with chief town, governor and garrison, see art. AL-ANDALUS, 2, iii) belonged in whole or in part to the territory of modern Portugal. 1. In the extreme S, corresponding to the present-day province of Algarve, was the *kūra* of Ukshūnuba (Ocsonoba), so called from the ancient town of that name, inland from modern Faro. The town declined in importance after the Arab invasion and gave way to Shilb (Silves) as provincial capital, but was still in existence in the 5th/11th century (Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 215). Silves, situated more to the W. near the estuary of two small rivers, is first mentioned as a port at the time of the descent of the Norsemen in 229/844 (see AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ), and grew to be a flourishing city, especially perhaps after the fall of the Caliphate under the ʿAbbādids of Seville. Other towns or large villages in the province were, according to Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā ʾl-Maghrib, Dhakhāʾir al-ʿArab*, x, Cairo 1953-1955, 1, 380 ff.), Shannabūs or Shannarūs (? = Shannabrūs for São Brás), Ramāda, Shantamariyya (Santa Maria de Algarve, now Faro), al-ʿUlyā (Loulé) and Ḳasṭalla (Cacela). Al-Idrīsī (*circa* 1154) in his description of Silves mentions that the inhabitants of its villages, as well as the townspeople, spoke pure Arabic. 2. Immediately N. of Ukshūnuba, *i.e.*, corresponding to modern Baixo Alentejo, was the *kūra* of Bādja (Beja), with principal town of the same name (see BĀDJA). This province, according to Ibn Saʿīd, included Mārtula (Mertola), which is placed by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, 287) in the *kūra* of Shadhūna (Sidonia). 3. Further N. lay the *kūra* of al-Ushbūna or Lisbon (Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 96), which included Shantarīn (Santarem), Shantara (Cintra) and al-Ḳibdhāḳ or al-Ḳabdhāḳ (cf. al-Ḳabdhāḳ = Alcaudete between Cordova and Granada). Other *kūras* in Portugal are not named. Yābura (Evora) N. of Beja is included by Ibn Saʿīd in the kingdom of Badajoz, and perhaps in Caliphal times formed part of a *kūra* of Mārida or Merida (cf. Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 103). While it still belonged to Islam before 264/878 Ḳulumriyya (Coimbra) may have been the centre of a *kūra* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. Mus.*, iii, 51).

Like other outlying parts of al-Andalus, Muslim Portugal affords plenty of examples of particularism throughout its history. Partially successful attempts to assert independence of Cordova were made in the 3rd/9th century by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān, often called Ibn al-Djillīḳī ('son of the Galician') and his descendants, operating widely from Badajoz, and by the Banū Bakr at Santa Maria de Algarve in the same century. Much later a militant religious movement in the W. headed by Ibn Ḳasī, who revolted at Mertola in 539/1144, contributed to the downfall of the Almoravids. Ibn Ḳasī became master of Silves, and he and his contemporary Ibn Wazīr were perhaps the only Muslims to coin money on Portuguese soil.

The last period of the struggle in Portugal between Christians and Muslims was marked by a great though unsuccessful effort of the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳub Yūsuf in 580/1184. The Almohad fleet, it seems, failed before Lisbon, and the main land assault on Santarem had to be abandoned. In a Portuguese attack on the *sāḳa* or rearguard of the Almohads Abū Yaʿḳūb received a wound from which he died near Evora on the march back to Seville.

The set-back in Portugal was contrary to general expectation, for at this time Almohad power and prestige stood high. In 1189, the year in which it first fell into Portuguese hands, Silves was described by an anonymous Crusader ('Anonymous of Turin') as much stronger than Christian Lisbon and ten times as rich. After the victory of the Christians at al-ʿIḳāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609/1212, in which Portuguese forces took part, the issue of the prolonged struggle came within sight. Silves fell finally in 1249 and the Muslims lost Algarve, their last holding in the territory of modern Portugal. At a battle fought near Tarifa on the Rio Salado in 741/1340 the Portuguese under their king, Alfonso IV of Portugal, joined forces with the Castilians to oppose the African troops of the Marīnid ruler of Fās, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī and the contingents of Yūsuf I, Sultan of Granada. Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes how the Andalusians almost broke the ranks of the Portuguese at the first charge, but their valour was in vain and the day was lost (*Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, 389). Henceforward there was no hope of restoring Muslim rule in the West of al-Andalus.

The principal towns of Muslim Portugal produced a respectable number of literary men, whose names are given in the Arabic biographical works. Among the best known are the historian Ibn Bassām, Abu ʾl-Walīd al-Bādjī (see AL-BĀDJĪ), Ibn ʿAmmār, the poet and friend of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād, and Ibn Ḳasī, already mentioned, author of the *Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn fī ʾl-Taṣawwuf* and other works.

Some itineraries in 10th century Portugal are given by al-Iṣṭakhrī (*BGA*, I, 46) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers, i, 116-117).

Bibliography: F. Codera, *Los Benimeruán en Mérida y Badajoz = Noticias que referentes al Algarbe de Alandalús en todo el siglo III de la hégira y principios del IV, o sea desde el 200 al 317 (815 a 929 de J.C.), encontramos en los autores árabes*, in *Estudios criticos de Historia árabe española, secunda serie*, (*Colección de Estudios árabes*, ix, Madrid 1917, 1-74; the same, *Decadencia y Desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, (*Colección de Estudios árabes*, iii), Saragossa 1899, 29-52; D. Lopes, *Os Árabes nas Obras de Alexandre Herculano, Notas marginaes de lingua e historia portuguesa*, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Boletim da Segunda Classe, iii-iv, *Lisbon* 1910-1911; the same, *A Batalha de Ourique e comentário leve a uma polémica*, in *Biblos*, iii, nos. 11-12, Coimbra, 1927; José D. Garcia Domingues, *História Luso-Árabe, Episódios e figuras meridionais*, Lisbon 1945; Ambrosio Huici, *Los Almohades en Portugal*, in *Annais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, Series ii, Vol. 7, 19 ff.; R. Dozy, *L'expédition du Calife almohade Abou-Yacoub contre le Portugal*, in *Recherches* ed. 3, ii, 443-480; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i-iii, indices.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

AL-BURŪDJ [see NUDJŪM].

BURUDJIRD [see BARŪDJIRD].

BURUḲLUS, *i.e.*, Proclus (A.D. 410-485), head of the pagan philosophical school at Athens (the 'Platonic Academy'), outstandihg scholastic

systematiser of Neoplatonic thought and one of the chief links between ancient and medieval philosophy. Although it would be premature to attempt a monograph about the influence he exercised upon medieval Arabic thought, the information at present at our diaposal is not so scanty that its complete neglect in R. Beutler's comprehensive article on Proclus (*Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll* 45, 1957, col. 186 ff.) appears justified. Better information is available in E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen III* 2[4], 839 n. 1 and E. R. Dodds, *Proclus the Elements of Theology*, Oxford 1933, xxviii f.

A list of those works by Buruklus which in some way became known to Arabic scholars is to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 252 Flügel (= 333 Egypt, ed.); it was reproduced, with a few omissions, by Ibn al-Kiftī, *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā'*, 89, (ed. Lippert).

1.

Some works by Buruklus appear in Arabic under very inappropriate false names.

a. The work referred to by the bibliographers as *Kitāb al-Thālūdjiyā* and ascribed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 66 (Flügel) to Proclus and (!) Alexander appears to have been the systematic manual of Neoplatonic metaphysics known as *Elements of Theology* (Στοιχείωσις Θεολογική). The Arabic text of propositions 15-17 (16-20 Dodds) has been published by A. Badawi, *Arisṭū ʿinda l-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 291 f. from a 11th century Damascus MS., where it is wrongly attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias. The truth was discovered independently by B. Lewin (*Orientalia Suecana* 1955, 101 ff.) and S. Pines (*Oriens* 8, 1955, 195 ff.). The translator was Abū Uthmān Saʿīd b. Yaʿkūb al-Dimashkī, a minor member of the school of Ḥunayn.

b. A work *K. al-Īḍāḥ fī 'l-Khayr al-Maḥḍ*, based on 31 propositions of the *Elements of Theology*, is known in the West since the days of Gerard of Cremona (second half of s. xii) as Aristotle's *Liber de causis*. A critical edition of the Arabic text (which ought to be based on the Latin and Hebrew versions as well and be minutely compared with the Greek) is being prepared by G. C. Anawati (cf. *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956, 73 ff.). For the time being we have to be content with O. Bardenhewer's edition (Freiburg-Breisgau 1882, reprinted recently) and A. Badawi's text (*Islamica* 19, 1955, i ff.). A resumé of the Arabic text (ascribed to Aristotle), composed about A.D. 1200, was discovered by P. Kraus (*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 23, 1940/1, 277) and published by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 248 ff.). The question whether the work as we have it was originally translated from an older re-arrangement of extracts from Proclus or compiled by an early Arabic philosopher cannot be decided at present.

2.

a. Proclus himself is mainly familiar to Arabic thinkers as proclaiming the eternity of the world. His 18 propositions about this tenet (Ἐπιχειρήματα περὶ ἀϊδιότητος κόσμου), which are lost in the Greek original, were as well known to the Arabs as John Philoponus' reputation (*De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*)—of which the Greek MSS. lack the beginning. The first nine propositions are now published in Isḥāk b. Ḥunayn's Arabic version by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 35 ff.); eight of them were known from John Philoponus' quotations but the first is preserved in Arabic only (cf. C. G. Anawati, *Mélanges A. Diès*, Paris 1956, 21 f.). Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyā al-Rāzī in his book "On doubts which arise against Proclus" (*K. al-Shukūk allatī ʿalā Buruklus*) referred to this work (cf. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 93, n. 1)—he may have made use of John Philoponus—and so does, for instance, Al-Shahrastānī (*K. al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, 338 ff. Cureton), who rightly points to Ibn Sīnā's use of Proclus' arguments; Al-Ghazzālī was familiar with them as well (cf. S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, London 1954, i, xvii; ii, 1).

b. Additional proof for the popularity of Proclus among Arabic philosophers is provided by the chance discovery of fragments of some other writings. There are eight Προβλήματα φυσικά evidently part of a larger treatise which may well be genuine, published by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 43 ff., cf. B. Lewin, *Orientalia Suecana* 6, 1958) and a small fragment about the concept of ἀγαθόν from the *Lesser* Στοιχείωσις, mentioned by the Arabic bibliographers (Badawi, *op. cit.*, 257). F. Rosenthal made known, in English translation, a passage from his work *On the immortality of the Soul according to Plato*, and a small section of the lost part of his huge commentary on the *Timaeus* is available in German [see article AFLĀṬŪN]. The Arabs knew of his commentaries on the myth of the *Gorgias* and on Plato's *Phaedo* but neither Syriac nor Arabic remains of them have hitherto been traced. A commentary on the pseudo-pythagorean *Golden Verses* is a misattribution, due to the misreading of B. for the less known Neoplatonist Hierokles (which can be easily explained). (R. WALZER)

BURULLUS (BOROLLOS), the name given to a district and to a lake to the north of the Delta of Egypt. The lake stretches between the mouths of the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, and is separated from the Mediterranean only by a narrow band of dunes.

The Arabic name is the transcription of the Greek *Paralos*, transmitted through Coptic, and this word, which signifies "the maritime littoral", is applied quite naturally to this region. It may he noted that Yākūt and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were acquainted with the vocalisation *Barallus*, which has not survived.

It was the administrative centre of a pagarchy (*kūra*) before the division of the country into larger districts. Burullus was then made part of *nastarāwiyya*, and in the 8th/14th century the province took the name of its chief town, Ashmūn Ṭannāḥ; now the region of Burullus belongs to the province of Gharbiyya.

In the Middle Ages the lake was called Buḥayrat Nastarāwa, after the name of a locality which no longer exists today. To Ibn Ḥawkal, it was the lake of Bushmūr, another designation for this swampy country.

Fishing in this lake was farmed out, a practice which represented an ancient fiscal organisation, predating the Muslim era. It can hardly be supposed that the various governments deprived themselves of such a productive source of revenue, and when the sources speak of the creation of this system, in the 3rd/9th century, they are probably referring to an aggravation of fiscal pressure. In the same way references to the suppression of the tax probably denote an alleviation.

The tombs of the Twelve Companions of the Prophet described by al-Harawī very likely recall some episodes of the Arab conquest, although according to the traditions, the chief of Burullus made terms with the conquerors. There may, how-

ever, have been battles following the landing of the Byzantines in 53/673.

The inhabitants of Burullus had the reputation of being expert trackers.

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al-**BURZULĪ**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, of the tribe of the Banū Birzāla, a Mālikī author. Born in al-Ḳayrawān, he studied under Ibn ʿArafa for thirty or forty years and under other great masters, and became himself a teacher of Islamic law in Tunis and an *imām* at the Zaytūna mosque. In 806/1403, he passed on the pilgrimage through Cairo, where he issued several *idjāzas*. He died in Tunis in 841/1438 (according to others, in 842 or 843 or 843), at the age, it is said, of 103 years. He is famous on account of his collection of *fatwās* and *nawāzil* entitled *Djāmiʿ Masāʾil al-Aḥkām mimmā nazal min al-Ḳaḍāyā bil-Muftīn waʾl-Ḥukkām*, in two volumes, numerous manuscripts of which are known; it is one of the main sources of the *Miʿyār* of al-Wansharīshī (d. 914/1508); two extracts were made from it in the 9th and in the 12th century. The innumerable *responsa* which al-Burzulī mentions there together with the names of their authors, famous jurists who can easily be situated in space and in time, make his work the most important source for the history of society in Ifrīḳiya under the Zīrids of al-Ḳayrawān and al-Mahdiyya (10th-12th cent.) and the Ḥafṣids 13th-14th cent.).

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BŪSHAHR (Būshīr), district and town in the VIIth *Ustān* (Fārs) of Persia. The position of the town is Lat. 28° 59′ N, long. 50° 52′ E. (Greenwich). Būshahr stands on a low outcrop of sandstone at the northern end of a long and narrow peninsula. So low is the isthmus connecting this peninsula with the mainland that it is sometimes flooded at high tide, and a raised causeway had to be built across it in order to maintain communication between Būshahr and the hinterland at such times. At the southern end of the peninsula, 7½ miles south of Būshahr, are the ruins of the ancient town of Rīshahr, where burial urns and cuneiform inscriptions dating back to the Babylonian era have been found. Rīshahr may perhaps be identified with the "Greek town" (Ἰόναχα) of Isidore of Charax. It was founded anew by the Sāsānid king Ardashīr and was given the name of Rīv-Ardashīr, of which Rīshahr is a contraction. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries the Portuguese had a settlement and fort there.

The derivation of the name Būshahr is uncertain. As "Abū Shahr" ("Father of the Town") does not make good sense, the suggestion has been made, on the analogy of Rīshahr, that the original name was Bukht-Ardashīr ('Ardashīr has delivered'), but this etymology, though possible, is doubtful. British seamen in the 18th century corrupted the name to 'Bushire' and 'Busheer'.

The earliest reference to Būshahr is apparently in Yāḳūt (i, 503). The place remained no more than a village until 1734, when Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] made it the base of his navy in the Persian Gulf and gave it the name of Bandar Nādiriyya (see the *Gombroon Diary* of the English East India Company, 5th/16th July 1734, in vol. iv of the *Persia and the Persian Gulf Records*, India Office Library, and L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 92-3). Subsequently, an unsuccessful attempt was made to build a large warship at Būshahr, using timber that had been brought overland from the forests of Māzandarān at a vast expenditure of labour. Sir W. Ouseley saw the remains of this vessel when he landed at Būshahr in 1811 (see his *Travels in Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, London 1819, Vol. i, 188). Although this shipbuilding experiment failed, Būshahr prospered in consequence of the attention that Nādir Shāh gave to it. Moreover, it subsequently benefited commercially when the English and Dutch East India Companies transferred their factories there from Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Another factor of great importance in the development of Būshahr in those times was the fact that Shīrāz, with which it was connected by a caravan route, became the capital of Persia in the reign of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*]. The consequence was that Būshahr took the place of Bandar ʿAbbās as the chief port of the country, a position which it was destined to hold for over a century and a half. Abraham Parsons, who visited Būshahr in 1775, stated that, when approached from the sea, the houses were sighted before the land itself came into view. So shallow was the sea there that large vessels had to anchor some 3 miles off shore. He estimated the population in normal times at nearly 20,000, but when he was there two-thirds of the inhabitants were absent at the siege of Baṣra [*q.v.*]. See his *Travels in Asia and Africa*, London 1808, 187-8.

In the 19th century Būshahr easily maintained its supreme position as a port. During the brief Anglo-Persian war, British forces occupied the town in December 1856, and held it until the conclusion of peace in the following March. The British connexion with Būshahr, at first only commercial, but later also political (for it became the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf), increased in importance as time went on. Other nations too participated in the trade of the town. Particulars of this trade and also of the movement of vessels in the latter part of the 19th century are to be found in the *Administration Reports* of the British Resident from 1876 onwards; these reports were published in Calcutta in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department* (the tables covering the years 1893 to 1897 in Freiherr M. von Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 310-17, are based on these publications).

For the first quarter of the 20th century Būshahr continued to prosper, but, with the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938 and the development of Bandar Shāpūr and Khurramshahr, it lost its position as the principal port of the country. Unlike Būshahr, both Bandar Shāpūr and Khurramshahr have wharves and jetties where large vessels can berth, and they are, moreover, connected with Tehran and other places in the interior by rail.

In 1946 the population of Būshahr was 15,000. It is understood that the Persian Plan Organisation intends to improve the port and other facilities of the town, but it seems unlikely that, even if this project is fully carried out, Būshahr will ever regain its former predominant position as a port.

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BUSHĀḲ, Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥallādj Abū Isḥāḳ (*kunya* contracted into the *takhalluṣ* Bushāḳ). Born in Shīrāz, he lived principally in Iṣfahān at the court of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, grandson of Tīmūr and governor of Fārs and Iṣfahān, where he died (827 or 830/1424 or 1427). That is almost all we know concerning him (apart from an anecdote reported by Dawlatshāh). According to Hidāyat (*Riyāḍ*), he maintained relations with the mystic poet Shāh Niʿmat Allāh [*q.v.*]. From the name Ḥallādj, a noun of occupation, it can be assumed that he was a cotton-carder. In dictionaries of the Persian language (*farhang*) he appears as an authority on culinary matters; hence the nickname *Bushāḳ-i aṭʿima* or simply *Aṭʿima* (prepared dishes) given him. A good edition of his works (*dīwān*) was prepared and published at Istanbul in 1303/1885-86 by the learned Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, who added a glossary of technical terms with Turkish and Arabic equivalents (H. Ferté has translated some fifty). This diwan contains *Kanz al-ishtihā'* ("Treasury of Appetite") with a preface (trans. by Ferté and by Browne) which shows that the various poetic genres had already been made famous by his precursors and that all he had to say had been said before; he merely transferred the inspirations of a number of great poets (for their names *vide* Browne) on to a culinary and gastronomical plane. He deals, therefore, in parodies. This applies not only to the "Treasure" but also to the second part of the work—the third being composed of two short works in prose mingled with verse, of the same inspiration, and having a conclusion followed by an amusing glossary of culinary terms (some of these have been trans. by Ferté). If one considers ʿUbayd-i Zākānī as the master of satire, one can, while admitting the existence of several earlier parodies, regard Bushāḳ as the creator of this genre to which he devoted all his literary activity. He may have lacked the distinction and "moderation" evinced in the French poet Berchoux's *Gastronomie* (Paris 1800), but he nevertheless excelled in the minor genre he had chosen, revealing humour and originality. A practised stylist, he handled with ease all poetic forms, both in the classical language and in the dialect of Fārs. Finally he rescued from oblivion a series of technical terms, as did his imitator Maḥmūd Kārī, who wrote his "*dīwān* of Dress" (*dīwān-i albisa*) on a plan analogous to that of Bushāḳ's *dīwān*.

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BŪSHANDJ, also known as Fūshandj, in Middle Persian probably Pūshang, ancient Iranian town to the south of the river Harīrūd, and 10 parasangs (= one day's journey) W-S-W. of Harāt (Yāḳūt, i, 758) which lies north of the river. The town already existed in pre-Islamic times, and, according to legend, was founded either (considering its name) by the hero Pashang (the son, though in the epos the father, of Afrāsiyāb), or else by the Sāsānid ruler Shāpūr I (242-271) (J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 49). In the year 588, the town is mentioned as the seat of a Nestorian bishop (*ibid.*, 64; it is, however, not referred to by Jean Dauvillier, *Les provinces Chaldéennes "de l'Extérieur"*, in "*Mélanges Cavallera*", Toulouse 1948, 279-282). Wilh. Tomaschek, (*Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, i, Vienna 1883, 78), connects it with the Πισάγγαι of Theophrastus.

Round the year 650 AD, the town came into the hands of the Muslims, and it remained for 200 years on the frontier between the Arabs and the not fully conquered east-Iranian mountain regions. Here it found support, when in 41/661-2 and again in 160/776-7, it revolted against the Arabs. From 92/791 until 94/793, the place was in the hands of the Khāridjites, and it entered into a quieter period only when the islamisation of the area was largely completed under the rule of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*], whose founder was a native of the place. Later, Būshandj was connected with Sīstān, and came under Ghaznawid rule in 392/1002 (cf. B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Leipzig 1952, 19, 25, 51, 53, 71 f., 111, 301, with reference to sources).

At that time, the size of Būshandj was roughly half that of Harāt, and throughout the Middle Ages it was known as a strong fortress with three gates. Economically, the town was important as the junction of the roads from Harāt to Nīshāpūr and Harāt to Kūhistān (Iṣṭakhrī, 267, last line, 268, line 8; Ibn Rusta, 172, line 17 f.; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 64, 104, 327; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 152 f., 177, 220 = trans., 151, 171, 212). In addition, Būshandj had timber and furniture industries, kept going by supplies from the nearby woods (Muḳad-

dasī, 307 f. (based on Iṣṭakhrī); Spuler, *op. cit.*, 408; Le Strange, 431)

After the Mongol conquest, under the vassal-dynasty of the Kurts (or Karts [*q.v.*], 1245-1389), Būshandj had a comparatively quiet period until it was conquered and ruthlessly destroyed by Tīmūr in the middle of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 782/March 1381. It was rebuilt soon afterwards. It is also repeatedly mentioned in the 15th century (by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, [*q.v.*]), and a *ribāṭ* supposedly founded by Abraham (Isfizārī, *Rawḍat . . . fi . . . Herāt*, printed in *JA*, v, 16 [July-Dec. 1860], 493 f.) was shown nearby in 897/1491-2. Later on, the place vanished from history; it was presumably destroyed during the Özbek and Türkmen raids. According to W. Tomaschek (*Topographie*, i, 78), the modern Ghūriyān is situated on its site. (W. Barthold-[B. Spuler])

al-**BUSHĀRRĀT**, "pastures" (*sierras de yerba y de pastos*), is the origin of the Spanish name Alpujarras; the Arabic toponym really applies to all the mountainous region which forms the extension of the Sierra Nevada southwards to the Mediterranean, from Motril to Adra and Almería; but more particularly designated by this name are the many fertile valleys which intersect this country (Padul - Béznar - Lanjarón - Orgiva - Cádiar and Ugíjar - Alcoléa - Laujar - Canjáyar - Rágol - Gádor). In the Middle Ages the Alpujarras were of greater extent because the capital was Jaén, and in addition to many fortresses it had more than 600 silk-producing villages. Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], who succeeded in seizing Jaén, must have mastered this region or at any rate found partisans and allies there, for in 300/913 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III captured his emissaries at Fiñana, crossed the Sierra Nevada, and besieged Juviles where, after a short siege, he captured and beheaded the Christian garrison which Ibn Ḥafṣūn had placed there. The belligerent inhabitants of the many villages in these valleys which intersect each other in all directions, the Alpujarreños, had in fact in Arab times rebellious tendencies, and after 1492 revolts continued to mark their history, in particular the great rebellion of 1568-70 which was directed by Ibn Umayya and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbō, and which was suppressed with the shedding of much Morisco blood by the Marquis of Mondéjar and Don John of Austria [see moriscos].

(C. F. Seybold-[A. Huici Miranda])

BŪSHĪR [see būshahr].

BŪṢĪR or **ABŪṢĪR**, the name of several places in Egypt, which is not unnatural since it refers to places in which the god Osiris was the object of special veneration.

The name Abūṣīr is found in the large suburban area west of Alexandria, a memory of the site of *Taposiris Magna*.

Būṣīr, on the west bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, in the province of al-Gharbiyya. In the middle ages this small town was connected to a neighbouring settlement, Banā, so that one spoke of Būṣīr-Banā. Famous in antiquity, Būṣīr was an episcopal seat and the administrative centre of the pagarchy (*kūra*).

Būṣīr al-Sidr, in the province of al-Djīza where there are still pyramids. The description of it by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf is a document of the first order, as are also the discoveries which he mentions in the cemetery of the town.

Būṣīr, called Būṣīr-Ḳūrīdis in the Middle Ages, and, from the 11th/17th century at least, Būṣīr al-Malaḳ, is located at the entrance to the Fayyūm, within the western strip of Middle Egypt. Owing to the great number of places called Būṣīr, Arab authors have found it difficult to situate exactly where the Umayyad caliph Marwān died. It is more than likely—and is in addition supported by a local tradition—that Marwān spent his last days at Būṣīr al-Malaḳ. The information is already given by Ḳudāma. About this town developed a small, ephemeral province, Būṣiriyya, which lay between those of Aṭfīḥ and Bahnasā.

Opposed to this documentation, another school of writers places the final defeat of the Umayyad in a locality also called Būṣīr, opposite Ashmūnayn, on the other bank of the Nile, about 180 kilometres south of Būṣīr al-Malaḳ. The region claimed to be the place of origin of Pharaoh's "magicians" and, according to al-Idrīsī, the inhabitants of his time had a certain reputation as sorcerers. This particular Būsīr has left no traces.

Finally, there is a Būṣīr-Dafadnū in the province of Fayyūm.

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al-**BŪṢĪRĪ** [see Supplement].

BUSR b. Abī Arṭāt or b. Arṭāt (there is less authority for the latter form), an Arab general of the Ḳuraysh clan of the Banū ʿĀmir, was born in Mecca in the last decade before the Hidjra. Only traditions which have been influenced by Shīʿī prejudices deny him the title of Ṣaḥābī. He went with the relief column into Syria under Khālid b. al-Walīd, distinguished himself there by his bravery and afterwards took part in the conquest of Africa. His bravery earned him a *duʿāʾ* and rewards from ʿUmar. During the civil war he vigorously declared himself on the side of Muʿāwiya for whom he won over the influential Kindī chief, Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ. At Ṣiffīn we find him in the Syrian camp. He afterwards helped ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to reconquer Egypt for Muʿāwiya. Busr is perhaps the most striking figure among the lieutenants of this Caliph. He was a typical Bedouin of the old school, utterly impervious to pity, if Shīʿī tradition has not exaggerated the details of the portrait of this fiery opponent of ʿAlī. Sent into Arabia against the the latter's partisans, Busr waged a war of extermination against them. He destroyed the dwellings of the enemies of ʿUthmān in the sacred towns of the Ḥidjāz and displayed a loyalty to the Umayyads which was only surpassed later by Muslim b. ʿUḳba and Ḥadjdjādj. In the Yemen he put to death the two young sons of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās. During the brief campaign, which was terminated by the abdication of Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī, he commanded the vanguard. As a reward, he received the governorship of Baṣra where he established a dictatorial regime. He spent little time in the ʿIrāḳ but returned thither to seize the children of Ziyād b. Abīhi and by this drastic

measure subdued the last armed partisan of ʿAlī. We later find him leading several naval expeditions against the Byzantine Empire.

After the year 50/670, this agent of Muʿāwiya's ambition, general and admiral by turns, disappears from the field of politics. He is said however to have lived at court till the death of the sovereign. According to the Shīʿīs, he went mad because he brought down ʿAlī's curse upon himself. He reappears in the reign of Walīd I, when he is said to have again taken part in an expedition to Africa. Other authorities make him die at Medina in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. He seems to have lived to a great age and fallen into his dotage.

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(H. LAMMENS)

BUṢRĀ [see BOṢRĀ].

BUST, a ruined city in Sidjistān, among whose imposing remains are the two principal groups of Ḳalʿa-i Bist and Lashkar-i Bāzār. It lies in the south of Afghānistān on the now deserted banks of the Hilmand, near its confluence with the Arghandāb, on the stretch of the route through Girishk between Harāt and Ḳandahār. Its present isolation, to which recent American efforts to rehabilitate the region will no doubt put an end, stands in contrast to the ancient prosperity of the area, celebrated in the middle ages for its great fertility, well irrigated orchards between two water-courses, and for its rôle as stage on the principal route between Khurāsān or Fārs on one hand and Sind on the other, that is, between Baghdād and India, at the very place where a pontoon-bridge crossed the river just as it became navigable in the direction of Zarandj. The Arab geographers of the first centuries, criticising Bust because of the frequent epidemics there, pointed at the same time to the commercial and intellectual activity of the city, and to the produce of its surrounding area, planted in fruit trees, vineyards and palms.

Such prosperity dates very likely from an early period. Precise knowledge is lacking however for the first stages of the development of Bust, whose existence was attested in the time of the Parthians, though we are ignorant of its exact rôle in the province of Sīstān, quarrelled over by the Sāsānid sovereigns and the rulers of the Chionite-Hephtalite kingdom of Zābulistān.

Also rather confused is the history of Bust from the moment when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura [*q.v.*] annexed it to the territory of Islam, perhaps in 29/649-50 during the caliphate of ʿUthmān, but more likely in 42/661-62 at the beginning of the Umayyad period. The first Arab expeditions were doubtless no more than raids of little permanent consequence, resulting in the payment of a tribute by the region but not in its occupation. In the second half of the 1st/7th century, Bust "became it seems, the advanced post of Muslim domination against the indigenous and independent princes of the frontier countries of the east, who bore the name or title of *Zunbīl*". (R. Hartmann). And the early sources mention several armed encounters in the neighbourhood, the Umayyads and first ʿAbbāsids having sent Arab governors there to suppress local rebellions in Sidjistān, or troubles instigated by the Khāridjites (troubles emphasised in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*), and to fight or to negotiate with the ruler of Kābulistān. In particular we know the events of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] which took place at Bust and, somewhat later, its suppression by Maʿn b. Zaʾida al-Shaybānī before he was assassinated there in 156/773. Although Yaʿḳūbī speaks of the place then held by Bust, the principal city of a province which rivalled in wealth Khurāsān, and though one can imagine the strategic rôle then played by its fortress, we nevertheless lack detail of the administrative organisation of a city which, in especially troubled political circumstances, seems, like other localities in eastern Iran and central Asia, to have enjoyed relative autonomy.

Subsequently, the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth, after having taken Kābul in 257/871, extended his domination as far as Bust, cited several times in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* in connexion with his campaigns against his eastern neighbours and visits he made to the region. In their turn the Sāmānids tried to establish a foothold in the area, and confused quarrels, accompanied by military expeditions, opposed the people of Bust to the envoys from the court in Khurāsān as well as those sent by the caliphs at Baghdād. But it was during the period of the Ghaznawids that Bust, taken by Subuktakīn in 366/976 and thus separated from the province of Zarandj, enjoyed for nearly a century its most brilliant development. It served as a subsidiary residence for the rulers of Ghazna, who had there a permanent camp (*al-ʿAskar*) mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī, and al-Bayhaḳī describes the brilliant life led there, between ambassadorial receptions, hunting, and pleasure parties on the Hilmand, by a ruler such as Masʿūd I during his visit in 428/1036. It was there too, that the troops of the Ghaznawid ʿAbd al-Rashīd successfully opposed in 441/1049-50 the advance of the Saldjūḳs, who had already been defeated several times trying to take the region. The sack of Ghazna, however, in 544/1149 by the Ghūrid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, followed shortly after by the conquest of Bust, its pillage and the burning of its royal castles, marked for the latter city the beginning of a decline, echoed in the text of the contemporary geographer Yāḳūt.

The destruction of Bust was at that time far from complete. The old palaces of the Ghaznawids were soon restored and inhabited by the governors of the region on behalf of the Ghūrids, later of the Khwārizm-Shāhs. Despite the various struggles in which the city was the stake, its continued existence is attested above all by funeral steles of beautiful execution, dating from the end of the 6th/12th century or the first half of the 7th/13th century and bearing the titles of important personages, undoubtedly the holders of a power at once religious and temporal established on a basis exclusively local. The destruction resulting from the Mongol invasion, however, about 618/1221, and from the passage of Tīmūr's hordes at the end of the 8th/14th century, brought about the final abandonment of the site, whose cultivated lands became steppe. Only the citadel, which played a rôle during the wars of the Great Mughals against Persia, and underwent at that time architectural modifications which are still visible, was maintained until Nādir Shāh had it dismantled in 1738.

The facts relative to the history of Bust have been illuminated especially since D. Schlumberger's discovery, and the careful study by the French

Archaeological Delegation in Afghānistān, of an architectural group until then unexplored and scarcely mentioned by earlier investigators. North of a field of ruins, about 7 kilometres long and in places 2 kilometres wide, whose southern end alone had previously attracted attention, with its remains of the city wall proper, its citadel and the high silhouette of the "Arch of Bust", the royal residence itself has been identified, the ancient *al-ʿAskar* of the Arab authors and the *lashkargāh* of the Persian writers. Its three monumental palaces, formerly surrounded by gardens still indicated by the high walls, —they constituted, together with a mild climate, the charm of this subsidiary capital of the Ghaznawids— rise from within the enclosure of the "royal city", and the southern castle in particular has been almost completely cleared in the course of several excavations. Fronted by a spacious esplanade, on to which opens a large mosque, and approached by an avenue a half-kilometre long bordered by shops behind a colonnade, it displays about a central court with four *īwāns*, rooms grouped in *bayts*, among which are several larger and luxuriously appointed chambers. Not only have the characteristic details of its plan been revealed. Beneath the heaps of earth caused by the fall of the higher parts—the construction is made largely of rough brick—and despite two successive fires the traces of which are still evident on the building, it was possible to discover important elements of its exterior and especially its interior ornamentation, based on bare brick, of facings sculptured in earth or plaster and of mural paintings of which one is a fresco of human beings. Such archaeological documentation evokes comparisons among which not the least interesting are those which place this unique specimen of civil architecture in mediaeval Iran in the line of the earlier constructions of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs at Baghdād and Samarra. Thus the irrefutable testimony borne by the ruins of Lashkar-i Bāzār concerning the grandeur of Bust and its royal suburb between the 5th/11th and the 7th/13th centuries, contains an eminently suggestive lesson for the historian of Muslim art in one of its remote provinces.

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(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BŪSTĀN, also used in the contracted form Bustān, a Persian word formed from *bū* "smell, perfume", and the suffix of place *estān*, usually used in the sense of "kitchen-garden" and sometimes in the sense of "orchard"; it is used in Turkish in the sense of "kitchen-garden", and in Arabic in the sense of "garden" in general (pl. *basātīn*); in the Algerian dialect it denotes "cypress" (Beaussier), and at Beirut a "plantation of mulberry-trees" (Cuche); it forms part of several Middle Eastern geographical names.—It is the title of a didactic poem by the eminent Persian poet Saʿdī [*q.v.*], written at Shīrāz in 655/1257, in ten chapters. The work is a classic, and has been read in primary schools in every country where Persian has been cultivated, especially in Iran, India, Central Asia and Ottoman Turkey. Indian authors have written several commentaries on this work in Persian, and there exist further commentaries in Turkish, notably those of Shamʿī and Sûdī (both at the end of the 16th century). It was translated into Turkish by the scholar Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] in 755/1354 (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 202), and into various other Oriental languages, such as Bengali, Sindi, and Pandjābī. The principal translations into European languages are those of Forbes Falconer into English (*Selections*, London 1838), of Graf into German verse (*Saʿdi's Lustgarten*, Jena 1856), of Baron Schlechta-Wssehrd into German (Vienna 1852), of Barbier de Meynard into French (Paris 1880), and of Constantin Čaikin into Russian verse (Moscow 1935). The oldest MSS. give this work the title of *Saʿdī-nāma*. (Said Naficy)

I. — Gardens in Islam

The part played by gardens in the past and present life of the Muslim peoples appears to stem from the conception of Paradise, the ideal garden, as portrayed in the Ḳurʾān, which paints so detailed a picture of the state (of blessedness) reserved exclusively for Believers that it might have served as a model for the creators of gardens in both East and West. There are to be found lawns interspersed with winding streams, trees bowed down with fruit, seats on which it is possible to recline in comfort, pavilions occupied by virgins waiting to welcome the elect. It will be noted that there are no flowers, but instead a wealth of fruit trees. Also worthy of note are the open summer-houses and in particular the streams of running water, cooling the air. The layout clearly has much in common with that of the oasis, a haven of freshness and fertility, the more delightful because it is found in the midst of those desert regions in which Islam principally spread.

It is to Iran, the home of most of our (European) fruits, the land *par excellence* of irrigated plantations and cultivated shrubberies, that the Muslim world would appear to owe its initiation into the art of landscape gardening. The fact that Arabic terms such as *bustān* or *firdaws* derive from the Persian gives substantial support to this conjecture.

Persian horticulture flourished long before the birth of Islam and was associated with princely life. Even as early as Xenophon, we find references to the beautiful layout of the park planned at Sardis by Cyrus the Younger (407 B.C.). The palaces of the Sāsānid kings, such as the Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn of Chosroes II, looked out on extensive vistas of water and greenery. There are, moreover, bas-reliefs to remind us of the vast wooded enclosures stocked with game where the sovereign could give himself up to the pleasures of the chase. Gardens in an architectural

framework, such as esplanades and courtyards planted with trees, on the one hand, and on the other properties outside the towns, as spacious as parks, and embellished here and there by a solitary pavilion, — these two styles of garden were adopted by the Muslim world and spread, with more or less continuity, across the nations and the centuries.

The first style influenced the architects of the ʿAbbāsid era, who built Samarra. The Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218-227/833-842), was made up of an edifice at the front comprising three *iwāns* and a suite of apartments, behind which was a vast esplanade walled with ramparts. "Parallel to these encircling walls were canals which were doubtless bordered by beds of flowers. Marble pools, fountains and other decorative features completed the scene". H. Viollet, who describes this layout, relates it to the "French style" garden with its ample spaces, straight lines and architectural aspect. These common features are perhaps not purely fortuitous, rather they may point to a distant common ancestry. These "French-style" gardens, of which Versailles is the most notable example, were inspired by the Italian garden which in turn derived from the Graeco-Roman garden, such as is found at Pompeii or Hadrian's villa. These last certainly seem to have been much influenced by the gardens of the East.

Nevertheless, it was in Persia, the country of its birth, that this style of garden was to be preserved. The Ṣafawid miniatures in particular bear witness to its permanence. The Prince sits enthroned in a summer-house looking out on to a paved walk broken up by canals and lakes and separated by wooden fences from stretches of ground planted with flowers and trees. No less evocative are the Persian carpets known as *"au jardin"*. The area is divided into rectangles by intersecting canals. Fish swim in the canals and the rectangles are filled with flowers and shrubs (see, for instance, W. Bode, ***Antique Rugs from the Near East***, New York, 1929, fig. 58). This same style of garden is also to be found at the opposite end of the Islamic world.

The private houses of the ʿAbbāsid era doubtless had their interior gardens. It is well-known that the art of the Ṭūlūnids which dominated Egypt in the 3th/9th century was closely linked to that of Sāmarrā. In the houses of Fusṭāṭ, which can be assigned to this period, the rooms opened on to a central court in which brick-lined hollows were dug. Some of these were filled with water, others with soil for growing plants. The townsman, moreover, showed a remarkable taste for gardens. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw draws attention to those which adorned the terraces. An irrigating machine on the top of a seven-storey house and operated by oxen was used for watering orange, banana and other fruit trees as well as many kinds of flowers and fragrant plants.

At this time Ifrīḳiya was held in the name of the ʿAbbāsids by the Aghlabid *amīrs*, who disseminated the fashions of Baghdād throughout the lands of the Berbers. They had first one and then a second residence on the outskirts of al-Ḳayrawān. The second, Raḳḳāda, was seven kilometres distant from the town. The grounds, which according to al-Bakrī, were surrounded by a wall more than 10 kilometres long, must have been mainly laid out as gardens, irrigated by cisterns of which remnants are still in existence. The largest of these hydraulic works is a huge quadrangular reservoir with solid walls reinforced on both sides with buttresses, in whose waters a raised pavilion was reflected.

The tradition of these country seats must have persisted in Ifrīḳiya in spite of hardships which in the 5th/11th century ruined the country. We come upon gardens again in the 8th/14th century under the Ḥafṣids of Tūnis. The vast domain of Abū Fihr, created by al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77) in the neighbourhood of his capital (near the present village of Ariana) included various features which foreshadowed the Maghribī taste for the *agdāl*. Ibn Khaldūn describes it with a wealth of detail which is unusual for him.

"One found there", he tells us, "a forest of trees, some of which were trained on to trellises, while the rest were left to grow in complete freedom. The branches of the lemon and orange trees mingled with those of the cyprus, while, below, the myrtle and jasmine smiled upon the water-lily. In the midst of these groves, a large garden encircled a lake so vast that it might be taken for an ocean. Water was brought there by the ancient aqueduct [which in former times supplied Carthage and which the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir had had repaired]. Following this conduit, the waters gush through a huge outlet into a square reservoir [serving as a decantation basin] and, thence, through a fairly short canal, to the great pool which they fill in swirling torrents. At each end of the pool stands a pavilion, one large, one small, whose roofs rest on columns of white marble and whose walls are faced with marble inlay".

This same period witnessed in Morocco the creation by the Marīnid sultans of vast cultivated enclosures such as that attached to the Palace of Fez al-Djadīd, called Amīna al-Marīniyya, in which terraces and raised pavilions dominated the plantations and the surrounding countryside. Abandoned after the fall of the Marīnids, this park was restored between 1240 and 1250/1824-34 by the ʿAlawid sultan Mūlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. This same sultan created the *agdāl* of Marrākush, which the modern historian al-Nāṣirī describes for us. It was an immense park or rather a group of gardens planted with one or two species of fruit trees or perfumed flowers, either indigenous or imported, cultivated for sale. In the midst of the plantations there were lakes with pleasure boats. The streams which filled these lakes provided water for the gardens and even turned the wheels of water-mills. Pavilions stood in this central section.

We can still see enclosures of this kind in the *agdāls* of the imperial cities of Morocco such as Marrākush or Meknes. Away from the dense urban centres, the *agdāl* is adjacent to the official quarter, a rural annex to the urban palaces. It is profit-making land, enriching the coffers of the sovereign. It also provides a place of recreation and repose for his harem. This type of plantation may have some links with the oriental tradition of royal parks. Nevertheless, the name by which it is known and its general resemblance to the great domain of a Berber chieftain inclines one to look to the West for the models which inspired its creation.

This is not the case with the *riyāḍ*, the interior garden of the palaces and rich dwellings of the Muslim cities of the west. It is almost certainly to Iran that we should look to find the origins of this style of garden whose layout is preserved for us in the Persian carpet: straight pathways, intersecting at right angles and separating square patches of green on which fruit trees and decorative plants abound. Sometimes canals with flowing water cross the

pathways, sometimes their intersections are marked by ornamental fountains. A summer-house at one end of the garden dominates the vista, unless the garden is bordered on two or four sides by galleries, in which case the doors of the apartments give on to this open space. The *riyāḍ* seems, in fact, to be an extension and elaboration of the patio. It is designed in harmony with the architecture of the house and completes its lay out.

If the Maghribī house with its interior courtyard is inspired by the Graeco-Roman peristyle house, the *riyāḍ* which fills this courtyard seems to be a legacy from Persia, like so many other elements in the Muslim civilisations of both East and West. We do not know at what period the West first adopted this style, though we find traces of it as early as the first half of the 6th/12th century.

Excavations carried out at Marrākush beneath the ruins of the first mosque of the Kutubiyya have yielded the plan of a small *riyāḍ* which can be dated as belonging to the period of the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (500-537/1106-1142). Here a rectangular patio is divided by two intersecting paths. The remnants of Castillejo have been uncovered near Murcia. This appears to have been built by Ibn Mardanīsh (541-566/1147-1171). Its rooms enclose a *riyāḍ* intersected by pathways, with two pavilions at the narrower ends. This type of *riyāḍ* appears to be classical in Andalusia. In the 8th/14th century, the Granadan poet Ibn Lūyūn enumerates its features. He recommends the laying out of a garden which offers "in its centre trellises shading walks which should encompass the flower-beds like margins". A summer house, wide-open, surrounded by rambler roses and myrtles, affords a place of rest which commands the whole domain at a single glance. The Naṣrid sultans of Granada incorporated this domestic theme into the sumptuous architecture of their palaces. In the Alhambra of Muḥammad V (763-93/1562-91), the famous Patio of the Lions is nothing more than a *riyāḍ*. Pathways intersecting to form a cross separate four plots which must have been intended to be planted. Two pavilions raised on columns jut out at the two narrow ends of the rectangle. In addition to this interior garden, the guests at the Alhambra had the Generalife (*Djanān al-ʿarif*) at their disposal. Here again, we find shrubberies, canals fed by fountains and galleries enclosing the open space.

It is very probably via Andalusia that this style of town garden, originating in Persia, spread throughout the three countries of North Africa. In Morocco, the Alhambra inspired the Saʿdid Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, who adopted its design on a grandiose scale in the palace of the Badīʿ of Marrākush (986-1012/1578-1603). A court measuring 135 metres by 110 metres, surrounded by apartments and pavilions, looked out on shrubberies alternating with vast lakes. Up to our own day, Moroccan towns like Marrākush and Fez have seen the creation of enchanting *riyāḍs*. In Tunisia, the Andalusians, driven out of Spain, spread the fashion in the towns in which they had taken refuge. As for Algeria, the gardens of the beautiful country houses which are scattered about the outskirts of Algiers were among the luxuries enjoyed by the Corsairs and were tended by a vast number of their captives who laboured in them all the year round.

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(G. MARÇAIS)

II. — MUGHAL GARDENS

The Mughal emperors of India, Akbar [*q.v.*], Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] and Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*] were all great lovers of nature, a quality which they inherited from their progenitor, Bābur [*q.v.*] who after the conquest of Hindūstān, lamented the absence of well-planned gardens in his new dominions. Bāgh-i Wafā was the first garden which he laid out near Kābul in 914/1508, followed by larger and more magnificent ones in Āgra [*q.v.*], his Indian capital.

His grandson Akbar, after constructing the fort of Harī Parbat (Kashmir) in 1006/1597 laid out the Nasīm Bāgh flanking the Dal lake. This garden is now in ruins, with the exception of stately *čanār* trees planted by Shāhdjahān (1037/1627-1069/1658). But the most charming of the Kashmir gardens is the Nishāṭ Bāgh laid out by Āṣaf Khān (c. 1035/1625), a brother of Nūrdjahān [*q.v.*], the queen of Djahāngīr. In natural beauty and architectural skill this garden is considered matchless. It was built in 12 terraces, representing the 12 signs of the Zodiac. Its water-supply was temporarily stopped by Shāhdjahān, who considered it too splendid for a subject, but was soon restored. The most-famed Shālīmār was founded in 1029/1619 by Djahāngīr. The etymology of the word *Shālīmār* or *Shālāmār* is dubious; it was in vogue even in pre-Mughal days, being the name of a Dal cascade in the times of Djahāngīr (*Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, trans. Rogers, ii, 151). Nādir Shāh's historian, Mīrzā Mahdī, spells it *Shuʿla Māh*, while the Sikh chieftain, Randjīt Singh (1214/1799-1255/1839), changed it into *Shahlā*, declaring that the word *Shālīmār* had ominous implications (see S. M. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, Lahore 1892, 360).

Apart from the Srīnagar (Kashmir) Shālīmār, there is an equally famous one of the same name at Lahore; a third one, at Delhi, is no longer extant. The Kashmir Shālīmār is remarkable for a pavilion, built by Shāhdjahān, with exquisitely carved pillars of black marble. This pavilion, which is surrounded by a series of cascades, contained four large stone doors in the days of Bernier (1672-1826).

The Lahore Shālīmār was founded, in three terraces, by ʿAlī Mardān Khān, an Iranian nobleman who, after surrendering the town of Ḳandahār, of which he was the Governor, to the investing Mughal armies, had come down to Lahore in 1048/1638. He was warmly received by Shahdjahān, who appointed him Governor of Kashmir and, in 1049/1638, of the Pandjāb also. Being a celebrated canal engineer, he was, immediately on his arrival, entrusted by the Emperor with the digging of a canal from the Rāwī which would supply water

to the gardens. He was, however, transferred to Kābul before the canal reached Lahore. On completion, a year later, it cost the Imperial exchequer a sum of 100,000 rupees. The garden with all the buildings, walks etc. was completed in 1052/1642-3, when it was visited by the Emperor. The name of the first terrace was changed to Faraḥ Bak͟hs͟h by the emperor, S͟hāhd͟jahān; the second and the third terraces, added later, were named Fayḍ Bak͟hs͟h. The Faraḥ Bak͟hs͟h measures 330 yds. sq. and in the days of Bernier had 8 buildings, four in the middle of the side walls and four at the four corners. This garden suffered much damage during the Sikh rule, most of its marble having been looted and taken to Amritsar [*q.v.*]. The canal of ʿAlī Mardān K͟hān, which had silted up, was reopened by Rand͟jīt Singh in 1806. The present entrance is a later construction built by W. L. McGregor, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, in 1849.

The other Mug͟hal gardens of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent include Pind͟jawr, near Ambāla [*q.v.*]; Gulābī, Sadā Harā and Dilkus͟hā in Lahore; Raws͟han Ārāʾ, Tālkatōrā and Mahtāb in Delhi; Nagīn, Wērī Nāg, Aččhībal, Habbak, and Pari Maḥall, in Kashmir.

The Mug͟hal gardens follow a definite plan, a salient feature being the construction of a central channel and shallow tanks in the centre surrounded by soft green turf, a lofty boundary-wall, *čanār* trees, artificial pools and numerous fountains. The Mug͟hal garden is generally arranged in squares or geometric patterns, usually in the form of terraces placed in such a way as to make the distribution and flow of water easy. Each terrace has four divisions to conform to the traditional plan of the *Čahār bāg͟h* or four-fold garden. Taken as a whole, the garden looks like a combination of rectangles and straight lines; no curved paths or even circular parterres are allowed.

Great care was taken in the selection of the sites, and the foot of a wooded hill, or a charming cliff, served as the background. The Kashmir S͟hālīmār is the best specimen of Mug͟hal horticulture.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

al-BUSTĀNĪ [see Supplement].

al-BUSTĪ, Abuʾ l-Fatḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Arabic poet of the 4th/10th century. He was of Persian origin and a native of Bust [*q.v.*] where he studied *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* and *adab*. He was a pupil of the traditionist Ibn Ḥibbān, who was living at Bust from 340/951 till his death 354/965. Another traditionist, al-K͟haṭṭābī (d. 388/1007), was Bustī's friend. In law he followed the S͟hāfiʿī school. As a young man he became secretary (*kātib*) to Bāytūz, the lord of Bust. When in 367/977 Bust was taken by Subuktigīn, al-Bustī went over to the victor. Owing to some intrigue he was compelled to retire to a village in the Ruk͟hk͟had͟j district, but after a few months was called back by Subuktigīn and remained in office together with al-ʿUtbī till the reign of Maḥmūd. In this capacity he composed his much admired state letters announcing the spectacular victories of Maḥmūd. Later on he fell again into disgrace and was banished to the "land of the Turks" *i.e.*, Transoxania. He died in 400/1010 or 401/1011 (or even as late as S͟hawwāl 403/Febr.-March 1016) in Buk͟hārā. According to al-Manīnī, *S͟harḥ al-Yamīnī* (1286/1869-70) vol. i, 73, 2 he died in Uzgend where his tomb was shown.

His varied writings both as a poet and letter-writer show all the traits of rhetorical artificiality typical of the poetry and ornate prose of the 4th/10th century. He was much praised for his skill in applying the *tad͟jnīs* (paronomasia) and especially the *tad͟jnīs mutas͟hābih i.e.* the use of homonyms for the sake of puns. This technique he developed gradually after having heard in his youth a quibble from the poet S͟huʿba b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Bustī (*Yatīmat al-Dahr*, iv, 233 f.). He was on friendly terms with T͟haʿālibī, who composed his *Aḥsan mā samiʿtu* on his instigation and gives of Bustī's art an appreciative selection in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*. His *Dīwān* was published at Beirut in 1294/1877-8. Especially famous is his didactic poem *al-Nūniyya* or *ʿUnwān al-Ḥikam*.

Bustī wrote also some poems in his mother-tongue, Persian, but they were never collected (see H. Ethé, in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Festschrift H. L. Fleischer, 1875, 55-7). He is sometimes confounded with his namesake Abu ʾl-Fatḥ al-Bustī (*recte* al-Baynī) an Egyptian poet of the 5th/11th century (see Ibn Ras͟hīḳ, *al-ʿUmda* i, 200, 18 and Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug͟hrib* 103 Tallquist).

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(J. W. Fück).

BUT [see budd].

BUṬAYN [see nud͟jūm].

BUṬNĀN, the name of a *wādī* located thirty kilometres east of Aleppo. At this place springs feed a large stream, Nahr al-D͟hahab, which flows south and empties into the salt lake of D͟jabbūl. These natural conditions have permitted the development

of essentially agricultural villages (fruit trees and cotton), of which the most important are the market-towns of Bāb and Buzāʿa. A convenient stage about a day's march from the valley of Ḳuwayḳ, it was always a halting-place on the routes from Edessa and Raḳḳa, and the revenues drawn from the saltbed of Djabbūl formed consistently an appreciable support for the finances of the governors or rulers of northern Syria.

Popular etymology relates Buṭnān to the root *bṭn* and gives it the meaning of "low-lying ground". In fact the name preserves the memory, beyond a Byzantine Batnai and a Roman Batnae, of the principality of Patin.

Conquered by Ḥabīb b. Maslama, Buṭnān fell very soon under the influence of the new centre, Aleppo, and henceforth played only an episodic rôle. In 70/689-90, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik wintered in the valley, during a struggle against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. The Carmathians made a disastrous appearance there in 901/289. Under Sayf al-Dawla's rule, it was devastated by Nicephoros Phocas in 966/365. In the time of the Mirdāsids the valley was the scene of confused struggles, and fell under the authority of Tutush in 1080/472. The Crusades and the Frankish occupation of Edessa and Antioch opened a period of insecurity which began in 1098/491-92 with an Armenian raid, doubtless in connexion with the siege of Antioch. A prompt response by the Saldjūḳs of Aleppo ended in the extermination of the large Ismāʿīlī community at Bāb. Burned by Joscelin of Tell Bāshir in 1125/518, Buzāʿa as well as Bāb was taken by the Emperor John II Comnenos in 1138/532. The arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in Aleppo brought back security. The Buṭnān of this period is known owing to the descriptions, as numerous as they are stereotyped, of the Arab geographers (cited by Le Strange and Dussaud).

With the Mamlūks, Buṭnān disappeared from the political scene. The region was administered by two Mamlūk *djundīs*, appointed by the *nāʾib* of Aleppo, one for the towns of Bāb and Buzāʿa, the other for the neighbourhood of Djabbūl. The Turks made it a *ḳaḍāʾ*, where a *ḳāʾimmaḳām* subordinate to the Pasha of Aleppo kept an eye on the salt-mines of Djabbūl (400-500,000 pounds annual revenue for the exchequer in the middle of the 19th century). He resided at Bāb, which had 6,000 inhabitants at this period.

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(F. Hours)

AL-BUTR, the name given to one of the two groups of tribes who constitute the Berbers [*q.v.*], the other being called al-Barānis [*q.v.*].

The chief groups of whom al-Butr was composed were the Lawāta, the Nafūsa, the Nafzāwa, the Banū Fātin and the Miknāsa. Their earliest habitat is the region of steppe and plateau which extends from the Nile to southern Tunisia; they were thus originally Libyan Berbers. But, very early, several of these peoples (Miknāsa, Banū Fātin, and a part of Lawāta) moved towards the west—to Algeria (the areas round Awrās, Tiaret and Tlemcen) and Morocco (the Moulouya basin, the Saharan country between Sidjilmāsa, Fīgīg and Twāt, and the Sebou basin), and from the western Maghrib many elements penetrated into Spain. An attempt has been made to present the Butr as the Berber nomads and camel-drivers par excellence. This was perhaps their primitive way of life, which is no doubt why Arab historians have attached to this group peoples of definitely nomad habits, such as the Hawwāra and the Zanāta. The Nafūsa, the Nafzāwa and a part of the Lawāta appear nevertheless to have become stabilised rather early in the mountains of Libya, perhaps at the time of the Arab conquest. As for those who moved into Algeria and Morocco, they were soon settled and even established a number of small towns.

The greater part of the tribal names of which this group is composed are still current, but the collective name itself has disappeared. It is the plural of the Arabic (!) adjective *al-abtar*, the alleged surname of Mādghīs, whom these peoples recognised as their common ancestor. The word means "he whose tail is docked, mutilated, he who has no descendants". The last sense is hardly suited to an eponymous ancestor; the first two are bizarre. However, the eponymous ancestor of the other group, Burnus, bears a name coincident with the Arabic word (an early borrowing from the Greek *birros*) designating the garment which we call burnous. Thus, the Barānis might be "the (wearers of) burnous, or long garments" and, in contrast, the Butr would be "those clad in short garments". In fact, in the Arabic dialect of north-west Morocco, there is an adjective *gerṭiṭ* (a quadriliteral expansion of the root *ḳrṭ*) meaning "he who has his tail cut short", and is applied in particular to the very short *jellābas* of the mountaineers (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes de Tanger*, 439).

For other ethnic appellations derived from

peculiarities of dress, note that of the Ṣanhādja Berbers [*q.v.*], who are called ***mulaththimūn*** "those who wear a veil over the mouth"; and that which has been suggested for the Maṣmūda [*q.v.*] Berbers, who are called Shulūḥ (cf. *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1939, 305).

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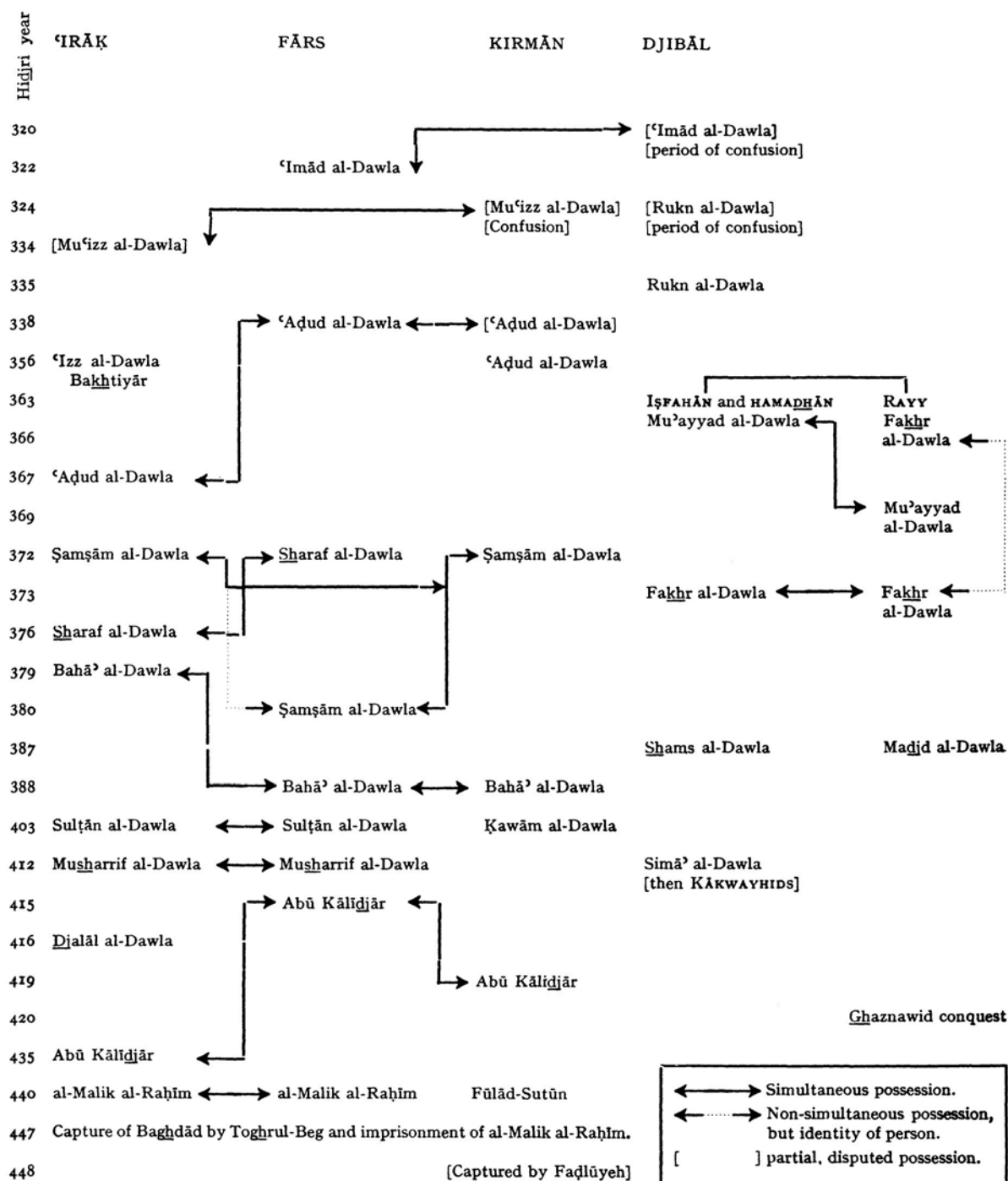
(G. S. COLIN)

BUWAYHIDS or **BŪYIDS**, the most important of the dynasties which, first in the Iranian plateau then in ʿIrāḳ, side by side with the Sāmānids of Khurāsān and of Māwarāʾ al-Nahr, marked the "Iranian intermezzo" (Minorsky) between the Arab domination of early Islam and the Turkish conquest of the 5th/11th century. Its name derives from Buwayh or Būyeh, the father of three brothers who founded it, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and the youngest, Aḥmad. *Condottieri* of humble birth, they belonged to the population of the Daylamites [*q.v.*] who, newly won over to (Shīʿī) Islam, were at that time enlisting in large numbers in all the armies of the Muslim East, including those of the Caliphate.

To some extent, it was the Daylamites who, with the advent of the Buwayhids, assumed power and imposed on the régime something of their own character. While the Daylamites remaining in Daylam formed small principalities, sometimes extending as far as Ādharbaydjān, the others, in Iran and ʿIrāḳ, developed in consequence into a political factor of growing importance. The Buwayhids, who, to begin with, had followed one of their compatriots, Mākān b. Kākī, who had entered the service of the Sāmānids, and then their Gīlānī ally Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*] in his struggle against their common enemy, the Zaydī state of Ṭabaristān (sometimes extending as far as Rayy), continued to follow the Gīlānī Mardāwīdj when he carved out for himself in central Iran a vast autonomous principality. Soon, however, they began to adopt a somewhat intractable attitude towards him. Having become for a time master of Iṣfahān, then, more permanently, of Fārs, ʿAlī, to protect himself against Mardāwīdj, and in spite of being a Shīʿī, got his authority in the government of the province recognised by the Caliph, as the ʿAbbāsid armies would have been incapable of reconquering it. He still had possession of it when in 332/943 Mardāwīdj was assassinated. After confused struggles (see the articles ʿIMĀD AL-DAWLA, MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA and RUKN AL-DAWLA) against the lieutenants of allies of the Sāmānids or of the various clans who shared among themselves an influence with the Caliphate, ʿAlī, the eldest, kept the province of Fārs, while his brother al-Ḥasan occupied almost the whole of Djibāl and the youngest, Aḥmad, entrenched himself on the one hand in Kirmān and on the other in Khūzistān. These important strongholds, and more especially this last acquisition, drew the Buwayhids into the interplay of factions for power in ʿIrāḳ and the other territories of the Caliphate under the successive ***amīr al-umarāʾ***. Only a very close study can determine whether, in the general post of intrigues and betrayals, the Buwayhids were allied to any one specific faction. However that may be, in 334/945, Aḥmad entered Baghdād. The régime which he set up there lasted until 447/1055. The new era was at once inaugurated by a change of name: Aḥmad, ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan respectively had bestowed on them simultaneously by the Caliph the honorific titles (*laḳab*s) of Muʿizz al-Dawla, ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla, by which they were henceforth known to history. Before long, ʿImād al-Dawla died without an heir, leaving Fārs to ʿAḍud al-Dawla, son of Rukn al-Dawla. When the latter died (366/977), after Muʿizz al-Dawla, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, finding himself head of the family, dispossessed his nephew, ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār, of ʿIrāḳ, and only allowed his brother, Muʾayyid al-Dawla, to remain master of the rest of Buwayhid Iran, by virtue of his incontrovertible loyalty. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who was the most distinguished personality of the dynasty, achieved the fullest unity that the family was to enjoy.

Outside ʿIrāḳ, the new principalities merely joined the number of those which, for a century, had been carving up the ʿAbbāsid Empire. The Buwayhid principality of ʿIrāḳ in a sense did little more than implant in this last ʿAbbāsid redoubt the form of government which had triumphed elsewhere. But there was, in this instance, a factor of greater importance, in that Baghdād was the very centre of the Caliphate. It is true that its seizure by the Buwayhids did little more than set the seal on the developments which had, in effect, placed the Caliphate under the domination of the army chiefs, promoted ***amīr al-umarāʾ***. But this time there was the added fact that the Buwayhids were professing Shīʿīs, so much so that it might have been asked whether they were not about to suppress a Caliphate whose legitimacy had no special meaning for them. Nothing of the sort happened. Doubtless Muʿizz al-Dawla was aware that the Shīʿīs were in the minority, and that, had he destroyed the Caliphate in Baghdād, the institution would have reappeared elsewhere. It was better therefore to keep it under his thumb, both to legalise his authority over the Sunnīs in his states and to strengthen his diplomatic relations with the world outside by the weight of the respected moral authority which the Sunnī princes still enjoyed by right. In fact, deriving their official authority from the Caliphate, the Buwayhids behaved as though they believed genuinely in the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate.

The question of the relations between Buwayhids and Caliphate is moreover bound up with that of their religious adherence. It has sometimes been said that the Buwayhids were Zaydīs because Daylam had been the scene of the activity of the emissaries of these same Zaydīs who had set up political hegemonies in Ṭabaristān and, on the very borders of Daylam itself, by those of their rival al-ʿUṭrūsh, around the year 900. All the same, there were also Ismāʿīlīs (Misk., ii, 32-35) in Daylam and, in the entourage of al-ʿUṭrūsh or his descendants, Twelvers (*EI*¹, s.v. al-ʿUṭrūsh), and Mardāwīdj, affected perhaps by Ismāʿīlī propaganda, had at any rate joined the Sunnī Sāmānids in fighting the Zaydīs of Ṭabaristān. At this time, Twelver theology proper was only just beginning to be elaborated, and there is consequently nothing remarkable in the persistence, in later Buwayhid society, of Zaydī doctrinal influences or, linked to these, Muʿtazilī influences. But, for the Buwayhid conquerors, politics took precedence over religion. The notion, for a time entertained, it is said, by Muʿizz al-Dawla, of conferring the Caliphate on a certain Zaydī ʿAlid in his entourage was set aside, never to be taken up again, precisely because it would have been necessary to obey such a Caliph. The distinction between the various branches of Shīʿism was probably not yet clearly defined outside the Zaydī states (leaving Ismāʿīlism aside), and the Twelver tendency, certainly in

ʿIrāḳ and Fārs were united from 367 to 372, 376 to 379, 388 to 415, and 435 to 447.
ʿIrāḳ and Kirmān were united from 334 to 356, and 380 to 388. Kirmān was united with Fārs from 338 to 367 (to 372 with ʿIrāḳ), 380 to 403, 419 to 440; it stood alone from 403 to 446 and from 440 to 448.
ʿIrāḳ stood alone from 334-367, 379 to 380, 416 to 435. Fārs stood alone from 322 to 338 and from 372 to 380.
A union between ʿIrāḳ, Fārs and Kirmān was achieved from 367 to 372, 388 to 403, 435 to 440.
The Djibāl always stood alone, except during the early days of the dynasty.
ʿUmān, except for a short time under Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, when it was united with ʿIrāḳ, was united with Fārs.
Baṣra and Ahwāz, after ʿAḍud al-Dawla, were often separated from ʿIrāḳ or constituted an autonomous government at the heart of the ʿIrāḳī kingdom; they were often incorporated in the kingdom of Fārs.
Complete genealogical tables are to be found in Zambaur 212-16 and Q.

Mesopotamia and probably in central Iran, was the majority form of Shīʿism. In fact, about the time when the Buwayhids were seizing power (and was this purely fortuitous?) the doctrine was spreading among adherents of this movement that after the period in which the imāms were present in person, followed by that in which they were represented by a *wakīl*, the time of the "great occultation" was coming, when nothing more would be known of them. Thus, if the ʿAbbāsid Caliph was not, strictly speaking, legitimate, at least, if he tolerated Shīʿism, there was nothing discreditable in putting up with him. It is certain that the Buwayhids welcomed somewhat indiscriminately Shīʿīs or Muʿtazilīs of different shades of opinion, but politically they were Twelvers.

At no time did the Buwayhids plan the persecution of the Sunnīs by the Shiʿis — both sects were represented in their army; rather they intended to set up a sort of ʿAbbāsid-Shīʿī condominium, which freed the Shīʿīs from the obligation of a certain *taḳiyya* and provided them, as well as the Sunnīs, with an official organisation. Basically, they were reviving, from the Shīʿī angle, what had been the dream of many ʿAbbāsids from the time of al-Maʾmūn. Thus, they believed, they acquired a strong following, without at the same time alienating the rest of the population. Without the smallest doubt, Twelver Shīʿism owes to the Buwayhid régime not only this organisation, but even a part of its doctrinal structure. The importance of the rich Shīʿīs and the *Sharīfs* towards the end of the ʿAbbāsid era is well-known. It was upon them that —leaving aside the army—the Buwayhid régime depended in its social relations with the local population. The régime organised the ʿAlids—or as they are more usually called, the Ṭālibids—into an autonomous body to counterbalance the ʿAbbāsids, whereas formerly this family unit was merely integrated into, though, of course, dominated by, the ʿAbbāsids. On the doctrinal level, the presence of Imāms in the 3rd/9th century and the fact that the Twelvers had for a long time been, in a somewhat negative fashion, those among the Shīʿīs who had not joined in active rebellion, had obstructed the work of the traditionists and theoreticians. The Buwayhids now made up for lost time. While al-Kulīnī, the first of the great theologians whom the Twelvers recognised as specifically their own, died at the dawn of the Buwayhid régime in Iran, the second and more important, Ibn Bābawayh (Bābūya) was encouraged in his work by the Buwayhids in the third quarter of the century. He was followed by others among whom—also important in Iranian Shīʿism—were Arabs from the old ʿAlid citadel of Ḳumm. In Baghdād, the brother *sharīfs* al-Rāḍī and al-Murtaḍā were, throughout the whole of the first quarter of the 11th century, the real masters of the town, acting as intermediaries between the Buwayhids, the Caliphs and the population, at the same time as the Shīʿī scholars and traditionists. It is said that at this moment when the four schools remaining to the Sunnīs were beginning to be defined by them as exclusively orthodox, they would have wished that their form of Shīʿism might be recognised in the heart of the *umma* as a sort of fifth authorised school. More readily apparent from the outset of the régime is the organisation or recognition of forms which are still those of Shīʿism to this day. Influenced perhaps by Daylamite practices, Muʿizz al-Dawla openly created or consecrated the lamentations of the ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ. He also created the festival of Ghadīr Khumm. The ʿAlid *mashhad*s, genuine or conjectural, were embellished, and ʿAḍud al-Dawla was the first to be buried there after ʿAlī. Shīʿī schools were created, such as the Dār al-ʿilm of the vizier Sābūr, endowed with *waḳf*s, a replica (393/993) of the Fāṭimid "University", and considerably earlier than the Sunnī Niẓāmiyya of the Saldjūḳids; and in the mosques, the Shīʿī cult, including the public call to prayer, was in dangerous competition with the Sunnī cult.

Naturally, it was out of the question that the recognised Caliph should govern effectively. In the same way as the *laḳab* of Nāṣir al-Dawla, the first of its kind conferred on the Ḥamdānid, the Buwayhid *laḳab*s show that, while it was the Caliph who legalised their power, they alone were its custodians. Al-Mustakfī, the Caliph who welcomed them, had joined forces with many others before them. He was replaced by his personal enemy al-Muṭīʿ, who nineteen years later himself had to yield the throne to al-Ṭāʾiʿ for having backed the wrong side in the struggle between the heirs of Muʿizz al-Dawla. Al-Ṭāʾiʿ in his turn abandoned the throne to al-Ḳādir. Nevertheless, the life-span of the Caliphs in the time of the Buwayhids—three and a half reigns in a century—was appreciably longer than that of their predecessors—precisely because they no longer ruled in anything but name. As to the *laḳab*s, they became more numerous as they declined in value. As each prince in the family, then little by little princes of other dynasties, claimed them too, it was necessary first to double and then treble those of the head of the Buwayhids. Thus ʿAḍud al-Dawla was also called Tādj al-Milla etc. The last Buwayhid went so far as to claim that he had conferred upon himself a title ending in *dīn*, faith,—a procedure and implication (a condemnation of Sunnism) which obviously the Caliph could not accept. In the same way, the supreme prince marked his superiority over his *umarāʾ* relatives by proclaiming himself from ʿAḍud al-Dawla onwards, *malik*, and even, in Iran though not in ʿIrāḳ, *shāhanshāh*, the old Sāsānid title. The last of the Buwayhids committed the sacrilege of styling himself al-Malik al-Raḥīm, a title properly reserved for Allāh alone. The exalted position of the Buwayhids was shown also in the mention of their name, after that of the Caliph, in the *khuṭba*, except in the Caliph's quarter, and on coins, as well as in the privilege of having the *ṭabl*s beaten in front of the princely residences at the three principal, and later five, hours of prayer.

To turn to the exercise of power, the essential point is that there was no longer any instrument of government in Baghdād which depended even in law upon the Caliph—though for a time under Nāṣir al-Dawla this had been the case. Everything, especially the wazīrate, was now an institution directly attached to the amīrate, though this transfer did not in itself mark any change in the distribution of functions. Topographically, everything in Baghdād was now at the Dār al-Mamlaka [see below]. During the period in which the power of the régime conferred on the wazīrate, as on the principality, a certain stability, there were Buwayhid wazīrs who were by no way inferior to the greatest wazīrs of the Caliphate, and who stayed even longer in office. Such was al-Muhallabī under Muʿizz al-Dawla, Ibn al-ʿAmīd under Rukn al-Dawla, the Ṣāḥib Ibn al-ʿAbbād under Muʾayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr Dawla. All three of these were very cultured men and at the same time great administrators. Nevertheless, some

of the Buwayhids, principally ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the greatest of them all, preferred to keep the co-ordination of the instruments of government in their own hands and, in practice, divided the functions of the wazīrs, with or without the title, among two or three high dignitaries. Their inadequate knowledge of Arabic had made it impossible for the Buwayhids of the first generation to do more themselves than reap the benefits of the work done by their more effective wazīrs. Under the last of the Buwayhids, the wazīrate was more unstable although wazīrs were frequently drawn from a single family. Of course, the Caliphate still kept a secretariat and a Chancellery, but these were exclusively occupied with the administration of matters pertaining strictly to the Caliphate or with international correspondence on behalf of the *amīrs*.

The functions of the Caliphate comprised the administration of its goods and the organisation of the palace, the representative duties which devolved upon the Caliph, the control of the good works and religio-legal life of the Sunnīs and a certain moral share in the administration of Baghdīd. The income of the Caliph, apart from family and private means, was no longer what he set aside for him self out of State revenue, for it was no longer the Caliph who authorised wages and salaries. On the contrary, as was already the case in the time of Nāṣir al-Dawla, an allowance was granted to him by the *amīr* out of the public funds which, in former times, had been administered by himself. The total was smaller than before though still worthy of his station—two or three hundred thousand *dīnār*s under the early Buwayhids —to which must be added the numerous gifts made to him by the entire Muslim world and by the foreign ambassadors, as well as what he received from the Buwayhids themselves at festivals and investitures. Against these however, must be set the forced contributions extorted by the Buwayhids in times of crisis. As to his religio-legal powers, they consisted in the nomination and control of the personnel of the mosques and the holders of the office of ḳāḍī for the Sunnīs, in particular in Baghdād where the Caliph al-Ḳādir compensated for his powerlessness to oppose the Buwayhid government by a drive to enforce the letter of Sunnī orthodoxy, especially among the Muʿtazilīs and the Ismāʿīlīs.

The transfer of government from the Caliphate to the amīrate did not *ipso facto* alter the character of the government. In practice, the Buwayhid régime established the absolute supremacy of the army in the government. However, since the general functions of public administration still had to be carried out, this supremacy meant also that, in a sense, the military authority now extended its competence to fields which previously had been outside its province. The innovation which probably had the most serious consequences was the transformation of the *iḳṭāʿ* régime. For a long time, faithful supporters and, increasingly, the military chiefs, had been rewarded by the Caliphate with the grant in quasi-ownership of lands appropriated from the state domain. In fact, for the last hundred years or so, this source having been inadequate, high-ranking officers were sometimes granted the right to the taxes of a fiscal district, with no further obligation than to pay the standard Muslim tithe to the public Treasury. The Buwayhid régime, following in the footsteps of the Ḥamdānids, extended and ruthlessly intensified this practice. Many districts were systematically distributed as *iḳṭaʿ*s of this new type, now without even tithe obligations to the Treasury. Miskawayh, or, before him, Thābit b. Sinān, have described perfectly some of the consequences of this system. From the point of view of the central administration it meant the loss of control of fiscal transactions in part of the country and, in the long run, even of factual knowledge of the nature and extent of the tax levied. In so far as the fiscal value of each district remained roughly calculable, it tended no longer to be within the province of the *dīwān* of Taxes, but that of the Army. The *dīwān* of Taxes, deprived of part of its functions, correspondingly reduced its staff and the number of its departments. Nevertheless, the Buwayhid *iḳṭāʿ* was not a fief, but an assignment of salary; the beneficiary would exchange it, at his own or the government's wish, if the revenue of the district were no longer equal to the balance due to him, or for any other expedient cause. He had no permanent ties with the district and therefore no interest in its development. At best, the means thus placed at his disposal enabled him to build up more stable properties. Nevertheless, they were not yet either *iḳṭāʿ*-holders of the provincial governments—these functions, when they exercised them, were paid in the normal way—nor bound to maintain their troops out of their *iḳṭāʿ*. Each soldier received his pay direct from the Treasury in whatever form it might be given to him. One should not exaggerate: a variable proportion of the pay was still paid in kind, a part of the land was still administered in the traditional manner by the traditional authority, of which some fiscal handbooks for this period have been preserved for us.

With these reservations, socially and economically, a new and more powerful aristocracy, that of the military leaders, was gaining ascendancy over the middle-class and slowly declining aristocracy of the great merchants, civilian landlords and high-ranking officials who had been at the height of their power in the ʿAbbāsid era. But, under the great Buwayhids, the princes exercised a clean-cut authority over these leaders and made it their business to see that the new aristocracy respected their strict control in such matters as the police, public order (*ḥimāya*) and even taxation. There was, of course, no question of relaxing the tax on all subjects which was the basis of the upkeep of the army, whether this applied to pay or *iḳṭāʿ*; and, for the taxpayer, a change of tax-collector and beneficiary did not mean any corresponding change in the fiscal system. The great Buwayhid wazīrs, after the period of conquest during which their masters behaved as common thieves and looters, applied themselves to establishing a sound administration, which was made possible by the restoration of public order; side by side with new taxes, we hear of the remission of others, and the currency of the early Buwayhids was sound. Nevertheless, it may also be observed that the successors of ʿAḍud al-Dawla provoked riots in Baghdād by their attempts to tax the cloth manufacturers who were responsible for the livelihood of thousands of artisans in the capital. State revenue, under the great Buwayhids, slightly exceeded that of the Caliphate over an equivalent area. In agriculture, disturbances dating back to before the Buwayhid conquest had resulted in damage to the irrigation works. Repairing the damage and building new canals, etc., were among the burdens which fell upon the Buwayhid administration. The roads and bridges used for commercial traffic were also restored, and the capitals, Baghdād, Shīrāz and Iṣfahān benefited from the presence of the princes,

who built themselves sumptuous palaces. In east Baghdād the whole group of these buidings formed the Dār al-Mamlaka, as opposed to the Dār al Khilāfa, and the buildings erected at the gates of Shīrāz by ʿAḍud al-Dawla at Kard Fanākhusraw enchanted al-Muḳaddasī. The close union of ʿIrāḳ and Fārs resulted in some attempts to introduce ʿIrāḳī customs into Fārs, although no administrative unification was ever achieved. This union, from which local industries may have derived some profit, was in contrast with the periods which preceded and followed it, when the ties between ʿIrāḳ and Iran were directed, across the central plateau, towards Khurāsān.

Culturally, the early Buwayhids were rough fellows without education, but their successors were moulded by the cultured indigenous aristocracy of Iran. In contrast with the remote Iran of the Sāmānids, the Buwayhid sphere of influence in Iran—not to mention, a *fortiori*, in ʿIrāḳ—had the appearance of a strongly arabicised area. We have already observed that the early Buwayhids, with Ibn al-ʿAmīd and Ibn ʿAbbād as their wazīrs, thus commanded the services of two of the most illustrious Arabic scholars of their day. Furthermore, a galaxy of Arabic poets were present at their courts. It was under the Buwayhids that Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī's "Book of Songs" and al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, two treasuries of Arabic literature, were compiled. If Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī had grounds for complaint against ʿAḍud al-Dawla, his grandson, the historian Hilāl al-Ṣābī. lived comfortably in the Baghdād of the later Buwayhids, who also protected the philosopher-historian, Miskawayh. Generally speaking, sages were well-received by the Buwayhids, especially those whose special knowledge could be put to practical use. Such—leaving aside the religious sciences—were the geographer, Iṣṭakhrī, the mathematician, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Buzdjānī, al-Nasawī, who disseminated the "Indian numerals", the astrologers, for whom Sharaf al-Dawla built an observatory in Baghdād, the physicians (such as al-Madjūsī), who had cause for self-congratulation especially on the foundation by ʿAḍud al-Dawla of a remarkable hospital in the ancient palace of Khuld at Baghdād, and another at Shīrāz [see BĪMĀRISTĀN]. The libraries of Shīrāz, Rayy, Iṣfahān, organised by successive Buwayhids, excited universal admiration. It is common knowledge that Avicenna found sanctuary and high preferment (as a wazīr?) under Shams al-Dawla. The great patron-wazīrs were scarcely less munificent as long as they did not see in their protégés possible rivals for glory (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī as against Ibn ʿAbbād). Ibn al-Bawwāb, a high Buwayhid dignitary, was one of the inventors of *naskhī* calligraphy.

But, while the Buwayhids and their ministers patronised literature and science of a traditionally Arabic character, they also showed a genuine interest in neo-Persian literature. If the first Daylamite generation were not sufficiently polished to have any such pretentions, those who followed were in the widest sense more fully Iranian than Daylamite. It was not for nothing that, as Mardāwīdj had dreamed, they revived the title of Shāhānshāh and caused to be drawn up for themselves a Sāsānid genealogy which, however, was universally recognised by their contemporaries as being historically unsound. Though their rôle in literature cannot be compared with that of the Sāmānids, they nevertheless had their Persian poets, and Firdawsī found a welcome at the court of Bahāʾ al-Dawla. The indubitable decline of Zoroastrianism, still flourishing in the Fārs province at the dawn of the Buwayhid régime, is probably in part linked with the fact that henceforth it was possible to form a separate block within Islam itself, under a "national" dynasty.

The place of the Buwayhid era in the history of Persian art would perhaps seem equally great if more thoroughly reliable testimony were available. Their buildings have already been mentioned in another connexion in which their places of worship perhaps count for less than their palaces, fortresses, hospitals, etc. Recent finds of textiles have now made it possible to study in actual examples this apparently traditional branch of Iranian craftsmanship. A good recent study on the art of the Buwayhid period is that of E. Kühnel [see *Bibliography*], to which the reader is referred.

More generally, it is certain that, among the Buwayhids as elsewhere, the establishment of regional principalities, by setting up many new courts and cultural centres outside what until then was the more or less unique cultural centre of Baghdād, enriched and disseminated the life of the spirit and, by bringing it into contact with the varying requirements of different peoples, conferred upon it a new vitality.

The foreign policy of the Buwayhids seemed scarcely to have been affected by doctrinal considerations. In Iran, their great opponents in the 4th/10th century, were the Sāmānids with their Ziyārid (descendants of Mardāwīdj) and Ṣaffārid (of Sīstān) vassals. Very naturally, they supported the Khurāsānī rebels, especially the Simdjūrids, against the Sāmānids, and took advantage of the ascendancy of the Ghaznawids at the beginning of the century and of the final ruin of the Sāmānids at the end. In the north-west, their policy was to establish or maintain a vague protectorate over the small Daylamite dynasties, so as to have them on their side in the fight against the Ziyārids on the one hand and the Kurds on the other. The struggle against the Kurds falls partly under the heading of "foreign policy", on the Ādharbāydjān side, and partly of internal security—in other words mere public order—on the Djibāl side (the Ḥasanwayhid Kurds). The same is true of the hostilities, carried out for the most part in the time of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, against the Ḳufṣ and the Balūč of Kirmān and Makrān. Finally, the occupation of the ʿUmān, or more precisely of the vital strategic coastal areas of the region, at times by the Buwayhids of Fārs, at others by those of ʿIrāḳ, was clearly related to considerations of economic security. In Mesopotamia, following the liquidation of the Barīdīs of Baṣra, the main efforts of the two first generations of Buwayhids consisted above all in the neutralisation and then the liquidation of the Ḥamdānids who, though Shīʿīs like themselves, were Arabs, and had been only recently their rivals in Baghdād. Naturally, a small semi-permanent war was essential for the maintenance of order on the borders of Arabia, and, in ʿIrāḳ itself, in the Baṭīḥa as also in the Persian Gulf against the Carmathians of Baḥrayn.

The appearance of the Fāṭimids in 968 in Egypt, then in Syria, confronted the Buwayhids of the second generation and their descendants with a problem unknown to the first. The claim of the new dynasty to be ʿAlid could not fail to excite interest among all Shīʿīs. Nor could this dynasty, with its "imperialist" ambitions, fail to try and further its own expansion by claims of this kind. It would, however, have been necessary for all Shīʿīs to accept

the heterodox doctrines of the Ismāʿīlīs which were the official doctrines of the Fāṭimid State, and, further, it was difficult to avoid clashes between two powers bent on dominating the territories between Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. The Buwayhids occasionally joined forces with the Carmathians, when they quarrelled with the Fāṭimids, and also, of course, with the Arab tribes fighting the Fāṭimids on one front and the Ḥamdānids or their heirs fighting them on another. It is difficult to assess just how far the anti-Fāṭimid manifesto of the Caliph al-Ḳādir (402/1011) was an exact reflection of Buwayhid policy or whether it was also instigated by the desire to counteract Ismāʿīlī infiltration. At any rate, there is nothing to support a view that it was done against the wishes of the Buwayhids, and it is remarkable that it was signed jointly by the Sunnī and Twelver sages. It was not until the end of the dynasty that a Buwayhid, Abū Kālīdjār, lent a complacent ear to the explanations of al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī, the Ismāʿīlī missionary, though, officially at least, nothing came of it (*Sīra* of al-Shīrāzī; al-Balkhī, 118; Abū Shudjāʿ, 232). And the fact that after the fall of the dynasty in Baghdād their Turkish general, al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], thoroughly intransigent while they were in power, declared his allegiance, against the Saldjūḳid conqueror, to the Fāṭimid Caliphate, which alone was capable of coming to his aid, cannot be regarded as characteristic of Buwayhid policy in general.

However stable the Buwayhid dynasty may have appeared from the outset, however brilliant some of its achievements, it was not without its weaknesses. Some of these were common to other régimes, others were peculiar to itself, others again came not from within but from without. In this last category was the maritime trading crisis which had an appreciable effect upon the end of the Buwayhid era. It is certain that towards the year 1000 A.D. trade with the West from the Indian Ocean ceased to flow mainly through the Persian Gulf, being diverted to the Red Sea (see B. Lewis, *The Fatimids and the Route to India*, in *Revue de la Fac. de Sc. Econ. d'Istanbul*, 1953). The persistent troubles of Lower ʿIrāḳ and the presence in Baḥrayn of the Carmathians, whom the Buwayhids were never able to control, must certainly have had something to do with this, as had also the complete segregation of Syria from Mesopotamia brought about by the Fāṭimid and Byzantine conquests. Probably an even more significant influence, however, was the economic imperialism of the Fāṭimids and the favourable conditions which attracted the attention of the merchant ships of Italy. When a natural catastrophe (in about the year 1000) ruined Sīrāf, which up to that time had been the great Persian port of the Gulf, the town was not rebuilt, and the mastery of the Gulf belonged henceforth to the Lord of the Island of Kīsh, who seems to have been more or less a Corsair chieftain. Although we cannot accurately assess the consequences of these facts, it is scarcely likely that they were not serious both for the merchant classes of society, who were doubtless henceforth less well able to resist the growing power of the military aristocracy, and for the internal economics of the Buwayhid régime and consequently its general stability. Even before the year 1000, the Buwayhids were unable to avoid the devaluation of their silver coinage, and doubtless it was for this reason that in the 11th century, gold was used more and more, though one wonders how it came there. The Buwayhids were increasingly forced, in order to raise taxes, to have recourse to tax-farming, selling offices, etc.

A more domestic and congenital weakness in the Buwayhid, régime as in most of the near-eastern régimes of this period, lay in that very army which had brought about the ruin of the Caliphate. The Buwayhid army, in spite of the pay being supplemented by *iḳṭāʿ*, was no more easily satisfied than its forerunner, the army of the Caliph. Like its predecessor, it knew itself to be the cornerstone of the system, and took advantage of its position. It was not, however, united. The original Daylamite nucleus was not adequate for long and, even before the conquest of Baghdād, the Buwayhids, like Mardāwīdj, had added to it the corps of Turkish slaves indispensable to every Muslim army in the East. These, on the one hand, could be used against the Daylamites in the event of a breach of discipline (and vice versa), and on the other hand, and even more important, they were mainly horsemen, while the Daylamites, who came from the mountains and forests, were infantrymen. Occasionally, Kurds, Ḳufṣ, etc., were also recruited. To the rivalry between this diversity of ethnic groups, must be added the fact that, at the beginning at least, the Turks taken over by the Buwayhids from the Caliphate were Sunnīs. Finally, for reasons which are still unexplained, the recruitment of Daylamite troops dried up progressively. The last descendants of the princes who owed their power to them were surrounded almost entirely by Turkish soldiers.

The third cause of weakness, rather more peculiar to the Buwayhid dynasty, was the splitting-up of power. From the beginning, it has been noted, there was not one but three Buwayhid principalities. The circumstances of the conquest may have had something to do with this, but another factor must surely have been a patrimonial or familial conception of power. When strength and chance combined to permit ʿAḍud al-Dawla to establish an almost complete unity to his own advantage, he did no more than his predecessors to perpetuate this unity, which was disrupted at his death. This splitting-up of power, which distinguishes the Buwayhid dynasty from all the other Muslim dynasties before the Ḳarakhānid and Saldjūḳid Turkish dynasties, inevitably brought about internal strife, once the three founder-brothers were dead. It goes without saying that the army and all the trouble-makers benefited, so much so that this flaw in the dynastic organisation in its turn aggravated the vices born of the military régime and the other internal weaknesses of the system. The disturbances among the urban population, a harsh warning to the early Buwayhids, started up again; a revolt of Iṣṭakhr caused the destruction of the old metropolis, and Baghdād was at times in the power of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*]. If the late *isnāds* of the *futuwwa* are to be believed, Abū Kālīdjār was one of them. The policy of religious equilibrium followed by the Buwayhids in practice did no more than foster in this same town and elsewhere the struggle between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, and the Ḥanbalī extremists went so far as to burn the *mashhad* of Ḥusayn and the tombs of the Buwayhids. The later Buwayhids, especially in ʿIrāḳ, were virtually powerless to command obedience from anyone.

This powerlessness to some extent benefited the Caliphate. The Caliph, who sometimes arbitrated in dynastic disputes, regained some measure of influence, at least in the affairs of ʿIrāḳ. Finally the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim was able to have once more in his service after the lapse of a century a wazīr in the

person of the intransigent Sunnī Ibn al-Muslima. Hope of a partial recovery of the Caliphate as an institution now became something more than a utopian dream, witness the treatise *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* of the great ḳāḍī al-Māwardī, closely associated with the policies of the Caliph. It was even possible, in Sunnī circles, to look forward to the removal of the heretical protector. True, the weakness of the Buwayhids was not sufficient to restore to the Caliphate the material power needed for the reconstitution of an autonomous government; but it was possible to hope at least that an orthodox and more respectful guardian might be found.

There was no lack of candidates to succeed the Buwayhids, some having only local ambitions, others aspiring to the unification of the Muslim East to their own advantage. Barely twenty years after the fall of the Ḥamdānids, faced by the Marwānid Kurds of Diyār Bakr, it became necessary to recognise the power of the ʿUḳaylid Arabs in Djazīra. Twenty years after the fall of the Ḥasanwayhid Kurds of Djibāl, the ascendancy of the ʿAnnāzid Kurds had to be recognised in the same region; not to mention the various Bedouin tribes who held the ʿIrāḳ-Arab or ʿIrāḳ-Syrian borderlands, and the frontiers of the almost independent principality of the marshes of the Baṭīḥa at the gates of Baghdād.

In Iran, a family related to the Buwayhids and for this reason called Kākwayhids or Kākōyids (from Kākōyeh; in Daylamite: maternal uncle), had taken over first Iṣfahān and then Hamadhān. But the gravest danger came from the east. Here, the Ghaznawids had become a power to be reckoned with, and Maḥmūd of Ghazna now openly aspired to liberate the Caliphate. Meanwhile, he took advantage of the quarrels and imprudences of the Buwayhids to send his son Masʿūd to occupy Rayy. His forces massacred the Shīʿīs and burnt the treasures of their library as well as those of the Muʿtazilīs (420/1027). The death of Maḥmūd, followed by the defeat of Masʿūd by the Saldjūḳids, gave a brief respite to the rest of the Buwayhids. But the triumph of the Saldjūḳids enabled them to take up on their own account and with greater efficiency the plans for a Sunnī empire. They had supporters in the *entourage* of the Caliphate. Buwayhid acceptance of Saldjūḳid suzerainty was of no avail. In 1055, Tughril-Beg entered Baghdād without striking a blow, and imprisoned al-Malik al-Raḥīm. Fārs, in spite of fortifications set up at Shīrāz, also fell, being attacked from the north and from Kirmān. The Buwayhid dynasty was at an end.

Bibliography: Sources: We are fortunate in possessing three collections of correspondence and official documents: that of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī, secretary to the Caliphs al-Muṭīʿ and al-Ṭāʾiʿ, important for the study of diplomatic history (some extracts edited by Shakīb Arslān, 1898, the greater part unpublished); that of the wazīr Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (the papers relating to the reign of Muʾayyid al-Dawla only have been preserved, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shawkī Ḍayf, Cairo 1947), of considerable interest for the study of home administration; finally that of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf, a high official under ʿAḍud al-Dawla (summary by Cl. Cahen in *Studi Orientallistici in onore ... G. Levi della Vida*): all three from the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. See also Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 129 & 139.

Nevertheless, the principal sources are the chronicles. The fundamental chronicle is that of Thābit b. Sinān, continued by Hilāl al-Ṣābī until 447 A.H. All that has been preserved pertaining to the Buwayhid period is an extract relating to the period from the end of 389 to the beginning of 393, but whose general substance seems to have been carried over into the later chroniclers who made use of it, first the *Tadjārib al-Umam* of Miskawayh and his successor Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rudhrawarī, the single manuscript of which links up with the fragment of Hilāl al-Ṣābī (the whole ed. trans. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, 7 vols, 1920-21), but also, completing and often correcting the *Tadjārib*, the *Takmila* of Muh. b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī (preserved only up to 367) (ed. Kanʿān in *Machriq*, 1955-58), the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (unpublished for this period, more complete than the *Muntaẓam* of his ancestor Ibn al-Djawzī from which it also derives): these last three sources only cover the years after 393 A.H. An apologia for the early Buwayhids in the form of a chronicle was composed (in order to obtain his release from prison) by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī, under the title of *al-Kitāb al-Tādjī* (for ʿAḍud al-Dawla Tādj al-Milla), the beginning of which, recently rediscovered in the Yemen, is in the possession of Dr. Minovi (it was not accessible to me); the work seems to have been known by later historiographers. Among the remaining mass of Arabic historiographical literature, the following deserve special mention: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 1-34 (origins); Yaḥyā of Antioch; Ibn Ẓāfir, *al-Duwal al-Munḳaṭiʿa* (relations with the Fāṭimids, unpublished but used by Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*); Ibn Khallikān (lives of Muʿizz, Rukn and ʿImād al-Dawla); Ibn Tiḳṭaḳāʾ (late, but Shīʿī traditions); al-ʿUtbī (relations with the Ghaznawids); and the unduly neglected *Nestorian History* of Mārī b. Sulaymān, ed. Gismondi, Rome 1903).

Persian historiography comes into the picture with the anonymous *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh* (ed. Bahmanyār, 1940), linked as regards Buwayhid history to al-Hamadhānī, and with the chronicles of the border states, the Ghaznawids (Gardīzī, Bayhaḳī), Ziyārids and other southern Caspian dynasties (Ibn Isfandiyār). Moreover, several important local histories have come down to us in Persian. Examples of these are the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm* of Ḥasan b. Muḥ. Ḳummī, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, 1934, and the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, 1937.

In parahistoric literature, some information is to be found in al-Tanūkhī's *Nishwār* (41, 151, 157, 169 and also in the Damascus 1930 volume, 150), and in the autobiography, *Sīra*, by the Fāṭimid missionary al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949 (relating to propaganda in the time of Abū Kālīdjār). The *dīwān*s and anthologies of such poets as al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīma*), al-Bākharzī (*Dumya*), al-Tawḥīdī (especially *K. al-Imtāʿ*) are also useful; there is also some original information in the *Irshād* of Yāḳūt, ii, 273 f., iii, 180 f., v, 347 f., vi, 250 f., etc.

To the three great classics of geography, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī—all three contemporaries of the Buwayhids (the first-mentioned was their subject)—may be added Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Safar-nāma* and some information contained in Yāḳūt's *K. al-Buldān*. (especially iii, 149, art. Sāmīrān), and, in Ibn Balkhī's *Fārsnāma* (ed. Nicholson; historical passage, 117-119).

Among juridico-institutional works, al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, on which see *supra*, and, recently discovered at al-Azhar, the *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa* by Hilāl al-Ṣābī or his son Muḥ., on the etiquette of the Caliphate and the rules of the chancellery up to the Buwayhid period (which was made accessible to me by the courtesy of Prof. Duri, Baghdād). The financial history of the era can be studied through the treatises on fiscal mathematics by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Buzdjānī (unpublished) and the anonymous *K. al-Hāwī* (analysed by Cl. Cahen in *AIEO*, Algiers 1952). See also Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* (ed. Schefer), especially 183. For religious history, see the theological works cited above, especially those of Ibn Bābawayh.

Epigraphical material is to be found in *RCEA* (v, 1831-32, 1877, 1956; vi, 2079, 2177; vii, 2577), to be supplemented by G. Wiet, *Soieries Persanes* (cited below). For numismatic material, incompletely published, see, in addition to the *Catalogue of the British Museum* by Lane Poole, G. C. Miles, *A Numismatic History of Rayy*, 1938.

Modern Studies. No detailed comprehensive study of the Buwayhids exists and, apart from the suggestive sketch of V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daylamites*, Paris 1932, readers should consult those sections of B. Spuler's *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 1952, and of A. Mez's *Die Renaissance des Islams*, devoted to the Buwayhids. More specialised aspects are dealt with in Mohsen Azizi, *La domination arabe et l'épanouissement du sentiment national en Iran*, 1938; *Survey of Persian Art*, Vols. ii & iii, G. Wiet, *Soieries Persanes*, 1948, 99-178 (much more general than the title suggests); A. Duri, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāk al-Iḳtiṣādī fi 'l-Ḳarn al-Rābiʿ al-Hidjri*, Baghdad 1948; C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia*, 1951; Donaldson, *The Shīʾite Religion*, 1933; R. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Schīʿa*, 1925 (summarised in *EI*[1], art. SHĪʿA); H. Laoust's introduction to *La Profession de Foi d'Ibn Batta*, 1958; Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iḳtāʿ*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953; and E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman*, ii, 1957, Chap. 1 (but cf. *Arabica*, 1958, 70 ff.).

From his unpublished London University thesis entitled *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad from the accession of ʿIzz al-dawla to the end*, Maf. Kabīr has abstracted several articles, in particular *Cultural Development under the Buwayhids of Baghdad*, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, i, 1956.

Special studies to be noted are H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS*, 1929; N. Abbott, *Two Buyid coins* (with detailed historical commentary), in *AJSL*, lvi, 1939; Cl. Cahen, *Notes pour l'histoire de la himaya*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i; Amedroz, *Three years of Buwayhid rule*, in *JRAS*, 1901; idem, *Der Vizier Ibn al-ʿAmid*, in *Der Islam*, iii; M. H. Al-Yāsīn, *al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād*, Baghdād 1376/1957 (solely from the cultural point of view); E. Kühnel, *Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buyiden*, in *ZDMG*, 1956; Kurkis ʿAwwād, *al-Dār al-Muʿizzī fi Baghdād*, in *Sumer*, x, 1950-2. On foreign relations, Muḥ. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 1931; M. Canard, *Les Hamdanides*, i, 1951; A. Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gumnām*, Tehran 1335/1928 (on Ādharbāydjān in the 4th/10th-5th/11th centuries).

(Cl. Cahen)

BUXAR, a town on the south bank of the Ganges in the Shāhābād district of the Patna division of the Indian State of Bihār. Population: 18,087. (1951 Census). It seems to have been a place of great sanctity in ancient times and was originally called Vedagarbha 'the womb of the Vedas'. Local tradition derives the name of the town from a tank originally called *aghsar*, or effacer of sins, which was later changed to *baghsar*, the tiger tank. It was at Buxar, on 23 October 1764, that the forces of Mīr Ḳāsim, ex-nawāb of Bengal, and Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, nawāb-wazīr of Awadh, were defeated by Major Hector Munro. This victory completed the work of Plassey. Henceforward the English were the unchallenged rulers of Bengal. It also placed Awadh at the disposal of the English Company.

Bibliography: C. E. A. W. Oldham, *The Battle of Buxar*, in *JBORS*, Vol. xii, 1-38; A. L. Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, Calcutta 1939, Vol. i, Ch. viii. (C. Collin Davies)

BŪYIDS [see BUWAYHIDS].

BUYURULDU (بيورلدى), also Buyrultu, Buyurdu, etc., order of an Ottoman grand vizier, vizier, *beglerbegi*, *defterdār*, or other high official to a subordinate. The term is derived from the word *buyuruldı*, 'it has been ordered', in which the order usually ends and which gradually developed into a conventional sign. *Buyuruldu*s are of two main types: a) decisions written in the margin (*der kenār*) of an incoming petition or report, often ordering that a *fermān* (or *berāt*, etc.) be issued to a certain effect (cf. *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿUthmān*, *TOEM*, Suppl., 1330, 16); b) orders issued independently (*reʾsen*, *beyāḍ üzerine*). The form of many of the latter was modelled on the Sultans' *fermān* [*q.v.*]. Many *Buyuruldu*s had a seal and (or) a *tughra*-like substitute of a signature, the so-called *pençe* [*q.v.*], affixed. Sometimes the word *ṣaḥḥ*, 'it is correct', was added for authentication. *Buyuruldu*s deal with various administrative matters, especially appointments, grants of fiefs, economic regulations, safe passage, etc. Originals are preserved in many archives in Turkey and elsewhere. The *Başvekâlet Arşivi* [*q.v.*] at Istanbul also possesses numerous volumes of *Buyuruldu* copies. Other texts are found in *inshā* works (*e.g.*, library of Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, MS no. 70; Bibl. Nat., Paris, suppl. turc, MS no. 90) and in the records (*sidjill*) of *Sharīʿa* courts.

Bibliography: I. H. Uzunçarşılı's articles in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 497 ff., v (1941), 101-57, 289-318 (with photos.) and his *O. D. Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osman.-türk. Diplomatik*, Budapest 1926, liv-lv; J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, le Caire 1930, 147-8; U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine* 1552-1615, Oxford 1959, index. See further DIPLOMATIC.

(U. Heyd)

BUZĀʿĀ (or Bizāʿā), a locality in northern Syria about forty kilometres east of Aleppo in the rich valley of the Nahr al-Dhahab or Wādī Buṭnān [*q.v.*], which has lost its former prosperity in favour of its western suburb Bāb al-Buzāʿa, today the small town of al-Bāb. The freshness of its gardens and its commercial activity attracted the attention of Ibn Djubayr who stopped there in 580/1184, on the caravan route from Manbidj to Aleppo. Half town and half village according to that writer, and dominated by a citadel from which its strength was derived, it managed to withstand after the establish-

ment of the Crusaders in Syria numerous attacks resulting either in the plunder of its territory, or even, in 532/1138, its seizure by the Franks, followed in the same year by Zankī's reoccupation. An inscription there mentions in 567/1171 the name of Ismāʿīl, the son of Nūr al-Dīn, before the town fell in 571/1175 to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and passed after that into the hands of the Mongols in 657/1258. It is also known that in 570/1174-75 there was a massacre of the Ismāʿīlīs there who seem to have dominated the country formerly, and that in the vicinity the ***mashhad*** of ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib was venerated.

It was during the period of the Mamlūks that the village of al-Bāb, whose name was not separated from that of Buzāʿa in the medieval texts, appears to have clearly taken the lead. The importance of this place, which was the principal town of the 24th district of the province of Aleppo, and which Yāḳūt formerly described as an exportation point of cotton stuffs, is attested by the construction at that time of its great mosque (connected with the erection of the minarets of Buzāʿa and Tādhif, dated by inscriptions of 756/1355 and 755/1354), and by the number of administrative measures which were engraved on the gates of this building between 775/1374 and 858/1454.

Several epigraphical fragments are preserved as well in the neighbouring village of Tādhif.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, esp. 475; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften*, in M. F. von Oppenheim, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vii, Leipzig 1909, 55-57 (nos. 63-72); J. and D. Sourdel, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, 1953, 96-102; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 219, 223-24; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index (*s.v.* Bāb-Bouzāʿa); M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 92, 219; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 406, 426, 540; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. De Goeje, 249-50; Yāḳūt, i, 437, 603, 811; Ibn Shaddād, *Description d'Alep*, ed. Sourdel, 57; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 267; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 114, 205.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

BŪZ-ABEH, governor of Fārs under the Saldjūḳs. Būz-Abeh was one of the *amīrs* of Mengubars, the governor of Fārs, for whom he administered the province of Khūzistān. He was also in the army of his superior when the latter, accompanied by other *amīrs*, moved against the Saldjūḳ sultan Masʿūd and was made prisoner at the battle of Kurshanba (other sources call the scene of the encounter Pandj Angusht), later being put to death, in 532/1137-38. Since, after their victory, the sultan's troops began to plunder the enemy camp, Būz-Abeh attacked and dispersed them. Several prominent *amīrs* of the sultan's retinue were captured, and the sultan himself escaped only with great difficulty, in the company of the *atabeg* Ḳara Sonḳor. Enraged at the death of his superior, Būz-Abeh had all of the prisoners executed, among whom was the son of Ḳara Sonḳor. In order to avenge his son, the *atabeg* undertook in the following year an expedition against Fārs, where he installed the Saldjūḳ prince Saldjūḳshāh. But scarcely had Ḳara Sonḳor retired with his troops when Būz-Abeh, who had in the interim withdrawn to the fortress of Safīddiz (*Ḳalʿat al-bayḍāʾ*), reappeared and conquered the defenceless Saldjūḳshāh (534/1139-40). Sulṭān Masʿūd was forced then to abandon to him the province of Fārs. Būz-Abeh found an opportunity to confirm his situation by allying himself with two other *amīrs*, ʿAbbās, ruler of Rayy, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Tughanyarak. The sultan tolerated for some time the tutelage of these men, but succeeded in freeing himself by having assassinated the two latter *amīrs*. Būz-Abeh marched against the sultan, but was captured and killed at the battle of Mardj Ḳaratakīn, a day's march from Hamadhān, in 542/1147. Būz-Abeh appears to have left a good administrative record at Shīrāz. Conforming with the tendency of all of the generals educated in the Saldjūḳ tradition, he had erected a *madrasa*, richly endowed and at first Ḥanafī, though it became later Shāfiʿī.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xi, index; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in Bundarī, ed. Houtsma (*Recueil*, ii) index; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saldjūḳnāma*, éd. Gelaleh Khawār; Aḥmad Zarkūb, *Shīrāznāma*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran 1938, 45-46.

(Cl. Cahen)

al-**BŪZADJĀNĪ** [see abuʾ l-wafāʾ].

BUZĀKHA, a well in Nadjd in the territory of Asad or their neighbours Ṭayyiʾ (cf. *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, 361, n. 3). The forces of the Banū Asad, who, led by the false prophet Ṭulayḥa, had relapsed from Islam on Muḥammad's death, were defeated at Buzākha in 11/632 by Abū Bakr's general Khālid b. al-Walīd. Khālid's army was reinforced for the battle by 1000 men of Ṭayyiʾ, detached from Ṭulayḥa's side; Ṭulayḥa had the help of ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn and 700 men from Fazāra of Ghaṭafān, old allies of Asad's. After fierce fighting, ʿUyayna saw that Ṭulayḥa's alleged prophetic powers were in practice proving useless against the Muslims, and fled the field. Ṭulayḥa had to flee to Syria; Asad submitted to Khālid; and neighbouring tribes like ʿĀmir, who had been awaiting the outcome, now rallied to Islam.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 601-2; Ibn Saʿd, III, ii, 36-7; Ṭabarī, i, 1879, 1886-91; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 259-64; al-Balādhurī, 95-97; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi, 9-12; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 604 ff.; Muir, *Caliphate*[4], Edinburgh 1915, 19-23.

(C. E. Bosworth)

BUZURG b. SHAHRIYĀR, a Persian ships'-captain (*nākhudā*) of Rām-Hurmuz of the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of the *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* (Marvels of India). This is a collection in Arabic of 134 stories and anecdotes gathered by the author from ships'-captains, pilots, traders and other seafaring men who used to sail the Indian Ocean and liked to spin a yarn about their adventures in East Africa, the Indian Archipelago and China. Incidentally they also give some information about these countries and the customs of their inhabitants. Sometimes the year of the event referred to is given, the latest being 342/953. The language of the book shows some Middle-Arabic traits (see ʿarabiyya, above, 570b).

Bibliography: The Arabic text, extant only in the Istanbul MS. Aya Sofya 3306, was edited by P. A. van der Lith together with a French translation by M. Devic, Leiden 1883-6. A new translation in French by J. Sauvaget is given in his *Mémorial*, i, Damascus 1954, 188-300; Russian translation by R. I. Ehrlich, Moscow 1959. See also Brockelmann S I, 409.

(J. W. Fück)

BUZURGMIHR, Iranian personal name (arabicised form Buzurdjmihr) which according to a tradition transmitted by Iranian and Arab writers, was given to a man endowed with every ability and virtue who was the minister of Khusraw I Anūsha-

rawān (6th century A.D.). The earliest authorities who were acquainted with the Pahlawī *Khvadhāynāmāgh* ("Book of Sovereigns"), written towards the end of the Sāsānid period (7th century), the source of the oldest accounts of pre-Islamic Iranian history penned by Arab writers (al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Ḳutayba), have no reference to Buzurgmihr. It is only in later works that he becomes the hero of anecdotes deriving from popular tradition (in Thaʿālabī's "History of the Persian Kings", a section of the *Ghurar al-Siyar* — *vide EI*[1], iv, 770 col. a, and, more freely than one would expect, in Firdawsī's "Book of Kings", the *Shāh-nāma*), and sometimes the originator of numerous wise precepts, survivals from the collections (*andarz*) of the Sāsānid period, preserved in some minor post-Sāsānid Pahlawī works (notably the *Pandnāmāgh-e Vuzurghmihr-e Bokhtaghān*, "the Book of precepts of Buzurgmihr son of Bōkhtagh"). These precepts were translated into Arabic and Persian by several authors: al-Masʿūdī, Firdawsī (in whose poem Buzurgmihr presents the king with a book of wisdom, the fruit of their conversations, which in reality derived from the *Pandnāmāgh*), Niẓām al-Mulk, and others. There are three anecdotes concerning Buzurgmihr which are significant because of their elements of popular origin: I—the King of Persia dreams that, as he is drinking, a pig puts his snout in the cup. No one can interpret this until the young Buzurgmihr informs the king that one of his wives is bestowing her favours on another and that, in order to be certain, the women must be summoned to appear naked: among them is discovered a youth disguised as a woman (in addition to the popular theme of the oneiromancy practised by an adolescent, one recalls a similar review of women in a tale from ancient Egypt). II—Buzurgmihr discovers the secret of the game of chess, sent as a challenge by the King of India to the King of Persia; he then invents the game of tric-trac, the secret of which the latter and his counsellors do not succeed in discovering (the source of this is a small Pahlawī work of a popular type, the "Story of the Game of Chess", *Mādhighān-e čatrang*). III—Buzurghmihr, in disgrace and in prison, is recalled when the Byzantine Emperor refuses to pay tribute to the Persian sovereign unless he guesses the contents of a sealed coffer which he has sent him; the king summons Buzurgmihr, who resolves the enigma and is reinstated in royal favour (to the preceding theme is joined that of the sage liberated and recompensed for his wisdom: Nöldeke recognised the similarity of this episode with another in the history of the sage Aḥiḳar). These anecdotes put Buzurgmihr in direct contact with popular tradition, but is he a historical or a legendary figure? A. Christensen, in a noteworthy article, has rightly noted that, apart from the references to Buzurgmihr, there are others relating to the sentence of death passed by Hormizd, the son and successor of Anūsharawan, on three of the latter's counsellors, one of whom bore the name of Burzmihr (in Thaʿālibī), Burzmihr, then Simāh Burzēn—a hypocoristic of Burzmihr (in Firdawsī). In the name of Burzōē, the famous physician, the supposed author of the Pahlawī adaptation of *Kalīla wa Dimna* who was a contemporary of Anūsharawān, Justi (*Iran Namenbuch*, 74) and Christensen see the same root *burz* ("high") and a hypocoristic ending (as in Burzēn): as names with the root *burz-*, peculiar to the Sāsānid period, are very rare, Burzmihr ("[protected by] the *High* Mithra") is semantically related to Buzurgmihr ("[protected by] the *Great* Mithra"); further it is enough to write both words in the Arabic script in order to see how easily they can be confused. Finally, certain passages in the preface to the *Kalīla*, traditionally attributed to Burzōē and known through the Arabic translation of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, give biographical details which the authors also attribute to Buzurgmihr or divide them between both personalities. To sum up, Iran in the reign of Anūsharawān was influenced by Indian civilisation, thanks to certain intellectuals, of whom Burzōē was one, and who was made famous by his Pahlawī adaptation of the Pančatantra; the introduction of chess in Iran was attributed to him, a number of precepts and maxims, and later certain characteristics of sagacity and divination which already existed in popular tradition; then a false reading of his name as transcribed in Arabic led to the creation of a double personality.

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *La légende du sage Buzurjmihr*, in *Acta Orientalia*, 1930, iii/1, 81-128 (a basic and detailed study, with an analysis of and extracts from the sources); idem, *Iran sous les Sassanides* (particularly 57-8, and index, *s.vv.* Vuzurgmihr, Burzōē); on the *Ẓafar-nāma*, *vide* the text in Ch. Schefer, *Chrest. persane*, i, 1-7 and Christensen's trans. in *La légende . . .*, 121; *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii, 346-7.

(H. Massé)

BUZURG-UMMĪD, Kiya, second *dāʿī* (1124-1138) at Alamūt [*q.v.*] of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. He was evidently related by marriage to the ruling families of Māzandarān. From 495-518/1102-1124 he was Ismāʿīlī governor of Lummasar, a stronghold in the Rūdbār of Alamūt. He with three other chiefs had captured it for Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ when its holders had broken their agreement with the Ismāʿīlīs and had planned to call in the Saldjūḳ *amīr*, Nūshtagīn Shīrgīr. Using local forced labour, he rebuilt it, equipping it with water and fine gardens. There he successfully resisted the last and gravest attack on the Ismāʿīlīs by Muḥammad Tapar's troops under Shīrgīr in 511/1117. In 518/1124 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ on his deathbed appointed him his successor as head *dāʿī* of the sect, with three associates. Under his rule the Ismāʿīlī state retained its independence against renewed attacks [see alamūt (II) The Dynasty] several new strongholds were established, including Maymūndiz in 520/1126. In 526/1131 he defeated and killed a Zaydī *imām*, Abū Hāshim, who had arisen in Daylamān and had followers as far as Khurāsān. Buzurg-ummīd died in 532/1138, leaving the position of *dāʿī* to his son Muḥammad. He was buried next to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, where his tomb was piously visited. His descendants formed the leading family in Alamūt.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, section on Nizārīs; Djuwaynī, iii, 208 ff.; and further in M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, index.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

BYZANTINES [see rūm].

BŽEDUKH [see čerkes].